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THE LONG-TERM INFLUENCES OF A HIGH SCHOOL HAWAIIAN STUDIES PROGRAM ON GRADUATES

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Abstract

Scholars have recognized the importance of culturally relevant education in cultivating student success and academic achievement. However, little is known about how Hawaiian culturally relevant education influences graduates' academic, personal, and career goals throughout adulthood. This qualitative study examined graduates' perspectives of a Hawaiian culturally relevant program at Waiʻanae High School. Individual interviews and surveys were conducted with six graduates in adulthood. A longitudinal perspective was examined using interviews from two previous studies of the same graduates. Two theoretical frameworks were used in the study: The Positive Youth Development model, that was found to be connected but not representative of the graduates' experiences in adulthood, and the Bridging Multiple Worlds theory, that highlighted the multidimensional nature of academic pathways through adulthood and into career. The study examined graduates' experiences using grounded theory methods. A key finding was that in adulthood, graduates reflected upon the value of their relationships in their educations and their influences across time.

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Long-Term Influences of a High School Hawaiian Studies Program on Graduates

This study is a longitudinal exploration of some of the outcomes of the Hawaiian Studies Program (HSP) at Waiʻanae High School. In 2003, Yamauchi and Brown (2007) surveyed and interviewed a group of former students to examine the influence of the HSP on their personal and career development. This initial study provided foundational knowledge about the HSP. A second study (Makino-Kanehiro, 2011) focused on former students, who had graduated approximately 10 years prior, to examine their educational pathways, personal and career development, and the long-term effects of the HSP on its alumni. The participants in Makino-Kanehiro's study were emerging adults, just beginning to enter the adult world. The current study focused on the same cohort of students to identify the long-term outcomes of the HSP on graduates, roughly 15 years after they completed the program, when they were in adulthood. I was interested in how graduates' aspirations were actualized, in what ways they changed over time, as well as the influence of program components, in particular service-learning, on long-term achievement and adulthood.

My research questions were (a) How have the HSP alumni actualized competence, confidence, character, caring, connection, and contribution over time? and (b) What is the long-term influence of the HSP on graduates?

Literature Review

In the following section, I review the literature on the history of colonization in Hawaiʻi, including its educational implications. This is followed by a section addressing the contemporary context of education in Hawaiʻi and how the Hawaiian Studies Program (HSP) fits into this educational setting. Subsequently, information on the Waiʻanae community and Waiʻanae High

School is provided to situate the HSP. Following the contextual information, I describe elements of the program and previous research on the HSP to situate the current study.

Historical Context

Colonization in Hawaiʻi. The process of colonization and decolonization plays a critical role in the discussion of indigenous cultures and their development. For Native Hawaiians, Western contact led to the disintegration of culture and loss of traditions (Kameʻeleihiwa, 1992) This essentially disrupted the infrastructure and order within Hawaiian society (Joesting, 1972). Serna (2006) suggested that the colonization of Hawaiʻi resulted in psychological trauma. It changed education and created disruption, degradation, and adverse conditions for identity development. Western culture challenged Hawaiian youths' cultural standards and values, which marginalized their ability to develop a Hawaiian identity.

Missionaries influenced the colonization of Hawaiians through education and provided many of the first written accounts of the Native Hawaiian people and their history (Mulholland, 1970). In 1831, Lahainaluna seminary school was established to train Hawaiian men to be schoolteachers or assistant pastors (Tau-Tassill, Menton, & Tamura, 2016). As the first established school west of the Mississippi, this was a crucial development in the path towards American hegemony (Beyer, 2009). Many of Lahainaluna's early students became prominent native historians, such as David Malo and Samuel Kamakau, while other graduates of Lahainaluna Seminary rose to power and were influential in Hawaiʻi's government. For example, David Malo, John Iʻi, Daniel Iʻi, Boaz Mahune and others wrote and established constitutional rights and laws in the state, which were then ratified by the high chiefs and King Kamehameha III (Westervelt, 1998; Ah Nee-Benham & Heck, 1998). These developments demonstrate how colonization and the influence of missionaries changed not only Hawaiian education but also the perspective of Native Hawaiian people and how they were governed (Ah Nee-Benham & Heck, 1998).

Across the educational and economic landscape, change continued. In 1892, the remaining schools that were taught through the medium of the Hawaiian language no longer existed, and all educational institutions in Hawaiʻi were taught in English as required by law (Beyer, 2009). The ban of ʻōlelo Hawaiʻi in classrooms, the influence of missionary beliefs and culture, and the use of the English language accelerated American hegemony. The increase in immigrants moving to Hawaiʻi further supported this cultural shift (Kaomea, 2000). During this period, marginalization of the working class occurred (Ah Nee-Benham & Beck, 1998). Furthermore, American colonization created a societal divide between the upper and lower middle classes (Andrade & Bell, 2011). During this time of Native depopulation, the influence of schools and churches encouraged economic changes and promoted Western beliefs and thinking (Ah Nee-Benham & Heck, 1998). Through economic, social, and political disruption, the Western culture prevailed and devalued the Native Hawaiian economy, politics, and society. This is the educational context which shaped Native Hawaiian people, their history, and their identity.

Contemporary Education

The history of colonization in Hawaiʻi has implications for students' educational success because it taught Native Hawaiian students that their native language was inadequate and obsolete. The education system unconscionably created a stigma against Native Hawaiian identity, disrupting their sense of belonging in Hawaiʻi (McGoldrick, Giordano, & Garcia-Preto, 2005). Ultimately, for indigenous youth, this stigma caused disconnect between their native culture and their developing identities (Howard, 2010). Cultural continuity was, therefore, threatened, and the effects were culturally crippling.

Cultural revitalization. After the events described above, a movement towards cultural revitalization and efforts to reconnect with Hawaiian culture began. This is known in history as the Hawaiian renaissance. The mid to late 1970s was marked by the resurgence of culture, language, understanding, and development (Emerald, Rinehart, & Garcia, 2016). As Native Hawaiians struggled to connect their heritage with American education, the renaissance brought with it psychological renewal to dispel the negative myths associated with indigenous culture and to restore the sense of place in which indigenous students thrived (Kanahele, 1982). The people of Hawaiʻi are continuing to rediscover and reconnect to traditional Hawaiian practices, values, and ways of life. This revitalization of culture, is not without ongoing debilitating effects of colonization, which are still prominent today (Kanaʻiaupuni & Ishibashi, 2003). From a developmental perspective, living in a Western society has been maladaptive to students' education. In effect, leaving "behind" Native Hawaiian culture to assume Western values and behaviors in the educational setting was, and still is, a reality for indigenous students to gain an education (Kawakami, 1999). The result was a disconnect between school, home, and community. But, actions can be taken to positively guide students to develop cultural competence, support their successes, and inhibit cultural sacrifice (Salzman, 2001). As the revitalization of culture continues and educators find new ways to integrate place-based and culture-based education into the traditional Western educational system, it is critical to acknowledge the ongoing struggles that affect a student's academic, personal, and social worlds.

Language revitalization. Within this evolving landscape, language revitalization efforts indicate that there are many positive effects of the resurgence of indigenous languages. This can be seen across indigenous populations and is evident for Native Hawaiians. Indigenous language revitalization has been tied to positive effects on health and well-being, as well as the alleviation of negative effects such as youth suicide (Hallett, Chandler, & Lalonde, 2007). But these results are somewhat palliative. More recent research has demonstrated that language revitalization goes beyond basic language acquisition (Hermes & Kawaiʻaeʻa, 2014). Indigenous language and immersion schooling, therefore, incorporates cultural values and knowledge through the learning of an indigenous language (McCarty & Nicholas, 2014). In effect, to learn a language, a student must also learn the culture.

In a discussion of youth bilingualism, Wilson and Kamanā (2009) discussed language and culture in a mutually inclusive manner. In the context of student learning, mutually inclusive language and culture means that language and culture cannot be separated in the teaching process. This relationship presents a critical understanding for how language development and learning affect education. Consequently, what radiates beyond the classroom to influence students, the communities they live in, and the culture of a place comes from an understanding of this relationship. But, given the limitations and pressures of the homogenous Western educational system (e.g., standardized testing) it becomes difficult to preserve the cultural diversity which supports Native Hawaiian students and other indigenous youth (McCarty, 2003). Nonetheless, extensive research reveals that it is possible (Hinton & Hale, 2001). In developing indigenous knowledge, such as Native Hawaiian culture, communities can build cultural continuity. Wilson and Kamanā (2001) called this mauli,

> Some features of *mauli* are covered by the English word “culture,” but *mauli* also includes worldview, spirituality, physical movement, morality, personal relationships, and other central features of a person’s life and the life of a people. Furthermore, while

> the English term “culture” often denotes something that can be separated from life and demonstrated, *mauli* is seen as something that is always a part of a person and his or her way of living and also of a group of people and its way of living (p. 161).

The depth of Native Hawaiian student identity is, therefore, rooted in cultural knowledge and a particular way of thinking and living. This moves beyond the idea that language revitalization is purely rooted in language acquisition. The growing body of literature on language revitalization develops a more critical understanding of student development from a holistic perspective. In supporting the development of a Native Hawaiian way of life, mauli, students are supported beyond their education which influences how they understand, express, and practice their culture in their daily lives.

A rich educational environment should, therefore, incorporate indigenous epistemologies by teaching students through and from cultural viewpoints and knowledge systems (Hermes & Kawaiʻaeʻa, 2014). Today, language revitalization appears to be the most studied area of indigenous cultural education. But, as research indicates, language is only one way in which youth reconnect to culture (McCarty & Nicholas, 2014). True revitalization, therefore, extends beyond language to incorporate the teachings of a cultural worldview, belief system, and ways of thinking and living. While there is still a need to actualize this cultural diversity in our educational systems (Hermes & Kawaiʻaeʻa, 2014), research provides support to understand the influence of cultural continuity and individual identity as it affects multiracial and multiethnic students living in Hawaiʻi. Schools have struggled to provide successful learning opportunities for Native Hawaiian youth, but language revitalization research provides insight into how schools can bridge the cultural gap. Furthermore, this research supports the need for effective programming in indigenous communities and demonstrates how youth can foster social, educational and cultural identities that will help them thrive in navigating the academic pipeline.

The role of the Hawaiian Studies Program. Partly, in response to the Hawaiian renaissance, programs were created to address the cultural gap which continued to exist for Native Hawaiians. As evident in language immersion research, there was a need for academic support for Native Hawaiian students. Many programs began to integrate place-based and culture-based education (Reyhner, 2013; Rico, 2013). The HSP was part of this movement. Similar to language immersion programs, these programs strived to integrate culturally relevant education into the Western educational system in innovative ways to promote student success. The HSP at Waiʻanae High School is an example of this shift in education. The need for an effective educational system was a call to action for programs, such as the HSP, and educators to integrate culture and place as fundamental drivers for educational practice.

