Native Hawaiian Educational Assessment 1993

Kamehameha Schools Bernice Pauahi Bishop Estate
Office of Program Evaluation and Planning

Kamehameha Schools Bernice Pauahi Bishop Estate

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Preface

This report is the tip of an iceberg. Beneath the surface are ten years of data gathering, analysis, interim reports, and input by many groups and individuals. The 1983 *Native Hawaiian Educational Assessment Project (NHEAP) Report* started a process which is ongoing. That is why this is *not* a "final report", but, rather, an update on work in progress.

Kamehameha Schools Bishop Estate (KSBE) has been the agency primarily responsible for updating knowledge on Native Hawaiian educational needs. KSBE Trustee Myron B. (Pinky) Thompson has been both an initiator of the needs assessment and a driving force behind its continuation. KSBE President Dr. Michael J. Chun has championed the effort as well. The Office of Program Evaluation and Planning (PEP) at KSBE has been the nexus for the ongoing data collection and analysis.

The PEP staff worked together on the design and execution of this report. While the responsibility for editing the report is mine, the entire staff deserves the credit for sifting through voluminous data and creatively putting the results together. It has indeed been a group effort.

In particular, Chris Melahn was primarily responsible for writing the chapters on Goal 1 (School Readiness), Goal 4 (Adult Literacy and College Completion) and Goal 5 (Positive Learning Environment). Goal 2 (Student Achievement) and Goal 3 (High School Completion) were written by Jerald Plett. Hinano Paleka was the author of the section called Goal 6 (Cultural Understanding). With help from all, I put together the remainder.

Kelcey Cambra was responsible for proofreading and producing the final camera-ready copy of the manuscript. Doni Yokoi provided clerical support. In addition, Ms. Yokoi and her husband David Yokoi provided the artwork for the quilt pattern on the cover of the report. Jerald Plett also provided invaluable assistance in formatting graphs and text.

The quilt pattern represents the branches and leaves of the tamarind tree. One special tamarind tree played a significant role in the life of Bernice Pauahi Bishop, founder of the Kamehameha Schools Bishop Estate. It was planted by her father on the day of her birth. As she grew to adulthood, she enjoyed sitting in the shade of that tree, discussing events of the day and issues of concern to her people. Our use of the tamarind pattern is a tribute to this visionary benefactress.

Far too many individuals have contributed to this report than we can acknowledged here. Many helped through their agencies by providing data and other assistance.

In particular, the State of Hawai'i Department of Education (DOE) provided the large data sets which let us determine standardized test scores, absenteeism, and other student outcomes.

Other agencies which have assisted include:

- State of Hawai'i Department of Health
- State of Hawai'i Office of Children and Youth
- State of Hawai'i Department of Business, Economic Development, and Tourism
- Office of Hawaiian Affairs
- University of Hawai'i
- Hawai'i Association of Independent Schools
- Catholic School Department of Hawai'i
- Alu Like, Inc.
- Queen Lili'uokalani Children's Center

In KSBE's Office of Media/Publications, Marsha Bolson, Lesley Agard, and Henry Bennett provided invaluable guidance and assistance with formatting and proofreading.

It would be impossible to include in one report all the available data. It would be impossible to answer all the questions. We hope that this report will stimulate further efforts to understand and, ultimately, meet the educational needs of Hawaiian children.

Ormond W. Hammond
Director,
Program Evaluation and Planning

Native Hawaiian Educational Assessment, 1993

Introduction

In 1983 the Kamehameha Schools Bishop Estate (KSBE) published the first *Native Hawaiian Educational Assessment Project (NHEAP) Report.* This comprehensive study of Native Hawaiian educational needs had originally been authorized by the United States Congress, which was considering legislation on behalf of Native Hawaiians. When federal funding for the study was withdrawn, the Kamehameha Schools Bishop Estate agreed to undertake the work and submit it to Congress. The *NHEAP Report* and follow-up studies have been used since 1983 to plan and support various educational programs, including the federal Native Hawaiian Education Act (P.L. 100-297, 1988).

Earlier reports indicated that Native Hawaiians have severe educational needs

The *NHEAP Report* was one of a number of studies which have looked at different aspects of the socio-economic status of Native Hawaiians. As early as 1962, a report by the Queen Liliu'okalani Children's Center indicated severe educational needs among Native Hawaiians. During the 1970s several social and anthropological studies also alluded to these conditions (Gallimore, Boggs, & Jordan, 1974; Howard, 1974). After the *NHEAP Report*, *E Ola Mau*, the *Native Hawaiian Health Needs Study* (1985), was completed, coordinated by Alu Like, Inc. Alu Like also coordinated a *Native Hawaiian Vocational Education Needs Assessment* (1987).

The 1983 *NHEAP Report* established that Native Hawaiian students were well behind their peers on most educational outcomes. They fell well short in reading and math based on standardized test measures of basic skills. They were overrepresented in special education and underrepresented in gifted and talented programs. There were indications, starting with inadequate prenatal care, that Hawaiian students did not start school on an equal footing with other children. Absenteeism rates for Hawaiian students in high school were alarmingly high. Literacy rates for Hawaiian adults as well as college enrollment and completion rates were low. Studies also showed Hawaiian youth and adults at risk for substance abuse as well as delinquency and crime.

This report updates the 1983 study and provides the most recent data available in 1993. In this *Introduction* we will review the federal educational programs for Native Hawaiians. We will also explain how this report is organized around a set of educational goals based on both national and state goals.

Federal Programs for Native Hawaiians

In 1988 the U.S. Congress passed into law the Hawkins-Stafford Elementary and Secondary Education Act (Pub. Law 100-297) which included, as Title IV, Education for Native Hawaiians. Passage of the Native Hawaiian legislation was based on important historical precedents and relationships.

The United States Congress recognized a special responsibility to legislate on behalf of Native Hawaiians

In 1992 the Native Hawaiian Health Care Improvement Act was re-authorized. The preamble to this legislation gives the most detailed statement to date of the unique historical and legal relationship between Native Hawaiians and the U.S. Government. The main points are as follows:

- The native people of Hawai'i lived in a highly organized, self-sufficient, subsistence social system which had evolved over many centuries of sovereignty in the islands.

- A monarchial government was established in the 1800s which was given full diplomatic recognition by the U.S. government. Treaties and conventions marked the government-to-government relationship.

- The Hawaiian government was overthrown by a group of mostly American businessmen in the 1890s with the complicity of the American minister to the Kingdom.

- A formal investigation of the overthrow concluded that the U.S. representatives had abused their authority, leading President Grover Cleveland to call for restoration of the monarchy.

- Cleveland's successor, President McKinley, supported instead American annexation of Hawai'i. Hawai'i became an American territory in 1900.

- From the first, Congress recognized that it had a special obligation to the native inhabitants of the islands. In 1920 it passed the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act.

Some 45 separate pieces of federal legislation since 1920 have recognized Native Hawaiians. Since the Native Hawaiian Education Act of 1988 additional legislation has been passed and/or re-authorized. Among these laws are:

- Native Hawaiian Health Care Act of 1988, re-authorized 1992;
- Carl Perkins Vocational and Applied Technological Education Act Amendments of 1990;
- Department of Housing and Urban Development Reform Act of 1989;
- Indian Health Care Amendments of 1988 (Native Hawaiian Health Professions Scholarship Program);
- Native American Languages Act of 1990;
- National Museum of the American Indian Act of 1989; and
- Native American Grave Protection and Repatriation Act of 1990.

New educational programs were established

Categorical programs such as Head Start and Chapter I had not made a dent in these needs. The programs authorized in the Native Hawaiian Education Act were created to meet these unique needs.

Family-Based Education Centers. Funding under this section of the Act supports pre-kindergarten educational programs, specifically, parent-infant education, traveling preschools, and center-based preschools.

Programs are being carried out by KSBE and by 'Aha Pūnana Leo. The latter is a Hawaiian language immersion preschool program.

Model Curriculum Implementation Program. This section provides support for Kamehameha Schools Elementary Education Program (KEEP). This is a language arts program conducted in cooperation with the Department of Education.

Higher Education Demonstration Program. This section provides scholarship and counseling assistance to Hawaiian students pursuing higher education.

Special Education. The State of Hawai'i DOE receives funding for a program called Pihana Nā Mamo, or Native Hawaiian Special Education.

Gifted and Talented. The University of Hawai'i at Hilo receives funding under this section for a program called Nā Pua No'eau for gifted and talented Native Hawaiian students statewide.

Another important development during the 1980s which was at least partially a result of the recommendations in NHEAP was the founding of PREL, Pacific Regional Educational Laboratory. The lab began as a subsidiary of Northwest Regional Education Laboratory (NWREL) in Portland, Oregon. In 1990, it became an independent lab, serving the entire Pacific region, including Hawai'i.

The 1980s were a seminal time for developing programs for Native Hawaiians and for setting precedents in federal assistance. In 1984, the Carl Perkins Vocational Education Act included Native Hawaiians. Programs funded under this Act are being carried out by Alu Like, Inc.

In 1986 the Drug Free Schools and Communities Act was passed. Native Hawaiians were included in set-aside funding for Native Americans. The resulting Native Hawaiian Drug Free Schools and

Communities Program is being implemented by Kamehameha Schools Bishop Estate.

In 1988 the Native Hawaiian Health Care Act was passed. This Act created the Papa Ola Lōkahi health board. It paved the way for a state-wide system of Native Hawaiian Health Centers on all islands. This Act was re-authorized in 1992 for ten more years.

In 1987 the Native Hawaiian Culture and Arts Program began under federal funding. Among other education-related programs funded under this umbrella, the most recent voyages of the double-hulled sailing canoe *Hokule'a* were supported.

How This Report Is Organized

As the 1983 *NHEAP Report* showed, there is a vast amount of information on educational needs. In 1983 this information was organized into three categories: Student Achievement, Special Educational Needs, and Culturally Related Academic Needs. These categories were suggested by the federal Department of Education. This time the information is categorized into six educational goals. These are a composite of national and state goals for education.

The 1980s were a time of great unrest and concern about education nationally. In 1983 the report *A Nation at Risk* raised questions about the overall quality of the country's schools. Not only did it point out inequalities within the system, it suggested that education in America as a whole was becoming mediocre and losing ground compared with other countries.

National Goals

Under President Bush, Secretary of Education Lamar Alexander issued a call for action. This included naming Six National Educational Goals:

By the year 2000:

1. All children in America will start school ready to learn.

2. The high school graduation rate will increase to at least 90 percent.

3. American students will leave grades four, eight, and twelve having demonstrated competency in challenging subject matter including English, mathematics, science, history and geography; and every school in America will ensure that all students learn to use their minds well, so they may be prepared for responsible citizenship, further learning, and productive employment in our modern economy.

4. U.S. students will be first in the world in science and mathematics achievement.

5. Every adult American will be literate and will possess the knowledge and skills necessary to compete in a global economy and exercise the rights and responsibilities of citizenship.

6. Every school in America will be free of drugs and violence and will offer a disciplined environment conducive to learning.

These goals have now been adopted by the Clinton Administration. They form the basis for a number of national educational reform efforts and will probably remain meaningful throughout the decade of the 1990s.

Within the State of Hawai'i historical developments have also affected Native Hawaiian education. For example, at the State Constitutional Convention in 1978 the Hawaiian language was made the official language of Hawai'i, along with English. This gave an impetus to a series of Hawaiian language programs.

One of the most significant of these was the founding and flourishing of Hawaiian medium instruction programs. The first was 'Aha Pūnana Leo preschools, started in 1985. Following the lead of Maori language immersion preschools in New Zealand, this effort drew immediate and strong support from a nucleus of Hawaiian parents.

In 1987 the DOE started its own Hawaiian language immersion program at three elementary schools. Again, parent and community support were crucial factors in establishing and developing this effort. Now, the Board of Education has approved extending immersion into and through high school.

Currently the DOE is involved in re-organization efforts which will significantly re-structure education in Hawai'i. Project Ke Au Hou will shift administration from the central state offices to districts and schools. School-Community Based Management (SCBM) will further provide autonomy at the individual school level.

State Goals

The Hawai'i State DOE has issued its own set of long-term goals. Many of these overlap or are similar to the national goals:

1. Readiness for School: By the year 2000 all children entering kindergarten or first grade will be ready and eager to learn.

2. Student Achievement: By the year 2000 all students will demonstrate achievement in a range of challenging subjects, including but not limited to English, mathematics, science, and social studies, enabling them to think critically, to solve problems, to communicate effectively, and to function as contributing members of society.

3. Character Development: By the year 2000 all students will be responsible and caring citizens with respect for themselves, for others, and for the world in which they live.

4. Learning Environment: By the year 2000 all schools will provide students with a nurturing environment conducive to learning.

5. Educational Staff Competence: By the year 2000 all teachers, administrators, and support staff will be prepared with the knowledge, skills and commitment necessary to ensure quality educational services and to serve as increasingly positive role models.

6. Governance: By the year 2000 the people of Hawai'i will share in the governance of education.

7. Community Involvement: By the year 2000 all segments of society will accept responsibility for meeting the educational needs of the community through individual commitment and collaborative action.

8. Lifelong Learning: By the year 2000 all segments of society will value lifelong learning and will collaborate to ensure access to continuing educational opportunity for everyone.

Composite Goals: The Structure for this Report

This report begins with an overview of Native Hawaiian demographics. The following chapters are structured around six goals, based upon both the national and state goals listed above. These goals, for Native Hawaiian students, are:

1. **All children will start school ready and eager to learn.**

2. **Students will demonstrate competency in the basic skills of English and mathematics and in other challenging subject matter including science and social studies.**

3. **The high school graduation rate will increase while dropout and absenteeism rates drop.**

4. **Adult literacy rates, along with college enrollment and completion rates, will increase.**

5. **Schools will offer a nurturing yet disciplined environment conducive to learning.**

6. **Students will develop a respect for and understanding of their own and others' cultures.**

The last goal was added in recognition of the special place Hawaiian culture occupies in modern Hawai'i and in the lives of Native Hawaiians. Emphasis in this report will be placed on tracing trends or changes which have occurred since the first *NHEAP Report* in 1983.

Demographics

There is no one definition of "Native Hawaiian" used by all agencies

How many Native Hawaiians are there? What percent of the school-age population is Hawaiian? Where does most of the Hawaiian population live? These and other basic questions of demography have been very difficult to answer precisely over the years because of one very important fact: there is no one universally accepted definition of Native Hawaiian. Each agency which asks the question of ancestry does it differently. Figure 1, for example, shows the results of three different methods of enumeration used by three different agencies.

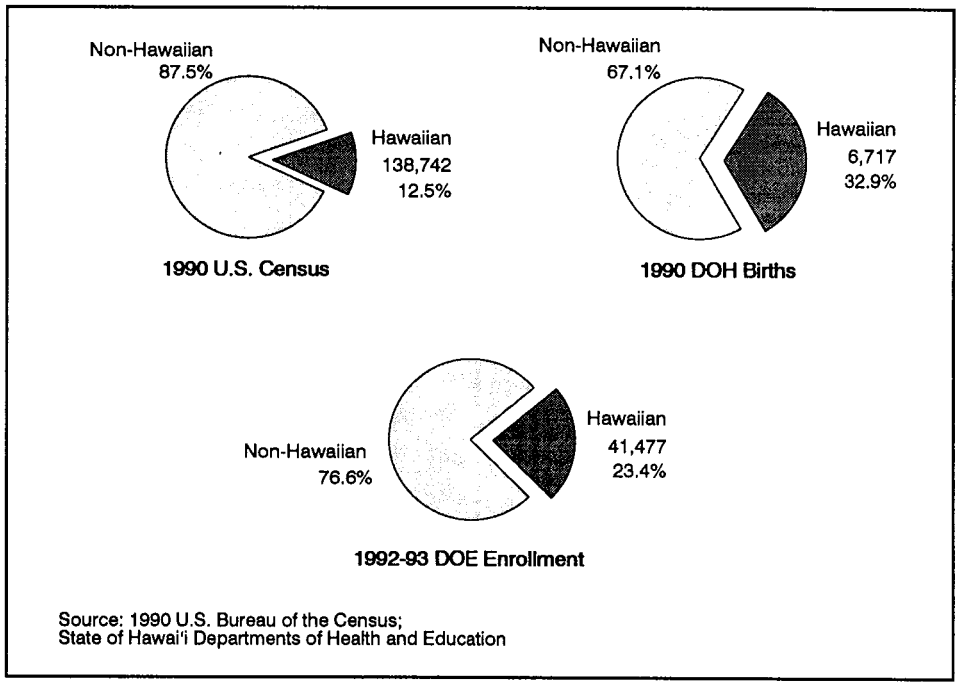


Figure 1. Native Hawaiian population counts: U.S. Census, State of Hawai'i Department of Health births, and Department of Education enrollment.

The U.S. Census for 1990 tells us that there are 138,742 Hawaiians in Hawai'i, or 12.5% of the state population. The Census has been considered by many to be an undercount because it is based on a forced choice among several categories of which "Hawaiian" is one.

At the other extreme, the Department of Health, which records birth data, considers a child to be Hawaiian if *either* parent is listed as Hawaiian. By this inclusive method of enumeration, Hawaiians constitute 33% of all births in the state—the largest single group.

Yet another method of counting is that of the Department of Education. This is a forced choice method, like the Census, but in this case both "Hawaiian" and "*part*-Hawaiian" are available choices. According to the DOE, Hawaiian students constitute 23% of the public school population.

All three of these data sources, and others, are valuable for some aspects of this study. It is crucial, however, to carefully consider the differences between them in how data are acquired and used.

U.S. Census

One-third of Native Hawaiians live on the U.S. mainland

One advantage of the Census, for example, is that it lets us look at the Hawaiian population in the entire United States, not just Hawai'i. Figure 2 shows that about one-third of all persons who identified themselves as Hawaiian in the 1990 Census live on the mainland. The Census also provides us with information on educational attainment and socio-economic status.

Hawai'i State Department of Health

Hawaiian births: A growing and diverse group

The Department of Health data let us examine the complex ethnic composition of all groups in Hawai'i. Looking more closely at the birth data, for example, as in Figure 3, we see that Hawaiian babies in 1990 are a mixture of many ancestries. Only about one-third have both parents identified as Hawaiian.

Figure 4 shows why this is so. The out-marriage rate for Hawaiians is high. Over half of all brides and over half of all grooms in Hawaiian marriages are not Hawaiian.

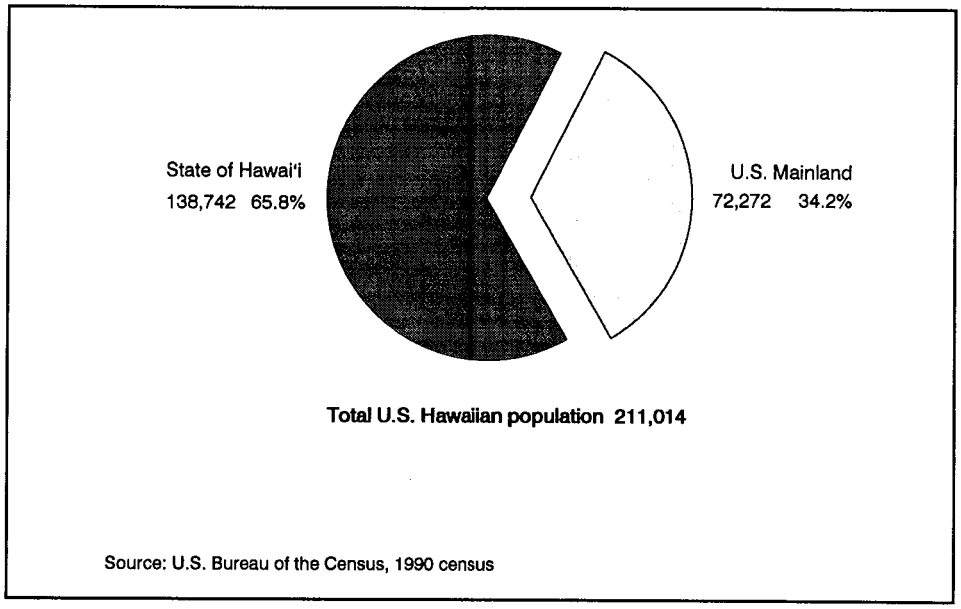


Figure 2. Native Hawaiians in the 1990 United States Census.

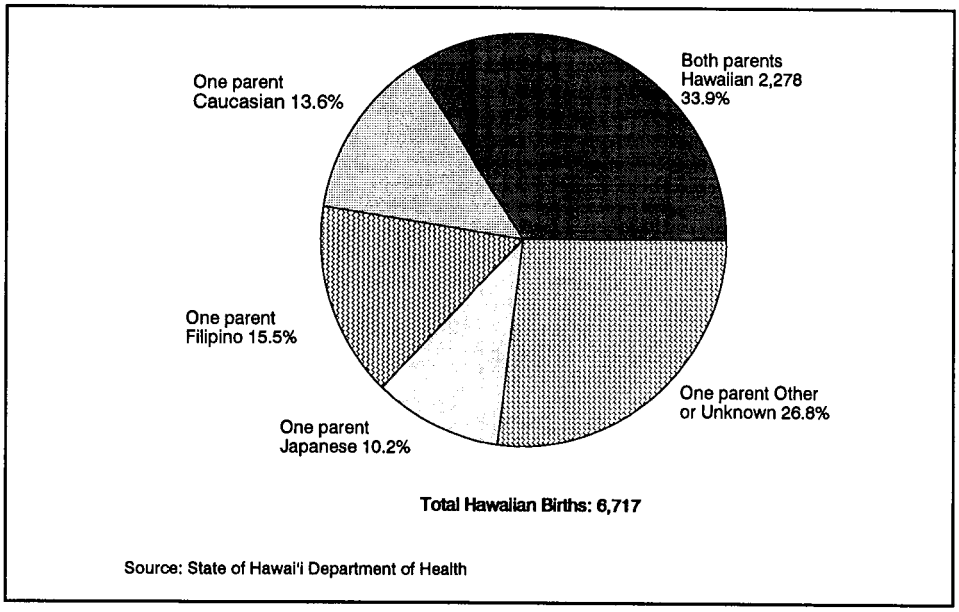


Figure 3. Native Hawaiian births by ethnicity of parents, 1990.

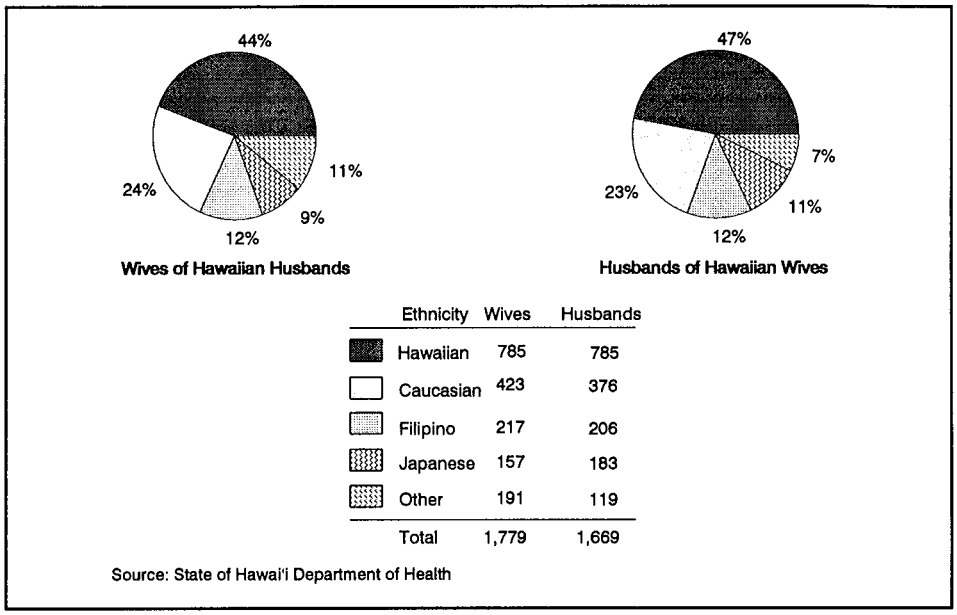
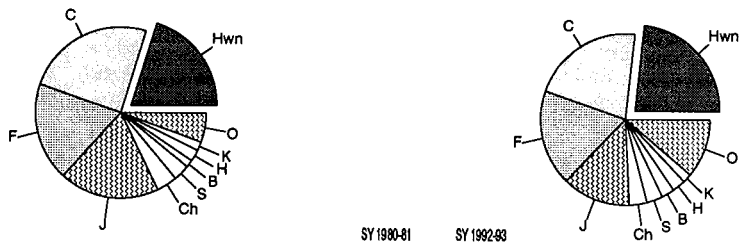


Figure 4. Native Hawaiian marriages by ethnicity of bride and groom, 1989.

Hawai'i State Department of Education

Hawaiian students are now the largest group in the DOE

The ethnic distribution of students enrolled in DOE schools has changed somewhat from that reported in the *NHEAP Report*. A 1980-81 and 1992-93 school year comparison of total DOE enrollment by ethnicity is presented in Figure 5. At the time of the *NHEAP Report*, students of Hawaiian ancestry constituted the second largest ethnic group in the DOE, with Caucasian students being the largest group. Currently, Hawaiian students constitute the largest ethnic group in the DOE; with 41,477 students, they represent 23.4 percent of the total DOE enrollment. The four major ethnic groups in the DOE have remained the same since the *NHEAP Report*—Hawaiian, Filipino, Japanese, and Caucasian. Comparisons of ethnicity-specific achievement levels are presented in this report (see Goal 2: Student Achievement) in order to present a picture of Hawaiian student achievement within the context of total DOE achievement.



Ethnicity	Key	SY 1980-81 Number	SY 1980-81 Percent	SY 1992-93 Number	SY 1992-93 Percent
Hawaiian	Hwn	33,423	20.4%	41,477	23.4%
Caucasian	C	40,148	24.5%	38,025	21.5%
Filipino	F	30,704	18.7%	31,945	18.0%
Japanese	J	30,724	18.7%	23,313	13.2%
Chinese	Ch	6,222	3.8%	5,659	3.2%
Samoan	S	5,327	3.2%	5,288	3.0%
Black	B	2,279	1.4%	4,803	2.7%
Hispanic	H	3,307	2.0%	4,404	2.5%
Korean	K	3,031	1.8%	2,943	1.7%
Other	O	8,759	5.3%	19,252	10.9%
Total Enrollment		163,934	100%	177,109	100%

Source: State of Hawai'i Department of Education

Figure 5. Ethnicity of students enrolled by the State of Hawai'i Department of Education: School years 1980-81 and 1992-93.

The DOE district with the largest number of Hawaiian students is Hawai'i

Figure 6 shows the numbers and percents in the seven DOE school districts for school year 1992-93. The district with the largest number is Hawai'i, the Big Island. This is a change. Ten years ago Leeward District had the most. Generally the movement has been from the more urban districts to the more rural and Neighbor Island districts. Figure 6 also illustrates how number and percent vary. Compare, for example, Central and Kaua'i Districts. While Kaua'i clearly has a higher *percent* of Hawaiian students (size of pie slice), note that Central District has a higher number.

The Hawaiian student population is growing

Figure 7 shows the growth trend of Hawaiian students in the DOE. Because the birth data also show continuing increases, we expect this growth trend to continue.

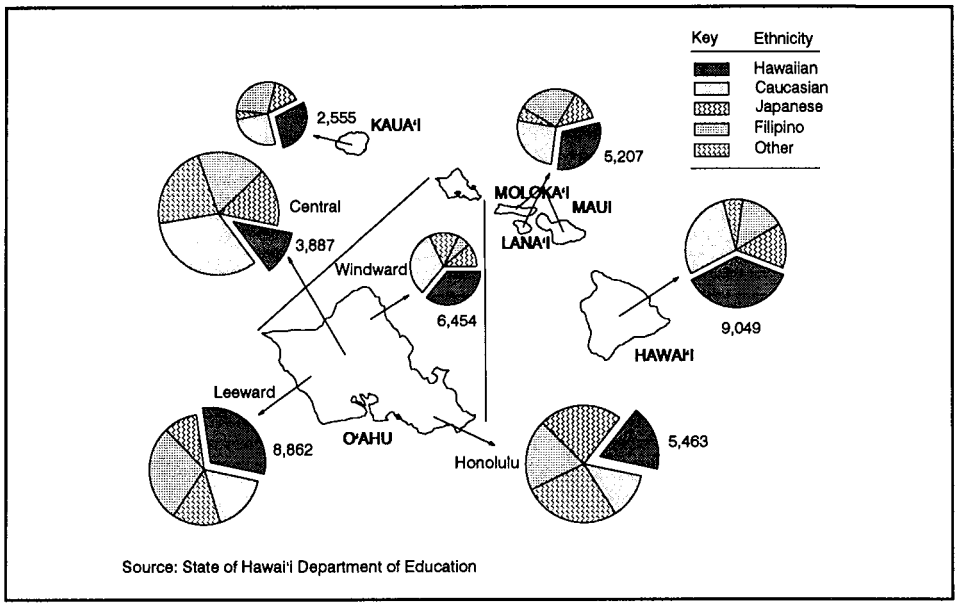
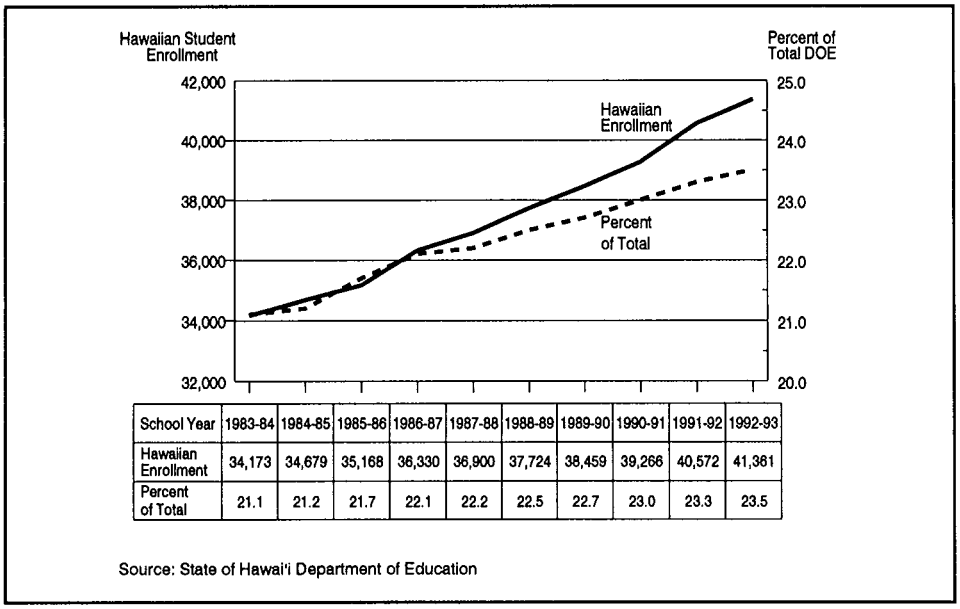


Figure 6. Ethnicity by DOE district, 1992-1993 (Grades K-12)



School Year	1983-84	1984-85	1985-86	1986-87	1987-88	1988-89	1989-90	1990-91	1991-92	1992-93
Hawaiian Enrollment	34,173	34,679	35,168	36,330	36,900	37,724	38,459	39,266	40,572	41,361
Percent of Total	21.1	21.2	21.7	22.1	22.2	22.5	22.7	23.0	23.3	23.5

Figure 7. Native Hawaiian students in the Hawai'i State Department of Education: SY 1983-84 through 1992-93

Finally, we can estimate the numbers and percents of Hawaiian students in other forms of schooling (Table 1). The numbers for private schools are an estimate based on an ongoing survey of private schools. While many private schools do not keep ethnicity data, they have estimated their population at certain grade levels for us. We estimate the percentage of Hawaiian students in private schools to be slightly *lower* than the percentage in public schools. Since Kamehameha Schools' population is 100% Hawaiian, this raises the percentage significantly. Punahou, for example, the largest private school in the state (and the country) has an estimated 16% Hawaiian students.

Table 1 Hawaiian Student Population, School Year 1992-93

	Total	Hawaiian	% Hawaiian
DOE Schools	177,109	41,477	23.4%
Private Schools[1]	32,774	6,877	21.0%
Home Schools[2]	528	125	23.7%

[1]Estimate based on partial survey data
[2]Home Schooling Survey 10/92

Source: State of Hawai'i Department of Education and KSBE PEP Private School Survey and Home Schooling Survey

A recent survey of home schooling in Hawai'i shows that about the same percentage (24%) of home-schooled children as DOE children are Hawaiian. While this is a very small number statewide, the home-school population has been growing rapidly in the last three years.

Summary

In summary, the Hawaiian population is fast growing in numbers and, at the same time, becoming more and more diverse. It is a relatively young population and makes up about one-fourth of the school population. It should be noted that no other state in the country has such a high percent of Native Americans in its population.

Native Hawaiian Educational Assessment, 1993

Goal 1: School Readiness

All children will start school ready and eager to learn

Readiness for school entry is a multifaceted outcome reflecting children's experiences during their early years. It encompasses social, emotional, and intellectual skills that, if properly assessed, would require direct observation in addition to standardized assessments. Unfortunately, the expense of comprehensive assessment is prohibitive. Educators have found that language assessment instruments (e.g., the Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test-Revised, or PPVT-R) provide a practical, quick tool for assessing readiness for elementary school instruction.

Language Skills at Kindergarten Entry

In Hawai'i educators, while aware of the shortcomings of narrow assessment of kindergarten readiness, have used the PPVT-R for this purpose. Since 1982-1983 the testing program introduced in association with the Department of Education's "Early Provisions for School Success" (EPSS) program has provided an annual look at skills of children entering kindergarten. Overall, results in the language area have been sobering (Lynch, 1986).

For example, during the initial year of the program (SY 1982-1983) about 52 percent of local kindergartners who took the Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test (PPVT-R) scored in the lowest three stanines of national norms. For Hawaiian students this below-average result was even more common: about 70 percent of Hawaiian students who took the test scored in the lowest three stanines (Lynch, 1987).

These overall findings include both economically advantaged as well as disadvantaged communities and for that reason are indeed striking. For 1983-1984 a reanalysis of EPSS test data by high school catchment areas revealed that *up to 85 percent* of Hawaiian youth in poor, low-

income communities scored in the below-average stanine range (Melahn & Paleka, 1985).

During the years since the early 1980s assessment results have continued to provide strong indications of language deficits—or at least vocabulary difficulties—within the State of Hawai'i public school population.

Figure 8 provides the results of an analysis by ethnic subgroup of the PPVT-R findings for three years, including the most recent year for which data are available (SY 1989-1990).

Filipino and Hawaiian students score very low on vocabulary at kindergarten

The 1989-1990 portion of the graph shows the national percentile rank of the mean PPVT-R scaled score of all kindergarten students in the State of Hawai'i in 1989-90 and of members of the four largest ethnic groups. The state percentile rank of 15 was only slightly lower than the percentile rank reported for 1982-1983 (16), while performance differences across ethnic groups continued to be divergent. Hawaiians and Filipinos were, according to this measure, less ready for kindergarten success than were Japanese and Caucasian children.

Across time the results reported in Figure 8 suggest declining performance relative to the national norm group for Hawaiian and Filipino kindergartners. This contrasts with the overall continuity in relative standing for Caucasian and Japanese students.
For Hawaiian students the results illustrated here reflect a trend toward fewer in higher stanine ranges (7-9) along with greater numbers scoring in the lower ranges (stanines 1-3). Altogether the results indicate cause for serious concern across all groups in the State of Hawai'i, but the pattern for Hawaiian and Filipino students is especially critical.
Both groups show comparatively low levels of average performance, thus, of school readiness. Naturally, a single test cannot possibly encompass all dimensions of potential instructional readiness, but the data also suggest that the group performance trend on this measure over time (i.e., 1982-1989) has followed a downward trend. To what

extent do the PPVT-R data reflect school readiness? And has readiness been declining over time?

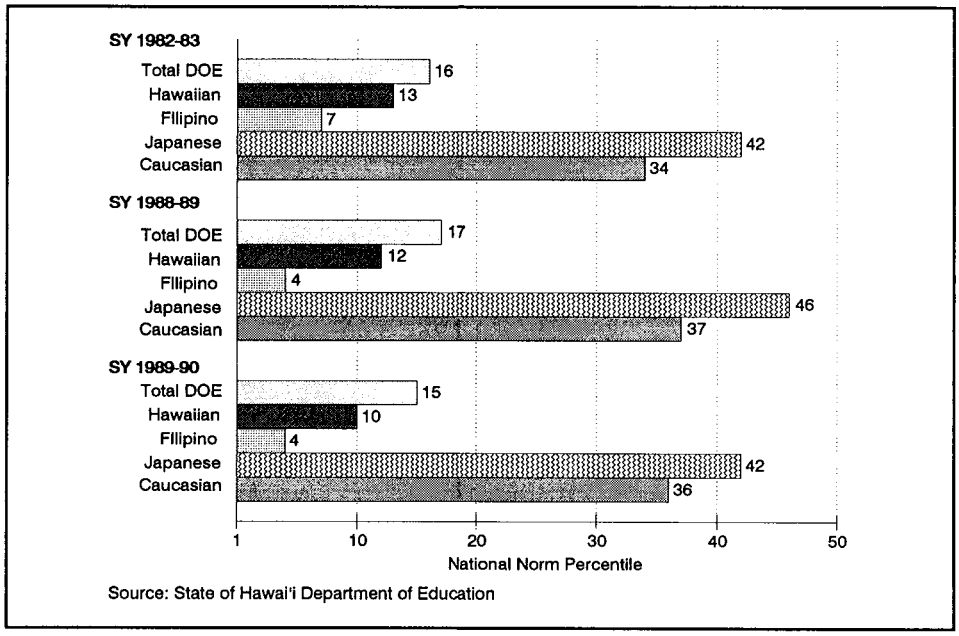


Figure 8. Percentile rank on national norms of average PPVT-R scores at kindergarten entry by major ethnic groups in Hawai'i: 1982, 1988, and 1989.

Teachers rate kindergarten students "not ready"

Additional information about the level of preparedness of entering kindergarten students in Hawai'i came from a 1991 national survey of kindergarten teachers conducted under the auspices of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching. Over 7,000 teachers nationwide were surveyed, 157 of them from Hawai'i (36 percent of Hawai'i's 440 kindergarten teachers). According to these teachers the rate at which students were "not ready to participate successfully" in the classroom was about 35 percent nationwide and 47 percent in the State of Hawai'i. The latter was apparently the highest rate of unpreparedness reported out of all 50 states (Infante, 1991a). The major factor identified by survey respondents (59 percent of Hawai'i's 157 respondents) was limited language skills. (Infante, 1991b)

Unraveling the causes of differential preparedness for school and making decisions about practical interventions for students who show early delays relative to their peers is complicated. Hawaiian students, like any group, comprise a range of different clusters of performers. Socioeconomic factors were mentioned in passing above, and in fact PEP research from the early 1980s revealed marked differences within the Hawaiian group based on such factors.

Specifically, 1980 U.S. Census data were used to rate the socioeconomic (SES) level of all elementary schools in the State of Hawai'i. These schools were then clustered into three groups: the top 20 high SES schools, the bottom 20 SES schools, and a third group including all schools between these extremes (N=131 schools). Of the 2,617 Hawaiian students tested at entry to kindergarten in fall, 1983, the majority (73 percent of the total) attended schools in the large middle cluster. Of the remainder, about 6 percent were in high-SES schools, and 21 percent in low-SES schools. As shown in Figure 9, the PPVT-R performance of these students showed a direct relationship to SES level: Hawaiian students in high SES schools had higher rates of top performance (stanines 7-9), nearly average rates of mid-range performance (stanines 4-6), and comparatively lower rates of low-level performance (stanines 1-3); while the opposite was true for the one-of-five Hawaiian students in the low-SES schools. However, as noted above, ***even those Hawaiian students in high-SES schools showed an unexpectedly high (41%) representation in the lowest achievement cluster (stanines 1-3).*** This seems to suggest that school readiness is an area of concern that is not limited only to low-income areas.

While it seems clear that Hawaiian youngsters as a group may need assistance in the area of school readiness, the precise nature of such programming is not obvious. Local and national experts have discussed a number of factors and a range of strategic educational programs. Among the leading issues for consideration have been:

- parental involvement in education;

- quality of child care;
- family support policies and programs;
- perinatal health services; and
- early initiation of family life.

Each of these will be considered in turn.

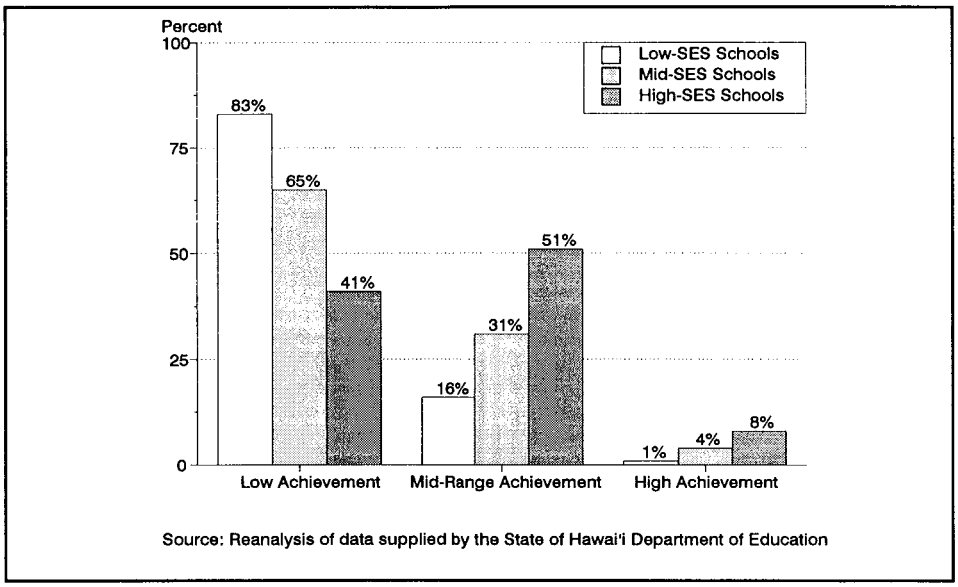


Figure 9. Hawaiian student performance on the PPVT-R at kindergarten entry by SES level of the school they attended: Fall, 1983.

Parental Involvement

In considering potential routes to improved academic and social preparedness for kindergarten, it is not uncommon for educators to focus on a theme of "parents as a child's first teacher" (e.g., National Commission on Excellence in Education, 1983; and a recent national survey of teachers: MetLife, 1993). Kindergarten teachers, in particular, as evidenced by their responses in the 1991 Carnegie Survey, feel this is an important area for future early childhood education program development. Whether pre-parenting instruction in high schools or parent education within a community context, it is not difficult to find a

call for enhanced input from families as a key to children's improved school success (cf. Carrasquillo & London, 1993; Chavkin, 1993).

Still, educators as a group tend to balance a family focus with acknowledgement of the broader context of factors underlying variations in school readiness among young children. For instance, University of Hawai'i early childhood education expert Dr. Stephanie Feeney, reacting to the 1991 Carnegie Survey, noted that families are "doing everything they can given today's pressing economic and social demands." Her feeling was that "Employers and government ought to help by offering support like quality child care and family leave" (Infante, 1991b).

Greater parental involvement is desired by educators as well as Hawaiians

More specific information about the perceived role of parents in academic matters regarding Hawaiian students comes from a 1990 Needs Assessment Survey conducted for Alu Like, Inc.'s Native Hawaiian Library Project (Kamehameha Schools & Alu Like, Inc., 1991). A sample of 1,389 people statewide was asked to identify the key literacy development needs of the Hawaiian community. The leading suggestion out of a content analysis taxonomy of about 28 different clusters of suggestions was to "involve and train parents." This suggestion was offered by about 13 percent of the entire sample, but about 19 percent of the 381 professionals who responded. Thus, while professionals may have a greater tendency to think of parent education programming, about one-out-of-every ten persons in the community, non-professional sample of this study suggested that literacy levels would improve if Hawaiian parents could be trained to better provide in-home instruction. Many of the suggestions along these lines were offered by Native Hawaiian respondents who advocated for early childhood education as the most important avenue of literacy development for the Hawaiian community.

The focus of any program of in-home instruction for youth by family members could follow a range of strategies. For instance, one tendency is to emphasize a decrease in maladaptive learning in conjunction with

an increase in useful skill development. The local English dialect (Hawaiian Creole) referred to as "pidgin," for example, has long been viewed as an underlying problem related to limited language proficiency (e.g., Pichaske, 1993; Reyes, 1987). However, as some educators have pointed out, it is not necessarily the elimination of pidgin that will be helpful, but the development of other, standard English skills and knowledge. As Robert Heath of Kamehameha Schools noted,

> I don't think there's any reason someone who is fluent in pidgin can't also be fluent in standard English. It's such a tragedy when people say pidgin should be eliminated. You don't need to extinguish pidgin to have people get good scores on the College Board. (Lynch, 1987)

While the extent of in-home instruction by family members remains an open issue, there is little doubt that this general strategy gets at least significant support both from professionals as well as from a within-culture perspective. Even in areas such as Hawaiian language instruction, revival of fading cultural knowledge and skills was supported through a combination of both formal programmatic intervention for children (e.g., Pūnana Leo or "language nest" immersion preschool programs) as well as in-home supportive follow through instruction for parents and others associated with participating children (cf., Ramirez, 1993).

Examination of the role of home factors sometimes touches on the availability of toys and other materials having potential usefulness in promoting developmental progress for young children. Anthropological research conducted by Kamehameha Schools' Pre-Kindergarten Education Program (PREP) revealed that, even in homes with limited income, literacy materials were generally present; however, instrumental use in literacy-related activities was limited. This seemed to suggest that intervention with educationally at-risk Hawaiian families did not need to focus on provision of toys and materials as much as on demonstration and introduction of literacy-supportive activities (Levin, Brenner, & McClellan, 1988).

Quality of Child Care

Many experts concerned about the plight of young children today express concern about the comparatively limited commitment our country makes to supporting families (Children's Defense Fund, 1992; Zigler, 1990). Given recent trends in maternal employment outside the home—with up to two-thirds of mothers of young children employed—the resources we direct toward care of children remain incongruently limited. For instance, up to 60 percent of children cared for by persons outside the home are under the supervision of unlicensed, unregulated workers whose training, if anything beyond personal experience, is limited at best.

A cornerstone of out-of-home care for children is preschool. In Hawai'i about one-half of entering kindergarten students have formal preschool experience (Berman, Weiler Associates, 1988; Verploegen, 1988). Among children from poverty backgrounds—estimated to be about 40 percent of each incoming kindergarten class—about 63 percent have been estimated to have experienced preschool training. Specifically, for fall 1993 the kindergarten cohort was estimated at about 14,500 with about 5,800 estimated to be from poverty backgrounds (Center for Youth Research, 1992). For these potentially "at-risk" students about 2,000 are expected to participate in Head Start and other special programs, 500 are projected to be served by Kamehameha Schools, and about 1,150 will attend preschool through the State of Hawai'i's Open Doors Project, a program of providing "gap group" families (those who are over the income cut-offs for poverty programs and yet cannot afford preschool) with funds needed to attend private preschools.

Hawaiian representation within these groups is estimated to be about 25 percent of the overall kindergarten cohort, 45% percent of the Head Start and other special services groups, 95 percent of Kamehameha preschools, and 45 percent of Open Doors clients (N=470 in 1992-93). Additionally, at least 145 students should be enrolled in Hawaiian Language Immersion preschool programs.

Beyond preschool, contemporary visions of the ideal child care system include numerous variations on the general early childhood education theme. For instance, home visitor programs (pioneered to a large extent in Hawai'i by Kamehameha Schools in service to the Hawaiian community), parent-child workshops and "traveling preschools," and family literacy programs have all appeared in Hawai'i during the past 10 years to supplement traditional preschool programs.

Figure 10 illustrates the growth since the late 1970s in the number of Hawaiians served in various child care/early childhood education programs as provided by Kamehameha Schools. While formative evaluation reports (e.g., PEP, etc.) have helped shape these programs, summative outcome data are not generally available.

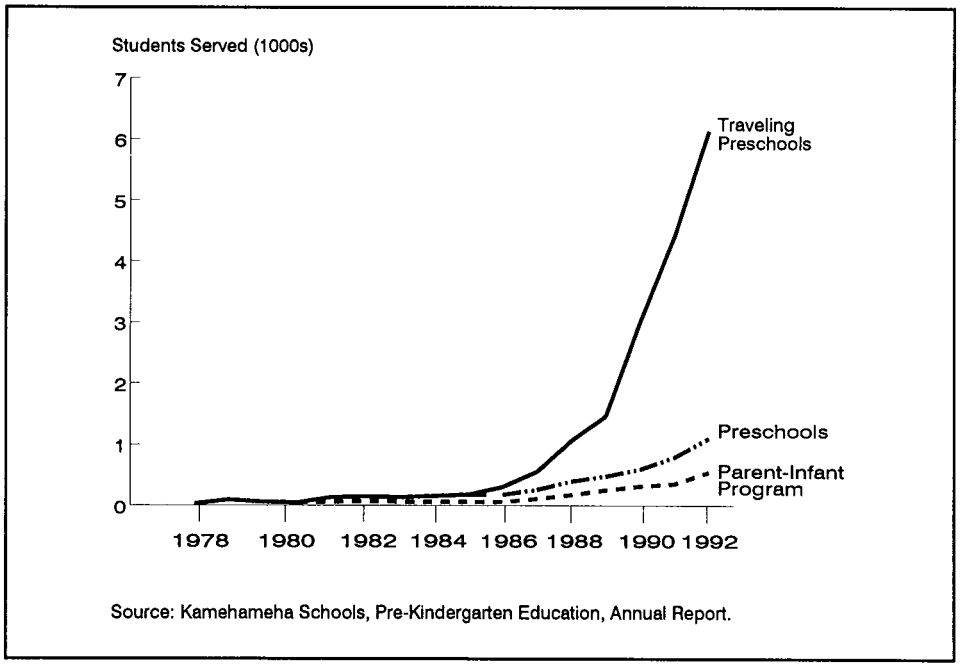


Figure 10. Prekindergarten educational services offered by Kamehameha Schools: 1978-1993.

Preschool can increase school readiness

In general, evaluation of the impact of Kamehameha's preschool efforts shows convincing evidence that language skills as measured by the

PPVT-R can indeed be improved over the short term. For example, Roberts and Heath (1987), in a study that used random selection into Kamehameha preschool along with tracking of non-selected, wait-listed students as controls, reported significant superiority of KSBE students over wait-listed controls after a year of preschool. This difference held up in spite of the fact that some control students attended other, non-Kamehameha preschools.

Later extension of this work was reported by Heath and Plett (1988). Their data showed that graduates of Kamehameha's preschools not only scored significantly higher on the PPVT-R than similar controls, their level of achievement notably exceeded the performance of all Hawaiian students in the state at kindergarten entry. Moreover, the scores of the Kamehameha graduates were strong enough to be significantly higher than those attained by the total population of students entering kindergarten in the State of Hawai'i.

Unfortunately, the most recent evaluation report from Kamehameha's Preschool Education Program (PREP) suggests that initial improvements documented for Kamehameha students fade by grade three (Tibbetts, 1993). The latter is a point at which the public schools routinely administer standardized achievement tests.

Data presented in Figure 11, using state norms as a frame of reference, reveal that graduates from Kamehameha preschool programs carried, at kindergarten entry, a substantial advantage in the verbal area relative to both the total population in the state as well as the total population of Hawaiian students. However, the Stanford Achievement Test (SAT) results in both *Total Math* and *Total Reading* for grade three show a clear reversal: no difference, either in math or in reading, between Kamehameha graduates and the total population of Hawaiian students in the state's public schools; and both groups scoring significantly lower than the state average based on all students taking the test.

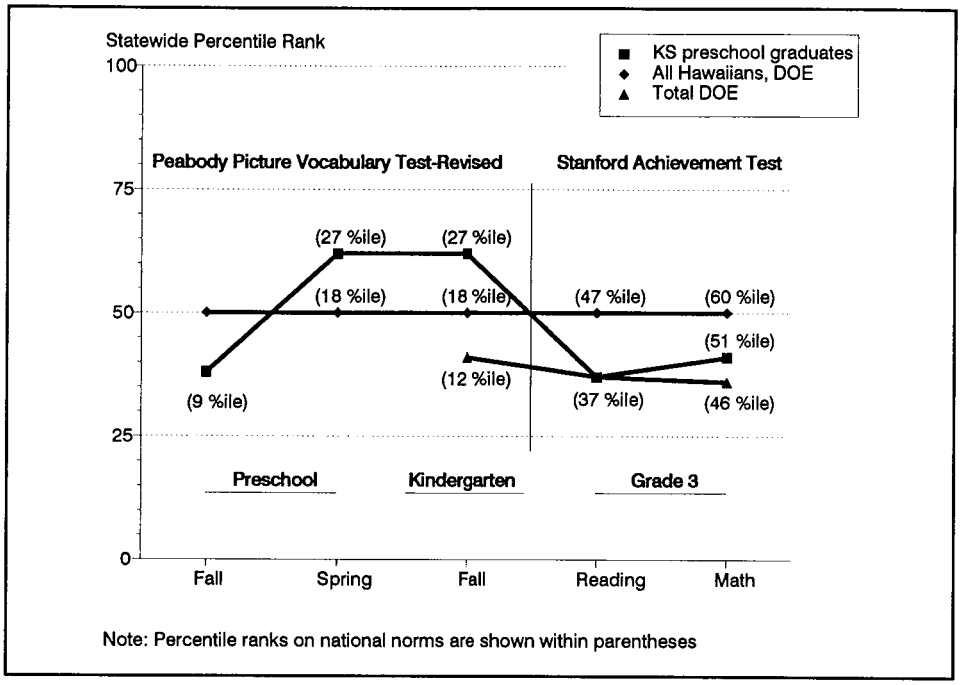


Figure 11. Achievement test performance of Kamehameha preschool graduates relative to Hawaiian students statewide and all students in the DOE at selected assessment points: 1985-1990.

