HOʻOLOHE PONO: LISTENING TO THE VOICES OF PARENTS AND COMMUNITY TO ENVISION A SCHOOL-FAMILY-COMMUNITY PARTNERSHIP AT WAIMĀNALO SCHOOL

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Abstract

The primary aim of this study is to promote social justice and educational equity by empowering the voices of parents and community members in a rural public-school community with a diverse minority population. The research questions focused on understanding how their perceptions, beliefs, experiences, and values influence their engagement with the local public school. Based on the values of the community and its families, I offer recommendations to improve the school's family and community engagement efforts to support students' academic achievement as well as their overall experience in school.

This study focused on Waimānalo Elementary and Intermediate School, which is located in the culturally diverse community of Waimānalo. Waimānalo has a large Native Hawaiian population, as well as other minority ethnic groups such as Filipinos, Micronesians, and Samoans. Because the majority of Waimānalo residents and students at Waimānalo School represent these nondominant groups, particularly the indigenous people of Hawai'i, I used parent involvement research and critical theories, such as critical race theory, tribal critical race theory, community cultural wealth, setter colonialism, and survivance, to analyze the data.

I conducted semi-structured interviews with 22 participants who reflected the diverse cultural composition of the Waimānalo community. The participants represented key stakeholder groups that are too often left out of the school improvement process, including former students and parents, current parents, current staff members, and community members and leaders. Participants varied in age, gender, ethnic and cultural background, level of involvement with Waimānalo School, and level of involvement in the community.

While individual participants had different experiences and preferences for school programs and offerings, ultimately, participants shared an appreciation for the smallness and

closeness of the school and community, as well as an acknowledgement and resistance toward the stigmatization of Waimānalo and Waimānalo School. The Hawaiian values of aloha, ʻohana, and kuleana were important to participants regardless of their ancestry, and there was also a shared appreciation for the Hawaiian culture and an ahupuaʻa lifestyle. The parents and community members who took part in this study favored a strengths-based approach that reflects the cultural wealth of their community and school.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Waimānalo Elementary and Intermediate School is nestled in the heart of Waimānalo, a small country town, on the windward side of the island of Oʻahu. It is an important part of the community's past, present, and future as many of Waimānalo's residents have come through the school since it opened in 1925. This dissertation examines the role that Waimānalo School has played in the lives of former students, parents, family members, and community members, and how they hope the school will shape the lives of the next generation of students. The goal of this project is to offer recommendations to school leaders, teachers, and staff of Waimānalo School in order to help them work more effectively with parents, families, community members, and organizations to best serve the keiki of Waimānalo and the community at large. The participants who contributed to this study were proud of their community, and openly and honestly shared their stories about growing up, going to school, living and working in Waimānalo.

Background of the Study

I grew up in the small town of Kailua on the island of Oʻahu in the 1980s. My parents both worked full-time and we lived in a house they owned. I had what I considered a normal, happy childhood—I got good grades in school and did not have trouble making friends. I went to the public elementary school in my district just like the other kids in my neighborhood. A few of my classmates were from the neighboring town of Waimānalo, but as a kid, I did not think about why they were not attending their neighborhood school. Other than attending a few birthday parties and going to the beach with friends, I did not spend much time in Waimānalo. My concept of Waimānalo as a young adult was that it was a rural town with nice beaches; I would

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normally drive through the town and appreciate the picturesque views of the mountains and the ocean.

Six years ago, I left my job working in the non-profit sector because I missed working with students. I had worked as a consultant a few times at Waimānalo School, so I was familiar with the school and some of the staff, but I still had a naïve understanding of the community. Yet, when the principal offered me a position at Waimānalo School, I felt like I was coming home. I remember driving into the town every morning and seeing how the sun shone on the mountains and the ocean, and thinking that I was so fortunate to work in such a beautiful place.

Within my first year as vice principal at Waimānalo School, I realized that even though I grew up in the neighboring town, I knew very little about the community's history, and had only a superficial understanding of the significant places in the town. Still, I found the staff, families, and especially the students to be welcoming, and felt a strong sense of ʻohana, family, already in place at the school. The more time I spent in Waimānalo, the more I began to see that Waimānalo was much more than a charming farm town with beautiful beaches. It was a special place, indeed, and what made it special was the people.

I also began to realize that in my role, I needed to develop trust with students, parents and families. This was especially challenging because they saw me as an outsider, a "foreigner," even. Some parents asked me if I was from the mainland because of the way I spoke and looked. I was in a role of power and authority, which made some people uncomfortable and distrustful; furthermore, I looked and sounded like most people in positions of power in Hawaiʻi—a Japanese American, who went to a top private school, and grew up in the neighboring town of Kailua, which many locals consider to be "haole" and affluent. Most of the families I was working with were not Japanese-American; most of them were Hawaiian, Samoan, Micronesian,

and Filipino, reflecting the demographics of the community. Initially, my privilege was a barrier to building meaningful relationships with the people in Waimānalo. This study emerged as I recognized the need to re-examine and reflect upon my role and influence in the systemic discrimination against Native Hawaiians and other minority groups if I wanted to help the students at our school to have opportunities like the ones I had.

I also drew upon what I had learned from my volunteer work with a local non-profit organization. We had gone door to door and talked story with people about voting, and built goodwill simply by taking the time to listen and meet people in their neighborhoods. As I learned more about Waimānalo, I realized that the knowledge and solutions to lift up our school and the community would need to come from listening to families and community members of Waimānalo. Gaining their trust would require me to sit with them and talk story, learn about what they believe is important, and contribute to the work in the community, not just at the school. One of the participants in this study, Kahula, said it was important for the school staff to "hoʻolohe pono," listen well, to the families at Waimānalo School. While I still have much to learn about Waimānalo, this study has deepened my knowledge and appreciation for the people and places in this community, so that I can better serve the students and families at Waimānalo School. I hope that by highlighting their stories, I can encourage other educators to engage in hoʻolohe pono to strengthen school, family and community partnerships.

Background of the Problem

The "melting pot" myth. Growing up, I had a simplistic and idyllic view of ethnic relations in Hawaiʻi, but this was not unique to me. As early as the 1920s, scholars called Hawaiʻi a "virtual paradise of ethnic relations" and a "racial melting pot" (Okamura, 2008, p.6). The Hawaiʻi I experienced as a child was just as some academics and journalists as late as the

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1980s described it: an "equalitarian," multicultural, and racially tolerant place, united by the "common language" of Pidgin English (Okamura, 2008, p.8). Racism was something that only occurred on the mainland because people from Hawai'i were different. We had the "aloha spirit" which could overcome any sort of conflict or differences among racial or ethnic groups. The "melting pot" Hawai'i I grew up with was a veiled and privileged version of reality that discounted the historical decimation of Native Hawaiians and their culture. A closer analysis of the performance of the various ethnic groups in Hawai'i reveals a sobering truth: racial inequality in Hawai'i exists just as it does in other states, and the only reason I never saw it or felt it growing up was because I was part of the dominant, privileged group that did not experience discrimination at an individual or a structural level.

The reality is that Hawai'i's indigenous people have been and continue to be in a critical situation compared with other racial/ethnic groups in nearly every category of well-being, from indicators of health to education. This presents a multitude of challenges for educators, as Native Hawaiian students make up one-fourth of the approximately 179,000 students in Hawai'i's public schools (Hawai'i State Department of Education, 2017; Hawai'i State Department of Education, 2018a; Office of Hawaiian Affairs, 2017).

State of inequality. After over two hundred years of foreign settlement, Native Hawaiians, the indigenous people of Hawai'i, have become a racial minority in Hawai'i. According to recent estimates, Native Hawaiians constitute between six and 21 percent of the population of Hawai'i (Goo, 2015).[1] Asians make up the largest racial majority with 37 percent of Hawai'i's population, and whites are the second largest racial group in Hawai'i, at an

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[1] In this estimate, six percent of Hawai'i's population identified as "Native Hawaiian" and 21 percent identified as "part-Hawaiian" (Goo, 2015).

estimated 23 percent of the population (Goo, 2015; U.S. Census Bureau, 2015a). However, when the Asian category is broken down by ethnicity, whites constitute the largest group, followed by Filipinos as the second largest ethnic group, and Japanese as the third largest ethnic group (Hawai'i State Data Center, 2012)[2].

Despite Native Hawaiians being in the minority among the total state population, Native Hawaiian students make up the largest ethnic group in Hawai'i's public schools. Kamehameha Schools (2014) reports that from 2006 to 2010, based on census data, students of Hawaiian ancestry actually constitute 31.6 percent of the public-school population (p. 172). In the 2015-2016 school year, Native Hawaiian students made up 26.6 percent of the student population in Hawai'i Department of Education (HIDOE) public schools (Office of Hawaiian Affairs, 2017, p. 3). The HIDOE reports that the following year, 45,506 Native Hawaiian students were enrolled in Hawai'i public schools, which was 25.2 percent of the total enrollment (Hawai'i State Department of Education, 2018a). Even though Native Hawaiian students are the largest group in K-12 public schools in Hawai'i, in 2014 they lagged behind white, Japanese, Chinese, and Filipino students in college and graduate school enrollment in Hawai'i (Office of Hawaiian Affairs, 2015). According to these statistics, Hawaiian students are overrepresented in the public-school population and underrepresented in higher education in Hawai'i.

In contrast, in 2016-2017, white[3] students made up 18 to 20 percent of the public-school population (Hawai'i State Department of Education, 2018a), even though whites constitute 23

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[2] "Race alone" figures are higher than "race alone or in combination" figures for each of the groups, but the ranking of the groups is the same whether looking at race alone or race along or in combination (Hawai'i State Data Center, 2012).

[3] The Hawai'i State Department of Education reported Portuguese students as a separate ethnic group from white students, whereas the U.S. Census Bureau does not separate Portuguese from white. White student enrollment was 18.1% and Portuguese student enrollment was 1.6%.

percent of population in the state (Goo, 2015). White student enrollment in college and graduate school in 2014 was the highest among ethnic groups at 27.9 percent (Office of Hawaiian Affairs, 2015). Japanese student enrollment is even more disparate from state population figures, as Japanese students made up only 9.1 percent of the Hawaiʻi public school population (Hawaiʻi State Department of Education, 2018a) even though they constitute from 13.6 to 23 percent of the total population of Hawaiʻi (Hawaiʻi State Data Center, 2012). Japanese student enrollment in college and graduate school in 2014 was the second highest among ethnic groups at 26 percent (Office of Hawaiian Affairs, 2015). Although figures for private and home school enrollment by ethnicity could not be obtained, these statistics suggest that not all white and Japanese students are not attending K-12 public schools, but more white and Japanese students in Hawaiʻi are accessing higher education opportunities than other ethnic groups such as Native Hawaiians.

The under-representation of Native Hawaiian teachers among the faculty in public schools is even more glaring. Even though Native Hawaiians are the largest ethnic group in public schools, they make up only about 10 percent of the faculty in HIDOE schools (Hawaiʻi State Department of Education, 2018a; Office of Hawaiian Affairs, 2017, p. 3), significantly less than 24.4 percent of teachers who are white and 24.3 percent of teachers who are Japanese (Hawaiʻi Department of Education, 2018a). The underrepresentation of Native Hawaiian teachers is not surprising, however, given that Native Hawaiians are underrepresented in professional and managerial positions in the workforce (Kamehameha Schools, 2014).

The unequal representation of faculty and students is not limited to Native Hawaiians. Other non-dominant groups in Hawaiʻi such as Filipinos, Samoans, and Micronesians are also

subject to inequality in Hawaiʻi's public schools. Overall Asian[4] student (including Chinese, Filipino, Korean and Japanese) enrollment appears to be consistent with the state population numbers, but when analyzed by ethnicity, there is a disparity between more dominant groups such as Japanese and less dominant groups such as Filipinos (Hawaiʻi State Department of Education, 2018a). In school year 2016-17, 22.3 percent of HIDOE students were Filipino, yet only 6.3 percent of teachers were Filipino (Hawaiʻi State Department of Education, 2018a). The percentages for Samoans follow this trend, as Samoans constitute 3.3 percent of the student population but only 0.4 percent of teachers are of Samoan ancestry (Hawaiʻi State Department of Education, 2018a). The Micronesian student population is even greater than the Samoan population at 4.4 percent, yet the percentage of Micronesian faculty cannot even be compared with the students because the HIDOE does not even provide data for Micronesian teachers (Hawaiʻi State Department of Education, 2018a).

According to Okamura, these statistics reflect "institutional discrimination" by the Hawaiʻi state government in its "annual practice" to "underfund the public-school system by a substantial amount" and implement "policies, practices, and laws" which deny minority and subordinate groups such as Hawaiians, Samoans and Filipinos equal opportunities (Okamura, 2008, p. 61). The disparities between Native Hawaiians and more privileged groups in Hawaiʻi in terms of social, cultural, economic, physical, emotional, and educational well-being also reveal the challenges that Native Hawaiians continue to face in their daily lives. Other ethnic groups such as Filipinos, Samoans, and Micronesians also face similar challenges as Native Hawaiians. In a study by Mayeda, Hishinuma, Nishimura, Garcia-Santiago, & Mark (2006)

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[4] The Hawaiʻi State Department of Education reported the following ethnicities: Chinese, Filipino, Indo-Chinese, Korean, and Other Asian.