Statistics on Native Hawaiian Students

Given the scope of this study, a few critical statistics to consider are presented. Graduation rates of Native Hawaiian high school students increased slightly from 1999–2001, going from 67.6 % to 69.9 % (Kanaʻiaupuni, Malone, & Ishibashi, 2005). According to the Native Hawaiian Data Book (Office of Hawaiian Affairs, 2013), the public school four-year graduation rates from 1999–2001 increased by one percent (78.9 and 79.8 %, respectively), while the dropout rates also increased slightly (14.8 and 15.1 %, respectively). In consideration of these statistics, the percentage of Native Hawaiian adults with a bachelor's degree is also rising, along with the percentage of Native Hawaiians who hold graduate and professional degrees (Kanaʻiaupuni et al., 2005). These data points provide some background relevant to this research inquiry. While there are some signs of progress for Native Hawaiians in education, it is important to acknowledge the continued needs of Native Hawaiian children, students, and adults, given the persistent and ongoing challenges which Native Hawaiians face in comparison to other ethnic groups. More research is required to fully understand the educational problems which are still prevalent today. Furthermore, 45 % of all Native Hawaiians reported living on the continental United States or Alaska (Kamehameha Schools, 2014). So, although the current study primarily pertains to the Waiʻanae Coast population, which has the largest population of Native Hawaiians within the State of Hawaiʻi, this potentially could have important implications for educators who serve Native Hawaiian students and other similar indigenous populations nationwide.

Waiʻanae community and Waiʻanae high school statistics. The Waiʻanae Coast has a large population of Native Hawaiians, with 55% of its 35,000 residents claiming to be Hawaiian or part-Hawaiian. The Waiʻanae Coast is often marginalized and displaced from urban life, which presents some major socioeconomic challenges for its youth (Center on the Family, 2003). The Waiʻanae area ranked poorly on a variety of measures, such as child and family well-being, unemployment, per capita income, and children in poverty. According to the 2014 Native Hawaiian Educational Assessment, there was a larger percentage of Native Hawaiian children living in Waiʻanae in comparison to the total population (Kamehameha Schools, 2014). Taken together, due to the high proportion of young people living in Waiʻanae and the socioeconomic challenges they are currently facing, the community is at a higher risk for social, economic and educational problems compared to other communities. In the State of Hawaiʻi, preschool- and school-aged children comprised 6.4 % of the total population, while within the Native Hawaiian population there were 10.6 % of perschool-aged children and 25 % of school-aged children (Kamehameha Schools, 2014). In a statewide student survey, 60% of adolescents in the

Wai‘anae area reported fighting, drugs, crime, and graffiti in their neighborhood (Center on the Family, 2003). Furthermore, research findings indicated that Hawaiian children in the public school system were, “deprived of opportunities for intellectual engagement, social growth, and other aspects of a quality education that provide the keys to lifetime opportunities and fulfillment” (Kana‘iaupuni & Ishibashi, 2003). It is evident that the socioeconomic issues which are negatively influencing the community also put the students, particularly preschool- and school-aged children, educationally at-risk.

Overall, a spike in enrollment of Native Hawaiians at the postsecondary level occurred in 1999 and remained steady through 2006 (Office of Hawaiian Affairs, 2013). The most recent and consistent data provided on Wai‘anae High School, a large rural public school on the Wai‘anae coast, are presented in The College and Career Readiness Indicators Reports which began in 2009. These reports represent all Hawai‘i state public school graduate statistics on college and career readiness measures.

At Wai‘anae High School, 359 students graduated in 2009 with 30% enrollment in college, while 350 students graduated in 2016 with 35% enrollment in college (Hawai‘i P-20, 2009; Hawai‘i P-20, 2016). In comparison, 11,451 students graduated statewide in 2009, with 50% enrollment in college and 11,0003 students graduated statewide in 2016, with 81% enrollment in college (Hawai‘i P-20, 2009; Hawai‘i P-20, 2016). While there was a slight increase in enrollment at Wai‘anae High School, mimicking the increase statewide, it is clear that students at Wai‘anae High School performed significantly below those in other schools in the State. In 2016, of the 35% of students at Wai‘anae High School who enrolled in college, only 14 students (16%) were prepared at the college level by graduation in mathematics, and 34 students (39%) were prepared at the college level by graduation in English (Hawai‘i P-20, 2016). In terms of college and career readiness, these data indicate that these students were not fully prepared and in most cases, needed remedial education to meet college educational standards.

The Hawaiian Studies Program

The HSP was an academic high school program which focused on culturally relevant education, as mentioned previously. Beginning in 1996 at Waiʻanae High School, the HSP served 60 to 100 new students each year (Yamauchi & Brown, 2007). The program was open to all students from grades 10 to 12 and included students from diverse academic backgrounds. Open to all students, the HSP served students who were honor students, those in special education, and those at-risk for dropping out of school (Yamauchi, Wyatt, & Carroll, 2005).

> The mission and vision of the program were as follows:
>
> to empower students to become self-sufficient, productive, contributing members of their own community and of the global community, caring for the land and natural resources that make life possible
>
> Vision: to improve academic outcomes and make school more engaging and relevant for students (Hawaiian Studies Program, 1997 as cited in Yamauchi, Wyatt, & Carroll, 2005, p. 229).

With these goals, the HSP was founded to address the unmet needs of Native Hawaiian students along the coast, provide relevancy between school and life beyond the classroom, and increase student motivation and student achievement (Yamauchi & Brown, 2007). Contextually, Hawaiian culture was integrated into the social studies, science, (biology, chemistry, and environmental science), and English courses (Yamauchi, 2003). So, while students who were in the program participated in at least half of their school classes through the HSP, they were also enrolled in non-HSP courses throughout the year (Yamauchi, Billig, Meyer, & Hofschire, 2005).

Through the program, students were able to conceptualize learning in their HSP courses and make critical connections between culture and academics (Yamauchi, Wyatt, & Carroll, 2005).

HSP core elements. Yamauchi (2003) identified the following core elements of the HSP at Waiʻanae High School: (a) joint productive activity, (b) contextualized instruction, (c) “detracking,” (d) smaller learning environment and (e) service-learning.

Joint Productive Activity. Joint productive activity is described as an extension of cooperative learning (Yamauchi, Wyatt, & Carroll, 2005). Teachers and students are actively engaged and collaborate through the learning process. Joint productive activity is used to increase intersubjectivity between students and teachers as a strategy for effective change within the classroom environment. Consistent with previous research, findings indicate positive effects of joint productive activity on psychosocial relationships in the educational context (Turnery, Gray, Anderman, Dawson, & Anderman, 2013; Saunders, Goldenberg, & Gallimore, 2009). Joint productive activity is a means for developing opportunities for students to collaborate in meaningful ways (Athanases & de Oliveira, 2014). Joint productive activity supports a group culture for learning and teaching for diverse populations (Ermeling, 2010; Shaw, Lyon, Stoddart, Mosqueda, & Menon, 2014). For both teacher and student, joint productive activity serves to increase mastery, promote a positive in-class culture and support motivation (Turner et al., 2013). Contemporary evidence also provides support for this particular program element as a bridge between the Western academic world and interactions between student and teacher, regardless of if the teacher is native or non-native (Athanases & de Oliveira, 2014).

Contextualized instruction. Contextualized instruction is defined by an integration of school experience with that of home and community (Yamauchi et al., 2005). This type of instruction acknowledges the many social and institutional settings involved in healthy development. In effect, while fostering the bridges across all settings, institutions can become the cultural brokers to support youth and their overall well-being (Cooper, 2011). In this way, the contextualization of education comes from connecting academic skills and content with what students already know. This was primarily enacted in the HSP through the service-learning fieldwork which will be described later. Overall, the goal of the fieldwork setting was to provide a meaningful environment through which students could learn skills. By integrating contextualized instruction into a curriculum, programs connect basic skills to students' academic skills and content knowledge across their courses (Perin, 2011). For the HSP contextualized instruction enacted these connections and created effective conditions for student learning (Yamauchi et al., 2005). By increasing learner mastery of skills through contextualized instruction, learners had the opportunity to transfer those skills to academic content and other traditional, decontextualized learning environments. In other words, students are able to learn skills across their worlds creating meaningful learning experiences. Contextualization motivates students by making learning relevant.

Detracking. Tracking was proposed to tailor rigor and pace of curriculum to meet the specific needs of all students (Yamauchi et al., 2005). But the actual process through which students are assigned and tracked is often unrelated to student achievement (Ansalone, 2001). This has raised questions of equitable access for underserved populations (Pollack & Zirkel, 2013). As a result, some researchers have focused on detracking. Detracking is defined as, "the process of dismantling institutional and organizational structures or instructional barriers that sort students according to ability" (Laprade, 2011). Research indicates that tracking creates educational disparities between students, particularly by race, class, and gender (Ansalone, 2001). But, detracking and having heterogeneous classrooms expands opportunities for all students, teachers, and institutions (Burris, Wiley, Welner, & Murphy, 2008; Boaler & Staples, 2008). The HSP integrated detracking into the program as a way to mediate for opportunity access and equitable education for all students (Yamauchi et al., 2005).

Smaller learning environments. The next core element is focused on creating smaller learning environments. Smaller learning environments are advantageous for students (Yamauchi, 2003). This allows teachers more flexibility to adapt classroom instruction to fit the needs of their students. Along with detracking, smaller learning environments also provides conditions which engender social capital (Holland & Farmer-Hinton, 2009). Smaller learning environments are related to students' improved attendance, fewer disciplinary problems, and better academic performance (Burke, 2005; Jacobson, 2001). Most importantly, smaller learning environments provide structural reform within an institution as a means for best practices and student-focused education (Fleischman & Heppen, 2009). In particular, the HSP included two program techniques to help implement smaller learning environments, they are teaming and looping. According to Trimble and Miller (1998) teaming is when a small group of teachers works with a portion of the student population. While looping involves students remaining with the same teachers and peers during their program engagement (Yamauchi & Brown, 2007). These techniques benefit students and teachers by providing a more productive learning environment where students feel supported and connected (Burke, 2005). Having a smaller learning environment further influences school climate and how students experience their learning (Sink & Spencer, 2005). Ultimately, smaller learning environments promote student engagement and support academic achievement.

Service-learning. The last core element of the HSP was a service-learning component. Service-learning fieldwork was integrated into the program because it elicited a bridge between the Western academic world and the Hawaiian cultural world (Yamauchi, Wyatt, & Carroll, 2005). This program element promoted students to engage in their community and with community members to actualize the mission and vision of the program. Through service-learning, students developed critical skills and competencies needed for academic and career related growth, which was aligned with how the program contextualized instruction. Every Thursday, students engaged in community projects with various community-based organizations to enhance their learning (Yamauchi, Wyatt, & Taum, 2005). Students rotated between five service-learning projects and eventually focused on one rotation. The rotations included archaeology, environmental science, native plant restoration and reforestation, health, and canoe construction and maritime culture (Yamauchi & Brown, 2007; Yamauchi, Wyatt, & Carroll, 2005). These projects were rooted in the history and culture of Waiʻanae and highlighted issues facing students' communities.

