A MULTIPLE CASE STUDY ON HOW A HAWAIIAN CULTURALLY
COMPATIBLE PROGRAM INFLUENCED GRADUATES’ EDUCATIONAL,
CAREER AND PERSONAL DEVELOPMENT IN EMERGING ADULTHOOD

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Abstract

This study is a multiple case study of a group of eight graduates from a Hawaiian culturally compatible program. Interviewed five years prior for another study, the graduates and their instructors were re-interviewed to examine how the graduates have fared in academic, career and personal realms in emerging adulthood. Each student’s life was examined in individual case studies while considering the Bridging Multiple Worlds Model and the Life Story models. The group of students was also analyzed as a group in a cross-case analysis. The study examined how the two models predicted the graduates’ success through pattern-matching. The Bridging Multiple Worlds and Life Story models were found to be complementary, rather than competing, models that brought to light different aspects of the students’ experience. One of the key findings was that students’ responses on surveys five years earlier accurately predicted the level of educational attainment they reached in the future.
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This investigation was a follow-up multiple case study of a group of students who graduated from the Hawaiian Studies Program (HSP), a culturally compatible program at Wai‘anae High School. The original study (Yamauchi & Brown, 2007, p. 4) based on surveys and interviews conducted in 2003, focused on the personal and career development of those graduates and primarily served as an evaluation of the program itself. The present study revisited the same group of students in 2009-2010, at a time when they were 24- to 28-years-old. The focus of this study was primarily on the students themselves. I examined how participation in the HSP may have affected the lives of its graduates, approximately 10 years after students completed the program, and specifically focused on whether graduates’ aspirations for themselves, developed soon after high school, were realized. I was interested in the kinds of decisions these young adults made as they navigated their lives and for those whose aspirations were not realized, how they reconciled these realities with their prior goals.

My original research questions were: (a) How has this group of students turned out in academic growth, personal growth and community involvement? (b) How can the BMW and Life Stories models explain these students’ journeys? (c) Based on this group of students, what recommendations can be made to best support students?

The purpose of this study was to contribute both to the literature on culturally compatible education and the schooling of Native Hawaiians and secondarily, to evaluate the long-term effects of the HSP on its alumni. As a result, I also attempted to ascertain in what ways these individuals perceived influences of their HSP participation in their current lives, including influences on their life goals, post-secondary education, career development, values, participation in Hawaiian cultural activities, and civic engagement.
Native Hawaiians have been called “one of the most understudied populations in the educational literature” and researchers believe that “more research is needed to understand the complexities and specific cultural needs of the Native Hawaiian population” (Hagedorn, Tibbetts, Moon, & Lester, 2003, p. 2).

Benham & Heck (1998) advocated for longitudinal studies, particularly in educational reforms and the outcomes for specific groups. Researchers have expressed the view that the term “longitudinal” is “rather imprecise” (Ruspini, 2002, p. 11) and that there is “no consensus” on how long a study needs to be to be considered longitudinal (Saldaña, 2003, p. 3). Menard proposes that “at a bare minimum, any truly longitudinal design would permit the measurement of differences or change in a variable from one period to another” (1991, p. 2). Based on that definition, this study would not be considered a longitudinal study because while all eight of the individuals participated in surveys, only six of the eight participated in interviews for the original study in 2004. Still, this study does track students over a period of time, which is one of the best ways to track developmental progress of students in programs. In this specific case, although they had studied HSP students a few years after they had completed the program, Yamauchi and Brown (2007) concluded that additional research was needed, particularly because the graduates had not completed their post-secondary education.
Literature Review

Historical Impact of Colonialism on Native Hawaiians

If it is true that “our history owns us, shapes us and contextualizes us” (Osorio, 2002, p. ix), then one must understand the historical context of a given situation to truly understand the often complex issues that underlie modern challenges. Native Hawaiians face a multitude of challenges in today’s society and these challenges can be linked back to a history of injustice: “Native Hawaiians . . . have high rates of health problems, incarceration, and poverty. These social ills are common to other indigenous peoples worldwide. The effects of colonization and occupation on Hawai‘i’s native people continue to this day” (Rosa, 2010, p. 58). These actions have created turmoil and distress:

Much of the socio-economic disorientation suffered by Hawaiians today can be attributed to dislocation from ancestral homelands and related disruptions to the traditional family and social order. [Statistics dealing with socio-economic disorientation] reflect the individual and collective pain, bitterness and trauma of a people whose sovereignty has been and remains suppressed; who are dispossessed in their own homeland; and who lack control over the resources of their ancestral lands to provide for the welfare of their people” (McGregor, 1996, p. 383).

Prior to the arrival of Westerners, the Hawaiian people had a harmonious and well organized society.

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1 In this study, Native Hawaiian and Hawaiian are interchangeably used to refer to people of Hawaiian and part-Hawaiian ancestry.
Kānaka maoli, “the true or indigenous people,” during a tenure in the islands of at least 1,100 and possibly as many as 1,700 years prior to the appearance of Cook, had evolved a complex political, social, and economic system marked by a strict hierarchy on one hand and a remarkable balance and order on the other . . . . (Schweizer, 2005, p. 55).

Their society was marked by cooperation, sharing and the interdependency of life.

The social system was communal and organized around subsistence production to sustain ‘ohana, the large extended multigenerational families. Hawaiian spiritual beliefs, customs, and practices focused on maintaining harmonious and nurturing relationships with the various life forces, elements, and beings of nature as ancestral spirits who were honored as deities. Land and natural resources were not privately owned. Instead, the Hawaiian people maintained a communal stewardship over the land, the ocean and all the natural resources of the islands. (McGregor, 2007, p. 24)

Kamakau points out that “the Hawaiians were in old days a strong and hard-working people skilled in crafts and possessed of much learning” (1992, p. 237). Indeed, they were “skillful fishermen” who possessed a “high degree of agricultural expertise” marked by their “complicated irrigation systems providing water for the lo‘i, the taro patches” (Schweizer, 2005, p. 66). Native Hawaiians were also characterized by generosity and kindness:

The Hawaiian people had the reputation of being a pious people who worshiped the god; hospitable, kindly, giving a welcome to strangers, affectionate, generous givers, who always invited strangers to sleep at the house and gave them food and
fish without pay, and clothing for those who had little; a people ashamed to trade. This was their character before the coming of the foreigners and of Christianity to Hawai‘i. (Kamakau, 1992, p. 202).

The Westerners brought far-reaching and sweeping change in all aspects of life. Menton and Tamura (1999) distilled and outlined the major social, economic, land and government changes that impacted Hawaiians. The kapu² system was abolished in 1819 and missionaries came in 1820 and brought with them religious and social mores (Menton & Tamura, 1999). The timing of these two events happening so closely together worked to the Westerners’ advantage:

The kapus had been abolished, the idols destroyed, and the authority of the priests was in question. Christianity rushed in to fill the void. The missionaries proclaimed the new religion without major opposition. Their success was assured by the strong support of Ka‘ahumanu. (Fuchs, 1961, p. 9)

In terms of economic changes, Hawai‘i was changed from a subsistence economy to a market economy. This resulted in major disruption of the Hawaiian way of life as Hawai‘i attempted to provide the needs of each successive group: Fur traders initially used Hawai‘i as a port to restock and refuel in 1785 and were followed by sandalwood traders in 1790, whalers in 1820 and then 1836 demands for sugar which brought with it an influx for immigrant plantation workers (Menton & Tamura, 1999).

² Kapu is often interpreted to mean “forbidden.” The kapu system refers to the system of rules and law.
In terms of land, the Hawaiian lifestyle changed from a subsistence one to that in which land was viewed as a commodity, when the 1848 Great Mahele split the lands between the crown, the chiefs and the government (Menton & Tamura, 1999).

Perhaps most notoriously, in terms of government, Hawai‘i went from being governed by an absolute monarchy to a constitutional monarchy to a provisional government; the government was illegally overthrown and proclaimed a republic in 1894 and annexed in 1898 (Menton & Tamura, 1999).

A staggering number of Native Hawaiians were killed by the diseases and epidemics such as smallpox, influenza, measles, typhoid, cholera, venereal diseases, cholera, whooping cough, mumps, bubonic plague and leprosy that visitors from the outside world brought to them (Menton & Tamura, 1999). Budnick (1992) asserts that “throughout the 1800s, each succeeding generation of native Hawaiians declined by one-half” (p. 31), but this is based on conservative estimates of the population. He states that “Overall, the native Hawaiian population decreased about 90% - from approximately 300,000 (recent estimates suggest the population was 800,000) in the days of Captain Cook to just 29,000 population in 1900” (Budnick, 1992, p. 31). Kame‘eleihiwa (1992), by contrast, estimated that in 1778 there were one million Hawaiians and that the number of deaths due to disease “represents an 80 percent decline in population in the first forty-five years of Western contact” (p. 81).

Schweizer hypothesized that this number was not only due to their lack of immunity caused by “geographical isolation” but that “due to the small number of those who had made the original voyages from the Marquesas . . . the gene pool available was restricted. This in turn could have created a greater susceptibility” (2005, p. 200). What
is undeniable is that such catastrophic loss of life severely impacted the Native Hawaiians' ability to challenge many of the changes that were suddenly thrust upon them.

Schweizer (2005) asserts that

It would be wrong, of course, to place all the blame on the colonizers and exempt the indigenous peoples themselves. A closer study of the matter reveals that mistakes were made on both sides . . . . We should note in this connection that the morality of those who are in the stronger position is always more at risk than that of the weaker party. Certainly, in the colonial configurations the weights were unequally distributed from the start. (p. 38)

Gulick (1918) concludes that “fifteen formal companies of missionaries arrived in Hawai‘i from 1820 to 1855, 180 people in all” (as cited in Schweizer, 2005, p. 82).

Schweizer goes on to say that he feels that missionaries “had the best of intentions and were convinced that what they were doing would benefit the Hawaiians. The natives on their part hardly could have invited a more problematic group of people to their shores” (Schweizer, 2005, p. 94). What he fails to acknowledge is that the Native Hawaiian people had no choice in the matter, they may have welcomed all, as was their custom, but they certainly did not “invite” the colonizers. As Trask (1993) points out:

For people who suffer the yoke of imperialism, it is a total system of foreign power where another culture, people and way of life penetrate, transform, and come to define the colonized society. The results are always destructive, no matter the praises sung by the colonizer. But the extent of the damage depends on the size of the colony, the power of the colonized country and the resistance of the colonized. (p. 52)
Even Schweizer admits the insidious way in which islands specifically are absorbed by the colonizer:

Business success . . . kindles a desire to wield economic and political control, a domination readily implemented within the subscribed sphere of an island. The process of reverse assimilation, which forces an indigenous people to assume the ways of a colonizer, unfolds more smoothly in an insular environment than in territories lost in the expanses of a continent. (2005, p. 38)

Trask explains how the native Hawaiian people were dispossessed of their lands and can thus be compared to “other displaced, dislocated people”:

We have been occupied by a colonial power whose every law, policy, cultural institution, and collective behavior entrench foreign ways of life in our land and on our people. From the banning of our language and the theft of our sovereignty to forcible territorial occupation in 1959 as a state of the United States, we have lived as a subordinated Native people in our ancestral home. (1993, p. 23)

The illegal overthrow of the Hawaiian kingdom was perhaps one of the most obvious wrongful acts perpetrated upon the Hawaiian people. As the Native Hawaiian Education Act acknowledges:

In 1893, the sovereign, independent, internationally recognized, and indigenous government of Hawai‘i, the Kingdom of Hawai‘i, was overthrown by a small group of non-Hawaiians, including United States citizens who were assisted in their efforts by the United States Minister, a United States naval representative, and armed naval forces of the United States. Because of the participation of United States agents and citizens in the overthrow of the Kingdom of Hawai‘i, in
1993, the United States apologized to Native Hawaiians for the overthrow and the deprivation of the rights of Native Hawaiians to self-determination. (*Native Hawaiian Education Act*, 2004)

At the time of the overthrow, James Blount, was sent as the U.S. Minister to Hawai‘i to investigate the issues and President Cleveland, after reviewing Blount’s report gave a speech to Congress on December 1893 (Budnick, 1992). His speech, in part read:

> By an act of war, committed with the participation of a diplomatic representative of the United States and without authority of Congress, the Government of a feeble but friendly and confiding people has been overthrown. A substantial wrong has thus been done which a due regard for our national character as well as the rights of the injured people requires we should endeavor to repair. (as cited in Schweizer, 2005, p. 341).

Despite President Cleveland’s determined attempts to prevent it, Hawai‘i was annexed in 1898. Trask (1993) points out that “it was by resolution (which only required a simple majority) rather than by treaty (which required a two-thirds majority) that Hawai‘i was annexed” (p. 21).

The overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy is, of course, only the most blatant assault on the Native Hawaiian people; there were many, many more covert actions that served to undermine them. Scholars such as Kame‘eleihiwa (1992) and Osorio (2002) contend that attacks on the Hawaiian people actually were set into motion much earlier.
Kameʻeleihiwa (1992) points out that “the real loss of Hawaiian sovereignty began with the 1848 Mahele, when the Mōʻi 3 and Aliʻi Nui 4 lost ultimate control of the ʻĀina” (p. 15). Although it is often referred to as the Great Mahele, Kameʻeleihiwa does not refer to it as such since it was “a tragic historical event, a turning point that had catastrophic negative consequences for Hawaiians” (1992, p. 9).

Schweizer advances the idea that “in theory, everyone should have profited from the Great Mahele” (2005, p. 148). He expresses the belief that the king thought he was acting to benefit the people but notes that allowing foreigners as well as Native Hawaiians to claim land through the Kuleana Act and other problems (including makaʻāinana 5 worrying that filing a land claim would be viewed as an “unfriendly act,’ and not being able to afford the surveying fee or not feeling it was unnecessary to do so or owning it but then losing it) resulted in the makaʻāinana owning but a tiny fraction of the land. (2005, p. 148). The outcome was shocking: “Of the population, including women and children, 74% were without the ʻāina that had sustained them for hundreds of years” (Menton & Tamura, 1999, p. 114). This was in direct contrast to the Westerners, who “despite their small numbers . . . owned over a million acres” (Menton & Tamura, 1999, p. 119). The dispossession continued in which “traditional lands were quickly transferred to foreign ownership and burgeoning sugar plantations. By 1888, three quarters of all arable land was controlled by haole 6” (Trask, 1993, p. 8).

---

3 King

4 High chief(s)

5 Commoners

6 Foreigner
Owning the land was a concept that was not only foreign, but antithetical to the Native Hawaiian worldview, values and even vocabulary. The origin myth of Papa, the earth-mother, and Wākea, the sky-father, involves man’s familial relationship to the Land, that is, to the islands of Hawai‘i and Maui, and to the kalo 7 Hāloa-naka, who are the elder siblings of the Hawaiian Chiefs and people. This relationship is reflected in the Hawaiian tradition of Malama ‘Āina, caring for the Land. (Kame‘elehiwa, 1992, p. 25)

This was manifested in the way in which the entire society functioned and defined the roles of the chiefs, the gods and the commoners: “A reciprocal relationship was maintained; the Ali‘i Nui kept the ‘Āina fertile and the Akua 8 appeased; the maka‘āinana fed and clothed the Ali‘i Nui” (Kame‘elehiwa, 1992, p. 26). Based on this world view, the idea of ownership was incomprehensible: “‘Āina is something that all Hawaiians need to live. How can it be divided for exclusive use: It is like dividing the air that we all breathe, or the water we all must drink” (Kame‘elehiwa, 1992, p. 210).

Having their world turned upside down in such a marked way and questioning their own place on society and their relationship to each other and their world, it is no wonder that they had difficulty knowing how to advance:

Natives were taught that Western religion, technology, law, and government were unquestionably superior to everything Native. Such teachings were part ‘civilizing’ the Natives so that their souls might be saved; it was also naked

---

7 Taro
8 Gods
cultural imperialism. Along with the acceptance of Western religion and lifestyles came the notion that for Hawai‘i to join the ‘enlightened nations’ of the world, its Natives needed to adopt a capitalist economy and private ownership of ‘Āina. (Kame‘elehiwa, 1992, p. 170).

The idea of capitalism was nonsensical to the native Hawaiians because it directly conflicted with their values:

In the Hawaiian world, the hallmark of civilization was, and still is generosity; that is, the willingness to share one’s waiwai (accumulated wealth). Hawaiian generosity was thus diametrically opposed to the basic tenets of capitalism, which Hawaiians found repugnant by their own standards of humanity” (Kame‘elehiwa, 1992, p. 11).

It also disrupted and forever changed the relationship between the chiefs and the maka‘āinana to be “competitors rather than as caretakers of the ‘āina” (Osorio, 2002, p. 55).

Indeed, even the language of the Native Hawaiians reflects how owning land was not a part of their vocabulary. Kame‘elehiwa (1992) points out that there was no “specific word in the Hawaiian language for the Western idea ‘to own’ . . . In traditional Hawai‘i, ‘Āina was not owned but was held in trust (p. 10). Not only were there no words for land ownership, but grammatically, land could not be owned:

In our way of speaking, land is inherent to the people; it is like our bodies and our parents. The people cannot exist without the land, and the land cannot exist without the people. Every major historian of Hawai‘i has been mistaken about
Hawaiian land tenure. The chiefs did not own the land: they could not own the land. (Trask, 1993, p. 152)

Land ownership was a foreign concept on a number of different fundamental levels to the Native Hawaiians. It is no wonder, then what ensued:

The new rules for the acquisition of ‘Āina and the use of ‘Āina for profit were well known to foreigners, but not to Hawaiians. The foreigners’ knowledge of capitalism gave them a certain advantage and power over Hawaiians, who only half understood the new system. To Hawaiians, this was an entirely new game into which they had been inadvertently thrust. (Kameʻeleihiwa, 1992, p. 11).

Osorio (2002) asserts that colonialism presented “a slow, insinuating invasion of people, ideas, and institutions” and notes how

Colonialism literally and figuratively dismembered the lāhui (the people) from their traditions, their lands, and ultimately their government. The mutilations were not physical only, but also psychological and spiritual. Death came not only through infection and disease, but through racial and legal discourse that crippled the will, confidence, and trust of the Kānaka Maoli as surely as leprosy and smallpox claimed their limbs and lives. (p. 3)

Osorio (2002) shows how Western laws were introduced and then manipulated by a select number of Western missionaries and businessmen who were able to ingratiate themselves to the kings and then exert their influence. In the Mahele, Native Hawaiian people were stripped of their world view for “the relationship that had defined both Aliʻi and Makaʻāinana for centuries was replaced by legal definitions of rights, definitions that could be altered by each new statute and each new decision” (p. 54).
Again, the values of the Native Hawaiian people opposed those of the colonizers. “For Hawaiians, the king was not an office of the government; he was the symbol of the Hawaiian people, the bodily link to divine ancestors and the greatness of the Conqueror and his times” (Osorio, 2002, p. 150). Faced with uncertainty, Native Hawaiians responded in ways that made the most sense for them but demeaned them in the eyes of the Westerners:

The “common” Hawaiians would continue to believe that their best hopes for survival as a people were symbolized by the Ali‘i Nui and the Mō‘ī, and the haole would continue to regard the Native people as hopelessly inferior because of their loyalty to their chiefs (Osorio, 2002, p. 42).

Osorio also contends that the Native Hawaiians found themselves in a losing game that was not of their making. “Each time Hawaiians attacked missionaries because of their participation in business or in politics, it was ‘evidence’ of the Natives’ ungratefulness, and ultimately, of their own deficiencies” (Osorio, 2002, p. 100).

In 1887, King Kalakaua signed the Bayonet Constitution. Osorio (2002) contends that “more than a simple theft of government, the Bayonet Constitution was a demonstration of haole control” (p. 195-196) and “allowed the whites political control without requiring that they swear allegiance to the king . . . by making the nation belong to them without requiring that they belong to the nation” (p. 197). Specifically, the power of the monarchy was eliminated in some of the following ways:

Reducing the King to a ceremonial leader, eliminating most of the monarch’s power, prohibiting the monarch from dismissing a Cabinet member without
approval from the Legislature and requiring the Monarch to sign all bills and resolutions (even those that he vetoed). (Budnick, 1992, p. 68).

In essence, the Bayonet Constitution was written so that “the Ministry was no longer responsible to the King but to the legislature” and then, “to ensure haole domination of the legislature, the electorate was severely restricted by income qualifications . . . . The intended and immediate result was that missionary descendants, whose parents had benefitted from the land division of 1848, captured the legislature” (Trask, 1993, p. 15).

This action again must be understood within the context of the political, economic and military pressures of the time:

The decade of the 1850’s witnessed a struggle between those planters seeking annexation to avoid sugar tariffs, and a monarchy attempting to preserve its sovereignty while fending off military interventions and a growing foreign element in the Kingdom. (Trask, 1993, p. 9)

This foreign element could not be ignored and “demand[ed] more rights and privileges than the native Hawaiians enjoyed” (Budnick, 1992, p. 8).

Silva (2004) notes that while many believe that Native Hawaiians simply acquiesced to the demands of the Westerners that this was not the case and demonstrates how this was not the case. They were marginalized and subjected to “political, economic, linguistic and cultural oppression” and even worse, their voices were silenced in that accounts of their resistance and protests of that time were not acknowledged or heard. (Silva, 2004, p. 1) Injustices were voiced, opposed by the Hawaiian people.
Osorio provides a poignant historical representation by exploring the life of Samuel Kamakau, described as “Lāhaināluna graduate, writer, historian, superintendent of schools, and member of the House of representatives from 1851 to 1876” (2002, p. 5). He notes that Kamakau “was . . . clear that the lāhui, the people themselves who made up the nation were imperiled by the changes in government and society” (Osorio, 2002, p. 5) and that “armed with a literate education and a better knowledge of the outside world, and yet disarmed by the sheer weight of change that was descending on the Islands, Kamakau and other youthful leaders sought to clarify and mediate those changes for the rest of the kānaka” (Osorio, 2002, p. 8). Osorio notes that while Kamakau lacked the insider status that would have allowed him to influence the monarchy, he had a clear perspective on what had unfolded:

These men of old could reason well, but those who were following the foreigners were letting the strangers do their thinking for them . . . . It is this intimate relation with the foreigners and the controversies over religion which have been the occasion for all the troubles in our country since the time of Kamehameha III until today. Had the chiefs and those who attained learning ruled wisely, no nation could have interfered with our independence” (Kamakau, 1992, p. 277).

In a letter to King Kamehameha III that was dated July 22, 1845, Kamakau did try to warn the ruler of the dangers that Western influence had on his rule.

There may be men living among us who will devastate the land like the hordes of caterpillars the fields; they hide themselves among us until the time comes, then they will be on the side of their own land where their ancestors were born. Here is another thing: The king has chosen foreign ministers, foreign agents (luna).
This is wrong. The Hawaiian people will be debased and the foreign exalted.
The Hawaiian people will be trodden under foot by the foreigners. Perhaps not now, or perhaps it will not be long before we shall see it. The land will be diminished, the length and the breadth of it. (Kamakau, 1992, p. 400).

This same concern was reflected by makaʻāinana in four petitions that were presented to the king in that same year:

All four petitions clearly stated that the people wanted to safeguard the independence of the country and the system of government established by Kamehameha I. The makaʻāinana wished to preserve their traditional lifestyle and this meant that the king and the chiefs should rule in the old way. (Schweizer, 2005, p. 244)

This was an unprecedented action, in which the people asserted their wishes without the aliʻi asking for their opinion: “the makaʻāinana on their own assumed the initiative to influence their king, an astonishing evolution demonstrating both the depth of the crisis afflicting the nation and the unfolding political emancipation of the commoners” (Schweizer, 2005, p. 248).

The situation had reached such a level that Hawaiians attempted to take matters in their own hands and “in 1889, two years after the forced adoption of the Bayonet Constitution, Robert Wilcox led a group 100 mostly native Hawaiians in a failed attempt to restore the King’s constitutional rights” (Budnick, 1992, p. 72).

Their protest is understandable. Even fundamental values of the people and their culture were stripped from them. Native Hawaiian values were supplemented in every way imaginable because “the indigenous Hawaiian culture, differ[ed] in almost every
respect from their particular branch of Western civilization with its Calvinistic –
capitalistic overtones” (Schweizer, 2005, p. 128). As a result, laws “would not only
prohibit socially unredeeming activities like murder and theft, they would also prohibit
behavior that was intrinsically native, such as ‘awa\(^9\) drinking and hula” (Osorio, 2002, p.
13). Hula was seen as a threat on a number of different levels and was thus outlawed:

Hula was never just entertainment. It represented the very finest art of an ancient
civilization and was itself political because many of the mele\(^{10}\) were praises of the
Ali‘i genealogies and their relationships to the akua. This, along with its overt
sexuality, made the hula a vehicle for blasphemy, and thus it had been suppressed
by missionary doctrine and by law since 1827. (Osorio, 2002, p. 203).

Schütz points out that in a similar vein, “Looking back over the past two centuries
of dynamic tension between Hawaiian and English, we find that at different times and for
different reasons, knowledge of the one and then of the other, was seen as a source of
power” (Schütz, 1994, p. 340). As a result, the Hawaiian language, first seen as a vehicle
by which the missionaries could reach the Native Hawaiians, was later viewed as a threat
that allowed them to keep their “nativeness” (Schütz, 1994). “Upon annexation to the
United States, Hawaiians had the highest literacy rate of any ethnic group in the
Hawaiian Islands” (Wilson & Kamanā, 2006, p. 161). Then, the Hawaiian language was
forbidden. For a hundred years (1896 to 1986) “use of the Hawaiian language as an
instructional medium in education in public schools was declared unlawful” (Native

\(^9\) Intoxicating drink, also used for its medicinal properties

\(^{10}\) Songs or chants
Hawaiian Education Act, 2004, p. 3) (Native Hawaiian Education Act, p. 3) and instructors even went so far as to “[go] into private homes to admonish families not to use their own language” (Schweizer, 2005, p. 360).

This was seen as a huge loss to the culture for “without Hawaiian, much of the wealth of unique knowledge and culture that is expressed and recorded in Hawaiian remains out of reach” (Wilson & Kamanā, 2006, p. 157). Again, there was great opposition in response to the ban on Hawaiian and “there was considerable effort to maintain Hawaiian. (Wilson & Kamanā, 2006, p. 156) “Mataio Kekūanō‘a, head of the Kingdom’s department of education . . . issued a report strongly condemning attempts to eliminate Hawaiian-medium schools and even stated that the English-medium boarding schools turned students into individuals who were ‘no longer Hawaiian’” (Wilson & Kamanā, 2006, p. 158). These objections prevented the “outright” closing of the Hawaiian-medium schools, but “foreigners subsequently took the approach of working to gradually eliminate financial and other support for Hawaiian-medium education” (Wilson & Kamanā, 2006, p. 159).

Native Hawaiian Educational Issues

The Native Hawaiian population faces many challenges, but has collectively recognized the importance of education. In the face of adversity, the Hawaiian language immersion and charter school movement emerged as a grassroots effort with families and community activists leading the way (Yamauchi, Ceppi, & Lau-Smith, 1999), a process that is seen as exemplifying social change (Kanaʻiaupuni, Malone, & Ishibashi, 2005). These efforts appear to be resulting in a stabilization and slight increase of college attendance. In fall 2006, out of the 20,357 students attending the University of Hawaiʻi at
Mānoa, the fourth largest ethnic group consisted of self-identified Hawaiian and part-Hawaiian students (1,758) ("Student headcount by ethnicity, fall 2006," 2006). This followed Caucasian students (5,407), Japanese students (3,575) and students of mixed ethnicity (1,930). The percentage of Hawaiian and part Hawaiian students at the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa has risen slightly from 11.7% (fall 2006) to 11.8% (fall 2007) to 12.2% (fall 2008) (Freitas & Balutski, 2009). University of Hawai‘i system enrollment percentages are even more promising, 17.9% (fall 2006), 18.7% (fall 2007) and 19.8% (fall 2008).

This is significant because roughly 20% of the population in the state of Hawai‘i is comprised of Native Hawaiians (Keli‘ipio, 2007). Hawaiians stress education because “many Hawaiians see attaining appropriate educational opportunities as the key to individual self-sufficiency and collective self-determination” (Office of Hawaiian Affairs, 2006). Despite almost having lost their language, Native Hawaiians are relearning it in record numbers. They have entrusted the next generation with the responsibility to perpetuate the language, the culture and the identity of the Hawaiian people (Luning & Yamauchi, 2010). Indeed, 42% of Hawaiians currently living in Hawai‘i are less than 19-years-old, which creates a very young population (Keli‘ipio, 2007). At the same time, the Native Hawaiian population faces staggering challenges.

In Hawai‘i public schools, Native Hawaiians make up the largest ethnic group. Native Hawaiians made up 27.6% of students enrolled in the DOE (Kamehameha Schools, 2009). Of all Native Hawaiian children in Hawai‘i, 87% attend Department of Education schools (Kekahio, 2007b). Many Hawaiian students, remain in isolated pockets of the islands (Benham & Heck, 1998). Many qualify for subsidized lunch
programs and often attend schools that are subject to reorganization and are staffed by less trained teachers (Kana‘iaupuni & Ishibashi, 2003b). Department of Education statistics show that schools with higher than 50% Native Hawaiian students, both have a higher percentage of teachers with provisional or emergency status or have doubled the proportion that are in or planning for restructuring (Kamehameha Schools, 2009). As a group, Hawaiian students have faced an ongoing struggle in school.

As compared to their non-Hawaiian peers, Hawaiian students are absent more often, held back more often and drop out in higher numbers (Kamehameha Schools Bishop Estate, 2000; Kana‘iaupuni & Ishibashi, 2003b; Takenaka, 1995). They also do not do well on standardized tests or do well in test scores only to lose ground with a gap that widens at the secondary school level (Kana‘iaupuni & Ishibashi, 2003b; Takenaka, 1995; Tibbetts, 2002). Hawaiians are overrepresented in special education (Kana‘iaupuni & Ishibashi, 2003b; Takenaka, 1995), have lower high school graduation rates (Kana‘iaupuni & Ishibashi, 2003b) and are underrepresented in higher education in comparison with their non-Hawaiian peers (Office of Hawaiian Affairs, 2006; Takenaka, 1995; University of Hawai‘i Institutional Research Office, 2002).

Most recent reports are mixed, showing modest progress in areas, but undeniable gaps in others. A recent comprehensive overview of educational attainment by Native Hawaiians revealed that Native Hawaiian students in charter schools show engagement and achievement levels higher than other public schools but many ongoing problems still exist: Native Hawaiians still lag behind statewide norms in college completion, high school graduation, standardized tests, and enrollment in special education (Kamehameha Schools, 2009; Kana‘iaupuni, et al., 2005). The National Assessment of Educational
Progress shows that between 2003 and 2007, Native Hawaiians and Other Pacific Islanders fourth graders versus other fourth graders demonstrated the greatest overall improvement in math and reading, but only half the students were deemed proficient in these areas and when they were retested in grade 8, the gap between Native Hawaiians and Other Pacific Islanders versus other students in math and reading proficiency widened from a third to a half (Chaparro & Tibbetts, 2008). Native Hawaiian students are overrepresented in the community colleges (Kamehameha Schools, 2009). In addition, despite the fact that a higher percentage of Native Hawaiian students is now attending UH-Mānoa, after their first year, they have the highest attrition rate, and they have the lowest four year graduation rates (Freitas & Balutski, 2009).

Ka Hua Kai: 2005 Native Hawaiian educational assessment, a comprehensive overview of educational progress by Native Hawaiians, pointed to the clear link between education and other issues by “recognizing that educational well-being does not occur in a vacuum, but is instead continuously influenced by other domains of well-being” (Kamehameha Schools, 2009). As mentioned earlier, educational inequities are related to deeper-rooted issues for the Native Hawaiian community at large. For example, the high Native Hawaiian poverty rates have remained unchanged since 1983 (Kana‘iaupuni, et al., 2005). Hawaiians also suffer from health problems, drugs, crime, and violence, (Kamehameha Schools, 2009), and unemployment as well as having the lowest mean income, higher depression and suicide rates (Kana‘iaupuni & Ishibashi, 2003b; Kana‘iaupuni, et al., 2005).

Recent college enrollment statistics are promising, yet only 12% of Hawaiians and other Pacific Islanders in Hawai‘i have earned a bachelor’s degree (Malone, 2003b).
While earning a college degree is not considered the only indication of success, there is evidence that college attendance is a factor in predicting the potential success of Native Hawaiian students (Hagedorn, Tibbetts, Moon, Matsumoto, & Makuakane-Lundin, 2003) as well as future earning potential (Malone, 2003b). There seems to be a strong connection between economics and graduation. A 1999 study of community college persistence found that higher cumulative GPAs, full-time status and financial aid were the top three factors in completion of degree (Makuakane-Drechsel). Receiving financial support translated into a 49.3 percent increase in persistence for liberal arts students. A more recent study points to financial aid from Kamehameha Schools (.31) as the greatest predicting factor in completion of a college degree, even above high school GPA (Hagedorn, Tibbetts, Moon, Matsumoto, et al., 2003).

There are a number of programs and initiatives in place to address the needs of Native Hawaiian students (Kana‘iaupuni, et al., 2005), including ‘Aha Pūnana Leo (Hawaiian speaking preschools and charter schools), Papahana Kaiapuni (the Hawaiian language immersion program) and Kamehameha Schools (a private school founded by Hawaiian royalty “to create educational opportunities in perpetuity to improve the capability and well-being of people of Hawaiian ancestry” (Kamehameha Schools, 2000, p. 19). Kamehameha Schools’ students report lower rates of aggression and substance abuse than other students (both non-Hawaiians and other non-Kamehameha School Hawaiian students) (Kana‘iaupuni & Ishibashi, 2003a). Students at Kamehameha Schools graduate and attend college at comparable rates to other private schools, despite the fact that over 60% of its students receive financial aid (Hagedorn, Tibbetts, Moon, Matsumoto, et al., 2003).
Hawaiian based charter schools have proliferated and are well attended by Native Hawaiian students. In 2006-2007, 95.5% of students in Hawaiian language immersion start-up charter schools and 80.4% of students in Hawaiian-focused start-up charter schools were Native Hawaiian (Kekahio, 2007a). Models of best practices point to culture-based education (CBE), in which indigenous cultures’ language, experiences, practices, and values provide the anchor for learning; regular use of CBE can provide benefits in educational and socio-emotional student outcomes (Ledward, Takayama, & Kahumoku III, 2008).

As mentioned earlier, the Hawaiian community created educational opportunities through Hawaiian immersion and charter schools as well as community outreach programs. Native Hawaiian groups successfully had Hawaiian language and culture included in the school curriculum in the late 1970-80s (Benham & Heck, 1998). In the Kaiapuni program, families, teachers, students and administrators were involved politically to ensure that the program continued (Luning & Yamauchi, 2008; Yamauchi & Ceppi, 1998; Yamauchi, Ceppi, & Lau-Smith, 2000). The Hawaiian language immersion students often gain a mastery over the culture and language to the point that they are often teaching their parents and grandparents (Luning & Yamauchi, 2008) and surpassing their teachers, who have college preparation (Yamauchi & Ceppi, 1998). As a result, 25% of Native Hawaiian students parents’ at Kamehameha Schools could participate in Hawaiian protocol, compared to 58.9% of students (Kamehameha Schools, 2009). Teachers for the program have acknowledged that learning Hawaiian and teaching enabled them to define their Hawaiian identity and learn about the culture (Yamauchi, et al., 2000). Because the Hawaiian language was banned from the
classroom for almost a century and was in danger of dying out (Benham & Heck, 1998),
the success of the students is perceived to be tied to the revitalization of the culture.
Indeed, not only is culture tied to language but “language is … a bond which holds many
communities together” (Yamauchi & Ceppi, 1998, p. 13). This especially is the case for
the Hawaiian people, whose concept of language is strongly connected to the concepts of
voice and identity.

The Hawaiian Studies Program

The Hawaiian Studies Program (HSP) at Waiʻanae High School combines
instruction in science, English and social studies with learning Hawaiian values,
knowledge, and practices through weekly field work coordinated in the community
(Yamauchi, Wyatt, & Carroll, 2005). Although any student at the high school in grades
10-12 can enroll in the program, most of the students are of Hawaiian descent
(Yamauchi, et al., 2005). Started in 1996, the mission of the HSP is “to empower
students to become self-sufficient, productive, contributing members of their own
community, and of the global community, caring for the land and natural resources that
make life possible” (Yamauchi, et al., 2005, p. 2). Service-learning fieldwork is a central
part of their curriculum. The HSP program was started jointly by teachers at the school
and Kaʻala Farm, Inc., a community-based organization that promotes cultural values
(Yamauchi, Billig, Meyer, & Hofschire, 2006). The projects that students pursue in their
fieldwork include: health, environmental science, archaeology, native plant reforestation
and restoration, and canoe construction and maritime culture.

The focus of this study was to examine how the Hawaiian Studies Program (HSP)
at Waiʻanae High School may have influenced program graduates. The program was
designed to be more compatible with students’ home culture by providing them with the skills necessary to bridge the cultural mismatch and allow students to be successful (Yamauchi, 2003). Teachers in the HSP program utilize the Five Standards for Effective Pedagogy (Tharp, Estrada, Dalton, & Yamauchi, 2000), principles of “best practices” derived from Vygotsky’s (1978) sociocultural theory that posits that all learning originates from social context, as a philosophical basis for their work. The Five Standards were developed by the Center for Research on Education, Diversity & Excellence (CREDE). HSP utilizes two of the Standards the most. The first is contextualized instruction through the community service field work, partnerships with community agencies and the integration of these types of learning with their coursework. The second is joint productive activity, as demonstrated through student portfolios, senior mastery projects, and community inclusion (Yamauchi, 2003).

The HSP was featured in *Ka Huaka‘i: 2005 Native Hawaiian educational assessment*, a comprehensive overview of educational progress by Native Hawaiians, in a section entitled, “Culture, innovation, and promising directions in Native Hawaiian education” (Kana‘iaupuni, et al., 2005). The inclusion of HSP as a model program is notable. Wai‘anae High School is a public, rural high school, where Hawaiian and part-Hawaiian students make up over half (57.6%) of the population (Hawai‘i State Department of Education, 2007). Students face a number of issues and challenges. The high school is located in the Leeward school district of O‘ahu, where 32.4 percent of school age Native Hawaiian students live in poverty (Kana‘iaupuni, et al., 2005). In 2005-2006, Wai‘anae Elementary, Intermediate and High Schools all had high Native Hawaiian enrollment, all three schools did not meet Annual Yearly Progress, and all
schools were in restructuring status under the No Child Left Behind Act (Kekahio, 2007b). The drop-out rate at Wai‘anae was one of the highest in the State, 27.1% in 2006-2007 (Hawai‘i State Department of Education, 2007). In addition, the high school also had a large percentage (24%) of special education students and an even larger percentage of students considered by the State Department of Education to be classified as “at risk” (Wai‘anae High School, 2005).

Two prior studies suggest that the Hawaiian Studies Program may be successful. Carroll (1999) for example, found that HSP students, as compared to non-HSP students at the high school, had better attendance, dropped out of school less often, and were more likely to pursue post-secondary education or training. An external evaluator also compared HSP with non-HSP students and found that those in the program felt that they knew more about and were more interested in Hawaiian culture and history and felt more connected to and valued by both adults and students in school and in the broader community (RMC Research Cooperation, 2002). While both groups of students wanted to make a difference in their community, HSP students felt that they already did (Yamauchi, et al., 2006). In addition, HSP students garnered five science fair awards and were invited to present their findings at national conferences (Yamauchi, et al., 2005).

A study by Yamauchi and Brown (2007) examined the effects of the HSP program on students who graduated from the program in 1999-2002. The researchers gathered data in 2003, to examine the HSP graduates’ personal and career development when that group was 19- to 23- years-old. The study was made up of two parts. In the first part, 22 HSP graduates completed a survey. In the second part, 11 of the graduates who completed the survey and one HSP graduate who did not complete a survey were
also interviewed about six areas: (a) engagement in high school, (b) post-secondary education and career development, (c) self-confidence and self-awareness, (d) Hawaiian culture, (e) environmentalism, and (f) community activism and connectedness.

Students reported gains in the last three categories. The survey question regarding interest in Hawaiian culture yielded the highest mean of the study. This interest was reflected in the interviews for Hawaiian and non-Hawaiian students alike and many continued to feel the influence of Hawaiian values that were emphasized in the program. In terms of environmentalism, surveys revealed that students (a) “believed they could improve the environment, (b) cared about and understood environmental issues, and (c) knew how to address and get information about environmental problems” (Yamauchi & Brown, 2007, p. 53). In terms of community activism and connectedness, interviewees gave numerous examples of their own community service and survey respondents felt community pride, a sense of belonging and wanting to be involved.

Community service is a recommended part of school curriculum in Hawai‘i. One of ten recommendations made by Nā Lau Lama’s working group is “incorporate meaningful community service that empowers children to make a difference in their community’s life” (Nā Lau Lama Community Report, 2006).

**Sociocultural Theory**

One explanation why Native Hawaiian students may struggle in comparison to other ethnic groups is a cultural mismatch between home and school cultures that creates barriers for students’ learning (Heath, 1983; Purcell-Gates, 1995; Tharp, et al., 2000). Students come to school with a wealth of cultural, linguistic and social expectations, fostered through their home communities that often do not match those of the classroom.
As a result, these students often start at a disadvantage (Heath, 1983; Phelan, Davidson, & Cao, 1991). For example, in the Euro-American educational framework, there are “appropriate” answers, isolated logic problems, and memorization of random pieces of information (Rogoff, 1990). This is problematic because not all children are raised to learn this way. Moreover, success in the classroom often requires competing, speaking up and standing out, a skill set that students from collectivist communities, such as Native Hawaiians, may not value (Yamauchi, 1998). Although educators have acknowledged these problems by calling for reform through excellence, fairness, inclusion and harmony, these terms have been co-opted and efforts in this area have often perpetuated problematic practices such as tracking and separation of cultural groups (Tharp, et al., 2000).