Samoan youth reported higher rates of violence than Native Hawaiians, Filipinos, and Japanese. Filipino, Samoan, and Native Hawaiian youth also reported higher rates of substance abuse than their Japanese peers in this study (Mayeda et al., 2006). Okamoto, Mayeda, Ushiroda and Rehuher (2008) examined "risk and protective factors" faced by Micronesian youth in Hawai'i and found that these students faced a number of stressors from living in crowded, run-down, and dirty conditions, to racism from other students and even racial stereotyping by teachers. In their research on Chuukese students and parents, Iding, Cholymay, and Kaneshiro (2007) similarly found that "language issues, peer pressure, teachers' prejudice and ethnic conflicts/bullying" served as barriers to Chuukese students being able to adjust to life in Hawai'i schools (p. 11). The disparate conditions that such non-dominant ethnic groups in Hawai'i must live, work, and learn in are important to note in this study since Waimānalo School and the Waimānalo community is diverse and includes these populations. However, in the following section, given the majority population of Native Hawaiians at Waimānalo School and in the Waimānalo community, and the history of Waimānalo as a community with a strong Hawaiian cultural and historical foundation, I focus on the disparate experience of Native Hawaiians compared with more privileged groups in Hawai'i.

Native Hawaiians continue to live in poverty at a higher rate than more privileged groups, and have disproportionately higher rates of depression, drug abuse, arrests, incarceration, and other negative effects of poverty (Kamehameha Schools, 2014). Moreover, Native Hawaiian students trail behind their non-Hawaiian peers in educational outcomes. From 2007 to 2012, Native Hawaiian students performed 8.5 percentage points below the state average on the state reading assessment in grade 3, and 11 percentage points below the state average in grade 10 (Kamehameha Schools, 2014, p. 178). The gap between Native Hawaiian students and the

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Hawai'i average was the same in grade 3 for math, but increased to 14.8 percentage points in grade 10 for math (Kamehameha Schools, 2014, p. 179). In 2014, Native Hawaiians had lower levels of high school graduation than whites and Japanese, and had the lowest rate of attainment of Bachelor's degrees or higher degrees when compared with whites, Chinese, Filipinos, and Japanese (Office of Hawaiian Affairs, 2015). Together, these statistics represent "longstanding gaps in Native Hawaiian educational outcomes, ranging from lower achievement, attendance, and graduation rates" (Kana'iaupuni, Ledward, & Jensen, 2010, p. 2). The negative outcomes in education for Native Hawaiians also extends to "higher disciplinary and risk-taking behavior among youth" (Kana'iaupuni, Ledward, & Jensen, 2010, p. 2).

The issues faced by Native Hawaiians are a systemic challenge—particularly for schools with high concentrations of Native Hawaiian students. Under the "No Child Left Behind" mandates, schools with more than 50 percent Native Hawaiian enrollment were less likely to make Adequate Yearly Progress than schools with less than 50 percent Native Hawaiian enrollment (Kamehameha Schools, 2014; Kamehameha Schools, 2009). Even when community poverty is considered, Native Hawaiian students still perform lower than their non-Hawaiian counterparts in "schools with similar rates of poverty" (Kamehameha Schools, 2014, p. 194). For these schools and communities, it is even more pressing that supports are put into place to address the serious disparities faced by Native Hawaiian students and their families.

Charter schools, public schools and community organizations are working to address these achievement gaps, through language immersion programs, culture-based education, and Hawaiian-focused programs, which have contributed to the improved performance of Native Hawaiian students overall (Kana'iaupuni, Malone, & Ishibashi, 2005). Though Native Hawaiian students in Hawaiian-focused charter schools performed lower than students in other charter

schools and public schools in reading and math, they "made the greatest gains over time" from 2006 to 2011 (Kamehameha Schools, 2014, p. 242). The gap between Native Hawaiian students in Hawaiian-focused charter schools and all other schools was essentially closed by the time students reached grade 8 (Kamehameha Schools, 2014, p. 242). Despite these improvements for Native Hawaiian students in Hawaiian-focused charter schools, there is still a gap between Native Hawaiian and their non-Hawaiian peers in educational achievement in most Hawaiʻi public schools.

Kanaʻiaupuni, Ledward and Jensen (2010) note that researchers have attempted to use various theories to explain the reasons for the achievement gap, but "all of these theories consider the degree of continuity and congruence between home and school" (p. 2). While these studies focus on the more micro-level disconnections between students and schools, it is important to also examine structural inequalities that contribute to how Native Hawaiian and other students experience and achieve in school. Critical race theory, TribalCrit, and settler colonialism attempt to examine embedded forms of discrimination. A system-wide effort to address the disconnections between students and their schools is necessary to be able to make meaningful strides towards equal access to education and higher standards of living. The intent of this study is to empower families and a community with a high population of Native Hawaiians as well as other nondominant groups to begin to address these challenges by strengthening their partnership with their neighborhood public school.

Research Site

Waimānalo is a diverse yet tight-knit community with a rich history and culture, and valuable natural resources. Two-thirds of students identify as Native Hawaiian, and many of the students reside on Hawaiian homestead lands. This indigenous community within Waimānalo

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makes it a special place, rooted in Hawaiian values and culture, which also faces the challenges of poverty, colonial structures and historical inequity, and an encroaching tourist industry.

Based on the 2010 census, Waimānalo had a population of 5,410. Forty percent of the population reported being multiracial (two or more races), 24 percent Asian, 23 percent Hawaiian or Pacific Islander, 11 percent Latino, and 11 percent White (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010). The rate of poverty in Waimānalo is 10 percent higher than the state average according to the 2010 census (United States Census Bureau, 2015b).

There are a range of income levels and ethnicities and cultures in Waimānalo, but given the small population, there is a "small town" or "familial" feel both at the school and at community functions and gathering places. There is a nickname for each neighborhood, each with its own stereotype and history. The large lots near the beach are perceived as wealthy areas where mostly Caucasians from the mainland live, and the town area is considered more culturally diverse and working class. Waimānalo has several Native Hawaiian Homestead areas, which contribute to the high concentration of Native Hawaiian students at the school. There are also a few low-income and transitional housing complexes near the school, so students at Waimānalo School who live in these homes typically qualify for free or reduced-price lunches. The rest of Waimānalo is considered agricultural and range from large operations to small family farms.

Waimānalo Elementary and Intermediate School is a public school that serves grades kindergarten through 8th grade located in the center of Waimānalo, with a picturesque backdrop of mountains in the back of the campus, and just a few minutes away from several beautiful beaches. As one of the 256 Hawai'i State Department of Education (HIDOE) schools (Hawai'i State Department of Education, 2018), Waimānalo School is publicly funded by state and federal

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funds, and provides a free education to students in the Waimānalo area. Students in grades kindergarten through 6th grade are from the "town" area between the polo field and the Kailua side entrance to Waimānalo. Students from Blanche Pope Elementary School feed into Waimānalo School in 7th grade. Since the students of Waimānalo School come from every neighborhood, the school also reflects the strengths and challenges of the surrounding community.

Waimānalo School has over 400 students in grades K through 8; about half of the students are in the elementary grades, K through 5, and half of the students constitute the middle school, which spans grades 6 through 8. Fall enrollment was above 500 students from 2012-2014 (State of Hawaiʻi Department of Education, 2016), until fall 2015 when enrollment dropped to 478 students (State of Hawaii Department of Education, 2018d). Student enrollment has since declined to 430 students as of February 2019.

A large percentage of students qualify for free and reduced lunch; in school year 2015-16, 81.1 percent of students were eligible (Hawaiʻi State Department of Education, 2018d). Since Waimānalo School has over 40 percent of students who qualify for free or reduced lunch, the school has participated since 2016-17 in the Community Eligibility Provision (CEP), a USDA free meal program that allows the school to provide free meals to all students regardless of their socioeconomic status (State of Hawaii Department of Education, 2017a).

For the last three years, about 15 percent of the students are in Special Education (SPED) (Hawaiʻi State Department of Education, 2018d); this percentage has increased slightly from about 12 percent in 2012-13 to 16 percent as of February 2019. The percentage of Special Education students at Waimānalo School is higher than the state average which has held at 10 percent since 2007-2008 (Hawaiʻi State Department of Education, 2018a). Despite some

fluctuations from year to year, the percentage of English Language Learners (ELL) at

Waimānalo School has remained between four and nine percent since 2012 (Hawaiʻi State

Department of Education, 2016; Hawaiʻi State Department of Education, 2018d) but is currently

at a high rate of 10 percent as of February 2019. This is relatively consistent with the state

average of ELL students which fluctuated from 6 percent and 11 percent from 2005 to 2017

(Hawaiʻi State Department of Education, 2018a).

In 2017-18, the major ethnic groups that constitute the student population at Waimānalo

School were Native Hawaiian, Filipino, white, Samoan and Micronesian (Hawaiʻi State

Department of Education, 2018d). As of February 2019, 56 percent of the students identify as

Native Hawaiian, 14 percent identify as Filipino, seven percent identify as white[5], six percent

identify as Samoan, six percent identify as Micronesian, and less than two percent identify as one

of the following ethnicities: American Indian or Alaska Native, Black, Chinese, Hispanic, Indo-

Chinese, Japanese, and Tongan. The majority of the Micronesian students are of Chuukese

ancestry and a few are of Marshallese descent. Eighty-five percent of the Micronesian students at

Waimānalo School are current or former ELL students.

The demographics of the faculty are not representative of the Waimānalo community. Of

the 42 teachers at the school, only a handful live in Waimānalo, a few reside in communities

more than 25 miles away, but the majority reside in neighboring communities[6]. Most of the

teachers are of Caucasian or Asian descent and fewer than 10 are of Native Hawaiian descent.

This disparity between the ethnic backgrounds of the teachers and students is characteristic of

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[5] 10 students identified as Portuguese but did not identify as white, so the percentage of white
students does not include these students.
[6] As an employee of Waimānalo School, I was able to obtain this information through informal
conversations.

Hawaii public schools across the state, where Japanese-American teachers are the largest ethnic group among teachers, despite a higher proportion of Native Hawaiians among students (Fujikane, 2008). The support staff, which includes positions such as cafeteria workers, office staff and custodians, however, is more representative of Waimānalo. The majority of support staff members also live in Waimānalo, and many of these staff members are also parents of current or former Waimānalo students. The administrative team at Waimānalo School includes the principal, vice principal, student services coordinator, and registrar. The principal has been at the school since 2005. Neither the principal nor the vice principal is of Native Hawaiian ancestry, and both commute to Waimānalo from neighboring towns.

Statement of the Problem

As a state public school, Waimānalo School for the last fifteen years has focused on improving student achievement as determined by federal and state measures. Despite this ongoing effort to improve student's academic performance, Waimānalo School students still perform below the state and complex averages on the state assessments in Language Arts, Math, and Science (Hawai'i State Department of Education, 2018c). In 2017, Waimānalo School was designated a Targeted Support and Intervention (TSI) school based on these low proficiency scores, particularly among the Special Education population. As a TSI school, Waimānalo School receives additional support to address their targeted need area as part of the state's plan to comply with the federal Every Student Succeeds Act (ESSA) (Hawai'i Department of Education, 2019b). Waimānalo School administration and teachers remain committed to improving the academic achievement of all students, but are faced with a number of challenges that impact students' academic performance.

Waimānalo School has had a reputation for being unsafe for both students and teachers. Disciplinary problems have not significantly decreased over the last four years as measured by the number of suspensions (Hawaiʻi State Department of Education, 2018d). According to the School Quality Survey results from 2017 and 2018, students and parents rated Waimānalo School in terms of safety similar to statewide averages, but teachers' rating of school safety dropped significantly in 2018 to 58.1 percent, 9 percentage points below the state average (Hawaiʻi State Department of Education, 2018d). Although the administration and staff recognize safety as a significant need, attempts to implement positive behavior interventions and supports and socio-emotional learning programs have not yet been successful at the time of this study.

The high rate of poverty in Waimānalo presents additional challenges for the school. Students come to Waimānalo School with the burden of poverty-related problems such as homelessness and hunger, which can affect their academic performance. How students experience poverty and historical inequity on a daily basis varies greatly from student to student. Some students live on the beach with their family, others live in a crowded room of an extended family member's house, and many rely on the school to provide them with food, clothing, and a sense of safety and stability. For some students, Waimānalo School is safer than their place of residence, and for some, it represents the colonial powers and structures that keep their families in poverty. For many families in Waimānalo, the state and federal government are bureaucratic entities that enable and disable rather than empower their children to become self-sufficient and successful stewards of their community. Resistance to these structures may result in students misbehaving in school and/or doing poorly academically.

