

UNIVERSITY OF HAWAII LIBRARY

MINORITY GROUPS' CONCEPTUALIZATION OF MULTICULTURALISM AND
ETHNIC IDENTITY IN HAWAII:
THE JAPANESE AMERICAN AND POLYNESIAN EXPERIENCE

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE DIVISION OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF HAWAII IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT
OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

MASTERS OF ARTS

IN

PSYCHOLOGY

DECEMBER 2002

By
Jennifer A. Graf

Thesis Committee:

Dharm Bhawuk, Chairperson
Anthony J. Marsella
Clifford R. O'Donnell

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Special recognition and appreciation is extended to Dr. Dharm Bhawuk, my academic advisor, for his effort in this thesis.

ABSTRACT

The goal of this thesis is to examine minority groups' conceptualizations of multiculturalism and ethnocultural identity in Hawai'i. Two of Hawai'i's minority groups were studied- Japanese Americans and Polynesians. A multi-method study on ethnic identification in a multicultural society is presented. Students at the University of Hawai'i completed ethnic identification surveys on ethnocultural identification, attitudes toward ethnic identification, likeness to other groups, and social distance. A sample of the Japanese Americans and Pacific Islanders represented in the first phase participated in interviews where the themes about living in a multicultural society and its relation to ethnic identification were further explored. This procedure enabled valuable insights into what multiculturalism and ethnic identity mean to different groups of people and implications for future research are discussed.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgments.....	iv
Abstract.....	v
List of Tables.....	vii
Chapter 1: Introduction.....	1
Social, Ethnic Identity and Ethnocultural Identification	2
Hawaiian Multiculturalism.....	6
Chapter 2: Method.....	12
Participants.....	12
Instruments.....	12
Procedure.....	13
Chapter 3: Results.....	16
Participants.....	16
Quantitative Results.....	16
Ethnocultural Identification Behavioral Index.....	17
Attitude Toward Ethnocultural Identification.....	17
Likeness to Other Groups.....	19
Social Distance Scale.....	21
Qualitative Results.....	23
Group Interview #1.....	23
Group Interview #2.....	25
Individual Interview #1.....	26
Individual Interview #2	27
Individual Interview #3.....	29
Chapter 4: Discussion.....	31
Ethnocultural Identification Behavioral Index.....	31
Attitude Toward Ethnocultural Identification.....	32
Likeness to Other Groups.....	32
Social Distance Scale.....	33
Qualitative Themes.....	34
Summary.....	37
Limitations and Future Study.....	40
Appendix A: Consent Form.....	41
Appendix B: Questionnaire.....	42
Appendix C: Interview Questions.....	47
Appendix D: Transcripts.....	48
Transcript #1.....	57
Transcript #2.....	60
Transcript #3.....	66
Transcript #4.....	70
Transcript #5.....	76
References.....	83

LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
1. UH-Manoa Spring 2002 Enrollment by Ethnicity.....	9
2. Means, Standard Deviations and ANOVAs on EIBI items for Japanese Americans and Polynesians	18
3. Means, Standard Deviations and ANOVAs on ATEI items for Japanese Americans and Polynesians	19
4. Means, Standard Deviations and ANOVAs on LTOG items for Japanese Americans and Polynesians.....	20
5. Means, Standard Deviations and ANOVAs on SD Items for Japanese Americans and Polynesians.....	22

CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

Emerging social, cultural, political and environmental problems around the world are imposing intense and complex demands (Marsella, 1998). One of the questions is how different cultures can live side by side. The State of Hawai'i may be the most multicultural state in the United States and is the only state in which no ethnic group constitutes a dominant majority of the population. Results from the Census in 2000 show that in Hawai'i, of those who chose only one race, there are 42% Asian Americans, 24% Whites, 8% Hispanics and 2% Afro-Americans. The Interestingly, 22% of the Hawaiian population can be called multiracial, compared to the 2% nation-wide, as they have a mixed cultural background. This makes Hawai'i a very unique place. Furthermore, approximately 46% of all marriages in Hawai'i, between 1983 and 1994, were interracial marriages (Fu, Heaton & Heaton, 2000). The population in Hawai'i includes twelve major groups (in order of decreasing size): Whites, Japanese Americans, Filipinos, Native Hawaiians, Chinese, Portuguese, African Americans, Koreans, Okinawans, Puerto Ricans, Samoans, and Vietnamese. (In the literature and the use of already developed scales, Okinawans were often separated from Japanese. This approach will be continued here though, some argue against this division.) Multiculturalism is valued as a part of a society. Hawai'i's multicultural model has also been hailed as an example for the rest of the United States and the world (Yim, 1992). Lawrence Fuchs (1961:449) wrote: "This is the promise of Hawai'i, a promise for the entire nation and indeed the world, that people of different races and creeds can live together, enriching each other, in harmony and democracy." The basis of this positive multicultural model is that each cultural group can preserve its original culture and still function in a larger society (Triandis, 1976).

A better understanding of relations between cultures that exist side by side is important (Bhawuk, Podsiadlowski, Graf & Triandis, 2002). Shortly after the year 2050, according to Census Bureau projections, Blacks, Asians, Native Americans and Hispanics will attain the U.S. majority. The deeper social and cultural forces at play with the islands' ethnic diversity may have critical implications for the United States which is becoming as diverse as Hawai'i. In less than one lifespan, Americans who belong to racial and ethnic minority groups will outnumber non-Hispanic Whites. Hawai'i may be the beginning of a paradigm shift- where the world sees itself as a "salad bowl"- where each ingredient has its own unique characteristic but is part of something larger. Ethnic identity and how an individual identifies is an important concept on which individuals vary and may effect how they conceptualize multiculturalism. If Hawai'i is a working example of cultures living side by side, it is important to understand relations between cultures now more than ever.

Social, Ethnic Identity and Ethnocultural Identification

Because conceptualization of any experience depends on the individuals you ask, it is important to look at an individual's social identity and the varied aspects of that, ethnic group, gender, generation, age and so on. Social identity is a product of cognitive awareness or perception of a common interest and similarity within a social group. It is framed, not only by the person, but it is also a social response that embeds the person within a cultural context of roles, behaviors and choices. Arroyo and Zeigler (1995) believe that once group characteristics are defined, individuals of that group internalize the values, attitudes and behaviors associated with that group with some emotional attachment (Tajfel & Turner, 1986, Turner et al 1987) and individual sacrifice (Gergen & Gergen, 1981). The importance of social identity was recognized early on by Lewin (1948). He believed a firm sense of group

identification is needed in order to maintain a sense of well-being. Ethnocultural identity refers to the extent to which an individual endorses and practices a way of life associated with a particular cultural tradition (Marsella, 1995). Ethnic identity is only subscribed with meaning when two or more cultures come into contact (e.g., Phinney, 1990; Root, 1992). From a social psychological perspective, identification with a social group involves two key ingredients. The first is that membership in the social group is an important, emotionally significant aspect of the individual's self concept. The second is that collective interests are of concern to the individual, above and beyond their implications for personal self interest (Brewer, 1991). Social identities then are extensions of the self. It entails "a shift towards the perception of self as an interchangeable exemplar of some social category and away from the perception of self as a unique person" (Turner et al., 1987, p.50). Berry (1980, 1993) asserts that individuals may feel attached to a cultural group and then validate their attitude by engaging in behaviors associated with a given group. Burke & Reitzes (1981) believed, however, that individuals might engage in cultural practices and behaviors without a pre-existing awareness of a strong cultural identity. Another reason individuals may engage in cultural customs because they have been socialized to do so, as may be the case of adolescents and young adults (Rotheram & Phinney, 1987)

Tajfel (1978) believed ethnic identity was the ethnic component of social identity. Sociologists and anthropologists first began to look at ethnic identity with the focus on ethnic groups of European origins. When the demographics of the United States began to change, such studies were then interested in ethnic minorities of color- African Americans, Asians, Latinos or Native Americans (Phinney, 1990). Ethnic group membership presents a special case of group identity. If the dominant group in society holds an ethnic group in low regard, ethnic groups may suffer a negative social identity. Tajfel

(1978) identified several ways members of low status ethnic groups might seek to improve their status. One way would be to try to abandon their ethnic group and pretend to be a member of the dominant group. Other means of coping are to develop pride in one's group, reinterpret traits or characteristics that have been deemed inferior so that they no longer appear inferior and to stress the distinctiveness of one's own group.

Marsella, Dubanoski, Hamada & Morse (2000) argue that it is important to measure individual's ethnocultural identity to be sure we are not measuring their ethnic ancestry or their culture. It is not whether a person is Polynesian or Japanese American, it is how much they are Japanese American or Polynesian in practice that determines their culture. Within a given cultural sample, some individuals may be bicultural, fully acculturated, retain a traditional identification or be alienated from cultural traditions.

Ethnocultural identity has been most often considered to consist of attitudes, values, behaviors and preferences/intentions (Sodowsky, Lai & Plake, 1991). The use of behavioral indicators of ethnic identity and acculturation is a means of representing less tangible attitudes and beliefs (Yamada, Marsella & Yamada, 1998). These expressed behaviors show "ethnic cultural values, styles, customs, traditions and language" (Knight, Bernal, Cota, Garza, & Ocampo, 1993, p.106) and are a concrete representation of ethnic identity. Values and attitudes may also underlie cultural differences. In Hawai'i, this is seen in the local culture. Local culture draws from the many cultures present in Hawai'i, especially Polynesian and Asian cultures. Individuals may be involved in the cultural rituals of other groups (behaviors) and not necessarily embrace the culture as an identity. Still one's cultural experiences are a viable aspect of ethnic identity. Many individuals do participate in activities associated with their heritage as shown by Kivisto and Nefzger (1993). Measuring

ethnocultural identity then would appear to provide a strong indication of the importance of one's ethnocultural heritage.

Assessment of an individual's involvement in the social life and cultural practices of one's ethnic group is also a widely used indicator of ethnic identity. The indicators of this that are most commonly assessed are language, friendship, social organizations, religion, cultural traditions and politics. Language is the most widely assessed cultural practice associated with ethnic identity (Phinney, 1990). Many researchers have considered language to be the single most important component of ethnic identity. Other activities assessed are participation in ethnic clubs, involvement in the political activities on behalf of one's groups, ethnic dress, food and cooking and knowledge about the ethnic culture to name a few.

The majority of studies on ethnic identity measurement have focused on an individual's state of ethnic identity at a given time. Some people may feel that they are a part of two or more groups and that a single label is insufficient. Individuals may also choose to identify themselves as partly ethnic and partly mainstream.

Phinney (1990) people can have positive or negative attitudes toward their own ethnic group. An attitudinal domain of ethnic identity may offer insight of a different nature than that gained with behavioral measures. Attitude researchers in social psychology warned early on that the use of an attitude index alone would not predict behavioral outcomes. This is due to evidence of the low or non-correspondence between attitude and behavior (Wicker, 1969; Ajzen & Fishbein, 1977). Positive attitudes can be assessed by an item such as "How much pride do you feel towards your own group?" (Phinney, 1989). An indirect way of assessing negative attitudes is to determine whether the participant would remain an ethnic group member if given the choice.

Oana (1981) believes that multiple components of ethnic identity are necessary for a measurement's of one's attachment to an ethnocultural group. Previous measures were found to be too narrow in their focus and inadequate for a thorough assessment of ethnic identity. Therefore, a proper scale of ethnic identity should include multiple components (behaviors, values, and attitudes) and be multidimensional in nature.

Hawaiian Multiculturalism

Sparrow (2000) argues that identity is socially constructed and because of this identity development seems to be very interactive, highly dependent on context and rooted in ethnicity as well as gender, race and religion. Perhaps, this provides us insight into Hawai'i, often touted as multicultural paradise. That Hawai'i is a unique and special place in terms of its ethnic relations is seldom disputed. Even though scholars have tried to study why, explanations seem elusive. Haas (1994) set parameters of a definition of aloha (thought by many to be a key to the uniqueness of relations in Hawai'i) and explored how ethnic aloha developed. His definition of aloha has ten characteristics: warm welcome, inclusiveness, humility in dealing with others, respect for other ethnic groups, island ethnic humor, in-direct expression of conflict, caring interpersonal norms, people before principles, recognition of the specialness of Hawai'i, and self maintenance of aloha (playing by the rules of aloha to gain acceptance). He also cross classified twenty hypothesis with fifteen theoretical traditions to define a new Hawaiian multicultural ethos which includes aloha, inclusiveness, charismatic humility, the "no talk stink" norm, ethnic humor, "talk story" conflict mediation, nonexploitative relations, incrementalism rather than universalistic problem solving, and the search for unique solutions and boundary maintenance norms. The origin of this ethos is traced to the interaction among successive waves of migrants. While his essay was helpful in tracing the content of a new Hawaiian multicultural ethos, no

hypothesis or theories have accounted for how Hawai'i is different and has achieved a higher plane of ethnic relations.

Haas (1996) continued to examine multicultural Hawai'i. Hawai'i has had both successes and failure in addressing ethnic problems. He explains different models and theories of ethnic relations including multiculturalism and social distance theory. In conclusion, Hawai'i is found to be a complex society in flux that manages ethnic tensions better than elsewhere due to a lack of social distance between the groups, a refusal to allow mass society of a majority take root, a resistance to institutional racism, and belief that all persons are entitled to live with aloha.

Aloha is also an explanation given by Grant and Ogawa (1993). They believe that the *Hawai'i multicultural model must be understood in the context of a history that created diverse ethnic communities without the presence of a majority, where aloha (love and racial tolerance) was promoted, and a mix of cultures was encouraged which developed a unique local culture.*

Local culture is another special element in Hawai'i's version of multiculturalism. Okamura (1980) traced the history of the development of the term "local culture" as applied to Hawai'i. It finds part of its origins in the Native Hawaiian values of "aloha kanaka" (love for the people) and "aloha aina" (love for the land). He suggests that local culture evolved out of Native Hawaiian values and American values in which subordinate immigrant workers lived. A shared culture was also necessary so that immigrant groups could communicate with each other. "Pidgin" or Hawaiian Creole English developed as an important aspect of this, as was the collective attitude against plantation owners. Local identity is a term which is used in Hawai'i to refer to people who espouse a mixture of Hawaiian, Asian and Western attitudes,

values and beliefs common to people born and raised in the islands (Okamura, 1980, 1992). To be considered local one must blend into the cultural atmosphere, which tends to place group harmony over individualistic achievement and holds a special respect for nature and the maintenance of beauty in the islands. Another key to local culture is the stress on affiliation and interpersonal relationships. (Gallimore, Boggs & Jordan, 1974). Local culture may transcend the ethnicities of many people born in the islands (Okamura, 1982).

In order to look at Hawai'i's version of multiculturalism closer, Okamura and Tsutsumoto (1998) completed an empirical study on diversity and the University of Hawai'i campus climate. Campus can be seen as a microcosm of multicultural Hawai'i and shows both the positive and negative elements of it. The campus has one of most ethnically diverse campuses in terms of both students and faculty in the U.S (see Table 1: UH Manoa Spring 2002 Enrollment by Ethnicity).

Undergraduates, professional staff and clerical staff completed the survey. Twenty-one percent personally experienced discrimination- with rates for Whites, Native Hawaiian and Filipinos being higher than for other students. Eleven percent of all students reported discrimination in area of race/ethnicity. Thirty nine percent of students said they knew of other students who had experienced racism at UH-Manoa. However, when asked to rate the statement of "Unequal treatment of students of some ethnic groups exist at UH-Manoa", students only agreed to some extent.

TABLE 1. UH-Manoa Spring 2002 Enrollment by Ethnicity

Ethnicity	Percentage
Asian/Pacific Islander	63.2
Japanese American	22.6
Chinese	9.8
Korean	4.1
Filipino	8.3
Hawaiian/Part Hawaiian	8.8
Pacific Islander	2.5
Other Asian	2.5
Mixed Asian/Pacific Islander	4.7
Hispanic	1.6
Puerto Rican	.3
Other Hispanic	.8
Mixed Hispanic	.5
Caucasian	22.6
Portuguese	.6
Other Caucasian	22.1
African American	.8
American Indian/Alaska Native	.2
Mixed Ethnicity	9.9
No Response	1.6

Yum and Wang (1983) investigated the related topic of interethnic perception in Hawai'i. They looked at the relationship between the degree of stereotyping toward certain ethnic groups and interethnic interpersonal communication and social capacity variables like education, occupational status and length of stay in the U.S. It was found that even a low level of interethnic interpersonal links made some difference in the degree of stereotyping toward other ethnic groups. A limit of the study was that there was little interethnic interaction as indicated by interpersonal communication and friendship networks.