Sociocultural theories about cultural mismatch are based on the theories of Lev Vygotsky, who lived 1896-1934. His theories have been proclaimed to be “one of the best theoretical frameworks for educating culturally and socially diverse learners” (Kozulin, Gindis, Ageyev, & Miller, 2003, p. 10). Vygotsky (1978) asserted that all learning, no matter how individual it may seem, is inherently social in nature. He theorized that “human learning presupposes a specific social nature and a process by which children grow into the intellectual life of those around them” (Vygotsky, 1978, p. 88). His framework was dependent upon the idea of mediation, a learning process by which individuals interact with others then appropriate what they learn. Mediation occurs when individuals utilize psychological tools, culturally determined symbolic tools such as language, which transform the way in which individuals think (Kozulin, 2003). His concept, the zone of proximal development (ZPD), the difference between actual
learning and potential learning or that which can be achieved with the help of an adult or more knowledgeable peer, contained a strong social element: “learning awakens a variety of internal developmental processes that are able to operate only when the child is interacting with people in his environment and in cooperation with his peers” (Vygotsky, 1978, p. 90).

Neo-Vygotskians have expanded on Vygotsky’s premise, asserting that access to educational opportunities themselves can be advanced or limited through socially advocated use of mediational tools, socially constructed criteria for success, and social group norms (Eisenhart & Cutts-Dougherty, 1991). Culture-based school education is vital because, as Rogoff (2003) asserts, “people develop as participants in cultural communities. Their development can be understood only in light of the cultural practices and circumstances of their communities” (p. 4). On the broadest level, this educational framework fits well with the Hawaiian approach to teaching. When sixteen educators (identified by their colleagues as being model educators for Hawaiian students) were interviewed, they cited experience-based learning activities and authentic environments as the primary ways in which Hawaiians learn (Kawakami & Aton, 2001).

This has far-reaching implications for students’ educational progress because cultural differences between participation, interaction and behavior management structures (Tharp & Gallimore, 1988) can all negatively affect students’ ability to do well. Differences in the classroom extend past values to the nature of reality itself (Markus & Kitayama, 2003). Because “societal practices that support children’s development are tied to the values and skills considered important” (Rogoff, 1990, p. 12), Kawakami (1999) asserts that the problem lies deeper than a cultural mismatch because
place, community and identity are the bedrocks of Native Hawaiian existence.

Yamauchi, Greene, Ratliffe and Ceppi (1996), for example, found that on Molokai, being a student often conflicted with being Hawaiian and values of the tight-knit community often prevailed over the value of school. Yamauchi and Greene (1997) further proposed that the different ways in which Hawaiian boys and girls are raised may differentially impact their sense of academic self-efficacy; girls are often asked to fulfill the role of authority figure and peacemaker while boys may be expected to support their peer group.

Benham and Heck (1998), in summarizing Pukui, Haertig and Lee (2001) have listed a number of key differences between Western and Hawaiian approaches to teaching. Hawaiians felt that: (a) children should be taught according to their abilities, and not artificially imposed levels; (b) children learn through activity and observation not abstraction; (c) children learn to master one step before moving on to the next; (d) each child possessed mana, a “talent or spiritual gift” which cannot be measured by traditional Western ways; (d) children should not ask questions or make direct eye contact with their teachers; (e) ‘ohana (or extended family) are responsible to educate; (f) education should not be dictated by time; and (g) competition for personal gain was distasteful.

Competition and achievement by the individual are seen to be in direct opposition to Hawaiian values such as haʻahaʻa (humility), kōkua (support) and laulima (joint action) (Kawakami, 1999).

Educators have noted that Hawaiian students interact in ways that reflect their culture. They may speak in Hawaiʻi Creole English\(^\text{11}\) and they are private about their

\(^{11}\) Known more colloquially as pidgin, Hawaiʻi Creole English (HCE) is the language used on a daily basis by many residents of Hawaiʻi. It originated on plantations as a means of communication between English
families (Benham & Heck, 1998). They engage in a “talk story” format in which Hawaiian students informally take turns, speak in overlapping patterns and respond together as a group (Tharp & Gallimore, 1988). Again, the conflict is based in cultural differences. The “exclusive rights structure” expected in Euro-American classrooms “require(s) the direct adult-child confrontations which Hawaiian children find aversive;” the “open turn structure” that approximates talking story “allow(s) child control of turn taking and the cooperative production of responses” (Au & Mason, 1983, p. 163).

In addition, Native Hawaiian children often are socialized to establish strong ties to peers that reflects an upbringing that often includes learning from, and reliance on, siblings and friends (Tharp & Gallimore, 1988). This reliance sometimes overshadows interaction with adults (Yamauchi, et al., 2000). D’Amato (1988) asserted that the expectations of a competitive merit-based classroom setting may disrupt Native Hawaiian children’s need to maintain a sense of equality with one another and undermine their social efforts to diffuse conflict. As a result, they may “unite against a teacher, establishing very strong group norms for “acting” (p. 538), playful challenges and contention with peers as well as clowning behavior. “Acting” is not meant to overturn teacher authority, but is reflective of the “situational significance” of their relationships in school and are ultimately “games of identity” (p. 543).

Incorporation of values, such as ways of learning (e.g., looking rather than asking), involvement of family and the community, activities and materials (Hawaiian foods, celebrations, games) and use of the Hawaiian language are ways of bridging the

speakers and non-English speaking immigrants. The language is based on English with influences from Hawaiian, Portuguese, Cantonese, Japanese, Filipino and Korean.
gap and making education more culturally compatible (Fink, 2003). However, this is challenging because “best practices” vary at the population, school, and even classroom, level and because creating culturally compatible classrooms necessitates not just an importation of the home culture into the school culture, but a re-development of the school culture itself with an understanding of the home culture (Jordan, 2003).

Kawakami (1999) proposes ways in which home and community values, such as ‘ohana (devotion to family and community) and pa‘ahana (industriousness) can be implemented through educational program features of Hawaiian identity, Hawaiian sense of place, Hawaiian ways of knowing, Hawaiian language, service to Hawaiian communities, and focus on competencies.

**Emerging Adulthood**

*Emerging adulthood* is a concept coined as recently as 2000 that has redefined the development of young adults as being an extended period of transition and self-exploration (Arnett, 2004). This concept provides an updated general framework for the extended searching that has traditionally defined this group of young adults. The concept has been challenged by those who feel it is too limiting and fails to take cultural differences into account. Based on my research on *emerging adulthood*, I felt that the concept provided a helpful lens through which to examine the group of students in my study. While my study did not directly support or contradict the concept of *emerging adulthood*, I believe it contributed to a more thorough exploration into this concept by providing yet another cultural perspective on it.

Traditionally, adolescence was perceived to be a milestone in that it marked the transition between being a child and becoming an adult (Erikson, 1968). Terms such as
“late adolescence,” “young adulthood,” and “youth” are inaccurate or already loaded with connotations and cannot simply be relegated as a phase, when it actually appears to last at least seven years (Arnett, 2004). The concept of emerging adulthood takes into account the various historical and cultural changes that American society has undergone: individuals are putting off marriage and starting a family until their late 20s and later, more individuals are continuing on to post-secondary education and individuals change love interests, homes and jobs more often than in the past (Arnett, 2006b). While this pattern is primarily an American one, Arnett argues it is universal in industrialized countries. Emerging adulthood, in contrast to adolescence, is marked by five elements: (a) identity explorations, (b) instability, (c) self-focus, (d) feeling in–between, and (e) possibilities (Arnett, 2004). In six separate studies, Arnett has found consistently that there are four criteria that define adulthood for these individuals, regardless of socio-economic status: financial independence, consideration of others, independent decision-making and responsibility for ones’ actions (Arnett, 2006b).

Research on emerging adults has yielded insightful findings that do not always verify commonly held beliefs. For example, past research on emerging adults would seem to highlight their individuality and suggest that of the three ethical stances (autonomy, community and divinity); autonomy would clearly be the preferred ethic. However, contrary to expectations, emphasis on community rivaled emphasis on autonomy and a number of young adults emphasized both, not seeing them as polar opposites (Arnett, Ramos, & Jensen, 2001).

A longitudinal study of 100 emerging adults utilizing identity narratives found that participants displayed proficiency in expressing the relationships between their
gender, ethnic, career, and social class identities (Azmitia, Syed, & Radmacher, 2008).
Moreover, a related narrative study of emergent adults (Syed & Azmitia, 2008), found that ethnic background and identification with ethnicity created subtle differences in narratives of the groups studied and proposed that emerging adults see ethnic related events through an ethnic lens. A more recent study indicated a link between “largely new [ethnicity related] experiences, not subsequent meaning making of old ones . . . are associated with increases in identity exploration” (Syed & Azmitia, 2010, p. 216).

Arnett’s critics contend that he does not go far enough in examining difference. (Bynner, 2005) argues that in most European countries, forces of stratification and exclusion create a very different picture. Studying three British cohort studies of thousands of individuals that span 24 years, he notes that the biggest finding was the increasing division between the privileged (who did exhibit emerging adulthood tendencies of transition and exploration) and the underprivileged (who could not afford to do so.) He also warns about the social ramifications of assuming that all young adults in Britain are emerging – it could divert necessary funding for disadvantaged individuals who could utilize assistance. Bynner suggests that the limitation of Arnett’s theory is that it is presented as a set developmental stage. He points to life-span, life-course or trajectories as being more accommodating and able to take into account structural differences between countries and groups of individuals.

Stokes and Wyn (2007) also object to a focus on the outcomes of transition, but feel that transition is itself linked to identity development. They feel that models of transition (i.e. emerging adulthood) are flawed because normative trajectories are created, developmental and social processes are conflated and a singular linear model of the
transition from school to work is implied. Based on two longitudinal studies of Australians, they argue that whether at school or at work, these young people are learning and that referring to this time period as a stage of transition oversimplifies the important identity work that is going on during this time.

Arnett’s response to Bynner (2006b) is that the data for the individuals covered in the longitudinal studies may be outdated, and thus not accurately reflect what is going on in Britain today. Arnett notes that Bynner’s focus as a sociologist focuses mainly on structural factors while as a psychologist, he chooses to include it as one of many factors that influence these individuals. He also argues that one of the characteristics of emerging adults is that they are heterogeneous and welcomes “modifications and adaptations” (Arnett, 2006b, p. 121) to the framework he has proposed. Thus, the Stokes & Wyn study could still be consistent with the emerging adulthood framework if it is seen as an atypical, alternative route in which individuals still go on to an educational setting, but the educational setting is one of work rather than of school.

Arnett (Galambos & Arnett, 2003) does suggest that there is a cultural basis to the term adulthood and has actively encouraged others to examine the concept of emerging adulthood through various cultural lenses. In 2003, Arnett compiled prior studies of emerging adulthood among diverse populations including Israeli, Argentinian, Mormon, German, and American Ethnic groups. All studies concluded that the period of emerging adulthood (typified by individualism and independence) seemed to exist, but often in a shortened or highly defined manner. The Israeli study (Mayseless & Scharf, 2003) pointed out that mandatory military service defined adulthood. Their study emphasized role transitions (i.e. getting married) and norm abiding actions (i.e. safe driving) which
the authors felt reflected the value placed on social role and structure in their society. The Argentinian study (Facio & Micocci, 2003) found evidence of emerging adulthood between the ages of 25-27 and an emphasis on interdependence and family capacities, which they expected during such a difficult political and economic time. The Mormon study (Nelson, 2003) pointed out that emerging adulthood is actually typified by structured endeavor (participating in the Relief Society for females and advancing in the priesthood, participating in missions or attending the temple for males.) Appropriate personal conduct was stressed through norm compliance and controlling emotions, values aligned with the church. Risk behaviors, often associated with emerging adulthood, were prohibited by the church, and thus not displayed by this group. Also, decisions about identity were already set, in the form of what religion to follow and what type of person to marry.

There are a number of reasons why the emerging adulthood framework was useful for the current study. First, the age range considered for emerging adults (18-29) corresponded well with my dissertation. It essentially covers the time period between the first study (Yamauchi & Brown, 2007) and this study. The Hawaiian Studies Program (HSP) students were 18-21 when they were first interviewed and were 26-29-years-old when I interviewed them. In addition, this age period reflects a vital time in the Life Stories model, a time period when imagoes (or idealized versions of the self) are created (McAdams, 2001).

Secondly, emerging adulthood was a good fit with the two models that I utilized in this study, Bridging Multiple Worlds model and Life Stories model. While the two models provided frameworks to examine the routes that these students have taken,
emerging adulthood provided a context for the students. Critics have raised objections to various aspects of the model. However, emerging adulthood is a well-established concept and has gained enough notoriety that the Encyclopedia of Emerging Adulthood, projected to be approximately 350-400 pages, is currently in preparation (Arnett, 2006a). Arnett has asserted that emerging adulthood presents a standard model for individuals within this age range. I used this model as a means of comparison and contrast with the HSP students.

Arnett (2003) found variation even among emerging adults in America. White, African American, Latino and Asian American emerging adults expressed consensus (over 70% in each ethnic group) on factors such as self-sufficiency and independence from parents that defined adulthood (p. 70). Yet, he also found two key differences. First, Asian Americans, African Americans and Latinos also selected criteria that emphasized their bicultural status and emphasized a sense of altruism and family obligation. Second, when asked, “Do you feel you have reached adulthood?” Asian Americans and whites were more apt to respond, “In some respects yes and in some respects no” while African Americans and Latinos were more apt to reply in the affirmative. Arnett theorized that African Americans and Latinos often are subject to comparatively low family SES and early parenting situations.

Additional studies provide particular cultural perspectives that can help to further evaluate the concept of emerging adulthood. This awareness has not been lost on researchers. McAdams et al. (2006) studied a group that they were careful to classify as “disproportionately middle- and upper-middle-class . . . all [who] attended an elite American University” and speculated that that their narrative identities [in that particular
study] would be positive, due to the advantages they possess” and questioned whether this pattern would also be consistent for other groups of emerging adults across the nation (McAdams, et al., 2006, pp. 1395-1396).

As far as I was able to check, the current study is the first to examine Native Hawaiians in the context of emerging adulthood. So it can contribute to the understanding of this stage by adding to the literature and showing how this specific group of Native Hawaiian students did or did not follow the emerging adulthood framework. I suspected that while this group of students will reflect the five principle features of emerging adulthood—identity explorations, instability, feeling in-between, self-focus and sense of possibilities—this group would also provide a uniquely Hawaiian perspective, supported by their lived experiences.

Based on reflections with peers who have worked in the Wai‘anae area where the students lived and attended high school during the time of the first study, I developed three initial ways in which graduates from the Hawaiian Studies Program may not follow the traditional model of emerging adults.

First, in Hawai‘i, for many reasons, intergenerational living is common. Children often live with their parents until they are older. Extended families live together, not only to cut housing costs that are one of the highest in the nation, but as a way to address childcare issues and encourage the family to stay together. This has been noted by other ethnic minority emerging adults, perhaps because this is valued by their culture (Arnett, 2004). I also suspected that even if the HSP students moved out of their original homes in Wai‘anae, many of them may have kept ties with the Wai‘anae community, either choosing to live close by, being involved in, or working in, the community.
Secondly, the residents of Hawai‘i, specifically those of Hawaiian descent, are known for their strong emphasis on ‘ohana or family, a concept that extends beyond the family to non-blood “aunties” and “uncles” and to the community at large. As a result, their journeys may be more characterized by considerations of and for their families.

Similar to the first generation immigrant students who develop motivation to pursue education (Cooper, Dominguez, & Rosas, 2005), the HSP students may be making decisions not in spite of their family situations but because of them. The students in the HSP study conveyed a strong sense of civic, environmental and community service. McAdams (2006a) categorized this type of service as generative. Again, I feel that this early emphasis on service may further serve to differentiate this group of students.

Third, the HSP students do not match with the profile of many emerging adults who automatically attend college (Arnett, 2004). While many HSP students mentioned plans to further their education at the time of the original study (Yamauchi & Brown, 2007), only a handful were actually enrolled.

Finally, I have heard anecdotally that lifestyle expectations may differ in Wai‘anae. Having children at early ages or out of wedlock is seen as an alternative acceptable lifestyle, a choice not necessarily frowned upon. As Arnett found in two studies, having a child as a teenager hastens adulthood and curtails emerging adulthood (Arnett, 2006b). This is significant, since two students from the original study were parents at the time of the study.

Arnett seems to propose that the concept of emerging adulthood ultimately can be defined by its five elements and four criteria. The ways in which different cultural, religious, ethnic groups and individuals within those groups follow this framework and
live their lives demonstrates the flexibility of the model and can illustrate not only where we are similar but highlight where we are different. The HSP students may prove to be very different from Arnett’s model of *emerging adulthood*, but this will allow a worthwhile point of comparison.

Native Hawaiian issues and the HSP provide the context of study for the group of graduates that was focused on in this study. Sociocultural theory is the foundation for the study. Emerging adulthood provides a time period expectation for these students. Narrative theory provides the backdrop for the two theoretical frameworks that were used to analyze the findings of this study.

**Narrative Theory**

Narrative is a broad field that is interdisciplinary in nature, transcends many fields of study and is characterized by a wide array of theories (Connelly & Clandinin, 1990; Riessman, 2002). There was a dramatic increase since 1979 in the use of narrative structure in research (Lieblich, Tuval-Mashiach, & Zilber, 1998; Ollerenshaw & Creswell, 2002). The one thing that researchers focusing on narrative seem to agree on is that “telling stories is a significant way for individuals to give meaning to and express their understandings of their experiences” (Mishler, 1986, p. 75).

Much more could be said about narrative. Narrative was introduced for the purposes of this study because of the strong link between narrative and identity and the way in which it ties into both theoretical frameworks that were used in this study. “Individuals construct past events and actions in personal narratives to claim identities and construct lives” (Riessman, 2002, p. 218). Narrative has been used in ways that are consistent with the goals of the present study. Connelly and Clandinin (1990) advocate
specifically for the use of narrative in order to elucidate learning and teaching, which is the starting focus of the present study. Gudmundsdottir (1996) points out that narratives are created both by the individuals and by their cultures. This sentiment is echoed by sociocultural theory, which is the theoretical foundation for this study. Finally, since the study re-visited individuals who have navigated career and personal choices in their transition from adolescence to adulthood, the narrative structure proved helpful in more closely re-examining their choices and perceived identities.

How individuals recount their histories – what they emphasize and omit, their stance as protagonists or victims, the relationship the story establishes between teller and audience – all shape what individuals can claim of their own lives. Personal stories are not merely a way of telling someone (or oneself) about one’s life; they are the means by which identities may be fashioned. (Rosenwald & Ochberg, 1992)

**Theoretical Frameworks**

**The Bridging Multiple Worlds Model.** The Bridging Multiple Worlds model (or BMW model) is a model that looks at the ways in which students’ multiple worlds (school, home, friends) intersect and impact students’ challenges and successes in school (Cooper, Jackson, Azmitia, & Lopez, 1998). BMW focuses on individual student narratives. Phelan, Davidson, & Cao (1991) created a Multiple Worlds model, a classification system that highlights how students navigate various social contexts (family, peer group, classrooms and schools) or “worlds:” (a) congruent worlds / smooth transitions; (b) different worlds/ boundary crossings managed; (c) different worlds / boundary crossings hazardous; and (d) borders impenetrable / boundary crossings
insurmountable. The main point is that when values, expectations and goals between these worlds align, students are able to transition smoothly; when values, expectations and goals between these worlds conflict, students run into difficulties.

Building on this framework, the BMW model emphasizes the role of community-based organizations and the development of students’ school achievement and identity from preschool through college (Azmitia & Cooper, 2001). The reason why it focuses on these two factors is that this model actively creates bridges to support students’ transitions. The BMW model focuses on five levels or dimensions of development that examine support and challenge in students’ worlds at cultural, institutional, relational and personal levels (Cooper, et al., 2005). Educators utilizing this approach focus on improving students’ journeys through the academic pipeline (or pathways through school.) The five key elements include demographic portraits, identity pathways, math and language pathways, resources and challenges in students’ worlds and cultural research partnerships (Cooper, 2000).

The BMW model provided a filter to take a retrospective look at how students’ lives in this study have been shaped by their multiple worlds of home, school and peers. Did they pursue their dreams, as they projected nine years ago? Have they achieved what they hoped to achieve, not only in their academic careers, but their career, cultural and personal spheres as well? The original study upon which the current study is based (Yamauchi & Brown, 2007) did not specifically utilize the BMW model, but it did examine educational, career, and personal goals for the students. Because the original study was primarily designed to be a program evaluation, specific questions in it dealt with the Hawaiian Studies Program and the community involvement aspect of the
program. My study focused specifically on the multiple worlds of these students. Many of the BMW studies take into account cultural differences. Cooper, Jackson, Azmitia, Lopez and Dunbar (1995) found that over half of the students interviewed identified more than one family world. Similarly, for Native Hawaiians, family (or ‘ohana) not only consists of immediate family members, but community members, who help to raise children and form an extended family environment.

**Congruence between worlds impacts academic success.** I identified three key predictions from the BMW model that can be related to the present study dealing with congruence between worlds, expectations of cultural difference and family / peer impact on students. The first key prediction of the BMW model is that generally speaking, congruence between students’ multiple worlds will translate into an easy transition and support for successful academic careers or incongruity between multiple worlds will translate into conflict, difficulty and challenges in students’ academic careers. This has been supported by a number of research studies, primarily based in the field of education. Cooper et al. (1995) conducted focus group interviews with African American, Latino junior high, high and college students in outreach programs. They proposed an ecocultural model rather than a categorical model to describe students’ worlds and to transcend stereotypical and limiting definitions. Utilizing an ecocultural model meant that they examined values and goals, personnel, activity settings, scripts, as well as the role of gatekeepers and brokers in the students’ quests.

**Cultural differences must be considered.** The second key prediction of the BMW model is that specific cultural differences must be acknowledged and addressed.
Cooper, Baker, Polichar and Welsh (1993) focused specifically on the scripts or patterns of communication, sense of individuality and connectedness, and underlying familistic values of Chinese, Filipino, European, Mexican and Vietnamese American adolescents. The study revealed the consistent finding that most of the students reported mostly formal communication with their fathers and found that it was more difficult to discuss issues such as dating, sexuality, marriage, and progress in school with their fathers than with mothers, other family members and peers. However, the study showed great variation as well. For example, all groups held strong familistic values, but varied in terms of individual statements (who they felt should be supported, in which situation and why). The study found significant main effects for generations and cultural groups.

*Family and peers provide support and create challenges.* The third key prediction of the BMW model is that family and peers play a vital role in providing support and challenge to students. Azmitia & Cooper (2001) reported on two longitudinal studies of Latino and European American boys and girls elementary through junior high and then junior high through high school that examined peers as challenges or resources to their educational pathways. The first study found that perception of peers as challenges or resources negatively or positively affected their grades. The second study found that peers were seen to be equally listed as challenges or resources (families were more likely to list families as resources) and that participation in competitive university outreach programs may provide much needed support for remedial students. Cooper et. al. (2005) found that “children who build successful pathways to college appeared to do so not in spite of their parents’ modest education and occupations but because of their parents’ hardships, support, and guidance” (p. 246).
Another key prediction of the BMW model deals with the fact that math pathways are highly predictive of future math success (Azmitia & Cooper, 2001; Cooper, et al., 2005). While this finding would be interesting to follow up on, and definitely provide a much more comprehensive picture of the HSP students in my proposed study, I was not able to gain access to the information necessary to do so.

The deeper, underlying assumptions and presuppositions of this theory are that all students can succeed, that success is not solely defined by academic achievement, but is one desirable measure of it.

**The Life Story Model.** The Life Story model (McAdams, 2001) also focuses on individual narratives by examining an individual’s narrative identity. It posits that “A person’s life story is an internalized and evolving narrative of the self that selectively reconstructs the past and anticipates the future in such a way as to provide a life with an overall sense of coherence and purpose’ (McAdams, et al., 2006). Life stories fits into McAdams’ larger personality theory of three levels -- dispositional traits (global, relatively consistent characteristics of people), characteristic adaptions (goals, strategies, beliefs, interests and values) and life stories.

McAdams (1985) asserted that adolescence is the time when the life story develops. At least one study so far (Habermas & de Silveira, 2008) “provided the first direct test of and overwhelming support for” (p. 718) this hypothesis. This study verified that causal coherence, temporal coherence and thematic coherence all grow, indicating the central hypothesis that “global coherence in life narratives develops across adolescence” (p. 718).
McAdams posits that discovering one’s life story is an individual journey: “I believe that human lives are much too complex for a typological approach. . . . We do not discover ourselves in myth; we make ourselves through myth” (1993, pp. 12-13). Yet, based on 200 accounts, McAdams (1996) asserts that life stories can be analyzed in terms of the seven aspects: (a) narrative tone, (b) imagery, (c) theme, (d) ideological setting, (e) nuclear episodes, (f) imagoes, and (g) endings: the generativity script.

**Themes are readily identifiable.** For this study, I chose to focus on the three aspects that seemed most relevant to my study, theme, nuclear episodes and generativity. The deeper, underlying assumptions and presuppositions of this theory are that all individuals want to succeed, and they will redefine success in order to justify the decisions they have made and to explain their lives.

The first key prediction of the Life Stories model is that established themes are readily identifiable. This seems somewhat contradictory and ironic, in light of the fact that McAdams argues for a thumbprint type approach in which no two life stories are the same. One of the main lines of research has been on the theme of redemption (McAdams, 2006a). Other studies have involved sense of well-being, wisdom, and agency versus communion.

A set of two studies (Bauer, McAdams, & Sakaeda, 2005) examined how adults make life-altering decisions, either on the crystallization of discontent (a situation in which the negatives outweigh the positives in continuing in a situation) or on the crystallization of desire (a situation in which an individual makes a decision to impact the future through positive action). Both studies found that crystallization of desire correlated with a sense of well-being.
Another pair of studies (Gluck, Bluck, Baron, & McAdams, 2005) reported on wisdom. In the first study, German participants were interviewed about a situation in which they felt the wisest. A key finding of the study was that adolescents’ accounts most often involved empathy and support, midlife adults’ accounts most often involved assertion and self-determination and older adults’ accounts most often involved flexibility and knowledge. This was perceived to reflect the challenges that each of the three age groups faced. In the second study, American participants were asked for a time in their lives when they were wise, when they were foolish and when they had a peak experience. In this study, 80% of the narratives were coded for empathy and support, irrespective of age group. The researchers were unable to explain the different results between the two studies but speculated that Americans may be more socially oriented.

Finally, a set of three studies (McAdams, Hoffman, Mansfield, & Day, 1996) reported on agency (self-mastery, status, achievement/responsibility, and empowerment) and communion (love/friendship, dialogue, care/help, community.) In the first study, participants were asked to write about peak experiences and earliest memories. In the second study, participants were interviewed regarding seven key scenes. This study found that turning points, peak experiences and memories associated with closer memories (adolescence, adulthood, and “other memories” which often fell into later periods of life) best reflected thematic analysis of agency and communion. In the third study, participants wrote reports of an earliest memory, a turning-point experience and a peak experience. This study found significant correlations between personal strivings and the themes of agency and communion.
**Nuclear episodes provide important information.** The second key prediction of the Life Stories model is that researchers are able to extract important information from key experiences, or what McAdams dubs nuclear episodes. This has been consistently supported by most Life Story research studies, many which utilize nuclear episodes as a means of analyzing individuals’ narratives. In one example of this type of research study, McAdams and colleagues (2006) asked college freshmen and seniors between the ages of 18 and 25 to write about 10 key scenes in their life stories, then asked them to repeat the process three months and then three years later. The study established that there was continuity throughout the students’ life stories. In addition, the researchers found that emerging adults constructed positive stories, showed greater levels of emotional nuance and self-differentiation and greater understanding of their own personal development in the fourth year of the study, compared to the earlier periods.

**Redemption points to generativity.** The third key prediction of the Life Stories model deals with generativity, a mid-life desire to give back to society or create a legacy of some type. McAdams (2006b) reported that he has found evidence of a prototype narrative of redemption among many different types of mid-life adults who obtain high scores in generativity. He argues that this is based on the rags-to-riches myth of American culture: “Their redemptive narratives suggest that these especially productive and caring men and women seek to give back to society in gratitude for the early blessings their stories tell them they have obtained” (p. 17). The difficulty with aligning this prediction with the present study was that the students I interviewed were not yet mid-life adults. However, the reason why I felt that it was appropriate to apply this approach was because it provided another framework for considering these emerging
adults’ lives. One of the major findings that emerged from the original study (Yamauchi & Brown, 2007) was that the students from the Hawaiian Studies Program not only felt as though they were concerned with community affairs, but that they were already making a difference for their community. Although it was difficult to gauge future outcomes, I thought that it would be interesting to see if this realization influenced participants and played a role in their present lives.

Both the Bridging Multiple Worlds model and the Life Stories model were selected for use in this study because they are compatible with the sociocultural perspective (Vygotsky, 1978) in that both theories acknowledge that learning and identity are social in nature. Culture is considered a central source of learning by a number of sociocultural approaches (Cole, 1996; Rogoff, 2003). From the life stories perspective, narratives are, by their very nature, social “in that stories exist to be told” and “Life stories mirror the culture wherein the story is made and told. Stories live in culture” (McAdams, 2001, p. 114). More specifically, culture defines the “menu of available story options” that individuals possess to create their life stories (Adler & McAdams, 2007). The action-oriented BMW model deliberately identifies the social actors in students’ worlds to be able to best support them.

Both models emphasize that documentation of narratives enriches our understanding and support the view that while individual variation does exist, discovery of patterns is possible and instructional. The BMW model provides a systematic way of examining students’ individual narratives to enact changes: “The more we understand why and how students stay on pathways to college, the more effectively we can support them and locate assets for their success” (Cooper, et al., 2005, p. 253). This
understanding can then be translated into supporting program elements that best serve students (Cooper, 2002). The Life Stories model seeks to build a library of research studies to demonstrate that various themes recur. McAdams et al. point out that creating reliable coding schemes “offers the advantage of affording quantitative comparisons of different lives or of different narrative accounts within the same life” (1996, p. 371).

Both models are consistent with the concept of multiple selves and multiple contexts. Within these overlapping situations, change is not only possible but desirable. In the Life Stories model, “identity is a product of choice” (McAdams, 2001, p. 110). In the BMW model, one of many goals is to provide change, by instilling “college going culture and beliefs” (Cooper, 2002).

There are crucial differences between the BMW model and the Life Stories model. The BMW model is, at its core, a framework designed to examine the ways in which students can best be intentionally and purposefully supported on their quest to attend college. As a result, success is often defined in the context of school: high school graduation, college or military service (Cooper, et al., 2005). The timeframe addressed by the BMW model is preschool to college. The BMW model asserts that discernible patterns exist that allow educators to make a difference and asserts that educators can make a difference by finding these patterns (Cooper, et al., 2005). The BMW model strives to actively engage students and when possible, assist them in overcoming academic challenges they may face. It is an action oriented model to impact change that looks at the ways in which outsiders can meaningfully impact a students’ life. The BMW model acknowledges that even with the best support, success is not always possible.
Outside factors may prevent, derail or complicate a students’ quest. Individual case studies are important and show the distinctive patterns that are possible.

The Life Story model explains how individuals create internalized narrative heroic myths of their lives and adapt those myths as they encounter challenges and difficulties as their lives unfold. The Life Story model is broader in the sense that it does not emphasize a specific aspect of a person’s life, but provides a developmental framework designed to examine the ways in which people interpret and give meaning to their lives. The timeframe addressed by the Life Story model covers the duration of a person’s life, although it is believed that emerging adulthood is the time when individuals begin to construct their life stories (McAdams, 2001). While the BMW model attempts to actively formulate pathways to learning, the Life Story model resists this impulse. A basic assumption of the Life Story model is that each individual’s story is unique.

Life stories are psychosocial constructions, coauthored by the person himself or herself and the cultural context within which that person’s life is embedded and given meaning. . . . Life stories are intelligible within a particular cultural frame, and yet, they also differentiate one person from the next. (McAdams, 2001, p. 101).

Philosophically, a life story exists, regardless of whether we choose to examine it or not.

The BMW model focuses on educators and community leaders bringing to light outside catalytic factors that are meant to support students in their academic journeys. The Life Story model provides a personal, psychological internalized explanation for the individual that enables them to continue on their quest for personal growth. The two models seem to complement one another. Perhaps a combination of the two models
provides external and internal perspectives in terms of what the intentions of the community are and what the student is thinking. It could explain situations in which educators provide all they can in the way of support, but students seem unable to utilize the support to its fullest. It could also explain situations in which students are able to succeed, despite seemingly overwhelming challenges.
Method

Participants

Participants included eight former graduates of the HSP program as well as three teachers who worked with the HSP program and a researcher who worked with the group and knew many of the graduates personally. At the time of the study, HSP graduates were 24- to 28-years-old. They were not all in the HSP program at the same time: four graduated from high school in 2002, one graduated in 2001, one graduated in 2000 and two graduated in 1999. Of the eight graduates who participated in the interviews, five were female and three were male. In terms of ethnicity, all eight students identified themselves as part Hawaiian. Participation was voluntary. See Table 1 for additional demographic information.

Recruitment

The target participants were the 12 graduates who completed surveys and were interviewed in the Yamauchi and Brown (2007) study. Assuming attrition from the original sample, all 22 students who completed surveys for the study were recruited. The original plan was to contact all previous participants, and interview all who responded. I sent potential participants postal letters and emails, via Dr. Yamauchi, one of the researchers in the previous study, explaining the study and inviting their participation. Efforts to reach the graduates began in June 2009. Only two participants replied to the initial mail out. Several of the postal letters were returned, indicating that many of the graduates had moved. My original plan was to interview the three original instructors of HSP after I had transcribed the interviews and completed some basic data analysis. However, since I had such a challenging time contacting the graduates, I ended up
Table 1

Demographic Information of HSP Graduates

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Ethnicity</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Grad Year</th>
<th>Marital Status</th>
<th># Children</th>
<th>Resident of?</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Uilani</td>
<td>F Hawaiian, Chinese, German, Irish, Indian</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>2002</td>
<td>Single</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Wai'anae</td>
<td>service advisor, car dealership</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>David</td>
<td>M Hawaiian, Chinese, German, Irish</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>1999</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>California</td>
<td>graduate student</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jaiseen</td>
<td>F Caucasian, Asian, Hawaiian, Portuguese, etc.</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>1999</td>
<td>Single</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Wai'anae</td>
<td>human resources, transportation &amp; tour company</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kasey</td>
<td>F Hawaiian, Portuguese</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>2002</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>Wai'anae</td>
<td>unemployed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kelly</td>
<td>F Filipino, Hawaiian, Japanese</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>2002</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Wai'anae</td>
<td>homemaker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jamie</td>
<td>F Hawaiian, Filipino, Caucasian</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>2002</td>
<td>Single</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Colorado</td>
<td>scheduler / accountant, medical technology company</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paul</td>
<td>M Hawaiian, Chamorro</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>2000</td>
<td>Single</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>Wai'anae</td>
<td>educator</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charles</td>
<td>M Hawaiian, Chinese, German, Irish, Indian</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>2001</td>
<td>Divorced</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Mililani</td>
<td>unemployed</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

interviewing the three teachers at the same time and enlisting their assistance in contacting the graduates. Since a number of the graduates kept in touch with the instructors, they were able to encourage the graduates to participate. They forwarded emails from me and called graduates on my behalf and, as a result, I was able to reach a few more graduates. Finally, I also utilized the Facebook social networking website in
my efforts to locate the students. In this way, I was able to get into contact with more students. Of the 22 potential participants identified for this study, eight participated. Three initially agreed to be interviewed, but then did not reply to subsequent email messages and calls to set the interview dates / times, two were located on Facebook and contacted, but did not reply. The remaining nine others were not reachable.

**Data Sources**

**Survey.** A short survey designed to obtain a basic, overall idea of what has happened to the participants since they had graduated and since the time of the original study (Appendix B) was mailed to them with the initial request for participation. Since only two graduates replied to the initial mailing, most graduates filled out the survey right before their interviews.

**Interviews.** Between July 26, 2009 and March 6, 2010, I conducted semi-structured interviews with 8 former graduates of the HSP. Interviews lasted from 26 minutes to 90 minutes on dates and times and at locations (ranging from the students’ homes to in one instance, outside a bank) that were most convenient to the participants.

With the exception of one graduate who did not show up for her second interview, I conducted two semi-structured interviews with each graduate. The first interview consisted of questions developed to obtain general information about the student as well as information based on the Life Stories Model. The second interview was derived from the Bridging Multiple Worlds toolkit (Cooper, et al., in preparation). Both the BMW model and the Life Stories model have created comprehensive sets of materials in order to elicit desired information. For the purposes of this study, I adapted the questions to be
able to fit both comfortably within the confines of two interviews. See Appendix C & D for the interview questions.

The first interview started with general questions, asking participants to describe themselves and what they have done since graduation. The purposes of doing this were two-fold – to obtain basic information but also to establish rapport with them and to encourage them to share their outlook with me. The rest of the interview consisted of Life Story questions. First, I focused on key, life-changing experiences, an adaption of what McAdams calls “nuclear events:” (a) Peak experience, (b) Nadir experience, (c) Turning point, (d) Earliest memory, (e) An important childhood memory, (f) An important adolescent memory, (g) An important adult memory, (h) Other important memory. Inclusion of nuclear events is vital, since prior Life Stories research has often involved the coding of these types of scenes (McAdams, 2006a). I also asked two open-ended Life Story questions regarding how the graduates would characterize the chapters of their lives and what they felt their life story after graduation was. These questions were designed to uncover how the graduates would portray their experience and organize it. Yin (2003b) pointed out that open-ended interviews allow participants to not just play the role of respondents, but informants. These prompts were deliberately chosen to get at the graduates underlying life stories by giving them the chance to propose and reflect upon their own theories of what they have accomplished.

The second interview contained questions taken from the Multiple Worlds Toolkit (Cooper, et al., in preparation). I asked the graduates to assess what they felt their multiple worlds were in 1989-1992 when they were in the Hawaiian Studies Program and what they are now. I also asked about the members of their family, and specific
questions about their parents: their background in terms of where they grew up, where they attended school, their jobs and whether they furthered their education or not. I also asked whether in high school, the participants, their friends and family felt education was an important world.

One of the interview questions proved problematic. “While you were in HSP, what did they do?” Students routinely misinterpreted this question. The “they” was a follow-up question, meant to refer to the student’s parents. But, since they thought it was asking about the program, I added in this question for all subsequent interviews. This also fits with case study research methods. Because the main point of case study research is to “thoroughly understand” the subject (here, the career and personal outcomes for a group of students who graduated from the HSP), research questions are expected to undergo revision (Stake, 1995).

I asked the participants who had assisted them in high school with schoolwork, planning for the future and problems. For participants who went on to further schooling past high school, I also went over these same questions about their post-high experience. Next, I asked them questions about their goals in high school, obstacles that hindered them from reaching their goals and resources to support the goals. Again, for participants who went on to further schooling past high school, I went over these same questions in regards to their post-high school experience. I then asked them questions regarding their career goals.

In order to compare their experience in HSP, I also added supplemental questions dealing with their community, environmental and personal / cultural goals in high school and whether or not they feel that they have met the goals. This interview was designed to
examine patterns for this particular group of students. I examined how many matches there were between the two time periods for each student. Were they identical? Were there differences and if so, what are they? Ideally, participants should have completed a toolkit while they were in the HSP program and would complete a toolkit now. Since that is not possible, I felt this was the best and perhaps only way that I could assess how the students’ multiple worlds have changed, even if it is done retrospectively. I also compared all students, to see whether there are any patterns of response.

I deliberately elected to do two shorter interviews rather than one long interview to increase the likelihood that I will get a better and more elaborated understanding. I interviewed the participants twice not only to establish trust with them but to obtain more complete information because “through multiple interviews, the participant’s story gains depth, detail, and resonance” (Charmaz, 2002, p. 682).

Narrative research suggests that allowing for time between interviews enables reflection to occur (Polkinghorne, 2007). Thus, the original plan was to conduct the first interview and ideally follow up with the second interview a month later. After the first interviewee failed to show up for her second interview, however, I adjusted the ideal time frame between interviews to a week or two after the initial interview. Since it proved so difficult to locate the participants and schedule the interviews, I ended up scheduling them for whenever the participants could make it. In addition, distance served to be an obstacle, as two of the graduates had moved to the continental United States. Four notable exceptions were made. First, given the fact that another one of the students forgot her first scheduled interview and almost did not show up for the rescheduled time, I decided to go ahead and conduct both interviews with her back-to-back, at the same
time. Second, another graduate was about to leave town for a two-week training trip, so I also conducted both interviews with him in the same way. Third, one of the graduates lived in San Diego. I was able to fly to San Diego to actually conduct the first interview in person, but scheduled the follow up for a week later over the phone. Fourth, another graduate lived in Colorado. I was not able to meet her in person, so I conducted both interviews over the phone. I audio-recorded all the interviews, transcribed them and then coded them utilizing NVivo8 software. I did feel that there was a distinct difference between the interviews that were held back-to-back and those that were spaced out as well as those held solely over the phone and those that were held in person. It was easier to establish a sense of rapport with the graduates who I interviewed in person. Meeting more than once also established a sense of familiarity. Phone interviews were devoid of nonverbal cues and were difficult to facilitate. For example, it was often difficult to judge whether the person had stopped talking or was simply pausing between thoughts.

After completing both interviews, I gave the participants gift cards for movie tickets, stores or bookstores, in appreciation of their time.

**Previous transcripts / surveys.** With the participants’ permission, I was able to obtain access to prior data, which included their raw interview transcripts from the original study (Yamauchi & Brown, 2007) as well as their original surveys. This information was utilized to corroborate information and also to draw comparisons in terms of their plans. Once participants signed release forms allowing my access to prior transcripts and surveys (Appendix A), I discovered that two of the male graduates (David and Charles) did not participate in the initial interviews.
**Internet research.** In order to gain as complete a perspective of the graduates as possible, I did searches on the Internet of the graduates, since the information is another source of publicly available information. Of course, information obtained was not uniform, but where appropriate, it served to document these individuals’ lives by highlighting their achievements and involvement in activities. The documents provided another source of data to triangulate the information because it provided another view of the students.