Student enrollment has also steadily declined since 2015 (State of Hawaiʻi Department of Education, 2018d). Many families have used the Geographic Exception (GE) policy to transfer their child to another HIDOE school even though Waimānalo School may be their home school. Most of the GE requests are to go outside of Waimānalo and come from parents whose children have never attended the school; in particular, a large number of requests are for kindergarteners. As a HIDOE school, Waimānalo School is funded primarily by the Weighted Student Formula, so a loss of enrollment has serious implications for Waimānalo School. Ultimately, fewer students enrolled at the school means less money is allocated to the school for positions, programs, curriculum, technology, and supplies.

The issue of student achievement and enrollment may be related, as student achievement scores are publicly available on the Internet, and may be one factor contributing to the decrease in enrollment at the school. However, it is difficult to determine the exact reasons why parents request a GE for their children based on what parents have written on the forms. The GE forms for school year 2018-19 stated reasons related to family, such as siblings or cousins at the requested school, or a parent working near the requested school, better test scores at the requested school, and special classes or programs like AVID or robotics. Waimānalo School has some of the programs that parents listed on the GE forms, suggesting that there are other reasons the parent did not want to list on the form. I attempted to contact at least 20 parents who requested a GE for their child, but was unsuccessful at learning more about the reasons behind their decision.

In addition to the challenges above, Waimānalo School has not been successful at including students, parents, and community members in developing and implementing a plan to work toward addressing these issues. The need to include student, family, and community voices

in the school improvement process was reflected in the school's accreditation self-study and validated by the accreditation visiting committee. Taken together, the school's low achievement scores, concerns about students' behavior and safety, and the lack of connection to families and the community may be factors in the school's declining enrollment. The idea for this study emerged as a way to learn more about why parents do not want their child to attend Waimānalo School and to learn directly from parents and community members how Waimānalo School can become a school that Waimānalo families would be proud to support and want their child to attend.

Purpose and Research Questions

This is a case study of the relationship between the Waimānalo School community and the school, as perceived and articulated by community members. The study involves interviews with key stakeholders, such as parents and family members of students (current and former), staff members, and community members. I grounded my study on issues of inequality and historical injustice to see how the school can improve student outcomes for all students, and Native Hawaiian students in particular. I sought to identify connections and disconnections between the school and community, to develop community-based solutions that honor the values of the community and its families, and help the school to improve its family and community engagement efforts to support student achievement and well-being.

My research questions are as follows:

- How do parents and community members in Waimānalo perceive Waimānalo School and the Waimānalo community?

- What have been the experiences of parents and community members with Waimānalo School?

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- How do participants' perceptions and experiences reflect their values and beliefs, and influence their engagement with Waimānalo School?

Significance of the Study

The primary aim of this study is to promote social justice and educational equity by empowering the voices of parents and community members in a rural public-school community with a large Native Hawaiian population. This study is significant because few studies have highlighted the experiences, values, and perspectives of Native Hawaiian and minority parents in Hawai'i. Research on parent involvement was particularly popular in the 1990s and 2000s, with studies about the experiences of urban, poor, Native American, Latino, African American, and Asian American parents, but there are few studies which examine the experiences of Native Hawaiian parents. As Native Hawaiians are the indigenous people of Hawai'i, it is important to understand their unique perspective of the settler colonial public school system which still educates the majority of students of Native Hawaiian ancestry today. This study also includes voices of other nondominant groups in Hawai'i, including Filipinos, Samoans and Micronesians, as they are part of the diverse makeup of the Waimānalo community. Hawai'i's geography, history, demographics, social and cultural relations and contemporary context of settler colonialism differentiates this study from other studies done in the U.S.

The second aim of this study is to serve as a bridge between the parent involvement research, critical race theory, setter colonialism on the one hand, and political, cultural and social theories specific to Hawai'i on the other. Though the study is not focused solely on parental involvement, two models of parental involvement are helpful in looking at the perceptions and experiences of parents with the school: the work of Epstein (2001, 2011) and Hoover-Dempsey and Sandler (1995). Epstein's work emerged from multiple studies showing the benefits for

students and schools when parents are involved in their child's education, and when the school and family share the responsibilities of supporting the child's education, rather than having separate roles and different aims for the child (2001, 2011). Epstein's overlapping spheres of influence model and Hoover-Dempsey and Sandler's parent involvement model look more closely at how schools and parents influence each other, and provide educators with valuable insight as to how they can engage parents positively to support students. In Epstein's (2001) model, the external and internal structure consists of parent, school and community "philosophy, experiences and practices" that serve as the major factors that influence the strength of the partnership among all three groups (p. 29).

These models and other parent involvement research are useful in analyzing the relationships and interactions between families and schools, but they do not account for the unique demographic, social, political and historical context of schools in Hawaiʻi. This study thus challenges an apolitical or "neutral" understanding of family and community engagement in schools. The stories of the participants in this study are examined through the lenses of critical race theory, TribalCrit theory, settler colonialism, Asian settler colonialism, Native Hawaiian resistance, and survivance, which acknowledge that the experiences and practices of each group are grounded in a system, history, and culture of inequality. This study thus offers educators and researchers, particularly those serving nondominant communities and indigenous populations, a strengths-based approach and research-based solutions for school improvement through an in-depth analysis of the intersection between schools and communities within complex historical, social, political and cultural contexts.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Research on parent involvement and school-community relations have examined the motivating factors and barriers to parent involvement, such as parents' individual circumstances, including cultural and class factors. Yet there remains a need to understand how structural factors may influence the interactions and relationships among school staff, families, community members, and organizations. Hawai'i's unique history and Waimānalo's large indigenous population require not only an understanding of the individual factors that influence parents, family members, and community members' engagement with and perception of Waimānalo School, but also an examination of historical and structural inequality and power structures that affect Native Hawaiians as well as other nondominant groups in the community.

School-Community Relations and Parent Involvement

The studies of school-community relations and parent involvement (PI) in schools are closely linked. The research in these two areas is based on a common history, and in most of the school-community relations literature, parents are considered a part of the community. There are two main types of literature on school-community relations and on parental involvement: studies aimed at improving relations between schools and parents and/or community (more practitioner-focused), and studies aimed at understanding relations between schools and parents and/or community (more social science in nature). The major difference within each of the two areas of research is that the studies focused solely on PI outnumber the studies on school-community relations; most of the research on community relations with schools include the PI aspect, yet not all the PI research addresses the rest of the community (see Figure 1). This highlights the potential need for more research on school-community relations, specifically aimed at non-parent

members of the community such as local organizations and community groups, government agencies, businesses, and the general public.
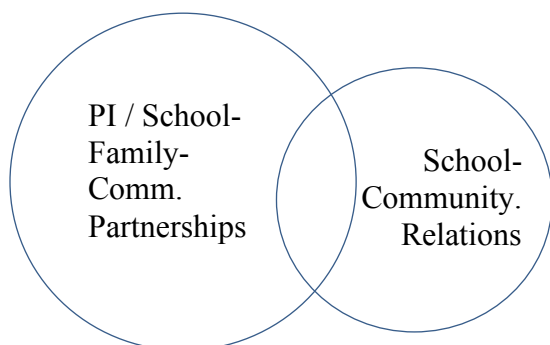
Figure 1. Relationship between Literature on PI/School-Family-Community Partnerships and School-Community Relations

The fields of research on PI and school-community relations span multiple disciplines related to education, including policy, administration, school governance, teacher preparation, sociology, psychology, and politics. Education researchers, including administrators, psychologists, and policymakers often look to the effects of or strategies for improving parent and community relationships to better student outcomes such as academic achievement, motivation, and attendance. A handful of texts are written for college courses in teaching and administration, such as *School, family, and community partnerships: Preparing educators and improving schools* (Epstein, 2001, 2011), *Parents as Partners in Education* (1991, 2000)*,* and *The school and community relations* (Gallagher, Bagin, & Moore, 2005). These texts provide an overview of the research on PI and/or community relations as well as concrete strategies for educators to use in their work with families and the public.

Sociological studies serve as the basis for educators in understanding the current conditions and circumstances in which the families and community live in to foster positive and effective relationships with each group (Gestwicki, 2000). While these types of studies may not

explicitly suggest specific strategies or actions for school leaders and teachers to implement, they are valuable in helping educators understand the complexities of PI and working with a diverse group of stakeholders, and when other factors are intertwined such as socioeconomics, race, culture, and language.

From parent involvement to school, family & community partnerships. Parent involvement can be described as a "continuum" or range of patterns of parent participation and interaction with their child's education (Gestwicki, 2000). Most researchers defined PI in the twentieth century as preparing children for school, attending school activities, and completing teacher-given tasks with their child at home (Lareau, 2000, p. 2). After a decade of research on elementary and secondary schools, Epstein (2001, 2011) expanded the definition of PI to include parenting at home, communicating, volunteering, learning at home, decision-making, and collaborating with the community. The National Parent Teacher Association adopted these six types of involvement as their standards in 1997 (Henderson & Mapp, 2007).

Epstein (2011) has advocated for the use of the term, "school, family and community partnerships," instead of the term "parent involvement." From the 1980s to the 1990s, Epstein (2001) noted the lack of attention to school, family and community partnerships in university teacher preparation courses, despite its importance to a majority of teachers and administrators. Epstein's (2001) research thus included the perspectives of teachers, students and parents specifically because "existing theories omit attention to history, student development, and the influence families and schools have on each other" (p. 24). These studies led to the development of a theory of overlapping spheres of influence, which is intended as a "conflict prevention model" to help school and district administrators to utilize parent and family relationships to benefit student outcomes (Epstein, 2011, p. 164). Within the overlapping sphere of influences

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model, family, community, and school spheres work together to shape the child (Epstein, 2001, 2011). Epstein's (2001, 2011) framework builds on the research on PI, emphasizing the shared responsibilities of parents and the school, compared with the research highlighting the separate and sequential responsibilities of each group.

Bronfenbrenner's ecological systems theory was one influence Epstein drew upon in developing the spheres of influence framework (Epstein, 2001, 2011). In Bronfenbrenner's model, the community is one of the four "nested structures" that affect a child's development (Bronfenbrenner, 1979; Epstein, 2011; Wright, Stegelin & Hartle, 2007). Wright, Stegelin & Hartle (2007) also use Bronfenbrenner's model and Vygotsky's sociocultural theory of child development and Bronfenbrenner's ecological systems theory to "justify and support the home-school connection" (p. 18). Other similar models of school and family relationships exist such as Pryor's (1995) "triad of parent, teacher, and student" (p. 411) and Constantino's (2003) "four spheres of influence," which adds a "peer" sphere to Epstein's school, family, and community spheres (Epstein, 2001, 2011).

Merz & Furman (1997) also see PI programs as part of the larger school-community relations movement, rather than two distinct concepts. Though they focused on the parent and teacher relationship in their first book, *Making our high schools better: How parents and teachers can work together*, inspired by Joyce Epstein and James Comer, Dodd & Konzal (2002) came to the realization that school improvement must involve the greater community, not just the parents. This "synergistic" and "seamless connection among home, school, and community" was a "new paradigm" for education researchers who were accustomed to separate values, goals, and responsibilities (Dodd & Konzal, 2002, p. xviii).

Multiple frameworks have emerged to help educators and policymakers understand and explain PI and school-community relations in light of current demographic changes in society, as well as the need to include community members and other family members, but Epstein's model is most widely cited in the research.

Defining school-community relations. According to Merz & Furman (1997), there is "no universally accepted definition of community" among sociologists, despite the concept being used widely in the field (p. 3). In turn, Merz & Furman (1997) cite several definitions of "community" that appear in education research: "geographically cohesive" groups that are linked by physical location, a "group of people with shared values," or the "relationships within a school" that make the school itself a community (Merz & Furman, 1997, p. 5). Warren and Mapp (2011) echo these qualities of a community in their book on community organizing for school reform. However, while they acknowledge that a community can be defined by geography, they see the interconnections between a group of people and "a common history, a set of values, and a sense of belonging" as more important to the definition of community than geography alone (Warren & Mapp, 2011, p. 20). For this study, Merz and Ferman's (1997) and Warren and Mapp's (2011) definitions of community are appropriate, as participants' view their community both in terms of geography and a shared culture. Though the Waimānalo ahupuaʻa once extended to Maunalua Bay in what is now called the town of Hawaiʻi Kai, the Waimānalo community of today is a "geographically cohesive" place that spans from the natural boundaries of Olomana and Makapuʻu and the people who reside in Waimānalo are thus part of the community because of their shared history and connections to the land and to one another.

Within the literature on school-community relations, "community relations" refers to school interactions with community organizations, members, and local government agencies in

the schools, such as School-Based Management (SBM) (Merz & Furman, 1997). Another meaning of "relations" is public relations or communication with the community (Gallagher, Bagin, & Moore, 2005; Dodd & Konzal, 2002). Dodd & Konzal (2002) also view community relations as financial and political support by the public and community groups for schools.

History of parent involvement & school-community relations. Parent involvement and community relations with schools share a common history in the U.S. The history of PI in public schools in the U.S. began in colonial times (Hiatt-Michael, 2001). In the Northeast, parents were responsible for educating their children at home in the colonies, until colonial governments saw the need for schools because some parents were not teaching their children reading, religion and trade as mandated (Hiatt-Michael, 2001). In the Southwest, the family was the "major educational force" providing religious and moral guidance to their children (Berger, 1991, p. 49). Even as early American colonies set up schools in their towns, parents were still intimately involved in their child's education, serving as school board members who oversaw curriculum, teacher selection, and finance (Hiatt-Michael, 2001). The schools reflected parents' and community members' religious views as the curriculum included religion, in addition to reading and writing (Hiatt-Michael, 2001).