The Yum and Wang (1983) study also found that the contacts for the three minority ethnic groups studied (Koreans, Filipinos and Samoans) were much greater with Japanese Americans and Caucasians than with each other. This confirms the pluralistic trend of each ethnic group to maintain its identity and its boundaries in respect to other ethnic groups- found in other studies. This is true even after an extended coexistence. But at the same time, the fact that the minority's group interethnic interaction was largely with the two major ethnic groups- indicates that some level of assimilation is taking place. It was concluded that in any society where several ethnic groups co-exist, there is both a pluralistic tendency and assimilation tendency at work at the same time. An interesting question is how the balance between these tendencies changes with time. In Hawai'i, the assimilation process is slower because no ethnic group has a strong numerical ethnic majority. If assimilation of one ethnic group into the culture of another requires contact by communication or friendship relations, this study has shown that pluralism continues because communication networks are mostly kept within ethnic boundaries.

Another interesting finding of the study was that length of residence was positively correlated with a homogenous perception of other ethnic groups. It was expected the longer

one was in a place, the more one interacts with other ethnic groups and that the perception toward the other ethnic groups become more complex and differentiated. The initial homogeneous interethnic perception appears to be intensified if no changes are provided for correction.

Other studies have looked at social distance in Hawai'i. Kinloch (1986) found that social distance was differentiated in Hawai'i for smaller and less established ethnicities and the larger more established groups were differentiated by social origins. In an earlier study, Kinloch (1973) found that social distance was clearly structured by economic and cultural variables.

While finding out why Hawai'i is different (as in the above studies) is important, a crucial first step might be finding out if it provides a working model for those living in it. To get more insight into what the implications of multiculturalism are for Hawai'i, this study was conducted to find what the conceptualizations of multiculturalism are for those living in it.

CHAPTER 2. METHODS

In order to form a complete picture of Hawai'i's multiculturalism both qualitative and quantitative methodology were utilized, which are discussed below. Before beginning research, permission for research on human subjects was obtained from The Human Subject Research Committee at the University of Hawai'i at Manoa.

Participants

In Phase I, 189 students from psychology classes (introduction to psychology, cross-cultural psychology and statistics) participated. Eight students (four Japanese Americans, four Polynesians) were further interviewed. Foreign students were not included in the analysis.

Instruments

Participants filled out consent forms (Appendix A) and ethnic identity surveys in the following order (Appendix B):

1. consent form
2. ethnocultural identification (EIBI)
3. attitudes toward ethnic identification (ATEI)
4. likeness to other groups (LTOG)
5. social distance scale (SDS)
6. demographic information sheet.

Procedure

Students participated by filling out the consent forms and then the ethnic identity surveys. Quantitative data were entered into an Excel spreadsheet and imported into a statistical database for analysis. The data were analyzed using SPSS, a computer-based statistical package. Descriptive statistics were run to establish means and standard deviations of the various indexes.

The participants who filled out the questionnaire fell into two cultural groups of a sample size large enough to compare- Polynesian (Hawaiian, Samoan, Tongan) and Japanese American. All others fell into the *Other* category. To identify cultural differences between the Japanese American group and the Polynesian group, ANOVAs were run on scales of ethnocultural identification, attitudes towards ethnic identification, ratings of likeness to other groups, and ratings of desired social distance. The results of the *Other* category are not presented here as the *Other* was a catch all category and included many diverse ethnic groups.

In Phase II, after analyzing the data from Phase I, the two largest ethnic groups, Japanese Americans and Polynesians, were selected to be further studied-on the issues of multiculturalism and four from each group were interviewed.

This is a purposive sampling method, frequently used in qualitative research, where participants are selected based on criteria relevant to the study's focus. The goal of purposive sampling is to identify information rich participants with both a depth and a breadth of experience who share certain commonalities (Patton, 1990; Morgan 1988). Some unifying elements out of which discussion can grow give the moderator opportunities to have participants challenge, confirm, or expand views through interaction (Krueger, 1988). This

helps establish the necessary rapport to have a setting that facilitates the discussion and gives participants the opportunity to challenge, confirm, or expand each other's views through interaction (Krueger, 1988). A disadvantage is that purposive sampling does not lend itself to generalize the findings to a larger population (Morgan, 1998).

The quantitative data was used to assess the demographics of the participants. Questions for phase two were developed after analyzing the quantitative data. Using the same list of questions enhanced the reliability of the study (see Appendix C). Qualitative interviews offer a number of advantages when compared with quantitative surveys of the target population. First, they allow the members of the target population to express their ideas in a spontaneous matter that is not structured according to the researcher's prejudices (Bertrand, Brown & Ward, 1992). Participants are free to volunteer information on points that are important to them, but that the researcher may not have anticipated. Second, such interviews provide more in-depth insights into how the population feels on specific issues, and more importantly, why they feel this way. Third, focus groups can be conducted in a short span of time by a small staff with limited financial means. Lastly, the findings are in narrative form and readily available for interpretation and dissemination (Bertrand, Brown, & Ward, 1992). Byers & Wilcox (1988) found that participants often feel more secure discussing sensitive topics, helping to encourage more candid expression of their opinions and perceptions. These reasons were why qualitative methods were chosen to gain a more complete understanding of such issues as behavior or feelings (Krueger, 1988; Morgan, 1988).

Both individual ($n=3$) and group interviews ($n=2$) were used. Names of the participants interviewed have been changed to protect the identities of the participants. All

interviews were tape recorded (with the permission of the interviewee), transcribed and notes were taken on relevant information. The researcher analyzed the transcripts and notes carefully, finding themes using the constant comparative method (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Taylor & Bogdan, 1984). Interviews and focus groups occurred in settings familiar to the participant and lasted up to one and a quarter hours.

Coding is the analytic process by which the researcher organizes the data into categories or themes that relate to the original research questions and emerge from the research process (Strauss, 1987). Once the coding of the data was completed, the data was sorted into categories and analysis of over-arching themes took place.

The interviews were read multiple times and initially coded by hand. A code is a symbol applied to a group of words to categorize or classify them (Robson, 1993). Passages were coded depending on their importance and relevance to the research questions. In particular, passages were coded when related to ethnic identity and multiculturalism in Hawai'i.

Codes were then reviewed and checked for accuracy. The codes were also merged to avoid duplication of codes. The themes that emerged were then considered in relation to the research questions.

CHAPTER 3. RESULTS

Participants

In Phase I, 189 students from psychology classes participated. The University of Hawai'i at Manoa has one of the most ethnically diverse campuses in terms of students, and the ethnicity of the students enrolled in the spring of 2002 (the semester the data was collected) is listed in Table 1 (Institutional Research Office, 2002). Furthermore, since the majority of the students are from Hawai'i they are likely to have been socialized into a multicultural society. The mean age for the enrolled students group was 26.4 years and 56.9% were women whereas 43.1% were male. Of the sample, 86.3% of the students were United States citizens.

The ethnic breakdown of those participating in the study was 54 Japanese American (28.6%), 29 Polynesian (15.3%) and 103 *Other* (54.5%) The mean age of this group was 21.2 years. Of the sample, 61% of the participants were female and 39% were male. Most of the participants (i.e., 90.2%) were born in the United States. There were no age or gender differences across ethnic groups.

Quantitative Results

The two groups were evaluated on the responses to the questionnaires. First, an overall analysis of the scales as a whole was conducted. The Japanese American and the Polynesian groups were found to be different only on the ethnocultural behavioral index, $F(1,84)=9.773, p<.003$.

Ethnocultural Identification Behavioral Index (EIBI)

The alpha coefficient for the 20-item EIBI scale suggested high consistency ($\alpha = .90$). On the ethnocultural behavioral index, three factors were originally identified by Yamada, Marsella and Yamada (1998)- cultural activities, social interaction and language. The original three factors have good internal consistency: Cultural Activities ($\alpha = .81$), Social Interaction ($\alpha = .70$) and Language ($\alpha = .78$). Of the three factors, only the first, Cultural Activities had a statistically significant difference between the two groups, Polynesians and Japanese Americans, $F(2, 84) = 17.32, p < .05$. Polynesians had a higher mean on these items than the Japanese Americans. Also, Polynesians were found to have a significantly higher mean than the Japanese Americans on many of the items (Table 2). A seven-point Likert scale (1 indicated *never* and 7 indicated *always*) was used.

Attitude Toward Ethnocultural Identification (ATEI) Scale

On the Attitude Toward Ethnocultural Identification scale, the only item that was found to have a statistically significant difference was learning (Table 3). Polynesians were found to score higher respectively, $F(1, 80) = 4.29, p > .05$, than the Japanese Americans showing that they were more active in learning about their culture. For items on identification and pride also a seven-point Likert scale (with 1 meaning *very little* and 7 meaning *very much*) was used. The question on comfort with ethnicity was also rated on a Likert scale - 1 being *very uncomfortable* and 7 being *very comfortable*. Lower portions of this scale were not utilized. This indicated that the participants' own ethnicity is at least somewhat important and positive to both groups.

Table 2. Means, Standard Deviations and ANOVAs on EIBI items for Japanese Americans and Polynesians

Item	Japanese Americans		Polynesians		ANOVA	
	Mean	<i>SD</i>	Mean	<i>SD</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>p</i> value (* at .05)
	N=56		N=29		<i>df</i> =1	
identification	5.58	1.194	5.63	1.276	.033	.856
movies	2.70	1.387	2.79	1.521	.087	.769
tv	3.23	1.618	2.93	1.580	.672	.415
shop	3.75	1.621	4.07	1.668	.726	.397
speak	2.84	2.122	3.03	1.802	.178	.674
dress	1.55	1.068	2.97	1.802	20.576	.000*
music	2.57	1.808	5.17	1.649	41.931	.000*
read	2.35	1.745	3.28	1.944	4.988	.028*
political	1.46	.934	2.41	1.637	11.627	.001*
date	4.64	1.949	4.83	1.794	.181	.672
dance	2.29	1.385	4.45	1.956	34.883	.000*
hear language	4.07	1.857	4.38	1.840	.528	.469
professionals	3.64	1.700	2.90	1.496	3.987	.049*
hang out	5.04	1.584	5.17	1.671	.137	.712
study	3.18	1.527	4.07	1.602	6.284	.014*
follow politics	2.02	1.183	4.14	1.885	40.399	.000*
interact informal	4.38	1.647	4.69	1.734	.673	.414
hobbies	2.45	1.190	3.41	1.763	9.001	.004*
interact w/friends	5.29	1.581	5.45	1.526	.207	.650
sports	1.86	1.519	2.76	2.012	5.366	.023*

Table 3. Means, Standard Deviations and ANOVAs on ATEI items for Japanese Americans and Polynesians

Item	Japanese Americans N=56		Polynesians N=29		ANOVA	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	F df=1	p value (* at .05)
identification	5.30	1.374	5.55	1.088	.713	.401
pride	5.52	1.375	5.93	1.252	1.831	.180
comfort	6.14	1.052	6.17	.928	.016	.899
importance	5.02	1.543	5.28	2.170	.402	.528
learning	3.17	1.005	3.70	1.068	4.933	.029*
influence	5.36	1.577	5.52	1.785	.180	.673
importance	4.93	1.500	5.38	2.060	1.328	.252
children	4.13	1.192	4.45	1.088	1.489	.226

Likeness To Other Groups (LTOG) Scale

On the Likeness to Other Groups scale, the results that were found to be statistically significant were Polynesians' rating of Polynesians, $F(1,81)=57.75, p < .05$, and Portuguese, $F(1,82)=11.71, p < .05$, as more similar to themselves than the Japanese Americans ratings of these same groups. Japanese Americans, on the other hand, were found to rate in Japanese Americans, $F(1,82)=72.58, p < .05$, Okinawans, $F(1,83)=19.70, p < .05$, and Koreans, $F(1,82)=13.95, p < .05$, as more alike than the Polynesians rating of these groups (Table 4).

Table 4. Means, Standard Deviations and ANOVAs on LTOG items for Japanese Americans and Polynesians

Group	Japanese Americans N=52		Polynesians N=28		ANOVAs	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	F df=1	p value (* at .05)
African American	1.64	.903	2.04	1.319	2.573	.113
Asian Indian	1.69	.979	1.96	1.201	1.238	.269
Chinese	2.77	1.293	2.31	1.168	2.550	.114
Filipinos	2.39	1.330	2.29	1.329	.121	.729
Hawaiians	2.24	1.148	4.25	1.110	57.750	.000*
Japanese American	4.55	.939	2.50	1.202	72.578	.000*
Koreans	2.86	1.257	1.81	1.039	13.949	.000*
Okinawans	3.52	1.440	2.11	1.227	19.696	.000*
Portuguese	1.85	.931	2.78	1.502	11.705	.001*
Puerto Ricans	1.80	.942	2.26	1.347	3.191	.078
Samoans	1.66	.880	2.68	1.588	14.330	.000*
Vietnamese	2.05	1.102	1.78	1.050	1.175	.282
White Americans	2.30	1.174	2.68	1.362	1.709	.195

Social Distance (SD) Scale

On the Social Distance scale, the Polynesians were found to desire a larger distance between themselves and the Chinese, $F(1,81)=5.50, p<.05$, Japanese Americans, $F(1,83)=5.32, p<.05$, and Okinawans, $F(1,79)=5.42, p<.05$, than the Japanese Americans desired with these same groups. Similarly, the Japanese Americans desired a farther distance between the Polynesians, $F(1,80)=5.42, p<.05$, than the Polynesians would keep with themselves (Table 5).

It was also statistically significant that Polynesians would let Japanese Americans closer than Japanese Americans would let Polynesians. There was also statistical significance in Japanese Americans choosing a greater social distance with the following groups: Chinese $F(1,81)=5.50, p<.05$, Hawaiians $F(1,80)=5.42, p<.05$, and Okinawans $F(1,79)=5.57, p<.05$. Polynesians desired a greater social distance with Japanese Americans, $F(1,83)=5.32, p<.05$, than they would keep with themselves.

Table 5. Means, Standard Deviations and ANOVAs on SD Items for Japanese Americans and Polynesians

Groups	Japanese American N=54		Polynesian N=28		ANOVA	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	F df=1	p. (* at .05)
African Americans	2.09	.917	1.96	1.506	.231	.632
Asian Indians	2.34	1.400	2.18	1.657	.213	.645
Chinese	1.50	.575	2.14	1.860	5.496	.022*
Filipinos	1.93	1.025	1.85	1.347	.086	.770
Hawaiians	1.89	.974	1.32	1.156	5.415	.023*
Japanese American	1.32	.897	1.93	1.514	5.319	.024*
Koreans	1.72	.928	2.15	1.736	2.134	.148
Okinawans	1.36	.649	1.92	1.470	5.665	.021
Portuguese	2.11	1.239	1.62	1.416	2.558	.114
Puerto Ricans	2.09	1.248	1.75	1.378	1.294	.259
Samoans	2.19	.992	1.79	1.371	2.288	.134
Vietnamese	2.11	1.242	2.18	1.679	.046	.832
White Americans	1.95	1.283	1.38	1.235	3.544	.067

Qualitative Results

Group Interview #1

Alyssa is a Japanese American woman who grew up in Aiea, Oahu. Emil grew up in the Kaimuki area and Colin was raised in Ewa Beach. To Alyssa, the American part of being Japanese American is just as important as the Japanese part.

“I am fourth generation Japanese and so even though we still follow the customs-its not a Japanese way of doing things- its American. I remember when I went to Japan; they could tell right away that I am not Japan-Japanese. The American part is there- American culture and feelings but we still follow Japanese traditions and foods and things like that.”

Some of the traditional values of Japanese culture are difficult and come into conflict with her American values.

“The culture is sort of repressive towards women and as a Japanese American there is a way out of that but sometimes I find that frustration with my family. Women are expected to act a certain way- maybe more soft and I might not act that way.”

Colin identifies with being both Japanese and American.

“The American part is easy. I was born here in the States. Japanese- because on this island I am more in contact with the maternal side of the family and they are all Japanese. My dad’s side is on Maui but we don’t really interact with them too often. So I just market myself as a Japanese American because I am brought up with more of the Japanese culture.”

Alyssa also notes that in Hawai‘i she is allowed to be Japanese American and not just Asian American like on the mainland

“When I would go to the mainland and they would say Asian American I would get mistaken--people would ask me if I knew how to say something in Chinese- I was thinking ‘why would I know how to say that in Chinese? I don’t speak Chinese’ and then I would think oh... they think I am Chinese.... But in Hawai‘i, the different groups are sort of separated or maybe they know each other- so being Japanese American instead of Asian American.”

Alyssa identifies all cultures present in Hawai‘i as being similar because of the shared plantation history, a common culture of immigration and the generational gap between the

people on the Islands and those in their respective countries. But the Japanese Americans are different from other cultures in Hawai'i because of

“The WWII history. And the internments camps and the whole question of patriotism with specifically Japanese Americans. Pearl Harbor is a big deal. I don't know if that [is] good or bad. But that could be a difference. But it has a national impact for Japanese Americans-how they identify as an American and think they are perceived as an American.”

One way in which Japanese Americans are similar to other cultures in Hawai'i is the mix of their own culture with American culture and it's prevalence over the other cultures.

Alyssa sees Hawaiians as having a different problem.

“I am just looking at the plight of the Hawaiians and what they have to deal with. Everyone else came here and they were already here. And how they have to deal with it on every level...That's a big difference...”

Multiculturalism to her is an extension of multi-individualism – where all are not made into one but individual differences are appreciated.

