

HAWAIIAN MALE ADOLESCENT STUDENTS' PERCEPTIONS OF MASCULINITY

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## **Abstract**

American culture has failed to guide a boy's transition from boyhood to manhood. This case study examined the experiences of Hawaiian adolescent male students at Cleveland High School about how they construct their perceptions of masculinity. This study had three research objectives: (1) to investigate Hawaiian male adolescent students' perceptions of masculinity in general and Hawaiian masculinity. (2) to investigate how school experiences and teachers at Cleveland High School influence Hawaiian adolescent boys perceptions of masculinity, and (3) to investigate how Hawaiian adolescent male students use the media to construct their perceptions of masculinity. Five interviews were conducted and then converted into life histories. Additionally, thirty-two Hawaiian adolescent male students answered an open-ended handout regarding masculinity. Jones, Torres, Arminio's (2006) constructivist theory was used as the theoretical framework.

The findings revealed that Hawaiian adolescent males believed a man is one who has a job, mature, responsible and takes care of others. A Hawaiian man is one who defends their family, a good father and provides for his family. The hula and having tattoos are manly because of their cultural significance. Hawaiian boys believed their school climate influenced their perceptions due to their participation in high school sports, Flex-off, and male teachers. The boys were aware of the media's influence but its influence varied. The boys felt that the media taught them to be a gentleman, to follow their dreams and the importance of taking care of their family. This study provides insight into helping boys become successful men.

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## Chapter One: Introduction

What does it mean to be a man? When does one become a man? Whose responsibility is it to teach boys to be men? How do boys who do not have male role-models learn to be men? Do schools and teachers have a responsibility to instruct boys to be men? These are some of the questions I ask my senior students before they graduate from high school.

As a social studies high school teacher, I use Jeffrey Marx's book, *Season of Life* to teach my students one approach to answering these questions. *Season of Life* is a non-fiction book about a football coach who uses football to teach boys how to be men. During in-class discussions about the book, I learned that my students' (male and female) had a strong desire to explore the issues discussed in this book. My male students would not only read and share this book with others but they would talk with me, before and after school, about what it means to be a man. They would ask other male faculty members for their perspectives regarding this issue. The boys seemed to be on a quest to know or have a definition of the meaning of manhood.

As a teacher, I began to wonder how adolescent boys, in particular Hawaiian boys, perceived masculinity. Additionally, what are native Hawaiian boys' perceptions of masculinity and from where do they come? Are Hawaiian adolescent boys' perceptions of masculinity influenced by their teachers and/or school experience? What does it mean to be a Hawaiian man? Does knowing what it means to be a man or having a definition of being a man lead to increased academic performance? In turn, I began to ask myself how and where did I learned to be a man? Is it my responsibility as a Hawaiian male teacher to teach my own students about this issue? These questions and experiences are the impetus for this research project.

## **Background of the Research Problem**

A growing number of educational studies have begun to show that young men are not doing well in our country's public schools. The plight of boys also permeates throughout Britain, Canada and New Zealand. Perhaps the greatest travesty is the, "United States relative indifference to the issue" (Whitmore, 2010, p. 6).

According to the Center for Labor Markets at Northeastern University, "for every 167 women in four year colleges there were only 100 males" (Whitmore, 2010, p.6). One report showed that in "public schools in poor neighborhoods, in elite schools that serve the very rich, and many middle-class suburban schools around the country, boys are doing less well than girls" (Tyre, 2008 p. 23). Basically, boys perform worse than girls regarding socio-economic class. According to the U.S.D.O.E., boys "are a year and a half behind girls in reading and writing skills. Of high school dropouts, eighty percent are young males and young men make up less than forty four percent of enrollment in college" (Gurian, 2005 p. 22).

The NCES (National Center for Education) data shows, "the longer boys stayed in school, the farther they fell behind. Reading and writing levels between fourth grade boys are five points below fourth grade girls, ten points behind girls in middle school and then fourteen points in high school" (Tyre, 2008 p. 26). As boys venture through our public school system, from elementary, middle and high school, the gender gap in reading and writing widens. In terms of grades, girls are doing better academically in school. In one report, "boys get the majority of D's and F's in school" (Gurian, 2005 p. 22). In addition, "girls are 30-35% more likely to earn an A in grades five through eight, girls' were higher than boys across reading, writing, science and math" (Whitmore, 2010, p. 19).

A tremendous amount of research has been devoted to studying the possible reasons why boys struggle in the classroom. One identified reason is that boys may fear an inability to meet social expectations. In one study, the results conclude:

the issue of fear of failure is particularly pertinent to boys and their construction of gender. For boys, fear of failure operates across a number of domains. It relates to fear of not living up to popular images of masculinity, fear of being a sissy or seen as feminine in any way, fear of powerlessness, and fear of having their sexuality questioned. In the learning domain, boys have found to be unwilling to attempt new learning when they are uncertain of success and are less likely to re-attempt something that they had previously been unsuccessful at...Many of the problems boys experience during their education can be traced to their frustration and feelings of inadequacy in attempting to live up to what they believe their peers and society expect of them as males. (Martin, 2002, p. 62)

Further problems exist for boys. The percentage of suicides in the ten to twenty-four age group is eighty one percent, while only nineteen percent for females (Wiseman, 2013). One study, explains five reasons why schools should help boys. First,

bullying, harassment and abuse by school boys are seriously damaging to girls and marginalized boys. Boys' identification with macho values, where school learning takes is seen as unmanly, often leads to a significant academic underachievement in some groups. Conformity to peer pressure also works against academic success. Restricted notions of heterosexual manliness often prevents boys taking emotional and sexual responsibility for theirs and others lives. Institutional sites such as the playing field, playground, changing room and gym are important places boys to masculinize their bodies to embody physical superiority. Also, traditional models of manliness are destructive to self and others. Traditional models trap boys into limited work choices and damaging social, emotional relationships. (Salisbury & Jackson, 1996, p. 3)

In many western societies and cultures young males are left to themselves to become men by chance (Crawford, 2003) or are loosely guided by a set of unwritten beliefs or expectations. The "Boy Code" or "Guy Code" is one such set of culturally embedded expectations about

masculinity (Pollack, 2000). The “Guy Code” is a collection of attitudes, values, and traits that together composes what it means to be a man” (Kimmel, 2008, p.45). “An examination of this code yields new insights about the troublesome behaviors exhibited by many struggling boys in our classrooms and reveals why boys with certain styles might experience its negative impact more deeply than their peers” (Cleveland, 2011, p. 38). Pollack (1998) states that teenage boys’ masculinities are constrained because boys are only able to express half of their emotions. Perhaps this crisis is, “partly derived from the lack of alternative, meaningful roles of men” (Cleaver, 2002).

This study will highlight the “Boy Code” or “Guy Code” and determine how it influences Hawaiian student perceptions of masculinity at one public high school that for the purpose of this study will be called Cleveland High School. According to data collected at Cleveland High School, Hawaiian students correctly answered 68.1%, on average, of the questions on the reading section for the Hawaii State Assessment (HSA) test while Non-Native Hawaiian students scored on average 73.4%. Male student correctly scored, on average, 69.2% while females scored, on average, 75%. Though there was a slight discrepancy in reading scores, Hawaiian students’ math scores were quite low. On the math portion of the HSA test, non-native Hawaiian students scored 54.2% of the answers correctly while Hawaiian students scored an anemic 24.6%. This is a difference of 29.6% in math scores between non-Hawaiian and Hawaiian students.

### **Need for Research**

More research is needed to better understand boys, schooling and masculinity (Heward, 1988). According to Connell, there is, “surprisingly little discussion of the role of education in the transformation of masculinity and there is little discussion, informed by research on masculinity, about education for boys in modern mass school systems” (Connell, 1995, p.238).

Additionally, “relatively few studies of gender role development have focused on masculinity. Even fewer of these have given credence to male teens’ opinions about masculinity” (Hust, 2005, p. 5). Well known researchers such as Connell (1995) and Heward (1988) have identified the need for further research on the contribution of schools to adolescent boys’ understandings of masculinity. The primary aim of this study is to help to address that need by investigating Hawaiian adolescent boys’ perceptions of masculinity and the factors that contribute to the construction of these perceptions.

### **Purpose of the Study and Research Questions**

Central to this study is examining five Hawaiian boy’s perceptions of what it means to be a man. One of the key components of this case study is a detailed and thorough description of perceptions obtained through interviews. As stated by Merriam, “the end product of a case study is a rich “thick” description of the phenomenon under study” (Merriam, 1988, p.11). In this study, these descriptions will be used to analyze the students’ perceptions of masculinity. This study has three research objectives:

1. Investigate Hawaiian male adolescent students’ perceptions of masculinity in general and Hawaiian masculinity.
2. Investigate how Hawaiian male adolescent students’ perceptions of masculinity are influenced by their school experiences and teachers at Cleveland High School.
3. Investigate how Hawaiian male adolescent students’ use the media to construct their perceptions of masculinity.

This research project serves as a scholarly platform for Hawaiian male adolescent students’ to express their problems and the hidden pressures relating to masculinity. In the end, one aim of this research project is to provide a voice for Hawaiian male adolescent students in an

effort to better serve them. At the end of the project, perhaps parents and teachers will better understand how to help our young boys become successful men.

### **Overview of the Dissertation**

This dissertation is organized into fifteen chapters. Chapter one presents the background of the problem, the need for research, the purpose of the study, the research questions and implications of the research. Chapter two includes a review and discussion of the related literature regarding masculinity. Chapter three includes a review of the literature regarding masculinities of Oceania. Chapter four provides a synopsis of the role of colonization and its impact on the education of native Hawaiians. In chapter five, details about the research design, theoretical framework, methodology, along with limitations of the research will be presented. Chapters six will present my story. Chapter seven through eleven will present my relationship with the five participants and their life histories. Chapter twelve will present how the five participants construct their perceptions of masculinity. Lastly, chapter thirteen provides a summary of the findings, implications of the research, and concluding remarks.

## **Chapter Two: Review of the Literature**

### **Brief History of Masculinity**

Masculinity has been addressed in the academic literature since the 1970's. In the past, masculinity and femininity were seen as at opposite ends of a spectrum but that changed with society and culture as well as research. "Historically, masculinity and femininity were considered bipolar traits because studies linked sex roles to biological differences" (Hust, 1995, p. 11). Carrigan, Connell and Lee (1987) assessed the sociology of gender and varying understandings of masculinity. They concluded that feminism, men's liberation and gay activism had contributed to the growth of research on masculinity. Researchers (e.g. Connell, 1995) contend that even within a singular culture or group there were disparities of masculinity. Brod and Kaufman (1994) made major contributions to the literature of masculinity. Their findings suggest there is a range of masculinities across and within national cultural boundaries. "All societies have cultural accounts of gender, but not all have the concept of masculinity" (Connell, 1995, p. 67). Additionally, more research needs to be done specifically to recognize and address the experiences of marginalized men.

### ***Typologies of Masculinity***

From 1970 to now, new views about masculinity have emerged and become more complex. Through Connell's (1995) research, four types of masculinity are identified: Hegemonic, Complicit, Subordinate, and Marginalized. The significance of Connell's research is that it provides a framework for a better understanding of masculinity. Hegemonic masculinity is reflected in the power and masculine status given within a dominant society. Connell (1995) points out that hegemonic masculinity is the dominant, dynamic and has specific expressions within cultures. For example, Hegemonic masculinity embodies the legitimacy of patriarchy,

dominance of men and the subordination of women. Behaviors associated with Hegemonic masculinity include risk-taking, self-discipline, physical toughness and/or muscular development, aggression, violence, emotional control and overt heterosexual desire (Hinojosa, 2010). Hegemonic masculinity can also refer to masculine power embedded in the structure of an institution.

Complicit masculinity refers to men who do not adhere to Hegemonic masculinity but who are compliant to its standards. That is to say that complicit masculinity refers to men who are not on the frontline of patriarchy but are the beneficiaries of hegemonic masculinity. For example, a man who does not know how to fix a car but believes it is a man's job to do so would embody a form of complicitous masculinity.

Subordinate masculinity describes men who are repressed and dominated by men who embody hegemonic masculinity. Marginalized masculinity is associated with groups who are marginalized, such as racial or ethnic minorities. Marginalized masculinities examine the interplay of gender, race and class structures that subordinate classes and ethnic groups.

### **Critique and Limitations of Connell's Typologies**

Connell's research on the four types of masculinity is the benchmark within the literature. His work is reflected in the fact that current research in this area routinely relates to the idea that there are multiple forms of masculinity. Though Connell has greatly contributed to the literature on masculinity, some researchers have critiqued his masculine typologies. Despite the reliance of Connell's typologies, Hust asserts,

aspects of masculinity that fall outside the traditional conception of the masculine gender role are at risk of being ignored or marginalized. Characteristics of boys considered to be "less masculine" tend to be associated with femininity; therefore, scholars have previously ignored the possibility that these characteristics are masculine. (Hust, 2005, p. 12)

In addition to failing to examine traditional notions of masculinity, some scholars are concerned that Connell continues to marginalize racial and ethnic masculinities by presuming that minorities could assume a hegemonic masculinity if they so desired (Dade & Sloan, 2000). Studies in black masculinity have long recognized the internal quandary black men experience, while internalizing the pressure of seeking to achieve hegemonic masculinity, they must also deal with the existing power inequities that may prevent, or at least limit, their success in reaching this goal (Harris, 1995).

### **Peer Group**

Peer groups have a major influence on how teenage boys arrive at a definition of masculinity. For Australian teenage boys, the peer group is a major influence on the types of masculinity expressed in their orientation (Walker, 1988). The peer group is one of the most important features of the school social setting where the peer-group culture serves as an agent in shaping their masculinities. In general, peer groups have a fundamental influence on the construction of masculinities because they exert a constant pressure on individuals to perform and behave to the expected group norms (Adler & Adler, 1998). Additionally, it “is the peer group that is the greatest influence on the formation of masculinities, for much of the information about how to be like a boy (and future man) comes from being with other boys in groups” (Swain, 2005, p. 217). Ultimately, the emergence of different peer groups within the schools allows teenage boys “to play” with different versions of the masculine ideal (Curtin, Linehan, 2002).

### ***Boy Code***

In 1976, psychologist Robert Brannon summarized four basic rules of masculinity:

1. “No sissy stuff”! Being a man means not being a sissy, not being perceived

as weak, effeminate or gay. Masculinity is the relentless repudiation of the feminine.

2. “Be a Big Wheel.” This rule refers to the centrality of success and power in the definition of masculinity. Masculinity is measured more by wealth, power, and status than by any particular body part.
3. “Be a sturdy Oak.” What makes a man is that he is reliable in a crisis. And what makes him so reliable in a crisis is not that he is able to respond fully and appropriately to the situation at random but rather he resembles an inanimate object. A rock, a pillar. Men should be stoic, stable, independent.
4. “Give ‘em, Hell.” Exude an aura of daring and aggression. Live life out on the edge. Take risks. Go for it. Pay no attention to what others think.

William Pollack (1998) expanded Brannon’s research and labeled it the “Boy Code.”

Later, Michael Kimmel (2008) expanded on the “Boy Code” and coined the term the “Guy Code.” The Guy Code, “is the collection of attitudes, values, and traits that together composes what it means to be a man. Using Brannon’s research, “these are the rules that govern behavior in Guyland, the criteria that will be used to evaluate whether any particular guy measures up” (Kimmel, 2008, p. 45).

Pollack stated that teenage boys’ masculinities are restrained because boys are only able to express half of their emotions. “Boys are free to show emotions associated with being tough, active, angry or moved to rage but are taught to refrain from crying, to suppress their emotions and never display vulnerability. As a result, boys feel effeminate not only if they express their emotions but even if they feel them” (Kimmel, 2008, p. 53). Pollack contends, “boys learn to cover over their inner feelings of sadness, loneliness and vulnerability, to act cool and to protect themselves from being shamed by their peers” (Pollack, 2000, p. 33). There is a “culture of cruelty” in which peers force other boys to deny their emotional needs and disguise their feelings which leads many boys to feel emotionally isolated (Kimmel, 2008). The “mask of masculinity”

is the, “fake front of impervious, unemotional independence, a swaggering posture that boys believe will help them to present a stoic front” (Kimmel, 2008, p. 53).

Additionally, Pollack’s research suggest the Boy Code forces boys to separate from their parents too early and it suppresses emotions they feel when they are uncomfortable with this separation. Many boys, “learn that their connection to their mother will emasculate them into Mama’s Boys” (Kimmel, 2008, p. 52). However, much of Pollack’s research is focused on Caucasian middle-class boys. There needs to be more research on how boys who are not Caucasian internalize the Boy Code. Hust acknowledges that “research needs to consider how males from other social and cultural backgrounds negotiate Pollack’s Boy Code” (Hust, 2005, p. 14).

Many boys feel the need to constantly prove themselves. “Masculinity is a constant test-always ups for grabs, always needing to be proved” (Kimmel, 2008, p. 51). “Masculinity is largely a “homosocial” experience: performed for, and judged by, other men” (Kimmel, 2008, p. 47). “American men define their masculinity, not as much in relation to women, but in relation to each other” (Kimmel, 1996, p.7). Basically, boys need to prove their masculinity to other boys and men. Men seek the approval of other men to determine whether one is masculine or not.

### **Masculinity and Homophobia**

Not only is there a need for boys to prove their masculinity to other boys, but a boy’s view of masculinity is a heterosexual endeavor. Homophobia plays a role in regulating and constructing heterosexual masculinities in schools. Masculinity and heterosexuality are entangled and for a boy to be a “real” boy he is to be heterosexual (Epstein, 1996). According to Michael Kimmel who has studied the concept of masculinity for thirty years,

Homophobia-the fear that people might misperceive you as gay-is the animating fear of American boy’s masculinity. It’s what

lies underneath the crazy risk-taking behaviors practiced by boys of all ages, what drives the fear that other guys will see you as weak, unmanly, frightened. The single cardinal rule of manhood, the one from which all the other characteristics-wealth, power, status, strength, physically-are derived is to offer constant proof that you are not gay. Homophobia is even deeper than this. It's the fear of other men-that other men will perceive you as a failure, as a fraud. Homophobia is the fear of other men-that other men will unmask us, emasculate us, reveal to us and the world that we do not measure up, and are not real men. (Kimmel, 2008, p. 50).

Recent research has shown, "homophobia is an enduring constituent of the peer group culture at school, the word gay is probably the most common word of abuse" (Swain, 2005, p. 223). Homophobia is used to police and control the general behavior of boys and their sexuality and is used as a strategy to position boys at the bottom of the masculine hierarchy. The importance of being able to present themselves as properly masculine is established in order to avoid being bullied by other boys by being labeled "gay" (Phoenix & Frosh & Pattman, 2003).

### **Rites of Passage**

In the contemporary world there are few rites of passage or formal coming-of-age enactments in which young men can engage to help them negotiate manhood. In her study of Australian adolescent boys, Crawford revealed that, "they do not yet see themselves as being a man, mostly because they have few social, financial, asset or familial responsibilities, nor apparently are they ready them just yet" (Crawford, 2003, p. 8). Additionally her study revealed that Australian adolescent boys are unable to articulate what it means to be a man and haven't given it much thought. From her interviews, Australian adolescent boys said that some typical behaviors indicated to them that they were mature: voting age at 18, sexual maturation, playing competitive sports against older men, the first experience getting drunk or having sex, the first fulltime job, buying a house and getting married. However, she adds, "for all these young males

becoming a man is an uncertain, vague process, with no evident social markers or passages. They have no idea how a young male becomes a man” (Crawford, 2003, p. 10).

Many cultures have ritual or ceremonies that mark a boy’s transition from boyhood to manhood. However, part of the problem is that American culture, among other western cultures fails to guide male adolescents in this way leaving them to do it on their own by trial and error (Sanford & Lough, 1988). Young males in, “western societies are not initiated into a personal self that marks a transition to manhood” (Seidler, 1997, p. 98). In her qualitative study of the views and experiences of second generation Australian males, Crawford found that becoming a man is left to chance and the passage to male adulthood is an unguided and individual transition (Crawford, 2003).

Though western societies may lack a formal marker of transition from boyhood to manhood, sports offer a rite of passage for boys (Drummond, 1995). Researchers have argued that high school sports are an important part of a boy’s school experience in the development of masculinities (McKay, Messner & Sabo, 2000). Other researchers suggest that high school sports are not an innocuous endeavor but rather, “used to create a “top dog” model of masculinity that many boys try to aim for and live up to” (Salisbury & Jackson, 1996, p. 205). The power of football and other high status school sports can reinforce hegemonic forms of masculinity (Light & Kirk, 2000). Sporty boys have a higher status in schools (Salisbury & Jackson, 1996). Additionally, teenage boys reported negative perceptions of men who participated in sports that transgress traditional gender boundaries (Laberge & Albert, 1999).

### **Schools and Masculinity**

School is the social arena where children learn where they are in the pecking order. Especially in high school, young men learn to identify themselves in terms of what the group

defines as masculinity. Schools are sites where a range of masculinities are produced and used (Haywood & Mac an Ghail, 1996). Schools plays a prominent role in the construction of identity for boys in primary and early secondary schooling (Skelton, 2001). Through their interviews of teenage boys, Curtin and Linehan (2002) reveal school practices such as encouraging physical fitness, participation in games and competition help to unwittingly induct boys into certain form of masculinities. In school settings, there is a hierarchy of masculinities and each will have its own dominant, or hegemonic form of masculinity which gains ascendance over and above others (Connell, 1995).

Connell (1996) goes on to identify four components of how schools are agents in the making of masculinities: power relations, division of labor, patters of emotion and symbolization.

Power relations refers to, “the supervision and authority among teachers of dominance, harassment and control over resources among pupils including the concentration of men in supervisory positions.” The division of labor refers to, “ the specialization of teachers teaching a particular subject such as concentrations of women in domestic science, language and literature teaching and men in science, mathematics and industrial arts. Patterns of emotion, referred to the “feeling rules” are often associated with specific roles in a school. For example the principal should be tough but the drama teacher needs to be kind. Lastly, “symbolization refers to how schools have their own symbols systems: uniforms and dress codes including the gendering of knowledge, the defining of certain areas of the curriculum as masculine and others as feminine. (Connell, 1996, p. 209)

Not only do schools serve as an agent in the making of masculinity, teacher attitudes and perceptions influence boys’ notions of masculinity. One harmful consequence of the Boy Code is how so many, “educators accepted these rules-as representative of how “real men” are supposed to behave” (Cleveland, 2011, p. 38). While teachers may implicitly imply these Boy Code

messages, boys are not exposed to alternative definitions or traits of masculinity. Boys may accept the rules of the Boy Code as truths while never questioning or examining them. Young boys will enter the world with only these rules guiding them.

Not only do teachers unknowingly promote the rules of the “Boy Code”, the code affects how boys view and value school and learning. Learning and doing well in school is not deemed masculine. Boys shun literacy skills and certain attitudes necessary to be successful in school because they are viewed as feminine. According to the Boy Code expectations,

not only are boys supposed to behave like superheroes and hide their emotions, but they also do not want to be perceived as smart, always fight instead of talking through a conflict, and do not enjoy reading or writing. Displaying any of these “unmanly” behaviors-demonstrating intelligence, being articulate or adept at conflict resolution, showing emotional sensitivity, reading and writing well-results in a boy being labeled a sissy. (Cleveland, 2011, p. 40)

Boys regard English as a “feminine” subject (Martino, 2001). Boys are uninterested in English because of what it might say about their masculine pose. “It is not the school experience that feminizes boys, but rather the ideology of traditional masculinity that keeps boys from wanting to succeed. The work you do here is girl work” (Foster & Kimmel & Skelton, 2001, p. 14). Being “studious” can involve quiet, settled study, visibly “working hard” at a task, reading, publicly adopting a pro-school attitude and taking results seriously. By engaging in these activities, boys potentially leave themselves open to verbal abuse and ridicule, and are positioned daily as “swots”, “geeks”, “nerds” and “squares”. Boys often employ humorous and rule-breaking techniques to avoid being positioned as studious (Renold, 2001). It seems like the entire system that defines masculinity is working against boys succeeding in school. Teachers who are enlightened can be models to young men who need to see masculinity operating in the academic world. However, teachers themselves can end up being messengers of the traditional masculinity

if they are unaware of their own beliefs and actions. They can have a negative impact on young men by communicating verbally or non-verbally their unconscious messages about masculinity.

### **Influence of Teachers**

Feminist research has found that teachers give students of all ages messages about what is appropriate behavior for their gender (Gilbert, 1998). “From the minute boys enter our classrooms, masculine identity building is taking place in one form or another. At some level, teachers and students, both male and female, often act in accordance with a set of unspoken tenets that are subtly or explicitly reinforced through tacit approval” (Cleveland, 2011, p. 38). In a study of Australian teenage boys’ perceptions of masculinity,

verbal and non verbal cues from teachers were seen as conveying appropriate masculinities. They watched what teachers did and listened to what they said. They reflected on teachers’ example, praising some and criticizing others. The teenage boys were conscious that teachers influence their understanding of masculinity because of their extensive contact with boys during their formative adolescent years. Involvement in extracurricular activities, sport, debating, musicals and smaller class sizes enhanced opportunities for teachers to have a positive influence on a teenage boys’ sense of masculinity. (Lee, 2003, p.157)

This same study found that women teachers were regarded as an important influence. Women teachers who are good listeners appeared to have particular influence over Australian teenage boys’ perceptions of masculinity (Lee, 2003). More research is needed to show exactly how female teachers influence adolescent boys understanding of masculinity.

In the elementary schools there are fewer and fewer male teachers; therefore there are fewer opportunities for boys to have positive male role models from a young age. The relatively low number of male teachers in primary schools has become increasingly seen by governments across the country,

One of the more contentious educational issues is the lack of male teachers entering the education field and the preponderance of women teaching in our classrooms, especially in lower grades (Cleveland, 2011). In other words, at the very time when boys are most directly involved in building literacy skills, they are least likely to have the benefit of male role models. Though we know having a male teacher does not guarantee that a boy will become more literate, the presence of positive male role models in the classroom may offer power, real world exemplars for boys about the ways in which real men use and value literacy on a daily basis. And that is the relevant point. (Cleveland, 2011, p. 193)

As with female teachers, male teachers who listened, showed respect and were able to “connect” with male students influenced their perceptions of masculinity (Lee, 2001). Male teachers are crucial in fostering positive attitudes among boys since they are needed as role models. In surveying elementary students, one study found that upper elementary students saw teacher gender as especially relevant (Skelton, 2003). In addition to research on the affect of teachers on young men’s concepts of masculinity, research has been recently conducted on how indigenous young men form masculinities.

## **Media**

There is little doubt that the media has a major role in adolescent boys’ perceptions of masculinity. It is normal for adolescents to consume and be bombarded by the media (J.D. Brown & Pardun, 2004; Livingstone & Bovill, 2001; Roberts et al., 2004). There is a substantial amount of research dedicated to how the media reinforces gender roles and gender stereotyping. Magazines, television programs and commercials, movies and music influence gender roles and stereotyping. Arnett (2000) found that teens use music as an escape from their problems with romantic and sexual relationships.

There is little research on exactly how the media is involved in constructing masculinity (Rossiter, 2000). One study examined how boys use the media to construct masculinity. Due to the media’s influence, “men need to have physical (SportsCenter) and sexual prowess (Sex in the

City), stolid and stoic personalities (Rocky) and must take risks (Jackass). Unfortunately, boys who look to the media for guidance about masculinity will find restricted set of options that perpetuate a narrow and potentially unhealthy set of gender roles (Hust, 2005). Basically, the media glamorizes predominately these four notions (physical prowess, sexual prowess, stolid personality and risk-taking behavior) of masculinity and may exclude and ignore other concepts of masculinity. On the television station VH1, there is a show called “Guy Code”. This show claims to be, “the ultimate guy’s guide to the laws of manhood” ([http://www.mtv.com/shows/guy\\_code/series.jhtml](http://www.mtv.com/shows/guy_code/series.jhtml)).

There have been several studies that demonstrate how the media adversely affects body image, especially for women (Thompson, 1996). The mass media has increasingly progressively thinner representations of the female body (Cohen, 2006). In fact, “research on men’s bodies has received significantly less attention from scholars than topics such as sexuality, violence, work, family life, education and health” (Mckay, Mikoza & Hutchins, 2005). In one study there were only three articles that either mentioned both the mass media and mens’ bodies in the title, abstract and key words (Adams, 1999). Despite the lack of research devoted to media and mens’ bodies, some research on the media and men’s bodies has occurred (Pope & Phillips & Olivardia, 2000). For example, research has indicated that the rate of body image dissatisfaction among males may be increasing (Garner, 1997). Boys do have body image concerns, and up to age ten boys and girls show similar levels of weight concern and perceived pressure to lose weight (Ricciardelli et al, 2003). Even from as young as four, boys are concerned about their muscles (McCabe, 2003). Muscularity is communicated to young males with toy action figures (Pope, Olivardia, Gruber & Borowiecki, 1999). Similar gender issues are important in body

image for girls, these are linked to issues of appearance and bodily comparison in more complex ways than for boys (Tiggemann & Slater, 2003).

Generally, boys want the body type often epitomized by footballers, big and muscular and lean ‘with a six pack’ (Grogan & Richards, 2002). According to his research Glassner states, “Muscles are the sign of masculinity” (Glassner, 1988, p. 168). At puberty, boys’ bodies tend to change toward this desired body type. Boys’ body image concerns seem closely associated with concepts of masculinity and what it means to be a man, with young men strongly linking masculinity with stereotypical ideals of male bodies (Drummond, 2003; Grogan and Richards, 2002). Many men adhere to the “Adonis complex” which leads men to increase their efforts to build muscle and stay lean. This ideal is unattainable which can lead to real-ideal discrepancies which can then lead men to experience depression and have low self-esteem (Pope, 2000).

During the 1990’s, mass media created the idea of the “New Man” in which films and TV tried to sell “soft products” and lifestyles to men without simultaneously threatening the traditional bases of hegemonic masculinity (McKay, Mikosza, Hutchins, 2005). This effort included articles aimed at women that framed masculinity as a problem that needed to be fixed through grooming. Notwithstanding the mass media’s efforts to create this “New Man” failed because it was restricted to white, affluent heterosexual men (McKay & Ogilvie, 1999).

After the “New Man” debacle, Australian and British media launched a new media man’s campaign entitled the “new lad”. FHM (For Him Magazine) in Australia and Loaded in the U.K., are examples of magazines that portrayed emphasized concepts of hegemonic masculinity such as drinking alcohol, taking risks, telling dirty jokes and looking at skimpy dressed women. These magazines portrayed images and stories of what it meant to be an “authentic male” (Jackson, 2001, p. 85). These “new lads” in these magazines, which are highly desirable to advertisers,

with their mixture of sex, sport, alcohol, the public world, and carefully managed fashion for a heterosexual male readership” (Bonner, 2002, p. 194).

It is clear that the mass media plays an important role in producing hegemonic masculinity (Hanke, 1998). While some men’s magazines glamorize certain male hegemonic values and behaviors, these magazines fail to represent masculinity in its entirety. “Media messages are powerful, and their rhetoric is the terrain upon which hegemonic values are reinforced. Popular magazines are often gendered discourses, aimed at either women or men, yet regardless of intended audience, magazine narratives are predominantly patriarchal in nature” (Rakow, 2001, np). These magazines celebrate drinking and having a lot of sex but fail to show how men’s need for reciprocity and emotional warmth are to be met (Stevenson, 2000). Magazines try to avoid the sense of the fear, anxiety and pain often experienced by these men in relation to the established script of masculinity such as anxieties about sexual performance, estrangement from emotions, and poor relations with their fathers (Nixon, 1997).

Besides the absence of male anxieties in men’s magazines, it is important to note how these magazines portray women. Adolescent boys learn how to treat young women from the imagery and information in men’s magazines and from pornography (Measor, Tiffin & Fry, 1996). Treatment of women can be conveyed in these magazines simply from the way the images are photographed. The edited photographic images in both male and female magazines depict sexuality that is devoid of its emotional component; these images “frame sex and sexual practice in limited ways that reinforce the objectification of women and privilege heterosexuality” (Krasses, Blauwkamp, & Wesselink, 2003, p. 114). Patriarchal characteristics of masculinity are so naturalized in the media they go unquestioned. In addition, “men find the domination and exploitation of women and other men to be not only expected, but actually

demanded’’(Prushank, 2007, p. 161). The most common topic found in Lad magazine articles about sex is that women serve as the means by which men may improve upon their own sex lives (Taylor, 2005). Pornographic magazines related to more permissive attitudes towards dating relationships with low levels of commitment (Taylor, 2006).

In addition to promoting the objectification of women, these magazines promoted violence, according to the research. Men’s magazine promote the narrative that men are not responsible for their domestic violence and they cannot help but be violent for a variety of reasons, including male biology, difficult childhoods, sports careers and military service. The “hegemonic male presented in teen magazines might be thoughtful and loving but is equally as likely to be cruel and freely express anger and rage by dominating females, at times even physically” (Prushank, 2007, p. 173). This narrative theme is communicated through sarcasm and humor which naturalizes aggression as understandable and human, “men are men: much is beyond fixing, helplessly bobbing in the tides of biology and culture, habitually turn to aggression to cope with our anger and aggression. Men won’t talk, fear intimacy, as boys we are taught to use our fists to express feelings of the heart” (Rabb, 2000). In a study that examined and analyzed ten popular men’s and women’s magazines from 1998 to 2008, they found the topic of domestic violence in men’s magazines was rarely addressed; and men’s magazines do not hold men responsible for committing violence (Nettleton, 2011). Such narratives of boys and men contribute to constructing traditional, violence-linked ideas of masculinity (Kimmel, 2011).

### **Chapter Three: Masculinities of Oceania**

Michael Kimmel focuses much of his research on American masculinity. He believes that, “manhood is a relentless test, the drive to prove it continues to be a dominant one in American life” (Kimmel, 2011, ix). Much of Kimmel’s research examines the history of American boys and men and how they demonstrate their masculinity and for whom. Masculinity is largely a “homosocial” experience; performed for, and judged by other men” (Kimmel, 2008, p. 51). American men define, “their masculinity, not as much in relation to women, but in relation to each other” (Kimmel, 2011, p. 7). Basically, American boys and men need to prove their masculinity to other boys and men. Men seek the approval of other men to determine whether one is masculine.

R.W. Connell believes that, “true masculinity is almost always thought to proceed from men’s bodies-to be inherent in a male body or to express something about a male body” (Connell, 2005, p. 45). Connell further asserts, “the body is inescapable in the construction of masculinity; but what is inescapable is not fixed” (Connell, 2005, p. 56). A man’s use of his body demonstrates his masculinity. Most importantly, Connell’s concept of “body-reflexive-practices” views the body as “both objects and agents of practice, and the practice itself from the structures within which bodies are appropriated” (Connell, 2005). This helps us better understand the men of the Pacific because it addresses how the processes of language, experience and knowledge are produced through the body. Therefore, Connell’s concept suggests the body processes through which knowledge can be gained by the performances of these men but these bodily performances must be understood under the appropriate context.

Though each researcher has their own focus, they both discuss the ways in which certain dominant forms of masculinities are rearticulated in the global arena as part of the larger project

of globalization especially in regards to hegemony. As Michael Kimmel states, “globalization changes masculinities, reshaping the arena in which national and local masculinities are articulated” (Kimmel, 2005, p. 414). Connell adds, “to understand masculinity, we must recognize that very large-scale institutions such as the state and corporations are gendered, and that international relations, international trade and global markets are inherently an arena of gender politics, then we can recognize the existence of a world gender order” (Connell, 2005, p. xxi). The process of globalization and the emergence of a global hegemonic masculinity have, “a “gendering” effect on local, regional and national resistance to incorporation into the global arena as subordinated entities” (Kimmel, 2005, p. 415). Cultures under colonialism and post colonial colonization have made the construction of masculinity with the creation of racial and ethnic hierarchies even more complicated (Connell, 2005). Connell and Kimmel have not only approached masculinity as an individual process but in regards to power in the greater world context.

Much of Connell’s and Kimmel’s concepts of masculinities are used in the broader contexts of Oceania. It is important to note that Oceanic masculinities have been influenced by hegemonic foreign models, as Jolly states, “Oceanic masculinities are best studied relationally and historically, between pasts, presents, and future while indigenous masculinities have been formed in relation to , as much as resistance against hegemonic foreign models, and through such hybrid hegemonies have emerged” (Jolly, 2008, p. 3). Connell’s idea of, “hegemonic masculinity” applies to Oceania because it describes and examines the forces of an accepted form of masculinity that became the measure by which other masculinities are judged as less worthy or marginal (Connell, 2005). Connell’s concept of hegemonic masculinity is useful because it examines notions of power relations and how that developed privilege forms of

masculinity. Connell believed that masculinity and sexuality stem through the body and that certain masculinities are more privileged while others deemed improper or feminine (Connell, 2005). This builds on Oceanic masculinities because it helps to understand the process in which the relationship between indigenous masculinities encounters a new form of masculinity. This introduced form of new masculinity is defined as privilege or the proper form of what it means to be a man.

Kimmel's approach is that masculinity is a constant test that needs to be proven to other men. Based on the many stories of how men in Oceania perform their masculinities, it is something that needs to be proven either to men of their own ethnicity or to others. Through the stories of Hawaii and the Maoris', many Pacific men felt what Kimmel calls a "crisis in masculinity". Because of external factors like colonialism, how do men who were used to a familiar way of demonstrating their masculinity now show their masculinity in a new context?

Though Oceania builds on some of Connell's and Kimmel's concepts, they diverge as well. Much of Kimmel's and Connell's work focus on white males and a western framework to the understanding of masculinity. Connell and Kimmel have not done a lot of research examining masculinities from an indigenous framework. Much of this work is left to indigenous researchers focused on masculinities in the Pacific such as Ty Tengan, Isaiah Walker and Brenan Hokowhitu. Neglecting research about how Pacific men form and create their masculinities is an injustice and may symbolize to the academic community that they are not worthy enough to study.

Recent scholarship has been devoted to examining the formations of indigenous masculinities. New research is trying to unravel the effects of race, class, gender, colonial oppression, colonialism and the notions of masculinity adopted by indigenous men. To

understand how indigenous men form their concept of “Native masculinity”, “one must take account of the colonial context in which these particular subjectivities are produced” (Matahaera-Atariki, 1999). “In settler colonies such as Aotearoa and Hawaii, the effect of colonization of indigenous men has been a topic of great concern. In both populations, indigenous men account for the worst statistics in health, crime, poverty, unemployment, incarceration and alcohol and drug abuse in their respective societies” (Tengan, 2002, p. 244). As a consequence, “many indigenous Hawaiian men feel themselves to be disconnected, disempowered and some emasculated” (Tengan, 2008, p. 3).

The common imperialistic histories of the Pacific have forced indigenous men to prove and perform their masculinity in an unfamiliar and new context. How do these Pacific men negotiate conflicting and often competing perceptions of masculinity? Where do these men go to prove their masculinity and how do they do it? Do these men choose traditional or more modern methods? What are the colonizing effects of the men of Oceania? What are the similarities and differences of how colonization affects masculinity in different parts of the Pacific? Below are the histories of some men in parts of Oceania. These stories describe how the elements of modernity such as globalism, militarism, and colonialism have altered traditional indigenous conceptions of what it means to be a man. The Pacific men are not only bonded by their shared imperialistic histories but in ways they struggle to validate their own masculine identity.

## **Hawai`i**

Historically, surfing has been an integral part to Hawaiian culture for centuries. Surfing or he`e nalu has been described as a “natural sport for Hawaiians” (Malo, 1955). While surfing, Hawaiians are able to connect spiritually and physically with the ocean. Though surfing provided Hawaiians with a visceral connection, “he`e nalu is significant to Hawaiians because it is one of few traditions to continuously survive the destructive power of colonialism” (Walker, 2008, p.

94). In an effort to resist American colonization, Hawaiian men tried to protect and preserve their notions of masculinity through surfing. Since the twentieth century, surfing provided a means for Kanaka men to excel at a local sport and according to Walker, Kanaka men could express their masculinity through surfing. Walker states, “perhaps because colonial and missionary influence generally stopped at the shoreline, the ocean was of few places where Hawaiians could be cultural and masculine. Surfing provided, “a space where Hawaiian men could be masculine and cultural” (Walker, 2011, p. 125). Modernity and the loss of culture and land led native Hawaiian men to protect their surf breaks, sometimes resorting to violent confrontations with Haole (white foreigner) surfers.

Not only did surfing provide Hawaiians a place to fight American colonialism, the Waikiki Beachboys became popular combatants of Hawaiian stereotypes. Started by the surf group Hui Nalu, these surfers eventually became the Waikiki Beachboys. The Waikiki Beachboys were knowledgeable in surfing, canoeing, and fishing (Walker, 2008). As previous scholars have argued, many of stereotypes of Hawaiian men consisted of passivity, lazy, soft and non-threatening and nearly invisible (Desmond, 1999). The significance of the Waikiki Beachboys is that they did not fit into these categories. Walker (2008) asserts the Waikiki Beachboys athletic, hedonistic men who do not fall into these categories and native Hawaiians successfully created their own identities in opposition to colonial categories. Hawaiians were not passive but challenged haoles over waves, women and the beach. The surf zone and the Waikiki Beachboys were efforts where Hawaiian men negotiated their masculine identities and triumphantly withstood American colonialism.

Hawaiian and Māori men, “may also achieve an indigenous form of masculinity through their participation in the military” (Tengan, 2008). Military service offers men, “unique

resources for the construction of masculine identity defined by emotional control, overt heterosexual desire, physical fitness, self discipline, self-reliance, the willingness to use aggression and physical violence, risk-taking are qualities tightly aligned with the military” (Higrate, 2007; Higate & Hopton, 2005; Hockey, 2002; Padilla & Riege Laner, 2002; Regan de Bere, 2003; Siebold, 2001). For men, “one benefit to joining the military is access to hegemonic masculinity such as economic security, physically fit bodies are provided by military training and service in the form of paychecks and demanding physical training” (Hinojosa, 2010). Due to a dearth of employment opportunities for native Hawaiian men, the military may have been one of the few employment options available to Pacific Islander men based on notions of family, leadership, strength and mana (Ihimaera, 2002).

The U.S. military’s global project is a patriarchal endeavor with the aim of masculinizing the world (Enloe, 1989). Hawaiian men that become members of the military become agents of American state domination (Connell, 2005). Violence, aggression, risk-taking, physical ability and self-discipline are tools actively used to force others, nation states and individuals alike to submit to American political and military will (Hinjosa, 2010). Hawaiian men that joined the military embraced some notions of hegemonic masculinity but more importantly acted as agents to colonize others, perhaps Hawaiian men themselves. As Tengan points out,

by proving that their courage and fighting capabilities were equal to, if not superior to, their white counterparts that they were serving with, indigenous men could repudiate the colonizers’ superiority and validate their own masculinities. At the same time though, rather than challenging the social practice of soldiery and the patriarchal triangle of which it is part, Oiwi and Maori men are complicit with the maintenance of a Euro-American hegemonic institution which naturalizes colonial rule by mapping it onto a system of gendered, raced and classed power relations. (Tengan, 2002, p. 247)

There have been few places where Hawaiian indigenous men could negotiate their masculinity so some of them are re-examining their own cultural heritage. The documentary *Ke Kūlana He Māhū* by Kathryn Xian depicts how colonialism deeply altered native Hawaiian society and it shows the manner of love that is acceptable. The film compares the diversity of gender during pre-colonial times to how māhū's are treated now. According to (Xian, 2001), the Hawaiian term māhū includes western notions of homosexuality, encompasses transgender and cross dressers as well. However, as Tengan (2003) critiques, "the film does not do a good job of really explaining the term mahu and to whom it applies nor is there a discussion of how the usage of the term has transformed historically, or even to whom it primarily applies today." As famous Hawaiian māhū Hina Wong-Kalu states, "a māhū is an individual that straddles somewhere in the middle of the male and female binary. It does not define their sexual preference or gender expression, because gender roles, gender expression and sexual relationships have all been severely influenced by the changing times. It is dynamic. It is life like" (Snow, 2014, p. 25). As Kaumakaiwa Kanaka'ole explains, "māhū is the expression of the third self. It is not a gender, it's not an orientation, it's not a sect, it's not a particular demographic and it's definitely not a race" (Snow, 2014, p. 26).

According to Hawaiian feminist Ku'umealoha Gomes, "māhū's were very sexually expressive and māhū's on every level were accepted and as more things began, imposed on us, and we began to distance ourselves from each other, what happened?" "Where did the change come from?" Throughout the video, this change is explained through the shared māhū' stories of the adoption of western law, Christianity, capitalism and the decimation of the native population combined with a loss of their land forever altered their way of life. As one interview subject

stated, “trying to undo homophobia is trying to undo the colonialist idea of desire and sexuality; it is an imposed norm.”

As a researcher, it is important to consider how colonization affects Hawaiian youths’ perceptions of masculinity. Violence is a tool to, “achieve a masculine identity in the United States because power is linked with aggression and violence” (Messerschmidt, 1986, p. 59). One way to analyze these effects is through the colonial criminology framework. Colonial criminology locates the cause of crime as an outcrop of oppression, alienation, and inequalities that exist in a colonial society. Colonization led to native Hawaiian suppression of indigenous knowledge, cultural practices and was misconstrued by the colonial establishment. Traditional and indigenous practices such as the teaching and speaking of the Hawaiian language were prohibited in school. The practice of hula was banned. In terms of Hawaiian boys, being fearless and fearsome were conceptions of how they formed their masculinity. Hawaiian boys, “when constructing their identities through violence, boys first expressed a critical awareness of the larger power arrangements” (Irwin & Umemoto, 2012). Due to colonization, many Hawaiians, especially Hawaiian boys have very limited social, economic or political power. There are only a few methods by which Hawaiian boys can demonstrate their masculinity, violence is one way. Hawaiian boys are aware of its colonized history and violence is a response to colonization. However as Tengan (2008) explains, “some actions that may have been seen as honorable in the past are those that are often criminalized in the modern era, including the periodic use of violence to resolve disputes or family discipline.” He further elaborates, “this is not to condone violence but to acknowledge temporal changes in the exercise and meanings of violent actions with cultural notions of masculinity” (Tengan, 2008).

The colonial conquest of Hawai'i involves the present expressions of political hegemony integrated with native Hawaiian epistemologies. These ambiguous expressions represent two distinct yet infused dichotomies. On one hand, Hawaiian boys attempt to be tough in a wide-ranging colonial history. On the other hand, "there is a need to be a "steadfast" warrior in an authentic expression of that concept" (Tengan, 2008). These two concepts cannot be easily separated. Hawaiian boys are influenced by stories that tell them it is never alright to back down from a fight. In addition, fighting has a respectful meaning for Hawaiians, "narratives about achieving respect through violence centered on a common construction of what fighting means among native Hawaiians as they viewed traditional notions of masculinity, toughness meant being fearless, or never to be afraid of confrontations, especially physical confrontations with individuals who attempted to dominate and control them" (Irwin & Umemoto, 2012, p. 16). In other words, Hawaiian youths' perceptions' of masculinity is to never back down from a fight, since fighting is a form of respect.

Many Hawaiian youths fought for two reasons: to combat negative stereotypes of their ancestors and culture and to protect their reputation and demand for respect. Hawaiian boys struggled with the belief that their ancestors were ignorant and gave up their land (Irwin and Umemoto, 2012). More importantly, the Hawaiian youth, "struggled against constructions of themselves as being foolish or ineffective against domination" (Irwin & Umemoto, 2012, p. 16). Hawaiian boys' were bothered by being negatively stereotyped as stupid, lazy and dumb (Irwin & Umemoto, 2012). As Tengan argues, "the discourse of the "lazy kanaka" was also one of Hawaiian emasculation because Hawaiian men were seen as unable to compete with either the haole elite or the "hard-working" Chinese and Japanese men" (Tengan, 2008, p. 45). These

Hawaiian boys may have felt not only dominated by other groups, but emasculated. Violence may have been a way for Hawaiian men to re-masculate themselves in a colonial context.

One consequence of colonization led to the emasculation of Hawaiian men. As Tengan (2008, p. 8) asserts, “one of the primary discursive formations I explore is that of the emasculated Hawaiian male, whose loss of land, tradition, authenticity, culture and power stems from the historical experience of colonialism and modernity.” Tengan elaborates how the, “media markets ignore Hawaiian men or portray them as only surfers, beachboys or Polynesian surfers” (Tengan, 2008). He further suggests that Hawaiian men were emasculated in relation to Maori men (Jolly, 2008). Many Hawaiian women wish Hawaiian men would fight for sovereignty and form a renewed conception of warriorhood. There are, “claims of cultural and political re-empowerment to the reclamation of traditional male roles and practices” (Tengan, 2008, p. 11).

Where do native Hawaiian men, especially Hawaiian boys learn to be an authentic traditional Hawaiian man? Ty Tengan’s work the Hale Mua O Maui illustrates how a Hawaiian group called Nā Koa (The Warriors) use traditional Hawaiian martial arts training to combat the perceived feminization of Hawaiian culture (Tengan, 2008). Due to colonialism, Christianity and modernization, many Hawaiian men felt lost as the indigenous structures and roles changed. His ethnography chronicles how Hawaiian masculinity is remade at the Hale Nā Koa which created a space where Hawaiian men could define modern notions of masculinity through the use of the Hawaiian martial arts called Lua. In addition to Lua, notions of Hawaiian warriorhood and the participation in the U.S. military allow Hawaiian men a place to demonstrate their notion of being warriors. Additionally, the Hale Mua provided Hawaiian men a, “place in which violence

born of hurt, pain, and lack of cultural identity can be transformed into a more productive form of energy” (Tengan, 2008, p. 149).

One way Hawaiian men were able to culturally express their masculinity was through the ancient Hawaiian fighting art called Lua. According to Lua instructor Billy Richards, “Lua is about Hawaiians discovering their warrior selves. That doesn’t mean you are aching for a fight, or to beat people up. To me, being a warrior means being responsible for your conduct, and protecting your family, the people around you, your (aina) land. You learn an art that can do devastating damage, but you also learn how to give and be gentle to be responsible with that power” (Sodetani, 2003). Lua masters were skilled at hand to hand combat, Hawaiian weaponry and physical balance.

Not only were Lua masters skilled at fighting but they developed and honed their mental and spiritual lives as well. To be a complete Hawaiian warrior, one must be balanced and flexible, “understand how the balance of Ku/Hina guided not only attacks and counterattacks, but also embodiment of both the masculine and feminine in each individual; indeed, the word lua itself means “duality” or “two” (Paglinawan, 2006, p. 9). The Hawaiian philosophy of pono suggests that Ku and Hina need to be in balance for all things to be right (Kame’elehiwa, 1993). Lua was the hard part and hula was the soft part (Tengan, 2008). In Lua, there are certain situations that require yielding to flexibility versus force (Simon, 2006). Additionally, Hawaiian warriors composed poetry, danced, surfed and excelled in sports and games.

The Hui Panalā`au were a group of Hawaiian men working for the United States government from 1935-1942 to colonize five unoccupied Equatorial Islands for strategic military purposes. Recruited from the Kamehameha schools, these Hawaiian boys performed their indigenous skills as watermen to survive while charting topography, recording winds and ocean

tides for the United States military. Kamehameha School's educational program was to assimilate Hawaiian boys into accepting American values. These Kamehameha school boys represented a, "Hawaiian-American masculinity" (Tengan, 2008, p. 28). These native Hawaiian boys represented the right type of colonists as opposed to the overly sexualized beachboys.

The Kamehameha boys represented the "right type" of colonist. These boys were native, non-threatening to white masculinity, possessed the indigenous skills for survival, were American educated and wanted to represent Hawaiians well. Additionally, there was much attention devoted to the hygienic practices of these men. There was a focus, "on young men's hygienic practices which reflect a colonial imperative to reconstitute domesticity" (Tengan, 2008). Basically, these native men fit into the narrative that as boys they can be trained for the use of the United States imperialistic purposes. At a time in which negative Hawaiian male stereotypes existed such as careless beach boys preying on white woman and hoodlums after the Massie case, these Kamehameha schools boys presented a celebratory ideal of an American man. The Kamehameha boys provided, "an image of Hawaiians as capable, intelligent, healthy, responsible,, hardworking and able to make claims to both modern American citizenship and Native Pacific heritage" (Tengan, 2008, p. 40).

Recently there has been a movement to help Hawaiians fulfill their male responsibilities. The `Aha Kāne is a conference for Hawaiian men and boys where they can talk about what it means to be a Hawaiian; and how to be successful in this world (Cataluna, 2006). In the Hawaiian culture, a boy joins his brothers and father in the Hale Mua, the men's house. In the Hale Mua, Hawaiian men teach the boys what it means to be a man. Part of the mission of the `Aha Kāne conference is to instill in Hawaiian men that, "Hawaiian warriors had to take care of themselves and their home before you go into battle" (Simon, 2006). Sponsored by the Office of

Hawaiian Affairs (OHA), the conference draws attention to the Native Hawaiian warrior code. At this conference Hawaiian men participate in lomilomi (Hawaiian massage) sessions, leadership strategies and providing a cultural definition of physical, spiritual and mental well-being. At this conference, Hawaiian men do not focus on physical combat, but instead fight for self-respect and social justice (Simon, 2006).

The keynote speaker for the 2012 `Aha Kāne Conference was a lua instructor name Tommy Kaulukukui. At this conference, he made a presentation entitled “E ho kanaka”, which in the Hawaiian language means, act like a man. In his presentation, Kaulukukui asserts, “just because a person is male doesn’t necessarily make him a man” ([www.ahakane.org/resources/media\\_gallery/2012\\_tommy\\_kaulukakui](http://www.ahakane.org/resources/media_gallery/2012_tommy_kaulukakui)). His presentation was presented to Hawaiian men. Kaulukukui challenged the participants’ notions of what it means to be a man. Kaulukukui illustrates the difference between kāne and kanaka. A kāne is a male of any species; it is the one that deposits the sperm. Kāne are primarily motivated by the three F’s: fark, fight and food. Fark is the drive to have sex and populate the species. Fight is driven by testosterone, a male’s ego; it’s done for fun and to show off to women. Food is described as concern for only oneself. A kanaka is motivated by another set of three F’s: fatherhood, fend and feed. A kanaka is concerned with being a father, is respectful to his partner and takes care of his children. Fend is taken from the word defend in which a man defends his family and community. A man is not looking for a fight but will defend his family and community if and when it is necessary. Feed means to give and to serve others and feed his family. Further in his presentation, Kaulukukui describes how a kāne can become a kanaka. Kaulukukui uses the acronym G.A.P in which he implores Hawaiian males to become Hawaiian men. First, Hawaiian males need to grow up physically, spiritually and emotionally. Second, they have to accept

responsibility. Lastly, males need to have the opportunity to practice and have opportunities to become kanakas.

## **New Zealand**

Preceding western contact, the haka dance was a traditional greeting between Māori warriors. Depending on the response to the performance, it could act either as part of a peaceful welcoming ceremony or as a rally meant to inspire the dancers for war while frightening their opponents. The image of the Māori warrior in European imagination was enhanced by the haka dance ceremony, which signified the protection of friends and served as a warning to enemies (Kaepler, 1977). Captain Cook described the Māori people as aggressive, spiritual warriors (Rountree, 1998).

By the beginning of the twentieth century, much of New Zealand was controlled by Britain. Decimated by disease and war, the Māori had very little power over their land and culture. As Britain's colonization over New Zealand continued, the use of the Haka changed. As early as the 1900's, Māori dancers performed staged dances for the amusement of white colonialists (Balme, 1998). Māori dancers have performed for the Duke and Duchess of York and Cornwall, and for President Clinton's visit to New Zealand. The traditional reasons for performing the Haka such as a welcoming ceremony or an act to warn their enemies are no longer the only reasons Māori's perform the Haka.

In today's New Zealand society, postcards and tour brochures are filled with images of tattooed Māori warriors (Taylor, 1988). The Polynesian male warrior has become a commodity image to be sold for big business (Tengan & Markham, 2009). On the island of Oahu, the Polynesian Cultural Center entertains tourists all year long. With its motto, "experience the real

Polynesia”, tourists witness displays of Samoan men fire dancing, eating Hawaiian food at a luau and some have the opportunity to dance the hula on stage.