In the nineteenth century, common schools were set up under the leadership of Horace Mann and Henry Barnard, which led to the public-school system which stands today in every state (Hiatt-Michael, 2001). As public schools became increasingly bureaucratized in the late 1800s and early 1900s, administrators and teachers gained authority over decisions about curriculum, staffing, and finance, reducing parents' influence over their child's education and school governance (Hiatt-Michael, 2001). Teachers became the "experts" in teaching students subjects parents were less familiar with and the profession of teaching was formalized (Epstein,

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2001). However, parents were still responsible for teaching children "good behavior and attitudes to prepare them for school" and teaching them about "ethnicity, religion, and family origins" (Epstein, 2001, p. 24).

As parents' authority over schools waned, their role shifted to one of advocacy; groups of parents coalesced into a national movement with the establishment of organizations such as the National Congress of Mothers, later the Parent Teacher Association (PTA), the Child Study Association, and the American Association of University Women (Berger, 1991; Hiatt-Michael, 2001). In the 1920s, more parent education programs and organizations were formed, and this growth continued through the 1940s (Berger, 1991).

From the 1930s to 1950s, PI in schools was characterized by a separation of responsibilities between the school and home (Epstein, 2001). Concerned with this widening gap between home and schools, researchers and administrators sought to gather input from community members and parents and test different models of school-community relations strategies, with the intent of increasing "citizen participation in educational planning" (Kreitlow, 1955) or "lay participation" in schools and improving schools' public relations programs (Knutson, 1958). Education reforms called for improved school-community relations and decentralization of school management (Merz & Furman, 1997). Research interest in community participation in schools also increased in the mid-20th century, similar to the interest in PI (Knutson, 1958).

In the 1960s, policymakers highlighted contemporary educational research showing the positive impact PI could have on student achievement in school, and the need for more PI in schools (Pryor, 1995). As part of the War on Poverty, the Head Start Program aimed to provide children from economically disadvantaged homes with early education and provide career

opportunities for parents in their child's schooling (Berger, 2000). Studies on Head Start and other PI programs led to national policy reform including the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 (ESEA) and the All Handicapped Act of 1974, which not only encouraged, but required that schools include parents to participate in the decision-making process in public schools and in their child's education plans (Berger, 2000; Hiatt-Michael, 2001).

This led to parent advisory councils, called school-based management (SBM), which many schools and districts utilize today to involve both families and community representatives in decision-making about school policies, budget, personnel, and curriculum (Berger, 2000; Merz & Furman, 1997). These reforms in the 1980s and 1990s held schools accountable to engage parents and families (Epstein, 2010). Today, federal laws such as Title I of the ESEA and the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act still require that schools involve parents by communicating with families about their child's progress and schoolwide student achievement, holding family events on campus, and inviting parents to participate in decision-making bodies such as student support teams and School Community Councils. Though many parents opt to engage in public schools through PTAs, school boards, and as volunteers, lack of parent and community involvement remains a concern for many schools (Lareau, 2000). Changing demographics, familial dynamics and societal issues requires new theoretical models to understand how schools, families, and communities connect, and requires schools to seek relevant strategies to engage their specific populations (Epstein, 2010).

Though some researchers have mapped the literature on PI and school-community relations separately, the trend since the 1990s has been toward bridging the two fields, so the following review of the themes in the literature includes both fields of research. I found

Griffith's (1998) three categories of PI studies (at-risk, descriptive, and outcome-based) helpful, though slightly outdated and not comprehensive enough. I have thus grouped PI and school-community relations into several overlapping themes: effects or outcomes, underserved communities, critical perspectives, and understanding parent perspectives and barriers.

Effects/Outcomes. Historically, the focus in PI research has been on the effects of PI on student outcomes. Numerous studies from the 1980s through the early 2000s have shown that PI in school is linked to greater academic achievement (Bacete & Remirez, 2001; Fan, X., & Chen, M. 2001; Sheldon & Epstein, 2005; Sui-Chu, & Willms, 1996) and other positive outcomes for students such as improved behavior and social skills (Hill & Craft, 2003; Lareau, 2000). Additionally, increased involvement of the family in school can improve students' attendance (Epstein, 2001; Epstein & Sheldon, 2002). Studies of students at different ages and grade levels show that PI changes as children get older, but still most of the research supports greater PI to benefit the child (Hill & Craft, 2003). Similarly, most of the literature on school-community relations also focuses on improving the school and improving outcomes for students, primarily academic outcomes such as test scores and academic skills (Green, 2017a).

While most of the literature on PI points to positive outcomes for schools and students, Lareau and Shumar (1996) argued that researchers were not examining the possible negative effects of parent participation on students, teachers, and parents, and were concerned with lack of "compelling evidence" that PI policies at the local/district, state, and federal levels had a positive impact (p. 24). By seeking "narrow, self-interested goals" for their own children, parents actually increase inequality throughout the school system (Wrigley, 2000, p. xiv). For example, parents who demand costly services or sue the school or district for their individual child consume a

disproportionate amount of human and financial resources, leaving the rest of the student population to be serviced with fewer resources.

Green (2017a) also points out that most of the research on school-community relations provides ways to help the school, but does not necessarily address how such partnerships could benefit the community, particularly educationally underserved communities. As a solution, Green (2017a) offers a community-based as opposed to the typical "top down" reform approach called "community-based equity audits" in which the school leaders listen to and values the knowledge and perspectives of community members, and engage in "shared community experiences" (p. 23). Community-based equity audits build on the approaches of equity audits and community audits; equity audits are used in various fields including education to "assess and achieve equity" in schools (Green, 2017a, p. 7), and community audits are evaluations that involve listening to community stakeholders on important community issues (Green, 2017a). Using the tenets of Freirian dialogue (love, humility, faith, hope and critical thinking) as a foundation to engage with community, community-based equity audits include four phases: "(a) disrupt deficit views of community, (b) conduct initial community inquiry and shared community experiences, (c) establish Community Leadership Team (CLT), and (d) collect equity, asset-based community data for action" (Green, 2017a, p. 17). Rather than focusing solely on student outcomes, community-based equity audits aim to improve community, school, and student outcomes by dismantling inequities and leveraging school and community strengths.

Lareau and Shumar, Wrigley and Green highlight a need to examine possible negative effects of PI and school-community relations as well as more community-based approaches to school, family and community partnerships.

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Underserved communities. In the last 20 years, more studies on have examined PI and community involvement of nondominant populations (Clark, 1983; Gutman & Midgley, 1999; Jeynes, 2003, 2005a, 2005b, 2005c). Nondominant can be defined as "underserved" communities, which tend to be urban, poor, communities of color (Gutierrez & Rogoff, 2003). Jeynes (2003, 2005a, 2005b, 2005c) has conducted multiple meta-analyses on the effects of PI on minority children's academic achievement, particularly black students.

Researchers are also going beyond analyzing achievement data and looking at other PI and community-related factors that impact student learning. Culture and social class are important factors that affect PI in schools (Lareau, 2000; Lawrence-Lightfoot, 1978). A number of studies have examined how culture and class affect parents' involvement and their perceptions of PI, and found that low-income and non-white families believe PI is important but they may not meet the expectations of the school and/or feel marginalized by the school (Drummond & Stipek, 2004; Fantuzzo, McWayne & Perrty, 2004; Farber & Azar, 1999; Lareau, 1987; Yoder & Lopez, 2013). Hill & Craft (2003) attempted to factor out socioeconomic factors and compared African American families with Euro American families, and found that teacher perception may have played a significant role in student achievement, and that the teacher's perception may not be positively correlated with the parent's level of involvement. Lareau (2000) examined the types of requests made by teachers to parents of different socioeconomic classes to understand the nature of the parent-teacher relationships at these particular schools. The results of the study revealed biases that teachers held and acted upon when interacting with parents, as well as clarifying how some teachers may interpret "parent involvement" (Lareau, 2000).

The literature on PI among underserved populations poses a challenge for researchers as socioeconomic factors are often intertwined with cultural or ethnic variables (Hill & Craft,

2003). This results in a body of research with dramatically different or even contradictory findings, depending on how ethnicity, race, culture, and socioeconomic background was considered in the study (Hill & Craft, 2003). Thus, researchers must continue to utilize different methods and approaches to understanding PI and school-community relations in underserved communities.

Critical perspectives. A critique of earlier literature on PI is its overrepresentation and overvaluing of the dominant culture and underrepresentation and undervaluing of nondominant groups and cultures. Involvement of non-white parents in schools are mentioned only periodically throughout the literature on PI (Ishimaru et al., 2016). In the historical summaries on PI in the U.S. by Berger (1991, 2000), a few paragraphs generalize the experiences of non-white groups such as immigrants, African-Americans, and Native Americans, while the majority of the text chronicles PI in white mainstream culture.

Another criticism of the PI and school-community relations literature, particularly studies prior to 1980, is that nondominant groups are often viewed through a deficit lens (Amatea, Smith-Adcock, & Villares, 2006; Green, 2017b; Ishimaru et al., 2016; Kerr, Dyson, & Gallannaugh, 2016). In response to deficit approaches toward underserved families and communities, researchers are proposing asset-based approaches such as the family resilience framework, which suggests that counselors and school staff look beyond families' "unalterable" status such as their culture or class, and rather "look at the particular family beliefs and interaction patterns that contribute to student success" (Amatea et al., 2006, p. 183).

More current scholarship on PI and school-community relations with nondominant groups also take a critical perspective toward positivist approaches that favor dominant, traditional strategies and practices (Green, 2017b). Auerbach (2010) challenges these "bake sale"

and "coffee with the principal" approaches that many schools use, and advocates for "authentic partnerships" which are "respectful alliances" characterized by "dialogue" and "power sharing" among all stakeholders--school, family, and community (p. 729). Ishimaru, Torres, Salvador, Lott, Williams, & Tran (2016) report that a number of studies show that family partnerships as part such "community-based education reform" that go beyond "conventional parent involvement activities" can lead to "greater equity in educational systems" (p. 851). Their study highlighted collective, reciprocal, or relational cultural brokering approaches where family engagement liaisons (cultural brokers) create welcoming climates for parents, foster relationships between parents, and situate family engagement efforts in the community as opposed to conventional cultural brokering approaches which are unilateral (school to home) and focused only on parents supporting their own children (Ishimaru et al., 2016). Warren (2005) introduced three types of community-based relational approaches as bottom-up approaches to improving schools and communities in which public schools collaborate with community organizations (Warren, 2005). Green proposed that educational leaders use community-based equity audits which reject deficit-based views of nondominant communities and solicits input from the community to address inequity in the school and the community (Green, 2017a), and community equity literacy (CEL) which is "an awareness/consciousness (knowledge) and skill set (actions) to address inequities in schools and their neighborhood communities" (Green, 2017b, p. 380). Like community-based equity audits, CEL takes a strengths-based approach to nondominant communities and looks to community assets to help drive change towards equity, and it also requires educational leaders to understand the community's history and to be aware of and navigate the "community power structure" (Green, 2017b, p. 381).

Understanding parent perspectives & barriers. Lawrence-Lightoot (1978) noted the

lack of attention to parent perspective in the traditional research on PI. Since the 1970s, however,

more studies have focused on this aspect of PI. Hoover-Dempsey and Sandler's (1995) model of

parent involvement is widely cited in studies attempting to understand the parent perspective.

This model includes "three major sets of contributors to parents' involvement: parents'

motivational beliefs, parents' perceptions of invitations to involvement, and parents' life-context

variables that are likely to influence involvement" (Hoover-Dempsey, Walker, Sandler, Whetsel,

Green, Wilkins, & Closson, 2005, p. 107). The Hoover-Dempsey and Sandler (1995) model is

neutral, and can help to explain why parents do engage with their child's school, or why they

may avoid engaging with the school.

Hornby & Lafaele (2011) looked specifically at barriers to PI, recognizing that while

decades of research have produced strategies and programs to improve PI in schools, the current

practice tends to fall at the "more traditional end of the spectrum which focuses on a one-

directional flow of support from parents to schools" (Hornby & Lafaele, 2011, p. 38). They

attribute this "rhetoric-reality gap" to a lack of understanding of the barriers to PI (Hornby &

Lafaele, 2011, p. 50). Using their model of "factors acting as barriers to PI," educators can better

understand the barriers to PI in their school and district, to improve and develop "effective

practice with regard to PI" (Hornby & Lafaele, 2011, p. 50).

Despite nearly a century of research on PI and school-community relations, there are gaps

in the existing literature. School-community relations is often used synonymously with parent

relations, but non-parent community members and groups may have different relationships with

the school, and also stand to benefit or lose from such relationships in different ways than

parents. More research on non-parent community relations as distinct from PI is needed to

distinguish between the two role groups and their perspectives and also how their involvement affects student outcomes and community outcomes, and contributes toward community and systemic equity. Additionally, PI and school-community relations approaches that are community-based, asset-based, and attentive to all groups and cultures, not just the dominant culture need to be examined to push schools toward more effective collaboration with families and community.