**Other interviews.** I also interviewed four educators who had worked on the program at various points and knew many of the students involved. Three of them were teachers: Linda Gallano, the founder of the HSP who taught social studies and Hawaiian language and moved to the island of Hawai`i in 2002; Lei Aken, a teacher who taught agriculture (Native Hawaiian plant restoration and reforestation) for HSP until 2001 and still works at Wai`anae High School and Michael Kurose, who also still works at Wai`anae High School and continues to teach Hawaiian Studies, which has changed into a major within the high school’s restructured academy system. The final interviewee was Andrea (Ceppi) Purcell, an educational consultant living in California, who at that time was a graduate student involved in researching and teaching the students. Aken and Kurose were interviewed in person but again, due to distance, Gallano and Purcell were interviewed by phone.

As explained earlier, I had planned to interview instructors of the HSP program after I had completed the student interviews and had a chance to analyze the data. However, due to the lack of response by the participants, I changed my plans. Regardless of when the interviews occurred, they proved helpful since they provided a more
complete understanding of the students and the purpose of my interviews with the original instructors was to corroborate and triangulate the information (Denzin, 1989). See Appendix F for interview questions.
General Methodological Approaches

I used a multiple case study analysis. I examined a series of cases (the graduates of the Hawaiian Studies Program). Yin points out that multi-case studies are preferable to single case studies and often perceived to be more “compelling” and “robust” (2003b, p. 46). As Miles and Huberman point out, “By looking at a range of similar and contrasting cases, we can understand a single-case finding, grounding it by specifying how and where and, if possible, why it carries on as it does” (1994, p. 29). Each case was made up of a single individual in the study. I felt that doing a multiple case study analysis enabled me to better understand the complexities inherent in each individual’s narrative. At the same time, attention was also paid to extrapolating about the group as a whole (Stake, 2005) in the cross-case analysis. So, while this study focused on the stories of individual students and their journeys, it also examined the group of students as a whole. The HSP program has changed a great deal since the time the graduates participated in it. The program itself was not the main focus of the study, but the study does serve to indirectly evaluate the program and other similar programs.

The case study approach has allowed researchers to deal with concepts that are “difficult to operationalize or measure” by coming up with inductive approaches and influential findings (Schrank, 2006a, p. 23). As Yin (2003a) notes, “case studies are the preferred strategy when ‘how’ or ‘why’ questions are being posed, when the investigator has little control over events, and when the focus is on a contemporary phenomenon within some real-life context” (p. 1). In addition, this study focused on a very specific population of students in a program that was identified as a model program and offered a
chance “to yield fundamental insight into a rare but important process or event that offers no obvious point of comparison” (Schrank, 2006b).

I elected to mainly conduct interviews because “among Hawaiians, ‘in-person’ efforts are considered more culturally acceptable than ‘detached’ methods” (Malone, 2003a). Because traditional Hawaiian culture is an oral-based culture, with a custom of “talking story,“ it was fitting that I interviewed participants. The Hawaiian language, particularly the spoken word, is seen as perpetuating the identity and culture of its people. I considered conducting focus group interviews because the format would more closely approximate the “talk-story” format. Still, I felt that the potential complications (both logistical, in getting groups together, and methodological, in separating individual responses) outweighed the benefits to utilizing this format. I deliberately examined the information through a sociocultural lens because it considers social interaction and cultural context.

Analysis

For the within-case analysis, I wrote individual case studies after I read through all sources of information (see Table 2) multiple times during the transcription and review process and had taken all the information available on each student into consideration. Data reviewed included: data I had collected (survey, two interviews), previous interview and survey data collected in 2004 and reflected in the 2007 study, Internet information, and comments about individual students from the educators’ interviews.

12 Again, as mentioned earlier, the “talk story” format is one in which students informally take turns, speak in overlapping patterns and respond together as a group (Tharp & Gallimore, 1988).
Table 2

Sources of Data on HSP Graduates

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Initial 2004 interview</th>
<th>Interview #1</th>
<th>Interview #2</th>
<th>Internet Sources</th>
<th>Other</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Uilani</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>(1) Facebook</td>
<td>(2) Work website</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(3) Newspaper mention</td>
<td>(1) 2003 Pacific Island Festival Association scholarship</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>David</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td>(2) Article about family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jaiseen</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>(1) Heald College graduation honors</td>
<td>(2) New Hope Leeward</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kasey</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>(1) WCCC 2004 scholarship</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(2) Facebook</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kelly</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>(1) OIA West Regatta</td>
<td>(2) Marriage announcement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(3) Facebook</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jamie</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td>Facebook</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paul</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>(1) Wai‘anae Coast Neighborhood Board Minutes</td>
<td>Video by Na Pua No‘eau students</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(2) Keauhou 2010</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(3) OHA Newsletter</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(4) Facebook</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charles</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>(1) MMA website</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(2) Facebook</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Since both the Bridging Multiple Worlds and Life Story interview questions were explicit, coding primarily served to sort the questions. In order to create the eight individual case studies, I first coded quotes in each graduates’ interview. I then reviewed the interview again to make annotations. The quotations and annotations became the
basis of a memo for each graduate that served as the foundation for each individual case study.

**Pattern matching.** For my cross-case analysis, I decided to utilize pattern matching (Yin, 2003a) because I had two separate well established models, Life Stories Theory and Bridging Multiple Worlds Theory, that I wished to explore further and I could assess each case in terms of which model fit or didn’t fit better. Pattern matching is a type of modified analytic induction. Analytic induction concerns itself with “examining and reexamining and reexamining and reexamining yet again those propositions that have become the dominant belief or explanatory paradigm within a discipline or group of practitioners” (Patton, 2002). Pattern matching is actually a natural part of the research process in which theory is matched to what is observed (Trochim, 1989). For example, it has been argued that pattern matching provides degrees of freedom for case studies in that multiple theories are tested before one is ultimately selected (Campbell, 1975). Pattern matching has also been used to assess the construct validity of evaluation instruments (Marquant, 1989). In general qualitative studies, pattern matching is best utilized to test an existing theory’s applicability (Rettig, Tam, & Magistad, 1996). I identified the key tenets or essential features (Rettig, et al., 1996) of each theory, coded the sources of information for these key patterns and then found the ways in which they differed or were similar to these theories.

One study (Gilgun, 1995) found that modified analytic induction not only provided background knowledge necessary to frame the study and establish hypotheses, but also allowed for unexpected discovery of new information. This approach is appropriate because it seeks variability by looking for disconfirmatory examples and it
helps to clarify the complexities inherent in this type of qualitative study. Both models have used this type of analysis as well. Pattern matching was used to create “case study templates to align and compare social capital, alienation and engagement, and other theories of family-school-community partnerships to link with multivariate analysis of challenges and resources within and across cultural communities in sites across the United States” (Cooper, et al., 2005, p. 252). Life story research has also dealt with analysis of narratives in conjunction with measures of personality (McAdams, et al., 2006).

Coding. In my data analysis, I read each transcript multiple times. I coded the first interview in three different ways: for the key events, I utilized (1) the Coding System for Redemption Sequences (McAdams, 1999) and (2) the Coding System for Agency and Communion (McAdams, 2002). I also created (3) a Life Stories chapter rubric.

I coded the second interview with three to five rubrics. One graduate did not do the second interview, so there was no second interview coding done for her. Another graduate did not pursue further schooling past high school, so I only used the three rubrics for her data. The other five graduates had pursued further schooling past high school so they were re-asked two of the questions, and as a result, I used a total of five rubrics. I created a series of rubrics to compare the BMW patterns: (a) alignment between how important school was to graduate, friends and family; (b) whether graduates felt supported in high school in terms of assistance with schoolwork, planning for the future and problems; (c) for those who continued their education beyond high school, whether they felt supported in post-high school in terms of assistance with schoolwork, planning for the future and problems; (d) what graduates long-term goals were, their
challenges and resources in reaching these goals; (e) for those who continued their education beyond high school, what their long-term goals were, their challenges and resources in reaching their goals during that time.

While this coding was much more straightforward, it did involve judgment on the part of the coder because graduates’ initial answer did not always end up reflecting his / her overall response or the actual sentiment expressed did not match the answer provided. See Appendices G-K for Bridging Multiple Worlds coding forms and Appendices L-N for Life Stories coding forms.

In the cross-case analysis, I emphasized both similarities and differences between the cases in order to better understand the totality or quintain, as advocated by Stake (2006). Sometimes a moment of serendipity provides valuable insight. Allowing flexibility in approach is vital because off-task comments may actually assist researchers in being able to raise issues and questions that they had not even previously considered as being relevant (Knapp, 1997).

I created rubrics with categories and criteria to identify the patterns unique to each model. I examined how closely the coding for each graduate’s interview matched with the predicted outcomes for each model. Then, for each graduate, each source of information was classified as fulfilling either the BMW model or the Life Stories model.

In order to enhance the dependability (Guba & Lincoln, 2000) of the coding, I coded all the interviews and used the rubrics to categorize the students’ responses. I then asked an outside reviewer for assistance by going through the same process of coding for each model. I met with the outside coder to train her. We then independently coded two interviews and met to compare our coding.
The instructions for agency and communion coding, note that "scorers may need to work together in early phases of coding in order to build up a common understanding, so that eventually their independent codings will show acceptable reliability" (McAdams, 2001). As a result, categories and definitions were discussed to clarify interpretation issues. The outside coder was then given two additional graduates’ interview transcripts to practice coding. Again, we met to discuss our differences in coding that resulted in more consistent classification of categories. We then independently coded one final transcript, in which 78% agreement for both Life Stories and Bridging Multiple Worlds was reached.

Limitations

Prior to finalizing the interview questions, I read about interviewing strategy and techniques to guard against researcher effects. All of the data sources were intentionally formatted to be oral in nature. Life Stories research traditionally has been conducted in interview format, but written narratives are also often used. While some of the BMW questions are normally administered in the form of worksheets or writing activities, I deliberately turned them into interviews. Again, I have elected to utilize interviews rather than written reports since interviews may be more culturally compatible and may also be particularly appropriate for this age range, since as Arnett points out that “the interview approach is valuable in studying emerging adults because they are often remarkably insightful in describing their experiences” (Arnett, 2004).

Interviews and the narrative format raise concerns in terms of the limitations of language, limitations of reflection, filtering or editing. Researchers also seem divided in terms of the role of the interviewer. Their views seem to run the continuum between the
view that any interference by the interviewer can, and should, be guarded against (Polkinghorne, 2007) to the view that meaning is jointly constructed, and as a result co-creation of answers is unavoidable (Mishler, 1986).

Problems with recollection, omission and telescope effect (in which event timing is erroneously recalled) (Ruspini, 2002) may be unavoidable side effects of time passing. These concerns with interviews and narrative research were dealt with in a number of ways. Since I interviewed most of the graduates more than once, most graduates had an opportunity to correct or add to their previous interview. The graduates’ interviews were also supplemented by the teachers’ interviews to ensure a more complete view of the students’ overall experience.

In addition, I checked for researcher effects in terms of being conscious of and monitoring my verbal and non-verbal reactions. I also utilized an open listening stance and listened for “the unexpected and unusual participant responses” to capture the essence of each participant’s experiences (Polkinghorne, 2007). I also ensured that I would “empower participants by acknowledging that they are the only ones who have access to their experienced meaning” (Polkinghorne). Although I am not a fluent speaker of Hawai‘i Creole English (HCE), I was raised in Hawai‘i and did code-switch as needed to minimize perception of me as an outsider. In the initial focused interview, I spent time to first establish rapport because I knew that trust must be established before sharing can occur. This was vital because the literature indicates that traditionally, Native Hawaiians are often raised to keep family matters (both bad and good) private and have a dislike for seemingly irrelevant questions (Pukui, et al., 2001).
Creswell (1997) points out that one of the key philosophical assumptions of the qualitative approach is ontological, which means that “reality is subjective and multiple, as seen by participants in the study” (p. 75). An outcome of having these multiple realities, views, and perspectives is that “there is no way to establish, beyond contention, the best view” (Stake, 1995). Quantitative research is subject to concerns about validity and reliability; qualitative research is scrutinized even more heavily and subject to additional concerns.

I agree with Guba and Lincoln (2000) that qualitative research must be subject to different evaluation criteria than quantitative research because fundamentally, it is a different type of examination of data. The type of data examined and the research questions raised did not fit well with quantitative studies. The case study method, narrative and interviews raise common concerns. It is necessary to use a different ruler to measure the effectiveness of qualitative study. I believe that credibility is a more appropriate term than internal validity, transferability is a more appropriate term than external validity, dependability is a more appropriate term than reliability and confirmability is a more appropriate term than objectivity.

Normally, researchers attempt to address credibility by spending as much time on site, observing as much as possible. Since the participants in this study have graduated, it would be difficult, if not impossible, to follow each of them in their new work, home, and life settings. In addition, doing so would have only provided half the information since the main point of the study was to examine the changes that have occurred, not just how the students are now. Thus, I took another path to address credibility, triangulating the data by utilizing multiple sources of evidence, multiple methods and multiple theories.
Yin (2003b) suggests utilizing six types of data sources. In order to obtain as much information as possible and triangulate the data I obtain, I used a combination of these types: surveys, transcripts of previous interviews, two in-depth interviews, Internet search materials and interviews with educators connected to the HSP program. The interviews with HSP educators provided an important means of triangulation through the use of additional perspectives (Denzin, as cited in Stake, 2006).

In terms of transferability, I utilized thick description to give the reader a full idea of the sociocultural context of my interactions with each participant. In terms of dependability, I triangulated the methods. I also ensured dependability of the data by demonstrating how the results would be repeatable and created a dependability audit to document the decisions I made, the steps I took in each stage of data collection and analysis and how I analyzed the data. I also had an outside reviewer test out the same process I went through in my analysis. In terms of confirmability, I relied on the multiple sources of evidence to verify my findings. I also examined my own bias and assumptions in my analysis which is discussed further below. I realized how important taking my own bias into consideration is, for “the way in which we know is most assuredly tied up with both what we know and our relationships with our research participants” (Guba & Lincoln, 2005).

I was born in Minnesota but raised in Hawai‘i and have lived here for over 36 years. I am not of Hawaiian ancestry and am full Japanese. Having taught college level English composition courses for about seven years, I have been interested in issues pertaining to students raised in Hawai‘i, including the use of Hawai‘i Creole English. Currently, I work as an academic advisor and the director for the Mānoa Advising Center
(MAC) at the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa. MAC is an advising center that works with undeclared and pre-major students. The primary mission of MAC is to assist students in finding a major that fits with their abilities, interests, and goals and to provide advising support for them until they declare their majors. I am actively involved in increasing engagement and retention of all students.

BMW emphasizes that students’ parents’ educational backgrounds play a role in the students’ academic aspirations. My mother earned a bachelor of science degree in elementary education and my father earned a bachelor of arts degree in Shin Buddhism and a two master’s degrees in Shin Buddhism (in Japan) and in applied psychology / counseling (in the United States.) College was in many ways, an expected route for me and I was fully supported. While I was able to secure scholarships and work study funds, my parents assisted me in covering the cost of college. As a result, I was able to focus on my studies and not have to worry about financial concerns that impact all too many students today.

Taken together, these factors in my background may influence my objectivity and data analysis. For example, in my work, student success is measured primarily by whether students stay in college and graduate in an efficient manner. So while I am aware that there are many other measures of success, I reminded myself of this repeatedly throughout the process. While I did not purposely discuss my career with the participants, I did not attempt to hide my identity. (After one of the interviews, one participant commented that he had checked my information on Facebook before he decided whether to participate or not.) Knowing my background may have influenced how participants responded to my questions.
My original plans also included member checking and peer debriefing. Member checking is considered to be a vital part of validating case studies (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Stake, 1995, 2005; Yin, 2003b). I intended to conduct member checking at the end of the research process. However, based on the difficulty in scheduling and carrying out the interviews, was not able to fit this in.

In the next eight sections, I present the individual case studies followed by a cross-case study.
Uilani

Quintessential Quote

*I got to sail from island to island, you know, training for Tahiti was so fun. I got to paddle from island to island on a canoe as well as voyaging on the Hōkūle‘a, and what not. But, my life after high school is just my daughter, my house and my job, now, that’s it.* (Interview 1, 2009)

Biographical Synopsis

Uilani graduated from the Wai‘anae High School HSP in 2002. At the time of our interview, she was 24-years-old and was single, but had had a long-standing relationship with the father of her 4-year-old daughter. Uilani said that she was “not married, but practically married” (Interview 1, 2009). She lived in Wai‘anae Valley Homestead, where she owned a house and 2.5 acres. She worked at a car dealership as a service advisor. She completed her AA degree at Leeward Community College and stated that she planned to further her education once her child is grown.

Fundamental Themes

The two themes that emerged in Uilani’s interviews were laughter and her love of paddling. The word “laugh” came up repeatedly (25 times) in the interview. It actually was not a word that Uilani used, but a word that came up time and time again because it was a part of the interview. Some of the laughter came out as a result of her generally positive outlook and her interaction with me. For example:

Me:\textsuperscript{13} And what kind of things do you hunt?

\textsuperscript{13}Excerpts are taken both from interviews conducted in 2009-10 by me as well as interviews conducted in 2004 by other interviewers, identified as Interviewer.
Uilani: Pig.
Me: Oh.
Uilani: Yeah. (Laughs together with me)
(Interview 1, 2009)

Me: So, this set of questions deals with you:
Uilani: Oh, oh. (Both laugh).
(Interview 1, 2009)

Me: How do you use the bathroom on the boat?
Uilani: (Laughs.) Actually – yeah – they have a curtain on . . . the left side of the hull. You close the curtain, and they have a harness that you strap around your arms and you lean off the boat (laughs).
Me: Wow.
Uilani: (Laughs)
(Interview 1, 2009)

She also seemed to laugh when she reminisced about happy times. For example:

Everybody knew each other and everybody was comfortable with each other, pretty much like family. (Laughs.) Everybody was, yeah. (Laughs.) (Interview 1, 2009)

Her sense of humor was also evident:

That is pretty much my whole life right now, just taking care of my daughter and working, and in-between times, I have to clean yard. (Laughs) (Interview 1, 2009)

But she also seemed to laugh in discussing rather serious situations. She seemed to laugh when she feels that she needs to diffuse feelings of tension, having to do with uncertainty or doubt of how to answer the questions or discomfort.

I have homestead up in Wai‘anae Valley, 2 ½ acres. I don’t know --- I don’t know – what else is there? (Laughs) (Interview 1, 2009)

I don’t get to really do what I like to anymore. (Laughs) (Interview 1, 2009)

I’d love to go back paddling. I used to do that for about ten years and well, since I had my daughter --- stopped. (Laughs) (Interview 1, 2009)
That used to be fun, and then uh (clucks) I got pregnant. (Laughs) and then uh the same time I was going to school, going to get my AA and once that stopped, I got my AA and that was it, I didn’t continue on… (Interview 1, 2009)

Because – I got – pregnant. (Laughs) (Interview 1, 2009)

Turning point. I don’t think I had one yet. (Laughs) (Interview 1, 2009)

I’m still waiting for something – something spectacular, or – (laughs) . . . hopefully – hopefully waiting for – there’ll be a day when I can go back to all of that. (Interview 1, 2009)

If you want like, my whole life, wow … I don’t know… any title, I could think of, I don’t know how I would even separate the chapters of my life (laughs) (Interview 1, 2009)

Uilani’s passion used to center around voyaging, navigation and paddling. A search of the Internet revealed that in 2000, her name appeared in the newspaper when her team won in the 16 and under division for paddling. When Uilani was asked to tell me about an important memory involving HSP, she said, “That would have to be our first trip on a boat (laughs). That was the – the Hōkūle‘a, actually.”

We got to dock downtown, by Aloha Towers . . . and they took us around the island, all the way to Makua, back to Pokai Bay, over here . . . . That was the first time I got to go on a boat, and I think from there, that’s when I started that whole . . . that whole work with the canoes, and the voyaging, the navigating, and all that – so that was a fun time. I got to steer the boat, and you know, and meet Nainoa Thompson (Laughs) and that was the best memory right there. (Interview 1, 2009)

So, Uilani’s first experience on a boat seemed to unlock a new world for her. She often described it as “fun.” When she was asked to tell me about an important memory after
she graduated from HSP, she responded, “It’s a lot of it is more to do like on the boat, yeah? I used to be so happy on the boat. It would have to be when we were training to go to Tahiti” (Interview 1, 2009). The comment that, "I used to be so happy on the boat," implied that she no longer was. Reviewing her initial interview, it is probably because she felt a sense of competence and accomplishment, of connectedness and support and ultimately, of fulfillment.

We were training to go to Tahiti and I remember that I had to pick a position that I needed to train for – and this girl, Kaiulani, she was one of the navigators over there and that’s what I wanted to do (laughs) and so she was teaching me how to navigate, how to read the starts and the maps and stuff and all these –how you read by day, how you read by night. I don’t know, it’s not any day in particular, but it was that part, training for Tahiti. And of course, I never ended up going, but – but the experience was wonderful. (Interview 1, 2009)

Uilani sounded a bit wistful in the last sentence. She was supposed to voyage to Tahiti, but was unable to do so because she got pregnant. This changed her view of herself. Her self-description in the 2004 interview consisted mainly of things she enjoyed doing:

Well, I like to be active. I like doing stuff outdoors . . . I like working [with] people, with my culture. I like to learn hands-on and I don’t know, that’s pretty much covers it all I guess. (Interview, 2004)

Her self-description in the 2009 interview, by contrast, was quite different,

I’m 24-years-old… I have . . . one child. Not married, but practically married, I have a regular job. I work eleven – eight hours a day, five days a week. I have
homestead up in Wai‘anae Valley, 2 ½ acres. I don’t know --- I don’t know –
what else is there? (Laughs) (Interview 1, 2009)

It was a list of her status – her age, the fact she had a job, she was almost married and a
parent, and she was a home owner.

When asked what the most difficult or challenging experience of her life was, she
answered,

Difficult? I don’t think I ever had one that bad. I don’t think that difficult, yeah?
Everything’s pretty much flowing, but I mean, it was hard to make that transition,
I mean, not paddling, not fixing boats anymore, so just – I guess becoming a
parent was the hardest part for me. Especially – especially – I guess it was harder
because I was on my own, but that – that was probably the hardest thing. Because
I gave up – I ended up giving up everything at once, yeah? So, yeah. But I mean
it was nothing – nothing that ruined my life or anything . . . . (Interview 1, 2009)

There are three crucial things to note in this paragraph. First, Uilani used the words
“flowing” and “transition,” yet, her interview shows a clear division between her old life
(the HSP program and a few years after high school) and the reality that followed. She
herself stated that “my life after high school is just my daughter, my house and my job,
now, that’s it.” Second, the order in which she answered the question is interesting.
Uilani stated the difficulty was in giving up things she loved (paddling, fixing boats),
then stated, “So just- I guess becoming a parent was the hardest part for me.” Finally,
Uilani was very matter-of-fact about it, she does not feel that it was so earth-shattering,
commenting that “it didn’t ruin my life.” She seemed to feel that it was a natural
sacrifice for her to give up the things she loved. It should be pointed out that once Uilani
became a parent, her daughter became the center of her universe. Uilani’s Facebook page displayed a picture of her and her daughter. It looks as though Uilani took it of the two of them, but she was off to the side and her daughter was in the middle of the picture.

Although I had set up a meeting two weeks after the first, Uilani was a no-show. The great mystery of this interview was why. I waited for an hour, but Uilani did not respond to repeated attempts to get in contact with her that day and subsequently. It is possible that she confused the dates of the follow up interview, since it was for two weeks later, but she had put it on the calendar on her phone. It could be that something came up with her daughter and she was unable to arrange for childcare. Another possibility is that the interview could have made her feel uncomfortable, reminding her of the past that she had left behind or made her feel as though she should be doing something different. Finally, it could be that she simply did not want to do the second interview. I was extremely worried about Uilani and called her that day, that night, the following day, one week later and one month later and left messages. I also subsequently tried to email her. Uilani has since been on Facebook and sounded as though she was doing okay.

Goals and Plans

**Personal goals and plans.** In 2004, Uilani was asked to articulate her personal goals. At that time, she stated,

Mm…well, I have my own place, so . . . I guess it’s just to establish a good financial home. Somewhere, you know, I can live for the rest of my life. Settle down. That’s . . . just what everybody wants to be, financially set, have a good home, and have my kids go to a good school. But I don’t have kids yet, so…
Interestingly, she would have a child about a year after that. In 2009, she stated that “since I had my kid, I think I’m more protective and let’s say I’d like to give a little bit more, but there’s just no time anymore, yeah? with everything going on. I don’t get to really do what I like to anymore (Laughs)” (Interview 1, 2009). In a sense, she viewed having a child as limiting what she could do. Her explanation of why this was the case was, “it was more – because we were on our own, I didn’t have anyone much to rely on, so I had to stop all my extracurricular activities, no more sailing, no more navigating, no more canoe building” (Interview 1, 2009). Unfortunately, since she never showed up for the second interview, I was unable to gain an updated sense of what Uilani’s goals and plans were.

Educational goals and plans. In 2004, Uilani was asked about what her educational goals and plans were.

Interviewer: When you graduated from high school, what were your goals?
Uilani: To go to college.
Interviewer: Um hum.
Uilani: And . . .
Interviewer: To go or to graduate?
Uilani: Oh, hmm . . . I guess . . . just to get there.
Interviewer: Um hum.
Uilani: Get to college. ‘Cause I knew you know, once I started, I don’t, you know, I’d wanna finish. I’m not gonna wanna stop until I finish, so . . .
Interviewer: Uh huh.
Uilani: Just getting started was the part.
(Interview, 2004)

14 As stated earlier, excerpts are taken both from interviews conducted in 2009-10 by me as well as interviews conducted in 2004 by other interviewers, identified as Interviewer.
This statement proved fascinating – just getting to college was the goal. She assumed she would want to finish - but did not. Later, the way that she explained this was as follows, “the same time I was going to school, going to get my AA and once that stopped, I got my AA and that was it, I didn’t continue on, but then I had my daughter” (Interview 1, 2009). Once she had a daughter, her academics stopped. She did note on her survey that she planned to finish her education once her daughter was grown. Again, unfortunately, since there was no second interview, I was unable to gain further information on her updated educational goals and plans.

**Career goals and plans.** In 2004, when she was asked if she knew what she wanted to do, she responded:

Uilani: Um, no. Actually . . . I think I wanna be a teacher . . . I’m not so sure about that though. I really, I’m really interested in like Hawaiian studies and stuff like that, so that’s pretty much the career path that I’m going in to.

Interviewer: So have your goals changed at all? Sounds like they’ve changed a little since you left school.

Uilani: Yeah. I wanted to be an oceanographer. Um…then I got interested in … what was that? . . . plants in the Hawaiian culture.

Interviewer: Um hum.

Uilani: So I got into that and oh! It was really confusing, but I’m still pretty sure I wanna be a teacher, so… (Interview, 2004)

Again, the second 2009 interview would have asked her about her career plans. But based on comments such as this one, “I had to get a real job and real life kicked in” (Interview 1, 2009), it would not be surprising if Uilani saw her pregnancy as curtailing these plans as well.
Links to the Bridging Multiple Worlds Model

In 2004, Uilani was asked “What things . . . were there any things that stood in your way that made it really difficult for you to get to school (college)?” and her reply was, “Um, just … maybe like … family, I guess. That would be the only thing. But other than that, nothing really stopped me. Other than not knowing what I wanted to be” (Interview, 2004). Unfortunately, the interviewer at that time did not ask for elaboration. In the interview, Uilani explained that it was difficult to spend time with family, “‘Cause my parents are separated, so it’s kind of one weekend with them and then one weekend with them” (Interview, 2004). At that point, her father was still a part of her life. In 2009, it sounded as though this was no longer the case. When asked, “What does your dad do?” She responded, “Right now? I don’t know. I actually don’t keep in touch with him” (Interview 1, 2009). By contrast, she still kept in touch with Kumu Gallano who has moved to the Big Island. As she put it, “we would every once in a while still visit her on the Big Island” (Interview 1, 2009).

Uilani’s brother, Charles, who is a year older, was in HSP as well, in the archaeology field. She noted, “My brother was actually all into that. Well, I guess we both were” (Interview 1, 2009). Charles also participated in the 2009 interviews. They seemed to have very different views of their relationship. Uilani stated, “It seems like everybody in the program was nicer to me than he was (laughs)” and told me that it would be “hard” to interview him because “He’s actually a lot different from me (laughs)” (Interview 1, 2009). Their views on a number of things seemed vastly different. For example, they seemed to disagree on what their parents did. When she was asked whether her parents went on for further education or training, she replied,
My dad did. He got his AA . . . my mom went to school more for medical – just to get certified in certain medical fields, yeah? Because she’s a – she’s an instrument tech. at the hospital, so she has to get certified for her work, like that.

Nobody went that far, yeah? (Interview 1, 2009)

Uilani was unclear how much education her parents had and did not think they got very far. Her brother Charles may have been incorrect, but he seemed much more certain of what his parents did and how much education they had undergone.

From a BMW perspective, it was as though HSP provided crucial support for Uilani that she perhaps did not feel she received from her family.

Everybody – everybody was like family there, you could just – rely on one another to talk to each other and if you needed help, you could always rely upon anybody, yeah? That was the good thing about Hawaiian Studies. (Interview 1, 2009)

I asked for elaboration and asked, “And when you say, ‘like a family’ – in what way?”

We could sleep over each others’ house, get ready to go anytime we would have an activity for Hawaiian Studies, we’d be able to just talk story the whole day, talk story the whole evening, (laughs) then we could count on each other, so if we needed help, you know, I could call one of them and they would help me out or vice versa, yeah? It was real – I don’t know what you call it. Ho, I guess we had a bond, yeah? (Interview, July 26, 2009)

In 2004, she seems to have found a substitute for the HSP in her volunteer work:

Uilani: Yeah, that’s why I like to go to Friends of Hōkūle‘a and Hawai‘i Loa. It’s like they’re so good. They, you know, even though I make a mistake, they still encourage me and oh, that’s alright, you
know? Let’s try it this way. Or they just try and show me how to work with what I did. So, they make it really good over there.

Interviewer: So you do have people who are supporting you.
Uilani: Yeah, and that’s why I like to escape there.

(Interview, April 16, 2004)

Her choice of the word “escape” was telling – though it was not clear what she was escaping from.

In 2009, Uilani did see the value of HSP and was able to articulate what she gained from it:

They had . . . three different parts of the Hawaiian Studies, they had the environmental side, they had the history side, and they had the health side. So, they would take you through each segment, and each quarter. And each year, you would learn a little bit of everything. And they would make sure you were learning, because you’d get tested and what not . . . . they trained us to do interviews and how to get a job, yeah? They even got me an internship with an archaeologist – for a couple of years. That was fun too. (laughs) but they did a lot of training, they helped you to realize what you want to become when you grow up and whatever it may be, they would find a path, or find some way to keep you interested and find someone that could help you – you know, maybe an internship, like how I did, yeah? But that they did a lot of training – to get in the outside world. They taught us how to make portfolios . . . . How to get scholarships, how to apply for financial aid for college, what kinds of programs are out there once you get into college. (Interview, July 26, 2009)

Unfortunately, while she appreciated the program and could clearly articulate its value, she did not feel as though it impacted her day-to-day life.
They taught me [plenty], though, but it’s sad that I don’t use much of it anymore, yeah? I wish I could, but, get so caught up with life, that you know – you get bills, and then of course, you want to save up for your family – for your future and but - Hawaiian Studies was probably the best – the best thing for me. (Interview, July 26, 2009)

Ultimately, she recognized what a valuable opportunity she was given, but does not feel as though she was able to make use of it.

**Links to the Life Story Model**

As mentioned earlier, Uilani’s story was actually two stories – her life before she had her child and her life afterwards. When asked about the chapters of her life story, she states,

I wouldn’t even know how to separate one year from another because it hasn’t been that spectacular. I mean, only high school and maybe a couple years after high school and that was with the Hawaiian Studies so … if I was to write a book, it would just be about that chapter right there, that part of my life right there.

(Interview, July 26, 2009)

As mentioned earlier, her best experience was the first time she was on a boat and her most challenging or difficult experience was that she had to give that up due to her pregnancy. “They would teach us navigating, we used to go on the boats and travel to – I got to travel from island to island. That used to be fun, and then uh (clucks) I got pregnant.”
As significant a change as her pregnancy was, Uilani did not see it as a turning point as one might expect. When she was asked to tell me about a turning point in her life, she replied,

Uilani: Turning point. I don’t think I had one yet. (Laughs) Yeah – I don’t think I had one yet.
Me: Mmm-hmm.
Uilani: I’m still waiting for something – something spectacular, or – (laughs) . . . hopefully – hopefully waiting for – there’ll be a day when I can go back to all of that. That’ll be a turning point, you know. You know, but I didn’t really have any turning points yet. (Interview, July 26, 2009)

Uilani defined a turning point as being “something spectacular,” a future event, something that will return her back to the things she loved. It was almost as though she saw her current live as being in suspension: “I’d love to go back paddling. I used to do that for about ten years and well, since I had my daughter --- stopped” (Interview, July 26, 2009).

Closing Comments

Uilani’s story is not complete, especially because she did not show up for the scheduled second interview. While we cannot speculate on why she did not show up (lack of child care, misunderstanding of date, etc.), the fact that she did not respond to repeated emails and phone calls could indicate avoidance. It could be that she was not sure what she would talk about. Uilani had asked at the ending of the first interview what the next interview would cover. I told her it would involve her educational and career goals. It seemed to me that while Uilani did not necessarily feel regret at the birth of her daughter, she had chosen to define herself primarily as holding down a job and her role was clearly defined and constrained by her duties as a provider. Inherent in her story, as
opposed to some of the other interviewees, she seems to have bound herself by a sense of self-imposed sacrifice and duty. This is evident in one key inconsistency in her story. In the 2009 interviews, she said that she had stopped paddling since she had her daughter. Yet, even in the 2004 interviews (a year before she had her daughter) she had not been paddling. When the interviewer asked her, “And you’re still paddling?” She commented, “No, I wish!” (Interview, April 16, 2004).

Further, in the 2009 interview, she said that she could not participate in paddling, yet she was somehow able to find time to go hunting about once a month. Admittedly, paddling is more of a team sport that involves teammates and requires a more regular commitment. Uilani mentioned that she enjoyed going hunting, but it could be that hunting was meant to provide subsistence as opposed to being a recreational activity. Her sense of responsibility and dedication to her child is admirable. And considering how young she was, Uilani still had much of her life ahead of her. But I wonder had she chosen to write her life story another way, whether it would have been possible that she could have continued a connection to those things she loved, even though she would not be able to be completely involved.
David

Quintessential Quote

Before HSP, I was just kind of this kid with the Hawaiian last name that lived in San Diego. Well, after HSP, I felt like you know, I was Hawaiian. Like, that was who I was and I knew it because I knew the culture, I knew the language, I knew the music and from then on, I kind of made this goal . . . with myself that I would never forget who I was because from most of my life until then, I didn’t really know who I was in regards to my culture and ethnicity. (Interview 2, 2009)

Biographical Synopsis

David graduated from the Wai‘anae High School HSP in 1999. At the time of our interview, he was 28-years-old and happily married with one child. What set David apart from his classmates was that when he was 15-years-old, he came to Hawai‘i and met his father’s relatives at a family reunion. At the time, his family lived in California, but he asked his parents to remain in Hawai‘i and attended Wai‘anae High School, his father’s alma mater, for four years and graduated from there. David attended Brigham Young University - Hawai‘i for a year and returned to San Diego for the summer. He started at Santa Rosa Junior College and transferred to University of California - San Diego (UCSD). He then went on a two year mission to Australia, and returned to UCSD to finish his BA in religious studies. He then earned a MA in history from San Diego State University. At the time of the interview, he lived in student housing at UCSD and attended school full-time, pursuing a doctorate in US History.
Fundamental Themes

Not only did David make the commitment to attend all four years of high school in Hawai‘i, he also explained this very matter-of-factly, as if it were a natural decision on his part.

The only reason why I was in the HSP Program was that we went there . . . during the summer, when I was about to start high school – we went to Hawai‘i for a family reunion. I got to see all of my cousins, and my uncles and aunts and I really – I never seen much of them beforehand. So I asked my parents if I could stay – in Hawai‘i – and go to high school. (Interview 1, 2009)

This decision struck others as well. A church newsletter article posted on the Internet, entitled “The Importance of Good Choices” framed David’s life in terms of the unique choices that he had made. He explained his desire to stay as, “I became completely enamored with the family I never knew” (jvagnew, 2009). Unlike the other students, who attended Wai‘anae as a by-product of their parents’ decision to move into the area, David made the independent choice to live in Wai‘anae and attend the high school.

David was extremely intentional and deliberate about his actions. It appeared that everything he did had a reason and a purpose. When I first asked him to describe himself, he answered,

I’m goal oriented, so I like to make goals, and you know, work and try to achieve them . . . . I’m kind of a little driven . . . . That’s how it is . . . when you set goals . . . if you want to accomplish them, you actually have to constantly be thinking about them and try to make progress as you go along. (Interview 1, 2009)
David focused on three cornerstones of his life: his family, education and religion and these themes surfaced repeatedly throughout my two interviews with him.

It was not surprising that family was one of his main topics. I met his wife and daughter because David’s first interview was conducted at his home in San Diego. It was clear that he was an affectionate and loving father and husband. During the middle of the interview, his daughter ran in crying, with his wife in tow. He paused, glanced back, quickly assessed the situations and chuckled, knowing that it was only a minor disturbance.

David’s best and worse experience dealt with his wife. Asked about his best experience, he stated, “when I was married to my wife, it was the most joyous and happy day of my life – and I know I haven’t been living very long but – when I think back on my life, it slips right off my tongue, it was the day I got married to my wife” (Interview 1, 2009). Asked about his worst experience, he stated,

The worst day of my life was when the doctor . . . diagnosed Crystal as having breast cancer. . . Cause, then you start questioning, what are we going to do? What if I’m a single father? All these things come into mind and then we had to endure mastectomies and chemotherapy and radiation and all these things they’re trials and tribulations that you have to endure through, so yeah, without a doubt, that was the hardest thing. (Interview 1, 2009)

David always talked about his family as a unit and used the word "we" frequently. At one point, I was confused and asked David if his wife was majoring in the same subject as he was, since he used the word “we” instead of “I,” as evidenced in the passage (italics mine) below:
After my first year, that’s when my wife and I started talking about well, we’ve got one more year left and then we would start teaching and it just so happens that you know, the program, my program of being an institute director is highly competitive, so it was also during that time that the economy was really sinking real low, so my wife and I decided that it wouldn’t be such a bad idea to get more schooling in so that’s what we considered the PhD. (Interview 2, 2009)

But this use of the word “we” was actually consistent with his beliefs:

When you’re single, I go where [I] want, I do what I want, I don’t have to answer to anyone, but when you’re married it’s no longer I and me, it’s us and we . . . you have to change your point of view and say, “what are we going to do today?” or “what are we going to do tomorrow?” because you . . . are working within the teamwork frame, you’re no longer alone. (Interview 1, 2009)

David and his wife are truly a team; his wife obtained her BA in retail management and works full time to support the family. David felt that the economic downturn spurred his change of career plans, but also added that he consulted with Crystal on everything and credited her as helping him.

I talk a lot of things about with Crystal because it’s a our decision about what we’re going to do and of course . . . it’s my education, but I consult her on like everything in my life and especially because it has to do with our future, our family and things, so if I had one person the most had an influence on my life – she counsels me and she advises me on a lot of the big decisions going on.

(Interview 2, 2009)
In addition to family, education was a key component of David’s life. The topics of school and college surfaced repeatedly in David’s two interviews. Again, he saw this as a natural part of his life: “[I] like to read, that’s one of the things that I do that just comes along with the territory of academics because that’s something that we have to do a lot of, so that just comes with the territory” (Interview 1, 2009). This quote was interesting because it showed that David assumed that all academics love to read.

David himself wanted to become an academic and was inspired by teachers who he had: “I think about teachers who have influenced me just based on their pure passion of pedagogy, like they really love what they do” (Interview 2, 2009). He understood the importance of their passion in teaching in regards to his learning. “Because they like what they are doing, I felt more engaged in their class” (Interview 2, 2009).

After family and education, religion was the third cornerstone. David is a Mormon and he displayed a strong conviction in this regard. He was clear on the expectation: “when you turn 19 in the Latter Day Saints Church, you go on missions” (Interview 1, 2009). He actually did more than many would, by doing what he stated only a third of Mormons do, an international mission, in Australia. Missions are not easy work, but just as David had done in all areas of his life, he found deeper meaning and purpose: “A mission was something else. You could never prepare for it. It’s long days spent tracting¹⁵ and getting heckled but it was worth it. It’s so much hard work and discipline but you bear a lot of fruit” (jvagnew, 2009). He clearly had considered a life

¹⁵ Tracting is the missionary practice of visiting homes door-to-door.
serving the church and purposely obtained a MA in Religious Studies in order to be able to apply as an institute director.

**Goals and Plans**

**Personal goals and plans.** Again, as David’s opening quote attested, a really important personal goal concerned his identity. “I felt like HSP really educated me on . . . something that I never would have gotten had I been somewhere else” (Interview 1, 2009). He credited HSP as giving him a “better consciousness of my own Hawaiian identity” (Interview 1, 2009). After discovering who he was, he resolved to “never forget” that and feels that in the intervening 12 years since HSP,

I really feel that I have kept to that goal. I have stuck to my culture. I’ve never forgotten some of the chants that we learned. I never forgotten the songs that I learned. It wasn’t the ones that HSP taught us that I got more interested in my own culture and . . . I went that extra mile to learn some more songs, like memorize them and . . . so some of it’s still in my head. And I’m still interested in learning different songs and learning how to sing them (Interview 2, 2009).