“To me, it means not making everybody one.... but appreciating the individual difference. Multiculturalism can probably be extended to multi-individualism ... appreciating the differences...”

Alyssa also felt that the state was special.

“Maybe part of it is because people are more mixed. So it's not as conscious. It's not like affirmative action. It's just what you know. For that reason it's more progressive.”

In Hawai'i, she feels that multiculturalism has become ingrained through the generations and become part of the fabric of the society.

“Maybe it's living with generations and having it become part of the fabric of the place.”

To her, part of why Hawai'i may be further along in terms of multiculturalism is because everyone is mixed.

“Maybe part of it is because people are more mixed. So it’s not as conscious. It [is] not like affirmative action. It’s just what you know. For that reason its more progressive.”

Group Interview # 2

Malia is an undergraduate student who grew up on the Big Island and Oahu. Lea grew up on Oahu in the Kaneohe and Aiea areas. Originally on the survey, both identified themselves as Hawaiian but at the beginning of the interview they said they had multicultural identities. Malia was quite self-reflective. Her parents have instilled in her the value that to understand things and people one must understand oneself. *Lea felt that her multicultural identity was a positive thing.*

“But being here in Hawai‘i we can just be ourselves, because everybody is mixed and the whole different type of culture and ethnicity because we feel comfortable in our own skin.”

Both sometimes pick and choose their ethnic identities.

“I have 13 different ethnicities and everywhere you go has the same thing, so why I identify with certain cultures at certain times is because I am so mixed and I think my parents both being totally opposites from each other, instilled in me that to try and understand things and people especially, and what better way to do that than to understand yourself and where you came from?”

When dealing with other cultures both focus on the commonalities not the differences.

“But I try not to because if I make differences then I have assumptions and those lead to prejudice so I try not to think that way. But give me something that is near to my heart that everyone has in common; rights and life with respect to their culture, education and a way of living and practice and a way of living that is good for them and I will fight for that. That’s where my focus lies...”

However, Lea had pressures from her family.

“For me, it’s complicated.... I don’t want to come of sounding prejudice... Growing up I have always been told that I should marry a White man, with light eyes and nice colored hair.

Because I am on the dark skinned side and then my kids would be hapa. So my mother is like why don't you marry a tall white man with blue eyes.... It's been instilled in me."

However she still tried to judge each person as an individual.

"You have to take the individual for what they are worth and you have to take into consideration how they experience their lives within their culture..."

To Malia, multiculturalism was a natural phenomenon.

"And I think culture is, which includes multicultural.... I think of it now as natural law of growth of the universe. Everything has its certain laws, science, mathematics.... society has its certain laws and you have so many definition from this one group... Bacteria culture is bound by certain laws to grow and move forth...and being multicultural is the same. Multiculturalism is growth and moving forward. "

However, she feels the need to remember the past and at the same time look to see where we are now and where we are headed.

"We see such a small glimpse as humans that we don't see the overall picture of time-our traditions now weren't traditions 100 years ago which wasn't a tradition 1000 yrs ago and that's why I like my hula halau so much... they remember the traditions.... at different points in time and I think that's one of the biggest problems I came up with.... Someone needs to remember the past while at the same time where are we headed to? And where are we now? Multiculturalism is a given now."

Individual Interview # 1

Abbey is a senior at the University who has lived on the Big Island, Kauai and Oahu.

She is one eighth Hawaiian and identifies with this culture most. She is also Filipino,

Portuguese and Puerto Rican. She stressed that she however was "not an anti American activist" and said,

"I really am very American except that I have strong ties to my family and the Islands and I don't want to leave."

To her ethnicity is important because if know the past, it will help you to guide your future.

She did not like the melting pot version of multiculturalism.

“I want to be very accepting... I want to know why people are that way but not try to change them...”

While she says living in multicultural society makes her more understanding and wanting to learn about other cultures, she uses culture as a filter for too much stimuli.

She also sees Hawaiians as being in a different social situation from other minorities because,

“I think they are really pissed off. Other groups were brought here of their own free will so I think that makes a difference”.

Individual Interview # 2

David is an older undergraduate Japanese American student. Years ago, he got his first bachelors and now in his 50s is working on a second degree. He was born and raised on the Big Island and has two grown sons. He worked for many years in the construction business. David was very reflective about his life and his experience with multiculturalism.

He felt being exposed to the many cultures of Hawai'i gave him a choice about what values to make his own, picking and choosing what suited him. For example, David chooses to value duty and face from the Japanese culture and the pursuit of dreams and equality from American culture.

“...Because I don't identify that much with my culture I do appreciate certain signatures in my culture ... Some principles, that we pick and choose, like duty and face in some way, its still here and still valid. But not to the nth degree where if I lose face I am going to commit suicide or anything like that.... But there a lot of things that I pick and choose out of my historical background...”

“But I thought about this, in my older age and there's some fine things to be offered on both sides...but I think the overriding factor is the Constitution of the US, Declaration of Independence, documents signifying dreams. And when you have something like to attain however slowly, maybe not in my lifetime, but it's much better than in Japan and the feudal system...”

He thought ethnicity was not an overriding factor in his daily life and in fact in Hawai'i could be a hindrance because of the colonialist paradigm that stressed the Caucasian way of life over others.

"It [his Japanese American ethnicity] could be a hindrance in Hawaiian society...[Because of] the colonialist paradigm that they [Caucasians] introduced and they were on top and all of us were immigrants...I'll tell you there is a new co-dominant colonial stratum. It's the Japanese...[on top]... We are living hypocritically... A lot of other cultures realize that we try to identify with the down trodden but its fiction..."

Rather than identify with other ethnicities, he identifies with his generational culture. He is drawn towards this because all were of a similar class with the same goals of success. Back then, there was a shared sense of community and it was more collective.

"I identify with the generation that I am familiar with, that I grew up with. There was a difference perhaps because we [were] all poor together. There was none of this *amakii* thing where everyone is climbing on everyone else to get up there. It was more like a shared sense of community and it was more collective. "

He feels that things have now shifted so people primarily identify with their ethnicity and there is no shame in being ethnic any longer.

"We were shown the way with the civil rights movements, Brown vs. Board of Ed, and you see the different struggles, Exodus- the Jews returning to the homeland, and now you see the Palestinians a different take on it and all of a sudden its not bad to have your own identity even if it is not what you identify with most strongly."

To him multiculturalism is a leveling thing- not based on comparison and is valuable because we can take the best from each culture.

"Leveling if... this is just where I came from, not where I am. Not a comparison ...mine is better than yours... You are not arrogant about it, or dogmatic... We can pick out the good parts and make some food and music together...."

He sees Hawai'i as truly multicultural but not having the definition it will someday. People are now beginning to claim their roots and take pride in them.

“But the first thing immigrants do they try to assimilate as the best means of bettering their condition and to do that you might have to push your ethnic identity to the side. But later on you come back and say – why did I throw that all away? And I think this is where a lot of us are at... You see Filipino pride...the Filipino culture centering is being built... They are taking pride in that, The Korean celebration in Ala Moana, the Okinawans as distinct... All of a sudden there is no shame in being distinct...”

Multiculturalism has a shaping effect on how he has raised his children. Early on, he realized that for his children to thrive they would not need ideas of Japanese American superiority or any other culture and taught his children to reject an “us. vs. them” attitude. He promotes interracial marriage for his sons.

“It’s better. I just felt mix them all up better. I think it is better for them to grow up with a dad who really believes that. I am sick and tired of all these cubicles and separatism and all of this focus on in the Meiji era we were this, daughters of the American Revolution. There is nothing wrong with genealogy. But to what extent...”

Individual Interview # 3

Derrick is a Hawaiian in his early 30s who has just graduated from UH. He spent most of his life growing up on Oahu but also spent some time on the Big Island and in Tennessee for the summers.

Though he identifies with the Hawaiian culture to some extent, he feels a stronger pull towards the American culture.

“I’d like to say I identify with the Hawaiian culture but in all honesty I identify with the more American or Western culture more than the Hawaiian culture. The reason I feel that is everything is modern here in Honolulu. And I really don’t know the language, I enjoy listening to the music but I don’t understand the word they are singing. I rarely watch Hawaiian programs on TV or attend any real Hawaiian functions outside of family gatherings. I identify with the American culture because of the way we live- shopping in supermarkets, having a car, the exchange of money- the American money system.”

He wants to identify with being Hawaiian because he feels there are not many left. Also, being Hawaiian in Hawai‘i has the advantage of preferential treatment among the locals.

“Because there are so few Hawaiians left, I try to identify with them because I am like a quarter Hawaiian and the rest is Caucasian. But I say that I am Hawaiian because I live here in Hawai‘i and there’s so few of left. I try to hold onto that as much as I can. And living here in Hawai‘i it has its benefits... The way people greet you, the way people talk with you- the overall tightness... It’s just that being Hawai‘i here in the Hawaiian Islands it’s just being a local, a Hawaiian you are given, in a local crowd, you are given priority over others... You get preferential treatment.”

Derrick, like David, also mentions identifying with a generational culture.

“Its like children who grew up in Hawai‘i who know somewhat of the older ways but yet have been brought up Americanized or Westernized and maybe are stuck in the middle...with all this resurgence of Hawaiian practice and bringing back the Hawaiian language and all this stuff...its like which way do I go... Do I go back to my Hawaiian roots or go the other way?”

He feels he is being asked to pick between the two and is leaning towards American ways.

“I myself am leaning towards my Western ways and continuing forward. I feel that it is inevitable that the Hawaiian culture will just... its not going to progress where it will be the dominant culture... It’s going to continue to be Western culture and so that’s where I want to continue moving towards....”

To him, multiculturalism is many cultures living together and influencing each other.

“A whole bunch of cultures living together where they all influence each other and there’s overlap between them. It’s not just each culture practicing their own. Its not real structured there’s integration between them.”

He feels that multiculturalism works for the lay people but once power and status are a concern it does not.

“...Cause I think at the higher levels, people are more worried about power and status. I don’t want to say anybody’s higher or lower... it’s just the words that come to mind. I think on the lower level of the common people we are all struggling and we should all try to work together. [It happens] to a lesser degree [on top].... I think it’s more like I have this certain status that I am holding on to and I don’t need to share it with you.”

CHAPTER 4. DISCUSSION

The Polynesians and Japanese Americans had many similarities in their ethnic identification and thoughts on multiculturalism. There were some differences between the two groups as well. The two methods gave a fuller picture than either would have alone.

Ethnocultural Identification Behavioral Index (EIBI)

On the Ethnocultural Identification Behavioral Index, the questions measured behaviors associated with ethnic identity. Polynesians were found to have a significantly higher mean than the Japanese Americans on many of the single item questions (Table 2). Those found to be statistically different were Dress, Music, Political Ideology, Dance, Use of Professionals of One's Group, Study the History or Culture of One's Group, Follow Politics of One's Group, Hobbies and Sports. This could be because there are more Polynesian things to do in Hawai'i. For example, there are more opportunities for Hula than Bon dancing and more opportunities to become involved in the political ideology of the Hawaiian group. Hawaiian values are also prevalent in tourism (the Aloha spirit) and in the schools (history, etc.) Another reason could be that the Hawaiians in particular are fighting to preserve their culture, and there is the resurgence in Hawaiian pride. Many Hawaiians fiercely defend their right to be self-governing and maintain their own culture, language and traditional practices. The Japanese American students only scored higher than the Polynesians on one item- that of using professionals of same ethnicity. The reason for this may be there are more Japanese American professionals offering services. This finding points to how different groups may ethnically identify in realms available to them and be dependant on the group's current situation.

Attitude Toward Ethnic Identity scale (ATEI)

On the ATEI scale, Polynesians were found to score higher than the Japanese Americans, as they were more active in learning about their culture. This may be because the Japanese Americans have to make more effort to learn about their culture as they are immigrants, and their culture is not as readily available in Hawai'i as the Hawaiian/Polynesian culture. Or as mentioned above it could be a measure of where Polynesian culture is in terms of embracing their identities. However, immigrants do develop institutions to preserve cultural elements. Examples of this for Japanese Americans in Hawai'i are seen in the Japanese Cultural Center, Japanese Festivals and numerous Buddhist temples.

Likeness to Other Groups scale (LTOG)

On the Likeness to Other Groups scale, Polynesians' rating of Polynesians and Portuguese as more similar to themselves than the Japanese Americans' ratings of these same groups were found to be statistically significant. This may be because of the similar base of their culture on similar values- not material things, power or prestige. Japanese Americans, on the other hand, were found to rate in Japanese Americans, Okinawans and Koreans as more alike than the Polynesians rating of these groups. The Asian cultures are more alike than some of the non-Asian cultures. These groups share similar pasts. As sugar plantations, looked for new sources of labor, immigrants were recruited from China, Japan, Okinawa, Korea, Puerto Rico, the Philippines, Portugal, Russia, and even from African American sharecroppers in the American South. These similar backgrounds, situations of migration and then later way of life, make this unsurprising.

Social Distance Scale (SD)

On the Social Distance Scale, the Polynesians were found to desire a larger distance between themselves and the Chinese, Japanese Americans and Okinawans than the Japanese Americans desired and the Japanese Americans desired a farther distance between the Polynesians than the Polynesians would keep with themselves. This finding is similar to what has been reported above. The differences in social distance that Japanese Americans chose for other Japanese Americans versus the Polynesians and Polynesians chose for other Polynesians versus Japanese Americans was not surprising. Most groups would have a closer distance with their own group than other groups. An interesting finding was the significant difference between the two groups on Chinese and Okinawans. Again, the Japanese Americans opted for a greater social distance with these groups. This may be due to the histories between Japan and China and Japan and Okinawa. It may also be related to the social and economic class of the Japanese Americans. In these terms, Japanese Americans are more successful than Polynesians. No Japanese Americans said they would marry Japanese Americans but would marry Asian Indians, Portuguese and White Americans. This could be due individual circumstances of the participants or accepting society's stereotypes about who is most desirable to marry.

Polynesians, on the other hand, were open to all levels of social distance thru marriage with all groups while Japanese Americans varied dramatically in this respect, rating the groups as follows: Chinese thru *having as speaking acquaintances* only, Okinawans thru *as working in same office*, African Americans, Koreans and Samoans thru *as next door neighbors*, Hawaiians, Filipinos, Japanese Americans, Vietnamese, Puerto Ricans, thru *as close friends* and Asian Indians, White Americans, Portuguese thru *would marry*. Polynesians seem to have less

strong in-groups and this may be due to social and economic success. Relating with those more successful may be more acceptable than to do the same with those less successful.

Qualitative Themes

Four main themes were found: multiple identities, respect for other culture as important to Hawai'i's version of multiculturalism, multiculturalism working in Hawai'i and rejection of the *melting pot version of multiculturalism*.

Multiple identities was a common theme for all of the participants in the study. For some it was which ethnicity to identify with and for some it was choosing between their ethnicities and how much to assimilate to the dominant cultures. An important subtheme of identity was that there was no shame in being ethnic any longer. Class and generation are intertwined with the constructs of ethnicity. One respondent suggested having multiple identities and being multicultural was a natural progression.

“I mean if you are hanging around a bunch of Filipinos and you feel comfortable then you say yes I am Filipino, or if you are with Hawaiians then say I'm Hawaiian but if there's negativity when you're with a bunch of Japanese and there are stereotypes on the letter of excellence.... So if it makes you feel any less inferior you are going to say well, I'm Japanese.... Like a chameleon...you adapt to the different situations where you are on the Island.”

“The Chinese, first generation of Filipinos, early generations of Hawaiians. I identify with the generation that I am familiar with, that I grew up with. There was a difference perhaps because we all poor together. There was none of this ... thing were everyone is climbing on everyone else to get up there. It was more like a shared sense of community and it was more collective... We were racialized differently.”

“I am trying to find an age group kind of culture... It's like children who grew up in Hawai'i who knew somewhat of the older ways but yet have been brought up American or Westernized and maybe we are stuck in the middle....”

“I identify with the generation that I am familiar with, that I grew up with. There was a difference perhaps because we were all poor together.”

“I think it [multiculturalism] makes me more open to many ideas. And on TV you are bombarded with high SES and meeting growing up low/middle SES made me see both sides. Where as one of my roommates... she can't imagine going to class without textbooks, or not having your teacher push you and I can see all sides.”

“[We are alike because of a] similar SES. They don't have the financial means to get ahead and it's a cycle. You live in a poor neighborhood, you go a poor school and it's hard to get out....”

“I think of it now as natural law of growth of the universe. Everything has its certain laws, science, mathematics.... society has its certain laws and you have so many definition from this one group... Bacteria culture is bound by certain laws to grow and move forth...and being multicultural is the same. Multiculturalism is growth and moving forward.”

Respect for other cultures is an important aspect of Hawai'i's version of multiculturalism. Local culture's central value is respect for other cultures. This maybe a key to why multiculturalism works in Hawai'i.