Settler Colonialism

Settler colonialism is a theoretical lens that explains the strategic land grab and infiltration by individuals and governments throughout history to the present through the eradication of indigenous peoples, their cultures, and their sovereignty. Patrick Wolfe, whose work is cited in settler colonial studies, described settler colonialism in his early work as the displacement of an indigenous people, such as Native Americans or Aboriginal Australians, by settlers from another place thereby forming a settler colony (1999). In a later work, Wolfe (2006) added to this definition the "logic of elimination" or "elimination of the native" to describe the genocidal aspect of settler colonialism (p. 387). The colonizing entity ultimately desires "access to territory" similar to any other country seeking to expand their empire (Wolfe, 2006, p. 388).

Colonization, or external colonialism, occurs when an imperialist entity aims to repurpose indigenous resources in a foreign land as "natural resources" to profit their own government, country and people; internal colonialism, on the other hand, occurs when the colonizer resides and remains in the place they claim for their own (Trask, 1999; Tuck & Yang, 2012; Wolfe, 1999). Settler colonialism comprises aspects of these two colonialisms, as the colonizers enter as foreigners, but settle permanently on indigenous lands (Tuck & Yang, 2012). Like external colonialism, settler colonialism is systemic and pervasive, involving a

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"comprehensive range of agencies," from the central "metropole" of the colony throughout all aspects of life (Wolfe, 2006, p. 393). Yet this form of colonialism is unique in that the colony and "metropole" are one in the same, and the colonizers appropriate indigenous land and resources for themselves (Tuck & Yang, 2012, p. 5). The settlers then strive to eliminate indigenous societies and replace them with new settler societies, utilizing internal "modes" of colonialism such as segregation and criminalization (Wolfe, 2006; Tuck & Yang, 2012). These colonizing strategies target indigenous people at the interpersonal level as well as the macro-level, from behaviors and ideas to systems that "enforce the exploitation of Native people in the colonies" (Trask, 1999, p. 251; Tuck & Yang, 2012).

A key aspect of Wolfe's (1999) definition of settler colonialism is his distinction that it is "a structure not an event" (p. 2). As opposed to "an isolated historical moment," settler colonialisms have historical roots but are "never fully complete" (Goodyear-Kaʻōpua, 2013, p. 23). Captain James Cook's voyage to Hawaiʻi in 1778 initiated more regular contact between Westerners and Hawaiians, and early Spanish and British sailors and traders sought to colonize Hawaiʻi. However, settler colonialism takes root in Hawaiʻi in 1820 when a group of American Christian missionaries arrived with the intention of bringing Protestantism to the Hawaiian people (Kuykendall, 1938). The missionary settlers exerted influence over the Hawaiian monarchy and people, spreading Christian and American culture and values through churches and schools, and reducing Hawaiian to a written language and teaching Hawaiian children and adults how to read (Benham & Heck, 1998; Kuykendall, 1938). By 1840, Hawaiʻi' was "officially a Christian nation" as noted in its constitution (Kuykendall, 1938, p. 116). These settlers continued to increasingly influence government and education in Hawaiʻi throughout the 19th century but Hawaiian leaders were able to resist U.S. imperialism until 1893.

The overthrow of Queen Liliʻuokalani by American settlers in 1893 was a turning point as the settlers gained control of the government, leaving Hawaiians to suffer "a displacement and a dispossession in our own country" (Trask, 1999, p.16). Settlers legitimize their presence using various strategies, including rewriting history to portray settlers in a positive light despite their destructive and illegitimate acts. Lorrin Thurston led the small group of Americans who called themselves the Committee of Safety and conspired with U.S. Minister John L. Stevens to orchestrate an illegal coup, which was followed five years later by the so-called annexation of the Hawaiian Kingdom to the U.S. government (Sai, 2008b). These historical events were significant in American settlers colonizing Hawaiʻi in that they bolstered an overall structure that displaces and diminishes Native Hawaiians' culture and claims to land and self-government persists over a century later. The current Americanized "multicultural" society where "everyone gets along" is a myth. This is settler colonialist rhetoric, designed to minimize the continual injury and cultural violence carried out against Native Hawaiians by those in power (Okamura, 2008).

The marginalizing effects of perpetual settler colonialism are most prominent in the public-school system. In 1896, the settler colonial government of Hawaiʻi replaced Hawaiian as well as all other non-English languages, with the English language and American culture as the standard in all public schools (Republic of Hawaiʻi, 1896). Westernization was privileged in the public schools, and Native Hawaiian and other non-Western ways were disadvantaged. According to Fujikane (2008), we can study the Hawaiʻi Department of Education (HIDOE) as a "primary institutional example" of how settler colonialism works to maintain "structural inequality in the islands" (p. 23). Given that a disproportionately large number of Native Hawaiian students are serviced by the Hawaiʻi public schools, as compared with more privileged

groups such as Japanese Americans and Caucasians, it is important to examine how settler

colonialism through the public school system plays a role in contributing to the systematic

political, social and economic discrimination against Native Hawaiians in Hawaiʻi.

A prime example of settler colonialism in the education system in Hawaiʻi is evidenced

by the underrepresentation of Native Hawaiian teachers compared with the number of Native

Hawaiian students in the HIDOE: Native Hawaiians constitute approximately 10 percent of the

faculty, while Native Hawaiians make up 25 percent of the student population (Goodyear-

Kaʻōpua, 2013). The impact of this systemic inequality that disparages Native Hawaiian students

is significant considering the HIDOE is "the only system in the United States in which

Indigenous students make up the largest proportion" of the total student enrollment (Goodyear-

Kaʻōpua, 2013, p.7; Stannard, 2008).

Even more disheartening than the mismatch of Native Hawaiian faculty to students in

public schools are the educational, health, employment, socioeconomic, and prison outcomes for

Native Hawaiians. From the 2007-2008 school year through the 2011-2012 school year, Native

Hawaiian students performed lowest of all five major ethnic groups in HIDOE schools on the

Hawaiʻi State Assessment in both reading and mathematics (Kamehameha Schools, 2014).

Though some Hawaiians have been able to reach "middle class" status, Hawaiians as a whole are

faced with the same challenges as other indigenous groups controlled by the United States

(Goodyear-Kaʻōpua, 2013). In the early 1980s, the Native Hawaiian Educational Assessment

project and the Native Hawaiian Study Commission reported Native Hawaiians as having high

rates of poverty and unemployment, low paying jobs, severe health problems including mental

health issues such as suicide and depression, high dropout rates, and high rates of incarceration

(Goodyear-Kaʻōpua, 2013). Goodyear-Kaʻōpua (2013) adds that the statistics on physical and

emotional health of Native Hawaiians in the twenty-first century are consistent with the data from the previous thirty years.

Asian settler colonialism. Hawai'i's settler colonialism is further complicated by a unique history in contrast to the rest of the United States. Though white Americans were the first settler colonialists in Hawai'i, Asian Americans, primarily Japanese Americans, who constituted as much as 42.7 percent of the population in 1920 (Lind, 1967, p.28), rose to power as a dominant settler colonial group after World War II. A combination of post-war educational, labor, and political opportunities gave Japanese Americans, Chinese Americans, and some Filipino Americans the ability to overcome their struggles as plantation workers abused by their Caucasian foremen. Having proven their loyalty to the U.S. with their service overseas, many Japanese and Chinese American soldiers returned from the war and took advantage of the "GI bill of rights" and attended college (Haas, 1992, p. 20). More Japanese-Americans began entering civil service jobs, in particular, teaching jobs (Haas, 1992, p.20). Labor unions in Hawai'i also grew in strength and numbers after the war, and Japanese Americans used the power of organized labor, voting rights, and their increasing wealth to gain power in local government. In particular, the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU), became a powerful political force with thousands of Japanese and Filipino workers in their membership (Haas, 1992). In 1952, the McCarran-Walter Immigration Act allowed many Japanese-born immigrants to become US citizens (Haas, 1992). This gave voting rights to more Japanese-Americans, and with the support of the ILWU, allowed the Democratic Party to gain the majority of votes in the territorial legislature in 1954 (Haas, 1992).

Japanese Americans eventually came to dominate the public educational system, and have maintained significant power at all levels of the system from the Superintendent's office to

school level administration and classroom teaching positions (Fujikane, 2008). In 2016-17, 24.3 percent of 11,322 public school teachers were Japanese, as compared with 10 percent who were Hawaiian (Hawai'i State Department of Education, 2018a). As in any settler colonial system where the dominant group controls what is taught and how it is taught (Trask, 1999), Japanese Americans and Caucasian Americans who govern the public schools in Hawai'i have determined that what is taught is a largely monocultural American curriculum that lacks sensitivity to Native Hawaiian, indigenous, and other non-Western cultures. While the Hawai'i Content and Performance Standards do include standards for Hawaiian History and Pacific Island Studies, these standards are taught in separate courses in only three grade levels (4th, 7th, and 9th). The HIDOE provides limited professional development opportunities in Hawaiian and Pacific Island Studies, few instructional resources, and no requirement of coursework in these subjects to teach Hawaiian History or Pacific Island Studies. On the other hand, English Language Arts and Math standards are taught every year from kindergarten to 12th grade, and curriculum and training in these subjects are provided annually by the HIDOE for teachers. More importantly, pedagogy in the schools is based on Western, American research and ways of teaching. As a large number of Japanese Americans sit in positions of leadership in the HIDOE and the Hawai'i Board of Education, they maintain an unequal system of education by favoring the dominant Western American curriculum, pedagogy, and professional development and eliminating Native Hawaiian and other nondominant cultures from the public schools.

Native Hawaiian Resistance and Survivance

The acts of resistance by the people being oppressed are an important part of understanding the events that took place. Kauanui (2016) argues that "any meaningful engagement with theories of settler colonialism . . . necessarily needs to tend to the question of

indigeneity" (p. 2). In other words, settler colonialism should not be normalized as a "done deal" because indigenous people continue to "exist, resist, and persist" (Kauanui, 2016, pp. 1, 3). In *Aloha Betrayed,* Silva (2004) highlights the significance of Foucault's stance from his 1982 essay, "The Subject and Power," that an understanding of power relations also requires an understanding of resistance (as cited in Silva, 2004, p. 6). In addition to acts of resistance, we must also consider acts of complicity, not only on the part of the Asian settlers or Japanese Americans, but of Native Hawaiians as well. Complicity can signal acceptance, or it can be a form of passive resistance. In his depiction of peasant rebellion, Scott (1985) noted that everyday resistance can take the form of "foot dragging, dissimulation, false compliance" or even "feigned ignorance" (p. 29). These subtler forms of resistance are worth examining when analyzing the stories of marginalized or colonized populations.

Gerald Vizenor (2008) originated the term "survivance" as an alternative to describe resistance and survival of native people. He defines survivance as an "active sense of presence over absence, deracination, and oblivion" (2008, p. 1). Survivance stresses "renewal and continuity into the future" rather than "mere survival" (Kroeber, 2008, p. 25). Survivance entails the continuation of the language, history, and knowledge of an indigenous people, and focuses on a hopeful resurrection of culture as opposed to a focus on loss and tragedy. As opposed to overt resistance, "subjugated peoples" can resist through continued practice and reproduction of their traditions, while simultaneously appearing to assimilate (Michel de Certeau and Lawrence Levine, as cited in Silva, 2004, p. 6). According to Corntassel and Bryce (2012) these acts of survivance can move "indigenous self-determination" beyond "self-governance" (p. 153). They use the term "sustainable self-determination" to describe the "community-based process" of "indigenous resurgence," which includes "reconnecting with homelands, cultural practices, and

communities" and "decolonization" which normalizes cultural practices as "everyday local practice" (Corntassel & Bryce, 2012, p. 153).

Goodyear-Kaʻōpua (2013) applies the term "Hawaiian survivance" to describe the specific movements among Native Hawaiians to restore and strengthen their culture, history, and language. A collection of the diverse, yet connected stories of survivance are portrayed in *A Nation Rising: Hawaiian Movements for Life, Land, and Sovereignty* (Goodyear-Kaʻōpua, Hussey and Wright, Eds., 2014). Though these moʻolelo do not focus on public education in Hawaiʻi specifically, they serve as examples of important narratives about the past and present in which Native Hawaiians are actively resisting settler colonialism. In my research, I consider how the stories of participants represent acts of resistance, acceptance, and survivance toward structures and values that do not align with their own.

