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Living Hawaiian Values: Terror Management Theory Applied To Native Hawaiian Youth

Alethea Kuʻulei K.D. Serna, Ph.D.
College of Education,
University of Hawaiʻi at Mānoa
Honolulu, HI, USA

Abstract

The purpose of this study was to examine the psychological framework called the TerrorManagement Theory (TMT) applied to Native Hawaiian students. TMT is a framework that provides anexplanation of relationships between cultural factors, self-esteem, and anxiety (Solomon, Greenberg, &Pyszczynski, 1991). The hypotheses of this study was that Native Hawaiian students who identify or seekto identify with "being Hawaiian" and are assisted in achieving its standards of value (high culturalvalues) will (1) have higher levels of self-esteem if they see themselves achieving cultural standardsfollowing treatment (2) have lower levels of anxiety following treatment (3) increase "adaptive"behaviors such as achieving academic standards, positive social interactions and making positivecontributions to their families and communities. The design of this study was both quantitative andqualitative. The design of this study was a quasi-experimental nonequivalent comparison-group design,consisting of two intervention groups and two comparison groups of 24 Native Hawaiian students fromages 9-16 years. Intervention participants engaged in Native Hawaiian cultural interventions for 10 hoursover a six-week period, while comparison participants engaged in academic tutorial sessions. Data for theintervention group indicated that Hawaiian identity increased, anxiety decreased and positive behaviorincreased. Findings were mixed for self-esteem. Qualitative measures indicated increase in self-esteem,but quantitative indicated a decrease. Comparison group indicated a decrease in Hawaiian identity,anxiety and self-esteem. Overall, there were positive indicators to conclude that the TMT framework isapplicable to the Native Hawaiian youth population.

Keywords: Terror Management Theory, cultural intervention,cultural trauma, cultural identity, Native Hawaiian youth, Hawaiian values, indigenous identity

Introduction

Since the time of Western colonization, Native Hawaiians have continued to demonstrate social,political, economic, and educational disparities. Twenty-one percent of the state of Hawaiʻi population is made up of Native Hawaiians (race alone or in combination) and the fourth largest race groupaccording to the 2010 U.S. Census Report (U.S. Census Bureau, 2011). However, Native Hawaiianscontinue to be overrepresented in our state prisons and state welfare system (Office of Hawaiian Affairs(OHA), 2019). They have higher levels of inadequate health care and exhibit higher rates of disparatehealth risk behaviors (e.g., violence, alcoholism, substance abuse, tobacco use, and unhealthy eating), riskfactors (e.g., anxiety, obesity, poverty, and unhealthy nutrition) and conditions (e.g., asthma, highcholesterol, diabetes, cardiovascular disease, and depression) (OHA, 2019; KS, 2014). Native Hawaiiansare the highest health risk group in the State with a high incidence of disease and health ailments, earlydisability, and premature death (KS, 2014).Native Hawaiian children continue to be disproportionately victimized by child abuse and neglect(NHEA, 2001). Native Hawaiians accounted for the largest number of cases of child abuse and neglect inHawaii between 1996 and 1998. Alcohol and other drugs have increasingly been linked with childmaltreatment. Native Hawaiian youths report the highest rate of substance use in Hawaii (Mokuau, 2002).Native Hawaiians are among the most academically disadvantaged groups in the state.

Socialinequities within this population of students have resulted in low test scores and graduation rates andhigh rates of absenteeism (Coryn, Schröter, Miron, Kanaʻiaupuni, Tibbetts, Watkins-Victorino, &Gustafson, 2007, p.3). Native Hawaiians comprise twenty-six percent of the students served by theDepartment of Education (Hawaii Department of Education, 2015).

Native Hawaiian students scorelower than most other groups of students in the state on standardized education achievement tests at allgrade levels. They show a pattern of lower percentages in the uppermost achievement levels and in giftedand talented programs in private and public schools (NHEA, 2001). Native Hawaiian students continue tobe overrepresented among students qualifying for special education programs (Kanaiaupuni& Ishibashi,2003; KS, 2014) and are underrepresented in institutions of higher education and among adults who havecompleted four or more years of college (OHA, 2019). From an educational perspective, Native Hawaiianstudents often face education risk factors before they are born (NHEA, 2001; KS, 2014). These factorsinclude late or no prenatal care, high rates of births by Native Hawaiian women who are unmarried andhigh rates of births to teenage parents.Risk for maladaptive behaviors and negative social outcomes among today's Native Hawaiianpopulation, especially its school-aged youth, may be the result of their marginalization from traditionalNative Hawaiian culture and the dominantWestern culture (Hishinuma, Andrade, Johnson, McArdle,Miyamoto, Nahulu, Makini, Yuen, Nishimura, McDermott, Waldron, Luke, & Yates, 2000). In order tosucceed in a Western school setting, Native Hawaiian students have had to leave their culture and valuesat home and assume Western values and behaviors associated with success (Kawakami, 1999).