Through the development of this program, community-based organization members were also involved in preparing curriculum and developing contextualized instruction to support students academically (Yamauchi, Wyatt, & Taum, 2005). These collaborations between community and school were critical for realizing contextualization efforts and building community partnerships. There was a reciprocal relationship between community members and local youth. This social network allowed teachers, students and people within the community to actively engage both inside and outside of the classroom (Yamauchi, 2003). Together, these different worlds supported a stronger educational institution.

The Hawaiian Studies Program Previous Findings

Previous research identified a few key indicators of the program's success. The results showed an increase in students' attendance, grades, sense of connectedness, development of career related skills, positive academic development, a decrease in the likelihood of dropping out of school, and an increase in the likelihood of enrolling in postsecondary education or career training (Yamauchi & Brown, 2007; Yamauchi, Wyatt, & Carroll, 2005; Yamauchi, Wyatt, & Taum, 2005). An external evaluation found that HSP students were different from other peers at the high school on key indicators of feeling connected to their school and local community, self-efficacy, having more knowledge and interest in Hawaiian culture and its history, and career development (RMC Research Corporation, 2003).

In a more recent study, HSP graduates were interviewed to determine some of the long-term effects of the program as they were emerging into adulthood (Makino-Kanehiro, 2011). A key finding from this research was that four out of the seven students' 2004 predictions of educational attainment were actualized in 2009-2010. There was a need to support higher education through bridging critical transitions. Critical transitions in this case were from high school to higher education, from community colleges to four-year institutions, from college to the workforce, and from training to the workforce. Overall, this previous study highlighted the social support system which was needed and encouraged students to thrive.

While previous research looked at HSP graduates as they were emerging into adulthood, I focused on graduates as young adults in their 30s. It built a longitudinal understanding of the development of youth as a result of the HSP. The current study contributes to the body of knowledge on Native Hawaiians, as there is still limited research on this population.

Theoretical Frameworks

Bridging Multiple Worlds. The Bridging Multiple Worlds (Cooper, 2011) theory provided a lens for understanding how HSP students, now graduates, navigated the academic pipeline and developed over time. This theory provides a model for understanding how students navigated their “worlds” to build their own cultural understanding, which they then impart on their social contexts (Phelan, Davidson, & Yu, 1991). Fundamentally, these worlds communicate cultural knowledge to students. In these worlds, students build an understanding of their expectations, develop values, and a belief system. Copper (2011) identified the multiple worlds which students learn to navigate, as the family system, peer group, classroom environment, and school settings. These worlds either compete against or reinforce one another. Inherently, this either supports a student’s transitioning or causes disruptions. Competition between these worlds causes challenges and difficulties for students as they move across multiple worlds with multiple cultural views (Phelan et al., 1991). In effect, students, who transition successfully, shape pathways through school. Challenges and resources, therefore, build connections and align students’ identity pathways to college. The theory was designed as a comprehensive model for analyzing challenges and resources from students’ cultural worlds (Cooper, 2011). A main point is that education that is consistent with students’ existing social and cultural contexts can support their navigation of the academic pipeline.

Makino-Kanehiro (2011) concluded that the Bridging Multiple Worlds (BMW) theory was accurate in predicting some of the students’ level of educational attainment. Although there were some students whose level of predicted attainment differed from their actual educational attainment, the BMW theory explained these variabilities. For example, although one participant, David, had a low predicted educational attainment. However, including his parents’ demographic information, as described through the BMW theory, accounted for his high actual level of educational attainment as found in Makino-Kanehiro’s (2011) results. Makino-Kanehiro (2011) identified student demographics, identity, and challenges and resources as important. She also highlighted the importance of family and peer support systems. So, while students may have the necessary educational supports and opportunities, the challenges they face and lack of support in other worlds may adversely affect their ability to thrive. It is also critical to consider that family may constitute more than one world and include immediate or extended family and community members (Cooper, Cooper, Azmitia, Chavira, & Gullatt, 2002; Makino-Kanehiro, 2011). The idea of family including people beyond one's immediate family is particularly consistent with Hawaiian culture and a Hawaiian way of thinking and living (Makino-Kanehiro, 2011).

Positive Youth Development. In its early stages, youth development was defined by the problematic behaviors of "troubled" youth (Catalano, Berglund, Ryan, Lonczak, & Hawkins, 2004). In effect, youth educational interventions were geared towards prevention of specific problems. But, as problems and negative outcomes such as delinquency, poverty, joblessness, and substance abuse persisted, practitioners reevaluated what youth development looked like. Efforts towards positive youth development expanded beyond persistent issues to consider youth as an economic asset (Belfield, Levin, & Rosen, 2012). While there is still a growing body of knowledge around at-risk youth, a new consideration for capacity building of protective factors has renamed this group "opportunity youth" (Howard, 2010). So while youth development concerns their aptitude to understand and navigate challenges within society, it is also about the cultural conditions which intentionally develop youth potentials (Larson & Tran, 2014; Pittman, Irby, Tolman, Yohalem, & Ferber, 2001).

The perspective of youth as an opportunity has changed educational practice and how society has framed a Positive Youth Development model (Lerner, Lerner, & Benson, 2011). Positive Youth Development incorporates the competencies of youth, the various contexts in which they develop, and the capacities needed for youth to thrive in adulthood. In other words, positive youth development not only builds the capacity for protective factors and prevents exposure to risk, but also connects youth to critical opportunities to promote engagement.

Extensive research has supported a Positive Youth Development model for building youth outcomes including: competence, confidence, character, caring, connection and contribution (Kenyon & Hanson, 2012; Lerner, Fisher, & Weinberg, 2000; Pittmann et al., 2001). Positive Youth Development includes four domains of competency which are social, vocational, academic, and cognitive competence (Lerner et al., 2005). Competence across these domains includes a positive view of one's actions. Confidence is not domain specific and is tied to an overall positive sense of self-efficacy and self-worth. Character is reflected in morality and respect for the rules and values within a society and a culture. Caring is described as compassion for one another and the ability to have sympathy and empathy. Connection is rooted in the positive relationships youth make with peers, family, school, and community. While contribution, is an enacted behavior, which supports the social world and comes from a students' belief in how they should contribute to their social world through their actions.

According to Overton (2013), youth development is based on the functions of biological, cultural, and individual systems. Together these theories form a coherent whole such that youth learn to adapt, act, and embody their contextualized surroundings. In short, youth are a product of lived experiences and how they engage with the world around them depends on the contexts in which they engage. Youth who have the opportunity to form bridges between these systems have a greater capacity for a healthy adult life. A youth's path to adulthood is further influenced by the family, peer, school, and community features which either support or discourage their successes (Bowers, Geldhof, Johnson, Lerner, & Lerner, 2014).

Comparison of frameworks. Positive youth development provides a comprehensive model for understanding the outcomes which youth develop, while the "worlds" from Bridging

Multiple Worlds theory define the nature of the contexts which youth experience. The main point in thinking about these perspectives as complementary is to provide a more coherent understanding for how youth develop over time. So, while students may experience the same environments, the differences in their development are tied to the people who facilitate their experiences. Environmental pressure and people both develop youth and support or discourage their academic success.

I see ways that the models include comparable conditions for success. The National Research Council (2002) recognized the following features of effective youth development

1. Integration of family, school, and community efforts
2. Physical and psychological safety
3. Supportive relationships
4. Opportunities to belong
5. Positive social norms
6. Support for efficacy and mattering
7. Opportunities for skill building
8. Appropriate structure

In an extensive review of the empirical literature, the preceding features are related to the Positive Youth Development model in that they suggest positive aspects of students' environments that support healthy development. Similarly, Oakes (2003) identified aspects of students' multiple worlds that promote success in high school through college entry. Her model was incorporated into the Bridging Multiple Worlds theory (Cooper, 2011). According to Oakes (2003) these features were

1. Family-school-neighborhood connections
2. Safe and adequate facilities
3. Academic and social supports from adults and peers
4. Opportunities for youth to develop a multicultural college-going identity
5. A college-going school culture
6. A rigorous academic curriculum
7. Qualified teachers

Although there are some differences between a focus on youth development and a college-going culture, these models complement one another to form a coherent picture of conditions for youth to thrive. Table 1 shows how these perspectives can be integrated. Both models integrate family-school-community partnerships and include safety of the physical space where students learn.

Table 1
Connection Between Conditions for Youth Development and Bridging Multiple Worlds.

Connection	Positive Youth Development	Bridging Multiple Worlds
1. Family-school-community partnerships	a. Integration of family, school, and community efforts	a. Family-school-neighborhood connections
2. Safety	b. Physical and psychological safety	b. Safe and adequate facilities
3. Social support system	c. Supportive relationships d. Opportunities to belong e. Positive social norms	c. Academic and social support from adults and peers
4. Opportunities to develop identity	f. Support for efficacy and mattering	d. Opportunities for youth to develop a multicultural college-going identity
5. Healthy academic culture	g. Appropriate structure h. Opportunities for skill building	e. College-going school structure f. Rigorous academic curriculum g. Qualified teachers

In thinking about these spaces, it is also important to consider the people who facilitate learning within them. Therefore, the social support system which is consistent with Makino-Kanehiro’s (2011) findings, is another condition for navigating the academic pipeline. So, while in education there is an emphasis on the academic world, outside of the classroom is also influential. Through family, peers and other adults in the community, students learn social norms and find meaning through participation in the social environment. How they begin to conceptualize belonging and their social worlds is also tied to healthy identity development. Students need opportunities to develop their identities, which are connected to their cultures both inside and outside of the classroom. Therefore, the culture of the academic setting should not only promote students' sense of academic belonging, but also reflect the cultures of the community. Together these provide necessary opportunities for students to develop identity. Lastly, both models emphasize a healthy academic culture reflected in the curriculum and day-to-day interactions.

Methods

Participants

Participants included six former graduates of the HSP program. At the time of the study, the HSP graduates were 33- to 36-years-old. Of the six participants in the study, three were female. One participant graduated in 1998, two graduated in 1999, one graduated in 2000, and two graduated in 2002. All six graduates identified themselves as part Hawaiian.

Recruitment began by contacting the eight former graduates interviewed in the Makino-Kanehiro (2011) study. Graduates were contacted through email and social media, via Facebook, by Makino-Kanehiro. Three graduates replied to the initial recruitment. Given the recruitment challenges found in Makino-Kanehiro's (2011) study, additional resources were used to get in contact with former HSP graduates. These efforts were made to improve upon the attrition from the original sample. Efforts to reach other participants were made by contacting previous participants from the Yamauchi and Brown (2007) study and through current faculty and known alumni of Wai‘anae High School. Through Yamauchi, Michael Kurose, and known alumni, three additional graduates were recruited for the study. I contacted participants through email or phone to explain the study and invited them to participate. Participation was voluntary, and all participants provided informed consent. See Appendix A for the consent form.

Procedure

I asked for permission to access previous transcripts prior to conducting the interviews (Makino-Kanehiro, 2011; Yamauchi & Brown, 2007). I reviewed the transcripts and utilized these data for comparison after I transcribed interviews from the current study. I conducted an in-depth interview with each participant in an individual 1-2-hour session. I used the toolkit from Bridging Multiple Worlds theory to develop interview questions. I adapted these questions from the Makino-Kanehiro (2011) study to fit the participants that I interviewed. See Appendix B for interview questions. The session was audio-recorded, and I transcribed the interviews. Demographic information was also collected prior to each interview session using a short survey. See Appendix C for the survey. Table 2 provides demographic information of the participants.