Critical Race Theory, Community Cultural Wealth, & Counter-Storytelling

Settler colonialism, Asian settler colonialism, and Native Hawaiian resistance and survivance theories address issues of power, and fit hand-in-hand with critical race theory (CRT), which aims to study and transform "the relationship among race, racism, and power" (Delgado and Stefancic, 2001, p.2). Critical race theory emerged from the Critical Legal Studies movement and radical feminist movement, and was also influenced by the Black Power, Chicano, and Civil Rights movements (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001; Taylor, Gillborn, & Ladson-Billings, 2009). CRT focuses on racism, which CRT scholars define as the belief that one group is inherently superior over another, justifying power over the perceived inferior group(s) (Omi and Winant, 1994; Banks, 1995; Lorde, 1992 in Yosso and Solórzano, 2005, p. 117). Delgado and Stefancic (2001) identify six basic principles of CRT: 1) racism is a common experience for people of color in the U.S., 2) white supremacy and ascendancy is systemic such that it is

difficult to address, 3) race is socially constructed, 4) the dominant groups in society racialize the minority groups at different times, 5) every individual has overlapping and sometimes conflicting identities, and 6) each person experiences racism differently, and has their own unique story to tell. In the CRT framework, racism occurs at the macro/institutional and micro/individual levels in society (Yosso & Solórzano, 2005).

Off-shoot movements such as FemCrit, TribalCrit, LatCrit, AsianCrit, and even WhiteCrit have emerged since CRT's beginnings to account for the experiences of women, indigenous people, and other people of color (Yosso, 2005). These branches of CRT are intended to expand CRT beyond a black versus white binary, and to acknowledge the voices of other marginalized populations in the U.S (Yosso, 2005).

One major research field where CRT has expanded is in education. Critical race theorists continue the work of the Civil Rights movement in education by using CRT as a tool to explain the "sustained inequity that people of color experience" (Ladson-Billings, 2009, p. 28). Solórzano identified themes within CRT that specifically address issues of power and race in education: 1) the intercentricity of race and racism with other forms of subordination, 2) the challenge to dominant ideology, 3) the commitment to social justice, 4) the centrality of experiential knowledge, and 5) the utilization of interdisciplinary approaches (Solórzano, 1997, 1998; Solórzano & Yosso, 2002; Yosso, 2005). Solórzano's five themes overlap with the first, second, and sixth principles of CRT identified by Delgado and Stefancic, and specifically address how "race and racism impact educational structures, practices, and discourses" (Yosso, 2005, p. 74).

Two CRT-related theoretical frameworks that intersect with settler colonialism and Hawaiian survivance are tribal critical race theory (TribalCrit) and community cultural wealth.

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TribalCrit builds from CRT's critique of white hegemony in the U.S. but differentiates the experiences of indigenous people from other marginalized groups (Brayboy, 2005). The first tenet of TribalCrit is that colonization is endemic to society (Brayboy, 2005), similar to Solórzano's principle of CRT that racism is endemic to U.S. society (Yosso, 2006). TribalCrit views U.S. policies as supremacist and imperialist toward indigenous people, aiming to assimilate them through education and government control (Brayboy, 2005). TribalCrit highlights the value of indigenous people's perspectives on knowledge, culture, and power, and the value of stories in native cultures as theory and "legitimate sources of data and ways of being" (Brayboy, 2005, pp. 429-430). Indigenous people's sovereignty is a key aspect of TribalCrit, which Brayboy (2005) compares to Vizenor's concept of survivance. Like settler colonialism, TribalCrit takes a critical stance against U.S. imperialism and hegemony, but turns the focus away from the settler colonialist structure to the strengths and desires of indigenous people and culture.

Yosso's concept of community cultural wealth goes a step further by explicitly discouraging deficit models when examining the experiences of indigenous people (Yosso, 2005). She does this through the lens of Solórzano's five CRT themes, focusing on contemporary discussions about education in the U.S. Yosso (2005) defines deficit thinking as placing blame on minority students and families for students' lack of "normative cultural knowledge and skills" to be successful in school and for parents not valuing nor supporting their child's education (p. 75). Bourdieu refers to these skills and knowledge as "cultural capital" which privileged groups in society value, possess and either pass on to their children, or provide their children with access to such capital through formal schooling (Yosso, 2005, p. 76). According to Bourdieu's framework, underprivileged groups lack cultural capital and are viewed as being deficient.

However, minority families may possess and pass on other cultural skills and knowledge that are valuable to the student and his or her family, that do not necessarily align with the white middle- and upper-class values prevalent within the school system (Yosso, 2005).

Yosso (2005) proposes the concept of community cultural wealth as the CRT-influenced challenge to cultural capital and deficit thinking. Community cultural wealth is defined as "an array of knowledge, skills, abilities and contacts possessed and utilized by Communities of Color to survive and resist macro and micro-forms of oppression" (Yosso, 2005, p. 77). Yosso (2005) identifies at least six examples of "capital" which are forms of community cultural wealth: aspirational navigational, social, linguistic, familial, and resistant (see Figure 2).

Aspirational Capital

Resistant Capital

Linguistic Capital

Community Cultural Wealth (Yosso, 2005)

Navigational Capital

Familial Capital

Social Capital

Figure 2. The six types of community cultural wealth
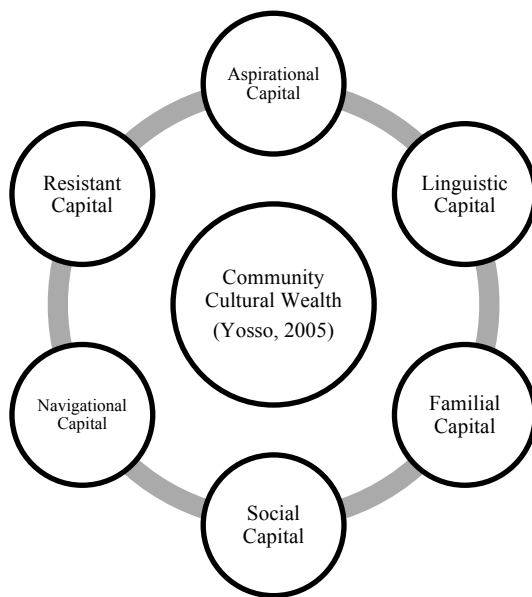
Aspirational capital is the ability to sustain one's hopes for the future despite "real or perceived barriers" (Yosso, 2005, p. 77). Linguistic capital refers to the notion that students of color are multilingual and come to school with social and communication skills such as storytelling, music, poetry and art (Yosso, 2005). Familial capital is the "cultural knowledge"

which one acquires through kinship and can include "community history, memory and cultural intuition" (Yosso, 2005, p. 79). Social capital refers to the social networks students may rely upon to "navigate through society's institutions" (Yosso, 2005, p. 79). Students use their social capital in conjunction with navigational capital, which includes the skills students use to find their way around institutions, particularly institutions made for privileged groups, similar to the concept of resilience (Yosso, 2005). The last form of cultural knowledge within community cultural wealth is resistant capital, which is the ability to resist subordination by the dominant culture or groups, and includes the knowledge of a history of resistance from one's community passed from generation to generation (Yosso, 2005).

Complementary to the concept of community cultural wealth, Delgado utilizes counter-storytelling as a way to empower those who are marginalized in society and similarly challenge the "majoritarian" stories (Delgado & Stefancic, 1989 in Yosso & Solórzano, 2005). Counter-storytelling as a research methodology highlights the experiences, particularly those of "social, political, and cultural survival and resistance" of marginalized people (Solórzano & Yosso, 2002, p. 32). These counter-stories include personal narratives, biographies from a third-person point of view, and composite narratives which draw upon multiple people's experiences to synthesize characters and "place them in social, historical, and political situations to discuss racism, sexism, classism, and other forms of subordination" (Solórzano & Yosso, 2002, p. 33). These counter-stories serve multiple purposes: to build community among marginalized peoples by humanizing educational theory and practice, to challenge the "perceived wisdom" by groups in power to give "context to understand and transform established belief systems," provide marginalized groups with a sense of comfort by giving them the opportunity to hear stories similar to their own, and to teach others about constructing stories that combine reality and story (Solórzano & Yosso,

2002, p. 36). CRT counter-stories, like community cultural wealth, challenge deficit thinking through such methods as "oral traditions, historiographies, *corridos[7],* poetry, films, *actos[8]*, or by other means" (Solórzano & Yosso, 2002, p. 37). The moʻolelo in *A Nation Rising: Hawaiian Movements for Life, Land, and Sovereignty* (Goodyear-Kaʻōpua, Hussey & Wright, Eds., 2014) highlight Hawaiian community cultural wealth through counter-stories of Hawaiian survivance.

Survivance, community cultural wealth and counter-storytelling represent ongoing movements of resistance and survival for indigenous people within settler colonial structures. Because settler colonialisms are not stand alone events, CRT and TribalCrit are pertinent theoretical frameworks that address the systemic and structural nature of these "land-centered projects" that aim to erase native peoples and cultures (Goodyear-Kaʻōpua, 2013; Wolfe, 2006;). I utilize CRT and TribalCrit as theoretical lenses alongside the theories of settler colonialism, Asian settler colonialism, community cultural wealth, counter-storytelling and survivance. A single theoretical approach does not adequately address the range of issues that arose in this study due to the complex history and nature of power relations in Hawaiʻi. Rather, this network of theories is necessary to understand at a deeper level the values, perceptions and experiences of parents and community members in a rural community in Hawaiʻi with a significant Native Hawaiian population. TribalCrit examines the impact of colonization on indigenous people, building from CRT's focus on racism. These theories overlap as colonization and racism are structures constructed by dominant groups in society to subordinate other groups they deem inferior, and colonization often includes racist ideology and behavior. The first tenets of these

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[7] Corridos are "narrative" songs or verses in Mexican culture (Wald, 2014).
[8] The Spanish word actos translates to "acts" in English (Google translate).

two theories align with Wolfe's (2006) definition of settler colonialism as a pervasive structure that marginalizes and aims to erase native peoples.

Unlike other forms of colonization, settler colonialism and Asian settler colonialism address colonization and occupation of an indigenous nation, and are thus most relevant to a case study about a public school in Hawai'i. Discrimination against Native Hawaiians spans the political, economic, and social sectors of society, including public schools. Furthermore, this particular school serves a significant Native Hawaiian population and several other minority populations, including Filipinos, Samoans, and Micronesians, so the impact of settler colonialism and Asian settler colonialism on their experiences and perceptions must be considered. Both settler colonialism and Asian settler colonialism are important theoretical lenses for this study not only because Caucasians and Asians represent the dominant groups in Hawai'i, but because Caucasians and Japanese Americans are also overrepresented among the faculty at the school in this study. In this vein, the school is relatively similar to other HIDOE schools in its large proportion of Japanese Americans compared with few Native Hawaiians among the teachers, serving a majority Native Hawaiian student population (Fujikane, 2008, p. 25). Schools in the continental U.S. may focus on other contributors of parent and community involvement such as socioeconomics and levels of education, but given the unique circumstances in Hawai'i public schools, for this study I pay particular attention to indigeneity, culture, and settler colonialism. Since the context that the study takes place in is within a settler colonial system, I take the position that all of the interactions between the school, community and families are influenced in some way by settler colonialism.

Additionally, CRT asserts that each individual has overlapping and sometimes conflicting identities; in Hawai'i, this is the case as many Native Hawaiians today are multiethnic and

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multicultural, which makes the issue of discrimination of Native Hawaiians even more complex. As many Native Hawaiians are also of Caucasian, Portuguese, Chinese, Japanese, and/or other ancestries, the constructs of settler colonialism and Asian settler colonialism complicate how each individual experiences discrimination. The CRT principle that each person experiences racism differently is applicable here as Native Hawaiians in Hawaiʻi do not have a common experience in the settler colonial system. Rather, each has a unique story to tell, depending on each individual's ethnic and cultural identities, gender, class, life experiences, family history, social network, values, and educational experiences.

Though racism against Hawaiians and other minority groups may be a contributing factor in this study, CRT alone is not sufficient in analyzing the perceptions and experiences of Native Hawaiians, as they are an indigenous people like Native Americans, as opposed to another minority group like African Americans. Native Hawaiians, or Kanaka Maoli, are the original people of Hawaiʻi with genealogical ties to the land, many of whom assert their political independence, or ea, from the United States (Goodyear-Kaʻōpua, 2014). All of the principles of TribalCrit can apply to the experiences of Native Hawaiians as an indigenous people who have been and continue to be displaced from their homelands. The TribalCrit tenet that governmental and educational policies are either directly or indirectly geared to assimilate indigenous people into the dominant white settler culture (Brayboy, 2005) is particularly relevant to this study as Waimānalo School is public, meaning it is funded and operated by the state government, and thus follows state laws and policies.

Though settler colonialism, Asian settler colonialism, CRT and TribalCrit may account for the settler behaviors and ideologies that shape the educational system and impact individuals' perceptions and experiences with public schools, their focus is on the oppressive structures rather

than on the people who are living within the system. Kauanui (2016) points out the importance of indigenous people's existence in, persistence in spite of, and resistance against settler colonial structures. Community cultural wealth, counter-storytelling, and survivance build on CRT, TribalCrit and settler colonialism, and highlight the ways Native Hawaiians and other indigenous people respond to racist, discriminatory, genocidal and destructive forces that threaten their land, culture, knowledge, and people. The stories and experiences of parents, family members, and community members in this study serve as counter-stories and examples of community cultural wealth, which can be used to consider ways to improve how the school serves its students and the community.