It is necessary to seek solutions that would attempt to reverse the adversities that NativeHawaiians have faced throughout the generations since Western invasion. Finding solutions that wouldimpact and empower Native Hawaiian youth is a sensible place to start. The youth are the future of theNative Hawaiian population and may be able to facilitate positive change. It would be highly beneficialfor Native Hawaiians to reconnect to their culture and core values that once defined them.Native Hawaiian students that continue to be at risk for disparate conditions often do not realizethat they are disconnected from these inherent Hawaiian cultural values. ReconnectingHawaiian children to lost or dormant Hawaiian values may play a significant role to supporttheir effort to succeed at home, school, and in their community. Given opportunities to practice cultural values may increase self-esteem in Hawaiian children, increasing their chance of success(Serna, 2006, p. 4).

The Curriculum Guidelines: Native Hawaiian Curriculum Development Project sponsored by NäPuaNo'eau: Center for Gifted and Talented Native Hawaiian Children, state that raising self-esteem isimportant for the successful functioning of Native Hawaiian families and that those who have a betterattitude toward "self," achieve more than those who have a poor attitude toward "self" (Kawakami, Aton,Glendon, & Stewart, 1999). In surveying Hawaiian educators, Kawakami (2003) found that there are twokey elements in successful Hawaiian learning experiences: (1) successful learning experiences forHawaiian students must take place in a culturally authentic physical and social learning environment and(2) those experiences must involve experienced-based, hands-on activity structures. Therefore, it isimportant for Native Hawaiian students to identify with and have opportunities to live Hawaiian cultureand values in order to increase a better attitude toward "self," thus raising self-esteem, increasing chanceof success and lowering risk of failure.Research on determinants of self-esteem, age, gender and ethnic variation in self-esteem, andinterrelatedness between self-esteem with these specific demographic variables, has been investigated for Hawaiians and non-Hawaiian students (Miyamoto, Hishinuma, Nishimura, Nahulu, Andrade, Goebert, &Carlton, 2001). However, research on Native Hawaiian students, having faith in a cultural worldview andliving to the standards of that worldview (values of that culture) on self is lacking in the literature.

Areas of education, social sciences, health, and history has been researched to explain thephenomenon of such disparities amongst our Native Hawaiian children and youth, sometimes to designeffective preventative and intervening remedies to resolve some of their issues (Serna, 2006). This studyattempted to answer questions surrounding the psychological framework called the Terror ManagementTheory (TMT) in direct relation to Native Hawaiian students. TMT is a framework that provides anexplanation of relationships between cultural factors, self-esteem, and anxiety (Solomon, Greenberg, &Pyszczynski, 1991). This study tested the applicability of the Terror Management Theory (TMT) and itsprinciples to Native Hawaiian students and Native Hawaiian culture.

Based on the TMT, the hypothesesof this study wasas follows, Native Hawaiian students who identify or seek to identify with "beingHawaiian" and are assisted in achieving its standards of value (high cultural values) will:

1. Have higher levels of self-esteem if they see themselves achieving cultural standardsfollowing intervention.
2. Have lower levels of anxiety following intervention.

3. Increase "adaptive" behaviors such as studying, achieving academic standards, making positive contributions to their families and communities.

Review of the Literature

The Relationship of Culture, Self-Esteem and Anxiety Using the TMT

The TMT is a psychological framework that explains how we as human beings defend againstanxiety and existential terror inasmuch as humans are prone to anxiety, TMT attempts to give anexplanation of social behavior by focusing on our essential being and circumstances (Solomon,Greenberg, &Pyszczynski, 1991). TMT considers relationships among and between cultural factors,self-esteem, and the terror in human existence (anxiety). TMT suggests that culture serves as apsychological defense by providing a potential buffer against anxiety/terror (Salzman, 2001). Anythingthat threatens our human existence is terrifying; therefore, we need to adopt a cultural worldview in orderto buffer that terror/anxiety (Solomon, Greenberg, &Pyszczynski, 1991). We as human beings need tofind higher meaning. We, therefore, create and maintain the social construction of culture, by providing ashared symbolic construct. "Cultural worldviews imbue the universe with order, meaning, predictabilityand permanence (Salzman, 2001, p. 174)." Culture provides standards by which an individual can bejudged to be of value; an enduring place in the culture, and the promise of immortality for those who liveup to those standards (Solomon, Greenberg, &Pyszczynski, 1991). Kanahele (1986) stated that values asstandards define for a person how he or she should behave in life, what actions meritapproval/disapproval, what patterns of relations should prevail among people or institutions. Therefore,cultural values as standards tell us what we want to be, what kind of world we want to live in, or how weevaluate ourselves and the world.

Culture and Self-Esteem

Self-esteem is the belief that one is a person of value in a world of meaning (Pyszczynski,Solomon & Greenberg, 2003). Self-esteem is the sense of one's value in living a good life and issignificant in the cultural construction of meaning (Salzman, 2001). Self-esteem is acquired when oneaccepts the standards of a cultural worldview and views themselves as achieving those standards(Solomon et al., 1991). Salzman (2001) simply stated that self-esteem is the result of having faith in aculturally prescribed worldview and living up to its standards. Self-esteem cannot be procured for the selfthrough self. It is culturally contrived (Pyszczynski, Solomon & Greenberg, 2003). Basic values mayvary amongst cultures, but self-esteem is always achieved by the belief of a cultural worldview and theachievement of those standards (values). According to TMT, the primary function of self-esteem is tobuffer anxiety associated with vulnerability and death. Positive self-esteem is the feeling that one is avalued participant in a culture. When self-esteem is raised, anxiety is managed and adaptive action occurs(Salzman, 2001). Likewise, low levels of self-esteem result in higher levels of anxiety, which can lead tobehaviors that may be maladaptive for an individual. Self-esteem as an anxiety buffer has two aspects.First, an individual must have faith in a cultural worldview and second, one must see oneself as achievinga set of standards/values of that cultural worldview. When self-esteem is high, anxiety is managed andactions are taken to preserve faith in cultural worldview.