Naturally the hope of educators faced with such results is that initial "fade out" of early education/preschool benefits will follow the well-publicized course charted by the Perry Preschool Project (Berrueta-Clement, Schweinhart, Barnett, Epstein, & Weikart, 1984; Schweinhart & Weikart, 1980). That is, over the long term significant practical differences—such as fewer students placed in special education and lower involvement in crime and antisocial behavior—between preschool and non-preschool groups will begin to emerge. The Perry Preschool Project, for example, has now followed former participants through the age of 27, documenting positive impact in areas such as number of arrests, current earnings, use of social services, and out of wedlock births (Cohen, 1993; High/Scope Educational Research Foundation, 1993).

Finally, the issue of children caring for other children was brought to national attention by the Chicago couple who left their young daughters unattended for 9 days while they vacationed in Mexico (Bowles, 1993; Foster, 1993; Quindlen, 1993). Locally, in 1990 the innovative A+ after school care program emerged in response to concerns about "latchkey" children being unsupervised during after school hours. The program has received both local and national accolades (e.g., Adamski, 1992; Altonn, 1991), and it undoubtedly has significantly improved the lot of Hawai'i's children, including Hawaiians. Enrollment has grown rapidly since the program's introduction: from about 10,000 children at the outset to nearly 25,000 (Altonn, 1991).

Within the Hawaiian community anthropological studies of familial social organization clearly document a sibling-oriented social system among school-age children (Gallimore, Boggs, & Jordan, 1974; Weisner & Gallimore, 1977). In general, researcher assessment of the utility and value of this system of child care has been very positive in noting the independence, self-sufficiency, and strong social skills often displayed by Hawaiian youth at very young ages. However, within a broader context of national concern about the qualifications of child care providers and the impact on children and on society of declining parental involvement in raising children under age five, what are the implications of intensive sibling involvement in raising young children?

Expert perspectives on sibling care include at least some strong concern about its potentially negative impact developmentally (e.g., Sutton-Smith, 1977), but academic effects within the Hawaiian context have not been studied. However, clinical reports from educators and a background review of students referred for alternative education programs at Kamehameha Schools (Melahn, 1985) suggest that Hawaiian youth who grow up as independent, "floating" members of multi-household, extended family systems—with little involvement by birth parents—may be at particular risk for social and academic difficulties during adolescence.

One theme in the need assessment survey for the Native Hawaiian Library Project was "get parents involved in reading to and with their children." While this suggestion might be viewed as interfering with existing cultural patterns, the survey data clearly reveal the existence of a range of perspectives within the Hawaiian community, one of which is to encourage greater direct involvement by parents. Indeed, programs such as Kamehameha's "Traveling Preschool"—which sets up, demonstrates, and encourages activities for parents to do with their toddler-age children—seem to point in this direction. Such efforts are part of a national trend toward formal programming designed to modify parenting behaviors of participants and to introduce and encourage use of developmentally appropriate activities.

Family Support Programs and Policies

Economic, social, and technological changes during the past twenty years have created challenges for families (Coontz, 1992). In general, communities have become less interdependent as the majority of adults find themselves employed outside the home and required to commit significant portions of time to working as well as to commuting to and from work. Families, both nuclear and extended, are increasingly pulled apart as family members postpone marriage, by-pass marriage, live alone, end marriage by divorce, work outside the home when children are young, and head single-parent households. Additionally, shifting employment conditions have seen the decline of manufacturing jobs and the ascendence of comparatively lower-paying service jobs. For families the job market shift, combined with a real decline in wages since the early 1970s, has had a strong impact on family life. The service response to families has included a range of different programs. Generically, these include home visiting programs, parent-child programs, family resource centers, and center-based early childhood education.

In Hawai'i, support services created to benefit Hawaiian families were among the first of their kind nationally. For example, Kupulani, initiated

Programs that support families in the years *before* preschool show promise

and funded by Kamehameha Schools, was created using input from several nationally-recognized experts (see Rauch & Hammond, 1977). Designed initially to provide continuous early childhood education services from before birth through kindergarten entry, the program evolved over time into the first of a three-phase series of early education programs. These include: a parent-infant, or home visiting program extending from prenatal through age two; "Traveling Preschools," or parent-child workshops set-up outdoors in public parks for children age two- and three-years; and center-based preschools for four-year-olds (Springer, 1990).

Early reports on the evolution of the Kupulani program revealed the difficulties involved in introducing the Hawaiian community to a new service concept and adequately staffing and managing the effort (Brough, 1980; Melahn, 1980). The purpose, value, and usefulness of the program was not always immediately apparent to potential participants (e.g., Melahn, 1981). Additionally, as the program matured it became apparent that Hawaiian families with multiple-needs tend to move frequently and face a remarkable number of recurring life stress events. They are especially sensitive to the relationship established with their early childhood educator. Hawaiian families were also found to embrace a wide range of cultural traditions, patterns, and preferences. (cf. 1979-1982 PEP evaluation reports regarding Kupulani).

Subsequently, the project appears to have focused on describing the solidified curriculum. An example is culturally-relevant efforts to promote parent awareness of child development through quiltmaking and a series of captioned T-shirts for infants (e.g., Peet & Hosaka, 1990; Roberts, 1988).

Evaluative reporting of both formative and summative nature has remained essentially internal. The most recent such report suggests that the population currently being served in Kamehameha's Parent-Infant Educational Services (P-IES) programs is indeed inclusive of families with significant risk profiles (Tibbetts, 1993b). For example, during 1992-1993 about 58 percent of roughly 350 participating women

were under age 20, 42 percent were welfare recipients, 38 percent were less than high school graduates, and 68 percent were not married to the target child's father.

Meanwhile, data for exit interviews with "graduating" participants continue to show strong participant satisfaction with the program, but also point up issues commonly faced by such programs. Among these are services-planned vs services-delivered discrepancies as well as participants' effective educational time-on-task. Two sample findings in these areas include the fact that about one-out-of-ten 1991-1992 respondents did not receive project T-shirts (which represent a major curriculum component); plus, about one-half of the respondents noted the major weakness of the program to be home visitors cancelling appointments (Belknap, 1993).

As Kamehameha continues to be among the leaders in Hawai'i in providing family-oriented early education services, related programs have emerged. For example, programming aimed at the issue of child abuse and neglect included seminal work by the Hawai'i Family Stress Center and the Hana Like Home Visitor program. Prevention efforts such as these paved the way for the introduction of Hawaii's Healthy Start program in 1985 (Breaky & Pratt, 1991). The latter is built around a screening program conducted at the time of birth (Ong, 1992a, 1992b). It is reported that about one-half of at-risk families are screened each year. For instance, in 1991 a total of 8,116 families were screened with respect to indicators predictive of child abuse and/or neglect. Those who were judged to be at-risk were offered home visiting services. During 1991 a total of 2,203 received such services.

Another recent effort created to support families is the Family Center Demonstration Project (Family Center Demonstration Project, 1993). Created in 1990, and designed to address the problem of fragmentation in human services, the project provides funds for four community-based centers administered by private social service agencies. Each center has developed its own constellation of services built directly on

community input through a community liaison committee or CLC. The program plan reflects recent interest in one-stop social services for the whole family. Typically, emphasize client empowerment, building on family strengths, and preventative timing services (Bruner & Carter, 1991).

Specific components of the Family Center Demonstration Project have ranged from the Friendly Store (which offers food at a discount) for Kūhiō Park Terrace residents, to a systematic information and referral program developed by the KEY Project, to storefront family services (e.g., parenting classes, meeting space, information and referral, Family Fun Days, etc.) of the West Hawai'i Family Center and the Moloka'i Family Center.

Although Hawaiian participation data from family support programs are not readily available from all programs, Hawai'i's largest home visitor program, Healthy Start, has provided significant service to the Hawaiian community. Specifically, the Department of Health (1992) review of Healthy Start reported a total of 6,637 screened births for fiscal year 1990. Of these about one-third (N=1,312) involved Hawaiian mothers. From this subgroup about 29 percent were selected as "High-risk." These Hawaiian mothers (N=616), whose background and life circumstances were indicative of potentially high stress living conditions, represented about 47 percent of the total group of high-risk mothers who were offered Healthy Start home-visiting services. With about 85 percent of all Healthy Start risk families electing to participate in home visiting, Healthy Start is the largest single provider of early childhood home visiting services to Hawaiians in the State of Hawai'i.

While programs such as Healthy Start tend to provide the most intensive level of services to the most-in-need families, other family support options have been more inclusive of families with a range of need levels. For example, parent-child workshop programs include Kamehameha's traveling preschools, other programs implementing the traveling preschool program format, and at least one state-funded

program known as "Families for R.E.A.L." (Resources and Early Access to Early Education). The latter involves a partnership of the Child and Adolescent Mental Health Division and the Department of Education's Parent-Community Networking Centers program of the Adult and Early Childhood Section. In brief, families with children aged infant through preschool participate in weekly classes for a six-week period that provide a mix of both direct parent education, direct teacher-child early childhood education as well as a period when both parent and child participate jointly in an educational activity.

With services provided at three sites during 1991-1992, Hawaiian participation in Families for R.E.A.L. was about 15 percent overall, with the range for participation extending from 13 percent on Maui, to 21 percent in Kaneohe, to 12 percent in Pearl City. What was particularly interesting about the program was the inclusion of individuals with a range of risk backgrounds in the same educational activities. To the program's credit it attracted and maintained services to a full range of socioeconomic levels: still, the timing of its services (classes primarily offered during work-day mornings) did result in a differential inclusion of families in which the mother did not work outside the home. The result of this was a group that seemed to draw most consistently from comparatively high and comparatively low socioeconomic (SES) levels (Department of Education, Families for R.E.A.L., 1991, 1992).

Among the newer models of family support programs are those that coordinate services to adults, children, and families through an individualized assessment/intervention model. Family literacy programs are one example.

Family literacy in Hawai'i can trace its roots to a fall 1989 literacy conference sponsored by the Governor's Council for Literacy. Shortly thereafter planning for introduction of Kenan Family Literacy Model programs intensified, culminating in the passage of the Hawai'i Family Support Act of 1990. This legislation provided funding for three family literacy demonstration sites: Mākaha Elementary and Wailua Elementary on O'ahu and Lihikai Elementary on Maui. By design these programs

serve 15 parent-preschool child pairs during the course of a full school year, or a total of about 45 dyads. Estimates by program staff suggest that Hawaiian participation in these programs, while varying across sites, was about 40 percent overall, or about 18 parent-child pairs annually. Across three years Hawaiian participation likely fell in the 40-50 parent-child pair range.

Subsequent development of family literacy programs has spread to other family service agencies (e.g., KEY Project in Kahalu'u) and educational institutions (e.g., the State of Hawai'i DOE) and has included Federal funds to support two Even Start family literacy programs located in Kalihi-Pālama. While the latter tend to primarily serve immigrant families, Hawaiians continue to be among the publicly-featured success cases of family literacy efforts (e.g., San Nicolas, 1993; Tully, 1993).

To date the numbers served in fully-implemented family literacy programs have not been substantial, but all indicators suggest great potential for this service model. Hawaiians on their part remain leading candidates for such programming by virture of their strong representation among low-income and poverty families. For example, recent Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) data showed Hawaiian participation by island ranging from 24 percent of the total AFDC recipients on Maui to 53 percent on Moloka'i. Hawaiian participation in the state as a whole was about 31 percent. This figure contrasts with the 12.5 percent representation of Hawaiians in the state population according to Census tabulations and the 19.1 percent reported out of the Hawai'i Health Surveillance Survey.

Perinatal Health Services

The close link during the preschool years between health, social conditions, and child development tends to create a close interaction of early childhood educators with other helping professionals. This

appears to be much more the case than for educators during the elementary, secondary, and adult years.

In fact, a general "coordinated services" model—offering an individualized mix of social, developmental, medical, and educational services through a single, school-based center—is now being intensively explored at the elementary level (e.g., Holtzman, 1992). Such efforts have clear precedents in both Federal programs such as Head Start (cf., Zigler & Styfco, 1993) as well as in the range of interventions developed for families of infants (e.g., Kamehameha Schools, 1978, Kupulani Project).

The following section provides a close examination of health and wellness data as they apply to Hawaiian children during the first five years of life. In general, these data reveal a clear pattern of progress over time that seems to have leveled off during recent years—a pattern consistent with national trends.

In addition, contrasts with local and national data tend to show Hawaiians as distinctively "in-need" within the State of Hawai'i's multi-cultural, minority-group-dominated population but not compellingly in trouble—at least as a group—when considered within the broader national context. The latter includes extremes of urban and rural poverty and related social/educational conditions that simply do not exist on a broad basis in Hawai'i. However, it should also be emphasized that the social group currently referred to as "Hawaiian" encompasses a diversity of backgrounds, skills, traditions, and levels of need. As has been pointed out above, each passing year sees further evolution in which Hawaiian traditions and culture mix socially, by marriage, and genetically with Asian, European, Black, Hispanic, and American Indian traditions and peoples.

Infant Mortality

Infant mortality rates—deaths during the first year of life—are often used as a general social indicator that indexes not only health status of a group but overall social, economic, and even educational conditions as

well. For example, considering state level data, the District of Columbia had an infant mortality rate in 1990 (20.7 deaths per every 1,000 live births) that was nearly twice the national rate. It is also an area of substantial poverty, crime, and educational underachievement.

Hawai'i's infant mortality rate is low

In Hawai'i, infant mortality data provide one overall indicator of the successes of a widely-acknowledged health care system ("Isles third best", 1993). In 1990 the infant mortality rate in the State of Hawai'i was 6.5 deaths per 1,000 live births, the third best in the nation behind Maine and Vermont (The Anne E. Casey Foundation, 1993).

Within this framework of outstanding health status, Hawaiians are the "most-in-need" ethnicity. This status has been documented in technical public health research (e.g., Park & Horiuchi, 1993), and it can be seen upon examination of State of Hawai'i statistical information.

Figure 12 shows infant mortality trends in the State of Hawai'i for the period 1956-1990. These trend curves—smoothed using five-year moving averages—show significant progress over time that is reflective of corresponding national trends. They also show the leveling off during the 1980s of progress in improving infant mortality rates—one of the key reasons the Committee on Perinatal Health was reconvened to develop a national plan for addressing this issue (cf. March of Dimes, 1993b).

For Hawaiians data for recent years indicate an actual decline in overall status. For example, in 1989 infant mortality rates for Hawaiian infants jumped about 38 percent to a level nearly 50 percent higher than the state rate. Data for recent years are shown in Figure 13. Because infant death rates over the short term can be sharply influenced by even a small number of cases, annual figures show sharp fluctuations. Nevertheless, an overall pattern for Hawaiians is discernible: progress has not been as consistent as with the State of Hawai'i as a whole, and Hawaiian rates for infant mortality typically fall well above state rates, although for individual years there may be deviations from this pattern.

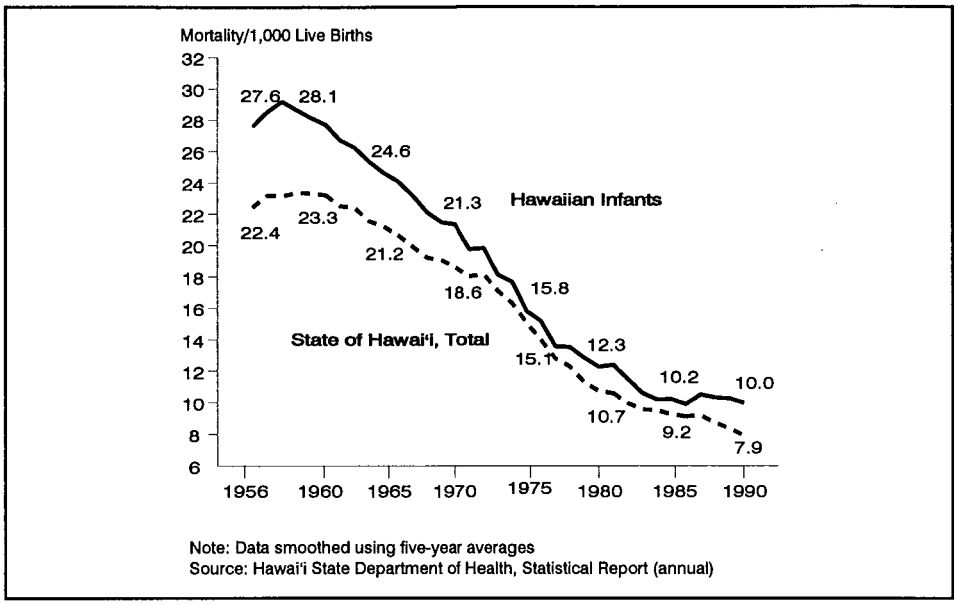


Figure 12. Infant mortality rates as five-year moving averages: State of Hawai'i and Hawaiians, 1956-1990.

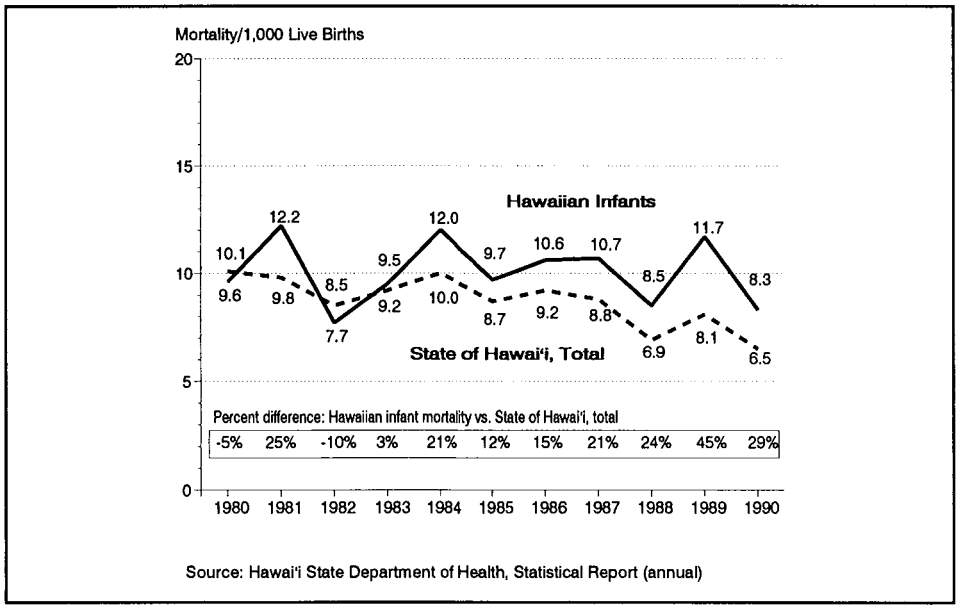


Figure 13. State of Hawai'i and Hawaiian infant mortality rates: 1980-1990.

Hawaiian infant mortality rates are higher than those of other groups

Since 1980 the infant mortality rate in Hawai'i has declined about 36 percent (from 10.1 deaths per 1,000 live births to 6.5). As of 1990 this placed it about 30 percent under the national rate (9.2 for 1990). The infant mortality rate for Hawaiian infants in 1990, although about 29 percent higher than the State of Hawai'i rate, was about 10 percent under the National rate. It has declined about 14 percent since 1980. Further perspective on Hawaiian infant mortality rates is gained when considered within the context of all major ethnic groups in the State of Hawai'i. Data presented in Figure 14 show infant mortality rates for 1989 and 1990. These data show Hawaiians as higher than other groups in the state in 1989; although the situation was improved for 1990. As the data reveal, annual infant mortality rates, influenced as they are by small numbers of deaths, do fluctuate markedly from one year to the next.

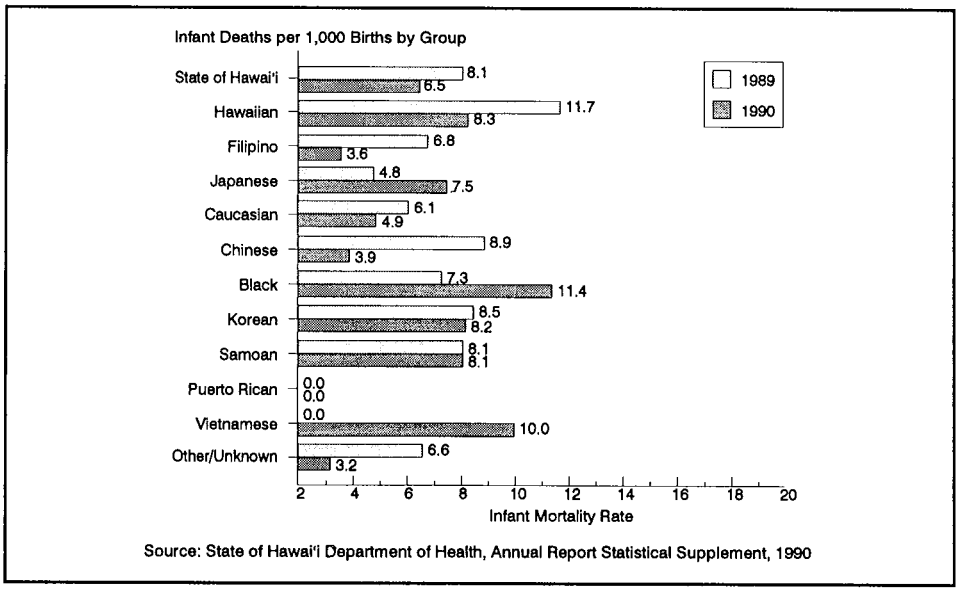


Figure 14. Infant mortality rates for major ethnic groups in the State of Hawai'i: 1989-1990.

Finally, because Hawaiian families are typically multicultural/multiethnic in nature, it is possible to differentiate between Hawaiian births in which

the birth mother was of Hawaiian background as opposed to those in which the mother was non-Hawaiian.

Data provided in Figure 15 show that infant mortality rates for Hawaiian mothers of Hawaiian infants were higher than for non-Hawaiian mothers of Hawaiian infants during seven of the eleven years shown. For example, during 1990 the infant mortality rate for Hawaiian mothers of Hawaiian infants was about 31 percent higher than the rate reported for non-Hawaiian mothers of Hawaiian infants.

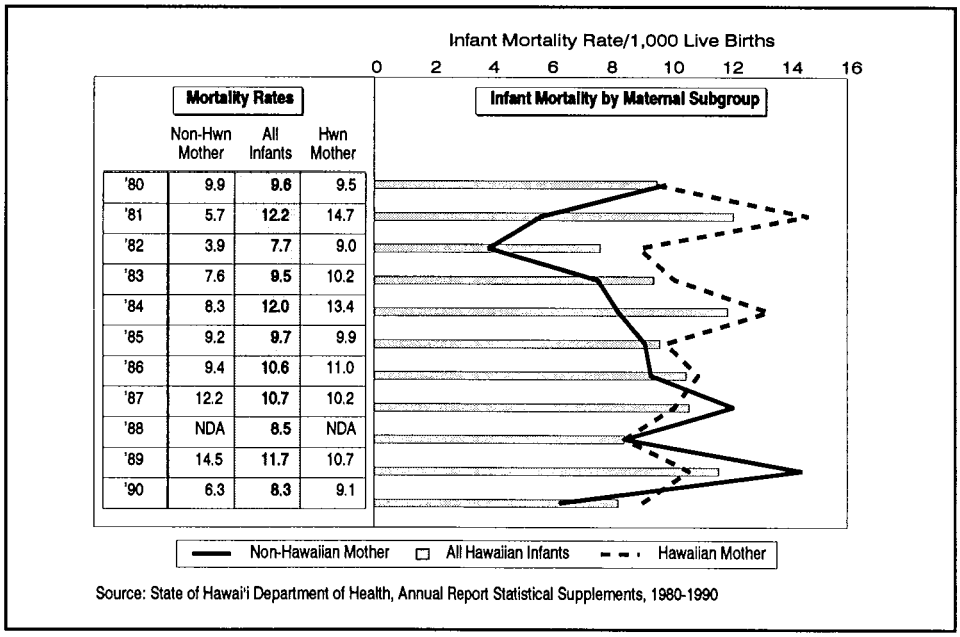


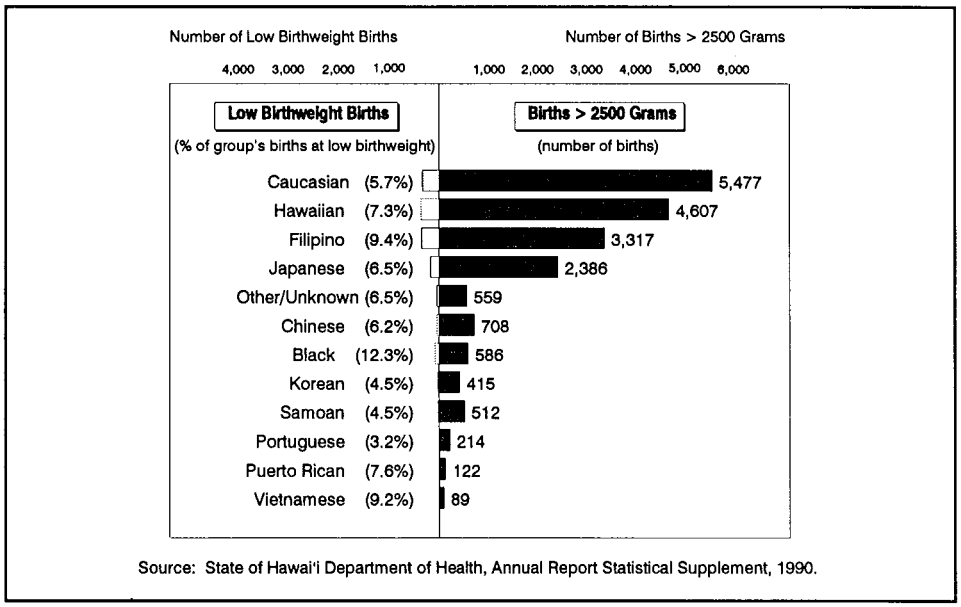
Figure 15. Infant mortality for Hawaiian infants by maternal Hawaiian/non-Hawaiian ethnicity: 1980-1990.

Low Birthweight Births

The percent of births annually at weights under 2,500 grams provides a commonly-cited indicator of risk status at the time of birth. In Hawai'i the percent of births at low birthweight typically reflect national averages. For example, in 1990 about 7.1 percent of births in the State of Hawai'i were low birthweight. This rate compares with a national rate for the same year of about 7.0 percent. Hawai'i's rate placed it 26th out of 50

states, falling between the 4.8 percent rate of Alaska and the 15.1 percent rate for the District of Columbia (The Anne E. Casey Foundation, 1993).

The low birthweight rate for Hawaiian women who gave birth during 1990 was about 7.3 percent, only slightly above both the State of Hawai'i and national rates. Figure 16 shows the rates within major ethnic groups in the state for 1990. As a group, the rate for Hawaiian women fell toward the middle of the range locally. Groups with comparatively higher percent of births at low birthweight rates included Black, Filipino, Vietnamese, and Puerto Rican women.



Source: State of Hawai'i Department of Health, Annual Report Statistical Supplement, 1990.

Figure 16. Percent of births born at low birthweight for major ethnic groups in the State of Hawai'i: 1990.

As encouraging as recent indicator data appear, the most recent years for which data were available (1989 and 1990) represent the worst rates for the State of Hawai'i and for Hawaiians since the early 1970s. This trend is illustrated with data provided in Figure 17. For the State of Hawai'i the percent of births that were low birthweight increased about

13 percent between 1980 and 1990 (from 6.3 percent to about 7.1 percent of births born low birthweight). For Hawaiian women the rate increased about six percent during the same time period (from 6.9 percent to about 7.3 percent of births born at low birthweight.

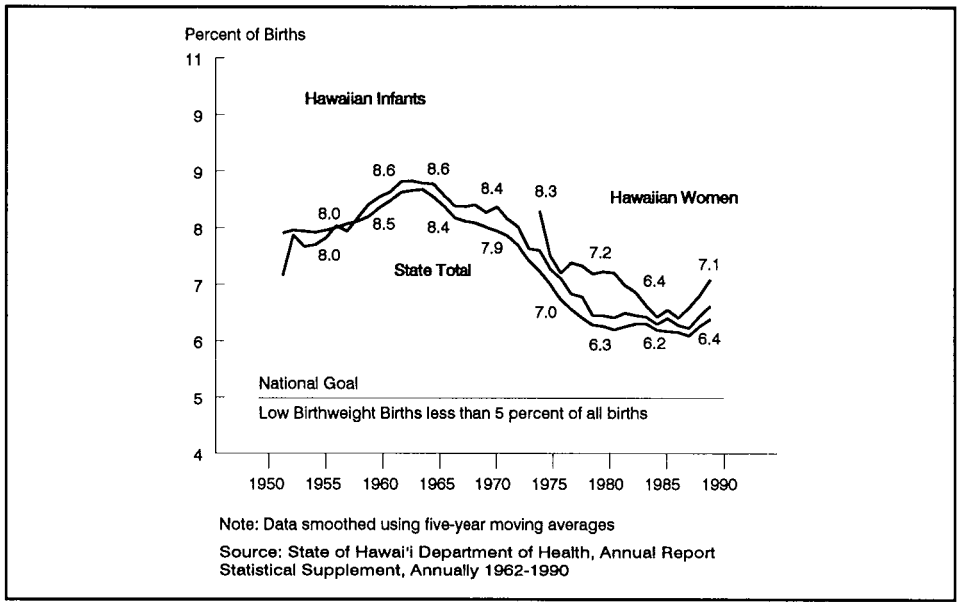


Figure 17. Percent of births born at low birthweight as five-year moving averages: State of Hawai'i and two subgroups of Hawaiians, 1950-1990.

Hawaiian mothers have more low-birthweight infants

These data also reveal differences between indicators computed using information for Hawaiian infants (about one-third of whom have Hawaiian fathers, but are born to non-Hawaiian women) and results based on Hawaiian births to Hawaiian women. In general, the rate of low birthweight births tends to be higher for the group defined by Hawaiian ethnicity of the mother. For example, in 1988, the most recent year in which the State of Hawai'i Department of Health reported results by both the ethnicity of the child and the ethnicity of the mother, the rate of low birthweight births for all Hawaiian infants was 6.3 percent. This contrasted with a rate that was about 17 percent higher (7.4 percent of births) for the subgroup of Hawaiian births whose mothers were Hawaiian.

Prenatal Care

Prenatal care initiated within the first three months of pregnancy is associated with reduced infant mortality and lower rates of low birthweight births (Wilson & Neidich, 1991). Linked as it is to these key health indicators, prenatal care has often been included as an initiation point for early childhood education. Hamburg (1992), for example, has advocated use of the prenatal period as a time, not only of health assessment and education, but a period during which expectant women might display heightened interest in parenting education, continuing their own education if they have dropped out of high school, adjusting lifestyle behaviors in the area of substance use and abuse, and establishing stability in housing, income, and other social areas.

Nationally and locally prenatal care rates tended to improve annually through about 1980. Since then however, rates of initiation of prenatal care during the first three months of pregnancy have leveled off. Data for the State of Hawai'i and for Hawaiian women for the period 1963-1990 are presented in Figure 18. In 1990 about one-quarter of the births in the state were to women whose prenatal care was initiated after the first trimester of their pregnancies. For Hawaiian women the rate of "late" and no prenatal care (i.e., initiated after the first trimester) was about 30 percent higher than the state rate, with just over one-third of Hawaiian women initiating prenatal care after the first three months of their pregnancies.

Hawaiian mothers seek prenatal care late or not at all

Although the State of Hawai'i rate for late/no prenatal care in 1990 was about the same as the national rate (about one-quarter of births), it was unfortunately about 12 percent higher than the comparable rate for 1980 (26 percent for 1990 versus about 23 percent for 1980). For Hawaiians, the 1980-1990 contrast was similarly discouraging: the rate for 1980 was about 31 percent of births; by 1990 it had climbed about 13 percent to 34 percent of births. Thus, not only has improvement in prenatal care leveled off during the 1980s in Hawai'i, recent years show less desirable results than those reported in 1980.

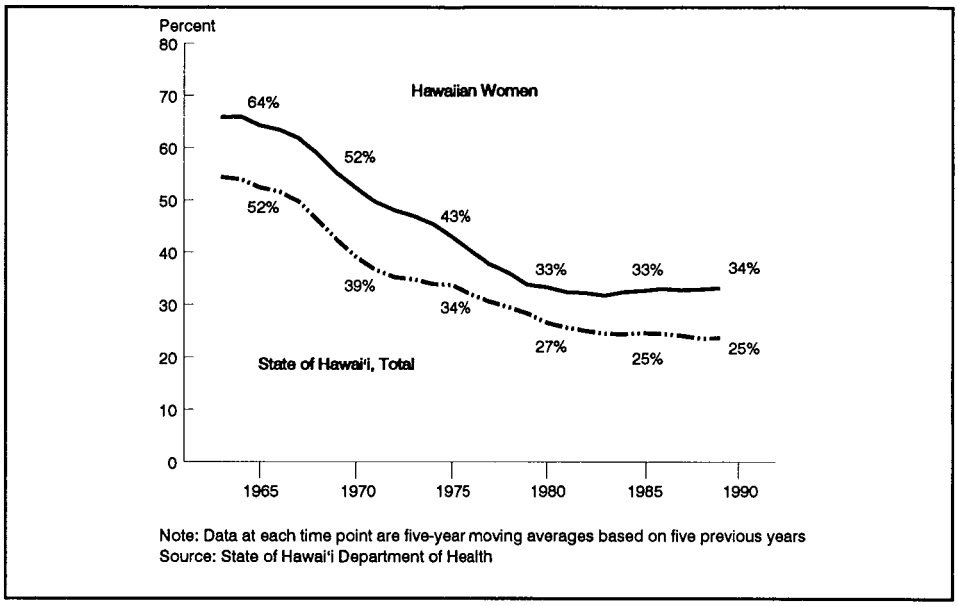


Figure 18. Percent of births in which prenatal care started after the first trimester, expressed as five-year moving averages: 1963-1990.

Data presented in Figure 19 show the 1990 rates for late/no prenatal care for all of Hawai'i's major ethnic groups based on the ethnicity of the mother. Of the four major groups in the State of Hawai'i, Hawaiians clearly had a higher rate of late and no prenatal care. Caucasian and Japanese mothers reported a rate better than the state rate; while Filipino women recorded a rate above the state rate and somewhat lower than Hawaiians. Two groups, Vietnamese and Samoan women, had late/no prenatal care rates higher than Hawaiian women.

Still, nearly one-third of all cases of late/no prenatal care in Hawai'i in 1990 involved Hawaiian women. These women accounted for only about 23 percent of births in 1990. Thus, Hawaiians were overrepresented within the state among those who initiated prenatal care after the first trimester of their pregnancies.

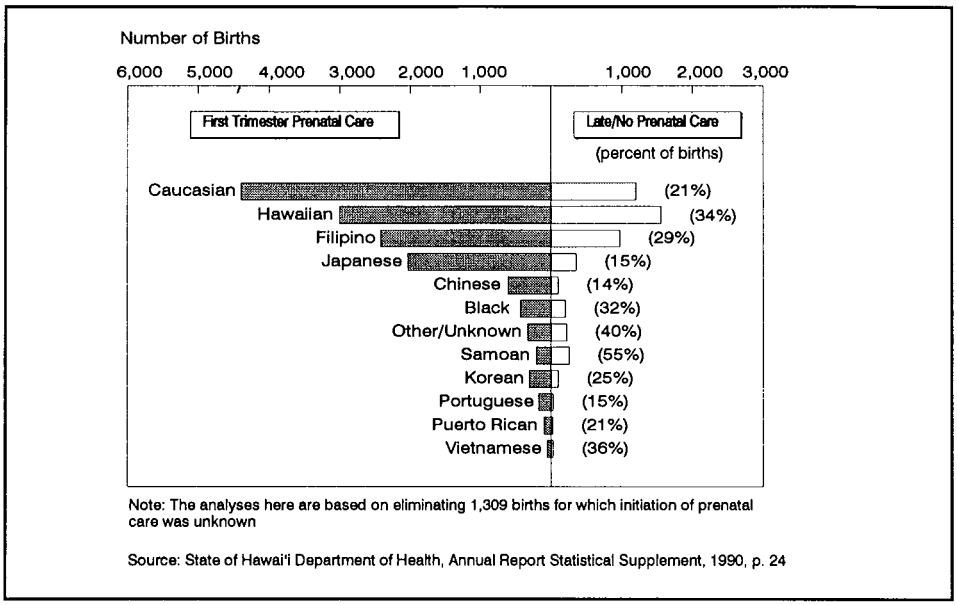


Figure 19. Rate of late and no prenatal care by mother's ethnicity: State of Hawai'i, 1990.

Substance Use

Additional information about the needs of Hawaiian women and their unborn children comes from a series of drug-use prevalence studies conducted at hospitals on three islands (Baby Safe, 1993). Data were collected anonymously using urine tests at the time of delivery. A total of 1,763 women were screened for four substances (marijuana, amphetamines/metamphetamines, cocaine, and opiates) across variable study periods between December 1989 and August 1992.

Overall, the study revealed that about 4.4 percent of the women screened tested positive for one of the four substances. This is substantially lower than similar studies found in Rhode Island and Florida for Hawaiian women, however, the prevalence rate was twice as high as for the group as a whole: 8.8 percent of Hawaiian women on three islands tested positive for drugs at the time of delivery. Rates for Hawaiian women across islands varied from 12 percent of births on Kaua'i, to 9 percent on O'ahu, and down to 4.6 percent on the island of Hawai'i.

Hawaiian mothers are more likely to use drugs during pregnancy

Altogether Hawaiian women accounted for about 49 percent of positive drug screens for the sample as a whole. This contrasts with a much smaller presence within the total study group (23 percent) as well as with the percent of births to Hawaiian women in the State of Hawai'i during 1990 (about 24 percent).

Additional insight into differences by ethnicity in substance use during pregnancy in the State of Hawai'i comes from data collected for 1989 and 1990 as part of the Hawai'i Birth Defects Monitoring Program (HBDMP). Although Hawaiian women were present in this population at about the same percentage as their overall presence in the birth population, their substance use rate during pregnancy was about twice the rate of non-Hawaiians.

Specifically, of about 447 Hawaiian women who gave births to infants with birth defects during 1989 and 1990 about 30 percent reported use of drugs and/or alcohol during pregnancy. This contrasts with a rate for non-Hawaiians of about 15 percent. It is also interesting to contrast the 30 percent prevalence rate with the roughly 9 percent rate reported through the Baby Safe studies. The latter, because it considered only actual evidence present at birth, is known to provide an underestimate of actual use. However, the relationship between substance use during pregnancy and birth defects outcomes is well established (e.g., Chasnoff, 1988), so a higher rate is not surprising.

Updated information on substance use among mothers whose babies had registered birth defects is provided in Figure 20. These data show that Hawaiian and non-Hawaiian use of alcohol during pregnancy was comparable (about 17-18 percent of the study sample). However, Hawaiians contrasted sharply with non-Hawaiians in the use during pregnancy of both recreational drugs and tobacco. This same group was also younger and less well-educated than the non-Hawaiians—a pattern that appears to hold true for all births and not exclusively with

birth defects babies. In fact, the final section of this chapter considers the age variable as it relates to family formation among Hawaiians.

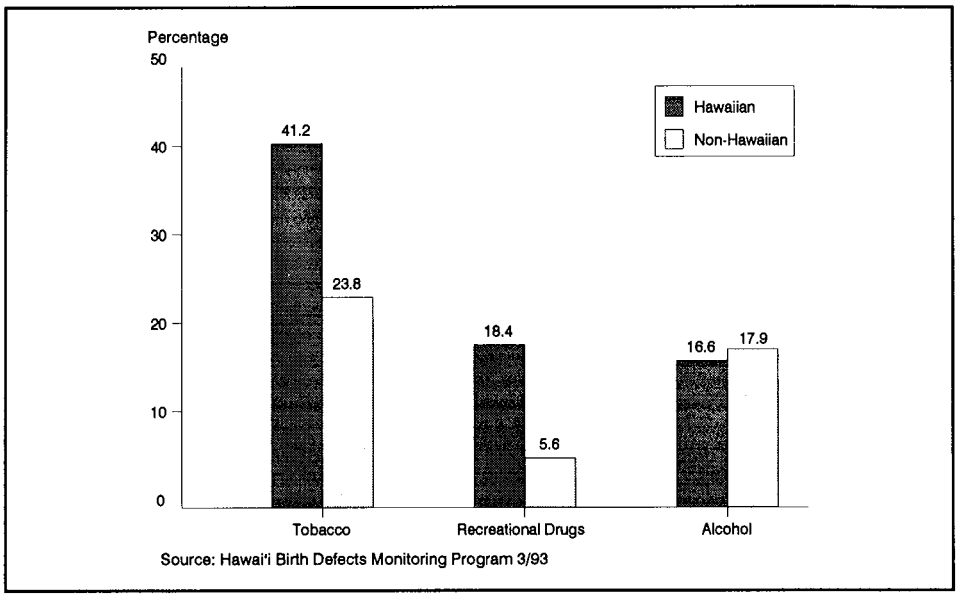


Figure 20. Maternal risk factors reported by women whose babies had a diagnosed birth defect: Hawaiians and non-Hawaiians, 1989-1991.

Early Initiation of Family Life

From both a health and developmental perspective women who give birth during their teen years place their children at risk. This is not to say that all teen mothers experience difficulties; this is not the case. However, the chances of unfortunate outcomes—such as infant death, low birthweight, birth defects, eventual difficulties in school—are statistically related to early initiation of parenthood.

One example is age-specific infant death rates reported by Papa Ola Lokahi (1992). Findings as shown in Figure 21 reveal a clear and dramatic increase in infant death rate as age of mother declines. Of course, data for the very young are based on a limited number of

cases. Still the relationship has been well-established (e.g., McCormick, Shapiro & Starfield, 1984).

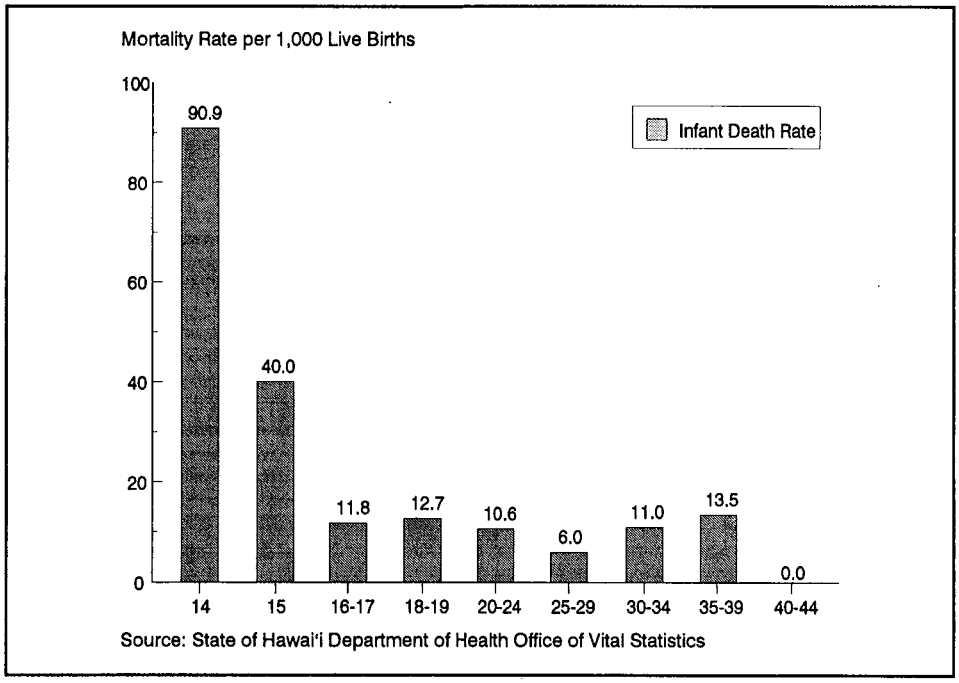


Figure 21. Hawaiian infant deaths by age of mother: State of Hawai'i, 1989.

In the educational area a recent report from the Kids Count program (The Anne E. Casey Foundation, 1993) discussed the relationship between school achievement and selected family risk factors. The three factors selected for discussion included: mother had not finished high school at the time of giving birth; mother and father of the baby were unmarried at the time of birth; and mother was less than 20 years of age when giving birth. Nationwide, the report noted, about 45 percent of new families had at least one of these risk or "disadvantaging" conditions; 24 percent had at least two; and about 11 percent had all three. Moreover, as the data in Figure 22 indicate, the more risk factors a family had experienced, the lower the achievement level in school.

In Hawai'i births to women under age 20 recently returned to levels found during the 1970s. In 1990 about two-thirds of 3,263 pregnancies to teen women under age 20 resulted in a total of 2,147 births to teenagers, the highest total since 1977. A graph of trends over time is provided in Figure 23. Births to teens represented about 10.5 percent of births in the state during 1990.

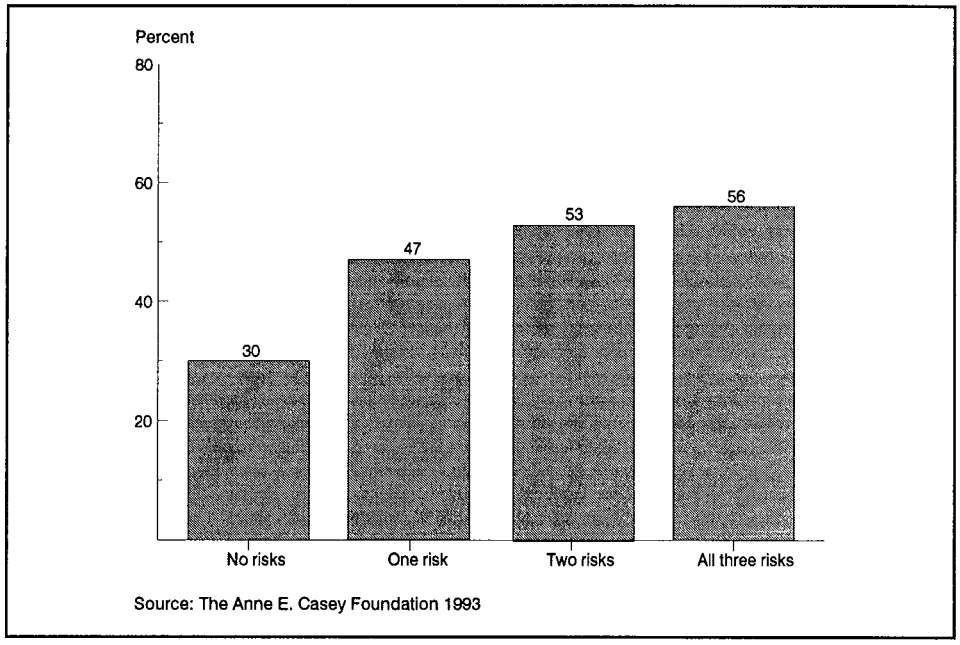


Figure 22. Children ages 7-12 in lower half of their class by number of family risk factors: 1988.

Hawaiian teen birth rates are high

Hawaiian women, who accounted for about 24 percent of all births in the State of Hawai'i in 1990, accounted for about 45 percent of all births to women under age 20. More specifically by age, they accounted for 49 percent of all births to women age 15-17 (N= 326 in 1990) and 46 percent of births to women under age 15 (N= 11 in 1990).

The 962 births to Hawaiian teens in 1990 represented about 19 percent of all births to Hawaiian women. This is the highest total number of births to Hawaiian teens ever recorded. It represents about an 11 percent increase over 1980, and a 19 percent climb above 1989.

Furthermore, given the smaller Hawaiian teen population in 1990 versus 1980, the higher levels of teen births reflect a 24 percent increase in the age-specific fertility rate: from 73.5 teen births/1,000 Hawaiian females aged 15-19 to 91.0/1,000.

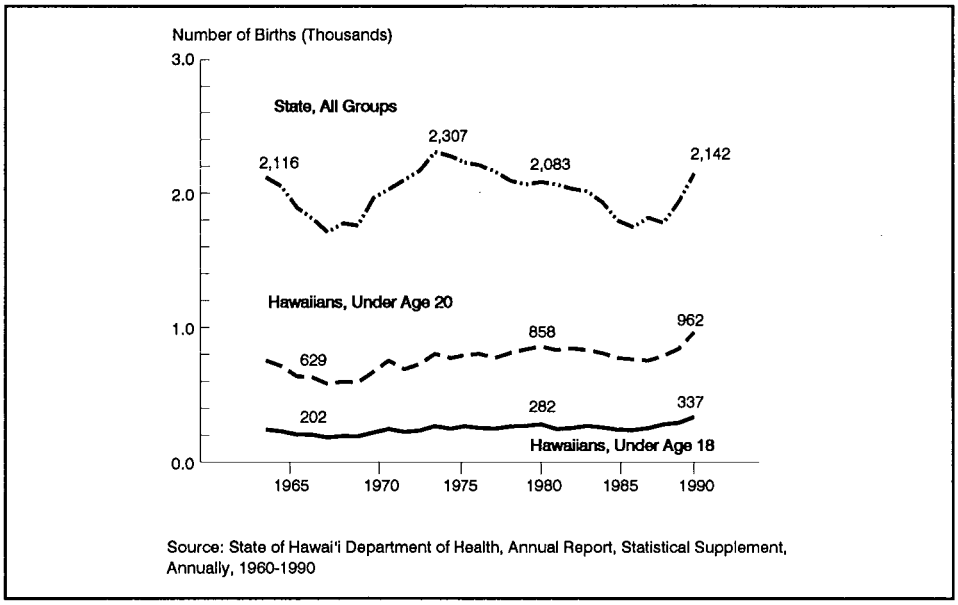


Figure 23. Births to women under age 20, State of Hawai'i and Hawaiians: 1962-1990.

Interestingly, as data provided in Figure 24 reveal, teen pregnancy rates for young Hawaiian women age 15-19 have not shifted much over the 1980-1990 decade. What has changed are elective abortions. Their decrease is directly tied to the increase in the number of births to teens.

The data also show that Hawaiian pregnancy rates for women aged 15-19 are about the same as the overall rate for the nation. Within a broader, international context, of course, this implies a comparatively high rate of teen pregnancy. The data also show, though, that Hawaiian teens are distinctive in terms of the number of pregnancies that are carried through to birth. They are higher in both pregnancy rates and in births than non-Hawaiian teens in the State of Hawai'i, and birth rates

relative to pregnancies are higher than both the national U.S. comparison and the international examples shown.

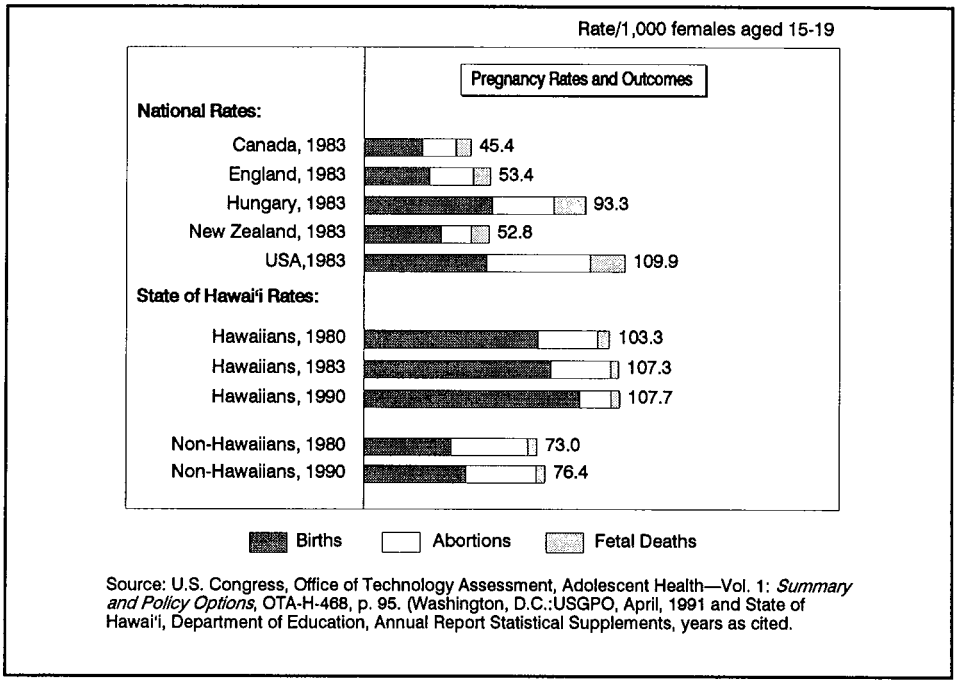


Figure 24. Pregnancy rates by outcome for women age 15-19, Hawaiians, State of Hawai'i, and selected comparisons.

A more specific look at Hawaiian pregnancy and birth patterns for teens under age 20 within the multi-ethnic context of the State of Hawai'i is provided in Figure 25. One can see three groups—Hawaiian, Samoan, and Puerto Rican—with comparatively low percentages of non-birth pregnancies. These contrast with non-birth pregnancies among young oriental women: rates for Japanese, Chinese, and Korean teens were all higher than 50 percent. The data also reveal the extent to which Hawaiian women are strongly overrepresented among those women under age 20 who give birth in the State of Hawai'i.