Table 2
Demographic Information for HSP Graduates

Name	Gender	Age	Grad Year	Marital Status	# of Children	Resident of
Boboy	M	35	2000	Single	0	Wai‘anae
David	M	36	1999	Married	1	Hawai‘i Kai
Jaiseen	F	36	1999	Single	1	Wai‘anae
Kasey	F	33	2002	Married	1	Wai‘anae
Kelly	F	33	2002	Married	4	Wai‘anae
Will	M	36	1998	Single	7	Wai‘anae

Data Analysis

I analyzed the data using grounded theory techniques (Creswell, 2014; Strauss & Corbin, 1998). After I transcribed the data, I developed initial codes from the research questions. For example, I established codes for the Positive Youth Development model outcomes, such as contribution. I read through the transcribed data to identify themes. This was followed by coding using NVivo software. I used open coding to see which themes emerged from the data and refined the initial codes. For example, the initial code of “current worlds” was refined to reflect the “family worlds,” “peer worlds,” and “school worlds,” which participants described. I also looked for unanticipated themes in this step of the data analysis process. After this, I used axial coding to identify relationships between these categories. In effect, I utilized axial coding to organize the codes and determine their relationships (Creswell, 2014). Then I used a discriminate sampling procedure to verify data returns with evidence, incidents, and events (Creswell, 1998). For example, through selective coding, a core idea that developed was the concept of meaningful relationships. Meaningful relationships were important for how participants reflected on their entire HSP experience throughout high school.

Using the data analysis process and the grounded theory techniques, I carefully considered the themes. I refined the research questions since the initial research questions did not capture the results, so that there was cultural continuity and to reflect a local perspective. For example, given the findings of Yamauchi and Brown (2007) and data on the Positive Youth Development model, research questions initially looked at the concept of service-learning to understand how it was actualized in adulthood. After interviewing participants, the concept of service-learning, although important for them in high school, was less relevant as they discussed the HSP in the scope of their overall development. Another example which reflects an understanding of the local perspective and in an effort to maintain cultural continuity are the concepts of care and connection. These ideas were combined into one theme to provide cultural context and to accurately reflect participants’ experiences.

Methods of Verification

In consideration of this study as a qualitative inquiry, I used several methods of verification to establish research credibility. In quantitative research this is known as validity. Creswell (1998) noted that as a qualitative researcher you should “use the term *verification* instead of *validity* because verification underscores qualitative research as a distinct approach, a legitimate mode of inquiry in its own right” (p. 201). I clarified my position as a researcher to examine the potential biases which may have influenced this research inquiry. In the following section, I detail these biases and discuss practices and procedures I used to ensure that the data and results were dependable.

Role of the researcher. I am a part-Hawaiian from a middle class two-parent family. I was born on Maui and raised in Kāhala, on the island of Oʻahu, and I now live in Papakōlea which is in Honolulu. I am a hula dancer for Hālau Hula Ka Noʻeau, under the direction of Michael Pili Pang and have been dancing with the hālau for ten years. I graduated from Punahou School, which is a private, co-educational, college preparatory school located in Honolulu. I continued my education on the U.S. continent and completed my B.A. in Psychology in 2015 at the University of Nevada, Reno. In the summer of 2015, I interned at the Community Learning Center in Māʻili which is on the Waiʻanae Coast. I am currently a student and graduate assistant at the University of Hawaiʻi at Mānoa. I am also studying Hawaiian language at the university. My parents raised me in Hawaiʻi, and I view myself as having a Hawaiian, and a local Japanese American worldview.

Potential biases. Given my background, being born and raised in Hawaiʻi, I would like to argue upfront that there may have been some potential biases that I needed to guard against. Being part-Hawaiian and having some understanding of the culture could have influenced my understanding of the culture embedded in the HSP, which could have led to a positive bias towards the program. To guard against any potential biases, I integrated into the transcription and analysis process recursive and repetitive checks of interpretations to maintain integrity (Whittemore, Chase, & Mandle, 2001). For example, after I refined the data into a particular theme, such as “Family Worlds,” I reviewed the data to understand the way in which participants discussed their “Family Worlds,” using recursive and repetitive checks to understand how they described their family worlds in high school, after high school, and across time. To support this process, I utilized member checking and involved participants throughout the research process to determine accuracy and research credibility (Creswell, 2007). Transcribed interviews were sent to participants for review, and their review and clarifications of the transcript were included in the final analysis. I conducted an external check for any discrepant data using multiple sources so that there was an accurate interpretation of any discrepancies. I reviewed the findings with those of previous studies of the same participants (Makino-Kanehiro, 2011; Yamauchi & Brown, 2007). In thinking about the Positive Youth Development model I also acknowledge a potential bias. While data may have supported the positive youth development theoretical perspective nationwide and they have been applied to marginalized and at-risk youth, I was unable to find applications to indigenous populations. A potential bias was my desire to make the data fit the model. To guard against this bias I looked for negative cases.

Results

In the following section I present the findings. The research questions for this inquiry were (a) How have the HSP alumni actualized competence, confidence, character, caring, connection, and contribution over time? and (b) What is the long-term influence of the HSP on graduates?

I framed these results using the Positive Youth Development model and the Bridging Multiple Worlds theory to demonstrate how these theoretical perspectives informed the themes which emerged. The concepts and themes which are presented and tied to the Positive Youth Development model (Lerner, Lerner, & Benson, 2011), are confidence, character, caring and connection, and contribution. These results are followed by themes tied to the Bridging Multiple Worlds theory (Cooper, 2011), which are challenges and resources, graduates' multiple worlds, longitudinal alignment, and families and careers in adulthood. An additional theme which emerged from the data was adulthood spirituality.

Positive Youth Development Model Themes

Competence. Competence is defined by four key domains: social, vocational, academic, and cognitive competence (Lerner et al., 2005) Kelly said that the HSP fostered her interpersonal skills and ability to connect with people in church. Vocational competence is described by the concept of exploration (Lerner et al., 2005). Exploration was evident for David, Kelly, and Will. As they traveled through the academic pipeline, their path was not clear, so their decisions involved exploring a variety of career opportunities. Exploration will be described further in the following section on longitudinal alignment and the career pathways of graduates. In contrast, Boboy was set on a path from the start because he knew what he wanted to do and had clear goals for his education and career in the future. He did not explore much in his career pathway. David described his academic competency and his challenge with grades, but that he persisted with his academic journey. How students performed was not particularly evident as I did not directly ask whether or not they felt as though they performed well in their education. Cognitive competency was also difficult to identify from these interviews as tasks such as decision making are multifaceted and graduates reflected upon their lives throughout the entirety of their educational and adulthood experiences, rather than on specific incidents that required decision-making.

Confidence. Overall, Jaiseen, Kelly, Boboy and David reflected on their ability to achieve some of their personal goals and work towards other personal goals with positivity and confidence. Boboy mentioned minor personal goals, such as traveling, which he did not feel he accomplished, but overall, he was positive while reflecting about his experiences. Similarly, David reflected on not completing his PhD but was happy with his ability to “remain faithful, have a cohesive family unit, and be gainfully employed.” In contrast, Will described the struggles he encountered, particularly with purchasing a home. This personal goal was consistent throughout his life and instilled at a young age. He described this experience as, “there’s always something that comes up,” which has influenced his overall livelihood. For Kasey “curve balls” was a consistent theme throughout her interview. She described not accomplishing her career goals and regretted not participating in the graduation ceremony when she received her AA degree. However, she did describe the benefit of having a family and felt that was an accomplishment that she wanted and achieved.

Character. Jaiseen specifically spoke to character development that resulted from her involvement in the HSP. She said, “they [HSP teachers] helped me to develop character, I think. You know, and of course at the time I probably didn’t know what that meant. But you know it, I really believed that they helped me develop character.” Through the HSP, students were also taught Hawaiian culture, and graduates described specific values they felt that they had gained in the program. Boboy mentioned kōkua kekahi i kekahi (taking care of one another), Kasey and David spoke about aloha (love), and mālama ‘āina (respect for the land) was integrated into each graduates’ narrative as an essential value of the HSP.

Much of the character development participants described in adulthood was tied to generativity and giving the right sense and right morals to their children. David, Kelly, Jaiseen, and Kasey all described the Hawaiian culture and values that they had learned in HSP, that were something that they wanted to pass down in raising their children. Kasey said, “we just want to raise her in that right sense of you know, bringing out the right morals for her.” Will’s values focused on economics. But throughout our interview, he indicated that he had a clear idea of right and wrong and wanted to be different from the people around him. He said, “I mean yeah, watching, people smoke weed, they can’t think, they’re always high, you see them walking the streets instead of being in class, getting into fights, trouble. So I didn’t want that.” He was humble about this difference and reflected on his own behavior, morality, and integrity, showing a strong sense of character.

Caring and connection. David and Kelly both mentioned the relationships they made with their peers that influenced their high school and HSP experiences. David also spoke broadly about the difference between living on the U.S. Continent and Hawaiʻi. He said,

> Here you actually feel everybody’s family, everybody cares about each other, everyone’s looking out for each other, and it’s a very warm experience. . . You know I’m sure there are other cultures that have that same kind of warm kind of feeling. But to say that it’s found readily out there in the world, no it’s not. It’s not readily out there in the world, just a few places and you can put Hawaiʻi up there as one of those places that you can find it.

Boboy defined this idea as kōkua kekahi i kekahi, or taking care of one another. Similarly, Kasey described that HSP was like a family and her classmates were her brothers and sisters.

Contribution. Since the HSP provided service opportunities for students, five of the participants felt as though they were not as engaged in their community at the time of their interview, as they had been in high school. Three participants mentioned specific community activities they were involved in now; for example, Kelly spoke about pro bono work with her husband and Mākaha Studios as a way that they were giving back to their Waiʻanae community. David described being part of the American Sign Language (ASL) community and supporting students to learn ASL through his church. But the majority did not feel as though they were contributing as much to their communities in adulthood. In contrast, Boboy was articulate in describing his contributions. Similar to his experience throughout high school he continued to be involved and was actively giving back to his community in adulthood. He responded

> I worked with those people, um I continued to work with them. Of course they instilled a lot in us, and so, this is –our way of– my way of giving back to Queen Liliʻuokalani Children's Center and working with their leadership program, and their grief program, and their other cultural programs. I've worked with them for all these years no matter how busy I am. We make time for them because again, that's our community. We have to live with those people, we have to live with each other, and if we don't make it right for each other, who is?

Boboy described the importance of giving back to his community and perceived it as part of his responsibility, regardless of the demands of his other worlds.

Briding Multiple Worlds Theory Themes

Challenges and resources. When asked about their educational experiences and the challenges to reaching their goals, Boboy and Jaiseen discussed the challenge of alignment between their cultural worlds. Boboy described it as juggling. He said,

> Oh, every single typical challenge that a college student goes through, life, juggling family life, personal life, with school life. Content wasn't really the thing; it was just being able to properly manage my time.