However, some scholars suggest that state, private and big business that sell pieces of indigenous culture to tourists to make a profit are culturally exploiting indigenous culture (Trask, 2010). The haka has become an authenticator of Polynesian warriorhood-in no small part because it is performed as such in Polynesian and dance venues that feature women doing the hula and men doing the haka (Tengan & Markham, 2009). Nonetheless, despite the exploitation, the Māori take great pride in expressing their cultural heritage and in sharing it with others (Meijl, 1996). The haka dance retains significance for Māori people (Kornelly, 2001).

In many ways the experiences of Hawaiian men and New Zealand men are very similar. Both had to contend with the consequences of western colonization such as the loss of land and the breakdown of indigenous cultural institutions. However, there are differences.

in Hawai`i, and especially after the annexation by the United States the predominant colonial discourse was of the feminization of the islands and the emasculation of Hawaiian men. In New Zealand, by contrast, colonial discourses, continually stressed the hypermasculinity of Māori men and their marital character. This contrast can be traced back to early European representations from exploratory voyages, in which Polynesians in general, and high-ranking Hawaiians in particular, were seen as softer and more feminine, while Māori men and women were seen as harder and more masculine than other Polynesians. (Jolly, 2008, p. 6).

In New Zealand, British education efforts were a way in which the Māori, especially Māori men were assimilated. Some of these efforts were to teach Māori boys to become “proper men.” The British education of these indigenous Māori leaders was designed to create an ‘old boy’ indigenous masculinity, that is , a burgeoning form of hybridized masculine leadership, which would enable more effective assimilation based on the premise that, once schooled, the

indigenous ‘old boy’ would return to provide administrative leadership in their communities” (Hokowhitu, 2012, p. 39). As a consequence, “an elite group of Māori men was created and crucially shaped by a specific type of British masculine leadership” (Hokowhitu, 2012, p. 38).

An additional purpose to the education of Māori elites was to create patriarchy as an indigenous norm. Patriarchy is a “social organization marked by the supremacy of the father in the clan or family” (Webster, 2003, p. 909). The British government placed, “indigenous men into patriarchal roles which created the ideology of traditional indigenous roles that meant gender-role separation and therefore indigenous masculine leadership came to reflect modernity’s masculinity” (Hokowhitu, 2012, p. 40). However, in this supposed Māori tradition, patriarchy is primarily a historical colonial construction (Hokowhitu, 2008). Connell’s notion “body-reflexive practices” can be applied in this case because of British practices that subordinate and produce a preferred type of British masculinity. Additionally, this type of masculinity ignores alternative forms of indigenous masculinities and indigenous women from leadership roles.

Through these practices a hybridized notion of masculinity was created. This “Aryan Māori” masculinity was viewed as physically powerful, noble and a warrior. Māoris were viewed as having the potential to be civilized. The “Undisciplined Savage to the Noble Savage” construct provided a romantic narrative of the naïve native who needed to be saved from barbarism. After time, these Māori leaders changed the Māori and British relationships. Once viewed as a violent savage, “the antagonist settler morphed into the colonial co-resident/assimilator, underlying concepts of savagery remained in the violent savage, to noble savage to hued citizen” (Hokowhitu, 2008, p. 118). This proved to British elites that these

men can be transformed to fit a British ideal of what it means to be a proper man. In doing so, this proper man “Aryan Māori” was able to become, ironically, a citizen in his own home.

Missionary education compelled on Māori a substitute way of understanding the world. The purpose and philosophy of missionary education, “was to assimilate and encourage Māori to adopt European customary, moral and commercial practices as a fitting preparation for receiving the gospel” (Hokowhitu, 2003, p. 196). The British colony feared Māori men who were not educated would rebel against colonial practices, thus education was seen as an agent of social change for Māori that would benefit the colony” (Hokowhitu, 2003, p. 198).

Just as important were the missionary schooling pedagogies and messages it sent to Māori children. Many New Zealand textbooks promoted British superiority with weaker races to support imperialistic nationalism (Hokowhitu, 2003). Māori men were represented as aggressive, angry and primitive. They were portrayed as violent, naïve, confused and disobedient children. Classroom textbooks contained latent notions of what is a “real Māori man” of the past and the “brown-skinned citizens of today” (Hokowhitu, 2003). To a very large extent, missionary education employed a racist curriculum to assimilate Māori to their new world as they were viewed as an intellectually inferior race (Hokowhitu, 2004).

As part of the educational process for Māori, many of them were tracked into physical education. The New Zealand physical education teachers prided itself as “Native friendly” (Hokowhitu, 2003). Phillip Smithells saw the educational value in Māori rhythmic games and these games were used in school. Smithells attempted to incorporate Māori cultural practices into physical education. Though Smithells attempt is noble, he only understood the rudimentary native movements within a western construct. Smithells failed to understand, “how Māori see the world and so whether intentionally or not, he fragmented the Māori world to resemble, as closely

as it could, his European world and misunderstanding of Māori culture” (Hokowhitu, 2003, p. 207). More importantly, “the inclusion of Māori culture in physical education was an ideal solution to cultural obligation because physical education was considered non academic; it was also in keeping with the stereotype of Māori as a physical people” (Hokowhitu, 2003, p. 209).

Many British elite stereotyped the Māori as natural sportsmen. Much of this ideal stems from the idea of the “noble savage” (Hokowhitu, 2004). Māori have had a tremendous amount of success in New Zealand society.

One way that young Maori men are attempting to connect with their tradition is through tattooing. Tattooing is a form of body modification, a practice used worldwide to serve as an indication of social position and/or in asserting masculinity. In the Polynesian culture, the tattoo is a way to convey values and one’s heritage.

Additionally, Kanaka Maoli and Tangata Maori men are now focusing on the body in returning to traditional norms of indigenous masculinities such as dance, tattooing, ocean voyaging, martial art forms and warrior traditions (Tengan, 2002). In many Polynesian cultures, men and women are adorned with tattoos on their bodies. In Hawaiian culture, tattoos have layered meanings, somewhat like the layer of an onion. The significance of a tattoo is personal, sometimes personal enough to be shared. A tattoo is often a mark of the one’s inner self, one’s values, priorities and personal history (Allen, 2005). In Tricia Allen’s interviews with several Hawaiian men, Hawaiian men stated they got tattoos for various reasons. Hawaiian men got tattoos because it reflects a connection to their ancestors, to share a Hawaiian legend, to share his love for his wife, to memorialize his ‘ohana, to remember his Hawaiian lineage and genealogy, to represent the district he came from, to overcome a personal tragedy, for mana (power), to

reflect his values and priorities, for dualism and balance, to fight for a personal cause, for inner strength, to wear for lua and to be a warrior (Allen, 2005).

In addition to the multiple reasons Polynesian men get tattoos, proving a man can withstand the physical pain of being tattooed may also be a sign of masculinity. Some men may believe that if a man can withstand the pain of getting a tattoo, this show of strength will make him more attractive to females. It is important to the, “native man when enduring the pain of being tattooed that he wants to give proof to the opposite sex of his manhood and his contempt of pain in order to appear more manly and therefore more attractive” (Margquardt, 1996, p. 16). In a study conducted in Santa Cruz that interviewed male surfers, bikers and skaters from the ages of 18-44 about their attitudes about tattoos, masculine identity was key a theme to emerge from and, in particular, machoism. These masculine identities come across in a number of ways, including, denial of pain, location of tattoos, type and size of image and exposure of bodies (Bowen-Jones, Butt & Clayton, n.d.).

### **The Cook Islands**

Cross –dressing and performing have been a part of the Cook Islands for centuries. In recent times, western-style drag shows have seeped their way into the Cook Islands cross-dressing performances. The Cook Island term “laelae” differs from western notions of masculinity, femininity and homosexuality; whereas the western understanding of homosexuality usually means being with someone intimate with someone of the same gender. In the Cook Islands, homosexual men are called laelae, a category of feminized masculinity that is common through the pacific (Elliston, 1999). Laelae view themselves as, “women trapped in men’s bodies; others see themselves as both women and men, possessing the finer attributes of both sexes while some view it as a distinct category of person-neither man nor woman” (Alexeyeff,

2008, p. 147). What distinguishes the Cook Islands concept of homosexuality from the western notion is the idea of a “third gender”. A "third gender" which has its own identity rather than a blending of feminine and masculine traits. Additionally, laelae may describe men who are heterosexual who demonstrate feminine tendencies such as crying and/or fear.

In addition to the importance of the laelae, indigenous concepts of domesticity and motherhood create a tenuous relationship between native and worldwide prescriptions of sexuality and gender. Domesticity and motherhood are the two key components to Cook Island femininity. Cook Island women who value domestic cleanliness, do the laundry and clean the home are highly regarded. Motherhood is, “thought of as defining female maturity and as the pinnacle of Cook Islands’ femininity” (Alexeyeff, 2008, p. 151).

Describing a 1998 Drag Queen competition in the Cook Islands, Alexeyeff (2008) illustrates the conflict between local and western understandings of gender-masculinity and femininity. At the Drag Queen Competition, one of the contestants (Cher) played with her breasts throughout her performance while another contestant (Lahaia’s) performed a fake breast-feeding act. Many people in the audience did not like the fact that Cher fondled her breasts and Lahaia referred to their performance as “stink”. The performance was viewed as stink because, “breasts are a scandal because they are quite literally, physically, functionally undecidable in the split between motherhood and sexuality” (Young, 1990). Alexeyeff borrows Kristeva’s concept of abjection which is, “when a boundary is transgressed, creating a sense of repulsion at the disruption of seemingly discrete boundaries” (Kristeva, 1982). In this case, because breasts are viewed as sacrosanct to motherhood, the use of the breasts in this particular Drag Queen show demonstrates that there was a clear violation of the appropriate cultural borders between motherhood and sexuality.

## **The Marshall Islands**

The Marshall Islands have been entwined between the United States and Japan in their invasion of the Central Pacific. Not only did the United States bombing of the Marshall Islands in the 1950's devastate the physical terrain of the Marshall Islands, it influenced Marshallese masculinity. In the history of the Marshallese atoll Kwajalein, the influence of American and Japanese militarism in the making of Marshallese masculinities is examined.

Essential to understanding Marshallese masculinity is Judith Butler's notion of gender practice. Her idea of a gender practice is that gender is a performance, a repetitive enactment of a set of social norms (Butler, 2006). She is concerned with the, "citational" practice of performativity and that masculinity is so entangled with the male sex and notion of "being a man" in a particular context that the "performer" often doesn't even realize the extent to which he is performing (Butler, 1990, p. 156). In addition she states, "gender is an act which has been rehearsed, much as a script survives the actors in order to be actualized and reproduced as reality once again" (Butler, 1990, p. 272).

While observing Marshallese men ride a boat to work, (Dvorak, 2008) witnessed how they shifted their bodies depending on the context. He further states, "there is a code-switching between masculinities. Kwajalein is not only a proving ground for missiles but also for men-a stage on which not only Japanese and American soldiers but also Marshallese men have been put to the test of performing their manhood and perfecting their masculinities" (Dvorak, 2008, p. 60). In fact, "masculinity is a test, a test judged by other men" (Kimmel, 2008). It is important to note that Marshallese males are learning basic American skills which in turn, with hard work will help them move up the socio-economic ladder. This involvement not only assimilates Marshallese men to the United States but how to behave as an American man" (Dvorak, 2008,

p.60). Basically, within a militarized zone, Kwajalein men have developed masculinities between indigenous and military-colonial contexts.

Another component of Marshallese masculinity is what Dvorak calls “the Patriot”. He describes the patriot as, “a paternalistic sort of heroism that justifies the use of military violence with fatherly protection” (Dvorak, 2008, p. 63). On one hand, America is seen as noble with heroic intentions, one that has saved the Marshallese from the travesties of Japanese rule. On the other hand, the influence of American militarism and national defense, “has the men on the Kwajalein Atoll subjugated and silenced” (Dvorak, 2008).

The Japanese have influenced the understanding of Marshallese masculinity. Many male Marshall Islanders, “strongly identify with a “samurai” or martial arts-inspired warrior image, and young boys aspire to be ninjas (Dvorak, 2008). The Marshallese viewed this “Dankichi masculinity” as a big brother, which valued hard work, dedication and humanitarian. Though not entirely innocuous, during the early 1940’s, the Japanese empire used Marshallese men to help fortify the Marshall Islands from the United States. In other words, the Japanese were using indigenous labor to help protect its colonies.

According to the Marshallese cosmology, Etao, the trickster, is one who is loved and despised. Etao is described as a hero, “who turns the tables of power, balances good and bad luck and manages to save the day through his wit and intellect” (Dvorak, 2008, p. 65). Marshallese men value the ability to be Etao because they place a high value on the skill to use ambiguous cryptic speech to survive and turning a negative situation into a positive one is considered a virtue (Dvorak, 2008). In their dealings with American and Japanese authorities, men who could talk and persuade others in ways that favored the Marshallese community were viewed as manly.

Another indicator of Marshallese masculinity is jela, or the ability to know-how to do something. “Know-how is a mark of Marshallese manhood” (Dvorak, 2008, p. 66). A Marshallese man must be able to perform traditional skills such as canoe building, navigation, coconut harvesting. In many cases, Marshallese boys had to learn how to make coconut toddy (Carucci, 1987). The making of coconut toddy is seen as a rite of passage to Marshallese manhood.

Lastly, is the Marshallese notion of Jebro and Jebwa. Jebro is the “heroic model for the conduct of Marshallese chiefs and the indigenous warrior aesthetic” (Dvorak, 2008, p. 66). Jebwa is a performance in hegemonic masculinity in which a Marshallese chief knows how to use knowledge and wily negotiation skills to defeat enemies and maintain social control. The importance of these skills is knowing which one to use at the right time. Understanding the history of colonization and presence of American and Japanese military in the Marshall Islands helps to understand how heroism and legitimacy forge a male Marshallese identity.

## **Fiji**

Fiji is one of the few states that has a Bill of Rights prohibiting discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation. Over the past decade, Fijian masculinity has been a point of contention between gay rights activists and Christian standards of morality. What makes the story of Fiji distinct from its Oceania neighbors is the intensity level of this fight. Churches and Christian exponents believe, “tolerance of homosexual behavior as threatening to the stability of key institutions in Fiji’s society” (George, 2008, p. 163). In fact, Christian advocates claimed the legalization of homosexuality would lead Fiji to be cursed. Though homosexuality is constitutionally legal, homosexual acts are criminal offenses. On the other hand, Fiji has been a pacific bastion of political activism. Fiji has strong women and gay rights groups which

protested nuclear-weapons testing, promoting gender equality, rights to political self-determination, social economic justice and democracy (Slatter, 2006).

Despite the strength of these political groups, Fijian homosexuality remains in political and social subjugation and constant suppression. While Fijian conservatives believe homosexuality is a threat to positions of indigenous authority, they have embraced hegemonic forms of masculinity which pose a greater threat such as violence and lawlessness. However, according to (George, 2008), violence and lawlessness has not been given the same malicious status. Fijian elites and conservatives have, “authorized violent forms of masculine behavior, by excusing it as a legitimate or justifiable response to political grievance or manipulation” (George, 2008, p. 181).

## **Samoa**

There are numerous reasons Samoan men participate in football, such as money, prestige and cultural pride. The lure of participating in football at its highest levels is that it takes a tremendous amount of skill. The National Football League provides Samoan men the opportunity to compete in football at the highest level. NFL prospects must participate in combines and are rigorously tested for their speed and strength. NFL general managers devote a lot of time assessing the player’s skills to improve the quality of their team. Football players undergo processes of commodification. Specifically, Uperesa (2013) suggests,

Samoaan participation in football is the market commodification of players’ cultural heritage in order to stress their exotic difference from other players and the general public. This plays well in the media, drawing viewership and interest, selling magazines and newspapers. At the same time, for many Samoan players football has become a site for articulating contemporary indigenous masculinities that draw on historical narratives of warriorhood and confer on them prestigious masculinity.

To deepen the understanding of the commodification of Samoan players in their participation of the NFL, we must examine the notion of “gridiron capital”. Gridiron capital, “Is a specific set of bodily practices, abilities and orientations that can be converted profitably in gridiron football” (Uperesa, 2013). The Samoan players’ extensively train their bodies in order to obtain a football contract. The importance of the Samoan football players’ body is a salient form of commodification. As he argues, “The commodification of Polynesian men becomes sinister when considered in the context of the NFL’s “combines”, its meat market, where players are timed, strength tested, poked, prodded and measured” (Diaz, 2011, p. 102). Thus, bodily performance validates this commodity.

Similar to the story of Māori men and the haka, Samoan men are often branded with a constructed perception of Polynesian warriorhood. As Uperesa (2013) contends, “The Samoan football player is presented as a modern- day warrior, and in the context of sport the difference that he embodies is not only domesticated, but rendered pleasurable and valuable.” Samoans are viewed as exotic, a fantasy and mysterious combined with physical strength which makes them highly valuable in a capitalistic society.

An area for the fulfillment of masculine warriorhood, football thus appeals to Samoans who make connections through their cultural and gender identity. Popular media has constructed the narrative that Samoans possess the natural physical abilities of warriorhood. Samoan culture and football go hand in hand (Diaz, 2011). However, while symbols of Samoans in football invoke a warrior tradition, (Uperesa, 2013) the sport is clearly not traditional as it goes against traditional male expectations of boys working on plantations, serving the family and participating in the village. In fact, “Samoans and non-Samoans discursively mark it as linked to a tradition of warriorhood points to the transnational experience in the United States, and

particularly the success of Samoan players” (Uperesa, 2013). In addition, many Samoans use their bodies to signify their Samoan heritage by having long hair and tattooed arms.

Football is one of the most popular sports in the United States. More importantly, the power of football and other high status school sports can reinforce hegemonic forms of masculinity (Light & Kirk, 2000). In American Samoa, the football field is a proving ground for manhood where the traditional institutions are waning (Uperesa, 2013). As Kimmel asserts, “masculinity is a constant test always up for grabs, always needing to be proved” (Kimmel, 2008, p. 51). As Tengan (2002) adds, sports are an important site for reproducing masculinity, informed by cultural ideas and practices. Because the NFL is limited to only men, Samoan men are provided a place to demonstrate their masculinity. Football provides a means for, “Samoan high school boys to accrue masculine prestige valued in the local context: strength of body and will (Uperesa, 2013). The Polynesian concept of mana is best demonstrated through football. Due to the forces of colonialism, mana got linked with Christian notions of service to God. As Diaz stresses, “when mana is attached to warrior traditions in powerful ways, American football can be viewed as a virtual stage for the performance of Samoan manhood and masculinity and broader values in fa’ a Samoa through mana” (Diaz, 2011, p. 101).

To solely define Samoan masculinity by the success of football players and Polynesian warriors would be incomplete. Similar to the laelae of the Cook Islands, the fa’afafine were, “men who choose to assume a woman’s social role and live as a woman-from daily household chores to customary female dress; there is no explicit articulation of sexuality or sexual practice although it is assumed that they have sex with men, it is not rigid” (Uperesa, 2013). Fa’afafine are present in highly normative traditional and modern positions of society they are married with children, hold governmental positions and participate in rugby (Diaz, 2011). The nebulous term

Fa'afafine is difficult to understand because there is no agreed upon Samoan definition.

Indigenous and western views of homosexuality don't always match. As Diaz points out,

Fa'afafine is not equivalent to homosexuality, or even to those who might posit fa'afafine to also encompass distinctively Samoan forms of homosexuality that may or may not also align strategically, or politically with Western forms of sexuality and sexual politics.  
(Diaz, 2011, p. 98)

In her research, Uperesa shares the story of a gay Samoan football player who was ostracized from his Samoan community and friends because of his sexuality. She points out that he violated the image of the Samoan football player and betrayed an effective narrowing of gender normative behavior for Samoan men likened to the ascendancy of the football player as a dominant image of Samoan masculinity (Uperesa, 2013). Many Samoan men view these men as traitors and a threat to their culture because they do not adhere to the fundamentalist Christian heteronormative and ethnonationalist brand of fa'a Samoa (Diaz, 2011). This football player sullied the presumed gender norms for Samoan men as only heterosexual.

Many boys want to demonstrate that they are men by gaining respect and power. Not every boy is given an equal opportunity to achieve respect and power due to their race and social class. According to Henderson (2008, p. 290), "men whose options for gaining access to the abstract power of boardrooms and legislative floors are curtailed by class and a lack of educational opportunities; this is particularly the case for young men growing up as part of what some have called the "hip-hop generation". As Hurt, (2006) explains,

if you're a young man growing up in this culture, and the culture is telling you that being a man means being powerful, being dominant, being in control, having the respect of your peers, but you don't have a lot of real power, well one thing you do have is access to your body and your ability to present yourself, physically, as somebody who is worthy of respect...Men who have more power, men who have financial power and workplace authority and forms

of abstract power like that don't have to be as physically powerful because they can exert their power in other ways.

Not all Samoan men go to the National Football League to display their masculinity but Samoan boys can exert a certain power through their physique. This power for many Samoan men comes in the form of using myths about the Samoan giant into a form of social capital called "the ideological benefits of being considered tough" (Chesney-Lind, Koo, & Mayeda, 1998, p. 23). Marginalized men "who are economically powerless, remain powerful in terms of their gender" (Messerschmidt, 1986, p. 58). Though Samoan men may not like these gender prescriptions, they have purposefully used these stereotypes of big, strong and macho men to obtain jobs as club bouncers and security positions.

Another way to explore Samoan masculinity is through the colonial criminology framework and its colonized history. Samoa was colonized by the United States in 1899 and remains an unincorporated U.S. territory, with American Samoans considered nationals and not citizens. Colonial criminology, "situates the cause of crime as an outcrop of oppression, alienation, and inequalities that exist in a colonial society" (Irwin & Umemoto, 2012, p. 6). Violence is a tool used to achieve a masculine identity because in the U.S., both masculinity and power are linked with aggression and violence. As a result most young males come to identify the connection between masculinity-power-aggression-violence (Messerschmidt, 1986).

In response to colonization and negative stereotypes, Samoan boys performed their masculinity through being fearless and fearsome. Irwin and Umemoto (2012, p. 13) assert, "the process of being fearless and fearsome can be traced to youths' acute awareness of their subordinated position the racial hierarchy". Samoan boys were aware of the power arrangements and lasting injuries they continually confronted. Samoan boys did not view these stereotypes as

negative rather they embraced them. Samoan boys perceived troublemaking and instilling fear as a brand of respect from others (Irwin & Umemoto, 2012).

Colonial legacy has amalgamated modern expressions of a permanent political hegemony as well as the integration of customary and indigenous epistemology. Samoan boys used violence not only to gain respect but to, “reclaim a positive sense of their culture and heritage in everyday situations” (Irwin & Umemoto, 2012). Samoan boys used violence to confront, justify and fight negative stereotypes of their race and culture. Additionally, Samoan youths interpreted common understandings of fear about men in their own ethnic group as signs of respect (Irwin & Umemoto, 2012).

In school, Samoan boys were aware of how they were negatively stereotyped as uneducated, troublemakers unable to communicate and only good at sports (Chesney-Lind, Mayeda, 2006). Samoan youths played and manipulated the negative stereotypes of being fearless and fearsome for their own benefit. As Ogbu (1995) contends, “adolescents can define their identity in juxtaposition to those in established authority positions.” Samoan boys are demonstrating their masculinity by their ability to disregard school rules and administrators.

## **Guam**

The island of Guam was colonized by the United States in 1898. To understand Chamorro masculinity, the power and influence of the military must be examined. As (Diaz, 1994) argues, decolonization occurred by the introduction of materials and ideas that are non-Chamorro in origin, like the U.S. military and its notions of manhood. Militarization is, “the discursive process based on the representation and exchange of ideas, values and images or it can be understood as a material process in its production of violence and violent forms via technological, electronic, or nuclear” (Gillis, 1989).

America's history of foreign policy is soaked in racism. From the genocide of Native Americans, the maltreatment of slaves, to the overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom, and military occupation of other places in Oceania, numerous indigenous societies have experienced some degree of discursive militarism. Militarism in the Pacific follows a very similar equation. As Owen and Wilkes and Sitiveni Ratuva state,

the Pacific represents a highly militarized part of the world. They state that the region has been militarized in four general ways. First preparing for a global nuclear war. Second, defending the continental boundaries of colonial powers, such as the western coastline of the United States. Third, anticipating a military confrontation between Asia and North America. Fourth, supporting local or indigenous military activities in the interest of Pacific island or colonial states.

The militarization of the Pacific has occurred through manipulation, especially through the use of feminine and masculine terms. Colonial militaries, "often describe their relationship with the Pacific societies in paternal, patronizing and patriarchal ways, attempting to justify the protection of feminized or emasculated sexes and identities" (Tengan, 2002). Due to the fact that the United States perceived Guam to be feminine, it was a place for the colonial penetration of a masculinized naval establishment (Hattori, 2004).

Similar to the indigenous Marshallese concept of the Etau "the trickster", Chamorro men came up with the term "Juan Malo". The term "Juan Malo" is related to how, "Chamorro men have been emasculated within Western forms of colonialism; he is a figure of sarcasm and ridicule and somebody who must resort to alternative and indirect means of confrontation and resistance" (Camacho, 2010, p.161). The skill to outwit and outsmart was not only a response to western subjugation but a tactic for Chamorro men to help remasculate themselves.

Prior to the United States, Guam was colonized by Spain. During Spanish rule, "Chamorro perceptions of masculinity, and notions of the emasculated Chamorro man were

adopted and adapted by the U.S. colonial administration thus Chamorro men have come to see the U.S. military as spaces to remasculinize their emasculated images” (Camacho, 2010, p. 160). The U.S military, “offered Chamorro men a way to achieve a masculinity based on notions of family, leadership, providing and strength” (Tengan, 2002). Participation in the military allowed Chamorro men to fulfill the role of provider, support their family, receive educational opportunities, enhance their physical capabilities and continue the tradition of male warriors (Camacho, 2010). These military benefits allow Chamorro men to remasculate themselves in a colonized context. However, Camacho (2010) warns that, “the image of the Pacific “savagery” and “warriorhood” reinforce long standing racialized tropes of Pacific Islander men and women as either the “noble savage” or the “ignoble savage”. Nevertheless, the military provided Chamorro men the opportunity to legitimize their manhood by reshaping their bodies and masculinities through the same military activities as their American counterparts” (Camacho, 2010, p. 163).

In 1966, the United States military in Guam organized a youth football league led by Filipino and Hawaiian “coaches” from O`ahu. The United States military encouraged young Chamorro men to participate in football because it was a good way to mend local and military relations (Diaz, 2011). More importantly, youth football on Guam was used as a tool to Americanize Chamorro men. As he states, “organized sports and daily calisthenics quickly became a key vehicle to modernize (Americanize) the Chamorros and best forces to cause children to speak English” (Diaz, 2011, p. 181).

These coaches borrowed the basic structure of American football and created “Hawaii barefoot” football which was viewed as more rugged (Diaz, 2011). This team was very

successful over the years. More importantly, what made this brand of football so meaningful was that Chamorro youths were able to beat the colonizer at its own game (Diaz, 2011).

The manner in which the boys were taught, demonstrated an indigenous Hawaiian form of masculinity. These coaches brought with them their own gendered assumptions and their own brand of masculinity and it manifested itself through the way they taught the Chamorro boys (Diaz, 2011). As Diaz elaborates, “deeply interlaced in our routine drills, which shaped our minds and bodies, were icons of a longstanding Hawaiian warrior tradition that stressed as much training, preparation, and discipline which is captured in the word imua” (Diaz, 2011, p. 187). The importance of word “imua” is that it was a battle cry for King Kamehameha.

After games, these coaches, players, opponents and their families would enjoy what Hawaiians call kanikapila (making music). Kanikapila allowed these coaches to demonstrate and introduced a new side of masculinity to the Chamorro youth. This “new masculinity at play in the islands, orchestrated through older island traditions of music-making and merriment” (Diaz, 2011, p. 189). Playing Hawaiian music conveyed an acceptable “softer” side of Hawaiian masculinity.

## Chapter Four

### **The Impact of Colonialism on the Education of Native Hawaiians**

Colonialism has had a tremendous impact on the lives of native Hawaiians. From a cultural of sustainability to one driven by capitalism, the adverse affects on Hawaiians still linger today. To gain a better understanding of the impact of colonization on the education of native Hawaiians, one might begin by examining how indigenous people have coped with foreign intrusion over the past hundred years. This chapter will outline some key aspects of that story as it relates to Hawaiian education.

The goal of pre-contact native Hawaiian education was quite different than post contact. According to Kelly, education prior to colonization, “was to prepare children for full participation as functioning members of society” (Kelly, 1982, p. 4). Pre-contact Hawaiian education was, “more informal and oral, focused on socializing the young to their life roles, teaching values, preparing them for their responsibilities to the ali`i, and educating them about changing kapu” (Benham & Heck, 1998, p. 39). The fundamental characteristics of traditional native Hawaiian society are: practical, skill-oriented, and socially-useful, in tune with reality, environmentally aware, conserver cognizant, hands-on, learning by doing and working with a mentor (Kelly, 1982).

A`o is the Hawaiian word for education. The success of native Hawaiian culture was largely due to this philosophical idea. A`o implies,

both to learn (a`o mai) and to teach (a`o aku). This sense of receiving and giving supports the idea that relationships and belongings are primary actions in traditional Hawaiian society and culture. It is the idea that as one learns and become skilled (mastery), knowledge and skill are to be used and shared with others (generosity). This builds relationships of mutual dependence and support, bringing families and communities together. (Chun, 2006, p. 1)

This approach to indigenous education allowed communities to work together to accomplish tasks for the ali`i (chief). Some of these community tasks were to build heiau's (temples), lo`i (taro patch), fishponds and canoes. The value of cooperative social labor taught Hawaiians the importance of working together and emphasized a shared responsibility for the general welfare of the community (Kelly, 1982). More importantly, a child's sense of meaningful participation in social and economic life developed (Kelly, 1982). The concept of A`o was essential to living in a sustainable subsistent culture.

Hawaiian values were tied to, "practicality of survival" (Benham & Heck, 1998, p. 39). For example, a traditional Hawaiian value is hard work. The saying *E ho`ohuli ka lima i lalo* (the palm of the hands should be turned down) inferred that if your hands faced downward then one was working (Pukui, 1972). Another example is the value that one must complete a project to perfection before one moves to another project (Pukui, 1972). Last but not least is the Hawaiian value "Nīnau" which teaches keiki (children) to know when to ask a question and that a question must be well-thought out (Pukui, 1972).

Traditional patterns of Hawaiian education were first expressed by Mary Pukui in her book entitled *Nānā I Ke Kumu*. In this book Pukui discusses five aspects of Hawaiian education. First is the importance of observation or nānā. For example, the ability to look at the sea and to identify where the schools of fish were located, led to success in fishing. This skill was developed by watching the currents and the oceans and by observing the mentors (Pukui, 1972). With observation came the ability for Hawaiians to learn how to deduce certain phenomenon (Chun, 2006). Secondly, the value of listening or ho`olohe is an important skill because students have to memorize prayers and chants. Third, a student must be able to reflect on what he has observed and heard. The ability to reflect infers that a student is able to consider what has been

done and not jump to conclusions. Fourth, a student must be able to hana ka lima, learn through reflection. This means that the task undertaken should be done in order for the individual to learn from their mistakes. Lastly, nīnau means to ask clarifying and meaningful questions.

It is important that these skills are done in this order. The child learns this through a master or a mentor. Through this five part system, “the careful transmission of knowledge and skills from generation to generation” is accomplished as is the development of an interpersonal relationship wherein a child may experience the care and guidance of a mature adult” (Chun, 2006, p. 6). This system serves the child well through the transition from adolescence and adulthood (Chun, 2006).

Prior to western contact, a child’s family was largely responsible for their education. At an early age children were expected to contribute to the family. In addition, “the ‘ohana (family), which consisted of twenty or more members and three or four generations, provided children with a rich variety of experiences: men’s work, women’s work, making tools, cordage, mats, kappa; preparing food, reciting chants, listening to storytelling or family discussions” (Kelly, 1982, p. 4). Much of the teachers in traditional Hawaiian society were the elders or parents and grandparents, especially ones with special skills. In turn, when the children learned these skills they were to pass this knowledge on to their own keiki.

Parents were the primary teachers of their keiki. At the age of seven, children were thought to have reached the “age of responsibility”. Children older than seven were expected to contribute to the daily needs of the family. *Ka hana a ka makua, o ka hana no ia a keiki*, which means “what parents do, children will do” captures this sentiment (Kelly, 1982). At this “age of responsibility” some parents send their children to experts for special training. The experts,

usually individuals outside of the family teach a child the specific skills and knowledge needed to contribute.

The Hawaiian class structure consisted of the dominance of the chiefs (ali`i) and priests (kahūna), over the commoners (maka`āinana). Certain skill sets were required depending on a child's prescribed role in this class structure. For example, training to be a kāhuna differed because it required extensive memorization of long prayers and chants (Chun, 2006). Kāhuna's were expected to be experts in the art of healing. Students were trained to be experts in the diagnosis and treatment of certain ailments. More importantly, there were strict rules involved in learning the art of healing. First, one had to apprentice himself to an expert healer, a kāhuna lapa`au (expert in herbal medicine) (Kelly, 1982). An apprentice must first release any kapus (laws) that he was under pertaining to his own `aumakua before training could begin (Chun, 2006). Much of his training was at a special house called an *ulu hale, moku hale or hale lau* (Chun, 2006). After this was done, "the apprentice would be placed under the guardianship of the `aumakua (family god) of his teacher's profession" (Kelly, 1982, p. 10). Each teacher had between three to five pupils. The Hawaiian school for medical kāhuna's taught, "god was the foundation and secondly came prayers. Third, came schooling in diseases; fourth, remedies, fifth in the art of killing; and sixth, the art of saving" (Kelly, 1982, p. 10).

The education of chiefs differed from that of the kāhuna. Young ali`i received additional teaching and were raised by someone outside of the family (Kelly, 1982). They were trained from childhood for a life of service in the court of the high chiefs (Kelly, 1982). These young chiefs' knowledge and skill set consisted of leadership in politics, the military and religion. Leadership in politics "required the art and skill of governance; in the military, the ability to

direct battle and to fight; and in religion, the knowledge and skill to conduct rituals and ceremonies as a chief-priest” (Chun, 2006, p. 16).

Traditional Hawaiian education was tactile. To help students hone their skills, educational objects were used. For example, in the course of, “the process of learning to heal by *hāhā* (palpation or feeling), students were introduced to a large diagram of the human body laid out in pebbles” (Chun, 2006, p. 10). At the same time the teacher taught, the apprentice sat attentively and remembered everything that was taught. After the instruction with the pebbles,

the pupils knew thoroughly the symptoms and the rules for treatment of the diseases. Then the teacher would bring in a man who had many disorders and would call the pupils one by one to go and “feel”, *hāhā*, for the diseases. If the diagnosis was the same as that of the teacher, then the teacher knew that the pupil had knowledge of *hāhā*. (Chun, 2006, p. 11)

Scientific and technological advances occurred in Hawaiian society before the arrival of James Cook in 1778. Scientific and technological experimentation was highly valued and encouraged during this time. The Hawaiian teacher Palaha who discovered the benefits of an enema. Palaha observed,

the water of a stream is stagnant, it is filthy; when a freshet comes, the water become clean-all the trash and filth are gone. He eventually gave an enema to a dog and it worked. By experimenting, he found the benefits of the enema in which illness to treat by means of loosening of the bowels. (Kamakau, 1968, p. 111-112)

This story not only demonstrates Palaha’s readiness to experiment but traditional Hawaiian patterns of learning. Palaha used observation and made deductions. He was able to, “piece together the sequence of actions of the fresh water, and reflecting upon it he was able to come to a conclusion” (Chun, 2006, p. 14). Later, Palaha conducted an autopsy of his deceased

father for the sole purpose of “scientific discovery” (Chun, 2006). This is an example of how Hawaiians utilized self-directed discovery for the sake of knowledge.

Hula was also an integral part of Hawaiian education and culture. The art of hula was taught, “by a dance expert, *kumu hula*, who had his own school called a *hālau hula* (Kelly, 1982). Hula students learned strict Hawaiian protocol which consisted of appropriate student attire and behavior. Before entering the *hālau*, a *mele kāhea* was a chant of permission. The hula was performed by commoners and chiefs alike.

At the age of seven a boy enters the man’s eating house called the *hale mua*. Under the tutelage of his elders, a boy learned to recite prayers and established a relationship and how not to offend the gods (Kelly, 1982). “The *hale mua* was an important site for the sustenance of life and the production of masculinities in the learning of skills and stories related to fishing, farming, cooking, canoe and house building, fighting, sailing, love-making, fathering and providing for the family” (Tengan, 2008, p. 35). Often, the *hale mua* was where *kāhuna* would slit the foreskin as a boy’s rite of passage to manhood (Kelly, 1982). The *hale mua* was an essential place where a young Hawaiian boy learned how to be a Hawaiian man.

To better understand how Hawaiians understood the world before western contact, it is essential to understand their epistemology. A Hawaiian understanding of their world and how they formed their knowledge illuminates an indigenous way of knowing. According to Manu Meyer there are seven principles of Hawaiian epistemology: spirituality, physical place, the senses, relationships, utility, words and the body. First, Hawaiian knowledge is spirit driven; a life force connected to all other life forces. From this perspective, knowledge allows, “Hawaiians to enter spaces of wonderment and discernment” (Meyer, 2008, p. 218). The second principle describes how Hawaiians viewed the land or *`āina*. It is the idea that you have a relationship with

the land and that one learns best from the land. Third, Hawaiians used their senses to form knowledge. Hawaiians understood that their body's, "were tools and recording devices through which they retrieved data" (Meyer, 2008, p. 220). Fourth, "to be in relationship triggered everything: with people, with ideas, with the natural world" (Meyer, 2008, p. 221). Relationships allowed people to work together. Fifth, Hawaiian knowledge is connected to utility. The knowledge a Hawaiian acquires lead to actions for the betterment of one's family and Hawaiian society (Meyer, 2008). Sixth, "thought expressed through words give meaning to the observable world" (Meyer, 2008, p. 222). Lastly, "intelligence and knowledge were embedded at the core of our bodies-the stomach or na`au; it is the site of both feeling and wisdom and thinking" (Meyer, 2008, p. 223). Meyer further explains, "our mind is our body and our body is our mind" (Meyer, 2008, p. 223). Hawaiian epistemology is important because it demonstrates the indigenous way of knowing before colonization.

The colonization of Hawai`i changed the political, social, and economic way of life of native Hawaiians. Christian and racist values were introduced which undermined a once vibrant culture. Gone were the traditional institutions that led to a successful sustainable indigenous society. The breakdown of the kapu system, the great mahele, the bayonet constitution, the illegal overthrow the Hawaiian monarchy, annexation to the United States and statehood forever changed the landscape for native Hawaiians. Through these transformations, indigenous ways of knowing were excluded and marginalized (Smith, 1999).

The arrival of James Cook in 1778 almost instantly led to the dismantlement of the Hawaiian kapu system which until then had maintained Hawaiian ritual, political, governance and social structures (Benham & Heck, 1998, p. 40). The breakdown of the kapu system changed the economic structure of Hawaiian society. The society changed from one of

sustainability and community to one of capitalism and markets. New class relations started to replace the old ones between chief and commoner. The power of the chiefs was undermined (Osorio, 2002). In this new economy leaders no longer were expected to work for the ali`i, commoners were employed in ports as fur traders, and on whaling ships; they sold their labor efforts (Kame`eleihwa, 1992). “The arrival of foreign colonialism produced a political, social, cultural, and economic domination that brought to an end native beliefs and values as well as undermined the native Hawaiians’ economic control over their lands and sovereign governance of the islands’ domestic institutions” (Benham & Heck, 1998, p. 41). Additionally, the privatization of land destroyed the traditional relationships between ruling chiefs and the commoners (Osorio, 2006).

Another impact of colonialism was the education of Hawaiian boys. As it was described above, prior to Cook’s arrival, Hawaiian boys learned their expected duties and roles in Hawaiian society. Under the tutelage of Hawaiian male elders, Hawaiian boys learned fishing, cooking and fighting skills. However, once the influx of foreigners infiltrated Hawaii’s lands, masculinity was redefined. It was now defined, “by the ownership and control of property which included women, land and children” (Tengan, 2008, p. 38). This new masculine definition differed from indigenous practices, in which, “Hawaiian men were stewards of the land” (Merry, 2003, p. 230).

New England missionaries arrived on Hawaii shores in 1820 on a quest to indoctrinate native Hawaiians in Christian canons. “The aims of schooling from the 1820’s to the 19<sup>th</sup> century was to supplement and implement the efforts of organized religious work to raise Hawaiians from their savagery and degradation and to help them pattern themselves as a people after their western teachers” (Kelly, 1982, p. 16). This form of schooling focused instruction on the

necessity of learning and reading the bible and dedicating one's life to pious thoughts and activities. The printed bible was in the hands of many Hawaiians (Kamakau, 1992). However, as a consequence, "this limited view of education lay the foundation for the schools' activities, which would work to destroy the native Hawaiians traditions, values, cultural heritage and in time language" (Benham & Heck, 1998, p. 44).

While these committed missionaries were led by noble intentions, in their passion to convert and "save" native Hawaiians, they devalued the indigenous religion, culture and belief system. Hawaiian culture was polytheistic; believing in multiple gods such as Lono, Kū, Kanaloa and Kane. Protestant ideology believed that native cultures were inferior and in need of saving. The Christian religion soon influenced law. Eventually, the constitution of 1840 declared Hawaii a Christian kingdom (Benham & Heck, 1998). As a consequence, "a variety of social programs began to replace the activities once cared for by Kahuna's, kūpuna's, extended families and kumu's" (Benham & Heck, 1998, p. 50). This impacted native Hawaiians because the traditional educational process of passing down indigenous knowledge was no longer in place.

As a result of further colonialism, two different types of native schools were developed, common and select schools. Common schools were taught by missionary trained native teachers and attended by commoners. Common schools were often viewed as not very effective, having a weak curriculum and unqualified teachers. On the other hand, select schools were taught by members of the mission directly and attended by a select group of ali'i (Kelly, 1982). Select schools such as Lahainaluna Seminary were found to be more erudite. Both of these schools were taught in Hawaiian.

The Chief's Children School was founded in June 1839 which was exclusively for children of Hawaiian royalty. This school would eventually be named the Royal School and was

used to train and teach future monarchs (Kelly, 1982). The educational philosophy of Royal School was one of Christianity and civilization. One of the most important ways Protestant missionaries transformed native Hawaiian culture was through schooling and educating native Hawaiian leaders. The missionaries believed, “that their (ali`i) conversion would eventually lead to the conversion of the common people” (Menton, 1992, p. 217). In the classroom, royal children were taught reading, arithmetic, geography, spelling, handwriting, singing, drawing, English composition and religion (Menton, 1992). Under the direction of the Cooke family, they preached temperance, moral purity, the control of sexuality and the evils of gambling and dancing. Ali`i children were no longer being educated in traditional Hawaiian protocol preparing them for a life of governance in the kapu system. They were no longer trained to fight and lead during war. Their teachers were no longer apprentices but New England missionaries. Teachers at the Royal School did not teach in the familiar traditional patterns of pre-contact Hawaii.

It is difficult to measure the academic achievement of native Hawaiians during the 1820’s and 1830’s. Benham & Heck (1998) assert that achievement was measured by a student’s ability to be well behaved, not test scores. Nevertheless, many Hawaiians were able to read and write in their own language (Benham & Heck, 1998). In 1853, three-fourths of native Hawaiians over the age of sixteen could read (Schmitt, 1977). This should be of little surprise as Kamehameha III wanted to create a “Kingdom of Learning”. “Hawaiians were learning how to read and write for years before the arrival of the first company of American missionaries” (Chun, 2006, p. 21). Additionally, native Hawaiian enrollment in schools escalated from 20,000 in 1826 to 52,882 in 1831 (Schmitt, 1977).

Eventually, interest in attending school waned due to boredom, ill support of common schools and the skills were not viewed to help them in their new society (Benham & Heck,

1998). The growing literacy rates among native Hawaiians saw an increase in the number of newspapers written by Hawaiians (Benham & Heck, 1998). Hawaiian language newspapers were part of a movement of both ali`i and commoners to voice their opinions to one another (Kahumoku, 2000). Many of these newspapers expressed the concerns of native Hawaiians toward a burgeoning western influence in the islands as well as a means of preserving Hawaiian traditions (Benham & Heck, 1998). The Kanaka Maoli perceived the newspapers as a means to express their own viewpoints, “free of censorship by the government or the restrictive Calvinist church” (Silva, 1999, p. 42). Additionally, the Hawaiian newspapers became a literary tool that connected people from different parts of the islands (Silva, 1999). Due to the proliferation of the newspapers, many of the traditional practices such as la`au lapa`au (Hawaiian art of healing), songs and chants were preserved (Silva, 1999).

Nonetheless, the impact of western encroachment had a devastating impact on the Native Hawaiian population. Foreign diseases were introduced such as of small pox, measles, mumps, leprosy, and tuberculosis which decimated the native Hawaiian population. Within seventy-two years more than seventy-five percent of native Hawaiians had died (Benham & Heck, 1998). Simply put, the impact of these diseases led to fewer Hawaiians which in turn led to fewer Hawaiians being educated. this time, because the church promised life when death was ubiquitous, many Hawaiians converted to Christianity in order to be saved (Osorio, 2002).

The primary purpose of the Hilo Boys Boarding School was to train future teachers. Influenced by Samuel Armstrong, David Lyman implemented a school curriculum comprised of boys raising their own food and constructing and maintaining the school buildings (Beyer, 2007). These boys were schooled in the virtue of hard work. From the beginning of the school day to late at night, Hawaiian boys would raise taro, bananas, house painting, cooking and trained to be

good Christian men (Beyer, 2004). Eventually, the Hilo Boys' Boarding School was viewed as a model for the rest of the United States to follow (Beyer, 2004).

At the root of educating these future Hawaiian teachers was a racist ideology subjugating them to a life of service to American foreigners. Like his father, Armstrong did not believe native Hawaiians had the right to govern, therefore a school curriculum in hard work, political socialization and discipline was deemed necessary (Benham & Heck, 1998). The goal of education became, "Americanizing Hawaiians and preparing them to become secondary members of an American society" (Beyer, 2007, p. 35). On one hand, the Hilo Boys Boarding School did produce Hawaiian teachers, preachers and intelligent agriculture workers. On the other hand these individuals were never expected or trained to have political power. To do so would add further competition to jobs and to acknowledge Hawaiians as equals.

After watching the collapse of the native Hawaiian population, Bernice Pauahi Bishop founded the Kamehameha Schools. There were to be separate schools for Hawaiian boys and Hawaiian girls. The mission of Kamehameha school was to "make good and industrious men and women" (Bishop, 1883). In its first year, Kamehameha School accepted thirty-seven boys. Influenced by Samuel Armstrong's philosophy of manual labor and training, Kamehameha Schools also emulated Armstrong's curriculum (Beyer, 2007). The primary goal of Kamehameha School was to teach Hawaiian children the attitudes and skills necessary to be able to work in a capitalistic society (Goodyear-Ka'ōpua, 2005). The curriculum consisted of,

an emphasis on English language training. The six-year program included written and mental drill in arithmetic, algebra, and geometry, language exercises in dictation, original composition, oral and written use of idioms, synonyms, business forms, orders, bills and accounts. Other academic pursuits included physical geography, historical narratives, reading and penmanship. There was also an emphasis on moral and character instruction.

Instilling moral and character instruction was accomplished through a combination of Christian education and military training. (Beyer, 2007, p. 37)

The impact of colonization changed the aims of Hawaiian education. Learning the western disciplines of math and science were favored. No longer was Hawaiian epistemology valued. An emphasis on Christianity not Hawaiian gods became a focus. Even at Kamehameha School, English, and not Hawaiian, was the language of choice to better prepare Hawaiian children. Hawaiian students were further removed from their cultural knowledge and practices. Though many missionaries celebrated the results of Kamehameha Schools, other criticized them because the school produced only a few Hawaiian leaders (Beyer, 2007).

In 1896, Act 57 read in the *Law of the Republic of Hawai`i*

Section 30: The English language shall be the medium and basis of instruction in all public and private schools, provided that where it is deemed that another language shall be taught in addition to the English language, such instruction may be authorized by the department, either by its rules, the curriculum of the school or by direct order in any particular instance. Any school that shall not conform to the provision of this section shall not be recognized by the Department.

The educational policy to place English as the primary language in school had deleterious effects on native Hawaiians. Hawaiian student received formal, government-sponsored instruction in Hawaiian from 1896-1919 (Heckathorn). The Hawaiian language was only spoken within the home. More importantly, Hawaiians were unable to effectively pass down their native tongue. Despite native Hawaiian parents' efforts to restore Hawaiian language in schools, the Board of Education denied their pleas. Thus, English was the imposed language upon native Hawaiians. This ban led to a decline in the number of Hawaiian speakers (Kahumoku, 2000, Yamauchi, Ceppi & Lau-Smith, 1999). Hawaiian children educated after 1900 were the last generation to speak Hawaiian other than those on the island of Ni`ihau (Warner, 1999).

During the 1920's, the territory of Hawai'i established the English Standards School System. English standard schools were created expressly to meet the needs of many *haole* (foreigners) parents who felt that good English speech training was not available in the public schools" (Kelly, 1982, p. 27). The English standard schools were supported by the government and attended by foreigners. This marked the first time *haoles* attended public schools. Theodore Roosevelt High School was established in 1930 as one of the first English Standard schools. The graduates of Roosevelt high school were better prepared than their counterparts in public school (Hughes, 1993). However, many native Hawaiians were not selected to this school because they lacked the ability to understand English (Kahumoku, 2000). The importance of English was further engrained in the minds of native Hawaiians. Eventually the number of Hawaiian speaking teachers decreased as common schools slowly faded from the public school system (Kahumoku, 2000).

In addition to the lack of Hawaiian instruction in public schools, Act 57 led to a loss of native Hawaiian teachers (Kahumoku, 2000). To become a classroom teacher, one had to take a test in English proficiency. This led to the displacement of the few native Hawaiian teachers left in the school system.

The new educational policies implemented in schools were not concerned with cultural differences. The new school system placed Hawaiian children in grade levels according to their age. These schools focus on rote memorization and learning English. This contrasted with how native Hawaiians were instructed, "Hawaiians believed that what a child was taught was determined by his or her ability, not age or some prescribed curriculum that every child endured" (Benham & Heck, 1998, p. 112). Additionally, western education tried to teach astronomy by abstraction, but Hawaiians traditionally learn this skill by observation (Chun, 2006).

Among the different approaches to educating the child, another contrasting value was the Hawaiian aspect of mana. Mana is defined by as “ultimate personal possession” (Pukui, 1972).

Accordingly,

mana could not be communicated in Western schools because the idea of mana meant that Hawaiians needed immediate, tangible gratification which checked their skill. Therefore they could not understand the long-term value of Western education, because it gave no immediate feedback of a person’s work. How could they judge whether or not they were fulfilling their mana? The abstract grading system used by Western schools did not have mana, or meaning, as it was difficult for native to understand how an A grade showed skill just as a well-made canoe did.  
(Benham & Heck, 1998, p. 112)

The failure of western education to recognize indigenous ways of learning left native Hawaiians with the feeling that they had not satisfied their mana. This situation exemplifies another impact of colonialism on the education of native Hawaiians.

Another difference was the way Hawaiian students related to their teachers. Hawaiian students were taught to avoid eye contact with their elders (Pukui, 1972). In western thinking, eye contact showed confidence and a sign of thinking. Exercising their traditional customs, many native Hawaiians did not look at their teachers or ask questions and were punished for that (Benham & Heck, 1998). This cultural act of respecting your teacher’s and elder’s by avoiding eye contact was interpreted as misbehavior (Pukui, 1972). This led to the mislabeling of native Hawaiian children as being disrespectful.

Prior to western contact, the family (‘ohana) was an integral part of the child’s learning system. The family provided love and the basic skills need to survive in Hawaiian society. However, “the greatest cultural change initiated by the Western schools was that they took learning away from the ‘ohana” (Benham & Heck, 1998, p. 113).

Hawaiians and Westerners had different conceptions of work, leisure and time. Hawaiians worked hard but also spent time surfing, performing the hula, and relaxing. Both groups valued hard work and took pride in their tasks. The big difference between the two groups was the notion of time. A typical western school incorporated policies reflected by the industrial revolution. A student was expected to attend school for five days a week. For Hawaiians, once they were done with a task, they spent a good deal of time relaxing. However, “placing Hawaiian children in school for a minimum of forty weeks and in a structured classroom that was dictated by the clock was contrary to their traditional lifestyle” (Benham & Heck, 1998, p. 114).

The traditional practice of hula was banned in 1859. One of the reasons missionaries banned it was because men wouldn't work, they feared; they thought men who did hula would become idle. In addition, they thought the dance was a product of evil (Silva, 2000). Time spent performing the hula meant less time spent in the classroom. The banning of hula had to do with colonial capitalism and their attempt to establish control over Hawaiians as a labor force (Silva, 2000).

Benham & Heck (1998) assert that the clash between Hawaiian and western culture brought about a severe separation between the Hawaiian people and their traditions. A proliferation of Hawaiians began to accept foreign ways which eroded traditional customs. Sadly, “the fragmented and often distorted knowledge of Hawaiian customs and foreign reminders that maintaining and practicing Hawaiian culture identified once as lower class produces shame, denial, and resentment about being Hawaiian” (Benham & Heck, 1998, p. 117). Hawaiians were taught that the Hawaiian language was inferior to English and that Hawaiian culture was inferior to American culture (Yamauchi, Ceppi & Lau-Smith, 1999).

“Nothing is more incorrect than the stereotype of the “lazy” Hawaiian; they are industrious and willing people, but their commitments are always more firm and productive if the goal is an intensification of human relationship rather than an accumulation of personal wealth or personal achievement” (Gallimore, 1968, p. 1). However, schools, teachers and plantation bosses perpetuated the negative stereotype of the “lazy Hawaiian”. As a result Hawaiians had difficulty maintaining their cultural pride. This lack of cultural pride led to self-destructing behaviors for many Hawaiians. “Native Hawaiian students comprise a majority in reformatory school in 1897. Hawaiian students had the most truancy violations (74%), larceny (62.9%) and vagrancy (100%)” (Benham & Heck, 1998, p. 118) These behaviors were a result of Hawaiians not fitting into the new educational arena (Kana`iaupuni & Ishibashi, 2003).

In an effort to remedy the pernicious effects of western schooling on the education of native Hawaiians, many Hawaiians have tried to revitalize Hawaiian culture. During the late 1960's through much of the 1970's, there was a resurgence of Hawaiian arts. Consequently, there has been tremendous growth of community interest in, and support for, Hawaiian cultural forms. Part of this effort has been toward native control of Hawaiian education. Hawaiian educators, “have been working towards the liberation of native Hawaiian students from the present system of education based entirely on Western paradigms and Western traditions” (Kahakalau, 2003, p. 147). The responsibility or kuleana to determine educational policies and decisions related to an indigenous or minority language and culture belong to that indigenous or minority people from whom the language evolved (Warner, 1999, Smith, 1999).

With a shortage of native Hawaiian speakers, the renaissance movement pushed for the establishment Hawaiian language as one of the official languages of Hawaii. The increased political voice of native Hawaiians, facilitated on indigenous language as did several key

language education programs (Kahumoku, 2000). In 1978, the state of Hawaii finally recognized Hawaiian as one of its two official languages.

The importance of language to culture is crucial to its understanding and way of life. The importance of the Hawaiian language to Hawaiians is no different. The Hawaiian language, “should be perpetuated because it is a part of our Hawaiian heritage-what can help make Hawaiians whole again as people (Warner, 1999, p. 77). Hawaiians need, “to learn and know their language, culture, stories, histories, and religion because they interrelate and are integrally linked together” (Warner, 1999, p. 77). It “is about the essence of being Hawaiian” (Maaka, 2004, p. 9). The revitalization of the Hawaiian language in public schools is a way for native Hawaiians to combat the educational ills of colonization.