Similar data for women under age 18 are provided in Figure 26. Again, the non-birth pregnancy rates of Hawaiian, Samoan, and Puerto Rican

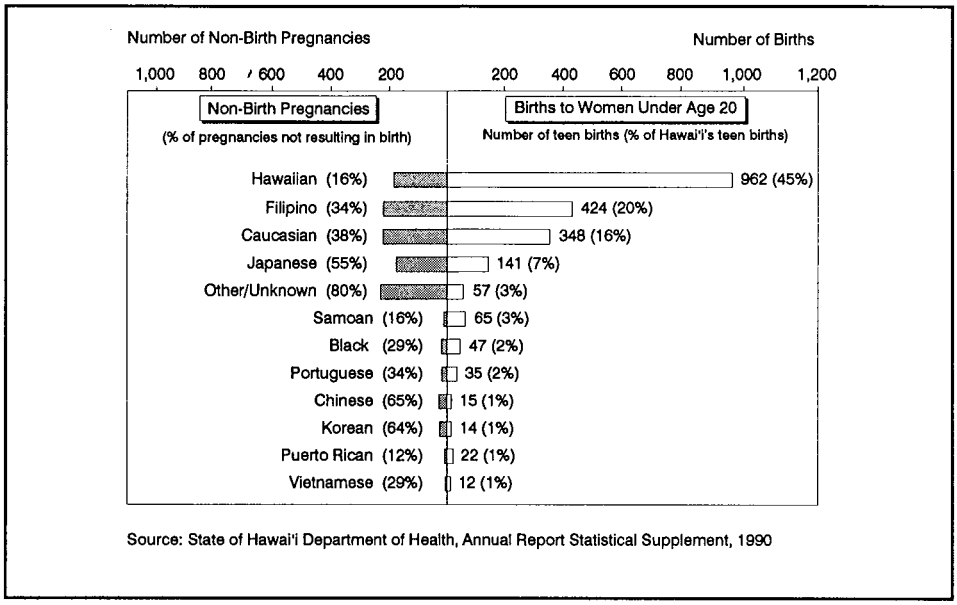


Figure 25. Pregnancies and births to women under age 20 by ethnicity of the mother: State of Hawai'i, 1990.

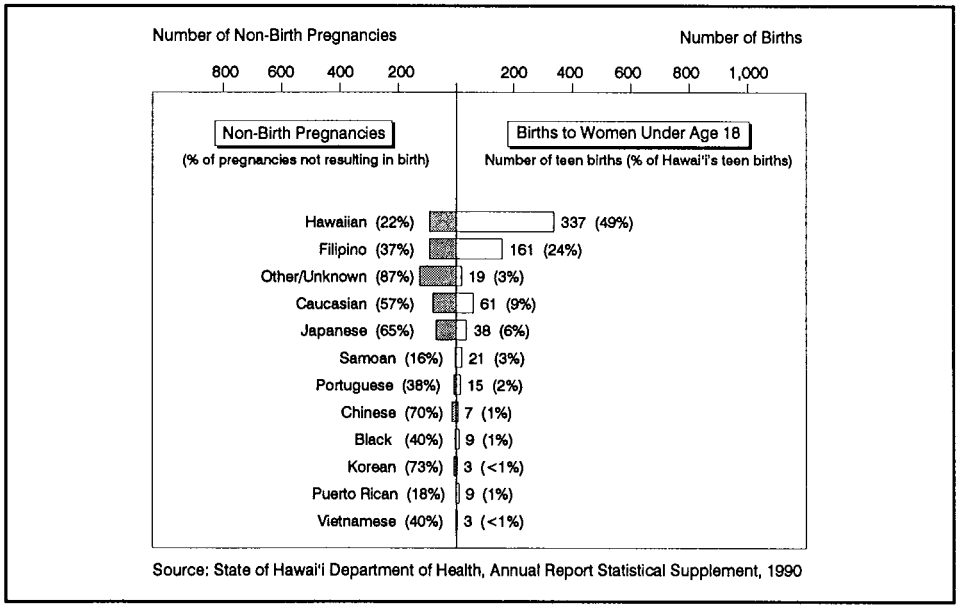


Figure 26. Pregnancies and births to women under age 18 by ethnicity of the mother: State of Hawai'i, 1990.

youngsters are distinctive, and Hawaiians represent an even stronger percentage of births to women who are still of high school-age.

As these data suggest, young Hawaiian women are more likely than others to carry pregnancy through to birth. Moreover, with the percent of teen pregnancies carried through to birth rising from 70 percent in 1980 to about 84 percent in 1990, it certainly appears that the group as a whole may be getting more rather than less receptive to accepting new life into the family system. In light of economic and social change of the past 20 years and its impact on all families, it seems appropriate to consider the developmental impact of increasing numbers and frequencies of early family initiation within the Hawaiian community.

Concerns from a national perspective were considered above. Clearly, births to teens, particularly in the absence of marriage and before the completion of high school, are considered undesirable. In fact, one of the key indicators reported by the Kids Count program is the percent of total births to unwed women under age 20. Nationally, Hawai'i ranks 19th in the nation with a reported percentage of 7.6 percent of all births. This stands between the extremes of 5.0 percent of births for Utah and 16.7 percent of births for District of Columbia.

For Hawaiian women, the most recent year for which data were reported publicly (1988), the 657 unwed mothers under age 20 represented about 53 percent of all such mothers in the state for that year and about 15 percent of the births to Hawaiian women. This percentage is lower than the 20 percent rate reported for Blacks nationally for 1990, but higher than the 10.1 percent attributed to Hispanics (The Anne E. Casey Foundation, 1993). It is a rate about 160 percent higher than the national rate for 1990 of 6.1 percent.

Acceptance and welcoming of infants into family life has such deep cultural roots for Hawaiians that it may well be that early initiation of family life has little psychological or practical inconvenience. Whatever the case, though, it is interesting to note that births to unwed

mothers—regardless of their age—have increased dramatically during the past ten years.

Percent of births to Hawaiian unwed mothers is higher than state or national rates

Specifically, data reported in Figure 27 show that the rate of increase for Hawaiians in the percent of births annually to unwed mothers has grown faster and is at a higher level than either State of Hawai'i or national rates. In fact, about one-half of infants born to Hawaiian women are born to mothers who are not married at the time of birth. This is about twice the one-quarter of births rate for births to unwed mothers reported for the State of Hawai'i as a whole and for the nation. The data also show that Hawaiian rates have been getting closer to, although they have not yet reached, rates reported for Blacks across the country.

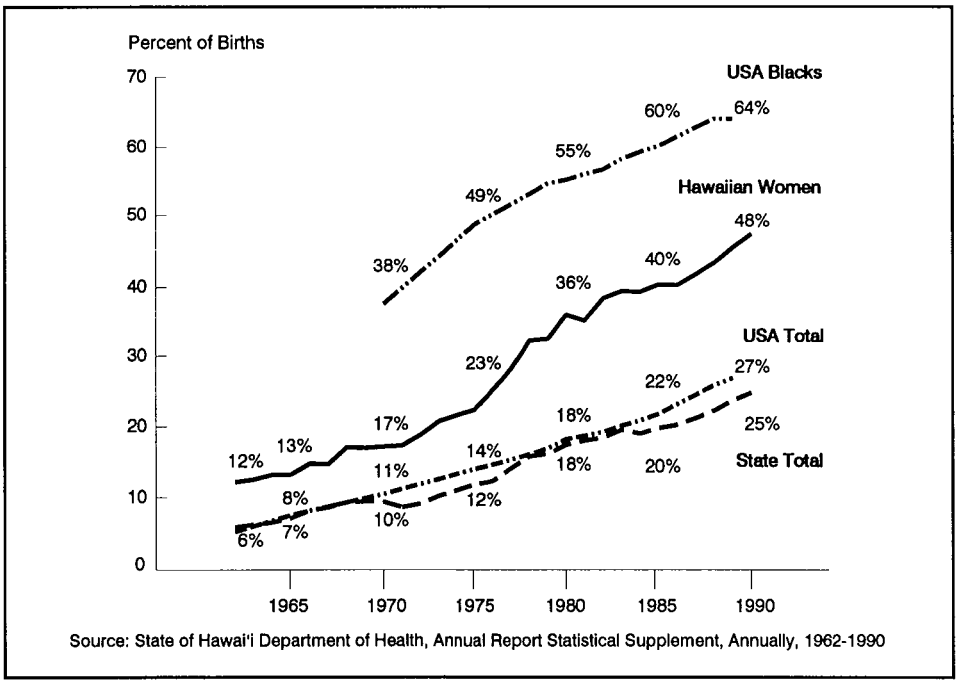


Figure 27. Births to unmarried women in Hawai'i and the USA: 1962-1990.

Summary

Hawaiian students start school behind other students

In terms of the most readily-available indicator of school readiness in Hawai'i—the Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test—Hawaiian students at kindergarten start school behind the two groups of children—Japanese and Caucasian youth—who have enjoyed the greatest school and socioeconomic success in Hawai'i.

Native Hawaiians are also the largest single group in a kindergarten population that teachers have characterized as unprepared to start school. In fact, the rate at which local kindergarten teachers characterized their students as unready for school participation (nearly one-half of the students were judged so) was the highest in the country.

Although Hawaiian families have experienced significant new program opportunities during the past decade in the area of early childhood education—including some state-of-the-art efforts—they face much the same situation as all groups. Organized educational services for children under age five are increasingly needed as social and economic factors reshape society. Unfortunately, child care/early childhood education services remain a largely uncoordinated maze of program strands.

Hawaiians have higher early risk factors, starting even before birth

In the area of perinatal health Hawaiians show comparatively elevated rates of infant mortality, with some indication of a worsening in this area. They also tend to underutilize, or do not have access to, prenatal care, and indicators of lifestyle behaviors during pregnancy suggest a comparatively stronger willingness than other groups to use recreational drugs and to smoke during pregnancy. Hawaiian women, who account for about one-quarter of the births in the State of Hawai'i, represent about one-half of teenage births in the state, more than one-half of births to unwed teens, and about 45 percent of all unwed mothers, regardless of age.

Finally, both unwed status at birth and childbearing during the teen years have been increasing. The number of births to teens has increased as elective abortions have declined, and the prevalence of births to unwed mothers has increased at a faster rate than with other major local and national comparison groups. Today about one out of every two Hawaiian children born to a Hawaiian mother is born to a woman who is not married to the child's father.

As the Hawaiian community assesses the relationship between activities and experiences of the preschool years and eventual success in school, there is at least some feeling that greater parental involvement and/or more focused, instrumental interaction might be helpful. In some respects, this may be a culturally-sensitive area for a group that traditionally encourages sibling caregiving and instruction. Evolving expert perspectives in early childhood education tend to stress the role of parents as "co-educators"; however, trends in this regard do not necessarily exclude older siblings. The Hawaiian community may find its own distinctive approaches to improving growth and development of children during the years prior to school-entry.

Native Hawaiian Educational Assessment, 1993

Goal 2: Student Achievement

Students will demonstrate competency in the basic skills of English and mathematics and in other challenging subject matter including science and social studies

The *Native Hawaiian Educational Assessment Project Report* (*NHEAP Report*, 1983) sought to answer a number of questions regarding the educational achievement of Native Hawaiian students. Among these questions were:

- Is it really true that their academic achievement lags behind that of other children as has been suggested in recent testimony and literature?
- If so, is this true in all subject areas?
- For all grade levels?
- For private school Hawaiian students as well as public school students?

In answering these questions, the *NHEAP Report* made a number of comparisons, with the underlying question being "are Hawaiian students 'at parity' with other students, both nationally and in Hawai'i?" (*NHEAP Report*, 1983, p.9) Results of the examination of Hawaiian student achievement summarized by the *NHEAP Report* include:

Hawaiian student achievement was below national parity in the early 1980s

- Overall, Hawaiian students do score below parity with national norms on standardized achievement tests.
- The scores of Hawaiian students in the DOE have been improving over the three years of data available for the study (academic years 1976-77, 1980-81, and 1981-82).
- Standardized test scores [of Hawaiian students] are close to national parity at the second grade but are lower at the upper grade levels.

- Vocabulary and Math Applications stand out as weaker than the other subtests especially at the lower grade levels.

- Hawaiian male students consistently score below Hawaiian females in math and reading.

- Scores of Hawaiian students who attend private schools in Hawai'i are consistently at or above the national norms.

- Public and private schools both show a pattern of low percentages of Hawaiian students in the uppermost stanines.

- Certain schools can be specified as most-in-need on the basis of several kinds of educational need.

- Hawaiian students are the lowest of the four major ethnic groups in Hawai'i's schools. Two of these, Japanese and Caucasians, score consistently well above national norms on standardized achievement tests.

Needs Update

This chapter examines the status of Native Hawaiian student achievement ten years after the original *NHEAP Report* was published. The guiding question of NHEAP (Native Hawaiian Educational Assessment Project) remains: ***—Are Hawaiian students at parity with other students, both nationally and in Hawai'i?*** Other questions guiding this examination of Hawaiian student achievement include:

- Does the level of Hawaiian students' achievement still lag behind those of the other three major ethnic groups in the state?

- Has the relatively low level of achievement of Hawaiian students reported in *NHEAP Report* improved over the course of ten years?

Sources of Data

Department of Education data.— The State of Hawai'i Department of Education (DOE) began using the Stanford Achievement Test (SAT) series for statewide testing during the 1975-76 school year. At the time of the *NHEAP Report*, DOE testing was undertaken at grades 2,4,6,8, and 10. During the 1984-85 school year, the DOE changed the grades at which statewide testing is undertaken. Beginning with that year, testing has continued at grades 3,6,8, and 10. The DOE has adopted new editions of the SAT series as it has been revised by its publisher. Further, there have been changes in the availability of specific SAT subtests and the development of new national norm groups.

Changes in student achievement may be examined from both longitudinal and cross-sectional perspectives. In the former, student achievement is examined over time, following either the academic careers of individual cohorts of students as they continue from grade to grade (e.g., comparing the achievement of a cohort of students at 3rd grade and later this same cohort of students at 6th, 8th, and 10th grades), or examining the performance of succeeding cohorts of students at the same grade level. In cross-sectional studies, students at different grade levels are examined in the same school year (e.g., the relative national norm group achievement of 3rd grade students is compared with that of 10th grade students within the same school year). Where possible, student achievement data are examined from both longitudinal and cross-sectional perspectives.

Private school survey data.— At the time of the first NHEAP there were no readily-available data in the state that would give any insight into the achievement of Hawaiian students enrolled in private schools. Ten years after the original *NHEAP Report*, there is still no single source of data regarding student achievement in Hawai'i's private schools. As was done in the first report, administrators of all the private schools in the

state were contacted and asked for their cooperation in providing both counts of Hawaiian students and student-level profiles of achievement. Data received from a sample of these schools are used to assess Hawaiian achievement in private schools.

Interpreting the types of scores.— Two types of scores are used here in reporting levels of student achievement: *percentile ranks* and *stanines*. Both of these types of scores permit the assessment of students' achievement in relation to that of their peers. Percentile ranks range in value from a low of 1 to a high of 99, with 50 denoting average performance. A given percentile rank indicates the percentage of a reference group (e.g., national norm reference group) whose achievement is at or lower than that score. For example, a percentile rank of 75 indicates performance equal to or better than 75 percent of the students in the reference group.

In this report, percentile scores are used to describe the achievement level of the "typical" or average student. The percentiles presented here are equivalent to the average scaled score of the entire group of students. That is, all students taking a test receive a scaled score. These scores are averaged to determine the typical scaled score for the entire group (e.g., Hawaiian students). Percentiles equivalent to the average scaled score then indicate the level of academic achievement for the average student in that group.

Percentile scores are useful in indicating the performance level of an individual student or the average for a group of students. However, a single percentile score does not express the overall distribution of student achievement; that is, test scores may be clustered around the middle of a distribution, or may be distributed toward the extremes of the achievement range. *Stanine* distributions are used to display the pattern of achievement for the entire range of student achievement levels. Stanine scores range in value from a low of 1 to a high of 9, with 5 designating average performance. Typically scores in the 1-3 stanine range indicate *below average* performance, scores in the 4-6 range

indicate *average* performance, and scores in the 7-9 range indicate *above average* performance.

In this report both percentile scores and stanine distributions are presented in graphic form in order to display average achievement levels and the entire range of achievement.

Results of DOE Achievement Testing: Spring 1992

The most recent DOE data available concerning levels of student achievement are based on the spring 1992 administration of the Stanford Achievement Test, Eighth Edition (SAT). Student testing was undertaken using 17 subtests of the SAT. Results reported in this section, in accordance with the national education goals, are for *Total Reading*, *Total Math*, *Science*, and *Social Science*.

Total Reading

Total Reading subtest percentile scores equivalent to average scaled scores for the total DOE enrollment and the four major ethnic groups enrolled in DOE public schools at grades 3,6,8, and 10 are presented in Figure 28.

Statewide, *Total Reading* scores are below national parity

A pattern of achievement exists at each of the grade levels:

- Total DOE achievement levels are well below the national norm (50th percentile).

Hawaiian students' *Total Reading* achievement is the lowest among the four major ethnic groups

- There is a two-tier pattern of achievement among the four major ethnic groups in the state. Japanese and Caucasian students perform at levels at or above the national norm, while Hawaiian and Filipino students' achievement levels are on average well below the national norm. Typically, Hawaiian students have performance levels slightly lower than those of Filipino students.

- There is a general pattern of increasing achievement levels at the higher grades. For the Total DOE and both Hawaiian and Filipino

students, there was a fall off in relative achievement at the 8th grade. However, for each of these groups and Caucasians as well, the highest relative level of achievement was found at the 10th grade. This general finding of higher achievement at the higher grades is opposite to that reported in *NHEAP 1983*, where achievement in *Total Reading* was found to have dropped at the upper grades.

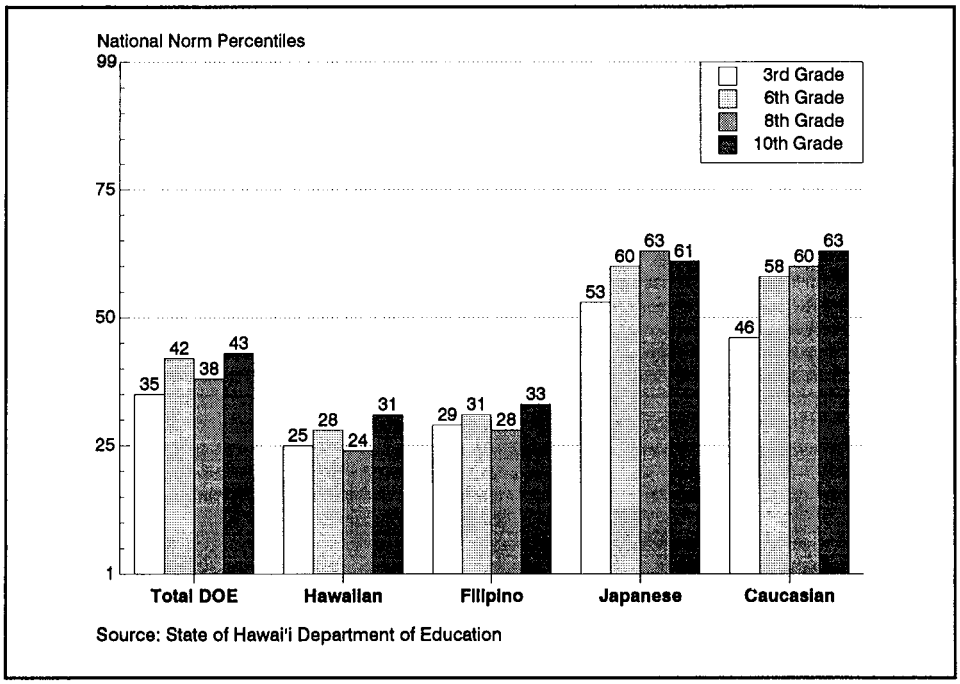


Figure 28. Total Reading percentiles equivalent to average scaled scores, spring 1992.

While the percentiles given above indicate the typical or average level of achievement for a group of students, the percentiles do not show the total range of achievement or deviations from the national norm group. Stanine distributions, the percentage of students performing at each stanine level, can be plotted as achievement curves, which are used to display the relative level of achievement of students along the entire range of abilities. Each grade level generates its own series of ethnicity-specific achievement curves. For the purposes of this report, the curves

for that grade having the highest level of achievement for Hawaiian students are displayed. For example, the highest relative level of performance for Hawaiian students is at the 10th grade—the typical Hawaiian student in the 10th grade performed at the 31st percentile on the *Total Reading* subtest. The curves for that grade level, then, show the "best case" presentation of Hawaiian achievement vis-a-vis the national norm group and the other three major ethnic groups.

Tenth grade *Total Reading* achievement curves are presented for the national norm group and each of the four major ethnic groups in Figure 29.

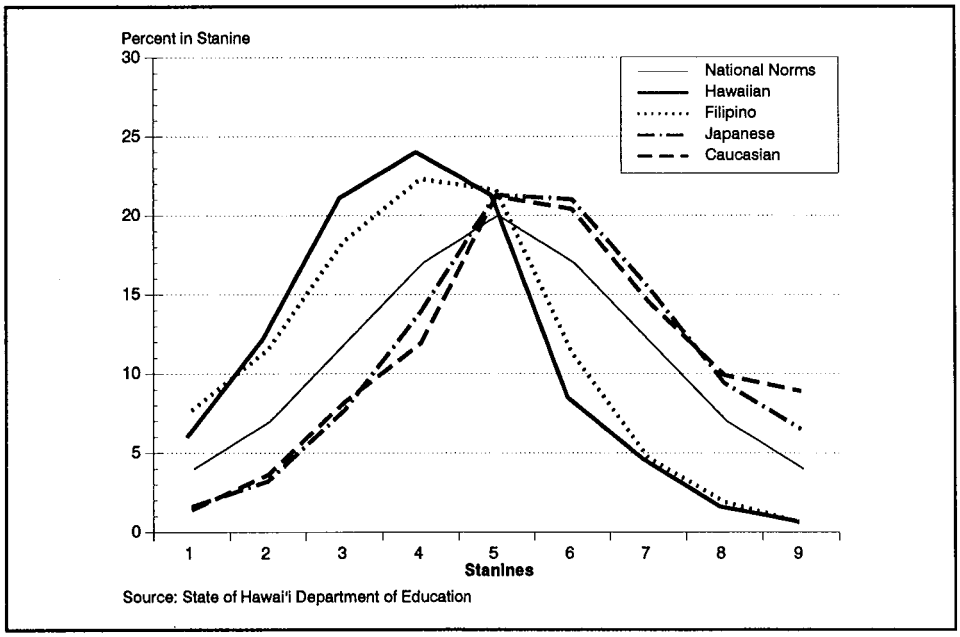


Figure 29. Total Reading achievement curves: Tenth grade, spring 1992.

The two-tier pattern of achievement indicated in Figure 28 is noticeable in Figure 29. Japanese and Caucasian students perform at levels above the national norm while Hawaiian and Filipino students are below the norm group. For the higher-tier group (Japanese and Caucasian students), the percent of students achieving in the lowest three stanines

There is a two-tier achievement pattern with Hawaiians and Filipinos achieving at lower levels than Japanese and Caucasian Students

(*below average*) is below the national norm, while the percentage in the highest three stanines (*above average*) is above the national norm. The opposite is the case for Hawaiian and Filipino students. These students are overrepresented in the lowest stanines, while being under-represented in the highest. The Hawaiian and Filipino percentages of students in the highest three stanines are nearly identical. However, Hawaiian students have the highest percentage of students of any ethnic group in the lowest three stanines.

The grade-specific achievement curves for Hawaiian students on the *Total Reading* subtest are presented in Figure 30.

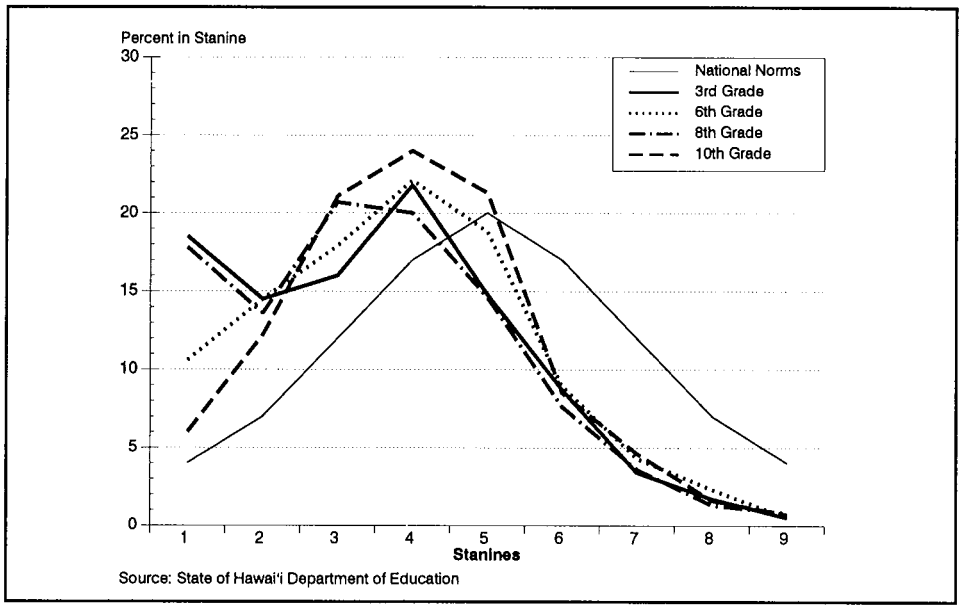


Figure 30. Hawaiian students' *Total Reading* achievement curves by grade level, spring 1992.

At each grade level, there are few Hawaiian students at the upper achievement levels

All four of the grade-level curves are positively skewed; that is, there are relatively few students in the upper stanines and a majority of students in the lower stanines. The modal stanine for grades 3,6, and 10 is the 4th stanine; the modal stanine for eighth grade students is the 3rd stanine. All four grade levels are severely overrepresented in the lowest

three stanines. The highest achievement curve is that of the 10th grade students.

The spike of 3rd and 8th grade students at the 1st stanine was unanticipated—this spike pattern is not seen in any of the other three achievement tests or in any previous year's SAT testing. The state DOE reports a large statewide decline in reading scores in the 1991-92 round of SAT testing. At this time we have no explanation for the pattern but will be examining future's years' data to determine if it persists.

The cross-sectional pattern of achievement on the *Total Reading* subtest at grades 3,6,8, and 10 is dissimilar to that noted in the *NHEAP Report*. In comparing Hawaiian student achievement at grades 2, 6, and 10, there was a large drop noted between 2nd and 10th grade. "Across the other [subtest] curves the general pattern of lower scores in the later grade levels holds true. Statewide, 10th graders have always done more poorly compared to national levels than have, for example, 2nd graders" (*NHEAP Report*, 1983, p. 14). The most recent data show a general improvement in scores in the upper grades, reversing the previous pattern. Again, we do not know if this is a new pattern in student achievement or whether it is due to changes in the construction of the SAT-8 subtest.

Total Math

The *Total Math* subtest is a composite of three SAT subtests: *Concepts of Numbers*, *Math Computations*, and *Math Applications*. This one subscale, then, taps a number of mathematics content domains. *Total Math* percentile scores are presented in Figure 31.

The pattern of student achievement for the *Total Math* subtest is both similar to and different than the pattern of *Total Reading* achievement:

Overall, DOE students perform higher than national norms on *Total Math*

- Overall, the Total DOE is performing at levels above the national norm at each grade level.

- While the two-tier pattern of achievement still exists, with Japanese and Caucasian students out-performing Hawaiian and Filipino students, the average achievement of the lower-tier groups is much closer to that of the national norm groups. Hawaiian students demonstrate the lowest levels of achievement.

- For the DOE as a whole achievement levels were higher at the 10th grade than at the third grade. Hawaiian students' achievement dropped at the 8th grade but rose again in the 10th grade.

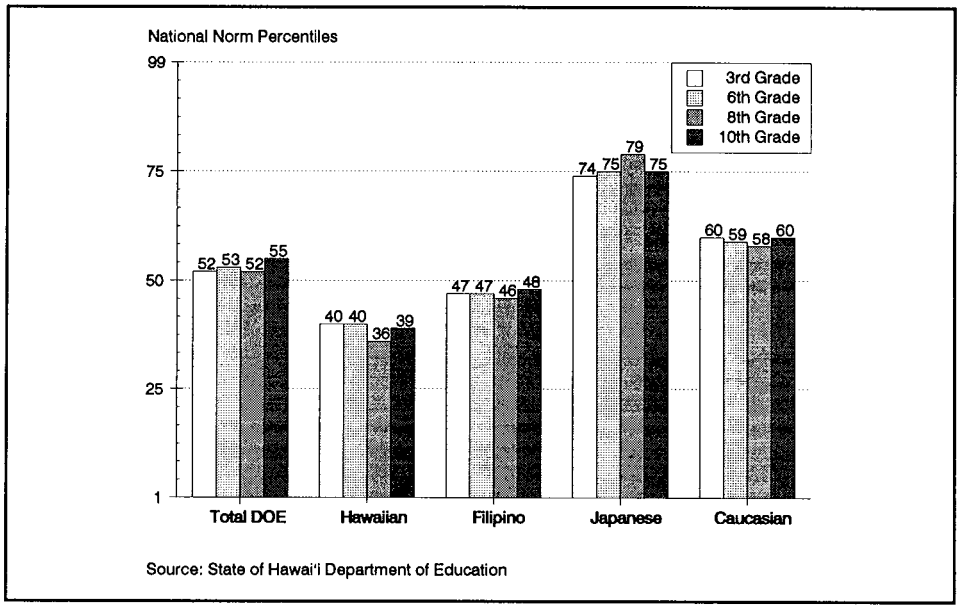


Figure 31. Total Math percentiles equivalent to average scaled scores, spring 1992.

Hawaiian students perform better on the *Total Math* subtest, but are still below national norms

The sixth grade *Total Math* achievement curves based on stanine distributions are presented in Figure 32. Students enrolled in the DOE do better on this subtest of the SAT than they do on any of the others. Japanese students clearly exceed the national norms on this test, having more students achieving in the highest three stanines. Caucasian students also exceed the national norms in the highest stanines while being underrepresented in the lowest. Filipino students are approaching

the national norm group, although their curve is slightly offset to the lower stanines. Hawaiian students are below national norms on this subtest. They are both underrepresented in the highest stanine groups and are overrepresented in the lower stanines. However, unlike the *Total Reading* subtest, in which Hawaiian students were greatly over-represented in the lowest of the stanines, Hawaiian students are actually underrepresented in the two lowest stanines, with the majority of students achieving in the 3rd-through-5th stanines.

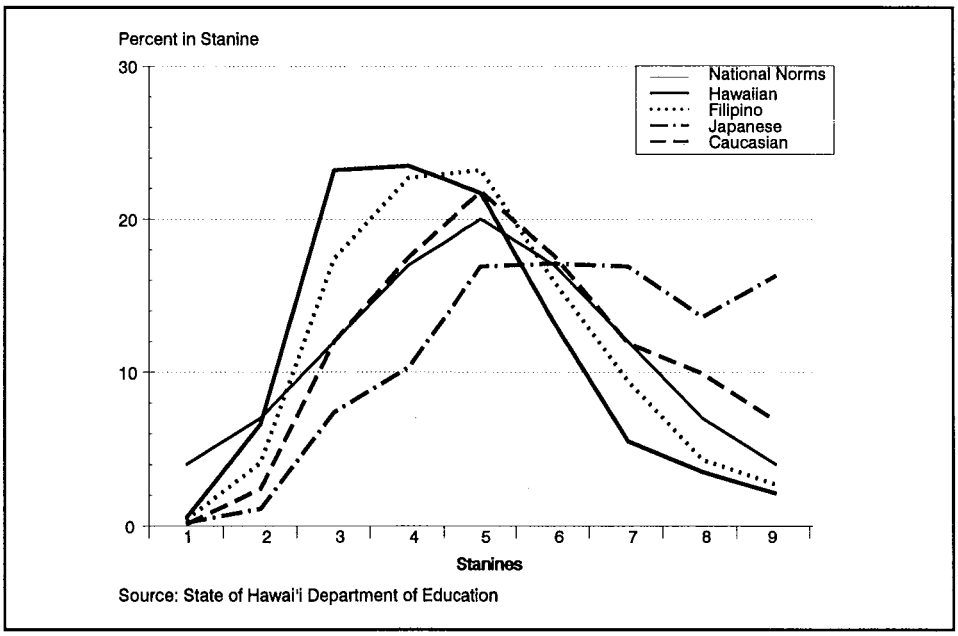


Figure 32. Total Math percentiles equivalent to average scaled scores: Sixth grade, spring 1992.

Most Hawaiian students perform at the lower average level on the *Total Math* subtest

The grade-specific achievement curves for Hawaiian students on the *Total Math* subtest are presented in Figure 33. The shape and placement of the curves are similar across the grade levels. The four curves are offset to the left, but the preponderance of students are in the middle stanines, denoting average performance. In comparison with the third grade curve, there appears to be some slight shifting of lowest and highest students into the middle stanines at sixth- and tenth-grade

levels. Eighth-grade Hawaiian students are somewhat lower in achievement levels than those in the other grades.

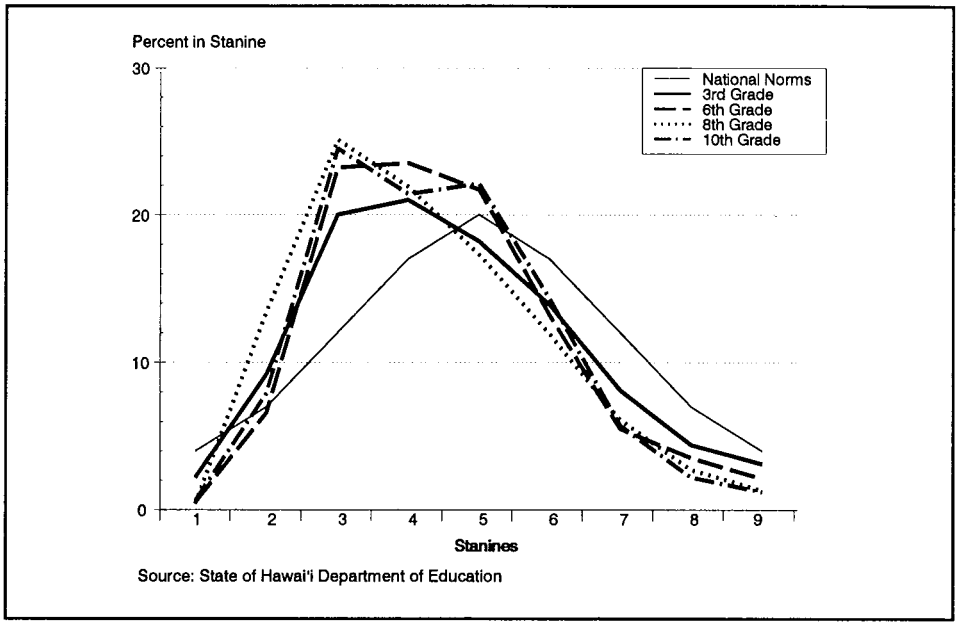


Figure 33. Total Math stanine distributions: Hawaiian students at grades 3, 6, 8, and 10, spring 1992.

Science

The typical DOE student is below national parity in *Science*

The *Science* subtest percentiles are presented in Figure 34. Overall, the Total DOE level of achievement for the "typical" student is well below national norms, with the exception of sixth grade, which is only slightly below the national norm level. The two-tier pattern of Japanese and Caucasian students out-performing Hawaiian and Filipino students is very noticeable. The upper-tier students are typically performing at or above the national norms. Filipino and Hawaiian students are well below national norms, with the average Hawaiian student performing at levels somewhat lower than Filipino student levels.

The fall-off in student performance found in the *NHEAP Report* is apparent here. Relative to the national norm groups, students in sixth grade are achieving at the highest levels of the four grades.

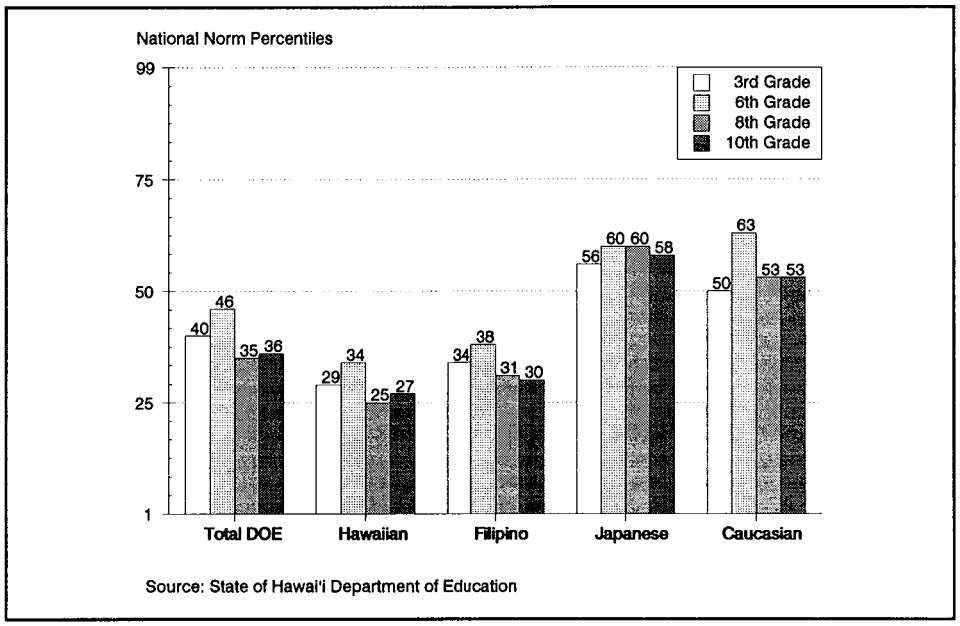


Figure 34. Science percentiles equivalent to average scaled scores, spring 1992.

Hawaiian and Filipino students perform well below Japanese and Caucasian students in *Science*

The grade-specific *Science* achievement curves are presented in Figure 35. The two-tier pattern is very evident in the figure—the achievement curves of Japanese and Caucasian students are negatively skewed (e.g., more at the **higher** levels) while those of Hawaiian and Filipino students are positively skewed (e.g., more at the **lower** levels). Further, there is considerable overlap within the tiers; that is, the Japanese and Caucasian curves are nearly identical, as is the case with the Hawaiian and Filipino curves.

The modal stanine for all four ethnic groups lies within the middle three stanines—for Japanese and Caucasian students the modal achievement level is the 6th stanine, while for Hawaiian and Filipino students the modal level is the 4th stanine. Hawaiian and Filipino students are underrepresented at both the lowest and highest stanines and are overrepresented in the middle stanines, albeit, the lower middle stanines.

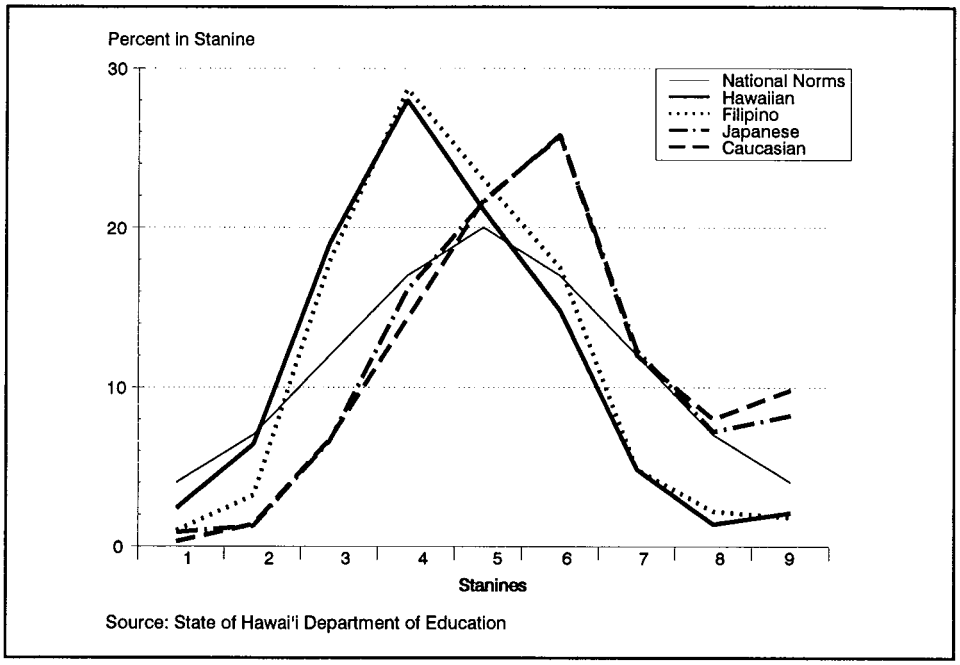


Figure 35. Science stanine distributions, spring 1992.

Hawaiian students are below national norms at each grade level in *Science*

The grade-specific achievement curves for Hawaiian students are presented in Figure 36. All four grade level curves are well below the national norms throughout the stanines range. Only sixth-grade students are underrepresented in the lowest stanines, while all grade levels are underrepresented in the highest stanines.

Social Science

The percentiles equivalent to scaled scores for the *Social Science* subtest are presented in Figure 37. Overall, Total DOE achievement is below national norm group levels at each of the four grades of testing.

DOE achievement levels are below national norms at each grade level

Student achievement, relative to the national goals, is highest at the sixth grade for each of the four ethnic groups depicted. Japanese and Caucasian students perform at or above the norm group while Hawaiian and Filipino students are well below the national norms. There is an apparent fall-off at eighth grade for each of the ethnic groups, followed by a recovery at tenth grade.

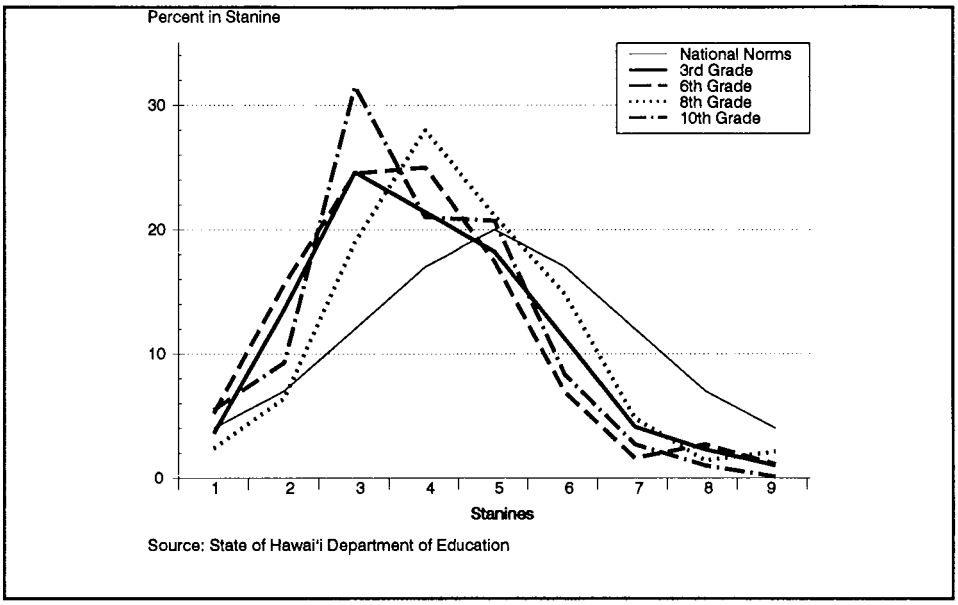


Figure 36. Science stanine distributions: Hawaiian students at grades 3, 6, 8, and 10, spring 1992.

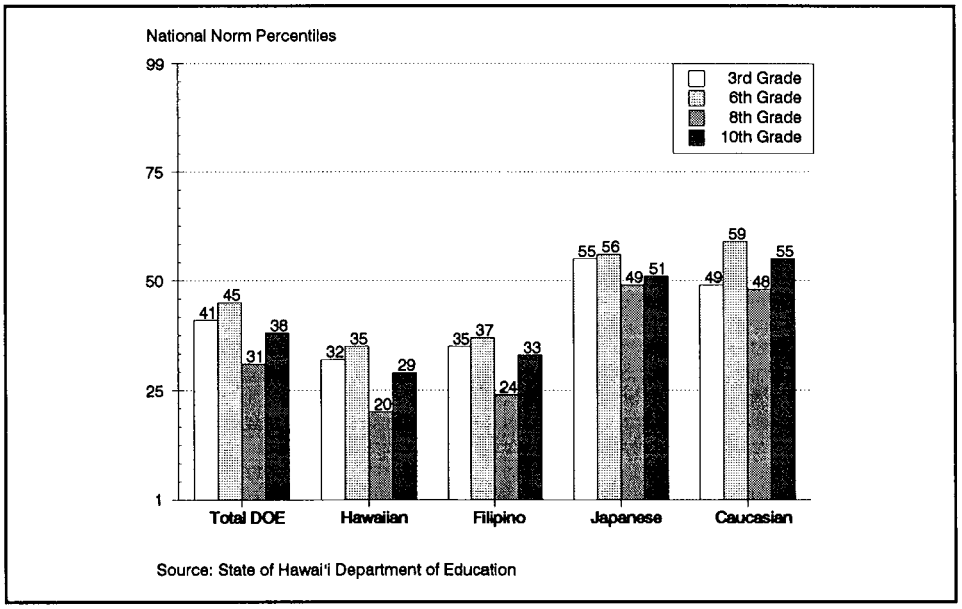


Figure 37. Social Science percentiles equivalent to average scaled scores: Sixth grade, spring 1992.

Most Hawaiian students perform at the lower-average level in *Social Science*

The achievement curves for the four ethnic groups are presented in Figure 38. The Japanese- and Caucasian-student curves approximate the normal curve of the national norm group, with some under-representation in the lower stanines. Unlike the other three subtests of the SAT, these two groups have upper-stanine (stanines 7-9) levels of achievement that do not appreciably exceed the national norms.

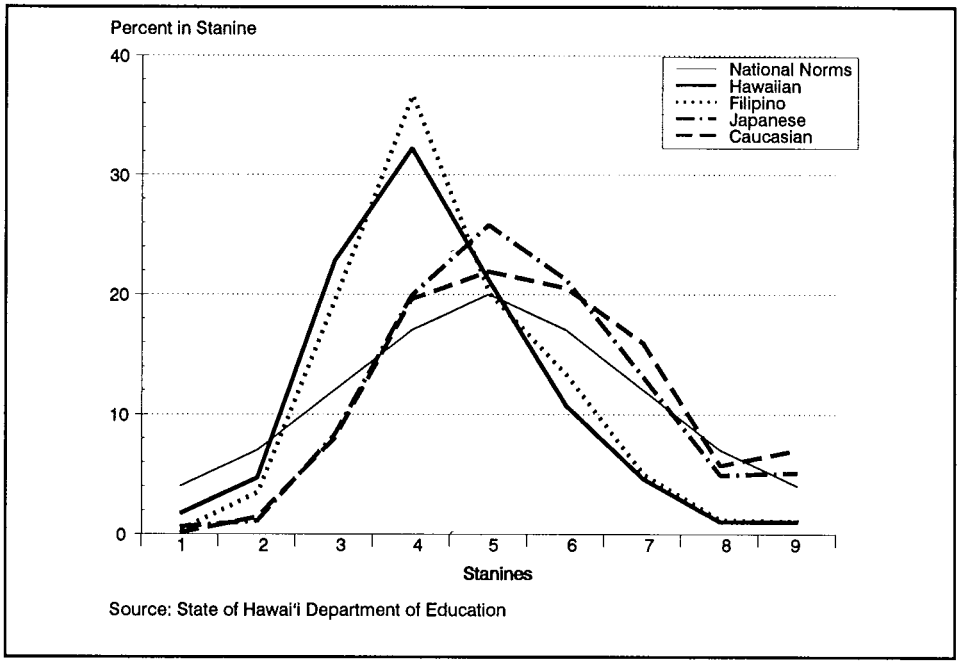


Figure 38. Social Science stanine distributions: Sixth grade, spring 1992.

The modal level of Hawaiian- and Filipino-student achievement is located at the 4th stanine. Both the lower stanines (1-3) and upper stanines (7-9) are underrepresented with two ethnic groups.

Relatively few Hawaiian students perform at the highest stanine levels at each grade level

The grade-level specific achievement curves for the *Social Science* subtest are presented in Figure 39. All four grade levels are well underrepresented at the upper stanine levels. The fall-off in 8th grade achievement noted in the percentiles is evident in this figure—there are

very few Hawaiian 8th grade students performing at the highest stanine levels while many are at the lowest levels. The 10th grade "recovery" shows the highest percentage of students at the 5th stanine.

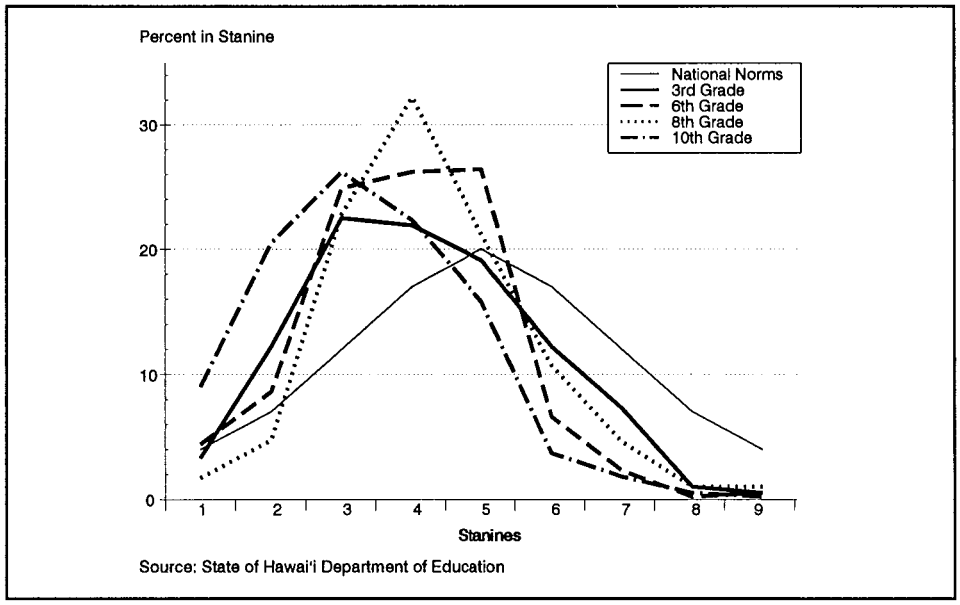


Figure 39. Social Science stanine distributions: Hawaiian students at grades 3, 6, 8, and 10, spring 1992.

Longitudinal Analyses

Fall 1983 and Spring 1992 SAT Testing

The previous section of this chapter focused on ethnic comparisons and cross-sectional, grade-specific comparisons based on statewide Department of Education testing undertaken during the 1991-92 school year. This section examines the question "Has the relatively low level of achievement of Hawaiian students reported in the *NHEAP Report* improved over the course of ten years?" The *NHEAP Report* reported that for the three years under study, (school years 1976-77, 1980-81, and 1981-82), "**the achievement level of Hawaiian students has been low but is improving**. (NHEAP Report, p. 12)" Further, the earlier data indicated that there was more improvement in the lower areas of the achievement curves than in the upper, suggesting an apparent

movement from the lowest stanines into the middle stanines. There was not much movement into the higher stanines—7th, 8th, and 9th stanines.

This section examines the achievement levels of Hawaiian students during school years 1983-84 and 1991-92. DOE testing data from the fall 1983 and spring 1992 administrations of the SAT series (SAT Fifth Edition and SAT Eighth Edition) form the basis for comparisons.

Total Reading and *Total Math* percentiles equivalent to average scaled scores for Total DOE and Hawaiian students in grades 6, 8, and 10 are presented in Table 2 and for Hawaiian students in Figure 40. Testing at third grade was not undertaken during the DOE fall 1983 test administration; further, *Science* and *Social Science* subtests were not administered during the earlier testing year.