The Hawaiians Encounter with Existential Terror and Its Effects

Kanahele (1986) speaks of the years of degradation for the Hawaiians since Western contact. Hespeaks of the "ghost of inferiority" that plagues today's generation of Hawaiians. Generations ofHawaiians after Western contact were made to feel that they were heathens or pagans in need ofrefinement from the white man. Salzman (2001) stated "indigenous peoples and the cultures that supportthem psychologically have been traumatized by contact with European peoples" (p. 183).

Such was thecase for Hawaiians, who were forced to give up their language, traditions, myths, cosmology, religion,and rituals after Western contact. The Hawaiian population also dwindled following contact, which led toa surrender of political and economic power (Kanahele, 1986).

In the application of TMT, Salzman (2001) speaks of the death threat Native Hawaiians haveencountered with the introduction of new diseases, suffering a culturally traumatic experience. TheWesterners made Hawaiians feel like they needed to turn from their savage ways, their "culture." Overtime the Hawaiian's cultural worldview was fragmented and a set of values and standards was notavailable to achieve. The Hawaiians were thus vulnerable to question the legitimacy of their culturalworldview, thus shattering their faith in it.

As a result, anxiety-buffering self-esteem was unavailable tothe Hawaiian people, leaving them with feelings of inferiority to Caucasians, thus, psychologicallydefenseless. According to TMT, the Hawaiian's lack of psychological defense would then lead tomaladaptive anxiety reducing behaviors that would be a quick relief but in the long term cause more griefand pain. Such anxiety-prone behaviors would result in Hawaiians having the greatest number of citizenson welfare, lowest paying jobs and with the highest incarceration rates in proportion to total population,ranked first for most Western diseases, highest high school dropout rates and shortest life expectancyamongst all peoples in the islands (Dudley &Agard, 1993).

Another example using the TMT explanatory model in relation to the ancient Hawaiian population wasthe stifling of the Hawaiian language after Hawai'i was colonized by Westerners. The written wordintroduced to the Hawaiians by Westerners was a way to disseminate information quickly and a means ofachieving power. Kane (1997) stated that this was "incompatible with the belief that knowledge wassacred power, a manifestation of mana that must be guarded as sacrosanct to those worthy of it" (p. 41).Therefore, to make information readily accessible through the written words could be misused. However,the ali'i (ruling monarchy) realized that literacy was the key to understanding and using the power of theWestern culture. After the missionaries arrived in 1820, they published a reader in Hawai'i. QueenKa'ahumanu learned to read in five days and schools were set up throughout the kingdom. By 1824, twofifths of the entire population had graduated from school, and by 1834, the majority of the population hadbecome literate. The Kingdom of Hawai'i soon achieved the highest literacy rate of any nation in theworld at that time (Kane, 1997).

However, Native Hawaiian children who attended school in Hawai'i were later prohibited in 1893from using their native language and forced to speak English, which was a second language to mostNative Hawaiian students (NHEA, 2001). The cultural worldview that Native Hawaiians held was thattheir language was important for their very existence and perpetuation of their culture. However, thisworldview was shattered making the Hawaiians feel that they needed to speak English in order to bedeemed important by society and speaking the native language and subscribing to the culture were notgood enough to exist in the colonized Western world. Hawaiians were made to feel that English wassuperior. Being compliant to colonization, the Native Hawaiian students did not speak the native languagein school. The majority of Native Hawaiian students found it hard to participate in a westernized schoolsetting that forced them to leave their cultural values at home (Kawakami, 1999) often exhibitingnon-participating behaviors. They were labeled as being "lazy" and deemed unmotivated (McCubin&Marsala, 2009). Throughout the years, their reading achievement scores have been affected, andsometimes students were labeled as "dumb." This group soon believed and acted out these negativelabels. They strove to become westernized by practicing Western culture. As a result, a high sense ofself-esteem was not achieved.

Most Native Hawaiians discontinued the practice of Native Hawaiian culture resulting in culturaldegradation and the loss over generations until the emergence of a Hawaiian renaissance in the mid to lateseventies (Kanahele, 1982). Nainoa Thompson, the first Hawaiian in centuries to become a open oceandeep sea navigator, the most important job in the ancient days of Polynesian voyaging (Harden, 1999),stated that, "The loss of culture, loss of beliefs---you end up feeling second-rate in yourhomeland…there's a strong connection between self-esteem and physical health, and sometimes wedefine that as spirit" (p. 223). The lack of self-esteem, not in all Hawaiians, but in the consciousness ofthe Hawaiian people, hindered their ability to buffer against anxiety over the span of generations.