“To have been here long enough to understand the multiculturalism and then when you are in another cultures place to respect that. So you may not take your slippers off at your house, but in my house check them at the door, please. Or if I am at a Japanese or Chinese family's house, never leave the chopsticks sticking straight up in your bowl. Just minor things like that and long enough to get along with out causing to much conflict amongst other people.”

“I think there is way too much violence because of the differences. And it's so self-destructive. When I talked to my mom a year ago, she said you wouldn't be able to hurt someone who looks like you. And I value that. But I know that culture is changing and to respect the old and live with the new. Someone needs to hold on to the traditions and someone needs to find a way to live together without the violence.”

“There's a way. There's an attitude, a sense of humor...”

“[To be local is] to have been here long enough to understand the multiculturalism then when you are in another culture's place to respect that.”

Multiculturalism in Hawai'i is perceived to be working. This is in part because of peoples of many cultures have lived together in Hawai'i and learned to deal with one another. Three interesting components of this are how multiculturalism through generations has become part of the fabric of the place, that more and more people are becoming of

mixed ethnicities and the important perception that there is no shame in having an ethnic identity.

“I think so [that Hawai‘i is truly multicultural]. We all are influenced by all the different cultures that are here. It’s like these different cultures have been here for different generations and it’s rubbed off”.

“I think so. I really think so. It does not have the definition to it yet that it will. But the first thing immigrants do they try to assimilate as the best means of bettering their condition and to do that you might have to push your ethnic identity to the side. But later on you come back and say – why did I throw that all away? And I think this is where a lot of us are at... You see Filipino pride... the Filipino culture centering is being built... They are taking pride in that, The Korean celebration in Ala Mona, the Okinawans as distinct... All of a sudden there is no shame in being distinct... The only danger is that we go overboard...”

“In Boston, I guess because its sort of a metro area- there are a lot of cultures represented- sometimes more than Hawai‘i, Middle Eastern, etc. There are a lot of immigrant people who haven’t been there for generations like in Hawai‘i. But there is prejudice to and you can feel it. Maybe it’s living with generations and having it become part of the fabric of the place.”

“But now it’s changed... because we have gotten a lot of respect and self-esteem through education and working hard now we can go back and celebrate our cultures. That is where the change occurred... I think.”

“We were shown the way with the civil rights movements, Brown vs. Board of Ed, and you see the different struggles, Exodus- the Jews returning to the homeland, and now you see the Palestinians a different take on it and all of a sudden it’s not bad to have your own identity even if it is not what you identify with most strongly.”

“Maybe part of it is because people are more mixed. So it’s not as conscious. It’s not like affirmative action. It’s just what you know. For that reason it’s more progressive.”

“It has affected me in one important way. Perhaps the most important way... I have two sons and early on I realized my parents way of stressing the superiority of the Japanese culture is not suited for their future endeavors... But one of the best ways is to disarm them of notions of superiority of us vs. them”.

The participants of the study did not accept the melting pot version of multiculturalism.

“It means it’s not a melting pot. It means like everybody retains underpants or undergarments, their cultural trappings and they don’t just pay lip service but they truly respect their origins but it’s not the controlling dynamic... it’s just there. It’s accepted and you look for the good and you don’t hide the bad but you don’t overplay it either. And you

try to appreciate the same like that would for you... To appreciate it and celebrate it... The food..."

"To me, it means not making everybody one... but appreciating the individual difference. Multiculturalism can probably be extended to multi-individualism ..."

"I don't like the melting pot version. Like in Europe, where they expect... I want to be very accepting... I want to know why people are that way but not trying to change them..."

Summary

The goal of this thesis was to explore multiculturalism and what it means for people's behaviors, attitudes, and thoughts about likeness to other groups and desired social distance from groups. What does multiculturalism mean to different groups of people?

The Polynesians and Japanese Americans had many similarities in their ethnic identification and thoughts on multiculturalism. The reason Japanese American and Polynesians choose to identify with their culture is the same: both groups do this for a connection with the past and their family. It is what they were taught and know.

Reasons for both groups ratings of preferred closeness to other groups was the same- shared likes, attitudes, values, interest and above all- openness and respect. On the other end of the spectrum, both groups listed reasons for not being closer to other ethnic groups as not having exposure to them and accepting society's prevalent stereotypes.

Multiculturalism was seen as valuing all, appreciating individual difference, fighting stereotypes, respecting origins, and as a process that Hawai'i is further along in but not perfect yet. Both groups felt that true multiculturalism was not the "melting pot" version, but instead appreciating individual difference, being tolerant, open and respectful. It is also

knowing that all people are the same and different at the same time. Everyone interviewed also felt that Hawai'i was a working if not a multicultural paradise.

The groups are also alike in the imposition of American culture on their own culture. Both of the groups have to struggle with finding the appropriate balance between holding onto the past and valuing their ethnicity with being American and defining a future as Malia and Derrick shared. Both groups also share a common history of some discrimination: for example, the internment of Japanese Americans during World War II and the overthrow of the Hawaiian government.

There were, however, some differences as well. The Polynesians sampled were more often of more than one ethnicity than the Japanese Americans. This may be in part due to the number of Polynesians available as partners or the Japanese Americans' stronger in-group boundary. It appears that ethnic identity does not determine the groups openness to other groups as one might predict. Social class (social and economic success) of the minority group might have some influence in desired social distance with other groups.

Another way the two groups are different is that part of the Polynesian sample (the Native Hawaiians) claimed to have a displaced identity. There have been many waves of *immigration* to their native land. The Japanese Americans chose to be an immigrant culture. While others asked to be a minority, Hawaiians did not. This has implications for how a group identifies and is part of Native Hawaiians sovereignty movement. Hawai'i is the motherland, and Hawaiians are struggling to preserve the Hawaiian way of life in threat of its extinction. Japanese American identity was formed differently. They were forced to prove their patriotism and fought to preserve freedom, despite being personally denied their own

civil liberties in World War II. They fought to protect the constitutional rights of all American citizens.

Respect for other cultures is key to understanding what works in Hawai'i's multiculturalism. Hawai'i accepts others as long as respect for other cultures is shown. That is shown here as multiculturalism results in tolerance, understanding, acceptance, appreciation and fewer stereotypes. It is seen as an extension of individualism. If American culture has one characteristic which stands out above the rest it is individualism. Freedom from the fear of being different is what makes an American. Giving others the room to be different makes us a good American. Those who put someone down for being different are good definitions of a bad Americans. Also, people in Hawai'i are forced to come to terms with their own ethnic identity because it is so clear that everyone has one. This is unlike some situations of the mainland where for example, only Blacks are seen to have an ethnic identity and Whites, as a majority, do not think about themselves as an ethnic group. Another reason for this may be that so many people are of mixed ethnicity. It seems that the influence of local culture rather than ethnic culture was prevalent.

There is however a nuance, of who is seen as deserving such respect. Some groups- the military and the Caucasians- may not be included in this. One reason for this is what they may represent in terms of history- dominance and power. Aloha as a racial principle had already been established when Captain Cook, one of the first Caucasians arrived in Hawai'i. The Caucasian oligarchs tried to establish social distance, enforced by economic and political power and this set them apart from the other ethnic groups in Hawai'i who were developing an amalgamated culture, brought together against the colonials and sometimes intermarrying.

However, if it seems that Hawai'i may be further along, it is because the people here insist that no group can crush the cultural values of another group. The people of Hawai'i are trying to use openness, friendship and humility as methods for addressing problems instead of the ideas of ethnic superiority, confrontation and violence seen elsewhere.

Limitations of the Study and Future Study

The study's findings may have been affected by several limitations. First there was a strong limitation on the sample, because of the small size. The group that participated may not be representative of all students at the University of Hawai'i at Manoa. Future studies should also focus on other ethnic groups in Hawai'i. An interesting extension of this study would be to study Caucasians' usual dominant majority experience and perceptions. Also, the interviews were conducted by the author who is a Caucasian and so, not of the same ethnicity as those interviewed. This may have affected how comfortable the participants felt talking about ethnic issues. These limitations could be overcome by further research addressing these specific problems. Possible future study could repeat the same study in another multicultural community or study solely multicultural individuals.

The Hawaiian multicultural model must be taken into account. While multicultural paradise may be too strong of a phrase and there may be a tendency toward complacency in ethnic inequality, the Islands still seem to have found a stronger unity in multiculturalism than elsewhere and deserves a closer look as a possibility of the future in our increasingly multicultural world.

APPENDIX A: CONSENT FORM

Agreement to Participate In Ethnocultural Identification Study

By signing the form, I am agreeing voluntarily to participate in research on ethnocultural identification. The purpose of this study is to look at the implications of ethnocultural identification for multiculturalism. The project is a student research project. If you agree to participate in Phase I, the questionnaire portion of the study, you will be asked to complete the questionnaires. This should take 20-25 minutes in total. You will be asked to provide your phone number in case you are chosen for further questioning on the same subject. All information will be kept confidential to the extent provided by law. If you agree to participate in the Phase II, the interviewing portion of the study, tapes and transcriptions of those tapes will be archived and kept in a locked drawer. The University of Hawai'i Institutional Review Board and CHS staff may access the data collected. The risk is minimal for your participation in this study. Although there may be no direct benefit, the information collected may help understand what multiculturalism means for Hawai'i.

I certify that I have read and that I understand the foregoing, that I have been given satisfactory answers to my questions and concerns about project procedures and other matters and that I have been advised that I am free to withdraw my consent and discontinue participation in the project or activity at any time without prejudice. Upon completion of surveys or interviewing, you will receive extra credit for participation in this study and if you choose not to participate or withdraw the Psychology Department and your lecturer will have other options.

I consent to participate in this project with the understanding that such consent does not waive any of my legal rights, nor does it release the principal investigator or the institution or any employee or agent thereof from liability for negligence.

Printed Name

Phone Number

Last 4 Digits of Social Security Number

Signature

Date

If you cannot obtain satisfactory answers to your questions, have comments about the study or for injury incurred while participating in this study or please contact Jennifer Graf at 956-5850 or jgraf@hawaii.edu.

For participant rights, contact: Committee on Human Studies, University of Hawai'i, 2540 Maile Way, Honolulu, HI 96822. Phone (808) 956-5007.

APPENDIX B: QUESTIONNAIRE

Last four digits of social security number _____

Please state the name of the ethnocultural group you feel most strongly identified with, and then write the number corresponding to how much you participate in the following activities or customs of the specific ethnocultural group you chose at the present time (e.g., Mexican-American, Japanese-American, Chinese American, Irish-American). We recognize that many people have a diverse ethnic background. If you feel you strongly identify with more than one group, choose one of the groups you overall identify with and record it on this page. If desired, you may complete the scale again for additional cultural groups.

a. Name of Group: _____

b. To what extent do you identify with the group you selected above? (Please circle one number below)

VERY LITTLE	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	VERY MUCH
----------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	-----------

Now, please respond to the following items using this scale.

Never 1	A Little 2	Sometimes 3	Half-the-Time 4	Often 5	Very Often 6	Always 7
------------	---------------	----------------	--------------------	------------	-----------------	-------------

- ___ 1. Watch movies (films, VCR) that use the language of the group or that depict the cultural group
- ___ 2. Watch TV programs that use the language of the group or that depict the cultural group
- ___ 3. Shop at stores that feature products of the group (e.g., Chinese market, Kosher Deli)
- ___ 4. Speak the language of the group with my family or close friends
- ___ 5. Dress in the clothes of the group (e.g., Japanese Kimono, Scottish Kilt, Indian Sari)
- ___ 6. Listen to the music of the group (e.g., traditional or popular music of the culture)
- ___ 7. Read newspapers/magazines of the group (in English or in the ethnic language)
- ___ 8. Am active in a political movement or ideology of my group
- ___ 9. Date (or if married, socialize with) members of the group
- ___ 10. Learn the dances and music of the group (e.g., Hawaiian Hula, Japanese Bon Dance, Polish Polka)

(continued)

- ___ 11. Listen to or hear others speaking the language of the group (even if you do not always understand)
- ___ 12. Go to physicians, hair stylists, lawyers or other professionals who are from my group
- ___ 13. Spend time talking, gossiping or chatting with members of the group
- ___ 14. Spend time studying the history or culture of my group (on my own or in voluntary courses)
- ___ 15. Follow the political and other current events of the group (locally or in the home country/region)
- ___ 16. Interact frequently at informal gatherings with members of the group (e.g., parties, pot lucks)
- ___ 17. Participate in hobbies that are popular only within my group (e.g., Origami, Mah-Jong)
- ___ 18. Interact with close friends from the group
- ___ 19. Participate in sports popular within the group (e.g., Bocci Ball, Cricket, Kurling)

How much do you consider yourself to be like the following ethnocultural groups? Please answer for each group.					
		Choose one from each row.			
	Very Much Unlike	Somewhat Unlike	A Little Like	Somewhat Like	Very Much Like
African Americans					
Asian Indians					
Chinese					
Filipinos					
Hawaiians					
Japanese Americans					
Koreans					
Okinawans					
Portuguese					
Puerto Ricans					
Samoans					
Vietnamese					
White Americans					
Others (specify)					

Last four digits of social security number _____

Demographic Information

1. Date of Birth

Month _____ Day _____ Year _____

2. Gender

Male _____ Female _____

3. College Level

Freshman _____

Sophomore _____

Junior _____

Senior _____

Graduate _____

Other _____ (Specify)

4. Were you adopted?

Yes _____ No _____

5. If you were born in a foreign country, when did you come to the U.S.?

Month _____ Year _____ Not Applicable _____

6. What is your biological mother's birthplace?

City _____ State _____ Country _____

Don't Know _____

7. If she was born in a foreign country, approximately what year did she come to the U.S.?

Year _____ Don't Know _____

8. What is your biological father's birthplace?

City _____ State _____ Country _____

Don't Know _____

9. If he was born in a foreign country, approximately, what year did he come to the U.S.?

Year _____ Don't Know _____

APPENDIX C: INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

What makes you identify or not identify with your culture?
 Why is your ethnicity important?
 Are there aspects where it is not?

What cultures of Hawai'i are like you?
 In what way?
 How are you different from the groups you mentioned?

What cultures of Hawai'i are different?
 In what way?
 How are they alike?

What determines how close you would get with a given ethnic group?
 In what ways does that vary from group to group?

What does multiculturalism mean to you?
 Is it good/bad? Does it work?

Is Hawai'i truly multicultural?
 Have you lived elsewhere?

What impact has living in a multicultural society had on you?
 Generally?
 Specifically?
 Examples?
 How does it affect how you behave towards people of other cultures?

Do you have an example of someone of another culture acting in a way you did not understand?
 What was your reaction?

Are you local?
 What does it mean to be local?
 Do you differentiate between locals and non-locals?
 How?

Are Polynesians/Japanese Americans in a similar social situation to other minorities?
 How are they different?
 How are they the same?

In Hawai'i, are there some groups that are discriminated against more often than other ethnic groups?
 Why is that?
 Or why not?

APPENDIX D: TRANSCRIPTS

Transcript #1
 Japanese American group interview
 Emil- Business major- Kaimuki
 Colin- Psych- Ewa Beach
 Alyssa- Psych- Aiea
 May 16, 2002

J: What makes you identify as a Japanese American?

C: The American part is easy. I was born here in the States. Japanese- because on this island I am more in contact with the maternal side of the family and they are all Japanese. My dad's side is on Maui but we don't really interact with them too often. So I just market myself as a Japanese American because I am brought up with more of the Japanese culture.

J: And what ethnicity is your father?

C: He's Filipino, Puerto Rican and Spanish.

J: And you guys?

E: I think it's all of the customs. I am Japanese--Okinawan and we do the Japanese customs and rituals.

J: Alyssa?

A: I would say Japanese American because I am fourth generation Japanese and so even though we still follow the customs-its not a Japanese way of doing things- its American. I remember when I went to Japan; they could tell right away that I am not Japan-Japanese. The American part is there- American culture and feelings but we still follow Japanese traditions and foods and things like that.

J: Is there anything that makes you not identify with being Japanese American?

C: Well, I was dating this girl once and she was pure Japanese- and her parents were way traditional and her parents did not like anyone that we not pure Japanese. That was just one instance where I did not quite want to be Japanese American.

J: What ethnicity did you want to be?

C: Something other... something different.

A: I would say I don't like Japan culture towards women. Their culture is sort of repressive towards women and as a Japanese American there is a way out of that but sometimes I find that frustration with my family. Women are expected to act a certain way- maybe more soft and I might not act that way.

C: Isn't that changing?

A: I think it is changing. I think women have always been strong in a very different way.

J: It is different.

A: My mother-in-law is from Japan. And I find myself always to juggle my place. I want to be the obedient daughter in law- it's a big deal in Japanese culture. But also, I need to assert my independence. But she is pretty modern, so it's okay.

J: Any ideas on that? No? Okay, why is your ethnicity important to you

E: It's who I am.

C: Yea, I agree it defines who I am, how I was brought up. Brought up with a quasi- I guess semi- Japanese type culture but not that traditional or restrictive as them. Its more freedom based on American beliefs and that defines my character. I do recognize myself as a Japanese American.