Due to the 1978 constitutional convention, the state of Hawaii mandated regular instruction in Hawaiian culture, history and language in Hawaii’s public schools. The first efforts to bring back Hawaiian culture into the public school system started with the kupuna program. With “traditional cultural programs on the brink of extinction and classroom teachers of native Hawaiian ancestry underrepresented in Hawaii schools, state education officials made arrangement to supplement the classroom teachers’ Hawaiian studies instruction with weekly visits from native Hawaiian elders” (Kaomea, 2003, p. 15). The kupuna program featured components of Hawaiian culture, language and history (Benham & Heck, 1998).

At first, the kupuna program was perceived by students, teachers and principals as successful (Afaga & Lai, 1994). However, as (Kaomea, 2003) argues, despite the kupuna program’s well-intentions, teachers and school administrators unsuspectingly were situated in the process and maintenance of repressive hegemonic dynamics. First, the kupunas were misused and abused as many schools placed the entire burden on the kupuna to create a May Day

program. For example, Kaomea (2003, p. 19) asserts, “respected kupuna across Hawai`i are spending countless hours of Hawaiian studies instruction teaching thousands of school children to dance the hula in performances on May 1st because one haole hula girl dancing in a play touring in Kansas caught the fancy of a haole poet who watched.”

In addition to the taxing of resources of the kupuna, problems exist with the kupuna program’s “Hawaiian Holiday” curriculum. A large portion of the kupuna program is devoted to arts, crafts, and values. Despite the value of these activities,

this prescript Hawaiian holiday curriculum overlooks the historical injustices of Hawai`i’s colonial past and neglects to discuss issues that still anger Hawaiians to this day- including the forcible dispossession and destruction of our indigenous Hawaiian lands, our native culture, and our sovereign right to self-determination. These curricular erasures ultimately function to suppress Hawaiian resentment, treating the Hawaiian community’s suffering and oppression, as something to be kept under wraps, far below the surface, never to be revealed. (Kaomea, 2003, p. 20)

Due to this “Hawaiian Holiday” curriculum, students are not exposed to the history of native Hawaiians. Many students will not benefit from the stories of Hawaii’s past, the stories of kupuna experiences and what happened to their people. The passing down of stories to children is a long Hawaiian tradition. Unfortunately, Hawaiian students are unable to learn more about what happen to their own ancestors through the kupuna program. Instead, a kupuna’s experiences and wealth of knowledge is effectively silenced and erased by this program (Kaomea, 2003). “Settler acts of erasure are denials of wrongdoing” (Kosasa, 2008, p.197).

To further delve into the state’s Hawaiian studies curriculum, a current examination of the textbooks used is essential. Kaomea (2000) compares the elementary textbooks used in Hawaii’s public schools to tourist pamphlets. Through the use of geographical maps, scenic postcard like photos, and an emphasis on the hospitality of the native, “the state’s official

Hawaiian studies curriculum and the social curriculum made available to children through popular culture and books outside of school would subtly and not so subtly promote a notion of the Hawaiian culture as a commodity to be consumed by visiting foreigners” (Kaomea, 2000, p. 340). Additionally, many of the textbooks used are written by non-Hawaiians, with few resources cited (Kaomea, 2005). “Children are in fact citing and echoing a familiar and pervasive colonial discourse; native Hawaiians through their savage and self-destructive practices, such as human sacrifice, and internal warfare, have historically killed themselves of in record numbers, ultimately bringing about their own demise” (Kaomea, 2005, p. 29). She further contends, “not said in these textbooks are impacts of colonization and disease. More dangerously, students are being taught to perpetuate that it was the Hawaiians themselves that led to the demise of their own culture. This is a current struggle, to undo the colonial rhetoric embedded in the textbooks in fourth grade classrooms” (Kaomea, 2005, p. 29). The cultural practices of native Hawaiians must be placed in context.

Classroom teachers are held responsible for implementing the state’s curriculum. They have a lot of power to communicate what type of knowledge is valid, relevant and worth studying. Knowledge is chosen by the teacher, guided by curriculum documents that are mostly created from within and by the dominant discourse (Shields, Bishop & Mazawi, 2005). And while the largest percentages of students in Hawaii’s public schools are Hawaiian or part-Hawaiian the large majority of teachers are Japanese-American (46.4%) or Caucasian (27.9%) (Hawaii Dept. of Education, 1999). Many of these teachers express a lack of knowledge of Hawaiian studies, limited supplies, outdated instructional materials, and claim that Hawaiian studies is not as important as other academic disciplines (Kaomea, 2005). Given this, it is

difficult for all students, in particular Hawaiian students to receive a high quality of instruction in Hawaiian studies.

Another problem in the early education of native Hawaiians is the misperception of Hawaiian parental involvement. It has been well researched that active parental involvement leads to better student achievement (Hill & Tyson, 2009). According to one study, “indigenous families are historically depicted as failing at parenting and blamed for their children’s school failure with virtually no recognition of the deep, colonial history that undergirds many of the ongoing challenges that indigenous families and students have faced, and continue to face, in the contemporary (post) colonial society and educational system” (Kaomea, 2012, p. 1). An assumption is made that the reasons Hawaiian students do not succeed in the current educational system is because of apathetic parents. This dangerously perpetuates the old stereotype of the “lazy Hawaiians” that don’t care about their child’s education. This assumption is flawed because Hawaiian parents do care about their education; they always have. In fact, “the overwhelming majority of Hawaiian parents value their children’s education but in many cases there are conflicting values between the home culture and school culture especially when parents assign greater importance to family over school responsibilities. While Hawaiian parents make sacrifices to ensure their children are educated” (Gallimore, 1968, p. 31). However, due to the effects of colonialism that many Hawaiians face such as poverty and low-paying jobs. As a result, “their children are required to take care of the home or get jobs” (Gallimore, 1968, p. 31). In Nanakuli, some parents feel that a child’s real work starts when they come home afterschool (Gallimore & Howard, 1968).

Due to the actions of Hawaiian activists, Hawaiian immersion schools were created. Papahana Kaiapuni is the K-12 Hawaiian language immersion program where students are taught

in Hawaiian until the fourth grade. Starting from the fifth grade, English and Hawaiian are used together. The Hawaiian Immersion schools' curriculum emphasizes, "teaching indigenous practices as well as modern methods and include: the use of experience-based education, application of learning to the real world; recognition and tailoring of curriculum to multiple types of intelligences; use of inquiry or problem-based learning and incorporation learning from the 'ōhana" (Benham & Heck, 1998, p. 201). The primary purpose of immersion programs such as Pūnana Leo is to, "revitalize the Hawaiian language and to rebuild a community of native Hawaiian speakers" (Yamauchi & Ceppi & Lau-Smith, 1999). In a colonized society, Hawaiians have a school in which they may be educated by their own people, own language, own epistemologies and cultural practices. As a result of Kaiapuni's efforts, Kaiapuni students are proficient and have positive attitudes about their literacy in both English and Hawaiian, and have greater self-esteem (Slaughter, 1997).

In addition to Hawaiian immersion schools, some charter schools are established to help remedy the educational plight of native Hawaiians. In general, charter schools are publicly funded schools that are exempt from many state laws and regulations in exchange for a promise, (through a charter) that they will be accountable for student learning. Hawaii currently has twenty-seven public charter schools that serve more than five-thousand students on four islands (Kana'iaupuni & Ishibashi, 2005). Many of these implement a culturally based indigenous form of instruction.

Hālau Kū Māna (HKM) is a Hawaiian charter school founded in 1999. HKM's vision is to facilitate individual and community healing and empowerment by fostering lifelong learners who think, feel and act in ways that are pono; for recognizing strengths and addressing challenges as they seek positive, systemic change in their local, regional and global communities

("Halau ku mana, "). The educational aim of HKM is to make, "Hawaiian cultural knowledge and practices such as navigation, sailing, fishpond restoration and taro cultivation centerpieces for cultural revival, community building and academic excellence" (Goodyear-Ka`ōpua, 2013, p. xv).

The educational and cultural importance of HKM is to address the adverse effects of settler colonialism. One concern is that, "settler colonial schooling continues the imperial domesticating projects of subsuming the lands and people of independent and sovereign nations within the internal domestic, sphere of an imperial occupier" (Goodyear-Ka`ōpua, 2013, p. xiv). She argues, "the ultimate authority for determining what children should learn and when they should learn it still remains with the settler state government" (Goodyear-Ka'opua, 2013, p. xvi). She further asserts, "the regimes of knowledge supported, for example, by existing Hawaii Content and Performance Standards and the U.S. national Common Core State Standards focus on conventional literacies that marginalize important Indigenous knowledge practices" (Goodyear-Ka'opua, 2013, p. xvi). She poses the questions, "why should a board comprised wholly of settlers be the sole authority to tell us? As Indigenous educators whether we are worthy and capable of schooling our own children? What does it mean to exercise educational self-determination in these contexts?"(Goodyea-Ka`ōpua (2013, p. xvii)

Academic results suggest that Hawaiian students who attend Charter schools perform better than those attending public schools. Charter school students in Hawaii outperformed their mainstream counterparts on the Hawaii State Assessment and SAT in 2004 (Hawaii Educational Policy, 2004). In addition, (Kana`iaupuni & Ishibashi, 2005, p. 11) study indicated:

- Hawaiian students in charter schools perform significantly better on the SAT-9 reading test than do comparable native Hawaiian students in mainstream public schools, after adjusting for differences in student attributes.
- Among tenth graders, charter school students perform significantly better than do mainstream student son both SAT-9 and HSA reading scores.
- On math tests, Hawaiian students in charter schools scored significantly higher than did their mainstream counterparts, after controlling for gender, socioeconomic status, teacher credentials, grade level and region.
- Native Hawaiian students attending charter schools tend to be more engaged in school, judging by their attendance rates. The odds that native Hawaiian students in charter schools are chronically absent are about 74 percent lower than the odds among their counterparts in conventional public schools.

Though Hawaiians have made some academic gains over the years, they struggle to attend higher education. Hawaiians compare favorably with national averages in terms of high school graduation. “Hawaiians comprise 12.5% of Hawaii’s total population and nearly 25% of the enrollment in Hawaii’s public schools; however they make up a considerably smaller proportion of that state’s postsecondary students” (Drechsel, 2000). Hawaiians are underrepresented at the University of Hawaii (Barringer & Liu, 1990). In addition, Hawaiian college completion rates are lower than national or state averages. Only 9% of Hawaiians over the age of twenty-five have completed a four year college degree whereas the national average is 21% (National Center for Education statistics, 1995). Within Hawaii, four year college completion rates are Hawaiians (9%) significantly lower than Japanese (25%) and Caucasians (30.2%) (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1993). However, there has been some improvement as

native Hawaiian student enrollment increased from 4,517 in 1990 to 6248 in 2001 (Native Hawaiian Student Services at the University of Hawaii, 2003). However, many Hawaiians still do not attend universities because they cannot afford it (Drecsel, 2000).

Despite improvements in post-secondary educational representation, native Hawaiians continue to be underrepresented among college students and graduate professional students. According to the native Hawaiian profile in 2006, in the year 2000, twenty-eight percent were enrolled in the UH system and among those, 26.7% were of undergraduate status and only 1.9% was graduate or professional students. The University of Hawaii Fall system wide data for 2005 indicates that native Hawaiians were 13.8% of the student body population. At the Manoa campus, native Hawaiians are 8.3% of the total population. Hawaiian and part-Hawaiian undergraduate students are 7.2% of the graduate student population. Hawaiian females have a higher representation to that of their male counterparts; 59% are female and 41% are male. Native Hawaiian students (9.1%) are underrepresented as undergraduate students at UH Manoa at less than half their respective percentages in public schools (Okamura, 2008). Graduate degrees awarded by the University of Hawaii only one-half of one (.5) percent go to Hawaiians (Eshima, 1998). Native Hawaiians (18%) are the largest group enrolled in community colleges however the transfer rate from UH community college to UH Manoa is low (Okamura, 2008).

These statistics represent the lasting impact of colonization on the education of native Hawaiian students. Hawaiian students have a larger proportion of uncertified, untenured teachers (Kana`iaupuni & Ishibashi, 2005). Hawaiian youths have the highest rates of self-reported drug use (U.S. Youth Risk Study, 2009). According to the same study, Hawaiian high school students attempt suicide at least twice as often as non-Hawaiian students. Hawaiian high school females

are raped almost twice the rate as non-Hawaiians. Teenage motherhood among Hawaiians is nearly double the state average. The struggles for native Hawaiian students still exist.

Where do we begin to make positive changes for Hawaiian students? This study begins by looking at the education of Hawaiian boys. On the island of Maui, Hawaiian boys are learning to follow a path to Hawaiian manhood. More recently, the Kāli`i Project is a three-year program that guides boys into adulthood with the confidence of knowing what it means to be a Hawaiian kāne (Reiny, 2013). Under the leadership of Kyle Nakanelua and other Hawaiian leaders, these men searched for at-risk Hawaiian boys. While participating in The Kāli`i Project, Hawaiian boys are taught how to catch and throw spears, perform the ha`a, memorize chants, and learn the lua. Some boys will participate in the culminating project in which a boy will receive a tattoo from the ankle up to the outside of his leg. Additionally, the Kāli`i project teaches boys that they don't always have to be aggressive, that Hawaiian men can be caring and sensitive. Nakanelua emphasizes, "I want boys to see that being a nurturing and loving father and husband isn't a bad thing" (Reiny, 2013, p. 104). This project addresses the need to teach Hawaiian boys how to be Hawaiian men in a colonized society.

## **Chapter Five: Methodology**

The purpose of this study is to examine Hawaiian male adolescent students' perceptions of masculinity. This study was predicated under the constructivist paradigm in which, individuals seek understanding of the world in which they live and work (Creswell, 2007). They develop subjective meanings of their experiences-meanings directed toward certain objects or things. The goal of the research then is to rely as much as possible on the participants' views of the situation (Creswell, 2007). Specifically, a multiple qualitative case study method will be used to explore how participants make sense of their world. In this chapter, I will address the theoretical framework, research design, gaining entry, site, data collection methods, procedures of data analysis and validation, and limitations of this study.

### **Theoretical Framework**

#### **Constructivist Paradigm**

A paradigm or worldview is a set of beliefs which form the basis for a person's behavior. According to Creswell, "it is a basic set of beliefs that guide action" (Creswell, 2007, p 19). Denzin and Lincoln (1994) argue that a researcher's feelings and philosophical orientation are deeply rooted in his or her worldview in terms of how it should be understood and studied. Additionally, these "beliefs are so basic in the sense that they must be accepted simply on faith" (Guba & Lincoln, 1994, p. 107).

The primary basis of constructivism is that knowledge and truth are not absolutes but are created and constructed in the minds of individuals, not discovered by the mind (Schwant, 1994; Stake, 1995; Creswell, 1998; Merriam, 1998). This approach to research is concerned with, "Individuals past experiences and beliefs, world views into the process of learning how we interact with and interpret our encounters with new ideas and events" (Lambert, 1995, p. xi-xii).

Constructivism and interpretation are concerned with the individual because knowledge is found within the individual” (Jones, Torres, Arminio, 2006, p. 18). In terms of practice, Creswell (2007) states,

questions become broad and general so that the participants can construct the meaning of a situation, a meaning typically forged in discussions or interactions with other persons. The constructivist researcher listens carefully to what people say or do in their life setting. The constructivist researcher often addresses the “process” of interaction among individuals. They also focus on the specific contexts in which people live and work in order to understand the historical and cultural settings of the participants. (p.21)

Participants in this study shared their perceptions of masculinity. As Connell stated, “masculinity is not fixed but acts of active construction and are accomplished in everyday conduct or organizational life, as figurations of social practice” (Connell, 1996, p.4). These participants were asked to share their prior experiences to understand their current perceptions of and construction of masculinity.

### **Qualitative Inquiry**

Qualitative researchers seek to explore, understand, or describe human behavior, experiences and relationships (Creswell, 1998). Additionally, “qualitative research begins with assumptions, a worldview, the possible use of a theoretical lens, and the study of a research problem inquiring into the meaning individuals or groups ascribe to a social or human problem” (Creswell, 2007, p. 37). Qualitative researchers seek to understand “the meaning people have constructed, that is, how they make sense of their world and the experiences they have in the world” (Merriam, 1998, p. 6).

The central question that is posed in this study is “what does it mean to be a man?” One of the key components of a case study is to provide a detailed and thorough description of an

issue or phenomenon through interviews. In qualitative research, a phenomenon is, an “object of human experience (van Manen, 1990, p. 163). Creswell states there are two approaches to Phenomenology, hermeneutic and transcendental. Hermeneutical phenomenology, “describes research as oriented toward lived experiences and interpreting the texts of life” (Creswell, 2007, p. 59). For this study, the transcendental phenomenology approach which, “focuses less on the interpretations of the researcher and more on a description of the experiences of participants” (Creswell, 2007, p. 59). ). Phenomenology is concerned with the lived experience of human beings and interviewers strive to guide their participants to reconstruct their experience (Seidman, 2013).

The aim of this study is to focus on how Hawaiian male adolescent students’ at Cleveland High School come to understand what it means to be a man, not stressing so much of the interpretive process. Though some interpretations of the lived experiences of my participants will be made, the salient part of this study is the life stories of these Hawaiian boys and what influences their understanding of masculinity. This study focused on “consists of “what” they experienced and “how” they experienced it (Moustakas, 1994).

In addition to using a life history approach, this study relies on the transcendental phenomenological approach. The study focused on the experiences of five Hawaiian male adolescent students and their perceptions of masculinity. The phenomenological approach is concerned with the participant’s point of view, their “subjective understanding” (Seidman, 2013). One of the main sources of data will be the diverse points of view of the participants and how they form their perceptions and understandings of what it means to be a man. By gaining insight into the experiences of these students, new knowledge about how their school, culture and media influence their perceptions of may be uncovered. Their stories are told in their own

words, converted from interview transcripts to first-person narratives. Some edits were made due to the participant's frequent use of the pidgin language. However, the editing of words did not change the meanings of what they said. The edits were made to make the five stories easier to read.

According to Creswell (2007), data is collected from the individuals who have experienced the phenomenon. The data collected consists of in-depth interviews and multiple interviews with participants. Polkinghorne (1989) recommends that researchers interview five to twenty-five individuals who have experienced the phenomenon. For this study, I interviewed five participants. While Creswell uses the past tense of the term "experienced," masculinity is not fixed but an active construct and therefore an active experience, one that is still being shaped. Due to the constantly evolving construction of masculinity, it is my goal to seek my participant's subjective reconstruction of the experiences that form their perceptions of masculinity (Seidman, 2013).

According to Moustakas (1994), the participants should be asked two questions: What have you experienced in terms of the phenomenon? What contexts or situations have typically influenced or affected your experiences of the phenomenon? During the interviews with the five participants in this study, one primary question was asked: how has your experience at Cleveland High School influenced your understanding of what it means to be a man? Along with this question, other open-ended questions from the literature were asked to better understand the phenomenon.

### **Positions Subject Approach**

The positioned subjects approach is an open-ended, multiple case study design which considers the perspectives of diverse stakeholders or positioned subjects (Conrad, Haworth, Millar, 1993). Participants are positioned in the environment in which they work, "Learn, and

make sense of their everyday worlds” (Conrad, Haworth, and Millar, 1993, p. 267). Also, they are subjects by definition-“People with particular needs, perceptions, and capabilities for action” (Conrad, Haworth, and Millar, 1993, p. 267). The purpose is to investigate how the subjects comprehend and interpret their experiences.

As a social studies teacher at Cleveland High School, I view myself as a positioned subject. Cleveland High School is a pseudonym given to the high school where this research project took place. The participants were from Cleveland High School. As the primary research instrument, I acknowledge my own insider/outsider status and my own personal bias. This will be explained later this chapter and in chapter seven.

## **Research Design**

### **Multiple Case Study Method**

The research method that will be used will be a multiple case study approach. A case study approach is defined as, “research that involves the study of an issue explored through one or more cases within a bounded system” (Creswell, 2007, p. 73). Yin (1989) described case study research as a uniquely appropriate methodology when the researcher wants to understand a complex social phenomenon. In a collective case study (or multiple case study) an issue is selected but the inquirer selects multiple case studies to illustrate the issue (Creswell, 2007). A multiple case study approach is performed when researchers study two or more subjects or settings (Bogdan, 2007). Additionally, “a collective case study focuses on several instrumental cases in order to draw some conclusions or theorize about a general condition or phenomenon (Stake, 2000, p. 55).

Yin (1994) maintains that this is the best method of inquiry for investigators is based on “how, why and what” questions, particularly when studying phenomenon within real-life context

over which the researcher has no control. Open-ended questions, such as ‘how’ and ‘why’ and ‘what, enable the researcher to study real life events as they occur within a meaningful context (Morrow & Smith, 1995).

One primary aspect of a case study is its focus on a bounded system. “What distinguishes case study methodology from other qualitative approaches is the intensive focus on a bounded system, which can be an individual, a specific program, a process, an institution, or a relationship” (Jones, Torres & Arminio, 2006 p. 53) . A high school study located at a particular high school is an example of a bounded system.

Another relevant aspect of the case study method is that it yields a thick and rich description. A thick description, “is a term from anthropology and means the complete, literal description of the incident or entity being investigated” (Merriam, 1988, p.11). Furthermore, “a thick description, is grounded, is holistic and lifelike, simplifies data to be considered by the reader, illuminates meanings, and can communicate tacit knowledge” (Merriam, 1998, p. 39).

A multiple case study approach will be used for this research project to gather a variety of perspectives from a number of students to determine what themes develop from their interviews and other related sources. This study was located at only one site, Cleveland High School.

### **Participation Selection Strategy**

The selection of the five native Hawaiian male adolescent participants for this study was purposeful. Purposeful selection is aligned with qualitative inquiry to the extent that it investigates, “what occurs, the implications of what occurs, and the relationships linking occurrences” (Merriam, 1998, p. 61). Purposeful sampling is used in qualitative research inform an understanding of the research problem and central phenomenon of the study” (Creswell, 2007,

pg. 125). The goal of purposeful selection is to understand our own small collection of cases (Merriam, 1998).

The type of purposeful sampling which will be used for this study is called maximum variation. Maximum variation is used, “when a researcher maximizes differences at the beginning of the study, it increases the likelihood that the findings will reflect differences or different perspectives-an ideal in qualitative research” (Creswell, 2007, pg. 126). Maximum variation allows “important shared patterns that cut across cases” from “a small sample of great diversity” (Merriam, 1998, pg. 63). Maximum variation was used to obtain here a variety of Hawaiian male student’s perspectives of masculinity. All participants are Hawaiian, senior male students at Cleveland High School but differ in their participation in school activities, sexual orientation, hobbies and family background.

### **Gaining Entry**

In selecting participants, I began by asking students if they would be interested in helping me with a research project. I also received suggested names from counselors and teachers familiar with my study. I self identified students based on their ability to share their candid opinions, or teacher recommendations, on sample profiles from the literature and on my relationship with them. I spoke with each of them directly and explained the topic of my dissertation. I told them that I was interested in having them participate and would like to schedule a meeting with them where I could discuss my research and their role in it.

At the initial meeting, I discussed the following:

1. Consent and assent forms explaining the project. I gave them one to keep for their records.
2. Draft of the interview questions.
3. Copy of Human Subjects Review Board notification.

At the end of the meeting, I told the students to go over the consent and assent forms with their parents or guardian. And I explained that they have a week to agree or decline the offer to participate in this study.

### **Site**

Cleveland High School is a public high school located on the island of Oahu. Founded in 1932, Cleveland was one of the first standardized-English-speaking schools in Hawaii. Students that live in Kahiki, Aliko, Kahekili, Eleu, Alama Heights, and Lanikai (Hawaiian Homestead) attend Cleveland High School. Cleveland's student enrollment from the years to 2010-2011 is roughly fourteen hundred. During this school year, Cleveland's student population is comprised of Japanese (24.3%), Hawaiian and/or part-Hawaiian (21.1%), Chinese (17.7%) and other ethnicities ("<http://arch.k12.hi.us/pdfs/ssir/2011/honolulu/ssir146-1.pdf>"). The larger Cleveland complex consists of five public elementary schools (Umi Elementary, Kamalu Elementary, Leahi Elementary, Bush Elementary and Clinton Elementary), and two middle schools (Kumu Middle School and Kekoa Middle School).

Hawaii's Department of Education requires all public school students to graduate with twenty-four credits if they are to graduate 2012 or later. Currently, public school graduation requirements consist of four credits of English and social studies, three credits of mathematics, three credits of science, one credits of physical education, half a credit of health, half a credit of a personal transition plan and six electives. Two more credits in world language, fine arts or career and tech education are necessary, too. Hawaii's Department of Education offers a Board of Education Recognition Diploma in which students will have to complete a senior research project for an additional credit.

Cleveland High School offers various student support programs. AVID (Advanced Via Individual Determination) is a support program for students who have high academic potential

but may not have the financial resources to attend a four year university. These students are usually on free and reduced lunch and neither of their parents graduated from college. A summer bridge program helps incoming freshmen to improve their reading and math skills. “Ignition” is a peer-mentoring program for freshmen. IMUA supports struggling students to recover credits. English and social studies classes are co-taught to meet the academic and social needs of special education students.

Cleveland High School provides numerous extra-curricular activities and various clubs to all of its students. Some of Cleveland’s clubs are the Billiards Club, Chess Club, Christian Club, French Club, HOSA club, Interact Club, International Club, Key Club, Leo Club, Math Club, Red Cross Club, Speech and Debate Club and Spirit Club and Nā Alaka‘i Hawaiian Leadership club. All of these clubs are advised by a faculty member.

Cleveland High School offers twenty sports teams as part of their athletic program including air riflery, baseball, bowling, basketball, cheerleading, football, golf, judo, soccer, soft tennis, track, volleyball, water polo and wrestling. Cleveland offers JV programs to young men and women in baseball, basketball, cheerleading, football, soccer, softball, track, volleyball, water polo and wrestling.

### **Data Collection Methods**

Data for this study was collected primarily through five one-on one interviews with five senior Hawaiian male adolescent students at Cleveland High School. I interviewed Keo twice. The purpose for these interviews is to learn the Hawaiian male adolescent student’s perceptions of masculinity. These interviews were conducted afterschool for about an hour. The research questions served as a guide of issues for the questions used in the interviews. The themes and questions were generated from previously examined literature regarding masculinity. All interviews were tape recorded. The interviews were transcribed.

### **Handout of questions regarding masculinity**

In addition to conducting interviews with five particular students, I passed out a handout comprised of open-ended questions regarding masculinity to other Hawaiian male students in my classes. These handouts served to help triangulate my data. Triangulation is the use of, “multiple and different sources, methods, investigators and theories to provide corroborating evidence” (Creswell, 2007, p. 208). This handout obtained further insights from Hawaiian students who were not interviewed. I have collected completed handouts during the spring of 2012 to the spring of 2013. I had about thirty-two students who answered and completed the handouts. These handouts were anonymous.

The Hawaiian male students who were interviewed did not answer the questions on the handouts. The interview questions were based on themes gathered from the literature including their perceptions of masculinity or manhood, school and teacher influences of about their perceptions of masculinity, perceptions of Hawaiian masculinity and the influence of the media on their perceptions of masculinity. Responses were coded. See Appendix A for a copy of the handout of questions regarding masculinity.

### **Focus Group**

A focus group was also used to collect additional data for this research project. A focus group, “involves engaging a small number of people in an informal group discussion (or discussions), focused around a particular topic or set of issues” (Wilkinson, 2004, p. 177). I chose to use a focus group to collect data from these five participants because certain school events such as Flex-off, the senior fieldtrip at the waterpark, reading the book “Season of Life” and participation in my philosophy class final exam happened after I interviewed them one-on-one. I wanted to hear their perceptions about masculinity during their participation in these

events. In addition, I chose to use a focus group because I wanted to see how these boys would relate with each other. Using a focus group saves time and is economical and efficient method for obtaining data from multiple participants (Kruger & Casey, 2000). A focus group can also create the possibility for more spontaneous responses (Butler, 1996). The participants spontaneous responses in this study helped answer the research objectives.

### **Procedures of Data Analysis and Validation**

#### **Open Coding**

Open coding describes, “the initial stages of data analysis and begins with the fracturing of the data” (Straus & Corbin, 1990, p. 97). Following this a, “careful examination of the words used by participants to describe or convey experiences, understandings, or meaning” takes place. (Creswell, 2007, p. 44). In order to do this, the researcher examines the line-by-line text and as a result, concept names are generated by the data (Charmaz, 2000).

Moustakas (1994) describes horizontalization as the process in which the data analysts go through the interview transcriptions and highlight “significant statements”, sentences and quotes that provide an understanding of how the participants experienced the phenomenon. In this study, salient statements from each interview were extracted, from the interviews and handout responses to provide an understanding of what influenced student perceptions of what it means to be a man. This allowed a process of developing, “clusters of meaning” and themes” (Creswell, 2007, p.61).

Once these themes were generated, I wrote a description of the context or setting that influenced the participants understanding of what it means to be a man. Context is an integral part of this study as it lends to, “the meaning of participant’s experience from their point of view” (Seidman, 2013). Patton (1989) adds that without context it is difficult to make meaning

of experience. Cole and Knowles (2001) assert that saying “context is everything” could well be the hallmark of life history inquiry. By context, I mean the, physical, geographic, temporal, historical, cultural, aesthetic setting within which the action takes place. As Lawrence-Lightfoot (1997) states, “context becomes the framework, the reference point, the map, the ecological sphere; it is used to place people and action in time and space and as a resource for understanding what they do.” Life history researchers, “ need to have an in-depth understanding of the focal context within which participants’ lives are situated but the context itself is not the “unit of analysis; context is a reference point, an essential backdrop that helps to understand an individual’s life and experience” (Cole & Knowles, 2001, p. 79). During this study’s interviews, contextual information was gathered by asking questions regarding the participant’s family heritage, cultural background, questions about their families, neighborhood, influences of school and recreational activities and relationship to different contexts including the two contexts primarily focused on will be the Hawaiian Homestead Lanikai and Cleveland High School.

The Hawaiian Homes Commission Act (HHCA) was written in 1920. In 1921, the United States federal government set aside 200,000 acres of land to be used as a land trust for native Hawaiians (Mckenzie, 1991). To help remedy the ailments of colonization, the purpose of this act (HHCA) was to help native Hawaiians rehabilitate themselves by returning them to the land and by providing them affordable housing. Hawaiian Homesteads are dispersed throughout the state of Hawaii which includes most islands. Lanikai is a Hawaiian Homestead located in Honolulu on the island of Oahu. Lanikai is home to four of the five participants whose stories will be shared in the following chapters. Lanikai is the neighborhood where they grew up and where many of their perceptions of what it means to be a man and a Hawaiian man are shaped.

### **Clarifying Researcher Bias**

From the beginning of the study, clarifying researcher bias is important so that the reader understands the researcher's position and any biases or assumptions that impact the inquiry (Merriam, 1988). According to Creswell, to ensure validity the researcher must keep his own past experience transparent, "The researcher comments on past experiences biases, prejudices and orientations that have likely shaped the interpretation and approach to the study" (Creswell, 2007, p. 208).

### **Member Checking**

Lastly, after transcribing and presenting the data, I shared the, "data, analysis, interpretation and conclusions back to the participants so that they could judge the accuracy and credibility of the account" (Creswell, 2007, p. 208). One of the most critical aspects of congruence is the ability to authenticate findings through member-checks. I engaged the members in checking so they can see their responses and have a chance to react. Member checking, "provides participants with the opportunity to react to the findings to react to the findings and interpretations that emerged as a result of his or her participation" (Jones, Torres, Arminio, 2006, p. 99). After I coded the data and began to form a preliminary analysis, I shared the results with the participants to verify accuracy. Each participant was given a copy of their story. With their approval, their stories are in this dissertation.

From these interviews, my respect for the participants has grown. I appreciate more deeply their ability to overcome so many life obstacles. As a teacher, often you only get to see your students in one context, school. Learning more of their lives outside of school, their home life has given me a better picture of who they are as people. I learned how they care about their families and that they want to do well in life and make their people (Hawaiians) proud. Last but not least, I have gained an appreciation for my own family and upbringing. After hearing some

of their stories, I realized that I was lucky that I did not live in a neighborhood surrounded by drugs. Both of my parents were actively involved in my life. My extended family was loving, supportive and always there. I simply did not have to go through the hardships experienced by many of my interview participants, and this was largely due to my parents. I did not expect to gain this perspective of appreciation from these interviews.

Knowledge can be gained from other people's stories or their life histories. Cole & Knowles (2001, p. 11) state,

the purpose of life history inquiry is about gaining insights into the broader human condition by coming to know and understand the experiences of other humans. It is about understanding the relationship, the complex interaction, between life, context, self and place. It is about comprehending the complexities, of a person's day to day decision-making and the ultimate consequences that play out in that life so that insights into broader collective experience may be achieved. To understand some of the complexities, complications and confusions within the life of just one member of a community is to gain insights into the collective. In saying this we are not invoking an essentialist claim that to understand (however partially) one is to understand all. Rather, we are suggesting that every in-depth exploration of an individual life-in-context brings us that much closer to understanding the complexities of lives in communities.

Seidman (2013) asserts that interviewing is necessary to understand the meaning making of an educational experience. Asking participants why or what did they feel or what was their experience living in a particular context helps shed light a complex educational phenomenon.

Finally, interviewing my students was fun. Although they are all Hawaiian boys are from the same area, their stories were both similar and different. It is my hope that people enjoyed reading these life histories as much as I loved conducting them. These interviews provided an opportunity to have discussions I do not have with my closest friends.

### **Limitations of the Study**

As with most studies, there are limitations to this research project:

1. Participants were purposely selected, thus findings and conclusions cannot be generalized to larger populations.
2. This study is limited to only five Hawaiian male adolescent students and excluded other Hawaiian male students from other grade levels.
3. The data applies to only one public high school and excludes other public schools, private schools, Hawaiian immersion and religious schools.
4. As the primary research instrument, the researcher acknowledges his inside/outside perspective along with other personal biases.
5. There is no quantitative component.

## Chapter Six: My Story

As a teacher I am concerned with teaching my students the importance of ethical and moral character. My teaching philosophy was influenced by several successful athletic coaches including Phil Jackson, Mike Krzyzewski, John Wooden and Dean Smith. All these successful coaches used sports as a tool to teach boys how to become men. Each of these coaches has said that their careers should be judged not by wins on the court, but by the quality of the fathers, husbands and brothers that come from their programs. After reading their autobiographical books, I began to feel that teachers have the same responsibility to produce people of high character.

Later, I experimented with a lesson focused on the question of what it means to be a man. When I asked this question, most of my students had no answer. Eventually one brave student might say something about status, or power or about how many girls a guy sleeps with. Often most would say, “You know, Mr. V, I don’t know the answer to the question but I want to know”.

As a teacher, I am always looking for ideas on how to get my students interested in learning. Toward this end I read a book called “Season of Life” by Jeffrey Marx. It outlines several aspects of manhood. I decided to share this book with my senior students. I was surprised by how willing they were willing to read and discuss this book. I was blown away by the stories that my students shared about how difficult it is to be a man. Girls participated in these discussions too and they often admitted they have no idea what makes a man. It is my student’s rich in-class discussions about these ideas that led me to this project. It is my belief that schools should produce students that can read and write, but they should also produce men and women of

high character. If we produce students that are great at math and science but lack integrity, responsibility and the capacity to help others, I worry we have not succeeded as educators.

Many believe that teachers should not impose their values on their students. Rather, values should come from the home. But, many of my students have no father or meaningful male role-models in their lives. Many of my students are raised by single-parents, foster parents, or grandparents. These students come from homes filled with problems including drug and alcohol abuse. Such turbulent living conditions must add to the challenge of transforming to manhood.

To address some of these concerns, it is important to discuss my role as the research instrument. While conducting a life history project, I “serve as the central instrument, the prime viewing lens (Cole and Knowles, 2001). In this study, the researcher plays an interesting role. I am researching a phenomenon at the school in which I currently teach, Therefore, I must understand that, “such a study may raise issues of power and risk to the researcher, participants and to the site” (Creswell, 2007, p. 122).

I have been a social studies teacher at this school for the past nine years. I teach Hawaiian Studies, Philosophy, Sociology and Advanced Via Individual Determination (AVID). My students call me “Coach V” because I used to be the head junior varsity football coach and a volunteer varsity football assistant. I feel honored that the students refer to me as “coach”, because of the specialness of the term. Growing up playing community and high school sports, my former coach’s had a tremendous influence on the person who I am today. It is my belief that my reputation is one of the reasons the participants in this study agreed to be interviewed. However, I am aware of the referent power which is based on the notion that the less powerful person (student) may identify with and attempt to please the more powerful person teacher (McCorskey, 1983).

I am not only aware of referent power but also the coercive and reward power while the participants are being interviewed. Coercive power is exerted when the student feels that he/she will be punished for if his/her answers don't coincide with the teacher's influence (McCorskey, 1983). In the beginning of each interview, I made sure that the participants knew that it was imperative to be honest with his answers and there is no right or wrong answers. I told the participants that the answers they will provide will not affect their grades.

Reward power is, "based on a student's perceptions of the degree to which the teacher is in a position to reward him/her for complying with the teacher's influence (McCorskey, 1983 p. 177). I made sure that the participants were not rewarded for the answers that they may think I want to hear. I made it unequivocally clear that I simply want to hear their candid answers to the questions and to freely talk about their ideas about masculinity.

Although the term "coach" is one of reverence, it demonstrates an unequal power relationship with the students and participants. Due to the fact that I am a teacher and a coach, I have power over my students. Though not all of the interview participants in this study are my students, they still refer to me as "coach" and are students at my school. To ease this power imbalance, I have spent more time cultivating relationships with the interview participants. I talked to them about sports, school and family to build a comfortable relationship to make the interactions more natural and comfortable. It was the informal discussions with the participants in the class, in the hallways, during recess and lunch that I hope would deepen our relationship and build a more comfortable open rapport.

The interviews were taken in my classroom afterschool. The reasons these interviews were conducted in the classroom was because it ensured privacy and comfortableness. The fact that I controlled the context of the interview is another example of exerting power over the

students; this power is referred to as legitimate power. Legitimate power is often called to “assigned power” because it’s based on the assigned role of the teacher in the classroom and refers to the fact that the teacher has the right to control ordinary matters in his/her classrooms (McCorskey, 1983).

### **An Unsettling Hawaiian Man**

As a native Hawaiian teacher, I see the effects that colonialism has had on native Hawaiian students every day in my classroom. In my class, native Hawaiians get the majority of D’s and F’s. They have been an enigma as I have tried different approaches to improve their academic performance; some have worked, others have not. I admit that I have a special place in my heart for native Hawaiian students. I understand the violent history that we had to endure. I worry about native Hawaiian students because of how many of them fill our prisons. I feel there are a lot of teachers that don’t understand their family and social background. I do not begrudge the success of non-Hawaiians but non-Hawaiians did not have to endure a near cultural genocide. I feel I have a responsibility as a Hawaiian to help my people in the best way I know how, and the best way I know how is to use my experiences, knowledge and skills as a coach and a teacher.

At times, I don’t see myself as a Hawaiian. I don’t speak Hawaiian. I wish I was able to do so. My great grandparents spoke Hawaiian but the Hawaiian language was not passed down to me. I don’t perform any cultural practices. I would feel very uncomfortable wearing a malo. Ironically, I teach Hawaiian studies at a public school. At times I feel like a charlatan, masquerading with a Hawaiian name and blood, but nothing else. I know so little about my heritage. Today, I am still trying to determine; what it means to be Hawaiian. What does it mean

to be a Hawaiian man? How am I a Hawaiian man? I was always proud to be Hawaiian, but I never know exactly why.

I was educated at a school that is known for educating the children of missionaries. I applied during kindergarten but my admission was denied. When my grandfather asked the school president at the time why I did not get into the school, the school president replied, “Some kids are not Punahou material.” My grandfather told me this year’s after I graduated. As I reflect on years past, it made me think of the missionaries who told Hawaiian students that they were inferior, that they did not have the “right material”.

Currently, most of the children who attend Punahou come from opulent families. In order to cover the cost of Punahou’s tuition, my grandfather help pay and I worked in the athletic office during my breaks from class. Of my close friends who attended Punahou, I was the only one who was Hawaiian. I took one Hawaiian culture class in high school and two in college. Not because I saw any particular value in them but because I thought they would be easy or fit my schedule. When I was in high school, most of my teachers were Caucasian men. I am grateful for this education but can’t help wonder if the education I received took me away from my culture and altered my identity. How well did this school colonize me? When I look at a lot of the campus buildings, many are named after people responsible for the overthrow of Queen Lili`uokalani.

Academically, I struggled at Punahou. I did not know how to learn. Often, I felt I did not belong at this school. If it were not for sports, I am not sure I would have graduated. What helped me to succeed was one of the few Hawaiian teachers employed at the school, who taught math. As a senior I was placed in remedial math. My class compromised mostly of students who were struggling academically, many were Hawaiian students. This experience has influenced the way I

teach Hawaiians. My Hawaiian math teacher encouraged me to do my best. More importantly, he understood that I learned best through hands-on activities.

After high school, I attended St. Mary's College in California. I left St. Mary's after a semester and decided to return home to attend the University of Hawaii. While completing my undergraduate degree, I decided to walk-on to the University of Hawaii football team. A new head coach took over the program and my head high school football coach became the quarterback's coach.

I was nervous and excited to play for my state's football team. This is a team that I have watched all my life. As a young kid, my family would attend the University of Hawaii football games. Players such as Jeff Sydner and Rafael Cherry were my football idols. I imagined wearing the green and white and running out of the tunnel with my family and friends cheering in the stands.

At my first day of football practice I didn't know what I was supposed to do. I went to a meeting to learn the plays and learn the schedule. I was a walk-on and that was a new experience. First, I was nervous and I wanted to make the team. I didn't get many reps in practice. My receiver coach knew who I was because I played against him in high school; I liked him. However, I was the last to be chosen to do drills and the first name to be called by the head coach to be on the scout team. The head coach yelled at me for running the wrong route or doing the wrong thing on scout defense. I have played football for many years and this was the first time the head coach ever yelled at me; I know football. While we watched practice film with the offensive unit, he would break down the tape. During the meeting he would analyze every player but he would skip providing me constructive feedback; I was embarrassed. I was embarrassed because I wasn't worth the coach's time. I felt belittled as a person and felt less of a man.

Because I was on the scout team and because of my poor performance, I felt the head coach and my fellow receivers perceived me as less than a man. I tied my masculinity on what others thought of me and my position or status on the team. This harsh treatment continued for two weeks, I was devastated. I became depressed and felt uncertain about my football skills.

For the first time in my life, I doubted my abilities and it was obvious that the head coach did not want me on the team. I dropped balls and was afraid to make mistakes. My fear and doubt led to more mistakes; I was proving this coach right. I didn't want to go to practice. Football practice was a constant reminder that I wasn't a man. The coaches didn't care about me; perhaps they didn't care about walk-ons in general. I felt alone and couldn't wait for practice to be over. The other players looked at me and I felt they saw me as an outsider, that I did not belong on the team. Many times, I felt they were right. I cried in my bedroom.

After practice, I would talk to my dad and expressed how I felt. He would come to practice and I felt that I was letting him down. He knew I was not myself so we talked. I said, "I am so afraid to make a mistake but that's all I do. I know I am better than what I am showing but the head coach is in my head." He said, "You know what, fuck the head coach." He asserted, "stop trying to prove yourself to him and others and just play." For whatever reason, this worked. The next day I wrote the initials, "F.U.J.L." cryptically on my wristbands. This served as a reminder of what I wanted to do at practice. Finally, I got better. I caught everything and blocked everyone. During scout team, I made a few plays. For the first time I felt like I could play at the division one level. I had the mentality that I was going to get cut anyway so I let it all out. I may never play football again but at least now I felt like a man. My performance on the football team determined my status as a man.

During the last week of practice, the team was preparing for the green and white scrimmage. This was a chance for the team to have a live scrimmage and a preview for the fans. Because I was a walk-on, I did not expect to get many chances to play. Scholarship athletes had more opportunities to play, I understood this. When my coach told me to go in, I was excited but nervous. My family and friends were watching from the stands and I didn't want to let them down. During seven-on-seven drills, the play was called and I broke the huddle. I ran my corner-route and caught it for a twenty-five yard gain. I jumped up and sprinted back to the huddle. My offensive teammates cheered and I talked a little trash to the defensive back. My teammates congratulated me and I felt like a football player, I felt like a man again. During eleven-on-eleven drills, I caught an eight yard pass. I only had participated in four plays and I was lucky to have one ball thrown my way. After the scrimmage, my parents and friends congratulated my efforts.

I knew I wasn't going to make the team. The next day, the head coach called me into his office. He said, "Ka'eo, the last week of practice I saw a lot of improvement but I can only keep a certain amount of players because of NCAA policies." He extended his hand and looked me in the eyes and I shook his hand. It was a classy gesture by a guy who I thought hated me. After being cut by the team, I felt relieved and satisfied. The experience extinguished my love for football yet I was satisfied knowing that I could play football at the division one level. That was enough for me to know and move on from the game I loved.

Throughout the process described above, I was trying to prove my masculinity to others. I was trying to prove it to the head coach, his assistants, my teammates and my parents. I put so much weight on my performance on the football field as a way to determine my worthiness as a man. My masculinity for the first time was questioned. And I felt by overcoming the adversities I

faced on the football field, I had confirmed my manhood. However, as I reflected on this years later, I realized that perhaps I was a man the whole time. In hindsight, the experience taught me not to have my male identity wrapped up in sports. There is more to being a man than being a successful football player.

While I was a kid, I took ukulele lessons for two years from the Roy Sakuma ukulele studios. It was a fun activity but, I preferred to devote my time to sports rather than playing the ukulele. When I attended St. Mary's I took my ukulele. Whenever I missed home, I would play it. The ukulele served as a reminder of my tie to my Hawaiianess and my home. At night, I would play the ukulele by myself. I knew the basic chords and sang popular songs. One day, my Mexican roommate heard me playing and asked what I was singing. I told him I was singing some Hawaiian songs. He was intrigued and he brought his guitar and we played together. We drank alcohol together and sang all night long. He asked, if, "all Hawaiians play the ukulele?" I said not all of us play. It felt good expressing my Hawaiian culture to my Mexican friends and they accepted it. I did feel like a Hawaiian man while playing the ukulele because there were so few opportunities to do so on the mainland. They did not know that the ukulele is a Portuguese instrument. I benefitted by exploiting their naiveté and used the stereotype of a Hawaiian male playing the ukulele to gain new friends. Playing the ukulele was a safe and acceptable way to express my Hawaiian masculinity.

Later, after returning to Hawaii, I saw a Japanese Okinawan guy playing the ukulele. This kid was amazing and I decided to take ukulele lessons from him. I spent three years under his tutelage. Due to my lack of musical talent, learning how to play the ukulele was difficult. My teacher told me that I had the worst rhythm of all of his students but that he had no students who practiced as hard and as much I did. He was a teacher and eventually became a good friend. I

spent nine hours a day for three years practicing. Eventually he opened a ukulele school and I was one of his teacher assistants. Through this experience, I became attached to the ukulele, carrying it wherever I went. The ability to play the ukulele allowed me to express my Hawaiianness. Ironically, it was my Japanese Okinawan ukulele teacher who brought me closer to my Hawaiianess by teaching me how to play. He would have me sit under the tree near the ocean, close my eyes and play. While I listened to the ocean, my ukulele playing got better. I felt connected to the ocean and the ukulele. It was weird, it was new. The connectedness I had playing along with ocean improved my ukulele playing ability.

As a teacher who plays the ukulele, it allows me to interact with my Hawaiian students. Ukulele playing allows me to be inside their group and connect better with my Hawaiian students. And, I feel more Hawaiian playing the ukulele with Hawaiian students than playing the ukulele with non-Hawaiian students. Playing the ukulele provides a space in which I can be a part of and accepted as a Hawaiian. There is so little that I do that is culturally Hawaiian. I don't feel like I need my Hawaiian student's approval to be a man but, perhaps their acceptance helps me to feel more Hawaiian.

It took me one year to catch my first tako (octopus). Despite going to the beach almost every weekend to catch the elusive and wily cephalopod, it had outsmarted, fooled and evaded my capture. The only way to capture this eight-legged creature is to do research. I talked with my uncles who had the "tako-eye". They explained to me that I have to look at the color of the rocks and that the tako will dig a hole and turn over and place the rocks next to their hole. I read numerous articles and even watched film on how to catch the octopus. I charted Cromwell beach. I noticed the tide and the time of day. I saw tako, but couldn't catch one.

It was the thrill of the hunt that made me feel like a Hawaiian man. I know my Hawaiian ancestors used to hunt octopus and it provided food to their family. When I caught my first tako, I raised the tako on my spear out of the water and yelled in triumphant victory. After catching my first octopus, I was faced with the manly decision to bite the head of the octopus; biting the head instantly killed the animal. My uncles said, “To be a man, after you get the tako on your spear, you have to bite the head.” My uncles told me that’s how Hawaiians used to do it. While the tako was inking and changing colors on my spear, I brought the tako to my mouth but I couldn’t do it. My friend who I was diving with said to do it, but I acquiesced and I drove my stringer through his head instead. The sense of accomplishment in capturing the eight-legged nemesis was all Hawaiian manly satisfaction I needed.

When I got home, I couldn’t wait to show to my uncles my catch. I told my uncles I did not bite the head and they said it will come in time. They told me that my job was not finished and that I had to clean and prepare the tako. My uncle showed me how to take out the innards of the tako. I had to flip the head inside out exposing its guts. At first, I was disgusted but the more I used a knife to gut and rip out the liver, heart and brains, I felt manly. I cut out the beak and the head. Next, I put Hawaiian sea salt and massaged the tako in a bowl to make it soft. He said that the tako is ready once you pull the legs apart from the center.. While massaging the tako, I cut the tako into leg strips. Afterwards, my uncle brought the raw tako to the grill. We opened the hibachi and placed the legs on the grill. I had to wait till the legs were almost burnt so that the tako was crunchy on the outside yet soft in the inside. Once it was done, I had to cut the tako into small pieces. Then I served it to my family. I appreciated the way my uncles taught me the entire process of catching and preparing the tako. This is similar to how Hawaiians used to pass on their knowledge to the younger ones. Most importantly, the satisfaction of providing food for my

family gave me a sense of Hawaiian masculinity. I went on a hunt and brought back food from the ocean just as my ancestors did. Tako hunting and preparation is one way I demonstrate my masculinity and a skill I will continue to pass to my children.

I have always loved the ocean. I love to fish and dive. One activity I love to do is surfing. I recreationally surfed for years. I would spend hours surfing with my friends. My longboard has a Hawaiian warrior tattoo painted on it that was given to me by my father. The connectedness of being in the ocean and doing what Hawaiians have always done is another way I expressed my Hawaiian masculinity.

However, there were times when people would cut me off while I was riding a wave. These people were usually Caucasians. Numerous times I yelled at these haoles because I felt they didn't have any surfing etiquette. There is an unspoken understanding that if someone is on the wave first, then you let that person ride the wave. I would get so pissed off at these haoles for not understanding the surfing culture. While swearing and yelling at haoles and giving them the stink eye, I felt a sense of Hawaiian masculinity. I felt I had to inform them about surfing culture. These are not your waves; we can all share and enjoy the waves. Taking all the waves and dropping in on other surfers is disrespectful. A Hawaiian man stands up for what is pono.

As a teacher, I choose to participate in programs that are designed to help minorities, in particular native Hawaiians. I am an elective teacher in a program called AVID (Advanced Via Individual determination). The purpose of AVID is to help students, who are poor and whose parents have never graduated from college, to graduate from a four year university. I have students who have potential but lack the financial resources to attend college. Many of the students that participate in the AVID program are Hawaiian. Much of the AVID curriculum consists of note-taking and other literacy skills.

For the past four summers, I have taught in the Punahou school PUEO (Partnerships in Unlimited Educational Opportunities) program. PUEO students are similar to the ones selected by AVID. PUEO students who participate in the program enter at the fourth grade and attend PUEO during the summer. Students are provided transportation and lunch and come in from all parts of the island. Many of the students who participate in the PUEO program are Hawaiian. It provides another opportunity to use my skills as a teacher to help disenfranchised students, specifically Hawaiians.

Along with a few other Hawaiian teachers, I tried to start a Hawaiian club called Nā Alaka`i (The leaders). The purpose for this club was to ameliorate the academic success of Hawaiian students at Cleveland High School. When we looked at the academic data, Hawaiian students struggled in reading and math. The idea of this club was to identify successful Hawaiian upperclassmen and have them tutor struggling underclassmen in their academic subjects. The club would meet once a week. In turn, when these struggling underclassmen became upperclassmen, they would help struggling underclassmen; providing a cycle of Hawaiians helping Hawaiians. Unfortunately, the club lasted only a year due to a lack of interest, but I still think it was an exciting effort to help educate native Hawaiian students.

Many of my students live on Hawaiian Homestead land. When I first became a teacher at Cleveland High School I noticed that Hawaiian Studies was not offered. I vowed if I ever became a senior social studies elective teacher, I would offer Hawaiian Studies. It didn't make sense to not have Hawaiian Studies when our school is located right next to a Hawaiian Homestead and many of the CHS students are Hawaiian. Some teachers suggested that I offer other courses to attract non-Hawaiian students. These teachers suggested that many non-Hawaiian students don't see the relevance of taking Hawaiian Studies. I replied, "That is all the

more reason to offer the class”. Currently, I have been teaching Hawaiian Studies for the past four years. I feel I would be doing a disservice to Hawaiians if this class was not offered.

In a way, I am a colonizing agent trying to improve the lives of my people in a colonized society. I am trying to prepare my Hawaiian students for an uncertain road that stretches out before them. Much like Christian missionaries, I am trying to prepare all my students, in particular Hawaiian students, for a colonized world. I teach them SAT vocabulary, how to write a research paper, and my goal is help them graduate and get all my students into college. My pedagogy is not as hands-on as I would like it to be. Much of what I teach comes from the assignments and readings I was exposed to in my master’s and doctoral programs. My class operates like a college seminar. However, I do incorporate indigenous pedagogical techniques such as observation, reflection and philosophical questioning. Topics of sovereignty, colonialism, and Hawaiian epistemology are everyday discussions with my students.

As discussed above, statistically Hawaiians are underrepresented in college. In an effort to improve these statistics, I started the Senior College Club. This was a club’s sole purpose was to get my students into college. Along with three other teachers and one administrator, we would meet with students after and help them look for colleges and financial aid. As a club, we met three days a week, after school. The club was open to all students, but with a special concern for native Hawaiian students. The advisors would teach Hawaiian students how to apply for Kamehameha School’s financial aid. This club existed only one year, but helped Hawaiian students get accepted and to afford college.

As I continue to struggle to look for ways to help native Hawaiians, I have partnered with outside organizations. Recently, I have partnered with the Queen Liliuokalani Trust. Last year, Tommy Kaulukakui made a presentation to my Hawaiian students about what it means to be a

Hawaiian man. In a modern day Hale Mua, the Hawaiian boys went into the auditorium to watch Tommy's presentation. The girls went into the cafeteria where they talked about what it means to be a Hawaiian woman. This year, we are partnering with the Trust to teach my Hawaiian students how to make a Kihei.

Another organization we have partnered with is the University of Hawaii Kua`ana Student Services Program. Kua`ana Student Services provides tuition waivers for native Hawaiians students. Through Kua`ana, students who receive waivers then volunteer their time to tutor other students at Cleveland High School. In addition, we have collaborated with Kua`ana in having a Hawaiian college fair at Cleveland, at which Hawaiian families can receive financial aid advice and become familiar with the college application process.

If it were not for the financial aid and scholarships I received from Kamehameha Schools, I would not have been able to afford college myself. Kamehameha schools helps to defray the cost of my undergraduate and graduate degrees. This has influenced my decision to educate native Hawaiians because it is my responsibility to give back and help other Hawaiians. In doing this, I believe I am perpetuating Bernice Pauahi Bishop's mission to help Hawaiians in a colonized land.