Table 2 Total Reading and Total Math Percentiles Equivalent to Mean Scaled Scores: Total DOE and Hawaiian Students

	Total DOE		Hawaiian	
	Fall '83	Spring '92	Fall '83	Spring '92
Total Reading				
6th grade	52	42	40	28
8th grade	44	38	34	24
10th grade	36	43	26	31
Total Math				
6th grade	52	53	40	40
8th grade	50	52	34	36
10th grade	44	55	32	39

Source: State of Hawai'i Department of Education

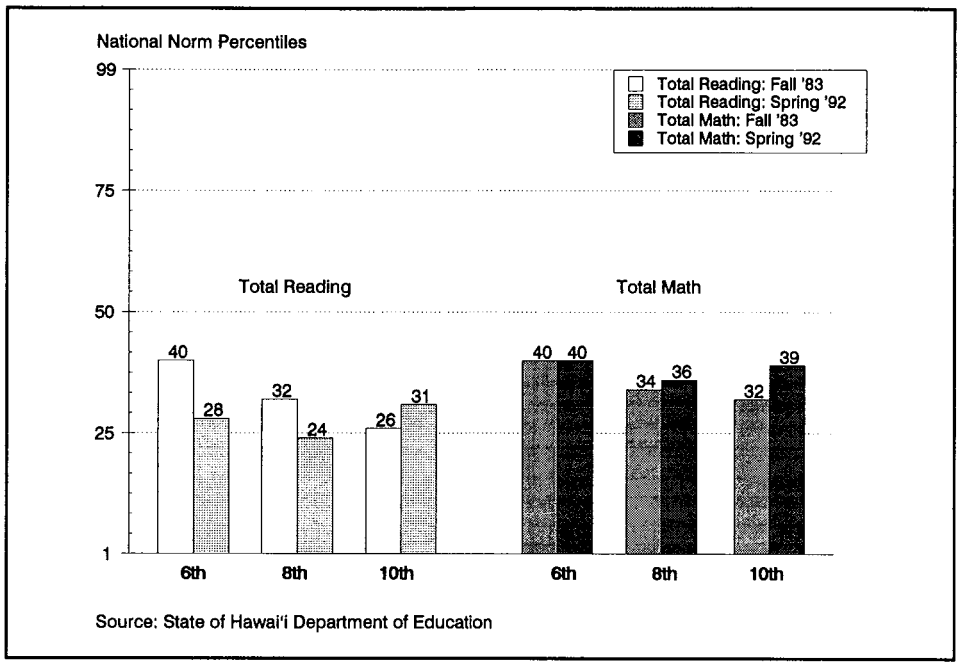


Figure 40. Total Reading and *Total Math* percentiles equivalent to mean scaled scores: Hawaiian students, fall 1983 and spring 1992.

The reading achievement level of the "typical" Hawaiian student fell between 1983 and 1992—math scores were stable or increased

The achievement level of the "typical" Hawaiian student on the *Total Reading* subtest was lower at 6th and 8th grades in the 1992 testing than in the 1983 testing. For example, in the 1983 testing, the average Hawaiian student in 6th grade performed at the 40th percentile level; in the 1992 test administration, the average 6th grade student performed at the 28th percentile level. Tenth grade achievement levels rose, from the 26th percentile to the 31st.

The *Total Reading* pattern of the higher grades having lower relative levels of achievement found in 1983 did not continue in the 1992 testing. That is, in 1983, the 6th grade average, 40th percentile, fell to the 32nd percentile in 8th grade and to the 26th percentile in 10th grade. This pattern of descending performance changed somewhat in the 1992 testing. Tenth grade *Total Reading* recovered after declining at the 8th grade.

Total Reading achievement scores of Hawaiians are low and are not improving

The stanine distributions for 8th grade students taking the *Total Reading* subtest are presented in Figure 41. Contrary to the findings of the *NHEAP Report*, the *Total Reading* achievement levels of Hawaiian students are low *and are not improving*. The achievement curve is not moving toward the national norm; rather, there is a noticeable fall off in achievement levels. While there is a *very slight* improvement in the percentages of students in the highest three stanines (from 4.5 percent to 5.7 percent), there is a much more apparent movement of students from the middle three stanines into the lower three stanines. Those in the middle three stanines (54% in the national norm group) dropped from 61.8% to 42.2%. Those in the lowest three stanines (23% nationally) increased dramatically—from 33.7% in 1983 to 52.1% in 1992. Over half of the Hawaiian students, then, in the 1992 testing were in the *below average* achievement level.

Math scores for Hawaiians improved at 8th and 10th grades

For Hawaiian students, the results of the comparison of 1983 and 1992 administrations of the *Total Math* subtest are different than those of the *Total Reading* subtest (see Table 2 and Figure 40). Rather than showing lower levels of achievement, 1992 achievement levels either remained the same—6th grade, or increased—8th and 10th grades. Further, the pattern of decreasing performance at higher grade levels found in the 1983 testing was not repeated in the 1992 testing. There was some loss of relative achievement from 6th grade (40th percentile) to 8th grade (36th percentile), but scores were up in 10th grade, up to the 39th percentile.

The stanine distributions of students taking the *Total Math* subtest at tenth grade are presented in Figure 42. The 1992 achievement curve has moved closer to the normal distribution relative to the 1983 curve.

The percentage of Hawaiian students in the lowest three stanines decreased from 36.7 percent to 33.0 percent, while those in the highest three stanines increased from 6.1 percent to 9.1 percent. The percent in the middle three stanines remained at 57 percent—the whole curve, then moved toward the middle and upper stanines. The Total DOE curves

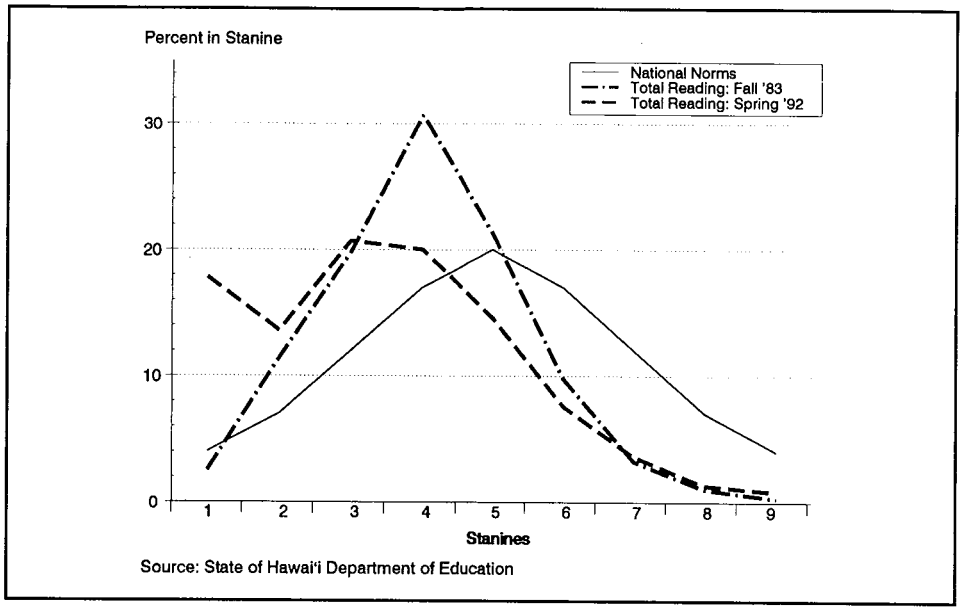


Figure 41. Total Reading stanine distributions: Eighth grade Hawaiian students, fall 1983 and spring 1992.

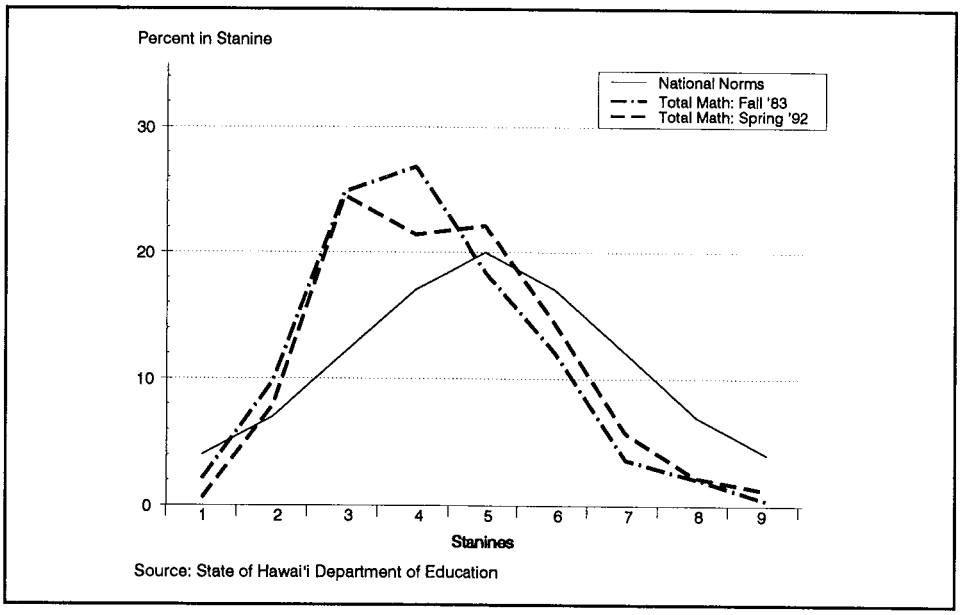


Figure 42. Total Math stanine distributions: Tenth grade Hawaiian students, fall 1983 and spring 1992.

showed a slight movement, one percent of students, from the lowest to the middle stanines.

The longitudinal comparison of 1983 and 1992 SAT testing, then, shows generally similar trends for *Total Reading* and *Total Math* subtests for both the Total DOE and Hawaiian students. For both groups of students, *Total Reading* achievement levels dropped from grade to grade during the 1983 testing. However, in the 1992 testing a drop in the 8th grade year was follwed by recovery in the 10th grade. For the *Total Math* subtest the achievement scores increased within grade levels across the years and the pattern of fall off across grade levels within the same year was replaced by decline at the 8th grade followed by recovery at the 10th. Although Hawaiian achievement levels were still lower than those of the Total DOE on the *Total Math* subtest, Hawaiian students' improvement in achievement was greater on this test.

Longitudinal Cohort

The previous longitudinal analysis examined the achievement of students at each grade, comparing their achievement in the fall of 1983 and the spring of 1992. Such analysis provides insight into student achievement at various grade levels at different times. Now the analysis turns to cohort longitudinal analysis, looking at the same cohort of students over time. This type of analysis answers the question, how well are students achieving over the course of their educational careers?

Data availability permitted cohort analysis to be undertaken on a single cohort of Hawaiian students. Test years, grades, and cohort size for this single cohort are given in Table 3. A further limitation on cohort analysis was the availability of identical or similar tests at each of the four grades of testing. For example, the *Total Reading* subtest was not available for the 8th grade testing year. Data were available for three of the SAT subtests: *Reading Comprehension*, *Total Language*, and *Total Math*; partial data are presented for the *Total Reading* subtest.

Table 3 Hawaiian Student Cohort: Grade, Testing Date, and Cohort Size

Grade	Testing Date	Cohort Size
3rd grade	Spring 1985	2,407
6th grade	Spring 1988	2,533
8th grade	Spring 1990	2,267
10th grade	Spring 1992	1,935

Source: State of Hawai'i Department of Education

Hawaiian math achievement was well below the national norm group at grades 3, 8, and 10

The percentiles equivalent to scaled scores for the four SAT subtests are presented in Figure 43. The data indicate that with the exception of a single *Total Math* subtest percentile score (sixth grade:Spring '88), Hawaiian achievement was well below that of the national norm group. Hawaiian students performed somewhat better on the *Total Math* subtest than on the other three subtests. There is a general pattern of students performing best at the sixth grade level, followed by a fall off in average achievement at the later grades.

The grade-level achievement curves of the *Total Reading* subtest are presented in Figure 44. The third-grade achievement curve shows Hawaiian students to be performing at levels below the national norm.

Sixth grade reading improvement was followed by declines at 10th grade

The sixth grade curve shows improvement in the cohort's relative achievement levels. The sixth-grade curve has moved toward the national norm, with improvement occurring at both the lower and higher stanines. Thereafter the tenth grade scores decline in relative achievement levels. The percentage of students performing at the *above average level* (stanines 7-9) was less than 7%, while nearly 40% of Hawaiian students performed at the *below average* level.

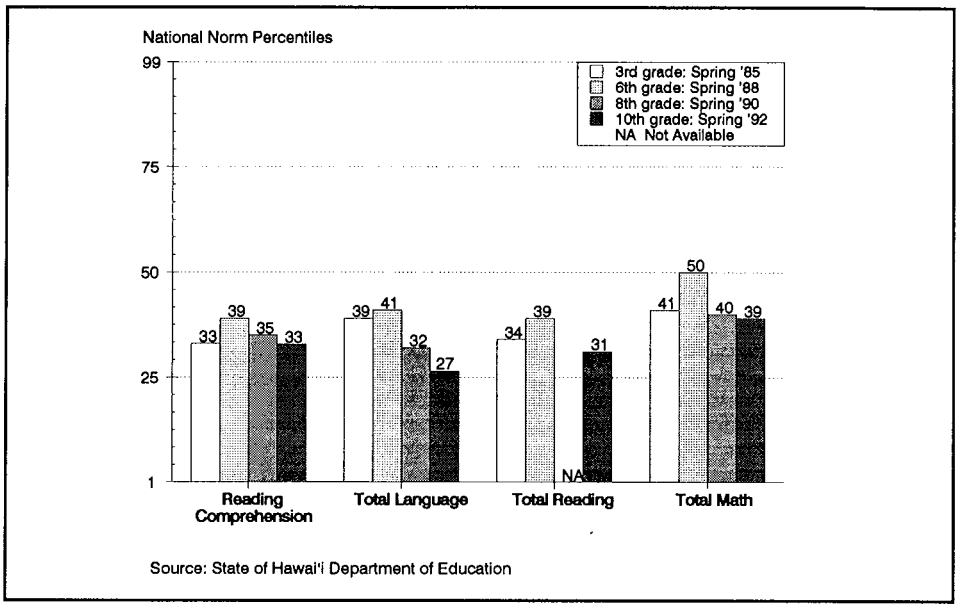


Figure 43. Percentile scores equivalent to mean scaled scores: Hawaiian students at grades 3, 6, 8, and 10.

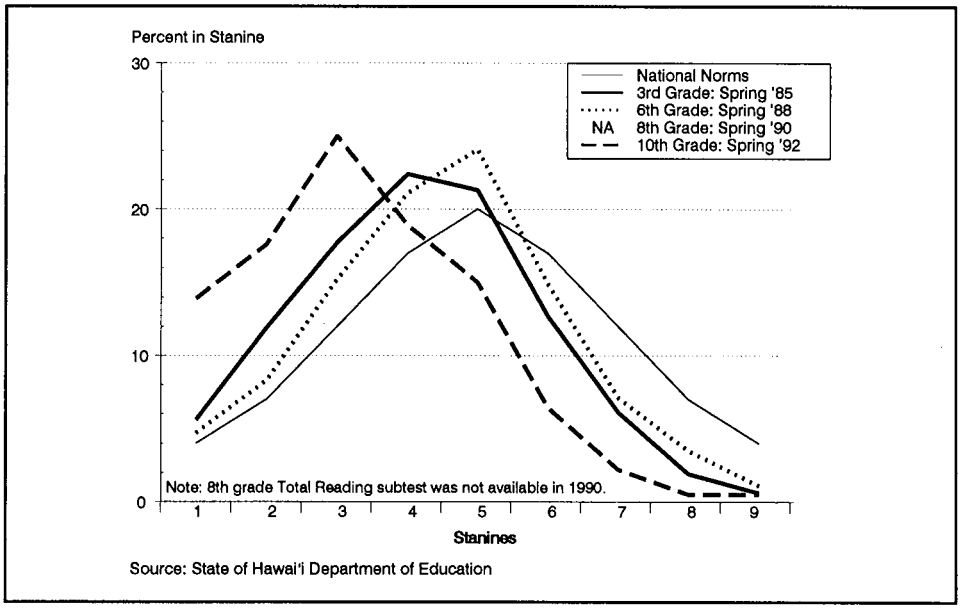


Figure 44. *Total Reading*: Hawaiian student cohort at grade 3, 6, 8, and 10.

Hawaiian *Total Math* parity at sixth grade was followed by declines at 8th and 10th grades

Total Math achievement curves are given in Figure 45. The improvement at sixth grade is apparent, with the curve approximating the national norm group. At the *above average* level, the Hawaiian curve nearly matches the national norm group—22.7 percent of Hawaiian students achieve at this level (the national norm is 23%). At the lower levels, Hawaiian students are only slightly overrepresented—26.6 percent compared with the national norm of 23 percent. The achievement improvement at the sixth grade is followed by a drop off at the eighth and tenth grades.

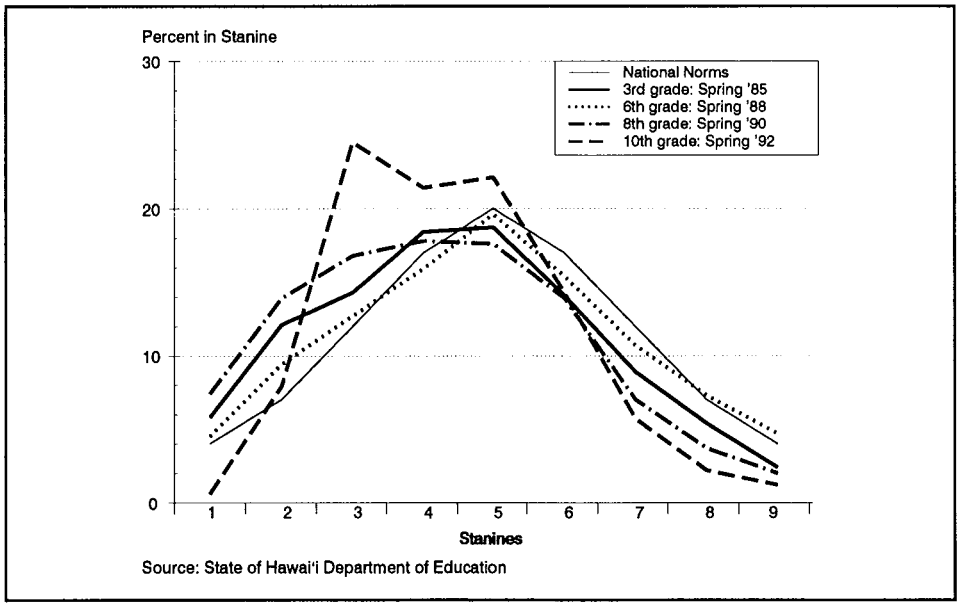


Figure 45. Total Math: Hawaiian student cohort at grade 3, 6, 8, and 10.

Private School Results

Achievement data received from private schools were added together where feasible in order to permit comparisons of Hawaiians students' achievement levels with those of other students in private school settings. The data are in the form of stanine ranges indicating performance that was *below average* (stanines 1-3), *average* (stanines

4-6), and *above average* (stanines 7-9). The stanine ranges for sixth grade Hawaiian students in private schools on the SAT *Reading Comprehension* subtest are given in Figure 46.

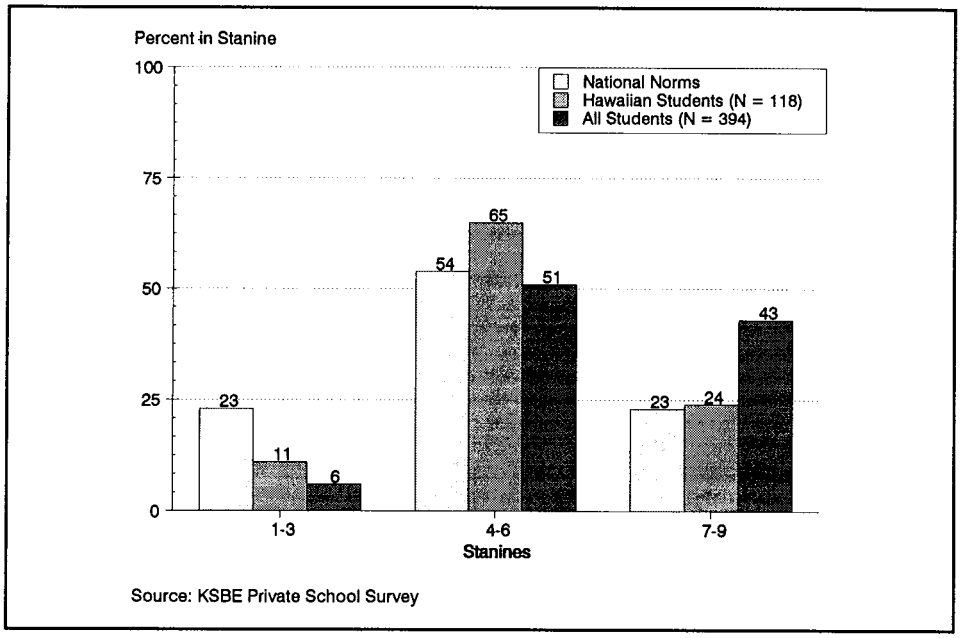


Figure 46. Hawaiians in private schools: *Reading Comprehension*, 6th grade.

Hawaiian private school students exceed the national norms

Shown in the figure are the national norms, the achievement levels for Hawaiian students, and the achievement levels for all students. The picture of Hawaiian student achievement at private schools is more positive than that in the DOE schools. Hawaiian private schools students exceed the national norms. For example, only 11 percent of students are achieving at the *below average* level, compared with the national norm of 23 percent. Most Hawaiian achievement is at the *average* level—65 percent, compared with the national norm of 54 percent. Also, achievement of Hawaiian students at the *above average* level slightly exceeds the national norm.

The achievement of Hawaiian students in private schools can also be compared with that of all students in private schools—note that all

Hawaiian students do not perform as well as other private school students

students include Hawaiian students. The achievement of all students clearly exceeds the national norms. Forty-three percent of these students are performing at the *above average* level; only six percent fall into the *below average* range. Compared with all students, Hawaiian students have higher percentages in the two lower stanine ranges and lower percentages in the highest achievement range.

The stanine ranges for sixth grade Hawaiian students on the SAT *Math Computations* subtest are given in Figure 47. Hawaiian student achievement is even more favorable on the math subtest than on the reading. Only 7 percent of students perform at the lowest stanine range, while 38 percent are at the highest level. Hawaiian student performance does lag behind that of all students in private schools. Nearly half (49%) of private school students are achieving in the *above average* range while only 38 percent of Hawaiian students are at the same level.

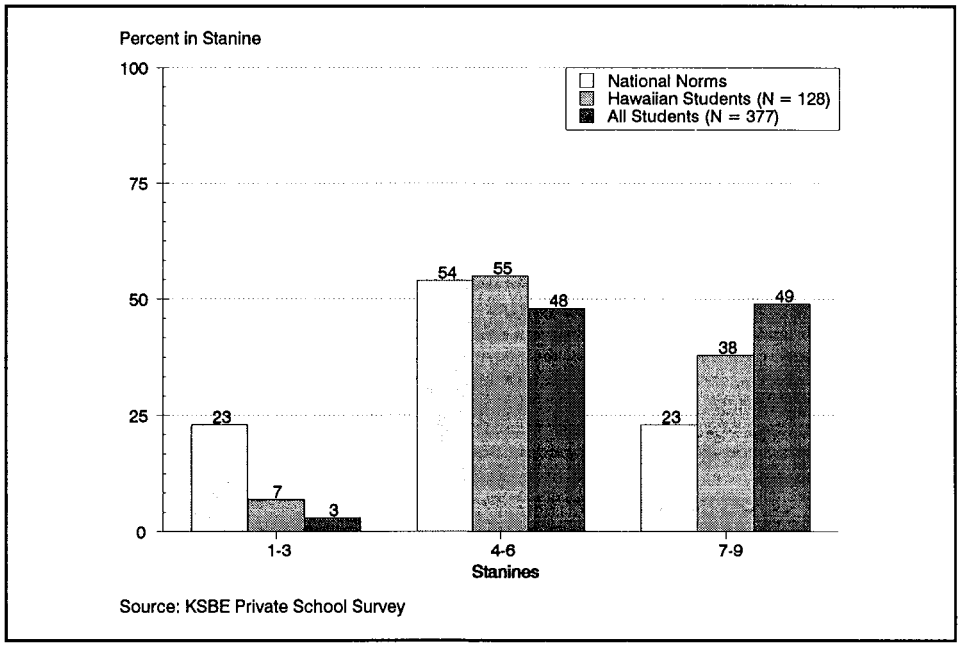


Figure 47. Hawaiian students in private schools: *Math Computations*, 6th grade.

In some instances the data permit a comparison of Hawaiian students' achievement on national norms and individual private school norms. The *Reading Comprehension* achievement of seventh grade Hawaiian students at one school are given in Figure 48. Hawaiian students at this private school clearly exceed the national norms. There are no students performing at the lowest level, while 75 percent of the Hawaiian students are at the *above average* level. When compared to the local, private school norms, however, the Hawaiian achievement levels are quite different. Thirty percent of the Hawaiian students are at the *below average* level on the local norms. Most of the students achieve at the *average* level—60 percent, while only 10 percent of Hawaiians are within the *above average* level on the local norms.

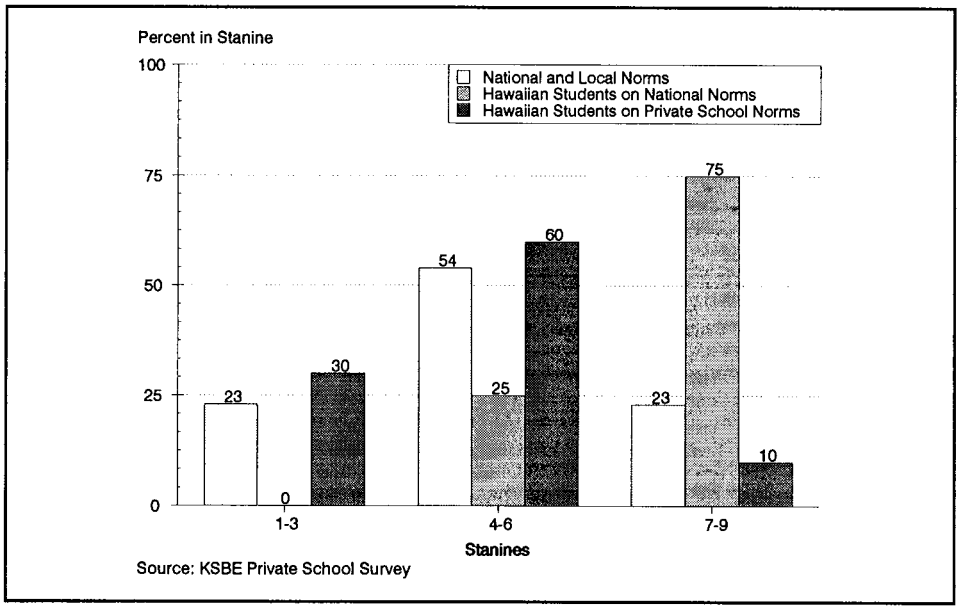


Figure 48. Hawaiian student achievement at private school: *Reading Comprehension*, 7th grade.

The *Math Computations* achievement levels of seventh grade Hawaiian students at the private school are given in Figure 49. Hawaiian students at the private school are far exceeding the national norms; there are no students performing at the lowest stanine range and 80 percent are at

the highest level on the national norms. Compared with the local, private school norms, however, over one-third (35%) of the students are at the *below average* level. Most students (48%) perform at the *average* level, while 18 percent of students perform at the *above average* level.

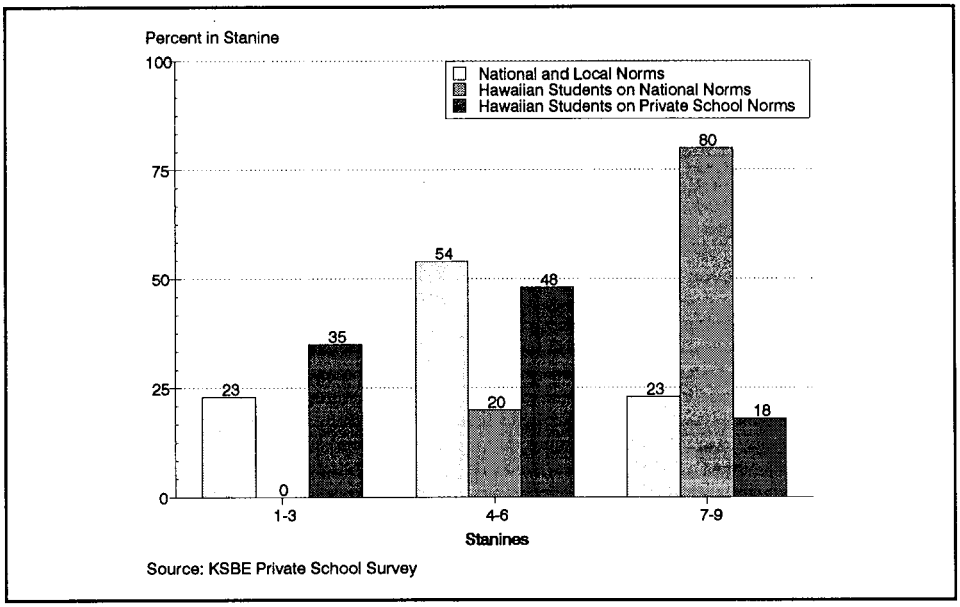


Figure 49. Hawaiian student achievement in private school: *Math Computations*, 7th grade.

Students at Kamehameha Schools outperform the typical DOE public school student

Data on Hawaiian student achievement are also available from Kamehameha Schools, a private school established to serve students of Native Hawaiian ancestry. These data indicate that the typical Kamehameha Elementary School (KES) student ranks at about the 50th percentile on the SAT *Total Reading* subtest and at or above the 60th percentile on the *Total Math* subtests. In comparing KES performance directly with that of the Total DOE and DOE Hawaiians using the SAT-7 norms, the typical KES student ranked at the 59th percentile on *Total Reading* and the 72nd percentile on *Total Math*. This compares very favorably with the typical DOE student who ranks at the 48th percentile on *Total Reading* and at the 61st percentile on *Total Math*. The typical DOE Hawaiian student ranks at the 36th percentile in *Total Reading* and at the 47th percentile on *Total Math*.

The stanine range of KES students in sixth grade on the *Total Reading* and *Total Math* subtests are presented in Figure 50.

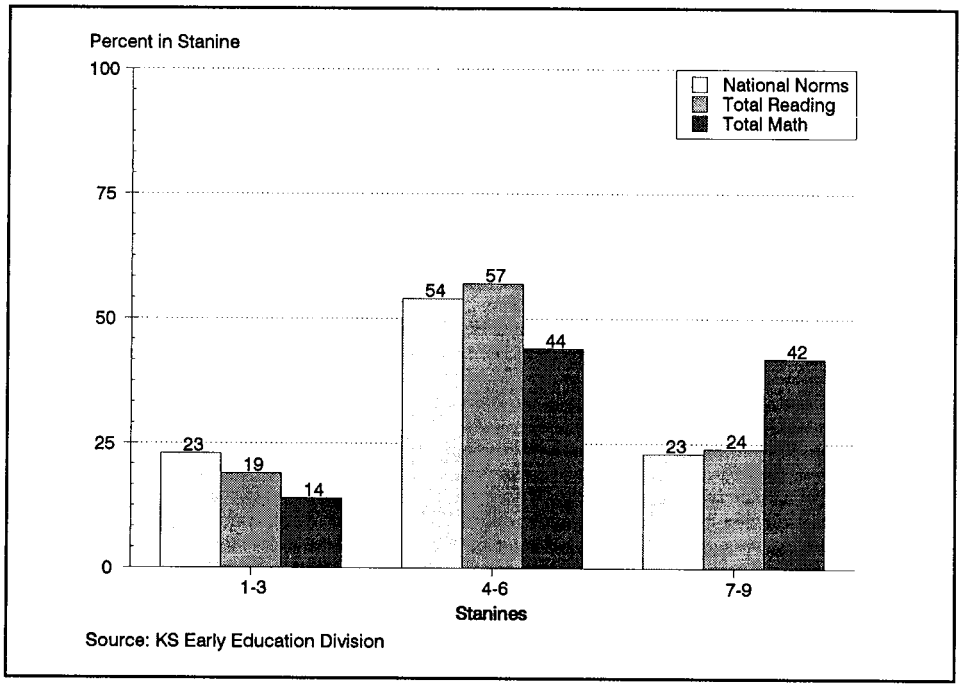


Figure 50. Kamehameha Elementary School students' performance on *Total Reading* and *Total Math*: 6th grade, spring 1992.

The stanine ranges indicate that Hawaiian students at KES are performing above the national norms on both tests of reading and mathematics. These KES students, unlike students at other private schools, were randomly selected for admission from the total population of Hawaiian children. Similar to the statewide population, KES students demonstrate better performance in mathematics than in reading.

The Kamehameha Secondary School (KSS), grades 7-12, uses the Comprehensive Testing Program (CTP) to measure verbal and math skills at grades 7, 9, and 11. The CTP provides information on the performance of students relative to that of three different student norms groups:

- The ***national*** sample, which is made up of students of all abilities from all types of schools in the country (similar to the SAT national norm group).

- The ***suburban*** school group, which is made up of college-bound students from "top-notch" suburban public schools in the nation. Kamehameha Schools student profiles are most similar to this norm group.

- The ***independent*** school group, which is made up of college-bound students from highly selective private schools throughout the nation.

Data from the fall 1993 administration of the CTP, summarized in Table 4, indicate that the achievement of KSS students at grades 7, 9, and 11 was higher than the national norm group. The typical statewide pattern of math norms being higher than reading norms is apparent in the table.

Table 4 Percentile Standing of KES Students on *Comprehensive Testing Program* National Norms, 1993-94

	Grade		
	7th	9th	11th
Reading Comprehension	70	67	74
Math	77	85	83

Source: Kamehameha Schools Bishop Estate

Data reported by KSS are also given in terms of "growth"—the comparison of the scaled scores a student, or group of students, achieved at two points in time. The KSS data indicate substantial growth on the part of KSS students. Students at each grade level generally had academic growth levels in both reading and math that were comparable to or better than the growth shown by the three norms groups. For example, the verbal skills growth shown by five successive classes of

KSS 11th-grade students improved substantially since 1987 and is now comparable to or better than that of the suburban and independent school groups. Further, the math achievement growth shown by KSS students has been consistently better than that of the three norm groups and has enabled these students to graduate at levels beyond that of the independent school group.

Hawaiian students at Kamehameha Schools outperform Hawaiian students in the DOE

Although direct comparisons between DOE schools and the Kamehameha Secondary School on tests of academic achievement are not possible given the different tests used, the national norms comparisons made separately give support to the assumption of superior achievement on the part of Hawaiian students at the Kamehameha Schools over Hawaiian students in the DOE. Further, a substantial proportion of students at KSS appear to be achieving at levels equal or superior to the statewide population of students in the DOE.

Summary

This section of the *Native Hawaiian Educational Assessment Project Report* has examined the academic achievement status of Native Hawaiians enrolled in DOE public schools and private schools in the State of Hawai'i. In the process of examining the current status of Hawaiian students the guiding question has been the same as that posed in the *NHEAP Report*—***Are Hawaiian students at parity with other students, both nationally and in Hawai'i?***

Hawaiian students continue to score below national norms on standardized achievement tests

Ten years after the *NHEAP Report*, the major finding remains the same—namely, **Hawaiians continue to score below national norms on standardized achievement tests**. Unfortunately, the earlier finding that the scores of Hawaiian students in the DOE had been improving has not been borne out in the latest data. In comparing 1983 achievement test results with those of 1992 there is evidence that the relative standing of Hawaiians on the national norms in reading has declined. This decline, though, has occurred within a general pattern of decline for the DOE. In the area of mathematics, Hawaiians increased their level

of achievement relative to the national norms, an increase that is part of the general increase in mathematics noted for the DOE.

Hawaiian students' relative achievement has declined over the past ten years

Hawaiian students consistently score at the bottom when compared to the other three major ethnic groups in the DOE—Filipino, Japanese, and Caucasian. There appears to be a two-tier pattern of achievement. Japanese and Caucasian students together outperform Filipino and Hawaiian students. This two-tier pattern remains consistent across all achievement test areas and all grade levels.

Relative to the national norm groups, Hawaiian students attain their highest levels of achievement at the tenth grade. This finding is borne out in both cross-sectional and longitudinal analyses.

As with the total DOE in general, Hawaiian students do better on tests related to mathematics than those related to reading. This finding is consistent across ethnic groups and grade levels.

Hawaiian students who attend private schools are consistently at or above national norms. When compared to their peers at these schools, Hawaiians are underrepresented in the highest achievement stanines.

Most of these findings are identical with those reported in the *NHEAP Report*. Unfortunately, Hawaiian students have not continued the gains cited in the earlier report.

Goal 3: High School Completion

The high school graduation rate will increase while dropout and absenteeism rates drop

Failure to graduate and dropping out of high school have been widely recognized as problems having both individual and society-wide consequences. "By leaving high school prior to completion, most dropouts have serious educational deficiencies that severely limit their economic and social well-being throughout their adult lives. The individual consequences lead to social costs of billions of dollars" (Rumberger, 1987, p. 101). The Special Study Panel of Education Indicator's 1991 Report, sponsored by the U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, noted that "students who drop out of school are not acquiring the competencies needed to function successfully in the American economy" (U.S. Department of Education, 1992, p. 1).

Although interest in graduation rates and, in particular, dropout rates is widespread, agreement on what constitutes a dropout until very recently has been sorely lacking. Summarizing the state of the dropout literature,

> We simply cannot agree what a dropout is. In some districts death, marriage, taking a job, entering the armed forces, entering college early, being expelled or jailed, going to deaf school, business school, or vocational school causes one to be considered a dropout. In another district, none of these acts would be considered. . . .
>
> There are at least as many different definitions of a dropout as there are school districts recording dropouts. Some districts solved their problem of who to count as a dropout by not using any definition at all, whereas other districts had three or four definitions, and neither we nor they seemed to know which one was used. (Barber, ND, pp. 7-8)

As is the case with definitions of what constitutes a "dropout," there are a variety of ways used to measure the incidence of dropping out of school. The National Center for Education Statistics (NCES) uses three types of dropout rates. They are given here to summarize the national incidence of dropping out of school and trends over the last decade.

The incidence of dropping out has fallen nationally over the last decade

Event rate.— Measures the proportion of students who dropped out in a single year without completing high school.

- Event rates indicate that the incidence of dropping out has fallen over the last decade. The 1980 rate for persons aged 15-24 in grades 10-12 was 6.1 percent. By 1991, the rate fell to 4.0 percent—approximately 348,000 students dropped out of school in 1991.

- The event dropout rate was highest among those living in families with low income, intermediate at middle income levels, and lowest at high income levels.

- Dropout rates for white and black students have generally fallen during the last decade. In 1981, 9.7 percent of black students dropped out of school, whereas in 1991 6.0 percent of black students did so. For white students they were at 4.8 percent in 1981 and 3.2 percent in 1991. Hispanic rates were variable over the same years, showing no apparent trend; overall, Hispanic rates were consistently higher than those of white students.

Status rate.— Measures the proportion of the population who have not completed high school and are not enrolled at one point in time, regardless of when they dropped out. Status rates are much higher than event dropout rates because they indicate the cumulative impact of the annual rates over a number of years.

- The percent of those aged 16-24 who are status dropouts has declined over the last two decades. In 1972, approximately 15

percent of 16-24 year-olds had not completed high school and were not currently enrolled; in 1991 some 13 percent were dropouts.

- Rates for both black students and white students have decreased substantially. Black student rates declined from 21 percent in 1972 to 14 percent in 1991; white student rates declined from 12 percent to 9 percent. Hispanic rates have shown no trend over the 20-year period, and have been consistently higher than those for whites.

Hawai'i's dropout rate, 7.0 percent, is among the lowest in the nation

Nationwide data from the 1990 Decennial Census indicate that the percentage of 16-19 year-olds not enrolled in school and not graduated from high school was 11.2 percent—about 1.6 million 16-19 year-olds were high school dropouts in 1990. State-level status rates for this age group ranged from 4.3 percent in North Dakota to 14.9 percent in Nevada and 19.1 percent in the District of Columbia. The Hawai'i status rate, at 7.0, was among the lowest state rates in the nation—only six other states had lower rates. The county-level status rates for the State of Hawai'i were: Honolulu County—7.0; Hawai'i County—6.3; Maui County:—9.2; and Kaua'i County—5.7.

Cohort rate.— Measures what happens to a single group (or cohort) of students over a period of time. This rate indicates how many students in a single age group drop out over time. The most recent NCES longitudinal study, the *National Education Longitudinal Study* of 1988, examined the eighth grade class of 1988 through the end of its tenth grade year.

- Results of the study indicate that 6.8 percent of this cohort dropped out of school between the eighth grade and the end of tenth grade.

- Further breakdown of the data indicates that Asian/Pacific Islanders (a broad group that includes Hawaiian students), at 4.0 percent, had the lowest cohort dropout rate of the five racial/ethnic groups

examined (other groups included Hispanic; Black, non-Hispanic; White, non-Hispanic; and Native American).

- A follow-up survey indicated that students of this cohort who dropped out reported school-related reasons more than job-related or family-related reasons as the reason they dropped out of school.

- In 1990, the large majority of dropout students from this cohort planned to eventually complete their high school education—less than five percent of these dropouts did not plan to return to school.

The results derived from the various rates indicate that the long-term incidence of dropping out is declining. The availability of data concerning graduation rates and absenteeism rates is not as great nationally as for dropout data. Presumably in light of the decline in the dropout rates, graduation levels are increasing while absenteeism is decreasing.

Hawai'i State

Concern in the State of Hawai'i over the failure of students to progress in school toward eventual graduation is not new. A Territorial Commission of Children and Youth, reporting in 1958, found that "the problem of school dropouts is an extremely serious one both nationally as well as in the Territory. The problem is so serious as to demand attention immediately" (Territorial Commission of Children and Youth, 1958). Findings of this commission include:

- According to official school records, 1,528 students dropped out of public, private, and parochial schools during the school year 1956-57. Of this number, 83 percent were from O'ahu schools.

- Nearly 60 percent of the total territorial dropouts were males; males consistently out-numbered females in all counties.

- The greatest number of dropouts, 514, or 32 percent, were aged 16; 26 percent were aged 17, 14 percent were aged 15, and 11 percent were aged 14.

- The most frequently reported reason for leaving school was *failure to adjust in school*—this reason was indicated for nearly one-third of students leaving school.

Graduation Rates

Hawai'i enjoys a relatively high graduation rate

According to national goals, by the year 2000, the high school graduation rate will increase to at least 90 percent. In Hawai'i, to receive a high school diploma from the DOE, a student must accumulate 20 high school credits in required courses and pass the Hawai'i State Test of Essential Competencies (HSTEC). Hawai'i has been characterized as "enjoying a high graduation rate" (Honolulu Advertiser, June 19, 1993). Recent data indicate that for the state as a whole, the graduation rate does exceed the 90 percent goal. In the 1990-91 school year, 90.3 percent of students enrolled in their senior year graduated. In the 1991-92 school year, the percentage of graduating seniors increased to 91.8 percent. In the most recent year, 1992-93, the percentage dropped—to 90.6 percent.

In addition to graduation, there are other categories of school completion. Students who fail the HSTEC but who have a sufficient number of credits for graduation may earn a Certificate of Course Completion. Special education students may complete an Individual Prescribed Program (IPP) leading to a Certificate of Completion. During the 1992-93, four percent of the senior class earned these certificates.

The NCES, in developing its dropout definition and statistic, classified those who graduated as:

- If the student has completed the requirements for graduation, then he/she **is not** a dropout.

- Students **are not** listed as dropouts when they complete an education program *formally recognized* by school authorities as meeting graduation or school completer requirements. This may include state- or district-administered and/or approved GED programs (when students enroll in these as *secondary*, not adult education, pupils) or completion of a secondary program and award of a diploma, alternative degree, certificate of completion, or similar credential (NCES, 1991).

Nearly 95 percent of Hawai'i high school seniors graduate each year

Historical data, beginning with school year 1987-88, presented in Table 5, indicate that the percent of the statewide senior class that completes school is fairly stable—94 to 95 percent of the senior class finishes high school. Of seniors in the 1991-92 school year, 95.5 percent completed school. Of these, 96.1 percent received diplomas, 1.7 percent received Individual Prescribed Program Certificates for special-education students, and 2.2 percent received Certificates of Completion.

District-level graduation rates show more variability. In looking at the 1991-92 data, district rates ranged from a low of 92.8 percent in the Leeward District to a high of 97.3 percent in the Maui District. The graduation data do not permit the computation of Hawaiian seniors' graduation rate. However, regression analyses of the district graduation rates and the number of Hawaiian seniors ($R^2 = 0.000$) and percent of Hawaiian seniors ($R^2 = 0.190$) in the districts fail to reveal any strong correlations. That is, a high proportion of Hawaiian seniors in any district does not appear to strongly influence the graduation rates.

Hawaiian students are graduating at levels commensurate with their DOE enrollment

An ethnic comparison of seniors graduating in the year 1980-81 and DOE students graduating in school year 1991-92 is presented in Figure 51. The 1980-81 school year data are for graduating seniors, for whom a count of total seniors (which would include those not completing) is

not available. The 1991-92 data are for students graduating from the DOE. These counts differ from those presented in Table 5 because they may include students who graduate early and those who graduate in the summer after their classmates (the 1991-92 count of graduating students includes 12,291 students—nearly 2,700 more students than reported in Table 5).

Table 5 Number and Percent of DOE Seniors Who Complete School: School Years 1987-88 through 1992-93

School Year	Total DOE			
	Non-Completers	Percent	Completers	Percent
1987-88	496	4.6	10,381	95.4
1988-89	598	5.3	10,590	94.7
1989-90	622	6.1	9,576	93.4
1990-91	NA	6.7	NA	94.3
1991-92	452	4.5	9,608	95.5
1992-93	532	5.4	9,320	94.6

NA: Not Available
Source: State of Hawai'i Department of Education

The comparison presented in the figure is not a precise one—the earlier year includes only graduating seniors; the latter year includes all graduating students. However, the percent of those graduating who are Hawaiian is nearly identical at about 19 percent. These data do not permit ethnicity-specific comparisons of graduation rates. However, a comparison of the percentage of Hawaiian graduating students (19.2%) with the percentage of 12th-grade Hawaiian students enrolled in the DOE (19.8%) indicates that Hawaiian students are graduating on a representative level.

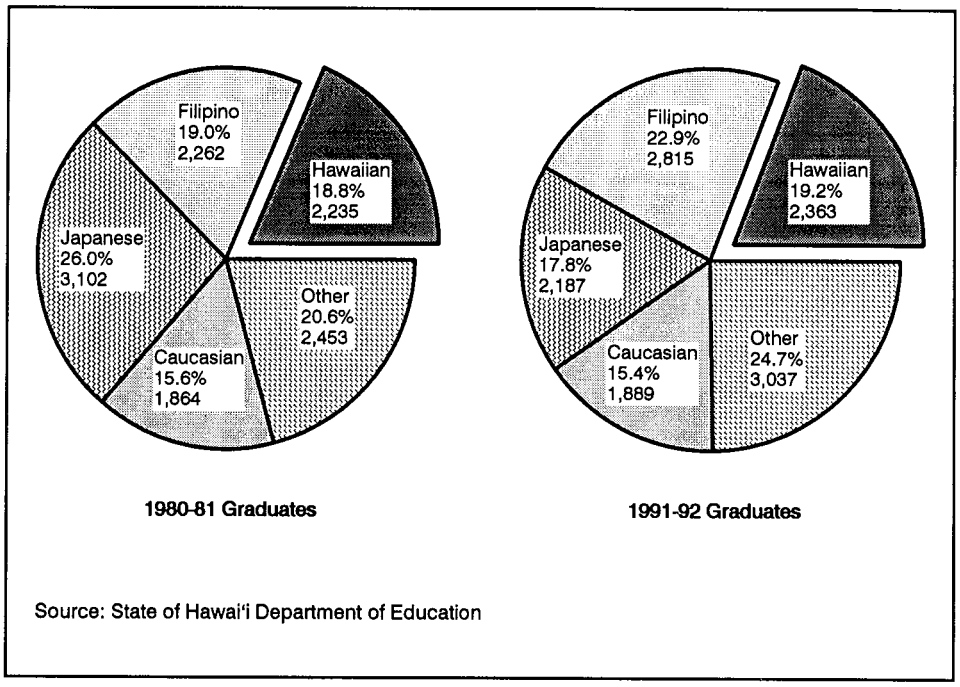


Figure 51. Ethnic distribution of seniors graduating in 1980-81 and students graduating in 1991-92.

Counts and percents of total DOE students and Hawaiian students completing high school in 1991-92 are presented in Table 6. Hawaiian students receive a somewhat higher percentage of regular diplomas and somewhat lower level of Board of Education (BOE) recognition diplomas than total DOE students. These percentages are respectively lower and higher than each of the other three major ethnic groups—Filipino, Japanese, and Caucasian students.

The status of Hawai'i's graduation rate presented here is a positive one—Hawai'i has met the goal of a high school graduation rate of at least 90 percent. However, this rate is based on seniors enrolled in September who graduate in the following June. Missing from the data are counts of students who drop out before the beginning of their senior year. Data for four-year graduation rates are not currently collected by the DOE (Center for Youth Research, 1992).

Table 6 DOE Students Graduating in School Year 1991-92: Total DOE and Hawaiian Students

Graduation Diploma or Certificate	Total DOE		Hawaiian Students	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Regular Diploma	9,404	76.5	1,966	83.2
BOE Cum Laude Diploma	1,069	8.7	73	3.1
BOE Magna Cum Laude	504	4.1	26	1.1
BOE Summa Cum Laude	290	2.4	10	0.4
Certificate of Completion	199	1.6	49	2.1
General Education Development Test (GED)	84	0.7	14	0.6
Individual Prescribed Program (Spec. Educ.)	168	1.4	49	2.1
Other Diploma	24	0.2	10	0.4
Special Education seniors with no completion date	549	4.5	166	7.0
Total	12,291	100.0	2,363	100.0

Source: State of Hawai'i Department of Education

Dropout Rates

Two studies reported in the *Native Hawaiian Educational Assessment Project* (NHEAP, 1983) found that Hawaiian student rates of withdrawal from the DOE were within expected limits. The first reported that

> Hawaiian and Part-Hawaiian students were not dropping out of school. . . . The proportion of Hawaiian and Part-Hawaiian students who dropped out was proportional to the state as a whole, i.e., .2% (55 students) of the Hawaiian and Part-Hawaiian students dropped out as compared to .2% (422 students) who dropped out statewide (Minn, 1977).

The second study, conducted by Alu Like in 1979, found that the incidence of withdrawals among Hawaiian students was generally no more common than would be expected on the basis of the number of Hawaiians in each district.

DOE data from 1980-81 reported in *NHEAP 1983* indicate that the Hawaiian dropout rate was 2.5 percent (823 of 33,423 students). These dropouts occurred within four broad categories of dropout:

- **Dropouts:** students who have left school for reasons other than those offered on the DOE's withdrawal form; these are students who were clearly enrolled and attending school at some point but who discontinued—77 students: 9.4% of dropouts.

- **No Shows:** students who, on the basis of the previous year's records were expected to enroll in school, but who never showed up on any DOE records at any school—161 students: 19.6% of dropouts.

- **Dropout for Cause:** Students whose reason for withdrawal was covered on the DOE's withdrawal form; reasons include illness, disability, employment, transfer to alternative education setting, and family court action—41 students: 5.0% of dropouts.

- **Other Withdrawals**: withdrawals not covered in the above categories (e.g., entry into the armed services, marriage, etc.), but reasons other than transferring to a private school or moving out-of-state—474 students: 57.6% of dropouts.

The calculation of dropout rates is notoriously difficult. Heretofore, there was no standard manner in which dropout rates were calculated—indeed, each state and even each school district had its own method of calculating the rate. Of particular concern was the determination of who should be classified as a dropout. More recently, the National Center for Education Statistics has attempted to bring order by promulgating a

new dropout statistic in which classification of dropout status is standardized. The most recently available data are presented here using the NCES' new system. Unfortunately, this makes precise comparison with earlier findings difficult. For example, formerly, students who died during a school year were classified as dropouts; under the new procedures they are excluded from both the numerator and denominator of the dropout rate.

DOE withdrawal data from school year 1991-92 are presented in Table 7. The 1991-92 distribution of students by withdrawal code is also similar for the total DOE and Hawaiian student populations. Note that there are major changes in the classification of dropout status. For example, students enrolled in a DOE-approved alternative education program leading to a DOE-recognized diploma or certificate of completion are no longer classified as dropouts.

Most students who drop out are those who reach 18 and withdraw from the DOE

The most profound change between the 1980-81 and 1991-92 school years' withdrawal data is the dramatic increase in students who reached the age of 18 and withdrew. For the Hawaiian student population they accounted for at most 474 students in the 1980-81 school year—at most 57.6 percent of dropouts (other reasons for withdrawal were included within the "Other Withdrawals" category). In the more recent year, 1991-92, there were 853 Hawaiian students who reached the age of 18 and chose to withdraw from school—85.2 percent of Hawaiian dropouts. For the DOE as a whole, 3,236 students withdrew after reaching age 18.

The Hawaiian student high school dropout rate is 9.5 percent

If the DOE September count of students (K-12) is used as the denominator, the dropout rate for the total DOE is 2.3 percent. For Hawaiian students, the derived dropout rate is 2.5 percent. The Hawaiian rate, then, is identical to that reported for school year 1980-81, and is similar to the rate computed for the total DOE. However, although all students K-12 are at-risk of dropping out, the incidence of dropping out in grades K-8 is extremely low—95 percent of dropouts from the DOE occur at grades 9-12, while nearly 97 percent of dropouts among Hawaiian students occur at the high school level. If the student

population in grades 9-12 is used as the rate denominator, the total DOE dropout rate was 7.9 percent in school year 1991-92. The high school dropout rate for Hawaiian students was 9.5 percent. These rates are more in line with the status dropout rate reported by the NCES for the state as a whole—7 percent for students aged 16-19.