A: I think growing up in Hawai'i too.... When I would go to the mainland and they would say Asian American I would get mistaken---people would ask me if I knew how to say something in Chinese- I was thinking why would I know how to say that in Chinese, I don't speak Chinese- and then I would think oh... they think I am Chinese.... But in Hawai'i, the different groups are sort of separated or maybe they know each other- So being Japanese American instead of Asian American.

J: Were you all born in Hawai'i? Yes?

A: Yes.

J: Why is your ethnicity not important? ...

Are there realms where it is not important? ...

Do you think about your ethnicity in day-to-day activities?

C: No, not really. People around here aren't too conscious or worried about others ethnicities. We are not ethnicity conscious.

J: Do you think that would be different if you lived in Boston?

C: Probably, but its hard to say.

J: What cultures of Hawai'i are like you?

C: I don't know other cultures.

A: I think all cultures.

C and E: Yea.

A: Because we are in Hawai'i- we have a plantation history a generational gap between the ones that live here and the ones in their home country.

J: In what way, are these others cultures like you?

A: They hang on to their food.

J: Yea, food is a big thing here...

J: How are they different? You can be specific or general.

A: The WWII history. And the internments camps and the whole question of patriotism with specifically Japanese Americans. Pearl Harbor is a big deal. I don't know if that good or bad. But that could be a difference. But it has a national impact for Japanese Americans-how they identify as an American and think they are perceived as an American.

C: It's kind of like the 9-11 thing. Everybody that was Muslim was looked down upon by others. Same thing, everybody kind of suspected the Japanese you had to prove something.

J: And what about for yourself? How does something like that so close to you affect you personally?

C: I am proud.

E: We had the most decorated battalion in the history of the U.S.

J: Is it conflictual at all to be Japanese and American when you are thinking about that situation?

C: No, not looking back upon what happened.

J: Are there any cultures that are different from yours in and if so how?

E: I don't know the other cultures. Do you know what I mean?

J: It seems like I am hearing conflictual things. In that you don't know other cultures but that in Hawai'i everybody – has a similar culture...

C: Supposedly, its all the same...but in some cases some people are only brought up in their culture- you know they don't get to hang around their Filipino friends or whatever friends. For me I got to experience a whole slew of cultures-Puerto Rican, Hispanic, Filipino, ...and .a whole bunch... I don't see anything bad with any of them....

A: Maybe the military culture.... But as an ethnic difference maybe the Native Hawaiians. I am just looking at the plight of the Hawaiians and what they have to deal with. Everyone

else came here and they were already here. And how they have to deal with it on every level that's a big difference....

J: In what ways is the Hawaiian culture like Japanese- American culture?

A: *The imposition of American culture- the mix.*

J: And what determines how close you would get with any given ethnic group?

C: Personal experience. I don't have any restrictions with meeting other people.

A: For me. It depends the person. The personality, what they think is funny. Just because they are of an ethnicity doesn't exclude or include them. I need to get to know them- it depends on their values, their personality, what they think is funny... which is probably to some degree affected by their ethnicity but to me its not something that had a clear line- to say I will or will not...

J: What about pressure from your family? Does that have an influence on you?

A: No, not much pressure.

J: What does multiculturalism mean to you?

A: To me, it means not making everybody one.... but appreciating the individual difference. Multiculturalism can probably be extended to multi-individualism ...

C: It says to me... no one is excluded....

E: Everyone living in harmony.

J: Is it a good thing?

A: Yes

J: Does it work?

C: Not always.

J: Can you give me an example of it not working?

A: In my experience, for example, if someone is telling a story about someone being a jerk at the market the first they want to know is oh what were they? Were they a Haole person? A Chinese person? And to me that has no bearing at all. Again, how we were saying it varies among people and you can have a mean person in any culture.... and you can have a nice person ...that kind of bugs me.... that to me is missing the point.

J: Do you think Hawai'i is truly multicultural?

C: More than anybody else. I guess it depends on how you look at it.

J: How can you look at it?

C: It easy to say we are multicultural but in some instances there is also prejudice against other ethnicities. A perfect example is how locals view the Haloes. Right there...

J: What impact has living in a multicultural society had on you?

E: I am more open to different cultures, more tolerant of others beliefs....

J: Have you lived elsewhere besides Hawai'i?

A: I lived in Boston and Vermont.

J: What was culturally different there?

A: Less ethnicities are represented in Vermont. Lots of cows. But they are politically progressive. They are very tolerant and seem to be multicultural in spirit. And I like that. They thought I was Chinese but that's okay. They did not treat me badly as a result. In Boston, I guess because its sort of a metro area- there are a lot of cultures represented- sometimes more than Hawai'i, Middle Eastern, etc. There are a lot of immigrant people who haven't been there for generations like in Hawai'i. But there is prejudice to and you can feel it. Maybe it's living with generations and having it become part of the fabric of the place.

J: And you think that has happened in Hawai'i?

A: To some extent.

J: How does multiculturalism affect how you behave towards people of other cultures?

C: More accepting. Not so much stereotypically. No barriers holding me back from interacting with other cultures.

J: Do you have an example of people of another culture acting in a way you didn't understand and you thought it was cultural?

A: That's in my own culture. There's this thing – reciprocating. For a baby's first birthday they log 50 dollars or whatever for it. Then when some one in the other family has a baby or gets married you have to give them the same amount.

C: Yep.

A: It contradicts the whole gift-giving thing and becomes scorekeeping.

C: It's not just Japanese culture. It's Filipino culture too.

J: And with other cultures?

A: Maybe like with Koreans how they sound angry when they speak? But maybe they are not? I would think why do they have to yell at each other when they are right across the table from each other.

J: You guys are all local, right? So what does it mean to be local?

C: Being here a substantially amount of years getting to experience what it's like to interact with everyone around here. I think the most important is the first thing that comes to me, is born and raised here. Given enough time, enough experiences of people that are local you could almost pass for local.

E: Pretty much the same, from the Islands.

A: There's a way. I don't know how long it takes to learn but if you are born here that's all you know. A Way. I don't know... there's an attitude, a sense of humor, probably everywhere has that...if you are from the South... you are like this.... Or you eat Spam and your laid back and you respect and for me anyway, I respect the Hawaiian culture, the land and I am jaded about the economy, and exploitation of natural resources and the whole bit but I am still local in the sense if I go away, I miss the food, the people, the way they talk, the fact that rice is served with everything....

J: Do you differentiate between locals and non-locals?

A: Yes.

J: How do you differentiate?

C: They way they talk. The different speaking... method. I don't exactly speak perfect English.

A: I think when a non-local tries to be local you can really tell and it's better to be non-local 'cause that's more local...It takes time to learn... It's the Way.

E: Non-locals seem more uptight. When I think of locals I think of the beach and stuff... Locals think they rule the beach.... they won't let non-local people catch any waves. When I think locals, I think surfing...

J: Going back to something you said earlier C. There are locals who are Haole. How do you know?

C: There is a subtle way to tell. But I am not always right...

J: Are Japanese Americans in a similar social situation to other minorities in Hawai'i?

E: It's different because we outnumber everyone. We have the upper hand with that.

C: There is an unspoken advantage we have.

J: *With all other ethnic groups?*

C: No, only as a minority. I read in the newspaper section once that all the majors businesses here were run by Haoles. Maybe one or two were not....

J: *Is your advantage over other minorities just because of numbers then?*

C: That's part of it but it all goes back to history too. We were the plantations workers, we proved ourselves in the World War.... We had a big leap after that....
I can also see the Filipino perspective...they are increasing in numbers also. But yet, they are always at a disadvantage, it seems they always have still have to prove.... Let's say a Filipino and a Japanese American came and applied for the same job and they had the same upbringing... Chances are the boss would give the job to the Japanese....

A: Talking about more recently... the Japanese investments in Hawai'i... it might affect how business people and government perceive Japan as a culture and therefore Japanese people. Personally, I look negatively upon it.... You know you don't see big corporate Indonesian or Thais buying huge golf course and real estates....

J: *What about nationwide?*

C: Can't say.

J: *How is the social situation between Hawaiians and Japanese different?*

A: I think the identity is different. I kind of draw parallels to the Native American situation where there is the whole because of America... America has displaced them or robbed them.... Japanese people just don't have that...they don't have that identification. To me it's a negative one....

J: *In Hawai'i, are there some groups that are discriminated against more than others?*

E: Haoles.

J: *Why are they discriminated against more?*

C: And the military?

J: *Why them?*

C: Because you think they aren't really from here, maybe they are here for a few years...
Maybe in the back of ours they are just seen as an outsider....

J: *Because of the short time?*

C: Well, yea, but no only... that... No one really cares...they are just going to be here for a while I guess I can treat them like dirt.... That's how some are....

A: I think it goes back to the plight of the Hawaiians. In the case of the military... it's what they represent. They have their own piece of land.... It's not so much against the individuals but as what they represent in terms of the history of Hawai'i and how Hawai'i has been treated for Americans...

J: Would you say the same for Haoles?

A: Not just Haoles, the rich Japanese, once there was a Saudi Prince...it's just when they don't respect the place they are coming into and they flout their dominance or power or whatever.... No one likes that, this is our home.... Maybe not only in Hawai'i anywhere... this is our home and if someone were to come into your home and treat you that way...

J: So, it's about not being respected? What is it specifically that is not being respected?

A: That you are an outsider coming into someone else's home and maybe that a Japanese thing and that there is a certain way you have to be.... where you are not subordinate but there is a level or respect and if you want to be welcome that you from your side should act that way...

J: Any issues dealing with *ethnocultural identification* or *multiculturalism* that I did not bring up- that I should have?

E: No.

J: What does *ethnocultural identification* mean for *multiculturalism*?

A: I consider myself a Japanese American from Hawai'i, it's that specific. What that means for *multiculturalism*? I consider myself lucky to be from Hawai'i.

J: How will that affect your life?

A: More tolerance and knowing that all people are the same and all people are different.

J: Guys, what do you think?

E: We are lucky to have grown up here and experience some of their traditions, their lives....

C: It's like my one friend said we are just one big ohana on this island.

J: Do you guys think Hawai'i is truly a multicultural paradise?

C: Paradise is kind of a strong word.

J: Then it is a multicultural what?

C: I was watching the learning channel and they had this show on Hawai'i and what they did was honey glaze everything about Hawai'i. So when people who come here, bump into

someone who is having a bad day, it might change their perspective... Really it the same as everywhere else with more culture represented....

J: Do you think Hawai'i is further along than say the Mainland, in terms of dealing with other cultures?

C: I really don't know, I don't have a lot of experience.

A: Maybe part of it is because people are more mixed. So it's not as conscious. It not like affirmative action. It's just what you know. For that reason it's more progressive.

J: You mean just for the reason that it's here, it's ingrained. Nothing more than it being here and the exposure to it possibly...

Well, thanks guys....

Transcript #2

Hawaiian (Multiethnic) group interview

Lea- Ethnic Studies- Oahu- Kaneohe/Aiea

Malia - Hawaiian Studies/ Psych- Puna/Oahu

May 16, 2002

J: What makes you identify with your culture?

L: Learning that there are many different types of cultures, being here in Hawai'i and that I identify with numerous different types of culture. Generally, I would say local culture. But specifically activities and food.

M: I think I consider myself multicultural but I identify with yea, local culture but mostly Hawaiian culture and um, Native American. When I was younger, where I grew up, that's exactly why, you know how you come full circle? You get to a point in your life where you realize certain things, actually since I have been at UH it's been kind of interesting and I find the best people with the similarities I grew up with.

J: And what ethnicity do you identify with?

L: Hawaiian, Japanese, Spanish, Tahitian, Norwegian, Indian, Irish, French, German, Chinese and Filipino.

But with 25% Japanese is the most.

J: What are some things that make you identify with your main culture?

L: You mean with local culture?

J: How ever you would like to answer that.

L: I think because I am in the military too, I think because there is such a fine line in identifying...military has it's own culture too and then you have to transition into American culture and military culture and so in a sense it forces you to leave behind your own traditional culture. When you put your uniform on you are somebody else- you identify yourself as something else. But there's also the food, the language, the people the music. That's who we are but you have to put that aside.

J: Did you grow up in the military?

L: My grandparents are all retired military but I grew up here. So I was not moving around.

J: Why is your ethnicity important for you?

M: Well, I think growing up here. I have had a chance to travel and it does such wonderful things for self-reflection. And growing up here. There are so many different influences and different cultures. And I am like her- I have 13 different ethnicities and everywhere you go has the same thing, so why I identify with certain cultures at certain times is because I am so mixed and I think my parents both being totally opposites from each other instilled in me

that to try and understand things and people especially, and what better way to do that than to understand yourself and where you came from? I have traveled and have the opportunity to find out where I am from and who I am. I think Hawai'i just being home gives that opportunity for us to all be ourselves and identify with ourselves and okay with each other.

L: I agree with that. Because when you go away to the mainland and you take these different surveys and what ethnic background you are and it's like Asian/Pacific Islander or other and you're like you are not just Asian Pacific Islander – you are probably every single other one of those. I put 'Other'-if I put anything I put 'Other' and everyone else is either Black, White or Hispanic. And then the certain groups would probably welcome you as their own, as more Hispanic than anything else but when you identify with them your part White but you don't look it... so part of you can identify with them. But being here in Hawai'i we can just be ourselves, because everybody is mixed and the whole different type of culture and ethnicity because we feel comfortable in our own skin.

J: Are there any realms of your lives where your ethnicity isn't important?

L: I don't see any.

M: I think that was a stage where I came to that part of self-realization where I come to that point and then I grew out of it... I think it's just when you're younger you are going through the process of self realization, and self process and for me it was easier to identify and now that I am older I think it was a phase and now that I understand what feels good I do what feels good and I understand what makes me feel good then I move on from the identification point. Following the path...

L: I agree and I think it depends that stereotypes play a big role in that. There are negative and positive stereotypes. I mean if you are hanging around a bunch of Filipinos and you feel comfortable then say yes, I am Filipino, or if you are with Hawaiians then say I'm Hawaiian but if there's negativity when your with a bunch of Japanese and there are stereotypes on the letter of excellence...and because there are negative stereotypes about being Hawaiian or Filipino or any other ethnicity. So if it makes you feel any less inferior than you are going to say well I 'm Japanese. You might identify yourself with your other groups.

M: It's kind of like you are adapting.

L: Like a chameleon...you adapt to the different situations where you are on the island.

M: It's just situational...

J: What cultures of Hawai'i are like you?

M: For myself, it's just a phase, not a phase... but everything that's negative.... it passes. I am thinking Proverbs here and everything just passes so I think to actually say which one I identify with has to be flexible because culture of those ethnicities doesn't remain stagnant. So it's hard to see... but most importantly the histories of where they've come from and how we've gotten to where we are... People try to make it as a model of some sort... but you can't culture is so multidimensional...

L: But I think we benefit from that.... We can choose which we benefit from.... The Kamehameha Scholarships and then there are other scholarships and then you say I'll put that too....

J: How are you different from the cultures that are in Hawai'i? Being as multicultural as you are? Does that make you different from just being Japanese or Hawaiian?

L: Yes. Well, for me I think language plays a big role and then the traditional practices that you would have. Like my grandmother is full Japanese- and she sits down and watches Japanese TV and drinks tea from the little cups, You know... in my own home I don't do that but when I go to her house I can appreciate that side and I appreciate that I am some sort of bond with Japanese culture and then you have the Hawaiian side that lives on Kauai and they dance Hula and I grew up dancing Hula, and that the music and the things we see everyday here towards my culture that makes me proud to be Hawaiian. But then you see those full on Hawaiians that are just in traditional cultures and the full on Japanese into that tradition and culture, the language speakers, I don't speak any other language just a few words that everybody knows but that's it. You just so multiculturally diverse you are a part of every other little thing.

M: I think, first of all, I don't know exactly who I am... but there's these differences- but I try not to because if I make differences then I have assumptions and those lead to prejudice so I try not to think that way. But give me something that is near to my heart that everyone has in common; rights and life with respect to their culture, education and a way of living and practice and a way of living that is good for them and I will fight for that. That's where my focus lies...

L: On the commonalities.

M: Yep. Not so much the differences- I think it is time to look at commonalities.

L: Yea. I think the media and the newspaper still focuses towards the negative stereotypes of various ethnic groups in our communities and there is still animosity between different ethnic groups. But it's so hard because you don't relate but you can't say I'm this, I'm that.

J: What determines how close you would get to any given ethnic group?

M: It depends where I am at... If I want to try something new.... As a partner? I know I'd like someone who is just a mixed or as diverse as myself.

J: Why's that?

M: Someone who is willing to go out there and meet other cultures...and find commonalties and then respect the differences and the similarities.

L: For me, it's complicated.... I don't want to come of sounding prejudice... Growing up I have always been told that I should marry a White man, with light eyes and nice colored hair.

Because I am on the dark skinned side and then my kids would be hapa. So my mother is like why don't you marry a tall white man with blue eyes.... It's been instilled in me. They look a lot like you [M]...

M: And you like my cousin....