TMT Implications for Education and Healthy Hawaiian Youth DevelopmentTMT suggests that if people have faith in a cultural worldview and see themselves as achievingits standards, they will have access to anxiety-buffering self-esteem, thus making adaptive behavior moreprobable (Salzman, 2001). The TMT empirical framework may explain the reason for Hawaiianmaladaptive behavior in our society. However, this psychological defense explanatory model can alsohelp create solutions for promoting positive healthy adaptive behavior that leads to a more productivelifestyle for Hawaiian students. Variables within the empirical formula of the TMT framework, such asfaith in a cultural worldview and achieving the standards of that view may be manipulated to yield moreanxiety-buffering self-esteem. Bean (1992) noted that children with high self-esteem will behave in waysthat are self-satisfying.

An example of returning to self-appreciation and of trying to mend a fragmented culturalworldview was the Hawaiian renaissance (Kanahele, 1982). It included self-determination efforts, therevival of the language through language immersion schools, the hula, the martial arts, the music, ancientvoyaging, and the return to indigenous healing practices (lā'aulapa'au – healing therapies, lomilomi -massage, and ho'oponopono – mediation).

However, this effort to revitalize Hawaiian culture could notundo the debilitating effects of more than 200 years of political, social, cultural and psychological trauma(Kanaiaupuni& Ishibashi, 2003; McCubbin &Marsella, 2009). Kanahele (1986) stated that members ofthe generation of the Hawaiian renaissance have more pride in being Hawaiian than the precedinggeneration. Therefore, according to TMT, if we allow Hawaiian students who identify with beingHawaiian to re-establish a cultural worldview that they have faith in and help them to achieve itsstandards/values, this condition will help them achieve anxiety-buffering self-esteem, leading them toexhibit adaptive behavior, instead of maladaptive behavior. Children with high-self-esteem are able toaccept more responsibility more comfortably and experience more personal satisfaction from doing so.Children with high self-esteem have better interpersonal relationships and are more likely to be chosen forleadership roles. Children with high self-esteem usually have the confidence to demonstrate their creativeinner process and expect to be appreciated for what they have done (Bean, 1992). These positivebehaviors may affect academic achievement, reduce health risk behaviors, enhance pro-social behaviorand facilitate greater community involvement to perpetuate the culture amongst broader global audiences.

Bi-culturalism is also recognized. The Native Hawaiian population doubled from 1990 to 2000and has become more diverse than ever according to U.S. Census data (Malone & Corry, 2004). Nearlytwo of three Native Hawaiians reported multiple races (Malone & Corry, 2004). Therefore, manyHawaiian students may identify with both Western culture and Hawaiian culture. There are actions thatcan be taken with these students to have bi-cultural competence without sacrificing their culturalfoundation (Salzman, 2001). It is important to help these students become skillful at identifying andachieving Hawaiian standards and values they are comfortable with in order to achieve anxiety-bufferingself-esteem.

Hawaiian Values

Kaʻanoʻi (1992) proposed a philosophical framework of values, a kind of organizer, via religiousphilosophy. He suggests that the cornerstones of Hawaiian Kahuna values are ʻohana (family), aloha(love), paʻahana (industry) and maikaʻi (excellence), sometimes referred to as kela. These values willhelp Hawaiians understand and succeed in areas regarding family, health, education, nature, business andgovernment.and in making love; as a friend or family member, as well as in education. For example,ʻohana, family, is the foundation of Hawaiian culture; the root of origin was a deeply felt and unifyingforce (Pukui, Haertig, & Lee, 1972, v.1). The core values applied to family would be aloha (love),hoʻokipa (hospitality), paʻahana (industry), hoʻoponopono (setting right), and lōkahi (unity). The conceptof ʻohana is a sense of unity, shared involvement and responsibility, mutual interdependence and help,loyalty, solidarity and cohesiveness (Pukui et al., 1972, v. 1). Parents should set examples for love, unityand industry within the ʻohana (Kaʻanoʻi, 1992).

Another cornerstone Hawaiian kahuna value is aloha, interpreted to mean love. A warmwelcome, hug and touching nose to cheek is often a display of aloha. “Alo” meaning face and “ha”means to breathe, to breathe upon the face (Kaʻanoʻi, 1992). To define aloha is to live it. Aloha describesthe highest level of emotional, romantic and sexual love between husband and wife. The perpetuation ofthis love is found in their children, who in turn carry on the ideals of aloha. In this way, love iseverlasting.

Work ethics are also important to Hawaiians. The value of work, paʻahana (industry) in a familyestablishes a foundation for lōkahi (unity). Work was regarded as honorable and worthwhile to Hawaiians. An activity must have been socially productive to be deemed as work, it must have providedbenefit to a group or community. Related to paʻahana, Hawaiian values reflect in striving for maikaʻi,personal excellence. Personal excellence increased personal mana. This mana in turn would reflect thequality of one’s family and culture.Personal excellence applies to one’s health; dress or talents; in aloha,as love business, and government. It was more important to Hawaiians to increase mana than to receiveany material compensation.

The definitions and semantics of the terms Hawaiian “values,” “traditions” and “culture” overlap.Anti-Hawaiian sentiment, colonialism, and institutional racism permeated every aspect of Hawaiian society (Kanaiaupuni& Ishibashi, 2003). In much of the literature regarding Hawaiian values, referencesare made toward pre-Western or pre-missionary/Christian exposure and post-Western or post-missionary/Christian exposure.