Jaiseen described it as balance and mentioned it in relationship to her family life, specifically caring for her son. She said, "Trying to balance that: being a full-time mom, full-time job, full-time school. It was just trying to find a balance was the biggest challenge." Just as Boboy discussed managing his time in relation to juggling his worlds, Kelly mentioned it as a part of her educational challenges in high school. She said, "I guess not having enough time to study." She mentioned putting too much on herself and the challenge of balancing work, paddling practice and studying for school. Both David and Will were reflective about their educational challenges and looked inward. Will mentioned, "Me being stubborn" as his biggest educational challenge while David said, "I was like slacking off." David also recalled that at one point his challenge was with grades and if his SAT scores would be competitive enough for getting him into college. Kasey mentioned that the challenges were not while she was in high school, but after graduation. She said,

> I think the challenges came once we graduated and life just threw all different things at you and you had to dodge it. And things would change and as much as you thought that it's gonna work this way it never did work that way. You had all kind of things thrown at you and you just had to dodge the obstacles and do different things to try to get to where you wanted to get to.

Family worlds. Research findings suggest that family is a key factor for college readiness and, according to the Bridging Multiple Worlds theory, a major influence on students' academic journeys (Cooper, 2011). Five of the graduates acknowledged that their family world was challenging. Will said, “I don’t want to say growing up was kind of hard, but I did live in a tent. We were homeless for a good portion of my life. It was like we’d have a house, we’d lose a house, we’d be on the beach, or in a family’s yard in a tent. You know, it was kind of rough, that was kind of rough.” His modest and yet candid response about his home and family situation throughout high school reflected the influence of his economic situation on his educational world. Between high school and college, Jaiseen reflected on the mismatch between her school and family worlds. She described her high school teachers as being disappointed that she was not going to college right after high school and she said, “I wanted to go to work because my family needed help and everything. And then you know life took a different course, I ended up having my son at 21.” Kasey spoke of her college experience and current family world. Her biggest challenge was to forgo her career aspirations for her family goals. She said,

> I think the biggest challenge for me was the sacrifice that I had to make to stay home with my daughter. So I kind of put my career on the backburner for her because my husband was already in the [fire] department when I decided to marry him so it was kind of like he couldn’t do nothing about it, right? So I wasn’t exactly where I wanted to be at the time. I was working towards that. . . I would say that that’s the biggest bullet I had to dodge in life. Is just having to sacrifice for the family and for my child.

For both Jaiseen and Kasey, having children became a constraint to their educational goals as the needs of their family world transformed their academic pipeline. Boboy considered his grandmother’s death, her role in his life and the toll it took on his post-secondary education. He said,

> When my grandmother passed away she was one of my biggest heroes and my everything to me. And she is responsible for a good amount [of what] I know today in regards to

> culture, and I owe and attribute a lot of things to her. When she died, my world came crumbling down and I cried more and suffered more when she died then when my dad died. That's how important she was to me. And so yup, I took a huge fall, I think I failed all my classes that semester or probably all but one.

Will and Jaiseen also mentioned family as a resource to their education. In high school Will explained how his family was taken in by his Aunty and Uncle when his dad went to prison. He also said, "My mom was always supportive of us," speaking of him and his five siblings. Jaiseen mentioned how she had support from her family when she went to college. She said, "My family helped out a lot watching, you know, babysitting my son."

Peer worlds. Graduates discussed their peer worlds throughout their education. Kelly said, "Yeah, my friends. A lot of the friends were- they were the encouragers." But she also explained that no one was really pushing her for higher educational goals, and she did not feel like she had the resources for college and a future career. Kelly described how the focus in her worlds during high school was to get her through school. She mentioned Kasey, another graduate and participant in this study, as a driver for supporting her with her schoolwork so that she could graduate from high school. She said,

> She [Kasey] sat there for hours every day. Like, "come on finish up your stuff." And I'm like, "Oh man, I don't know what I got myself into." She's like, "No, You're graduating." You know, so, oh okay. So then because of her I kind of like got through high school.

Kelly also mentioned Boboy, as someone who was older than her in high school and served as a mentor for her. Will discussed his friends in a binary matter, as both a resource and challenge. He connected his friends' support to his home situation. He described,

> What made that, kind of made that easier was the friends I had. They didn’t judge me. We were friends no matter what. We’d kick back in my tent no matter what. Like it was I don’t know, they were pretty cool about it. It wasn’t an issue. So to me, it wasn’t an issue. I didn’t see it as a problem or something.

For Will, friends served as a critical connector in school and provided comic relief. He also identified laughter as one of his worlds in high school to which he attributed to his friends. Will also identified “not so good people” who played a big role in his life. He said it built street smarts and was part of growing up. He talked about groups from different areas and the conflicts which arose in their neighborhoods. He spoke about his experience growing up on the west side and learning to defend himself. He said, “But we had friends on both sides in Nānākuli and Waiʻanae so it’s like we lived that in-between world. So something would go down in Nānākuli, we from Waiʻanae, we graduated from Waiʻanae. But something happens in Waiʻanae, it’s like oh, I live Nānākuli.”

David described his friends in relationship to his music world. He said, “We were trying to do something real important with music. I’m talking about like friends and family, so we put a lot of focus into that. Friends, wow, that was a big, big priority.” He also attributed his participation in Hawaiian Studies to his friends. He said,

> So I had some of my friends that were older than me, and they were in the Hawaiian Studies Program. And I would be watching them you know as an underclassman I was like man, that looks so cool. They would tell me about all the things they were doing and I was like, I wanna do that.

His relationship to upperclassman prompted his participation in the Hawaiian Studies Program.

Boboy, who was involved in many different groups, described his experience at Waiʻanae High School. He said,

> I made so many different friends from so many different aspects of the world, of life and even on campus. You have your cliques, and this area was these types of people and that area was those types of people and I can happily say that I had a good amount of friends from all different sections. So no matter where I went it was like “ay!” You know I could talk to people and stuff like that.

He also described how he still talks with these groups of people today and mentioned friends from volleyball, student union, class council, and friends “who didn’t do the best things but that was still [his] friends.” The HSP included Kasey’s friends and were people she considered family. She said, “We were all very close. Everybody was like brothers and sisters and that probably, that’s kind of what made me enjoy high school was everything was revolved around the Hawaiian Studies Program.”

School worlds. Central to the Bridging Multiple Worlds theory is a student’s ability to navigate through school (Cooper, 2011). Based on the theory, school provides the supportive environment and teachers are brokers for institutional and cultural values which support students’ success. All six graduates mentioned specific teachers who provided a resource or assisted them while they were in high school. David, Jaiseen, and Kelly mentioned teachers from the HSP as a collective whole. Both David and Jaiseen additionally mentioned the career support within the program, which was a resource. David described, “they wanted us to get the feel of what it was like to interview,” and practiced mock interviews with professionals, which the HSP brought to school as a part of the program. Boboy, David, Jaiseen, Kelly, and Will mentioned Linda Gallano, who was a teacher and founder of the program. Kelly described her as a hammer and said, “She was more of the like, let’s just get it done, get over it, and let’s just push forward,” and Will identified her as his haole mom. David shared a story about Kumu Linda Gallano and receiving the first Israel Kamakawiwoʻole Music Scholarship,

> [Kumu Gallano] knew music was a big deal, she had seen me play and sing, whatever, and I had wanted to do something with music and it was important to me and my grades were alright. So she had recommended me for the scholarship, and I got it. And I was so grateful and thankful. And so of course that was - she was another person that was rooting for me to do well.

David described her investment in students and that he felt she was there rooting for him to succeed. Boboy, David, and Kelly also mentioned Leah Aken, another teacher from the HSP, who was a resource. Kelly described Kumu Aken as someone who supported her step-by-step to finish school. Additionally, Boboy mentioned Beth Matsuda as a resource in the HSP and David mentioned Kumu Erich, Mr. Enos, and Candy Suiso. Kasey identified Michael Kurose who was, “always there for the kids and he was always there for us. We needed something, he was always willing to work with us, you know willing to help us.” Jaiseen mentioned Moana Lee, an archaeologist who was part of the program as someone who inspired her. Outside of the HSP, Boboy spoke of the Queen Liliʻuokalani Children’s Center and the folks who worked there including Uncle Lyle Kaloi, Aunty Kuʻuipo Julius, and Uncle Wendell Ogata. David spoke of Mrs. Maake, a mathematics teacher at Waiʻanae High School, and church leaders who supported him. Kasey also identified kūpuna as a resource in the Waiʻanae community.

Boboy, Kasey, and Kelly explicitly identified the HSP as one of their worlds in high school, while the other three participants did not. This finding raises questions about the level of involvement in the HSP and will be further explained in the discussion section. Although they did not mention the HSP, Jaiseen and David both mentioned school as a whole as one of their worlds but provided perspectives on opposite ends of a spectrum about their educational experiences. Jaiseen said, “My world was basically school because I think I immersed myself in work. Like my friends would call me a nerd,” while David described his worlds in high school from music to sports and jokingly added, “education was probably like towards the bottom.” Will did not mention school or the HSP as one of his worlds while in high school.

Three participants also mentioned hobbies as a part of their current worlds. Jaiseen mentioned the movies, beach, spending time with friends and family, and mentoring people, primarily young women, at her church as a part of her hobbies. Will described a surfing world which provided “Zen” and relaxation. While David mentioned nutrition, exercise, music and kanikapila (Hawaiian music jam sessions), as lesser worlds, which he was involved in at the time of his interview. Although five of the six participants mentioned various sports as parts of their high school worlds, Will was the only participant who mentioned it in his current worlds since he is a volleyball coach at his alma mater, Waiʻanae High School.

HSP involvement. I asked participants what percentage of their friends were in the HSP. The question was used as a way to quantify graduates’ level of involvement in the program (Makino-Kanehiro, 2011). In response to this question, Boboy, for example, answered, “Everyone in the Hawaiian Studies Program was my friend, yeah, whether I knew them or not.” Although he was involved in a variety of activities throughout high school, Boboy described his percentage of friends in HSP in relationship to the class of 2000, when he graduated. He said that he was close with all the people from the HSP who were part of the 2000 class. Although Kasey and Kelly did not provide an actual percentage when asked this question, they both answered by saying that majority of their friends were in the HSP, from what they remembered. Kelly described how, at the time of her interview, she got together with her friends from HSP every so often. Kasey reported that the majority of her friends in high school were in the HSP, but she did not see too many of them now and that they primarily interacted through social media.

Both David and Jaiseen mentioned school as one of their worlds in high school, but did not mention the HSP. When asked what percentage of their friends were in the HSP, David said 80-90%, but he also described how he was not friends with many of them now. Jaiseen mentioned joining the HSP because of her son’s father. As such, she only described having < 1% of her friends in the HSP. Will identified that 80-90% of his friends in high school were in the HSP. Although Will did not explicitly identify the HSP or school as one of his worlds, he discussed in detail his friends and focused on the connections made in HSP and how HSP was the first thing that came to mind when interacting with other graduates in his community today.