L: ...And my sister looks more Tahitian. And my mother has been telling me that for years and here I come to school and meet all sorts of people and my mind is *telling okay, nice handsome White man...* But you meet all sorts of people and I don't want to be a White man who is not culturally diverse as far as understanding and where you come from and the stereotypes he has... I am in the military and I meet all kinds of mixed people too... but I if I pick and choose it's hard and then you know the stereotypes... Full Japanese... you know.... If they're more culturally diverse and if they are more mixed, I am more willing to see myself with them, but I have always been geared towards those looks physically...

J: What ethnicity is your mother?

L: She's very fair- Hawaiian, Filipino, Caucasian, She's mixed too. But she married a local surfer boy.

M: Just to elaborate on that- My mom is Caucasian and Native American- My dad is Hawaiian, Chinese, Filipino and Spanish, I was wondering... trying to identify... In Puna, I was the lightest skin person.... And then every once in a while you'd get the transplant from North Dakota. Then everyone else is much darker... As kids it's doesn't really matter... I think when I moved here...and to Waianae and I was really the lightest skin person... *I could see the remarks that my mom got, negative prejudices and stuff and she used to tell me that's why I had mixed kids...* I did not really understand... I thought she meant mixed kids would fit in. But I was like I don't fit in anywhere.... I felt excluded- insiders and outsiders.... But what I've come to understand when I finally spoke with her about a year ago is that mixed kids are beautiful ...to save the world. My mom is this blond granola hippy.... out to save the world. I think there is way too much violence because of the differences. And it's so self-destructive. When I talked to my mom a year ago, she said you wouldn't be able to hurt someone who looks like you. And I value that. But I know that culture is changing and to respect the old and live with the new. Someone needs to hold on to the traditions and someone needs to find a way to live together without the violence. That and we are genetically more adaptive...

J: Was there pressure from your family like she had to find a certain type?

M: No, my mom's family, she has been here since she was 12. They were in the military and East Coast and European. And my mom was always the rebel, she grew up in the 60s and she did not like Vietnam and because it was a place she grew up in, she could, she felt for other people and always has.... This is a good opportunity to find out why she chose my dad...*I can't speak for her other than what she told me. She may have had negative pressure.* Her grandma used to call my dad an ape-man and why? And the other side of my family used to call her the Haole girl and no one accepted her. My dad, his heart and his mind, at the time that got together. He was in Vietnam and there were a lot of things he

understood... So there was pressure from the outside but not as far as my parents. But one thing I missed - I identify with being Hawaiian but Hawaiians often have an extended family- especially more country and the difference with my family is just that we were nuclear. It was just us. And we were homesteaders. And that really influenced between my mom and dad, they allowed us to make our own judgments, they did not care if I brag home anybody. She knows that I would not be choosing them if they did not respect where I was coming from, my history and beliefs, my own values. That's probably one reason I would choose somebody who is diverse.... Anyone can be diverse it needs ...

L: That appreciation and understanding.

M: Human nature no matter what you are your skin color, religion, social status, or mentality you're so complex and it's just that variation is the most important thing...

J: So what does multiculturalism mean to you?

L: To me it says it itself- multi- ethnicities and the cultures and respecting them and taking it for what it's worth and practicing it- Bon dance, or parades...

And you see the different cultures...and there's a lot of appreciation for that here... More now than ever before- we have Cinco de Mayo and St.Patrick's Day and all the Irish guys are like were going to the Irish place and then we have Chinese New Year... at Kapiolani Park.

M: I don't know what it means for me. This semester I took Philosophy of Children- It's a great course- it gives kids an opportunity to think about their thinking and things and some of the issues that come up are what is culture.... And I can imagine what the kids I will work with next year will come up with... The dynamics in our groups as adults... but with kids I can imagine what will come up. Kids are just 10 times more imaginative and culture and what was it was definitely a question- And I think culture is, which includes be multicultural.... I think of it know as natural law of growth of the universe. Everything has it's certain laws, science, mathematics.... society has it's certain laws and you have so many definition from this one group... Bacteria culture is bound by certain laws to grow and move forth...and being multicultural is the same growth. Multiculturalism is growth and moving forward.

J: Do you think it is a good thing or a bad thing?

M: I think it has both. It is double sided. I am going into psychology to go into traditional psychologies. And I have to take into consideration what is culture?
And then that culture is not stagnant. We see such a small glimpse as humans that we don't see the overall picture of time-our traditions now weren't traditions 100 years ago which wasn't a tradition 1000 yrs ago and that's why I like my hula halau so much... they remember the traditions.... at different points in time and I think that's one of the biggest problems I came up with.... Someone needs to remember the past while at the same time where are we headed to? And where are we now? Multiculturalism is a given now.

J: Does it work in Hawai'i? You mentioned some down sides. What are they?

M: Displacement of many of those who were first. Of land and water rights. It should be managed –it shouldn't be taxed. What I like about the history of my halau is they have conservation management and people management and that was left up to the leaders of societies and I don't see that being done... And part of that is maybe they don't know what the issues are... And the issues is addressing the multiculturalism. Not where do we put you, which has happened in the past... but what this is how we live and what point are you in helping things functions... But everyone has his or her own agendas...

L: Looking at the traditional within ones own culture and then how it's transitions in to present day. So diverse people don't have their own place...

J: Do you think Hawai'i is truly multicultural?

A: Yes.

J: What impact has living in a multicultural place had on you? Have you lived anywhere else?

L: No, but I travel quite a lot. But the stereotypes I hear from the mainlanders... some of them are very naïve... Hawai'i is such a great place... Paradise... But for the most part is positive... because the glamour off it being paradise and it and the people being exotic... and when they hear you are from Hawai'i you are Hawaiian. And I identify that way because that's all they want to hear... And you experience different weathers... And you appreciate home... I look outside and I think recreation... and that is what I am going to miss... but you don't appreciate it when you are here... But when I am away I identify as being Hawaiian and I appreciate Hawai'i tremendously because of the food and the people, the languages... There is a difference here..... There really is.... And...

M: Everyone recognizes the beauty, well not everyone... And how you conduct yourself and what you possess is what they will see... and what they will see is a reflection of what Hawai'i is.... And that's what I've noticed through comments from other people....

J: And living in a multicultural society how that affect how behave towards people of other cultures?

M: With understanding and also understanding each time I meet someone, that there culture is so diverse that you cannot put a stereotype to them... I am just on this big thing about understanding others....

L: Yea. I think studying what we are studying and then being exposed to this on a daily basis with the understanding and appreciation and accepting ourselves because we are so multi... But sometimes the stereotypes that come to mind- I try to look past that... like little stereotypes that are obvious and repeated over and over. They may come to my mind but I try to bypass that and look at them for who they are and what they do rather than the color of their skins... And I have more compassion... like with the Japanese tourists who try so hard to speak English... Understanding them and appreciating that... I am sure when other people come here maybe from the east coast they have their own stereotypes and one of them is that Hawaiians are lazy... And so laidback but you can't generalize that... I hate when they generalize... Same thing with the military... I fit all those categories... and in the class I

shut my mouth because my teacher is a activist... and I don't want to burn any bridges.....We had a guest speaker who said all military are rapist of the land and I was trying to swallow my tongue... You have to take the individual for what they are worth and you have to take into consideration how they experience their lives within their culture...

J: Do you have an example of some one of another culture acting in away you did not understand and you thought that must be cultural?

L: Maybe traditional cultures that I don't understand. Hmm. I have an example of a Greek student and they way he conducts himself is so arrogant and nonchalant and they way they hold themselves and I think you are so stuck up and so into yourself... But maybe it's just the way he is. But from what I have heard...that's just the way Greek men are....

M: Oh, I remember someone saying about someone- she's with him because she walks 3 feet behind him... Referring to her being Asian and deferential towards men....

L: Another popular one is black man and how they are aggressive with women and their sexual drive is very strong... and they like all the Asian women and they don't go for African American women... all the other kinds though...and they are sexually aggressive and that's a big stereotype on them and they say once you go black, you never go back...

J: So, both you guys are local? Right? What does it mean to be local?

M: To have been here long enough to understand the multiculturalism and then when you are in another cultures place to respect that. So you may not take your slippers off at your house but in my house check them at the door please. Or if I am at a Japanese or Chinese family's house never leave the chopsticks sticking straight up in your bowl just minor things like that and long enough to get along with out causing to much conflict amongst other people.

L: I agree too, I think anyone can have local culture or acquire or practice that but it's more of an understanding and appreciation of all the different cultures and implementing that in your own life.

J: Do you differentiate between locals and non-locals?

A: Yes.

J: How?

M: There is a whole reason people do that- just identifying place in the world and I think with identifying your place in the world and the workings of things wherever you are helps you to go along with it, and go along with the flow and not cause any conflict and it's in whatever situation your in even in a club scene or whatever... You can tell when people are out of place and out of sync and that's how I tell... maybe their actions are due to being in another culture...

L: One other thing that stands out is how we give directions here.... Makai or mauka and not North or South, they can't pronounce street names... Left past Iolani palace and they are like street names please and I'm like I don't know...But visitors not from here don't know....but any local person knows...

J: Do you both identify as being a minority?

L: Yes.

J: Are you in a similar social situation to other minorities?

M: I think the dynamics of it is just a little different. But as far as quantity of minorities, it is a small amount of numbers that ... Identifying with more of a multicultural mentality and that's not even incorporating spirit... but more of the mentality than your behaviors I think ... it is much more of a minority than the numbers of multicultural or multiethnic people themselves. I think it's the environment that your in that gives you an appreciation of where you are at...whether you appreciate that multiculturalism or if you are brought up in like Middle East- your own multiculturalism...I think the environment of the way things are is the most important...

L: These are tough questions to think about but good ones.... I am a minority yes, but I am going to overcome over it- be a Hawaiian person or female or whatever... The reality is there are negative views of these kinds of minorities....

J: In Hawai'i are there some ethnic groups that are discriminated more than others?

M: No, it depends on the person...

L: I agree...you know Frank De Lima- he picks on everyone...

M: That's one reason that people have this need to make separate identities but from my understanding and from older people like the kapuna it's the mentality but when we make fun it's our way of showing you care about someone and if they care about you they give it right back.... and no hard feelings.... you laugh about the differences. And acknowledging those differences make life much easier....

L: It's always to put that out there and that what Frank De Lima does. You might hesitate to say certain things about certain ethnic groups but that's what he does and allows you to feel comfortable doing that and express everybody's differences and those that can accept and don't get offended are right there with you. But those that don't understand- or put up a wall and get offended don't understand or may have prejudices within themselves....

J: Any thing I should have touched on but I did. But did not?

L: I had a negative image on people who speak pidgin. And I think growing up it was a negative thing- don't speak pidgin, speak proper language but for local culture you need to speak that.... But it depends on who you are talking to but growing up, I was always corrected.... If you talk that way, you are stereotyped as being dumb and lazy, uneducated

and everything but learning that it is a language and has rules and that mainlanders want to speak that way and they try to take it in as their own and I think it's good...

M: From what I learned it's centered on Hawaiian language... and it's good to know that but you still need to learn language.... I switch back and forth.... That's how I communicate...It's the epitome of multiculturalism...

L: But we were encouraged to learn to speak proper English.... Like an Englishman would disagree with our proper English....

J: Thank you ladies for taking the time to share your thoughts.

Transcript #3
 Hawaiian individual interview
 Interview with Abbey
 June 4, 2002

(Introducing self) Senior at UH. Bachelors in Speech Pathology expected in Aug. Lived on Big Island and Kauai. 1/8 Hawaiian by blood. Filipino, Portuguese, and Puerto Rican

J: What makes you identify or not identify with your ethnicity?

A: What makes me not identify is I don't speak the language. I dance Hula but I don't dance with a halau- it's for my own enjoyment or for work. I don't follow the customs of their gods and their beliefs. But I do identify, because I love the land as much as they did, I carry the same blood and I believe in their truthfulness and righteous- but I am not an activist as anti American.

J: Why is your ethnicity important?

A: I think if you know where you came from you can decide where you go better and why certain things mean a lot to you, just in culture in general my roommate grew up in Chicago in a very wealthy family, grew up completely different from a lot of people here and she does not realize... we talk about school and motivation and I'm like we didn't go to private school that costs 150,000 a year, we didn't get the education that you did and we don't have the motivation. She thinks differently. A big thing in Hawai'i is ohana. I watch my nephew two times a week for free for 8-10 hours at a time because he's my nephew.... And some people aren't like that...

J: Are there aspects where your ethnicity is not important?

A: I think in daily life there are so many other things to focus on it, that it does become more unimportant but I wish I had more time to focus on it's and if what I am doing is part of my culture.

J: Which cultures of Hawai'i are like you?

A: I don't think any of them.... Because I don't just identify with one. I really think I am very American except that I have strong ties to my family and the Islands and I don't want to leave. But other than that I don't feel like I am Filipino or Puerto Rican or Portuguese. I don't follow the traditions except local culture is all about family. That's the biggest thing in my life.

J: And how are you different from the cultures in Hawai'i?

A: I would say I am motivated. It's really weird that I came from a middle/lower class SES family and am getting my bachelors in 4 yrs. I have the motivation to succeed and do that through education and use it as a tool, and do that for my family...whereas a lot of other people don't do that.

J: Are there any cultures present in Hawai'i that are totally different from you?

A: The customs not taking off your shoes.... My roommates don't say "Good Morning", will not help with dishes. They take care of themselves. And here the culture is even if I don't know you I will try to think about how I can help you and others...

J: Do you think that is cultural? Or her personality?

A: I think it was the way she was raised.

J: Are there any ways that Haole culture is like you?

A: Education. I also believe education is the key.

J: What determines how close you would get to a given ethnic group?

A: Their attitude. How alike they are to me. Not to say I wouldn't date a Haole if they had the same qualities I was looking for... race would not be an issue.

J: Does that vary from race to race?

A: I think that it shouldn't but in all honesty I don't think I could date a black guy. That could change. We weren't much exposed to Samoans on Kauai and I dated a couple guys here. But I cannot picture myself with a black person. But if I found one with those qualities I would hope that wouldn't be a barrier.

J: What do you think that has to do with?

A: I think it has to do with society treating black people poorly and in my mind I know there not lesser but I can't think of any other reason.

J: Do you get pressure from your family one way or another?

A: Not at all.

J: What does multiculturalism mean to you?

A: I don't like the melting pot version. Like in Europe, where they expect... I want to be very accepting... I want to know why people are that way but not trying to change them...

J: Do you think it is good or bad?

A: If it's accepting I think it's good.

J: Does multiculturalism work?

A: With effort I think that it could.... For example it takes effort for me at work to explain in another language to those who don't speak English....

J: Do you think Hawai'i is truly multicultural?

A: I think you can find a lot of cultures and that most people are accepting.

J: What impact has living in a multicultural society had on you?

A: I think it makes me more open to many ideas. And on TV you are bombarded with high SES and meeting growing up low/middle SES made me see both sides. Where as one of my roommates... she can't imagine going to class without textbooks, or not having your teacher push you and I can see all sides.

J: Any specific examples?

A: I can tell the difference between Korean, Chinese, Japanese, etc. Some people who have not been exposed cannot.

J: How does living in a multicultural society affect how you behave to people of other cultures?

A: I would hope it make me more understanding and more wanting to learn about their culture.

J: When doesn't it?

A: When I am busy. When I have a lot of schoolwork...But I hope it makes me more understanding...

J: Are you local?

A: Yes.

J: What does it mean to be local?

A: What it doesn't mean is just living here. Because I am Hawaiian ... I cannot stand when people say I am Hawaiian because I have lived here for 100,000 years. I don't care if you did not come from the people. I don't feel you can call yourself Hawaiian. And the distinction is great. But local means you have lived here for a long time and are accepting of the culture and the culture is accepting of you. You can be born and raised here in a completely Haole or completely Japanese culture and we may not accept you.

J: What are indicators of being accepted?

A: By the way that they act. If you walk down the road and smile, if you take off shoes before entering someone's house...and if you bring food where ever you go... either you ask what you can bring or they ask you.

J: Do you differentiate between locals and non-locals?

A: I don't think all the time.

J: What helps you to do that?

A: If I do it or accept it that's local.

J: Do you think Hawaiians are in a similar social situation to other minorities?

A: I would say *it depends on the situation* and as a people something need to be done to bring them out of that... Chinese and Korean are minority but they have the motivation to study and open shops and work really hard. I don't feel like Hawaiian people have that motivation or know what they could do...

J: And how are they in a similar social situation?

A: Similar SES. They don't have the financial means to get ahead and it's just a cycle. You live in a poor neighborhood, you go to a poor school and it's hard to get out...

J: How are they different?

A: I think they are really pissed off. Other groups were brought here of there own free will so I think that makes a difference.

J: Are there some groups that discriminated against more than others?

A: Haoles. I remember my teacher talking about Kill Haole Day. And if you were Haole you were going to get picked on and at up.... too bad. I do think Haoles take the brunt of things... Everything is "Stupid Haole".

J: Why do you think that is?

A: The anger and it's so built into the culture and it's so easy to say it because they are Haole. It's ingrained...