Table 7 Total DOE and Hawaiian Students Withdrawing from the DOE by Withdrawal Category: School Year 1991-92

Withdrawal Code	Total DOE		Hawaiian Students	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Student is aged 15 and suitably employed	61	1.5	10	1.0
Student withdrew because of marriage	39	1.0	6	0.6
Student entered the armed service	4	0.1	2	0.2
Student is aged 18 and withdrew	3,236	81.5	853	85.2
No show	396	10.0	86	8.6
Student was recommended by Family Court to remain away	3	0.1	1	0.1
Other reason	233	5.9	43	4.3
Total	3,972	100.0	1,001	100.0

Source: State of Hawai'i Department of Education

Excessive Absences

Absenteeism, particularly high levels of absenteeism, is a concern for educators in that it may be a precursor to eventual early withdrawal from school. Excessive absenteeism is defined by the DOE as 20 or more unexcused absences from any one class during a semester. In

the *1983 NHEAP Report*, DOE data based on the reports of 30 schools taking part in computer-managed attendance record keeping in school year 1980-81, indicated high levels of excessive absences on the part of Hawaiian students. Percentages of students identified as being excessively absent were found to increase as grade level increased. Among seventh grade Hawaiian students at these schools, 21.9 percent were excessively absent. The percentage rose to 59.0 percent among seniors. Further, Hawaiian students were highly overrepresented in the absence data in relation to their percent of total enrollment.

One quarter of Hawaiian high school seniors are classified as being excessively absent

Since the 1980-81 school year all 225 DOE schools have been brought on line using computer-managed attendance record keeping. The 1991-92 school year grade-level specific incidence of excessive absences is presented in Figure 52. From the figure it can be seen that there is practically no incidence of excessive absence prior to seventh grade. For all four major ethnic groups in the state and for the DOE as a whole, K-6 absence rates are below 0.5 percent. However, starting at seventh grade, and increasingly so with each grade level, absenteeism rates climb—dramatically so for Hawaiian students. By their twelfth grade year, fully one-quarter of Hawaiian students are identified as being excessively absent.

The 7th-12th grade and 9th-12th grade incidence of excessive absence are presented in Figure 53; the percents of total enrollment and excessive absences are given in Figure 54. In both figures Hawaiian students' rates of excessive absence are higher than those of the other ethnic groups. Across grades 9-12, over one-fifth of Hawaiians are identified as excessively absent. At these same grade levels, Hawaiian students account for over one-third of all excessively absent students.

The 1986-87 through 1991-92 incidence of total DOE and Hawaiian students' excessive absences is presented in Figure 55. Rates for both the total DOE and Hawaiian students have been generally slowly declining in the recent past. Total DOE absenteeism rates fell to 10.9 percent in 1991-92; Hawaiian rate varied between 18 and 19 percent.

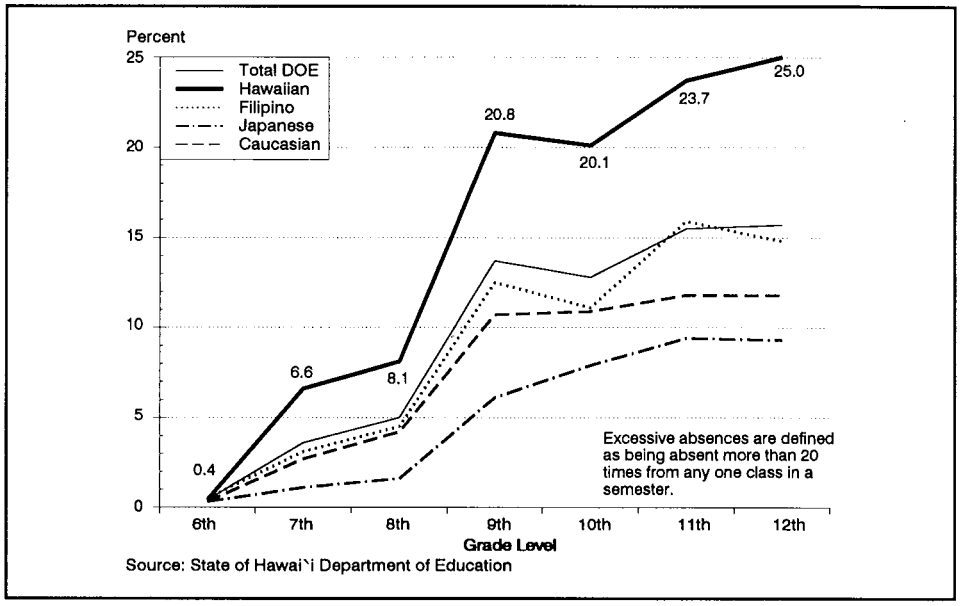


Figure 52. DOE students with excessive absences: Grades 6-12, school year 1991-92.

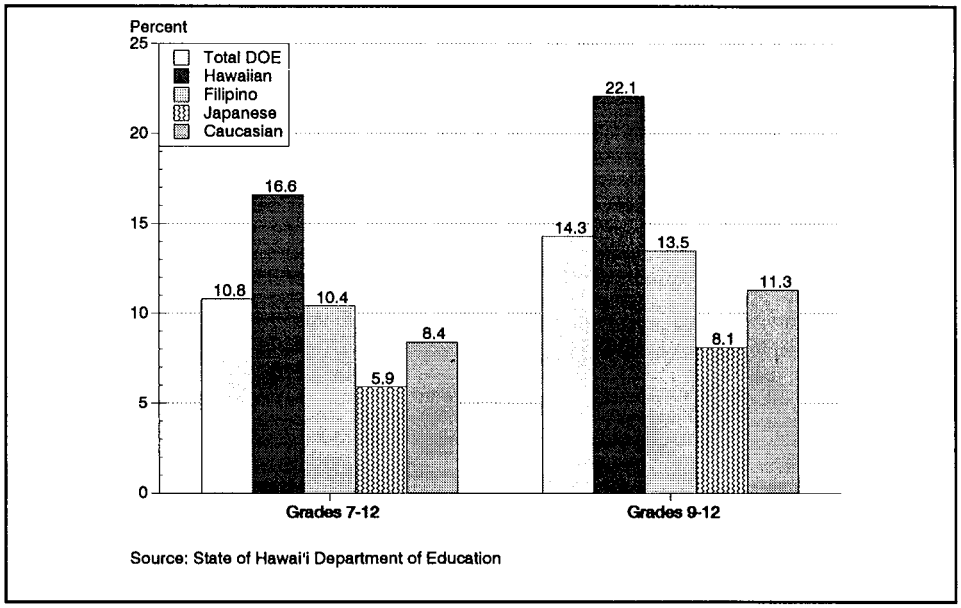


Figure 53. Percent of students identified as being excessively absent: School year 1991-92.

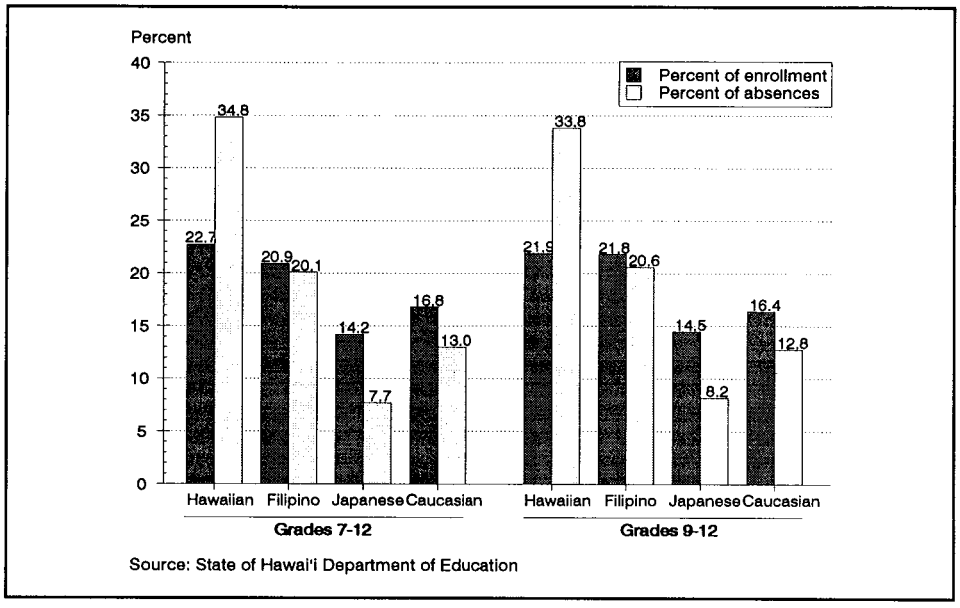


Figure 54. Ethnicity-specific enrollment and excessive absence percentages: School year 1991-92.

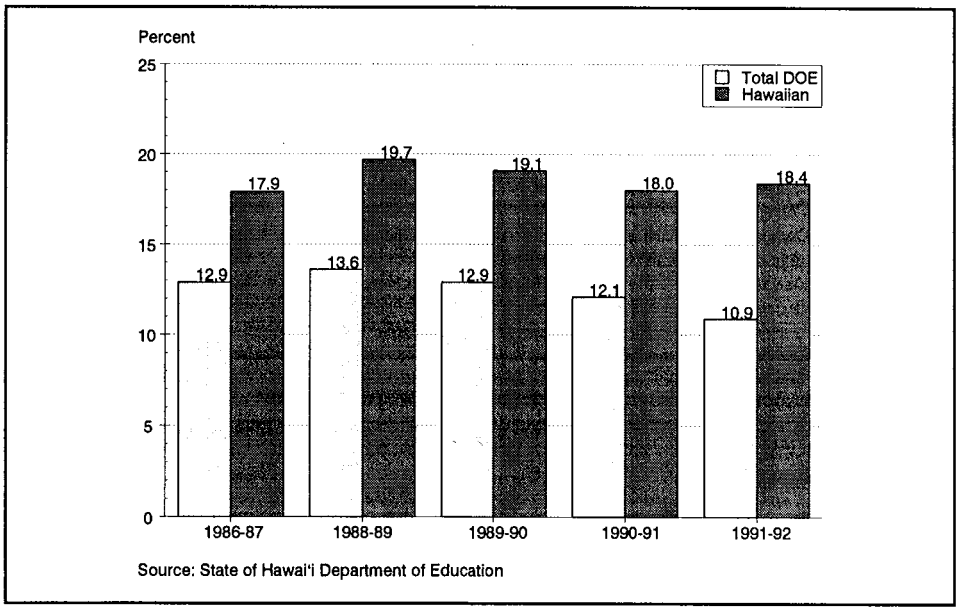


Figure 55. Total DOE and Hawaiian student excessive absences: School years 1986-87 through 1991-92.

The status of Hawaiian student excessive absences has changed remarkably over the past decade. Whereas a study (Alu Like, 1979) of Hawaiians in public schools having over 40 percent Hawaiian enrollment indicated that over 44 percent of Hawaiian students were excessively absent, the more recent data show a far lower incidence of excessive absence. Two factors may be at play in the data. The levels reported in previous studies may have been in error in that not all schools were included in calculating rates. In 1980-81 only 30 schools took part in the computer-managed attendance record keeping system. More recently, all schools have been brought on line using this system. The second factor affecting the recent data may be a true temporal change in the rate of excessive absences. The DOE may be placing more emphasis on reducing the rates of absence noted earlier, resulting in the positive effects noted in the recent data.

Retention in Grade

Retention in grade has recently become a topic of controversy within the state. A report prepared by the DOE Planning and Evaluation Branch (1991) addressed the issue of student retention, finding that the common sense of "get tough" attitudes about academic standards is wrong. The report cites studies (Holmes, 1990; Glickman, 1991; Shepard & Smith, 1989) in which it has been found that students who are retained are no better off academically than similar students who were not kept back. "Study after study over the past 15 years *has shown rather conclusively that there is little benefit of retention*" [no italics added] (p. 15). Further, retention is not neutral—it hurts. "Students retained one year have only a 50 percent chance of graduating, and students, retained twice have little if any chance to graduate" (Gastright, 1987).

The highest level of retention in grade occurs at the ninth grade

The 1991-92 incidence of retention in grade is presented in Figure 56. Data presented in the figure indicate that retention in grades K-6 is minimal. However, in the intermediate and secondary grades retention becomes more pronounced, particularly at ninth grade, where the

incidence of retention peaks. The spike in the retention rates for Hawaiian students is particularly noticeable at the ninth grade level. Ethnicity-specific rates of retention at grades K-12 and 9-12 are presented in Figure 57 while ethnicity-specific percentages of enrollment and retention are given in Figure 58. Both of these figures portray the relatively high incidence of retention in grade found among Hawaiian students. The Hawaiian rate of 13.5 percent in grades 9-12 is nearly 50 percent higher than that of the total DOE. Hawaiian 9-12 grade students, among the four major ethnic groups, are the only students who are over-represented in the retention data—they have more students retained in grade than would be expected based upon enrollment.

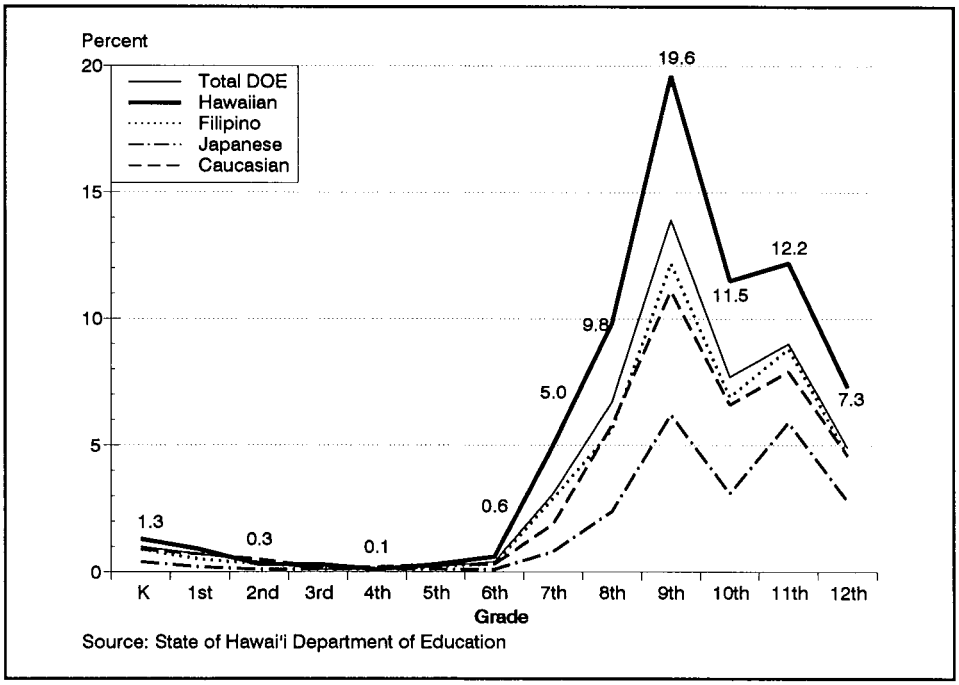


Figure 56. DOE students retained in grade: Grades K-12, school year 1991-92.

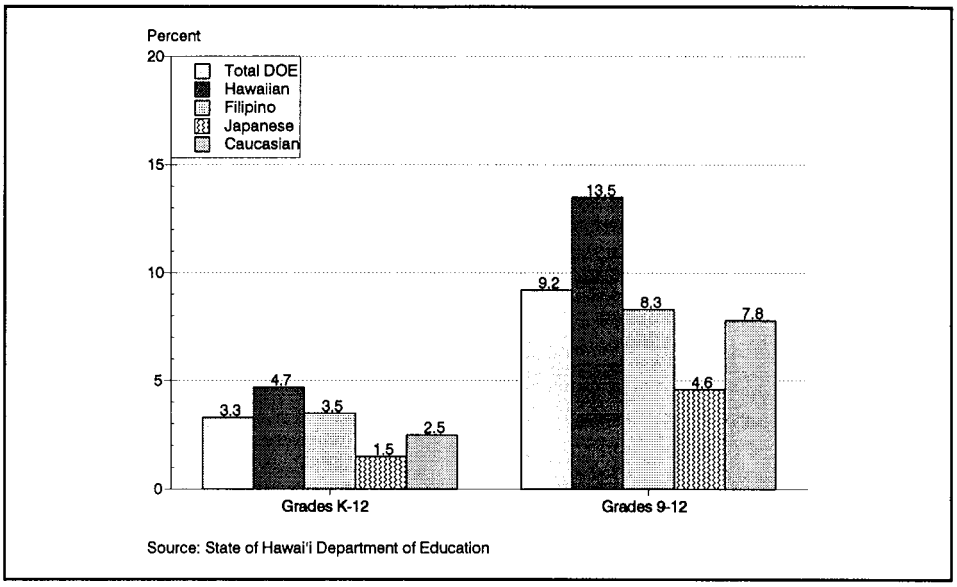


Figure 57. DOE students retained in grade: Grades K-12, school year 1991-92.

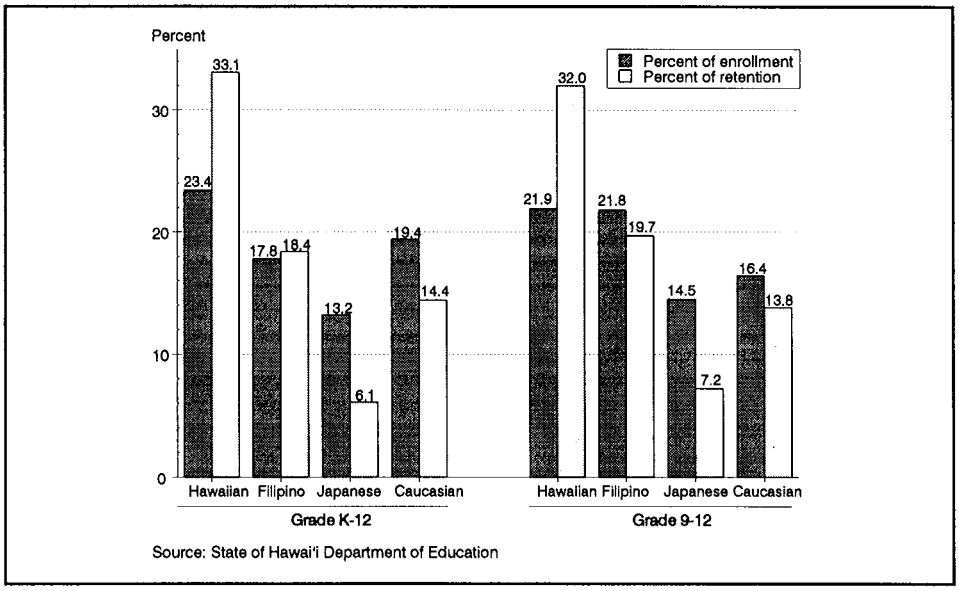


Figure 58. Ethnicity-specific enrollment and retention percentages: School year 1991-92.

Four-Year School-Specific Rates

The DOE has noted that assessment of Hawai'i's progress on this goal is difficult. While over 90 percent of students who are enrolled as seniors in September graduate in June, this does not mean that Hawai'i has a better than 90 percent four-year graduation rate. "What is missing is the number of students who drop out before the beginning of their senior year. Data for four-year graduation rates are not currently collected by the DOE" (Center for Youth Research, 1992, p. 4).

The calculation of a four-year graduation rate is not as simple as comparing the number of students entering ninth grade with the number of students who graduate four years later. A large number of students transfer to private schools within the state or move to other states or countries. Further, some students are retained in grade and fail to graduate with their class.

A single cohort of students from three high schools from three different school districts was selected for more in-depth analysis of their high school careers. The three high schools are located in communities having different sets of socio-economic characteristics. One high school (A) is found in a lower socio-economic community with a high proportion of Hawaiian students. The second school (B) is in a mixed socio-economic setting with a more varied ethnic population. The third school (C) is in a middle-to-upper class community with a higher proportion of Caucasian students.

The high school careers of students entering these high schools at ninth grade (school year 1989-90) were examined. Individual student's careers were tracked from 9th to 12th grade. Students transferring to other DOE schools remained in the study—those transferring to private schools or moving out of state were dropped from the study. Results of the study are presented in Table 8.

Table 8 High School Careers of a Cohort of Students Entering 9th Grade in School Year 1989-90

	School A		School B		School C	
	Haw'n	Non-Haw'n	Haw'n	Non-Haw'n	Haw'n	Non-Haw'n
Cohort Size						
# Students	258	320	134	198	34	248
% of Cohort	44.6%	55.4%	40.4%	59.6%	12.1%	87.9%
Excessive Absences						
# Ex. Absent	311	342	117	95	13	30
# Students	172	190	70	59	9	24
% Students	66.7%	59.4%	52.2%	29.8%	26.5%	10.7%
Retention						
# Retentions	206	207	44	26	7	11
# Students	106	114	25	18	3	9
% Students	41.1%	35.6%	18.7%	18.7%	8.8%	3.6%
Dropouts						
# Dropouts	73	74	19	14	4	15
% Students	28.3%	23.1%	14.2%	7.1%	11.8%	6.0%

In each socio-economic setting Hawaiians have higher rates of absence, retention, and dropouts

The data show different levels of excessive absences, retention, and dropouts at the three schools. School A had the highest rates, School B had intermediate rates, and School C had the lowest rates. The pattern follows the socio-economic levels of the three communities, both for non-Hawaiian students and Hawaiian students. Within each school, Hawaiians had the highest rates (significantly higher in Schools B and C). In School A, two-thirds of the Hawaiian students were excessively absent at some time during their high school years.

Unfortunately, these DOE data do not permit the direct calculation of a four-year graduation rate for these students. However, examination of retention and dropouts indicates that a large proportion of students at each of the schools fails to progress through high school on class

schedule. For example, only 43 percent of Hawaiian students at School A remained "on cohort"—that is, retention and withdrawal of Hawaiian students reduced those progressing normally to 43 percent of those in the cohort. Percentages of Hawaiian students who remained "on cohort" at Schools B and C were 69 and 77 percent, respectively. Not all students who fell "off cohort" automatically became dropouts after the cohort's 12th grade year. For example, 17 students (6.6%) of the School A Hawaiian students were enrolled in school the following year and may proceed to school completion behind their cohort.

Alternative Education Programs

While the overall graduation and school completion rate for the DOE is high—recently at 95 percent for high school seniors—the DOE has initiated a number of alternate education programs to reduce the number of students in high school who are dropping out before or during their senior years. The Central District's *Storefront* alternative learning center serves about 400 at-risk students each year. Students may acquire up to eight credits a year in its 8 am-8 pm programs. The *Bridge* program, 24% of whose contacts are Hawaiian, is designed to retain students and encourage lifelong learning attitudes. *Bridge* provides basic skills, vocational training, and training in the crucial "seed concepts" of self-discipline, taking responsibility, and workplace ethics.

Other DOE programs aimed at reducing early school withdrawal, retention, and absenteeism include the *Comprehensive School Alienation Program* (alienated youth—served 4,369 students), *Education of Homeless Children and Youth* (homeless children—served 453 in schools, 611 in shelters), *Conflict Management Program* (anger management and alternative to violence—located in 51 secondary and 54 elementary schools), *Parent/Parenting Teen Program* (teenage parents—providing on- and off-campus classes in pre-/postnatal care, child development, parenting skills, etc.), *School Attendance Program* (students and parents at 17 intermediate schools) and *Positive*

Alternative Gang Education (7th grade students in 20 intermediate schools), and *Child Abuse and Neglect* (serving all children who are victims of child abuse and/or neglect).

All of these programs have the mission of increasing students' chances of staying in school. The DOE has found that those programs having success in reducing dropout rates share the following characteristics:

- Flexibility—a variety of approaches tailored to the individual
- Early intervention—preschool and parenting programs during the early years
- Early identification—especially at transitions to elementary, middle, and high school
- Program autonomy/accountability—authority to set policy and make curriculum decisions
- Committed teachers with high expectations
- Strong vocational components—learning and work linked in experiential education
- Intensive, sustained counseling
- School-community integration—shared responsibility for the services needed (Center for Youth Research, 1992, p. 5).

KS Alternative Education Programs

The Alternative Education Program (AEP) is one of several collaborative efforts between the Kamehameha Schools and the DOE to develop educational services to help Hawaiian students receive a meaningful education. AEP programs were initially designed to serve Hawaiian students at risk of failing in regular school settings, but in recent years the programs' focus has broadened to include other students in public schools through prevention and early intervention programs.

Kamehameha Schools has four AEP components located at ten sites in the community. These are:

- **Hale O Ho'oponopono** on Hawai'i (SY 1992-93 enrollment: 22) and **Ka Papa Honua O Keawanui** on Maui (SY 1992-93 enrollment: 34). These Alternative Learning Centers (ALC) are designed to serve

high school students who require an educational setting apart from the regular school campus. Students enrolled in these two programs are considered "severely alienated" by the DOE. Students are eligible for participation if they meet *four or more* or the following criteria: (a) ten or more unexcused absences; (b) two or more required courses failed; (c) three or more disciplinary referrals; (d) failure of the Hawai'i State Test of Essential Competencies (HSTEC); (d) crisis suspension; or (e) court involvement.

Program goals of the ALCs are to improve the educational performance, enhance the personal and social development, and successfully return to the mainstream students who are at-risk of school failure. Specific program objectives include:

- 75% of the program students will not drop out of school
- 75% of the program seniors will graduate
- 70% of the program students will pass all their classes
- 70% of the program students will maintain an attendance rate of 70% or more.

Twenty-one of the 24 students considered 12th graders graduated during the 1990-91 and 1991-92 school years. Twelve students received high school diplomas and nine students received Competency-Based Diplomas through adult education.

- **Mālama o ke Ola** (SY 1992-93 enrollment: 363). The semester-long Guidance Program provides alternative education services at five intermediate schools on O'ahu and one site on Hawai'i. The program is an early intervention program designed to assist DOE students in grades 7 and 8 who are starting to exhibit indicators of school alienation. Students are referred to the program by intermediate school teachers or counselors if they meet *one or more* of the following criteria: (a) one or more grade levels behind; (b) two or more courses failed; (c) three or more disciplinary

referrals; (d) ten or more absences; or (e) if they are considered at-risk of school failure for other valid reasons. Preference is given to students of Hawaiian ancestry.

Specific program objectives include:

- 70% of the students with two or more courses failed will show a decrease in failures
- 70% of the students with three or more disciplinary referrals will show a decrease in referrals
- 70% of the students with 10 or more absences will show a decrease in absences.

During the 1991-92 school year: (a) 72% decreased their failures during the semester; (b) 70% decreased their disciplinary referrals; and (c) 63% decreased their absences.

- **Elementary School Guidance Program** (SY 1992-93 enrollment: 417). This prevention program at two O'ahu elementary schools is designed to promote school success for all students and prevent the further alienation of students who are educationally at-risk, and provide services at two elementary schools on O'ahu. Program services include classroom instruction in the area of guidance twice a week. The lessons focus on social skills, communication skills, and self concept.

  Specific program objectives include:

  - 85% will receive end of year teacher ratings of average or above in the area or social skills
  - 85% will receive end of year teacher ratings of average or above in the area of self concept
  - 85% will receive end of year teacher ratings of average or above in the area of communication skills.

During the 1991-92 school year, 89% of students at one school and 79% at the other received average or above social skills ratings; 89% and 78% of students received average or above self concept ratings; and 88% and 81% of students received average or above communications skills ratings.

In these DOE and Kamehameha Schools alternative education programs, students receive individual and group support. These programs are labor-intensive and expensive, requiring special supportive relationships through the use of mentors, small class sizes, and high counselor/student ratios. However, the long term costs of failure, both to the individual and to the community and larger society are also great. Continued development and implementation of programs such as these are justified given the alternative of dropping out of school.

Summary

The state has already surpassed the national goal of 90 percent graduation rate

The State of Hawai'i has done well among the states in meeting the goal of increasing the graduation rate. If the national goal is to increase the high school graduation rate to at least 90 percent by the year 2000, Hawai'i has already surpassed the goal—in recent years 95 percent of high school seniors have gone on to either graduation or high school completion through earning diplomas or certificates of completion.

Hawai'i appears to be doing relatively well with regard to dropout and absenteeism rates. If the DOE K-12 enrollment is used as the rate denominator, only 2.3 percent of DOE students dropout—the rate for Hawaiian students is 2.5 percent. When limited to students in grades 9-12, the total DOE dropout rate increases to 7.9 percent, while the Hawaiian student rate is 9.5 percent. Even at these higher rate levels, the state as a whole is doing well compared with the nation. The Hawai'i status dropout rate among those aged 16-19 is 7.0 compared with 11.2 percent for the nation. Only six other states had status dropout rates lower than those of Hawai'i. Excessive absence rates among Hawaiian

students have dropped dramatically over the past decade—the rate among Hawaiian seniors declined from 59 percent to 25 percent. Still, excessive absence rates for Hawaiian students are still far above those of the total DOE and the three other major ethnic groups in the state. Hawaiian students also exhibit retention rates that are in excess of those among other ethnic groups in the state. At the high school level, one-in-eight Hawaiian students are retained in grade. This high level of grade retention accounts for the large number of students who reach age 18 and dropout without completing school.

Goal 4: Adult Literacy and College Completion

Adult literacy rates, along with college enrollment and completion rates, will increase

In the face of growing technological demands in the work place educators have become increasingly concerned about the specific skills retained by program graduates. Limited adult literacy levels—even among workers who have graduated from high school—suggest that significant numbers of school attenders fail to profit from school instruction.

Literacy

A statewide needs assessment of adult literacy skills of Hawai'i residents was conducted in 1989 for the Governor's Council on Literacy (Omnitrak, 1989). Based on the national Adult Performance Level (APL) study of 1975, the 26-item literacy assessment required respondents to complete everyday tasks such as writing a check, completing simple math problems, addressing an envelope, using a map, and responding to a classified advertisement.

One-third of Hawaiian adults are assessed as functionally illiterate

In line with the three-level classification system used with the APL study, three literacy clusters were identified for Hawai'i. Level 1, labeled "Functionally Illiterate," included participants who correctly completed 40 percent or fewer of the 26 points included in the assessment. Scores for this group corresponded to a reading capacity of less than fourth-grade level.

At the other achievement extreme, the Level 3 cluster was comprised of respondents whose performance was considered typical of high school graduates. Participants in this cluster correctly completed 19 or more of 26 items. In the middle, respondents who correctly completed 12 to 18 of 26 items were classified as Level 2. This performance level was characterized as typical of persons completing between one and three years of high school.

Information presented in Figure 59 shows the pattern of assessed literacy performance across six major ethnic groups in the State of

Hawai'i. Overall, about 19 percent of participants in the State of Hawai'i scored at Level I, or in the "functionally illiterate" range. Although this rate was about 50 percent higher than earlier estimates of adult illiteracy rates by state officials (Engle, 1989; Kaser, 1989), Hawai'i's rate compares with a 20 percent adult illiteracy rate for the nation as a whole.

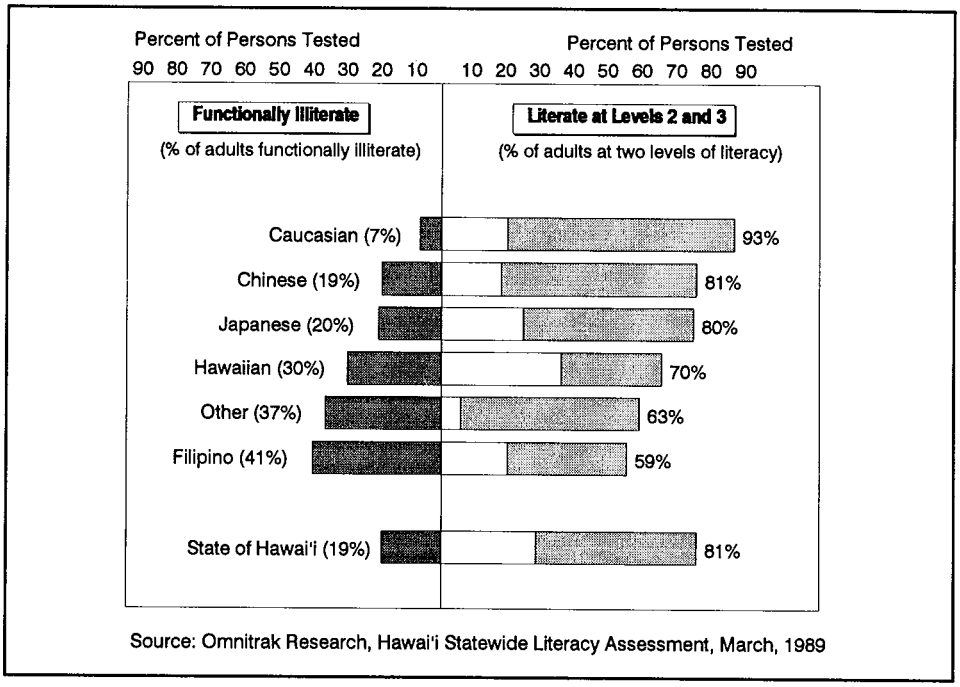


Figure 59. Hawai'i State Literacy Assessment performance by ethnic group: 1989.

The data also reveal a comparative abundance among Hawaiians of performers at Level 2 and a comparative shortage of top-level performers clustered in Level 3. For example, statewide about one-half of participants attained Level 3 classification. Only about one-third of Hawaiian participants did so. Of the groups shown, this was the lowest proportion of Level 3 performance. Balancing this, though, and making for an overall literacy rate of about 70 percent, Hawaiians led all other groups with 38 percent Level 2 performance.

As can be seen, three groups in the State of Hawai'i—Filipinos, Hawaiians, and Others (Blacks, Koreans, Samoans, Tongans, Vietnamese, etc)—had about one-third or more of respondents score as functionally illiterate. Hawaiians were the only one of these groups that did not include significant numbers of immigrants (Adamski, 1989).

High School Completion

The arrival of New England missionaries in 1820 marked the beginning of a long history of literacy in Hawai'i. Within about 10 years educational efforts, fueled by a pyramiding system of teacher training of Native Hawaiian instructors, produced an educational system that included 961 schools and a total enrollment of just over 50,000 students (Kittelson, 1981). At the time, the majority of Hawaiian adults could read and write their native language. This prevailing pattern of adult literacy placed Hawai'i among the world leaders in this area. The Hawaiian literacy rate was exceeded only by Scotland and several New England states.

Traditions of strong Hawaiian support of education continued throughout the Monarchy period. Instruction in English began in the 1850s and spread rapidly. Royal support for education culminated with Bernice Pauahi Bishop's initiation and funding of Kamehameha Schools.

Data presented in Figure 60 show Hawaiian educational attainment in terms of percent of adults age 25 years and over who completed high school. A five-decade frame of reference was used to emphasize the magnitude of growth in our nation's provision of universal education. Collectively, United States citizens have a far higher level of formal education than is the case in most nations (Graham, 1993).

Hawaiians have a strong tradition of completing high school

Compared with other American minority populations, Hawaiians have had a strong tradition of high school completion. For example, starting in 1940 about one-in-five Hawaiian adults had completed high school. This rate was only about 24 percent under the national average for all residents, and more than twice the rate of Blacks nationally. By 1980 the Hawaiian rate reached a point about three percent above the national

average, and roughly a third higher than Blacks across the nation. Although 1990 Census data for Hawaiians in the State of Hawai'i on this indicator have not yet been issued, our projections are that the Hawaiian rate should at least equal the national average. This would keep Hawaiians in the State of Hawai'i about 17 percent ahead of Blacks in completing four years of high school.

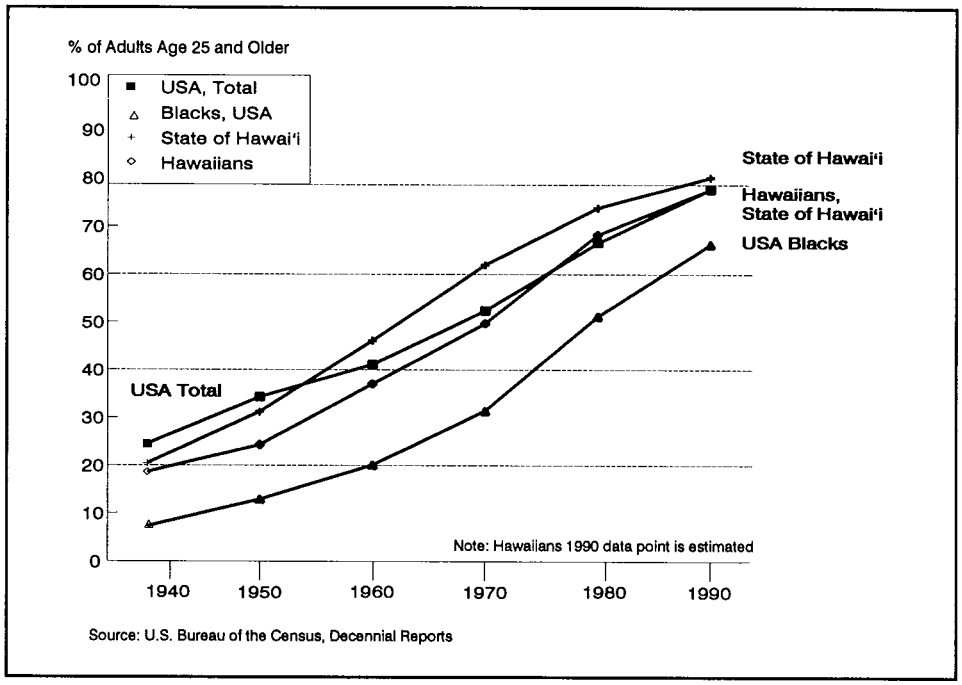


Figure 60. Percent of adults age 25 years and older who completed high school: 1940-1990, selected groups.

A second frame of reference for considering Hawaiian educational attainment is within-state ethnic comparisons. Data presented in Figure 61 reveal a pattern of exceptional educational attainment by Caucasians in Hawai'i coupled with generally comparable performance by Hawai'i's other major ethnic groups. Hawaiians were second to Caucasians in 1940 in terms of adults who graduated from high school. By 1950 Japanese pulled slightly ahead of Hawaiians, while Filipinos over time have remained slightly below Hawaiian peformance levels.

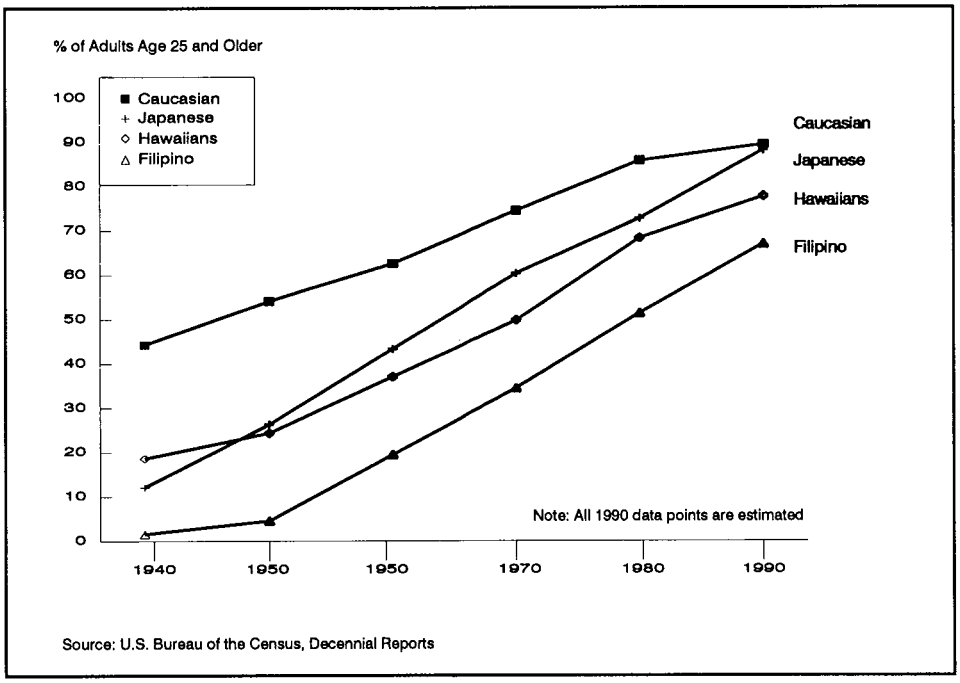


Figure 61. High school completion by adults age 25 years and older: Major ethnic groups in Hawai'i, 1940-1990.

Higher Education

While the pattern of Hawaiian completion of high school has converged on the national average over time and has remained well ahead of Blacks nationally, college completion shows the reverse. That is, Hawaiians have completed four or more years of college at about the same rate as Blacks nationally, and their college completion rate is about one-half of the national rate overall.

Hawaiian completion of college is comparatively infrequent

An illustration of this pattern is presented in Figure 62. In contrasting Hawaiian with Black attainment, Hawaiians had higher college completion than Blacks in 1940, 1950, and 1960. However, for 1970 and 1980 college completion rates for Blacks were about seven to eight percent higher than for Hawaiians. The figure shown for 1990 for Hawaiians is an estimate, since Census information about Hawaiian education for Hawaiians in the State of Hawai'i is not yet available. If Hawaiian college attainment does reach 11 percent, it will represent a

43 percent increase since 1980. Black college attainment rates improved about 35 percent between 1980 and 1990.

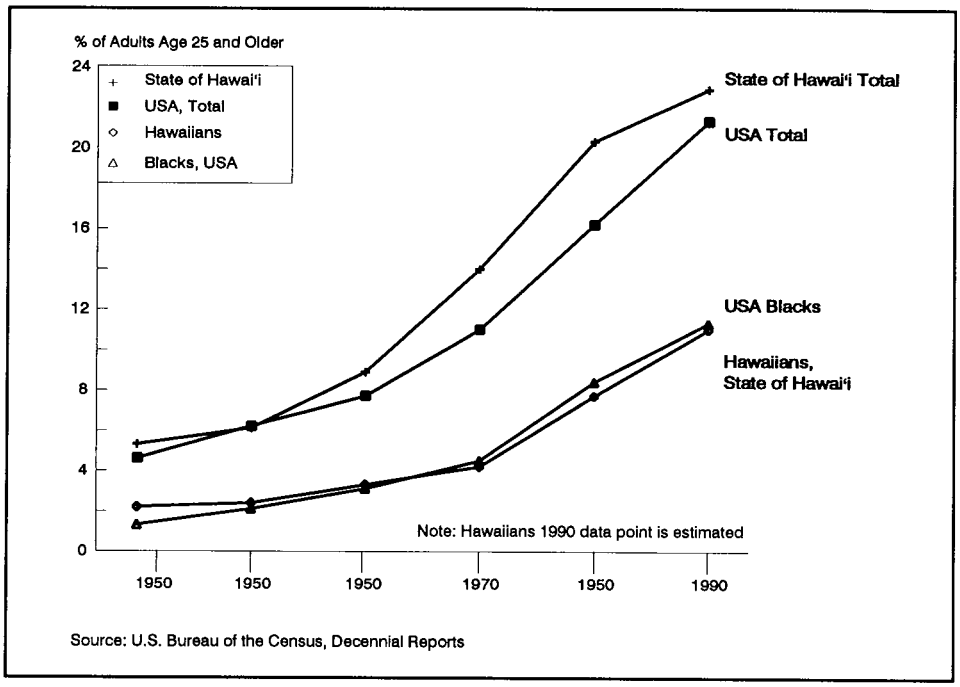


Figure 62. Completion of four or more years of college by adults age 25 years and older: 1940-1990.

Within the State of Hawai'i, the four major ethnic groups show distinctive patterns over time in the percent of adults age 25 years and older who completed four or more years of college. Data are presented in Figure 63. Of all the groups Hawaiians have had the flattest growth curve since 1940 in college completion statistics—particularly through 1970. In contrast, Caucasian, Japanese, and Filipino groups have all had periods of strong growth in the number of adults who completed college.

For example, Caucasians showed the strongest increase during the period 1960-1980. For Japanese and Filipino adults the 1970s were the periods of greatest rate of increase. The same was true for Hawaiians, but at a flatter rate. It should also be noted that, for the three "minority" groups (Japanese, Filipino, and Hawaiian), the 1990 data as shown

represent estimates based on past decennial growth rates. When all 1990 Census results do become available, the profile presented here can be finalized. At this point our prediction is that results will not differ substantively from the projections as presently offered.

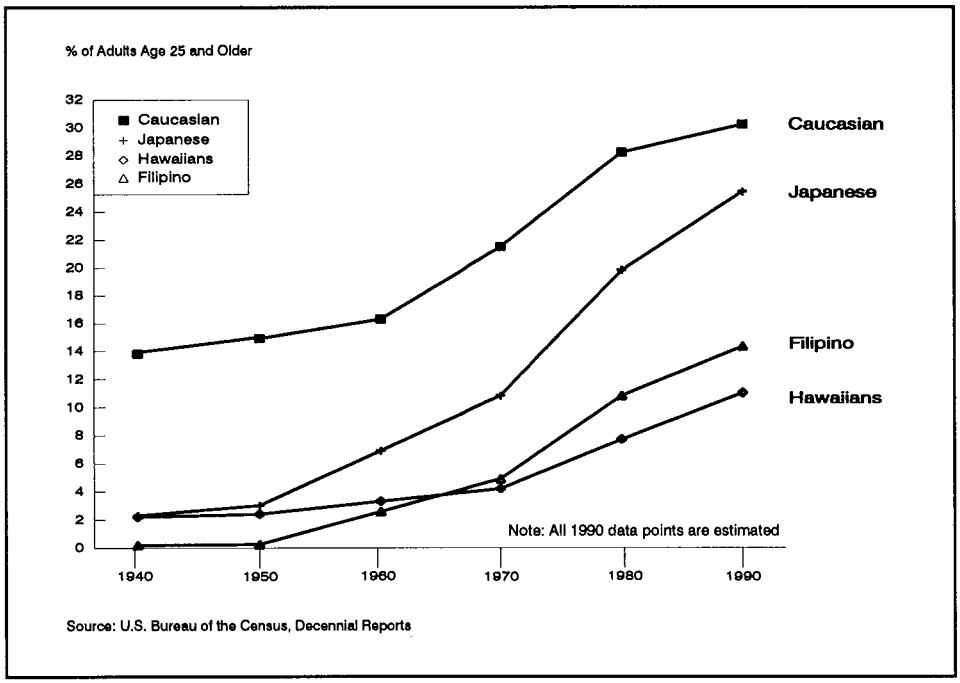


Figure 63. Rate of college completion (four or more years) for adults age 25 years and older: Major ethnic groups in Hawai'i, 1940-1990.

Hawaiian post-secondary enrollment has been growing

While Hawaiians attend both public and private colleges in the State of Hawai'i, the University of Hawai'i has the most complete records of student ethnicity, and it enrolls about 90 percent of the Hawaiians within the state who participate in post-secondary education.

Data presented in Figure 64 show the trend for total Hawaiian enrollment within the University of Hawai'i system for the period 1977-1992. This series commences with 1977 because that was the first year in which the University reported student ethnicity. Additionally, the steep increase during the first four years is thought to reflect a shift in the survey question initiated in 1980. The change in the instrument

produced greater consistency in how part-Hawaiian students responded and thereby a marked increase in the Hawaiian/part-Hawaiian count.

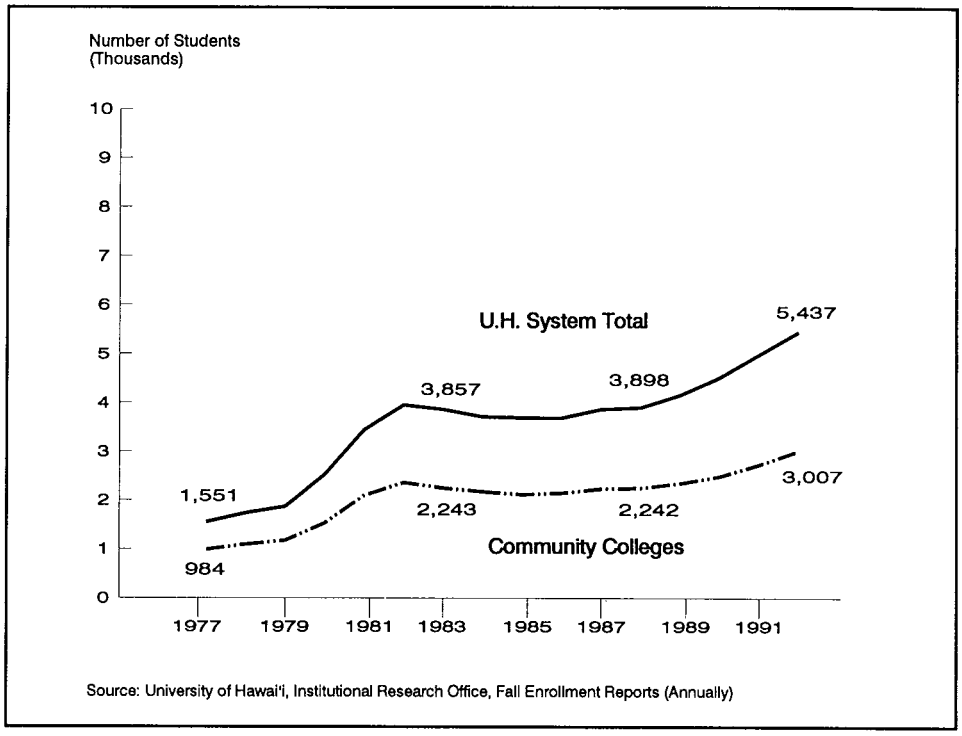


Figure 64. Number of Hawaiians enrolled in the University of Hawai'i system: System total and community colleges, 1977-1992.

Throughout most of the the 1980s Hawaiian post-secondary enrollment in the University of Hawai'i system remained essentially flat. Total system enrollment hovered around 3,700 - 3,800, with community colleges accounting for about 55-60 percent of this total.

Sharp increases in Hawaiian enrollment began in Fall, 1989 with a six percent jump in total system enrollment of Hawaiians from Fall, 1988. Since that time annual growth for Hawaiian system-wide enrollment has averaged about nine percent overall, but slightly higher for the four-year programs (10.1 percent on average) than for the community colleges (7.6 percent on average). The most recent total enrollment for both four-year and community colleges represents the highest number of

Hawaiians (N= 5,437) ever enrolled in the University of Hawai'i system. As has generally been the case, just over one-half of these were enrolled in community college programs.

Additional perspective on the recent trends in Hawaiian post-secondary enrollment growth is provided in Figure 65. University of Hawai'i system totals are shown for 1977-1987 with actuals to date and two projection series through the year 2000. The latter were presented by Melahn and Paleka (1989) in a detailed review of available data related to Hawaiians and post-secondary education. Briefly, the two projected trajectories of Hawaiian enrollment reflect either an outcomes orientation (the more aggressive curve) or a moderate growth scenario keyed to anticipated increases in the size of the college-age (age 18 to 23 years) Hawaiian population. Review of the data as presented show that actual Hawaiian enrollment closely approximated, for both 1989 and 1990, the moderate growth projections produced in 1989. However, during the past two years Hawaiian enrollment in the University of Hawai'i system has started to exceed the moderate projections, thereby indicating an encouraging rate of increase (average about 10 percent annually for 1989-1992) for Hawaiian enrollment in the University of Hawai'i system for 1991 and 1992.

The trend noted in Figure 65 is substantive in that it seems to represent an increase in terms of the percentage of college-age youth enrolled in school. Specifically, the prime target for post-secondary education are persons aged 18-23. Given what is known about the number of Hawaiians born in the State of Hawai'i over time, educators concerned with post-secondary education of Hawaiians can expect a substantive increase in the size of the prime service population during the next decade.

Data presented in Figure 66 illustrates the situation. Two curves are included. The upper curve represents a running estimate of the Hawaiian population aged 18-23, based on the number of Hawaiian

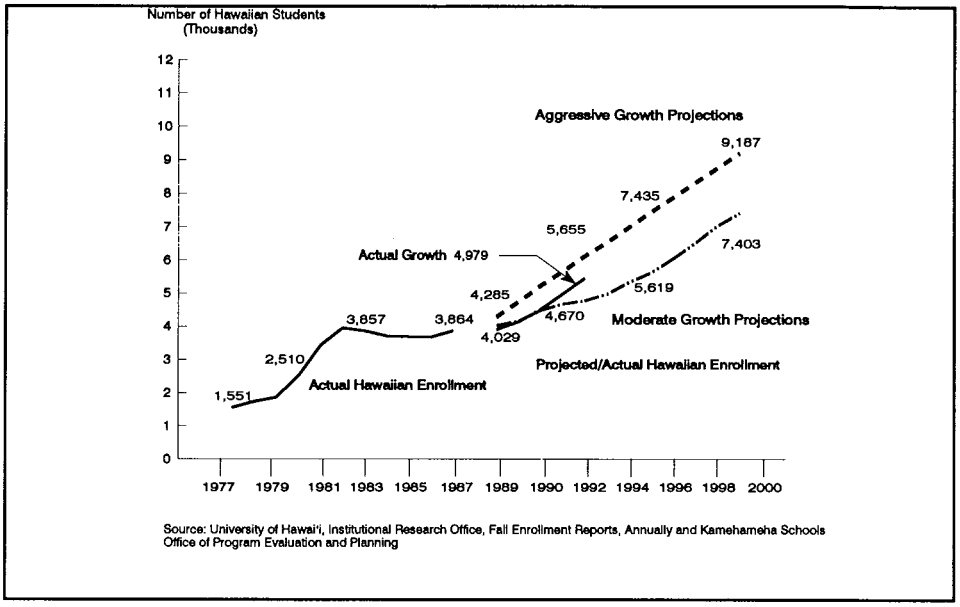


Figure 65. Hawaiian enrollment in the University of Hawai'i system and two projections of enrollment through 2000.