Post-secondary school worlds. Boboy, David, and Jaiseen, who all continued on to complete further post-secondary bachelor’s degrees, identified resources at the college level. Boboy mentioned several individuals, Dr. Dolores Foley, who paid for his first semester of college, and Punihei Lipe, who was an academic advisor and who kept him on track while he was in college. Furthermore, he discussed Hālau ʻIke o Puʻuloa which is a physical building on the Leeward Community College campus for Native Hawaiian Student Support Service Programs, and which provided a one-stop shop for Native Hawaiian students and led to his first job in the University of Hawaiʻi system. David spoke of his coworkers and folks with whom he built relationships at his church who inspired him to apply to law school. He was preparing for the LSAT at the time of his interview. Jaiseen discussed the resource centers at both Heald Business College, where she finished her associate’s degree, and University of Phoenix, where she completed her bachelor’s and master’s degrees in business administration. She described these centers as resources that made education accessible, including peer counselors, teachers and a job placement program, that supported her degree completion. This evidence provides support that these graduates knew who to turn to for help and were able to operate successfully within the realm of their post-secondary educational world.

Longitudinal alignment of worlds. Table 3 provides information regarding graduates' highest level of educational attainment, plans from high school through career, and their future plans as described in the interviews. Information about their educational attainment was requested in the survey, prior to their interviews. Results for graduates' high school career plans were from the following interview question: "When you were in the Hawaiian Studies Program, what did you want to be growing up and why?" Participants can be divided into two categories: students who had clear career pathways throughout their education (Boboy, Jaiseen, and Kasey) and those who did not have a clear career pathway (David, Kelly, and Will).

Career pathway. Boboy's pathway was clear and consistent from high school through college. He strengthened his pathway through job experiences, and he continued to strive for career goals which aligned with his vision to be an educator. In his job as a program coordinator, he continued to teach and build his skills to advance in his career. His passion for his job was evident, and his future plans included continuing to do what he loved, with the people he loved, and in the best way that he could.

Jaiseen looked back at her educational experience as a consistent pathway. She described her passion for archaeology, which was part of her plans throughout high school and college. She decided to pursue a career in business because she felt it was more sustainable and that she could better support her family with a business degree. She continued to get her MBA rather than pursuing her dream of becoming an archaeologist but was independent and was dedicated to her

Table 3

Plans and pathways: educational attainment, careers, and future plans.

Name	High School Career Plans	Post-High School Plans in 2009-2010 [1]	Educational Attainment in 2017	2017 Employment Status	Future Plans
Boboy	Teacher	Educator	B.A. Hawaiian Studies, Finishing M.A. in Learning, Design and Technology	Hoʻāla Hou Program Coordinator, Honolulu Community College	- “not be obligated to a specific job because of financial reasons” - “Continue to do the same things that I’m doing in the best way possible”
David	Veterinarian	Biology Teacher	M.A. History Preparing for the LSAT	Insurance Investigator, Benefits Integrity, HMSA	- Law School
Jaiseen	Archaeologist	Archaeologist	MBA	Inventory Control Specialist, Wholesale Distribution Company	- Get Married - Retire Early - Expand entrepreneur business
Kasey	Registered Nurse	Nurse/Teacher	AA liberal arts	Stay-at-home Mother	- Go back to school - “Give back and to help (people) in any way possible”
Kelly	“I didn’t really know what I wanted to do...I just kind of wanted to be everything at the time.”	Nurse	HS Diploma	Stay-at-home Mother, preparing to launch a Christian-based apparel business	- Launch apparel company - Help expand husband’s video production company, Mākaha Studios - Get more involved in church
Will	“I really had no plans...I thought it was go to work.”	N/A	Carpenters Union Certificate, Journeyman Carpentry	Carpenter	“Not get old.” Work Buy a house, become a property owner

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[1] Information provided for post-high school plans is from the Makino-Kanehiro (2011) study as indicated in participants’ previous surveys. Will was not a participant in the previous study so no information is provided in the table above for that datum.

goals for the future. She continued to pursue further career goals and recently became an entrepreneur with her own business where she was, “learning how to build an asset to become financially free, so basically learning how to create residual income.”

Kasey had a clear path and planned to go into nursing. But, after completing her AA degree and while she was working towards her bachelor’s, she switched to elementary education and found a passion for teaching. During this time, she also got married and, after having a child, decided not to return to school. At the time of her interview she was a stay-at-home mother. This fit the needs of her family world and the demands of her husband’s job as a first responder. She spoke of her passion for helping people, which she saw in her career goals as both a nurse and an elementary educator. She now finds passion in teaching and learning with her daughter who attends kindergarten. Kasey dreams about potentially going back to school, although she said that she had not put much thought into it and that it was not something she was actively working towards right now.

David’s pathway changed throughout his educational experience. In high school he wanted to be a veterinarian but adapted and changed his career goals as he discovered his passions. He described the influence of his mission experience and finished his BA in religion and his MA in history. The latter degree incorporated his studying three different religions. While working for HMSA, an insurance company, he encountered people and experiences, which shaped his current educational pathway as he prepared for law school. He may leave Hawaiʻi with his family to pursue these new educational goals but continues to adapt his career goals to develop new skills as an individual.

Kelly was not sure what she wanted to do. Although she listed her highest level of educational attainment as her high school diploma, she also completed a teaching assistant program through Ashford College, which she spoke about in her interview. She described her teaching experiences, tutoring students at Ulu Ke Kukui, a transitional housing facility, and running two summer programs for children there. She also described being a part-time paraprofessional teacher at Nānākuli High School. At the time of her interview she was working as a project manager and supporting the market and online operations for her husband's visual media company, Mākaha Studios. But, she still is looking for something to do while at home. So, with the support and encouragement of her husband, she was working on launching a Christian-based clothing line called Genuine Love.

Will did not have a clear career pathway throughout school. Given the socioeconomics of his family world, he was unsure about additional educational pathways. He discussed his career pathway, first through the Queen Liliʻuokalani's Children Center and the HSP. After high school, he worked as a door-to-door salesman but left after the time demands became high and wages were minimal. He later worked for an airline catering company and in construction. His career pathway led to him completing a certificate in carpentry, and at the time of his interview was working as a carpenter. His passion for volleyball was actualized, as he coaches volleyball at Waiʻanae High School. He still has a dream to purchase a home but continues to work and take care of his girlfriend and their five children and two brothers whom they adopted into their family. Although he did not have a clear pathway due to existing challenges and constraints, he has had a consistent mindset for providing for his family and working towards becoming a property owner.

Families and careers in adulthood. When asked about their current worlds, all six participants identified family as one of their worlds. Boboy, Jaiseen, and Kelly mentioned extended family. Although Boboy did not have a family of his own at the time of his interview, his role in his extended family was as a parental figure. He described helping to raise one of his sister's children. He said,

> So my mom and I actually help to raise her children. Actually in March, she lost her husband so that's kind of, she's kinda going through a rough time so. . . right now my mom and I are responsible for *my* younger, her [my sisters] three younger children. So, two in high school and one in elementary.

Jaiseen and Kelly additionally mentioned other folks who they considered as a part of their family world. Jaiseen said,

> I have about maybe three or four different groups, but each group came at different parts of my life. So I still have my high school friends, and then I have my college friends, and I have my work friends, and then I have my church friends who all became, like I consider, my family.

Similarly, Kelly mentioned the people at her church who she considered family. She said, "you know, people who we go to church with, they literally became like part of the family. So yeah, it's like one big extended family."

Five of the six participants mentioned work as another world. Kasey did not mention work as one of her worlds at the time of her interview, being that she is a stay-at-home mom. Will described his perception of the working world. When asked what he wanted to be growing up, he responded, "I really had no plans," and continued by saying, "after high school I thought it was, go to work, help support family, mom and dad pay bills because you know growing up not having a house, it's just like, what can I do to keep it. You know? . . . Or help keep it and that was it. Just growing up with that mindset." He added that his first jobs were acquired through a Hawaiian Studies community partner, the Queen Lili‘uokalani Children's Center. He mentioned working at the Center in a variety of capacities, in the summer helping to clean classrooms, as an intern, groundskeeper, and as a clerical aid.

Similar to Will’s perception, Kelly encountered a particular mindset in the students she worked with at Nānākuli High School. She talked about helping students through the application process. Kelly struggled when they were accepted into college, but the students had a sense of responsibility to their families. She commented,

> It was the parents who I had a hard time with. A lot of them were like, they, you know, they can’t move on, they couldn’t go to college, they had responsibility to stay home with the siblings and watch the siblings…. It was a really big disappointment, and like when things is out of your hands, and it’s like you worked for the child with everything, you tutored, you helped with her application, doing all her letters and then all of a sudden she gets accepted and then it’s like, no.

She continued by describing this process as heartbreaking and further added,

> I really wasn’t expecting to see the parents say, you ain’t going anywhere. And to see the students submit, like, okay. . . And that’s it because in their mind it’s family. Family is the focal point here, and if I don’t stay home and take care of the kids, who is, you know? And they already had that mindset, “Well, my family is gonna be first.” So it kind of like, kind of like distraught me because I know, I know you, you want this.

In contrast, Boboy described the intimate relationships he formed in his working world at Honolulu Community College. He remarked,

> I love what I do, but I love the people that I do it with. We are very much part of our personal lives as well, we know our parents, our siblings and everything else. . . that also

> helps to…fuse everything much more together because not only do we know each other's work style, but we also know our personal styles.

He added that his working world was aimed at creating a holistic environment inside and outside of the work world. For Boboy, there was a bridge between his working world and his personal world which were mutually supportive. David's working world influenced his current educational goals as he was preparing for the LSAT at the time of his interview. He discussed several people within his work world who influenced his decision to go to Law School. He said,

> just seeing how they, how they're able to analyze and critically think about different things. I just thought that was such a great skill, and they all had told me that they had learned that in law school. So I thought, aw that's really cool, it would be great to have those kinds of skills in my little tool belt, and it's a pretty dynamic degree because it's like, you don't have to be restricted to law if you don't want to. . .so that's what started it.

David's work world shifted his educational pathway. By the same token, his career pathway will shift after he enters this new educational world. His coworkers therefore functioned as brokers, providing David with a new lens for how to view and think about his worlds.

Adulthood Spirituality Theme

Boboy and David were consistent across time in identifying the church as part of their worlds in high school and at the time of their interviews. Jaiseen put God first in her current worlds. Although not explicitly stated, Kasey and Kelly also mentioned spirituality in their interviews. Kasey mentioned, "Whatever happens I just kind of go with the flow now, and know it's, it's God's planning and when the time is right, the time is right." She also mentioned it in relationship to her daughter's schooling to promote the right morals and values. Kelly mentioned the church in relationship to her children and her current work world as she was preparing to launch a Christian-based clothing line. She described the clothing line as follows, “I always wanted to do something where I feel that I can somehow glorify God.” She further described the influence of the HSP in developing relationships with people in church by saying,

> I think that from the relationships it kind of like went with us throughout the years. So majority of us are still like really, really close. Yeah, and I think because of that um you know getting to know other people in church it’s easier because it’s already, we already know how to. We’re already in that, I don’t know how to say it, like, like it’s easier to bond with people to get along with each other, yeah, because I guess that’s how it always was in the program.