J: Anything I did not talk about ethnocultural identification and multiculturalism that I should have mentioned and didn't.

A: No.

J: Well, thanks.

Transcript #4
 Japanese American individual interview
 Interview with David
 June 5, 2002

D: (Introducing self)-57 years old. Born and raised in Big Island. Second try at a new degree. Two grown sons.

J: What makes you identify with your culture?

D: My parents, my mom. She went to Japan finishing school. I don't know if that question is accurate with me because I don't identify that much with my culture I do appreciate certain signatures in my culture ...

J: Like what?

D: Some principles, that we pick and choose, like duty and face in some way, it's still here and still valid. But not to the nth degree where if I lose face I am going to commit suicide or anything like that. ... But there a lot of things that I pick and choose out of my historical background but I don't feel a real kinship w/ that.

J: Why don't you?

D: Because I do want to identify with more of a multicultural type society and I am more westernized in thinking in many ways I have East- West-yea? Of course- but having grown up with these dead white male theories and they make a lot of sense you know? But I thought about this in my older age and there's some fine things to be offered on both sides...but I think the overriding factors is the Constitution of the US, Declaration of Independence, documents signifying dreams. and when you have something like to attain however slowly, maybe not in my lifetime, but it's much better than in Japan and the feudal system. And it's imperfect...but the ideas are not imperfect.

J: Why/why not is your ethnicity important?

D: It's both. In certain situations but it's not an overriding factor in my daily life. In fact it could be a hindrance in Hawaiian society.

J: Why is that?

D: I believe that in the past the Haole, lets use that race without being negative, the colonialist paradigm that they introduced and they were on top and they were on top and all of us were immigrants. But there has been a shift being formerly oppressed from plantation days and working our way up and internment and all that and as a business man I'll tell you there is a new co-dominant colonial stratum. It's not just whites. In fact it they might be fading into obscurity. It's the Japanese. And the Chinese are the backbone -in many ways but they are not as visible...they are landholders and they intermix with the Hawaiians to the land they were very akami. But the real dominance in the state institutions, the

infrastructure- teaching, small business, banking- I know because my cousin, my sis, my brothers, my friends, are all in there... Who are the news?

And we are the new dominant settlers. We are living hypocritically. People sense that, a lot of other cultures realize that we try to identify with the down trodden but it's fiction. We make the policy. We control policy and we are trying to desperately to hang on to it. With demographics changing. The Filipinos are growing by leaps and bounds. And new immigration coming in and our immigration has stopped.

J: What cultures of Hawai'i are like you?

D: The Chinese, first generation of Filipinos, early generations of Hawaiians. I identify with the generation that I am familiar with, that I grew up with. There was a difference perhaps because we all poor together. There was none of this amaki'i thing where everyone is climbing on everyone else to get up there. It was more like a shared sense of community and it was more collective. It was the kumi'i system. Strangely enough it's a Hawaiian word. We were racialized differently. A lot of people say now all Asians are lumped together. Today, we don't see Chinese as being Asian with us, or Filipinos being Asian with us. We are all... maybe it's a local ... we see ethnicities as separate identities.... She's Filipino, He's Chinese....

J: The cultures that are more like you- how are they different?

D: That's a hard question. I always look at similarities. Not differences. But situationally, I can see the Filipinos are in a different category. They still have all these stereotypes against them where as we have passed that hurdle... Maybe we have won....

J: Why do you think Japanese Americans have passed that hurdle and the Filipinos have not?

D: Immigration stopped in Japanese. After a certain point and you have the fourth generation and you pick up the baggage of other ethnicities. And you are getting filled with the notion of western values of how to live your life. But the Filipinos are getting the views of another structure coming in here and it's perpetuate the stereotypes of the first generation...any you refresh it and you say these guys are fresh off the boat. and they eat dog...even though this is unthinking racism.... It's not right...

J: What cultures of Hawaiian are not like you?

D: The Hawaiian, the Portuguese. The White oh, no, the white culture.... We tried to be so much like them...maybe not so much...

J: How are they different?

D: Their outlook on life comes from a radically different perspective. In my culture and Chinese, it's always a striving for material things, for respect for prestige and power and in lot of these other s cultures that not as much emphasis on that and

J: What is the emphasis on?

D: It's on living a good life and I think they are in a difficult place, they have rejected the western notion of success and we have accepted it- the Japanese and Chinese-but the Hawaiians have come from a different background- well, we all did come from agrarian backgrounds some came viable agrarian background and others came from more industrial agrarian backgrounds. ...It's a hard question.... I don't want to denigrate other races- it's a different way of living. I have everyone in my family... my brother married Chinese, my sister Welsh; I have cousins who are Germans....

J: What determines how close you would get to a given ethnic group?

D: Shared values and attitudes. Shared likes... The same thing that operates with friends...common interest and common views and it's a question of openness and honesty.... It doesn't go beyond that.... It's about decency, and integrity... But the first step has to be a shared something....

J: In what ways does that vary from group to group?

D: It doesn't for me. If they are fisherman I am going to like them, I don't care if they are green or purple... or...I will like them, I will at least start that way....

J: What does multiculturalism mean to you?

D: Let me think on that.... It means it's not a melting pot. It means like everybody retains underpants or undergarments, their cultural trappings and they don't just pay lip service but they truly respect their origins but it's not the controlling dynamic.... it's just there. It's accepted and you look for the good and you don't hide the bad but you don't overplay it either. And you try to appreciate the same like that would for you... To appreciate it and celebrate it... The food...

J: Is it a good or bad thing?

D: I think it is a good thing. A leveling thing.

J: How is it leveling?

D: Leveling if... this is just where I came from, not where I am. Not a comparison ...mine is better than yours... You are not arrogant about it, or dogmatic... We can pick out the good parts and make some food and music together....

J: Does it work?

D: On the grass roots level yes. But there are always opportunists who use their particular culture to further their interests... to garner support or money or power...when they start to overplay the hand... like in Kosovo...So it's a good thing up to a point.... We are not trying to get back to the beginnings. But it's the shoes your grandfather used to wear- that's about it. Reflection and appreciation but everything is moving on...

J: Is Hawai'i truly multicultural?

D: I think so. I really think so. It does not have the definition to it yet that it will. But the *first thing immigrants do they try to assimilate as the best means of bettering their condition and to do that you might have to push your ethnic identity to the side. But later on you come back and say – why did I throw that all away? And I think this is where a lot of us are at... You see Filipino pride.... the Filipino culture centering is being built... They are taking pride in that, The Korean celebration in Ala Moana, the Okinawans as distinct... All of a sudden there is no shame in being distinct... The only danger is that we go overboard....*

J: What impact has living in a multicultural society had on you?

D: A lot. It's pretty much shaped the way I think. Because I do rub shoulders with other cultures. *Maybe in my younger days I did not, I kind of stayed enclosed but once you get exposed to higher education and business you have no choice...and at first you don't know how to react. It best to shut and go through osmosis and see what happens And you see the goods and bad and especially the similarities....*

J: Can you give me a specific example?

D: It has affected me in one important way. Perhaps the most important way.... I have two sons and early on I realized my parents way of stressing the superiority of the Japanese culture is not suited for their future endeavors... It started in my own family... my father was *hanai* to a Hawaiian family because his mother died... So he would fight with her... And I looked at my kids and I said I want to arm them the best that I can.... I want to give them the best weapons or whatever... I can, weapons is the wrong word.... But one of the best ways is to disarm them of notions of superiority of us vs. them, but they are not all that interested in Japanese culture but they will get back to it.

J: How have you seen multiculturalism change?

D: In a dramatic way. Especially our culture. After WWII, we were not exactly banging a drum, we had a lot to worry about... And the values were challenged... a patriarchal, authoritarian and hierarchal society and unless someone was of royal blood – *it did not help my family. The values were challenged and rightfully so, I think, and we rejected it and so did my brothers and sister. We hid our affiliations and so did a lot of other.... My Hawaiians friends...Haole, whatever.... I'm Hapa. They would down play it.... and the Filipinos, might be Spanish. Everybody is mixed. And they could pick and choose and "I'm Hawaiian brah"* ... I guess it was in accommodation to the ruling hierarchy that was here.... And that we envied our White friends...they had what we wanted, not just materials things, but respect and education. But now it's changed...because we have gotten a lot of respect and self-esteem through education and working hard now we can go back and celebrate our cultures. That is where the change occurred... I think.

J: Why were people suddenly taking pride?

D: We were shown the way with the civil rights movements, Brown vs. Board of Ed, and you see the different struggles, Exodus- the Jews returning to the homeland, and now you

see the Palestinians a different take on it and all of a sudden it's not bad to have your own identity even if it is not what you identify with most strongly.

J: How does it affect the way you behave towards people of other cultures?

D: It affects me enormously. Because it's not that I want to be politically correct- I want to be a person with integrity. I want to respect other cultures. You can learn so much from other cultures... It makes me better rounded.

J: Do you have an example of someone of another culture acting in a way you did not understand?

D: I had a friend who is Bulgarian. He jumped ship in Trias, master Chess player and a sous chef. Always complained about his father being in the Gulag and we used to drink cognac and I never thought so much about it, poor thing. Then finally it dawned on me, hey you put your father in confinement and your family couldn't leave 25 miles because you jumped ship... You were a sailor in the Russian navy and you just took off. You have the good life... I guess I had too much to drink... I was being straight and he went crazy- told off the people at the Sheraton... went back to Bulgaria and was wandering around... So, there are real stories behind these cultural things... so it was real.

J: You are considered local, no?

D: I consider myself local. But you know Jennifer, that's a loaded question. Have you read Jonathan Okamura's "The History of the Local" – it depends from where you are saying that.

J: That's my next question. What does it mean to be local?

D: It's a whole grain of rice in this multicultural thing. Hopefully, I want to be... Seen as part of it- not a separate identity. I am not using it from the local term as identified in the Massie Case- blood and orchids and stuff. It's got insider connotation. It's an us versus them. But now days I don't know who is them... Who the hell is them?

J: Do you differentiate between locals and non-locals?

D: I would have to educate the nonlocals into being locals...

J: How do you be more local?

D: By shutting up and listening and picking what you think is fun and respectful and useful. And not to exploit and maybe you can carry on that the round. I think of them as being handicap, poor thing. It's not easy to break into that....

J: Are Japanese American in a similar social situation to other minorities?

D: No, they have an elevated status. And it is because they have power. The most powerful positions are Japanese.

J: Is there any way that they are the same?

D: We share a lot of goals and the nostalgic affiliation with their situation- struggling and trying to rise above... A lot of my culture has gone past- food, shelter, clothing... they have more security...

J: What about the Japanese American situation on the mainland?

D: I don't know. It would have no base...I could guess....

J: What groups are more discriminated against more often?

D: Filipinos. Because they refresh the immigration. Older cultures are more mixed- we don't see them as a separate population. To be mixed, gives you acceptance and entre. And that can be used. You see a lot of "pure" Filipinos. They are more visible. So that's why they are more discriminated against. And the FOBs (fresh of the boats) are coming with their strongly imprinted cultural stuff. Different ways of dress, food habits, it easy to see they are different. The Koreans too... it has not expanded into other circles... A little clannish.

J: Is there anything about your ethnocultural identification and multiculturalism that I did not bring up that I should have?

D: Intermarriage. And how it affects me and mine- say my sons. If you were to have asked me how would your outlook growing up here affect your choice for a mate or for your sons? I would say 100%. I would say married any mixed person...

J: Why mixed?

D: It's better. I just felt mix them all up better. I think it is better for them to grow up with a dad who really believes that. I am sick and tired of all these cubicles and separatism and all of this focus on in the Maigee era we were this, daughters of the American Revolution. There is nothing wrong with genealogy. But to what extent...

J: Thanks D.

Transcript #5
 Hawaiian individual interview
 Interview with Derrick
 June 12, 2002

Graduate past spring. Born and raised here. Lived in Kailua 25-30 yrs. Lived in town and lived on Big Island for short time. Lived on Mainland in summer- in Tennessee.

J: What makes you identify with your culture?

D: I 'd like to say I identify with the Hawaiian culture but in all honesty I identify with the more American or Western culture more than the Hawaiian culture. The reason I feel that is everything is modern here in Honolulu. And I really don't know the language, I enjoy listening to the music but I don't understand the word they are singing. I rarely watch Hawaiian programs on TV or attend any real Hawaiian functions outside of family gatherings. I identify with the American culture because of the way we live- shopping in supermarkets, having a car, the exchange of money- the American money system.

J: So, do you feel like- if there were opportunities to be involved in the Hawaiian culture would you do that? It sounds like you are talking about the Hawaiian culture of past...

D: No, I don't think so.

J: Do you like the American culture?

D: Yes, I am comfortable in it. It's what I grew up in. I am real comfortable in it.

J: Why is your ethnicity is important?

D: Because there are so few Hawaiians left. I try to identify with them because I am like a quarter Hawaiian and the rest is Caucasian. But I say that I am Hawaiian because I live here in Hawai'i and there's so few left. I try to hold onto that as much as I can. And living here in Hawai'i it has its benefits.

J: What are some of the benefits?

D: The way people greet you, the way people talk with you- the overall tightness- this group feeling that we are Hawaiians and we need to stick together and work together but I am kind of going off the subject.... It's just that being Hawai'i here in the Hawaiian Islands it's just being a local, a Hawaiian you are given, in a local crowd, you are given priority over others. For instance, traveling to an outer island at the airport, talking to the ticket agent I feel they treat you a little different than if you are from the mainland or Europe or wherever. You get preferential treatment.

J: How would they know? Say the ticket agent?

D: By the way I look, my physical features and the way I talk. They say oh, this guy is Hawaiian, he's local...

J: But there is difference, no? In being Hawaiian and being local?

D: Being Hawaiian- part is blood quantum. And being local is living here a long time and raised in the Islands for a long time. I know a lot of people- Haole people- Caucasian that have no Hawaiian blood but I consider them local but I refer to them as local Haoles.

J: Do you refer to other groups as locals- as local Filipino or local Japanese?

D: No, I don't

J: Why do you think that is? Are local Haoles different than other Haoles?

D: I think the local Haoles are different. They've been raised here so there used to be the culture here and identify with it. A lot of the ones that I know... It's not like they're here and this is all new to them. They know our practices and the way we live our life here...

J: What cultures present in Hawai'i are like you?

D: Hawaiian, the Haole American culture... I am trying to find an age group kind of culture....

J: Like generational?

D: Like X generation but I don't know where I fit in....

J: You mentioned Hawaiian culture and a generational culture. How are they like you?

D: Hawaiian culture in general is like me laid back, relaxed but still has a desire to hold on to older ways, but yet move on and keep a remembrance of our roots, where we came from...

J: And what about the generational culture?

D: It's like children who grew up in Hawai'i who know somewhat of the older ways but yet have been brought up Americanized or Westernized and maybe are stuck in the middle...with all this resurgence of Hawaiian practice and bringing back the Hawaiian language and all this stuff...it's like which way do I go... Do I go back to my Hawaiian roots or go the other way?

J: Are you leaning one way or the other?

D: I myself am leaning towards my Western ways and continuing forward. I feel that it is inevitable that the Hawaiian culture will just... it's not going to progress where it will be the dominant culture... It's going to continue to be Western culture and so that's where I want to continue moving towards....

J: What cultures of Hawai'i are different from you?

D: Korean, Japanese, the Asian cultures, also the Western cultures.

J: How are the Korean, Chinese, different?

D: I think, like the younger generations are more subordinate to the older generations. They are more... they have to listen to the older generation and they are more prone to put their own lives aside to take care of their elders... I think... I don't know...

J: And that's not something that would happen in Hawaiian culture?

D: It would but it's to a higher degree in Asian cultures. We respect our elders and take care of them but for some reason it's stricter in the Asian culture. You are to do this... vs. the Hawaiian culture... this is something you want to do...

J: And ideas about why that might be stricter?

D: No.

J: And Western culture?

D: It's just so fast paced. It's just so mechanical and you always got to go forward and there's no time to stay where you are at... Gotta go... Gotta go...

J: And how is Western culture similar?

D: First things that come to mind, is the way we buy things. Money.... It's just how we conduct our lives...

J: And what about Korean? Japanese? Similar?

D: I guess I look at them as minorities. Hawaiians are minorities in their own state. And if you look globally, Asians are considered minorities below Caucasians.

J: Do mean as far as number? Power?

D: Power and wealth, status.

J: What determines how close you would get to given ethnic group?

D: How much I identify with them I guess. Some of the practices that they do, foods they eat.

J: Does that vary from group to group?

D: No, not really.

J: Is that on a group level or individual level?

D: Both, I think.

J: What does multiculturalism mean to you?

D: A whole bunch of cultures living together where they all influence each other and there's overlap between them. It's not just each culture practicing their own. It's not real structured. There's integration between them

J: Is it good or bad?

D: I think it's good. You learn about other cultures and you learn about other ways of life. You learn about other cultures and other ways of life and food.... And music...

J: And what's the value in that?

D: For me, it's this planet is filled with people of all cultures so there's no harm in learning.

J: Does multiculturalism work?