David offered a unique perspective. As an outsider, he returned to his culture and this aspect of his identity. Once he left, he not only attempted to preserve his feelings, but also built upon them as he went on his mission. Having served a mission in Australia, he had a wider, inclusive view that is displayed in an appreciation for all Polynesian cultures. When I met David, I believed that his identity was firmly engrained in him and he lived very intentionally, proudly displaying a part of who he is. When I arrived for the interview, he was wearing a shirt promoting PIFA (Pacific Islander Festival Association) and a bone carving necklace. When it came up in conversation, he commented,
I probably wouldn’t even own one, because I wouldn’t know the significance of it, which is something I would have worn “because it was a fad” but there’s actually a lot of cultural significance to it and it’s all because of what I’ve learned in the HSP. (Interview 1, 2009)

Even his dissertation, focused on discrimination against Polynesians during the civil rights movement, centered on issues of identity: “I felt that it would be a great project . . . to give voice to the Polynesian people . . . during that significant period of American history and just kind of add another perspective to raise identity and culture” (Interview 2, 2009).

**Educational goals and plans.** Evident throughout David’s interviews was an underlying assumption. Throughout his academic career, there was no question that he would not only get into college, but that he would finish and that he would persevere in his academic journey. He started at BYUH, left to go on a mission, then “started right back into college again,” (Interview 1, 2009) transferred to a junior college, then transferred to a four year college, earned his bachelor’s degree, earned his master’s degree and was working on his doctorate. It is clear that he viewed this as a natural progression and simply kept going, despite what it took for him to attend. This involved obtaining scholarships and having to work part-time in order to finish: “I had a couple of jobs to help pay for school like waiting – I was a waiter, I worked at a bookstore, you know all these odd jobs that we do trying to get through, trying to get through college” (jvagnew, 2009).

In 2003 PIFA and the Jonathan Tarr Foundation jointly awarded scholarships to high school students and undergraduates. David, who was studying at Costa Mesa
College in San Diego at the time, was a recipient of a scholarship. The foundation was set up in memory of Jonathan Tarr, a 17-year-old who died in a car accident. The website states that it is a non-profit organization that gives out post-secondary educational scholarships for “a diverse population of under-served boys and girls not normally targeted for academic assistance” (2009). There were close connections to Hawaiian culture because Jonathan was half Chinese and half Hawaiian. As the website demonstrates, the foundation is clearly informed by the Hawaiian culture as well: three of their four event names involve Hawaiian concepts: Kumu Open House, ‘Ohana Picnic, Sharing the Aloha Spirit Gala. The logo is made up of four symbols: a shell, a mortarboard, the Chinese character for dream and a hibiscus.

**Career goals and plans.**

David had followed a long path in terms of deciding on a major and setting his career goals. When asked about his current plans, he joked, “So now, yeah, it’s so funny, right? It’s been . . . ten years since high school and . . . like I’m like only now starting to figure out what I want to be when I grow up” (Interview 2, 2009). Yet, his many changes were reflective of how he had grown and changed as a person. In HSP, he participated in the archaeology rotation and had another teacher who “was out in the field and had done a ton of work. I remember hearing from him his stories, he would tell us about it in class and I thought that was really cool. He would, you know, tell us about how he was kind of like an Indiana Jones” (Interview 2, 2009). This influenced him to select archaeology in his junior year. But as a senior, he took harder science courses in biology and environmental studies and realized by “staying on the same farm that my dad stayed on”
that he “had an affinity . . . for animals” (Interview 2, 2009). At that point, he decided to become a veterinarian. Then, going on his mission opened him to different possibilities:

As a missionary, you teach people about how the religion came about and about religious stuff and it was during that time in Australia that I learned I really enjoyed teaching, I liked that interaction with other people, kind of helping them to understand whatever it is that I was teaching, whether it be religion or history stuff. It was when I came back where I decided that I wanted to teach. (Interview 2, 2009)

So when he returned, David initially planned to teach biology. He took all the necessary sciences in physics, biology and even chemistry. But that too, was not to be: “it ended up that I wasn’t so in love with biology as I had thought . . . and I actually - initially I had . . . like ecclesiastical goals” (Interview 2, 2009). He thought that he would teach religion instead and pursue being an institute director in his church, a position that required a master’s degree. Finally, faced with the competitive nature of the institute director’s position and the difficult economic times, David and his wife decided he should continue on to earn his PhD, as described earlier. He explained that he took history electives while completing his master’s degree and “I thought since history was really interesting just to see how . . . learning from our past, and seeing what people did, and what it amounted, what kind of changes it brought about” (Interview 2, 2009). In 2009, David decided that he was interested in teaching history at the university or college level. He characterized his dissertation as the pursuit “when you start to hone in on what’s of real significance to you, you’re doing your own research, and I started to apply the different methodological schools” (Interview 2, 2009). This took him to focus on Polynesians:
[I] started digging around and doing my little – my . . . historical Sherlock Holmes moves on this whole topic and that’s when I started to learn that . . . – it’s not just the African Americans and Asian Americans and the Native Americans that had a problem during this period of facing segregation and exclusion . . . it’s also the Polynesians. (Interview 2, 2009)

**Links to the Bridging Multiple Worlds Model**

As mentioned earlier, David started college with a firm understanding that he would finish. It is important to point out that David’s grandfathers were both blue collar workers. His mother was a first generation college student.

My mom’s dad being a fisherman . . . they had seen how rough it was growing up with that kind of background. Even with my dad, he was brought up on a farm, so he growing taro, all those kinds of things, it was great for work ethic but that you know, parents want the best for their kids. (Interview 2, 2009)

David’s mother taught math and science and after having earned her master’s in educational administration, served as a vice principal. Having come from such the strongest educational background of the students interviewed, David was raised understanding the importance of a college education.

[Education] was very important and so that’s why it wasn’t really a matter of what am I going to do after high school. I never faced that dilemma because . . . my parents had been you know, telling me since I was little that you know, you gotta go to school if you want to be successful. It’s unfortunate, that’s the society that we live in, but that piece of paper, your diploma means something, so you know
it’s tantamount to your success that you get a college education. (Interview 2, 2009)

In my interviews with David, he explained that while his parents were both raised in Hawai‘i, they transferred to the continental United States because his father was in the military. In the online article about his life, David elaborated on the decision, “my Dad was a Marine and they wanted to live on the mainland to give their children better opportunities” (jvagnew, 2009). In some ways, then, David’s decisions to return to Hawai‘i and to his father’s alma mater were ironic.

David’s current worlds revolve around family, education and religion. When asked what his worlds were in high school, the first world that David talked about was HSP/school as representing the world of Hawaiian culture. Then he talked about the world of music. In the course of the interview, he revealed that when he was in high school, he sang and learned to play ukulele with friends from church. His group also played gigs on the weekends at luaus and other events. The online article about him stated that the father of the boys he played with wanted the boys to form a singing group.

They sang as a trio for about a year and then David had to make a decision. “I began to ask myself, is this really what I want to do? This was an important crossroad for me. Even though my parents were 2500 miles away, their teachings still influenced me. Education is very important to my parents. At that time, my brother had two master’s degrees and my sister was in college. I was the last one to complete the cycle.” After counseling with his parents, weighing all the options, and lots of prayer, he decided to focus on school. “In my senior year, it became clear to me that I made the right decision.” (jvagnew, 2009)
David’s parents offered him support and instilled in him the importance of continuing with school. As a result, he made the difficult decision not to join the band.

David claimed that he was not focused in high school, “I wasn’t really that focused. It was just - There was just a lot of socializing and hanging out with friends and . . . doing new things, like how to play new instruments, and sing songs” (Interview 2, 2009), and he understood the necessity of doing well. His family’s expectations were clear and it is assumed that he will continue to college: “I knew that my parents wanted me to go to college, so I knew that that was kind of the path that I was going to be following” (Interview 2, 2009). In conjunction with this, David understood the necessity of doing well to continue: I knew that I had to do okay . . . in high school if you want to go to college. Your GPA can’t be anything horrible . . . if you want to – stand a chance” (Interview 2, 2009). He mentioned also taking a summer school class to be at the right math level to enter college.

He also understood the complexities inherent in student’s backgrounds and the reality of how it could play a part in what you ended up doing:

I knew that college was the next step and that um, it fits, you know, where I’m from. You know, sometimes with some students, with the high school that I went to in Wai‘anae, college wasn’t really an option. So I know a lot of my friends, they got a job. That’s all they had. They didn’t have the option . . . (Interview 2, 2009).

David was well aware of the odds of making it through the educational pipeline: “I know just a couple of them, a couple of my [high school] friends that went on to college. And I
haven’t kept up with all of them, but I can only think of one that actually finished college” (Interview 2, 2009).

In support of the BMW model, another main reason that David was able to succeed was that he saw others around him both in high school and post-high school as resources. David saw high school teachers and college professors as offering guidance and support: “My resources were my teachers. Because it’s me I felt that they knew, they knew about college, they knew what it took. Whenever I had any questions about college, I would ask them” (Interview 2, 2009). He also recognized the importance of having good friends. As he worded it, “keeping my nose clean and staying out of trouble was pretty easy when you surround yourself with good people” (Interview 2, 2009).

Taking it a step further, he also viewed his peers as resources as well:

In the college world, a lot of your success has to do with like group studies because . . . it’s kind of hard to be motivated to study on your own and to push yourself and only like really, really self-disciplined people can do that effectively, so I’d say just that relationship with . . . my other peers was definitely helpful because we could . . . just study for like five hours and depend on each other to . . . push ourselves, stay sharp. (Interview 2, 2009)

This theme of having someone pushing and testing him was one that emerged repeatedly. David spoke about teachers who really took an interest in him by setting the bar high as helping him to do well. He mentioned three teachers who pushed him to do his best, and Linda Gallano was the first he spoke about: “you always felt that there was more that could be - that a student could reach for. I always felt she was always pushing me
because she felt that I could always do better and that was helpful, to feel that someone believed in you like that?” (Interview 2, 2009)

**Links to the Life Story Model**

David seemed to have written a very clear life story; his life was a topic that he had thought about in a very complete and thorough manner. When I asked him to tell me about it, for example, he even paused to consider whether he should put it in thematic or chronological order (Interview 1, 2009). He also thought of multiple turning points (he listed five altogether). He actually described his life story as a conversation: “there is actually this constant dialogue with my present and future with my past” (Interview 1, 2009). When asked what his life story was, he stated:

The story of my life is my marriage. Because of the ups and downs that we had to endure so soon. As a newly married couple, you don’t expect to face so many trials already. Yeah, just within a couple of years after marriage. Yeah, so that kind of is the story that kind of defines me and the way that I am now. (Interview 1, 2009)

When he was asked to elaborate on how it defined him, he replied,

It was a test. The way I view it. Life itself is a test. They come in small packages or large packages. That one, I felt was a very LARGE package and I felt like all the experiences that I had before then helped me get through it because . . . all these [previous experiences] were experiences that I had with dealing with pressure – the pressures of college, the pressures of mission life, going outside your comfort zone, that’s a different kind of pressure. The pressure and the stress that came with . . . Crystal’s diagnosis was a different kind of
pressure – but still pressure – and learning how to cope with it was something that. . . had to evolve around . . . the different life experiences that I’ve had and being able to come out the other end of it with everything being okay. (Interview 1, 2009)

Rather than getting upset – “Why us?” David saw all the previous pressures as having contributed in teaching him to cope. David treated this as an experience of redemption, of turning negative experience into positive experience.

Attributes such as character and loyalty and family . . . resurfaced during this whole drama that solidified during this whole drama and that’s what I mean by how it defined me, because you have to draw upon all these different things and after it’s all said and done, were you beat down by this test or were you still standing? I’d like to think that I was still standing afterwards. (Interview 1, 2009)

He was able to see a purpose for his previous pressures and was able to find the positive aspects in a very difficult situation. He even asserted that it “solidified” some key values. David explained that hearing the news of Crystal’s diagnosis was difficult: “The next morning I was supposed to teach Seminary (a series of classes for LDS\textsuperscript{16} youth where they learn gospel principles that are taught before they attend regular school classes). How could I teach the Plan of Happiness and I wasn’t happy?” (jvagnew, 2009) This theme of rising to the challenge and overcoming all odds was a life story theme.

\textsuperscript{16} Latter Day Saints or Mormon
While many allow their life stories to be written more by fate, David took clear active steps in creating his own life story, as evidenced by the turning points that he identified. His first turning point consisted of his decision to stay in Hawai‘i to attend high school as an adolescent. Again, this was a step that most young adults would not be willing to take. It was clear he had a good support system at home. David had the maturity to recognize that he needed to recreate this support system while he was in Hawaii.

To be separated from my parents, that was a big turning point for me because they’re not there anymore. You can’t expect that kind of paternal support when you come home from school because mom and dad won’t be there when you come home from school. You gotta kind of reach out to other people and make connections to other family members when normally it would be your parents.

(Interview 1, 2009)

His second turning point was when he accepted a mission in Australia. “now I’m like in a different country, so now that’s not like I can expect them to come on a plane to come see me because there’s just no way that that’s going to happen” (Interview 1, 2009).

David was extremely mature for his age.

Now, you’re going to spend two years of your life talking about religion, so there’s a real growth there, you have to . . . really dig down into your own spiritual roots and think is this something I really believe in? Cause if not, I should probably go home (Laughs). (Interview 1, 2009)

For David, everything represented an opportunity to learn. He was constantly learning:
I prayed a lot from morning to night if it was just to myself in private or walking down the street, you know, so prayer becomes like second nature as a missionary and I kind of learned the benefits of it. (Interview 1, 2009)

**Closing Comments**

Based on his decisions to journey to Hawai‘i and to go on a mission to Australia, I believe that David inherently was on a quest. I firmly believe that on that two-part quest, he found what he was looking for, his own identity and religious convictions.
Jaiseen

Quintessential Quote

Then I had my son, and then I decided to go back to college because . . . it wasn’t just important for me, it was important for my son also, to show him that you know, school – education is important and it actually helped him because when I would go to school and I would come home – I think he was young at the time, maybe two or three, and . . . we would talk about it . . . and he would go, “ho mom, I want to go to school too, you know,” so it kind of motivated him, which I thought was good, which I thought was awesome . . .

(Interview 1, 2009)

Biographical Synopsis

Just as David did, Jaiseen graduated from the Wai‘anae High School HSP in 1999. She was 28-years-old at the time of our interview and had a 7-year-old son. After she graduated from high school, she was selected as an archaeology intern for three months. She worked at a series of jobs in the car rental, retail, convenience store and investment fields to help support her mother and brothers and sisters. Her shortest job was three months. Her longest job was four years. She had a son by another HSP graduate. They had broken up and she decided to go back to school when her son was 2-years-old. She started at Heald College in 2004 and earned her associates in applied sciences degree, then obtained a bachelor’s of science in business management degree from University of Phoenix. In 2009, she still lived in Wai‘anae and had worked at a transportation business in human resources for 18 months. She was working towards her MBA at University of Phoenix. She aspired to someday own her own business.
Fundamental Themes

Dialogue, love of learning, and a passion for archaeology were the themes that emerged in Jaiseen’s interviews. Jaiseen spoke in a very conversational talk-story manner. In the interviews, it was noticeable in both the transcription and review process that dialogue was an important activity in her life; “we had this heart-to-heart talk about our lives and just everything that was going on and stuff and then we were even talking about church and everything” (Interview 1, 2009). She also talked about having conversations with others, and there are over 10 instances in which she used actual pieces of dialogue in her explanations. Rather than summarizing, she often told a story: “if I see someone littering, like my family members or my son, I’ll be like, “Don’t throw it over there, pick it up and put it in the trash” (Interview 2, 2009).

The dialogue highlighted the story, to emphasize what others had said:

I have to be more patient with people and even with my job now, you know, because we deal with so many employees and I deal with benefits, whether it be medical, dental or unemployment, a lot of employees call me up and say, “how come I don’t have medical,” and they get upset with me and I have to learn to just stay calm and say, “you know, I’m here to help you, you don’t have to yell at me, you know,” stuff like that, so I think it helped me with stuff like that, just being a more patient person . . . (Interview 1, 2009)

She recounted another story:

[Doing community service] will help me help my son because he gets involved too. And he already – oh my gosh, he’s so funny. He already you know like when they show commercials . . . about like sea animals? I think – what was it?
Polar bears or something? They were showing polar bears are going extinct or something so you can donate money. And he was like, "Mom, I want to donate money, call." And I was like "Koi, okay next time, not right now" and he was like, "why, just use your credit card?" And I like, "no." (Laughs) but I mean it helps with him seeing how important it is to help other people. (Interview 2, 2009)

Jaiseen loved learning, she loved school and she firmly believed in education. This was first evident in her self-description

| Jaiseen: | [I am] always up to doing new things, learning new things, always interested in pretty much anything and everything – just learning, yeah, I just love to learn for some reason. |
| Me: | Learn – what? |
| Jaiseen: | Um, anything, anything. Anything in life whether it be career wise, professional or personal . . . you know how to become a better person, or whether it’s how to do better at work, just anything, learning in general. |

(Interview 1, 2009)

At the time of the interview, I remember thinking that this was a prepared answer - but I now think it was reflective of her love of learning. “I’m good at learning things, picking up quickly, hands on” (Interview 1, 2009). Even in 2004, Jaiseen said that she “always strived in school” – at least from “seventh grade and on” and, as she stated, “I always tried to do my best in school and . . . people think I’m crazy, but I really did like school and doing my school work” (Interview, 2004). Jaiseen concluded that she was “always into school” (Interview, 2004). Reportedly, she excelled in her classes: “honestly, it wasn’t that hard for me” (Interview 2, 2009). And helped her boyfriend as well, “it didn’t really put a strain on me, but when he would wait until the night before a project
was due and ask me for help that would be when I would be like a little irritated”  
(Interview 2, 2009).

One subject that Jaiseen clearly enjoyed learning about and excitedly talked about at length in her 2004 interview as well as her 2009 interviews was archaeology, the area she focused on most during HSP and obtained an internship after HSP. In 2004, she and her child’s father did their interview together, since both of them were in the program. For the most part, he tended to dominate the interview. Even though Jaiseen’s internship experience lasted only three months, it clearly made a deep impression on her. One of the longest sections where Jaiseen talked at length and her boyfriend said very little had to do with her experiences in the internship. She talked about how she was one of four students in the internship program and a member of one of the teams finding an elbow bone. She also talked about how she was asked to go to Maui for a week and a half, during which time she rode a helicopter, and the team she worked with found dog teeth in a fire pit:

    They found a pit where they said it might’ve been a kitchen or someplace they used to cook. What else did they find? They found some other stuff, but yeah, Nānākuli Valley, they seem like they found a lot but when I was there, but yeah, when I came back I continued to finish up with the kids in Nānākuli and I know actually after we supervised them, during the year they had their own program and I remember seeing a couple of them like on their Nānākuli [school] news . . . that they show on TV. I remember seeing couple of them and they were talking about Hawaiian Studies and everything. (Interview, 2004)

Jaiseen seemed especially proud of her proficiency in the subject: “Actually, he
[State archaeologist Ross Cordy], asked me out of the four students to help him supervise his college class when we went up into Wai’anae” (Interview 2004). She explained to the interviewer what the students’ reaction to her was: “And I swear, all the students were like “Oh my goodness, you know all of this?” She also noted that, “they were really amazed at all the stuff that I knew. And you know, they were like ‘Wow, we’re glad that you came to help us’” (Interview, 2004). Jaiseen proudly continued, “Ross even said the stuff that we were doing in high school, not even the college students knew that” and that his daughter, who was double majoring in Hawaiian Studies and anthropology in college, learned different things by going out with them. (Interview, 2004)

After the internship, Jaiseen applied for a few archaeology jobs but, whether it was due to the fact that they were not hiring at that time or her lack of experience, she was not get hired. Both in 2004 and 2009, she recalled feeling “discouraged.”

At the same time, Jaiseen explained that she made the decision to postpone her career and educational plans to help her mother and siblings financially. Yet, she still talked about returning to archaeology.

I felt I needed to find a job quick so I could help my family, but it was something that I wanted to pursue. I mean even now, if I really, really wanted to, and put my mind to it, I could go back to pursuing archaeology. But I know that . . . when I tell everyone that, they’re like, “But you got a business degree and that has nothing to do with archaeology? (Both Jaiseen and I laugh together) aw gee, and I’m like, yeah, but I want to do archaeology, you know. (Interview 2, 2009)
Jaiseen’s ability to transition easily to the job market displayed her love of people and her ability to learn quickly, “if I’m at work, I’m good at learning things, picking up quickly, hands on” (Interview 1, 2009).

I started at a convenience store and then I worked at K-Mart, you know the retail business and I don’t know why I just absolutely loved it. Even though it was stressful, especially around the holidays. I still liked it because I got to meet people and I got to - well, in my eyes, give the best possible customer service I could possibly give because I was a supervisor and I worked at the customer service desk. But for me, I guess it was just all about customer service.

(Interview 2, 2009)

Jaiseen talked about how the managers she had “were awesome managers” who “understood . . . the local family lifestyle,” “were flexible . . . with scheduling” and “would work alongside you, not just delegate” (Interview 2, 2009). Jaiseen reported that her self-made aunty was also a strong role model for her, “she’s a manager for 7-11 and she didn’t graduate high school but she went back and got her GED . . . . And just growing up around her and her being so independent and everything, I guess you could say [is] where I got my drive . . . from” (Interview 2, 2009).

Jaiseen had an amazingly detailed memory of all the jobs she has held, how long she had held them and her primary job responsibilities. This may have been due to her positive attitude towards her work: “All my jobs that I had, I tried to stay and learn as much as I could, from the job? Just to, like better myself professionally and personally” (Interview 1, 2009).
Jaiseen returned to school not in spite of her son, but because of her son, as the opening quote attested: “I decided to go back to college because it was an important— it wasn’t just important for me, it was important for my son also, to show him that you know, school – education is important” (Interview 1, 2009). She believed it was important to be a good example, a role model for her son. As the interview unfolded, it was evident that returning to school was difficult and the reality of what she needed to do (in terms of juggling her hours working, going to school and parenting) was far from easy. For example, working at the cash office for Home Depot required her to start work at 5 a.m., get off at 2 p.m., go to school from 6 to 10 p.m. and return home after 11 p.m., and also fit in homework sometime. Jaiseen admitted that she was “sleep deprived” during this time and said, “I look back now and think, ‘how the heck did I do that?’” (Interview 2, 2009) She named this situation as being one of her most challenging experiences:

Being full-time work and then full-time student and full-time mom . . . (laughs) it was definitely a challenge and I would always have to find a babysitter for when I would have – like for when I was attending Heald, because it was four nights a week, from six to ten, it was hard. (Interview 2, 2009)

Jaiseen found a way to make it work – she graduated in July 2006 with high honors from Heald ("July quarter graduates celebrate honors and attendance recognition," 2006). She then attended University of Phoenix, taking classes once a week.

**Goals and Plans**

**Personal goals and plans.** Jaiseen had three personal goals:
Definitely to go to college. I always had that in my mind. But I knew that wasn’t something that I was going to start right after high school. And I knew I always wanted to get a college degree, I just didn’t know what – or where I was going to go . . . . And to have a family. And stay here in the islands, because I really didn’t want to leave. I still don’t . . . (Interview 2, 2009).

Jaiseen seemed satisfied with her progress, “I do feel that I have met the goals because I have my son now and I’m in college now, working towards my masters. I’m not sure if I’m going to get my PhD yet, but it’s always open” (Interview 2, 2009).

**Educational goals and plans.** Jaiseen felt that she exceeded her goal of going to college and commented,

I didn’t set like – oh, I’m only going to stop at my bachelor’s degree. Like I didn’t set – set that type of goals. But my goal was always to go to college and get a degree. I just didn’t know how far I was going to go or what I was going into. But I knew I wanted to go to college. Yeah. Definitely go to college.

(Interview 2, 2009)

**Career goals and plans.** As far as her career plans went Jaiseen, similar to David, considered many options:

I thought about being a cop, I thought about being an oceanographer, I thought about being a doctor, a lifeguard, I mean I thought about being so many different things that I was like ‘kay, which one am I going to choose from?’ And actually when I joined Hawaiian Studies and did archaeology and all, I was like, this is pretty cool, I would like to do something like this too. (Interview 2, 2009)

Five years earlier, she had commented,
I really want to get . . . back into archeology. And either that, if that doesn’t work out, maybe business management. I mean because I’m working in retail right now. Maybe go to a business college. It’s pretty much either/or, but archeology would be the number one on my list. (Interview, 2004)

Jaiseen’s plans were prophetic, since she did follow this trajectory. Although archaeology was on the top of her list, she continued in business school. She saw a business degree as providing a safety net for her and stated, “I could always fall back on it [a business degree], you know what I mean?” (Interview 2, 2009) When I asked Jaiseen why she wanted to open a business, she explained that her boyfriend’s family had a tent rental business and she found business to be something she could do, “I was totally business illiterate I guess you could say. But when I started school and totally got into it, you know, and I was like, this is like pretty cool, I think I could do this” (Interview 2, 2009). When I asked her why she specifically wanted to own her own business, she answered, “For me, it’s more so security – . . . financial security for – not only myself, but my son as well, you know. Something I can pass on to him if he wants . . . to take it over, the business and stuff so and of course, help out my family as much as I can” (Interview 2, 2009).

Links to the Bridging Multiple Worlds Model

Jaiseen understood the dynamics of school in as much as the necessity of others in achieving her goal. People were always mentioned. Thus, she focused on customer service in her jobs, she mentioned friends and having a support network. Her initial interview in 2004 was complicated by the fact that it was a joint interview with the father
of her son, also a HSP graduate. When I met with her to do the first 2009 interview, she also had a male friend with her, though he waited elsewhere during the interview.

In high school, Jaiseen was aware about afterschool tutoring, even though it did not sound as though she made use of it. She had a support network, “I was close with most of the girls on the [soccer] team and the coach was I believe, my English teacher freshman year – freshman or sophomore year and she would help me” (Interview 2, 2009). She credited her high school counselor, Glen Tokunaga: “He was actually a big help too with . . . figuring out my classes and what credits I needed to graduate and stuff” (Interview 2, 2009).

As she moved on to college, she also understood the value of making friends and using peers for teamwork. At Heald, she befriended two others in her program: “whenever we needed to do team projects, we would always ask each other if we wanted to be as a team. So I made a couple of friends there that we would help each other out if we needed to” (Interview 2, 2009). She made use of her teachers: “a lot of the teachers, if you just asked, they were more than willing to help you” and acknowledged that the smaller class size allowed her to get more individualized attention. (Interview 2, 2009) University of Phoenix assigned individual and group projects, “So, you pull information off of your teammates as well and they are there to help you” (Interview 2, 2009). Jaiseen was very attuned to the fact that the counselors were resources to help her to reach her goal, “a lot of the counselors, they just keep up with you and stuff to see if you need any help with tutoring, or anything, you can always ask. Those are the resources that are available” (Interview 2, 2009).
Jaiseen went to both Heald and Phoenix based on word-of-mouth referrals from friends:

I would always see like commercials, you know, like Heald Business College and stuff, you know, and I would always wonder really how does it work? And when I found out my friend was attending, I asked her some questions and then she actually helped me get enrolled and everything, along with the counselor. (Interview 2, 2009)

Continuing on, she also relied on another friend’s recommendation:

I knew I wanted to go back, but I didn’t know where I was going to go because Heald didn’t offer a bachelor’s program. So I had a friend who worked [with Jaiseen at a home improvement store] and she was going to University of Phoenix. And it was pretty much the same, she told me some information. I was like you know, it sounds really convenient, because that’s what I needed was something convenient. (Interview 2, 2009)

Even on a more personal level, she most certainly had a strong support system throughout her life. In high school, she turned to others when she had problems: “most of the times, I would just talk to my friends or my boyfriend” (Interview 2, 2009). Jaiseen continued to accumulate more and more friends as she progressed. She had the same group of friends from intermediate and high school. She was close to a number of family members, particularly her aunty and two older cousins “we would always talk and stuff but they were always the ones . . . that I would turn to if I had questions or if I had problems. And especially my aunty, she would always be there helping us out along the way” (Interview 2, 2009).
Jaiseen also made friends from her jobs (one of them was in the MBA program with her at Phoenix), Heald, church and bible study. She stated that it was hard to make friends at Phoenix because people switched classes a lot so you do not stay not with the same group. Jaiseen appreciated all that others did for her: “I think I’ve been really blessed I guess you could say to have the help that I have and the not foundation, but the people – my support group, I guess you could say to help me throughout my schooling and work” (Interview 2, 2009).

Jaiseen’s parents separated when she was very young (between one to three months). She lived with mom until sixth grade. At that point, her mom remarried, so Jaiseen had a younger brother and sister. When her mom tried to sell the house, Jaiseen moved in with her aunty until eighth grade, then went to live with grandmother for two to three years, and finally moved back with her mom in senior year. This moving around and change in caregivers had an impact on her education. Jaiseen was not clear about her mother’s educational background: “I’m not a hundred percent sure, but I don’t know if my mom graduated. I think she was maybe in her senior year and she had to drop out or something” (Interview 1, 2009). She also was not sure about her mother’s career path: “My mom – gosh, I know she worked at Makaha Elementary for a number of years as a classroom cleaner . . . part time custodian. I can’t remember – because she doesn’t work there anymore, but I think she was still working there during the time that I was in the Hawaiian Studies Program” (Interview 1, 2009). Her aunty was a store manager for a convenience store, her grandfather was an Air Force firefighter and her grandmother was a housewife.
Surprisingly, Jaiseen’s mother did not feel it was important for her to go to school: “when I was in elementary school, I wouldn’t really go to school. I would go to school when I wanted to go to school and my mom wasn’t really – wasn’t really the discipline type so she was really, you can do whatever you want, kind of thing” (Interview 2, 2009). Luckily, Jaiseen’s aunty (her mom’s younger sister) required her to go to school and was a positive influence,

That’s one of the reason why I started doing better in school was because I was going to school more often and then I found out that I really did, you know, enjoy school and getting good grades and stuff like that. . . . She would always say that education was important. (Interview 2, 2009)

So Jaiseen discovered she enjoyed school and was good at it, but did not realize it at first. Her grandmother also instilled the same values, “she was also another, you know, person saying that school was very important. And her – I think all her sisters became like doctors or nurses and stuff. So, yeah, she would always say how important it is to go to school” (Interview 2, 2009).

Jaiseen pointed out that her awareness of the importance of education was important, but that school formed a kind of escape for her:

Being a teenager, at that age, I was going through a lot of personal issues, and that was my escape. I wouldn’t say comfort zone either. I don’t really know what you would call it, but that was what I put all my energy into, was school, you know and I mean, I knew how important education was, but, yeah, I think that’s why it was really important to me at the time. (Interview 2, 2009)
Jaiseen said she was greatly impacted by HSP and remembered a lot of details from the experience that others do not even mention – storm drain stenciling and tapa making. Yet, she was only in the program for her senior year. Previous to that, she was in the Marine Science Program. She stated that she felt that Hawaiian Studies was much better compared to the Marine Science Program.

Hawaiian Studies is above and beyond Marine Science, to tell you the truth. I mean Marine Science, the year that I was in Marine Science, I mean some of the students, I don’t think they were responsible enough, you know, like to take it seriously. (Interview, 2004)

She also added,

When we went to the Big Island, because I went to the Big Island with Marine Science also, it was completely different from Hawaiian Studies. I mean, a totally different experience and I-I liked Hawaiian Studies one better. I mean you learn more . . . hands on more. (Interview, 2004)

She reported only interacting with the HSP students during Hawaiian Studies activities and that her boyfriend (with whom she was together with prior to switching to HSP) was the only one she was friends with. As a result, her worlds in high school consisted of school and her friends from her high school soccer league (some of which were the same people.) After all the years had passed and consistent with her love of people, she had many worlds, as she explained it, “Definitely more than I [had] in high school,” (Interview 2, 2009) consisting of school, work, family (her son), her son’s soccer, church and beach.
After her high school graduation, Jaiseen started to take a few steps towards continuing her education. Jaiseen commented, “I went as far as taking the placement test, but I just never enrolled” (Interview, 2004).

When she was asked what her life story was, Jaiseen explained how determined she was to return to school:

Just basically after I graduated, a lot of my family, teachers, and friends wondered if I was going to go to college or not, but I told them at first that no, I wasn’t going to go to college because I wanted to help my mom, you know take care of my family, so I’m going to work and everybody was like, “Why? Why? You’re not going to go to college, when you don’t go right after high school,” but I told them, I said, “No, I am, it’s just that right now I don’t think it’s the best time to go [to] college.” So I started working to help my mom . . . take care of our family . . . (Interview 1, 2009).

Even in her second interview, the issue came up again, “I knew I wasn’t going to go right after high school because I knew my mom needed help, so I already made that decision that I wasn’t going to go after high school” (Interview 2, 2009).

Both in her 2004 and 2009 interviews, Jaiseen explained that she always knew that she would return to school: “I didn’t have to make the decision, because I always knew I was going to go back to school, I just had to make the decision of when” (Interview 2, 2009). Her decision of when to return sounded as if it was based on her own experience and the belief that teenagers need their parents,
My son is two years old and it’s better for me to do it when he’s younger rather than when he’s older. Because for me, I think as a teenager, you need your parents to be there more . . . . because you’re going to go through all kinds of things I mean, emotionally, you know, personally, you know, just everything with school and peer pressure and all of that. (Interview 2, 2009)

Jaiseen also saw her own example as a way of motivating her son:

Another thing I thought about was it would help to show my son how school is and it actually did, because he - every time I came home, he would ask me about it and go, “oh mom, I want to go to school,” and this was before he was going to school, so I think he was really excited to go to school. So, I think that was what geared me to go back but at the time that I did. (Interview 2, 2009)

Jaiseen reported that her turning point was recent, when she found out a guy she was seeing briefly was going to church, “He was going to church and I told him, ‘oh, you know, I wouldn’t mind going and seeing,’ but that was I think one of the more turning points in my life is when I started going to church and becoming more active in the church” (Interview 1, 2009). She states that

Like before . . . I was always grumpy or mad or whatever it may be, but when I started going to church, it was like everything changed . . . . I was always an impatient kind of person, but I think that’s one way that kind of helped me so that I see things differently. (Interview 1, 2009)

When asked about her most difficult or challenging experience, Jaiseen acknowledged, I would say . . . when I decided to go back to school? Only because I did have my son and I was worried about how I was going to go to school, take care of him
and work all at the same time, so I think that was one of my more difficult times.

And then of course, personal-wise, my son’s father and I, we ended up breaking up and that was a more difficult time in my life, so yeah (laughs). (Interview 1, 2009)

Rather than assuming that the birth of her son and the breakup of her relationship were an end to her academic pursuit, Jaiseen found a way to make it work.

Jaiseen’s important memory in HSP dealt with archaeology and both her important memory after HSP and her best experience also dealt with the archaeology internship. When I asked her for an important HSP memory, she responded,

Jaiseen: You know, they are all important in my eyes because . . . I learned so much from the program, and even though I didn’t pursue it after the program, there was always a passion of mine that I wanted to pursue and even to this day, I still want to, but I learned a lot from the program. I mean, everything that I remember was important to me, yeah, especially if I’m thinking of pursuing it later on.

Me: And when you say pursue, what do you mean?

Jaiseen: Starting to go back to school and actually becoming an archaeologist because that was one of my stronger passions. (Interview 1, 2009)

Again, Jaiseen’s choice of words was telling. She used the word “passion” in connection with her love for archaeology. In the second interview in 2009, Jaiseen explained that she does not equate good job with pay, but more with a sense of fulfillment, “if I don’t like the job, I’m not going to care about doing it. It’s gotta be something you have a passion for” (Interview 2, 2009).

The internship was “one of [her] best experiences overall cause like I said, I did learn a lot and it was like – it was just very interesting to me” and clearly it left a good
impression, “I really enjoyed that part of my life I mean, but it was a great experience. I think it was one of the better – the best experience that I had” (Interview 1, 2009). It can be assumed that Jaiseen excelled in the field, since she was selected with only three other students for this internship. She seemed aware of the fact that there was a lot more to it than people would expect and a lot to learn, “it was really in depth you know and it wasn’t just digging” (Interview 1, 2009).

**Closing Comments**

Jaiseen was able to look beyond simply providing the basic needs for her son to become the educational role model and source of inspiration that she found in her aunt. Although Jaiseen has put her passion for archaeology on hold to support her family, based on her prior determination in returning back to school, it appeared that her love of learning could someday help her fulfill her dreams and make them a reality.
Kasey

Quintessential Quote

*I do feel that my turning point was that I was let free, you know, from my – type of childhood life that I was raised, wasn’t able to do anything, wasn’t questioned on this – can’t do this, can’t do that and it was just one thing after another. And when I met him [her husband], it was you know, freedom for me, you know? I I - have a life now, you know? He’s the one that you need to get a full time job, this is what it needs to be, this is reality, you don’t live in this world of dreams . . .* (Interview 1, 2009)

Biographical Synopsis

Kasey graduated from the Wai’anae High School HSP in 2002. She was 26-years-old at the time of the interview. For two years, she worked part-time while attending Leeward Community College (LCC), with plans of going into nursing and becoming registered nurse. She then quit work for two years to focus full-time on school and earned her associate of arts degree in liberal arts. For two years, Kasey had an opportunity through Alu Like and the Queen Lili‘uokalani Children’s Center to shadow and volunteer at Ko ‘Olina Beach Club. When she reached the age limit for that program, Ko ‘Olina hired her as a human resource assistant for a year. As the needs of the hotel changed, she was shifted within the hotel - to the marketplace and then, to the restaurant. She transferred to the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa and decided to go into education. In order to accumulate the 40 hours of field experience required by the College of Education, she chose to work at Maile Elementary as a paraprofessional tutor. Due to a number of factors, including the fact that she got married at the age of 23, she stopped attending college. She and her husband temporarily moved in with her husband's
parents and subsequently, bought a home. Her plans to return to school changed when she decided that to help the family financially. At the time of the interview, she was working full-time as an administrative assistant at the Makaha Resort and Golf Club. Unfortunately, she was let go at the end of 2009.

**Fundamental Themes**

All of Kasey’s themes (being raised strictly, searching for family and first generation issues) dealt with her family. According to Kasey, her parents were quite different. Kasey characterized her mother as being “very family oriented” (Interview 1, 2009) and noted that every weekend her mother went to her mother’s house to hang out (and even slept over.) Kasey characterized her father as “tend[ing] to stay home a lot. He doesn’t really go out much and it’s not that he can’t or he is not able to, but he’s very homeward bound” (Interview 1, 2009). She also characterized him as being “to himself a lot and I don’t know if that has anything to do with the way he was raised” (Interview 1, 2009). Her father had a “very, very hard and tough life” (Interview 1, 2009). He was raised in Halawa Housing¹⁷ and as the eldest of seven children, was required to often sacrifice for the others.

They didn’t have money . . . and everything fell on my dad where everything was ‘take care of your sister,’ ‘take care of your brother,’ ‘you have to do this for them,’ ‘you have to do that for them.’ He had to – you know, he worked so hard for what he has, but it’s like he still had to give it up for them because he was the oldest. (Interview 1, 2009)

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¹⁷ Halawa Housing were World War II army barracks that were converted to low-income housing and run by the Hawai‘i Housing Authority. The buildings were demolished when the Aloha Stadium was built.
Kasey said that she was raised very strictly. When I asked Kasey for an important memory not related to HSP, she answered in the following way:

I wasn’t raised where I could go out all the time and do things all the time and free to go – my dad was very strict with me. So those are the kind of memories that sit with me. It was hard, you know. My life – I had a hard life. With my dad, you know, and he probably carried it on from his life but those are the types of memories I have you know, and they’re not good ones. But this is my new life now and I’m happy where I’m at . . .

(Interview 1, 2009)

When Kasey’s parents met and had her, they both already had children. Since her half-sisters and brothers were older and had already moved out on their own to start their own families, Kasey was essentially raised as an only child. Her cousins on her mother’s side were all older, “So when I used to go with my mom to my family’s house and to my grandma’s house, it was always around adults” (Interview 1, 2009). She did have a lot of cousins on her father’s side, but because he was not close to his family, “I don’t even know a lot of them, I really don’t” (Interview 1, 2009). This seemed to have had a profound impact on her. “I just wish I had people to actually grow up with, you know, brothers and sisters” (Interview 1, 2009).

It was really like a lonely growing up, always around adults . . . So that’s probably what would stand out for me, not having other people to play with, or get into trouble with, for me it was about being an only child and I got so excited when people would come to our house . . . or – hanging out
with friends, it was an excitement for me because I didn’t have no brothers or sisters that lived with me? (Interview 1, 2009)

During high school, Kasey found a family in the HSP Program.

You went to school and hung out with them from before school starts until way, way, way after school . . . . I mean, yeah, I had my own family at home, but I spent a lot of my time with them and with our teachers who obviously taught us the culture so they were like family – each and every one of them. (Interview 1, 2009)

When I asked her what she meant by “way, way, way afterschool,” she responded, “we would just purposely stay after school. We would finish school about anywhere from 1 to 2 o’clock and we would just stay after school and hang out till like 5, 6 o’clock and just hang out or hang out with the teachers” (Interview 1, 2009). Four times in the first interview, Kasey described many of her HSP interactions as “brotherly-sisterly” including fond memories of fighting while waiting for the bus, of friendly rivalries to determine the cool group in HSP, “it was like okay, well, what do you do? You just look at plants, you know? What do you do you do? You just, you know, figure out archaeology sites and - and what not. Oh, your group is a cruise group. WE’RE in the mountains all the time,” and of determining superiority in hiking, “it was like, who’s going to get up there first? . . . I wouldn’t say it was a competition, but that’s just what made Hawaiian Studies fun because it was like a brother-sisterly thing cause everyone’s like your brother and sister” (Interview 1, 2009). She also spoke about a camping trip to the Big Island in which
Everyone kind of kanakapila’d [played music together] and everybody would eat together, everybody would have fun. At night, people were sitting and you know, raiding each other with whipped cream . . . (Laughs) and toothpaste . . . and those are the kinds of memories I have. But it was being able to go the airport together, get on a plane together, go on . . . a trip and do things like that and still learn about the culture, but have fun and it was like I said, it was all a whole brotherly-sisterly thing. (Interview 1, 2009)

Kasey also found a family when she married her husband, who has one brother and two sisters:

It just puts a smile on my face when I see them all get together because they’re all just so close and I enjoy it because it’s just that feeling of family getting together – and they still act like little kids egging on each other and my husband has a very humorous side to his family so I have to say that he really completes my life because you know, I – I didn’t have that . . . (Interview 1, 2009)

Kasey described herself in the following way: “I would say I’m a go-getter, kind and you know, would be willing to go out and do anything for anybody . . . just like to learn about my cultural background, my experience and . . . like to try to give back in any way possible” (Interview 1, 2009). It was true that Kasey mentioned the idea of giving back repeatedly throughout her interview. Kasey really felt that she would like to mentor others. She felt that she learned this through the HSP:

HSP really did stress community involvement. To the T. . . it was always about giving back because your community gives to you, the land gives to you, in the Hawaiian culture, everything was about the land giving to you. And it was
always, give back, give back, give back . . . . They instilled that in our head,
totally instilled that. (Interview 2, 2009)

She also deliberately chose to work at Maile Elementary, despite people’s concerns about the school’s “bad reputation.” “That just made me want to go further with it and wanna help more because maybe if I can give back to them, I can make a difference” (Interview 2, 2009). Her work at Makaha Resorts also dealt with the community because Makaha Resorts supported community events by offering deals to non-profit organizations.