Between family, work and church, Kelly also mentioned her and her husband’s difficulty in finding the balance between being church leaders and taking care of their family. She said, “Let’s work on balancing you know, cause we have a family. Let’s take time for this, but not get too involved where it’s overwhelming.” She provided details about their relationship with the church and stepping back from participating in her church for six years because it was overwhelming. At the time of her interview she had recently gone back to church, after her oldest daughter asked about it. She recounted,

> I haven’t been there and then when my kids, when my oldest finally talked to me about that, about church, like “Hey mom, why aren’t we going to church?” Then I kind of, we kind of just went back cause you know I felt bad that they pretty much was born in the church and then for me to just take em out without no explanation . . . But now when the oldest sat down with us, we kind of just like, eh, I think it’s time we go back.

Kelly also illustrated her experience of going back to church after not attending for years. She said, “ . . . it was so crazy cause when we went back a couple Sunday’s ago it was like a big homecoming. It was weird, it was so weird but it was like man, it's home, it's home." Upon returning to church, she expressed that although it was strange, she was welcomed with open arms, and it was another place they consider as home.

Discussion

The research questions for this inquiry were (a) How have the HSP alumni actualized their competence, confidence, character, caring, connection and contribution over time? and (b) What was the long-term influence of the HSP on graduates? The discussion describes the results in relationship to the theoretical frameworks, followed by implications for each model in terms of adulthood development given the research data, and contributions to practice are explored.

Positive Youth Development

In revisiting the Positive Youth Development model, several findings unfolded. Although I did not ask specific questions in regards to positive youth development, I expected the youth outcomes to emerge from the interviews given that these youths were provided resources to develop positively as a function of the HSP. The youth outcomes as identified in the model are: competence, confidence, character, caring, connection, and contribution (Lerner, Bowers, Geldhof, Gestsdottir, & DeSouza, 2012).

Competence. Competence is defined by a positive view of one's actions and is reflected in four domains: social, vocational, academic and cognitive (Lerner et al., 2005). Social competence was evident in the interviews as participants discussed the relationships they made in the HSP, and how they influenced them over time. In terms of vocational competence, participants discussed their current work worlds and their careers at length. Inherent in the vocational competence construct is also the concept of exploration. Boboy provided a contrasting perspective to the notion that exploration is required for the development of vocational competence, as his intentions, goals and career were clear early on in his education. This finding was consistent with Makino-Kanehiro's (2011) study, which identified Boboy as an individual who did little identity exploration, given his educational conviction and his strong sense of identity from an early age.

Confidence. Confidence is indicated in how graduates reflected on the personal goals they set for themselves and how they perceived their own behaviors and ability to accomplish their goals. While some confident descriptions were provided from graduates about their educational experiences, graduates' confidence in themselves was difficult to discern objectively from their overall experiences.

Character. Jaiseen was the only graduate who explicitly mentioned character development as something she perceived in adulthood. But, the integration of Hawaiian cultural values was threaded throughout each of the graduates' interviews and can be considered a part of character development. In revisiting the goals of the HSP (Yamauchi, Wyatt, & Carroll, 2005), it seems that the integration of Hawaiian culture into specific courses offered students an opportunity to engage in the educational and cultural systems through which the school and community worlds operated. The integration of culture created a bridge that had a long-lasting influence on graduates' high school experiences.

Caring and connection. Caring and connection were embedded in the core elements of the HSP, specifically Joint Productive Activity and Contextualization (Yamauchi, 2003). From a Hawaiian perspective, these values of care and connection are intimately intertwined, and I argue indispensable to one another. In Hawaiian history, we see this connection in theology. During the changes in Hawai‘i after the arrival of the missionaries, Native Hawaiians engaged in the Western world but were able to integrate the traditional faith and culture of their people within

Christianity (Chun, 2011). The integration of these two worlds is consistent with the Hawaiian renaissance and the foundations for the HSP. For graduates, the HSP fostered meaningful relationships. By integrating a Hawaiian worldview into the program, HSP fostered relationships and people found a place, a responsibility and a purpose for their roles in the HSP ‘ohana (family).

Contribution. One of the most significant findings from the Yamauchi & Brown (2007) study involved contribution. In comparison to their peers who desired to contribute to their community, HSP students felt as though they were already making a difference. Through the integration of service-learning with community partners, students were actively engaged in their community. Through these partnerships, students had the opportunity to contribute to their community, and they did. But this was less evident in adulthood.

In thinking about the Positive Youth Development model, there was some evidence in the interviews to support desired youth outcomes. For example, caring and connection were particularly salient to graduates’ HSP experiences in adulthood. I believe that the model serves to reflect youth experiences while they are going through their academics. In other words, although there is some connection with how graduates’ perceived their educational experiences in adulthood, the model serves to positively reflect and mirror youth outcomes as they are experiencing them. In retrospect, this makes sense given the purpose and design of the model. In reconsidering the overlap between theoretical models (see Table 1), the features for success in the academic setting should and do differ slightly because they are modeled for different populations. In other words, positive youth development features for a successful academic setting are slightly different than those of the Bridging Multiple Worlds theory because the model is designed to develop successful youth while the Bridging Multiple Worlds theory is designed to support students across the academic pipeline. As much as I found connections between the Positive Youth Development model as originally conceived in this research inquiry and graduates' experiences, using the model to reflect adulthood experiences did not capture the multiple pathways to success that graduates experienced in adulthood.

Bridging Multiple Worlds

Family worlds. For Boboy, the death of his grandmother, influenced his academic success. In reflecting on his experiences, he also identified his grandmother as a cultural broker. According to the theory, his grandmother therefore served to bridge his worlds and support his academic success (Cooper, 2011). In the previous study, Jaiseen also described her son as a motivator for her to go to college so that she could be a role model for him in the future (Makino-Kanehiro, 2011). These examples provide support for how family can offer students bridges as they navigate challenges and resources along their academic pipelines.

Peer worlds. Peers served as connectors to other worlds. For example, Will's explanation of his peer worlds showed the duality that peer groups can serve in identity development. As for David, his peers served to connect his music world and school world, leading to his involvement in the HSP.

School worlds. David described several individuals who supported his success in school, such as Mrs. Maake, who taught him mathematics and his church leaders who supported him. These findings are consistent with previous research. According to the Bridging Multiple Worlds theory mathematics is a milestone for pathways to college (Cooper, 2011), while religious settings can support the cultural and academic identity pathways for youth (Haight, 2002; Su, 2008). In 1978 the Hawaiian language became an official language in the State, along with English. In response, the kūpuna program was introduced to integrate and implement Hawaiian culture in public schools (Ah Nee-Benham & Heck, 1998). In an evaluation of the program, kūpuna were perceived by students as an integral part of their learning (Afaga & Lai, 1994 as cited in Ah Nee-Benham & Heck, 1998). Kasey reflected upon kūpuna in her interview and described the value of having kūpuna in her local community. Each graduate identified different people from the HSP or in association with their academic worlds who fostered their success. Within the academic world these people served to bridge community, culture, and school experiences to support the graduates' overall education.

HSP involvement. In the previous study, information was gathered on what percentage of participants' friends were in HSP and this information was used to quantify graduates' involvement (Makino-Kanehiro, 2011). In the previous study, Boboy, Kasey, and Kelly all identified HSP as essential but their percentages ranged from 20-95%. In the current study all three participants identified HSP as one of their worlds, which was consistent with the previous study. An interesting finding was that their perception of HSP mediated these changes over time. Rather than having a range of percentages, as with the previous study, participants described their friends in HSP similarly to the essential nature they perceived HSP to hold in their lives. For Boboy, this was described in relationship to all of the students from the class of 2000 who were in the HSP, and whom he was still good friends with today. Kasey and Kelly did not provide a specific percentage but did answer with a "majority" as their perception of friends they felt were in the HSP while they were in high school.

For David, Jaiseen, and Will, a different story emerged. After high school, David moved away from Hawaiʻi for college. He returned recently, but his family may leave once again depending on where he gets into law school. He described losing touch with many of his classmates, and this may be integrated into his construction of his high school development and worlds. As he developed into adulthood and in moving away from Hawai‘i he became less connected, potentially changing his perception of his worlds in high school and why he identified school as one of his worlds rather than the HSP. Jaiseen’s percentage of friends was consistent with her perception about her worlds in high school and mirrors the idea that school was a unique world, while HSP was less important when looking back at her overall high school experience. Although Will did not explicitly identify HSP or school as one of his worlds he described in detail his friends and the relationships he made. In relation to his overall experience, his friends were brokers to his academic success in high school, and so he focused on the connection HSP brought and how these relationships connected him to other graduates in his community now. Consistent with the overarching theme of the influence of lasting relationships, strong relationships in high school were perceived as important in the HSP and meaningful in adulthood.

Longitudinal alignment of worlds. As students navigate the academic pipeline, their worlds will either converge or diverge over time (Cooper, 2011; Epstein & Dauber, 1991; Epstein & Sanders, 2006). As the values and systems for thinking and learning in their home, school, and community worlds move closer together, they align to support a student’s educational pathway. In contrast, if the systems in which these worlds operate move farther apart, discontinuity across worlds may deter a student from the academic pipeline.

The function of service-learning in the HSP was to provide students hands-on experience and a connection to their community through a supportive partnership between the school setting and the outside world. For a majority of participants there was a distinct connection between their HSP service experiences and their career goals while in high school. The Bridging Multiple Worlds theory suggests that connections to career opportunities may support students’ academic pathways by providing purpose and a sense of place in higher education through a connection to careers (Cooper, Cooper, Azmitia, Chavira, & Gullatt, 2002). Looking at graduates' perceptions, about their future careers across time provides insight to their academic pathways. For these graduates, some were able to use the connections they made in their community to develop a clear career pathway, as with Boboy. For others, although the HSP led to career opportunities, as with Will and the Queen Liliʻuokalani Children's Center, these connections did not always manifest into a career later in adulthood.

Families and careers in adulthood. A natural progression into adulthood includes having a family or parental responsibilities and entering the working world. The family world contributes to identity development in adulthood (Kroger, 2007). In addition, friendships can change as adults typically desire more intimate relationships (Winefield & Harvey, 2004). Research also suggests that a strong sense of individual identity is associated with a sense of intimacy in social relationships across contexts. Results indicate these relationships in both graduates' families and in their working worlds.

Will and Kelly described the perception of education and the challenges they faced in their experiences. Similarly, Kasey encountered shifts in her family world and challenges with financial aid (Makino-Kanehiro, 2011) that affected her academic pathway. These perceptions reflect the conflict students may face between family and educational mobility (London, 1989; Kyle, McIntyre, Miller, & Moore, 2006). It is also consistent with research on first-generation college students that found that entry to college can actually aggravate intergenerational continuity in the family system and be seen as a loss in the family world (Engle, 2007; Wildhagen, 2015). So, while families and careers can serve to support a student's academic pathway, a student's experiences in those worlds may challenge their post-secondary success in multifaceted ways. These findings further highlight the multiple pathways to success in adulthood, as seen through these graduates' experiences.