My father also had a tremendous influence on the reason I educate native Hawaiians. My father was part of the first graduating class of the University of Hawaii Law School. For many years, he was an attorney for the Department of Hawaiian Homelands. The reason he became an attorney was to help native Hawaiians in a western world. It is the idea to help Hawaiians in a western world that stuck with me as a teacher. I teach because I want to help Hawaiians be successful in this western world.

My mother was a social worker for Child Protective Services for a few years. Many of the families she tried to help were native Hawaiian. Many Hawaiian families live in poverty with multiple children. For some families, the legacy of colonization has led them to a life of struggle. As their case worker, my mother spent an inordinate amount of time devoted to these families. It was my mom's desire to help struggling Hawaiian families that also influenced the reason why I educate native Hawaiians.

As the former athletic director for the Roosevelt Rough Riders, my grandfather was a very successful track and football coach. He coached OIA track and won three state football championships in the 1950's. Along with his on the field successes, my grandfather's greatest impact was the quality of men he produced from his teams. To this day, many of my grandfather's former players are grateful and brag about how he used "tough love" to shape their character. My grandfather was a second father to many of his players. Many of his players were Hawaiian students. His teaching style of tough love has influenced the way I educate Hawaiian students, in particular boys. Many of my grandfather's former students would tell me that he saved their lives. His classroom was the football field, his curriculum were "life lessons", and what he helped produce were men of character. He passed on values of empathy, respect for diversity and demonstration of unconditional love, and left a legacy that one day I hope to achieve with my students. It is not the championships my grandfather won that define his greatness but the quality of future husbands and fathers he helped to create. It is these stories of admiration and fondness for my grandfather that led me to the greatest profession of all, teaching. I can only hope that my students, one day will describe me in a similar way that my grandfather's former players describe him. To know that teachers can make such a positive impact on the lives of young people attracted me to a career of educating Hawaiian students.

Similar to my grandfather, I am concerned about the type of men they will grow up to be. In this era of high-stakes testing and teacher evaluations, I wonder where character education has gone?

My concern is for Hawaiian boys. They have a higher than average propensity to dropout and are disengaged from learning. Many of the Hawaiian boys in my classroom have either a poor or no relationship with their fathers. When I asked my students how many of them have a positive and meaningful relationship with their father, few hands are raised. They seem unmotivated to do well and I see a cycle. I see a cycle of Hawaiian students failing in school and living a life of poverty and struggle. I want to break this cycle.

I want to be a proud of reflection to my students that a Hawaiian man can succeed in a colonized world. I want them to see that Hawaiian a man from, humble beginnings can obtain a PhD. It is my hope that my students see me as a “man” that has positively influenced their own definition of what it means to be a man. I believe a man helps others. I simply help educate Hawaiian students because it is my kuleana, my students need it, and it’s pono; the right thing to do.

## Chapter Seven: Jacob's Story

Jacob is a homosexual Hawaiian, Chinese and Portuguese male. He is seventy-five percent Hawaiian and maintains a two point five overall grade point average. He is not a special education student and not enrolled in any advanced placement class. He does not have a homosexual partner. Jacob participated in boys' volleyball for four years. His favorite school subjects are body conditioning and sociology. He has one brother and sister. He lives and is part of a middle-class family that lives on a Kewalo homestead. Jacob enjoys playing volleyball, smoking marijuana, hanging out with his family and friends and going to the beach. His hobbies consist of playing volleyball and shopping. He plays Hawaiian games and speaks Hawaiian to his cousins.

I chose Jacob because he is a gregarious homosexual Hawaiian student. I want to know how his experiences as a Hawaiian homosexual male student shaped his perceptions of manhood. In an in-class nature versus nurture Socratic discussion regarding homosexuality, Jacob admitted to the class that he was gay. After he shared that he was gay to the class, the class applauded him. After class, he told me that was one of the best experiences he ever had because of the response by his fellow classmates. Additionally, I would like to know if he was bullied because of his sexuality at school and how that may have shaped his perceptions of masculinity.

I have known him for four years. He was in my advisory class and I always had a great relationship with him. I was his older brother's football coach. His brother and I had a good relationship and this carried over to my relationship with Jacob. One of the main reasons I chose to interview him is because I have a gay sister. My sister is one who tried to be straight for numerous years but now is happily gay and has a life partner and they share three kids. During the interview, I told Jacob that I had a gay sister who probably wrestled with similar issues. I told

him this because I felt that this would make him open up about his experiences. I hoped to share this with him to show my empathy for his situation. Unlike Jacob, I did not have a moment with my sister were she shared her sexual orientation with me. However, if I had a conversation with my sister I would have handled it just like Jacob's brother; with acceptance. Because I knew his sexuality, I tried to create a welcoming classroom environment for him and others like him. I was aware that although Jacob was very comfortable expressing his sexuality in public, there are other students who are not. Jacob attends Kapiolani Community College.

### **Jacob's Story**

I live with my mom, my dad, my little sister and my older brother. My brother lost his job at Shorebird, but he's trying to get this security job, trying to get his life together. He has a baby now. My little sister plays volleyball. My dad is not working. My mom is a stay at home babysitter. She works hard and everything. My dad grew up in Kam IV housing and he can be a little rough sometimes. He would swear at her but he knows I got her back. I yell at him, "don't touch her!" He knows not to touch her. He already went to jail for hitting her so he ain't touching her again.

I grew up in Lanikai, Hawaiian Homestead. It's kind of rough; I see a lot of things that I don't want to see. I see people smoking ice, banging lines and people having sex in the park, handshake drug deals, a lot of that. When I was young, our neighbor got raided four times, and my mom had to feed them because they were just breaking into houses. We felt bad. There is a little rivalry here and there with families. Problems like money, drugs, and family. The Kiona's, for example, nobody likes them in Lanikai. They rip-off houses, drug dealers, they break into every single house, to get money for what they got.

The Hawaiian boys treat me good because I grew up with them and they know my brother. They know where I'm from, they know where I live, know how I act. My Hawaiian friends live in Lanikai in the Anianiku area. I always see my friends cleaning the yard, doing everything around the house, caring for their loved ones, working hard. Wait, one of the boys on my street, he has three kids and he is getting his bachelor's degree. I think that's a man. You don't have to play sports or anything like that. It's just how far you go, like the job after high school is everything. You work for the rest of your life especially if you have a family. You have to have a good paying job to take care of them. A man is a person who can care for themselves, their family, their loved ones, and do all the manly things all at the same time.

Some boys in my neighborhood are ok with my homosexuality. Some say hi, some don't bother. It is better that they don't bother because if they do bother and make a scene it just gets worse. Some are open arms, like my Uncle Joe, he says, "hey like burn". Ok I'm coming over. People have a lot of aloha for gay people in Lanikai.

In preschool, I used to wear high heels and I liked to dress up. I would dress up as Cinderella. I used to love doing that. I used to love playing with Barbies, brushing their hair and fixing it. Kids used to tease and call me mahu but in middle school it got worse. In middle school they called me all kind names like Ugly Mahu, Faggot, Fagbag, fag, where it just got to a point where I got sick and tired of it. I didn't want to be picked on every single day but it happened. I would go home to cry to my mom and she would ask, "what's wrong?" My friend, Shyra who attended Clinton Middle School with me always had my back. However, there were times when she wasn't around. I'd just be there and there would be like six boys picking on me.

One day it just came out. One of the bully's at school, his name was Joe. He used to always call me mähū until one day he called me a faggot. I got upset. I take it to heart. It's ok to

call me māhū because it is just slang and it's a joke. But if they call me faggot then that is a whole another ball game. Anyways, he called me, "you fish-eyed faggot" cause of my big eyes. I just got so pissed. I flew my plate lunch; I stood up and I told him off. I told him, "shut the fuck up bitch, I am gay and I love every single minute of it"! That was in front of the whole school in the cafeteria. They were like, holy shit. They were like, don't be teasing Jacob and then after that incident, everything changed. Boys shook my hand and said hi. I was no longer teased because students saw me stand up for myself. When people see a weak person, they are going to keep picking on that person. However, when I stood up for myself and they could see I was strong and don't like to be picked on, they stopped. Nobody should ever be a doormat. After the incident, boys shook my hand and say hi. Keo and Pekelo came up to me and told me that they respected me for standing up for myself. That's what you got to do.

My best friend this year, Noa, was teased for being gay last year. There were some boys who teased him and I told him to stand up for himself. I was going to do it for him but I can't be fighting other people's battles. I told him you got to stand up for yourself, tell them off. Not in a mean way, just tell them. I was there when he told off these boys Aaron and Roland. He told them off by the benches and then he was like, "I feel like a new woman now." I was like, "see", just like that. Everyone says hi to him and I see him following in my footsteps. I didn't do that well freshmen and sophomore year but I started to pick it up because of college and what I want for my future.

Cleveland High School welcomed me with open arms. Mr. W, since he knows about me and I know about his brother, talks to me all the time. My counselor is Mrs. H. I had her for four years and she was a big help. She helped me get tested and stuff. One incident in Mr. F's, class, were a boy name Lucky was picking on me. One day in class I just stood up and I flew

something at him. Mr. Fox said, “see that’s why you don’t piss off gay men, they are still men but they act like girls.” After that middle school incident, I was never bullied at CHS. I earned my reputation in high school because I stood up for myself.

I think Cleveland High School should have a LGBT club. I think it would help everyone get a better understanding before they judge and start picking on us. Students need to see that it really does hurt us and to pick on us can really bring us down. The teasing can bring us way down to suicide. They need to know stop bullying. Words really do hurt lesbians, gays, bisexuals and transgenders. We need to be heard.

I play volleyball at CHS. My volleyball teammates welcome me with open arms. I am pretty sure my coach knows I am gay. He loves me. I play hard. I give my team all my effort. Sometimes in the locker room, when we are walking by, they just turn around. They obviously think we are going to look at them. There are three of us that are gay and we use the last three stalls. In the locker room my teammates would yell, “nobody go over there, girl time changing”. They tease us but we know they are joking. During game time, we are all close. We all have a bond. They know I am gay. They don’t care. We play well as a team. My sexuality never gets involved.

I do some manly things such as workout and play football with my brother. At family party’s I play football with them and it’s like I’m in butch mode, butch mode is kickin in man. Sports have a lot to do with masculinity. I mean, it makes me want to be aggressive. I feel manly when I play volleyball. I feel manly when I hit a big kill, or an Ace. After, I try to celebrate like a man. When I celebrate I bring my arms inside and yell “yes” in my shirt. My teammates cheer differently by grabbing their shirt and flex. I ain’t all out like that. Sometimes when I see the boys with their shirts off I wished I was straight and had a body like them.

I see colleges looking to recruit me but I don't think they really take māhū's and stuff on their team. I have to show them I am a man. I can portray a man even though I'm gay. My biggest fear is that colleges that are interested in recruiting me do a background history. I am afraid that they are going to say this guy is gay and they are going to post it all over the internet. I'm just saying, if I reach to the Olympics, I am afraid they are going to burst my bubble, my shine, my hall of fame.

Homosexual men have a better understanding of what it means to be a man because they know both perspectives the male and female. Being a homosexual is hard. Heterosexual men like to pick, tease and they try to flirt with you. We take that flirting as loving and then we get attached and then it messes with our brains. For example, if they see a gay boy walking around they would tease him by saying māhū. However, it is more than that, like they say, "you like some" they lead you on and grab their balls. They know that gay boys suck dick, whatever give blowjobs and they just like to pick on us. Some of the gay boys like to go for it until it really gets down to it, and something could go wrong. They'll lead you on and then beat the crap out of you. I had that happen to my friend. I went to see him in the hospital at Pali Momi. I was at Pearlridge. They beat him up on the Pricebusters stairs. I wasn't there with him. I would have had his back 24/7.

For senior prom I wanted to take this boy but he couldn't go. I just took one of my best friend's. He's a gay guy. I used to hang out with him in Waianae. I was hanging out with my friend's cousin and they are all like tranny and everything. I was there when they got their shots. I thought about being a girl and I took one of those shots. I really didn't like it. I heard you can get cancer so I just decided to stay a boy, a pretty boy. I don't need to be a girl. I dated like seven

boys. One boy I caught him cheating on me, a couple just didn't work out. I like the other side of the grass.

In school all of the Socratic seminars really had a huge impact on all of the students and our lives. Participating in the seminars is life changing because everyone shares their opinions and they connect to mine. I contribute all these ideas in my life and think of what if I do this or that. One day in class, our class had a discussion about nature versus nurture. That one got me really interested because the question was asked, "are we born gay or are we nurtured that way?" I think I am more nurtured. I was raised around my mom's family and all the women, none of the husbands came to the family parties just the women. I was always with the women.

I shared my feelings and I was scared. I thought my classmates were going to judge me like how everyone else used to judge me. I thought they would say, "ill you're gay, get away from me". After I shared my feelings, my classmates all applauded me so I was super happy. Once they started clapping, I wanted to cry. I said I love each and every single one of you. I love you guys. When I told my mom what had happened in class, I balled. I was like mom this class is the best.

On my mom's side, we would drink and play cards. When we go camping, my cousin aunty Mamo brings the `ulu maika it was so fun. At baby luau's, choke (a lot) Hawaiian food, plate after plate, tray after tray then all the way until the end I get a little cup of poi. I would do more women stuff because you know when you grow up, I have to help. I would be in the kitchen with the ladies doing women stuff. With my mom and little cousins would check out the guys, sometimes they would ask for my input. At first I was like oh my god, my aunts and cousins would be like, "ill you're gay" but then after awhile they figured out that I was gay and I

felt comfortable with them. I honestly think I was born to be a girl. Since I was born, I do girl things. But again, nobody is born gay.

I would like to be a girl but if I were to be a girl I wouldn't have all these great things like sports and my friends. Some of my friends, when I talk to them, I give them my input. I share what I was thinking of wanting to be a girl. Some of them answered and some of them just ignored me. They never liked the idea, right then and there and walked away. I was like "wow"; you're not a true friend. Those guys should just honestly tell me. I wouldn't be mad or anything. I would just be like think, ok, that's your opinion. I'll take it into consideration.

I think a boy becomes a man during their middle school years during puberty. Some boys think that doing something cute will make them cute but they don't want to do the wrong thing. Boys want to portray a muscular man. When boys reach high school they are going to be like none of that stuff really matters.

My father's uncles' name is Keith but we call him uncle Kiti. He has three kids with his wife, she has four kids and she doesn't work a day. He works three jobs, and recently he had another baby. He takes care of the babies and he changes the diapers. During his lunch break he comes home and brings them McDonalds. He does everything; he is the woman and the man in the relationship. Ever since I was young, I wanted to be just like him. I wanted to be hard working, to never give up, to do everything for my family and help my aunty. She recently just got her breast removed because of breast cancer. He was there for her through that. He went to all, well some of the appointments at the hospital. He would come and pick her up and wheel her around. He likes to do everything and anything for his family to survive. He takes care of his own gay daughter. Recently she had a baby and we were all trippin, aren't you butchy? How come you have a kid?

My older brother influenced my perception of what it means to be a man. He used to tease me and we used to fight every day. I couldn't wait till I turned eighteen so I could move out. One day we had a deep conversation. He asked, "Jacob, how come you like boys? How come you can't like girls? So many girls would go for you. Even my friends think you are cute." I was like, oh my gosh, is he really going there right now. After I told him I had different experiences. After our discussion, he said, "If you want to be that, you be that. Don't let anyone change your mind."

My brother goes to work, takes care of his baby, and his baby mama. He helps my mom pay the bills since my mom is not going to work. I see him do all this and I see him trying to get back his license because he recently got a DUI. He still drives my mom's car but he works hard. He works harder than my dad. My brother had a huge impact on my life. One time, I was with my boyfriend Keia. My brother came all the way to Waianae to pick me up. He was looking for Keia. My brother wanted to know where this boy was because he was going to kick his ass. Keia hit me and left me in Waianae Valley Park. I was crying. I called my brother because I didn't want to call my mom. My mom probably would have gone to his house. My brother was right then and there, I was like wow. You are really a real brother because he never did that for anybody. When he did that, I realized I truly love him. Before I was like, I love him but from that point on I truly loved him. To come all the way to Waianae to pick me up and he just stormed out of work too. I was like you still at work and he was like I just walked out because you were more important. Oh man, and then he hugged and picked me up and put me in his car. He took me home. I want to be like that for my little sister. She is in the fifth grade and she is going to middle school. Those are the toughest years of life.

I want to show my sister that she needs to stand up for herself. Don't let boys push you around because I see a lot of it in my friend's relationships. They tell their girlfriends to give them money or else I am going to break up with you. That's not a healthy relationship. If I see my sister in that type of relationship I can talk to her. I'm scared she might take my reasoning or ideas the wrong way.

My dad isn't really a man because he hasn't been working for the past four months. He doesn't help out at all. He doesn't wash his dishes. My mom has to buy him weed, alcohol, and cigarettes. He's just a dead beat dad. If I ever had a kid, I would never want him to be like that. My dad drinks everyday and I don't know how he gets the money for it. I keep telling my mom we are going to be more in more in debt but she doesn't get it.

My mom did not really influence me about being a man. I told her I wanted to be a girl. She replied, "Ok, if that's really what you want to do but remember you were always born a man." I was like yea. Ever since that I wanted to be a man. After that, I wanted to do more manly things like work out, got bigger calves for volleyball and joined sports. I wanted to prove to my mom that I can be a man. Even though I can be girl here and there but I'm still a man.

My uncle lives down the street, his name is Elton. He's like the most m̄h̄uist guy out there. He can do all the technical stuff. He can fix computers, broken beds and even cars. He fixes cars in his nice shirt, nice shoes and all. I'm like "wow", you still gay but you can do all of this. Everyone calls him the handyman well actually the handywoman. He taught me a lot of things. That was my mom's best friend when they were growing up. He always comes over, here and there, drinks with my mom them. I am really close with him. This is my grandma's house, like this is the road and they live right here. Every time I am walking down, my grandma

lives in the corner and he always sees me. I always see my uncle working on his yard and help other people with their yard.

Homosexual teenagers have more pressure to be a man. Some of my classmates think we are not capable of doing manly things such as fixing cars and having babies. A person can be gay and have a baby too. We can do all the things heterosexual boys can such as participate in football, basketball, and lift weights. Number one right there, lifting. Getting good grades are masculine but not as much as working out. Being masculine in school is getting your work done. Math is a girls' subject. Men are better at working out than doing bookwork. Men would rather be perceived as muscular. Boy's value looks over brain.

Sports are masculine because it is aggressiveness. Like football, you need the power to hold the bag and to tackle. You need your legs to run. Basketball is aggressive. You have to be willing to be fouled and be strong so playing basketball is masculine. I just joined a club to play basketball. Well, there was this one volleyball game and we were down by a lot. I started to hang my head and then my teammates told me that I got this. Then I just shook it off. It just made me never to give up and to never let the ball drop. That's just like life, never giving up. I feel if the ball drops, it's over. I lost the game. My life is over. Volleyball is my life. If we lose, I take it really hard. I play hard. I don't want to lose.

Some people know where we are coming from. They all have the idea of gay people. They think we are all about sex. We are horny, we are hard-up, and that's all we want, boys, we want dick, we want sex. We want all the girl things and that is what being gay is all about. Being gay is harder than being heterosexual because we face everyday hardships. Every day is a struggle for us in the real world.

My boyfriend wasn't comfortable holding my hand in public because he was scared. School is different than the real world, people are harsh. People are going to judge. It's hard to just go out there. Being gay, everyone picks on you even on the bus, especially in Waianae. I used to stay with my cousin out in Waianae, and people are really mean over there. I was walking home with my cousin and she is small. She's like really tiny and they were flying eggs on us because we are both gay. They yelled, "fucking faggot! You don't belong here." It hurt because that's not just the things you tell people. Words, words really fucking hurt.

I have a cousin in Maui. It's my aunt's youngest. My cousin is gay too but pretty young, like twelve. She asked me if I was gay. I guess I was out and about and every time I go over there I have fun, I drink, I party. My cousin came up and she was like "Wow, I wish I could be so proud, proud the way you are". I was like, "well you can, be heard. Don't take anybody thoughts. Don't let them get to you. Just do you."

At this one party, this guy called me a fag. I mean I was just dancing, letting it go. While I was leaving, he threw a beer bottle on the ground. I was wearing slippers so I got all cut up. I went back to the party and I called him out. We fought by this river. He thought I couldn't fight but I was like "Honey I am drunk but I will kick your ass." He punched me once, and I punched and then I kicked him in the knee. Then he scratched me over here (my eye) and I had an earring and he pulled it out on this side. Then I was like, oh my gosh, the man came out of me. If people come at you first like in a mean way, if you have to fight. I am not the one who starts the fight but if someone steps to you, fighting is the right thing to do. The right thing to do is walk away but I fought more to prove a point.

Hawaiian men focus more on their culture and stick with their family and everything. They help out with their families but some of the Hawaiian men in my neighborhood are just

plain mean. I saw this couple fight and they are in their thirties. I saw him grab a heel and bash his girlfriend with it. That is not the manly thing to do. You don't hit girls. You don't hit women period. When I saw that I was like, I am never going to do that.

Some Hawaiian boys dance hula. Some boys think it is gay because hula is for girls. But no, hula is for guys but a more manly kind of hula. They think only girls perform the hula but little do they know boys can dance hula too. The haka is a manly dance, the yelling, and pounding on the chest, the craziness and the chanting. The chanting is a big thing. They chant loud because men have to chant louder and the girls kind of like a soft-pitch. That's how they are supposed to do it. "Haaaa" the elbow and shoving, it's forceful. Hawaiian man, oh yeah the haka, that's a big one. The cultural, the body, the buffness, the way they slap their chest. Every move that they do is manly and it has nothing to do with girls, nothing girly.

I am proud to be Hawaiian. I am actually Hawaiian, Chinese, and Portuguese. During elementary school, my mom would send me to Hawaiian immersion school. At the immersion school, I would do Ho`ike and stuff. We had our own dance and the girls had their own. We had our own male hula. Every time before entering the room we had we had to sing "Kunihi". Every time we had a field trip we had to sing "oli mahalo". We got to pound poi and every Thursday we would play Hawaiian sports, it was fun. Pounding poi is manly because back in the day I think it was done by mostly men. I see mostly only men play. The women are out grabbing coconuts, gathering the food and catching fish. I see men doing those Hawaiian things so those are the Hawaiian manly things to do.

Tribal tattoos have a lot do with being a Hawaiian man because most of the men in our neighborhood have tribal sleeves. Every design has a special meaning in their Hawaiian culture. They did the right thing like if you're going to get a tattoo get it for a reason not just to get it. A

tattoo has to have symbolic value. I would get a tattoo of my mom's portrait because she is the only one who is always there for me. She has been there for everything. School I wanted to drop out. I wanted to drop out last year. I had this huge drama. I wasn't talking to her. I wasn't talking to nobody. I was all depressed. I was trying to walk out and she held the door back and she said, "sit your ass down and let's talk". After that talk, I really, really, really loved my mom. My mom is my number one fan. Basically, she is my backbone. She keeps me going, so I'd love to have a tattoo of her. Just in case she passes away, I'll always have her close to me.

Most of the families in our neighborhood have tattoos. They get it for their Hawaiian culture. Usually the men have the same tattoo just somewhere else on their body. Some men say that he ain't a man because he ain't got a tattoo. You don't need to be a man to have a tattoo. I think it is more masculine to have a tattoo but it just makes you look more rugged. People don't like to mess with rugged people because we all that and we can scrap. Having a tattoo shows you are tough, ghetto, street, street smart and there is nothing wrong with that.

Lanikai has a sense of masculinity because the boys like to walk around with their shirts off. I think taking off your shirt is more masculine than just keeping it on. They walk all big, and they be yelling across the street. That's the manly thing to do just yell across the street, "we go drink". There are some gay people but it's more of a masculine town. Everybody thinks that we are all ghetto because we live on Hawaiian homesteads. My papa and grandma were like, everybody thinks Hawaiians are dumb, but it's not true, some of us are, some of us aren't. We just got to prove them wrong and that's why she wants me to go to college. She's like, come on, I like you be like all those Japanese. She wants me get a college education, have money, and a good job. Some of the boys that live in Lanikai just go high school, some drop out, some are still just hanging out in the neighborhood, thirty years old, still doing drugs. I want to get away from

that. If I can come back, I would like to do something for my community, like make the kids a better park or rebuild Lanikai Park. I'd like to add a pool or something, more kids would come, so they wouldn't be involved with drugs.

Coming from a Hawaiian neighborhood, with all this going on (drugs) we just want all of this to stop. Helping the community is more of a feminine thing to do, but men can do that too. My two gay uncles work for the community up there. I want to be known as a successful Hawaiian man. A successful Hawaiian man meaning I got out of my neighborhood. I wasn't a loser that stayed back. I quit taking drugs, quit smoking, focused on my career, focused on school, and sports. I want to be known, where people say, I want to be just like him when I grow up. I don't want to be like those other men in the neighborhood because there are a lot. I see them begging for cigarettes. I don't want to be one of those guys on the side of the road.

I got these ideas from my mom. That's why she doesn't like to go in the back of the house. My dad and his friends were gambling one time, rolling dice and my dad won and they got all salty and punched my dad and he got knocked out on the ground. They took his money. My mom would tell me, "you see that, they are all losers back there." My mom would tell me, "Jacob, don't be like your dad." Go to school, finish school, work hard because my dad didn't finish school because my mom got pregnant with my brother and then she didn't graduate in her year. She graduated the year after.

I watch all kind of Television shows: Jersey Shore, Rupaul's Drag Race, Buck wild. I watch every episode of Rupaul's drag race. I never missed one. That show is about how boys want to be drag queens. I see that I can be like that. Every episode has a lesson. One episode I was watching there was a girl who was crying. She told her story and she got beat up because she is from California. She got beat up on her 18<sup>th</sup> birthday by her dad. I could tell it was real

because she had real tears. Everyone was giving her open arms and she said that if you can go through that and still be on here, you are truly a hero to me. All the other drag queens were saying, wow, you went through all of that just to be here and look where you are now. She said so herself, that to come all the way to this spot is amazing. Rupaul influenced my perception of what it means to be a man while I was thinking about becoming a girl. After watching all the episodes I was like I don't need to be like loud and everything like them. I can be a man; I can still be a boy.

Jersey shore, man, it makes me just want to party and swag out. It's more of a man thing. The men I see in Jersey shore have swag, style and everything. They make we want to grow up and be like them and party. They show the manly things to do. In one episode, one girl caused a fire at one of the houses and they told them to burn it down. They do manly things such as how they dress, Echo, Abercrombie and Fitch or Hollister people think that gay boys. I wear those brands too.

In straight (heterosexual) magazines, I see couples and stuff, and it makes me feel, if I were straight, I could be like this guy and have my own family. I look at the guys in gay magazines and I am like, cause recently, a guy from our neighborhood, a family cousin, kind of like our calabash cousin. He wore blush and is gay and he won \$500,000. If he can be gay and do all of that, that's better than everyone out of our neighborhood. We were like all trippin. When I saw him in the magazines, I was surprised. It doesn't matter if you're straight or gay to go the top, it's just like how far you want to go in life.

Gay magazines are more about modeling. Straight magazines focus on working out and having muscle while gay magazines have boys posing in their underwear. Boys' posing in underwear is not very masculine. Celebrity magazines show me how to work out and provide

tips I can use. I don't see that in gay magazines. If anything I see gay designer clothes being modeled. I look at Playboy magazines and I say "wow." Ryan Reynolds had a picture of him working out, cooking, at work, and in a video. I want to be like him do all these great things and still be that one person.

Many of the magazines make me feel that I am not living up to be a man. I see their muscles and everything. I got muscles and I can do manly things. Some magazines make me think twice about being a man. It makes me wonder why I chose to do this when; I can do the manlier thing. Overall it is my choice, my choice to be masculine. Many boys feel insecure about their body because the magazines portray the need for men to have big muscles. I think they look at themselves and say, oh I am getting fat, I better workout. It does influence heterosexual boys because they can't live up to their level. They try their best to be like that person. If you don't do masculine things, that doesn't make you not masculine. That just makes you "smart masculine". Smart masculine is doing smarter things instead of working out. Working out, don't get me wrong, it's all good but like men can do girl things too. Smart masculine means doing housework and preparing food. I know they say only women are allowed in the kitchen but I think men can cook too.

Girl magazines have articles about how to find Mr. Right and what kind of guy you want to be with. These girl magazines say don't be with a loser boyfriend. There are a lot of those magazines that have to do about straight and gay. In girl magazines, they put things in their magazines like, "can men do this?" " Women are stronger because they go through more stuff than us. Girl magazines have stuff that say, men don't go through all the stuff we go through. I see girl magazines influencing my success more than men magazines. After I look at the girl magazines it makes me want to push myself even more, to do better in life.

I listen to Tyga. He is like a rapper. I am gay but I listen to rap music and girly music. I listen to Nikki Manaj, Taylor Swift, Katie Perry, and the Pussycat dolls. I listen to that and I listen to Little Wayne. I have my feminine and my masculine music. Make it rain by Little Wayne is masculine music because of the rapping and the value of his lyrics.

I watch the television show Glee because there is a gay boy in the show. He is not really masculine, but he can still sing and get good grades and go to college. Singing is more of a feminine thing. Watching the MTV show “Teen- mom” influenced my idea of a “smart man”. A smart man would have kids at like at thirty because in your twenties you want to be free, live life and party. You can’t do all these things if you have a kid to take care of. Watching every episode changes my mind about things. It makes me want to do what they do such as workout, party and get everything done in a short amount of time. I think that is masculine, getting all your shit done in the right way and still caring about yourself and others.

## **Chapter Eight: Keo's Story**

Keo is a heterosexual Hawaiian, Puerto Rican and Irish male. He is sixty percent Hawaiian. He is a special education student whose favorite subject is art. He has a girlfriend. Keo has participated in football for four years and boxing for six years. He lives with his parents and two brothers and three sisters on a Hawaiian homestead land called Lanikai. His family is working-class. On his spare time he likes to drink and build low-ride bikes. He enjoys making Hawaiian food with his mother.

I chose Keo because he appears to embody hegemonic masculinity portrayed in sports and the media. He participates in high school football and based from the literature, football is a factor that influences an adolescent boy's masculinity. I chose him because he is a special education student and wondered if his experience as special education student influenced his perception of masculinity.

Keo had a reputation of a tough guy. His senior year he was kicked off the football team for throwing an uppercut to an opponent during a scrimmage. Later he said someone threw a punch at his teammate and he was backing him up. I had his ex-girlfriend in my class the previous year and they had a volatile relationship. Numerous times they would have loud screaming matches in front of the school. One time, I witnessed her yelling at him and he got so mad he punched a moped and a trashcan. He and his brother were respectful to students and most of their teachers but they did have a reputation of being rough. However, he did have to leave CHS for a quarter and a half because he and his brother got into a fight in Lanikai. His mom moved him to Waipahu because there were people who were looking to cause harm to him. During the fourth quarter he came back and graduated.

I did not have Keo in any of my classes. However, when I walked and saw him in the hallways he would always shake my hand and say hi. I think he had friends who had me as their teacher and they spoke highly of me. His friends' recommendation allowed him to trust me even though the first time I spoke to him was asking him if he wanted to be a part of my dissertation. When I asked him to help with my project, he said no problem coach. He was very candid in his responses and shared the difficulty of being poor. He was succinct with his answers and explained them as best as possible. The other participants were more garrulous but his story is still one of amazement. Many of his ideas of what it means to be a man I thought at his age especially about sports. After my interview with him, we became closer and instead of shaking hands we would hug each other instead. Currently he has a job at a retail store.

### **Keo's Story**

I live with my mom, dad, three sisters, brother and my sister's boyfriend. Living in Lanikai is kind of boring but some stuff goes on up there. Everybody in Lanikai are drinking and partying. Kids are running around. Lanikai has changed over the years. I am older and people take me more serious now. Before when I was a little kid, they would just say that's a little kid. Now that I am older, people want to fight. They want to fight if you look at them wrong. See if you get action. They like test you but I like to chill. People over there look at you and like start something. Some people are cool up there but when they get all drunk and cannot handle it, they like fight.

My dad works for Kraft Foods. My grandparents are dead and I don't hang out with any aunts and uncles. My dad and I are cool. We would talk but nothing about manly stuff. It is good. We cruise with each other. We hang out, drink with each other. My dad did not influence my idea of what it means to be a man. My brother and I had to figure it out for ourselves. We had to learn how to defend ourselves. We had to ask our cousin. We had to learn from somebody

else, not our father. I got a job one time by myself. My dad or mom did not help get me a job. I think even if I had asked my father, he wouldn't even know what it means to be a man.

When I was in fourth grade, my cousin taught me how to box and how to fight. He taught me how to build stuff and to work with my hands and fix cars, stuff like that. You got to get shit done. Do what you got to do. It means you got to protect yourself. If anyone acts dumb, you can hit them and not be a bitch. Everything needs fixing. People are not going to go to a lady to fix a car. I mean ladies can fix cars but it's mostly guys who fix cars. My cousin is a man. He had his kid when he was a senior in high school; and he has been working since his freshman year. He has two jobs. Now he has two kids, one job, five cars and he's only 24. He is my role model, my hero. I want to be just like my cousin. I want to be a hard worker, get shit done and take care of my family.

Elementary school was fun. I went to Bush Elementary School. I got to grow up and go to school with the boys. I went to school with my brother, we would just hang out. There were no elementary school teachers who influenced my perception of what it means to be a man. In middle school, I use to do some bad stuff. In middle school, there were no teachers who influenced my idea of what it means to be a man. My brother and I used to jack (mob) people. We would burn stuff in the bathroom. We would smoke weed and drink alcohol in school. We would bully too. However, we don't do that in high school. We just became more mature. All the boys, we would watch out for one another because now that we are older there are more and greater consequences especially regarding the law. My friend Sam's father told me when we got arrested, he taught me a lesson. He told me not to get arrested. Don't get into trouble because now we are eighteen, the law is more serious. He said we just got to get a job and stay out of trouble.

At CHS, Mr. N influenced my perception of what it means to be a man. Freshmen year, he helped us with everything. My brother, Luke and Austin them had a teacher named Ms. H. She would pick on us but he helped me learn how to get one job. It feels good to work, to get money and to support my family. If we had any questions about anything he would just tell us. He made it easy for us to understand. He had high expectations for us.

In special education class people treat me the same. I think people are scared of me. I don't know why because I am a pretty cool guy. I hold myself well and don't take shit from anybody. I protect myself and I have a reputation. If people try to test me, I got to be ready. I think students think I am a bad guy because I am Hawaiian and how I dress. People cannot judge people by the cover and that is how some people judge me. Some students judge by the stereotypes of Hawaiians they met in the past. I am not like that. I am a different Hawaiian.

My male friends have not influenced my perception of what it means to be a man. I think the "boy code" is stupid; you just have to be yourself. Boys like to have sex with girls. That's how I feel. They just want to have sex with girls. All high school boys want to do is have sex, drink, and party. That's not manly.

My female friends don't influence my understanding either. Teenage girls just piss you off. They just make you pull your hair out of your head. They play with your mind. They think I am checking out other chicks when I am not. Ho brah, I felt like strangling the shit out of my girlfriend. She would be like, "why you talking to this chick?" I would be like, "I am not talking to this chick." She would be like, "let me see your phone." She looked at my Facebook page, no evidence. I thought just shut up already. They do not influence my understanding. I think girls want a hard-working man. They want a hard working guy that wants to take care of them. They take notice of that.

Schools should teach boys how to be men. Boys need to learn what it means to be a man and not hide. After high school, some boys relax too much and don't get a job. I would teach them how to make it in this world. I would teach them how to get a job and know how not to get into trouble. Boys need to learn how to make that money and follow their dreams. I like be one fighter or football player. After high school I am probably going to work at the shipyard. I used to think about doing Mixed Martial Arts but it's too much work.

I played football and I used to box. When I used to box, I learned that a man has to take a punch and get back up. Football was pretty hard. I never knew how to play football. I walked on freshman year and I never knew what to do. My father never taught me or put us in Pop Warner football. He just threw us on the field in our freshman year. I just did it for the chicks. I noticed that chicks never like that so then I did it for myself so I can smash guys on the field. It felt manly to hit other guys. It felt good to show people I can run over and smash guys especially the quarterback. I like hitting them, that's manly. If I had a son, I would put him into all kind sports like football and boxing so he can defend himself. I want him to be tough.

A couple times I have said, "that's gay." I say that to my friend Sam. I say it when we play video games, like Madden (football video game) and he intercepts the ball and I say that's gay. It means that's junk, or that's shitty. I am not teasing gay guys because if you like guys, that's cool. When I say that is gay, it just means shitty. I also say "you the man". It means that you are cool, you did something good. Some people take it the wrong way because they say, "you the man" after you beat somebody, that's just stupid. I used to beat up people but its' stupid because it's a waste your time beating up people. Just walk away and be humble.

There are manlier school subjects than others. Weight training is the manliest because I smash weights. In class everybody is in there competing. If I lift heavy, other people are going to

try to lift heavier and then I want to lift heavier than them. Having good grades are manly because it is good to be smart. I think boys should know that men read but it depends on how serious they take it. Boys need a wake-up call. Some boys don't want to hear what they need to hear. Some boys don't want to hear the same old bullshit like history and science, they don't care about that. Boys care about getting chicks and getting paid. Boys think life is easy but life is hard and they are going to learn the hard way. When boys get older, they are going to have to change for the future.

Chelsea, my ex-girlfriend influenced my understanding of what it means to be a man. She made me see things in myself and kept me in check. She would tell me to do this and don't do that. Fuck she would tell me to get to class because I would ditch class. I told her fuck you and then she would hit me. I would get angry and push people's moped and hit the trash can.

I used to work with her father; and I was doing electrician stuff. He took me in and helped me get paid. Chelsea wanted to learn how to box. I taught her what my cousin taught me and she became good. It's not the fighting part that is manly but helping her out that is manly.

I am not sure of what it means to be a man. Every man should be asked that tough question. A man is a hard worker, takes care of his family, doesn't think about himself first, and he thinks about others. He thinks about where he came from, his mom and dad. A boy becomes a man when he gets his first job. It is at that point when a boy becomes a man. He knows how his parents feel, how hard it is to make that money. It is not easy. A man is responsible for everything he does. He is responsible for working and getting paid.

I am a man because I experienced working life. I experienced a lot of stuff such as living a gang lifestyle. It's pretty nuts. Some people who are in gangs get beat up every day. Some gang members chill on the corner: smoke and drink. That's not manly stuff, just stupid stuff. I used to

think those were manly stuff but not now. When I met Chelsea, she taught me how to be better. Stop being a bad guy, be a good guy. Not all people like being in that gang life. I got into gang life and that's not good. But with Chelsea, it felt good to work with her father and get paid because you work hard for it and you learn the value of a dollar. Some kids get shit from their parents who buy them stuff, not mine. I get parents but it feels good doing things by myself. A homeless man is not a man. All they do is ask people for money, which is not manly. That is stupid. Make your own money.

I wonder what it's like to be a man. I wonder what I am doing with my life. What am I going to do in the future? If I have a family, what am I going to do? I want to know what kind of jobs a man performs such as construction. Construction jobs are pretty manly because you got to learn how to measure, drive truck, pour cement, lift stuff, all tough stuff. I think about going to college. My teacher Mr. C told me, struggle for five years and then live comfortably for the rest of your life. Mr. C told our physical education class last year you reap what you sow, whatever you do is going to come back at you. All his stories catch my mind, I always think, I've got to change. Stop being the bad guy.

It's tough to be a man. You got to hold it down. Whatever comes to you, you got to take it in whatever it is. If it is bad, you got to take it. If it is good, you got to take it. One time I got knocked out and I was crying. Sam said I took one hit but that's not manly because I got knocked out, that's a bitch. When I knocked out the guy, I felt like a man. I felt like a bitch when I got knocked out. A bitch is one who depends on other people. A man is one who does things for himself, he don't need help from anyone. I don't think I have to prove to anyone that I am a man. If you think you are a man, you're a man. If you let other people know you are man you don't need to show off. A man doesn't need to show off.

I am very afraid to show my emotions. That's a bitch right there. They are going to think I am a bitch for crying or talking sweet to a girl. I mean, I know what it's like to cry in front of one girl. I am pretty shy. Girls like manly guys; they don't want a guy that cries. Some girls say every man cries. If I'm sad, I am sad. Sometimes I cry but not in public. I don't want to show I am a cry baby.

Gay guys can be men. Some gay guys are manly but they act like faggots. Like Jacob, he is a man. He keeps to himself. He doesn't make fun of others. I don't know if he gay or not but I've known him since preschool. He is a cool brother. Jacob is responsible and he gets shit done. Out of all the boys I grew up with, I think he is going somewhere. I know that and people tease him but he is getting his shit done. He knows where he is going and a lot of us don't. Jacob has his mind straight. I guarantee he goes to school. He's going to get a good job.

I think many people think that, "Hawaiians are ghetto like that." I live in a very ghetto house. For four months straight my family had no electricity and no hot water. I had to shower in school then go home. Life was pretty nuts. We had to use gas lanterns and water bottles. My father went to the store and we showered with water bottles and cooked with a propane stove. My mother could not pay some of the bills and did not have money. She asked her boss to help pay for her bills and her boss paid for everything. Six thousand dollars he paid for our water and electricity. Her boss is cool.

A Hawaiian man is a man who lives off the land and keeps his heritage. I represent Hawaiian everywhere I go. I am proud to be Hawaiian. I show people that I am Hawaiian by what I say. I say, "sup Hawaiian, how you doing?" Sometimes I help my mom cook Hawaiian food like laulau, kalua pig, chicken long-rice. All men are the same. A man gets his shit done. A Hawaiian man is going to do what a Chinese man does such as taking care of his family.

The hula is a manly performance. If you can hula, you are a bad ass. I can't dance like that. In terms of manliness, boxing and hula are the same. For them to learn all those dancing moves, it's just like boxing. It's similar to how I hit the bag, same thing with the hula. I tried to do the haka for mayday but I quit. It's pretty nuts. That's pretty manly because you are preparing for war and be intimidating. People are scared when you do it. That's pretty manly.

I have five tattoos. The tattoos are about my family. I have one on my leg and it is for my sister. That's for my sister when my mom adopted her. I take care of her. I train her to box at seven years old. The one on my arm is for my tutu (grandma) because she passed away. On my arm is for my first niece. I love her so I put it on my arm. I get my last name on my back representing my father and where I came from and everybody knows who I am. I get 94 Black on my chest because I grew up in Lanikai.

I would be different if I lived in Waipahu. I think I wouldn't be as good because I think I am good here, in Lanikai. I would get my money by illegal ways. My brother is different now because he lives in Waipahu. Every time he comes over to our house he wants to fight when people drink. I just sit down and chill, listen to music but him, he likes to cause trouble. My father tells me to watch my brother. I am the only one who can tame my brother because we are pretty much the same but have a different mentality. Before I used to be rugged and scrap everybody but now my cousin tells me be humble. Being humble leads to less problems and more fun.

My favorite rapper is Wiz Khalifa. He is living his dream and he is the top rapper and he is making millions of dollars. He is driving Lamborghinis and all he does is rap. He has one baby. He is a badass. He started from the ghetto too. Now he is living the life. Everybody wants to be like him. I want to retire in Brazil with Brazilian chicks all over me. I would chill in a

mansion with my family. I would leave Lanikai and get off this rock (island). This rock is dumb. I hate this island, so much trouble. Everybody on this island is different. We are from the same island and we like fight with each other. Back in the day, Hawaiians did not fight Hawaiians. It is stupid.

Rapper Tupac Shakur song “Dear Mama “influenced my perception because Tupac never had his father. His mom taught him how to be a man. He grew up in the gang life with drugs and stuff. Eventually he would become the most famous rapper ever and he made money. The new term people use is swag. I think it means fashion. I don’t know. Some people dress fag not swag. I’m not sure what it means.

## Chapter Nine: Bullei's Story

Bullei is a heterosexual Hawaiian, Chinese, Japanese, German and Norwegian male. He is fifty percent Hawaiian and maintains a two point zero overall grade point average. He is not a special education student and not enrolled in any advanced placement classes. Bullei has a girlfriend. He has participated in football, and Pihana Na Mamo. Pihana Na Mamo is a program at Cleveland High School designed to help Hawaiian students attend college. His favorite classes are weight training and sociology. Bullei's working-class family lives on a Lanikai homestead with his mom, uncles, aunties, grandma, brothers and sisters. He enjoys drawing, playing the ukulele, listening to music and going to the beach. He attended Hawaiian immersion summer school from kindergarten to the fifth grade. He draws and designs Hawaiian and Polynesian tattoos. He performed the Haka for Cleveland High School's Mayday program.

I chose Bullei because I have a good relationship with him. Bullei has tattoos, and is interested in tattoo design. I would like to ask Bullei if and how tattoos influence his perceptions of Hawaiian masculinity. Although he had attended Hawaiian immersion school at an early age, I would like to examine if and how his experiences at a Hawaiian immersion school constructed his perception of masculinity. I chose him because he has performed the Haka. According to the literature, performing the Haka is a way to show a form of indigenous masculinity.

I met Bullei during his junior year from some of my senior students. He was always respectful and would say hi to me in the hallways. When he joined my sociology and Hawaiian studies class I got to know him a little better. He was quiet and did his work. As the semester passed, he was in jeopardy of failing my class because he did not do his sociology research paper. Although it was due a week before Christmas break, I gave him a chance to finish his paper and turn it in after the break. He did and he passed my class. Perhaps he felt indebted to me

because I gave him another chance to complete his paper that he agreed to participate in my project.

While interviewing Bullei, he was candid and open. During his responses he would wait, think and then answer. Some of my other participants would just share immediately what they thought but Bullei reflected, before he answered. Bullei's story showed how he learned how to be a man from his uncle not his father. His story about how he had to learn how to be a man without a father is one many can relate. It is a familiar theme in my classroom especially with Hawaiian students. Bullei continues to visit my classroom after graduation and is attending Honolulu Community College.

### **Bullei's Story**

I am from Lanikai. I have three brothers. I have a step-brother, half brother and my blood brother. I live with my mother, step-dad, grandma, my uncle, his girlfriend, and her two kids in one house. The house has an upstairs and downstairs. I grew up with all my cousins. Growing up in Lanikai is different compared to nowadays. In the past the kids used to go to the park and play together and ride bikes. Now, everyone is on their phones and stay at home. Kids nowadays are all into their electronics. They just stay home, drink, smoke marijuana or whatever. My brother and his friends go to the park to play basketball. Before, everybody used to go up there; it was always packed. Now, no more. Lanikai is very family-oriented. We all make trouble with each other but at the end of the day we still love each other. We always fight but love each other. People say we are all punks. They say we always make trouble. I know we can be troublemakers but we are humble and always there for everybody. I grew up there so Lanikai is a pretty safe place.

My mom worked at Clinton Middle School but not right now. My mom is a Hawaiian single mom and she expected me to be responsible and help around the house. After my uncle passed away, she never went back. I don't know why. My uncle got killed in a car accident riding his bike on August 9, 2011. His car crashed by the Lanikai sign. That was my mom's younger brother. He went to CHS but dropped out. My dad is from Lanikai too. He was always the smallest guy so he was always punchy. But he lives on the Big Island now. My parents got divorced when I was six or seven. My dad did drugs. My brother is a drug baby.

My dad wasn't the greatest because he wasn't always there. He was there for a certain amount of time but then he went to jail for drugs. I would always see him when I walked to school. Then he went to jail. He lived here for a couple years then he moved to the Big Island. I act a lot like him. He tells me to stay in school, do what you can and get a good job. He pays child support. He is a hard-working man. Every day, he leaves to go to work at 5:00 am.

In a way my dad is a man. However just the fact he wasn't there for us because of his stuff and dramas, it threw him off. He was there but not there. He was there right down the road at one house and he would just stay there. He lives in another house where they do drugs and stuff. He would come to my house just to sleep and then he would dig out so I couldn't really talk to him only when I walked to school or back home. I never knew he was doing drugs. Growing up, remembering the way he used to act and how he is now is different, I see a different person. I mean, he is still hard-headed but I still feel the same because he works in Kona and lives in Waimea. When I visit him on the Big Island during the day we never really spend much time with each other so I kind of felt shitty. It felt shitty because I go up there to see him but he works construction. Just the fact that we don't see each other during the day but when he comes

home we cruise and talk story. He lived here for a couple years then he moved to the Big Island. I always had my uncle so that helped.

My father was always smaller than my uncles so he always had to prove that he was tough. He would fight in school or if someone talked shit about him. He would just fight him because all my uncles were big and nobody messed with them. My boys and I go through it but in our own ways. We compete with each other in our own way. Who is stronger when we lift weights? Who is faster? Who is smarter? We compete by who can drink more than the other guy. Who can handle more drinks?

My uncle drives truck and he is forty-one. Since I was always with him; he saw what was happening with my dad and he took me in. He would tell me what to do and what not to do. He said not to do drugs and drink alcohol. I saw him drunk before because I have been his designated driver since the age of fifteen. I would go to the bar with him and he would tell me don't do what we do. He would say, "you see what happens at the bar." Then he said I should stay in school and get a job.

If it weren't for my uncle, I think I would be like my cousin Ekolu. He works hard but he stays at home and does nothing. He smokes marijuana. He had a job but got laid off. He just cruises at home. If it were me, I would try to help out my grandma. Just the fact that he stays home and sits on his ass makes him not a man. When he was in school, he was hardly home, dicking around at school. He would always come home because we all had the same chores, clean the yard and take out the rubbish. He would make sure to clean the yard then dig out. He is a man when he helps someone who needs it. We always love each other. He helped me with school work. He would tell me to do something to clean the yard or spread rock and he would help. The bottom line is that he was always there.

I went to Hamilton Elementary but most of my friends went to Regan Elementary. My other friends have kind of a punk attitude. I know I can be a punk but they are too much. I guess because they all grew up together. I really liked Hamilton. I went to school with my cousins. On our way to school we would all brush our teeth and ride in the car all together. Make sure nobody gets hurt. We really never did much because at recess we just played. When it came to class time we would just do work. We would just have fun in class after we did our work.

I attended Clinton Middle School. It was different; my friends were different. I had to act like them to fit in over there. I used to pick on the other kids. Well my mom and grandma used to work over there. I used to hang out with them afterschool. I was close with a couple of the custodians; they were like my uncles. I used to hang out with them; rake leaves. I used to help them even if I never had detention. I used to go on the golf carts and pick up the garbage bags and throw them away. I always had to be on my toes, always doing work.

In high-school, in my social studies class we learned how Hawaiians used to live. I can see those hands-on activities Hawaiians use to do and I'd rather do that than learn out of a book. I went to this assembly last year about what it means to be a Hawaiian man. Being a Hawaiian man is one who needs to be a good father. What made my uncle a man was that he was always there for me like a father. He and I are super tight. I have been with him for ten years.

One of my role model in school is Coach L because we are close. From all the talks we had, he kept telling me to be there for my family and to stay close to them. He said to always try your best. Push yourself. It gives me motivation. I can work my way up and get to the top. Like for weight training, I know I am not the strongest but I work hard. I push myself. In Hawaiian studies class too, I work hard. From all the lessons where we learned how the Hawaiians used to

live I can see myself portraying them exactly how they live. I consider myself western but I would rather be laid back.

Coach V is another role model. Last year, in my junior year, I was friends with all the senior boys; they told me that his class is different. They would tell me all the lessons how it changed them and their attitude. From his class, my perspective on things changed like the government and stuff. I knew my basic facts about the overthrow but when we covered more about that how the missionaries never believed in the ways how Hawaiians used to live. Even the trial with the lady who falsely accused a Hawaiian man about attacking her and her husband killed them (The Massie Case).

Bro's before Ho's is true if you are single but is not true if you have a girlfriend. The boys don't really tease. I think boys think smoking, partying and getting a lot of chicks are what it means to be a man. My friends like to spit game (flirt) with girls. We bring game and then we tell our friend, "you the man". At one point in time you feel like the man because you feel good because I flirted with a girl. I really never got chicks. I think that they think that is being a man because they are telling and comparing yourself to the other guy; and it implies that I am better than you. I don't think that is being a man. I think it is part of being a man, drinking and stuff. When you get older and working and providing for your family; you can drink to release stress but not to go home and party. Stay home and call some of your brothers and just chill. With my friends we just chill like, we don't bother anyone. I just play the ukulele and chill.

I listen to what girls say about boys. That influenced me to never push anybody. Girls want that perfect guy. They like a guy who makes money and who has a hot body. They don't realize what they have in front of them. I mean, they get one friend whenever they need it but

they just put you in the friend zone. They don't think this friend could take care of her. Girls want a man who has a job.

Schools should teach boys how to be men. Not only are you learning from your dad but learning from your male teachers and what they teach you. I would be learning how to be a man throughout the whole day and not just when I go home. Schools could teach us how it is to be on a job for eight hours or a whole day. When I worked with my uncle, we were building a house. I couldn't help much I just laid tile. I would always give them more cement, dig a hole or give them a shovel. I don't know if they are manly but bench competition and weight training. I guess they are manly because it makes me feel strong, like power in myself.

I played football for a year. Not really play because I was mostly injured. My lineman coach would always say, "Always show love to your family." Always do your best on the field. You have to always do your best and leave it all out on the field.

I've said "that's gay" and I have called people "faggot". Those terms usually means junk it doesn't mean gay. I would joke around and I tell a person's drawing was junk; I would say, "that's so gay." After, I would say nah, it's all good. Give them props. I usually say it to my boys but we only joke. I get choke friends. Without them I wouldn't be showing the aloha spirit. I would probably be a knucklehead and hang out with the wrong crowd. I think my boys have a huge influence on me. Having a good crowd of friends, are kind of like brothers because they always help each other. Same thing for my uncle, he is the come to me guy, for money or for this or that.

I attended Hawaiian immersion school. Immersion school is way different than regular school. We learned chants. We learn how to dance hula. We learned about the ali'i. Each year the school would give thanks to all the ali'i. Each of us would perform one mele (song) for that

ali`i. I thought that was cool, I wish I could stay in it but as you get older things change. It was different because the Hawaiian man who works for his family wherever their family is located; they would hunt or work in the taro patch and compared to nowadays like construction and working in the school, teaching and working in the offices. Every summer I had fun. I was always in school. At that time I really never liked it at first but I began to have fun.

I think being a man is always about providing and being there for your family. A man always loves their family. They protect and defend their family. A man brings back something; like feeds their family and he puts others before himself. A boy becomes a man when he can protect his family, works his way up, takes care of his family. A boy becomes a man when he can watch and provide for them. In some ways I am a man. I was kind of a punk to my brother. I never really showed him love. He and I do have our tough times but we still love each other. He always loved me but at times, he can be a punk ass. However, I am the oldest so I need to set the example. The toughest thing about being a man is if I don't get a job, what am I going to do? What do you do when you cannot stand up on your feet?

I wondered what it is like to take care of a family. I think about what it means to be a man at random times anytime of the day. I am not sure what masculine men do. My uncle's idea was, I am going to do this for you but you got to do this for me. For example, if he bought us clothes or took us to the movie, in return we have to pull weeds. Every time, people wash his trucks but then he would take us to the beach or make hibachi, buy some steaks and juice. I think I am going to follow in the footsteps of my uncle. I would like to drive commercial trucks but he says to do something better. However, it is kind of too late to tell me that. My uncle fit into that role of my dad but he did not replace him. They act the same. It was just the fact my dad was away.

I learned a lot about what it means to be a man by watching my friend's father and

mother. I can see how they act because we are all close. They make us feel that their home is our home. We clean up. If they need help, we help them. When we come over, there is food for us on the stove. They welcome us into their old house. We can walk in there like our own home. I know it is not our house but we respect their house rules. We clean up after ourselves and wash our dishes. My other aunty Chanelle always provided for her family even though she has five kids. They always have food in the house. She was always there for everybody.

I want to be known as a good friend one who helps others and loves everybody. Besides my family, I always give them respect. I helped my friend when he is upset. I tried to help everyone find a solution or help them feel better, especially with girls. I try to talk with them. I talk about their boy problems. They do and talk about the same thing over and over.