The purpose of CRT in educational research is to expose the unequal power relations in the community and its schools to achieve social justice by moving from a "deficit view of people of color to a critical view of discriminatory social practices" in education (Villenas, Deyhle, & Parker, 1999, p. 48). By collecting, analyzing, and showcasing the stories of families and community members, I hope to contribute to this effort in reframing how family and community partnerships with public schools in Hawaiʻi is understood. Parents' interactions with schools are often judged by educators as poor parenting if they do not align with the policies and values of the school system and staff. However, this perspective assumes a deficit approach toward parents and community, and looks at the backgrounds of parents and families as barriers or obstacles to their children's education (Huaman & Valdiviezo, 2012). Deficit thinking looks at what is missing or what is troubling, rather than seeing what knowledge and skills are present in how parents interact with the school and their children. Instead, the intent of this study is to better understand the perspective of the parents with the assumption that they care about their child and his/her wellbeing and future. This approach utilizes community cultural wealth in challenging

the deficit approach toward communities of color, and seeing the stories of parents through a strengths-based lens. Resistant capital and familial capital, in particular, can be compared with Native Hawaiian survivance, which views resistance and survival of one's culture through familial connections and genealogy as vital to the culture and in opposition to settler colonialism. Yosso and Solórzano (2005) define "revolutionary racial reform" as a challenge and radical transformation of "structures of domination." Though much of the work of CRT scholars may not be "revolutionary" according to Yosso and Solórzano's (2005) definition, the ultimate goal of CRT remains radical system change. I hope this study can contribute to the body of research driving racial and political reform to improve the lives of underserved and underrepresented groups, particularly indigenous people.

Native Hawaiian Families and Communities

There are three studies focused on the experiences of Native Hawaiian families and communities that are particularly informative to my study: Kaomea's (2012) study of Native Hawaiian preschool families, Kukea Shultz's (2014) study of Hawaiian immersion families, and and Maielua's (2011) study of PI in a middle school in Hawai'i. All three of these studies reject a deficit lens of indigenous families and communities, which align with my theoretical framework of critical race theory, specifically TribalCrit and Hawaiian survivance.

The aim of Kaomea's (2012) case study was to listen to and learn from Native Hawaiian families to "legitimize" their efforts to support their child's learning to inform next steps for the educators in continuing to support the families' efforts (p. 3). Kaomea's (2012) use of counterstorytelling, critical race theory (CRT) and TribalCrit influenced my inclusion of those research methodologies in my study since I am also doing a case study, and interviewing family members and community members in a community with a significant Native Hawaiian

population. Though she does not mention settler colonialism as part of her data analysis, Kaomea (2012) is explicit in mentioning the colonial history and structures that serve as the context for the study, which aligns with my use of settler colonialism and Asian settler colonialism as branches of CRT and TribalCrit.

Kukea Shultz (2014) gathered moʻolelo [stories] through in-depth interviews of families' decisions to send their children to Hawaiian immersion schools. Her use of agency, survivance, and kuleana as her theoretical framework reinforced my study design using semi-structured interviews and using multiple theories, including survivance, in my theoretical framework. Kukea Shultz's (2014) research questions considered the factors that influenced families' decisions to send their children to immersion school, including their values and motivations (p. 23). These research questions were helpful in the design of the research questions for this study, as I was also interested in understanding the values and motivations of the parents in choosing to send their child to a particular school.

Unlike the schools in Kaomea's and Kukea Shultz's study, the school in Maielua's (2011) study is most similar to this study in that it is a public middle school in a high Native Hawaiian populated area. As a vice principal, I work closely with parents and family members on a daily basis, and have an interest in school, family and community partnerships. As a Parent Community Networking Coordinator (PCNC) in the HIDOE, Maielua has a similar interest. The research questions in Maileua's (2011) study were relevant for my study and useful in guiding my future work with families to better understand their needs, wants, and expectations. Maielua (2011) asked parents about their personal beliefs and experiences with PI, including whether their experiences were positive or negative (p. 103). I asked participants in this study similar

questions about their experiences as parents with the school. Furthermore, Maielua (2011) references the much of the literature on PI that I used in my research.

In addition to the three Hawaiian-focused studies, Agbo's (2007) study in Canada is relevant as it examines indigenous parent and community relations with the school (Agbo, 2007). Like Agbo (2007), I interviewed parents, staff members and community members to understand each role group's and individual's perceptions of their involvement or connection to the school. A number of parallels can also be drawn between my study and Agbo's (2007) study: the school as a community school with a significant indigenous population (though my school is not run by the Department of Hawaiian Homelands or a Native Hawaiian organization, it is near Hawaiian homestead lands), the community elders noting the loss of cultural knowledge with younger generations, and the acknowledgement of power relations. The themes that emerged from Agbo's (2007) analysis are also significant as they speak to settler colonialism and TribalCrit theories. While a number of studies of PI and school-community relations with indigenous families and communities are available, these four studies aligned most closely with the literature and background, theoretical framework, data collection and analysis methods, and setting of this study.

Theoretical Framework

As this study aims to understand how individuals from the community perceive and engage (or don't engage) with their community and Waimānalo School, I draw from the literature on PI and school community relations and from critical theories to analyze participants' interview responses. Figure 3 illustrates the theoretical framework for this study:
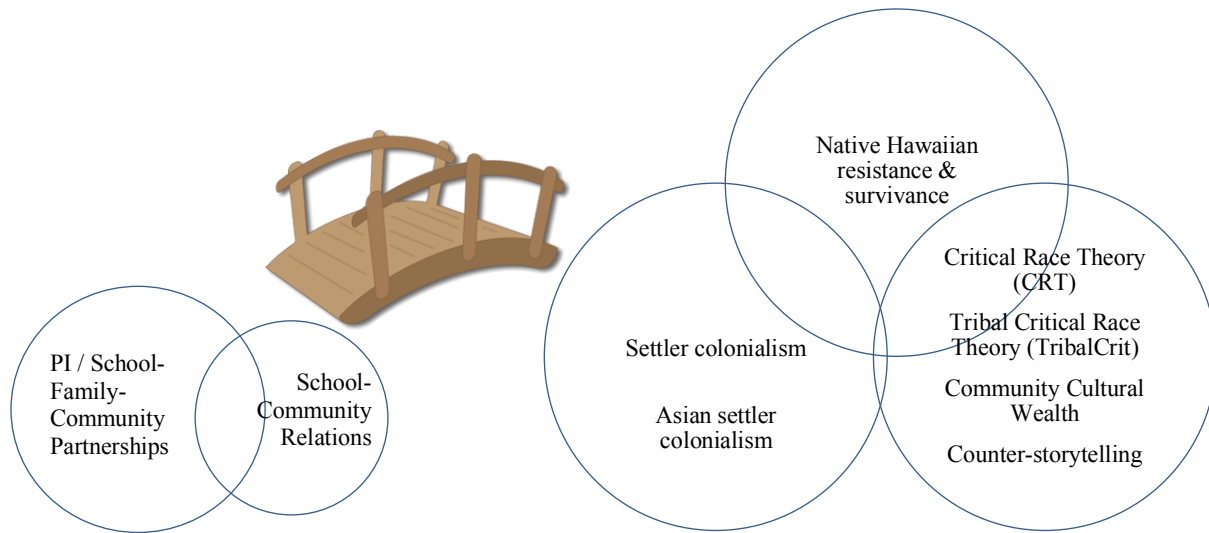
Figure 3. The theoretical framework "bridge" between PI/School-Family-Community Partnerships and Critical Theories

While there are studies on parent involvement and school-community relations in communities with indigenous and nondominant populations like Waimānalo, few of the studies examine family and community engagement with the school through the lens of these critical theories. For my study, since I was able to interview participants of different cultural backgrounds that represented the diverse demographics of Waimānalo, it was helpful to be able to draw upon these two broader bodies of research. For some participants, their engagement or lack of engagement is related to individual factors that might best be explained utilizing PI models, whereas other participants' level of engagement is directly related to their perception of the school as an institution that promotes settler colonial practices. By bringing these two different areas of research together, I hope to present a more comprehensive understanding of family and community engagement to inform our school and other schools how to best serve and collaborate with a community with diverse needs and interests.

Chapter 3: Methods

Study Design

A case study is "an in-depth description and analysis of a bounded system" (Merriam, 2009, p. 40). The *case* that is being studied *is* the bounded system, the single "unit of interest" (Saldaña, 2015, p. 193) or "unit of analysis" (Merriam, 2009, p. 41). For this project, the unit of interest and analysis is the Waimānalo School community, which includes the school staff, students, parents, and community members. The aim of this qualitative case study was to understand how the people in a rural public-school community with a significant Native Hawaiian population "make sense of their world and the experiences they have in their world" to better understand their perspective toward their own community and school (Merriam, 2009). I would further classify this case study as "heuristic," as I sought to understand an ongoing phenomenon, parent and community engagement in the school (Merriam, 2009, p.44).

How parents and community members perceive the community and school provides valuable insight into the ways in which they engage with school staff and participate in school activities. Interviewing parents and community members is an important part of elevating their voices in the decision-making process, and avoiding making assumptions about the reasons for their engagement or lack of engagement with Waimānalo School. Understanding the values and motivations that drive their interactions with the school can inform the school leadership and faculty to help improve relationships with families and community to better serve students. Though this study focused on the case of a specific school community, I hope the results can inform the larger body of knowledge about public schools which serve Native Hawaiian, indigenous, minority, low-income, and rural communities.

Selecting and Recruiting Participants

I specifically refer to the interviewees in this study as "participants" to reflect their active participation in reconstructing their experiences (Seidman, 2006, p.14). The participant population of this case study included adults who met the criteria of 1) being a Waimānalo resident or 2) being currently or previously connected to Waimānalo School as a staff member, parent of a current student, parent or guardian of a former student or a 3) community member or community leader. I identified participants through "purposeful sampling" by utilizing existing professional relationships and referrals from participants (Seidman, 2006). To meet the criteria of having sufficient data and a saturation of information, I aimed to involve 20 to 30 participants (Seidman, 2006, p. 55).

Initially, I identified about 25 potential participants that I had existing relationships with or knew of that might be willing to let me interview them. The initial list included parents and grandparents of current students, community leaders, staff members, and parents of students who were no longer at the school. I tried to include as wide a range of perspectives as possible in terms of the potential participants' ethnic and cultural background, area of Waimānalo in which they lived, and their level of engagement with the school. For community members, I contacted active community leaders who had a lot of interaction with the community so they would be able to not only share their own beliefs and values, but who might also be able to comment on the beliefs and values of other residents in the community. Two of the participants introduced me to participants who were not on my original list, and two other participants made recommendations of other participants that might be willing to be interviewed. I utilized the Geographic Exception forms to try to contact parents of students who requested to be transferred to other schools, but of the twenty parents I contacted, only two responded to my requests and both declined to be

interviewed. In addition to parents I knew well, I contacted parents of current students that I did not have much contact with, and two allowed me to interview them. Twelve of the participants I initially identified agreed to let me interview them. In total, I was able to interview 22 participants who met at least one of the above criteria, over the course of nine months.

Prior to the interviews, I contacted the research participants in person, by phone or email, and provided each participant with a summary describing the research project as well as a verbal explanation of the research. I also provided all participants with a consent form to participate in the research project which described the interview process, potential benefits and risks, safeguards for confidentiality and privacy, and the provision to opt out of the research project at any time if they felt uncomfortable or no longer wished to participate. Twenty-one of the 22 participants gave me permission to use their first name, and only one participant provided me with a pseudonym at the time of the interview. However, since I indicated up front that participants would remain anonymous, I opted to use pseudonyms for all the participants except for one who preferred I use their real name. The remaining participants chose to either select their own pseudonym for the study or asked that I choose a pseudonym for them.

Participant Profiles

In the following section, I provide a brief profile of each participant. The profiles are organized by the participant's primary role (some participants have multiple roles): parents of current students, former students or parents of former students, community members, and staff. A table that lists the participants, their role, gender, and ethnicity can be found in Appendix C.

Parents of current students. Aveao is of Samoan descent and is a parent of current and former students at Waimānalo School. He was born in American Samoa, but his family moved to Hawai'i when he was a baby. He attended several other elementary schools on the windward side

of Oʻahu, then attended Waimānalo School when his family moved to Waimānalo during his intermediate school years. He attended a local high school and attended college in Hawaiʻi and abroad, then returned to Waimānalo. He is an actively involved in his church and in his children's schools. He is married to another participant, Gloria.

Edwina is of Chuukese descent and was born in Chuuk and lived there until she was 9 or 10 years old. She then moved to Saipan to live with her older sister. She finished school in Saipan, then went to college and got married had children in Guam. She moved to Hawaiʻi with one of her children, but her children from her first marriage now all reside with their father. When she moved to Hawaiʻi initially, she was homeless, but now she lives in an affordable housing complex near the school. She has since remarried and has children from her second marriage who attend Waimānalo School.

Gloria is also of Samoan descent but she was born and raised in New Zealand. She moved to Waimānalo when she married Aveao, another participant. Along with her husband, she is an active member of their church and the school community since her children all attended Waimānalo School.

Ikaika is a parent of current and former students at Waimānalo School. He is of Hawaiian and Caucasian descent, but identifies with "local culture." He grew up in Waimānalo on the homestead and attended Pope School and Waimānalo School for his intermediate years, then attended a local high school. He now lives in one of the neighborhoods near the school. He has four children and is raising them on his own.