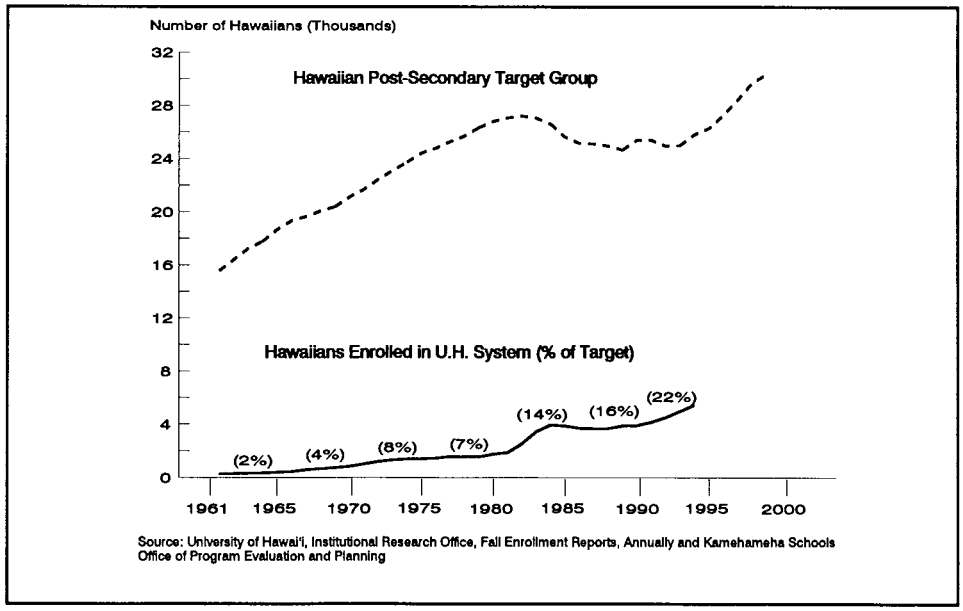


Figure 66. Primary post-secondary target group (persons aged 18-23) and total University of Hawai'i system enrollment for Hawaiians: 1961-1992.

births annually. The sharp increase toward the end of this curve reflects rising Hawaiian births during the latter half of the 1970s and the early 1980s. The second curve is the total Hawaiian enrollment in the University of Hawai'i system through fall, 1992. The percent figures in parentheses represent the U.H. system enrollment divided by the size of the target group aged 18-23.

Although the U.H. enrollment includes students beyond the primary 18-23 years target group, juxtaposition of these two pieces of information provides one means of considering the relationship between population information and post-secondary enrollment patterns. The data as shown are encouraging in that the percent of the primary target group enrolled in the U.H. system has risen markedly since 1980. In fact, if the present 22 percent participation rate can be maintained over the next few years Hawaiian post-secondary enrollment will grow appreciably because the Hawaiian population aged 18-23 is projected to increase at a rate of about three percent annually due to comparatively large cohorts of Hawaiians (born in 1976-1981) turning age 18.

Data about the specific characteristics of Hawaiians enrolled in the University of Hawai'i system have been limited to date. One study from the late 1980s (Alu Like, 1988) examined the background and school progress of seven cohorts of first-time freshmen at U.H. Mānoa. About 60 percent of these students had attended private high schools, with the majority of these (45 percent of the total) being graduates of Kamehameha Schools.

Interestingly, a separate source of data about Kamehameha graduates attending Mānoa on a first-time basis (University of Hawai'i, Institutional Research Reports, annual) suggested that about one-quarter to one-third of Kamehameha graduates during the period 1979-1985 did not declare themselves as Hawaiian within the University setting. This rate of non-identification is one documented both within the Department of Education and with the U.S. Census (cf., Melahn & Hammond, 1984).

Finally, using the Institutional Research Office reports noted above it is possible to examine the rates for entry into the University of Hawai'i system for specific schools and areas. An example is given in Figure 67.

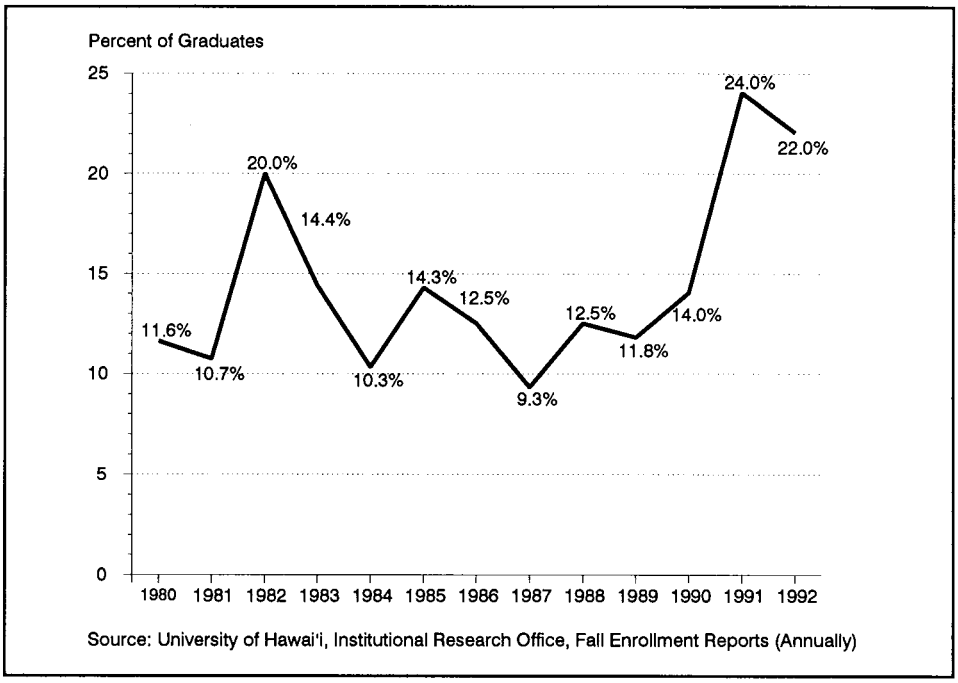


Figure 67. Rate of entrance into the University of Hawai'i system by students from a rural, high Hawaiian-percentage high school: 1970-1992.

The data show "going rates" (the rate of entrance into the University of Hawai'i for individual high school graduating classes) across time for a rural O'ahu high school with a nearly 70 percent Hawaiian enrollment. These data, other than the one-year peak in 1982, show a flat pattern of participation of school graduates in the University of Hawai'i system during the 1980's. This consistency is interesting in that 1986 marked the introductory year for the federally-funded Talent Search program. This program brought added resources to the school in the form of additional college counseling capacity and a program focused explicitly on enrouraging college attendance of students whose parents had never completed college. Fortunately, 1991 and 1992 showed a marked

increase in the rate at which school graduates pursued post-secondary education within the University of Hawai'i system. Perhaps programs such as Talent Search take a number of years to influence students' post-secondary educational choices. Whatever the case, it is at least encouraging to find growth at a key low-income target school with special services that corresponds to the encouraging data for Hawaiian participation in the U.H. system.

Information about Hawaiian post-secondary graduation rates is limited

The rising post-secondary enrollment of Hawaiians provides an encouraging indicator of progress on a broad educational front. Unfortunately, data about the graduation or completion rates of Hawaiians in post-secondary education remain limited, and the limited data that are available are not encouraging.

The University of Hawai'i study cited above (Alu Like, 1988) provides the most comprehensive review of Hawaiian performance at U.H. Mānoa available to date. In general, this study revealed that although Hawaiians at U.H. Mānoa tended to be comparable to their peers in terms of general overall ability and preparation at the time of entry, they experienced more academic difficulties, took longer to graduate, and had lower overall graduation rates than their non-Hawaiian peers.

More specifically, data presented in Figure 68 reveal that the graduation rate for Hawaiians was about 38 percent lower than the rate for the class as a whole as well as notably lower than the rates of two other major ethnic groups, Japanese and Filipino students. In the latter case, this graduation differential came inspite of the fact that Filipinos had lower SAT averages as entering freshmen.

The data also reveal that Kamehameha graduates, who might be presumed to be the recipients of extensive college preparation by virtue of their attendance at Kamehameha, graduated at about the same comparatively low rate attained by Hawaiians from public schools and Hawaiians from private schools other than Kamehameha. Among the key difficulties cited by study participants were: (a) inability to cope with academic requirements; (b) discomfort with the large classes and

impersonal qualitites of the university setting; and (c) financial constraints derived from having to combine work and school.

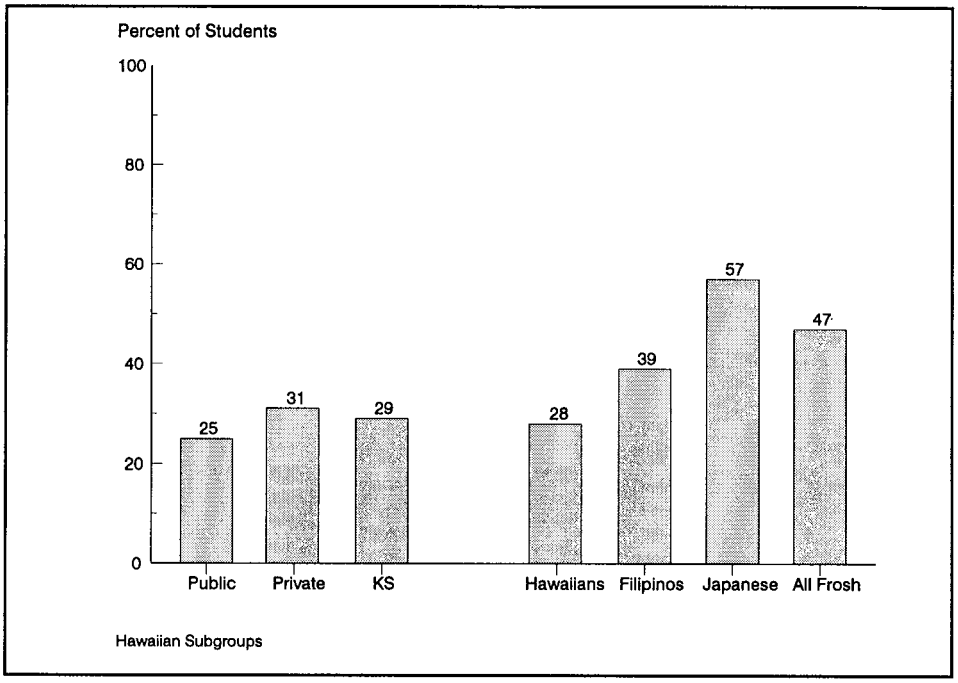


Figure 68. Graduation rates for students who entered U.H. Manoa as first-time freshmen during the period 1979-1981.

Summary

Statistics regarding literacy levels of Hawaiian adults reveal a mixture of findings. On the one hand, the Hawaiian people have one of the strongest traditions of basic literacy of any group in the world. Responses to early missionary efforts to encourage literacy were exceptional, and subsequent support for education by Hawaiian community leaders have remained strong during the ensuing 170 years. An apparent contemporary result of this tradition is a high school educational attainment rate among Hawaiian adults that exceeds the national average and notably outpaces high school completion rates of other minority groups (e.g., national data for Blacks, Hispanics, and Native Americans).

Unfortunately, the skill-level implied by widespread completion of high school appears to be less pervasive than might be expected. Statewide literacy assessment data from the late 1980s showed Hawaiians to have the lowest overall pattern of literacy skills of any of the predominately native-born groups in the state. Their profile showed distribution into essentially three comparably-sized clusters. About one-third scored in the range defined as "functionally illiterate." The remaining two-thirds fell about equally into the "functional" and "proficient" categories. This latter pattern is distinctive in that Hawaiians showed the lowest rate of scoring within the proficient range of any group in the state. This included two groups (Filipinos and Others) with significant numbers of immigrants in the adult population.

Further evidence of a possible attenuation of literacy skills for Hawaiians at the higher performance levels may be found in educational attainment data about college completion. Of all the statistics—across a range of indicator areas—regarding the Hawaiian group, college completion data may be among the most distinctive.

For example, Hawaiian adults in Hawai'i had a college completion rate in 1980 that was about eight percent lower than Blacks across the country and about one-half the rate of the nation as a whole. This for a group whose high school completion data showed a rate about one-third higher than Blacks nationally and about three percent higher than the national average! Apparently, there is strong support within the Hawaiian community for completing high school, but much less pervasive persistence toward extending educational attainment through four years of college.

Fortunately, one of the strongest set of progress indicators uncovered during the present update of 1983 findings is in the area of Hawaiian participation in the State of Hawai'i's post-secondary educational system. Growth during the past two-years has been remarkable, with preliminary results revealing change where it did not previously exist. Moreover, the changes seem to be linked with programming/ scholarship efforts. Still, the distinctiveness of Hawaiians in post-

secondary educational attainment is such that continued efforts remain essential. These need to include direct educational program support to adults as well as prospective educational foundations to be established through programs covering the prenatal period through high school completion.

Goal 5: Positive Learning Environment

Schools will offer a nurturing yet disciplined environment conducive to learning

Educators have always faced the potentially negative impact of out-of-school events, circumstances, and lifestyles on educational progress. Responses to these challenges have been both individual and institutional. For example, individual teachers, given unique combinations of personal experience and/or specialized training, accommodate the special needs of their own students within the normal flow of daily instruction. Simultaneously, school systems have evolved an increasingly multi-faceted program of special services for the clusters of students who need them.

Today, the burgeoning prevalence of childhood poverty, single-parent households, substance abuse, and violence are placing a growing strain on existing service networks. Increasingly, health, social service, and educational service providers have begun to explore the potential benefits of collaborative, networked service (e.g., Holtzman, 1992). This chapter provides an update on some of the special needs of Native Hawaiians that carry implications for educators.

Students With Special Needs

Between 1980 and 1992 the Hawaiian representation within the Department of Education (DOE) as a whole climbed from 20.4 percent to 23.4 percent. During that same period Hawaiian representation within the special education population in the DOE edged up from 31.8 percent across all categories to 32.7 percent. In both instances Hawaiians were notably overrepresented within the special education group.

Hawaiians account for one-third of students in Special Education

Data presented in Figure 69 show the percent representation of Hawaiians across 17 categories of Special Education diagnosis. Hawaiians were overrepresented in 9 of the 17 areas. For five of the areas—Hard of Hearing, Specific Learning Disabilities, Partially Sighted,

Mild Mental Retardation, and Seriously Emotionally Handicapped—Hawaiians accounted for 30 percent or more of the special education enrollment.

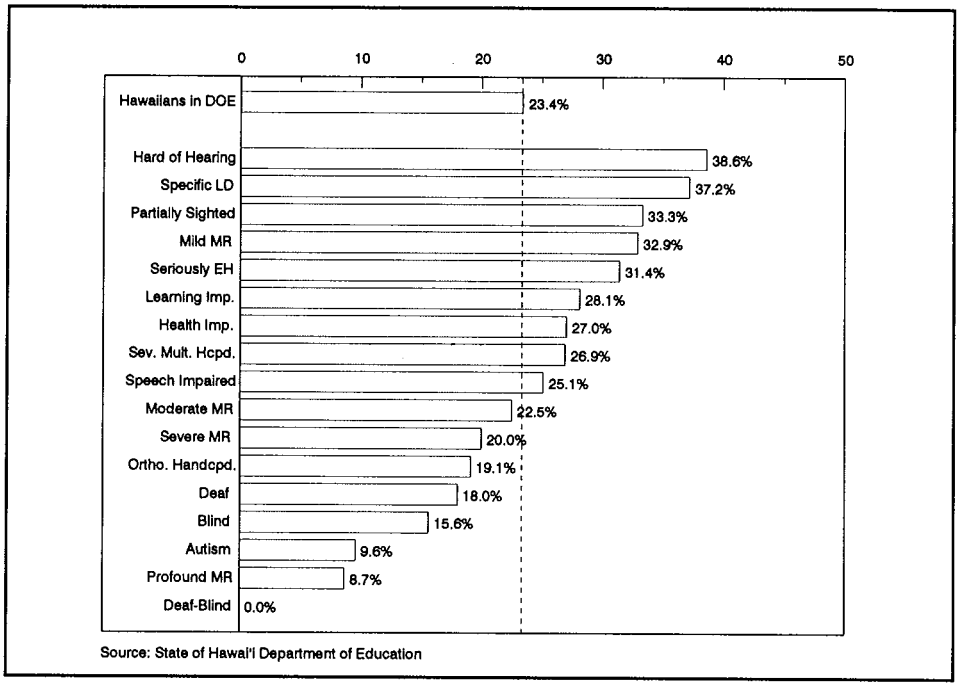


Figure 69. Percent representaion of Hawaiian students within the special education population of Hawai'i's public schools by diagnostic category: 1992.

Contrasting 1992 findings with 1980, the main differences are in low-frequency categories. For instance, Hawaiians were strongly represented in Deaf and Deaf-Blind categories in 1980, but these were replaced in 1992 with marked overrepresentation within the Partially-Sighted and Hard of Hearing categories.

Major categories in which relatively large numbers of students were found and in which Hawaiians tended to be overrepresented within the cluster, include: Specific Learning Disabilities, Mild Mental Retardation, and Severely Emotionally Handicapped. Of these, Specific Learning Disabilities—with the 2,764 Hawaiian cases representing 61 percent of

the total number of Hawaiians in special education (N= 4,531)—was by far the most common diagnosis. However, when these three categories are combined with the Speech Impaired cluster (a group in which Hawaiians were only slightly overrepresented), the combination of the four categories accounted for about 89 percent of all Hawaiian students enrolled in special education.

More Hawaiian students are being classified as Severely Emotionally Handicapped

The mix of Hawaiians across the four major clusters of special education diagnosis has shifted markedly since 1980. Twelve years ago the Specific Learning Disabilities category was dominant accounting for about 69 percent of Hawaiian special education cases. Presently, this group comprises about 61 percent of cases, while the Severely Emotionally Handicapped (SEH) and Mild Mental Retardation classifications have, collectively, doubled their presence: increasing from about seven percent of Hawaiian special education cases to about 15 percent.

The SEH category in particular has shown strong growth. In 1980 there were 89 Hawaiian cases statewide, but by 1992 this group increased more than three-fold to a total of 370 cases. Naturally, a jump of such magnitude is most plausibly linked to a shift in assessment/ categorization methods within the Department of Education. One hypothesis advanced by a DOE official regarding this matter is that some LD cases may experience such frustration with school that they end up as SEH cases, when the core problem may originally have been severely limited reading/school skills.

In this regard, it can be noted that the total number of Hawaiian students enrolled in the DOE increased about 24 percent between 1980 and 1992. However, the increase within special education as a whole was about 16 percent for Hawaiians across all categories, while LD numbers specifically grew about three percent for Hawaiians. Moreover, the rate for the Hawaiian group per 100 students enrolled declined about 17 percent: from 8.1 LD cases per 100 students to 6.7 LD cases per 100. In light of these trends, it indeed seems reasonable to conclude that the jump in SEH cases for Hawaiians between 1980 and

1992 may well be linked to a shift in methods used to develop diagnostic labels for Hawaiian students.

Congenital conditions occur at rates comparable to State of Hawai'i rates

Although Hawaiians were notably overrepresented within the special education population in the categories of Hard of Hearing and Partially-Sighted, data from birth records reported by the Hawai'i Birth Defects Monitoring Program reveal that Hawaiians experience congenital conditions at rates very comparable to overall State of Hawai'i rates.

Specifically, rates of birth defects per 1,000 live births for 10 classification categories are shown in Figure 70. Across all categories rates for Hawaiians and State of Hawai'i rates are essentially identical.

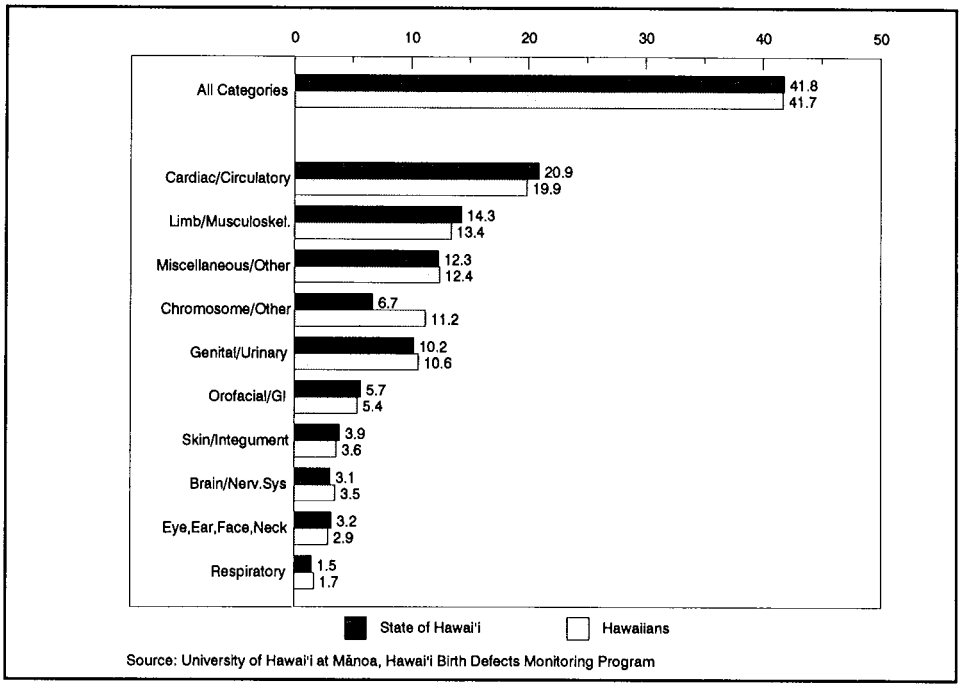


Figure 70. Rates per 1,000 live births and fetal demises for birth defects by category of congenital anomaly: State of Hawai'i and Hawaiians, 1989-1991.

The one cluster in which Hawaiian rates substantially exceeded state rates was for Chromosomal/other conditions. The rate for Hawaiians,

11.2 per 1,000 births, was about 67 percent higher than the rate for the state as a whole (6.7 per 1,000). One perspective on this pattern concerns pregnancy-birth-abortion patterns for the Hawaiian group. In general, a comparatively high percentage of Hawaiian pregnancies are carried through to birth—even, it appears and was suggested by a genetics expert, when chromosomal conditions may be known or suspected before birth. Whatever the explanation, it appears that the overall burden of Hawaiians in terms of congenital conditions is comparable to other groups in the State of Hawai'i.

Hawaiians continue to be underrepresented in Gifted and Talented Programs

In 1980 Ikeda and Jackson reported Hawaiian participation in gifted and talented programs in Hawai'i's public schools to represent about seven percent of participants. This participation falls far short of levels that would be considered appropriate from an equity or parity perspective for Hawaiians accounted for about 20 percent of the entire public school enrollment at that time.

Since 1980 Hawaiian participation in gifted and talented programs has generally remained unknown. One study in 1987 showed Hawaiian participation to be about 11 percent of the total of students involved in gifted and talented programs in Hawai'i's public schools. This represents improvement over 1980, but it still represents a strong underrepresentation of Hawaiians.

Specific programming for Hawaiian students has been available through the Federally-funded Nā Pua No'eau project on the Island of Hawai'i. Faced with the perrenial challenges of gifted and talented programs—namely, limited identification efforts and limited availability of services within the public schools—Nā Pua No'eau has explored several strategies for enhancing services for qualified Hawaiians. These include the development of alternative, culturally-sensitive methods for identifying students as well as services designed with Hawaiians in mind. During 1992-1993 the project served a total of about 1,100 students. About 90 percent of these had not previously been identified

as gifted and talented, and accordingly, had not received special services.

Additional perspective on the special learning needs of Hawaiians at the upper end of the achievement curve comes from data based on standardized test performance. First reported in Melahn and Paleka (1989), data provided in Figure 71 show the number of students within each of five ethnicity clusters scoring in the top three stanines of National norms on the Stanford Achievement Test at grade 10. In general, one can see an upward trend across all groups during the period under study (1981-1986) and that rates per 100 students enrolled within the Hawaiian group were the lowest of the clusters shown.

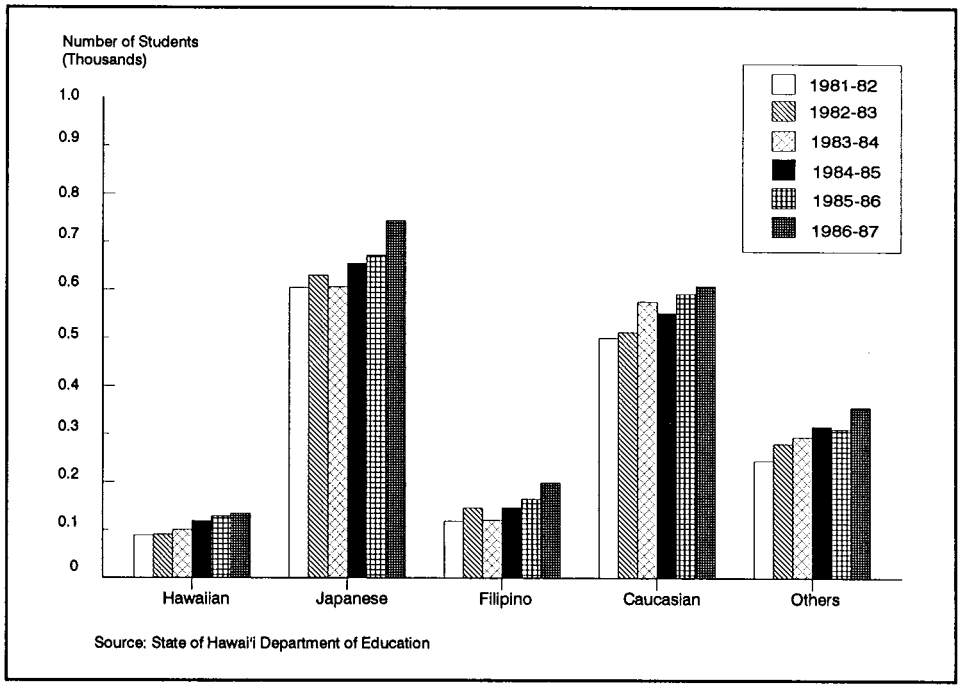


Figure 71. Number of students scoring in the top three stanines (7-9) of the *Total Reading* subtest of the Stanford Achievment Test, grade 10 by ethnic group with incidence rates: 1981-1986.

The data shown were presented within a context of considering the potential population of Hawaiians ostensibly ready, based on

comparatively strong performance on a standardized achievement test, for post-secondary study. Clearly, there were strong differences across ethnic groups. Contrast, for example, both the numbers and the rates of occurrence for the Japanese and Hawaiian groups. If one were looking for academic promise, test score data would suggest that potentially one-out-of-every-three students in the Japanese group might appropriately be expected to be a candidate. This pattern contrasts starkly with the Hawaiian group. Indeed, the data indicate that about one-out-of-fifteen Hawaiians in grade 10 in Hawai'i's public schools would be in a pool of students for possible consideration for advanced academic programming. In absolute numbers this would translate into about 100 to 200 individuals annually.

Child Abuse and Neglect

During the past several decades, largely in response to continuing efforts by child abuse and neglect pioneers, broadening awareness of problems in this area have yielded annually increasing numbers of confirmed cases. For the most part, the pattern in Hawai'i has followed this general trend; however, reported cases did peak in 1986, with overall decline since then. Data broken down by self-reported ethnicity are provided in Figure 72.

Between 1979 and 1989 confirmed cases of abuse and neglect nearly doubled in the State of Hawai'i. For Hawaiians, who accounted for about 21 percent of all confirmed abuse and neglect cases in 1979 and about 27 percent of cases in 1989, the growth in confirmed cases during the same time frame was about 150 percent.

Since the 1986 peak of confirmed cases the number reported for the state as a whole has declined about 19 percent. For Hawaiians, whose peak to-date in confirmed cases was in 1987, the decline has been much smaller: about seven percent between 1987 and 1989. Of the four groups shown, the decline during recent years in reported cases of abuse and neglect was smallest for Hawaiians.

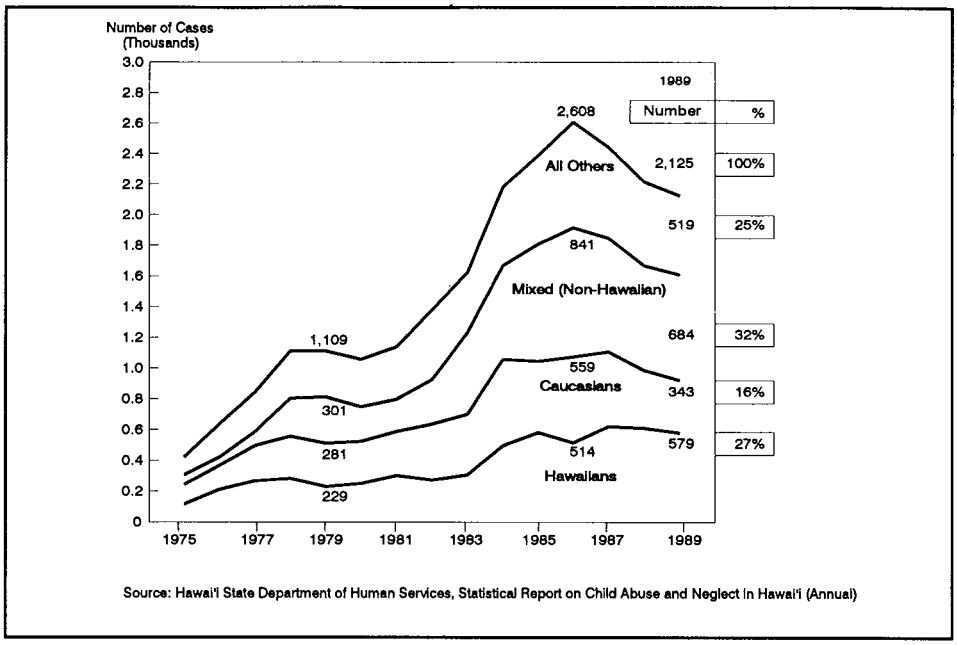


Figure 72. Confirmed cases of abuse and neglect by four ethnic groups in Hawai'i: 1975 - 1989.

Since 1975 a total of 5,637 cases of abuse and/or neglect were confirmed for victims of Hawaiian background. This was about 24 percent of the total of 23,325 cases reported for the State of Hawai'i.

Substance Use and Abuse

Drug use by school-age Hawaiian youth has declined during recent years

Hawaiian students rank highest among the major ethnic groups in terms of alcohol and drug abuse in the state. On recent statewide surveys, Hawaiian students reported heavier use of alcohol and drugs than other students at all four grade levels surveyed (Figures 73 and 74 show Grade 12 results).

Figures 73 and 74 also show some *good* news: drug and alcohol usage rates declined between 1987 and 1989, and seem to have leveled off in 1991. There is guarded optimism that preventive education efforts are having a positive effect.

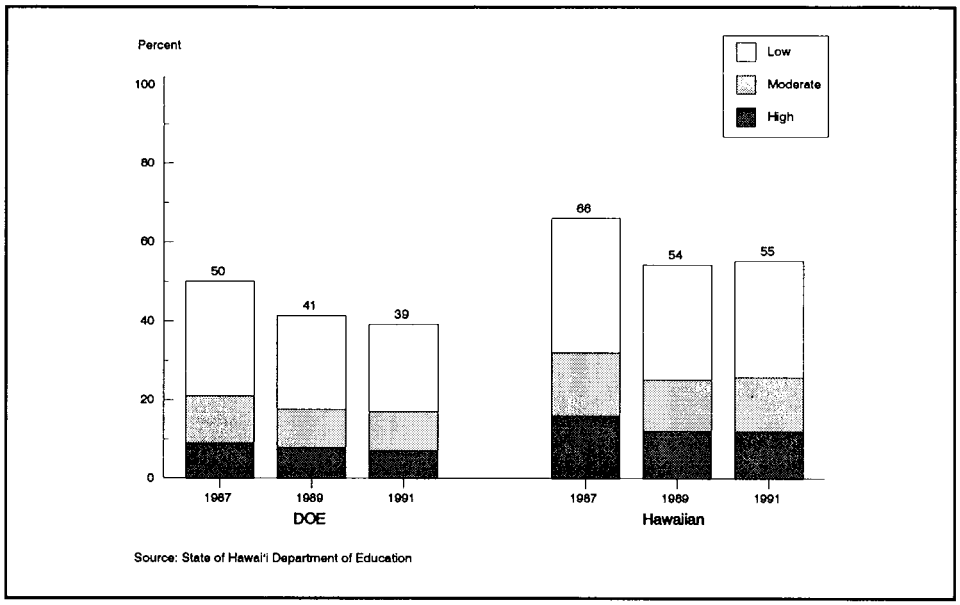


Figure 73. Drug use among all DOE and DOE Hawaiian students-12th grade: Low, moderate, and high use, 1987,1989, & 1991.

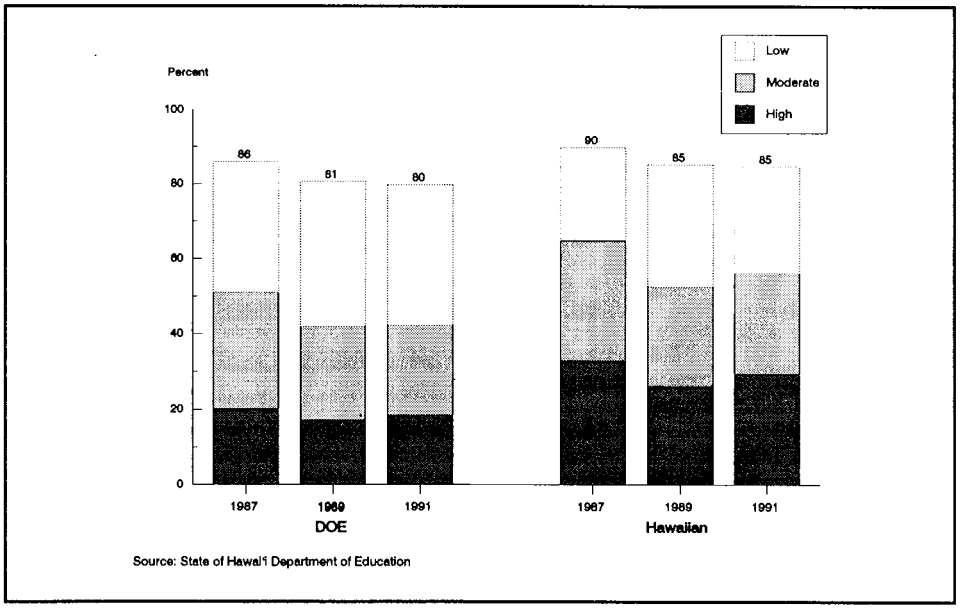


Figure 74. Alcohol use among all DOE and DOE Hawaiian students-12th grade: Low, moderate, and high use, 1987, 1989, & 1991.

Additional encouragement regarding the possible impact of anti-drug efforts and preventive education regarding alcohol and drug use derives from data on drug and alcohol-related juvenile arrests. Data for the period 1980 through 1992 are shown in Figure 75. Arrest rates per 1,000 estimated Hawaiian population age 10-17 were computed based on 10-17 year population projections from Hawaiian birth data. This procedure yields an overestimate of Hawaiian population when contrasted with U.S. Census figures (and therefore the lowest possible arrest rate estimate), but the ready availability of the data annually is critical.

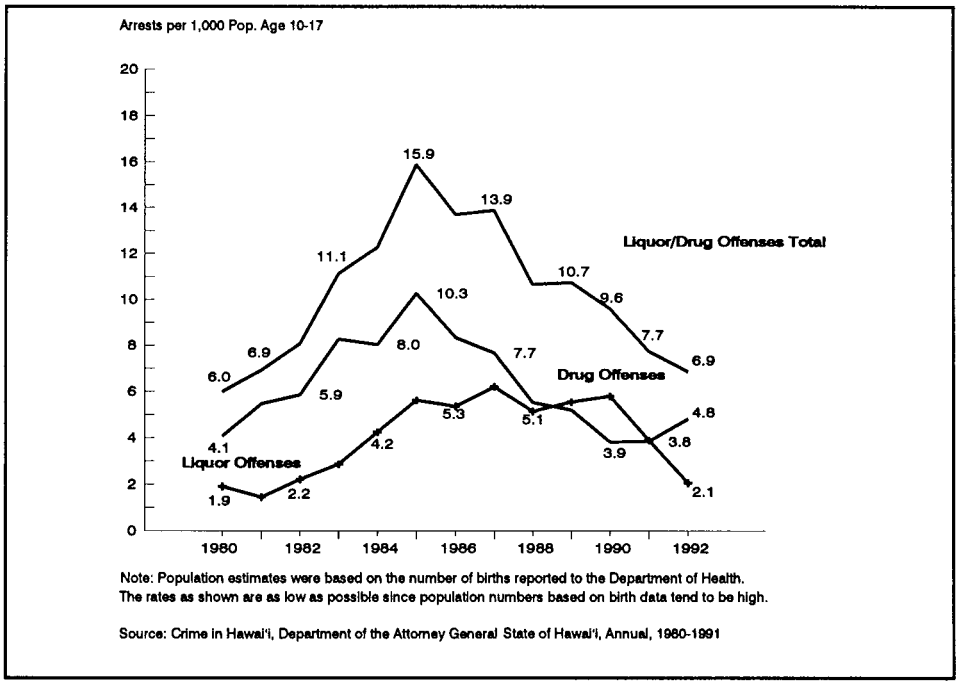


Figure 75. Drug and alcohol-related arrest rates for Hawaiian juveniles, 1980-1992.

The data suggest that the peak for Hawaiian drug and alcohol arrests occurred in 1985. Since then, combined drug/alcohol arrest rates have declined steadily. Moreover, the two components of this indicator have followed the same general pattern. The strongest exception to this trend was the most recent year. Hawaiian drug-related arrests increased 3.8

to 4.8 per 1,000 population between 1991 and 1992. Additionally, this area was explicitly identified as a particularly Hawaiian category of offense. Hawaiians accounted for about 46 percent of all drug-related arrests of juveniles in 1992 (cf., Green, Richmond, & Taira, 1993).

Crime and Violence

Arrests of Hawaiian juveniles just reached an all-time high

In spite of the encouraging pattern of decline in drug and alcohol-related arrests, both the absolute number of arrests and arrest rates computed based on estimated juvenile population age 10-17 showed a strong upward turn for 1992 after four years of negligible growth and actual decline in arrest rates.

Figure 76 shows juvenile arrests for the State of Hawai'i and for Hawaiians across the period 1980-1992. The generally flat pattern of growth during the period 1987-1991 shifted abruptly in 1992. Juvenile arrests statewide increased about 12 percent, while arrests of Hawaiian youth jumped about 23 percent. In both instances the increases represent the sharpest single-year increase for the period reviewed here.

Although arrests for both groups tended to increase at least slightly across a broad range of offenses, a key factor in both instances was the jump of more than a third in the number of arrests for runaways. Statewide, arrests of runaways climbed from about 3,400 in 1991 to nearly 4,700 in 1992. Hawaiians accounted for about 35 percent of these arrests during both years, which is about the percentage overall for Hawaiian representation across arrests for all offenses. While State of Hawai'i officials recently contrasted this 35 percent representation with the roughly 12.5 percent representation of Hawaiians in the general population according to the U.S. Census (Green, Richmond, & Taira, 1993), other perspectives are possible.

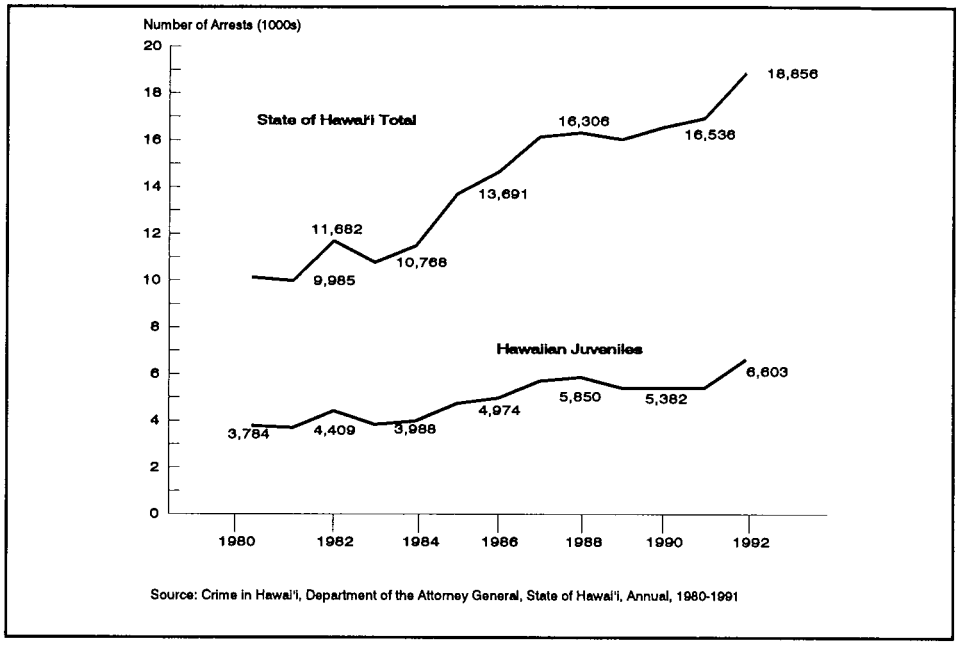


Figure 76. Number of juvenile arrests, State of Hawai'i and Hawaiians: 1980-1992.

In the present analyses annual birth data by ethnicity from the State of Hawai'i Department of Health were used to estimate populations for Hawaiians and non-Hawaiians age 10-17. Under this procedure Hawaiians represent about 30 percent of the local population by birth records, a figure more in line with 35 percent representation among arrested juveniles. Figure 77 shows arrest rates for Hawaiians and non-Hawaiians based on computations involving arrest totals and birth-based population estimates. These data show a recent divergence for Hawaiians from a pattern in which Hawaiian arrest rates per 1,000 persons aged 10-17 was converging on a rising non-Hawaiian arrest rate. Unfortunately, 1992 saw a marked divergence return, with the Hawaiian arrest rate being about 25 percent higher than the rate for non-Hawaiians (158.5 arrests per 1,000 estimated population aged 10-17 for Hawaiians versus 127.1 arrests per 1,000 for non-Hawaiians). The shift in arrests of Hawaiian youth between 1991 and 1992 turned principally on the statewide jump (a 36 percent increase) in arrests of runaways (Hawaiian arrests in this area climbed from about 1,200 in

1991 to more than 1,600 in 1992, a 37 percent increase). However, moderate to strong increases were recorded across most categories. Specific offense clusters with particularly high percent increases for Hawaiian youth between 1991 and 1992 included: rape (82 percent increase); curfew (46 percent); robbery (31 percent); possession of marijuana (26 percent); and motor vehicle theft (22 percent).

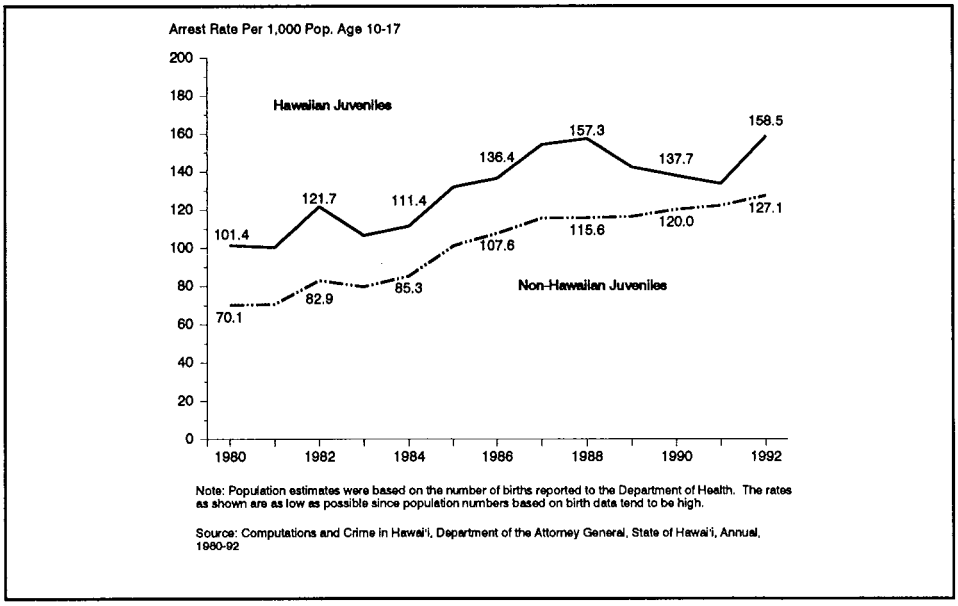


Figure 77. Juvenile arrest rates per 1,000 population aged 10-17, Hawaiian and non-Hawaiian juveniles, 1980-1992.

Given that three of these crimes are included in the United Crime Reporting Index of serious crimes (rape, robbery, and motor vehicle theft), it is not surprising that arrest rates of Hawaiians for UCR Index crimes increased for 1992. Time series data in this regard, covering 1980-1992, are presented in Figure 78.

In general, it can be seen that arrest rates for serious crimes involving Hawaiian youth have declined substantially since 1980 (down about 23 percent). Although spikes occurred during the period under review, the trend line was clearly downward. The data also show that 1992 results interrupted what had been a three-year downward trend, and that

Hawaiian involvement in serious property crimes (burglary, larceny theft, motor vehicle theft, and arson are included in the UCR Index) notably outweigh participation in and arrest for violent crimes (murder, rape, robbery, and assault).

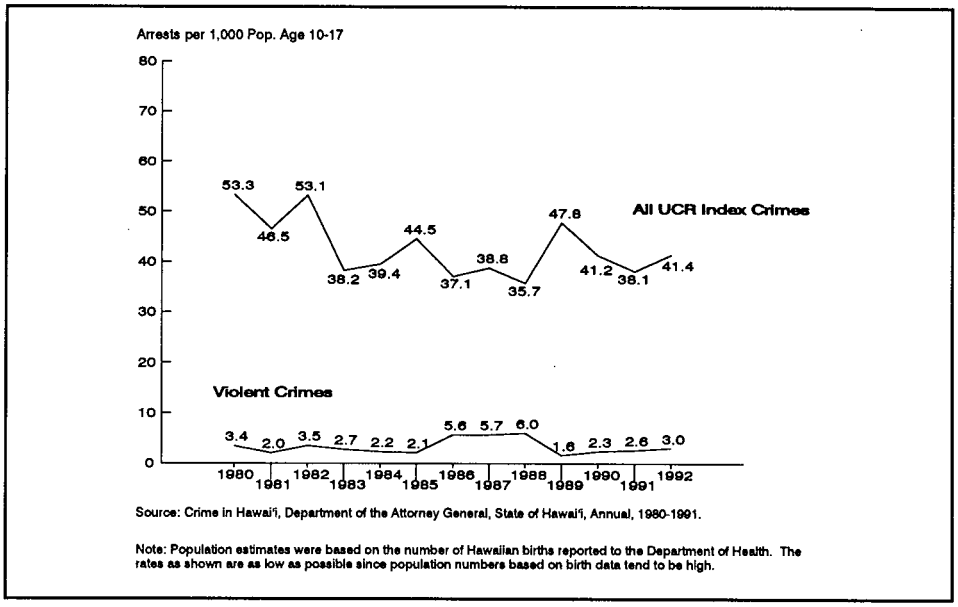


Figure 78. UCR Index crime rates for Hawaiian juveniles per 1,000 population aged 10-17.

Summary

The mixed nature of the findings reported in this chapter are indicative of both the impact of ongoing social and educational services as well as the stubborn nature of the problems involved.

The major themes that were of concern to educators in 1983 remain evident. Too many Hawaiian children are in need of special education services; too many are abused; too many are involved in abusing substances; and too many are involved in crime. The problems have not disappeared.

At the same time, positive trends can be identified. For example, across the entire public school system the rate of Hawaiian students identified as Learning Disabled has declined. In the area of child abuse and neglect, statewide decline in the numbers of confirmed cases is also reflected in statistics for Hawaiians. Similarly, in other areas it is encouraging to note fewer students reporting abuse of substances, substance-related arrest rates for Hawaiians declining steadily from the mid-1980s, and rates for serious crimes among Hawaiian youth lower today than in the early 1980s. Presumably these statistical trends reflect the ongoing impact of in-school programming and special services as well as the coordinated and complementary efforts of social service, health, and mental health agencies.

It is important for educators and others to have a positive sense of improvement and growth. Our society spends considerable amounts of public and private funds to create improvements, and the work of designing, implementing, and operating special service efforts remains challenging. Successes should be celebrated.

The data summarized here do provide some cause for optimism, but it is also essential that we remain aware of the challenges inherent in using data as an aid to evaluating progress and trends. Reporting standards and methods vary across various indicator areas, and standards and methods can shift within an area. In some cases we know that reporting and assessment has improved markedly in the past decade. With congenital conditions, for instance, the birth defects monitoring efforts funded by the state and others have greatly enhanced our confidence in the comprehensiveness and reliability of our data.

Other areas both provide more questionable data or they bring to the fore concerns about shifting methods used in abstracting societal trends through tracking of quantifiable events. For example, it is encouraging to note the apparent decline in the rate of Hawaiian Learning Disability cases under service in our public schools, but how should we interpret the increase in Severely Emotionally Disturbed classification? Such twists and turns in the data point up the importance of ongoing tracking

of trends and conditions and the potential value of continually upgrading our collective level of knowledge in a given area.

As we look to the future, the positive trends reported here provide a useful sense of progress. Progress is possible, and it can be documented. However, success is indeed a challenge, and new trends necessitate both monitoring and adjustment. Over time, reversals may appear. For example, juvenile crime arrests jumped markedly in 1992. Does this reflect shifts in criminal activity? Law enforcement? Data collection? Many combinations of variables may be at work. As we continue to work in various areas, and as our collective capacity to report, analyze, and abstract information about the human condition improves we will be increasingly able to adjust funding, programming, and assessment to accomodate to shifting trends. In the meantime, existing data suggest the continuing need for educational system support to students with special needs and for students of cultural distinctiveness.

Goal 6: Cultural Understanding

Students will develop a respect for and understanding of their own and others' cultures

Hawai'i, often seen as a melting pot of cultures, has in reality been a place where every culture, including the host Hawaiian culture, has struggled to maintain its own unique identity. Each culture has become part of a complex social fabric. While each has supported this natural blending, each still vigorously seeks to maintain its distinctiveness.

To be successful in such a multi-cultural state, children must grow up feeling strong and secure in their own roots as well as tolerant and understanding of the roots of others. Of all the cultures of modern Hawai'i, the Hawaiian culture is considered the host culture in view of its being here before the others came. Over the last two centuries Native Hawaiians have seen tremendous forces acting to change their culture (*NHEAP Report*, 1983, Chapter V). It has been noted that despite these incredible pressures, elements of the Hawaiian culture have thrived in recent years.

In this chapter, we will examine in more detail the struggle of Native Hawaiians to maintain and preserve their culture while becoming participants in the larger culture of the modern world. We will document the tremendous growth of community interest in and support for Hawaiian cultural forms, beliefs, and values.

Cultural Change in Hawai'i

We do not view Hawaiian culture as something unchanging and representative only of one era in history. The culture of the islands was not stagnant over the many centuries before western contact. Several waves of Polynesian migration to the islands brought with them changes to what was the established order of the day. The very first inhabitants of the islands are believed to have originated in the Marquesas around 500 A.D. Following an initial period of voyaging back

and forth the population settled down and a culture evolved. Around the tenth or eleventh century a second wave of migration, this time from Tahiti, took place. It is believed that the newcomers conquered and subjugated the original inhabitants, obviously a major culture change (Malo, 1898; Mitchell, 1992).

There is even some speculation that Captain James Cook was not the first westerner to visit the islands. Historians write of the possibilities of previous contact with both Japanese and Spanish seafarers (Nordyke, 1989). However, the coming of Cook in 1778 was definitely a turning point in the history of the islands. With Cook's "discovery" Hawai'i became a focus for European and American governments during an era of expansionism.

Hawaiians initially believed that Cook was the god Lono. Cook arrived during the *kapu* period of the *makahiki* season of Lono. An ancient prophecy said that Lono would someday return from *Kahiki*. So when Cook's ships sailed into Kealakekua Bay, the home of Lono when he appeared as a man, the prophecy became a reality. First contact, then, was positive.

Despite what were apparently good intentions on the part of the famous explorer himself, forces were set in motion that were to imperil the very existence of the Hawaiian people. Among the scourges that contact brought were: "... the flea, never before known on them before his day, and prostitution with its results, syphilis and other venereal diseases. These serious diseases caused the dwindling of the population...." (Kamakau, 1992)

Clearly, increasing contact with explorers, whalers, traders, and others would change Hawaiian culture. Perhaps the most profound influence, however, came from one group in particular. This group set out to systematically wipe out the Hawaiians' "pagan" ways.

In 1819, the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions decided to include the Sandwich Islands in its network of missions. On October 15, 1819, a small missionary group of twenty-three missionaries gathered at Boston's Park Street Church. They included student ministers, a printer and a doctor, wives, and three Hawaiian youths who had been converted. They were given this charge:

> Your mission is a mission of mercy, and your work is to be wholly a labor of love. Your views are not to be limited to a low or narrow scale. You are to aim at nothing short of covering those islands with fruitful fields and pleasant dwellings, and schools, and churches, and of raising up the whole people to an elevated state of Christian civilization . . . [You are] to obtain an adequate knowledge of the language of the people; to make them acquainted with letters; to give them the Bible, with skill to read it; *to turn them from their barbarous courses and habits; to introduce and get into extended operation and influence among them, the arts and institutions and usages of civilized life and society* [italics added] . . . . (Halford, 1954, p.15-16)

Throughout the 1800s the pervasive influence of the missionaries was felt. By the time of the overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy in 1893 the Hawaiian people and the Hawaiian culture were at a low ebb. Only in recent years have we seen a major change in attitude and perspective towards the Hawaiian culture from both Hawaiian and non-Hawaiian communities.