Boys are afraid to show their emotions. I am afraid to show my emotions because I don't want to be teased. My friends would say, "you cry baby" but if you tell them what happened, they will understand. If they know something bad happen they won't tease. The boys will be like leave him alone. That is what I do. I think boys know when something is bothering each other. I mean, we are playing around joking with each other but I can tell by their face if they mad or not. I think it is ok to show anger because you like take on the whole world. I will fight to show that they are not soft. The boys will tease you and say "Ah you fag." If you're mad they are going to be right next you. Your boys going be there and say, what happen? We go look for him. Whereas if you cry, your boys going say, "You fag." However, "you the man" means you get "balls". For example, if you ask out a pretty girl, I would tell my friend, "Ho bra you the man, you got game." It's means to be brave and to have courage.

A Hawaiian man is one who protects his family and puts others before himself. I learned that idea from the Hawaiian man conference in school. There is a difference between a man and

a Hawaiian man because of their lifestyle. Being a Hawaiian man, is one who is with everyone, keeps to himself and does his job. I try to take care of my brothers and grandma because my grandma is going through hard times. When my uncle passed away, she was sad. He was my grandma's baby. I am the closest one to him in her eyes. My cousins were bummed but I went to talk to her. I tried to make her feel happy.

I would have my son always be responsible and to never slack off. If you slack off it is hard to get back on track. Get him away from Lanikai and move to the country side because Lanikai has drugs and everybody from the neighborhood drinks alcohol. There are irritating mopeds and people who drink and smoke. My kids might be exposed to that stuff, I don't want that. The country side is not like that. I don't know much but I would teach him how to hunt just in case they can't buy food, they can always go fishing.

I use to do the hula in Hawaiian immersion school. Now that I am older I think the hula is manly. I understand the significance of the hula. I guess because it keeps the culture strong and that is how our story is passed down through the generations. My friends would see me and say, "ah, why you doing that for you girl?" But I still did it because I had no choice.

The haka or the ha`a is manly because the Māori and the Hawaiians would do this before they would go to war. They performed the haka and ha`a for intimidation purposes. I am going to kill you. The old Hawaiian days Hawaiians went to war. I don't know if they did it every time before you go to war. Performing the haka is an adrenaline rush. You get to look nuts and crazy. I performed it for our Mayday program. You got to make yourself intimidating. It's just the intimidation and you feel all the adrenaline and you just want to fight. In terms of manliness, the haka and hula are the same because it is a cultural thing. Both are dances. Men and women can do it but it is mostly performed by men.

I am in the Pihana Na Mamo club. During spring break we had a field trip and went on a tour of downtown and to the archives. We went inside the courthouse and watched a presentation of how Hawaiians used to live. We went to Ho`omaluhia and we did activities Hawaiians used to do. We worked in the lo`i. That was my first time in the lo`i. I never experienced that before and doing this the whole day it must have been nuts because had fields of kalo. It felt good because I felt that I was giving back. Just working in general and even cooking, we were cooking for everybody like for Castle High School and King Intermediate. I was the only one that went from my school. It was cool and I met new friends. The people who were in-charge had a good time. It felt good living off the land.

I got one half-sleeve of a tattoo. Having tattoos makes you a man but it has to have meaning. Each pattern has to mean something and is different. I really don't know the whole meaning. One part is my middle name. One tattoo design has fishes in the water, trees, and triangles like a forest, clouds and mountains. I was trying to figure it out. My dad's is from la`ie. My family used to own land over there. Ho man, that was sore. Maybe not the new style but the old style was more painful. Hawaiians would get tattoos from what I learned they did that to step up and be a man.

I want to be like the big time celebrities. I like the rappers and how they rap about their life and how they hustle for money for their family. Now they can take care of their family. They can give money back. There are some shows that show guys as stupid and doing dumb things. There are some shows that show the importance of going to college and stuff. I don't think the media teaches you how to act. You know from what you see on TV, it is not being yourself. I am not exactly sure what swag is. I think it how you dress, get fat chains, watches and clothes. People say I get swag but I don't think I get swag. I got whatever I got to use. I see all kind guys

with shirts that read “defend Hawaii” and I get some of those kind shirts but I wear the same clothes every week.

The media influences me so-so because there are times when I dream. I dream about making money but if you stay home and do nothing, you are only dreaming and not trying. I don't think you can learn about being a man from the media but maybe from gangster movies. I always thought Scarface was a man. Just from watching the movie. He had nothing and ended up being a multi- millionaire. Even though he did drugs, I thought he was a man. I guess in one scene he tries to give money back to his mother but she never took it. Scarface was trying to give back and help out. But she never took it. He gave his money to the sister to take care of her.

I like the Tupac Shakur song “Dear Mama”. I can relate to that song because I know how it goes with living with a single mom and trying to give back. I do what I can. Other than my uncle, my mother is the one who raised me. She always used to give me stuff like clothes. Even stuff I didn't need she would buy. Now I realized that it is not cheap and to get stuff, you've got to work.

## Chapter Ten: KL's Story

KL is a heterosexual Hawaiian, Filipino, Portuguese and Irish male. He is thirty percent Hawaiian and has a two point zero overall grade point average. He is taking an advanced placement environmental science class. He is single. He has participated in football, soccer and volleyball for three years. KL is part of Cleveland High School tech crew. His favorite class is science. He has seven siblings; three brothers and four sisters. His parents have been divorced for seven years and he lives with his father and sister. He identifies his family as working-class. After high school, he plans to attend the University of Hawaii at Manoa. On his spare time he fire knife dances and fixes his house. KL participates and volunteers at a Hawaiian summer school and has performed the hula for two years.

I chose KL because he is highly involved in extra-curricular activities such as football, has a reputation as a good student and was referred by other teachers. He does not show overt signs of hegemonic masculinity. He is willing to share his opinions and is very motivated to do well in school. I primarily chose him because I would like to know if or how his participation in hula and fire dancing influence his perception of masculinity.

My relationship with KL started at the beginning of his senior year. He was not my student but a lot of my students were friends with him. He seemed like a very popular guy and many students and teachers spoke highly of him. While interviewing him, he was very willing to share his thoughts. I knew him the least of the participants. However, when I asked him to be a part of this research project, he happily agreed. There were numerous times while I interviewed him I would just laugh. We both laughed numerous times and I realized why a lot of people enjoy being around him.

KL was the only interview who had an involved father in his life. He spoke at length about his parent's divorce and how he had to help his disabled father. He shared about his expertise about women and relationships. KL was accepted into the C.O.P (College of Opportunities) program at attends the University of Hawaii.

### **KL's Story**

Lanikai has a specific masculinity. Every section where there is a Hawaiian population, Hawaiians are in a defense posture. In Waianae, Maili, Waipahu you got them. Each place has their own identity. Lanikai is on the high ground. We really didn't have much because we were kind of small. I really didn't live on the heights of Lanikai but on the Anianiku side. It was very rare I would go up there. Hawaiians from Lanikai are tall, that's all I got. The stereotype Hawaiians have in Waianae is rough and it's not recommended for military people to go over there. The Hawaiians are still people and if the military go to Waianae they better be ready for a battle.

I live with my father. My parents are divorced. They have been divorced for about six to eight years. I live with my dad. My mom lives with my grandma. I grew up in Lanikai. My dad doesn't live in Lanikai but I always used to go to my grandma's cause of babysitting, like my mom started to live there and stuff. I grew up there and I became friends with everybody, hung out here and there. Then I would have to do chores and stuff so I cleaned the yard, and I learned new things like about the lawnmower and how to paint.

I am the middle child and I am one of seven children. I have one full sister, the rest are half so it gets complicated. The two oldest ones come from my dad and his previous girlfriend. And there is one older sister right above me who came from my mom from her previous boyfriend. And from my mom and dad is my youngest sister and I. And then after that there are

two more that came from my mom and then after that relationship she had one more which is her thing now.

My mom is part of the reason why I had to grow up fast. My parents split and then whenever we went with our mom, it would be hard because sometimes her income was unstable. We would have to learn how to cook for ourselves. I would have to take on the responsibilities of a parent. Because I was the boy, I would have to take out the trash, move stuff and make sure things were in order. I would help carry and wash the clothes, cook, clean all of that. I learned how to take care of myself plus I had to take care of others like my siblings. When my mom fell on hard times, I'd be there for her and I still am. I would have to do more and come out of my comfort zone. If it meant that I would have to lie to my dad to help her out then I would. I did the same for my dad, if I were to help my dad I would lie to my mom.

My parent's divorce was crazy; I have seen it all. I've seen my parents argue with each other and then my mom would fight other people. Every time they would see each other they would fight because my mom would want the kids but then my dad would need them this weekend. This one time, I was still in elementary school, my parents were fighting over who we were supposed to be with. Legally, my dad has custody but they started a commotion. I hated it when the cops came. They made a big deal in front of everybody so then I just told my dad that I would go with my mom; it would settle things. After that I went with her and she was happy and it was better.

My mom does human resources stuff such as picking up her clients and taking them around and taking care of them for the day. I don't get to see her as much as I'd like to. Through all the experiences I have with her, I have been with her through her worst and through her best. My mom was bi-sexual for a time. After the divorce, she would jump around from one woman to

another. We would move houses sometimes, we would move here and there. During that time I would have to do stuff on my own. I would have to watch my sister while my mom has to do something. I would have to fix things before my mom gets home or if she broke something.

When my older brother moved out of my dad's house, I would have to do more for him. He would want me to do this and that. He became handicapped during his job; he hurt his back. He is a resident manager of the building where we live. Due to his injury and disability, he would have trouble sometimes maintaining the building. He would rely on me to go check something. I would have to grow up and do more. For example if there was a flood or something, I would have to go first to try and stop it, turn it off. I learned a bunch of new things. I learned from him, but like the things that a regular father would do, like take his kid out and stuff, he couldn't really do.

I would learn to do things with my father. While he worked as a resident manager, I had to figure what size of a pipe goes with this, how does this flow, what part needs to be fixed and why does it need to be this one and how to mow the lawn. More importantly he taught me how to act around people; around certain people you act a certain way. My dad does it when he works in his office, sometimes people will come down. The people who are in the building are not really Hawaiian people; they are white people. White people's etiquette is different than what my dad grew up with. He taught me when to talk and when not to talk, how to respond and how to act in front of them. Sometimes I would do something wrong; I would talk out of turn and he would tell me that's not right. The recent thing I picked up from him is how he handled a situation with a lady. This lady that doesn't like him walks into the office and how he reacted to her like how he says she is a very bad person and how she wants him to get fired. She causes trouble for the other residents but when she walked in, he didn't pay any attention to her, didn't cause her any

trouble, he just said hi. Then he petted the dog and he ignored her for a certain amount of time. After she left, he started to tell me with some people you still be friendly but don't pay attention to them. Make small talk but don't talk to them or else they are going to instigate something. They might cause you to lose your temper. He taught me that. I guess he taught me how things are such as stuff about cars and other things. When I am with my mom at Lanikai, I picked up a lot more because my uncle would teach me about cars, how to drive, cut grass, paint, fix the roof, and fix the plumbing. My dad would teach me some stuff, but for me to put it into effect I would go to my grandma's house and help out with my uncles because I like to help people.

One day there was a bunch of these guys walking down the street, and then this bus was about to leave. There was this old lady trying to catch the last bus of the day. This guy noticed her and he ran to the bus and then stopped the bus. I was in middle school. This guy went out of his way to help this lady he doesn't even know. After he was talking with his friends and they were trying to act cool. I guess I picked it up like I thought about it and wondering if that was me trying to catch the bus, what happen if somebody noticed but never do anything. If you notice someone who needs help, don't just stand and watch, go and help them. I've done it a couple of times. I would put myself in their shoes and I kind of noticed if I needed help, others would help me too.

My mom influenced me to be a man because I wasn't really around many males after the divorce. I would have to take on new things and learn what not to do to women. Not to piss them off when it is their time of the month. Not to hit them. Sometimes she would mention it in a joking way or whatever because my mother and I joke together. She used to joke about it and stuff and then my sister would hit me. When I would want to retaliate, my mom would tell me no so I would know. I just took it. I guess it made me grow up because it is just me and a bunch of

these women. I had no idea what I was doing so I just kind of had to figure it out. I was trying to figure out what women want such as how to make them happy without interfering with their other lives or whatever, stuff like that. I learned a lot about women from my mom.

I've been in and out of relationships with women. I know what type of girl she is from her appearance and then I try to talk to her. I try to figure out what she likes and what's different from her than someone else. If you find the difference, in a woman from the others she will pay more attention to you but it's kind of hard sometimes. The hard thing would be if they don't open up because any relationship you would want to open up. I really never open up that much because of the things I have been through. I hold stuff in. It is senseless to tell other people about my problems. My parents' divorce or my mom being the way she was, jumping from here to there, being unstable all the time. My dad how he is, like handicap, like how old he is and stuff and I just don't want people to have pity for me. Why burden others with my problems?

I have these two friends, they are my bro's but there is one that sticks with me and the other one goes to another school. They have been with me for a long time and we do stupid stuff together. We know the extent of what is wrong. For example, if we wanted to pop fireworks we would do it in a concealed place not just anywhere and fly them everywhere. If we wanted to make a bonfire at the beach, we would make it big without attracting attention. We would know right from wrong. Or if they catch one another doing something wrong we tell them. One time, we were walking to Ala Moana and there was this guy who called us out. I don't really like to fight unless I really need to. My friend started to pay attention to him when my other friend wasn't and said it is not worth it to pay attention. The guy was drunk and it would be a waste of time and we needed to be somewhere. We told him it is not the right thing to do so we just walked somewhere else to avoid the problem. If you get into a fight with them, someone will call

the cops then our parents will have to come and then what, our privileges get taken away and then what do we have after that. We would have to wait a month or two before we can go out again. We just tried to avoid those types of problems.

I went to Lincoln Elementary. It was fun. There were no special teachers there. Then I went to Clinton Middle School. It was very different than elementary school because we had to learn to go to different classes. In middle school, that's the time everyone's hormones start to come in and you observe a lot. Some people jump friends and stuff because their old friends might be going down a different path so they might want to go somewhere else. I saw that a lot. I stayed with my friends from elementary school. We did our own thing. There were no influential teachers at Clinton Middle School. My favorite subject was physical education because that was the only time we got to actually do some fun stuff. I developed that when I was in elementary, I am a hands-on learner. I like to work with my hands. At Clinton, that is where we learned to sit in our desks and like pay attention. In class, I would just sit there, playing with my hands, wanting to do something. P.E. came around and I did great.

Cleveland High School is pretty good because we got to meet new people and new teachers. I guess it's not rowdy there. I can handle rowdy to an extent so that's the good thing about it. It is a small school so everybody knows everybody and plenty people know me so it's good. I feel I have matured a lot.

Cleveland High School helped me mature through my participation in football and sports. They helped me out because coming in as freshmen on the football team, you start to learn how the guys act, how they hit, their skills, what do they bring to the game. I remember my freshmen year I took the biggest whack in practice I still stood up and people started to respect me and they started to come to me and say good job and I was like, what did I do, I just got knocked. But

the fact that I stood back up and I didn't quit people respected that if you don't quit so that's what I picked up because if you start something, you should not quit or you might regret it. Freshmen year I tried out for quarterback but I couldn't get it. It was irritating how the positions would switch but I still wanted to play so one day the receiver coach saw how tall I was getting so he put me as tight end. There weren't many tightends back then so it was pretty fun.

There was this one football coach who had a job, had kids, and he would still show up, taking time out of his day to practice with us. I saw that a man can provide for his family and still do what he wants to do. The way he talks about women and stuff. One time there was a cheerleader and he was like, KL, your girlfriend stay over there. I know you like her just go and that is all he would say. Then there is another coach, very different. He really never had a family. He had a job but it wasn't the best job. It was a job that would allow him to coach football because that's what he loved, and he couldn't play it anymore. I felt bad for him because you could tell the difference between the two coaches. He did not have a wife so I noticed and what he would say about women and the cheerleaders. The first coach would say that we should respect women. The other one you can tell he would fight just to fight. The other would fight only if needed. He would first understand the situation before he got into it.

One day, a bunch of Hawaiian elders came and spoke to us. His name was Tommy Kaulukukui. There are three things that make a Hawaiian man and I found that helpful. A real man fends, feeds and the other one was like fights, feeds himself and I forgot the last one. I think it was Fark. That actually opened up a lot. I found out more about a Hawaiian man. What is the difference, how you can tell what a man truly is and that is pretty true. Like a real man wouldn't feed himself before others before his family. Fend, defend the family but not attack first or like something like. Basically, he said there is a difference between a Kāne and a Kanaka and just

because you're male doesn't mean you are a man. Coach V is an example of a man because he would fend before he would fight. Then he would feed others before himself. He got that respect from people.

I guess some people feel they are a man once you turn eighteen. But it isn't your age it is how you act because some men aren't men when they are forty. I got these ideas from a lot of places. Some stuff I learned from Mrs. C's class. I learned how to tell whether a person is grown up or not, stuff like that. Somebody told me about the age thing, like some people are going to be stuck in this stage but did they move on from this stage to become a person or real man or whatever it is.

I really don't think there is a manlier school subject than others. Maybe physical education but then that's not really a manly subject, I mean any athlete can be good at PE. One day you are going to have a wife and you are going to try sweet talk her, well you're going to have to know how to rhyme.

My male friends don't really influence me too much. I do observe them. For example, with girls, they talk about doing this with a girl. Sometimes I wonder why he would be saying that stuff. They horseplay a lot but they should calm down especially if they are in a populated area.

Some of my female friends constantly vent to me. They share what made them mad and what their boyfriends are doing wrong. They talk with me because I have been in a lot of relationships; my specialty is women and relationships. The fact that I can be talking to one girl after that I'll be talking to another girl. I guess people come to the conclusion that I've been there and I have my own experiences. I get there information and give them solutions. I tell them what they are doing wrong too. I got that from my mom because like I said, I was the only guy so I

would pick up stuff such as what clothes go with what and what matches. I can tell what couples will stay together and which ones will not because some couples do not match. Some couples really like each other or do they really don't. Observing and being with my mom, I can tell if a girls' outfit is off because their hair is off along with her makeup. I think you need to learn that stuff. I guess some people think that in order to be a man you have to be big, and strong and stuff but when it comes to a woman, do you really know what she wants? I am good at that and if I offered bad advice than girls wouldn't continue to come and talk to me.

Some girls want a muscular guy and some want a smart guy. It all comes down to the girl and their stage in life. I can tell which girls are looking for the smart ones and which ones are looking for the good boy. The local ones I can tell they want a muscular guy because they want a man who can protect and provide. Some Asian girls, they don't really go for the biggest guy, he's cute but he's dumb, he smart, he's a little cute but not that big. Some girls don't really go on a guy's appearance but rather what they know and how guys react to things. The girls who want the smart ones are cute and are more likely to be the quieter ones. The girls who want a big guy seem to be more open because if they got a man who will protect them, if someone talks smack about them their boyfriend will come in.

Drinking is the manly thing to do. A lot of men do it, just sit down, drink, talk story, laugh, and cry sometimes, whatever. The type of partying some boys do is just rage, that's not a man. I'm not going to lie, I have drunk before but I learned not to go crazy and handle what I drink; I know my limits. I've been drunk before but I am the one that just sits there and holds his beer and doesn't bother anybody. Then there are those guys who crazy and stuff and I'm like, what are you doing? Are you trying to get attention or something? Some guys feel they need to be seen drinking but it doesn't matter. You can come to my house and we drink but you can

come and not drink. If they are cool with it, then that's fine. It doesn't make you a man if you drink but whether you can handle your alcohol.

A man is one who demonstrates responsibility, respect and improvises when needed. Every guy improvises especially when he is in a relationship. For example, if you forget Valentine's Day what are you going to do? Instead of grabbing roses, go outside and get some flowers. Later on that night, stop by the flower shop before you go home. Get candies or book a last minute reservation. From my experiences and stuff I would do something like that. Some girls vent to me so I learn from them. Mr. C says, "you reap what you sow". I learn all of this and apply it. Some of my exes want me back because they say I'm the best boyfriend they had. Improvise, respect and responsibility, resourceful and be flexible. There is always going to be times you got to be flexible, especially if you are going to have kids.

I am not a man yet because I haven't found a girl so I can't show my true potential to fend, feed, how to be flexible, respectful and responsible. I had that girl before and I screwed up. You learn from your mistakes, most of them. A true man will learn and keep learning. A boy becomes a man when he knows right from wrong. They will know their responsibilities what they need to do. A boy knows when he is a man when he starts to grow hair in places, under your arms or on your legs, not when you get taller or bigger. It's not when you turn 18, it is how you act. The biggest way you know is how to act because if you are a real man, your first fight in a relationship will not be until after the first three months.

It has been mostly women who influenced my perception of what it means to be a man. When I got to my grandma's house, my grandma always needed me to do something. I would ask her what do you need me to do? Grandma taught me how to be open and caring. She had ten kids; my mom is the oldest girl. My grandma taught me how to be caring and to be somewhat

resourceful. She showed me how to be open and to accept people. My grandma's partner taught me how to cook, how to clean and what to do and what not to do. I took it as everybody needs to learn it. Everybody needs to know how to do it. I did not feel less of a man for doing those things because if you go to the fire department, they are all men and they have to cook. It doesn't matter. Especially when you are with your wife or whatever, you got to take on some responsibility too. What if she has a job too, she can't do everything. I learned how to wash dishes and cook rice.

That's another thing I learned, a lot of my family are gay or lesbian. I learned that you treat them equally because they are still your family. Boys need to have a male figure and that's where my dad came in. Living with my mom, being with girls all the time, sometimes it would get to the point, where it was pretty gay. I remember this one Halloween; she wanted to put makeup on me and wanted to dress me up as this little demon thing. I must have been about four or six years old or something. I was like no I'm not doing that. There was this other time when I was ten or something, I was with my mom, my sister, and my mom's partner. They all went to this party where it was all girls and I was the only boy there. At the party they would treat me differently because it would be all girl stuff. They would want to put it all on me and stuff and I felt that was not cool.

Boys try to prove their masculinity to other boys. Some boys compete over who can lift heavier weights. If he lifts heavy weights than he's the man but I don't think that's the case. I don't bench that much, my recent max bench press is 205lbs. I really never benched that much but they still really considered me a man. I guess because they know me but bad things happen when another guy tests another guy, I have seen fights. It's always the one guy coming into the other guy's face. Then they start to throw punches, and that's the real test, but that's just weak.

Sometimes it starts as horse-playing but then it escalates into something more. There are guys that want to be buff. There are guys that want to be funny but they can actually be smart. Guys don't want to be perceived as smart. I don't think teenage boys think that being smart is part of being a man. Girls have good grades and stuff. My grades are average I don't have that extra drive to achieve that 4.0 grade point average. It's harder for me because I am a kinesthetic learner, I prefer hands-on learning.

Hawaiian student's value education but we have a life outside of school. We got stuff to do, we have chores at home. Our parents want us to graduate and stuff but we still got to do our chores at home; we have to do it. That is why some of us play sports, to avoid going home, that's what I do. Then again that mentality does cut into our education but I don't know. We don't really learn in school in a meaningful way as much as we used to. I stopped caring about school after the seventh grade. During middle school I started to mature more. In seventh grade was first time I failed because I was so busy trying to manage stuff; and my mom would want me to do this and my dad would want me to do that. I still do it now. My dad has this thing that I have to be in bed by nine but I know I have homework to do so what do I do? I end up going to bed. I know how I am but if it really needs to be done then I would stay up and do it. I guess I follow what my parents say to do this and do that. I know I got school work to do but I don't have the drive to do it. School takes a big part of our life but when we look at school, it's just benefiting papers. It's just about papers but when you dealing with family obligations, you're dealing with other people so I need to do that stuff. You know how Bullei said he has to pick up his brother, then after he picks up his brother then what is he going to do? Does he have time to for homework? Not to be racist but Asians push their kids to do their school work first that's why they do well. Not all of them but most of them. Our families are unstable so we got stuff to do so

school is not a priority, school is just papers. We look at life and we have to deal with other people. I would rather help people than work on school papers. The problem for Hawaiians is our drive but sometimes we got to work. Teachers should be more flexible to Hawaiian students' needs. For me, I can put off homework but if you give me that whole week I will get it in. I will get to it to you when I get it to you and if I don't, you can punish me. But if I didn't do it, it means I probably had something else to do.

All boys, all men are afraid to show their affectionate side. I don't like to show my affectionate side or show myself crying about something. The sad part is I got caught a couple of times but it wasn't anything major. I guess when we get mad, we get angry and when we cry we get angry to cover up when we are sad because that is manly, anger. But if a girl sees you cry it is kind of gay. If a guy sees you cry, that's kind of gay. They think that's not a real man. What most guys don't realize is that a real man will express their feelings and actually break down once and cry. However, he may not do it front of everybody. If he does do it in front of people he is a man because he it takes a lot for a man to show he felt. Whereas others would just get mad and start punching stuff but what does that do? We know you are big and strong but how are you on the inside.

"You the man", means you're good at what you do. The man is good. I use it in a good way for that one time for that one instant. I say "that's gay" too. I use it but you got to know when to use it. For example, if a gay person is in the class, you can't really say that; I'd probably say that is weak instead. I wouldn't say that because what if it offends them. You can use it with the guys and because they are not gay so it's all good. Knowing when is the right time to say the phrase is important. Some gay guys are pretty cool with the phrase they would actually tell you that they are gay.

I am not fully a Hawaiian man because I really don't look Hawaiian. I am one-fourth Hawaiian. Some people know that I am but other people that I just meet don't. To be a Hawaiian man there is a little bit more to it than being just a regular man. A Hawaiian man is one who represents something such as their Hawaiian community and shows the positives aspects of life. Sometimes Hawaiian males get shot down, but to be a true Hawaiian man they actually bring the status up. I do not consider myself to be a Hawaiian man, not yet. I will know when I am when I actually make a difference with people I guess. I grew up and I always want to figure out what I wanted to do, be someone who helps people. I wanted to make a difference in someone's life. A Hawaiian man will make a difference in the Hawaiian community and actually help out and stuff but given I'm only eighteen, I can't do much now.

My uncle on my mom's side of the family influenced my idea of what it means to be a Hawaiian man. Because there were ten of them under one roof, my uncle told me how he had to improvise. One day my uncle said you are going to have to wash your clothes yourself. They kind of told me to mix and match your clothes throughout the weeks and don't wear the same clothes the same time in the week so people don't know that you are unstable. Growing up I would have to borrow and share stuff. They taught me a lot about the man's stuff but honestly, three of the six uncles on my mom's side I would almost consider them Hawaiian men. Two of them I would and the one is working on it because the two have stable jobs. There doing something with their life. They hardly got into any fights. I am pretty sure they've gone to jail once or twice but they haven't been there frequently so that's fine.

I would teach my son what I know. Obviously he can't learn all of it. He needs to know respect and responsibility. There's the taking care, flexibility and improvisation parts and I

would bring it up to him slowly. He would know, how to respect others and know the limits and know what makes a man and not to party.

Fire knife dancing is pretty fun. I don't like to perform in front of people but like I to do it. My mom decided to put me into this class and I guess I started to do it and I liked it. I enjoyed lighting up the fire and just going and doing all these different things and tricks. There is one move in which you have to put the knife across your chest. One time the metal part accidentally touched me so that hurt. I wear a malo but it's kind of like a wrap; I modified it a little bit. The front looks like a wrap but then the elastic is holding on to you and it looks like a lava-lava. I wear ti-leaves by my shins and around my arms just in case. I've been performing for a couple of years, off and on.

I had to stop fire knife dancing because I started to participate in high school sports. I couldn't do it as much but I still do as a hobby. I feel manly when I fire knife dance, it's a rush man, it is fun. I look kind of white when I do it. I know how to handle the knives but that's not why I don't like to perform in front of everybody because you always see the Samoan guys do it. I know how to do it but I don't like to do it because people tend to judge me of my white appearance. A white guy fire knife dancing doesn't seem right to some people. I am Hawaiian but it took some time to be comfortable wearing a malo. I guess over time you overcome it. I don't only wear a malo but wear my underwear into it and then wrap it around. My legs go from dark to white yea and it would be the awkward thing. But for fire knife dancing, we still had that thing so it would only go a few inches above your knee. You still see the white part of your leg. But you have the ti leaves around your legs so it would kind of help the appearance. As long as nothing is showing, I guess you're good. I got used to wearing Underarmour with the malo

because it sticks on to you and it feels like it's there. Your malo might fall off but it makes me feel secure knowing it is there.

Performing the hula is fun if it is not performed by myself; it's fun with the guys and if we perform it with girls. Some songs make the hula not masculine. Some songs are masculine because Hawaiian males usually do chants. They do chants so their kumu would do chants and the males would dance to that. Chants are more firm so it feels more manly because you actually have to do things. Whereas in hula, it's more of swaying so it's almost like how the girls would move; when girls shake their hips. So boys don't think it is manly but I was man enough to come up on stage so what's up!

The haka and the ha`a are manlier than the hula because it shows aggression and it shows the power that a man can have. The hula is more relaxed. The haka and the ha`a show power, it means something, you can actually feel that rage. I performed the haka one time. I guess the haka would be manlier because you are actually chanting and stuff. It brings out the rage and fire knife is more of an art battle. It's the art of spinning and making a knife on fire does this or that. As long as it keeps spinning you will not get burned. If it keeps spinning you won't get hurt. If you were to hold it right here, the flames are isolated. The heat evens out and when it spinning the heat goes out, away from you. As long as it keeps moving, you're safe.

There is a great sense of pride performing in CHS Mayday program. The pride is there because I am Hawaiian. Hawaiian students represent an island or if you are king, who I am, there is a tremendous amount of pride. The pride is there because I am Hawaiian and Hawaiian students are actually dancing for a cultural purpose. It was a little nervous being king but like football, one has to know their position. I know my position; I know what I have to do. The king would be captain so I got to control the other people. I kind of just picked up these ideas. I rarely

see a real Hawaiian man. Many Hawaiian men are still struggling. If I could, I would open up that Hawaiian male conference to more people. The one I saw last year with Uncle Tommy. I would have students watch and attend that conference.

I want to have a new tattoo for every year I live. When I turn eighteen, I am going to keep adding one. It's going to be a Hawaiian tribal tattoo, not like the mix tribal the ones people get now. Those are overrated. It's nice and everything but it really has to have meaning. Mine would be discreet and because I would just grow my leg hair again. Each triangle would mean a next step in my life. The only masculine part of it is if it only represents something. Many Hawaiians have tattoos that their ancestors used to have or their last, middle or Hawaiian names.

I enjoyed watching the show Die Hard and John McClane is the man. He is a man because he is defending something and not causing any problems. He came upon a problem and defended who he needed to do. The bad guys brought the daughter into it and he did anything to defend and get back his daughter.

I like action, sometimes comedies especially romantic comedies. These movies show how to treat a woman. I seen this one movie called Fireproof. It is unknown. It is about this firefighter, and his wife. The wife worked at the hospital; he and his wife were having problems in their relationship. They were separated and on the verge of a divorce. Then his father gives him this book that shows him the forty day plan of getting back your wife. In the book it shows him how to get out of his comfort zone and of course, there are going to be struggles. He continues to do it then eventually she slowly takes notice and she changes her mind. It was a pretty good movie. The father gave the book to the son but the son kept getting irritated by his mother. He would talk to his father but actually the information the father gave to the son was

actually from his mother. They were actually going to get a divorce but the mother did that plan for the father so it brought them back together. It's kind of a Christian movie.

When I walk into a 7-11 and see that one big guy with muscles and stuff, that doesn't really influence me. I don't know what Swag means. I think it means look good because a man should look good. If you look good you have swag. I don't really have swag I just put on whatever.

## **Chapter Eleven: Kono's Story**

Kono is a Hawaiian, Chinese, Japanese and Irish male. He held a 2.9 grade point average. He participated in volleyball, basketball, cross-country and sports. He took several years of Hawaiian language at CHS and participated in CHS mayday program.

One day in class, Kono asked me, "Coach V, why would a father leave his son?" I told him, "By the end of the year, I will answer that question for you." I hope that by establishing a relationship and participating in my research project helped him answer that question. We talked about drugs, education, relationship with his mom and whether he needed his dad to become a man. It was my hope that his experience of not having his father in his life would help heal any wounds or grudges he had. I chose him to share his story because I felt there were others who could relate to his situation. I felt there were others who could learn from his story. Last but not least, I wanted Kono to know that his story will benefit others and is one worth sharing.

There were many times I worried about Kono. He chose to hang around peers who drank alcohol, performed poorly in school and were teenage punks. At the Homecoming dance, word got back to me that a bunch of his friends were drinking alcohol and smoking marijuana. I yelled at him and told him you better not be drunk and I couldn't believe you would do something like that. He replied, "I did not do anything." I said, "You better tell your friends that I know." Later, we would joke about the incident but from that incident, I think I sent the message that I am watching him and that he better not mess up his life.

During his senior year, he broke his ankle playing volleyball. He was devastated and depressed. He was the team captain and he felt he let everyone down. Although this was understandable, his depression was affecting his academic performance in my class. One day after school I said to him, "We need to talk." He told me how he felt. He was disappointed that

he could no longer play volleyball or dance in CHS mayday program. I gave him a hug. The conversation lasted for about an hour. I told him, “If you want to show what kind of student, teammate and man you are, how you handle this situation will reveal it. You can feel sorry for yourself and mope or you can be the biggest cheerleader on the team, get your grades up and stop feeling sorry for yourself and to man up.” I was reminded of a quote by John Wooden who said, “Overcoming adversity doesn’t show character, it reveals it.” I shared with him this quote and he got my message.

Of the five participants of this study, I am closest to Kono. At the end of the year, his mother thanked me for all that I have done for him. Currently I am his younger sister’s AVID and sociology teacher. Because I knew he did not have a relationship with his father, I looked after him. I did try to be a male role model for him but not his father. My relationship with him is one of an uncle. I made sure that he was doing well in all his classes. Numerous times I told him that his, “ass better be in college or else.” We have always had a relationship in which he tells me how lucky I am that he is my student. This playful banter continues to this day as he constantly visits my classroom. We talk about college and I offer advice about what classes and majors he should consider. Currently, he is one of our AVID tutors at CHS and attends Kapiolani Community College.

### **Kono’s Story**

I live with my mom and she recently got into dating and I have two older sisters who moved out. One lives in Pacific Heights with her boyfriend’s parents who have three kids and the other lives in Kaneohe. I live at home with my mom, older brother and younger sister. My brother is one year older and he goes to KCC. My sister is one year younger than me and she goes to Cleveland High School. My mom works as a PCNC (Parent Community Network Center) member. She is a teacher’s assistant who helps kids that throw tantrums and stuff at

Kulia Elementary. I attend CHS on a geographic exemption. My mom is fifty so she had my sister when she was super young. My oldest sister has a different dad. My other sister has a different dad. Adam (older brother), Kyla (younger sister) and I have the same dad.

My dad left when I was under five. He got involved in drugs a lot so my mom put a Restraining Order on him. He has been in jail countless times. He's asked to visit us a lot but my mom said no unless he is no longer on drugs. He would always try get close to us but my mom would say no because I was always the closest to him. I would always go out with him.

At first, on Father's Day and stuff you have to have a male shadow guy, it's hard to look back when you don't have one. But my sister's boyfriend is that shadow figure sometimes but he is not always there because he is with my sister but sometimes he plays that role like I need to toughen up or go into sports. But as for having my family behind me, it doesn't faze me not having a dad as long as I have other people to love me.

My father is a coward. He ran away. I know he has tried to come back in my life but I hear a lot of stories because a lot of my friend's parents are cops. They say we arrested your dad or he has been inside (jail). We know who he is and what he does. He has been getting better because my friend's mom works for the Teamsters and he has tried to apply there. He is getting better by applying for a job. I guess he is trying to take care of himself more. The last time I saw him he was trying to get in touch with us and give us toys so we wouldn't forget him. My mom would just push him away and this and that. He asked if he could come to our graduation. He is trying to repair the destruction that he left in his past but sometimes I think, it's too late to fix it.

My father knows what he did was wrong. He made a mistake and is trying to fix the mistakes as long as it takes him. It's been eighteen years of my life. Even though we can still deny him and keep pushing him back and pushing him back, for eighteen years he still has been

trying to be in our life. I've experienced how my life is without him so even if he were to come back into my life, I am eighteen so it's kind of hard to keep someone like that in my life cause you never know when he is going to go back or leave again.

My mom would always listen to me but it would be about expressing my feelings and be sentimental. On the contrary, a dad would say, "man up, don't think about that shit and forget about it and move on." My mom would want us to talk about it and go into deep detail about this and that. I have been around that life and I have so many sisters. It's like me and my brother were in the middle and me and my sisters were all around us. It's been that way for so long which makes its hard growing up because my mom would always care too much. If I got a scratch or something my mom would be like, "oh my gosh" and take me to the hospital or something. I was an accident prone kid so I can see why my mom would do something like that and be protective. I like the sports I play now but never got the courage to play football. I never had the courage to play football or know how and learning would take extra time. I would need to know what to do and where do I go; it was hard without someone to show me. My brother was doing his own thing, playing volleyball.

My mom would always tell me, "If you don't learn how to do the small things like cleaning yourself up or put the toilet seat down, clean up your area, and being clean in general then you are not going to be a successful person or a good man and no woman wants that." She would say, "don't hit girls" and I wouldn't dare hit a girl or lay a hand on a girl or I would be a coward. Men are there to provide for a woman. She has pushed me a lot because I was lazy when I entered middle and high school. She was happy that I enjoyed these other programs like Nā Pua No`eau cause it helped my grades go up. So she was happy about that. She just hopes my grades are high.

My brother took the male role of the house. My brother has influenced my understanding of what it means to be a man. I would never have been physical enough because sometimes we would fight and if that hadn't happened I wouldn't know how to physically stand up for myself. I would be a "bitch" to somebody else or something. We would always fight over stupid shit but if I was to keep going he would be say, "come on." Then we would fight and my mom would get super pissed off and she would say to stop fighting. We would throw punches at each other and stuff. I would be fine, just to take the punch and stuff and to actually know how it feels to take a punch. I would be ready for it when it comes for a real fight. He taught me self-control. He taught me when to fight and when not to.

My mom's new boyfriend tried to fit in but I don't look at this guy as a man but he is a cool guy. He doesn't try too hard. He is there when I need it. He doesn't try to push himself into our family. He knows his limits. We go to their house a lot more than we are supposed to, like some people only stay for couple days but we go there so much that is like our own home and my mom gets mad at that because it's not our own house. He doesn't mind and he takes us in as if we are his kids and we've been with him since six years old. He's been with my sister for like ten years. He supports us but he doesn't need to. He comes and supports us when I get hurt small, like a sprained ankle, don't wuss out on that and suck it up, don't let the one injury keep you down, even if it is sore, suck up the pain and telling me it's nothing. Don't make that the reason you can't play. Just keep playing till you can't play no more. He would come to my volleyball games.

My mom's boyfriend would take care of us and provides for us and helps us pay the rent sometimes. He doesn't have to do that stuff but he wants to do that. My mom's car got repossessed but she got another car from my uncle. He felt bad for her and he paid the rent

because she is a single parent. He didn't feel pity for her. He just felt she needed help so he wanted to do something about it. He helps my mom pay for gas sometimes.

I feel like I take care. I would take care of my niece and my mom too actually. When she was sick I had to take care of her and when I am sick she takes care of me. I don't see why I can't return the favor. I clean up around the house and make sure that it is neat and make sure my mom doesn't have to do more work than she has to. Like with my sister, I help her take care of my niece and nephew. I help now because of the newborn. I used to have a summer job so I could financially help my mom but taxes were taken out. I preferred cash jobs and side jobs. I just liked it because it was straight cash so I could help my mom out as much as I could. I wouldn't have to wait for a paycheck. I would do the job and get cash right after. I worked at a chair business.

A man is one who stays with his kids, he watches them and shares in raising them the right way. A man leads his kid on the right path. The right path is to go to school rather than to drop out. A man would have his kids go to school, college and get a job. A man does not allow his kids to dropout or do drugs. I think a lot of it reflects how their children turn out. They need to teach their kids to be patient and humble. A parent shouldn't teach their kids to be cocky. I mean you want your kid to be confident but not over-confident because then that gets them lowered by other people.

I was kind of really cocky during volleyball especially during my sophomore year. That year, I was named a starter on the team. A player from last year was very humble and it made me look at myself and I compared myself to him. I realized the way I was portraying myself made me look like an ass. I didn't like perceiving that my teammates sucked and I was super good. I didn't want to be like that. After I saw last year's captain, I said I would love to be like that. I

want to be a leader and one who his teammates look up to. I want to be known as a leader. No one wants to have that trait as super cocky because then you get hated by people and they get irritated with you a lot. A man should teach his kids not to be cocky or they will become hated.

I think he becomes a man when he is mature enough to laugh at stupid and immature things such as a sex joke but I don't really know. To be mature means if my friends go out and party and I know they are going to drink alcohol, I make sure that I am the one who drives them home. However, being the most mature is if I don't go to the party. However, I am always there for them if they need someone to take them home. To pick them up or whatever, you are there when they need you; I find that mature. That's why I am really working hard to get my license because a lot of my friends do that. That's why I don't want to ride with them to the prom.

I feel that I am a young man who is a work in progress. I don't feel I need to have a family. One doesn't need to have a family or to have kids and a loving wife to be a man. I feel like you can count on your family because they are all there to support you and love you. I just feel like a lot of the men's standards are really high. A man should always have a plan. He should always be the greatest date. He should be the greatest kisser or the best in bed. They always have a higher standard that girls put guys on. I feel women have such high standards for men that they should lower them so it's easier for guy to be with them.

Being a father is a huge pressure or being a partner in a marriage those are huge pressures. I think if you are with someone and try to get into someone's family, a man has to make a good impression. For example, if you want to be a part of a young woman's family and jump straight into it, it's important to make a good impression. There are a lot of pressures on being a man but you just have to be really calm. If you are not calm then a lot of people, including your wife will panic because you are in a panic. I feel there are a lot of expectations

and responsibilities of being a man but responsibility and pressure comes with maturity. If you are not up for the challenge than most likely you are not ready for it. Part of being a man does not require kids and stuff.

I'll be a man when I can be there for just anyone. When I can be there for friends physically, emotionally and financially, I will be a man. I wouldn't be that guy who walks out of their child's life or anyone else. I can still be single and be a man. Sometimes I think about being a man when I am dazing off during Peer Education class or some extra-curricular activity. It's just random. It's more like, oh my gosh, just the other day I was just looking out into space and I realized I only had one more month of school. How am I going to deal with my life after graduation? You never know what is going to happen and what if I have a kid or something how am I going to provide for them? What if I meet someone, what am I going to do? There are a lot of things to think about. That's what I think about. A lot of things are like, what's going to happen? How is life going to unfold? How am I going to keep in touch with my friends? How am I going to keep in touch with my family?

Since my sophomore year, I have been with Kumu Dutro a lot. He is my Hawaiian language teacher. He would know me as Alex's brother. I really enjoyed his class more than others because we would just talk about life and stuff. I participated in CHS May Day program last year and I am going to do it this year. He does the hula, he teaches hula and he played sports too. He does everything men think are not manly and he still portrays that as a man. He is a better man than anyone I know. I feel like he could be a better man than my sister's boyfriend because he teaches a lot of hula and he's not afraid to be shamed. He shows us to have fun with whatever you do. When he teaches us language, even if I mispronounce a word he says it is ok. We are in class and just laugh about it. He basically has influenced me by not taking myself so

seriously. You don't always have to be serious about everything. You can get mad once in awhile but being mad isn't always good. You waste a lot of energy being mad.

I hope people say I am a good man. I hope to be a kind father, husband and man who shows what a man should be like. I am a happy man. I don't want to be a man who is always so serious because apparently that was how my brother was. That's how everyone knows. I would put on this mask and people would always ask why I am so sad? People would ask me what is wrong. I just didn't like that question, so I just smiled so people didn't ask me what is wrong. Sometimes I was and I showed it a lot. I never liked to answer questions because it would bring up so much shit and then I would have so much explaining to do. Once you tell someone, it triggers them to ask you more. I've been through a lot, smiling is the best way to avoid answering people's questions.

The toughest thing about being an adolescent boy is the school work. You need decent grades. Grades are good to have because you need to have them to play sports. When you have your grades up your family is happy. That is when my mom was happiest. I try to find balance with girls, grades and sports, find ways to juggle them together.

I attended Bush Elementary. It was good. There weren't many fights. We weren't so violent because everyone was so close. I guess we only had three fights. There was a male teacher and he was the only teacher that I had. He taught us life lessons and he would play sports and teach us how to throw and catch a ball. He would also teach us board games such as cribbage so it would help me with math.

I went to Clinton Middle School and I was a bitch. There were huge guys there and they were only like one year older but they were so much bigger. I came in and I was like, wholly crap, that guy is big; I felt kind of scared. It was a bigger school with bigger kids and less

security and I was thinking what am I going to do if something happens? For the most part it was pretty good.

My home economics teacher was Ms. K. She has been there awhile and she knew my sister's boyfriend. Ms. K knew all my aunties. She would teach and show me how to cook and how to clean. I was the only guy in the group. I had to stay back and clean the girls mess. I had to clean up all their dishes and stuff. She kind of turned the tables and said this is what women do and you can't always take for granted what women do. She said males should wash the dishes too so you are going to stay back and wash them. She would teach me a lot of life lessons like how to cook and what to do if this or that happens.

My other teacher was my history teacher. He was cool because he knew my dad. He used to train with my dad and in many ways he reminded me of him. He is a skinnier version of my dad; like a lightweight. My dad boxed so he would train with my dad. He would talk to me and tell me that we were super cool. They were super close. He would say that reminds me of your dad. I remember I used to just stare off sometimes or if I was standing, I would just rock sometimes but I wouldn't realize I was doing it. He would tell me that is what your dad used to do. My mom doesn't like it because she would get freaked out. My mom worries that I will be like my dad. She feels the way my dad chose to live his life is not how she wants us to live our lives. My mom used to think he was a man but lost all respect for him when he chose drugs over his children. She feels that the way he chooses to live his life is not for her kids.

In high school, my sophomore teacher would say to me, "get your act together!" My AVID (Advanced Via Individual Determination) teacher, Ms. D lit a fire under my ass! When I entered high school I was barely passing. I never received an "F grade" but I was doing just good enough not to fail. Sometimes the teachers would just pass me. As I got to my junior year, I had

a 2.5 grade point average. I couldn't even get into the University of Hawaii. During my junior year I was tired of it. I asked myself: How am I going to get into college with these low grades? I tried my best and got on the honor roll. I started to change my life from there. The friends that I had from middle school to freshmen and sophomore year weren't the ones I wanted to hang out with. They would influence me to shoplift or pressure me to do drugs or drink. Although I drink now, I know my limits. The more I think about it, this behavior could hurt my head and screw with my brain. I can lose a lot of brain cells. Why would I do that to hurt myself? In a way I like to be that person that doesn't do it because you never know when someone is going to need your help. If you are just as fucked up as them as you cannot help them and they cannot help you. It's a battle.

My junior varsity basketball coach told me to get my grades up because colleges are going to start looking for that. He told me that I have a lot of potential. In order to be successful, you have to get out of your comfort zone. You have to work hard. If you are just jogging through the drill you will never play hard in the game and you don't know how hard you have to play. He taught me don't settle for what you have and told me to keep working for something higher. He was always yelling at me. He knew that I was capable of something else; something more than I was putting out. He was tough on me but I understood why. The other players didn't understand but I knew. He cared a lot. Actually a lot of my teachers cared a lot. They get mad at me and I would never understand why. They knew I had potential I just wasn't showing it.

My friends do stupid shit. When my friends go to Waimea Bay and jump of the rock, they say, "Then you are the man", or they say "do it for the boys." Why would I do that stuff, it's kind of stupid. If I say I don't want to do it my friends will say I am a coward or I am taking away your man card. My friends drink alcohol, party, and do drugs. Not all drugs but they

smoke weed and stuff. A lot of my friend's think that being a man is doing risky stuff but not to the point that they would die. Some of the stuff my friends do could ruin their lives. On the other hand, I try to keep a positive attitude the majority of the time. When your friends are down, you lend them your ear and you let them vent. I smile or I give them a hug. You never know, just being positive when someone needs you. I don't know. These are just ideas I think about too. My coach taught us that if there is one bad apple than the rest are going to turn into bad apples. Why let there be bad apples when I can pick them up.

My friends are dumbasses. I don't think they influenced me a lot. They are there as a group, they are my clique. Apparently everyone knows my friends because I have been talked to by a lot of teachers about my clique. They say, "why don't you choose better friends? Why do you hang out with that group? I would picture you with another group." I do hang out with other people too but my boys get mad when I don't hang out with them. They say that is so messed up. We are more of your friends than they are. I have a lot of friends. I am a popular, gregarious guy. We should have a day and people to hang out with because a lot of us don't get along. They don't like Andrew because he is obnoxious. A lot of my friends don't like him so I don't like to mix the groups cause then they won't enjoy themselves. My peers influence me to go to parties and to have fun. That influenced me a lot. Getting wasted is not really manly at all. I wouldn't say that is a manly trait. If you are a father you wouldn't want to get high and wasted every day. You don't want to show your kids that.

The boy code means don't date your boy's ex-girlfriend. It means your Bro's before Ho's kind of thing. I don't agree with the bro's before ho's idea. I don't feel all girls are ho's. It's kind of hypocritical. If you're girlfriend calls you and you decide to go out with her but then your boys call and they want to go out. If you chose to go with your girlfriend they will say, "What

the fuck man, bro's before ho's." I guess the new saying now is that is "squirrely" which means that is messed up. Sometimes they will say, I will remember that. Usually when I go out with a girl, it's usually bad timing. I have chosen my boys before my girlfriend. Sometimes the boys understand only after they realize how angry she got afterwards and the jealousy factor.

Sometimes they say that is messed up. My boys say, "we have been boys forever and you choose her over us that is messed up." But in a way, they understand. They understand the girl can be a part of your life for a long time. That influences boys a lot.

The way I act around my female friends is different than the way I act with my male friends. When I say to my male friends, I say, "My dog died today", they say, "That sucks man." However, if I were to say that to my female friends, they would say, "are you ok? Do you want to bury him?" Then we have to talk about it and stuff. I am more emotional and sentimental with them. My female friends urge me to care more because the more I show caring the less they get pissed off. They get me on for not studying a lot. They tell me I better study or I am going to be homeless.

My best friend is a girl. We have known each other since elementary. We spend a lot of time together and we joined programs to stay in touch. Honestly, if I didn't have a girlfriend, I would choose her over the boys. She knows that with her boyfriend, she shares the girls' perspective. If the guy is mad and they are fighting, I can understand why the guy would be fighting because I do that too. I understand that when a girl attacks and is fighting back she has to attack because she is hurt. She doesn't really want to fight but she doesn't want to show weakness. She is at her all-time low but she still loves you.

Girls think a man is someone who can live up to the expectations of how great their father is; if they did have a father. A lot of girls want a guy like their father who will take care of

them; and if they didn't have a father they want a guy to be a provider. They believe a man is someone who will take care of them and never leave their side. A man is someone who cares about the inside and the outside too. A lot of girls say, that is cute when he is playing with the little boy. Yea it is manly. It depends on how you look at it. There is a difference to playing with a kid and being a kid. If you are a kid at heart than that is a different story. If you are just a big kid then no. I think the way you treat kids and the way you play with them shows that you are a man. The girls may look at that and see a future father. Some desperate girls go for muscular men. I think girls want someone who is athletic and muscular. Many people are afraid of rejection. If a girl likes a guy, a guy thinks she likes me because I look good and not because I am smart. Girls care about how smart boys are. They want someone fun to talk to. Boys are afraid of being perceived as smart because a lot of boys think it's cool to be stupid. If you're too smart nobody wants to hang out with you. All my friends are smart but they just want to be stupid because it gets a good laugh. Boys dumb themselves down sometimes but being smart is manly because they will have a lot more options for their future but they don't want to be teased.

Being a man is something you can't learn from school. The way kids learn they don't learn a lot from certain schools. I didn't learn anything in middle school. My first three years of high school I didn't think I learned anything. And now, I'm probably learning more in your class than any other class than all of my years of learning. You have to learn what it means to be a man on your own. There are a lot of risks. You might piss people off. You might be too overprotective. Being a man you have to learn to move on sometimes and you can't have anybody. You have to learn through your mistakes.

If schools were to teach what it means to be a man it should probably teach what you taught; how girls tend to over-think things. How girls communicate because they speak in

reverse psychology terms. They should probably teach boys how to listen. They should teach boys how to listen and how to be there for them. Schools should teach boys how to dance and how to talk to them without being awkward. What to be prepared for in a relationship and how to take care of them while they are having their monthly period and experiencing mood swings. Lastly, how to deal with girls when they are too emotional.

A man is someone who chicks look at but he doesn't look at them. He doesn't just look for anyone. He wants to get to know her. He actually selects the traits he desires which are not necessarily physical. A man gets chicks but not all of them. A lot of guys say, "You are the man". It means you have accomplished something great like if you had sex you are the frickin man; especially if she is hot. I guess it is a confidence booster. I don't think guys think of it as much as girls do. I mean, if a guy is a man then girls are called a slut because they just had sex with him. A lot of boys think that it should be that way. Most of them don't want to seem stupid in how they talk to a girl because they would be gaming. They don't want to embarrass themselves and the fear of rejection is strong.

Volleyball is fun. A lot of people think it is a "gay" sport because they only have seen girls play it. They think that the boys who play volleyball are probably gay too. In football, there is probably a lot more running. There is a lot of risk playing volleyball. You don't need pads for volleyball. It is not a contact sport but it is a mental game. Volleyball is such a mental game on whether one makes a mistake or not. Contact sports are not necessarily manlier sports than non-contact sports. There are a lot of sports that are man sports such as golf. Golf is a manly sport because it requires a lot of patience. In golf you are not going against anybody, just yourself. You control where you hit the ball and how hard you hit it.

I play volleyball with some gay players. They make volleyball so fun; more fun than it actually is. Gay players don't check you out. If you ask them, they will tell you no; it's just like playing with anyone. I would consider them men. They don't talk crap and they don't take crap. If crap is given to them then they give it back to them pretty bad. They swing hard; harder than the straight guys. It is interesting how they keep their composure. They know they get teased a lot but they don't let it bother them. Sometimes I say, "That's so gay." It has slipped out a few times. Knowing that I have gay friends, I realize it hurts them a lot, more than I can imagine. My friends use it a lot. When they use it, it means get the frick away from me. It's like when you are doing homosexual things. They don't really care who it affects. They just use it; they can't control it.

A Hawaiian man is one who cares for his family and the land. He makes sure his family receives an education. If a man is hungry, he makes sure his family eats before he does. A Hawaiian man knows he can always get food. I have traits to be a Hawaiian man. I get lunch a lot and I get food a lot. I eat all the time. You know how someone says, I want a bite or can I have some. Part of me is thinking, no, I am hungry and this is mine. But I think, what if they have food one day and I am hungry; they have to return the favor. Sometimes I know what they are going through because sometimes I let them have some food. It is not fair for people to starve.

The way society portrays a regular man and a Hawaiian man are different. Hawaiian men are portrayed as lazy and uneducated, always in jail and doing drugs. A normal man should provide for his family and be one of high standards. Many people don't know what a Hawaiian man is capable of; and sometimes you are going down, just like the rest of them. Some people

put other men high and Hawaiian men down. My happiness makes me a Hawaiian man. I try to spread the aloha to others and to always be happy.

Taking Hawaiian class in high school for two years I have learned some of the culture and language that supports the traditions and Nā Pua No`eau. This program took me away from home. This program taught me how to do my own laundry, wash my clothes, make my bed and wake up on my own. They distance you from home a little; like they take away your phone.

I would get my son into athletics. You learn a lot of life lessons whether you know it or not by participating in sports. Coaches teach you how to keep going when times are rough. They teach you that not everything is about winning all the time. I would teach my sons how to appreciate what he got and that's part of being a man. You shouldn't compare what you have to anyone else; just appreciate what you have. I would teach them appreciation.