Because ancient Hawaiian society communicated orally, there isconsensus amongst writers that some of the Hawaiian antiquities, manaʻo (thoughts/insights) ofpre-Western exposure could have been diluted or misinterpreted by following generations. Therecordation and understanding of Hawaiian culture by David Malo, a Native Hawaiian scholar, was a verysignificant literary contribution. His work was later translated into English, *Hawaiian Antiquitie*s byEmerson and *Ka Moʻoleleo Hawaiʻi, Hawaiian Traditions* by Chun (1996).

However, scholars continueto search for answers concerning Hawaiian values, asking questions such as: what were the values ofHawaiians before Cook? Can traditional values be known? How have those values changed since and towhat extent are they practiced? What is their present-day validity (Kanahele, 1986)? Kanahele (1986)polled a cross section of a Hawaiian community and asked them to identify what they thought wereHawaiian values. The results were a list of twenty-five values. They were aloha (love), haʻahaʻa(humility), lokomaikaʻi (generosity), hoʻokipa (hospitality), haipule or hoʻomana (spirituality), wiwo(obedience),laulima (cooperativeness), maʻemaʻe (cleanliness), ʻoluʻolu (graciousness/pleasantness/manners), paʻahana (industriousness/diligence),hoʻomanawanui (patience),leʻaleʻa(playfulness), hoʻokuku (competitiveness), hoʻohiki (keeping promises), huikala (forgiveness),naʻauao (intelligence), kühaʻo (self-reliance), maikaʻi or kela (excellence), koa (courage), kökua(helpfulness), lökahi (harmony/balance/unity), hanohano (dignity), alakaʻi (leadership), küi ka nuʻu(achievement), and kūpono (honesty) (Kanahele, 1986). When participants were asked to rank thesevalues, aloha was first, then followed by humility, spirituality, generosity, graciousness, keepingpromises, intelligence, cleanliness and helpfulness. However, before 1778, Hawaiians would have placedhospitality, courage and excellence high on the list (Kanahele, 1986). Kanahele (1986) claims thathistorical conditions account for these differences. Modern day Hawaiians may think differently becauseliving in a Western society has diluted their sense of ancient Hawaiian culture.

The literature supports that the Terror Management Theory (TMT) begins to explain how humanspsychologically defend themselves against the terror or anxiety of inevitable death. Humans createworldviews (culture) in which they can see themselves as valued participants in a meaningful reality(Solomon et al., 1991). When a person feels valued, a person obtains self-esteem that helps them tobuffer anxiety, thus allowing them to exhibit healthier, more adaptive behaviors. Therefore, culturalvalues and practices are imperative and provide a set of standards for humans to achieve. By achievingthose standards, defined by cultural values, humans obtain anxiety-buffering self-esteem. They seethemselves as a valued participant of that particular cultural reality.Native Hawaiian culture and its existence were threatened by the arrival of foreigners,particularly of Western influence. This influence overshadowed the practice of ancient cultural practicesand degraded it. This influence caused many Hawaiians to feel inferior (Kanahele, 1986). This feeling ofinferiority led many Hawaiians to suppress cultural practices and assimilate to the Western dominantculture, resulting in the marginalization of Native Hawaiians. However, in the mid-1970s through thispresent day, Native Hawaiians have revived those cultural practices that were once lost (Kanahele, 1986).

The resurgence of the Hawaiian language, music, dance, and other cultural practices provoked NativeHawaiians to re-visit cultural values. It influenced multiple professions including mental health providers and social scientists (Mcubbin&Marsella, 2009). Native Hawaiian organizations and institutions re-visitHawaiian values and cultural practices to establish guidelines and standards that if practiced, would helpincrease the chances for Hawaiians to overcome socio-economic disparities and be productivecontributing citizens in this present society.Existing educational institutions and programs have also institutionalized and embedded culturalopportunitieswithin educational practices to ensure academic and social success for Native Hawaiianchildren.

The literature surrounding Native Hawaiian values, active restoration of those values, and theestablishment of cultural standards support the notion that TMT can be used as an explanatory model forthe social behaviors that are manifested in the Native Hawaiian community.

Methods

The quantitative design of this study was a quasi-experimental nonequivalent control-groupdesign, consisting of two intervention groups and two comparison groups that were identified by naturalassembly (Martella, Nelson, & Marchand-Martella, 1999). Natural assembly of participants was based onresidency at selected sites that Hawaiʻi Department of Education (HIDOE) conducts after school tutorialreading services.

For the intervention groups, Native Hawaiian cultural values were taught to andpracticed by Native Hawaiian participants through cultural teachings. Cultural teachings included 10hours of instruction that addressed Native Hawaiian value-based underpinnings of physical environment,social interactions and identity. After School tutoring provided for the non-intervention comparisongroup. The dependent variables of self-esteem, anxiety and behaviors were measured before and after theexperiment. The design also incorporated the collection of qualitative and anecdotal data to supportfindings. By research design, the sites involved were in located communities that have higher ratios ofNative Hawaiian students.