Kasey felt that this helped her to meet her goals in this area. As she states, “I’m, you know, still meeting with the community, I’m still giving back” (Interview 2, 2009).

The topic of having children came up quite a few times in the interview. She loved the idea of her classmates’ children knowing one another, “one day, they’ll all be in Wai‘anae High School growing up together” and she comments, “and I don’t have kids of my own, but it’s just a wow for me. Like how cool is that?” (Interview 1, 2009)

Kasey did not see having children in her immediate future. Kasey’s husband is also from Wai‘anae, but he is older by six years and as Kasey explained, “[he] has been through it all” (Interview 1, 2009) – he has served in the navy for four years, been a federal police officer and is now a federal firefighter. Kasey stated, “what he may want now, I’m not ready for it now, and I don’t really mean kids, I’m just saying that . . . when he was 25, he was partying, and enjoying life and you know, for me 25, I settle down, you know?” (Interview 1, 2009)

Kasey did not rule out the possibility, “one day, yeah, we will have kids, I’m just trying to enjoy life now, you know? Still like to travel, you know and things like that and concentrate on work. I am young; I do have a lot of time for kids” (Interview 1, 2009).
At one point, she seemed apologetic and noted, “I’m sorry, I don’t have a story like I live for my kids or anything, because I don’t have them” (Interview 1, 2009). I found this side comment interesting and wondered whether she felt pressured to have kids or felt as though she should be having them.

**Goals and Plans**

**Personal goals and plans.** Kasey’s goals changed a great deal between her 2004 and 2009 interviews. In 2004, she reflected, “my goals were also to get into a college and kinda work” and she stated,

> When I made goals, I set my goals really high and that’s mainly for my future too. I look ahead of myself, not just to okay, I better graduate and don’t look for nothing else after that, but I said it to (inaudible) you know, I’m gonna be in the medical field. (Interview, 2004)

Five years later, her goals had shifted to focus on basic needs:

> I may not be the nurse that I wanted to [be] or the teacher that I wanted to [be]. But everything I dreamed about, I have, you know? I have a house, I have a good husband, I have – I wouldn’t say a good career, but, it . . . gets me across in life and I can, you know, do what I need to do. It pays my bills, I can’t complain. I still have a job with the way this economy is. (Interview 2, 2009)

**Educational goals and plans.** Initially, Kasey was focused on pursuing nursing, though strangely, she attached a deadline to this goal: “My goal has been since high school to go into the medical field and I’m gonna live that goal till I’m 25 or until I graduate” (Interview, 2004). The stress of studying was evident. In her 2004 interview, Kasey mentioned the word stress six times, related to school or her plans:
With all my school stuff...um, I’m pretty stressed out. (Interview, 2004)

I’m having my stressful moments in school right now, so um, it’s not easy. (Interview 2004)

I-I think that I could you know, exercise more . . . but I mean . . . I don’t have time for those kind of stuff. It’s just you know, it’s very stressful. My main concern is just to where I’m going. My goal, my future, what I plan to do. (Interview, 2004)

I find myself to stress a lot on things and my emotional status ain’t too good when I do come to think about it, but . . . I guess I just don’t have a positive self-esteem. (Interview, 2004)

I do stress a lot more and I understand that through school. So, but my home life . . . I get put down a lot too yeah, so that kinda doesn’t help either. (Interview 2004).

I would like to say that I will do much and I want to do much, but I haven’t done much lately due to school situations and-and you know, being stressed out with school. (Interview 2004).

Kasey decided to change majors. Looking back at her decisions in 2007, she explained that getting married put an end to her educational plans.

It was all a matter of getting into the College of Education program. Didn’t – get there and then I got married and just everything – personal life just got involved in it and I was just done with school and I couldn’t go any longer and it just – I needed a break and – we bought a house and I just had to you know, make money to do my part and my share of the house and the bills and things like that.

(Interview 2, 2009)

**Career goals and plans**

As a young girl, Kasey’s goal was to become a registered nurse. After high school, she switched to education, and then was introduced to work in the travel industry. This made her revise her plans, “it made me think if I don’t get into the medical field, I’m
totally gonna go into the hotel industry. So like I totally enjoyed that” (Interview, 2004).
Looking back on this path in 2007, she commented, “as far as the nursing, I would love to become a nurse, but it’s just too much work, you know?” (Interview 2, 2009) About education, she commented, “it’s natural for me to work with kids” (Interview 2, 2009).
About the travel industry, she concluded,

> If I had to probably choose for my career path to go somewhere, it would probably stay in the hotel industry . . . . Because of having . . . more of my Hawaiian culture in me and learning more about it through the HSP program, I want to share that with visitors, I want to share that with guests. (Interview 2, 2009)

When she was asked why her career choice changed, she said, “for me, the things that I obviously chose is not my calling, you know and I’m still trying to figure out what my calling is, and what my purpose is and right now, it’s just to be happy, yeah” (Interview 2, 2009). She also commented, “I wanna – I just want to be successful. That’s my goal to be successful in life. And I obviously am . . . where I’m at now” (Interview 2, 2009).
Kasey’s idea of living in the moment seemed to be based on a feeling of uncertainty and a mistrust of anticipating the future:

> [You] never know what - what’s going to happen, and I don’t wanna say, yeah, this is going to be the future, this is what I’m heading for, cause things will always change. Like school, you know, I really thought I was going to get a bachelor’s degree in teaching and part of me is like I’m kind of glad that I didn’t . . . Like with all the time and energy that is put into it and then you get all these cutbacks, you know. (Interview 1, 2009)
She instead chose to focus on being content with what she has and twice mentions: “for me, it’s just getting by in life . . . . I can’t say I really have a career goal, out there like I said, with the economy like it is, I’m just glad to have a job these days” (Interview 1, 2009).

**Links to the Bridging Multiple Worlds Model**

In high school, Kasey’s world was HSP. When she was asked if she participated in non-HSP activities in high school, she responded, “Hmm, not really . . . . my main focus was the Hawaiian Studies Program” (Interview, 2004).

My worlds would have been the Hawaiian culture. It was more just because being a part of the Hawaiian Studies Program . . . . It was always about the Hawaiian culture and getting to know about the Hawaiian culture . . . . mainly that was my world, learning my culture, spending time with my friends were my world. You know, I spent every day, 24/7 with them. (Interview 2, 2009)

HSP was her life. Kasey estimated that “about 75% of my friends, the majority” of her friends were from HSP because “HSP was day and night for all of us. All our classes were HSP classes” (Interview 2, 2009).

In 2009, Kasey’s world was quite different. When asked what her worlds were then, she responded, “My husband. (Laughs) . . . Pretty much, I don’t really have too many hobbies, you know with my husband being a firefighter, he becomes my world when he’s home” (Interview 2, 2009).

Kasey’s parents encouraged her educational goals, even though they had not attended college. Her dad had worked in construction and plumbing and was retired by the time Kasey was attending high school. Kasey’s mom was a merchandiser for candy
lines at the stores. They put a strong emphasis on her education. “My family taught me a lot about education. Everything was education, education, push your education and what not” (Interview 2, 2010) Kasey understood that it was important to finish high school: “They always told me that I was going to finish school. There was no dropouts in my family” (Interview 2, 2009).

However, Kasey’s friends were not as focused on school. Asked if school was a priority for them, she commented, “for a lot of them, it wasn’t” (Interview 1, 2009).

I remember being in English classes and science classes and everybody kinda was in their own daze, it wasn’t really education . . . . I mean, they would listen and stuff but a lot of the times when it came to do the work, everybody just didn’t want to do the work, you know? (Interview 2, 2009)

Her parents, especially Kasey’s father, had high expectations of her.

My dad, I think, tried to make me live his dream. Which of course didn’t happen. He wanted me to be the doctor and the lawyer and the teacher and what not. I think he just wanted to see me have a good career, you know? . . . . But like I said . . . .my dad was very strict on me and I feared my dad, so I made sure that I would listen. (Interview 2, 2009)

Since Kasey was a first generation college student, she reflected on how she faced an uphill battle in certain ways. For one thing, she had to convince her parents of the necessity of having an Internet connection: “when I got into college, I had to literally force my parents to get me Internet because I knew how much you needed it. If not, I spent so much of my time at the school” (Interview 2, 2009).
For another thing, her father wanted her to pursue jobs that would enable her to make money and discouraged her suggestions at other routes, “I would sit and tell my dad, I would, you know, want to be a hostess at somewhere, and it was like, ‘that don’t make money.’ Or I want to be an admin. assistant somewhere, and “That don’t make money’ (Interview 2, 2009).

At the same time, Kasey was also troubled by the financial struggles of paying for school. When she was interviewed in 2004, she had grants for tuition fees and books through her volunteer work with Ka’ala Farms, but the grants ended. She actually had scholarships for a year, as well, but she would have to pay up front and get reimbursed by the scholarship later. She noted, “It’s hard work to look for the money and find the money. And I really wanted to go to summer school this year too; I didn’t have the money, so . . . it’s hard” (Interview, 2004). This problem got worse as Kasey progressed in college:

Because my parents never went to college they knew nothing about trying to fill out financial aid. When it was time to give W2 forms and things, they didn’t want to let it out because they didn’t understand why- you know – the scholarships needed [this] information to be able to grant the scholarship. (Interview 2, 2009)

Kasey explained that she would talk to her parents about the difficulties she faced, but “there’s not really any support there because they weren’t willing to pay for . . . college, but they wanted me to become this nurse and I had to go out and look for the scholarships, they didn’t help me with it” (Interview 2, 2009).

In addition, getting help with schoolwork was problematic:
Because my parents didn’t really graduate from college . . . they didn’t know a lot of the stuffs that that - I was going though, you know. The maths and sciences and all of my homeworks, they weren’t able to help me. So a lot of the assistance was on my own, home on my computer, investigating on the Internet how to do stuff or while in school, asking, you know, for help from the teachers. (Interview 2, 2009)

Kasey was highly motivated and while still in high school, actually enrolled with three other classmates in a college medical terminology class offered through LCC – Wai‘anae. This class met every Tuesday and Thursday from 3p.m.-5:30 p.m. She commented, “it just prepared me for what college was going to be like once I graduated, so I got to see what. . .just the atmosphere, the environment of it” (Interview 2, 2009). She was aware of the resources available to her at LCC –Wai‘anae and mentioned college preparatory classes, scholarships, teachers who discussed options, as well as counselors. Kasey noted, “It was up to us whether we wanted to make the attempt and go see the counselors and spend time with them and plan for our future, which I totally took into consideration and I totally did” (Interview 2, 2009).

In college, Kasey felt alone, but reached out to others.

My parents [weren’t] there. My best friend didn’t end up continuing college. So it was literally, I was out on my own doing this on my own and it was the people that were in my college classes that we needed to make time and work together and study. (Interview 2, 2009)

She obviously grasped the value of working with others.
I always thought it was better studying with other people and getting other people’s opinions and things. Because studying by yourself, you would never know if you’re right. You needed other people to tell you or put in their input or see it in a different direction or what not. (Interview 2, 2009)

Links to the Life Story Model

When Kasey was asked what her life story was, she responded with a story of learning what not to do: “You need to fail sometimes to – to learn not to do it again, you know? And that’s the story of my life- I’m sorry, I don’t have a story like I live for my kids or anything, because I don’t have them. But my story of my life is to keep on learning, you know?” (Interview 1, 2009) When she is asked what the title of her three to eight chapters of her life story would be, she had an immediate and unexpected reaction, “My book has SIXTEEN chapters. (Laughs). . . . Life is about past, present and future, I totally believe that, you know?” (Interview 1, 2009) She divided her book into three areas, the past, what she dubs as “her hardships,” her present, of which she said, “my schooling time, even up until now, I think this is the biggest part of my life cause it’s all learning – it’s all learning experiences for me, you know” (Interview 1, 2009). She estimated that this section was “probably about six chapters long” (Interview 1, 2009).

Kasey felt her best experiences were her high school years, which she saw as having been formative:

I mean high school is the best part of my life. That’s where you learn everything. That’s where all your learning comes from. And because you’re at that age to understand, you know, you’re not too young to not know and not understand but then again you’re not too old to not understand, you know? That’s where all my
learning experiences came from to put me where I’m at today, you know?

Prepare for college, you know? (Interview 1, 2009)

Kasey’s most difficult and challenging experiences again, revolved around her childhood,

I wish I enjoyed my childhood life more and got to play more, got to – was in by 4, bathe by 5, on the table eating dinner by 6, you know? . . . not having other people to you know fight with, or you know, tease or have fun or just do what brothers and sisters would do because I was an only child. That was the most difficult part of my life. Which is why my Hawaiian Studies Program became my like my brothers and sisters. We would fight, we would argue, we would have fun, we would play, we would tease . . . (Interview 1, 2009)

As a result, Kasey’s turning point came when she got married. Although it symbolized the time at which she faced reality and became an adult, it also symbolized freedom, as the opening quote (italics mine) suggested: “my turning point is when I got married, I really grasped reality a lot more . . . . And when I met him, it was you know, freedom for me, you know? I I - have a life now, you know?” (Interview 1, 2009)

Closing Comments

As the opening quote attests, Kasey felt that when she got married, her life changed and she entered a learning period in her life. When asked what her worlds are now, her first response was her husband, followed by work, family and friends. Out of the five HSP women graduates interviewed for this study, Kasey is the only one not to have children. She felt that there is time for it and it was a stage in her life she will enter later.
Kelly

Quintessential Quote

*I went to work little while . . . after high school, then I got pregnant with [her youngest daughter] and then when she got older, thought I was going back work, no, I had my second (laughs) and then (coughs) . . . it was – it was the same I guess, it was the same thing. Then . . . then I had my third. Oh man, yeah . . . . Then after the three babies, then I decided to get married after that. So, it was like backwards. (Laughs)*  (Interview 1, 2009)

Biographical Synopsis

Kelly graduated from the Wai‘anae High School HSP in 2002. She was 26-years-old at the time of our interview and had three children: a 6-year-old daughter, a 3-year-old son and a 2-year-old daughter. After high school, she worked part-time at a local snack shop for a year. Then she and her boyfriend (a prior HSP graduate as well) became unexpectedly pregnant with her first daughter. She planned to return to school, but then had her son and daughter. She married the children’s father after the children were all born. Kelly stated,” it was like backwards. (Laughs) but for me, it felt right when I got married” (Interview 1 / 218, 2010). Her youngest daughter was extremely ill with rash and allergic to dairy and doctors were unsure how to treat her. Fortunately, her daughter eventually grew out of it when she turned one year old. Kelly had thought about returning to work, but her husband wanted her to stay at home and would like to have

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18 Kelly’s interviews were held back-to-back, on the same day.
more children, something Kelly opposed due to the stress she experienced in connection with her youngest child’s illness.

**Fundamental Themes**

There were three major themes that recurred throughout Kelly’s interviews: the importance of her children, not having a back-up plan and making herself busy. The first major idea running throughout her interviews was that her kids were her entire world. She first described herself in the following way. “I’m a homemaker; I’m a mom (laughs). That’s all I - all I do. My kids [are] everything, you know? That’s what my life is based around” (Interview 1 / 2, 2010). Her children were involved in many of her answers including what she is good at, “taking care of kids. I’m – I’m good at the basics, cleaning, taking care of kids, doing errands, computers and . . . that’s basically it” (Interview 1 / 2, 2010). Kelly worked only one year before she had her first daughter, so when asked what she has been doing since high school, she stated, “Just taking care of kids, that’s basically it” (Interview 1 / 2, 2010). Her first daughter’s birth signaled an important change in the way she viewed her life. Her important non–HSP memory had to do specifically with the birth of her first daughter, that she said “caught [her] off guard” (Interview 1 / 2, 2010). When asked to clarify what she meant by this, she responded, Because I didn’t want to have kids. I didn’t want to have kids. I wanted to go further, you know. But after I had her, that all changed. (Laughs) Then I wanted more kids. Then it was like . . . the comfortability got – got easy, you know? It was like I don’t gotta work, I can watch kids and I have a good husband, so that’s good. He loves me just to stay home and take care of my kids. But before, I did not want to have kids, so she caught me off guard. Yeah, but, yeah and it was
good. I think that was important to me. It was like that was my whole – big-switch. (Laughs) Like, oh okay, I was going to do this, but hey, never mind. Yeah, yeah. (Interview 1 / 2, 2010)

Another theme Kelly mentioned, focusing on one thing and not having a back-up plan, was explained in the following example.

So my daughter was going to – going to Kamehameha . . . and then when she didn’t make it to kindergarten . . . I was real pissed off . . . it’s just my nature, because I was real[ly] counting on that, but I failed to have a plan B, so I concentrate on this one thing and if it doesn’t go there, then I get stuck and then I don’t have a plan B, so I tend to span things out after, make everything more options the next time around, right? (Interview 1 / 2, 2010)

In the interview, she also mentioned that she thought that she would go into the medical field. When that did not work out, she was at a loss in terms of what she would do and acknowledged, “So for me, it was a waste of time but for somebody else who wanted that, it would have been perfect for them” (Interview 1 / 2, 2010).

A third major theme for Kelly was that she talked a lot about “making herself busy.” When asked what kind of person she was, she replied, “I’m not sure. I guess I’m just – I try to be a multi-tasker (laughs). Sometimes it doesn’t turn out like that, but yeah. I make myself a lot more busier than I should be, yeah” (Interview 1 / 2, 2010). When I asked her to explain, she stated,

It’s like I’m really busy but then I plan to do so much other things, ‘kay like . . . with my daughter . . . she goes to school and then of course Kumon19 after and then after all the homework and stuff (laughs) I decided

19 After school tutoring.
to put her in cheerleading. So – All-Stars, so that takes up all our time, right, and then I decide to put, you know, my son into something else or whatever and then I really don’t have the time so I always have to squeeze things . . . . (Laughs) I never notice how busy I am. (Interview 1 / 2, 2010)

They do the gymnastics stuff on Saturdays. And the cheer – Mondays and now they have on Thursdays, because competition. That’s why I said, oh, so busy. Sometimes I just forget everything because it’s too much. Plus, we have this church stuff so I’m trying to squeeze in stuff here and there, here and there . . . . (Interview 1 / 2, 2010)

I try to take my kids in a different direction . . . . But then it always leads up to the same stuff that I was doing. Even though I tried to take a different path. You know, try not to be too busy. Try to schedule your things out right, and it ends up to be like that with them. (Laughs) (Interview 1 / 2, 2010)

Kelly was the only HSP graduate with three children. It was undeniable that her youngest child’s illness occupied much of her mental and physical energy. It was clear she was busy. In the course of the interview, she mentioned that her eldest daughter was involved in All-Stars Cheerleading (this further requires her to be involved in gymnastics, dance, and cheerleader stunt classes), her son was involved in soccer and her youngest daughter went to Kumon. Kelly herself was active in the church and planned to form her own bible study group. She also planned to help coach conditioning for her daughter’s cheerleading.

At one point, Kelly mentioned wanting to do more, but said her husband was against it.

I really want to get out and do so- it was real boring. Real boring being at home just with kids all day. Yeah. Now, it’s easier because . . . . My sister-in-law is in the same predicament that I am, yeah, so we’re always together. When my
brother is at work, we go out or bring the kids, play dates and . . . right now it’s easier, I guess because I got busy. (Interview 1 / 2, 2010)

Her husband’s work at a production company as well as his freelance work creating commercials for corporations required him to travel a lot. Kelly explained that he had been to Florida, Mississippi, Los Angeles and New Mexico. She had asked to travel with him and he told her that maybe someday she might.

**Goals and Plans**

**Personal goals and plans.** When I asked Kelly about what personal goals she set in high school, her response was “Mmmm. Did I set personal goals for myself? No. (Laughs)” (Interview 1 / 2, 2010)

**Educational goals and plans.** Kelly noted that her parents still “encourage[d] [her] to go further” and still urged her to go back to school. She acknowledged that others are able to return to school, but she had determined she could not do it.

I can’t do the kids and homework. And for me, their life is my life. I’m trying to get them in the right direction. So I don’t have time for that. But our brother went back to school after how long, so he’s in Coast Guard now, and he went back to school, so I guess it’s possible, but I – I couldn’t do it for me, yeah. (Interview 1 / 2, 2010)

Kelly had originally planned to go into medicine, but after the HSP medical rotation, she realized that it was not a good fit of careers for her and as she explained, “I knew I just knew that I just didn’t want to go to school. That’s all I knew. I did not want to go to college after . . .” (Interview 1 / 2, 2010). When I asked her why she thought that was the case, she responded, “I guess just because I had a hard time that last year. If I stayed on
the right track all the way through high school, I think I would have. But because I went off course, and couldn’t catch up, I don’t think I wanted to. I don’t know” (Interview 1 / 2, 2010).

**Career goals and plans.** In high school, Kelly’s first career goal was to own her own business. “I wanted to start my own All-Star team because I was into the cheerleading thing” (Interview 1 / 2, 2010). In her senior year, she decided to become a nurse, but the HSP internship at Tripler Hospital was eye-opening to her,

> I did all my hours, but I decided not to get my CNA [certified nursing assistant license] ‘cause I knew I didn’t want to do that. So I felt like it was – for me, it was a waste of time because I did all this, and I should have got it. Now, I feel that I should have done it just to have something in my back pocket, but it was just bad like . . . I just did not like it, you know, you have to clean up blood and feces and take blood and all that – I said, no way. I couldn’t. It was just – I knew I did not want to do that and I just wasted like my whole year doing that.

(Interview 1 / 2, 2010)

As she was about her career plans in 2010, she replied, “Mmm. I don’t think I really want to be anything. I think the life I have now is perfect for me, is right for me. I already have this life and I’ve gotten accustomed to it, and I think I’m good at it, so I wouldn’t want to be anything else” (Interview 1 / 2, 2010). Even her future plans revolve around her family:

> (Laughs) My future plans. You know, I don’t actually have a future plan . . . I just whatever comes, I just ride it out. I don’t – I guess the only plan is for my kids to have a good education and –you know, well, my goal for them is to
introduce to God . . . For myself, I think my goal was if I had a family, to make the best of it like how my mom and dad did. Yeah. So yeah. And I didn’t really have goals outside of that. Now, it’s all my kids. Yeah. (Laughs) (Interview 1 / 2, 2010)

Links to the Bridging Multiple Worlds Model

Kelly’s worlds in high school consisted of HSP, “I lived and breathed that. Yeah. I guess, ‘cause I just . . . like everything – I just like the Hawaiian culture, yeah, it was good. I think that was my world” and paddling, “I think that was the only thing that I really looked forward . . . other than the . . . Hawaiian Studies Program, was the paddling,” (Interview 1 / 2, 2010). Kelly did not really feel she needed assistance with her schoolwork and just asked questions when she needed to. She did not feel that high school helped with planning for the future or dealing with problems. Her worlds now consist of “I guess God, and my kids, my husband, my family” (Interview 1 / 2, 2010).

Kelly had a brother one year younger and a sister who was around 18 at the time of the interview. Kelly’s mom grew up in Pearl City, attended Waipahu High School and worked for an optometrist at the time Kelly was in HSP. Kelly’s dad grew up in Kalihi, attended Farrington High School and worked as a flight engineer. Kelly’s parents felt that education was important: “MM-hmm. Oh yeah. Mom and Dad can’t stress enough – couldn’t stress enough how much it was important” (Interview 1 / 2, 2010). Kelly commented that even though her mother is Hawaiian, her parents initially questioned the relevance of HSP and asked her, “how is that going to benefit your future?” but she noted she shared what she did in HSP with them and they were interested in what she learned. (Interview 1 / 2, 2010)
Kelly felt that most of the students in HSP felt that education was important as well, primarily because of Kumu\textsuperscript{20} Gallano,

It just – her presence, you don’t want to disappoint her. You just don’t want to disappoint her. She will put you in your place say if you’re screwing up or whatever and she’ll encourage you to – you have to do this and do that, but nobody ever wanted to disappoint her, so everybody was pretty much on track, on point. (Interview 1 / 2, 2010)

Despite both her parents and Gallano’s presence, Kelly reported falling in with the wrong group of non-HSP friends in senior year who got her into trouble and “just turned the whole world around” (Interview 1 / 2, 2010). She described it in the following way, “You just get turned the wrong way. Just get pulled” (Interview 1 / 2, 2010). It was someone in the program, her current husband, who she had been with since sophomore year, who made sure she finished high school.

He helped me with all my correspondence and stuff and I was like, “Oh, I might not make it.” And he was like “Why?” I gotta do this and . . . that’s like so much work . . . it’s like I don’t want to do that, you know? And it was like, “No, you sit here, I’m going to help you and make sure that you do that.” (Interview 1 / 2, 2010)

When asked what worlds of friends she had, Kelly mentioned her Hawaiian Studies friends (she estimated 85-90% of her friends were in HSP) and also what she called “good and bad friends” (Interview 1 / 2, 2010). When I asked her what those

\textsuperscript{20} The Hawaiian word for “teacher.”
worlds were like, she again made the distinction, “Mmm. You mean like if it was a good – a bad thing” (Interview 1 / 2, 2010). I tried to broaden her description by telling her, “just how you would characterize the groups.” She divided them into HSP friends, paddling friends, cheerleading friends and “other friends that was like – real dark sided and what not” (Interview 1 / 2, 2010). She noted that she “was just friends with everybody” (Interview 1 / 2, 2010). Again, she drew the distinction between good and bad friends: “I had some bad friends, been around them and get into trouble. But then again, I had those good friends to put me in place after that, you know?” (Interview 1 / 2, 2010) She did observe that she was still in touch with many of her HSP friends: “we still see them, we still go to their parties, we go to their . . . baby parties, we all go out, let’s karaoke, or whatever” (Interview 1 / 2, 2010). She attributes this to

How our kumu just brought us all together, you know. You know, you guys stick together, you know. You have to – it’s not you have to be a certain way, but you have to be a good person . . . we still see a lot of Hawaiian Studies – and the friends was back and we’re still together. (Interview 1 / 2, 2010)

Links to the Life Story Model

As Kelly’s opening quote conveyed, she felt her life story after high school was “backwards” in the sense that she had three babies and then got married. After this, she briefly mentioned school and extracurricular activities for her children and church. Then, she mentioned that she stopped going after she had her third child “because my third baby, she was sick, real sick, [she] . . . was only thirteen pounds when she was a year” (Interview 1 / 2, 2010). The explanation of what ensued went on at length as Kelly told the story of how difficult this had been,
She couldn’t . . . drink milk, she couldn’t have anything dairy. She . . . would have rashes on her face and her arms, legs, and she was so thin and we couldn’t do nothing. We . . . bought this special formula that could bring down the rash, but the thing was like – over like 150 dollars for only four little cans . . . I guess that after that, I kind of spiraled down, like I kind of went into mild depression because I didn’t know what to do. (Interview 1 / 2, 2010)

One day, her daughter woke up and the rash was gone. In summary, Kelly noted, “But yeah, that’s my life. It’s the same old – stay home, clean up, cook, kids, you know, do the errands, yeah. That’s it. That’s basically . . . been my life since after high school” (Interview 1 / 2, 2010).

Kelly stated that her turning point was when she gave birth to her first child. “I don’t know what it was but it just came to me real fast and I guess I just more matured after that, but that had to have been my turning because everything went from nothing to mom status (laughs) like wow” (Interview 1 / 2, 2010).

Asked about the chapters of her life, Kelly found this a “difficult question,” but separated her life into the following chapters: “Graduation,” “Baby 1,” “Baby 2,” “Baby 3,” “Marriage” and “Life after Marriage.” She commented, “I never thought of my life in a book” (Interview 1 / 2, 2010).

Both Kelly’s best and worst experiences happened earlier in her life. Her best experience “was graduating high school; Period . . . I think that was my best experience ‘cause I actually made it and I thought I wasn’t going to make it, yeah” (Interview 1 / 2, 2010). She experienced her worst experience during the time of her pregnancy until half a year after her baby was born because
My husband at that time was only my boyfriend, so actually he went off to school . . . and he didn’t come home until about three months after the baby was born. And then he decided to leave school and come home and be with us. But from then . . . that was difficult because I didn’t want to have kids and you’re stuck with you know, baby and I was here [her parent’s home] and that was crazy at that time. But I guess it all worked out ‘cause he came back. But it was kind of like in the middle ‘cause I wanted him to stay there, but I wanted him to come back, you know? So, it was like - it was hard for me, I think. I think for him, it was like . . . I can come back to school later, but then we had more kids, yeah.

(Interview 1 / 2, 2010)

Closing Comments

Kelly first description of herself is as a homemaker. Even though she did not initially aspire to be a mother, it was clear that Kelly loved her family and felt comfortable in her role as homemaker. It was not as clear what she may have done if she had had other opportunities.
Jamie

Quintessential Quote

In a perfect world, I would like to expand . . . the community center somewhat like . . . the Girls’ and Boys’ Club out in Wai‘anae and expand it out on a bigger scale . . . that way you could help more kids within the community and eventually, hopefully get the parents involved as well because I think that being able to get the kids off the streets and give them something to focus on, is – is ultimately going to help build the community . . . back to a better place to be. Everybody knows that nobody likes going to Wai‘anae. But really, there’s a lot more potential there than people see. So, going back home and helping to build the community is a huge, huge goal. (Interview 2, 2010)

Biographical Synopsis

Jamie graduated from the Wai‘anae High School HSP in 2002. She was 26-years-old at the time of the interview. After graduation, Jamie attended Leeward Community College and worked two part-time jobs for about two years. Her mother was transferred to Colorado for work. For a time, she and her cousin lived with her step-father, but due to issues that arose, they ended up living with a friend’s family for a month. She then made the decision to move to Colorado in 2004 and worked in retail and lived with her mother and step-father for a year. Next, she moved to Atlanta, Georgia for three months to become a flight attendant and once she had gone through training, moved to Utah to work as a flight attendant for a Delta connection carrier, Atlantic Southeast Airlines. She was “adopted” by her roommate’s family. After two years, she had her son, quit the airlines and moved back to Colorado. She first worked for a bank and then was hired by a finance company within the same corporation to do administrative work and reporting.
She was laid off in January. Six months later, in July, Jamie found a job at a medical technology company, where she worked in 2009, doing scheduling and accounting. Her future plans included returning to Hawai‘i, but she was not sure how feasible it was and noted the vastly different cost of living in Colorado versus Hawai‘i.

**Fundamental Themes**

Jamie characterized herself as “super extroverted, so I’m like really into going out, spending time with people and . . . I’m very active” (Interview 1, 2010). These two aspects of her personality, her active nature and her interest in other people, were reflected in the interviews. Six years earlier, Jamie noted, “it’s weird ‘cause I could be at like a friend’s house and I’ll just start doing turns and kicks and they’ll just look at me like I’m weird and like I don’t even realize that I’m doing it” (Interview, 2004). Jamie played both soccer and volleyball in high school. When asked what her worlds were at that time, she said, “I think mostly it revolved around sports” (Interview 2, 2010). She actually missed a hike during the HSP Big Island trip due to volleyball. Despite her love of sports, when she discussed her vision of a revitalized community center, she wanted to expand beyond athletics, “Because there’s way more to Wai‘anae than just athletes, and it’s kind of hard to show people that if that’s all the kids are brought up focusing on?” (Interview 2, 2010) Jamie admitted that she was given “special treatment” because of her status as an athlete and others’ interest in the sport. In 2010, Jamie noted that she was taking mixed martial arts with her son. She also mentioned hiking in both

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21 Hawai‘i island, nicknamed by local residents as the “Big Island.”
her 2004 and 2009 interviews, but commented that the high altitude and low humidity of Colorado made it difficult to enjoy hiking.

Jamie’s interest in other people directed the two main themes that ran though her interviews, her emphasis on family and her love of flying. Mention of family runs throughout Jamie’s interview. Her four-year-old son could be heard playfully interrupting throughout the phone interview. While she was in HSP, Jamie considered her mother, father, and sister to be member of her family, but then she pointed out that “technically in Hawai‘i, your immediate family extends past your nuclear family” (Interview 1, 2010) and she also included her mother’s younger sister and three close friends who were in both in HSP and volleyball with her. About them, she commented, “our lives pretty much revolved around each other, so we were like really close” (Interview 1, 2010). It became clear in the interview that there were issues with her stepfather. It was not clear to me what had happened to Jamie’ father, only that he was no longer involved in her life. She found an adoptive family both with family in HSP as well as with her roommate’s family in Utah, who took her under their wing: ”I’m still very indebted to them with the way that they’ve taken care of me and pretty much introduced [me] into their family as another daughter” (Interview 1, 2010).

Jamie’s most challenging and difficult experience not involving HSP centered around family. When Jamie was a freshman in high school, her grandmother passed away from pancreatic cancer. Unfortunately, by the time they diagnosed her grandmother, she was already terminal: “She went into the doctor’s office numerous times and not one time did they ever consider that a diagnosis” (Interview 1, 2010). Losing her grandmother was difficult, more so “because . . . in my dad’s side of the
family, my grandma was like the cornerstone, everything revolved around her . . . whether it was a birthday or a holiday, everybody came over to her house and she cooked or – everything pretty much centered around her” (Interview 1, 2010).

Jamie’s most important memory after HSP involved having her son: I don’t think . . . you really acknowledge how strong family ties are in Hawai‘i until you start to create your own family, so once he was born, it really hits you that like there’s nothing more important” (Interview 1, 2010). She described her son as “super silly. He’s a little mini-me. He looks exactly like me, only he has fair skin and grey eyes” (Interview 1, 2010).

The second theme was tied to her short career as a flight attendant. In the first interview, she cited working as a flight attendant as her best experience. In her second interview, Jamie commented that she “loved the job itself. Way more than I expected,” and that she realized that she would need another job to get by but “really . . . that was pretty much the job that I wanted – I mean, everybody looks for a job that they enjoy . . . . And that was it for me. So, kinda sad not to be doing it” (Interview 2, 2010). In fact, Jamie would still be a flight attendant if she could: “Now, in a perfect world, if I could afford it, I would go back to being a flight attendant. It has the public speaking, it has the customer interaction, it has – pretty much - all the general things that . . . I enjoy” (Interview 2, 2010). Jamie commented that being a flight attendant, “you have all the freedom in the world. I mean, not literally, but it feels like you do?” (Interview 2, 2010)

One interesting thing to note is that in the 2004 interview, Jamie did not mention that she did not attend HSP her last year. She was in the marine science track as well as HSP and elected to stay just with the marine science track, because, as she put it, “my course load was a little too heavy senior year” (Interview 1, 2010). As mentioned earlier,
she was also involved in sports and staying in HSP would have meant, “taking leadership roles for the agriculture program in Hawaiian Studies” (Interview 1 / 2, 2010).

Goals and Plans

**Personal goals and plans.** Asked about her goals dealing with the community and her goals having to do with Hawaiian values, both centered around returning to Hawaiʻi. Jamie’s plan to establish a community center (explicated at the start of this section) seemed to have been well thought out. Her environmental goals are also folded into this vision of an expanded community center. She explained in clear detail how organic farming and community service could be built into the community center in a sustainable model. She had three friends from HSP who she knew could help her, since they had the “same ideals” (Interview 2, 2010).

Her goals having to do with Hawaiian values were more personal, “In a perfect world, I’d be moving back to Hawaiʻi and my son would be going to Hawaiian immersion school” (Interview 2, 2010).

**Educational goals and plans.** In 2004, Jamie attended Leeward Community College, but in 2010, Jamie’s plans did not revolve around school and she did not mention it at all in her 2010 interviews. On her survey, she did indicate that she intended to continue, but did not specify what type of training or educational plans she had.

**Career goals and plans.** In high school, Jamie initially wanted to be a lawyer, but she was deterred by the amount of schooling involved and job outlook. In college, she wanted to be a pharmacist. More recently, she expressed enjoying her time as a flight attendant. Her friend’s father, who is in the financial sector, encouraged her to try the field and “I’ve always loved numbers, so that kind of became something that intrigued
me and something I could do while I was still flying –until I had my son” (Interview 2, 2010). On the survey she filled out in 2010, Jamie left her future career goals blank, but based on the interviews, it seemed as though she loved working as a flight attendant and would do so again if she had an opportunity to do so.

**Links to the Bridging Multiple Worlds Model**

Jamie’s mom grew up in Waiʻanae, attended Mid-Pacific Institute briefly and graduated from Waiʻanae High School. She did some vocational training and was working in military procurement. Jamie’s dad grew up in Nānākuli and graduated from Nānākuli High School. He was working as a mechanic. Jamie said that her mother saw the value of education:

> My mother really did feel like education was important just because . . . she knew what . . . life was like without a college career and my aunt, her younger sister, didn’t graduate from high school and she knew the kind of struggles that she was going through, so she didn’t want that for me, so she wanted to make sure I graduated, at least . . . and attended some college. (Interview 2, 2010)

Jamie felt her friends also saw college as a goal: “many of them focused on the future not like me” but she saw high school “mostly for socializing” and characterized herself as “just kinda like living in the moment” (Interview 2, 2010).

Jamie depicted her worlds in high school consisting of soccer, volleyball and family and her world at the time of the interview consisting of family and work. She attended Moanalua for intermediate school, so she had friends still at Moanalua and in Waiʻanae, friends in volleyball, some of whom were in HSP (this included Paul, another HSP graduate involved in this study.)
Links to the Life Story Model

When asked about her life story, Jamie recounted her history in terms of work and moving. She started off by saying,

Oh gosh. (laughs). Really after high school graduation, I was like most teenage kids and went right into party mode. I was working two jobs and going to school, but at the same time, unfortunately, partying was my number one priority? . . . . So . . . I would go to school in the morning, go to work right after that and . . . then on the weekends, I had a second job during the day . . . . And I would go out pretty much every night of the week. (Interview 2, 2010)

When I asked Jamie about the chapters of her life story, different information was actually uncovered. Her first chapter, which ended after the first grade, would be entitled Ho’ona’a: “Because once my grandparents moved to the Big Island, we spent a lot of time on a family beach that was taken over by the government during World War II . . . . We spent a majority of the time camping on that beach” (Interview 1, 2010).

Her second chapter, would be entitled “Moanalua,” where Jamie attended middle school. As she explained, “for me, that was a whole different – a whole different world there” (Interview 1, 2010). She characterized Moanalua as being “considered by many people to be like the Punahou of the public school system. So, that kind of made it feel a lot different. Because to me the schooling standards were at another level” (Interview 1, 2010). In contrast, at Wai‘anae, “athletics were kind of a priority and extracurricular activities were a huge priority” (Interview 1, 2010).

Her third chapter would be “Wai`anae”: 
Once I finally moved back to Wai‘anae, I - it was kind of like being reintroduced, I had known people, some of them since preschool, but I hadn’t seen them because I was living in Moanalua and . . . getting used to life back on that side was a little bit of an adjustment and I sorta felt like an outcast at first . . . . But because I had family out there, it made it a lot smoother of a transition (Interview 1, 2010).

Chapter Four, which covered the time until she decided to move to Colorado, she would call “Epiphany” because it was a realization that “everyone has to grow up at some time?” (Interview 1, 2010).

Jamie’s turning point would coincide with Chapter Four. It would have to be when I made the decision to move up here, I was going through a really rough time in my life. My cousin and I were living in my parent’s house, but issues came up where . . . it was no longer a safe place for us, because of some things going on with my step-dad . . . . So, basically we were living at a friend’s house . . . . For like, pretty much like a month . . . . that pretty much pushed me into a position where I was like, it’s time to grow up, it’s time to figure everything out for yourself and . . . to do that, I sort of felt like I needed to get away from all the things that I was regularly doing and the only way that I could do that was to move away, in my mind. (Interview 1, 2010)

Chapter Five covering her time as a flight attendant would be entitled, “Up in the Skies.” Her final sixth chapter would cover her time back in Colorado.

As explained earlier, Jamie’s worst experience had to do with the passing of her grandmother. Her best experience was related to her experience as a flight attendant:
I had more fun doing that job than pretty much anything else. . . . a majority of it was, you’re constantly interacting with new people every day, you’re going to new places? . . . Even if it’s the same route, you’re thinking about new things to do in that area. So, it was constantly a new experience. Whether it be working with someone different for that week, or . . . staying at a different hotel – or - there were constant trials that were sent your way, whether it was . . . weather delays or – mechanical delays . . . (Interview 1, 2010).