The hula is masculine. At first I thought it was straight out homosexual because they wear flowers in there ear and I felt half-naked and I was insecure about my body. But as I got into it I started doing that and I realized how much hard work, time and practice you have to put into it. What is masculine is that it requires control. You have to move your body with control. It's smooth; it's not violent. You can't let all your pain and anger out through the music and the motions. At first, when you go through with it, it is not as manly as you think. But if you respect the culture and understand how Hawaiians dressed before then it is nothing.

To some people, the haka and ha`a are manlier than the hula. The haka and ha`a just seem to have a lot more testosterone. In the first three rows of the audience, there is a lot of spit. They are loud and it makes a statement. It is a war cry. It's a big call out. I think the act is manly but not how every Hawaiian or Polynesian man should be portrayed. Not all men are loud, mad or vicious or violent. I think a lot of people think that the ha`a and haka are more manly than the

hula. Teenagers mostly think this because it seems like a lot of just anger, red and it drains a lot of energy. It can be really masculine but it just looks non-masculine if it isn't presented how it is meant to be culturally portrayed.

Some people would ask, "do you know what your name means?" I would say yes I do but I really didn't understand what it means until I got into high school. Being Hawaiian makes a huge difference. Taking Hawaiian class really put a lot of influence on my name. There were a lot of guest speakers that told my Hawaiian class of how lucky we were to be Hawaiian. If you were to put roots, dirt and water into a blender and just blend it you will still have something to eat but if you put a cell phone in a blender you don't have much. Once you get rid of western technology, we can go back to the old Hawaiian ways. He said how much people are corrupted by technology and how they live. Also, this guy name Eddie Fuentes. He taught me a lot about safety, chants to go into the water and the forests and which plants to use for medicine. If you are going to use the ti-leaf for medicine than you will use your left hand and your right hand for decoration. You have to `oli mahalo after you leave. He taught us what is safe to touch and what not to touch. He teaches us how to recognize safe and dangerous places.

Having tattoos feels like a tradition more than being a man. It is passed down from generation from generation. He has to be a man first to get a tattoo. Having a lot of tattoos comes with being masculine because a lot of people just get tattoos, just to get a tattoo. Sometimes there is no meaning behind it. I don't find having tattoos as masculine or that it makes you a man.

The media is the biggest influence of what it means to be a man. A lot of TV shows show how men act in a family and how your family is supposed to be. That 70' show there are always a man and his wife, son and daughter and a man with his children. They don't show a dysfunctional family. That is why I liked the Blind Side. Showing what a normal family on TV;

portrays how that man is supposed to be a provider. A man is portrayed as a provider and is supposed to care for his child. Media males have to be scared of their daughter growing up or being over-protective.

I feel like when they put images in magazines of weddings and stuff, it seems like a lot of work to make her happy. But they also portray not all women are like that and if you find the right woman; that's how hard you will work for her. You have to get a house to raise a family. Those are manly things and put into our mind of what to think. It influences boys because it shows them that you have to do this to be respected by other men. It's like a second role behind your wife. You might be whipped. If boys get heavier, fatter they start to look at that more. It's not just how women look at you but its how other men look at you too. The media makes boys insecure because TV shows have good-looking men. The ugly guys are always the bad guys.

Swag is a sense of style; good style. For example, you have a certain hat or pants worn in a certain direction that is swag. I don't think swag has to do with manliness. The media has a huge affect. People who think you have to be muscular to be a man. I feel that is not right, you don't have to be muscular. The media portrays that boys need to be muscular. If the magazines say showing your feelings is gay; if that is the case then I am gay. I learned this from my peers and a lot of random people on the internet and other random places.

## **Chapter Twelve**

### **Hawaiian Male Adolescent Students' Perceptions of Masculinity and the Influence of School Experiences, Culture and the Media**

This chapter reports and discusses Hawaiian male adolescent students' perceptions of masculinity at Cleveland High School. Three research objectives will be answered using the five Hawaiian male adolescent students' stories combined with data from the handouts regarding masculinity. Themes were generated from the data and analyzed to answer the three research objectives. See appendix A for data from the handouts.

The first research objective asked to investigate Hawaiian male adolescent students' perceptions of masculinity in general and Hawaiian masculinity. Emerging themes such as the influence of family and friends, employment, maturity and responsibility, concern for the welfare of others, competition and social labels, help to answer research objective number one. A Hawaiian man is one who is a kanaka; one who feeds and defends his family and becomes an invested father. A Hawaiian man is one who takes care of the land and may participate in the hula, ha`a and lua and wears a tattoo for cultural purposes.

The second research objective asked to investigate how Hawaiian male adolescent students' perceptions of masculinity are influenced by their school experiences and teachers at Cleveland High School. The school climate is very welcoming to gay students. Cleveland High School teachers and coaches influenced Hawaiian boys' perceptions of masculinity. Hawaiian male adolescents believed that getting good grades is masculine but there was a fear for some boys of being perceived as smart. Some boys thought schools should not teach notions of masculinity and manhood while others thought it would be a worthwhile lesson. Student's participation in different lessons at Cleveland High School allowed Hawaiian boys to display different forms of masculinity.

The third research objective asked to investigate how Hawaiian male adolescent students' use the media to construct their perceptions of masculinity. Hawaiian boys were aware of the messages of the media but the degree of influenced differed. The media influenced their perceptions of masculinity by showing these boys how to treat a woman, to dream, to make money and to take care of their family.

### **Research Objective Number One**

The first research objective asked to investigate Hawaiian male adolescent students' perceptions of masculinity in general and Hawaiian masculinity.

#### **I. Family**

##### *Father's Influence*

An aspect the participants felt was important to masculinity was the influence of their fathers. Participants mentioned that their fathers were not men because they were not in their lives. Bullei felt that his dad, "wasn't a man because he wasn't there. Just the fact he wasn't there for us because of his stuff (drugs) and drama." Kono called his dad a, "coward because he ran away and he chose drugs over his family." Bullei felt that his uncle was a man because, "bottom line, he was there." Jacob felt that his dad is not a man because he doesn't do anything. He stated my dad is, "not a man and he is a dead-beat dad." Keo stated, "My dad did not influence my idea of what it means to be a man. I think even if I asked my father, he wouldn't even know what it means to be a man." The participants felt that a man is a father who is involved in their lives. The absence of their father has influenced their perceptions of masculinity and manhood. Kono stated, "I wouldn't be that guy who walks out of their child's life or anyone else." He further added that being a father is a tremendous amount of pressure and that a, "man is one who stays with his kids, he watches them and shares in raising them the right way. If you're a father you

wouldn't want to get high and wasted every day. You don't want to show your kids that." KL recalled how his father taught him how to interact with people. He mentioned that his father "taught me when to talk and when not to talk, how to respond and how to act. Sometimes I would do something wrong; I would talk out of turn and he would tell me that's not right."

The Hawaiian boys' fathers influenced their perceptions. Some Hawaiian boys felt that their father influenced their perceptions by showing them how to take care of their family. They felt that their fathers were fathers because they were supportive. However, some Hawaiian boys felt that they were influenced by their father's negative actions. These negative actions influenced their idea of a father as one who doesn't leave his kids or abuse his wife. As Long, Fish, Scheffler, Hanert (2014) suggest, many boys compensate, and clearly stating that they would not be like their fathers, making definitive statements about their dis-identities and this may be stem from emotional pain. In this case, there were several statements in which it was clear of whom they did not want to be. Teenage boys regarded their fathers as the primary source of guidance and masculinity (Lee, 2003). West (2002) and Pollack (1998) asserted that the family exerts a significant influence on teenage boys' understanding of masculinity. Their dad and grandpa showed them how to be a man by taking care of them and providing for their family.

### *Mother's Influence*

This research showed that the participant's perceptions of masculinity were also shaped by their mothers. Although Jacob felt that his mother did not influence his perceptions of masculinity, Jacob remembered his mom saying, "Don't be like your dad. Go to school, finish school and work hard." He said, "If I were to get a tattoo, it would be of her because she is his backbone. Other boys felt that their mom showed them how a man should properly treat a woman. Kono said his mom taught him that a man, "Does the small things like cleaning up after

yourself, put down the toilet seat, clean up your area and being clean in general is what a woman wants in a man.” She taught, “Don’t hit girls and that men are there to provide for a woman.” KL recalled, “I learned what not to do to women. Not to piss them off when it is their time of the month. Not to hit them. I learned a lot about women from my mom.”

Hawaiian boys felt that their mom influenced their perceptions. They felt that their mother influenced their perceptions by teaching them how to treat a woman. As one boy expressed, “my mom taught me how a boy treats a woman. Treating a woman right makes you a man.”

One of the most profound findings from this study is the way in which mothers and fathers differently influenced the manhood and masculinity of their sons. The mothers impacted these boys’ perceptions of manhood and how their sons connected to the construction of ideals or how “boys think” about the meaning of manhood and how this thinking is built through relationship with others, especially women. On the other hand, the father’s influence focused more on what a man does or performs which is masculinity.

## **II. Friends**

### *Influence of female friends*

Participants mentioned that their female friends had some affect on their perception of masculinity. Bullei mentioned that his female friend influence his perception by teaching him to, “never push anybody, make money and to have a hot body.” Keo mentioned that girls do not influence his understanding and girls want a hard-working man who will take care of them. However, Keo did mention that his ex-girlfriend influenced his perception of masculinity by telling him the right thing to do such as to go to class. Girls influenced Kono’s perceptions because he was, “more emotional and sentimental with them. My female friends show me to care

more because the more I show caring, the less women get pissed off. They get on me for not studying.” Kono felt that having a female as his best friend he was able to understand a girl’s perspective on relationship matters. He felt girls want a man who is like their father; one who is a provider.

For some boys their female peers influenced them to be a gentleman. The data showed that females influenced their perceptions by indicating how a man is expected to treat a woman and what they want from a man. As Bullei mentioned earlier, he was influenced by his female friends to having a muscular body. However, similar to many of the participants who were interviewed, the data from the handouts suggested that female friends influenced some boys, but not all.

#### *Influence of Male Friends*

Some participants felt that their male friends did not influence their perceptions of masculinity. The participants mentioned that they felt teenage boys drink and party but that’s not masculine. Keo stated, “My male friends have not influenced my perception of what it means to be a man. All high school boys want to do is to have sex, drink and party. That’s not manly.” Kono added, “My friends are dumbasses. I don’t think they influenced me a lot. My peers influence me to go to parties and to have fun. That influenced me a lot. Getting wasted is not really manly at all. I wouldn’t say that it is a manly trait.” KL agreed, “My male friends don’t really influence me too much.” However KL felt that perception on drinking being manly differed from Kono and Keo. KL felt, “Drinking is the manly thing to do. A lot of men do it, just sit down, drink talk story.” KL mentioned that getting drunk and raging is not manly and that a man must know his drinking limits. Bullei was the only participant that felt his male friends had

an influence on his perception. Bullei stated, “My boys had a huge influence on me and we are brothers because we help each other out. I think drinking is part of being a man.”

In contrast, the data demonstrated that male peer pressure exists to drink alcohol, smoke and to have sex with girls. Some boys felt that if a boy doesn't do those things he will not be popular. In addition, Hawaiian boys felt that their male friends influenced their perception of masculinity by being strong, tough and not weak. Their peers influenced them to not be feminine or nerdy.

### *Influence of The Boy Code*

The boys are aware of the boy code and felt that it had very little influence on their perceptions of masculinity. An element of the code is to, “chase your bro's (male friends) over the ho's (female friend or girlfriend)”. Keo acknowledge that, “The boy code is stupid; you just have to be yourself.” Bullei added that, “Bro's before Ho's is true if you are single but not true if you have a girlfriend. The boys don't really tease.” Kono stated, “The boy code means don't date your boy's ex-girlfriend. It means your bro's before ho's idea kind of thing. I don't agree with the bro's before ho's idea because I don't feel all girls are ho's.” The participants were aware of the boy code but they felt it did not influence their perceptions.

Although the participant felt the code itself was stupid, there is an element of influence. Part of the boy code states, “No sissy stuff. Being a man means not being a sissy, not being perceived as weak, effeminate, or gay. Masculinity is the relentless repudiation of the feminine. Boys don't cry” (Kimmel 2005, p. 45). Bullei admitted, “Boys are afraid to show their emotions. I don't want to be teased. He further added, “If you cry, your boys going say, “Ah you fag.” You cry-baby.” KL added, “all boys, all men are afraid to show their affectionate side. I don't like to show myself crying about something. The sad part is I got caught a couple times but it wasn't

anything major. I guess when we get mad, we get angry and when we cry we get angry to cover up when we are sad because that is manly, anger. But if a girl kind of sees you cry it is kind of “gay”. If a guy sees you cry, that’s kind of gay.” Although the participants said that the boy code did not influence their perceptions, they did mention that they are afraid to show their emotions for the fear of being viewed “gay”. This fear of being perceived as “gay” is part of the boy code.

In addition to their stories, the data revealed that Hawaiian boys at Cleveland High School are afraid to show their emotions and be labeled as gay. As Kimmel asserts, “homophobia is the fear that other guys will see you as weak, unmanly and it is a boys desire not to be perceived as gay (Kimmel, 2008, p.50). Research has shown, “Homophobia is an enduring constituent of the peer group culture at school, the word gay is probably the most common word of abuse” (Swain, 2005, p. 223). It is important for boys to be able to present themselves as properly masculine in order to avoid being bullied by other boys by being labeled as “gay” (Phoenix & Frosh & Pattman, 2003). These emotions can range from showing their sweet side, pain and sadness, and fear. Many Hawaiian boys admitted to hiding or not showing these feelings. Michael Kimmel asserted that, “the mask of masculinity is the fake front of impervious, unemotional independence, a swaggering posture that boys believe will help them to present a stoic front” (Kimmel, 2008, p. 53). Some of the Hawaiian boys felt that they don’t really hide their emotions, but only show them to a select few.

The participants who shared their stories felt that their male peers did not influence their perceptions of what it means to be a man. However, the five participants were able to articulate and determine whether their male friends behavior was manly or not. Additionally, the participant’s responses suggested that their male peers influenced their perception of masculinity by having sex with girls. Also, their male friends influenced their perceptions by emphasizing

being tough and strong. Adler & Adler (1998) suggested that the male peer group serves as an agent in shaping boys masculinities, which is evident in this study.

Female peers influenced Hawaiian male adolescents by teaching them that to be a man is to be a gentleman; one who respects women. The boys suggested that their female peers influence their perceptions by teaching boys what qualities they want in a man. Similar to their male peers, their female peers influenced their perception by suggesting men who have muscular bodies and are strong are attractive.

### **III. Employment**

The five participants felt that a being a man is having a job. Jacob expressed, “It’s how far you go, like the job after high school is everything. You have to have a good paying job to take care of them (family).” He felt his uncle who had three jobs was a man. Kono added, “A man would have his kids go to school, college and get a job.” Bullei recalled what his uncle told him, “To stay in school and get a good job.” Bullei felt that girls wanted a man who has a job. Keo and Bullei felt that schools should teach boys how to get a job after high school. Keo felt strongly that having a job was part of being a man. He recalled an incident in which his friend’s dad told him to stay out of trouble and to get a job. Keo looked up to his cousin who he called a man because he had two jobs. Keo stated that Jacob is going to be a man because he is going to have a good paying job. Keo stated that he is a man because he has experienced working life and recalls a story in which he worked for his ex-girlfriend’s dad. He worked and got paid. He felt strongly that a man who doesn’t have a job isn’t a man, “he is a bitch.” Keo stated, “A bitch is one who depends on others and that’s not a man. A homeless man is not a man because all they do is ask people for money, which is not manly. Make your own money.” Jacob talked about his unemployed dad. He expressed that his dad, “isn’t really a man because he hasn’t been working

for the past four months and he doesn't help out at all." The five participants perceived and believed that having a job is masculine.

The term "bitch" is one of misogyny, one that links hierarchies of men (based on social class, race, sexuality, able bodiness) to those of men over women and other LGBTQ people. It is a term that represents hegemonic masculinity. The word, "Bitch cannot be analyzed sociologically, then, without understanding its place in the English language-in which women are infantilized through the term "girls" or erased through male-based generics and "bitch" cannot be understood apart from its place in society in which girls and women of all ages are members of a sex class that is subordinate to men" (Kleinman, Ezzell & Frost, 2009). Bitch is used to denigrate boys and men who do not play aggressively or who fail to perform masculinity successfully (Messner, 2002). Keo felt that a successful man is one who has a job and one who doesn't have a job is not a man and viewed as feminine.

#### **IV. Need to be Mature and Act Responsibly**

The participants' answers varied when asked, "When does a boy become a man?" Keo felt that a boy becomes a man when he gets his first job and understands the value of a dollar. However, some of these boys mentioned maturity; to be able to help others. Kono stated, "A man becomes a man when he is mature enough to laugh at stupid and immature things such as sex jokes. To be mature means that if my friends go out and party and I know they are going to drink alcohol, I make sure I drive them home. According to Bullei, "A boy becomes a man when he helps others." Kono expressed that there is a lot of pressure to being a man and with that pressure comes maturity. He stated, "A boy becomes a man when he knows right from wrong." Boys expressed that one's age doesn't make him a man. KL stated, "some people feel they are a man once you turn eighteen. But it isn't your age it is how you act become some men aren't men

when they are forty.” The boys felt men need to be mature and that being a man doesn’t have an age requirement. Being a man is not something that automatically transpires as one gets older but by a person’s mature actions.

The participants felt that being masculine and being a man is to be mature. The theme of maturity was corroborated from the handouts regarding masculinity. Many boys mentioned that a boy becomes a man when he matures and learns responsibility. The data demonstrated that maturity meant being the bigger person in certain decisions and making the right decisions, acting like an adult and who doesn’t act like a boy. From the participant’s responses to both the stories and the handouts, it was demonstrated that maturity is what Hawaiian boys perceived to be masculine.

### *Responsible*

Not only is a man mature but a man is one who is responsible. Keo stated, “Jacob is a man because he is responsible and he gets shit done.” Kono added, “There are a lot of responsibilities of being a man.” Bullei noted, “my mom expected me to be responsible and help around the house.” KL mentioned, “I would take on the responsibilities of a parent such as take out the trash, move stuff, make sure things were in order, carry and wash clothes, cook and clean.” He further added, “A man is one who demonstrates responsibility, respect and improvises when needed.” Keo concurred, “A man is responsible for everything he does. He is responsible for working and getting paid.” The idea that manhood involves an understanding of responsibilities and relationships to family emerged when the participants shared their roles as sons and fathers.

The theme of responsibility is corroborated by the open-ended questionnaire responses. Hawaiian boys felt that a boy becomes a man when he is responsible. They felt that one has to be

responsible to not just themselves but to others. The data from the handouts showed that how boys show that they are men is by being responsible. Hawaiian boys feel that responsibility is masculine and a part of being a man. These stories and behaviors can be best explained through the literature on benevolent patriarchy. In the literature, the benevolent patriarch was, “used to describe the actions of African American men who are benevolent patriarchs typically aspiring to provide for and protect women” (Dancy, 2012, p. 82). There is evidence of Hawaiian boys exhibiting the concept of the beneficial patriarch. Part of that responsibility is to do their domestic chores so they can provide for their brothers, sisters, and future to be husbands and fathers.

### *Household Chores*

The participants demonstrated their masculinity by the household chores they performed. KL explained, “I would have to do chores and stuff so I cleaned the yard and I learned new things like the lawnmower and how to paint. He further added, “I would have to watch my sister while my mom has to do something. I would have to fix things before my mom gets home or if she broke something.” KL continued to elaborate how he had to help his dad maintain the building by checking on floods and learning how to fix things. KL mentioned that his uncle taught him how to fix cars, how to drive, cut grass, paint, fix the roof and fix the plumbing.” Jacob added that, “I see my friends cleaning the yard and doing everything around the house. Bullei recalled, “I would clean the yard and spread rock” at the house. Kono recalled, “I clean up around the house and make sure that it is neat and make sure my mom doesn’t have to do it when she gets home.” The participants displayed their sense of masculinity by doing their household chores.

Prior to western contact, at an early age children were expected to contribute to the family. At the age of seven, children were to have reached the “age of responsibility” (Kelly, 1982). Children were expected to contribute to the daily needs of the family. Through their stories and data from the handouts, Hawaiian boys still maintained a strong sense of responsibility to the family. This responsibility was demonstrated by doing their household chores.

### *Humility*

In addition to being an involved father, participants felt that a man is one who is humble. Kono recalled how he used to be a cocky volleyball player and he did not like that. He learned that a man can be humble by watching another player on the volleyball team. He further added, “A man should teach his kids not to be cocky. They should teach them to be humble.” Bullei felt that, “although Lanikai can have troublemakers, we are humble.” Keo admitted, “I used to beat up people but it’s stupid because it’s a waste of your time beating up people. Just walk away and be humble. A man doesn’t show off.” The participants perceived a man to be one who is modest.

### **V. Need to be Concerned of the Welfare of Others**

Besides taking care of and providing for their families, the five Hawaiian boys felt that a man helps others. Bullei mentioned that, “a man is one who helps someone who needs it. I want to be known as a good friend and one who helps others and loves everybody.” In middle school, Bullei recalled a time when he, “used to help the janitors after school even if I never had detention.” He felt that a boy becomes a man when he, “can protect, take care and provide for his family.” Keo remembered teaching his ex-girlfriend how to box. He stated, “It’s not the fighting part that is manly but helping her out that is manly.” KL witnessed a time when a guy helped this

lady catch the bus. This influenced his perception as he explained how that incident influenced his perception, “if you notice someone who needs help, don’t just stand and watch, go help them. I would put myself in their shoes and I kind of noticed if I needed help, others would help me too.” Jacob’s older brother influenced his perception of masculinity. Jacob recalled an incident in which he and his boyfriend had a fight and he was abandoned at the park. He remembered how his brother abruptly left his job and drove all the way to Waianae to pick up him up. Hawaiian boys believed that helping others is a behavior that is masculine and is part of manhood.

The five participants believed that a man is one who takes care and provides for their family. Kono mentioned that his mom’s boyfriend would, “take care of us.” He further added, “I feel I take care. I would take care of my mom too. I used to have a summer job so I could provide help to my mom. Men are there to provide for women.” Jacob recalled that his uncle Kiti “would do everything and anything for his family to survive. He takes care of his own gay daughter. He takes care of the babies and he changes the diapers. He does everything; he is the woman and man in the relationship.” He further elaborated that his brother influenced his perception of what it mean to be a man. Jacob stated that his brother “goes to work, takes care of his baby and his baby mama.” Bullei concurred, “I think a man is always about providing and being there for your family. They protect and defend their family.” KL added, “I saw that a man can provide for his family and still do what he wants to do.” A man is one who takes care and provides for his family. I learned how to take care of myself and I had to take care of my siblings.”

The data from the handouts corroborated the themes of taking care and providing. The data revealed that the Hawaiian boys felt that a man is one who is able to provide and take care

of their family. Many boys wanted to become a man who is respectful and one who takes care of their family. This was evident in the data from oral histories and questionnaires.

## **VI. Social Labels**

### *That's so gay*

When the participants used the phrase “that’s gay” it had many meanings but it mostly meant “junk”, or “inferior” or “poor” and was not intended to harm someone. Bullei stated, “Those terms usually means junk it doesn’t mean gay.” I would joke around and I tell a person’s drawing was junk; I would say. “That’s so gay.” I usually say it to my boys as a joke.” Keo agreed, “That terms means junk or that’s shitty. I am not teasing a gay guy because if you like gay guys, that’s cool.” Kono added that it means, “Get away from me and doing something homosexual.” Jacob concurred and admitted to feeling fear because he thought his classmates were going to say, your gay, get away from me.” Kono recognized that the phrase, in fact hurts his homosexual friends. KL realized that the phrase must be used at the appropriate time and place. For example, if there were gay people around he would use the term “weak” but if there were no gay people around he would use it. In fact, he said, “Some gay guys are pretty cool with the phrase they would actually tell you that they are gay.” Jacob said it was ok to call him a mahu because it is a joke. However he does make the distinction between the phrase, “that’s gay” versus being called a “faggot”. As Jacob stated, “If they call me a faggot then that is a whole another ball game.” Additionally, Keo observed a difference between being gay and being a “faggot”. He explained, “Gay guys can be men. Some gay guys are manly but some act like faggots. Jacob is a man.” Similar to the five participant oral histories, the data from the handouts revealed that the phrase, “that’s so gay” means for something to be junk, suck, weak or feminine.

### *You’re the man*

Besides the phrase “That’s so gay” many boys use the phrase, “You the man.” “You the man” can have different meanings such as attention from a girl, courage and to mean a guy has done something well. Keo and KL mentioned that it means a, “boy did something good.” KL stated that it means, “You’re good at what you do. The man is good.” Bullei stated, “My friends spit game (flirt) with girls. We bring game and then we tell our friend, “you the man.” You feel like a man because you feel good because I flirted with a girl. Kono added, the phrase is used, “it means you have accomplished something great like if you had sex, you’re the frickin man; especially if she is hot.” “I think they think that is being a man because they are telling and comparing yourself to other guys and it implies that I am better than you.” Kono mentioned that it is a term of courage. For example he recalled the time he jumped off the high rock at Waimea Bay and his friends said to one another, “You the man.” The courage to jump off the rock made him a man. Bullei added, “It means to be brave and to have courage.”

The data from the handouts corroborated the idea that the phrase “you’re the man” means a boy did something cool or something impressive. One Hawaiian boy summed it up when he said, “You did something great. It means cool and I use it with my friends.” Similar to what Kono stated, many boys felt it was used when a boy has sex with a girl. Many Hawaiian boys used the phrase when a boy does, “something cool like sex with a hot girl.” It also said when a boy does a favor for another boy.

### *Sexual Orientation*

From the life histories of the participants, a boys’ sexual orientation did not matter in the consideration of being a man. Keo mentioned that being a man is how far you go, like the job afterschool is everything. I can portray a man even though I am gay.” He felt that his volleyball teammates knew he was gay but said, “They didn’t care. My sexuality never gets involved.” Keo

expressed, “Gay guys can be men. Jacob is a man. Jacob is responsible and gets his shit done.”

Kono concurred, “I would consider gay guys men.”

Some of the Hawaiian boys felt that being a man has little to do with one’s sexual orientation. The boys felt that being a man has more to do with one’s character and duties. One boy felt, “as long as you take care of your family and stand up for what’s right then it shouldn’t matter. Another boy felt, “Gender has nothing to do with being a man. Another one determined, “Sexuality doesn’t determine your manliness, your character does.”

On the other hand, some boys felt that a homosexual man cannot be a man because of religious reasons. One participant felt, “As a Christian I agree that a gay man cannot be a man because I do believe it is wrong to be a homosexual.” Another boy said, “That is not what God intended.” Some Hawaiian boys felt that a gay man cannot be a man. The strong influence of Christianity upon native Hawaiians may explain why some of the Hawaiian boys felt this way.

## **VII. Competing with Others**

As Kimmel stated, “masculinity is a constant test, always up for grabs, always needed to be proved” (Kimmel, 2008, p. 51). Kimmel argues that masculinity is judged not by women but by other men. Participants mentioned how they competed with other boys to prove their masculinity. Bullei recalled different incidents with his male cousins, “We compete with each other in our own way. Who is stronger when we lift weights? Who is faster? Who is smarter? We compete by who can drink more than the other guy? Who can handle more drinks?” Keo added that in weight-training class the boys are competing. He explained, “If I lift heavy, other people going lift heavier and then I want to lift heavier than them.” Kono mentioned a time his boys dared him to jump of the high rock at Waimea bay. He was told, “Do it for the boys”. If I don’t do it my friends will say I am a coward or I am taking away your man-card. A lot of my friend’s

think that being a man is doing risky stuff.” However, Jacob felt that he needed to prove that he could be a man to his mom. Jacob decided to play basketball because he viewed it is more aggressive than volleyball. His mom told him that he was born a boy. This influenced him to workout and get bigger calves. He stated, “I wanted to prove to my mom that I can be a man. Even though I can be girl here and there, I am still a man.”

Participants mentioned their participation in sports at Cleveland High School or as a hobby influenced their perception of masculinity. First the physical nature and aggressive nature influenced their perception of masculinity. Jacob stated, “Sports have a lot to do with masculinity. When I play volleyball it makes me feel aggressive like when he gets a big kill or ace.” He further elaborated that basketball is aggressive because you have to be willing to be fouled and be strong so basketball is masculine. In football, “It felt manly to hit other guys. It felt good to show people I can run over and smash guys especially the quarterback. I like hitting them, that’s manly.” Accordingly, sports at Cleveland High School showed KL how to act as a boy. KL stated, “Cleveland High School helped me mature through my participation in football and sports.” They helped me out because coming in as a freshman on the football team; you start to learn how guys act. In addition to learning how boys act from the football team, sports influenced some participant’s perceptions of masculinity. Two participants believe that a man is one who can take a hit and get back up. Keo stated that while learning how to box, “I learned a man has to take a punch and get back up.” KL described one incident in which, “I took the biggest whack in practice I still stood up and people started to respect me.” However, Kono believed that contact sports are not necessarily manlier sports than non-contact sports. Golf is manly because it requires patience. Sports influenced these participants perception of masculinity

by its aggressiveness and physical toughness, learning how to act and the ability to take a hit and get back up and to have patience.

Researchers have argued that high schools sports are an important part of a boy's school experience in the development of masculinities (McKay, Messner & Sabo, 2000). The mixed perspectives of the influence of sports are reflected in the data from the handouts. The data showed that participating in football takes guts, courage and is very physical. Keo and KL mentioned the physicality of football influenced their perspective. Some boys felt power through their participation in weight-training sports. As one participant mentioned, "Power translates into manliness." There is evidence amongst Hawaiian boys at Cleveland high school that sports such as football influence their perceptions of masculinity. Light & Kirk (2000) warn the power of football and other high status school sports can reinforce hegemonic forms of masculinity. However, some Hawaiian boys felt that physicality is not needed in all sports. In addition, they felt being involved in a sport has nothing to do with being a man. For example, one boy felt that, "Golf is a sport because of the concentration required." However, participants felt that football is a manlier sport than golf.

### **VIII. Indigenous Identity and Culture**

Participants stated that a Hawaiian man is one who keeps to his culture and provides and takes care of his family. Kono stated, "A Hawaiian man is one who cares for his family and the land. A Hawaiian man knows how to get food and makes sure his family eats before he does." Jacob stated, "Hawaiian men focus more on their culture and stick with their family." Keo agreed, "A Hawaiian man is a man who lives off the land and keeps to his heritage." Bullei concurred, "A Hawaiian man is one who protects his family and puts others before himself." Bullei demonstrated being a Hawaiian man by taking care of his grandma and said that he would

teach his son to take care. Numerous times participants mentioned that living off the land, providing and taking care of a man's family is a Hawaiian man. A participant mentioned that a Hawaiian man would provide food by hunting or working in the taro patch. He would teach his son how to hunt and fish just in case they cannot afford to buy food. Three participants mentioned that a Hawaiian man puts others before himself. KL affirmed, "A real Hawaiian man wouldn't feed himself before his family." KL stated that a Hawaiian man is one who gives back to their community.

Hawaiian boys felt that a Hawaiian man is one who is a *kanaka*: one, who feeds, fends for his family and is a father. As demonstrated through the participant's stories, the Hawaiian boys who were surveyed felt that a Hawaiian man provides food for their family. A Hawaiian man protects and defends their family. Several participants mentioned that the Tommy Kaulukukui presentation about what is a Hawaiian man influenced their perceptions. The data revealed that being a good father had a lot to being a Hawaiian man. Many of the students who responded to this handout were not my students at the time of the presentation but remembered his speech. Based on the data, many students referred to Tommy's concept of the difference between a *Kāne* and a *Kanaka*. Many participants stated that being a Hawaiian man is a *Kanaka*: one who feeds others, fends (defend) his family and fatherhood. Soretani (2003) claimed that an important part of *Lua* is to protect your family and defend the people around you. Other participants stated that there is no difference between being a man and a Hawaiian man and that a man is someone who takes care of his family.

### *Chanting*

Hawaiian students believe the *haka*, *ha`a* and *hula* are forms of Hawaiian masculinity because of the chanting. Jacob stated, "The *haka* is manly because of the yelling, pounding on

the chest, craziness and chanting. The chanting is a big thing and the men chant loud.” KL stated, “The chanting is firm and its Hawaiian males who chant.” The haka and ha`a are masculine because the chants are performed by men.

### *Physical Movement*

In addition to the chanting, the physical moves of haka and ha`a make it a form of Hawaiian masculinity. Jacob said, “The elbow, the buffness and the slapping of the chest” makes it masculine. Keo stated, “the hula is masculine because of the moves.” Kono agreed, “The hula requires body control, it’s smooth, not violent.” However, KL agreed that the hula is masculine but, “The haka and ha`a are manlier than the hula because it shows aggression and shows the power a man can have. The haka and the ha`a show power.” “Lua was the hard part and hula was the soft part” (Tengan, 2008).

### *Cultural Purposes*

Besides the physical moves of the haka, ha`a and the hula, the performances are masculine because of their cultural significance and purpose. Bullei stated, “I think the hula is manly. I understand the significance of the hula. I guess because it keeps the culture strong and that is how our story is passed down through the generations. In terms of manliness, the haka and hula are the same because it is a cultural thing.” KL concurred, “The Hawaiian students are dancing for a cultural purpose.” Kono said, “It can be really masculine but it just looks non-masculine if it isn’t presented how it is meant to be culturally portrayed.” As Keo lamented, “the haka is pretty manly because you are preparing for war and be intimidating. People are scared when you do it; that’s pretty manly.” Bullei stated, “The haka and the ha`a are manly because the Māori and the Hawaiians would do this before they would go to war. They performed the haka and ha`a for intimidation purposes.”

The results of the data from the handouts are mixed. Similar to the participants who shared their stories Hawaiian boys felt that the haka and the ha`a are masculine because of the intimidating displays that suggest aggressiveness and the cultural purposes. Connell (2005) suggested that masculinity is to proceed from men's bodies. This was demonstrated through their performance in the haka and hula. However, some boys suggested that some boys perform the haka just to show off and copy in order to fit in.

Similar to these cultural performances, tattoos represent Hawaiian masculinity only if the tattoo has meaning. Bullei said, "Having tattoos makes you a man but it has to have meaning. Each pattern has to have meaning like your family." Keo mentioned the numerous tattoos he has of his family on his body. Jacob stated, "Tribal tattoos have a lot to do with being a Hawaiian man because most of the men in our neighborhood have tribal sleeves. Every design has a special meaning in their Hawaiian culture. They did the right thing. If you're going to get a tattoo get it for a reason not just to get it. I would get a tattoo of my mom." KL agreed, "The only masculine part of it is if it represents something. A tattoo is nice and everything but does it have meaning." Kono added, "Having tattoos comes with being masculine because a lot of people just get tattoos, just to get a tattoo. Sometimes there is no meaning behind it." A tattoo is representative of a form of Hawaiian masculinity only if there is cultural significance or meaning for getting one. Participants mentioned they would get tattoos of their family.

The data from the handouts revealed the same thing. In order for a tattoo to be considered a part of Hawaiian masculinity, it has to mean something. The data showed that Hawaiian boys felt that a tattoo must have significance to their Hawaiian culture or their family. Kanaka Maoli men, "focused on the body in returning to traditional norms of indigenous masculinities such as tattooing" (Tengan, 2002). A tattoo is a mark of the one's inner self, one's values, priorities and

personal history (Allen, 2005). This sentiment was shared by the participant's stories. However, some Hawaiian boys felt that having a tattoo doesn't make you a Hawaiian man. They felt that being a Hawaiian had more to do with your actions rather than what one wears. As one questionnaire participant shared, "Being a man is how you carry yourself not on what you have on your skin."

#### *Hawaiian Men Perform the Task*

Furthermore, the participants' perceptions about Hawaiian masculinity were influenced by seeing other Hawaiian men engage in a particular Hawaiian cultural task. Jacob stated, "Pounding poi is manly because back in the day I think it was done by mostly men. I see mostly only men play. I see men doing those things those Hawaiian things so those are the Hawaiian manly things to do." Bullei said that, "the ha`a is mostly performed by men." KL agreed and said, "Hawaiian males usually chant. They do chants so their kumu would do changes and the males would dance to that." Jacob echoed, "Hawaiian boys dance hula. They think only girls perform the hula but little do they know boys can dance hula too."

#### *Giving Back and Leaving the Community*

Lastly, participants had various perspectives of a successful Hawaiian man. Answers ranged from getting shit done, giving back to the community and getting out of the neighborhood. Keo and Jacob stated, "A man gets his shit done." Bullei stated, "A Hawaiian man does his job. He is responsible and doesn't slack off." Additionally, a Hawaiian man will make a difference in their community. KL stated, "A Hawaiian man will make a difference in the Hawaiian community." Jacob stated, "I can come back, I would do something for my community, make the kids a better park or rebuild Lanikai Park. Helping the community is more of a feminine thing to do but men can do that too. I'd like to add a pool or something, so more

kids would come so they wouldn't be involved in drugs." Jacob stated, "A successful Hawaiian man means I got out of the neighborhood. I wasn't a loser that stayed back. I quit taking drugs; quit smoking, focused on my career, focused on school and sports. I don't want to be like those other men in the neighborhood because there are a lot." Jacob wants to views his success to not be like some men from Lanikai. Although Keo is from Lanikai, he said, "I would leave Lanikai and want to retire in Brazil." Another Lanikai resident Bullei added, "I would get my son away from Lanikai and move to the country side because Lanikai has drugs and everybody from the neighborhood drinks alcohol." The participants viewed success as moving away from Lanikai to escape the bacchanalian activities that go on and not to be like some of the men that live in their neighborhood.

The participants stated that being a Hawaiian man has to do with taking care of one's responsibilities, one who is employed, provides for his family, self-reliant. Similarly to (Crawford, 2003) the study of Australian adolescent boys who did not view themselves to be men, some Hawaiian boys in this study did not feel they were men either. However, unlike Australian adolescent boys who were unable to articulate what it means to be a man, the participants in this study could articulate and had an idea of what it means to be a man.

Hawaiian male adolescents who participated in this study articulated their perceptions of the "ideal man", but many of their behaviors contradicted this ideal. For example, Bullei mentioned that a Hawaiian man is one who is mature, yet he admits to bullying others. Keo stated that he used to be in a gang and mob people, but he also stated that being a man is to be humble and avoid causing trouble. Kono stated that girls are not whores but aspires to be a man who is a "gamebird" not realizing the word "gamebird" is a derogatory term toward woman. Jacob said he is proud to be gay, yet he continues to hide his sexuality. He tries to prove his

masculinity by participating in sports. KL stated a man can be judged by how he treats a woman, yet he admits to treating his ex-girlfriend poorly. These are a few examples of the participants experiencing the ideals of manhood yet revealing that their own behaviors contradict these ideals. In this section, I will offer some possible explanations regarding the disconnect between their ideals of being a man and their own behaviors.

In general, surfing, the ha`a, and the hale mua are past and current areas where many Hawaiian boys learned how to be Hawaiian men. Though many Hawaiian male adolescents may participate in these endeavors, what about the Hawaiian boys who did not participate in these rituals and traditions? Where do these boys learn and practice growing towards Hawaiian manhood?

Traditionally, Hawaiian men did not allow Hawaiian boys to figure it out for themselves but rather Hawaiian men recognized the importance and need for Hawaiian boys to be guided and given the opportunity to practice without harsh criticism. Hawaiian boys need places where they can safely practice and learn what it means to be a Hawaiian man. In the hale mua, these boys learned the practice of Hawaiian protocol, chants and other skills from a group of highly respected Hawaiian men. However, if Hawaiian boys are not surrounded by Hawaiian men who can guide their transition to manhood, particularly at home or at school, how will these boys be able to demonstrate what it means to be a successful Hawaiian man?

According to the Messerschmidt (1986, p. 59), “violence is a tool used to achieve a masculine identity in the United States because power is linked with aggression.” Violence in the forms of being fearless and fearsome are conceptions of how Hawaiian boys formed their masculinity (Irwin & Umemoto, 2012). For example, Jacob demonstrated his “fearless” masculinity when he stood up for himself by confronting and yelling at a school bully. He stated,

“I flew my plate lunch; I stood up and I told him off. I told him, ‘Shut the fuck up bitch, I am gay and I love every single minute of it.’ I was no longer teased because students saw me stand up for myself. Keo and Pekelo came up to me and told me that they respected me for standing up for myself. Hawaiian boys are influenced by stories that tell them it is not acceptable to back down from a fight. Accordingly, Hawaiian boys’ perception of masculinity includes never backing down from a fight, since fighting is a form of respect.

Based on the data from the handouts and Kono’s story, there are Hawaiian boys who do not feel they need a man to teach them how to be a man, and that being a man is something they have to learn on their own. The data suggest that Hawaiian boys perceive a man as one who is “mature and responsible”. However, they couldn’t explain what maturity is or how it is practiced. Without knowing role models and safe places where these boys can practice maturity, Hawaiian boys may not ever learn what it means to be mature. To these boys, the idea of being “mature” is important, yet vague. This partly explains the disconnect between the ideal man and the behavior they choose.

Most importantly, the role of the father cannot be undervalued in shaping the ideas of Hawaiian boy’s perceptions of manhood. “Fatherhood is a key signifier of masculinity” (Westwood, 1996, p. 25). One of the most important aspects of fatherhood is providing opportunities for their sons to practice being a man. These boys mentioned that their fathers helped shape their perceptions of being a man by being involved in their daily lives and teaching them how to act in certain situations. For example, KL stated that his dad taught him how to act around certain people. His father taught him how to talk and when to talk and corrected him if he spoke out of turn. Many of these boys who do not have their fathers missed out on the opportunity to be coached and corrected. Without these constructive corrections, some Hawaiian

boys may be ill-prepared to handle certain situations because of the lack of opportunity to practice in a safe, loving environment. As Keo described, “My brother and I had to learn on our own, not from our father.” Should Hawaiian boys be trusted to figure out what it means to be a man? Do we leave it up to Hawaiian boys to create their own opportunities to practice being Hawaiian men without anyone to correct them?

As Keo previously stated, he and his brother had to learn what it meant to be a man on their own and not from their father. Although Keo did not mention an incident in which his own father taught him how to be a man, he mentioned his friend’s and ex-girlfriend’s fathers who influenced his perception of what it means to be a man. He stated, “My friend Sam’s father told me when we got arrested, he taught me a lesson. He taught me that because we are eighteen, we are no longer considered minors. He told me not to get arrested, to not to get in trouble and to get a job.” Sam’s father provided Keo with corrective guidance. Keo’s ex-girlfriend’s dad allowed him to practice being a man by providing Keo an opportunity to learn from him about how to be an electrician. Keo recalled, “He took me in and helped me get paid. It felt good to work with her father and get paid because you work hard for it and you learn the value of a dollar.” As one study on African American youths demonstrated, ““father figures” may fulfill many of the same roles and responsibilities as biological fathers” (Caldwell, 2011). “Father figures teach male children their own definitions of manhood through demonstrations” (Gavanas, 2002).

Hawaiian boys’ perceptions of masculinity and manhood may be influenced by their own father and by men who are father figures. However, not all Hawaiian boys may grow up under the guidance of a “father figure.” Hawaiian boys need a mentor, or mentors, who will instruct and provide opportunities to practice being a man and in particular a Hawaiian man. They need men to be present in their lives that demonstrate and clearly define maturity,

give positive feedback, and constructive corrections. Providing Hawaiian boys with these experiences will help them align their ideals with their own behaviors, thus allowing them to show forms of masculinities other than being “fearless” and “fearsome”.

### **Research Objective Number Two: School Setting**

Research objective number two was to, “Investigate how school experiences and teachers at Cleveland high school influence Hawaiian male adolescents’ perceptions of masculinity.”

#### *Cleveland High School Climate*

Jacob mentioned a time in which he was bullied due to his homosexual orientation but stood up for himself. He felt standing up for himself was masculine. In middle school, Jacob was no longer teased, “Because students saw me stand up for myself.” Jacob encouraged his other friend to stand up for himself because his friend was being teased because he was gay. He wanted to teach his sister to stand up for herself too. Kono felt that a gay man is a man because, “they don’t talk crap and they don’t take crap. If crap is given to them they give it back to them pretty bad.”

Cleveland High School accepts people regardless of sexual orientation. Jacob felt that, “Cleveland high school welcomed him with open arms.” He felt there were very supportive teachers. Jacob stated that his volleyball teammates welcomed him on the team. Jacob’s teammates knew he was gay but they did not care about his sexuality and it never got in the way. He hopes Cleveland high school will add a LGBT club in the future. Jacob’s actions can be explained through queer theory. Queer theory, “something different from both the norm of straight culture and the norm of gay culture” (Diley, 2010, p. 114). An element of queer theory is, “Queer students might form groups to protest many of those very elements of campus life or might plan events that highlighted the social stigmatization they felt in a non-homosexual

environment” (Diley 2010, p. 114). Jacob’s idea to start a LGBT club at Cleveland is an example of his queer identity.

### *Influence of Teachers and Coaches*

Male teachers and coaches influenced the participant’s perceptions by serving as role models, having a close teacher-student relationship and teaching life lessons. Kono mentioned that a male elementary teacher influenced his perception because, “He taught life lessons.” Keo mentioned that one of his high school teachers taught him and his friends, “How to get one job.” Bullei stated, “Coach L was a role model and one who influenced his perception. Bullei stated, “One of my role models in school is Coach L because we are close. He kept telling me to be there for my family and to work hard.” Jacob mentioned that he had a close relationship with Mr.W. KL mentioned a quote from his P.E teacher Mr. C, “You reap what you sow; I learn all this and apply it.” KL mentioned that one his coaches taught him to respect women. Kono mentioned that his Hawaiian language teacher influenced his perception by not being afraid to be shameful and to not take oneself so seriously.”Only Kono mentioned a male elementary teacher who influenced his perception of a man. The other participants could not recall a specific teacher elementary or middle school teacher that influenced their perception. KL and Keo stated, “There were no special teachers.” Only Kono mentioned a female teacher who influenced his perception because she taught him another side of what it means to be a man. Kono explained, “Ms. K. taught me how to cook and how to clean. She said, “Not to take women for granted and that males should wash the dishes too so you are going to stay back and wash them. She would teach me a lot of life lessons.” KL felt that boys do need a male figure in their life.

### *Researcher’s Influence*

As a researcher, I wanted to know if and how I influenced my student's perceptions of masculinity. Bullei mentioned that Coach V is a role model because, "I was friends with all the senior boys; they told me that his class is different. They would tell me all the lessons how it changed them and their attitude. From his class my perspectives changed like the government and stuff." He continued and said, "I learned a lot from the book *Season of Life* such as the three types of fathers, and how it is better to be other-centered instead of self-centered. KL stated, "Coach V is an example of a man because he would fend before he would fight. Then he would feed others before himself. He got that respect from people." During the interview, Keo mentioned how I made it safe for boys to express their feelings. Keo stated, "It takes a real man to cry and your lesson made everyone cry especially all the boys." Kono added, "Using your personal experiences along with the book and asking us the question about what kind of man do you want to be. Do you want to be a man for yourself or a man built for others? They way you led us and interviewed us and showed us all this partying and getting in trouble do not make a man. It's just stupid and education is the key, to live for others and to represent your culture well, to be a good father to your son and daughter."

The data from the handouts illustrated that Hawaiian boy's perceptions were mixed regarding whether a boy needs to have a positive role model in their life to be a man. Some Hawaiian boys felt that boys do need to have one positive role model because they provide guidance and someone to look up to. From the oral histories, all participants had a male teacher or coach who influenced their perception of masculinity. Teenage boys are looking for models of mature adulthood and boys need a community of men showing boys how to behave (Sax, 2007). These five Hawaiian boys were able to identify a bevy of male teachers at Cleveland high school that showed them how to act as men. Teenage boys "were conscious that teachers influence their

understanding of masculinity because of their extensive contact with boys during their formative years” (Lee, 2003, p. 157). These teachers were able to connect and influence these five Hawaiian boys. In his research Sax states, “when it comes to showing boys how a gentleman behaves, how he responds to adversity, how he serves his community, there is no substitute for having a male role model” (Sax 2007, p. 169). Male teachers who listened, showed respect and were able to “connect” with male students influenced the boy’s perceptions of masculinity (Lee, 2001). However, some Hawaiian boys felt that having a positive role model is not necessary but highly recommended. The stories illustrated that although men influenced boys in their perceptions there were other factors. Lastly, some Hawaiian boys felt that a boy doesn’t need a positive role model and can learn it on their own.

### *Getting Good Grades*

The five participants believed that getting good grades and the importance of going to school and staying in school are masculine. Keo stated, “Having good grades is manly because it is good to be smart.” Jacob mom told him about his dad and how he didn’t graduate from high school. She told him, “Don’t be like your dad; go and finish school.” Bullei’s uncle told him to stay in school. Kono said, “A man would have his kids go to school and college. He further added that getting good grades made his mother happy. Although the participants agreed that getting good grades are masculine, Jacob and Keo felt there were other issues. Jacob felt working out is more masculine than getting good grades. Keo explained, “Boys should know that men read but it depends on how serious they take it.” He warned that, “Some boys don’t want to hear what they need to hear. Some boys don’t want to hear the same old bullshit like history and science, they don’t care about that.” Though Cleveland (2011) asserted that boys may shun

literacy skills and certain attitudes necessary to be successful in school as feminine, this was not the case with these five Hawaiian boys.

### *Masculine School Subjects*

The participant's perspectives of whether there were more masculine subjects than others were mixed. Keo explained, "Weight training class is manlier because you smash weights. In class everybody is competing." Bullei concurred and mentioned bench competition and weight training because, "We always trying to beat each other; it's competitive. Jacob added, "Men are better at working out than bookwork and the manly subjects are body conditioning, weightlifting, and P.E. However KL disagreed. KL felt, "I really don't think there is a manlier school subject than others. Maybe physical education but then that's not really a manly subject, I mean any athlete can be good at P.E. One day you are going to have a wife and you are going to try and sweet talk her, well you're going to have to know how to rhyme." KL suggested that there are other qualities that make a man. Just because a school subject focused on weight training doesn't make another subject less masculine.

Similar results are demonstrated from the handouts. Some Hawaiian boys felt that weight training and physical education classes were manlier than others. These were the thoughts of Keo and Bullei. Though (Martino, 2001) claimed that boys regarded some school subjects as feminine, this was only the case with some. However the majority of the Hawaiian boys felt there are no school subjects that are manlier than others. This was expressed by KL as well.

### *Fear of Being Perceived as Smart*

According to the participants' stories, boys are afraid to be perceived as smart. Kono noticed, "Boys are afraid of being smart because a lot of boys think it's cool to be stupid. If you're too smart nobody wants to hang out with you. All my friends are smart but they just want

to be stupid because it gets a good laugh. Boys dumb themselves down sometimes but being smart is manly because they will have more options in their future but they don't want to be teased." Jacob added, "Boys would rather be perceived as muscular. Boys value their looks over their brains." KL noted, "There are guys that want to be funny but they can actually be smart. Guys don't want to be perceived as smart. I don't think teenage boys think that being smart is part of being a man. Girls have good grades."

The theme that boys are afraid to be perceived as smart is partially reflected in the data from the handouts. Similar to the perspectives of the participant's stories, Hawaiian boys felt that boys are afraid of being perceived as smart. They felt being smart made them vulnerable and being smart does not allow you to fit into a peer group without being perceived as a nerd. Displaying intelligence, being articulate, and the ability to read and write well results in a boy being labeled as a sissy (Cleveland, 2011). As Renold (2001) argues, boys do not want to open themselves to verbal abuse and do not want to be labeled as "geeks" or "nerds". "However, some Hawaiian boys felt that intelligence is part of being a man. As one Hawaiian boy mentioned, "no guys wants to be known as dumb." Kono felt that being smart is part of being a man.

#### *School and Masculinity: Mixed Perspectives*

A few of the participants felt that learning how to be a man cannot be taught at school. Kono felt, "Being a man is something you can't learn from school. You have to learn what it means to be a man on your own. You have to learn through your mistakes." Keo and Bullei disagreed and felt school should teach boys how to be men. Schools should teach boys how to be men. KL recalled a time in which Hawaiian men talked about the difference between a male and a man. That lesson stood with him. Keo warned, "Some boys relax too much and don't get a job.

Bullei concurred, “Schools should teach boys how to be men. Not only am I learning from my dad but you learning from your male teachers and what they teach you. I would be learning throughout the whole day and not just when I go home.” Both Keo and Bullei felt schools should teach boys how to get a job. Kono felt if school were to teach manhood, it should be about male and female relationships and how to better understand women.

The data from the handout showed similar perceptions from the participants. Kono felt that school cannot teach what it means to be a man. The data demonstrated that some Hawaiian boys felt that Cleveland High School did not influence their perception because being a man cannot be taught. Being a man is something you have to learn on your own and from your mistakes. Other Hawaiian boys felt that schools should teach what it means to be a man because many boys do not have a father; and it would better prepare them for life. Many boys learned how to be a man in school by watching other guys.

#### *Flex-Off: Self-Confidence and Courage*

While participating in Cleveland High School’s flex-off, participants expressed their sense of manhood and masculinity. Participating in Flex-off gave these boys the opportunity to develop a sense of confidence. Bullei mentioned that participating in the flex-off, “helped build self-confidence.” KL concurred, “I gained self-confidence to do it.” Jacob added that he developed, “Self-confidence and to bring it to the table”. Flex-off fostered in these participants a particular form of masculinity that they demonstrated for the school. Participants mentioned that they performed these poses to show how hard they had worked and especially for the females in the audience.

In addition to Flex-off’s cultivation of the participant’s self-confidence, the participants expressed a sense of courage to perform in flex-off. Participants mentioned their nervousness to

perform in front of their classmates. However, Bullei stated, “I have no shame. I know I am fat but I still took off my shirt. No shame.” KL noted, “You had to man up and out there! Bullei added” one group was not the best but they still went out there and went balls to the walls.” These participants mentioned that it took courage to flex and pose in front of the school. The courage that it took to go out there and perform was masculine.

The data from the handouts demonstrated that some Hawaiian boys felt that participating in the flex-off and weight training class does influence their perception of masculinity. Connell (2005 p. 45) stated, “True Masculinity is almost thought to proceed from men’s bodies-to be inherent in a male body or to express something about the male body.” Cleveland High School’s flex-off allowed these boys to demonstrate their masculinity through their body by posing and flexing in front of the school. They felt that flex-off influenced their idea to be muscular and to be healthy and that these were acceptable forms of masculinity. As Curtin & Linehan (2002) reveal, school practices such as physical fitness, participation in games and competition help to unwittingly induct boys into certain form of masculinity. They performed this masculinity to girls, faculty and to their parents. Additionally flex-off performance is an example of hegemonic masculinity. Due to Connell, (2005) notion of hegemonic masculinity, flex-off allowed the boys to demonstrate their physical toughness and muscular development. Additionally the participants mentioned that it took courage to flex in front of the school which is part of hegemonic masculinity; risk-taking.

### *Flexing and Flirting*

At the waterpark, the participants mentioned that they showed off their muscles to the girls. KL stated, “the girls seeing all the muscle and at flex-off, they get to see it again. Us all wet and stuff. When the girls walk by, you flex a little bit and say what’s up. Bullei explained, “I

only get shoulders so when a pretty girl walks by I could just show my muscles.” Keo added, “I kind of flex a little bit.” KL further stated, “I changed my behavior. Coming out of the wave pond I dusted my body and flexed at the same time. I dropped my pants a little lower to show my V-cut”. Additionally, participants mentioned that they tried to impress the girls by riding the rides at the waterpark. Bullei mentioned that touching the top of the Shaka (a ride) makes you a gamebird and that girls were watching him.” Keo mentioned that he tried to race to impress an Asian girl. Trying to impress the girls by flexing their muscles and riding on the rides are how participants performed their masculinity at the waterpark.

In addition to impressing the girls at the waterpark, the boys tried to impress one another. The participants used the term “gamebird” as one who flirts with girls. While boys are trying to talk to girls, other boys yell “kawkaw” which is the sound of a “gamebird”. The phrase “spitting game” is a term for flirting. Bullei stated that the boys “want to be it (gamebird).” KL said, “I just ask them how their day is going. I tell them something I like about them.” The participants mentioned how they tease other boys who talk to girls. This playful banter between the boys is one way boys are trying to prove their masculinity to the girls and other boys.