D: To some degree. But I think there is still a division between the cultures. Maybe at a lower level. For the lay people, blue collar people. I think as you move up there is more of a division.

J: Why do you think that is?

D: Cause I think at the higher levels, people are more worried about power and status. I don't want to say anybody's higher or lower... it's just the words that come to mind. I think on the lower level of the common people we are all struggling and we should all try to work together.

J: And that's not so important on top?

D: To a lesser degree. I think it's more like I have this certain status that I am holding on to and I don't need to share it with you.

J: And in Hawai'i, who do you think is up at the higher levels?

D: People in politics, CEOs...

J: And ethnically who are they?

D: Caucasians and Asians. But more the Caucasians.

J: Is Hawai'i truly multicultural?

D: I think so. We all are influenced by all the different cultures that are here. It's like these different cultures have been here for different generations and it's rubbed of on all of us.

J: What impact has living in a multicultural society had on you?

D: It's helped me to make friends from all different cultures. To understand them to be introduced to the way they live their lives, they way they think... It's been an overall benefit...

J: And you said you lived in Tennessee? What was the ethnic breakdown there?

D: Rednecks... No, just kidding... Caucasian and there were a few scattered Here and there- what do call them...? Indians?

J: Native Americans?

D: Native Americans. But more or less Caucasian.

J: What did you think going from someplace that was so multicultural to Tennessee?

D: I noticed that we were just a small select group. We were held like celebrities...

J: You were with other Hawaiians?

D: Yep. There were twenty of us. We were treated really well. I think it was because of the novelty of us. They were more interested in us than we were in them. We were performing in a Hawaiian show- music and dance.

J: How does living in a multicultural society affect how you behave towards people of another culture?

D: To accept them how they are. Not putting any labels on them and accepting their way of life not trying to push my way of life upon them, allowing them to be themselves and whatever they have to offer me is accepting that and giving back. It's an exchange of thoughts, ideas and ways of life.

J: Do you have an example of someone in another culture acting in a way you did not understand? Do you ever bring it up to that level- that is a cultural level?

D: I consider some Korean people to be very impatient or rude or they just snap sometimes really quickly. And sometimes I say because they're Korean.

J: And what is your reaction?

D: It's like calm, down. Take it easy. It's not that bad.

J: O.K. Are you local?

D: I am local.

J: What does it mean to be local?

D: I think what it means to be local is to understand and practice the ways of life of the area in which you are in. Living the life that's being lived in that area.

J: Do you differentiate between local and non-locals?

D: I do. A lot if it is by appearance, physical appearance. Another part of it is language- the way they speak. Another part is I become biased towards people who are local. I give them preferential treatment over those who are not local.

J: Why do you do that?

D: Immaturity. I am still growing up. I don't think I'll ever stop growing. I don't think I'll reach a point where I don't need to grow. So in that respect there are times where I tend to be biased or prejudice and it's like I don't want to accept someone for who they are no matter what their ethnicity is. So that how I related it to being immature. It's just intolerance or unacceptance. I would like to be more tolerant.

J: What do you think holds you back?

D: Fear of rejection.

J: From whoever you are being open to? Or your own group?

D: Maybe from my own group. Maybe even from the people who I am trying to be more accepting of.... Saying if you ever want to talk or whatever don't be afraid and the might just shine me off like you'll never understand.. In that way maybe I push them off to the side... Maybe I shouldn't try to let them in.

J: Are Hawaiians in a similar social situation to other minorities?

D: I think so. I compare Hawaiians to Filipinos in Hawai'i. In one respect we are looked at the native people, sort of held on a pedestal, but in reality we are kept down. I see Filipinos as the laborers, in the field and I think Hawaiians are on the same level.

J: Why do you think they haven't achieved a higher level?

D: I think it's unforgiveness and anger. A lot of Hawaiians go back to the lands been stolen and this has been done to us and I think it's time maybe to forgive those that have wronged you so we can move on and get a better life for all of us or for yourself.

J: What about Filipinos? Do they have the same anger? Why are they...?

D: I think it's lack of education. To me, they aren't not worried about status. They are open to taking lower paying jobs, working as laborers. I think they have come to believe, like the Hawaiians that this is your place where you are in society and you are good enough where you are at. You are doing an excellent job where you are at now so why don't you just stay there? Keep on doing what you are doing.

J: Do you think with the Hawaiians are being asked to play a game that they never would have chose?

D: Could be. I don't feel that way but Hawaiians as a group may... I feel that by the Westerns coming in it has taken us to a level we would not have been able to achieve... By bringing in Christianity... Some of the things the missionaries done are not right but it was one of the best things that ever happened to these Islands.

J: How are the Filipinos and Hawaiian in a different situation?

D: In one respect the Hawaiians are held on a pedestal. As far as I can see, that's it.

J: In Hawai'i are there some ethnic groups that are discriminated against more then others?

D: The Filipinos. I think it's because they are immigrants and they work all the entry-level jobs. They are seen as... I am not going to take the job because a Filipino will do it. That's how they are looked at as a whole... Give it to them they'll do it. The Caucasians too...

J: Why them?

D: There's this thing in the Hawaiian culture and even the local culture against the Haoles. It's because of the past history I think. The Westerners coming and taking over.

J: How are they discriminated against?

D: I don't know... service in a restaurant... or not as much tolerance for some of their behaviors... Local behavior is more tolerated...

J: Is there anything else about your ethnic identification and multiculturalism that you though I would bring up and I did not?

D: No, that's it.

J: Well, then that's it. Thank you.

D: You're welcome.

References

- Arroyo, C.G., & Zeigler, E. (1995). Racial identity, academic achievement, and the psychological well being of economically disadvantaged adolescents. *Journal of Social Psychology, 69*(5), 903-914.
- Azjen, I., & Fishbein, M. (1977). Attitude-behavior relations: A theoretical analysis and review of empirical research. *Psychological Bulletin, 84*, 888-918.
- Berry, J.W. (1980) Social and cultural change, In H.C. Triandis & R. Brislin (Eds.) *Handbook of cross-cultural psychology*, vol. 5, Social, (pp.211-279) Boston: Allyn and Bacon.
- Berry, J.W. (1990). Psychology of acculturation: Understanding individuals moving between cultures, *Cross-cultural Research and Methodology, 14*, Newberry Park: Sage Publications.
- Berry, J.W. (1993). Ethnic identity in plural societies. In M.E. Bernal & G. P. Knight (Eds.), *Ethnic Identity: Formation and transmission among Hispanics and other minorities* (pp. 271-296). New York: State University of New York Press.
- Bertrand, J. T., Brown, J. E. & Ward, V. M. (1992). Techniques for Analyzing Focus Group Data. *Evaluation Review, 16* (2), 198-209.
- Bhawuk, D. P. S., Podsiadlowski, A., Graf, J., & Triandis, H. C. (2002). Corporate Strategies for Managing Diversity in the Global Workplace. In G. R. Ferris & M. R. Buckley, & D. B. Fedor (Eds.), *Human resource management: Perspectives, context, functions, and outcomes*. (pp.112-145) Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.
- Bhawuk, D. & Triandis, H.C. (2000, March). *The evolution of culture theories*. An earlier draft of this paper was presented at Society for Applied Anthropology Annual Meeting, San Francisco, California.
- Bogdan, R.C., & Biklen, S.K. (1992). *Qualitative research for education: An introduction to theory and methods*. (2nd ed.). Boston: Allyn and Bacon.
- Brewer, M.B. (1991). The social self: On being the same and different at the same time. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 17*, 475-482.
- Brotherson, M. J. (1994). Interactive Focus Group Interviewing: A Qualitative Research Method in Early Intervention. *Topics in Early Childhood Special Education, 14* (1), 101-118.
- Burke, P. J. & Reitzes, D.C. (1981). The link between identity and role performance. *Social Psychology Quarterly, 44* (2) 81-92.
- Byers, P. Y. & Wilcox, J. R. (1988). *Focus groups: An alternative method of gathering qualitative data in commissioning research*. S506291 Springfield, VA: ERIC Documentation Reproduction Service. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 297 393).

- Carlin, J., & Sokoloff, B. (1985). Mental health treatment issues for Southeast Asian refugee children. In T. Owan (Ed.), *Southeast Asian mental health: Treatment, prevention, services, training, and research* (pp. 91-112). Washington, D.C: U.S. Department of Health and Human Services.
- Cohen, J. (1988). *Statistical power analysis for the social sciences*. (2nd ed.). Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- De Vos, G. (1976). Responses to change: recurrent patterns, In G. De Vos, (Ed.) *Responses to change: Society, culture and personality* (pp. 342-359). New York: Nostrand.
- Fu, X., Heaton, & Heaton, T. (2000). Status exchange in intermarriage among Hawaiians, Japanese, Filipinos and Caucasians in Hawai'i: 1983-1994. *Journal of Comparative Family Studies*, 31, 45-61.
- Fuchs, L.H. (1961). *Hawai'i Pono: A Social History*. New York: Harcourt Brace & World.
- Fromkin, H & Snyder, C. (1980). *Uniqueness: The human pursuit of difference*. New York: Plenum.
- Gallimore, R., Boggs, J.W. & Jordan, C. (1974). *Culture, behavior and education: A study of Hawaiian-Americans*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.
- Gergen, K.J. & Gergen, M.M. (1981). *Social psychology*. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanich.
- Glaser, B. & Strauss, A. (1967). *The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research*. Chicago: Aldine.
- Goodenough, W. H. (1970). *Description and Comparison in Cultural Anthropology* Chicago: Aldine.
- Grant, G. & Ogawa, D. (1993). Living proof: Is Hawai'i the answer? *The Annals of the American Academy*, 530, 137-155.
- Haas, M, (1992). The Hawaiian multicultural ethos: What is it and how did it develop? *Working paper series: Center for Research on Ethnic Relations. Social Science Research Institute, University of Hawai'i*, 1(1).
- Haas, M. (1996). Explaining ethnic harmony: Hawai'i's multicultural ethos, *Nationalism and Ethnic Relations*, 2(2), 169-190.
- Helms, J. (1990). *Black and White Racial Identity: Theory, Research and Practice*. New York: Greenwood.
- Kinloch, G.C. (1973). Race, socio-economic status and social distance in Hawai'i, *Sociology and Social Research*, 57 (2) 156-167.
- Kinloch, G.C. (1986). A multivariate analysis of social distance in Hawai'i, *Journal of Social Psychology*, 126(1), 137-139.

Kivisto, P., & Nefzger, B. (1993). Symbolic ethnicity and American Jews: The relationship of ethnic identity to behaviors and group affiliation. *The Social Science Journal*, 30, 1-12.

Knight, G.P., Bernal, M.E., Cota, M.K., Garza, C.A., & Ocampo, K.A. (1993). Family socialization and Mexican American identity and behavior. In M.E. Bernal & G.P. Knight (Eds.), *Ethnic identity: Formation and transmission among Hispanics and other minorities* (pp.105-129). New York: State University of New York Press.

Krueger, R. A. (1988). *Focus Groups: A Practical Guide for Applied Research*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Lewin, K. (1948). *Resolving Social Conflicts*. New York: Harper.

Marsella, A.J., (1998). Toward a global community psychology. *American Psychologist*, 53(12), 1282-1291.

Marsella, A.J. (1995, February). *Current directions in the measurement of ethnocultural identity: Clinical applications*. Paper presented at the Convention of Hawai'i Psychological Association. Honolulu, HI.

Morgan, D. L. (1988). *Focus Groups as Qualitative Research*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Miles, M.B. & Huberman, A.M. (1994). *Qualitative data analysis: An expanded sourcebook*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Oana, L.K. (1981). *Ethnocultural Identification in Sansei (third generation) Japanese American Females: An Evaluation of Alternative Measures*. Unpublished master's thesis, University of Hawai'i. Honolulu, HI.

Okamura, J.Y. (1980). Aloha kanaka me ke aloha 'aina: Local culture and society in Hawai'i, *Amerasia*, 7, 119-137.

Okamura, J.Y. (1982). Ethnicity and the ethnic relations in Hawai'i. In D.H.Y. Wu (Ed.), *Ethnicity and interpersonal interaction: A cross-cultural study* (pp.213-235). Hong Kong: Marzuen Investment Ltd.

Okamura, J.Y. (1992, May). *Why there are no Asian Americans in Hawai'i: The continuing significance of local identity*, Paper presented at the Ninth National Conference of the Association for Asian American Studies, San Jose, California.

Okamura, J. Y. and Tsutsumoto, T. (1998). Diversity and the Campus Climate at a Multiethnic University, *Asian and Pacific American Education*, 99-123.

Patton, M.Q. (1990). *Qualitative evaluation methods* (2nd. ed.) Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Phinney, J. (1989). Stages of ethnic identity in minority group adolescents. *Journal of Early Adolescence*, 9, 34-49.

- Phinney, J. (1990). Ethnic identity development in adolescent and adults: Review of research, *Psychological Bulletin*, 108: 499-514.
- Robson, C. (1993). *Real world research: A resource for social scientists and practitioner-researchers*. Oxford, UK: Blackwell.
- Root, M. P. (1992a). Within, between and beyond race. In M.P. Root (Ed.), *Racially Mixed People in America* (pp.3-11). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Rosenthal, D.A., (1987). Ethnic identity development in adolescent. In J. Phinney & M.J. Rotheram (Eds.) *Children's Ethnic Socialization* (pp.156-179) Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Rotheram, M.J. & Phinney, J.S. (1987). Ethnic behavior patterns as an aspect of identity. In J.S. Phinney & M.J. (Eds.) *Children's ethnic socialization: Pluralism and development*. Newbury Park: Sage.
- Sherif, M. & Sherif, C.W. (1969). *Social Psychology* (Revised Edition). New York: Harper & Row.
- Sodowsky, G., Lai, E., & Plake, B. (1991). Moderating effects of sociocultural variables on acculturation attitudes of Hispanics and Asian Americans. *Journal of Counseling and Development*, 70; 194-204.
- Sparrow, L. (2000), Beyond multicultural man: complexities of identity, *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 24, 173-201.
- Strauss, A.L. (1987). *Qualitative Analysis for Social Scientists*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Sue, D.W. (1989). Racial/cultural identity development among Asian Americans: counseling/therapy implications. *Journal of Asian American Psychological Association*, 13(1): 80-86.
- Sue S, & Chin, R (1983). The mental health of Chinese American children: Stressors and resources. In G. Powell (Ed.) *The psychological development of minority group children*. (pp. 385-397) NY: Brunner/Mazel.
- Tajfel, H. (1978). *The social psychology of minorities*. New York: Minority Rights Group.
- Tajfel, H. & Turner (1979). An integrative theory on intergroup conflict. In W. Austin & S. Worchel (Eds.), *The social psychology of intergroup relations* (pp.33-47). Monterey, CA: Brooks/Cole.
- Tajfel, H., & Turner, J. (1986). The social identity theory of intergroup behavior. In S. Worchel and W.C. Austin (Eds.) *Psychology of Intergroup Relations*, Chicago IL: Nelson- Hall.
- Taylor, S. & Bogdan, R., (1984). *Introduction to Qualitative Research Methods: The Search for Meanings*. New York: Wiley.

Turner, J. Hogg, M., Oakers, Reicher, S. & Wetherell, M. (1987). *Rediscovering the social group: A self-categorization theory*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Triandis, H.C. (1964). Cultural influences on cognitive processes. In L. Berkowitz (Ed.), *Advances in experimental psychology* (pp.1-48). New York: Academic Press.

Triandis, H. C. (1972). *The analysis of subjective culture*. New York: Wiley.

Triandis, H.C. (1975). Culture training, cognitive complexity and interpersonal attitudes. In R.W. Brislin, S. Bochner & W. Lonner (Eds.). *Cross-cultural perspectives on learning* (pp.39-77). Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications.

Triandis, H.C. (1976). The future of pluralism. *Journal of Social Issues*, 32: 179-208.

Triandis, H.C. (1994). *Culture and social behavior*. New York: McGraw Hill.

Triandis, H.C., Kurowski, L. L. & Gelfand, M. J. (1993). Workplace diversity. In H.C. Triandis, M. Dunnette, and L. Hough (Eds.) *Handbook of Industrial and Organizational Psychology*. Palo Alto, CA: Consulting Psychologists Press.

Uba, L. (1994). *Asian Americans: personality patterns, identity and mental health*, New York, Guilford Press.

Wicker, A. (1969). Attitudes versus actions: The relationship of verbal and overt behavioral responses to attitude objects. *Journal of Social Issues*, 25, 41-78.

Yamada, A., Marsella, A. & Yamada, S. (1998). The development of the ethnocultural identity behavioral index: Psychometric properties and validation with Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders. *Asian American and Pacific Islander Journal of Health*, 6, 35-45.

Yim, S., (1992, January 5). Hawai'i's ethnic rainbow: Shining colors, side by side, *Sunday Star-Bulletin & Advertiser*, p. B1.

Yum, J.O. & Wang, G. (1983). Interethnic perception and communication behavior among five ethnic groups in Hawai'i. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 7(3), 285-30.