**Closing Comments**

Although she was not flying in 2010, Jamie clearly loved this profession. Of the five females (Uilani, Jaiseen, Kasey, Kelly) in the study, she was the only one to have moved from Hawai‘i and she had moved more than most of the males (except for Charles, who was active duty military.) She was not afraid to change jobs. She seemed to constantly see the positive side of life and enjoyed her role as a mother. Jamie still held lofty dreams of returning to Hawai‘i and creating her ideal community center in Wai‘anae.
Paul

Quintessential Quote

The word “a’o” means not only to teach but to learn and the sense in Hawaiian culture is that when you teach and the student or whoever you teach is not learning than as a teacher you cease to become a teacher because in order for teaching to take place someone on the other side needs to be learning that information. So it’s that sense with learning comes teaching and with teaching comes learning and that’s where the sense of the word “a’o” comes from. “A’o” means not only to learn but to teach at the same time. (Interview, 2004)

Biographical Synopsis

Paul graduated from the Wai‘anae High School HSP in 2000. He was 27-years-old at the time of the interview. After he graduated, he took a year off from school and worked two different retail jobs at an automotive parts store and a telecommunications provider. He enrolled at Leeward Community College (LCC) and worked on the Ke Ala ‘Ike Program, for native Hawaiians. He then worked as a computer program / Hawaiian culture instructor for a summer program for high school students to transition to LCC. He taught Hawaiian language and a college prep course and helped to start another transitional program for Waiawa Correctional Facility inmates to get into college upon their release. He was asked to be a consultant to create a native Hawaiian garden at Wheeler Elementary which led to him not only setting up the garden but teaching Hawaiian Studies to fourth graders for two years. He also worked for Ke Kumu Alaka‘i, a transitional educational program to encourage sixth to eighth grade students to attend intermediate and then high school. At the same time, University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa’s
ethnobotany department recruited him to conduct erosion control environmental research in Makaha. As part of this, he worked as a paraprofessional tutor at Wai‘anae High School. At the same time, he sat on many Native Hawaiian organizations. He was the co-chair for a statewide youth organization, Keauhou. He was in the initial pilot group of Na Mamo Makamae, Twenty First Century Hawaiian Leaders, and he has helped to train subsequent groups. He earned his AA from LCC and spent some time at UH West O‘ahu before he earned his BA in Hawaiian Studies from the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa. As he was finishing up his bachelor’s degree, he was hired as the Na Pua No‘eau Lead Educator, and then his role expanded to being the Na Pua No‘eau Oahu site project coordinator. In 2009, he worked at MA‘O Organic Farms as the Education Resource Specialist.

**Fundamental Themes**

Paul’s 2010 interviews lasted 75 minutes and 90 minutes, respectively. This was notable because other HSP graduate interviews ranged in length from 24 minutes to 56 minutes, with the average being 46 minutes. Paul was extremely personable and talkative. When asked to describe himself, he commented, “I can be considered a crazy like person, as of right now” (Interview 1, 2010). He said this because he had so much going on: “my life right now has been pretty busy and pretty well active within the community” (Interview 1, 2010). In 2010, at the time of the interviews, Paul worked with the Wai‘anae High School Hawaiian Studies Program, the Agriculture Program, and the Marine Science Program. He also volunteered with the Queen Lili‘uokalani Children’s Center, Valley of Rainbows, Wai‘anae Coast Coalition, and Nānākuli High
School. He also had taught hula after having taken over his uncle’s halau\textsuperscript{22}, when his uncle passed away seven years ago. Finally, he wanted to finish his master’s degree in Educational Administration.

Paul described himself as “energetic. I am pretty well versed in a lot of things . . . . I’m a people person” (Interview 1, 2010). When asked what he was good at, he responded, “I’m good at many things, I guess. I’m a planner. I’m a get things going type of person . . . . To me, there’s always something to do . . . . at specific times where we need to get things done” (Interview 1, 2010).

Paul was focused on a number of things – education, being a connector and giving back to his community – and these themes run throughout his interviews. His love of education, his understanding of its importance and the central role it played in his life were already demonstrated in the series of jobs that he pursued.

Paul saw his role as a connector or a conduit, to bring together groups of people, to bring people to higher goals and to bring programs together. Much of his work dealt with programs that help students to bridge educational levels. Indeed, Paul was well known to everyone, was in touch with most of the people in this study, knowing not only where they lived or worked but also how they were doing. Uilani (Interview, 2009) commented that although Paul was a couple years older, she knew him because “he used to help out a lot.” Jamie also mentioned him. Educational researcher, Andrea Purcell, commented, “I remember him being very – very full of life. And he had a lot of friends and a lot of people, you know, always around him. He was very talkative and . . . you

\textsuperscript{22} The Hawaiian word for “school.”
know, and had a lot to contribute. Mostly socially, (laughs) but academically too” (Interview, 2010). The teachers all encouraged me to speak to him. Lei Aken’s comment (Interview, 2009) about Paul was: “if you want to see a kid who went through our program who has become everything that we wanted them to become, he’s definitely one of them.” On-line, Paul appears in Wai‘anae Coast Neighborhood Board Minutes, Keauhou 2010, Office of Hawaiian Affairs Newsletter and Facebook. More on his role as a connector will emerge in this section.

Paul’s life centered on giving back to his community. Not only sharing what he knew, but passing along the message that others should give back too. Paul explained that he

Came back as a volunteer to help build the program, but actually help me as a person, as well as I’m pretty sure most of my classmates that were part of the program to build that inspiration for other young leaders to come up and learn more and to just give back to a program that has given so much to me as well. (Interview 1, 2010)

Paul also helped to teach Hawaiian protocol and leadership skills to 500 students each year at the Valley of Rainbows’ youth leadership conference. His commitment to the Wai‘anae and Nānākuli communities was long-lasting. When asked about his important memory of HSP, he talked about the teachers and their message,

They would always explain to us to always remember that what you do here, you have to continue on to keep doing what you love . . . . because of that, I still push and I still continue to . . . give that . . . inspiration to other younger students who
also cross my path as well as that to insure yourself, you need to continue to do
what you need to do. (Interview 1, 2010)

Goals and Plans

**Personal, educational and career goals and plans.** In 2010, Paul’s personal,
educational, and career goals and plans were identical, as they had been throughout his
life. On the survey, Paul stated his career goals were “finish my Masters [in] Ed. Admin.
and become an administrator in [an] Education Program.” When he is asked what he
wanted to be in high school, he commented, “Oh, I wanted to be an educator. Straight
up. Every day of my life I wanted to be in education . . . . I wanted to start programs,
Hawaiian programs, leadership programs and yeah, I wanted to teach. And I wanted to
better the lives of the next generation via education” (Interview 2, 2010). When Paul is
asked what he wanted to do in 2010, he commented, “I still want to be the same thing and
I am what I said I wanted to be. And I just want to be better at it?” (Interview 2, 2010)

When he was asked why he thinks his choice of career stayed the same, he remarked,

> Because I incorporated everything that I wanted to be in my every[day] life and
> my everyday support. And you know, it’s just like being Hawaiian. I wake up
> Hawaiian, I go to sleep as a Hawaiian. I am Hawaiian. And so I wake up as an
> educator and I go to sleep as an educator, so I am an educator. (Interview 2,
> 2010)

Paul also had plans to “eventually” finish his PhD in the future, and already knew what
he wanted to write about for his dissertation. I was sworn to secrecy, but I can say that
his topic had to do with Native Hawaiian issues and education.
Paul’s future plans were “to continue what I’m doing in a larger scale and to actually create more programs, connecting programs” (Interview 2, 2010). When he was asked what he meant by connecting programs, he explained, “When I talk about connecting programs, like see, there’s all of these programs that you know, touches one aspect here, one aspect there, but you know, creating a program that would help . . . to connect those things with other” (Interview 2, 2010). Paul envisioned a kind of one-stop shop that would allow students to go to one place to get help as opposed to having to obtain help from separate agencies and programs. As part of this, Paul mentioned the importance of “creating for-profits for non-profits to keep them sustainable, because it’s all about sustainability nowadays, yeah?” (Interview 2, 2010)

**Links to the Bridging Multiple Worlds Model**

Paul observed that his worlds in high school and in 2009 were pretty similar: sports, volleyball, HSP, student activities such as student union and class council, hula, Native Hawaiian plants, fun with friends which consisted of going out, going to the beach, going to the park. As he portrayed it,

All of those worlds interconnected, you know? It was all different circles, but those circles also merged so a lot of those things were interrelated, so a lot of my friends were either part of my volleyball team, also part of the Hawaiian Studies Program, also dance hula, so we all had connecting . . . interests, so that’s the kind of world I lived in in high school. (Interview 2, 2010)

Paul traveled through all these groups of friends smoothly, though his friends sometimes questioned his ability to do this:
I had all of these connections – all of these circles of friends and all to do with the specific aspects of what I participated in and so . . . it would be funny when I would . . . have like one or two of them come into the other circle and then they were like, “Oh my god, like, who are these people?” and those people are like, “Who’s this?” and . . . “how could you hang around with him or with her?” (Interview 2, 2010)

Paul felt that about 20-30% of his friends were in HSP. He was involved in many different circles of friends, but he felt that he would always “immerse” himself in whatever activity he was doing. This was a trait that often made him a connector for others.

People who are not that immersed in those specific circles you know, they are attracted to those immersed people and . . . they want to be part of that, but they don’t know how and so, you know . . . I become that connection and that understanding for them, and . . . that go-to person. (Interview 2, 2010)

Paul felt that school was vital for his goals:

Growing up . . . I had everything that I needed, yeah? And . . . it was always understood to me that you know, the needs is important but if you want something, you’re going to have to work hard for it, yeah, you’re going to have to work for it because all life gives to you is your needs, and you’re your own wants. And I understood that in order for me to achieve what I want, school is very important. (Interview 2, 2010)

This was not the case with his close friends. As Paul stated, “(high) school was important, only in regards to finishing it” (Interview 2, 2010). He commented that his
close friends “are very practical people. They still . . . come from that old school . . . mind frame of learning that you learn more outside . . .” (Interview 2, 2010).

Paul’s parents separated when he was in eighth grade and his father moved back to Guam. His mother completed her GED at Guam Community College and during the time Paul was in high school, worked at a retail party supply store. Still, education was a priority for his family. Paul’s older and younger sisters both dropped out of high school and had babies, “And I think it was more that they were able to live and learn all of those things vicariously through me” (Interview 2, 2010) because “I’ll be my parents’ first child to graduate from high school, I’ll be . . . my parents’ first child to understand the importance – really understand the importance of higher education to really make a move on it” (Interview 2, 2010). Paul acknowledged that his sisters want to work on their education, but they made a choice. Paul saw his studies as a positive thing: “it brings – not just joy, but helps bring pride and stability back to the family” (Interview 2, 2010). He felt his family has been supportive – “it was important to them because it was important to me” (Interview 2, 2010).

Paul’s father is Chamorro and his mother is Hawaiian. He spent a lot of time with his grandparents and stated that he was always interested in both cultures. He grew up both with his paternal grandparents and his maternal grandparents. His mother and uncle went to Guam to dance hula, so Paul’s connection to hula runs deep, “as soon as I was born, as long as I could remember I’ve been dancing hula with them all the way until now” (Interview, 2004). Most of the graduates’ important memories were happy ones. Paul’s important memory, by contrast, was distressing, but tied to his goals, particularly in reference to his Hawaiian culture.
One of my older cousins actually approached me and asked me why am I doing what I’m doing and why am I learning more about Hawaiian Studies and Hawaiian culture, why am I even still trying to practice our language and things, because that’s not going to get me nowhere. . . . As furious as it made me, it also made me really think about. . . more of what I need to do. (Interview 1, 2010)

Paul credits “one of my main inspirations” as being his mother’s parents, “because they’re what we call manaleo, they’re native speakers” (Interview 1, 2010).

And how do I honor my grandparents by keeping their culture and their language alive? And how do I change the mind frame of even my own family? And at that point . . . I didn’t have . . . that initial drive to change my community or the islands. I needed to start someplace that was more closer to me and that was my own family and so to get them to understand the importance of our culture, why we needed to continue to practice and our language, why we still need to hold on to that. (Interview 1, 2010)

Paul said that his initial motivation was to delve more deeply into the Hawaiian culture and language and ultimately, obtain his degree in Hawaiian Studies. He was grateful that his relatives later understood the importance and value of Paul’s goals and actually came to learn things from him.

Paul’s background is slightly different from the other HSP graduates because he attended school on Guam. It was experience that actually gave me a lot of different experiences and learning abilities because in Guam the education system or the things that we learn in Guam was I felt a little
more advanced than what I learned here . . . in Hawaii. So when I came to
Hawai‘i, I actually had a little boost in my education. (Interview, 2004)

Paul embodied a true love of learning for the sake of learning. “I wanted to do topics that
nobody else did. I wanted to things that nobody else um, ever did before. And so and I
like to do things that other people don’t do” (Interview 2, 2010). For example, when
Paul’s class was asked to pick a Hawaiian leader to write about, everyone else selected
people that everyone already knew about – Kamehameha, Lili‘uokalani and Lot. Of
course, Paul’s approach was different:

I’m going to go into Maile Kukaiwa, something that somebody never did, yeah?
And I’m going to write about this part of his life, yeah? . . . . a majority of the
information that you’re going to need to support this particular person that nobody
knows about or not, the general public, then you’re going to have to go into the
archives, you’re going to have to sit in five hour sessions in the library to read
about all of these things . . . (Interview 2, 2010)

Paul felt that many others assisted him in terms of planning for the future:

OH YES! All of my teachers, you know, they helped to make sure that I
continued to do what I wanted to do. You know, like Lei Aken always Gallano
too. Let’s go fill out those papers, you gotta do what you gotta do. You know,
you’re going back to school to helping us, yeah, are you – how are you doing in
school? Did you sign up for this class or did you even sign up at all, you know
you gotta get on it. And . . . it was that same motivation, that same perspective
that I always look at now. Because there’s a lot of kids, there’s a lot of kids that
go back to the high school and help and things like that. (Interview 1, 2010)
Paul mentioned many individuals who assisted him in his quest, but singled out Dolores Foley, for good reason: Paul explained that he put his educational plans on hold in order to help support his mother and sisters. One day, he was working and took a trip up to Mānoa with a group of Na Mamo Makamae Twentieth Century leaders. As Paul tells it, “Aunty Dolores pulled me to the side and said, “You know, so did you sign up for school yet?” And I said, “I am planning on it, but I don’t have money to pay for my classes right now” (Interview 2, 2010). She actually pulled him off the bus and had him ride with her. Paul and Aunty Dolores “had a very long, interesting talk from Mānoa all the way to Kea‘au in Makaha . . . about what am I going to do . . . to really make sure that I get into school fast? Because she understood that, you know, that’s what I wanted” (I2 517.48).

Fortunately, what happened was that . . . this was during the summer and . . . the fall registration was going to start soon. And so basically what she did was you know, she told me, “two weeks from now, you go to Leeward Community College, you do your application, you register . . . for several classes and then you call me when you register . . . so I did. I . . . registered and everything and then I called and said, “Okay, hello, what am I going to do now?” (Interview 2, 2010)

Dolores Foley called the LCC office and paid for Paul’s courses by credit card.

She paid for my first semester here, and so she helped me – she got my foot in the door. And then she said, “Okay, you’re in, now you can work and whatever money you have you can save to pay for your other classes” and . . . eventually all of these other opportunities – working, stipends here and there came about because of the things that I naturally do. (Interview 2, 2010)
Paul recounts that he worked on different projects and programs and he started to get paid for this work and

All of these things just started falling into place and so a lot of these things wouldn’t have happened – I wouldn’t have probably gotten my feet in the door at that time in my life . . . when I needed to if it wasn’t for Dolores Foley. So she would probably be one of the main people – and is the main person I thank overall. Because other people would help me to . . . understand the importance of filling out these applications, but she would grab my feet and my hands and put me there . . . (Interview 2, 2010)

Paul really grasped the dynamic of helping others and asking for help. He recognized that others were resources to make use of: “Support with teachers, support in friends, in coaches. Pretty much everybody that I . . . incorporated in my life was there for a purpose, yeah? They’re useful, yeah?” (Interview 2, 2010)

He also saw this as a give and take:

I help them and they help me . . . Both at Mānoa and at Leeward, that’s what it was all about. Just you know . . . being able to be that support in “Okay, listen to my paper.” “Oh, try check my work. Does this work?” and “Do I understand?”, “Okay, let me get this straight, does this mean this, lalalalalala.” “I’m going to go over this, does this make sense?” (Interview 2, 2010)

Paul mentioned that at Mānoa, he went to see two academic advisors, more in terms of checking in with them and obtaining support as opposed to actually getting advising.
Back then, it [the road to obtain his bachelor’s degree] seemed long. I was like, “Oh my gosh, how much more semesters I get?” . . . So I would also go to see Punihei. I knew exactly how much more semesters I got, but I would go in two days, “oh my god, how much semesters I get? . . . I not pau yet? You cannot just cross something off?” “No, shut up!” (Laughs) (Interview 2, 2010)

Paul talked about a friend and a former boss who have obtained their master’s degrees, who he jokingly teased and who helped to motivate him. Yet, Paul grasped that while others can help support him, it was up to him to make it happen. At both the high school and college levels, he cited “doing it” as the biggest challenge. (Interview 2, 2010)

**Links to the Life Story Model**

When asked where their parents grew up, most of the graduates replied with one word answers or short explanations. When Paul was asked where his parents grew up, he replied that his mom grew up in Maui and Nānākuli, then introduced a very detailed explanation about how his grandparents moved out to O‘ahu due to the military buildup and job opportunities and how they were one of the first to purchase Hawaiian homelands.

Similarly, when Paul was asked about a turning point in his life, he launched into a 2,667 word story about his interview for his Na Pua No‘eau job. So when he was subsequently asked about the story of his life, he replied, “The story of my life. What is the story of my life? . . . So much stories. That was a novel that I just explained” (Interview 1, 2010). He then added,

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23 The Hawaiian word for “finished.”
Going through all my experiences and learning from all of them – it’s just a huge story. And . . . I can’t really and I don’t want to point out a specific story because – it was – I want to call it chapters because my story is still going on and . . . my life . . . from HSP till now has been a story, has been a chapter of outrageous events and . . . downfalls and . . . it’s a soap opera book. (Interview 1, 2010)

The titles of his book chapters were descriptive and humorous, as he was: Chapter one: Turn around and run. Second chapter: I told you to turn around and run. Third chapter: It’s too late. Fourth chapter: Can do. Fifth chapter: Will do. Sixth chapter: Here we go again. Seventh chapter: Look at what you accomplished. Eighth chapter: You can do it all over again.

Paul said that his turning point was the day that he got the permanent position at UHM. The position actually required a bachelor’s degree, and he was still in the process of finishing up his degree. He was in the interim position but he was intimidated that some of the other applicants had their master’s degrees. He already knew three of the four interviewers and realized that this put him at a disadvantage in the sense that they already knew him and, as he put it, “what do you tell them that they don’t know?” (Interview 1, 2010) When given the opportunity to tell them something new about him, Paul told them about a recent experience when he had taken four intermediate school students to an Indian youth camp in New Mexico.

One of the other campers was distraught, and was running around and yelling in the dark, saying she was going to kill herself. Since there were snakes, bears and wolves in the woods, it was somewhat dangerous. When they asked her if she wanted to speak to someone, she identified Paul, even though she did not really know him. He spoke to her
for about two hours and got her to return to the camp. The director, manager, and coordinators met to decide what to do with the girl and decided to send her home because they felt they did not have the expertise to deal with her situation. Paul’s responded by telling them,

“The director, manager, and coordinators met to decide what to do with the girl and decided to send her home because they felt they did not have the expertise to deal with her situation. Paul’s responded by telling them,

“I’m pretty ashamed to sit in front of all of you folks.” And they said, “What are you talking about?” And I said, “You know, you with your PhD in this and that and you with your master’s and you with all of your degrees and all of those skills, when a problem like this comes up, the first thing you want to do is get rid of the problem and not make it your own. You know, in times like this, even if you say it’s a liability and you don’t want to deal with it, it’s a liability from the day you allowed this child to be a part of your program. And the thing that really made me mad and sad was that this is one of their own children . . . who come from where their office is, right there down in Gallup, in New Mexico and you dare to sit down and say you don’t want to deal with your own child? And they [were] like, “you know, we can’t deal with this. We don’t have the skills or the degree to . . . deal with this problem.” And I looked at them and said, “You know, that’s even more shame. You know, as parents, we don’t have the degree to parent, but yet we have to parent . . . We’re dealing with students. We might not have a degree in counseling, but we have to counsel them. We don’t have a degree specifically in advising, but we have to advise them. We have to do things because we have to. . . ” (Interview 1, 2010)
Paul then closed the job interview by pointing out that while he did not have his bachelor’s degree yet, he was a doer and given the chance, he found ways to get things done. Paul secured the position.

At the close of my interview with Paul, Paul pulled out a DVD to show me as another example of a turning point. Paul worked with a group of 30 students, who spanned eighth grade through sophomore year in college, one weekend a month, every month through the entire year. The five seniors who graduated from Wai‘anae High School the previous year put together the DVD for their final project and presentation. There were two parts to the video and Paul showed me both, because as he explained, “I was always told – my main instructions from them [the group of students] was . . . whenever I show this video to people, I have to show all of it” (Interview 1, 2010). The first part of the video consisted of lessons they had learned by being in the program, such as why attendance was important and why it was important to plan ahead. The second part of the video was a tribute to Paul and the difference they felt he had made in their lives. Paul noted, “I’ve been to hell and back with a lot of these students” “I’ve been to hell and back with a lot of these students” and summarized by saying, “It was a big shocker and it was like I said, it was another turning point in my life and that really helped me to ensure – ensure myself that what I was doing was – I was on the right track” (Interview 1, 2010)

Paul’s response to his best experience was unexpected, but very reflective of his emphasis on learning and growing:

I think one of my best experiences would be failing . . . I wanna say it’s one of my best experiences because it has helped . . . in regards to the things I do now
working with . . . younger adults and helping them to get through their experiences in life and in college and in their careers because I pretty much – I made those mistakes that they – that people naturally make. And I feel that . . . it was during the best time in my life to understand how to get up and how to move on from that and not linger . . . in the puddle of spilt milk.” (Interview 1, 2010)

Paul characterized his most difficult and challenging experience as being “my first time doing something new,” “not knowing the unknown” because of the uncertainty, “I don’t have the experience to – to really deal what might be coming. And what if this happens and I don’t have the experience to deal with it?” (Interview 1, 2010) When he is asked whether he has an example of a time he felt this way, his response was,

Yes! In every single job change that I’ve had and it’s been pretty much every three years. And – at first, I thought that it was, “Okay, I finally get used to something and I have to move on because – because one thing or the other”. . . . but today, I take it as a blessing, because . . . it’s . . . three different years of different experiences and different challenges and it just builds my rapport and – and yeah, it has helped me to learn a lot so every time I change a new job, that’s what I get into – I get into that whole, “oh gosh, here we go again. I may not be ready for this job” (Interview 1, 2010).

Closing Comments

Paul’s top priorities were to gain education (and he sees both good and bad experiences as agents to help him to learn) and to share what he learned with others. This is an idea that is deeply rooted in Native Hawaiian culture:
Tena is a practice in which specific knowledge is passed from one generation to another based on careful and reciprocal observation between teacher and student, the student’s innate ability, family genealogy, proper mentoring, and spiritual guidance. In the days of old, this practice was crucial to the survival of the Hawaiian people. It recognized the ability of each individual to take on kuleana, or responsibility, that contributed to the advancement and perpetuation of the culture. (Nā Lau Lama Community Report, 2006)

Paul already perpetuated his culture by being the kumu of his halau, and passing on the protocol to high school students and others in the community. This is a goal that educators today are encouraging: “Each individual student must always strive for the highest, ‘Kūlia I Ka Nu‘u,’ so that learning and living the knowledge will ultimately lead to the student becoming a teacher too as they add knowledge to the world” (Nā Lau Lama Community Report, 2006). Paul strove to learn more and teach others to carry on the work. All of his efforts are centered upon the ways in which he can help others:

I still need to be physically active to help keep myself going health-wise and so I’ll still continue . . . in education . . . and better myself for other people. And when I talk about better myself for other people it’s the UH – the students, the people that . . . come into my life . . . via halau, via the school, via the college, via any path that asks me to guide and counsel and to basically teach . . . (Interview 2, 2010)
Charles

Quintessential Quote

My goal? I mean, enter the political arena. I mean, I can’t affect everybody. And I can’t expect change in my lifetime, I mean, we’re too far gone for a lot of things. But . . . I can set up things to make things work better, you know what I mean? . . . And like I said, it’s not just – I try not to look at everything as so narrow minded as a small community. Cause since the army, I mean, whoa! It’s broadened my view of the world so much. I mean, if you pay attention to the people, you look around, we are very fortunate in America, and we’re simply too spoiled. And . . . the government feeds into it. Everybody takes advantage of that. (Interview 1 / 24, 2010).

Biographical Synopsis

Charles graduated from the Wai‘anae High School HSP in 2001. He was 26-years-old at the time of the interview. He attended the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa for one semester. It was there that he met his wife. He was married, got divorced, and had a son, who was five years old. His ex-wife and son lived on the continental United States. At the time of the interview, Charles had been a combat medic for the army for the previous eight years. During that time, he did online correspondence courses and obtained an associate of science degree. Of that, he estimated he did military training for two years, a year in the states and overseas (including tours in Afghanistan, Iraq, Turkey, the Philippines, and Korea) for five years. He was training and fighting in local Mixed Martial Arts, but he explained that “it’s just something to fall back on because I’m good

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24 Due to scheduling circumstances, Charles’ interviews were run back-to-back.
at it” (Interview 1 / 2, 2010). In spring 2011, he planned to move to the continental United States to finish his bachelor’s degree in Political Science. His long-term goal, which he thought he would reach in ten years, was to “enter the political ring” (Interview 1 / 2, 2010) so that he could start to improve things and make a difference. He saw the fact that he was “a decorated soldier and [he had] a really good rapport with the Hawaiian people” (Interview 1 / 2, 2010) as being advantages.

**Fundamental Themes**

Charles’ sister, Uilani, was my first interviewee. She told me that he was brought back from Iraq due to injury and was in the hospital. She did not seem to think he would have time or agree to be interviewed, noting that he was “different from her” (Interview 1, 2009). Charles never mentioned the fact that he got out of the army due to injury and he seemed to be fine when I met him. One of the ways he described himself was as being “physically fit” (Interview 1 / 2, 2010) and when I asked what he liked to do, he said that “when I was in the military, jump out of planes, climb mountains, so – now that I’m out, I like diving, I free dive . . . still climb mountains, still jump out of planes, I fight [Mixed Martial Arts], plan on going back to school again. Anything and everything” (Interview 1 / 2, 2010).

Charles was pleasant, but succinct. He seemed willing to share his perspective, but described himself variously as “just a single guy now, just got out of the military,” and “just a normal guy, I guess” (Interview 1 / 2, 2010). When he was asked what kind of person he was, he joked, “The good kind, I hope. Nah. (Laughs)” (Interview 1 / 2, 2010). When I asked him to elaborate, he stated, “I don’t know. Just generally good person. I stand up for the people . . . I enjoy community work. It’s just simple. I don’t
know how to elaborate, just good person” (Interview 1 / 2, 2010). Charles also characterized himself as “Simple. I’m a simple guy” (Interview 1 / 2, 2010).

Charles’ interview revolved around two main themes: the military and politics, primarily, as will be evident in the rest of this section. The military played a big part of his thinking. This made a lot of sense, considering Charles had spent the last eight years serving his country. Although his assignment was not an easy one (as will be elaborated on later), Charles enjoyed his work: “I liked being a medic. You really did help a lot of people, a lot of sick people. A lot of third world countries you go to I mean their doctors are equivalent of our paramedics. So, it was really nice to go out and help people” (Interview 1 / 2, 2010). Charles’ perspective changed a great deal as he journeyed around the world and saw the diverse conditions in other countries. As he explained, “the way of life in each country is so different and it’s nothing what you would think and it’s so different from the US. We’re so privileged here” (Interview 1 / 2, 2010).

Politics came up quite a bit throughout the interview. When I asked him what he was good at, he replied,

A lot of people say that I’m really smart, that I shouldn’t fight. That I should definitely pursue something in politics. . . . I guess I’m good at that. Politics. I love politics. I can argue a point. I’m good at being physically fit. I love exercise. That’s about it. Simple. (Laughs). (Interview 1 / 2, 2010)

Education was part of his plans, but he saw it as a vehicle to get him to his goal.

Goals and Plans

Educational goals and plans. Charles’ immediate goal was to graduate from college, to qualify him to go into politics. He actually characterized high school as not
challenging enough. He explains that “I still tested out of a lot of the courses from high school. So it was – you know, Wai‘anae was just too easy” (Interview 1 / 2, 2010). He found the HSP to be more challenging. His first year, he worked with the archaeology group. He interned with an archaeologist that summer, and then he was asked to be a mentor for the archaeology team. His important memory about HSP was archaeological survey. “Basically what it was, you form a line and you walk through the bushes and you look for stuff, and that’s what I enjoyed” (Interview 1 / 2, 2010). Charles planned to return to college, but during his first go around, he was not engaged with school. As he explains, the challenge was

Just how boring and redundant those classes were. All you do is listen to the classes and take notes. And some of those teachers were – you know, I wanted a degree in political sciences so a lot of these teachers were – . . . they’re supposed to be non-biased, but a lot of them were -- especially here in Hawai‘i -- were liberal, democratic. (Laughs) (Interview 1 / 2, 2010)

**Personal and career goals and plans.** Charles personal goals and career goals and plans center on politics. He labels himself a conservative Republican. His father had a career in politics for awhile while Charles was in high school. Politics also had a role in his meeting his ex-wife.

Charles did not think that he really put much thought into potential careers while he was in college, though others had plans for him: “a lot of people were like, you should be a historian because I know Hawaiian history really well. A lot of people were like, you should be an archaeologist, but to me archaeology is a dying breed” (Interview 1 / 2,
Charles was interested in psychology and political science, “Two huge things to me when I was younger, still is” (Interview 1 / 2, 2010).

He wanted to be a politician in Hawai’i because he saw first-hand how important political decisions could be:

In the military, everything affects us. Everything. Every little change affects us. . . . the way the people vote, who they vote for, effects where we’re going to go to war, how we’re going to go to war, it affects everything. And as a soldier, I mean, you know, it makes a big difference. The political arena makes a huge difference to us and if you’re not paying attention, you don’t know what’s coming . . . So that’s always something I paid attention to . . . and now that I’m back in the civilian world and I see how things are just crumbling. (Interview 1 / 2, 2010).

Charles seemed committed to improving his community: “It’s something that’s going to take a serious amount of time . . . You can’t affect a huge amount of people in a small time. So maybe at the end of my life, I can answer that question and say yes” (Interview 1 / 2, 2010).

Charles stated that he had environmental goals when he was younger, “I was all about keeping indigenous plants – keeping them here, eradicating animals and those were all part of the big plan, but now, now it’s different. Yeah, younger I was more naïve, more narrow-minded. And environment was more important to me” (Interview 1 / 2, 2010). It was clear that he would like to change things, but that is part of his long-term goal of getting into politics as well. His views on Hawaiian culture were clear as well:

You raise them up on Hawaiian culture and they assume they’re Hawaiian and then you get all these crazy Hawaiian activist people. And you know, I feel that
that’s wasted energy and that’s a . . . misrepresentation of the Hawaiian people and to avert that – it’s almost better not to have culture. I mean, it’s great knowing – I speak Hawaiian fluently . . . I have since I was a young kid, but if the outcome is going to be something like that I’d rather not have it. (Interview 1 / 2, 2010)

**Links to the Bridging Multiple Worlds Model**

Charles’ dad is from Connecticut and Northern New York and graduated from high school in Connecticut. He graduated from the University of Hawai‘i with a bachelor’s degree. His mother is from Ewa and attended Campbell High School. She received a two year degree from Leeward Community College. During the time Charles was in HSP, his mother was working at a hospital as a registered nurse and his dad had been part of the mayor’s advisory team and ran for district representative, but lost. Charles’ comment was, “Didn’t see much of the guy though. He was always at meetings” (Interview 1 / 2, 2010).

Perhaps because of this, Charles stated, “Man, Gallano was a huge role in my life when I was younger” (Interview 1 / 2, 2010). He actually felt very close to her: “Linda Gallano, she was like a mom to me. I mean, made sure she was always on my ass, making sure I got everything done” and though he also spent a lot of time with Ross Cordy, the archaeologist in the program, he concludes, “I guess Linda Gallano, my sister, that’s about all the family I really needed  (Laughs)” (Interview 1 / 2, 2010).

Interestingly, Charles was shocked to hear that Gallano was still alive.

When asked what his worlds were like in high school, he commented,
Oh [school]work, that’s all I had really. Like I said, Gallano was always on my ass. And if Gallano wasn’t on my ass, the archaeologist was. Yeah, so definitely work, that’s all I had. Because after mentoring, I had to teach the kids. I couldn’t really finish my work while teaching the kids. It’s either one or the other. So, I’d be teaching, then I’d have to come back and after school, I’d have to do my work.

(Interview 1 / 2, 2010)

He estimated that about 25% or less of his friends were in HSP because “[HSP] was a world of work, and I tried to keep work separate from my friends” (Interview 1 / 2, 2010). Charles characterized his friends in HSP as being “pro-Hawaiian, pro-culture people” and other friends as “just living a normal life, trying to get along. Average kid life, I guess, work out, try to pick up girls” (Interview 1 / 2, 2010). Asked what his worlds are now, he said,

Hm. I don’t really have one, really. I’m taking it easy so I have a lot of paid time off so, but I train, that’s all I do right now. And next spring, I go back to school.

Uh – geez. World? I don’t know, is there a world of training? (Laughs)

(Interview 1 / 2, 2010)

School wasn’t an important world for him because, “in all honesty, Wai’anae bored me. Yeah . . . nothing was really challenging” (Interview 1 / 2, 2010). This was “simply because it was too easy . . . I guess that’s why I worked – more challenging. Somebody was always on my ass – . . .I guess I liked the challenge. (Laughs)” (Interview 1 / 2, 2010). He didn’t need any assistance with his schoolwork in high school, “I did it all on my own. That stuff was easy” (Interview 1 / 2, 2010) or college later. Charles did not feel that school was an important world for his high school friends,
You know, at the time, I bet it wasn’t. (Laughs) Yeah, now that I think back on it, a lot of my friends didn’t pay attention in class . . . . I guess it has a lot to do with vanity. Vain, people are vain. They like to look at – they like to look as best as they can. It was all about style, not too much school, you know. (Interview 1 / 2, 2010)

Charles did feel that school was important to his parents,

Ah yeah, both my parents have degrees - of course. Nah. (Laughs) I don’t know. My dad believed that education was important because he didn’t want me to do the same thing he did, which I did anyway, join the army as enlisted. (Laughs)

He wanted me to go as an officer . . . Mom wanted me to do the same thing, get an education first. They say it’s important to have that piece of paperwork, just ‘cause that’s what people look for, it’s that piece of paper. It doesn’t matter how smart you really are. It’s that piece of paper that matters. It’s the piece of paper that people pay you for. (Interview 1 / 2, 2010)

Both Ross Cordy and Linda Gallano also stressed the importance of an education.

Charles mentioned Gallano when he was asked about resources.

I’m Hawaiian, so I had grants, I had counselors help me write that stuff out, Gallano was always a huge help. She always knew what to do when it came to that kind of stuff. That’s about it. Man, Gallano was a huge role in my life when I was younger. (Interview 1 / 2, 2010)

Links to the Life Story Model

Personal matters were brought up, but only at key points in the interview. When Charles was asked for an important memory after HSP, he replied, “My son? (Laughs)
My wife . . . or ex-wife . . . giving birth to my son. That’s about – about as important as it gets” (Interview 1 / 2, 2010). Also, asked about his best experience, he stated, “I guess that would be getting married? There’s no more fun than that. That was pretty fun. (Laughs) I guess my marriage is one of the best events, most important memories. Simple. I’m a simple guy” (Interview 1 / 2, 2010).

Initially, when he was asked for the story of his life, Charles commented, “There’s no real story” and “I spent so much time overseas that I never really thought of anything” (Interview 1 / 2, 2010). He asked to return to the question later and when we did, he then replied,

The story of my life? Geez . . . I guess it would have to be, meeting my wife. The way we met. It was kind of weird because . . . she’s a doctor now. . . . Yeah, she’s like a super smart person and . . . we’re really political, like . . . our point of views on politics are different. I guess that’s how we met. It was over an argument. (Laughs) . . . and we hated each other for the longest time. And we ended up getting married. (I1.310.8)

Charles ex-wife is from Minnesota. She is currently a doctor. The story was interesting in that it combined politics with a rare look at Charles’ private thoughts. When he was asked what they were arguing about, he said,

We were arguing about what side -Were we democrats or republicans and we were arguing . . . why we picked each side. She . . . liked the democratic point of view and I’m a republican. I’m a conservative. She’s a liberal. We argued till the end of our marriage about that, yup. (Interview 1 / 2, 2010)
Charles felt his turning point was joining the army. Charles first orders were for a ranger battalion, equivalent to a Special Forces unit, at Fort Lewis, Washington.

Their training for a medic is a year long, and it’s all over the world . . . once you’re part of that unit, it’s . . . (clicks tongue) how can I describe it? You’re like a quick reaction unit. You have to be ready to deploy in 24 hours . . . so you have no life . . . . you’re training everyday day in and day out is really rigorous. And the initial training would be – they call it rip school, you got into the jungle and survive for seven days on your own. (Laughs) Yeah, when I got those orders, I knew exactly what that meant. That’s why it was such a turning point because I knew my life was not going to be easy. (Laughs) (Interview 1 / 2, 2010)

When asked for his most challenging or difficult experience, he replied, “There were many of those” (Interview 1 / 2, 2010). He explained that the first fire fight he was involved in, in Afghanistan, was the most challenging,

I guess we ran into a bunch of Talibans and they were shooting down on us from – ‘cause our mission was to find caves, clear holes, pretty much exterminate everyone we found up there and . . . while we were doing our patrols, we ran into a bunch of them and they were shooting down at us. And the original train of thought at the beginning of the war was that they’d spray and pray, you know, they’d just cover their heads and shoot wildly. That was the original train of thought; that was what we were trained for. And when we got up there . . . they were taking aimed shots at us. They weren’t scared of us, they knew exactly what our tactics were (Laughs) . . . and when you seen this, you’re like – whoa, these
guys aren’t stupid at all, these guys have an idea of how to fight us, so, yeah, that was pretty challenging, fighting an enemy that knows all of your tactics when you know none of theirs. (Laughs) (Interview 1 / 2, 2010)

Closing Comments

Charles was in a major transition point in his life. Having been in the military for eight years and recently released, he was at an important crossroads. He planned to return to the continental United States to finish his schooling and envisioned himself in politics as a way of improving the world.
Cross-Case Case Study

In this chapter, I present a cross-case analysis prior to moving on to a discussion of the entire study.

Quintessential Quote

Almost all these kids have very tough family backgrounds. You know, it’s not like the kids’ families are upper income. Maybe middle income families, the parents buy the kids a computer; they try to keep the house quiet for them to study. Like, these kids go home and there might be eight kids in there and it’s loud. And they’re responsible for cooking dinner and doing the chores because mom and dad are working – or worse. . . .

(Interview, Linda Gallano, 2009)

Defining Success

What does it mean for a student to be successful? One California community college Outreach program that works with minority 6th graders defined academic success as including benchmarks such as college enrollment, but also high school graduation and military service (Cooper, et al., 2005). By this definition, all eight graduates in this study have been successful. When I interviewed the teachers and researcher who knew the students, their answers involved students’ academic, career and personal development: whether they had continued school, gotten married, had children, held good jobs and were financially stable. Lei Aken’s comments helped to put things into perspective: “I never remember where they’re working, I just go, ‘Oh, good!’ Just like, ‘you got a job? You got a job? I’m proud of you, keep working!’” (Interview, 2009) Aken also said of one of the students, “She was shopping for food so she’s surviving (laughs)” (Interview, 2009).
The teachers all seemed unanimous that this group of students was unique. Mike Kurose singled out Paul and others in his group in the following way: “they were the ones that you could tell, they got it, they cared and they saw long-term – they had kind of a plan that they wanted to – you know, carry out, long-term with the students in the program and for their own futures” (Interview, 2009).

Lei Aken also commented of the group, “you knew that they would be the ones who would make it and be successful in the future:”

They were a special generation of kids. Something about the cohesiveness as well as their . . . how do I say this? They were intrinsically motivated, you know? And I think that a lot of kids today, I don’t see that in them. These kids were willing to sacrifice their time after school if there was a project that we needed to get done, or there were presentations or conferences or this meeting, they were willing to put in the time to help others. It’s so hard to get kids today to do it. (Interview, 2009)

When I asked Linda Gallano if this group was different, she said, “Not to begin with, but they became very motivated.” She made it clear that the group was not an elite group by any means and characterized the students as “right down there with the bottom level” and talked about one student in the HSP whose parents ran into trouble with drugs and criminal activity. Still, she felt that they found motivation in HSP. “These were kids now, and they were not the kids that wanted good grades and the 4.0 average. That kind of thing was not important to them. Never was. But the relevance of their work was [important] for them” (Interview, 2009). She said decisively: “Were they different coming in? No. Were they different leaving? Yes” (Interview, 2009).
Andrea Purcell, an educational researcher was also positively surprised by the HSP group.

They found something worthwhile in what was happening in the [HSP] . . . enough that they were really able to fully engage in the academic program and what they were doing. There was something in them - in this program that made to want to be successful and want to do well. And you know, that may not have meant that they wanted to do well in their geometry class? But they definitely had found a connection to school through this program – and that – that stood out, you know, by leaps and bounds from any other high school student or program that I’ve worked with. Like, individually, you know, you see that with really high achieving students . . . the [HSP] kids, this was their draw. It was their sort of reason for showing up every day. (Interview, 2010)

When I asked Purcell what she thought drew them to the program, she cited sense of connection, linkage to potential careers and connection to the Hawaiian culture.

**The Bridging Multiple Worlds Model**

The Bridging Multiple Worlds Model incorporates issues of access. The model recommends examination and alignment of a student’s family, peer, school and community support resources to support student success (Cooper, 2002) and implies an academic pipeline (Cooper, 2005). Generally speaking, based on this theory, since all students had the same supportive experience in high school, students who find alignment between values held by family and peers should be more successful.

There are caveats that are made to the general model, in which a group can actually create an exception to occur. For example, peers may sometimes derail student’s
educational success (Azmitia & Cooper, 2001). Family members may sometimes add pressures that can harm students’ academic efforts (Cooper, et al., 1995). Contrary to expectation, students may actually do better as a result of being first generation students and community support services can help students to overcome odds of success that are not always in their favor (Cooper, et al., 2005).