Kimmel and Connell’s notion of masculinity and Butler’s concept of gender were demonstrated by the five Hawaiian boys at the waterpark. As for Connell and his body-reflexive practices, these five Hawaiian boys tried to show their muscles, talk or ride a ride to receive the attention of females. Kimmel stated, masculinity is a largely a “homosocial” experience performed for, and judged by other men (Kimmel, 2008). These boys seem to acknowledge that they were flirting and flexing for women but were actually seeking the approval of one another by name teasing such as calling one another a gamebird. The word gamebird is not only a male sign of approval given by the others boys but is an offensive term. Gamebird acknowledges that

boys play a game with one another and one with a girl. When a boy received attention from the girl or girls they are rewarded and praised by the term gamebird. In other words, the attention a boy receives from a girl infers that a woman is something a boy can get; she is objectified.

Whether a boy gets the object or in this case the girl is praiseworthy from the perspective of the other boys. These boys may not have recognized that this term is offensive. As Butler, (2006) noted, gender is a performance, a repetitive enactment of a set of social norms. The five participants may have rehearsed these gender scripts and enacted them as a set of social norms.

### *Season of Life*

The five participants were asked about the book *Season of Life* and how it influenced their perceptions of masculinity. Fatherhood was a theme that prevailed in their responses. Kono stated, “When the book talked about “strategic fatherhood” and the absence of parents, it talked about how well do you knew your dad.” Jacob added, “The part of the three types of dad’s, like right after that discussion in class I began to talk to my dad.” Kono mentioned, “When James shared about his dad.” Bullei said, “Some of us went through the same things like without fathers.” He further elaborated, “I learned about false masculinity, the three types of fathers and how it is better to be other-centered instead of self-centered. Strategic fatherhood “is a man who has a clear and compelling definition of masculinity and code of conduct for being a man.” The book influenced their perception by making them think about what type of father they want to be and how fatherhood relates to masculinity.

Not only did the participants mention the book’s portrayal of the role of fatherhood but how the class bonded by listening to profound stories the boys shared during class discussions. Bullei stated, “The sharing of personal stuff brought us together as a class like a family.” Jacob recalled after someone shared, “We bonded with that person and we tried to build a relationship

with that person. As Kono remembered, “The boys kind of stepped it up. When Kanoa broke down in front of the class, a lot of people didn’t realize how important he was to Brandon. Steve broke down. Conrad and he is a real tough guy, to see him breakdown and cry sharing what he did. I think the sharing brought everyone closer.”

The boy realized that it is masculine to share their personal stories. The participants observed that other boys connected with their classmates and how other boys expressed their feelings for their male friends and in front of others. Though the handouts revealed that some Hawaiian boys do not like to express their emotions (Kimmel, 2008), participants mentioned the boys noted that the sharing and expressing how one feels is masculine. As Kimmel contends, masculinity is judged and performed for other men. The five participants judged a boys’ willingness to be vulnerable and express their emotions in front of others as masculine.

#### *Crying in front of others*

The participants recalled a school activity that occurred in the auditorium that demonstrated masculinity. According to the participants, it influenced their perceptions of masculinity. During this school activity, they had to disclose mentioned how much a person means to them by looking into their eyes. They are not allowed to use any words. The boys talked about how they cried; and during the process they arrived at the conclusion that men cry. Because of the difficulty for boys to cry in front of others, that act was masculine. For example, Keo stated, “You know some boys walk the hall like they one badass but it takes a real man to cry in front of others. Like they act tough and people were saying I am not going cry but your emotions showing how much they mean to you, with no words, it really touches you.” KL expressed, “It takes a lot to cry. When you think of men of character you think of big muscles, strong, no tears heads up all the time. When you see boys cry, you just say wow, anybody can

cry. Men cry, you never see the guy cry before and then you realize, that person must mean a lot if it can make them cry in front of others.” Bullei added, “It takes a lot for me to cry. I saw all the boys crying.” Keo mentioned that, “It takes a real man to cry and your lesson made everyone cry especially all the boys.” Kono shared, “When the boys who couldn’t cry and had a hard time looking at one another in the eye, it had more meaning when you looked at them because it wasn’t easy for them to do. Some of the boys you think would never break down but they did.”

Considering the difficulty boys have in expressing their feelings, and then to cry in front of others they displayed a form of masculinity and this influenced their perceptions. Pollack contends, “Boys learn to cover over their inner feelings of sadness, loneliness, and vulnerability, to act cool and to protect themselves from being shamed by their peers” (Pollack, 2000, p. 33). These five participants were afraid to show their feelings but did not worry about being shamed by their peers. These participants discussed how meaningful it was to express their feelings their friend and vice-versa. Pollack argued that is difficult for boys to share their emotions yet these five Hawaiian boys were able express their affection to their friend. As Connell (2005) body-reflexive practice, these boys were able to look their friend in the eye and cry in front of them. The participants were able to simultaneously cry in front of one another. Butler, (2006) asserted that gender is a performance and rehearsed. A performance implies that there is an audience. The five participants perform this type masculinity to their male and female friends and in front half their senior class.

### *Connection and Remembrance*

While students were looking at one another in the auditorium, the participants felt a connection and reminisced. Keo mentioned that while looking at some of his friends, his mind “went back to elementary days and how long I knew these fools. I think about when we were

young, stealing and doing bad stuff. KL described looking at his classmates, “all the good memories we had together.” Jacob felt looking at someone in the eye is hard. He further elaborated, “Everyone who looked at me, I made so many memories with. We just connected. People I known since preschool, shoplifting, fighting, ditching school, egging the city bus and running away from the cops. You just think of all the fun times you had and then that is when it hit me. I was just ballin.” Participants mentioned a connection and reminiscing while they looked at each other. Keo mentioned, “When I see Bullei and Jacob, I’ve known them since preschool. When KL looked at Keo, “He thought of elementary days. All happy memories.” While Kono looked into Keo’s eyes, “He remembered some of the shit we did in preschool. I went to Keo’s line and I went when nobody was there and it just real, there was a connection even though we didn’t know each other that long but after that, I will always be there if he needs me. Kono thought of elementary days while looking at Bullei. Kono felt that when he looked at KL, “We connected more as friends and he’s like a brother to me. Jacob mentioned how he remembered elementary days while looking at Keo. Jacob mentioned that Kono was one of the, “main ones that broke me down.” Connecting and remembering moments are how these young men displayed their masculinity. The numerous connections these boys made while looking at their friends and one another show how they demonstrated a form of masculinity. They showed that the ability to emotionally connect with another man is masculine.

### **Research Objective Number Three: The Media**

Research number three asked, “How do Hawaiian adolescent male students use the media to construct their perception of masculinity?”

#### *Aware of Influence but Influenced Differed*

The five participants were aware of the media’s influence but the degree of influence differed. Many, “Boys look to the men they see in their lives and in the media” (Sax, 2007,

p.163). This was corroborated by the data revealed from the handouts. For example Jacob stated that, “Many magazines make me feel that I am not living up to be a man.” As shown in the handouts, many Hawaiian boys felt that the media does influence their perception by trying to date and have sex with girls. On the other hand, KL stated, “Magazines that have a big guy with muscles and stuff, that doesn’t really influence me.” Some others mentioned that magazines do emphasize the need for boys to have muscles and some boys may feel insecure but the participants felt it really didn’t influence their own perceptions. As Jacob, stated, many boys feel insecure about their body because magazines portray the men to have big muscles. Kono stated that, “the media makes boys insecure because TV shows have good looking guys. They ugly guys are the bad guys. As Kono states, “I feel that it is not right, you don’t have to be muscular. The media portrays that you have to be muscular.”

Based on the data, participants recognized that the media does influence some of them. The boys felt that the media influences their perception by saying that in order to be a man, one has to have sex with many pretty girls. This would corroborate (Hust, 2005) about how the media influences a boys’ perception by promoting sexual prowess (Sex in the City). In addition to influencing their perception of having sex with pretty girls, many boys spoke how the media influences their perception of being a man is one that has a muscular physique. Studies by Drummond (2003), Grogan & Richards (2002), and Glassner (1988) found that the media influenced boys’ perception of masculinity by promoting a muscular physique. Lastly, the data suggests that not all boys are influenced by the media. Some of these boys are aware of the messages but mentioned that it did not influence their perception. Some men reject the muscular ideal of masculinity, seeing it was driven by unrealistic expectations (McKay, Mikosza,

Hutchins, 2005). Further research may be needed to determine the reasons why the media influenced some Hawaiian boys while not others.

#### *How to Treat a Woman*

Two of the participants mentioned that the media influences their perceptions by teaching them how to treat women. KL stated, “Romantic comedies show how to treat a woman and the need to get out one’s comfort zone.” Kono stated, “ images and magazines of wedding stuff, it seems like a lot of work to make her happy but they also portray not all women are like that and if you find the right woman; that how hard you will work for her.” KL and Kono may use the media to help them prepare for roles such as future husbands and boyfriends. These benevolent patriarchs aspire to provide for and protect and take care of women (Hooks, 2004).

#### *Dreaming: Rags to Riches*

In addition to learning how to treat women, the media influenced these boys to dream and make money. As Bullei stated, “The media influences me so-so because there are times when I dream. I dream about making money.” Keo asserted, “My favorite rapper is Wiz Khalifa because he is living his dream and he is the top rapper and he is making millions of dollars.” In addition to dreaming about making money, Bullei and Keo mentioned Scarface, Tupac and Wiz Khalifa as men. They are men because they were poor and then became rich; rags to riches; their lives are examples of the rags to riches story. Bullei mentioned that, “Scarface is a man because he had nothing and ended up being a multi-millionaire.” Keo mentioned, “He started from the ghetto and now he is living the life.” Bullei stated that, “Tupac used to live in a gang but eventually became the most famous rapper and he made money.”

The media influenced Bullei and Keo’s idea to increase their desire to increase their status, privileged and power. Their desire to increase their status, privilege and power are

examples of hegemonic masculinity. The mass media plays an important role in producing hegemonic masculinity (Hanke, 1998). As Connell (2005, p.xviii) explains, “hegemonic masculinity is a way of theorizing gendered power relations among men, and understanding the effectiveness of masculinities in the legitimation of the gender order.” Bullei and Keo’s are aware of the power and prestige of being at the top. Bullei and Keo believe that Wiz Khalifa, Tupac and Scarface are men who have immense power and who are at the top of their profession and male gender order. As Brannon (1976) stated, “The centrality of success and power in the definition of masculinity is measured by wealth, power and status.” They are perceived to be men amongst men. This perception is one that Bullei and Keo hope to attain.

### *Taking Care of the Family*

Besides influencing men who overcame poverty, the media influenced the participant’s perceptions by how it portrayed male actors who took care of their family and their desire to have a family. For example, KL stated that, “John McClane is a man because he was defending a cause, helped others and did anything to get his daughter back.” Bullei stated, “Scarface is a man because he wanted to give money to his mother and sister.” Kono stated, “The TV shows what a normal family on TV; portrays how that man is supposed to be a provider. A man is portrayed as a provider and is supposed to care for his child. You have to get a house and raise a family. Jacob said, “Straight magazines make me want to have my own family.”

Although KL and Bullei felt that John McClane and Scarface are men because they take care of their family, it is still important to understand the media’s promotion of hegemonic masculinity (Hanke, 1998). The media may excuse violent acts as acceptable manly behavior if they view these acts and behaviors to help their family or seem heroic. Boys may perceive Scarface and John McClane as heroes. Some researchers (Gillmore, 1990) caution about the

media's promotion of "heroic image" of an achieved manhood by legitimizing the American gangster culture to Hollywood Westerns, private-eye tales and Rambo." As Pfeil (1995, p. 53)

warned,

although hegemonic masculinity is not as rigid as it once was, given the fragmented and contradictory representations of masculinities in contemporary media, it remains powerful (both materially and symbolically) through the interdependent and mutually reinforcing structures of heterosexism and homophobia. Tony Soprano might be a caring family man but he is also softened and sensitized into a man who can both *kill* and *care*.

## **Chapter Thirteen**

### **Conclusions, Implications and Recommendations**

#### **Summary of Research Objectives**

The first research objective was to investigate Hawaiian adolescent boys' perceptions of masculinity in general and Hawaiian masculinity. Hawaiian adolescent boys' perceptions of masculinity at Cleveland high school were influenced by their family and their friends.

Additionally, these boys felt that a man is one who has a job, one who is mature and acts responsibly and one who is concerned about the welfare of others. Hawaiian adolescent boys' felt that a Hawaiian man is one who keeps to his culture and who is a kanaka. A kanaka is one who feeds, feeds for his family and is a father. Some Hawaiian boys felt that a Hawaiian man chants and one who performs the hula, haka and ha`a and wears a tattoo. However, in order for these dances and the tattoo to be considered a part of Hawaiian masculinity, it has to be performed and worn for cultural purposes. The boys' perceptions were influenced by seeing Hawaiian men perform Hawaiian cultural tasks. A successful Hawaiian man is one who leaves their community but comes back to help their community.

The second research objective was to investigate how Hawaiian male adolescent students' perceptions of masculinity are influenced by their school experiences and teachers at Cleveland High School. Cleveland High School teachers and coaches influenced Hawaiian boys' perceptions of masculinity by being role-models and teaching life lessons. However, some stated that a role-model is highly recommended but not necessary; while others stated that a boy doesn't need a positive male role model to be a man and that one must learn how to be a man on his own. Hawaiian boys felt that getting good grades is masculine and there are no school subjects that are manlier than others. Some Hawaiian boys were afraid to be perceived as smart.

Participation in Cleveland High School's flex-off allowed these boys to flex in front of the school. Their participation in flex-off developed their self-confidence. These boys admitted to trying to flex and flirt with girls to demonstrate their masculinity. Participants mentioned the book *Season of Life* influenced their idea of what it means to be a proper father. The five participants mentioned that a school activity influenced their perception of masculinity by showing boys that it is acceptable for men to cry in front of one another and how to connect with each other.

The third research objective was to investigate how Hawaiian male adolescent students' use the media to construct their perceptions of masculinity. Hawaiian boys at Cleveland High School were aware of the media influence but the degree of influence differed. Some Hawaiian boys felt that it does influence their perception by promoting the idea that a man has sex with girls and to have big muscles. Others mentioned that they were aware of these messages but it did not influence their perceptions of masculinity. The Hawaiian boys who were interviewed mentioned that the media influences their perceptions of masculinity by teaching them how to treat women, to dream and make money and to take care of their family.

### **Implications for the education of adolescent boys**

The findings of this case study have led to several implications and recommendations to help Hawaiian boys academically succeed in school and become men of high character. This chapter will discuss how schools need to understand how masculinity operates within schools, to create a vision and mission statement that promotes and celebrates a diversity of masculinities, and that provides professional development for school administrators so faculty and staff can help boys become men of high character.

Teachers need to develop pedagogy and curriculum that help boys to understand what it means to be a man, so they can be exposed to different forms of masculinity. Teachers need to understand the emotional needs of adolescent boys and their well-being use the pedagogical technique of Philosophy for Children, reading and discussing the book *Season of Life*, having an assembly about Hawaiian manhood and masculinity. Schools should offer courses in gender studies, the hula, ha`a and lua. For some troubled boys, participation in the Students Future Awareness Program and the `Aha Kāne may help. Schools should collaborate with other schools that are committed to helping develop successful Hawaiian men. Additionally community partnerships with the Hale Mua would help. Last but not least, high schools should create a LGBTQ club.

*Understanding of masculinity operating within school: educational implications*

The schools administrators need to examine how they portray masculinities within their own school. School officials need to admit it when they send overt messages of preferred masculinities and be aware of sending subliminal cues of preferred masculinities and manhood. They need to study, review and identify the facets of masculinity. School officials should investigate it at school assemblies. At school, the assemblies should present and celebrate male academic, athletic, speech and debate success and place the trophies in the main hallways. This balanced approach would demonstrate to all of the students that the school values diverse expressions of masculinities that can be interpreted as models of success for its boys. Schools should implement a curriculum across disciplines that embrace all forms of masculinities. Counselors and teachers should be given in-service or professional development opportunities to understand how the Hawaiian home culture and school culture may not match. Based on the literature and the life stories, it would behoove principals, administrators, counselors and

teachers what Hawaiian families do to value education. It may help to understand the family background of Hawaiian boys to understand how to better address and solve the social and academic barriers toward achievement.

Adolescent boys should be encouraged to express several dimensions of masculinity as parts of their identity. Another possible strategy is to provide in-service opportunities for coaches and teachers who are looking to mentor Hawaiian adolescent boys. All teachers can create learning environments where Hawaiian boys feel safe to try and fail without fear of shame from staff and peers. Administrators and teachers should develop a system that promotes student achievement in activities that might be marginalized or perceived to be unmanly. To help nurture Hawaiian boys, schools need to show them successful Hawaiian men. These Hawaiian men can be teachers, coaches or anyone who can positively influence Hawaiian boys. Without a role model to demonstrate Hawaiian male success, boys cannot readily envision their future. Why should Hawaiian boys believe they can be successful if there is no one to show them how or what it looks like? The participants had many positive Hawaiian men who had influenced their perceptions of manhood and masculinity. Hawaiian boys need to see the various ways a Hawaiian man can be successful. It may help Hawaiian boys seeing Hawaiian men read to reinforce the idea that Hawaiian men read and that reading is masculine. The participants mentioned the positive influence of their male teachers. Salisbury and Jackson (1996) assert that adolescent boys have to deal with competing fluid masculine identities. If schools were able to create a culture where teenage boys are supported to recognize and express indigenous, hegemonic, non-hegemonic masculinities then their negotiation of this task could be made possible. This could result in more Hawaiian boys participating in hula, speech and debate,

music, the math team, participating in sports and overall lead to their own personal journey on becoming a man.

*Creating a school mission and vision statement that promotes a diversity of masculinities in school*

The administrators at elementary, middle and high schools need to encourage a diversity of masculinities. They should create a mission and vision statement of the type of men they want their boys to become. For example, at one private catholic school, signs are shown around campus which read, the “St. Mark’s man is” and it lists a certain set of values and expectations that a school wants their boys to be. This can be a clear message that is sent to the boys at the school. Although this is an example of a private religious school, public school administrators, parents, teachers and male and female students could come together to create a mission and vision statements that promote a diversity of masculinities. The path to manhood can be a difficult one and as this study demonstrated, not all boys have fathers to guide them. The schools need to equally value the different types of masculinities such as indigenous and non-hegemonic forms.

*Personal and professional development and school leaders*

Schools need to devote their resources to professional and personal development of teachers and administrators if they are to take action effectively to the masculinity needs of Hawaiian adolescent boys. This support may include in-service training, mentoring and other opportunities for reflection of professional practice. Principals need to be more cognizant of who they hire. Principals need to hire teachers who are able to listen to, encourage and relate to Hawaiian adolescent boys. These teachers can promote positive understandings of all forms of masculinity within their students. Participants in this study mentioned how a teacher positively

influenced their perceptions of manhood and masculinity. A school must study itself and the type of culture that it provides boys. For example, a school may believe it is doing a good job promoting multiple forms of masculinity. However, if students were interviewed or surveyed this may be revealed not to be the case. Schools need to be reflective as their school culture may unintentionally produce only hegemonic forms of masculinity. According to the literature, teachers may unintentionally promote a certain form of masculinity over another. Seemingly innocuous teacher's phrases such as, "you the man" or "that's so gay" may be conveying favored notions of what it means to be a man.

#### *Curriculum implications of masculinities research*

The administrators of school complexes, individual schools, and teachers need to plan for change and begin to incorporate a curriculum of manhood and masculinities. The advantages of coordinating educational experiences in this method includes increasing the participation of Hawaiian male adolescent students' in school and minimizing the barriers that may hinder their ability to socially and academically succeed at school.

#### *Emotional expression, masculinity, wellbeing*

Teachers need to take steps to secure the health, emotional and intellectual safety off all its students, in particular Hawaiian boys. These boys need a safe classroom community in which a range of emotions is regarded as masculine. Both the literature and the participants shared in this study have found that Hawaiian teenage boys are expected to be tough and may be afraid to be perceived as smart. As this study showed, in-class Socratic discussions and their participation and performance in the auditorium showed boys are capable of demonstrating more than hegemonic forms of masculinity. Creating a nurturing classroom environment allowed the participants to share personal stories and even cry in front of the class. Hawaiian adolescent boys

welcome opportunities to express emotions beyond, athletics, weights, strength, toughness and anger. Hawaiian boys need to be given multiple opportunities to perform various forms of masculinities not provided within the normal school curriculum.

#### *P4C Philosophy for Children*

Philosophy for Children or P4C is a pedagogical approach to teaching and learning. The vision of P4C Hawaii is to create intellectually responsible communities. Its mission is to prepare, support and sustain educators, researchers and students who are engaged in P4C worldwide. Basically, P4C is a way to teach kids how to think philosophically. A primary goal of P4C is to create an intellectually safe learning environment. Students make a class community ball. This ball is used during Socratic seminar. The person with the ball is the only one to speak. Students create philosophical questions using the “Good Thinkers Toolkit”.

Many Hawaiians boys mentioned that they saw boys cry and be emotionally vulnerable during the Socratic Seminar. The reason they cried was that the P4C approach focuses on creating a safe learning environment. This approach allows little to no judgment from others. It allowed boys to open up and share their ideas without the fear of being perceived as a nerd or effeminate. In the beginning of the school year, some Hawaiian boys were hesitant to share but by the end of the year it was easier for these boys to open-up with the rest of their peers. I have used P4C the past couple years and it’s my primary teaching method. This teaching pedagogical method is a very effective way to reach all students.

#### *Teaching with the book “Season of Life”*

The participants mentioned that the book “Season of Life” influenced their perceptions of masculinity. It may help boys to read stories about manhood and masculinity similar to “Season of Life”. The book “Season of Life” was very effective and taught the participants

notions of fatherhood and being a man who is built for others. This book did influence the participant's perceptions of what it means to be a man. Teachers should provide reading material that would interest Hawaiian boys. Attached in the Appendix is my complete lesson of building men and women of character using the book "Season of Life".

#### *An assembly and presentation about Hawaiian manhood and masculinity*

This study demonstrated the effectiveness of having an assembly about Hawaiian masculinity and manhood. Many participants mentioned how a school presentation about Hawaiian masculinity and manhood influenced their perceptions of what it means to be a Hawaiian man. Lua instructor Tommy Kaulukukui gave a presentation about Hawaiian manhood in which he differentiates between being a kane and a kanaka. He asserted that any male is a kane but a kanaka is what a Hawaiian man should be. His lesson showed that a kanaka adheres to the 3'f: fends, feeds, and fatherhood. This presentation was only given to boys; similar to a Hale Mua. Through the life histories and the handouts from the participants of this study showed that having an assembly about Hawaiian manhood and masculinity influenced these adolescent Hawaiian boys' perceptions of masculinity. Teachers should make this assembly a part of their curriculum.

#### *Gender Studies*

Some Hawaiian boys felt that they would like to learn more about manhood and masculinity in school. As a social studies elective class, it may benefit teenage boys on having a class about gender. The curriculum could incorporate masculinities from different eras, religions and cultures. This class could incorporate diverse and relevant issues regarding identity, gender, sexuality, masculinity and femininity. Many colleges offer courses in Gender Studies. This class could be used to better understand not themselves but other marginalized groups as well. The

essential questions would address the following: what kind of men do we want our boys to become? What kind of lives do we want our boys to lead? What things do we want our boys to care about?

### *Students Future Awareness Program*

According to the Office of Hawaiian Affairs (OHA), native Hawaiians make up almost forty percent of the population in Hawaii's prisons" ("Fact sheet |," 2010). Sadly, many Hawaiian men fill our jails. It would be good to have adolescent boys, in particular Hawaiian boys, to participate in Hawaii's Students Future Awareness Program. Though previous programs such as Scared Straight had mixed results of success, the Hawaii Students Future Awareness program tries to persuade students to be productive members of society and to not go to jail. Inmates share their stories to deter kids from ending up in prison. This may encourage some Hawaiian adolescent boys to stay in school and to not get into trouble.

### *Community Partnerships*

There are several community organizations that are doing a lot to educate native Hawaiian boys. The schools administrators and teachers of Hawaiian boys should work and learn from community organizations such as the Hale Mua. The Hale Mua work with Hawaiian boys and men and perhaps teachers and leaders of the Hale Mua could mentor teenage Hawaiian boys. This valuable resource would be a huge asset in teaching Hawaiian boys what is expected of them and how to be a Hawaiian man. On the island of Maui, the Kāli`i Project has helped guide many at-risk Hawaiian boys on the path of Hawaiian manhood. Leaders of the Hale Mua and Kāli`i Project should talk to teachers who teach Hawaiian boys and/or committed to helping Hawaiian boys. These leaders can pass on the successful lessons and curriculum to these teachers. These teachers could share this curriculum and the knowledge with boys who do not

participate in the Hale Mua or Kāli`i Project. The two groups must share and spread their knowledge of how to best educate Hawaiian boys and this could lead to more successful Hawaiian men.

#### *The `Aha Kāne*

As mentioned in chapter three, the `Aha Kāne is a conference for Hawaiian men and boys where they are encouraged to talk about what it means to be a Hawaiian; and they express how to be successful in this world (Cataluna, 2006). Usually held in the summer, adolescent Hawaiian boys should participate in the three-day event. Leaders and members of the `Aha Kāne can share lessons on warriorhood, leadership, self-respect and justice. Many students cannot attend the conference because they are in school or have to work. If members and leaders of the `Aha Kāne came to Hawaii's public schools, especially ones with high native Hawaiian populations it could help native Hawaiian boys learn how to be Hawaiian men. Hawaiian boys needs good male role models to guide and help them transition to manhood.

#### *Collaboration with other schools*

Officials at public schools should collaborate with other Hawaiian charter schools to better educate Hawaiian boys. Partnerships with native Hawaiian charter schools such as Hālau Kū Māna may offer better insight and resources not offered to Hawaiian boys attending public schools. For example, Hawaiian boys would be exposed to learning outdoors and not confined to the concrete classrooms. Hawaiian boys could participate in the hula, ha`a and lua. Hawaiian boys could play competitive Hawaiian games such as `ulu maika, spear-throwing, moa pahe`e, wrestling and other activities not offered at most Hawaii public schools.

#### *Public school course offerings in Hula, Ha`a and Lua*

Though many schools offer classes in Hawaiian language, more classes in Hawaiian culture should be offered. Public schools should offer everyone the opportunity to participate in other forms of masculinity. Hawaii's public schools should provide courses in the Hula, Ha`a and Lua. These courses could be very attractive to many Hawaiians boys as they may be able to connect with their ancestral practices. It would allow boys from other ethnicities to learn and participate in other forms of masculinity. As Hawaii already has a statewide high school hula competition, private and public schools could compete in Lua and Ha`a. The purpose of these classes is to promote Hawaiian manhood and masculinity in a school setting.

#### *Creation LGBTQ club*

It is important to help marginalized students feel comfortable at school. According to Jacob, he suggested that CHS should start a LGBTQ club. Jacob felt that some gay students are teased and ridiculed due to their sexual orientation. Some gay students are teased and they lacked the place and tools necessary to handle the challenges of being homosexual. The creation of a LGBTQ club would provide a safe place in which they could express the challenges of their varying experiences. Many of these who are lampooned might be Hawaiian. This club would be for all students. This is an effort to help homosexual Hawaiian adolescent boys deal with the issues of being gay. Farrington high school has a successful LGBTQ club in which some of their students are Hawaiian boys.

#### **Strengths of the study and contributions to research**

##### *Verbatim reporting of Hawaiian adolescent boys' perceptions*

The qualitative components of this study reported verbatim the perceptions of Hawaiian adolescent boys. One of the purposes of this study was to increase the understanding of manhood and masculinity based on the perceptions of Hawaiian teenage boys. Through the use of open-

ended questionnaire and life histories, the words of participants to expound themes has supported in clarifying how they construct and express their views of manhood and masculinity.

#### *Provides data from Hawaiian boys*

Connell (1996) suggested that research on teenage boys, masculinity, education and schooling has occurred internationally over the past two decades. Many of the studies have examined the contributions of studies from different countries including the United Kingdom (Mac an Ghail, 1994) and Canada (Laberge & Albert, 1999). This study provides data and analyses from Hawaiian adolescent boys on aspects of family, school, culture and the media. This study is one of many inquiries of masculinities in different settings that are increasing the understanding of the relationship between schooling, masculinities, culture, media and the identity of Hawaiian adolescent boys. This study examined Hawaiian male students at one of Hawaii's public schools.

### **Recommendations for further research**

#### *Masculinity and student achievement*

The data from this study illustrated that Hawaiian adolescent boys' perceptions of masculinity may contribute to their academic performance at school. It is a reason for concern if academic success at school is perceived as a threat to some Hawaiian adolescent boys' sense of masculinity. Educators would need to worry if Hawaiian boys perceive academic success as feminine. Further research is needed to increase the understanding of Hawaiian boys' perceptions of the relationship between masculinity and academic achievement.

#### *Influence of Religion*

This study revealed that there are some Hawaiian adolescent boys who felt that a man cannot be a homosexual. These boys felt homosexual boys cannot be men due to their religious beliefs. Further research is needed to determine the extent of how Hawaiian boys' perceptions of

manhood and masculinity are influenced by their religious upbringings. Christianity in Hawaii has had a huge impact on the beliefs and values of many native Hawaiians. Further research is needed to determine how a Hawaiian boys' religion influences their perceptions of Hawaiian manhood and masculinity. For example, how does St. Louis High School, (a male only catholic school) influence Hawaiian student perceptions of masculinity? How would Kamehameha School's protestant mission and the vision of its Hawaiian students, influence boys' perceptions of masculinity, manhood and Hawaiian masculinity? Examining these similarities and differences would shed light on how the role of school religions affiliation influences Hawaiian adolescent boys' perceptions of masculinity.

*Researching the influence of masculinities from schools that teach Hawaiian boys*

It would be beneficial to study schools with a high concentration of native Hawaiian students. For example it would be worth researching schools on Oahu's Westside such as Waianae and Nanakuli. A possible research question would be, "How does Waianae high school influence Hawaiian adolescent boys' perception of masculinity and manhood?" With such a huge number of its students living on Hawaiian homesteads, it would be worthwhile to examine the role that schooling has on the influence of Hawaiian boys in that specific school. A similar study to this one would add to the research of Hawaiian boys, manhood and masculinity. In addition, further research into how native Hawaiian charter schools influence their boys' perceptions of masculinity. Last but not least, more research would be needed to investigate schools with a high concentration of native Hawaiians on neighbor islands and how they influenced Hawaiian boys' perceptions of masculinity.

*Teachers' perceptions of their influence on Hawaiian adolescent boys' understanding of masculinity*

The participants in this study have provided helpful insights on their perceptions of the influence of teachers and coaches on their understanding of manhood and masculinity.

Participants in this study identified teachers and coaches as role models. However, there is a lack of extensive studies of how teachers are perceived in such a role as in aiding the identity development of boys and how this correlates to schooling. Research interviews with teachers and coaches who were identified as positive role models would help to explain the positive contribution of such teachers to Hawaiian adolescent boys' understanding of manhood and masculinity.

#### *Positive Media Influence*

Further research is needed to explore how the media influences Hawaiian adolescent boys' perceptions of masculinity. From this study, it was revealed that the media influenced some boys but not others. More research is needed to determine why some boys are affected by the media while others are not. One possible question that could be asked is, "are there certain types of media that have a greater influence on a Hawaiian boys' perception of masculinity?"

There is a substantial amount of research regarding the media and masculinity and its focus on the adverse effects of male body image. However, as this study demonstrated boys learn positive traits about being a man and masculinity from the media. This study revealed that Hawaiian boys learned how to properly treat a woman, to follow their dreams and to take care of their family. More research is needed to show the positive effects of the media and how it influences all boys about manhood and masculinity. More research can be used to learn how the media can positively influence boys to become men.

#### *More research on adolescent boys perceptions of masculinity and schooling*

There is need for more research on Hawaiian adolescent boys' perceptions of masculinity and schooling. This study underscores the worthwhile contribution to research made by

analyzing the views of Hawaiian adolescent boys. Proposed areas of more research might focus on how women teachers influence Hawaiian boys' perceptions of masculinity. It would be noteworthy to examine how elementary and middle schools' foster the development of manhood and masculinity in Hawaiian boys. More research is needed to investigate Hawaiian boys' attitudes toward learning and academic achievement as they relate to masculinity. Further study is needed to examine the different masculinities boys perform at school.

This study has demonstrated that Hawaiian adolescent boys are conscious of the various influences on their perceptions of masculinity. Participants in this study have shown a certain degree of evaluative and reflective thinking on the influence of family, school, culture and the media to their construction of masculine identities. Hawaiian adolescent boys can express their perceptions of manhood and masculinity and their responses provide useful insights that can inform the actions of families, schools, and the media.

## Appendix A

### Hawaiian Male Adolescent Students' Perceptions of Masculinity

To answer the first research objective of what are Hawaiian male adolescent students' perceptions of masculinity in general and a Hawaiian man, thirty-two Hawaiian adolescent male students were presented with a handout of questions regarding their perceptions of masculinity. This chapter reports and discusses their answers or the data collected on Hawaiian adolescent boys' perceptions of masculinity. Verbatim answers are provided to demonstrate the Hawaiian male adolescent students' explanations and their understandings. The verbatim responses of the Hawaiian male adolescent students' were reported which generated created a theme to answer the research objectives.

#### Perceptions of Masculinity

Participants in the study were asked (Question 1), "What does it mean to be a man? Are you a man?"

##### *Responsibility*

- A man is someone who does what he is supposed to do in life. He takes care of all his responsibilities and takes care of all his priorities. I am not a man yet because I still act like a little kid.
- To be a man is to accept responsibilities as an adult whether it is to take care of a child or a family. I am not a man.
- It means you have more responsibilities that your attitude and personality will change. I am not a man.
- Being a man means taking responsibility for more than just yourself, whether it be taking care of your family or taking care of school, work to provide.
- To be a man is to accept responsibility like your mistakes to be selfless and care, have a good consciousness.
- To handle more responsibilities in life. No I am not a man.
- It takes responsibility and hard work to be a man. A man is brave, intelligent, confidence, perseverance and responsible.

### *Provide*

- A man is able to provide and protect (parenthood) being able to give your all to everything and everyone and anything that touches or who is precious and I think I'm getting there.
- Provide for your family and be a good father.
- When the going gets rough, you take it like a man, taking care and providing for your family. I am not a man.
- To be a man you must provide for your family and treat women well and fatherhood.
- A man is one who provides for others. Being able to provide for friends, family and others.

### *Self-Reliance*

- A man knows how to take care of himself and others.
- A man can handle his own problems by himself.
- Someone who is accountable for their own actions.
- A quality of a man is one who is self reliant.

### *Thinking of Others*

- Learn how to take care of yourself and others.
- You think of yourself after everyone. I am not a man because I think of myself first.
- Taking responsibility for more than just yourself.
- When you can take care of others before yourself.
- Having the ability to take care of yourself as well as take care of others.

The participants were asked (Question number 2), "When does a boy become a man? How do you know when you are a man?"

### *Responsibility*

- There is really no set date when a boy becomes a man. When a boy feels that he has all his priorities straight and does all his responsibilities then that's when someone can define himself to be a man.
- When a boy is ready to take on bigger responsibilities.
- A boy becomes a man when he accepts responsibility for his actions and owns up to it. I am man when I surpass my father's shoes. I need to grow up.
- When he accepts responsibilities for his actions.
- When he is able to accept responsibility, confess his mistakes and work at fixing his mistakes. A boy becomes a man when you ask him to do it, and it's not easily accomplished and he does it without grumbling.
- When he's committed to family and takes responsibility of his family.

- A boy becomes a man when he takes care of his responsibilities as his first priority.
- When accepts responsibility for his own mistakes and when they are mature. Takes responsibility of his family

### *Maturity*

- He is a man when he is ready to grow up.
- When he matures and is ready to be a father.
- They become men when they don't do immature things.
- You become a man when you realize what it is to be a man and you fully mature.
- Boys become men when they grow up mentally and emotionally.
- A boy becomes a man when they don't do immature things.
- When they mature and learn responsibility.
- A boy becomes a man when he starts acting and thinking like a man. The way they act is mature and you take life seriously.
- A boy becomes a man when he stops doing childish things and decisions. They think beyond themselves.

### *Self-Reliance*

- He becomes a man when he can take care of himself.
- When he can take care of himself.
- When you are successful in life and can take care of himself.
- When he goes and lives on his own, has in own life away from mommy and daddy. You will know when a person has become a man because he will be very independent and know what he's doing with his life.
- When he can support himself, now how life works and makes difficult choices.

The participants were asked (Question number 3), "how do you show to others that you are a man?"

### *Self Reliant*

- To be independent.
- By handling my own life and that I can support myself.
- I show it by my independence and just getting somewhere with my life.
- I can support myself.

### *Responsibility*

- I man up for my responsibilities. I do my chores.
- I am responsible and I show it by owning up to my mistakes.
- I am responsible with what I do, my actions.
- Responsibilities of taking care of my family.
- By performing my responsibilities like working and providing for my family.

- You work, drive and being responsible.
- By how I carry myself and by being responsible.

### *Respect*

- By showing respect to people who deserve it.
- By showing respect and following high moral standards.
- Respect your family and friends.
- By not being a dick to anyone.
- Having honor and being respectful to everyone.

### *Maturity*

- By being the bigger person in certain situations and making the right decisions.
- Maturity level. A real man doesn't need to flaunt and show off.
- Doesn't act like a boy.
- I am mature by helping my father and helping him in any way I can.
- By acting like an adult. You act mature by working hard and achieving your goals.

### *Physical Appearance & Athletics*

- By being a strong person physically and mentally.
- I play sports.
- I show it by working out, playing sports, and work manly jobs like construction.
- I show I am a man by skills related to power. Power whether physically or mentally. Power translates into manliness.
- You can show how manly you are by working on your physical appearance. Manly men lift weights and don't shave.
- I lift and try to become stronger at sports.

Participants were asked (Question number 4), "how do your male friends influence your understandings of what it means to be a man? What about your female peers?"

### Male peer influence

#### *Sex and Girls*

- Having sex is a man my guy friends tell me.
- My male friends often tell me being a man is the one who gets the most pussy.
- My male friends tell me getting with a girl will make you a man and stuff like that.
- You have to be a stud and in order to be a stud you have to have twenty girlfriends.

#### *Tough and Strong*

- My male friends will tell me to “stop acting like a pussy” and to “grow some balls when they want us to do something stupid. They say you got to be thick and look manly to be a man.
- My male friends influence me by telling me to lift weights.
- They influence me by participating in boxing, sports and hitting each other for fun.
- They influence me by telling me I have to be hardworking, strong to be a man.
- Probably just being strong and doing things on your own.
- They tell me to be tough and strong.
- They try to convince me that being mean and tough make a man.

### Female peers influence

#### *Gentlemen*

- My female friends tell me to act like a gentleman.
- Female friends tell me that being a man is simply treating her right.
- Females always influence me because they make like a man is a guy that buys their girlfriend everything they want, doing everything for them and being a prince charming.
- They influence me by telling me a man is one who understands responsibility, respects women and is loyal.
- Female peers show by influencing me about talking about dating real men and not boys.
- They influence me by giving me attention by manly acts.
- They influence you to be a well-rounded man; not just manly stuffs.
- A gentleman who has empathy and equality.
- They tell me not to drink and taking care of other female friends.

#### *Muscular Body, Strong*

- Females are the worst ones because they say stuff like you got to be buff.
- My female friends tell me I have to be physically strong.
- Females tell me that I have to be tough and strong.
- Females are like, wow, he’s strong and he has a nice body.

Participants were asked (Question number 13), “do teenage girls influence your perceptions of what it means to be a man?”

#### *They are not boys*

- Not really, cause they are teenage girls. They just want the dick.
- Not really, they are young girls.
- Because teenage girls are stupid. All they care about is their weight and complain all the time.
- Because they are not guys.
- They are not men.
- No they can’t help you because they are girls. Girls can’t help guys become a man.

- No because they need to learn how to be women.

*They tell boys what they want in a man*

- They teach me how to treat a girl now will help you to understand how to treat a woman as you grow to be a man.
- They do influence my perception. All guys try to impress a girls like so if they like a guy in a certain way they will try to act like that man so they like that man. They always want a guy who is tough and big so guys try to be like that.
- I think girls influence boys a lot. They tell boys how they want them to be and when girls gossip about guys it makes them change too.
- They teach me loyalty, how to express my feelings, HOW TO LISTEN and to see things from their point of view.
- They teach how to treat a girl right. We have to know from right and wrong when it comes to girls.
- They give you attention if you do something manly and you do it.
- A man does what a woman wants to get the woman.

Participants were asked (Question number 14), “can a woman influence your understanding of what it means to be a man? If so, why? Who is your greatest influence who has influenced you of what it means to be a man? Explain how she influences your perception of what it means to be a man?”

*Mom, how to treat a woman*

- My mom teaches me how to treat a woman right. How to be polite and what not.
- My mom is the greatest influence because as single parent she taught me responsibility and being able to make the right decision.
- They can influence you become a man because we learn that us boys have to be the man of the households. My mom is the greatest influence because as a single parent she taught me how to treat a woman and elders.
- My mom constantly tries to instill important values to me and shows me what it means to be a man.
- My mom teaches me how a boy treats a woman. Treating a women right makes you a man.
- My mom teaches me that men are responsible, have honor and loyal to their woman.

The Participants were asked (Question number 8), “Is it important to know what a man is? Why or why not?”

*Learn how to grow up*

- It is important because how else are we going to grow up.
- Yes because we need to grow up be men in order to see the real world.
- Yes so you don’t act like a boy anymore.

- It is a big step for a boy and he grows the capabilities of being a man.
- It is because we all have to grow up someday.
- Yes because one day you will be a man and have to deal with the real world.
- You don't want to be a boy for your whole life. Also women like men, not boys.
- It is important so you know what it is so you can strive to be it.

*No definition, can't teach*

- No because there is no exact definition of a man other than he has a penis.
- It can't be taught.

Participants were asked (Question number 10), "do you think boys need to have a positive role model in their life to become a man?"

*Guidance and someone to look up to.*

- I think having a positive male role model is a great way for a boy to become a man. They could always go to him whenever they need advice.
- To me, they do because they need someone to teach them the ways.
- I think having a male role model would help because I had many great male teachers such as my father, uncle, grandpa who show me how to be a man.
- Because without one, they could go down the wrong path like joining a gang.
- I feel it is key for a boy to have a male role model to learn how to become a man. With that role model the boy can learn and work hard to be as good or successful as that man they looked up to.
- Because not all boys have a father-figure.
- They can show boys what it takes to be a man the qualities that make one a man.

*Not necessary but highly recommended*

- It is recommended but other people have found other ways of becoming a man without a male role model.
- No you don't need one but it does help a lot. If you have a good role model you can understand what you need to do to become a man. If you don't have one it's just harder to become one but that doesn't mean it is impossible to do.
- I don't think so but I think that it does help a lot because they will have someone to look up to and someone they can show them what to do.
- Yes and no. It's easier if you have a positive role male role model but some boys need to do it on their own with little help.
- Not necessarily. I believe that if a boy is raised up by a negative role model it will give him the drive to break the cycle and become a real man.
- No but it would help.
- I don't think they absolutely need to have one. I never had a positive male role model in my life. My dad isn't even a positive role model.

### *Don't need a positive male role model*

- I don't think you need one because it is just a mind-set and anyone can teach you that.
- No, can't teach it. Just got to learn on your own.
- No because it can be learned in other ways.
- No because our generation you have to learn about being a man on your own.
- No a boy needs to learn on his own.
- No because they become more of a man when they don't have one.

Participants were asked (Question number 11), "when someone says, that's gay what does that mean?"

### *Sucks and Junk*

- Mostly it means that sucks.
- It means that is junk like you not playing football, that's gay.
- It isn't in a homosexual way, it's just another way to say something sucks
- To me it means junk, sucks.
- It means anything negative, junk, bad, ugly that when I use it.
- Gay means that it sucks, like that's shitty.
- It slang for that sucks.

### *Weak and Feminine*

- It means that it's weak. I say this quote only when some of my friends can't go out or if my friends are doing girly things.
- It means something the opposite gender would do.
- When someone says that we are mostly talking about a guy doing something that is not right for a guy to do.
- Generally it means feminine.
- It means something girly.
- It means that it is girly like someone has pink nail polish or any nail polish you'll say that is so gay. I use it when someone acts girly.
- It means something a heterosexual man should not do.

Participants were asked (Question number 15), "Are you afraid to share your feelings and if so, which feelings and why? Do you hide any emotions?"

### *Hiding various emotions*

- Hell yea I am afraid to let go my emotions. All my life I had no one to talk to and I learned from great to keep it inside. I don't like to show the nice me. I just hide them.
- I am afraid to show my sweet side because I don't want to be known as a soft man.
- I hide my pain and sadness because I want everyone around me to be happy so I put on a fake smile to hide the hurt and struggle in my life.
- I am afraid to show my fear because I don't want people to think I am a coward.

- I hide my life, love and anything deep so people won't judge me.
- I don't like to show sadness because it is unmanly. I hide sadness and disappointment because it is not manly and not something I was brought up to show. People will judge you.
- I hide the pain and I hate crying but it comes out. Emotions show weakness.
- I hide emotions of anger and humiliation to keep others around me happy.

*No or only to select few*

- No I don't hide my emotions. I tell it like it is and I am not afraid to show emotions. A real man can show emotions.
- I share my feeling to someone I can trust. It's just weird talking about it. I hide all my girl emotions.
- I am not afraid to show my emotions but I only show it to a select few.
- I am not afraid to show my emotions because I am the type of person that is open to share my feelings but only towards my close friends and family.
- With close friends no I am not but others yes.

Participants were asked, (Question number 16), "Do you want to be a man? Why or Why not? What about being a man appeals to you and what does not?"

*Being a role model*

- I want my kids and community to see me as a good role model.
- I want to be a good man and be a role model. Being nice, standing strong is a man.
- I want people to look up to me and be their role model.
- I'd love to be a man of character. It's because I want to be a role model for others.

*Ready for responsibility and growing up*

- I am ready for more responsibilities and challenges that wait.
- What appeals to me is the responsibility and challenges.
- I want to be more responsible in life.
- I don't want people to think I am immature.
- I want to show myself I've grown up and not the childish little boy anymore.
- Yes because you have to grow up.
- I want to be a man because it means you've grown up.
- 

*Uncertain about handling responsibility*

- I just don't know if I can handle all the responsibilities that come with being a man.
- I do but at this point in my life I am not ready to take on the responsibilities of a man. I want to go out and work and make my mistakes in life.
- I want to be treated like a man but don't want the responsibilities of being a man.

- I want to be a man but when the time is right. I don't want the responsibilities of a man too soon. I want to truly be ready to be a man.

Participants were asked (question number 17), “who is your greatest influence of what it means to be a man? How does this person influence your perceptions?”

*Dad and Grandpa: Show by taking care me and our family*

- My father has done a lot for me over the past 18 years.
- My dad he goes to work and puts up with us kids.
- My dad and grandpa. My dad teaches me how to not be like him when he was young. He wants me to be good and be a good man. My grandpa because he takes care of our family and I want to be like them.
- My grandpa would be the greatest influence because he takes care of everyone and holds our family together.
- My dad supports me in whatever I do.
- My dad and grandpa. They both take care of the family.
- My grandpa taught me to protect and take care of my family.
- My dad raised four kids by himself and gives us what we need.
- My dad disciplines me and teaches me to be the man of the house and to take care of my family.

Participants were asked (Question number 18), “what questions about manhood or being a man would like to know before you leave high school?”

*No questions*

Eleven students responded with “I have no questions”

*Questions about manhood: How and what is a man?*

- Is being a man something a boy needs to do on his own?
- What is it like to be a father? How do you develop a father-son relationship?
- What does it take to be a “real man”?
- How do you know when you are a man?
- What do I have to do to become a man?
- What is a man exactly?
- I want to know a set definition of what it means to be a man and how I can be one.

Participants were asked (Question number 19), “describe the man you want to become in the future. (How will you act?) Do you foresee anything that will prevent you from being this man? If so, please share.

*Respectful Man*

- A man that his children/friends can look up too, a man who is respected.
- I want to be a hardworking and respectful.
- I want to be a respectable man who everyone knows me as a good, honest, hardworking man.
- Polite, respectful, caring, strong-willed.

#### *A family man*

- I want to be a man that provides and takes care of his family.
- A man who takes care of his family.
- I want to be a good supporter and happy family man.
- To be a good father. I want to be a family and god-centered man.
- Support my family and never hit my wife.
- A father who can take of his family with no problems and just be family-oriented.
- I want to a man who will provide, protect and support family unconditionally.
- I want to marry my high school sweetheart and raise amazing children.
- Become a graphic designer. Have a family and home to take care of my family.
- To be a Kanaka.

Students did not mention anything that would prevent them from being the man they want to be.

Participants were asked (question number 24), “what are some of the pressures of being a male student.”

#### *Drinking and smoking*

- The pressure to do drugs and drink
- If you don’t drink or smoke, then you are not popular.
- Boys pressure you to fight, do drugs, ditching class.
- Pressure to drink and smoke.
- Pressure to smoke weed.

#### *Have to be strong and tough, not weak*

- Pressure to be physically strong.
- Being tough.
- Not taking shit from anyone.
- If you don’t act tough, you are a fag in a sense.
- Not being perceived as feminine.
- Being buff and being mean to nerds.
- Physically strong.

Participants were asked (Question number 26), “to be a man, he needs to be a heterosexual. Do you agree or disagree with this statement? Explain.

*Sexual orientation is not important. Character and duties.*

- A guy can still be gay and still have the characteristics of being a man.
- Being a man does up a being grown up and taking care and not thinking about yourself so anyone can do that.
- As long as you take care of your family and stand up for what's right then it shouldn't matter if you're straight or not.
- Gender has nothing to do with being a man.
- You don't have to be a heterosexual to follow the files of being a man. They don't have to like girls to be a man.
- Homosexuals are more in touch with their feminine side and more responsible.
- You don't have to be straight. As a man, you have duties that can be fulfilled whether you are straight or whatever.
- Sexuality doesn't determine manliness, your character does.
- A man is someone who is successful and contributes to society.

*Religious Reasons*

- Honestly yes. I believe in this if you choose not to be heterosexual you obviously don't want to be a man. So to be a man you need to be a heterosexual.
- As a Christian I agree because I do believe it is wrong to be a homosexual.
- Agree. There is no such thing as a "gay man".
- Yes because men like women. That is what god intended.
- I do because just the fact of being friends with some gay people will assume oh you must be gay and that influenced your ideas of what a man should do.

Participants were asked (Question number 5), "what is your greatest influence of what it means to be a man (culture, media, school, and people)? Who and what makes them your greatest influence?"

*To be or not to be like my father*

- My father is my greatest influence because of his fatherness and how he brings my family up in our culture.
- My dad because somehow he would always put food on the table. He is not very stuck up with his money like a homeless person asked for change and he just gave them a couple dollars.
- My dad is my greatest influence because he is something I would never want to be.
- My dad is because he is a man. He is always there for me, he only wants the best for me. He never hits my mom no matter how mad he gets.
- I would say my mom's ex-boyfriend and ex-husband, step-dad. I would never want to be like him that is for sure he is not a man. He hit, beat, swore and just treated my mom like shit.

## *Culture*

- Culture is the greatest influence because it is your heritage and it is what describes you.
- Culture and family when you become a father and learn to be responsible.
- My culture is my greatest influence because it is what I grew up with all my life.
- My culture is me about the meaning of becoming a Kanaka is my greatest influence.

## **Hawaiian Man**

Participants were asked (Question number 25), “what is a Hawaiian man?”

### *Kanaka: Feed, Fend, Fatherhood*

- A Hawaiian man to me is a person who can do and follow the 3 F’s: feed, defend and fatherhood.
- A real Hawaiian man is one from the conference, the 3 f’s.
- A Hawaiian man is one will take care of his family and one who will defend for the people he loves and what he believes and helps others who need it. Mr. Kaulukukui influenced me on this.
- His traits are those of a kanaka, feed, fend and fatherhood from the conference.
- A Hawaiian man is a kanaka. Someone who takes care of his kids. That guy from the conference influenced my decision.
- A kanaka: fatherhood, fend, feed.
- A Hawaiian man is a kanaka, one who feeds instead of feasts, fend instead of fight like what the man in the presentation said.

### *No difference, a man is a man*

- In my eyes we are all the same, no one is different. If you want a good life, go out and get it yourself.
- A man that lost his land and struggles that has long hair. No different.
- To me, I think it’s the same because a man is the same as a Hawaiian man. A man is a man.
- A man in is their own man. There is no difference.
- Men are all the same because I hurt you, you bleed and if you hurt me I bleed. We are all humans so we are all the same.

Participants were asked (Question number 9), “having tattoos are acts of Polynesian manliness.”

### *It’s your actions*

- You cannot have tattoos and still be a man. Being a man shouldn't be what you look like but it should be how you treat yourself, others especially women.
- No objects or drawings don't dictate it's by actions.
- No because a boy can get a tattoo anyone can get a tattoo.
- No it's your actions and way you approach life in every situation.
- No because being a man is how you act from within and not just random things to do.
- In my opinion, being a man is how you carry yourself not on what you have on your skin.

*For cultural reasons*

- It does depending on the cultural meaning of the tattoo.
- Yes because Hawaiian tattoo go back way back like old time.
- Having tattoos in the Hawaiian culture shows the man in yourself so I believe that it is an act of manliness.
- Yes because the tattoos lets everything or everybody know how manly you are.
- Tattoos always symbolize something in Hawaiian
- Totally. Warriors got tattoos. It represents being strong like a warrior.

*The haka. Showing off vs. Intimidation*

- Maybe the haka for cultural reasons. To the culture the haka might be an act of manliness, to show intimidation.
- In Polynesian culture, yes the haka expresses manliness because the haka was used to express animosity and intimidation used to psych up the warriors.
- The haka makes boys turn into men, it brings out the manly hood.
- Yes it symbolizes culture and it is a war dance.
- Yes totally, warriors performed the haka.
- No, it's just an act for boys to show off and copy in order to fit in.
- No times have changed, tattoos and the haka cover up the man.
- To tattoo yourself just because Hawaiians did it is not right.
- I do not feel the haka is an act of manliness because the way many people view it nowadays is not the same as the olden days. Before these were used as intimidation and what not but now guys do these things to act all big and to fit in.
- Boys just do the haka to show off.

**Influence of School**

Participants were asked (Question number 6), “does school influence your perception of masculinity? If not, why not? If yes, how so?”

*Yes CHS school does influence boys' perceptions: Flex-Off and Weight Training*

- The kids would say you need to start lifting you need to look big that way your buff. Like flex-off like your suppose to be big and strong-looking.
- I think school does influence my understanding of masculinity because we have classes such as weight training and events such as flex-off.
- Yes because they have weight lifting classes.
- Yes because our school encourages showing our muscles and being healthy.

*IFitting In and Observation*

- Some parts of school help me understand what masculinity is and I get that knowledge by observing others.
- Yes, to a certain extent because everyone learns how to fit in and you like to copy the behaviors and attitudes of the top guys.
- I guess in a way it shows guys how to sometimes fit in and act.
- Yes because there are some things students do that I look up to and copy.
- Because you interact with your peers and they influence you and they will label you not a man.

*No CHS does not influence boys' perceptions of masculinity: Not Taught*

- No because there are a lack of male role-models here.
- It does not influence me because I don't think they really teach or address it.
- No because none of my teachers have ever told me what it takes to be a man.
- School doesn't influence my understanding because everyone would have the same understanding of what it is but we don't have the same understanding.
- No because everyone in school is just boys so they can't teach us.

The participants were asked (Question number 7), "should schools help teach boys what it means to be a man? Why or why not?"