Participants

Initially, this study included 24 students from ages 9 to16 years. They attended HIDOE public schools.All participants but one resided at transitional housing facilities that the HIDOE serviced for after schoolreading tutorial programs. Twenty of 24 students were Native Hawaiian. The participants werepurposively selected and placed into groups by the site directors or case managers, HIDOE state resourceand part-time teachers. They were selected to form comparison groups matched for factors, such as age,place of residency, socio-economic status and ethnicity. Students were selected to form four groups, twointervention groups participating in a Native Hawaiian cultural intervention and two comparison groupsparticipating in tutorial sessions.

Measures

Independent and dependent variables were measured using both quantitative and qualitative self-reportedquestionnaires/inventories, a parent/teacher pro-social behavior inventory, observations, and interviewresponses, as well as, student daily logs and journal reflections.

Quantitative Measures

There was a total of six quantitative measures. Three measured the independent variables ofethnic identification, belief in cultural worldview, and living cultural standards. Three measured thedependent variables of self-esteem, anxiety, and behavior.

Belief in Hawaiian Culture and Hawaiian Identity

The He ʻAnaManaʻo O NāMoʻomeheuHawaiʻi: Survey of Hawaiian Cultural Practices (HEI)(Crabbe, 2002) was used to measure an independent variable of participants' identity with Hawaiianculture ("being Hawaiian"), more specifically, the participants' "belief" in the Hawaiian culturalworldview. The HEI has recorded validation with an adult population of 237 Native Hawaiians. The"Belief" sub-scale was administered alone. However, when the HEI was administered in its entirety, the"Belief" sub-scale recorded internal consistency of 0.97 using Cronbach's alpha (Crabbe, 2002).

In combination with the HEI subscale, the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM) by Jean S.Phinney (1992) was used to assess positive ethnic attitudes and sense of, ethnic identity achievement, andethnic behaviors or practices. Overall reliability (Cronbach's alpha) was .81 for a high school sample and.90 for a college sample (Phinney, 1992).
The items for each participant were totaled and the mean score calculated. Data were analyzed bycomparing the pre and post group mean of mean scores and standard deviation to describe the effects. Preand post inventory results were compared for both intervention and comparison groups.

Practice of Hawaiian Values

Another independent variable that was measured was the consistent practice of cultural values.Students were required to keep a record of their practice of self-selected Hawaiian values throughout thecourse of the study. They were given weekly logs and each day they rated themselves in response to thefollowing statement, "I am "living" / practicing my selected Hawaiian value of aloha well." This itemhad a five-point response scale ranging from 1 = strongly disagree, 2 = disagree, 3 = uncertain, 4 = agree,to 5 = strongly agree. In addition to completing this item everyday, the participants were asked to recordevidence of their practice of their selected value at home, school, and in the community. This measurewas to ensure that students were practicing the Hawaiian values and to gauge how well students seethemselves living their self-selected value.

All data were analyzed by calculating the mean of dailyscores per week. The group mean of mean scores were compared by weeks. The qualitative informationelicited from the daily log was also compared and categorized in similar themes. No validation wasrecorded for this measure.

Self-Esteem

The dependent variable of self-esteem was measured using the Rosenberg self-esteem scale(RSES). The RSES is a 10-item scale designed to measure adolescents' global feelings of self-worth orself-regard. Scores on the 10 individual items are combined resulting in a total score from 10 to 40 withhigher scores indicating higher self-esteem.

Anxiety

The dependent variable of anxiety was measured using the Spielberger State and Trait Anxiety Inventoryfor Children (STAIC). The STAIC-Trait Anxiety scale consists of 20 item statements to measure anxietyproneness. The STAIC Trait Anxiety Scale recorded Cronbach alpha reliability of .78 for males and .81for females of the same population (Spielberger, 1973). The data were analyzed by comparing the preand post group mean and standard deviation scores to describe effects.

Behavior

The dependent variable of adaptive behavior was measured using the Behavioral and EmotionalRating Scale (BERS): A Strength-Based Approach to Assessment. The BERS is a standardizednorm-referenced scale designed to assess the behavioral and emotional strengths (instead of deficits) ofchildren (Epstein & Sharma, 1998). Dimensions of the childhood strengths assessed by the BERS areinterpersonal strength, family involvement, intrapersonal strength, school functioning, and affectivestrength. Parents were given the BERS to complete for their own child. Classroom teachers and afterschool teachers were also given the BERS to complete for each participant. The means of the pre and poststandard scores of the BERS Strength Quotient were analyzed for after school teachers' and parents'responses for student behavior.

Qualitative and Anecdotal Measures

Qualitative data and anecdotal information were used to support the findings of the quantitativedata. Teacher and investigator observations, student interviews, and students' reflections were compared.

Interviews

To gather supplemental data, students were informally interviewed regarding the Native Hawaiiancultural treatment and its effects. Participants were asked two questions upon completion of theintervention. These questions were (1) What was worthwhile/valuable about the experience? (2) Nameone thing that you learned and can apply to your life. Participants were also asked guiding questionsduring their last session to help them create a memory page.

These questions were (1) How does livingthe Hawaiian values and visiting Ka'ala Farm make a difference in your life?(2) How does this experience make you feel? (3) Are there any changes in behavior in school, with yourfamily or with others? Participants' responses were transcribed, themes identified, patterns identified, andcompared.