Adulthood Spirituality

According to the Bridging Multiple Worlds theory, religious settings for children can provide brokering of pathways through culture and academia (Cooper, 2011), while others may encounter a journey of spiritual exploration in their adulthood (Kemp & Lewis, 2007). The results from this research inquiry were consistent with previous studies, as five of the six graduates discussed spirituality in their adulthood. Two of which, also reflected on their religious experiences while in high school. For Boboy, his religious experiences were central to his upbringing and allowed him to explore and define his cultural world. For David, religion helped to ground his experiences and was a reliable resource, which was rooted in his educational pathway.

Relationships as the Foundation of Bridges

The lasting influence and common thread of this inquiry was the effect of relationships on graduates. The relationships participants made mattered. Relationships, in particular, with teachers and peers from the HSP were influential. People became brokers to success and in some cases, as with these graduates, challenges to their academic pathway. One challenge which also resonated throughout this study was the potential challenges of the family world, whether in high school or thereafter. The demands of their family worlds changed, as graduates became parents and guardians, which influenced their adult lives. For these graduates, family across time was a constant critical marker for individuals' growth. This finding is consistent with existing research on family-school partnerships and the need of family support for student success and engagement (Helman, 2012; Sheridan & Kratochwill, 2007; Christenson & Reschly, 2010).

Demands of family for these graduates consistently served to alter their academic pipelines as both brokers for success and challenges to further achievement. As for Jaiseen and Kasey it is interesting to discuss their academic pipelines in context with their educational goals. Jaiseen's son became an inspiration motivating her to return to school and get a college degree. While for Kasey, having her daughter changed the demands of her family world, and she decided not to complete her bachelor's degree in order to take care of her responsibilities at home.

According to Yamauchi and Brown (2007), service-learning was meaningful for the HSP students from Waiʻanae. In the Makino-Kanehiro (2011) study, graduates as emerging adults found meaning in having a support system throughout high school. In addition, Makino-Kanehiro (2011) found that students academic and career goals in 2007 were actualized by 2011. In the current study, graduates reflected on their HSP experiences and findings suggest that the relationships they made throughout high school were perceived as meaningful. Three of the graduates also discussed how they still regularly "hung out" with friends they made in the HSP. They described their relationships as intimate, as family, and this is consistent with Hawaiian ethnocultural identity (McDermott & Andrade, 2011), where ʻohana is defined by respect, kinship and aloha, regardless of ancestry and race.

Bridges were a key predictor of graduates' academic successes. The Bridging Multiple Worlds theory is a call to action for opening institutional opportunities through bridges (Cooper, 2011). It challenges institutions and programs to strengthen fragile bridges into strong alliances to fully support connection with family, peer, school, and community worlds. For some graduates, such as Kasey, a lack of financial support became a fragile bridge and later became a challenge within her academic pipeline. Gandara and Bial (2001) also found that financial bridges are critical for students in pre-college programs across the U.S. By building bridges across worlds and in critical transition periods for youth, such as from high school to college, low-income, immigrant and ethnic minority students are better supported in their academic journeys (Cooper, 2011). Without alliances such as programs and people in the community, students may suffer academically. Future implications include the need for programs and institutions to partner in conscientious efforts to align their goals for student learning to foster development and academic support across time.

Graduates were shaped by the Hawaiian culture and values embedded in the HSP. As they journeyed through the program, they were also influenced by a variety of life circumstances which either supported or challenged their academic pathways. Critical bridges were formed for some, while others encountered changing and competing demands in the other worlds in which they were engaged. People matter, and how adults perceive their educational experiences relates to their perceptions of the relationships they make with people throughout their education. Although there is constant movement in the academic pipeline, knowing how and where to find resources is important for students. Without these skills students may encounter more challenges in navigating the pipeline after high school.

Limitations and Future Research

One limitation of this study was a small sample size. Given that only six graduates participated, a more comprehensive understanding of the influence of the HSP on graduates could have been realized if more participants were interviewed. Also, one graduate did not participate in the Makino-Kanehiro (2011) study, so information was not necessarily fully consistent. Efforts were made to supplement the missing information with data provided from the interview, but I was not able to discern all information that was missing. Another limitation is self-selection and self-report. All participants volunteered to participate, and interviews were used to describe their experiences. Selection effects may limit graduates’ representativeness of HSP students overall.

This research provides a better understanding of Native Hawaiians across the academic pipeline and into adulthood. One factor that was not fully explained in this research inquiry was the idea of mālama ‘āina or caring for the land in the context of development in adulthood. Although students were engaged in mālama ‘āina in high school, manifestations of it in adulthood did not appear to be fully realized. Future research should investigate the influence of culture-based educational practices such as mālama ‘āina on Native Hawaiian identity development across time. Although this study provided a deeper understanding of Native Hawaiians across the academic pipeline, this does not tell the whole story. Further research should also analyze Native Hawaiian students’ experiences in conjunction with other indigenous students across time and into adulthood.

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Appendix A:

University of Hawai'i
Consent to Participate in a Research Project
Kawehi Goto, Principal Investigator
Project title: A Longitudinal Study of Participants in a Hawaiian Studies Program

Aloha! My name is Kawehi Goto and you are invited to take part in a research study. I am a graduate student at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa in the Department of Educational Psychology. As part of the requirements for earning my graduate degree, I am doing a research project. The purpose of my project is to a longitudinal analysis of the Hawaiian Studies Program (HSP) at Wai‘anae High School. I am asking you to participate because you have previously participated in a research study on the HSP in 2003 and/or 2011.

Activities and Time Commitment: If you participate in this project, I will meet with you for an interview at a location and time convenient for you. Before the interview, I will be asking you to fill out a demographic information survey. It should take no more than 5 minutes. The survey will include questions like, "How old are you?" "Do you still live in the Wai'anae area?" "What's the highest level of training/education you've completed?" The interview will consist of 21 open ended questions. It will take up to 2 hours. Interview questions will include questions like, “What lasting images do you have of your HSP experience? What has influenced you?” “What further training or education have you had since high school?”

Only you and I will be present during the interview. With your permission, I will audio-record the interview so that I can later transcribe the interview and analyze the responses. I will send you a copy of the transcript so that you can check for its accuracy. You will be one of about 8 people I will interview for this study.

You are also being asked to allow access to materials from the previous studies (2003 and/or 2011): examples which include, but are not limited to, prior HSP school work, surveys and raw interview transcripts.

Benefits and Risks: There will be no direct benefit to you for participating in this interview. The results of this project may help improve culturally relevant education and programming to benefit future students. I believe there is little risk to you for participating in this research project. You may become stressed or uncomfortable answering any of the interview questions or discussing topics with me during the interview. If you do become stressed or uncomfortable, you can skip the question or take a break. You can also stop the interview or you can withdraw from the project altogether.

Privacy and Confidentiality: I will keep all study data secure in a locked filing cabinet in a locked office/encrypted on a password protected computer. Only my University of Hawai'i advisor and I will have access to the information. Other agencies that have legal permission have the right to review research records. The University of Hawai'i Human Studies Program has the right to review research records for this study.

After I transcribe the interviews, I will erase or destroy the audio recordings. When I report the results of my research project, you can choose whether or not you would like to be identified as a participant. However, if you choose not to be identified by your real name, your confidentiality cannot be guaranteed because (1) real first names were used in the original study (in 2003), and/or the subsequent study (in 2011) and (2) comparisons to that study will be made. If you would like to use pseudonyms (fake names) for this study one can be provided to protect your privacy and confidentiality to the extent allowed by law.

Voluntary Participation: Your participation in this project is completely voluntary. You may stop participating at any time. If you stop being in the study, there will be no penalty or loss to you. Your choice to participate or not participate will not affect your rights to services at the University of Hawaiʻi.

Questions: If you have any questions about this study, please call or email me at 808.956.7775 gotok@hawaii.edu. You may also contact my advisor, Dr. Lois Yamauchi, at 808.956.4385 yamauchi@hawaii.edu. You may contact the UH Human Studies Program at 808.956.5007 or uhirb@hawaii.edu. to discuss problems, concerns and questions; obtain information; or offer input with an informed individual who is unaffiliated with the specific research protocol. Please visit https://www,hawaii.edu/researchcompliance/information-research-participants for more information on your rights as a research participant.

If you agree to participate in this project, please sign and date this signature page and I will give you another copy to keep for your records and reference.

Signature(s) for Consent:

I give permission to join the research project entitled, *A Longitudinal Study of Participants in a Hawaiian Studies Program.*

Please initial next to either “Yes” or “No” to the following:
_____ Yes _____ No I consent to be audio-recorded for the interview portion of this research.

Name of Participant (Print): ____

Participant’s Signature: ____

Signature of the Person Obtaining Consent: _________________________________

Date: __________________________

Mahalo!

Appendix B:

Interview Questions

Thank you for agreeing to meet with me today. In this interview, we will be covering questions about your education, your career and your current personal goals. There is a theory which talks about how students live in different worlds for example a world of work and a world of school. But many have additional individual worlds to include their other interests, such as a world of surfing, sports or hula. This leads to my first question.

1. What are your worlds now?
2. While you were in high school, what were your worlds?
3. What stands out about your worlds in high school? What lasting images do you have of your high school experience?
4. What lasting images do you have of your HSP experience? What has influenced you?
5. What percentage of your friends were in HSP?

    Are you still friends with them now? Why or why not?
6. From what you remember, did anyone assist you in high school with your educational, career or personal goals? If so, who? What did they do?
7. In your educational experience, what were the challenges you had in reaching your goals?
8. In your educational experience, what were the resources you had in reaching your goals?
9. What further training or education have you had since high school?
10. When you were in HSP, what did you want to be when you were growing up? Why?
11. What do you do now?
12. Why did your choice change or stay the same?
13. Has anyone influenced your career interest and choices? / If so, who? / How have they

influenced you?

14. In what ways did the HSP emphasize community involvement? Are you involved in your community now? Why or why not?
15. In what ways did the HSP emphasize malama aina (taking care of the environment)? Are you involved in taking care of the environment now? Why or why not?
16. In what ways did the HSP emphasize Hawaiian culture and values? Do you still practice Hawaiian culture and values? Why or why not?
17. Were there other things that you think the program emphasized? Are you currently involved in similar activities?
18. In the last ten years, what personal goals did you set for yourself?
    Do you feel you have met these goals? Why or why not?
19. Since high school, what have been your biggest accomplishments?
20. What are your future plans now?
21. Would you like me to use your real first name or a pseudonym, when I report these results? If the latter, please choose a pseudonym.

Thank you so much for meeting with me and allowing me to interview you.

Appendix C:

Survey

Name: ___________________________________

How old are you? _________________

Marital status (circle one):	Single	Married	Separated	Divorced
Do you have children (circle one):			Yes	No

If yes, how many children do you have? _________

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

Why or why not?

____

____

____

____

____

If not, where do you live? ________________________

What’s the highest level of training / education you’ve completed? Please indicate any degrees or certificates completed.

____

____

____

____

____