*CHS should not teach boys: Can't be taught, learn on your own*

- CHS should not because part of being a man is growing and learning from your mistakes. Schools can't teach you to be a man only you can.
- I don't think so. Boys learn to be a man by themselves. They need to discover it for themselves.
- I don't think it can be taught because you have to learn from your mistakes and learn as you age.
- No because you can't teach a boy how to become a man. He has to kind of learn it on his own.
- No because you need to learn it yourself or from your parents.
- No I think we need to figure it out for ourselves.
- I personally don't think so because you cannot teach it. It just comes in time
- A boy needs to learn how to be a man by themselves and through life experiences.

### *CHS should teach boys: No Father and Preparation*

- Yes CHS should teach what it means to be a man so guys who don't have a father-figure can learn what it means and the responsibilities that go with it so they are prepared.
- I think schools should have good male role-models so kids can learn and observe of what it takes to be a man.
- Yes. Schools should help so we will already know ahead of time and get a good start.
- Yes so you can start becoming a man at an earlier age.
- I feel it would be a good thing for schools to teach boys how to be a man because learning how to be a man is a big thing. It will help them get better prepared and to be successful in life.

Participants were asked (Question number 12, optional), "Have I influenced you in what it means to be a man? If so, how?"

### *In-Class Lessons*

- When the Hawaiian Man shared what it means to be a man.
- Because of your lessons in class.
- Because you taught me to have goals and go for it.
- Your classes have given me a whole new look on life.
- You have, because of your class (as well as you) are showing me the side of myself I had not seen.
- By teaching us the meaning of a man: a Kanaka. Fatherhood, feed and fend.

### *Student Perceptions*

- You help me grow as a person this year and helped me with my issues. By being there for me shows that you're a man and that you care for others before yourself. You have groomed me to be a man.
- You showed me that a man sticks up for what he believes in.
- You showed me how to control my emotions and given me advise and provided me an outlet to my bottled up problems. You've given me a way out and how to grow.
- You influenced my thoughts of being a man because you take the time to get to know everyone and listen to their story. You care more than just about yourself.
- I'd say you did because you made me realize different things.
- You helped me and gave advise that I take into action especially with a baby on the way.
- You showed me new ways to think and handle difficult situations.

Participants were asked (Question number 20), "playing football is manlier than playing golf. Surfing? Do you agree or disagree with this statement? Why? Do you think this is the attitude of most high school boys?"

*Agree. Guts, courage more physical and contact sport, for boys only*

- The game of football you need a little more guts to play.
- Football requires more courage and physical strength to play. You need a stronger mindset to play it.
- You have to have courage to get it.
- I do believe football is the manliest because of the attitude required to play it.
- Manly sports are sports that only men can play.
- It is more manly because it is just more physical and it just takes a manly man to play.
- Manly sports involve strength like contact sports. Volleyball, golf, curling is not manly sports.
- Yes because you have to be able to take a hit to play football.
- Football is more of a physical demanding sport. More injuries in football than golf.
- Football is manlier according to the media and I agree because it is more physical.
- Football is manly because it is the closest sport that simulates war. War in manly because it requires teamwork, planning, leader, aggressiveness, strength and speed. Also, other sports women play but not football.

### *Disagree*

- You don't need to hit someone to be a man.
- Sports have nothing to do with being a man.
- Football just means you are tough.
- All sports require a certain degree of skill and technique.
- What makes it manly? What makes hitting each other and showboating so manly.
- Golf pretty exhilarating
- Golf you need a lot of concentration and not pads and helmets. Rugby is manly because you do not use pads.
- Being a man in a sport is overcoming the obstacles the sports provide.

### *Attitude of most high school boys and the media*

All boys responded that they believed high school boys think football is a manlier sport than golf.

- High school boys are just sculpted that way to think that because they are stupid.
- I think it is their attitude because of the media.
- A lot of guys feel the need to be a tough guy so they play rugged sports like football.
- Sadly high school boys think that it is manly because you get all the girls.
- I think this is the attitude of high school boys because of the media.
- Yes high school boys believe this because society has brought it up that way such as movies.
- Because it requires more strength and I think that is the attitude of most high school boys.

Participants were asked (Question number 21), “how often do you think about what it means to be a man: often, sometimes, rarely, never.”

**Table 1.**

<b>N=31</b>	<b>Often</b>	<b>Sometimes</b>	<b>Rarely</b>	<b>Never</b>
Participant Response	7	17	3	4
Percentage	22.5	54.9%	9.7%	12.9

Participants were asked (question number 22), “what does the phrase, “you the man mean to you and when do you use it. Please give an example.”

*Cool or Something Impressive*

- You did something amazing or good.
- It means like you did something cool or praiseworthy.
- They did something impressive.
- You cool and earned respect.
- You did something very cool or badass.
- It means you did something great/nice. It means cool and I use it with my friends.
- When people see something they like they say that’s cool.

*Favor and sex with girls*

- When you do something for a friend that you went out of the way for like if my friend buzzes my cell to pick him up at the airport at midnight.
- Cool like if you scored with a girl like from the movies you will say you the man.
- Something cool like sex with a hot girl and your friends will say you the man.
- It means you’re nuts and you use it when someone does a favor for you.
- To me, every time I give my friend paper, he tells me I am the man.
- It means you’ve done someone a favor and usually it’s something no one would ever do.
- It’s cool like when one of my friend’s has sex with a hot girl.
- When you come through for someone.
- A boy says it when he gets all the chicks.

Participants were asked (Question number 27), “in school, are there certain subjects (social studies, band, English, math, etc) that are manlier than others?”

*Physical Education Class*

- Yes. The P.E. courses are manlier than other classes. Courses like band are viewed as social suicide.
- Physical Education is manlier because men usually do physical things.
- Physical education because we do weight training.
- Weight training of course because your body gets to be physically stronger.

*No difference*

- Nope cause all make up what it means to be a man
- No, intelligence and emotional subjects are as manly as physical strength
- All classes are the same.
- I do not believe there is.

Fifteen students replied with a simple “no” as their answer with no further explanation.

Participants were asked (Question number 28), “do you feel some boys are afraid to be perceived as smart? If so, why? If not, why not?”

*Yes. Exposed and fitting in*

- Yes because it makes them vulnerable.
- If they are perceived as smart they will get teased and bullied.
- Boys are afraid to be perceived to be smart. They may see it as less manly and resort to being the class clown.
- Yes because you want to fit in with your peer groups.
- I do not want to be perceived as a nerd.
- If they are smart, they would be outcasts by their peers.
- Men are warriors and rough, not smart.

*No, need to be smart*

- Every guy wants to be known as the smart guy
- No because who would want to be dumb.
- Now days, boy who are smart are cool.
- Being smart is a big advantage in life. It will get you farther in life. I am not afraid of that perception.
- Boys are afraid of being perceived as being dumb. Our generation has changed boys’ perspectives because when it comes down to it, it all depends if you can pay the bills.

**Media**

Participants were asked (Question number 23), “has TV, music and the media influenced your perception of what it means to be a man? Please share.

*Yes, Sex and Girls*

- It influences me to get all the hot girls and I try to copy them.

- You got to be a jerk to get the girls and get a lot of chicks.
- It tells us you have to be a star athlete, drink the most beers and get the prettiest girls.
- The media says that when you have sex with a woman you are the man.
- The media states to be a man you have to know how to fight and how to get the girl.

### *A Muscular physique*

- It has influenced me to big, tall, muscular and cut.
- There are pictures of muscular men.
- It is a big factor on what I think it means to be a man, In all these shows, magazines, songs they're always describing the man as big, muscular, chiseled and very rich.
- TV does by showing men with incredible muscle strength and appearance. Media is the main influence because it advertises actor's body accompanied by women telling readers to strive for physical appearance.
- The media makes you believe you have to be muscular.
- Yes because you see all these men who are muscular and surrounded by women.
- It told me to be strong and buff.
- Hell yes. For example your body has to look this way and you've got to be styled this way. Males are targeted as much as females.

### *Aware of media message but no influence*

- It has not because everything I watch is not how to be a man.
- For me it doesn't because I learn from my peers. The media to me isn't that important and I see that males are above women but I think they are equal.
- It did before I know how life really works. No the media thinks you have to be muscular to be a man.
- Some guys think like that but the media makes up their own definitions.
- I think the media says you got to have sex with women but I don't think like that but some others may.

## **Appendix B**

### **Focus Group Interview**

The following chapter shares a focus group interview with the five participants and their participation in CHS events; Flex-Off, Senior Field Trip, reading the book Season of Life, the Auditorium and a one-on-one conversation with Kono. These school events occurred at the end of the school year after I interviewed them by themselves. At CHS, physical education students participate in Flex-off. The purpose of Flex-off is to promote a healthy lifestyle. Students train and lift weights throughout the year. At the end of the year, students choreograph a routine that demonstrates their muscles and their fitness to the entire school.

#### **Flex off**

KV: What was flex-off like?

KL: An event we got to show off what we had been working for the whole year, training.

KV: What type of activities were you guys doing?

KL: Lifting and conditioning at the same time. Hard work.

KV: What were some of the things you guys did before flex-off?

Kono: Work hard. Learn our routine.

Jacob: Yea we practiced at like every lunch.

KV: What would you guys do?

Jacob: Practice

KV: What was it like to perform in front of the school?

Jacob: We were nervous but it felt good to perform in front of the whole school for the last time.

KV: Jacob, what did you do?

Jacob: I was boxing. It was pretty fun. Boxing is a funner way to excercise and is better for your health instead of drinking and spending hours at the club with your friends partying. It felt good.

Kono: I felt relieved I guess because all your insecurities go out the door. You just get into it because of the crowd. I kind of felt weird at first then I adjusted myself to it but it felt good to just let go and being proud of yourself.

KV: What did you let go of?

Kono: All the fears and thoughts of others and the fear of judgment of others.

Bullei: It helped build my self-esteem and confidence.

KV: How did you feel when you performed?

Bullei: I was showing off like that. I was flexing biceps.

KV: Was there anyone in particular you were performing for?

Bullei: Ho the chicks (laugh). I was just showing off like that.

KL: Just flexing and everybody flexing, feels good. Yelling at you.

Bullei: Kind of a nervous cause you think, I don't look good, I'm not big. But still went out there and were good.

Kono: Just having my friends there motivated me to go hard and flex harder. Just being proud of myself and then I would flex better and then they would yell louder.

KL: It really didn't matter your body type was or how you look but I think when the crowd chose a person flexing, set their mind to be like someone flexing like if someone want to be big like Bullei, or fit like Kono, and a champ like Jacob. (Laugh)

KV: Was it better to perform your routines in a group or by yourself?

Bullei: It felt better to be in a group. It's not only you but like if you were to mess up, no one can tell.

KV: Any nervousness?

KL: Ho man! Hell yea!

Bullei: Ho, it was "nuts"!

KV: What do you mean "nuts"?

Bullei: Like when you get pumped up and then you see the whole crowd you are like, "whoa, bra, get choke people" and then you get small kine scared. Then when it is your turn, you just got to get in there and do it. No holding back.

KL: It's like no shame actually. You just go for it cause nobody else in the crowd is doing it. Only you, only you on the floor and just show them you can do it. Be proud of yourself and people be proud of you cause you doing it. And all that nervousness, especially when you are flexing, you shake the load (all laugh). It's like you on steroids or something.

Jacob: I was pretty nervous cause this is like the first time in front of the school. Out of all the years in high school, I never like went on stage, been in front of the school. It was pretty nervous but as the crowd got louder I became more comfortable and it gave me motivation and I was very proud of myself.

Kono: I don't know it was really different because I did homecoming and mayday but like if you do one mistake, they see everything. It was really stressful and you want it to be perfect and our routine we had to listen to the beat and you don't want to miss it because you will look stupid. I would change my poses and I would do my back so I can see everyone else. My mind wouldn't think, it was really stressful.

KV: Do you feel your performance at flex-off was manly?

Bullei: I guess you can express how you feel about yourself to everyone else. That's what I think. You get that confidence, especially for me.

KL: You had to "man up" to go out there! Like strip, you got to show all that muscle and show people what you got. Being confident is manly.

Jacob: Nah, I don't know. (laugh). I did feel pretty masculine. Cause knowing me I am gay and I just do unmanly stuff, it just felt good to be a boy and box it out.

KV: What was that like?

Jacob: It was fun, like boxing relieves all my stress and makes me feel alive and I recommend it to all the underclassmen. We do abdominal workout every day.

KV: Now you did like a rose routine, tell me about that.

Kono: At first we picked the hottest girl and gave her the rose. I gave it to Cody because it was her birthday and I didn't get her anything and hopefully that made up for it. If I give it to one girl and the other girls feel like shit so that's why I had to specify what it's for and that I didn't give it to you because you are ugly. I just gave it to her because it was her birthday. I am not sure why J.J. gave it to Mr. Higa. (Laugh)

KV: What was it like to watch the other groups?

Bullei: Like some groups had better body than us. I was like "oh man".

KL: Yup for real.

KV: Talk about the bodies about the other groups.

Bullei: Ho, everybody had better body than me. (laugh) Ho, you know no like be next to the guy who gets one good body.

Kono: I think everybody did it to show how they portrayed themselves. My group did it as stupid and funny; that's how we are; that's how we wanted to do it. We went out and had fun with it. Not trying to point them out but Matt's group they really lift hard, like really hardcore so they kept it serious. You can see what other guys did and how dedicated they were. You can see who practiced, who didn't. You can tell who wanted to keep it funny and who wanted to keep it serious and all romantic and stuff. I think it just depends on the person and the people in the group.

KL: In my mind I was thinking... groups slow down (all laugh).

Bullei: Yup, yup.

KL: They keep going and like couple rotations and the group is done and then it is closer to their turn. It was like, I have to compete with that. But it's like Mr. C said, "it's not a competition, just show what you got, what you put your body through." I saw some of the other guys, they were small and everything, and some of them, they were pretty ripped and it's like, oh wow.

Bullei: Like put you down kine.

KL: Yea man, my body is not like that (all laughs). I had to change my poses a little bit.

KV: How did it feel to actually flex?

Bullei: Tired.

KL: Yea very tiring. Plus we were nervous and I was shaking .

Bullei: It was tiring and muscle all tight and cramping and you like "ah ah". I mean you not saying it but in your head you like "ah ah" (laugh).

KL: Yea I caught a cramp in my calf (all laugh).

Jacob: It was good and it was not what I expected. K before I went into the flex-off I thought it was going be shitty (all laugh). I thought nobody was going to have abdominals and I was like, here we go again. But everybody proved me wrong. Everybody worked really hard and they went every lunch to practice and it paid off.

KV: What is the most important lesson you learned about yourself because of flex-off?

Bullei: Self-confidence. I have no shame. I know I'm fat but I still took off my shirt. Hey no shame.

Kono: I learned that no matter who is watching that if you decide to lead, people will follow but you have to know when to lead.

KL: I know I don't have the best body. I am not the biggest. But I gained self-confidence to go do it. Knowing that I put the hard work in and I know I may have slacked a couple times but I still pushed forward and pushed hard.

Jacob: I learned like what Bullei said, self confidence and bring it to the table. If you apply all your tools it will work out and pay off in the end.

KV: What did you guys wear?

KL: What didn't I wear. (all laugh)

Bullei: Lava-lava

Kono: Jeans and a bowtie.

KL: Started with jacket and sweats and then stripped down to basketball shorts and spandex.

Jacob: Basketball shorts and tank top.

KV: Should flex-off continue?

All: Yup definitely.

Bullei: Like for kids that are down, the flex-off help builds self-confidence and people think if he can do it I can do it.

KL: Just like Shaun and Kurt.

Bullei: They not the best but they still went out there and went balls to the walls.

### **Sr. Field Trip**

Every year seniors at CHS take a field trip to the Waterpark. The purpose of the senior field trip is for seniors to have one last time together as a senior class. Senior field trip is one of the highlights students look forward to participating as graduation nears.

KV: What was the Waterpark like or what was the best part?

Bullei: Cannot say cannot say (all laugh).

KV: You can tell me.

Bullei: K the scoping, scoping the chicks (all laugh).

KL: I not going to lie, I was scoping, looking around.

Keo: Beautiful. All the butts and boobs.

Bullei: Some of the wahines (women) I wasn't expecting to look like that but then whoa, I was like, "what the scoops". I was checking them out. I say nothing, I just look, then carry on.

KL: You can look but cannot touch. But then sometimes you get the occasional, while you standing there they brush up against you and then you are like, oh what's up?

KV: What do you guys say or what do you guys do?

Bullei: Nothing. Sit down look and look through my shades like a bird on the tree. Just watching.

KL: Like if you hang out, and if you got a big group and if there is some girls in the group, you know, you talk but you come to find out.

Bullei: You talking to her in your mind.

KV: What is the conversation like in your mind?

Bullei: I like sample (all laugh).

Kono: Sample.

KL: Sample. I don't know. I like talk with her.

KV: Yeah, what would you say? How would you act when you want to talk to girl?

KL: In my brain I am like oh my god!

Bullei: What's the scoops? Let's go fuck in the back (all laugh)

KL: But then when you talk to them, it's like respect though.

Bullei: Yeah

KL: It's like

Bullei: It in your mind you thinking that but when you talk to them you respectful.

KV: Explain like, what happens when you talk to a pretty girl? Like flirt?

All: Yup got to spit game! (All laugh)

KV: Like students tell me “gamebird” and I am like what is that?

Kono: Kakaw Kakaw (sound of a bird) is made by all participants (all laugh). Look gamebird over here, tweet tweet!

Bullei: Spitting game

KV: What is “spitting game?”

Bullei: Flirting. I don’t know ask Kono. Kakaw Kakaw.

KL: Yeah Kono, tell us.

Kono: I guess you don’t say like, I want you now. You kind of like talk to them. You just start to have a conversation. I don’t flirt.

KV: Does he flirt?

All: Yes!

Kono: I don’t mean to flirt, I just talk and people just take that as flirting.

KV: Ok explain that?

Kono: Ever talk to a girl and your boys in the background they yell, “kakaw kakaw, gamebird talking to a girl.”

Bullei: Especially if the girl is pretty, you just say “kakaw kakaw.”

Kono: The boys don’t know. You might be just talking to a female cousin and then the boys yell, “kakaw kakaw”. And then you tell them it is your cousin and then they tell you that is sick (all laugh).

KV: Jacob, care to share your thoughts about this?

Jacob: No

KL: I just conversate.

Jacob: Yeah just don’t make it awkward.

Bullei: Yeah keep it going.

KL: Just ask them how there day is going. Tell them something you like about them like what they are wearing.

Keo: I don’t know. Like try to get the girls attention. I can only flirt with a girl if I am drunk.

KV: How come only when you are drunk?

Keo: I don't know. When I am drunk, I feel that I can do anything. I hit on choke chicks when I am drunk. Like if they feeling it, the beers make me look handsome. Everybody likes me when I'm drunk.

KV: Did you ride any rides with any girls?

Kono: Yeah at the lazy lagoon. The girls were hot.

KL: Yup, hot!

Bullei: Yup gamebird, you scan all the chicks.

KV: What do you think your guy friends think of the guys who are "gamebirds"?

Bullei: Like they want to be it.

Kono: I think it is just a guy way of saying "slut". But it is a good thing. (all laugh)

KV: Is there a homosexual equivalent to the term "gamebird"?

Jacob: No we just call them a ho! (All laugh) Cause they just going sleep around, they going get diseases and stuff. Ratchet!

KV: Do you feel the girls were looking at you guys?

Bullei: Guarantee!(all laugh)

KV: What do you think the girls were thinking of you guys?

Keo: They want to see me naked!

Bullei: Damm, look at him!

KL: I think the girls like seeing all that muscle at flex-off, they get to see it again. Us all wet and stuff. When the girls walk by, you flex a little bit and say what's up (All laugh).

Keo: Like when the girls walk around, I kind of flex a little bit like this (point to a direction while flexing his bicep).

Bullei: Oh yeah like the lifeguards, bra they were the gamebirds.

KV: Did you change your behavior when the girls were around?

KL: Honestly, I changed my behavior. Coming out of the wave pond, that one lifeguard, she was pretty hot, so coming out of the wave pond I when dust my body and flex at the

same time when I was walking out and once she turned away I had to take a deep breath cause I couldn't breathe (laugh).

Bullei: I only get shoulders so when a pretty girl walks by I could just show my shoulders, (show his chest is back).

KL: I drop my pants a little lower to show my V-cut like that.

Bullei: Me too! (Laugh)

Jacob: I was just happy to be there out of school. No work. Stress free.

KV: Do you feel girls were watching you on those rides?

Bullei: Bra you know that! Yea, especially for the Shaka, you got to touch the top! Because if you touch the top, you a gamebird! (all laugh)

KL: Wasn't even fair, I was riding with chicks. I didn't even touch the top. Like we went up, we were pretty close but never made it.

Keo: Oh the racing one, the one you lay on your back. I don't know, had one Asian girl and asked for her husband to come down so I raced to impress her.

KV: How about you Jacob?

Jacob: Nah just the lifeguards, my friend and I was just checking him out but nothing serious. I ain't all about getting it in and stuff (all laugh).

KL: I guess like riding a ride with a girl, you kind of make them sway a little bit.

Keo: I kind of wanted to smash (have sex) with a girl. I just was fantasizing. There was a curtain and a chair and was just fantasizing of what I could be doing.

KL: Dude, I had the same dream man.

Bullei: You know the girls that were on the tubes, I just wanted to come underneath and flip it.

### **Season of Life**

As part of my philosophy class, I have my students read the book entitled "Season of Life". Each student receives the book as a gift. From this book, we discuss what does it mean to be a man and women of character? This is part of my final project.

KV: Tell me about reading the book "Season of Life"

Jacob: The book was good. You know how like it talks about teamwork and stuff, like while we were reading the book we going through the state volleyball tournament so it really helped, like how to be a better captain and stuff.

Kono: I think the book, when it talked about the book talked about “strategic fatherhood” and the absence of parents. It talked about how your dad will or will not be there but once he dies, you realize that you didn’t know much about your dad. But, my dad was more absent, it brought out which category does your dad fall into and do you want to follow it too.

Bullei: The book was good. The guy Joe, the way he used to be to how he was later kind of like my Uncle but still he drink and party. He loves and takes care of everybody.

KV: What was the most meaningful part of the discussions we had?

KL: The one chapter in the book, I think it was chapter seven when they go to the seminar with all the football coaches because one of the coach’s asked, “what are you going to teach? Offense or defense? Then Joe replied, I am going to Coach philosophy.” Then when in the book he elaborates on that, I began to understand what it means to be a man.

Jacob: I think it was chapter three when he talked about the world will try to always separate you and always be yourself. Also, the part of the three types of dad’s, like right after that discussion in class I began to talk to my dad. I asked my dad, “how come you were so absent in my life?” My dad said he didn’t know how to deal with me, like how I am and stuff. Ever since that day, he talks to me now, like he talks to me every day and he never did that before. Our relationship got way better. My dad and I had a huge meaningful talk. Oh and also that day when I talked about my life and being gay and everyday a battle. It was fun to get all the field back from everybody so you can evaluate your life. The feedback meant a lot; actually it meant the world to me. Like what one student says, you can leave your parents when you are eighteen. I was like, I want to move out and can’t wait to do my own thing.

Bullei: All the discussions were meaningful. Everybody shared and people said some personal stuff so that kind of brought us together as a class like a family.

Kono: I liked our last class discussion because the boys kind of stepped it up. Like when James shared, like I knew about his dad but I thought he got better but then I was kind of shocked that he wasn’t doing well. Then it kind of, you don’t have to take pity on yourself and everyone has a tough life.

KV: What surprised you about our in-class discussions?

Jacob: Some people shared in class, like we would have never known. Like it was shocking and displeasing and after that, after the person shared we bonded to that person; and then we

tried to build a relationship with that person. Like how Stacy was talking about her suicide and like I see now how people in period seven say hi to her outside of our class and we talked and chatted. She told me that she is happy now that people say hi to her now because she thinks she is a freak but really she is not.

Kono: They didn't mean to feel pity but they did and kind of gave into that part. I guess, like when Kanoa broke down in front of the class, a lot of people didn't realize how important he was to Brandon. When other people shared their stories, like Steve broke down. Like Conrad he is a really tough guy that makes trouble a lot but no one ever sees him breakdown and cry sharing what and how he did. Everything that everyone said really impacted everyone. I think the sharing brought everyone closer but then distant us from other people who didn't share or understand how everything affects us.

Bullei: Some of us went through some of the same things like without fathers. Like my father wasn't there. He was there he would only spend a little time with each other. I think the people who shared that they went through some tough times. It was cool to see people get things off their shoulders. They felt really comfortable with our class.

KV: Jacob, what was it like for you to share your homosexuality with the class?

Jacob: It was hard because I thought everyone was going to judge me because that is how I feel the outside does; everybody judges you. Like what you're doing and what you wear. When I shared my sexuality, it made me feel welcome. Some places where I go, people tease me and people judge but I don't give a fuck. I just do my thing. In here, I thought people were going to be like that but when I spoke about my life people were just open with their thoughts; it made me feel really good.

### **The "Final Exam"**

As part of my final project, all my students go into the CHS auditorium. Ten to twelve students stand on the back of the stage about shoulder width apart. The students on the stage are looking outward toward the crowd. While they are facing the crowd I give all students the direction. While emotional music is playing in the background, I tell the students that part of being a man and woman of character is to let people know how much they mean to you. I tell my students that there are twelve people on stage and you will go up to them, form a line, stand about two feet from each other and look them in the eyes. Students must do this while using no

words. Once the students are finished, the process repeats until everyone has been one of the twelve students on stage.

KV: Tell me what you thought about going into the auditorium?

Keo: I thought it was going to be an open-microphone. I thought everyone was going to be up on stage, one by one and share their life story. And then I was told what we were going to be doing and I was like, I don't want to do that. However, it was cool.

Bullei: I knew what it was because I went in last year but that wasn't for me but this year I already knew how it was but I never knew the actual feeling of how it feels from last year. Like, I mean I never did cry but when it was my turn, everything just came the fuck out.

Kono: I thought you were just going to ask us about how the book relates to your life. Like Keo said, I thought it was going to be like an open microphone in front of our classmates and like there is a spotlight on you and everyone in the crowd is just looking at you. Waiting for you to answer that one question and how it relates to you. That is what I thought it would be like.

KL: I kind of knew we were going to stand face to face but I thought we could only chose certain people like me and my ex-girlfriend. I thought you were going to put us on stage and have us do that and I would have just broke but I was pretty surprised about everything.

Jacob: I was like, bitch I am going to fail (laugh). Like same like Keo and Kono I thought you were going to ask us questions from the review sheet. You were going to ask a question and then we were going to have to answer and then we would have to answer more shit (laugh). Cause Coach V, you know how you are. I heard stories about it but I didn't want to believe it until I see it but then I saw it he got us going to our best friends and got us crying but we needed that before the year ended. It was a big eye opener for everyone, shit if you saw Facebook last night, everybody was commenting about it.

Keo: Yea it was kind of irritating!

Jacob: Yea what goes on in there is supposed to be a secret and then people posting shit about it.

KL: They were saying like just looking into other people's eyes is more than words can say.

KL: Yea just kind of hope it doesn't give it away.

Kono: Brah I didn't know the impact I made on people until the auditorium.

Keo: Brah, I never talked to people since elementary school.

KV: Well let's talk about that. What is it like to be one of the people standing and facing your peers and looking at them in the eye?

Bullei: Ho Fuck!

Keo: My mind just went back to elementary days and how long I knew these folks. Even though I just met some people, if I know you I got you. Whoever came to me, even girls who came to me I never talk to but one guy I had in my freshmen class, I never spoke to since then came up to me and looked at me and I started crying. Bra, Duke when smash me.

KV: Tell me when you and Duke looked in each other's eyes.

Keo: Duke, he is my boy. We did so much shit together. He is my brother. We did some fucked up shit. I was thinking about when we was young, we would just steal stuff, do bad stuff and then laugh about it and then at the end of the day we were all happy. I just lost it started ballin (crying).

Bullei: It was crazy. Me, I knew, I know I get choke (many) friends, I know choke fuckers. And I know the majority of people in the auditorium I partied with them but I was surprised by that how much people came in my line. I never realized, I saw my boys and everyone from Lanikai. When everyone else came around, kind of heavy. Even Asian kids I really don't know too much came up to me.

KV: What was one person that impacted you while you were on stage?

Bullei: My friend Rob, Rob and Asher. Me and Rob like we never hung out in elementary but in high school we started to hang out a lot and we got real close. He's my braddah! He was the first one to walk to me and when Asher came up and the Keo when buss me up (cry). Asher came up and when he looked at me, I remembered all the motivational talks he gave me when I was an underclassmen. He when smash me.

Kono: I don't know the line showed me how many people I really impacted. How much lives I changed. Toward the end I hit my brother, and he has always been there for me. I kind of saw him like ten people away and then it hit me then and then I couldn't really react because he was in the back of the line and there was still people in front of him. So I tried to hold it in but I was still breaking down. When he came and looked into my eyes, I just dropped. I wanted to stand there and be like I can handle it but I just couldn't hold it in. I couldn't hold my emotions and the way I felt at that time. It was mixed because I was surprised; I didn't know he was coming and I guess we don't talk about it either and he doesn't know how much he means to me. Like we fight and stuff but he doesn't realize how much he impacted me and played that father role. Then with the other people like

ex-girlfriends or other people who I may have hurt because my ex-girlfriend was hurt because it was recent but this other girl hurt a lot more because it was lengthy and the time we put into it and she was almost the last one like it hurt me and affected other people and I didn't know how much the ending of our relationship hurt the both of us. We cried together and hugged each other after.

KL: I really never cry that much actually when I was on stage but when I sat down in the auditorium, in one of the seats I just started crying a lot. I was so sad. Sad and happy at the same time. I was surprised of how many people were in my line and I didn't know that I impacted that many people. Some people came in my line and looked me in the line twice. I was just like wow, in my line. I think the biggest thing for me is that I want people to have happy memories with me so they wouldn't cry. But like coming to some people, they looked at me and I looked at them and I just remembered all the good memories we had but I guess to them, I think they were going to miss it. I actually broke people down instead of them breaking me. I was just amazed. Until that one person, my ex-girlfriend came and I had to look at her. I fuckin broke down hard. I broke down cause with everyone else I had good memories but with my ex-girlfriend and the shit I put her through, the fuckin and all the shit we went through and the things we had and the things that are memories now, fuck, knowing I would never have the chance to redeem myself. But in the end I thought as long as she is happy, fuck. I am not going to say I loved her but the shit I did, I fucked up. No joke. Then just looking at her, she started to break and then I started to break and I was just trying not to but I couldn't help it and I just balled. I started to tear up and then she came up to me and hugged me and then that was one of the best feelings ever. When she left and then the next person came, I just felt happy again and more happy memories and everything. I thought you were going to bring in my mom. If you brought my mom I would have broke and I might have just left (laugh).

KV: To Keo, I tried to bring your brother for you.

Keo: Oh my god, good thing you never did it.

KV: Jacob, I called your brother and he wanted to come but he couldn't come because he had to work.

Jacob: Yeah he told me you called him.

KL: Everybody went in my line and I was amazed. I was just simply amazed. Like to know people left with a smile, after looking at me made me feel good. Knowing that I impacted their life, I never left them out and I am still friends with everybody.

Jacob: Ho man it was so hard. Like everyone who looked at me, I made so many memories with. We just connected. Like some people I knew since preschool, elementary. The person

that hit me was Katie and Kara. We have been through some crazy times. Shoplifting, fighting, ditching school, egging the city bus, running away from the cops. Like too much stuff. Like when you just look in your best friend's eyes, everything is blank. You cannot talk and you just think of all the fun times you had and then that is when it hit me. I was just ballin! It felt like too much emotion but good emotion, good emotion that had to come out one way or another. And I was thinking, Coach V you ass, why you making us cry (laugh). Nah it was good and we all came together.

KV: Now did you guys look at each other on stage?

Keo: When I see these two, (pointing to Bullei and Jacob) I thought I've known them since preschool. I thought Bullei was one girl because he had long hair but I knew him since then. I still get pictures of all of us in preschool ripping shit up, fucking nap time trying to talk to Shaina them because they was the prettiest girls in preschool.

Jacob: Yea you guys went out too!

Keo: Yeah Yeah. (All laugh). But shit when I seen these two, like we hardly talk too but when I seen them fuckers looking me in the eye, I love these guys.

KV: Did you go into Jacob's line?

Keo: Fuck when we looked in each other's eyes I just thought of elementary days and preschool. First time I saw Jacob, I remember him wearing Scooby-Doo. Everybody like Scooby-Doo back then.

KV: What about you Bullei?

Bullei: When I looked at Keo, I remembered some of the shit we did in preschool. We never go same elementary but we came back middle school and we used to do some dumb shit like pick on people. We used to play football together with Toa guys. Even outside of school, we would cruise, drink whatever. We would steal bikes, steal sounds (car-radios). With Kono I known him for a real long time since elementary. I've known KL for a good while now. Even Jacob knew him from middle school.

KV: What was the feeling you experienced when you look in their eyes?

Bullei: I felt that I knew you this long and now that we graduated, I'm glad I pau (finish)school with you.

KV: What about you Kono?

Kono: I went to Keo's line and I went when nobody was there and it was just real, like there was a connection even though we didn't know each other that long but I told him after that I will always be there if he needs me. So, it is just a start of new beginnings. With Bullei,

I've known him since kindergarten and stuff; he was already big when I met him. I never thought he was a girl because he was bigger than everybody else (laugh). Seeing how he grew till now, it is great. With KL, I thought about high school as we've been a lot together such as sports and volleyball. So I was thinking, what a beast, nah. We never used to talk as much but lately we started talking a lot and I realized we connected more as friends and he is like a brother to me and he will always be there for him and he for me and that's how it will always be. I went to Jacob's line and I know he has been through a lot. We talked and then we stopped talking after the season and then we only started Sophomore year cause and he was always talking to Nikki. Then this year we started talking again and we were the captains of the volleyball team; I was lucky to be co-captain with him. Then now, we can afterschool now we can do all this crazy stuff and we are going to the same college and is going to be a start to a new beginning and getting to know each other more.

KV: How about you KL?

KL: I went into everybody's line here. When I looked into Keo's eyes, I thought of elementary school, we've been around. I knew he was the biggest. I don't know I just liked him around because some of the irritating people he would tell them to shut-up. I just enjoyed him being around and I remember back in the days how he is changing to now from graduation. I knew Bullei for awhile, had some fun. All happy memories with him. With Kono, I remembered volleyball how he helped me out; he was always there for me. I always looked up to him and admired for doing what he does. I love him. With Jacob, when I looked at him I thought about the fun times with volleyball and everything. I have happy memories with him. No down memories. Good feelings with everyone.

Jacob: I went in everybody line and Keo's too. At first I was like, should I really go I don't really talk to him but we from Beverly Hills 96813 so I went to go see him. It was good and then when I looked at him, I just thought of elementary all over again. Preschool, kindergarten all the way to fifth grade graduation till middle school when they were punk (laugh) always getting into fights. Bullei, I known him since preschool and when we were young my mom and his mom were close and I always see him and just good vibe with everybody. And oh my god Kono, he was one of the main ones that broke me down. Oh shit, I knew him since volleyball freshmen year. We are homies. We talk here and there and it's always because he is flirting with all these other girls.

KV: Is Kono a big flirt?

Jacob: Oh my god Coach V, he flirts with the managers.

Bullei: He is a Kawkaw (all laugh)

KL: Before this interview he was talking to a girl.

Kono: You too KL!

KL: I was discussing business (all laugh).

KV: Continue Jacob...

Jacob: We talk about our problems; I got his back. Then when were done staring at each other I whispered in his ear to keep in touch. We were both volleyball team captains and led the team to the state volleyball tournament.

KV: And your team got better when he got hurt, sitting on the bench right?

All: Laugh.

KV: In general, what did you guys observe about the boys in the auditorium?

Keo: You know how some boys walk the halls like they think they one badass but it takes a real man to cry in front of others.

KV: Why is that?

Keo: Like everybody, like they act tough and people were saying I am not going to cry but your emotions showing people how much they mean to you, with no words, it really touches you.

KV: Do you think you surprised people?

Keo: I don't know. I thought nobody was going to come into my line because I was a prick.

Bullei: He still is (all laughs).

Keo: I was a prick because I always wanted to be the top Banger of the world. But after I grew up, I tried to be more mature. There is always somebody who can kick your ass and you are not going win every time. I regret that I bullied people. I used to bully people and pick on people when I was younger. Ever since I came big I use my size advantage; fuckin I am strong and fast. When I use to train I used that so I thought I could kick everybody ass because I was training. You don't train to fight everybody.

KV: What did you observe about male classmates in the auditorium?

Bullei: It takes a lot for me to cry, at least for me anyways. At first I couldn't cry, it takes a while to kick in. I saw all the boys crying except for me until I went on stage.

KV: Kono, what did you observe about your male classmates in the auditorium?

Kono: When the boys who couldn't cry and had a hard time looking at one another in the eye, it had more meaning when you looked at them because it wasn't easy for them to do. Some

of the boys you think would never break down but they did. Although you threw some curveballs like inviting some family members and brother's and sister's of my classmates, there were other unplanned curve balls that occurred. I guess when you hit that one person that you've been with forever or that one person who you never talked to in awhile it really touches you. Like there was a girl that came to my friend and he was not expecting that person to come in his line and look at him; then he just broke down. I think they know someone will make a difference or break down, make you cry but you really don't know until they are looking at you in the eye, you think of all the memories you had, everything you been through, that what I observed about the boys.

KV: KL, what did you observe about your male classmates in the auditorium yesterday?

KL: Pretty much the same with Kono as Keo said. The boys didn't really feel it until it was their turn. I felt it but I didn't really show it, I really don't know why. In the auditorium, I didn't cry as much as everyone else. Last night I cried and stayed up till three in the morning just thinking about it. I was just thinking of all the people in my line and reminiscing about everything. And then couldn't get over, how fucked up I was with my ex-girlfriend who came in my line and looked at me. I was just like wow. I observed the guys, everyone breaks down, everybody. Like whether you are showing it or not, you are. Like one boy never cried, but I know he was breaking down inside. Even some of the guys when I jumped in their line, they just looked at me and they were happy.

KV: What about Jacob, what did you observe about your male peers in the auditorium yesterday?

KL: Like it takes a lot to cry. Because when you think of men of character, you think of big muscles, strong, no tears heads up all the time, never down. When you see the boys cry, you just say wow, anybody can cry. Like when you see girls cry, you think it's ok because they always cry, cry for every little thing. Men cry, you never see the guy cry before and then you realize, that person must mean a lot if it can make them cry and cry in front of others. The tears yesterday were of sadness and happiness.

KV: Can you share how it felt to cry in front of others?

Keo: It felt easy because everybody was crying, the person in front of me was crying so it made it easier.

KL: I felt happy for the most part.

KV: Were you guys afraid to cry in public and in front of your peers?

Keo: At first I was like telling myself, I not going cry. My ex-girlfriend told me she did the same thing last year and she told me that I am going to cry. I told her I am not going to cry. Brah, I cried so much my eyes were sore so I couldn't even cry anymore.

Bullei: Me too. I cried too. I couldn't cry no more. No more tears man.

KV: Would you recommend this activity to continue?

All: Hell yea!

KV: Why should it continue?

Keo: The activity just opens up everybody. It brought us closer as a class and to some people. You can settle things like if you had bad feelings in the past, like me and Todd, remember that one time we fought, and when he came in my line and looked at me, I was like ho brah, I remembered that day then he came up to me and he said sorry. I said sorry too. For so long we held that grudge against each other since intermediate but we settled it right there. Now we all good.

Bullei: Me too. It gave me an opportunity to make amends with some guys. I told them sorry for all the shit I did to them. Like I was sorry for what I did to you.

Kono: Yea you get to make amends with people. I guess the way people react to it, it shows their true colors.

KL: I recommend it totally. You might not see ninety percent of these people again. Once you graduate from high school, it just takes its toll on you and you get to say good-bye to your classmates.

Jacob: I highly recommend it because you get to see how many people care for you and how many people impacted your life. It makes you realize how many relationships you had that you can take with wherever you go in life for the rest of your life. It just a big eye opener to your life; it helps you move on and what Keo is saying, like yesterday I had dramas with these four girls and a couple boys and when they came up to me, they told me sorry for all the shit we put you through and you can still call me if you need me.

KV: Have I influenced your perception of what it means to be a man?

Keo: Yea like the auditorium. I still don't know what the meaning or what it means to be a man but like it takes a man to cry and your lesson made everyone cry especially all the boys. I like how you can just stare at them and tell them without words how you feel about someone. Imagine if you could say the words that are in your mind while you are staring at each other. It's different. You show how you feel about your classmates without words.

Bullei: Like this last lesson and if it wasn't for the book "Season of Life", like if we really never read the book, all that stuff we talk about like false masculinity, the three types of fathers and like how it is better to be other-centered instead of self-centered. I mean, that is how my uncle is but after reading that book, I realized that being a man starts with me.

Kono: I guess when you, we went as a senior class to the auditorium that was a making like you were twisting everybody mind. You got them scared about something else and then having them not be afraid about anything about themselves and putting them into that position. The way that you taught your lessons from the book you taught them from your own personal experiences and reasons. When you talked to us about like about romance about the lessons you taught relates to us like asking us the questions of what kind of man we want to be. Do you we want to be a man for ourselves or a man who is built for others? The way you led us and interviewed us and showed all this partying and getting in trouble does not make a man. It just stupid and education is the key you taught us. The way you taught us is to live for others and not live up to the Hawaiian stereotypes of going to jail. Don't fall into peer pressure. Be the man you want to have for yourself or be the man a daughter can look up to because most dads are protective of their daughter. Also, be a man for your son because you want your son to be a good man.

KL: Yea actually you have because the one time you had that assembly about being a Hawaiian man last year and the difference between a Kāne and a Kanaka. Those three points, fend, feed and fatherhood are pretty much all of it actually. Because are you going to be a dad or a father. There are two different things. Being a dad, you're there but you are not there but being a father, you're there defending your family, providing food for your family and having relationships with your family. It impacted me because it showed me a lot and gave me a better understanding.

Jacob: Yea pretty much like all your Socratic discussions, like each one I learned something new and I put it to use in my life.

KV: What is one thing you learned about being a man and put to use?

Jacob: For example, like the reading the book I can relate it to my life and teaching me about masculine things. Now we have no school I take care of my family, I now do chores at home and help my mom around the house. Before when I was in school, my mom would do everything all on her own. No help from my dad, it was hard for her. Now that I am out of school, I stay home and help her around the house. My mom makes a huge impact on my life. Being that my father is always absent from my life and our relationship I feel I have to take the role of the father. Like even my brother, he is always out, like he's a father now. I still don't know exactly what a man is but I am kind of getting it.

KV: Let me say this to all of you. You guys are Hawaiian! You guys all share that. You guys were purposefully chosen by me and I asked other teachers who are some promising Hawaiian men I can interview. Who was worth studying? Whose life stories are worth sharing? Talking with the other teachers who knew you a little better than I did in the beginning of the year, that's who we chose. I chose Keo, Kono, KL, Bullei and Jacob and its going up to you guys to be proud Hawaiian men who proudly represent our culture the

right way. I hate it that a lot of people think Hawaiian men are good for nothing, that they are going to jail; we beat our women and all that shit. Well that's not what it means to be a Hawaiian and this is not what our people are about. We fight for what is right! We fight for what is right and moral. Don't let me down. Don't let yourself down. What I saw from all of you is the toughness demonstrated in the auditorium. You guys are all leaders in your own way, what are you going to stand for? I want to thank you for allowing me to interview you guys throughout the year. Aloha. (Hugs all around).

### **One on One Conversation with Kono**

KV: Remember during the auditorium, you asked if the students could make a line for me, why did you ask this question?

Kono: I asked you if we could make a line because of all the pictures on the wall. I figured, you affected a lot of people and like you affected me a lot and if you affected me like how I think you affected everyone else, I am pretty sure every student would be in that line. Like you kind of saw how many people rushed you on stage and everyone wanted to be in your line.

KV: Why did you do that for me? Make the suggestion to have a line?

Kono: Because you changed my life and other student's life a lot. Like, I feel like even though I didn't feel like I did, you don't all the time feel you impacted people but you made me realize that you impact people more than you think. And the impact that you made on me I guess like, I can tell you thank you as much as I want and say it all the time but not all students get to be interviewed by you with you or joke around with you and sometimes students might want be too scared to do that but just the way I went up and called, it's like calling up a man who actually portrayed; and it helped me get over and past things. You impacted me by letting me know that it isn't always my fault, even though it may appear to be my fault. Like, when my dad left me, it wasn't my fault that he left and it was his personal choice. Then when my ankle was bad, even though it wasn't a fracture and they moved my return date back to the volleyball team back, I felt like crap. You pointed out that it was just an accident and that you could relate because you shared your story of your senior year how you tore your Achilles your senior year. We have that connection of being hurt and it not being your fault. You told me to be the biggest cheerleader and then when you go home, you get pissed off about things. I handled it at home and I did get pissed off but I guess you were one of the adults be happy during the day but vent at home. My assistant coaches were assholes because they were like you are done; don't even try to come back. You are done because you might not play next week. You miss practice this whole week what makes you think you are going to play next week. I just felt like shit because I worked so hard to try and get back for nothing and but my head coach saw it different this is your last year. My head coach showed concern,

more than I ever saw before, like maybe once before but he didn't stand out. The night he heard about my sprain and he called me about my leg and would talk to me about our volleyball rotation and he shared how difficult it was going to be because I was a starter. He was really protective of me and made sure he called the trainer to see if I was there and to see if I was cleared, making sure I got taped up and wore the brace. He impacted me a lot. Like how I was supposed to go to the Athletic Banquet but I didn't feel like going. The influence you taught me like you don't let as much as people down as you think you do. I think my over thinking got the best of me. I keep thinking I'm letting all these people down, letting Jaclyn down

KV: So when we looked at each other, what were you thinking?

Kono: I felt relief. I was mad. It's kind of like yoga, when you hit a certain pressure point and all the pain goes away.

KV: Were you mad at me?

Kono: You know everything that I've been through and everyone was like it was ok but when you came up to me, like I said before if you were happy you can always change. Why be sad and life is too short. The way you change people lives is be happy for them and that what people will remember you for.

KV: Like what do I do to influence people? How do I demonstrate to you or my students how I am a man?

Kono: You are a man built for others but you may not see it because it is already a habit for you. That day I came in and I was pissed off about something but you couldn't help but notice I was down and now I know why you pick me. I think when you saw I felt like shit that day and tried to cheer me up that day and when that didn't work, you asked me what's wrong and you tried to help me. Just the habit and the ability to sense when something is wrong with someone is a man. When something is wrong, your students know they can come to you for anything. People see the bond you have with other people and they build a trust with you through this class or side conversations and then they feel like happy and when you help them when you don't even try, you're used to making people feel happy or better about themselves. Like when you talked about how you turned down your dream job at the other school and the promise you made to your kids, the bond you made for them. You made strong bonds with so many kids, like one day you will always have a bond with a kid that has problems. You know how during Socratic discussions, how you helped students get through high school and helped others. You take your knowledge and put it into someone else to help them.

## APPENDIX C

Directions: Please answer all the questions completely and honestly as your answers will be anonymous

1. What does it mean to be a man? Are you a man?
2. When does a boy become a man? How do you know when you are a man/ when do boys become men?
3. How do you show to others that you are a man?
4. How do your male friends influence your understanding of what it means to be a man? What about your female peers?
5. What is your greatest influence of what it means to be a man (culture, Media, School, people)? Who and what makes it your greatest influence?
6. Does school influence your perception of masculinity? If not, why not? If yes, how so?
7. Should schools help teach boys what it means to be a man? Why or why not?
8. Is it important to know what a man is? Why or why not?
9. Having tattoos and doing are acts of Polynesian manliness. If so, why and if not, why not?
10. Do you think boys need to have a positive male role model in their life to become a man?

11. When someone says, “that’s gay” what does that mean to you? Please give an example and if you say this phrase, when and who do you say it to?
12. (Optional) Have I influenced you in what it means to be a man? If so, how?
13. Do teenage girls influence your perceptions of what it means to be a man? If so, how? If not, why not?
14. Can a woman influence your understanding of what it means to be a man? If so, why? Who is your greatest female influence who has influenced you of what it means to be a man? Explain how she influences your perception of what it means to be a man.
15. Are you afraid to share your feelings and if so, which feelings and why? Do you hide any emotions?
16. Do you want to be a man? Why or why not? What about being a man appeals to you and what does not?
17. Who is your greatest influence of what it means to be man? How does this person influence your perception?
18. What questions about manhood or being a man would you like to know before you leave high school?
19. Describe the man you want to become in the future. (How will you act?) Do you foresee anything that will prevent you from being this man? If so, please share.

20. Playing football is manlier than playing golf? Surfing. Do you agree or disagree with this statement? Why? Do you think this is the attitude of most high school boys? Why?
21. How often do you think about what it means to be a man? Circle one, Often, sometimes, rarely, never.
22. What does the phrase, “you the man” mean to you and when do you use it? Please give an example.
23. Has TV, music and the media influenced your perception of what it means to be a man? Please share.
24. What are some of the pressures of being a male student?
25. What is a Hawaiian Man?
26. To be a man, he needs to be heterosexual. Do you agree or disagree with this statement? Explain.
27. In school, are there certain school subjects (social studies, band, English, math, etc) that are manlier than others?
28. Do you feel some boys are afraid to be perceived as smart? If so, why? If not, why not?

## Appendix D

### Coach V's Final Exam Men and Women of Character project “ask yourself, do you like who you are becoming”

As I know many of you are already making plans for college and the summer, let's not forget that your senior year and high school career is coming to an end. Though your high school career is coming to an end, learning never stops. Your final exam is the most important lesson that that I have to offer. It comes with a special gift from my social studies department as it will take a week and a half to teach and discuss the topic. This unit will be worth 400 points and will count heavily toward your overall grade. This unit is not difficult but will test your abilities to me a man and woman of character. On **Tuesday, May 8**, in the auditorium, as a senior class you will all participate in this exam. This exam will take the entire day and you must stay for the entire duration of the exam so make arrangements. For many of you this will be real easy, for others it may be the hardest thing you ever had to do. All I ask is that you take this project seriously because this lesson you will never forget. This project is not designed to fail you. There will be no other additional work given for the remainder of the quarter. The essential question to this unit is what is a man and woman of character? I hope by the end of this project you will get a true sense and unequivocal definition of what it means to be a man and woman of character.

#### **Dress for Success 50 points**

On Tuesday, May 8, 9:45-3:30, every student will dress to impress. Grades will be dependent on how well you are dressed and groom. You are to look like gentlemen and ladies during the exam. As you leave Cleveland High School, your last impression on this school will be one of class and dignity. Gentlemen, strive to wear a tie, shoes, slacks, aloha shirt is fine. Ladies, please dress nice and classy, no hoochy stuff please. What would you wear to a job interview would be appropriate? You are no longer boys and girls of yesterday to men and women of tomorrow. Let's leave a legacy of men and women of substance that Cleveland has never seen before.

#### **The Performance 100 points**

That Wednesday, you will go in front of the entire class and... (it is a surprise). Hint it takes no SAT vocabulary, writing or speaking skills. This part will be graded on how many people you impact on that day and how you appropriately express yourself, the character test. The answer lies within you. You will be penalized severely for using your cell phone during this exam. No cell phones, IPODS for the final. There may be some teachers that may stop by to assess your performance. However, whatever happens in the auditorium stays in the auditorium.

#### **Folder and Collage 50 points**

You will get a manila folder and you must place and decorate the outside of the folder. You must place a quote from the book of your choice. The pictures or design on the front must demonstrate that quote. On the back of the folder, please select a quote about manhood or womanhood from the book and then draw pictures and decorate the man of woman you want to become.

**In-class reading, verbal participation, in-class notes and highlighting of the book.**

Active vocal participation, highlighting taking notes in class. You will be graded on your notes, and verbal contribution to our class. Also, you must bring your book everyday to class. You will be deducted points if you do not bring your book to class every day.

Note to self 50 points

You will write a note to yourself five years from now. It must be one page, handwritten is fine. The content of the letter will only be read by you and me. This should be about the type of person you want to become. You can write about anything you want to but hopefully you will focus on the quality of person you will be in five years. Please tie some of your response to the book.

**Interview** 50 points

You will interview two people that you respect and embody what it means to be a man of woman of character. It might be a good idea to ask one male and one female for this part of the project. You will ask them a minimum of two questions but it might behoove you to have a dialogue with these people. You will write the answer on a separate piece of paper. Please have them sign their names that state you interviewed them.

What is a man or woman of character?

What is your purpose in your life and how do you find it?

**Exam Reflection**

You will write a one page exam reflection about what you learned from the auditorium. This will be graded on the depth of your answers and revelations you made. Relate reflection to the BOOK and the Hawaiian man/woman conference. Failure to do any part of this project will result in an automatic F. You will turn in your completed folders by Friday May 11.

Total 400 points

## Appendix E

### Season of Life Review Sheet for Final Exam for Wednesday, May 15, auditorium

In order for you to successfully pass your final exam, please study this sheet. You will not be able to use this sheet or your book for your final. Please **dress for success**. Good Luck.

**Pages to know:** Any page from the book is possible but a **strong emphasis** will be on these pages. 2, 9, 12, 21, 24, 28, 30, 34-39, 43-53, 62, 67, 69-76, 78-79, 82, 84, 87, 90-94, 96-103, 108-109, 124-130, 132-135, 140-145, 152, 158-160, 168, 172-177.

#### Terms:

Empathy, The Decision, Man in the Glass, Three Types of Fathers, Strategic Fatherhood, False Masculinity, Revolving integrity, Other-centered, Indifference, Three categories of justice, Hope + Faith=, Go vs. Sent, Victim's Mentality

**Possible Oral Exam Questions:** Judges: Coach V, Mrs., Hayashi, Ms. T, and your classmates. **Cite the book** and your personal experiences to successfully answer the questions. Preferably, please have one of your guardians **read** and **sign** their name at the end of your paper.

1. How has your relationships with your mother and your father influenced your life in the past, present and future? How have they influenced who you are?
2. If being a person of character is a goal of this lesson, then what are the reasons it is so hard to put these ideas of being a good person to practice? In short, why is it so hard to be a good person?
3. Is it fair to assume we all have a purpose and that purpose is for good? What is a cause? How do you find it? What is your cause?
4. Explain justice. Is fairness the same as justice? If we have achieved equality then have we achieved justice? Explain and be specific in your answers.
5. According to the book, how do you measure success? Are there counter-examples that we should include to measure success? How and when will Coach V, Mrs. Hayashi and Ms.T know if we were successful teachers? Can we measure an effective teacher? If so how?
6. If Biff suggests men fall into the trap of "false masculinity" then is there is a "false femininity trap that women fall into? Explain your answer.
7. Is it fair to assume that Biff's definition of masculinity is accurate and true? Is he missing anything? What is your definition of a person of character? Who exemplifies these characteristics? Do you like who you are? Explain.
8. Can we infer that the character traits that make a good man make a good woman?

9. If Biff believes that we need to include people into our lives, is it fair to assume that men should include women into seeking their definition of manhood. Likewise, should women include the input of men into defining womanhood? Explain your answer.
10. If Joe believes that we are not doing a good job of raising our boys to become men of character, how can you ensure that this cycle can break? How would you raise your son to become a man of character?
11. Based on the reading, can we assume that to become a man of character you need a positive male influence in your life? And, can we say the same for women? Can you still be a man/woman of character without a positive role model of the same gender?
12. In the book, Jeffrey Marx gives the example of being a 'man built for others' when during a game, one of the Gilman players chooses not to get into a fight even after taking a cheap shot. Is it fair to assume that one can be a man/woman of character at a young age? Is it fair to assume that being a man/woman of character is something that is taught, not innate? How do you know and why?
13. What has been the biggest 'aha' moment for you during this lesson? What is your biggest take away? And how will you use that to continue your journey on becoming a man/woman of character?
14. Based on the book, being able to love and be loved is part of the definition of being a man/woman of character. Can we assume that one also needs to believe they are lovable to be a man/woman of character and why do people think they are unlovable? Why or why not and how do you know? Support your answer with examples.
15. If you would like to come up with your own question, please see Coach V, Mrs. Hayashi, or Ms. T for approval. Extra Credit will be considered if it is a profound question. Please use a WRATEC question.

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