One of the fundamental tenets for the Bridging Multiple Worlds theory is that family has a strong influence on student’s success (Cooper, 2002). If parents’ educational pathways have also led them through college and similar career pathways, students are much more apt to succeed (Phelan, et al., 1991). As explained earlier, ‘ohana (or family) extends beyond the nuclear family in Hawai‘i; friends, neighbors are often considered to be aunties and uncles. When asked who they considered to be family during the time they were in HSP, Paul and Kelly only named immediate family members. The other six graduates mentioned immediate family as well as people in the HSP. For example, Uilani mentioned her brother, Charles, but commented that the others were nicer to her, and included everyone in the program, especially mentioning Linda Gallano. Charles likewise mentioned his sister and Linda Gallano, who he credited as being “like my mom” (Interview 1 / 2, 2010). For a number of the graduates, including HSP as part of their family makes a lot of sense. David, for example, was living with aunties and uncles in Wai‘anae. His actual family was in California, so HSP became his family. Also, Kasey talked about wanting to escape from the repression of her home, so HSP provided the perfect escape. For Uilani and Charles, whose parents were busy and often absent, Linda Gallano provided a mother figure.
In the interview, I asked students about their parents’ backgrounds to compare them with the students’ educational goals. I had anticipated that the graduates’ parents would have grown up in the Waiʻanae area and been alumni of Waiʻanae High School. Interestingly, I discovered this was not the case, as Table 3 demonstrates.

Table 3

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<th>Graduates’ and Parents’ Educational Attainment</th>
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<tr>
<td>Paul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charles</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: N/A = not applicable, meaning information was not provided.

Only three of the parents actually graduated from Waiʻanae High School.

As far as advanced degrees and education, David’s parents had the highest amount of education. His mother received her master’s in educational administration,
taught math and science and was a vice principal for a while and his father attended trade school and was an accountant. Charles and Uilani’s mother received her bachelor’s degree and worked as a registered nurse. Most of the parents did not themselves go on for advanced degrees, but all encouraged their children to go on for further schooling, as the individual sections have demonstrated.

**Multiple worlds.** The concept of worlds is central to the BMW Theory. Per the theory, if all the worlds align or are similar and overlapping, this often bodes well for students’ academic progress because the values in their worlds are similar (Phelan, et al., 1991). When all three groups believe that the world of school is vital and important, success is predicted more highly and conversely, if students’ worlds are vastly different, potential conflicts can arise in which students have to pick values of one world over another (Phelan, et al., 1991).

Having different worlds of friends that are vastly different could also indicate potential for problems, though it plays out in terms of how students are able or unable to navigate between the different worlds. Paul and Kelly both spoke about having different worlds of friends. Paul saw all his worlds as positive worlds that offered him something different. But all his worlds were unified towards the same goal of his getting the most out of his education and being able to continue. Paul felt he was able to master the transition between his different worlds. He found the fact that his friends were startled by his involvement in other groups humorous and an opportunity for him to introduce others into these worlds. Kelly, on the other hand, defined her worlds of friends as being diametrically opposed, between good friends and bad friends. She claimed she was
friends with all types of students, but found herself negatively pulled away from her focus on school by her bad non-HSP friends.

When asked what percentage of their friends were in HSP, Paul, Kasey and Kelly all claimed that HSP was a huge part of their lives, but the percentages that they listed differed. Paul was involved in so many different activities, so he listed his involvement as 20-30%. Kasey talked about being there day and night and it being her whole world, yet she only listed it as 75%. And Kelly, who said that she had many different types of friends, and thus, one might assume the number would be low to account for the different groups, listed it as 85-95%. Asking for a percentage was introduced as a way of trying to quantify the graduates’ involvement in HSP. Ironically, it raised more questions than it answered and pointed to the importance of perspective which will be further explained in the discussion section.

The core set of questions for the BMW section was deliberately set up to find out whether in high school, school was an important world for the graduate, for the graduate’s friends and for the graduate’s family members. These questions were meant to examine whether education was valued in all the student’s worlds. Again, positive alignment between all worlds would promote a student’s ability to achieve their educational goals. If students felt a lack of alignment, this could impact the value and effort they placed on reaching their educational goals. Table 4 compares actual level of educational attainment with the predicted level of attainment, based on the alignment between the students’ worlds.
### Table 4

**BMW Alignment Chart**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Self</th>
<th>Friends</th>
<th>Family</th>
<th>Predicted level of attainment</th>
<th>Actual attainment</th>
<th>Match?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Uilani</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>David</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jaiseen</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kasey</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kelly</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jamie</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paul</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charles</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Key:**  
- High = Graduate school attempted  
- Medium = BA attempted (2 years or more)  
- Low = BA attempted (2 years or less)

Based on the seven students who participated in the second interview, three students’ levels of academic attainment seem to match their BMW predicted level of attainment and four student’s levels of academic attainment did not seem to match their BMW predicted level of attainment. Jaiseen’s levels of anticipated and actual attainment were high; Kasey’s level of predicted attainment and actual attainment were medium and Charles’ level of predicted attainment and actual attainment were low. Two of them were close: Jamie’s anticipated level of attainment was medium but actual attainment was low.
and Paul’s predicted level of attainment was medium, but it actually ended up being high. Two of the graduates’ predicted levels were completely opposite - Kelly’s predicted level was high, but she actually did not progress beyond high school while David’s predicted level of attainment was low but he actually did reach the highest level of attainment of this group of graduates. Of course, there are other factors in the BMW Model that influence how students do.

Graduates were asked whether they received assistance with schoolwork, future plans and personal problems or not. These questions, adapted from the Bridging Multiple Worlds Toolkit (Cooper, et al., in preparation), were also repeated for all students who went on for further schooling or training, to see whether they continued to obtain assistance past high school. Basically, the purpose of this was to see whether students knew who they could turn to for help. This is based on the premise that when students feel that they are supported and can operate within the realm of school for help with their schoolwork, personal problems, career plans and the like, they are more empowered to do well.

One would expect successful students to continue to use resources that they had in the past. David seemed to understand this intuitively, and turned to his professors in planning for the future:

You have to go to people that know. So in high school, I went to my high school teachers because they had college degrees. But when I was in college, if I had any questions about – about college – past a bachelor’s degree, you have to go to someone that knows and those would be your professors. (Interview 2, 2010)
Paul replicated the support system he had, actively finding folks who could help him: “teachers . . . friends . . . coaches. Pretty much everybody that I . . . incorporated in my life was there for a purpose, yeah? They’re useful?” (Interview 1 / 2, 2010) While Kasey seemed to understand why it was necessary, she saw it as an extra thing that she had to do.

The hard part was, because you had no one to tell you ‘kay, you guys need to go over here and you guys need to study, you know. It wasn’t like that . . . . everybody has to decide, “okay, when are we going to have time to study,” so “okay, let’s get together after,” “oh, but I want to go home, I’m tired, I want to go home,” but responsibility kicks in . . . so either you’re going to sit there and you’re going to make the effort to learn what you need to know or you’re just not going to pass your test, you know? (Interview 2, 2010)

Finally, students were asked about their long-term goals, the challenges they faced, the assistance they received and resources they had to reach their goals. Again, the graduates who continued on to further training or schooling were asked these questions again in light of that level. This set of questions was trying to uncover what the students saw as their aids and limitations. This line of questioning was helpful to the study because it uncovered some intermediary goals that students had had along the way (i.e. Jamie’s goal to be a pharmacist and David’s goal to be a veterinarian) and it also highlighted those students whose goals remained constant (i.e. Paul’s goals to be an educator.)

**Pattern matching with the BMW model.** Five sets of information were identified and examined to pattern match for the BMW Model. The first set dealt with
alignment of the importance of education as a world to the individual, their friends and their families (covered previously, in Table 4). The second set assessed perceived assistance in high school in the areas of schoolwork, planning for the future and personal problems. The third set similarly assessed perceived assistance post-high school in the areas of schoolwork, planning for the future and personal problems. The fourth set addressed goals in high school, perceived challenges to and resources in reaching those goals and the final set similarly addressed goals post-high school, perceived challenges to and resources in reaching those goals.

In Table 5, each set of responses was placed into one of three categories (low, medium or high) depending on how well the response seemed to predict success in the BMW model. The last step was that the composite categorical assignments were compared against the highest level of education that the graduate had actually attempted.

Uilani’s case was inconclusive, since she did not participate in the second interview that included the BMW questions. Of the other seven graduates, the patterns observed in the BMW predicted level attainment versus actual attainment were upheld, though they offer more insight into the individual graduates’ resources.

David had low levels in alignment of worlds on education, in high school assistance and high school goals. He had a high ranking in post-high school assistance and a medium ranking in post-high school goals. This is actually surprising in light of the fact that he has completed a master’s degree and is currently working on a PhD.

Charles had three low rankings for alignment of worlds on education (predicted attainment), post high school assistance and post high school goals, but he had medium level rankings for perceived assistance on the high school level and high school goals.
Table 5

Bridging Multiple Worlds Overview

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participant</th>
<th>School important world for you, friends, family?</th>
<th>Assistance w/schoolwork, future planning, problems?</th>
<th>Long-term goals, challenges and resources for those goals?</th>
<th>Actual level educational attainment</th>
<th>Match</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>High school</td>
<td>Post high school</td>
<td>High school</td>
<td>Post high school</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jaiseen</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kasey</td>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>Medium</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jamie</td>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>Low</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charles</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>Low</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>David</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paul</td>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kelly</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>Stopped after high school</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Low</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uilani</td>
<td>Insufficient data</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Inconclusi ve</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This makes sense. Charles understood that resources were available in high school, but he was not able to translate that to post-high school. Since he had goals in high school, but did not have goals after he got out of high school, the army recruiter, in Charles’ words, “gave [him] a plan” (Interview 1 / 2, 2010).

Jamie had three medium rankings in alignment of worlds on education, in high school assistance and goals. She had low rankings for both post-HS categories - assistance and high school goals. This would make sense in light of the fact that she faltered post high school. She started on a BA but did not finish.

Kasey had medium levels for all categories, except for her high school goals category, which was a low level. Her levels were extremely similar to Paul. The fact that
she was weakest in terms of high school goals would indicate that she was not sure of her direction at that point and this, in turn, may have impacted her progress.

Paul had medium levels for all categories, except high school goals, for which he had a high ranking. This is surprising because one would expect high levels in all categories, in light of his strong views on education.

Kelly actually had the full range of levels – a high level in her world alignment in terms of education, a medium level of high school assistance, and a low level in terms of high school goals. She did not have any post high school assistance and goal rankings since she did not elect to continue her education. Perhaps if she had not gotten pregnant, she may have.

Jaiseen had only medium rankings for her post high school goals. However, she had high levels of anticipated attainment, assistance in high school, assistance in post high school and her goals in high school. This rankings emphasize the fact that she is aware of the need to seek assistance from others and is knows how to obtain assistance.

It is interesting to note that graduates with at least one category ranked high were also high overall. Having low rankings also tended to pull down the overall levels, as was the case with Charles, Jamie and Kelly. Kasey only had one low ranking, but enough medium rankings that her overall ranking also came out medium. David was the one exception. Surprisingly, David was at the lowest in terms of rankings, yet working on his PhD, he has achieved the most in terms of education.

Taken as a whole, the Bridging Multiple Worlds Model confirmed my expectations. It accurately predicted most of the students’ levels of successes. I was
slightly surprised by the non-matches, but could explain all of them given the BMW Model.

I could explain David’s lack of matching to my own failure to somehow include demographic information in the study. David’s parents level of educational attainment and careers should have been taken into consideration and would have elevated all of his rankings because the BMW model shows how important students’ predisposition is in relation to their parents’ educational background.

Paul also had mostly medium rankings, yet his attainment is considered high. This is not really a mismatch, just different in degree and to me indicates that his own personal sense of investment, and perhaps interest in education, pushed him to the high educational attainment he has achieved.

Kelly’s non-match was the only one that was inexplicable to me. Yet, it also corresponded with what was found in other studies about BMW. Even students who are provided with the best resources and assistance do not always succeed academically. I myself wondering why this was the case.

Of course, it is important to note a few things. Perhaps most importantly, the student’s outcomes are not completely realized yet. Charles plans to return to the continental United States to work on his degree in the spring. Jamie and Uilani mentioned in their surveys that they may return to school. Also, the highest achieving students graduated the earliest (David and Jaiseen were in the 1999 cohort and Paul was in the 2000 cohort), making them the oldest in this group of graduates. They have had more time to achieve more. In addition, it is clear that unintended pregnancy had an
impact on a number of the graduates. If they had not gotten pregnant when they had, their educational outcomes may have been quite different.

**The Life Story Model**

The Life Story model starts with the premise that everyone has a life story. This model focuses on the individual and the way that he / she interprets or makes meaning of his / her experiences. The general assumption of the Life Stories theory is that each person displays a unique, individual pattern (McAdams, 1993). This means that various themes, such as agency and communion, rather than students’ support system, are good ways to examine motivation (McAdams, et al., 1996). Universal themes, such as generativity (giving back to the community), can emerge (McAdams, 1999). Since the life stories theory presupposes the existence of a life story (McAdams, 1993), the questions were designed to be able to isolate and identify the life story, to see how the student is defining themselves as well as to test the life story’s consistency. How well is the life story articulated? Is it something that was previously thought out? Of course, the most obvious question is to ask the student point blank, “What is your life story?” This question was deliberately positioned last in the first interview to give students a chance to answer some basic questions prior to answering such an open-ended question. Other questions regarding key events or nuclear moments, are meant to lead up to it. There are basically four sets of questions. The first two questions try to evoke “important” memories (involving HSP and after HSP or not related to HSP). This was intended to test if there were significant differences between the two for the graduates. For some of them, these questions highlighted the important pattern that high school or high school
related events were most important, even years later. Kasey describes high school as being her “best experience” (Interview 1, 2009). Uilani also claims that her life

Hasn’t been that spectacular. I mean, only high school and maybe a couple years after high school and that was with the Hawaiian Studies so … if I was to write a book, it would just be about that chapter right there, that part of my life right there. (Interview 1, 2010)

The next set of questions asked about extremes of experience. McAdams words these as “peak experiences: and “nadir experiences,” but to make this concept more accessible and require less explanation, “best” and “most difficult or challenging” were used instead. These questions test the best and worst to review the range of what the student has experienced. The next question asks the student for a turning point.

The final two questions focus on the student’s life story and how they divide that story.

**Life story chapters.** The graduates’ stories were all unique and covered a range from those that are highly developed to those that are limited in scope. Of course, it could be argued that the stories are a reflection of the lives themselves. Those who have traveled more, have had more life experience would have more highly developed stories. To examine how well thought out and defined the graduates’ life stories were, I decided to analyze the chapters that they had listed. I looked at five factors: how many chapters they included, whether they titled them or not and the type of title, whether they included any rationale or explanation for the division of chapters, whether they expressed doubt in their commentary and whether they had any creative comments (regarding the length or number of chapters). Many graduates identified titles with place names or chronological events. Those who continue their pursuit of higher education like Paul, Jaiseen and
David, seemed to be more reflective in creating their chapters. This is somewhat expected from those who have graduated from college and are more used to dealing with symbolic or abstract ideas. David actually named his entire book, “The Trials and the Joys of Life” (Interview 1, 2009). Paul commented on how full his chapters would be: “if my book was only eight chapters. Those would be pretty long chapters” (Interview 1, 2009).

**Pattern matching with the Life Stories model.** Four sets of information were examined to pattern match for the Life Stories Rubric. In the case of the life story pattern, I was focusing on whether the various parts were consistent with the student’s life story. As indicated in Table 6, I looked at redemption themes and themes of agency and communion. I also looked at chapters as a way of determining how well articulated was each student’s story and how well the pieces fit together to determine a match or a lack of a match.

Of the eight graduates, here are the overall patterns that emerged:

Uilani had no redemption sequences coded, low agency & communion, and undeveloped chapters. This makes sense in light of Uilani’s life story, which is currently frozen: “my life after high school is just my daughter, my house and my job, now, that’s it” (Interview 1, 2009).

David had one redemption sequence, medium levels of agency and communion. His chapters were very developed. Again, David is the anomaly - with everything that has happened in his life, it is surprising that he has so few redemption sequences.
Table 6

*Life Story Overview*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participant</th>
<th>Number of instances / Total points: (redemption theme/indicator of generativity)</th>
<th>Number of instances: agency &amp; communion</th>
<th>Life story chapters (number, titles, reasons, artistic, uncertainty)</th>
<th>Match</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Paul</td>
<td>2 /3 (high)</td>
<td>13 (very high)</td>
<td>1/1/3 (high development)</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jaiseen</td>
<td>1 / 2 (medium)</td>
<td>11 (medium)</td>
<td>2/1/2 (medium development)</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uilani</td>
<td>None (low)</td>
<td>5 (low)</td>
<td>5/0/0 (low development)</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kasey</td>
<td>3 /4 (high)</td>
<td>10 (medium)</td>
<td>1/3/1 (medium development)</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>David</td>
<td>1 / 1 (low)</td>
<td>11 (medium)</td>
<td>0/1/4 (high development)</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jamie</td>
<td>2 /2 (medium)</td>
<td>4 (low)</td>
<td>1/3/1 (medium development)</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charles</td>
<td>1 / 1 (low)</td>
<td>3 (low)</td>
<td>0/4/1 (medium development)</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kelly</td>
<td>2 / 2 (medium)</td>
<td>6 (low)</td>
<td>4/1/0 (low development)</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Jaiseen had one redemption sequence, medium levels of agency and communion. Her chapters are somewhat developed. This is appropriate with the fact that Jaiseen’s story was one of striving, perseverance and determination, the fact that she returned to school, despite all the naysayers who implied that she would not.

Kasey had 3 redemption sequences, the most of this group of graduates. Agency and communion were at a medium level and her chapters were somewhat developed. It is fairly surprising that her agency / communion levels are so high.

Kelly has two redemption sequences, low agency and communion, and her chapters were not developed. Similar to Uilani, Kelly has not really thought about her “story” because it was taken over at the point at which she became a mom. She similarly defines her life as “I went to – straight to having kids and being a homemaker, that’s all” (Interview 1, 2010).
Jamie had two redemption sequences, low agency and communion. Her chapters were somewhat developed. It appeared that Jamie was upbeat and tended to go with the flow. So while she would have enjoyed being “Up in the Skies,” (Interview 2, 2010) as she titled one of her chapters, it also is evident that she does not mind being temporarily grounded due to unexpected motherhood.

Charles had one redemption sequence coded, low agency and low agency and communion. Yet, his chapters are somewhat developed. This makes sense in light of Charles’ being in the military. It appears that he is able to assess his life up to now and envisions what he would like to do from now.

Paul has two redemption sequences and the most agency and communion. His chapters are very developed. Even though these rankings are remarkable, one would expect more redemption sequences.

One could make the case that there are no patterns in life stories, since each person is an individual. It is clear that while there are similarities in some of the graduates, there is far more individual variation in their stories and lives.

Three rankings corresponded for three students: Uilani (all lower rankings), Jaiseen (all medium rankings) and Paul (all high to very high rankings.) The agency and communion rankings actually seem close to the BMW rankings arrived at earlier, with the exception that David and Jaiseen scored medium rankings instead of high rankings with agency and communion. The chapters, meant to capture the complexity of the life stories and the amount of thought devoted to the life stories, was slightly off for Jaiseen, Jamie and Charles who all had medium rankings instead of high (for Jaiseen) or low (for the latter two.)
The redemption sequences seem to not predict as accurately as one might expect. McAdams (1999) suggested that the most common total for redemption sequence is 0. But redemption sequences are supposed to be indicative of those who achieve a lot in their community, and this was not the case. What is interesting is that while Paul and David have had a number of challenges and what most would consider eventful lives and are fully invested in giving back to their communities, this is not reflected in their redemption sequences by a large margin of difference, as one might expect to find. It could be that the episodes that they elected to describe were not covered by the interview questions evaluated. Kasey has the highest number of redemption sequences, though her ability to give back to the community is primarily tied into her job.

Taken as a whole, the Life Stories Model did not provide as much insight as I thought it would. This could have been due to the design of my study. I deliberately chose to compare redemption sequences, agency versus communion and life story chapters because I wanted to review a range of different Life Story features. But the sample size may have been too small to see patterns in the data.

Comparing the Life Stories and Bridging Multiple Worlds models, it appears that there were mixed results. As Table 8 shows, each model was able to capture part of the graduates’ experience, but not completely. Neither model was decisively better in explaining the graduates’ trajectories and both brought to light just how individualized students’ trajectories can be.
### Table 7

**BMW Model & LS Model Comparison**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Graduate</th>
<th>Actual Academic Attainment</th>
<th>BMW Overall Ranking</th>
<th>LS Model Overall Ranking</th>
<th>Match</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Uilani</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>David</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>Neither</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jaiseen</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>BMW</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kasey</td>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>Both</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kelly</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>LS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jamie</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>Neither</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paul</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>LS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charles</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Both</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

So while both models captured Charles and Kasey’s experiences well, it appears the BMW Model did a better job of predicting Jaiseen’s success, the Life Stories Model did a better job at reading Kelly and Paul’s involvement in their life stories. Neither one was able to adequately address David’s experience. It must be pointed out that while the two models are different filters on the graduates’ lives, they explain different aspects within those lives. The two models are by no means mutually exclusive but offer different perspectives on the same individuals.

**Predicting Academic Success**

Education is not the only route, but it does provide students with more options (Cooper, et al., 2005). One of the best predictors of how the students would do did not
come from either the BMW or Life Stories Models. In a review of the surveys administered in 2004 (Yamauchi & Brown 2007), one particular question stuck out. It asked the students “how likely are you to graduate from a two-year or four-year college or university and to go to graduate school or professional school (e.g., law school, medical school) after college graduation?” The students could check off “not likely,” “maybe,” “probably” and “definitely.” The results are found below.

Table 8

*Anticipated Level of Education Attainment from 2004 Survey*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Student reported anticipated level of educational attainment (2004)</th>
<th>Current level of education</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2 year</td>
<td>4 year</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>David</td>
<td>Definitely</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jaiseen</td>
<td>Definitely</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paul</td>
<td>Definitely</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uilani</td>
<td>Definitely (Match)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kelly</td>
<td>Maybe (Match)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kasey</td>
<td>Definitely</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jamie</td>
<td>Definitely</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charles</td>
<td>Maybe</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In the surveys, Jaiseen, David and Paul all indicated that they “definitely” planned to complete graduate or professional school. David and Paul are still working towards their goals, Jaiseen is continuing despite having a child. Jamie and Kasey indicated they “definitely” planned to finish their 4 year degree and Uilani “definitely” planned to finish her 2 year degree. According to the recent interviews, Jamie, Uilani and Kasey started but did not complete their degrees, though the first two became pregnant, which had a definite impact on their plans. Similarly, Kelly wrote that “maybe” she would finish a two year degree, but she stopped attending school – again, after she became unexpectedly pregnant. Charles plans to pursue a bachelor’s degree, though he indicated “maybe.” It is as if their level of conviction (“definitely”) or the lack of it (“maybe”) and the length of their commitment (2 years versus 4 years) impacted their life story. The outcome students predicted for themselves became a self-fulfilling prophesy.

Career plans. HSP provided students with weekly hands-on experience through program rotations in areas such as health, archaeology, agriculture, navigation and prepared them for the outside world by having them create resumes and running mock interviews. The BMW model recommends a connection to careers: “career mentoring may offer even the most vulnerable students a sense of future and purpose for staying in school, whether or not they continue to college” (Cooper, 2002, p. 4). There was a noticeable connection between uncertainty or loss of interest in a career path and the decision not to continue school, particularly in Kasey and Kelly’s cases.

Career plans are to a large extent tied to the educational plans that the students held. It is fascinating to examine the way in which students decided on their career paths. Table 9 shows how the graduates’ plans changed from high school to post high-school to
their actual jobs now and potential careers. The last category includes information that the students wrote on their surveys. The careers with question marks after them indicate potential careers that were mentioned in the course of the interviews.

Table 9

*Career Plans Pathways*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>High school Plans</th>
<th>Post high school plans</th>
<th>Current employment status</th>
<th>Future plans*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Uilani</td>
<td>Teacher</td>
<td>Oceanographer / Botanist</td>
<td>Homemaker</td>
<td>“To get a job that will support me and my family. To have a job that I can go home knowing I helped someone/thing.” Teacher?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>David</td>
<td>Archaeologist / Veterinarian</td>
<td>Biology Teacher</td>
<td>Graduate student</td>
<td>“College prof.” Institute Director?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jaiseen</td>
<td>Police officer / Oceanographer / Doctor / Lifeguard / Archaeology</td>
<td>Archaeology</td>
<td>Human resources – business</td>
<td>“To eventually own my own business.” Archaeology?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kasey</td>
<td>Doctor</td>
<td>Nurse / Teacher</td>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>“just to have a job in this tough economic world.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kelly</td>
<td>Own cheerleading business</td>
<td>Nurse</td>
<td>Homemaker</td>
<td>“None.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jamie</td>
<td>Lawyer</td>
<td>Pharmacist / Flight Attendant</td>
<td>Office worker</td>
<td>[Left blank] Flight attendant?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paul</td>
<td>Educator</td>
<td>Educator</td>
<td>Educator</td>
<td>“finish my Masters [in] Ed. Admin. and become an administrator in a Education Program.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charles</td>
<td>Archaeology? History?</td>
<td>None – military</td>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>“Finish four year degree.”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Per 2009-2010 survey*
The students can be divided into three categories: students with very clear plans (Paul, David and Charles); students who seem happy where they are (Kasey, Kelly and Uilani), and students who are temporarily doing things until they get to their future plans (Jamie, Jaiseen).

Paul’s pathway has always been incredibly set. He has been interested in various aspects of education and has pursued part-time and full-time job experiences that will give him the experience he needs to go into education. In 2004, Paul envisioned being the superintendent of the DOE. In 2009, he mentions wanting to connect educational programs.

David considered a number of different paths. He actively questioned whether his educational experience matched up with his career goals and adapted to make changes when necessary. He wanted to expand his family, earn his degree, secure a directorship and someday return to Hawai‘i so that his family can have the same experience that he did with cultural diversity.

Charles had others encouraging him to go into different things, but it took the military for him to clarify what he wanted to do with his life and how he felt he could best assist others. Charles planned to return to college in spring 2011 and saw the four year degree as being crucial to being able to serve public office.

Jaiseen considered many career paths. She was working in the business realm (her second choice) and endeavored to own her own business but her true passion was archaeology. She intended to return to archaeology when she can do so. In 2009, her goals included having her own house, owning a business, and finding a career that she has a passion for.
Jamie was very unsure about careers and seemed passionate about working as a flight attendant until she had her son and decided to settle down. She seemed to be content, with no future plans. When she was interviewed in 2004, Jamie spoke of wanting to own her own business and give back to the community. In 2009, she also talked about returning to Hawai‘i, ostensibly to own her own business and give back to the community.

Kasey planned to go into nursing, but found the educational demands to be too rough, so she switched to education. When she got married, she ended up not returning to school. She found that her work in the travel industry was interesting and fulfilling to her and hoped to be rehired in the industry.

Kelly did not have a back-up plan, so when nursing fell through as a career, she did not actively pursue any other route. Once she had her daughter (and subsequently two additional children), she focused on being a homemaker. Kelly initially talked about getting a full-time job to help support her daughter, but in 200, her goals were focused on ensuring her children had a good education. In regards to the rest, she stated, “whatever comes, I just ride it out” (Interview 1 / 2, 2010).

Similarly, with the birth of her daughter, Uilani focused on being a homemaker. In 2004, Uilani wanted to work in the field of Hawaiian Studies, potentially becoming a teacher. In 2009, she wanted to “establish a good financial home” and send her child to a good school (Interview 1, 2009).

Kasey talked about graduating from college to become a nurse in 2004, but now talks about “living day by day,” having kids and figuring out which career is best for her (Interview, 2009).
**Community involvement.** One of the main findings from the original study (Yamauchi & Brown, 2007) was that the students from the Hawaiian Studies Program felt that not only were they involved in their community, but they already felt they were making a difference. In 2009-2010, graduates were asked if they felt they had met the goals they had set in high school in various areas, including community service. Paul, David and Kasey were the only ones that answered affirmatively. Jaiseen felt that she still could do more.

Paul was the most involved. He actively participated in community service by contributing his time and expertise in training other Hawaiian youth through various programs, serving on a number of boards and being an active and engaged member of not just the Wai‘anae and Nānākuli communities, but the state at large. Giving back to others was an integral part of who he was and what he did.

David extended his love of the Hawaiian culture to the Pacific Island cultures as well and his primary community service was his involvement in the Pacific Islander Festival Association fundraiser and church-related community service each year.

Jaiseen and Kasey both manifested their wanting to give back to others in the context of work. Prior to being laid off from work, Kasey spread her joy of the Hawaiian culture to visitors to the islands in the hospitality industry. Working in the Wai‘anae area and assisting community groups allowed her to feel connected to the community. Jaiseen headed and was actively involved in a number of community service fundraising activities throughout the year. She also gave back through her church and was raising her son to understand the importance of service.
Charles had been overseas with the military for eight years and wanted to be involved in politics to make the world a better place. His travels made him aware of needs that expand beyond his own community.

Uilani, Kelly and Jamie were all occupied with raising their children. As Uilani commented, “I’d like to give a little bit more, but there’s just no time anymore, yeah?” (Interview 1, 2009). Kelly did not feel that she had any community goals in high school. Jamie had big plans to create a community center in the future.

At this point, it could be argued that focusing on emerging adulthood is capturing their impressions when much of their work on identity still lies before them.
Discussion

The original research questions were the following: (a) How has this group of students turned out in academic growth, personal growth and community involvement? (b) How can the BMW and Life Stories models explain these students’ journeys? (c) Based on this group of students, what recommendations can be made to best support students? I believe that the first two questions have been covered. The final question can only be answered by returning to the frameworks of this study – namely Emerging Adulthood, the Bridging Multiple Worlds Model and the Life Stories model. It will be discussed in the Contributions to Practice section.

Emerging Adulthood Revisited

The five principle features of emerging adulthood, as articulated by Arnett, are identity explorations, instability, feeling in-between, self-focus and sense of possibilities. I did not ask any questions specifically about emerging adulthood because I expected the features to emerge from the interviews.

What I found was that four of the students progressed straight to adulthood through the decisions that they made. Charles is the most obvious. As the Israeli studies found, when young adults join the military, it hastens adulthood. Charles thus has a different pattern than the rest of the HSP graduates because he was in the military for eight years. Likewise, the fact that Uilani, Kelly and Jamie all found themselves in early parenting situations, required them in many ways to grow up quickly and as a result, they skipped many of the stages evident in emerging adulthood. Jaiseen also had a child early, but she took a different path than the others and making things work. As a result, she did display some of the features of emerging adulthood.
Identity explorations. Emerging adulthood specifies that a host of questions that naturally arise, concerning issues such as career, life partner, religion, worldviews, the future, serve as a catalyst to prompt exploration of identity (Arnett, 2006c). In many ways, David’s decisions to embark on two quests to leave San Diego to attend high school in Hawai‘i and to serve a mission in Australia, fostered his ability to fully explore his identity. Paul was a counter-example – it could be argued that even as a young adult, he already had a strong sense of who he was from his family and his own educational convictions. When I interviewed him, Charles was a good candidate to embark on an exploration of identity because he had just been released from the military and seemed poised to start his new life as a civilian.

Instability. Typically, instability is reflected in the sense that emerging adults tend to either move out on their own or leave home for college (Arnett, 2006c). Again, David is the best example of this. Charles joined the military and was required to move around, since he trained and then was stationed all over the world. Jamie also moved to the continental United States due to her family situation:

That pretty much pushed me into a position where I was like, it’s time to grow up, it’s time to figure everything out for yourself and . . . to do that, I sort of felt like I needed to get away from all the things that I was regularly doing and the only way that I could do that was to move away, in my mind” (Interview 1, 2009).

Feeling in-between. Emerging adults do not consider themselves adolescents or adults, which makes them feel “in between” the two, so asked if they feel they are adults, they will answer, “yes and no” (Arnett, 2006c). Based on a number of prior studies, Arnett advances the opinion that reaching adulthood is a gradual process in which the
three consistent criteria are (a) accepting responsibility for oneself, (b) making independent decisions and (c) becoming financially independent” (Arnett, 2006c)

Jamie reflected this sentiment. When she was asked why she had not achieved her goals dealing with the community, she stated, “For one, I’m still in Colorado” and “Two, I haven’t even gotten myself straightened out yet” (Interview 2, 2010). Kasey was unsure about her career plans and was still figuring out what she wanted to do with her life. She also repeatedly talked about how she would one day have kids, but that she was not ready to settle down, unlike her husband who was six years older: “what he may want now, I’m not ready for it now, and I don’t really mean kids, I’m just saying that . . . when he was 25, he was partying, and enjoying life and you know, for me 25, I settle down, you know” (Interview 1, 2009).

**Self focus.** Self-focus should not be confused with self-centeredness; self focus is an important phase in which emerging adults, unencumbered by obligations, can focus on themselves and define who they are, in order to achieve self sufficiency and move on to the stages of marriage and parenting (Arnett, 2006c). David, Paul and Jaiseen focused a lot on other people. David’s life centered on his family and he actually talked about how marriage changed his thinking from “me” to “we” (Interview 1, 2009). At the same time, he was self-focused, not in a negative way, but in the way that he was highly motivated:

I like to make goals, and you know, work and try to achieve them. . . . I’m kind of a little driven . . . I mean that’s how it is when you – when you set goals I mean if you want to accomplish them, you actually have to constantly be thinking about them and try to make progress as you go along (Interview 1, 2009).
This sense of single-minded focus and sense of purpose is vital to achieve what one wants to achieve. Jaiseen also possessed this intrinsic motivation: “I always knew I was going to go back to school, I just had to make the decision of when” (Interview 2, 2009).

Paul has been compelled to learn more based on his goal:

I wanted to be an educator. Straight up. Every day of my life I wanted to be an educator . . . I wanted to start programs, Hawaiian programs, leadership programs and yeah, I wanted to teach. And I wanted to better the lives of the next generation via education (Interview 2, 2010).

The detailed way in which David and Paul could discuss and analyze their life stories and chapters pointed to the fact that they have reflected on their lives a great deal.

**Sense of possibilities.** Emerging adults see their futures as promising and full of possibility, often because it provides an opportunity to move away from difficult family situations and presents a chance for change (Arnett, 2006c). This sense of the possibilities, feeling that there is still time enough to accomplish whatever one sets out to do, was reflected in many of the graduates’ narratives. David planned to complete his PhD and then obtain a directorship at a university (Interview 2, 2009). Paul’s future goals were clearly defined: “I still want a lot of things, and therefore, this is why I still do what I do today and still move slowly but surely move towards that goal, towards getting a master’s degree and eventually obtaining a PhD as well” (Interview #2, 2010). Jaiseen pointed out, “I mean even now, if I really, really wanted to, and put my mind to it, I could go back to pursuing archaeology” and also notes, “I’m not sure if I’m going to get my PhD yet, but it’s always open” (Interview 2, 2009). Having left the military, Charles also seemed to feel that he could contribute a lot, stating, “I want to enter the political ring.
And now that I’m a decorated soldier and I have a really good rapport with the Hawaiian people, you know, it helps. But those are slow steps. That’s definitely a long-term goal that is like 10 years from now” (Interview 2, 2010). Uilani also saw potential avenues in the future. She hoped to “get my daughter into school – then continue my education when she is older. . .” Jamie called her dream of opening a community center in Wai‘anae “something huge that I really do intend to focus on once I settle in to my career and my family” (Interview 2, 2010) – something she felt she would have time to return to do later. In the surveys administered in 2009-2010, one of the questions asked was, “Do you plan to continue with your training or education at a later time? If yes, what are your plans?” The available choices of answer were “Yes” or “No,” but Kasey actually created her own category, writing in “Maybe.” Kelly was the only one who did not feel a strong sense of options available to her.

I can’t do the kids and homework. And for me, their life is my life. I’m trying to get them in the right direction. So I don’t have time for that. But our brother went back to school after how long . . . so I guess it’s possible, but . . I couldn’t do it for me, yeah. (Interview 1/2, 2010)

Of the five principle features of emerging adulthood, the sense of possibilities was the one feature that seemed to be manifested the most strongly by this group of HSP graduates. Many made commitments by starting families early. As a result, most did not have the luxury of exploring their identities freely, but some of them experienced instability associated with moving, some of them felt in between and some even maintained self-focus. While a number of them were forced to grow up quickly, they still retained a sense of optimism and looked to a brighter future. This is consistent with what
one would expect to find. Arnett (2000) found that emerging adults with lower SES actually felt more confident that they would have better lives than their parents.

**Emerging Adulthood Trends**

There were four trends I expected to see based on local culture. First, I predicted that graduates would live with relatives or remain in Wai‘anae. On the survey administered in 2009-2010, I asked the graduates if they still lived in the Wai‘anae area and why or why not. Three of the eight moved away: David returned to live in San Diego, Jamie lives in Colorado near her parents and Charles has temporarily resettled in Mililani after being released from the military. The other five graduates (Paul, Jaiseen, Kelly, Kasey, Uilani) still lived in Wai‘anae and considered it home. Paul wrote, “Wai‘anae, Nānākuli is my home and this is where I plan to live for the rest of my life no matter what my career plans.” Jaiseen responded that she still lives in Wai‘anae “because it is a beautiful place to live, the people are great, plus all of my family and friends still live there. I grew up on the Wai‘anae Coast. It is where I call HOME!” Kelly wrote simply, “Love it here.” Two of the HSP graduates (Uilani and Kasey) even purchased homes there.

Second, I had heard anecdotally that lifestyle expectations differed in Wai‘anae. Having children at early ages or out of wedlock is seen as an alternative acceptable lifestyle, a choice not necessarily frowned upon. As Arnett found in two studies, having a child as a teenager hastens adulthood and curtails emerging adulthood (Arnett, 2006b). This did prove significant with this particular group of students, since four of eight had children earlier than they had intended.

Third, I expected that “their journeys may be more characterized by considerations of and for their families.” I found that this was the case. Most obviously,
the lives of all four women who had children (Kelly, Uilani, Jamie and Jaiseen) were impacted by the early pregnancies. But it is also important to point out that Jaiseen did not go straight from high school to college to help support her mother and siblings financially. Paul also forestalled his education to financially support his mother and sisters (both of whom had early pregnancies.)

Finally, at the start of the study, I thought that I already knew that most of the graduates did not automatically attend college as is often the case with emerging adults (Arnett, 2004). What I discovered was that Charles, Jamie, Uilani, and Kasey all did start college but only one earned a bachelor’s degree so far. David, Paul and Jaiseen were all working on advanced degrees, but this may not have happened either, since Paul and Jaiseen took a break to assist their families. Entrance to college was not the issue, it was persistence towards graduation. With this particular group of students, various factors intervened: family conflicts and demands, financial constraints, difficulty in selecting a major and even a military recruiter. Many decisions were made by necessity.

I believe that for many of these HSP graduates, financial concerns were a key contributing factor. As pointed out earlier (McAdams, et al., 2006), emerging adult students in a privileged college setting have many advantages that other students do not. If basic needs such as tuition and housing are paid for by parents, students have the time to fully experience the phases of emerging adulthood with identity exploration, self-focus, instability, feel-in in-between and sense of possibilities. Other educational researchers (Cooper, 2002) have noted the importance of scholarships or at least financial aid counseling for students who come from low income families.
As mentioned in the introduction, researchers of Hawaiian students (Hagedorn, Tibbetts, Moon, Matsumoto, et al., 2003) pointed out that receiving financial aid from Kamehameha Schools predicted college graduation better than GPA. Three of the eight HSP graduates were working on advanced degrees, but they could not have done it on their own. David worked a series of part-time jobs to reach his goals and was awarded a scholarship. Jaiseen worked two part-time jobs at the same time in order to make ends meet and pay for her education. Dolores Foley paid for Paul’s first semester, an act that set him on the right path. Not being able to apply for financial aid added significant stress to Kasey’s pursuit of her educational goals. Even Jamie’s decisions were hindered by financial difficulty:

> Future plans are to gain stability to the point where I could probably move back . . . whether or not that’ll be a reality, I’m not so sure because of the way life is out there. You grow so accustomed to um having the financial freedom that you get out here with regards to cost of living? And the amount you get paid per position, it makes it really hard to move back home. (Interview 2, 2010)

**BMW model revisited.** The three key BMW predictions that I examined were that examined dealt with (1) alignment between the graduates multiple worlds, (2) the notion of specific cultural differences (3) family and peers presenting challenges or support to students.

**Alignment between multiple worlds.** One of the strengths of the BMW Model is that it supports the idea that positive alignment in a student’s, parents’ and friends’ worlds can positively influence a student’s ability to do well. The model provides guidance for how educators and community leaders can provide resources, such as
educating parents on the types of educational preparation necessary for students to attempt particular careers.

Though HSP was not built on the BMW model, it does include many of the same underlying principles – community involvement and assisting students with career planning. The idea of an educational pipeline is one that the HSP instructors mentioned in their interviews. Lei Aken, for example, sees the value of connecting the students’ opportunities past high school:

[I] think that having partnerships outside of school has helped tremendously . . . . MA’O [Farms], they’re so innovative, you know? They have . . . wonderful things going on up there, we have a great partnership, you know, just creating this educational pipeline with them – right now, [the students are] at the middle school. And they’ll come to me at the high school and MA’O has opportunities for them after high school. And we used to teach inside of the classroom box, within our high school realm, but now we extend out and beyond . . . (Interview, 2009).

Another strength of the model is that it recognizes the individual nature of each student and acknowledges notable exceptions to the rule. For example, as noted earlier, Cooper et. al. (2005) found that “children who build successful pathways to college appeared to do so not in spite of their parents’ modest education and occupations but because of their parents’ hardships, support, and guidance” (p. 246).