How much of the Hawaiian culture has survived? What forms is it taking today? What evidence do we have that it is thriving? These are the questions that we will try to answer in this chapter. It would be impossible to document all aspects of the culture today, so we have selected certain aspects which illustrate the trends. We begin with the Hawaiian language.

Language

The Hawaiian language has had a resurgence

The language is frequently seen to be the pathway to the understanding of a culture. The movement to preserve and perpetuate the Hawaiian language has had the most impact in the last ten years. According to Kalani Akana, a Hawaiian language immersion teacher at Waiau Elementary School who spoke on the State Department of Education (DOE) Hawaiian language immersion program at the Office of Hawaiian Affairs Kupuna Conference held at the Ka'iulani Hotel October, 1992, "about ten years ago there were fewer than 2,000 people who could speak Hawaiian fluently." In a *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* article dated April 27, 1993, statistics on language provided by the Census Bureau indicated that in California, 2,051 people speak Hawaiian at home. In Hawai'i 8,872 now speak Hawaiian in the home. Of the 8,872, 6.7% (594) speak English poorly in the home ("Many isle families", 1993).

Hawaiian language immersion pre-schools open: 1984

The Hawaiian language tidal wave began in Hawai'i about 1984 when a tiny pre-school in Kalihi called 'Aha Pūnana Leo was established. 'Aha Pūnana Leo describe themselves as the "nation's first total immersion pre-school in a Native American language and the only early childhood educational program in Hawai'i that gives first priority to the traditional language, culture and perspective of the Hawaiian people." Hawaiians from all social and economic backgrounds united in this effort to safeguard the opportunity to have their children taught in the Hawaiian language. Although academic content was important, most parents felt that it really was the Hawaiian language which many of them didn't speak themselves to be by far the most important facet of the immersion program. Their children would now have an opportunity that many of them did not have, to learn school subjects through the medium of Hawaiian language. Taking it one more step, the parents realized that they could learn the Hawaiian language through their children. The parents of these children are required to take language classes that the pre-school provides so they can practice with and support their children at home. 'Aha Pūnana Leo now has a pre-school on every island except Lana'i and Kaho'olawe.

The number of pre-schoolers enrolled in the 'Aha Pūnana Leo program has increased since 1984 to 145 SY 1992-93. They also increased their number of sites to seven (two on the Big Island, one on Maui, one on Moloka'i, two on O'ahu, one on Kaua'i).

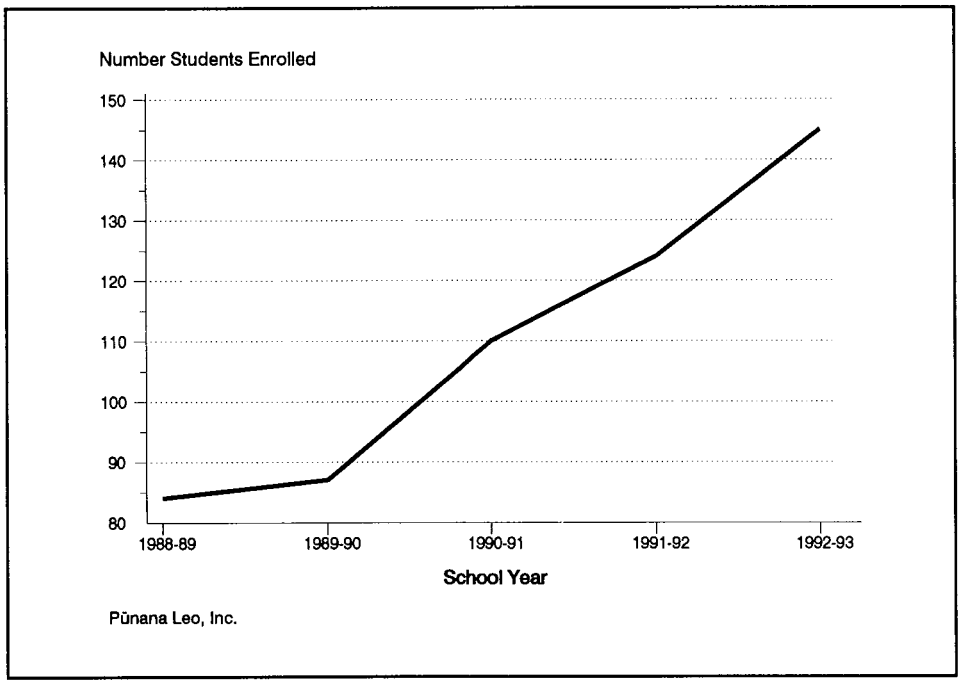


Figure 79. Pūnana Leo Enrollment: School years 1988-89 to 1992-93.

DOE starts its own Hawaiian language immersion program: 1987

Having language as a major focus in cultural preservation has caused a tremendous rippling effect. These same parents whose children are or were enrolled in the 'Aha Pūnana Leo program started to shift their attention to the DOE. In 1987, these parents along with other interested people lobbied and succeeded in establishing a Hawaiian language immersion program in the public school system. The DOE started with only 34 students at two sites, Keaukaha Elementary School, Hawai'i and Waiau Elementary in Pearl City, O'ahu. There are now over 464 students enrolled in six Hawaiian language immersion DOE schools (Keaukaha, Pā'ia, Kualapu'u, Waiau, Pū'ōhala, Kapa'a).

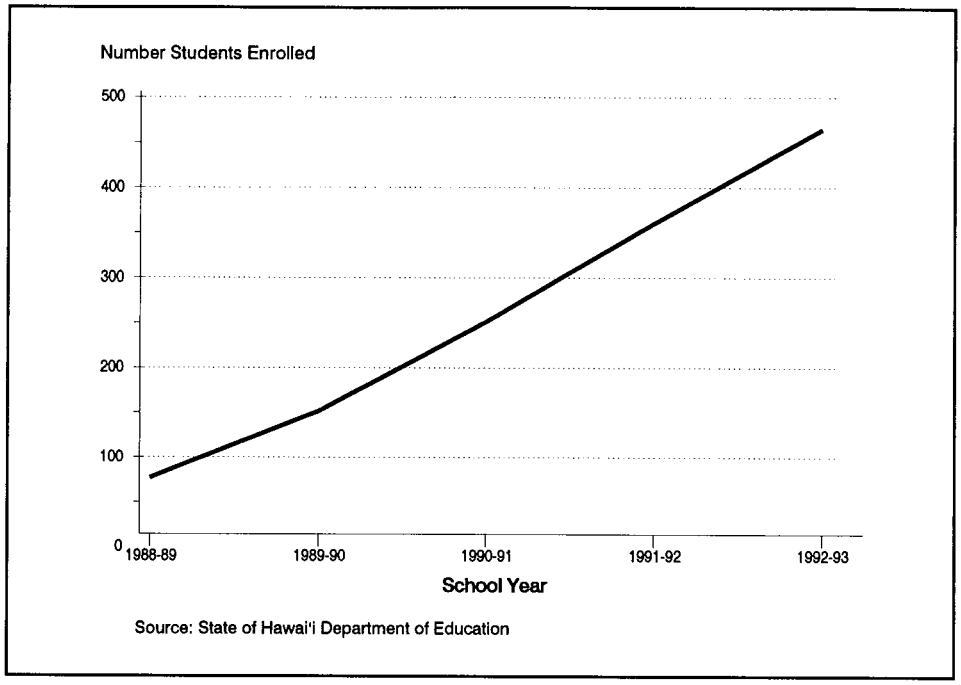


Figure 80. DOE immersion enrollment: School years 1988-89 to 1992-93.

Parents have devoted their time to help their children by working on curriculum materials almost on a daily basis. As a result, the number of Hawaiian language immersion teachers has increased from two in 1987 to over 25 teachers in 1993. Over 600 book titles have been cleared of copyright, so that parents can now cut and paste translations over the book pages for their children to use in school. Presently, parents are just trying to keep one step ahead of the teachers by having the necessary materials ready for the classroom. Hawaiian language has become **THE** most demanded facet of the culture to be preserved. This means that there is now a demand for more materials to be published in Hawaiian.

There are now 1,193 students statewide enrolled in Hawaiian language classes at the DOE secondary school level, an increase of 18% since 1988 when student enrollment was 1,010. The only instance where there had been an indication of enrollment decrease in Hawaiian language was in the elementary schools that offered Hawaiian language in a non-

immersion setting. Enrollment decreased 10% from fall of 1988, when 655 students were enrolled in Hawaiian language to 587 in the fall of 1992.

Enrollment in Kamehameha Schools Hawaiian language classes has increased

Students enrolled in Hawaiian language classes at Kamehameha Schools (KS) went from 183 in school year 1988-89 to 741 in school year 1992-93. In addition, KS will add a fifth year Hawaiian course in 1993-94.

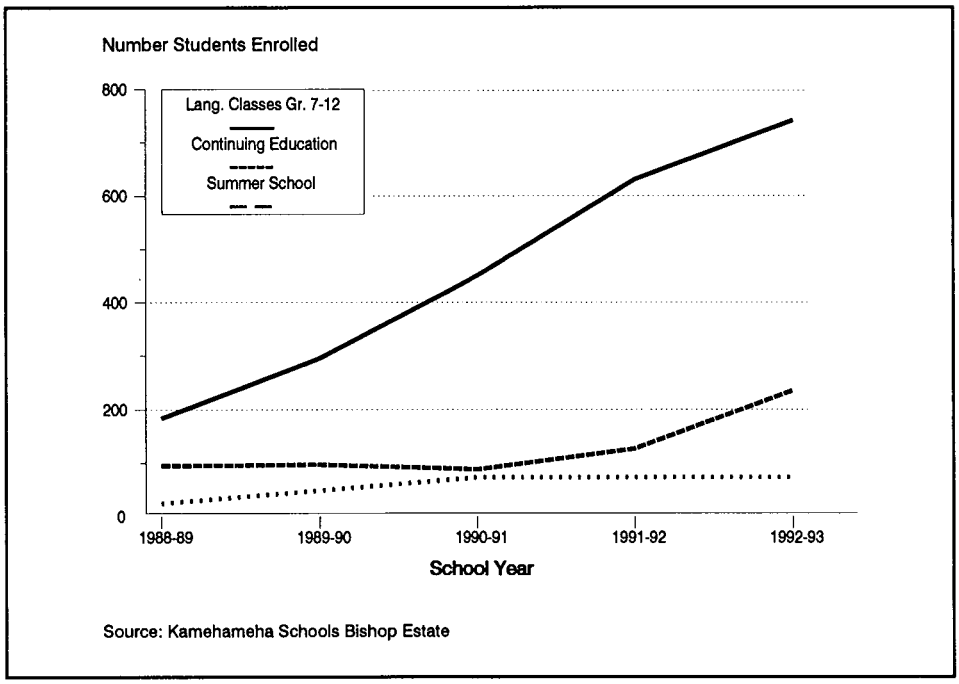


Figure 81. Kamehameha Schools Hawaiian language enrollment: School years 1988-89 to 1992-93.

KS started with 24 students enrolled in their Summer Hawaiian language immersion classes in 1989 then increased to 72 in 1992.

Students enrolled in the KS Continuing Education evening Hawaiian language classes in 1988 numbered 94; in 1992, 235. Enrollment is still increasing.

UH Hawaiian language enrollment has increased

In the total University of Hawai'i (UH) system, in the fall of 1988, 687 students were registered in a Hawaiian language course. By fall 1992, 1,586 students had registered in a Hawaiian language course, an increase of 131% (Figure 82). Enrollments also increased in spring and summer sessions. During the spring of 1988, 418 students registered in Hawaiian language. By spring of 1992, 1,101 students had registered, making the enrollment increase 163%. In summer 1988, only 108 students registered for a Hawaiian language course. However, in summer 1992, 256 students registered, an increase of 137%. University of Hawai'i Mānoa (UHM) alone now has over 16 elementary Hawaiian language classes, 10 intermediate, and 4 third-level Hawaiian language classes.

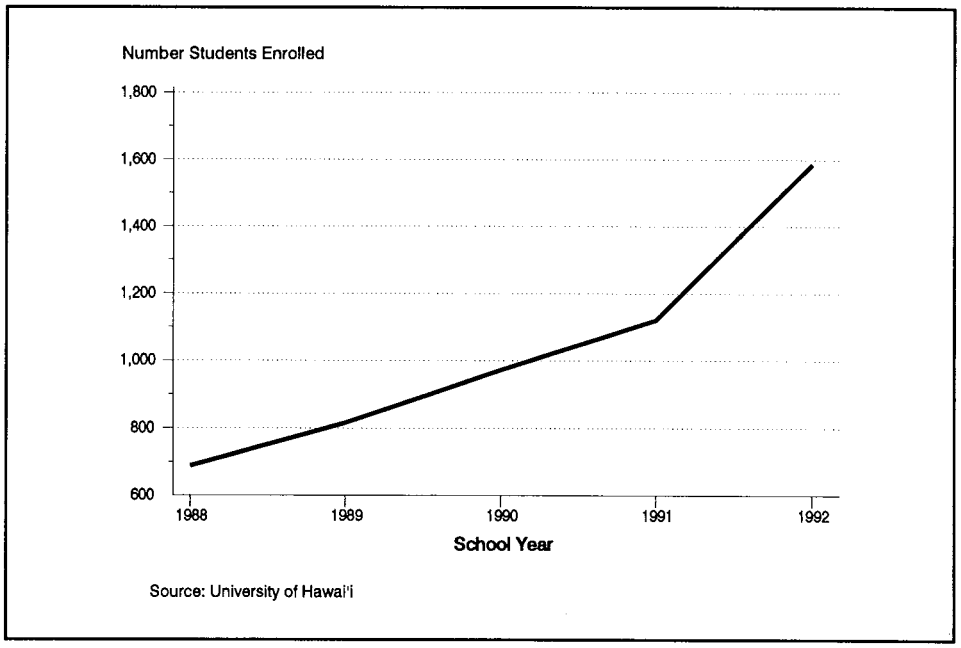


Figure 82. University of Hawai'i Hawaiian language enrollment: School years 1988-1992 (Fall).

Two major curriculum development centers

Two curriculum development centers have been instituted, Hale Kāko'o, which is the curriculum development center for preschool books and

materials, and Hale Kuamo'o at the University of Hawai'i, Hilo (UHH), working on K-12 curriculum materials. Hale Kāko'o is the curriculum development arm for 'Aha Pūnana Leo and Hale Kuamo'o, funded by the legislature, is the curriculum development center that has received most of the major translation project contracts from the DOE. Hale Kuamo'o has been concentrating on math and science curriculum but has assisted in many of the translations of other classroom materials. In addition, the UHM has also attempted to create a Hawaiian curriculum center to assist in curriculum development. They are seeking legislative funding to establish this curriculum center on the UHM campus. Their focus has been on geography and social studies. However, they have also assisted DOE on some major translation projects. KS has just recently created and filled a staff position to focus on developing Hawaiian language curriculum materials for the DOE immersion schools as well as for other institutions that may offer language as a curriculum. KS will be contributing by focusing on Hawaiian Studies materials that are produced by the Schools as well as those items that might be useful in the classroom that are in their Hawaiian collection.

Need for more Hawaiian language teachers

In addition, there is now a tremendous need for more teachers who can speak the language. There is a substantial shortage of teachers who are able to teach classroom content in Hawaiian. This concern heightened when in 1992 the Board of Education increased the Hawaiian language immersion classes to include grades 7 through 12 at two sites in the State of Hawai'i. The complexity of the educational content for these additional classes has put additional pressure on those who are trying to keep up with the present demand for Hawaiian language materials and personnel. There has been a tremendous effort from all sides to meet curriculum materials and teacher needs: DOE, 'Aha Pūnana Leo, Hale Kāko'o, Hale Kuamo'o, UHM, Kamehameha Schools, and the Office of Hawaiian Affairs (OHA). KS post high school counselors are getting the word out that there is a demand for Hawaiian language speaking teachers, encouraging those who are already taking the language in high school to continue through post-high. KS, in partnership with the UH College of Education, has the Preservice

Education for Teachers of Minorities (PETOM) program. Students who have been in Hawaiian Studies at UHM and who have the language background are being encouraged to enroll in the College of Education and choose the PETOM program as opposed to the traditional UH College of Education program. This will assist Hawaiian Studies majors who may be interested in teaching to go through a specialized program in the College of Education dealing specifically with Hawaiian children.

Increased use of Hawaiian language outside classroom

The Hawaiian language has been more consciously woven into various aspects of teaching Hawaiian culture. For example, Chad Baybayan started his navigational training with master navigator Nainoa Thompson in 1980 when he was a crew member on the *Hōkūle'a*. On Maui, he has worked with sixth grade students in Lahaina Intermediate in a special program on celestial navigation. The students memorized the star compass developed by Thompson, using the Hawaiian language (Creamer, 1992).

There appears to be a greater attempt to use Hawaiian language outside the classroom. "When the *Hōkūle'a* returned to Hōnaunau, Hawai'i, where it had departed six months before, the U.S. Customs agent, Lyons Naone of Maui, had to meet with the crew before they landed to do the paperwork. Naone conducted the inspection in Hawaiian" (Thompson, 1992a).

The Kanaka'ole Foundation presented a report entitled *Kaho'olawe a Living Cultural Heritage* to the Kaho'olawe Island Conveyance Commission tracing Kaho'olawe's cultural significance by using *oli*, *mo'olelo*, *mele* and *'olelo noeau* as well as oral histories (Page, 1992d). The language can be used as a primary resource for research and understanding the culture.

More than ever before there has been an increase in awareness and sensitivity to the use of the Hawaiian language. There have also been some uncomfortable feelings generated. The *kūpuna* attending the Office of Hawaiian Affairs Kūpuna Conference in October, 1992

expressed their feelings about the new wave of interest in the language. Their feelings ranged from total embarrassment to being extremely excited and hopeful about the preservation of the Hawaiian culture. The embarrassment that some of the *kūpuna* felt stemmed from their own acknowledgement of not knowing the language. This embarrassment made some of the *kūpuna* feel that they were less Hawaiian because they did not know their language and because they felt they did not know their culture. For these *kūpuna*, the language movement is a real threat to their self-esteem because they feel that they are too old to learn the language. So, although they are pleased and proud of the children and youth who are learning the language, this has brought to the forefront their feelings of inadequacy in terms of the language and culture.

Another concern expressed by the *kūpuna* is that the Hawaiian language movement not be *exclusive,* which in itself is un-Hawaiian. They feel the Hawaiian language is for all people.

In summary, the Hawaiian language, once thought to be dead, has experienced a comeback. Enrollment in all types of programs has increased. And Hawaiian is now often heard outside instructional settings.

Cultural Practices

Hula According to Anna Marie Lopez, *kumu hula* from Mexico who was interviewed at the 30th Annual Merrie Monarch Festival, there are 1,000 *hula* schools *(hālau)* in Mexico City. In the State of Hawai'i, Ms. Keahi Allen, Director of the Hawai'i State Council of Hawaiian Heritage, says there is no definitive count of *hālau hula* considering that there are many *hālau* that are not registered. Those that are not registered operate as cottage-type *hālau*. These *hālau* do not participate in any competition or do any fundraising and therefore are not as well known as the more competitive *hālau*. She ventured to guess that there are approximately 500 *hālau*. Listed in her computer she has about 260 *hālau* but these

include some from Mexico and Japan and do not include these cottage-type *hālau* throughout the state.

There are many festivals in which various *hālau* participate. Examples of these are the:

- Annual High School Hula Festival
- World Championship of Hula Competition
- Merrie Monarch
- Kamehameha Hula Competition
- Keiki Hula Festival
- Prince Lot Hula Festival
- Waimea Falls Park Hula Festival
- Kūpuna Hula Competition
- Festivals in California, Washington State, Nevada

Kamehameha Schools Performing Arts students have performed throughout Polynesia:

- Rarotonga—the Pacific Arts Festival/Prime Minister
- Western Samoa—Independence Festivities
- American Samoa—welcoming the *Hōkūle'a*
- Tahiti—welcoming the *Hōkūle'a*
- Australia—Pacific Arts Festival
- New Zealand—welcoming the *Hōkūle'a*/Waitangi

The Schools has even been initiated as the 6th tribe of the *Tai Tokerau* Maori group. The Schools as well as other *hālau* has been invited to various parts of the world to festivals as well as competitions. A few of the places that have had a taste of Hawaiian culture via *hula* and music are:

- Japan
- Hong Kong
- Most parts of the United States, including Alaska and Washington, DC

- Europe

Hula is now practiced world wide.

There are also said to be over 1,000 *hula* schools in Japan (Viotti, 1992). Some of these Japanese *hula* schools participate in *hula* festivals and competitions in Hawai'i. The number of *hula* schools on the mainland and in Canada is not known, but many do exist.

People from various countries have come to Hawai'i to learn the art of *hula* and return to their respective countries to establish schools. Also, many local people who know some form of the art have established schools in the area to which they have moved.

Of all the various features of the Hawaiian culture, why is the art of *hula* so popular? The answer to this question given by Roselle Bailey, *kumu hula*, is that the "*hula* is the life giving force, by learning the movements, you are experiencing the body and learning how to breathe . . . to take care of your body and spiritual needs" (Chang, 1989). In an airline magazine,

> Kalākaua called *hula* the language of the heart of the Hawaiian people, that the *hula* was the means by which the culture, history, stories and almost every aspect of Hawaiian life were expressed and passed down through generations. Without *hula*, Hawaiian culture was denied expression (Kitchen, 1993).

Kumu hula Nani Lim Yap (Enomoto, 1993) presents her view of why she teaches the *hula*: "We are preparing them (students) to graduate someday, to perpetuate the traditions. We want to keep them together so they can go on, graduate and start their own *hālau.* That's our goal" (p. B-1).

How much interest is there in the *hula*? Approximately 8,000 people attend the Merrie Monarch festival in addition to those who watch it televised on television during the three nights of the competition. This year twenty-three *hālau* performed (Viotti, 1993). The other *hula* festivals

and competitions that are held in Hawai'i are also well attended. Competition between *hālau* can be strong and fierce-tempered with a tremendous amount of pride. Behavior and attitude between *hālau* and among the performers are also considered when judges deliberate. *Hālau* are becoming more and more identifiable, each with its own uniforms and song. The *hālau* operates like an *'ohana* or family system where the *kumu*, the instructor, is the head of the family. Students are elevated in rank as their mastery of the *hula* reaches a point where they are able to graduate and start a *hālau* of their own. Each *kumu* has his or her own method of testing. However, the traditional criteria for graduation is that a student must reach the pinnacle where his or her ability to perform all aspects of *hula* is equal to or surpasses the *kumu*'s ability. This ability not only includes the mechanics of the *hula*, *'oli* (chant), and preparation but the spirituality that is attached to the art. Therefore, to be recognized by one's *kumu* as being ready for graduation is a tremendous honor and distinction. An individual who has attained this level possesses pride that is well warranted. This usually means that the person had poured his or her whole self into the art similar to a prima ballerina who has attained the highest level possible, physically and spiritually.

Hula contributes to increased interest in Hawaiian language

Hula has contributed to the increased interest in the Hawaiian language. For many of the *kumu* it is no longer enough to just know the Hawaiian words of the songs and chants. They strive to dig deeper into the meaning of each word and phrase to achieve the full nuance of the story being expressed. Although there are no concrete statistics on how many Hawaiian language students are in *hālau* there appear to be many. Students want to know and feel what they are expressing through the *hula*. *Hula* students that join the more traditional *hālau* must research the songs and/or chants. They must know the purpose of the songs/chants, to whom they were written, when and how they are used, as well as their meaning. For a serious *hula* student, understanding of the Hawaiian language widens the perspective and understanding of the culture and of themselves. Being equipped to perform the *hula* in its totality includes the knowledge of all aspects of that particular dance.

Hula is often the first thing people visualize when they think about Hawai'i. Of all the features of Hawai'i's culture this is one of the most commercialized and well known. However, *hula* now has attained a much more distinguished place among the performing arts. *Hula* has evolved from first being seen as a part of a pagan ritual or lascivious act and then to pretty girls with cellophane *hula* skirts promoting tourism to finally being a spiritual art. *Hula* has finally come full circle although perhaps still struggling to reach its true form. A *kumu* who carries on the traditions, style, and form of their own *kumu* is well respected by the *hula* community. People tend to expect only the best from them in terms of cultural authenticity. Such is the case for the Kanaka'ole family, the Zuttermeister family, the Beamer family, the Rose family, the Ma'iki Aiu family, and many others with family lines who have maintained the art of *hula*. As a result, the *kumu* are much more highly respected and appreciated not only by their own students and their students' parents but everyone who is in the *hula* arena. This in itself is difficult to achieve because their own peers are the most critical. This is one feature of the Hawaiian culture we can rest assured will not diminish.

Music Hawaiians have offered a variety of style and form to the music world and industry. This includes the traditional chants, chants transformed into more contemporary arrangements, slack key known as *kī hō'alu*, choral singing, and a blend of Hawaiian with other forms like the "Jawaiian" style that has appeared in the past six or seven years.

There are various forms of chants– the *'oli*, *hula*, *kepakepa*, *ho'āeae*, and conic. The various forms of chants are used for specific purposes. Knowing the language and how to manipulate it through voice control, inflections, and modulations are crucial to master chanting. Mr. Ka'upena Wong, a highly regarded chanter in the Hawaiian community, has spent years perfecting his skill in chanting. Although there are no real hard data about the number of individuals who are interested in chanting, we have clues that there is an increase. *Hālau* have been entering students in the chanting category for the Kamehameha Hula Competition. In the Miss Hula Competition in the Merrie Monarch

chanting is one of the facets of the competition. Judges whose standing in the Hawaiian *hula* community is unquestioned and respected are given the sometimes difficult responsibility of judging these aspiring chanters. These chanters represent their *kumu*, teacher, so their ability and expertise is a reflection of their teacher's teaching skill as well. To win such a competition, to be publicly recognized by those who are considered masters themselves, is greatly coveted.

The Haku Mele Festival held in Hāna, Maui each year, focuses on chants and *oli* using Hawaiian metaphors. Hawaiian language students are invited to workshops in the spring to produce compositions for the September festival. "They experience the richness of the language through the *mele* and chant. It is one way we try to perpetuate the art of chanting" (Page, 1992d).

Hawaiian music finds expression in both traditional and modern forms

Four musical masters—Clyde Sproat, Haunani Apoliona, Raymond Kane and Ledward Kaapana—traveled to Washington, DC in 1989 to share their artistry at the Smithsonian Institution's Festival of American Folk Life. Clyde Sproat has been making recordings of the old songs that will be sent to the Library of Congress. Mr. Raymond Kane, master slack key guitarist: "Hawaiians, by nature, are gentle people, who open up their hearts" (Harada, 1990). The Annual Gabby Pahinui and Atta Isaacs Slack Key concert continues to keep *kī hōʻalu* (slack key) alive. So does the Nā Hōkū Hanohano Awards, the local music industry's annual recognition of achievement and performance.

The Spanish Exposition in Seville Expo '92 celebrated the 500th anniversary of Christopher Columbus' voyage to the New World. Approximately 110 nations participated and about 20 million people attended the exposition. On Hawai'i Day at the U.S. Pavilion in Seville Expo '92, Hawai'i was the only state that had a 10-day appearance on the U.S. performing arts stage featuring local musicians, dancers, and storytellers organized by Culture Hawai'i, which is sponsored by government, agencies and businesses ("Hawai'i in Seville", 1992).

According to George Kanahele's *Hawaiian Music and Musicians* (1979), slack key music, "like falsetto singing and steel guitar music, is uniquely Hawaiian. It is an outstanding example of the Hawaiian genius for synthesis" ("Masters of the slack key," 1992).

People who perform and have been willing to teach others include Glen Smith, Brent Kalua, Leon Siu, Gary Haleamau, Ozzie Kotani, Ledward Ka'apana, Haunani Apoliona, the Pahinui Brothers, George Kuo, Raymond Kane, Sonny Chillingworth and those that accompany these Master musicians. About 8,000 fans come out to the Kī hō'alu festival at McCoy Pavillion to enjoy the music ("Masters of the slack key," 1992).

The Cazimero Brothers, Robert and Roland, have contributed tremendously to the Hawaiian music industry and have become ambassadors of Hawaiian music. Their own blend and style of fusing the ancient traditional chants with a more contemporary beat and rhythm give a whole new character to the original chant. Although they have been criticized by traditionalist Hawaiians, their popularity with both Hawaiians and non-Hawaiians surpass any major criticisms. The brothers seem sensitive about the extent to which they will take artistic liberties with some of the chants. The wide acceptance of their music by everyone of all ages seems to indicate that their presentation of the old is tastefully done and in keeping with the dignity of their culture.

Hawaiian churches more than any other organization have been noted for their choral singing. These churches would sometimes have choral competitions among their sister churches. These competitions would often be open to the public. Since radio has become a major source of entertainment, Hawaiian choral competitions have lost popularity. In some small Hawaiian communities throughout the islands, it was a major means of socialization. The choral groups would have their families and friends along with other members from their own church cheering for them. Thus, these occasions were very festive and could sometimes be heavily competitive. Although many Hawaiian churches still have choirs, choral competitions are no longer fashionable. Instead

Hawaiian concerts, with well known Hawaiian entertainers, seem to be the "in" thing.

Every spring the Kamehameha Schools sponsors a song contest. Ninth to twelfth grade classes compete in the combined competition (boys and girls). Grades ten to twelve compete for the boys and girls competition awards. Parents of students as well as visitors from throughout the state attend this contest. Many others watch the event on television. It is one of the most esteemed choral competitions in the state.

Polynesian Navigation

Polynesians arrived in Hawai'i on double-hulled canoes. They had no man-made mechanical devices to assist them in navigation. They depended upon what was readily at hand—nature. Since the time of the last migrations to and from Hawai'i, this was one aspect of Hawaiian culture that was virtually lost. Then one individual, Nainoa Thompson, with an inner desire and an unquenchable curiosity, was determined to learn how the ancient Polynesians traveled across vast bodies of water.

For Thompson, the main purpose of the first traditionally designed double-hulled canoe, *Hōkūle'a* was "to strengthen and celebrate Hawaiians' cultural ties with the sea" (Bigold, 1993). In 1992, *Hōkūle'a* had its fourth voyage known as "*No nā Mamo*: Voyage of Education—For the Descendants." This voyage lasted six months and covered 5,500 miles, taking the crew from Hawai'i to French Polynesia and the Cook Islands. Seven thousand students tracked the vessel's homeward progress from Rarotonga via radio, text reports, and sets of plotting tools provided by the Hawai'i Maritime Center. On October 28, Hawai'i's young people were able to participate in a live TV hook up with the *Hōkūle'a* crew and the space shuttle, *Columbia*.

The Voyage of Education took the canoe to Tahiti, Raiatea, Mauke, Aitutaki, and Rarotonga in the Cook Islands. This was the longest and most challenging of four voyages made to date and was dedicated to education. The purpose was to educate the people of Hawai'i about

voyaging traditions and to train a new generation of navigators, sailors, and supporters for future voyaging, thus perpetuating the traditions.

The techniques of non-instrument navigation have been used by Pacific Islanders for thousands of years. And because of the success of the *Hōkūle'a* and its navigators, the techniques are being studied and learned by Maoris, Cook Islanders, Tahitians, and other Polynesians. Thompson had learned the ancient navigational skills from Mau Piailug of Satawal in the Marshall Islands. As a means of revitalizing and perpetuating this tradition, 16 students from Hawai'i and various parts of Polynesia have, in turn, learned the ancient skills from Thompson (Thompson, 1992b).

Polynesian navigation parallels space exploration

One of the questions asked during this last voyage of the *Hōkūle'a* was "What are the similarities and differences between canoe and space travel?" Astronaut Stacy Veach, on board the space shuttle *Columbia*, answered, "Both are voyages of exploration. *Hōkūle'a* is in the past. *Columbia* is in the future." Master navigator Thompson aboard *Hōkūle'a* put it this way:

> We feel both are trying to make contributions to mankind. Theirs is in science and technology. Ours is in the culture and history. *Columbia* is the highest achievement of modern technology. The voyaging canoe was the highest achievement of technology in its day (Krauss, 1992b).

Thompson envisions an ever-expanding educational program with *Hōkūle'a* as a floating classroom to teach students not only about ancient culture, but about themselves and how to reach goals, take responsibility, meet challenges, and solve problems (Creamer, 1993).

Today, classrooms all across the state use educational materials prepared by the Polynesian Voyaging Society from knowledge gained through *Hōkūle'a* voyages. Hawaiian children have learned about the star compass used by their ancestors. They have learned about the

sennit cording made from coconut fronds, of the now rare *olonā* plant and how its fibers made the toughest cordage ("Sailing", ND). Books and curriculum materials have been developed using Polynesian navigation as a theme in teaching science, astronomy, math, and other subjects.

Through a grant from the Native Hawaiian Culture and Arts Program, Marquesan Tava Taupu and Micronesian Mau Piailug have completed building a Hawaiian double-hulled voyaging koa canoe powered by mat sails at the Pu'uhonua O Hōnaunau National Historic Park. In creating the double-hulled canoe, they originally used stone adzes. But because they were on contract and a time schedule they had to switch to steel adzes to speed up the work (Krauss, 1992a).

Master canoe builders Wright Bowman, Sr., and Wright Bowman, Jr., are continuing the art form with the double-hulled canoe *Hawai'i Loa*, the next generation of *Hōkūle'a*. About two dozen volunteers have assisted in building *Hawai'i Loa*'s hulls and canoe body. In 1994, the vessel joins *Hōkūle'a* and 11 South Pacific crafts to recreate the original settlers' voyage to Hawai'i from the Marquesas (Enomoto, 1992a).

Volunteers assist with the tremendous amount of work that is involved in building both canoes. These people feel that they are part of history in the making. Their hands and their *mana* will be part of this historical saga of Hawaiian history and culture. A true sense of pride is restored for not only the Hawaiian people but for everyone who had participated in recreating this fragment of Hawaiian culture.

Physical Arts

Another enduring aspect of the Hawaiian culture has been the physical arts, appreciated by both Hawaiians and non-Hawaiians alike.

Copyright has become an issue. This is primarily due to the more recent concern of designs being copied and items being made in foreign countries. Hawaiians went through this during the early years

and people were taking credit for writing various songs. Now the copying, duplicating, and selling has affected artisans.

According to Linda Colburn, Economic Development Officer of the Office of Hawaiian Affairs, "Manufacturers who profit from Hawaiian creations duplicate, trivialize, and in the process destroy Hawaiian culture" (Johnston, 1993a). The concern for proprietary rights or the artist's control of his work are central to the issue. The artist must take the necessary steps to protect his or her work. Many Hawaiians are finding that it is legal for anyone to take their designs and use them for his own purposes, regardless of the original intent of the creator.

"For Hawaiians and Hawaiian artists, this has added importance because much of the art that is produced has religious or spiritual significance and the use or misuse of such artifacts can be a serious affront legally and morally to the creator" (Johnston, 1993a).

Quilting.— There has been a statewide search to find and preserve Hawaiian quilt fabrics, techniques, and patterns. The Hawaiian Quilt Research Project has registered approximately 500 quilts (Enomoto, 1992b).

A quilting company called Poakalani, Inc. puts out a quarterly newsletter called *The Hawaiian Quilter*. Distribution has reached 500 and encompasses the mainland, Sāmoa, and Hawai'i. With the help of the Consortium of Pacific Arts, Poakalani owners Mr. and Mrs. John Serrao, Sr., who are quilters themselves, have traveled to the mainland and Sāmoa to teach people Hawai'i's method of designing a pattern and making their own quilt. This company will be traveling to Guam and the Marquesas in 1994. They have encouraged quilters to copyright their patterns because foreign companies have been copying patterns, printing them as their own, and selling quilts at greatly reduced prices.

Hawaiian hand-made quilts are still considered special. Those who are avid Hawaiian quilters can identify the quilter by unique patterns. Some

patterns are passed down within the family and are considered cherished possessions and family heirlooms. A Hawaiian quilt made by someone in the family or by a noted artisan is a special possession. First of all, most Hawaiians realize the number of hours it takes to make a quilt and the fine work that goes into the sewing of each stitch. Secondly and most importantly, it is the creation of the pattern that makes the item so unusual and extraordinary. The patterns may be drawn from shadows of plants, or patterns may come in a dream or a vision. The creation of the pattern and the quilt is an expression and transference of one's *mana*—spiritual essence. Thus, the quilt is not just an ordinary blanket or a bed covering but expresses a person's creativity, artistry, and spirituality. As a result, great care goes into protecting this prized possession. The quilt is not thrown about, laid upon, treated as a blanket or an ordinary item but is given tremendous respect.

Although foreign companies may steal patterns and be able to produce quilts cheaply, it's unlikely the same respect will be accorded these reproductions. Certainly, it is still a high honor to receive a Hawaiian hand-made quilt.

Feather Lei Making.—The intricate weaving of flowers into garlands, the Hawaiian *lei*, is a familiar sight to both residents and visitors to Hawai'i. A less well-known Hawaiian cultural art form which has seen renewed interest lately is the use of feathers for *lei* making. This particular art has been maintained primarily through formal classes.

On almost every island there is a master feather artist who in turn learned from a master feather artist. Like the hula, the passing down of knowledge is important because the artist will continue the style of his or her mentor.

There are two well-known feather artisans today, Ethelreda Kahalewai and Mary Lou Kekuewa who conduct classes for anyone who is interested. These two individuals operate featherwork businesses and

are often sought after for their work and expertise. This particular art has been maintained primarily through formal classes.

The feathers are from many kinds of birds - pheasants, peacocks, chickens, and ducks. The most common are the duck feathers that are dyed a variety of colors from deep red to midnight black. Each feather is carefully handled and given the proper respect.

Although this is not a widely spread art, to own a feather lei in the *papa* (flat), *moemoe* (round and flat), or *hulu* (round) style is greatly prized. It is an honor and a privilege to receive such a *lei*. Each year the Association of Hawaiian Civic Club Political Action Committee recognizes outstanding Hawaiians in the field of politics. The award they present is a yellow *lei hulu* encased in *koa* wood.

Hawaiian Sports

Of course one cannot discuss Hawaiian culture and its contributions to the modern world without mentioning two outstanding sports that can be traced back to traditional Hawai'i: surfing and canoe paddling. These two sports have achieved international recognition.

Canoe Paddling.— Canoe paddling was a popular sport as well as a means of transportation in ancient Hawai'i. Like many things considered fun or enjoyable by Hawaiians, the missionaries vigorously denounced it. In about 1883 King Kalākaua revived the sport of canoe racing. He set aside the third Saturday in September each year as Regatta Day. Later, the Republic of Hawai'i declared it a holiday beginning in 1896 until World War II and it was considered a very popular festival (Mitchel, 1990).

Today there are about 6,000 paddlers who are registered in the various canoe racing associations throughout the state. Each island has its own racing association. O'ahu has two canoe racing associations, Nā 'Ohana O Nā Wa'a, Inc. (Hui Wa'a) and the O'ahu Hawaiian Canoe Racing Association (OHCRA). The Hui Wa'a association has about 12 canoe clubs and OHCRA has about 14 active clubs. Kaua'i has six canoe

clubs all under the Garden Island Canoe Racing Association. Maui is the only island that financially supports its racing association through the county's parks and recreation program. Maui has seven clubs under the Maui County Hawaiian Canoe Association. Moloka'i Canoe Racing Association has three clubs and Moku O Hawai'i Canoe Racing Association has 13 clubs, eight in Kona and five in Hilo. The Hawaiian Canoe Racing Association is the state canoe association which is comprised of all the island associations.

Some associations have a twelve and under program starting children at about five or six years old. Each club operates independently but must abide by island association policies and rules as well as the state association's policies and rules.

The International Polynesian Canoe Federation is made up of representatives from California, Hawai'i, Tahiti, Canada, New Caledonia, Western and American Sāmoa, Wallace and Fatuna, and the Cook Islands. They have their canoe regatta every two years. In 1994, it will be held in Western Sāmoa and in 1996, it will be in New Caledonia. Hawai'i would like to make a bid to hold the regatta here but it takes a great deal of money and coordination.

With the exception of Maui, none of these associations or the federation receive any state funding. All of their funds are raised by the paddlers and their families or friends. This is a team and family sport where team effort is the focus.

Canoe paddling as a tourist activity has also been popular since the days of the beach boys. Tourists are taken for canoe rides in front of their hotels in Waikīkī. In video and print material the visitor industry promotes canoe paddling as an exciting experience.

Surfing.— Many notable Hawaiian surfers have helped put Hawai'i on the world's sports map and helped make surfing an international sport. Duke Kahanamoku and George Freeth as well as the early beach boys

like Chick Daniels, Aloha and Sonny Kaeo immediately come to mind, and, more recently, Rabbit Kekai, Ben Aipa, Eddie Aikau, Paul Strauch, Buffalo Keaulana, and Rell Sunn. The beach boys were noted for their prowess in the water, paddling canoe and/or surfing. Professional surfers of Hawaiian ancestry today include Michael and Derek Ho, Hau'oli Reeves, and Sunny Garcia to name just a few.

Although some form of surfing was found throughout Polynesia—the Society Islands, Tahiti, Sāmoa, and Tonga—it reached its peak in Hawai'i. Today, surfing is worldwide. Surfing has reached countries like Australia, Peru, South Africa, New Zealand, France, Israel, England and Indonesia. Hawai'i's own shoreline is a mecca to thousands of surfers every year. Surf meets are held on Kaua'i, Maui, O'ahu, and Hawai'i annually.

Major surf meets mean prestige for Hawai'i and Hawai'i's surfers. All the top surfers in the world come to Hawai'i. There are surf meets in Africa, France, Australia, Tahiti, and Japan.

The Triple Crown of Surfing, which has been held for the past eleven years in late November and early December on O'ahu's north shore, is viewed as **THE** major event of the professional surfing season. The Triple Crown is the finale of the international professional surfing season. Often, this is when the world surf champion is determined.

There are smaller, locally sponsored surf meets held on almost every island. The big sponsors, those that will contribute $80,000 to $100,000+, are usually outside investors. However, it has become more and more difficult to solicit big sponsors especially when competing with other professional sports such as football and basketball. However, Hawai'i certainly profits economically when surfers from all over the world converge here to participate in these meets.

Of all Hawaiian sports canoe paddling and surfing have best survived the changes that have taken place in Hawai'i over the last two centuries.

Hawaiian Healing Practices

Hawaiian healing involves body, mind and spirit.

A spiritual aspect of Hawaiian culture is healing. Hawaiians believed that illness was often related to a transgression against the gods. Therefore, in order for one to become well, an individual had to *ho'oponopono* (make right) the offense with the gods or god responsible for causing the illness. The offended deity could be identified by a *kahuna 'aumakua* (an expert dealing with sickness caused by a god). In all methods of Hawaiian healing the first step is to appease the gods or god through prayers asking for forgiveness and by making restitution. A good relationship needed to be re-established before you could ask the god to heal you.

Kupuna Henry Auwae is noted for his 75-year practice of *lā'au lapa'au*, the application of Hawaiian herbal medicine. He learned his craft from his great-grandmother beginning at age seven. He taught his daughter and granddaughter his healing traditions (Page, 1992c). There are no statistics as to the number of *kāhuna lā'au lapa'au* of Auwae's caliber. The extent of his knowledge is well known in the Hawaiian community. Many have sought his assistance, Hawaiians and non-Hawaiians. If patients cannot come to him, they will often pay for his travel arrangements and bring him to them. He has conducted many workshops in the area of *lā'au lapa'au* throughout the state. Because few people possess Auwae's degree of knowledge, the passing on of his skills is vital. In 1992, he was recognized by OHA as an Outstanding Kupuna for his contribution to the Hawaiian community as a *kahuna lā'au lapa'au*.

Five federally funded island health centers have been established throughout the state to provide medical services in a more culturally sensitive manner to Native Hawaiians. Funds are from the U.S. Dept. of Health and Human Services under the Native Hawaiian Health Act (P.L. 100-579). The five centers are Hui Mālama Ola Nā 'Oiwi (Hawai'i), Nā Pu'uwai (Moloka'i), Ho'ola Lāhui Hawai'i (Kaua'i), Ke Ola Mamo (O'ahu), and Hui No Ke Ola Pono (Maui).

A network of traditional Hawaiian healers called the 'Ohana Group have been established by the Hui Mālama Ola Nā 'Oiwi, the Hawai'i health center, that includes professionals in *ho'oponopono*, *lomilomi*, *hāhā*, *lā'au lapa'au*. About 35% of the Center's clients ask about Native Hawaiian traditional care (Page, 1992b).

Hawaiians who call Hui Mālama Ola Nā 'Oiwi for a referral are given the name and number of a native healer in their area. This *hui* did not become available until 1990. Hawaiians are given the opportunity to choose between western methods of healing or Hawaiian traditional healing (Page, 1992b).

Hānai 'ai ho'ola, feeding to heal, is a diet program seen to be important for physical and spiritual health because it teaches Hawaiians about their past. The cultural education component is important. Making people aware of their history and the role of agriculture in ancient Hawai'i is a central part of the diet program. In addition, the cultural component helps with self-esteem, making people aware of their accomplishments and helping them overcome negative stereotypes in their own minds. This would assist in making them a stronger, prouder people. They would then be in a better position to rebuild their own political and economic base (Johnston, 1993d).

Hawaiian Cultural Food

The traditional food of the Hawaiians included taro, breadfruit, coconut, fish, seaweed, sea urchins, chicken, sweet potato, sugar cane, and fruits. Only on very special occasions was pork included. The diet was very simple and the preparation was simple. There were no heavy gravies, food sauteed in butter or deep fried. The food was generally prepared by either baking or broiling. In addition, the food was associated with specific gods. For example, ". . . taro, sugar cane, and bamboo are all associated in the lore with the god Kāne. The sweet potato, the gourd, and the hog are identified with Lono; the coconut and breadfruit with Kū; and the banana with Kanaloa" (Handy & Handy, 1992).

The food was also seen as a form of the gods with whom it was associated. Therefore, the food contained *mana*, the supernatural or divine power. From the time the seed was planted it was nurtured with this belief and given special care. The people received the spiritual essence of life through the food they ate.

Prayers were said throughout each phase of the planting cycle. The spiritual bond between the food and the people had no definite beginning or end because the interconnectedness of the gods, the environment, and man was continuous and cyclic.

The missionaries sought to eliminate the cultural beliefs relating to food. Anything remotely affiliated with the ancient gods was denigrated. The Hawaiians' spiritual connectedness with food and agriculture was suppressed. However, food has continued to play an important part in cultural celebrations, special occasions, and momentous events. Hawaiians have retained their love of food.

But with the introduction of new foods, particularly greasy fast foods and various ethnic foods, Hawaiians strayed drastically away from their own cultural diet. As a result, "the native Hawaiians have the worst health statistics in the nation" (Shintani, 1993). The modern Hawaiian diet is high in sodium, fat and cholesterol. Now the traditional Hawaiian diet is being given a closer examination.

Traditional Hawaiian food was healthy

According to Dr. Terry Shintani, a physician and nutritionist, who is the Director of Preventive Medicine at the Wai'anae Coast Comprehensive Health Center "the destruction of the cultural ways and the abandonment of the traditional diet of the native Hawaiians have resulted in staggering rates of death from chronic disease" (Shintani, 1993). Shintani believes that an effective response to the poor health of Native Hawaiians is a return to a "low-cost, culturally rich diet and lifestyle-centered strategies" (Shintani, 1993). In addition to eating more of the traditional diet used by ancient Hawaiians, this approach

emphasizes family support in trying to change eating habits. *'Ohana* values play an important role in promoting a healthier family.

This presents a challenge in terms of food preparation. There are some innovative and creative responses. Chef Herbert Hoe, for example, takes the basic Hawaiian food and prepares it in a wide variety of delicious ways that are low in sodium, fat, and cholesterol. From seaweed salad (seaweed, white onions, and tomatoes) to stuffed baked chicken (stuffed with taro, breadfruit and some coconut milk for flavoring) he has become well known for his tasty treats. Mr. Hoe has been teaching cooking since 1991 at the Kamehameha Schools Continuing Education night classes. His classes average about 12 students a semester (Kamehameha Schools Continuing Education Program). Mr. Hoe and his family also manage a catering business promoting creatively prepared Hawaiian food.

Traditional Hawaiian food, once a major part of the spiritual life of Native Hawaiians, may now have come full circle. With *'ohana* values, it is now seen as a way of restoring the health and vitality of the people.

Historical Preservation

Historical Sites Preservation

One of the physical aspects of a culture is its historic sites. Since the increase of interest in all aspects of Hawaiian culture, there has been a more vocal and concerted effort from the Hawaiian community from all socio-economic levels to preserve these sites. Efforts at the federal level have assisted in preserving, maintaining, and making sites more accessible for Native Hawaiians.

In 1992, a major victory occurred when the passage of amendments to the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 made it possible for Native Hawaiians to be included in the process of determining the significance of historic sites. Prior to the passage, sites were evaluated based on their archeological and/or historical significance in order to be eligible for preservation. Now the native traditional religious and cultural

practices will be considered among the criteria for site preservation. "A site can now be eligible for placement on the National Register of Historic Places—and the protection that comes with it—if it is culturally significant to a native people" (Clark, 1993e). This means that the federal agencies and the State Historic Preservation Officer (SHPO) must consult Hawaiian organizations to evaluate whether a site is eligible to be nominated to the National Register. To do this, the SHPO must work cooperatively with Hawaiians to create a cultural module of a preservation program or plan.

The Act also provides a seat on the Federal Advisory Council on Historic Preservation for a member of a Native Hawaiian organization. This will ensure Hawaiian participation in the process of nomination of historic sites.

Grants will also be made available under this Act for Hawaiian organizations that are interested in the preservation of historic sites to apply for funding that will assist them in carrying out the terms of the Act. This Act applies to both Native Americans and Native Hawaiians.

The American Indian Religious Freedom Act in 1978 has also made some headway in preserving sites. Attempts are being made, particularly by Senator Daniel K. Inouye, to ensure that all federal agencies re-examine their policies and procedures that will minimize their interference with Native American and Native Hawaiian traditional religious practices. Federal agencies may not obstruct accessibility to religious sites. Native people must have access in order to gather the necessary natural materials used in religious ceremonies and practices.

The federal government has acted to support indigenous cultures.

In addition, The Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act of 1990 requires federally-funded agencies (such as museums or universities), to document certain Native American and Native Hawaiian human remains and cultural items within their collections, and to notify all Indian tribes and Native Hawaiian organizations that may be affiliated

with these holdings; and to provide an opportunity for the repatriation of appropriate human remains or cultural items.

The Act establishes a review committee whose responsibilities are to monitor and review the implementation of the inventory and identification process and repatriation activities under the Act. Their role also includes facilitating the resolution of any disputes among Indian tribes, Native Hawaiian organizations, or lineal descendants and federal agencies or museums regarding return of items, including convening the parties to the dispute.

Hui Mālama I Nā Kūpuna O Hawai'i Nei and OHA are specifically named in the Act as Native Hawaiian organizations which may apply for repatriation. Hui Mālama I Nā Kūpuna O Hawai'i Nei is a non-profit Native Hawaiian organization incorporated in 1989 to provide guidance and expertise in decisions dealing with Native Hawaiian cultural issues, particularly burial issues (Ward, 1993).

There are several mechanisms within the state system that can be tapped to preserve historic and burial sites. In the legislature there is the Senate Committee on Culture, Arts and Historical Preservation and the House has a Committee on Hawaiian Affairs. In 1990 several burial councils were set up by the state: Ni'ihau-Kaua'i, O'ahu, Lana'i-Moloka'i, Maui, Hawai'i. These burial councils are staffed by the Department of Land and Natural Resources (DLNR), Historic Preservation Office. The purpose of these burial councils is to advise the state and developers regarding Hawaiian bones or burial sites found on property affected by the developers or state. OHA also has a Historic Preservation Task Force. Their primary role is community advocacy for the preservation of historic sites.

Kaho'olawe.— The issue about the island of Kaho'olawe is the clashing of values concerning the use of the island. The Navy sees the island as an invaluable resource to prepare for war. When it was suggested that the Navy find another site, e.g. San Clemente, California, the issue of

cost to transport all war equipment and troops to California was the excuse given. Kaho'olawe was seen as expendable, and military training done there, indispensable.

For Hawaiians, Kaho'olawe is one of the eight major populated Hawaiian islands and named "Kanaloa" by *nā kūpuna*, the island is sacred to the Hawaiian god of the ocean. Kaho'olawe has numerous *heiau*, shrines, settlement and activity areas virtually intact. Navy bombing, shelling and artillery fire have directly hit other unique and irreplaceable archeological sites. Bombs have been found in the waters off of Molokini island and once in a pasture on the slopes of Haleakalā, Maui (McGregor, 1988).

Hawai'i Governor John Waihe'e shared his feelings regarding Kaho'olawe, "We need to bring back this living land that has been wounded so much" (Clark, 1993a).

Protect Kaho'olawe 'Ohana is the court-designated civilian steward of Kaho'olawe under a 1980 consent decree with the Navy. Kaho'olawe holds the distinction of being the only island on the National Register of Historic Places (Miller, 1988).

Bombing and live-fire exercises were halted in October 1990 by congressional action and presidential order.