Observations

Field notes and reflective observations by the researcher and HIDOE teachers were recorded. Informationwas transcribed, themes identified, patterns identified, and compared to describe effects. The field notesand reflections will not appear in the appendixes due to the small sample size of the groups asdescription in field notes and reflections may compromise participant confidentiality. Also, it wasimportant that the teacher's candid reflections are not misunderstood and interpreted as negative remarks.

Hawaiian Value Daily Log

The Hawaiian Value Daily Log (HVDL) was also used to collect qualitative data. Participantsrecorded evidence of behavior that demonstrated selected Hawaiian value (e.g., wash dishes, help theteacher in school, demonstrate good sportsmanship in a game situation). Information was compared andthemes and patterns were identified.

Researcher Bias

Researcher bias should be noted and may impact interpretation of all observable events. I amNative Hawaiian and believe in its cultural values. As a Native Hawaiian female, I strongly believe thatcultural interventions or a culturally-based learning environment are effective means to assist NativeHawaiian students to become productive and contributing beings. I am also a health educator who worksproactively to find means that help decrease health risk behaviors among youth. Therefore, interpretationof participant responses to cultural interventions and impact of interventions on dependent variables maybe biased by my experiences.

Implementation of the Study

Upon consent from parents, preliminary meetings were convened with HIDOE part-time teachersto explain the study, the administration of the measures for participants and parents, and define theirresponsibilities. It was decided that HIDOE personnel in collaboration with site staff would administerpre-measures of the STAIC, MEIM, HEI, RSES and BERS. It was also decided that the HIDOE resourceteacher and part-time teachers would be present and involved in the cultural intervention and comparisongroup tutorial sessions.Each week, participants met at their housing facility after school. The researcher and HIDOEpersonnel transported the cultural intervention participants to their cultural intervention site. Thecomparison groups at both sites met for the same number of hours as the intervention group. No culturalintervention was given to participants, but the time was used for tutorial or study sessions. The HIDOEresource teacher, part-time teachers and researcher conducted comparison group sessions. The researcherfacilitated study sessions at one site and a HIDOE part-time teacher facilitated the other comparison groupsessions at another site.

Results

The quantitative and qualitative measures indicated that TMT is an effective framework.Although the quantitative results did not indicate an increase in self-esteem, the qualitative and anecdotaldata indicated otherwise. Intervention group participants felt good about themselves and theirparticipation in the intervention. Anxiety decreased in both intervention and comparison groups, but thevariance of the intervention group scores decreased while the variance of the comparison group scoresincreased. Behavior improved among intervention group participants, also. Findings indicated that theintervention worked for the short-term on those who completed the program.

However, insufficient quantitative data for one of the two study sites were collected due to participants'abandonment of the study.The quantitative and qualitative measures indicated that TMT is an effective framework.Although the quantitative results did not indicate an increase in self-esteem, the qualitative and anecdotaldata indicated otherwise. Intervention group participants felt good about themselves and theirparticipation in the intervention. Anxiety decreased in both intervention and comparison groups, but thevariance of the intervention group scores decreased while the variance of the comparison group scoresincreased. Behavior improved among intervention group participants, also. Findings indicated that theintervention worked for the short-term on those who completed the program.

The findings supported the hypothesis that Native Hawaiian students who identified or sought toidentify with "being Hawaiian" when assisted in achieving its standards of value would have higher levelsof self-esteem if they see themselves achieving cultural standards following intervention, lower levels ofanxiety following intervention, and increase "adaptive" behaviors. The quantitative findings indicated thatself-esteem decreased; however, qualitative and anecdotal results indicated that participants felt betterabout themselves and self-confidence increased. Results also indicated that anxiety decreased andadaptive behavior increased after treatment. The findings also indicated that Hawaiian identity increasedafter intervention.

Discussion

Hawaiian Identity, Living Standards and Self-Esteem

Hawaiian identity and practice of the Hawaiian values were key components of the hypothesis.Participants had to believe in Hawaiian cultural standards (values), as well as see themselves achievethose standards (values). The Phinney MEIM indicated that the intervention group did not highly identifywith their culture. However, the HEI results indicated that the intervention group had an "average" beliefin Hawaiian culture. This difference in the results of the MEIM and HEI may be due to the specificcultural context of the instruments. The MEIM was designed for use across any culture therefore itemswere more general (e.g. "I eat my ethnic food.").

Findings also suggested that Hawaiian identity and belief in culture increased after interventionversus the decrease of Hawaiian identity and belief in the comparison group. These findings support thenotion that increased practice of Hawaiian cultural experiences increases identity to, belief and faith inHawaiian cultural worldview. This finding has significance pertaining to perpetuating that Hawaiianculture and its practices. If opportunities for practice of the culture are limited, identity to and faith inHawaiian cultural worldview will decrease.

Although the intervention group believed in Hawaiian values, the quantitative findings indicatedthat they did not see themselves living/practicing the standards. Only half the group saw themselves asconsistently living the standards throughout the treatment. Qualitative and anecdotal findings indicatedthat participants made concerted efforts to live/practice values, but their quantifiable ranking did notmatch the qualitative recorded behavior. For example, a participant listed that he listened to his mom,listened to the teacher, but ranked himself "2" (disagree) as seeing himself living/practicing the standardof wiwo (obedience) that day. This may be due to the cultural inappropriateness of the instrument.