David’s parents had the most education, yet his mother was a first generation college student herself (unlike many students, whose parents, grandparents, and sometimes great grandparents had already paved the way in terms of education). David was proud of his
blue collar background, but used their hard lives to inspire him to higher educational
goals: “I think the reason that it [education] was so important to them [his parents] was
because, like my mom was the first college graduate in her family . . . her dad was a
fisherman” (Interview 2, 2009)

Michael Kurose also pointed out that HSP sustained many of the students
throughout high school:

[HSP has] been able to capture students that . . . were very nontraditional. Maybe
eye would have fallen through the cracks, but because of this engagement that
was in this program, they stuck it out. So maybe this program . . . was able to
allow them to elevate themselves and maybe when no longer the support system –
and some were able to carry it on, and others were not able to carry it on and
maybe it’s during that time period – but . . . then they fall off (Interview, 2009).
The harsh reality is that no matter what excellent opportunities are provided by the
schools and communities, external factors sometimes prove to be too much for the
students to overcome. Linda Gallano explained about one of the many students who
went through HSP:

One of them . . . became an ice addict and of course his family was about ice all
the way through . . . so, it was a high point in his life to go to Tahiti and you
know, do this, and be so respected and show all these teachers how to stream test .
. . but – it didn’t sustain him all the way through (Interview. 2009).

*Specific cultural differences.* In addition to the cultural differences covered
earlier in the emerging adulthood section, one key realization was how closely BMW
believes align with beliefs espoused by educators focused on Native Hawaiian education:
E kolo ana no ke ēwe I ke ēwe - the rootlet will creep toward the rootlet.” Because they are of the same origin, children will seek out and learn from their family and community first. To our kupuna\textsuperscript{25}, family and community were the beginnings, the foundations of education. In many ways, education is no different today. Values, beliefs, and patterns begin forming at home. Family and community are critical components for all children, not just Hawaiian children. (\textit{Nā Lau Lama Community Report}, 2006)

Andrea Purcell, who worked closely with a number of the students in the study, noted the involvement of the teachers and how closely they worked with the students’ families:

The teachers . . . were actually paying very close attention to them and followed through on things. Like, they knew their moms, and they knew their moms’ cell phone numbers and . . . they called their moms anytime something was going on. And they knew what was going on at home, and with their family and what was going on in their personal life and they called them out on that a lot.

The students and even their family members responded in their involvement. According to Linda Gallano,

When we would have a deadline, they would be spending – like for science fairs or the videos that we had to present, we had the end of the year that we would have to prepare and have a little pā‘ina [party] and show to the funders so that they would be happy to fund us next year? . . . . They would be in school like until 9 o’clock at night. And they were the ones who wanted to stay. I would go, “Uh,

\textsuperscript{25} The Hawaiian word for “honored elder.”
aunty gotta go home. Aunty is very tired.” . . . [Laughs] . . . And sometimes the parents would come down and sit with them . . . (Interview, 2009).

This message filtered to the students. Paul was able to tie it together aptly:

I understood that you know education . . . involves . . . everybody around you, not just the parents, not just the students, but the community, yeah. And if the community is supportive of its children . . . then the children will . . . understand the support that’s given and where they need to be. And so, you know, you’re only a product of your environment, you’re only a product of your community (Interview 2, 2010).

**Challenges and support from family and peers.** Highly successful college outreach programs such as the Puente Program do their best to nurture students’ educational aspirations, but this is not an easy task as “even the highest achieving students were challenged” (Cooper, 2002, p. 5). It is undeniable that all students face difficulties in their progress towards educational and career goals. However, some paths do prove more problematic than others. Perhaps the best example of this would be Kasey, a first generation college student, who felt at a loss when she started college. Her best friend decided not to go on to college and Kasey said she had to study with “people that were in my college classes” (Interview 2, 2009.) Kasey’s choice of words indicated that she viewed her college peers only as classmates, not as potential friends. Since Kasey’s parents had never attended college, they did not realize that the high expectations in terms of career paths they placed on her may have been slightly unrealistic. Her father wanted her to be happy and tried to steer her towards careers that would make money, but Kasey struggled to make ends meet when her parents were unable to support her and did
not understand the necessity of disclosing their tax forms so that Kasey would be eligible for financial aid.

A contrasting example was Jaiseen’s experience. Cooper points out that “Sometimes the same experiences can be – paradoxically- both challenges and motivating resources or ‘good burdens’” (Cooper, 2002, p. 4). Such was Jaiseen’s case. Many circumstances in Jaiseen’s early experiences might have suggested that she was on a trajectory that would not lead to academic success. Initially raised by a mother who allowed Jaiseen to stay home from school when she wanted to, Jaiseen fortunately moved in with an aunty and grandmother who stressed the importance of school. Jaiseen did not go on to college right away and helped her family financially. She then got pregnant and when her son was two-years-old, made the decision to return to college because of him.

The importance of support. One of the factors that I feel could have made a difference after high school was having a support system. As Michael Kurose pointed out, some of the students may have faltered because once they graduated from HSP and high school, they were unsure how to get support and who to get it from (Interview, 2009). David, Paul and Jaiseen, the students who achieved the most academically, all had strong family support. They credited, believed in, and trusted the idea of support systems. As Paul explained it, “the people that surround you, that are on the same boat as you, that want to see you get to where you want to be at” (Interview 2, 2010). So, when they continued on the college, all three of them actively sought out individuals who could assist them and replicated / enlarged their support systems. As Paul explained,

Pretty much everybody that I . . . incorporated in my life was there for a purpose, yeah? They’re useful, yeah? . . . . So fortunately, everybody who surrounded me,
the people that I wanted around me, you know, they supported everything that I wanted to do (Interview 2, 2010).

As I explained earlier, Kasey thoroughly understood why she needed to work with others, but she saw it as extra work, a burden rather than something that would help her to achieve her goal. As Tinto points out, “the student’s peer group is the single most potent source of influence on growth and development during the undergraduate years” (1993, p. 398). In college, changes in attitude, cognition, psychosocial and values “are probably the result of a set of interrelated and mutually supporting experiences, in class and out, sustained over an extended period of time” (Pascarella & Terenzini, 1995). Perhaps if Kasey had felt better connected to the educational system, she would have been able to reach out to obtain the assistance she needed to finish. At the University of Hawai‘i, there is the Student Support Services, a program designed specifically for first generation college students, or those with financial need ("Student Support Services," 2011). In addition, since the time that Kasey attended the University, a number of new programs, such as the one-stop tutoring / academic advising / referral center, Kōkua A Puni, Native Hawaiian Student Services Program have been created to assist Native Hawaiian students ("Native Hawaiian student programs directory 2008-2009," 2008). These types of programs would have helped Kasey to persevere. I will return to the idea of connections when I discuss my recommendations.

**Life Story Model Revisited.**

In the next section, I examined the three key predictions related to the Life Story Model. (1) established themes are readily identifiable, (2) nuclear episodes yielded important information (3) link between redemption themes and generativity.
Established themes are easily identifiable. I felt that while the pattern of redemption was relatively easy to find, it did not yield the patterns that I expected to find, as discussed earlier. Also, the second coder and I felt that there were complexities in coding that were not covered in the Life Story coding instructions – for example, how to identify the boundaries between one experience and another, how to determine whether an incident was sufficiently negative to warrant a redemption coding, what to do if the interviewee covered more than one experience in one question. Themes of agency and communion were easier to recognize. Again, some of the issues having to do with coding for these traits were uncertainty whether there was enough in the text to warrant a code. Many of the studies done by McAdams were validated against personal inventories or tests. Since that was not the focus of this study, graduates were not asked to complete this type of test.

A previous study (McAdams, et al., 1996) pointed out that “themes of agency and communion in autobiographical scenes . . . illuminate how the person today chooses to narrate the personal past” (p. 372). This is consistent with the results of this study. Paul had the highest scores in this area and showed the reflective and thorough way in which he has lived his life and analyzed it through the perspective of learning. It is probably not an accident that Paul was the only one who felt unequivocally that he had met all of his goals (personal goals, community goals, environmental goals, community goals and goals dealing with Native Hawaiian culture and value.) His goals were aligned and intersected.

Key experiences yield important information. The structure of asking about key experiences was beneficial because it presented diverse ways of looking at the graduates’ lives – HSP experience, experiences that did not involve HSP or occurred after the
student’s graduation, best experience, worst / most challenging experience and turning points brought up topics that the graduates’ may not have thought to talk about otherwise and revealed additional facets of each student. Charles’ experiences were a surprising mixture of military experiences and fairly personal ones.

The key event prompts generated extended accounts of important stories. Paul talked about his benefactor, Aunty Dolores, as well as the story of the student he tried to help in New Mexico. Even the most reticent participants were coaxed to discuss their key anecdotes that defined them. Charles talked about his first experience with warfare in Afghanistan. Most surprisingly, the otherwise very reserved and withdrawn Kelly had a very involved tale to tell regarding difficulties she had with her youngest daughter.

Redemption and generativity link. As mentioned earlier, one of the main theories, that patterns of redemption are indicative of giving back, was not evident in the graduates’ interview responses. While a number of them seemed to be highly achieving in this category, it was not fully captured in coding the life events. McAdams actually advances the idea that generativity can encompass parenting, since it encompasses “an adult’s concern for and commitment to promoting the well-being of future generations” (2006a, p. 49). As a result, all eight of the HSP graduates in this study could be considered generative through parenting activities, community service activities or both types of activity.

I feel that this group could be divided into five groups. McAdams pointed out that “highly generative American adults tend to be well integrated into society. They are active in social institutions such as schools, churches and community organizations” (2006a, p. 140). This appears to be the case with Paul, David and Jaiseen. Paul’s life
involved continual community service, giving back to educational groups and organizations on an ongoing basis. Appropriately, he had a high score of two redemption sequences, for a total of three points. David gave back through church and the Pacific Islander Festival Association. Yet, he has a low redemption score of one redemption sequence and one point. Kasey and Jaiseen gave back mainly in the context of their work. Kasey has the highest redemption scores with three redemption sequences and four points and Jaiseen has a medium ranking - one redemption sequence with two points. Jamie and Charles hoped to give back in the future, but have not taken steps towards doing so yet. Jamie had a medium ranking with two redemption sequences and two events and Charles has a low ranking with one redemption sequence and one ranking. Kelly did not feel that she set goals concerning the community in high school; yet, she had a medium ranking with two redemption sequences and two points. Uilani did not do the second interview, so she is not included in this comparison.

McAdams (2006a) found that mid-life adults with high generativity scores displayed a prototypic redemption narrative. These individuals often had difficult lives, yet are able to see the positive “silver lining” in their experiences and wanted to give back to others. Although I did not find overwhelming evidence reflected in his key events, I did find that Paul expressed a sense of gratitude when he talked about what he has been doing since high school graduation.

[I] came back as a volunteer to help build the program, but actually help me as a person, as well as I’m pretty sure most of my classmates that were part of the program to build that inspiration for other young leaders to come up and learn
more and to just give back to a program that has given so much to me as well.

(Interview 1, 2010)

It is possible that this sentiment would have emerged in the key events section if
the interview had been set up differently. In a typical life story interview, interviewees
would probably not be asked questions about the type of person they are or what they
have been doing since graduation; these would have emerged as responses to the key
event questions. It should be pointed out that the interview was adapted from the Life
Stories interview method to fit within the framework and time frame required for the
interviews. A complete life stories interview normally lasts between one and a half to
three hours (McAdams, 1993). Since the interviews needed to include both Bridging
Multiple Worlds questions and Life Stories questions as well as questions based on the
prior HSP study, it was not possible to focus solely on the Life Story questions. Another
possibility is that it is still too early to look for redemption sequences in the graduates’
narratives. McAdams calls generativity “the central psychological and moral challenge
adults face, especially in their 30s, 40s and 50s” (2006a, p. 11), since this is a pattern of
mid-life adulthood, which is a time period still to come for the graduates. Further
research would be able to confirm or deny this.

The importance of perspective. BMW theory focuses primarily on providing
external support and does not describe internal (psychological) changes that may occur
for students. Life Story theory, on the other hand, focuses on narrative as a way of
conveying one’s internal beliefs, usually about events that have already happened. Of
course, one’s previous experiences can create a trajectory for similar patterns to be
repeated, but for the most part, life story is an evolving account of what one has achieved.
As a result, while one’s life story can influence the future, it does not necessarily dictate how the story will be played out. In addition, it is filtered by what the teller wants the listener to hear, since it is a story conveyed for an audience.

In terms of their educational goals, the missing key in this study seemed to be the students’ perspectives, not of how they would explain their lives up to that point in the study or whether they felt academically supported or not, but simply what they felt that they could or wanted to do. In a 2004 survey, the HSP graduates predicted with striking accuracy, what level of education they would reach in 2009-2010. This is a reminder of the importance of self-efficacy (Bandura, 1995), belief in one’s ability to accomplish a goal. Those who did not think they would go on to higher levels of education did not. Those who did found ways to do so.

It may sound overly simplistic to say that everything is relative and depends upon one’s view, but it would help to explain some of the more confusing findings in the study. As explained earlier (in the Bridging Multiple Worlds Model section), the question that asked students what percentage of their friends were in the HSP had unexpected results. The question was meant to provide a quantifiable, point of comparison, to get a better sense of how involved the students were. Yet, the answers were confusing. Paul, Kasey and Kelly all said that HSP was a vital part of their lives, yet their percentages ran from 20% to 95%, which revealed how vastly different the graduates’ frames of references were and pointed to the difficulty of trying to compare such different perspectives.

Another similarly baffling finding was the unexpected answers that some of the graduates gave to some of the other Bridging Multiple Worlds questions. Based on the first interview, for example, I knew that David’s parents had a strong educational
background. I had expected that he would have one of the best alignments between his worlds in terms of his own, his families and his friends’ perspectives on education.

While he did say that his parents “definitely” (Interview 2, 2009) felt that education was an important world, his answer on how important he thought it was surprised me. He stated that “in high school, I wasn’t really that focused. It was just - There was just a lot of socializing and hanging out with friends and . . . doing new things, like how to play new instruments, and sing songs and all that kind of stuff was um – a lot of fun” (Interview 2, 2009).

But this again is relative. As I explained earlier in his section, before and after this answer, David talks about how he was already rooted in educational soil: “it wasn’t really a matter of what am I going to do after high school. I never faced that dilemma because . . . my parents had been . . . telling me since I was little that “you know, you gotta go to school if you want to be successful” (Interview 2, 2009). David may say that he was not focused, but his worlds were aligned in the sense that he already “knew that college was the next step,” and even more so, saw that “it fits, you know, where I’m from” (Interview 2, 2009). He was very much aware that his classmates had limited opportunities: “college wasn’t really an option. So I know a lot of my friends, they got a job. That’s all they had” (Interview 2, 2009).

When I asked Kelly about the resources she had in high school to reach her goal, she admitted that she had all the support in the world in terms of trying to get into nursing. However, since she ultimately did not end up following this career path, she was unable to see past the fact that it did not work for her.
The internships that they offered and the classes . . . the teacher outside of the HSP who ran the health academy . . . he was good . . . everything was there. In class, during school. So, we didn’t have to go anywhere else to do it. We did our hours in school at Tripler [Hospital]. It would have been the perfect thing for somebody who wanted to be in . . . that field. I just wasted a lot of time there. So for me, it was a waste of time but for somebody else who wanted that, it would have been perfect . . . (Interview 1/2, 2010).

Rather than seeing that the internship had been an opportunity to try out a career and make an experience-based decision about whether it would work for her, Kelly felt it was a complete wash. It does not sound as though Kelly talked to anyone about her feelings. So I doubt if anyone knew that she had decided that this was not the path for her.

Each graduate came to the HSP with a different background. All the graduates went through the HSP program. All the graduates had life circumstances that influenced their futures in unforeseen ways. But I believe that one of the big determining factors that set each student apart has been the student’s perceptions and the way in which these perceptions influenced their life stories.

HSP operated as a supplement for students like David and Paul, who could appreciate what it was trying to achieve. As they both stated in their interviews, they had strong family support in terms of their education and they were both committed to that path early on.

Having been released from the military after eight years, Charles was on the verge of creating a new life story, or at least, a new chapter.
Uilani, Jamie and Kelly had plans but lacked some of the stability that David and Paul had in terms of their family lives and educational goals. As soon as Uilani, Jamie and Kelly became pregnant, it was as if a switch was turned off and they did not consider returning to education, at least not in the near future.

The exceptions to this pattern were Kasey and Jaiseen. Kasey did not get pregnant, but she was discouraged by her educational experience and lack of support. When she got married, she stopped attending college and her situation seemed to validate her resolution not to return to college. Jaiseen was the only female who got pregnant and still managed to go to school. Researcher Purcell noted,

I remember Jaiseen. I remember that she was really bright and she had a lot of potential. And then I remember that she got pregnant in her senior year and I remember thinking, “Oh no.” (Laughs) and I knew her boyfriend too, who she was seeing at that point. And I knew what that potentially meant for her . . . coming from that particular community and how that often turned out and . . . but I can remember thinking . . . prior to that, really expecting her to be one of the students who would go to college . . . I remember hoping that this wouldn’t prevent – the pregnancy wouldn’t prevent her from pursuing her education.

(Interview, 2010).

What was the difference between Jaiseen and the others? Jaiseen was determined to continue her education and maintained throughout all of her interviews that she planned to return to school and in fact, the birth of her son propelled her to return to school.
Limitations

The main limitation of this study was that only eight graduates participated in the interviews. It would have been more informative to be able to interview more graduates. The information gathered thus represents a small sample of young adults who attended the HSP in high school.

Also, since two of the graduates did not participate in the 2004 interviews and one of the graduates did not participate in the second 2009 interview, the information that was available for each student differed. Efforts were made to supplement information in other ways. However, the second interview included most of the BMW questions so the graduate who did not participate in the second interview could not be used in the BMW comparisons or cross-case analysis.

In order to better identify selection bias, an important element to consider is to examine the students who participated in this study. Who came and who was missing? The individual students who participated in the survey belonged to larger groups – the HSP and also Waiʻanae High School students.

Students could elect to join the HSP program, regardless of their ethnic background. The students in this study all were self-identified as Hawaiian, which is consistent with the program (in which most, but not all students are Hawaiian) and the high school, where over half of the students are Hawaiian (Yamauchi et al., 2005). They also had many of the financial difficulties that students from this area face. Many of them were young mothers or had children unexpectedly, which is also consistent with the demographic profile of the Waiʻanae coast area.
However, participants were also different in significant ways from others in these broader groups. According to the teachers’ reports, in Wai‘anae, problems with drugs and brushes with the law are more common compared to typical high schools but very few HSP students ran into problems in these areas. While many Wai‘anae High School students struggled in high school or tended to drop out (Yamauchi et al., 2005), this was not the case for Hawaiian Studies students. To start, most students in HSP graduated, though this is not the case for the school at large.

These differences could be a result of the fact that HSP students are self-selected. That is, they chose to be in the program. As a result, these students may already be exceptional. Students who joined HSP covered the range of student achievement including students in special education, honors and academically at-risk (Yamauchi et al., 2005). In terms of HSP, the students in the study represented a cross-section of participants in terms of educational attainment. Three students were pursuing graduate school while one completed high school and stopped. Definitely, Paul and Jaiseen, two of the high achievers in the study, were specifically identified by former teachers as being leaders. Thus, it would appear that the group of participants was somewhat skewed in the direction of higher achievers. This makes sense in light of the fact that those who respond tend to be the ones who are doing well.

Since this study attempted to utilize two different models, I was concerned about how long the interviews would take. This resulted in adaptation of Life Stories protocol (not providing prompts for elaboration) to protect against potentially lengthy responses. Concern that participants would be unwilling to participate in the second interview if the first one was too long drove the researcher to limit follow-up questions to clarification
questions only. As a result, it was possible to get a clear sense of how comfortable a
student felt talking about a given topic as well as their candid emotional response. In
most cases enough information was gathered to evaluate, but in a few cases both the
researcher and outside coder agreed that a fuller explanation may have been helpful to
classify certain events more appropriately. Future research should follow the protocol.
Contribution to Practice

The graduates’ lives have in certain ways followed the predicted educational pathways they foresaw for themselves. At the same time, many of the personal and career events that have happened to this group could not have been anticipated. Many of them had to adjust their life stories, based on their perspectives. Based on this group of students, what recommendations can be made to best support students?

A key finding of this study was that students’ achievement most closely matched their own predicted levels of achievement five years earlier. Knowing this information could help to raise awareness about the potential importance of student’s expectations and asking for predicted levels of achievement in high school in the manner laid out in the survey could be integrated into models that emphasize educational attainment.

A related point is that finding ways of ascertaining students’ perspectives are vital, whether they be as simple as through reflective journals or focus groups. Programs such as HSP cannot be expected to do more than is possible, but if they had known that Kelly was no longer interested in nursing, they may have been able to discuss other opportunities with her.

Since early childbirth is common, educating students about options in terms of childcare assistance may be vital. Some students elect not to continue their education but students who want to do so should be given support in terms of achieving their goals.

Another issue that was raised through this study was that the high achieving students not only had elevated expectations of themselves, but that they understood the interdependent nature of education. They expected to and knew how to seek support from others. First generation students often require more assistance and support.
Creating connecting programs, such as the ones advocated by Paul, can assist students in bridging the adjustment from community college to college to the workplace are crucial for students who do not have the necessary framework to be able to adjust

Suggestions for Future Research

If it were possible, it would be fascinating to see how the participants’ lives unfold in another five to 10 years and how their life stories change. If anything, this study simply captured images of these specific students as they were on the days they were interviewed. Since they are still at the beginning of their journeys, much of their life work lies ahead of them. The HSP graduates are entering the generative period of their lives. Clearly, some of them have already started to give back to their communities or started families. It would be valuable to contact them in another six years to see whether their hopes of improving the world through politics, teaching, community service, a community center, are realized by that time.

The Bridging Multiple Worlds and Life Stories Models are not mutually exclusive; they offer different perspectives on the same information and allow us to examine patterns. Looking at other groups or programs using these two models in tandem may provide a more comprehensive understanding of how the two can be utilized together.
Appendix A

HSP Graduate Consent Form

Megumi I. Makino
Graduate student, Educational Psychology UHM
Primary Investigator
###-####

During 2003, you participated in a research study on the Hawaiian Studies Program (HSP) at Wai‘anae High School. This research project is a follow-up multiple case study to examine the long-range effects of students’ participation in the HSP. It is being completed to fulfill the requirements for a doctoral degree dissertation.

Participation will include two 60-90 minute interviews at locations and times convenient to you. Some participants will be asked to review the results and interpretations. The interview questions will focus on your (a) post-secondary education and preparation, (b) occupation and career preparation, (c) civic engagement, (d) environmental activism, (e) personal goals and (f) knowledge and enactment of Hawaiian values since you left the program. You are also being asked to allow access to materials from the original study: examples which include, but are not limited to, prior HSP school work and projects, surveys and raw interview transcripts.

Approximately 25 people (teachers and students) from the earlier study will participate in this study. Interviews will be audio-recorded, transcribed, and analyzed. The results of this study may be used in future journal articles and conference presentations. Research records will be kept in a secure office space in my home and will be destroyed upon completion of the research project.

All personal information will be kept confidential to the extent allowed by law. Agencies with research oversight, such as the UH Committee on Human Studies, have the authority to review research records. You can choose whether or not you would like to be identified as a participant. However, if you choose not to be identified by your real name, your confidentiality cannot be guaranteed because (1) real first names were used in the original study, and (2) comparisons to that study will be made.

Although there are no direct benefits to you, your participation may help educators and administrators in the HSP and similar programs improve their services to youths.

Participation in this research is completely voluntary. You may discontinue participation at any time.
• Please contact the researcher, Megumi Makino, at ###-#### if you have any questions regarding this research project.

• If you have any questions regarding your rights as a research participant, please contact the University of Hawai‘i Committee on Human Studies at (808) 956-5007, or uhirb@hawaii.edu

Participant

I have read and understood the information in this form and agree to participate in this research project. A copy of this consent form will be provided to me.

____________________________________________
Printed name

____________________________________________
Signature Date

cc: Participant

Contact information

Email address: _________________________________

Phone number: _________________________________

Best times to call: _________________________________

_______ Yes! I would like to participate further. If you choose to participate in the interviews, please complete the attached survey and send it in with this form.

_______ No! Even if you choose not to participate in the interviews, please complete the attached survey and send it in.
Appendix B

HSP Graduate Survey

Name: ____________________________________________

How old are you? ____________

Marital status (circle one):  Single  Married  Separated  Divorced

Do you have children (circle one):  Yes  No

If yes, how many children do you have? ____________

Do you still live in the Wai‘anae area? (circle one):  Yes  No

Why or why not?
________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________

If not, where do you live? ________________________________

What further training / education have you had since high school? Please indicate any degrees or certificates completed.
________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________

If you are currently involved in further training / education,

What did you / are you studying? ________________________________

How far along are you? ________________________________

Do you plan to continue with your training or education at a later time?

Yes  No
If yes, what are your plans?
________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________

Please list all the jobs you have had since you left the HSP program.
________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________

What are your career goals?
________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________

- If you choose not to participate in the interviews, please return this survey in the enclosed self-addressed stamped envelope.
- If you choose to participate in the interviews, please return this survey form along with the consent form in the enclosed self-addressed stamped envelope.

Thank you very much.
Appendix C

HSP Graduates – Interview #1

Thank you very much for agreeing to be interviewed about your experiences in the HSP. We wanted to do a follow-up study to see what has happened in the lives of HSP graduates. This first interview is meant to gather some overall information about your life and what has happened since you were in the HSP program. The second interview will cover more specific questions dealing with education, career and personal goals.

1. Please begin by describing yourself. What kind of person are you? What do you like to do? What are you good at?

2. Can you describe what you’ve been doing since graduation? (Jobs, education, volunteer work, church, and other activities)

Family is very important in Hawai‘i. My next set of questions is about your family members:

3. During the time you were in the HSP program, who would you consider the members of your family?

4. Where did your parents [or other caregivers?] grow up?

5. Where did they go to high school?

6. Did they go on to more schooling?

7. During the time you were in the HSP, what did they do?

This set of questions deals with you:

8. Please tell me about an important memory involving HSP.

9. Please tell me about an important memory after you’ve graduated from HSP.

10. Thinking over your entire life, please tell me about your best experience.

11. Thinking over your entire life, please tell me about your most difficult or challenging experience.

12. Please tell me about a turning point in your life.

13. Please tell me the story of your life after high school graduation.
14. If your life up to this point was compared to a book with 3-8 chapters, what would the titles of those chapters be?

15. Are there other people with whom you suggest we talk about these issues? Are there teachers or community members who you suggest we talk with to learn more about your life when you were in the HSP?

16. May we contact you again, if we have further questions?

17. Would you like us to use your real first name or a pseudonym, when we report these results? If the latter, please choose a pseudonym.
Appendix D

HSP Graduates – Interview #2

Thank you very much for agreeing to meet with me again. In this interview, we will be covering more specific questions having to do with your educational, career and personal goals. To start off with, there is a theory that talks about how students live in different worlds – for example, a world of work and a world of school. But many have additional individual worlds to include their other interests, such as the world of basketball or the world of hula or music. This leads to my first question.

1. While you were in high school, what were your worlds?

2. What are your worlds now?

3. During high school, did you have different “worlds of friends”? What were those worlds like?

4. What percentage of your friends were in HSP? / Why do you think this was the case?

5. Was school an important world for you? / Why or why not?

6. Was school an important world for your friends? / Why or why not?

7. Did your family members feel that education was important? / Why or why not?

8. In high school, did anyone assist you most with schoolwork? / If so, who?

9. In high school, did anyone assist you in planning for your future? / If so, who?

10. In high school, did anyone assist you in dealing with problems? / If so, who?

11. While you were in high school, what were your long-term goals?

12. In high school, what were the challenges you had in reaching those goals?

13. In high school, what were the resources you had in reaching those goals?

14. What further training / education have you had since high school?

[Note: For those who have gone on to further schooling, I will re-ask questions 8-13 in present tense as well.]
15. When you were in HSP, what did you want to be when you were growing up? Why?

16. What do you want to be now? Why?

17. Why do you think your choice changed or stayed the same?

18. Has anyone influenced your career interests and choices? / If so, who? / How have they influenced you?

19. The HSP stressed community involvement. Did you have goals regarding your community? / If so, what goals did you have?

   Do you feel you have met these goals? Why or why not?

20. The HSP introduced environmental themes. Did you have goals dealing with taking care of the environment? / If so, what goals did you have?

   Do you feel that you have met these goals? Why or why not?

21. HSP included Hawaiian culture and values. Did you have goals dealing with Hawaiian culture and values? / If so, what goals did you have?

   Do you feel that you have met these goals? Why or why not?

22. When you were in the HSP, the HSP introduced the idea of setting personal goals. Did you set personal goals for yourself? / If so, what goals did you set?

   Do you feel that you have met these goals? Why or why not?

23. What are your future plans?

   Thank you very much for meeting with me again.
Appendix E

HSP Instructors Consent Form

Megumi I. Makino
Graduate student, Educational Psychology UHM
Primary Investigator
###-####

During 2003, you participated in a research study on the Hawaiian Studies Program (HSP) at Wai’anae High School. This research project is a follow-up multiple case study to examine the long-range effects of students’ participation in the HSP. It is being completed to fulfill the requirements for a doctoral degree dissertation.

Participation will include one 60-90 minute interview at a location and time convenient to you. The interview questions will focus on your perceptions of students’ (a) post-secondary education and preparation, (b) occupation and career preparation, (c) civic engagement, (d) environmental activism, (e) personal goals and (f) knowledge and enactment of Hawaiian values since they left the program. You may be asked to review our results and interpretations.

Approximately 25 people (teachers and students) from the earlier study will participate in this study. Interviews will be audio-recorded, transcribed, and analyzed. The results of this study may be used in future journal articles and conference presentations. Research records will be kept in a secure office space in my home and will be destroyed upon completion of the research project.

All personal information will be kept confidential to the extent allowed by law. Agencies with research oversight, such as the UH Committee on Human Studies, have the authority to review research records. You can choose whether or not you would like to be identified as a participant. However, if you choose not to be identified by your real name, your confidentiality cannot be guaranteed because (1) real first names were used in the original study, and (2) comparisons to that study will be made.

Although there are no direct benefits to you, your participation may help educators and administrators in the HSP and similar programs improve their services to youths.

Participation in this research is completely voluntary. You may discontinue participation at any time.

- Please contact the researcher, Megumi Makino, at ###-#### if you have any questions regarding this research project.
If you have any questions regarding your rights as a research participant, please contact the University of Hawai‘i Committee on Human Studies at (808)956-5007, or uhirb@hawaii.edu

Participant

I have read and understood the information in this form and agree to participate in this research project. A copy of this consent form will be provided to me.

________________________________________________________________________

Printed name

________________________________________________________________________

Signature  _________________  Date  _________________

Contact information

Email address: __________________________________

Phone number: _________________________________

Best times to call: ______________________________

cc: Participant
Appendix F

Interview questions for previous HSP instructors / researchers

Thank you very much for agreeing to be interviewed regarding your experiences with the HSP Program. While this study is primarily focused on HSP graduates’ educational, occupational, and personal development since high school, we wanted to gather information from an instructor’s perspective. As a result, we truly value any information you feel is relevant.

1. Please begin by describing your background as a teacher / researcher.

2. When and how were you involved in the HSP?

3. What are you doing now?

4. Do you still keep in touch with any of the students during this time period?

   • If so, who are they and what do you know about each students’ progress since high school? [If they do not name the participants, we will name each participant individually and ask the instructors whether they know how the students have progressed since high school.]

There is a theory that talks about how students live in different worlds – for example, a world of work and a world of school. But many have additional individual worlds to include their other interests, such as the world of basketball or the world of hula or music.

5. Do you remember what types of different “worlds of friends” these students had? What were those worlds like?

6. Was this group of students different from other groups of students you have worked with? / If yes, how so?

7. So far, my findings seem to suggest the following student patterns (preliminary themes / results), do you feel this is accurate? / Why or why not?

8. Are there other people with whom you suggest we talk about these issues? Can I contact you again, if we have further questions?

9. Would you like me to use your real first name or a pseudonym, when I report these results? If the latter, please choose a pseudonym.

Thank you very much for sharing your insight with us.
## Appendix G

Bridging Multiple Worlds Coding Form

**GRADUATE NAME:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Was school an important world for you?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Response</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Was school an important world for your friends?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Response</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Did your family members feel that education was important?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Response</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Predicted BMW level of academic attainment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Yes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GRADUATE NAME:</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>In high school, did anyone assist you with schoolwork?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Response</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>In high school, did anyone assist you with planning for your future?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Response</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>In high school, did anyone assist you with dealing with problems?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Response</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Predicted BMW level of academic attainment</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Yes</td>
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**GRADUATE NAME:**

While you were in high school, what were your long term goals?

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Response</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Career identified (Y)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In high school, what were the challenges you had in reaching those goals?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No challenges identified (Y)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In high school, what were the resources you had in reaching those goals?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3 or more identified (Y)</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Predicted BMW level of academic attainment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>High</th>
<th>Medium</th>
<th>Low</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3 Y</td>
<td>2 Y</td>
<td>0-1 Y</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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**GRADUATE NAME:**

Optional page: For use with graduates who had further training/schooling

Post high school, did anyone assist you with coursework?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Post high school, did anyone assist you with planning for your future?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Post high school, did anyone assist you with dealing with problems?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Predicted BMW level of academic attainment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>High</th>
<th>Medium</th>
<th>Low</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3 Y</td>
<td>2 Y</td>
<td>0-1 Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GRADUATE NAME:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
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**OPTIONAL PAGE - FOR USE WITH GRADUATES WHO HAD FURTHER TRAINING/SCHOOLING**

Post high school, what were your long term goals?

Response

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Career identified (Y)</th>
<th>College identified (Y)</th>
<th>No goal stated</th>
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Post high school, what were the challenges you had in reaching those goals?

Response

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No challenges identified (Y)</th>
<th>Internal obstacles</th>
<th>Lack of resources (S, time)</th>
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Post high school, what were the resources you had in reaching those goals?

Response

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<tr>
<th>3 or more identified (Y)</th>
<th>1-2 identified</th>
<th>None mentioned</th>
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</thead>
</table>

Predicted BMW level of academic attainment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Medium</th>
<th>Low</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3 Y</td>
<td>2 Y</td>
<td>0-2 Y</td>
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Appendix H

Life Story Coding - Redemption Sequences

| GRADUATE NAME: | | |
|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|

### Important Life Story Memory

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Key Sequence =</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>continue below</td>
<td>&quot;+1&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;0&quot;</td>
<td>negative event</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>positive event</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Type of redemption              |  |
|---------------------------------|  |
| Sacrifice                       |  |
| Recovery                        |  |
| Growth                          |  |
| Learning                        |  |
| Improvement                     |  |

| Enhanced Agency                |  |
|--------------------------------|  |
| "+1"                           | "0" |

| Enhanced Communication          |  |
|--------------------------------|  |
| "+1"                           | "0" |

| Ultimate Concerns              |  |
|--------------------------------|  |
| "+1"                           | "0" |

| Total Points                   |  |
|--------------------------------|  |

### Important Post-HSP Memory

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Presence of Redemption Imagery?</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Key Sequence =</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>continue below</td>
<td>&quot;+1&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;0&quot;</td>
<td>negative event</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>positive event</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Type of redemption              |  |
|---------------------------------|  |
| Sacrifice                       |  |
| Recovery                        |  |
| Growth                          |  |
| Learning                        |  |
| Improvement                     |  |

| Enhanced Agency                |  |
|--------------------------------|  |
| "+1"                           | "0" |

| Enhanced Communication          |  |
|--------------------------------|  |
| "+1"                           | "0" |

| Ultimate Concerns              |  |
|--------------------------------|  |
| "+1"                           | "0" |

| Total Points                   |  |
|--------------------------------|  |

### Best Experience

<table>
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<tr>
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<th>Yes</th>
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<th>Key Sequence =</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>continue below</td>
<td>&quot;+1&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;0&quot;</td>
<td>negative event</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>positive event</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Type of redemption              |  |
|---------------------------------|  |
| Sacrifice                       |  |
| Recovery                        |  |
| Growth                          |  |
| Learning                        |  |
| Improvement                     |  |

| Enhanced Agency                |  |
|--------------------------------|  |
| "+1"                           | "0" |

| Enhanced Communication          |  |
|--------------------------------|  |
| "+1"                           | "0" |

| Ultimate Concerns              |  |
|--------------------------------|  |
| "+1"                           | "0" |

| Total Points                   |  |
|--------------------------------|  |

### Most Difficult / Challenging Experience

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Key Sequence =</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>continue below</td>
<td>&quot;+1&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;0&quot;</td>
<td>negative event</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>positive event</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Type of redemption              |  |
|---------------------------------|  |
| Sacrifice                       |  |
| Recovery                        |  |
| Growth                          |  |
| Learning                        |  |
| Improvement                     |  |

| Enhanced Agency                |  |
|--------------------------------|  |
| "+1"                           | "0" |

| Enhanced Communication          |  |
|--------------------------------|  |
| "+1"                           | "0" |

| Ultimate Concerns              |  |
|--------------------------------|  |
| "+1"                           | "0" |

| Total Points                   |  |
|--------------------------------|  |
**Turning Point**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Presence of Redemption Imagery?</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Key Sequence</th>
<th>→</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&quot;+1&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;0&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;0&quot;</td>
<td>negative event</td>
<td>positive event</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Type of redemption**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sacrifice</th>
<th>Recovery</th>
<th>Growth</th>
<th>Learning</th>
<th>Improvement</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Enhanced Agency</td>
<td>&quot;+1&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;0&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enhanced Communion</td>
<td>&quot;+1&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;0&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ultimate Concerns</td>
<td>&quot;+1&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;0&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Points</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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**Life Story**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Presence of Redemption Imagery?</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Key Sequence</th>
<th>→</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&quot;+1&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;0&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;0&quot;</td>
<td>negative event</td>
<td>positive event</td>
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</table>

**Type of redemption**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sacrifice</th>
<th>Recovery</th>
<th>Growth</th>
<th>Learning</th>
<th>Improvement</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Enhanced Agency</td>
<td>&quot;+1&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;0&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enhanced Communion</td>
<td>&quot;+1&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;0&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ultimate Concerns</td>
<td>&quot;+1&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;0&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Points</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
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</table>
## Appendix I
Life Story Coding – Themes of Agency and Communion

### Important HSP Memory

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Themes of Agency</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Detail / Quote</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SM: Self Mastery</td>
<td>&quot;+1&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;0&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SV: Status / Victory</td>
<td>&quot;+2&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;0&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AR: Achievement / Responsibility</td>
<td>&quot;+1&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;0&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EM: Empowerment</td>
<td>&quot;+1&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;0&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Themes of Communion

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Detail / Quote</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>LF: Love / Friendship</td>
<td>&quot;+1&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;0&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DD: Dialogue</td>
<td>&quot;+1&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;0&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CH: Caring / Help</td>
<td>&quot;+1&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;0&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UT: Unity / Togetherness</td>
<td>&quot;+1&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;0&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Important Post-HSP Memory

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Themes of Agency</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Detail / Quote</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SM: Self Mastery</td>
<td>&quot;+1&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;0&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SV: Status / Victory</td>
<td>&quot;+2&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;0&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AR: Achievement / Responsibility</td>
<td>&quot;+1&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;0&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EM: Empowerment</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

### Themes of Communion

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Detail / Quote</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>LF: Love / Friendship</td>
<td>&quot;+1&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;0&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DD: Dialogue</td>
<td>&quot;+1&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;0&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>CH: Caring / Help</td>
<td>&quot;+1&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;0&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>UT: Unity / Togetherness</td>
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</table>

### Best experience

<table>
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<th>No</th>
<th>Detail / Quote</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
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<td>EM: Empowerment</td>
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### Themes of Communion

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<td>CH: Caring / Help</td>
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<tr>
<td>UT: Unity / Togetherness</td>
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### Most difficult / challenging experience

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<th>No</th>
<th>Detail / Quote</th>
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<td>&quot;0&quot;</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>SV: Status / Victory</td>
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<td>&quot;0&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AR: Achievement / Responsibility</td>
<td>&quot;+1&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;0&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EM: Empowerment</td>
<td>&quot;+1&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;0&quot;</td>
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### Themes of Communion

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Detail / Quote</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>LF: Love / Friendship</td>
<td>&quot;+1&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;0&quot;</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>DD: Dialogue</td>
<td>&quot;+1&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;0&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>CH: Caring / Help</td>
<td>&quot;+1&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;0&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UT: Unity / Togetherness</td>
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### Turning Point

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<th>Detail / Quote</th>
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<td>SM: SelfMastery</td>
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<tr>
<td>SV: Status / Victory</td>
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<td>EM: Empowerment</td>
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<tr>
<td>Themes of Communion</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>LT: Love / friendship</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>DM: Dialogue</td>
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<td>CH: Caring / Help</td>
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### Life Story

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<th>Detail / Quote</th>
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<td>SM: SelfMastery</td>
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<tr>
<td>SV: Status / Victory</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>DM: Empowerment</td>
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<tr>
<td>Themes of Communion</td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>LT: Love / friendship</td>
<td>+1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DM: Dialogue</td>
<td>+1</td>
<td>0</td>
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<td>CH: Caring / Help</td>
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<td>0</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>UT: Unity / Togetherness</td>
<td>+1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GRADUATE NAME:</td>
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<td></td>
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<table>
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<th>Very developed</th>
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<td>1-3 chapters</td>
<td>4-6 chapters</td>
<td>7-8 chapters</td>
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<td><strong>Chapter titles</strong></td>
<td>chapter delineators identified</td>
<td>most chapter delineators / titles are time / place bound</td>
<td>one or more chapter delineators / titles address themes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Reasons / explanation given (often, but not always proceeded by &quot;because&quot;)</strong></td>
<td>no reasons given</td>
<td>some commentary given why certain chapters are identified or why life story is separated in the way specified</td>
<td>reasons given for most titles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Artistic</strong></td>
<td>no extra artistic</td>
<td>comments about number of chapters or length, types of chapters</td>
<td>title given to book, comments about numbers of chapters or length, type of chapters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Uncertainty expressed?</strong></td>
<td>repeatedly uses negative phrases such as &quot;I don't know,&quot; &quot;I don't think,&quot; &quot;I wouldn't know&quot;</td>
<td>1 or 2 negative phrases used</td>
<td>no negative phrases used</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Life Story Chapters Coding Form
References


www.healdhon.edu/hh/200607%20Honolulu%20Happenings.pdf


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