In the 1993 state legislature, legislation was submitted to establish an island reserve for Kaho'olawe and its surrounding waters, prohibit commercial use, and also establish a commission to oversee the island's use (Clark, 1993c). Neither the Navy nor the commission expects that Kaho'olawe can be made habitable. In addition to the unexploded ordnance, the island has no natural water supply. More than 13,000 of Kaho'olawe's 28,800 acres have been cleared of ordnance on the surface. Also, 74,000 trees have been planted there (Yoshishige, 1992). Possible uses for Kaho'olawe would include limited tourist visits, cultural research, and spiritual ceremonies by Native

Hawaiians. The Kaho'olawe issue was a major milestone for Hawaiians fighting for cultural historic preservation.

Ahu'ena Heiau.— Ahu'ena Heiau, on the grounds of the King Kamehameha's Kona Beach Hotel in Kailua-Kona, is part of the Kamakahonu complex, King Kamehameha the Great's royal residence, located on the northwestern edge of Kailua Bay. The *heiau* is a thatched temple, dedicated to the worship of Lono. Kamehameha worshiped, ruled, held court, and died (1819) at Kamakahonu, which was also the site of the *'ai noa*, or the abolishment of Hawai'i's ancient *kapu* system.

In 1985 the federal government listed the Kamakahonu complex, including Ahu'ena, as a National Historic Landmark, and designated the *heiau* a certified historic structure. Kona businesses, civic clubs, various corporations including Bank of Hawai'i, the Hawai'i Visitors Bureau, the Council of Hotels, and the King Kamehameha Hotel began restoring the site that was falling into disrepair due to weather and sea forces (Clark, 1993b).

Hale O Papa.— In Hālawa Valley of O'ahu, the impending destruction of at least 26 historic and pre-historic sites including *heiau*, one of which was identified as a female *heiau* called Hale O Papa, triggered another cry of cultural molestation. These historic sites were in the path of a $1 billion dollar freeway construction project. The OHA Native Hawaiian Historic Preservation Council submitted a report indicating that they had found no substantial evidence that sites 85 and 75, the two most controversial sites, were indeed *heiau* sites. These sites however were "likely related complexes which traditionally functioned as a living and planting area for higher-ranking overseers and their families in North Hālawa Valley" (Yamaguchi, 1992). In addition, the sites should be preserved ". . . for the role they have and will continue to play in contributing to the self-knowledge, cultural identity and integrity of the Hawaiian people" (Yamaguchi, 1992). The Council's report and a statement from the Historic Preservation Division of the Department of Land and Natural Resources regarding the same sites were much

awaited by both state and federal officials to provide guidance regarding these sites. These two entities and the Bishop Museum, which did most of the archeological work for the state, supported the state's $10 million realignment of the freeway. The original H-3 alignment, now shifted, would have gone through site 75.

Ka'u, South Point.— Ka 'Ohana I Ka Lae is entering its 11th year of serving as curator of historical sites on 600 acres of Hawaiian Homes land at South Point on the Big Island. *'Ohana* members have installed toilets, kept cattle from trampling native plants, protected archeological sites, and sought leases for Native Hawaiians on 11,000 acres around South Point.

These are just a few of the historic sites that have been threatened and efforts made to preserve them. In addition, there have been other historic sites that people have recognized and that need to be restored and preserved. Here are just a few:

- Moloka'i fishponds
- Kūkaniloko, Hawaiian birthing place in central O'ahu
- Kaunolu, contains a *heiau*, a place where Hawaiians leaped 70 ft. into the ocean to demonstrate their courage, and favorite *ali'i* fishing ground on the leeward side of Lāna'i
- Wailua, site of an ancient cultural center on Kaua'i
- *Mo'okini heiau*, North Kōhala, Hawai'i
- Kamehameha's birth place, North Kōhala, Hawai'i
- *Kūkuipahu heiau*, North Kōhala, Hawai'i
- Hawaiian village site in 'Ohikilolo valley, Wai'anae, O'ahu

There will probably be many other historic sites that will be discovered. Decisions will have to be made regarding their significance, restoration, who will care for these sites, and perhaps how they can be put into an educational context.

Through the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act of

Repatriation of Bones

1990, federally-funded agencies (such as museums or universities) must document and certify Native American and Native Hawaiian human remains. They then must inform all Indian tribes and Native Hawaiian organizations that may be affiliated with these holdings and provide an opportunity for the repatriation of these human remains. Museums have until November 1995 to ascertain ancestry of bones they possess and to work with the appropriate group of people to have these remains returned.

The Smithsonian Institute had more than 200 remains that were taken from Hawai'i. The state legislature designated the Office of Hawaiian Affairs and Mālama I Nā Kūpuna O Hawai'i Nei as the trustees to receive the remains.

The Bishop Museum has over 3,000 ancient Hawaiian remains which have never been shown publicly. The repatriation of these bones is in process. Among these ancient remains are two *ka'ai* (woven caskets) said to be of 'Umi and Lonoikamakahiki, two ancient Hawaiian chiefs. OHA has set up a sub-committee of their Historic Preservation Council to work out the details in transferring the *ka'ai* to Mauna'ala. Matching funds by both OHA and the state legislature will assist in having a special repository for them at Mauna'ala, the cemetary which is the burial site for Hawaiian ali'i.

Although Bishop Museum knows it is losing valuable artifacts, Elizabeth Tatar said: "We're contributing to the perpetuation of that culture and tradition which, in my mind, is what we should be doing as a museum. We hold these items in trust but it's the community whose wishes are respected" (Ashizawa, 1991).

Burial sites.— Honokohua, Maui was the site where approximately 900 ancient graves were unearthed that triggered the repatriation and burial issue among Hawaiians. Pua Kanahele in her pleas to the legislature in 1989 shared that the "disinternment of Native Hawaiians at this sacred site is desecration. It is a violation of our traditions, customs, and

religion of Native Hawaiians. Only Native Hawaiians are systematically disinterred for hotels" (Mariani, 1989).

About the same time, in Wailea, Maui about 170 burial sites had been catalogued (Miller, 1989). Burial sites found throughout the islands have been unearthed by the developers, construction workers, and police officers. Under state law, police should bring a state archeologist to the site before any removal of bones. The police should also notify the Historic Preservation Division of DLNR to inform them of any discoveries of human bones (Chang, 1993).

The handling of the bones at these sites is now being done more sensitively and with more input from the Hawaiian community through the island burial councils.

Hawaiian Values

Values guide people's entire system of behavior, relationships, and world view. Because many Hawaiian values are considered universal, it has been easier to enlist community-wide support of the perpetuation for some of these. One value that has been used to the point where many have said it has been overused is *aloha*—greetings, good-bye, love.

Less commonly known, but becoming more used, are *mālama 'āina* or *aloha 'āina*—the caring of the land, *kōkua*—the helping of others, and *lōkahi*—harmony and balance. There are many other Hawaiian values, and many of these are coming into more general use.

The Kanaka'ole Foundation has become one of the leading groups in teaching Hawaiian values. This Foundation was started in 1990 (Page, 1992d) by the children of Edith Kanaka'ole, noted *kumu hula* and chanter from Hawai'i. The children realized that they had become the *kūpuna* of their family since the passing of both their parents. It became clear to them that their family traditions and values had to be

perpetuated, and they accepted the responsibility by creating the Foundation.

The Waiaha Foundation was started by Kenneth Brown and George Kanahele to create workshops and seminars centering on discussing and understanding Hawaiian values. This foundation was inspired by a trip taken by Brown and Kanahele to New Zealand. On that visit, both individuals rediscovered their own culture. They wanted to share their experiences with others. So in the late 1970s, they took a group of Hawaiian business men and women to New Zealand. They, too, came back with a renewed interest in their culture. As a result, some of them started planning what could be done to inspire others in knowing their culture at a deeper spiritual level. In 1981, a small gathering of people from various walks of life (educators, *kumu hula*, business people, farmers, etc.) were invited to attend the first major conference focusing on Hawaiian values by asking the question "Who and what is a Hawaiian?" This caused a whole new way of looking at the culture. In 1987, another conference was held on a much larger scale inviting people from various organizations, interest groups, and institutions, to examine Hawaiian values in various contexts—religion, economic, education, science/technology, cosmology/time/sense of place, and leadership. The results were immediate. Businesses started asking for workshops for their entire staffs on cultural values. The tourist industry was beginning to take a good look at the quality of their product. Their product was service. They needed to reflect the values of the culture in which their hotels are situated. Mauna Lani Hotel, Hāna Hotel, Ka'anapali Beach Hotel, and the Hawaiiana Hotel in Waikīkī requested Hawaiian values workshops. This indicates that there is a whole field that has been virtually untapped— how cultural values can help the community economically.

Hawaiian values can help the community economically.

An example of Hawaiian values in action occurred at the 1992 Hawai'i legislature. The chairman of the Housing and Hawaiian Programs committees requested that Mrs. Betty Jenkins, OHA Kūpuna Coordinator, assist him in keeping peace at his hearings. She and her

mother, Mrs. Elizabeth Ellis and a co-worker, Mrs. Nalehua Knox, went through the symbolism of the *poi* bowl and *ipu* before the beginning of his hearings. "The *poi* bowl and *ipu*, plus the presence of several women versed in Hawaiian culture, are meant to remind both sides of the table that courtesy and control are part of the hearing process, Crozier said" (Ashizawa, 1992). He was able to accomplish two things, put into practice Hawaiian values and improve the atmosphere at his hearings.

Even in the Governor's inaugural speech in 1990 cultural values came through:

> Let us rediscover our inseparability with nature. We are these islands, the sky and the sea. We need to ask ourselves how our ancestors did so much with so little, and why we are able to do so little with so much ("Hawai'i voyages into", 1990).

There are 365 *kūpuna* (elders) and *mākua* (adults) in the DOE whose purpose is to work closely with teachers to supplement Hawaiian studies curriculum. The *kūpuna* and *mākua* provide a variety of Hawaiian cultural activities. These include storytelling, music, dancing, and crafts. They also provide the children with a great deal of understanding of Hawaiian values. Responses from most parents have been very positive and the children look forward to having the *kūpuna* and/or *mākua* come to their classroom.

The Office of Hawaiian Affairs' (OHA) hosts an annual Kūpuna Conference. The 1992 conference focused on Hawaiian family values. The theme was *Ka 'Ohana He Makana A Ke Akua* (The family, a gift from God). OHA Trustee Moses Keale shared at the conference,

> The things you (*kūpuna*) identify as important will describe the concepts, values, practices, traits, rituals and protocols that are the essence of Hawaiian spirituality. We must never arbitrarily abandon our traditions and practices for those traditions or practices of

> others. . . . It is our duty to rekindle the spirit of our ancestors. It is our mission to replace inappropriate practices with proper practices and protocol and to teach our children to appreciate those practices and protocols (Page, 1992a).

It is for this very purpose that OHA hosts a *kūpuna* conference every year. About 100 to 250 *kūpuna* attend the conferences each year. The *kūpuna* from DOE are invited to attend the conference almost every year.

Protocol and Religious Ceremonies

There has been an increase in the use of protocol and ceremony for almost all public events or activities. Unless the activity relates to a specific culture other than Hawaiian, the opening ceremony of most public activities will usually be done in Hawaiian.

Protocol is a method of organization, a means to set the tone for a forthcoming activity, and it is also a means by which respect and acknowledgement are given to the spiritual side of the heritage. This normally would include a prayer, perhaps a Hawaiian song and *hula* or a Hawaiian chant depending upon the activity. If it is a blessing then the minister would generally use *ti* leaf and water with Hawaiian salt.

At all government levels in Hawai'i when there is a need to have a blessing, a Hawaiian minister is called upon to conduct the prayers and services. Ministers who are called upon to perform the ceremonies usually speak the Hawaiian language and conduct the services in Hawaiian.

Some protocol and religious ceremonies have taken on a new meaning and significance. With the Hōkūle'a, for example, at Hōnaunau an *'awa* ceremony took place for the crew as they readied themselves spiritually for their departure. An *'awa* ceremony was repeated upon their return. Ceremonies were conducted at each one of the Hōkūle'a's landings in the Pacific welcoming them on shore and preparing them for their next departure.

To heal the island of Kaho'olawe and the spiritual well-being of the Hawaiian people, special cultural ceremonies were held at Hakio'awa Bay on the northeast coast of the island. The ceremonies drew attention to the traditional values of *aloha 'āina* and *ho'ola ka 'āina*. The ceremony took place during the Kaloa moon phase sacred to Kanaloa, Hawaiian god of navigation, for whom the island was originally named and dedicated. The ceremonies featured the dedication of a *mua ha'i kūpuna* (place to recall our ancestors) and the planting of groves of coconut and breadfruit trees to restore life, regenerate and settle the island. The *mua* was constructed by hand in July and August to honor the *kūpuna* and *mākua* who have passed on, and who in their lifetime helped to restore and give back life to Kaho'olawe ("Healing ceremony held", 1992).

At a Drug Free Schools and Communities conference held in January of 1989 at Punalu'u, Hawai'i an *'awa* ceremony was conducted to set the tone of the conference and to demonstrate some specific Hawaiian values.

Hawaiian ceremonies and protocol are taken much more seriously and use of the Hawaiian language has become an absolute necessity. There are no data that give the number of Hawaiian language students or *hālau hula* students who are becoming involved in the ritual side of the Hawaiian culture but there appears to be an interest that has begun to blossom. The Kanaka'ole family members have been known to take language students or *hālau hula* students who are interested in the proper Hawaiian protocol and ceremonies under their wings. The major criteria to be one of their students is that they know the language and are serious about learning the rituals or have had exposure to the rituals with some language background.

In the *hālau hula*, students who are learning to chant and who are considered outstanding by their *kumu* are given opportunities to participate in Hawaiian protocol and ceremonies. There are also young Hawaiians who have joined Hawaiian organizations and societies who

have learned to chant from members of their own family. They conduct the ceremonies and protocol for their association. To name just a few of the young Hawaiian adults who conduct ceremonies or do ceremonial chants: Kalena Silva, Frank Hewitt, Kimo Alama, Cy Bridges, Nathan Nāpōkā, Hailama Farden, and Hiapo Perreira. There are many other young adults who have been trained and recognized for their unique ability and skill in this special aspect of the Hawaiian culture.

Native Rights

Along with the broadening of overall interest in Hawaiian culture has come a deepening of commitment to the determination of legal and political rights for Native Hawaiians. The term "sovereignty" has come to represent a wide array of points of view about the standing of Native Hawaiians in the context of modern America. What was once only discussed in hushed tones is now the subject of community-wide debate. Native rights is the subject for much scholarly research as well as community activism, with feelings running high on all sides. It is beyond the scope of this report to fully cover this topic. We present here some of the issues because they relate closely to education. It is important for young people to learn about and to come to terms with their history, complete with real and perceived injustices.

Land Trusts

There are two federally created land trusts for Hawaiians, the Public Land Trust, also known as ceded lands, for which the Office of Hawaiian Affairs is the executor, and the Hawaiian Home Lands Trust set aside in the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act of 1921. For both these land trusts, the benefits are for Hawaiians whose blood quantum is 50 percent or more. The daily management and supervision of these trusts has been under the State of Hawai'i. The management of these trusts has been a bone of contention for Hawaiians who have felt that the state has been intentionally negligent and neglectful in ensuring that Hawaiians attain the full benefits of these trusts. Hawaiians who have studied the laws and history pertaining to land and power have come forward to say that the state has abused this responsibility.

In the Statehood Act of 1959 the federal government turned responsibility for the land trusts over to the State of Hawai'i. Although the federal government retained oversight responsibility, no action has been taken to date to enforce the state's responsibilities. And, while the U.S. has enacted legislation on behalf of Native Hawaiians, the Executive Branch does not acknowledge any special relationship between the United States and Native Hawaiians.

Public Land Trust.— In 1898, through forced annexation to the United States via a joint resolution of Congress, crown lands (lands that were reserved for the sole use of the monarchy—1 million acres) and Hawaiian government lands (1.5 million acres) were consolidated and "ceded" to the United States. Some of these lands were sold for private ownership. This was done without the consent of the Hawaiian people nor with any compensation to the Hawaiian people. Thus, the key issues here are that the "Hawaiians have a distinct basis for return of the Crown lands. They also have a basis for return of the government lands, since no subsequent government paid for any of it" (Kamau'u & Murakami, 1993, p. 13). These ceded lands include the 1.4 million acres that were ceded to Hawai'i when Hawai'i attained statehood, federal lands that were returned to the state after 1964, and submerged lands ("Ceded lands", 1990). The Office of Hawaiian Affairs is supposed to receive 20% of these ceded lands' revenues.

The Admissions Act of 1959 and the Conveyance Procedures Act of 1963 mandate that lands no longer necessary for military purposes be returned to the people of Hawai'i.

Issues pertaining to ceded lands include how to handle areas like Bellows Air Force Base. Bellows occupies about 1,493 acres on the Windward side of the island of O'ahu, of which 1,456 acres (98.6%) are ceded lands. This area has been used by the military primarily for R & R (rest and relaxation) purposes. Its current estimated value is over $88 million. On the open market, its value would be several hundred millions more. As early as 1966, the federal government realized that it did not

need this windward parcel of land (Akana, 1993). Discussions are ongoing on what to do with the Bellows land. Another major piece of land that has been identified as ceded land and used for military purposes is the island of Kaho'olawe (see pp. 184-185).

As more and more ceded lands are identified, Hawaiians have become more and more appalled and angry as to the extent and depth of the misuse and abuse of these lands. Hawaiians have realized that they have not been getting their fair share of the revenues that have been generated from these lands. The Office of Hawaiian Affairs conducted its own audit of the ceded lands and found that there was a wide gap between what OHA thought it should be receiving and what the state thought it should be giving. Negotiations are still proceeding between the state and OHA in determining the amount owed.

Hawaiian Home Lands.— The Hawaiian Homes Commission Act was enacted in 1921 by the federal government as a "rehabilitation" program for Hawaiians. In his advocacy efforts for this Act, Prince Kūhio recommended that there be only a minuscule blood quantum requirement to qualify for the program. However, the final legislation required 50% blood quantum for all Hawaiian lessee homesteaders. From 1921 to 1959, the Hawaiian Home Lands were administered under the U.S. Government and its Territory of Hawai'i. In 1959, the Department of Hawaiian Home Lands (DHHL) became a state agency managing 187,413 acres of land on the islands of Kaua'i, O'ahu, Moloka'i, Maui, and Hawai'i. The Director/Chairperson of the Hawaiian Home Lands Commission, along with eight other Commissioners, are appointed by the Governor. The Department of Hawaiian Home Lands has been riddled with problems since its beginning. The primary problems have included:

- inadequate administrative funds;
- inadequate funds for infrastructure;
- the blatant abuse of transfer or exchange of lands by executive order for non-Hawaiian public or commercial use;

- the leasing of water rights on these homestead lands;
- not receiving their full 30% of water and sugar leases.

Only one-fifth of the land that was originally set aside for Hawaiian Home Lands has been used for the settling of approximately 3,800 Hawaiians. There are about 14,000 applicants on the waiting list. About 2,100 have been granted homesteads, but due to the lack of infrastructure—roads, electricity, sewage, and water—they cannot settle.

By state law and the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act, whenever a state agency uses sugar cane lands for development, compensation is due DHHL. Hawaiian Home Lands is entitled to 30% of the revenues earned from the sale or use of sugar cane lands.

When it comes to housing developments, one of the key controversial issues has been whether DHHL and/or OHA, who receives 20% of all revenues of ceded lands, should base their percent of revenues on the fair market value of the lands or the gross revenues, which include the value of both the land and houses. The state's position has been if OHA and DHHL go by gross revenues in determining their fair share, all necessary funds for affordable housing would be depleted.

At the federal level, efforts have been made to include funding for housing development on Hawaiian Home Lands through the National Affordable Housing Act. However, during the Bush administration objections were made by the federal administration that the federal government does not recognize a trust responsibility for Native Hawaiians (Associated Press, 1991).

Hawaiians seek solutions to land issues.

In response to these issues and many others regarding applying and being awarded homestead land, a group of beneficiaries and other interested individuals have formed a non-profit group called Hawaiian Home Lands Action Network (HHLAN). Their purpose as stated in their articles of incorporation is to "protect, preserve, and promote the rights of indigenous Hawaiians to the lands to which they are entitled . . ."

(Clark, 1993d). Their mission is to assess the problems and concerns pertaining to applying for Hawaiian Home lands and receiving awards for the land and to seek solutions to rectify these problems and concerns. Their goals include:

- presenting breach of trust claims to the newly created homestead claims review panel;
- to monitor these claims resolutions;
- protect water rights pursuant to the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act;
- increase funding for the Department of Hawaiian Home Lands (DHHL) and the Hawaiian Homes Commission;
- enhance accountability of DHHL and HHC; and
- promote greater self-governance for Hawaiian Home Lands beneficiaries.

However, communication issues still need to be resolved between this advocacy group and the DHHL. In trying to achieve the same ends, the department and the HHLAN may need to come to some mutual agreement and understanding as to how the groups can best support each other so that the shared vision can be achieved.

A Native Hawaiian Claims Panel has been created to hear individual complaints regarding Hawaiian Home Lands from Hawaiians. The Panel has been appointed by the Governor through nominations of individuals submitted by various Hawaiian organizations.

There has also been an increase from the general funds to DHHL, allowing other monies to be used for housing program purposes. Capital improvement monies have also increased. There appears to be some effort being made by the state to address the "back rent" issue. However, in dealing with that issue a major concern is agreeing on the formula to use in determining the amount. This formula question continues to arise whenever an agency has to determine the amount of revenues owed DHHL.

There is still a long way for DHHL to go in achieving the vision that Prince Kūhio had for his people when he went to Washington D.C. (as the territorial representative) on behalf of the Hawaiian people. But efforts are being made by people in both the department as well as outside the department to achieve that vision. Some sovereignty groups view the Hawaiian Home Lands as the necessary land base to achieve sovereignty for Hawaiians.

Water Rights

What does water mean? In Hawai'i, water means power. Since ancient Hawai'i, the *ali'i* who controlled the water resources controlled the land. Water was the motivating factor in selecting which lands were to be conquered. Lands with the greatest water resources were considered prime lands.

Today, people are of the opinion that if Hawaiians ever hope to realize sovereignty, they will have to establish clear and precise water rights that provide for present and future needs. Although there are state laws theoretically protecting present and future Native Hawaiian water needs, the language is too imprecise for it to have any substantive value for Hawaiians. Hawaiians need to control the natural resources in order to exercise sovereignty. These resources are the basis on which the economy, culture, and politics of a nation are built. Clear, precise laws are needed to recognize future water rights (Johnston, 1993c).

There have been workshops, seminars, and symposiums like the Hawaiian Water Law Symposium that was put on by the Native Hawaiian Advisory Council. The purpose of that symposium was to discuss ways to protect Native Hawaiian water rights (Johnston, 1993c).

Water rights can be an argumentative and emotional issue. On the island of Moloka'i developers, ranchers, and residents, as well as the Department of Hawaiian Home Lands and traditional farmers, are fighting about water rights. The water commission depends upon the Moloka'i Working Group to provide information about the island's water interests. The working group involves the community formulating what

should be the final word on water development on the island. There is real concern about export of water from undeveloped streams that might have an impact on the *'ōpae*, fresh water shrimp and *hihiwai*, fresh water sea urchin and other forms of stream wildlife that are gathered by Native Hawaiians and are part of their diet (Johnston, 1993b).

Water rights becomes an issue any time there is any new development anywhere in the state. Whenever there is a new hotel, conference center, resort, or golf course, water is greatly affected. There is a real concern by the general community that water is not an unlimited commodity. Available water resources can support only so much development. The depletion of these resources can become a real threat to the general community.

Sovereignty

"Sovereignty is defined as the ability of a people who share a common culture, language, religion, value system, and land base to exercise control over their lands and lives" (Trask, 1993).

What does "sovereignty" mean?

The paramount issue Hawaiians are facing now is sovereignty. The word "sovereignty" invokes confusion, fear, and frustration to many people of Hawai'i, people from both the Hawaiian and non-Hawaiian community. On the other hand, "sovereignty" stimulates much discussion among Hawaiian sovereignty groups. Hawaiian people who are struggling to understand what the word "sovereignty" means are often more confused than clear as each Hawaiian sovereignty group speaks about its vision. Perhaps the fervor with which the visions are being conveyed is what the general public responds to more immediately than what is being said. And the responses have ranged from completely negative to absolute support of a particular vision.

Sovereignty Initiatives.—Ka Lāhui Hawai'i is a Hawaiian sovereignty initiative with a constitution and an elected governing body whose model for sovereignty is a "nation within a nation" with control over an independent land base. Advocating for federal recognition of the

Hawaiian people as being self-governing, Hawaiians can then enter into treaties with Congress. This could occur through the creation of a government structure that would manage the assets and resources of an independent land base. This land base would include Hawaiian Home Lands, half of the ceded lands, and surplus federal lands. In addition, like all the models presented to the community, Ka Lāhui Hawai'i's model would advocate for its citizens to become economically self- sufficient (Glauberman, 1993). Ka Lāhui Hawai'i started registering their "citizens" in 1987 and now claims to have over 14,000.

Pro-Hawaiian sovereignty working group, Ka Pākaukau, is a coalition of 14 Native Hawaiian groups. This group wants complete independence and their land base would be the ceded lands and Hawaiian Home Lands. However, the ultimate goal would be to reclaim the entire Hawaiian archipelago. They want complete U.S. withdrawal from Hawai'i. Although they presently accept Ka Lāhui Hawai'i's government structure, they are keeping all their options open in order to progress towards complete independence.

Hawaiian groups have developed models of sovereignty

'Ohana Council of Hawai'i "bases its sovereignty claim on the belief that statehood occurred illegally. Therefore, Hawai'i is still a sovereign nation and not bound by the existing government's laws" (Ashizawa, 1993). It sees the Hawaiian archipelago as the land base for sovereignty. The *'Ohana* sees the Hawaiian nation as being totally independent.

> The responsibility of governing Hawai'i would be s[p]lit into two divisions. In one half, a leglislative body like Congress may emerge. Whatever decisions executed by this entity would be ratified or approved by the 'kingdom' half that is made up of three councils: *konohiki*, *kūpuna* and *ali'i*. . . . They hold the final authority. . . . The 'kingdom half' also would control lands, water and other natural resources (Ashizawa, 1993).

La Ea 'O Hawai'i Nei wants complete independence with the Hawaiian archipelago as its land base. Closely aligned with the 'Ohana Council, it

uses the *'ohana* system as a means for self-government. This group's strategy is "decentralization" by first putting the people back on the lands. Starting with Hawaiian Home Lands which it feels may need to be replaced with a "network of families living in homestead areas. By asserting traditional practices and customs Hawaiians declare their sovereignty" (Ashizawa, 1993).

'Ohana O Hawai'i is seeking "acceptance, recognition and restoration of our government" (Ashizawa, 1993). By updating and adopting the 1893 constitution that Queen Lili'uokalani never declared, the nation could create a monarch position that would serve only as a symbol of the past. They feel there is a need for a convention whereby all constitutions, even the state constitution, should be brought forth and discussed (Ashizawa, 1993).

The Institute for the Advancement of Hawaiian Affairs advocates for full independence from the United States. Its land base is the Hawaiian archipelago. Hayden Burgess, known as Pōkā Laenui, feels that ". . . only as an independent nation could the people of Hawai'i regulate immigration and commerce to the point where economic activity would reflect Hawaiian cultural values" (Ashizawa, 1993).

The Ka Kane O Ka Malo group feels that another model to consider is identifying a number of islands within the state to form the nucleus of a Hawaiian nation. This would provide the land base that is needed to qualify as a sovereign nation. With this strategy the other islands would remain under the state jurisdiction with Honolulu being jointly administered as the tax base both for the state and the Hawaiian nation.

Office of Hawaiian Affairs.—Some people in the Hawaiian community feel that the Office of Hawaiian Affairs (OHA) is sufficient to take care of the needs of the Hawaiians. OHA was instituted by the 1978 Consitutional Convention. Nine trustees are elected from the Hawaiian community statewide. Their mission is to improve the lives of the Hawaiian people. OHA receives 20% of the revenues from ceded lands

and administrative funding from the legislature. Approximately 65,000 Hawaiians are registered to vote on the OHA ballot and about 50,000 Hawaiians participate in the voting for these nine trustees.

A few of the projects involving OHA:

- Negotiations with the state for "back rent" payments and entitlements due OHA from the ceded lands;
- Federal entitlements through proposals to U.S. Senator Daniel Inouye;
- Post high school scholarships;
- Tutorial programs in about 40 schools throughout the state;
- Native Hawaiian Revolving Loan fund for Hawaiians who are interested in being entrepreneurs;
- Through the Native Hawaiian Legal Corporation, OHA has assisted about 1,800 Hawaiians regarding land;
- The Hawaiian diet program that was started in Wai'anae and has expanded to other areas of the state;
- Congressional and legislative monitoring of and lobbying for bills that would impact the Hawaiian people.

However, one of the many criticisms that OHA has received is that it is not truly autonomous. It was created by a state constitutional convention and still has monetary ties to the state. Nine elected trustees make all the decisions for the Hawaiian people on all issues pertaining to them. There are no other representatives from the Hawaiian community that provide a balance of power. So unlike the state that has a bi-cameral model of government whereby representatives are elected from House and Senate districts, OHA does not have the broad participation of its consituents in the decision-making process in creating policies that address Hawaiian issues. Although they do have advisory councils like the Native Hawaiian Preservation Council, these groups serve only in an advisory capacity. In its 14 years of existence, OHA has taken many issues out into the Hawaiian community seeking input. But again, the criticism is that only nine individuals make the final

decisions regarding those issues. The trustees' decisions are often felt to be adverse to what the Hawaiian community wants.

Remarks from the community in general have been that more often than not the Hawaiians are their own worst enemy. They have been accused of being so busy fighting each other that the issues are sometimes lost in the scuffle. Some members of the Hawaiian community have been embarrassed by the approaches that some members of Hawaiian organizations have chosen to make their point regarding Hawaiian issues. Others are proud of the efforts made by many for taking the risk of being ridiculed, jailed, and shunned by the community in their efforts to bring issues to the forefront. They admire the struggle and pain that these people have suffered.

Sovereignty Advisory Commission.—The Office of Hawaiian Affairs has supported a bill that has recently been passed by the state legislature and signed by Governor Waihe'e. "The bill sets up the process for a referendum on a Hawaiian Convention, which would propose an organic document for the governance of a sovereign Hawaiian nation." Part of the process is the establishment of a Hawaiian Sovereignty Advisory Commission. This Commission will address the following issues:

1) the conduct of special elections;
2) the apportionment of voting districts;
3) the eligibility of convention delegates;
4) the conduct of voter education and registration;
5) the size and composition of the convention delegates; and
6) the dates for the special elections.

The Commission will be comprised of nineteen members appointed by the Governor. At least 12 of the members are to be appointed from nominations submitted by Hawaiian organizations (Wong, 1993).

Community Activism.—Several rural Hawaiian communities statewide are trying to restructure their lifestyles in keeping with traditional ways.

"They have taken control and management of land and resources within their reach in hopes of clearing a path for the future. These groups not only provide a glimpse of applying sovereignty directly, they also offer a taste of empowerment," said Davianna McGregor, assistant professor of ethnic studies at the UH who developed the concept of *kipuka* in her doctoral thesis (Matsuoka, McGregor, & Minerbi, 1992).

> The cultural *kipukas* are Native Hawaiian communities which have been enclaves of a way of life bypassed by the mainstream economic development. The people who live in these areas continued to rely on subsistence fishing and gathering for the extended family network. You still see evidence of the traditional values of exchanging sharing and caring as well as the expertise and technical skill to carry on their lifestyle, explains McGregor (Matsuoka, McGregor, & Minerbi, 1992).

- On the island of Hawai'i, Ka'u Hawaiians formed the Ka 'Ohana O Ka Lae to protect the natural and cultural resources of their district from a planned spaceport to launch rockets.

- Malama Ka 'Aina are Hawaiians who settled on Hawaiian Home Lands at King's Landing, outside Hilo, Hawai'i. They seek to have the area designated for subsistence homesteading and to be granted leases under such a program.

- The Pele Defense Fund is working to stop the development of geothermal energy wells and electric plants which violate the goddess Pele, destroy the unique Puna rainforest, and ruin the natural resources that the Puna residents have utilized for subsistence livelihoods.

- On Moloka'i, the Hui Ala Loa, Ka Leo O Mana'e, and Hui Ho'opakela 'Āina are community groups formed to protect the

natural and cultural resources of Moloka'i for farming and fishing rather than for tourist resort development.

- On Maui, the Hui Ala Nui O Makena works to keep access to the ocean open for traditional fishing and gathering as well as recreation.

- Hana Pohaku is developing community-based economic development on their own *kuleana* lands.

- Ke'anae Community Association works to keep the water flowing to their taro patches rather than being diverted for development in Kula and Kīhei or hydro-electric plants.

- Hawaiian Farmers of Hanalei have community-based economic development projects at Waipā, Kaua'i and Ka Wai Ola seeks to protect the shoreline of Hanalei from ruin by numerous tour boat operations.

- On O'ahu, community based economic development projects are being pursued on the Wai'anae Coast by Ka'ala Farms, the Opelu Project and Nā Hoa'aina O Mākaha (Matsuoka, McGregor, & Minerbi, 1992).

The challenge is that the:

> rural Hawaiians are not demanding that everyone should give up modern conveniences and live a subsistence lifestyle. They are saying that Hawaiians should be given the right to continue to pursue a way of life passed on to them by generations before and which is crucial to the survival of Hawaiian culture. Those people who want to pursue a modern, Western way of life should not interfere with or infringe upon the Hawaiian way of life which was established upon the lands of these rural districts for centuries. Those who are residents of the districts and want to live in accordance with a more modern Western

> lifestyle should move away. Those who are not residents should not be allowed to destroy the natural resources which are essential to the survival and subsistence of the resident Hawaiians of these districts (Matsuoka, McGregor, & Minerbi, 1992).

Hawaiians have legal standing to access these resources, whether they are located on public or private lands.

Community Education.—Some organizations have been working to educate people about sovereignty and how it might impact Hawai'i's community.

Hui Na'auao, a non-profit group, was awarded about $1 million by the federal government through the Administration for Native Americans to conduct sovereignty workshops throughout the state, educating both Hawaiians and non-Hawaiians about sovereignty. Representatives from various Hawaiian community groups sit on the Hui Na'auao Board of Directors and have been working diligently educating people about the history of the overthrow of the Hawaiian kingdom, why there is a need for sovereignty for Hawaiians, and descriptions of sovereignty models being considered. Through these workshops, the *hui* hopes that a broad-based agreement on sovereignty will emerge.

A Blue Ribbon Committee made up of various community representatives planned the *'Onipa'a* commemoration that was funded by the state and the Office of Hawaiian Affairs. The commemoration was held in January, 1993. The activities during this event included educating people about the historical events that led up to the overthrow of the Hawaiian nation through street plays taking place on and around the 'Iolani Palace grounds. In addition, attempts were made by many sovereignty advocacy groups to educate people about the need for sovereignty.

Hawaiians are taking many kinds of active roles on almost any issue that might remotely affect their culture. More are getting directly involved in issues and politics. They want to affect the decisions that are being made now that will affect their children's future as well as the perpetuation of their culture.

Through the words of the *kūpuna*:

> *'Ike no i ka lā o ka 'ike; mana*
> *no i Ka a lā o Ka mana.*
>
> Know in the day of knowing; *mana*
> in the day of *mana*.

Knowledge and *mana*—each has its day. Another day may bring greater knowledge and greater *mana* than today (Pukui, 1983).

Summary

The overall goal addressed by this chapter is "Cultural Understanding." We have approached this goal differently. There are no standardized tests of cultural understanding or readily available social indicators. Instead, we reason that cultural understanding will be reflected in the vitality of cultural forms, beliefs, and values.

For many years these cultural patterns were in a state of decline. In the 1983 *NHEAP Report* it was argued that culture loss was a contributing factor to the poor state of Native Hawaiian education and health. At that time there was evidence that interest in and support for the Hawaiian culture had rebounded. A "renaissance," it was called.

In this report we have seen that this renewed vitality has continued to grow. This chapter has documented this flourishing of Hawaiian culture. We have seen worldwide interest in such Hawaiian forms as hula and surfing. We have seen enormous growth in Hawaiian language. And we have seen how Hawaiian values have been brought into mainstream usage.

Hawaiian values are now the basis for advocacy efforts in the areas of historical preservation and native rights. Scholarly research and inquiry into Hawaiian history and culture now serve as the justification for advocacy rather than only the passionate emotional pleas that were used in the past.

Cultural understanding is the underpinning for a clear group identity. The fact that the Hawaiian culture has prevailed despite the efforts of early missionaries to eliminate it is a tribute to this unique group of people and their heritage.

Only a broad sampling of Hawaiian cultural understanding has been presented here. This sampling is representative of what is happening at an ever-increasing rate. It is a "success story" in the midst of continuing educational disadvantage. It signals a hope that the negative statistics can be turned around.

The Search for Solutions

It has been ten years since the first *NHEAP Report*. During that time new educational programs have started and a national sense of urgency about education has grown. In the 1983 report a review of existing programs in Indian Education, programs in Hawai'i, and national "effective schools" research revealed nothing that could be simply imported as an intervention for Native Hawaiians. The programs that were created during the 1980s were intended to address educational needs across a broad band, from early intervention to higher education.

This report shows that many of the same educational needs still exist today for Native Hawaiians. There are, however, hopeful signs. We have seen positive results at preschool and in college enrollment, for example. We have seen increased services for Hawaiian students with special needs. We have seen indications of success for programs aimed at preventing drug and alcohol abuse. None of the new programs has been in existence long enough to evaluate its long-term effectiveness. Nonetheless, we must continue seek more effective educational strategies if possible. Have the past ten years given us any new directions or ideas for effective interventions?

In this concluding chapter we will examine models for educational intervention and change. We will discuss the importance of looking at change as a long-term proposition, perhaps over several generations. And we will summarize the available evidence on educational strategies which have the most promise for meeting the needs of Native Hawaiians.

Strategic Trends

One strategy for closing the gap between underachieving groups and their peers has been called "Compensatory Education" (Holtzman, 1992; Mitchell, Seligson, and Marx, 1989; Natriello, McDill, and Pallas, 1990; and Slavin, Karweit, and Madden, 1989). These four reviews provide a

comprehensive overview of national educational initiatives on behalf of underachieving/low income children during the past 30 years as well as a sense of the most successful local programs designed and launched to meet the educational needs of at-risk youth.

There has been an evolution of expert opinion about the most appropriate strategy for dealing with the needs of underachieving students.

Early Intervention

Inoculation.— During the first phase prevailing professional opinion was that appropriate early intervention would prevent later difficulties, a concept of "educational inoculation." Early and strategically-timed programming was seen as a sufficient condition for both preparing low income, educationally-at-risk children for school entry as well as for providing a lasting buffer against later problems. The prime example of an inoculation approach in educational programming was Head Start.

Linked Programming.— Unfortunately, the simplicity of the early intervention/inoculation concept proved to be less potent than its advocates had hoped. This perspective gave way to a concept of "Linked Programming." Title I/Chapter I funding provided a wide range of supplementary educational experiences for elementary school youth, and specific continuation programs evolved. For example, Follow Through and the Planned Variation study of the late 1960s provided an extension of federal program development efforts through grades K-3.

While the Head Start and Follow Through programs retain support as worthy efforts, there is more interest developing in looking beyond in-school programs. Increasingly, the links to families and to communities are being seen as crucial to children's school success.

Ecological Leverage.— In this approach, the school is the key point of distribution for a wide range of services. For example, some states and school districts have expanded the scope of traditional educational programming to include early childhood education services. In some

instances this may mean preschool for four-year-olds; in others, though, programming may include new, recently-developed options such as prenatal/infancy family support programs, toddler play groups, and adult education parenting classes. This approach also emphasizes the coordination of both family services and community development.

School of the Future.— The future may be represented in a project itself called "School of the Future" (Holtzman, 1992). This project has four inner-city demonstration sites in the State of Texas. Funded by the Hogg Foundation for Mental Health, each site is committed to a five-year development plan designed to make targeted schools the center of community renewal, family preservation, and developmental enhancement. The general concept is that schools will be a network hub for services for children and their families. Thus, rather than having health, welfare, family counseling, and other services delivered independently by a potpourri of providers, program developers envision systematic packaging of support services and community development efforts through revitalized and restructured schools. Why? Among other factors, program developers note:

- the ready availability of school facilities during off-school hours;
- the accessibility and identifiability of children and families within a school setting;
- the stable and accepted nature of schools as institutions in most communities; and
- the proximity to families of neighborhood schools, a factor that helps families deal with transportation problems often encountered when services are scattered all over town.

The guiding objectives set for this project give a sense of program emphasis and activity. Specifically, the following are top priorities:

1. To improve the social and academic performance of students by involving their parents and the community in their education.

2. To identify and build upon the strengths of child, families, schools, and the community.

3. To offer enrichment programs that promote self-esteem and positive human development.

4. To coordinate services for children and their families in their own neighborhood.

5. To prevent or treat a variety of problems such as substance abuse, child abuse, school dropout, teen pregnancy, and suicide.

These are broad objectives that leave ample room for development and interpretation--intentionally so. Each site is viewed as unique, with anticipation that the constellation of program elements for a given area will be distinctive and responsive to local conditions and priorities. The School of the Future program emphasizes a developmental, evolutionary program development process. This optimizes educators' abilities to anticipate and plan for challenges inherent in implementing new programs.

Other work in this area ranges from comprehensive school development efforts (e.g., Comer, 1980) to family development programs (e.g., Johnson & Breckenridge, 1982) to inclusion of both child care and family outreach services as part of school programming (e.g., Zigler & Lang, 1991). While still a new area, it is becoming apparent that schools of the future will need much greater involvement with communities and their members if the challenge of educating at-risk students is to be met effectively.

Education Reform

Another major strategic trend of the past ten years emerged from both effective schools research and the call for upgrading the national education system. In the 1983 *NHEAP Report* effective schools research was cited as a promising avenue to better educational strategies. As it developed, however, defining the global characteristics of effective schools gave way to consideration of many complicating factors: school size, socioeconomic status, ethnicity, and so on. There was a movement away from an emphasis on *equity* towards an emphasis on *efficiency* (Wimpelfield, Teddlie, and Stringfield, 1989).

New American Schools.— At the national level this trend is reflected in the move to encourage the development of new types of schools through competition. A private, non-profit corporation formed by business leaders is now sponsoring eleven such new schools. These include:

- Atlas Communities
- The Bensenville Community Design
- The College for Human Services
- Community Learning Centers of Minnesota
- The Co-nect School
- Expeditionary Learning
- Los Angeles Learning Centers
- The Modern Red Schoolhouse
- The National Alliance for Restructuring Education
- The Odyssey Project
- Roots and Wings: Universal Excellence in Elementary Education

Design teams for these new schools include educators, researchers, and community leaders. Concepts run the gamut from high technology to outdoor adventure type activities; from Howard Gardner's theory of multiple intelligences to William Bennett's Modern Red Schoolhouse where the principal is CEO. Clearly there is no one blueprint for success. It is hoped that after pilot testing in these eleven projects there will be a nationwide implementation of a new generation of American schools

(New American Schools Development Corporation: NASDC Facts, ND).

The Edison Project.— Taking schooling in an entirely new direction, the Edison Project is a research and development initiative which sees education as the product of a private, for-profit company. Conceived by Chris Whittle, chairman of Whittle Communications. The company, whose partners include Time Warner Inc., produces educational materials. It also runs the Whittle Educational Network, a satellite based communication system used in more than 10,000 schools nationwide.

The Edison Project aims to include:

- plans for a nationwide school system;
- contract services for public and private schools;
- educational hardware, software, and infrastructure; and
- an educational research laboratory.

All this will be financed through private sources, and the goal is to significantly improve education for no more than the current cost per pupil in the nation's public schools (The Edison Project, ND).

Obviously, the reform of education in America is currently taking many directions. The only common denominator is the sense of urgency. Business recognizes that it will suffer if American workers are under-educated. International competition in a global economy now forces a hard look at the entire scope of education, not just closing the gap for underachieving minorities.

Operational Principles

It may be too strong to say that no intervention programs will solve the educational needs of an entire group like Native Hawaiians. It is

undeniable, however, that no programs have worked to date. And this is true on the national level as well. There are, however, some principles which seem to underlie the progress which has been made to date.

It Will Take Many Small Successes

Perhaps it was the dramatic nature of some of the research on the effects of early experience (e.g., Skeels, 1966), or perhaps it was simply naive optimism, but whatever the case, educators have long had high expectations with respect to the anticipated impact of their instructional efforts. Consider the initial Head Start concept: six weeks of summertime preparation designed to provide an almost magical push toward preparation for Kindergarten. The results would include success at the outset of a school career, success throughout school, completion of a postsecondary program, and a self-sufficient adulthood.

The reviews considered during the preparation of this report provide a distinctly contrasting picture. Slaven et al (1989), for example, present a sobering evaluation of the ostensibly documented successes in compensatory education. In spite of the impressive activity in this area during the past 30 years, the number of strongly-documented success cases is remarkably limited.

The fact that there are some successes, however, is important. We must continue to strive for these and their spinoffs.

It Will Take Time

In addition to the general idea that we need to do more, in a wider range of settings, using greater financial and human resources, a recurring theme is the need for time. In particular, Natriello et al. (1990) stress the need for a long-term commitment to educating disadvantaged youth. The challenges are such that one year or two years, or even a decade of supplementary educational services, may not be sufficient to turn around developmental patterns associated with limited school success. Perhaps we need to start thinking, they suggest, in terms of generations and in terms of eventual outcomes associated with having worked with parent-and-child-and-grandchild.

It Will Take a Systems Approach

Associated with this notion of time for impact is a growing awareness of the need to think of program development and implementation as interacting systems. The School of the Future work was particularly strong in this regard. The emphasis was shifted from implementation of a preexisting program toward commitment to a program development process. By necessity this creates programs unique to individual settings. The developers made an unequivocal statement of support for the communities they serve. By explicit design they will stay as long as it takes and commit whatever resources are needed and available toward the school success of youth in program target areas.

Because of the complexity of their program concept and the magnitude of school restructuring required, the School of the Future planners acknowledged the need for feedback systems. This is reflected in their evaluation plan. Based on work of Jacobs (1988) they anticipate a five-tier process: preimplementation studies; initial accountability assessment; program clarification assessment; evaluation of progress toward meeting objectives; and finally, outcome evaluation.

Achieving the Goals

Given these findings and strategic trends, what can be recommended as programs and strategies to help Native Hawaiian children achieve the goals which have been stated? Many of the recommendations in the following sections are derived from David A. Hamburg's book, *Today's Children: Creating a Future for a Generation in Crisis* (1992) .

Goal 1: School Readiness

Set the course early.— This is a fundamental principle: *Education begins with prenatal care*. And prenatal care begins even before pregnancy. Prenatal care cannot be considered only a "health" issue. Educational efforts are needed to prepare young people to make responsible decisions about sexuality, parenthood, and their nutrition and health. Native Hawaiian mothers-to-be need to seek prenatal care early in pregnancy.

Screening for risk factors also extends beyond "health" indicators. There

are some well-documented successes in early prevention of child abuse and neglect. One is the Healthy Start program in Hawai'i. Currently it screens about 50% of the births in Hawai'i. Mothers at risk for later child abuse are referred to community programs for assistance. Kamehameha Schools Bishop Estate's Parent-Infant Education Program provides home visitors to assist mothers of Hawaiian babies in gaining skills for the overall development of their children.

What is needed is the expansion and coordination of such programs.

Expand Preschool Opportunities.— The value of Head Start and other preschool education is widely recognized. Every Hawaiian child should have the opportunity to attend a high quality preschool program for two and three year olds and center-based preschools for four year olds. The intent is to expand these throughout the state.

Goal 2. Student Achievement

We have seen that scores on standardized tests consistently show Hawaiian students below the other major ethnic groups in Hawai'i. We have seen that, while math scores are relatively stronger than reading, they follow the same pattern. We also know that although Hawaiian students attending private schools do better on all the tests, they do not do as well as other private school students. For Hawaiian students as a group to achieve parity with other students in basic skills will take a long time and concentrated efforts.

Upgrade Elementary Education.— At the elementary level, the following are suggested by Hamburg (1992):

- Developmentally appropriate education
- Schools of small units
- Individual attention

- Cooperative learning
- Stimulate curiosity and thinking skills
- Link education and health

In order to approach these ideals there will have to be change both within schools and within communities to support families and schools.

Goal 3. High School Completion

We have seen that graduation rates for Native Hawaiian students are not as big a problem as are retention in grade and absenteeism. Most who persevere to senior year do graduate from high school but many of these have severe disadvantages. How can we make schools places where students want to be throughout?

Make school a place where students want to be.— The simple answer is that *students need support systems*. Some programs emphasize support to perform academically. These are sometimes called tutoring. An example would be KSBE's Intermediate Reading Program. Some programs provide support to develop social skills. An example is the DOE's Peer Education Program. Some programs provide career and higher education guidance and counseling. Talent Search, for example, boosts aspiration levels as well as provides guidance and mentoring through high school.

Early adolescence is a key period. It is during the intermediate school years that we see the increase in grade level retention and absenteeism start. To date, not many prevention programs focus specifically on this crucial age group. One such is KSBE's alternative education program Malama o Ke Ola.

Goal 4. Adult Literacy and College Completion

Provide retention counseling to college students.— We have seen that scholarship programs do seem to be helping increase the enrollment of Native Hawaiians in higher education. To improve completion rates, however, more in the area of retention counseling will

be needed. For Hawaiian students this may mean less formalized counseling and more group support mechanisms.

Focus community attention on literacy needs.— Programs such as Alu Like's Native Hawaiian Library Project do send out a message to the community about the importance of literacy. There is more awareness of the benefits of reading to one's children and of improving one's own basic skills.

Goal 5. Positive Learning Environment

Increase services for those with special needs.— Programs such as the Native Hawaiian Special Education Program and the Native Hawaiian Gifted and Talented Program are filling in gaps in service provision. They are also working to change systemic perspectives that lead to over- and underrepresentation of Native Hawaiian students in these categories.

Emphasize substance abuse and violence prevention.— The Native Hawaiian Drug-Free Schools and Communities Program makes use of culturally related learning experiences to make school a more effective learning environment. By also sponsoring activities such as drug free dances and student retreats, the program gives the students healthy alternatives.

Goal 6. Cultural Understanding

Increase resources for cultural learning.— As the interest and involvement in Hawaiian cultural activities continues to expand among Hawaiians and non-Hawaiians alike, the key need is to provide enough opportunities for all to participate. For example, as the Hawaiian language immersion program has grown, the lack of available reading materials in Hawaiian and the lack of trained hawaiian speaking teachers became apparent. A number of agencies, including the University of Hawai'i, the Bishop Museum, and the Kamehameha Schools are now struggling to translate and publish new materials in Hawaiian. This is an area where more resources could definitely help.

Ride the information wave - The success of Hawaiian cultural forms

can create a bridge to the future. As we have seen, there is a worldwide demand for more knowledge and experience with Hawaiian culture. Today's explosion of technology for high speed information transmission provides an unprecedented opportunity. Schools and educational programs should seize this opportunity. On the one hand, it involves putting cultural activities such as Hawaiian language, hula or canoe building into forms which can most easily flow along the "information superhighway." On the other hand, it means opening channels of discourse so that Hawaiian students can similarly learn from all the world's other cultures.

Conclusions

The 1983 *NHEAP Report* supported the effort to develop federal funding for Native Hawaiian programs. Ten years later we have seen that many of the same needs still exist. The programs which have been started show signs of effectiveness, but they have not been around long enough to show differences at the "macro" level. As far as the needs go, there is a clear reason, then, to continue federally funded programs. There is also a need to look at the overall service provision picture and consider coordinating roles.

Role of the Community

In March of 1993, as part of the process of reauthorizing the Native Hawaiian Education Act, a Native Hawaiian Education Summit was held. Community groups, Native Hawaiian organizations, schools, students and parents participated. The resulting report of proceedings is currently in press. The gist of the recommendations which emerged from the summit was that the community wants, and will actively seek, more involvement with educational outcomes for their children.

This is crucial. Nothing will change unless the community, represented by individual parents, expects and demands higher educational outcomes. These expectations must be communicated to the children and permeate their experience from the beginning.

As a private organization within the community, the Kamehameha Schools Bishop Estate has a unique role. Native Hawaiian education is the sole mission of KSBE.

Role of the State

The state acts on behalf of Native Hawaiians in several important ways. It administers the Hawaiian Homes Act (under the oversight responsibility of the U.S. government). The Office of Hawaiian Affairs is a State of Hawai'i function. The state has created the 18 member Hawaiian Sovereignty Advisory Commission.

In order for the state DOE to reach the national and state educational goals, it must help those students most in need. In almost every category we have examined, Hawaiian students fit that description.

Role of the Federal Government

The federal government is currently supporting a total of some 14 Native Hawaiian programs in education and health. The Native Hawaiian Education Act is, at this writing, being considered for reauthorization. Reauthorization involves the major issue of the relationship between the Federal government and Native Hawaiians. As of this writing, this issue remains unresolved. The educational needs addressed by the legislation, however, still exist.

The findings in this report clearly support continued special educational programming for Native Hawaiians. Progress has been slow and documentable only in certain areas, but it can continue. As noted earlier, it will take many such small successes. It will not happen overnight and may not even happen in this generation. And those who care at all levels must work together as parts of a system with common goals. There will be a role for all: the State of Hawai'i, the community, private organizations such as the Kamehameha Schools Bishop Estate, and the United States government.

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