Hawaiian culture does not value individualism; therefore, an instrument that makes a Hawaiian answerabout self to report individual accomplishment may be awkward (e.g., "I am living/practicing my selectedvalue well."). Also, The RSES may not be a culturally appropriate measure for self-esteem as defined inthis cultural context. The RSES is worded with many "I" forms. Having to rank yourself as achieving orexcelling is very hard for Hawaiians. In fact, it is looked at as being boastful. Participants may have beeninstructed to be as honest as possible and there were no right or wrong answers. However, a Hawaiianmay feel uncomfortable expressing self-esteem according to items given on the RSES. Therefore, it ispossible that self-esteem was raised as a result of cultural intervention but that participants were reluctantto rate themselves accordingly.

Regardless,qualitative and anecdotal data suggested that self-esteem was achieved for theintervention group. Participants expressed their sense of "feeling good" about themselves, having a senseof cultural and personal pride, and increase in confidence. Teacher observations also suggested thatparticipants felt better during the intervention, exhibiting signs of increased self-esteem and confidence.

Self-esteem decreased for the comparison group also. Self- esteem may be a variable that needs more timeto develop (Telljohann, Symons, &Pateman, 2004). It may mean that cultural interventions need to bemore frequent and consistent over a longer period of time. The participants also expressed theirdispleasure about the termination of the study. This reality may have impacted self-esteem negativelyknowing that they were no longer able to easily participate in cultural practices.

Anxiety measures indicated positive effects for intervention and comparison groups. It may bespeculated that decrease in anxiety was attributed to mere attention given to both groups over 10 hours inan extracurricular setting. One may guess that involvement in an afterschool activity (with significantadults or having extra attention) may serve as the basis to why intervention and comparison groupsdemonstrated decreased anxiety. It should be noted that the intervention group already were involved inweekly tutorial sessions before intervention and still indicated a decrease in anxiety after intervention.

Qualitative and anecdotal findings also suggested that participants felt calmer after weekly interventions.Participants also indicated that the cultural techniques taught in the intervention, such as pule (prayer) andstandard Hawaiian protocols were helpful in relieving anxiety and stress.

Therefore, participants weremore focused and able to stay on task at the farms. This suggests that the cultural intervention had aneffect on their anxiety.

Behavior

It was evident that participant behavior improved after intervention as indicated by teachers and parents.Based on the qualitative and anecdotal data, participants stated that "it was easy to listen to Kumu Eric" atKa`ala Farms." The experience and the respect it elicited forced participants to change their behavior.Participants were made aware of culturally appropriate social interactions such as protocols when enteringthe farms and engaging in cultural activities. Teacher reflections indicated that students who tended tohave bad attitudes or tended to act "too cool," did not exhibit that type of disposition during theintervention. Behavior measures could also be correlated with behaviors recorded in participants'

Hawaiian Value Daily Logs (HVDL). Participants were consciously living/practicing the values at home,school and in the community. Parent responses derived from how participants were living at home. Mostresponses suggested that participants were helping with household chores, family responsibilities, andlistening to parents. In fact, a participant noted that he was promoted to the ninth grade. It is not knownif this is a result of the treatment. However, he noted this accomplishment, because he felt supported.

Limitations of the Findings

There were barriers that may have limited the reliability of the findings. These barriers included:
1. Inconsistencies in data collection – Participants failed to show up for all of the post measures, most parent and teacher BERS weren't completed.
2. Accessibility to participants and parents. It was difficult to round up participants and ensureconsistency of participation from one of the sites a liaison could ensure consistent participationthrough the study.
3. Parents ensuring child's participation differed amongst sites.
4. Different interventions yielded different participant responses. One of the site's culturalinterventions was more structured than the other. This difference may explain the difference ofgroup response and motivation to continued intervention.
5. The sample size compromised statistical analysis since variation of one participant can influencegroup means heavily. The limitations of sample size, non-equivalence of groups and differences ofcultural intervention may have limited the findings. Also, the study was conducted with specificculture, age, and socio-economic status. Findings cannot be generalized beyond this population.

Conclusion

The findings indicated that this study was valuable and beneficial to the participants involved,especially the intervention groups. The participants enjoyed the intervention and indicated specificlearning, for example, mālama the 'āina, which is caring for the land and the importance of wai (water) toHawaiians. Most participants acknowledged the importance to take care of the environment, not topollute the environment, land and water. For example, one participant said, "No litter; Keep the landclean; makes you want to take care of it." The intervention participants did not want the experience toend. They displayed pride when learning more about the ancient Hawaiian ways and how these practicesrelate to their present situations and communities. It was not surprising that participant Hawaiianidentification increased as a result of the intervention. Cultural relevance was important to build a senseof self (Kanaiaupuni, & Ishibashi, 2003).

The findings support the need for continued culturalinterventions for the Native Hawaiian youth. When Native Hawaiian youth are involved in culturalinterventions, ethnic identity increases, self-esteem is achieved, anxiety decreases and adaptive behaviorsmay increase. To facilitate change to risk and maladaptive behaviors of Native Hawaiian youth, asexplained in the introduction, cultural interventions seem to be key. There should be increasedopportunities and accessibility of on-going cultural interventions for all Native Hawaiian youth.

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