Jade is a parent of current and former students at Waimānalo School. She was born in the Marshall Islands and is of Marshallese descent, but she was adopted as a baby by a couple who were of Hawaiian, Chinese, Okinawan and Filipino ancestry and identifies more with "local"

culture than Marshallese culture. She was raised on Maui, lived in Alaska for a few years, then when her mother passed away, returned to Maui for the remainder of her school years. She met her husband in school on Maui, and together they raised their first two children there. Jade moved to Waimānalo to live with her husband's family about 12 years ago and they had two more children. All her children have attended Waimānalo School and the local high school.

Kemakana is a parent and a staff member at Waimānalo School. She is of Hawaiian ancestry and grew up on the Hawaiian homestead in Waimānalo. She attended schools in the neighboring town of Kailua and on Hawai'i island. She said that she grew up "haole" but she has since reconnected with Hawaiian culture after studying it in college, and is an active member of the Waimānalo community.

Rowena is also a parent of current and former students at Waimānalo School. She is married to Samuel, a participant in this study. She is of Hawaiian ancestry and though she was born in Honolulu, she grew up on Maui, central O'ahu and windward O'ahu. Her father's family is from Waimānalo. She attended Kamehameha Schools but graduated from the local high school. She previously lived in Honolulu and worked with her husband Samuel at a Hawaiian-focused charter school. She now lives in Waimānalo on the homestead with her family. I interviewed Samuel and Rowena together.

Ruth is a grandparent of a current and former student at Waimānalo School. She is of Okinawan descent. She was raised in Waimānalo on her family's farm and attended Waimānalo School and the local high school. She moved to Honolulu for most of her adult years, but returned to Waimānalo to take care of her aging mother. She now lives in the family home with her daughter and grandchildren and continues to take care of the nursery.

Samuel is a parent of current and former students at Waimānalo School. He is of Hawaiian ancestry and grew up in Waimānalo, living in various parts of the town. He remembers living in the apartments near the school for some time until he moved to the homestead in high school. He attended Waimānalo School and then local high school. He helped found a Hawaiian-focused charter school and also taught at the school. Though he lived in Honolulu for some time, he returned to the homestead in Waimānalo and lives there with his family today. He is married to another participant, Rowena. He is an active community leader who is passionate about Waimānalo and Hawaiian history and culture.

Former students and parents of former students. Kahula is a former student and a parent of former students of Waimānalo School. Her family moved to Waimānalo in the late 1930s to live on the Hawaiian homestead. Kahula is of Hawaiian and Chinese ancestry and lives in her family home today on the homestead. She attended Waimānalo School and the local high school, and her children attended Pope School, Waimānalo School and the local high school as well. She works as a kupuna at an elementary school in Kailua, the neighboring town. She is actively involved in her community with culture-based and community-based projects.

Oluolu is a former student of Waimānalo School. He is of Hawaiian ancestry and was raised on the homestead. He attended Pope School, Waimānalo School, and the local high school. He is actively involved with the local canoe club and with various community-based and culture-based efforts in Waimānalo.

Rias is a recent graduate of the local high school and a former student of Waimānalo School. He is of Filipino descent and his parents immigrated from the Philippines in the 1990s. His parents met on Oʻahu then moved to Waimānalo. He grew up in Waimānalo and still lives in a neighborhood near the school. Rias is the oldest of four children, all who attended Waimānalo

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School, and his youngest sibling is still a student there. Rias is an active community member and is currently in college.

Walter is a former student of Waimānalo School. He is of Hawaiian, Chinese and Danish ancestry and grew up in Waimānalo on the homestead. He attended Waimānalo School until intermediate, when he went to ʻIolani School, then he went on to graduate from a high school in Honolulu. He attended college on Oʻahu, served in the military, then returned to live in his family home in Waimānalo. His two sons attended Kamehameha Schools. Walter has been an active community member and leader for many years.

Mahealani is a parent of former students of Waimānalo School. She is of Hawaiian, Chinese, and Portuguese descent and says that she associates with all three of her ethnicities. She grew up in Kailua and Waimānalo, but attended schools in Kailua until the last few years of high school when her family moved and she graduated from Waiʻanae High School. Mahealani's father worked for the dairy in Waimānalo so she was raised on the dairy knowing "ranch type living." As an adult, she moved to other parts of the island but returned to Waimānalo eventually, and now works for a local community agency and lives in the town side of Waimānalo. She is an active member of the community and is involved in several community efforts in Waimānalo. Some of her children, both biological and hānai [foster], attended Waimānalo School and other schools in Kailua.

Uluwehi is a parent of former students of Waimānalo School. She is of Hawaiian ancestry and grew up on the homestead. She attended Pope School, but then went to private school in Kailua and the local public high school. She works in Waimānalo and resides in the new homestead subdivision in Waimānalo. She is actively involved in multiple community-based and culture-based efforts in Waimānalo.

Community members. Ana grew up in Kailua until her intermediate school years when she moved to Waimānalo. She is of Hawaiian and Creole descent and was raised speaking ʻōlelo Hawaiʻi. She attended Hawaiian immersion school, then Kamehameha Schools. She attended college on the mainland and lived for a short time on the mainland due to her husband's job, but relocated to Hawaiʻi. She lives in the same neighborhood near Waimānalo School where she grew up. She has worked in Waimānalo for several different community organizations and is an active member of the community.

Henry grew up on the mainland and came to Hawaiʻi to work at the University of Hawaiʻi in the 1970s. He is of Caucasian descent. He has worked for a local agency in Waimānalo for nearly 50 years. He also serves on the board at a local non-profit organization in Waimānalo.

Kiani Ani is of Hawaiian ancestry and grew up in Waimānalo on the homestead. He attended Pope School and Kamehameha Schools, and only went to Waimānalo School for a summer program. His children attend private school and Hawaiian immersion school on the windward side of Oʻahu. He is an active member of the community who is particularly passionate about education, and is involved in several community and culture-based projects related to education in Waimānalo. Though he does not have any children at Waimānalo School, he has attended the School Community Council meetings as a community member.

Kinai is of Hawaiian ancestry and works in Waimānalo. He grew up in Kailua and attended Kamehameha Schools. He has worked with vulnerable populations in Waimānalo including at-risk youth, kūpuna, and the houseless community, and established a non-profit organization that aims to support the community, particularly youth at-risk of dropping out of school.

Maliʻu is of Hawaiian ancestry and grew up in Waimānalo on the homestead. He attended Waimānalo School until the second grade, but left to attend Hawaiian immersion school. He remained in the Hawaiian immersion setting for the remainder of his K-12 experience. His children also attend a Hawaiian immersion school on the windward side of Oʻahu. He still lives with his family on the homestead in Waimānalo and tries to live a self-sustaining lifestyle as much as possible by growing his own food. He identifies as a "farmer" who grows "people." He currently works on a community-based and culture-based project aimed at proving large-scale natural farming is possible in Hawaiʻi.

Staff members. Catherine is a current staff member at Waimānalo School. She is a former Waimānalo student and a parent of former students at Waimānalo School. Her children now attend school outside of Waimānalo. She grew up in Waimānalo in a neighborhood near the school. She is of Filipino and German ancestry. She attended a private Catholic school for intermediate school and high school. Though she lived on Hawaiʻi island for a few years, she currently lives in Waimānalo with her family.

Darcy is a current staff member at Waimānalo School. She is of Hawaiian and Tahitian descent. She spent her early years living in Waimānalo on the homestead, but her family moved to Kailua for most of her childhood. She attended public and private schools in Kailua and attended Kamehameha Schools. Her family returned to live in Waimānalo for a brief time after Darcy finished college, but they eventually moved back to Kailua. She currently lives in Kailua with her children, who attend their neighborhood schools and Kamehameha Schools.

My Role as Researcher

My role at Waimānalo School is an important consideration in this study. I serve in a supervisory role, and have daily contact with teachers, staff members, parents and students.

Much of the information students, parents, and teachers share with me is confidential and/or protected under the Family Educational Rights and Privacy Act (FERPA), and was not used in my research. Having a high level of access to schoolwide data and student information means I have to abide by federal, state, and school policies, and means that as a researcher, I would not use my position as an insider at the school to jeopardize students' right to privacy.

Another important implication of my role as an insider is my bias resulting from prior relationships with staff, parents, and community members. I provided participants with a copy of the transcript from their interview(s) to ensure accurate transcription (Yow, 2015). Furthermore, I utilized "member checks," or "respondent validation" to ensure "internal validity and credibility," and to minimize my biases in interpreting participants' responses in the interviews (Merriam, 2009, p. 217).

During the interviews, I balanced gaining or maintaining participants' trust as a researcher with soliciting honest responses from the participants. I informed participants that while I was in the role of researcher, I would not accept their responses with judgment or allow their responses to influence our relationship while in my role at the school. I was mindful of my facial expressions, body language, and follow up questions during the interview process. When some participants gave critical feedback about the school, I told them that I valued their honest responses and did not defend myself or the school, but listened and asked probing and clarifying questions as if I was a neutral party.

Positionality

At school and at home, I identified as a "local" because I was born and raised in Hawai'i, and differentiated myself from the "haole" kids in elementary school. "Haole" meant Caucasian, white, *foreigner*, and because I was born in Hawai'i, I was entitled to be in the "in between"

space between indigenous and haole. I was aware that as a Japanese American, I was not Native Hawaiian, but I only felt this division when several of my friends were accepted to Kamehameha Schools, meaning I would no longer be able to go to school with them. My naïve sixth grade-self believed being Native Hawaiian meant my friends were privileged, entitled to something that I could never have access to, and that the only thing separating me from my friends was ancestry. I was unaware at the time of the socioeconomic, historical, and political constructs which contributed to my position in society as a local Japanese American, and separated me from my Native Hawaiian friends.

It was not until 20 years later, when I began working at a school with a significant Native Hawaiian population, that I realized how my identity as a local Japanese American included acquired privilege and power. Being born in Hawaiʻi did not make me an insider at my school or in the community, and in some ways I could never be an insider because I lacked the historical, genealogical, and cultural connections passed down through generations.

Being Native Hawaiian does not make a person privileged because one can attend Kamehameha Schools—my friends who were fortunate to attend Kamehameha Schools were not the norm, but the exception. The right to attend a school designated for the children of Hawaiʻi is one of the few legacies which benefit some Native Hawaiian students. For most Native Hawaiians, however, being an indigenous person can come with more burdens and disadvantages than being a settler, a non-indigenous person, when living in a settler colonial society. As a Japanese American, I am far from disadvantaged compared with my Native Hawaiian peers and have had access to a life of privilege because of my ethnic, cultural, socioeconomic background, and position within a settler colonial system.

I acknowledge my positionality up front in this study because my intent is not to speak for Native Hawaiians or the participants in this study. However, given the access to higher education, and the opportunity to engage in this research, it is my intent to facilitate the elevation of the voices of people in Waimānalo. I hope that by highlighting the stories and experiences of parents and community members in a community with a significant indigenous population, that policymakers, educators, and our own school staff can find ways to improve how our public schools serve students, particularly students who historically have been underserved by our school system. As an educator, I believe all students should be proud of who they are and where they come from, and their schools and community should work together to help students to achieve their dreams.

Data Collection

I served as the primary instrument of data collection in this research project. To collect data, I utilized the following methods: 1) participant interviews, 2) field notes and observations. I also conducted a document analysis including collecting and analyzing school achievement data, school demographic data, parent participation data, and community demographic data as part of the background research for the study. I offered all participants to meet at their preferred location, and when possible tried to conduct the interviews off-campus so I could step out of my role as school staff member into the role of the researcher to help participants feel more comfortable sharing their views about the school. I conducted the first three interviews at coffee shops, but found that the background noise interfered with the recording, so I recommended more quiet spaces to subsequent participants. Some participants were comfortable with being interviewed at the school and some even preferred that we meet there. I met other participants at their homes and at their work sites.

Seidman recommends a series of three interviews; the first to recall or reconstruct the participant's life history to gain context, the second to focus on the details of the experience, and the third to make meaning and reflect on the experience (2006, p.18). However, since I asked participants to volunteer their time for the interviews, I decided to meet with participants for one interview and follow the sequence of Seidman's three-interview series; I started with asking the participant to provide some life history, followed by questions about participants' experiences and beliefs that were relevant to the research questions, and when relevant, focused in on some details of their experiences, and prompted them to reflect on the meaning of those experiences.

As recommended by Kvale (1996), I briefed each participant before the interview about the purpose of the interview, the logistics, and answered any questions they might have before the interview (p. 128). To conclude the interview, I conducted a "debriefing" with the participant, and allowed the participant to ask follow up questions or express concerns (Kvale, 1996, p. 128). The format of the interviews was "semistructured" with some questions prepared in advance and the flexibility to pose new questions based on the participants' responses (Merriam, 2009, p. 89). While I did follow Kvale's (1996) sequence and had an order to the questions, I did not always follow the order of the questions depending on the participants' responses. I audio-recorded all interviews using the Garage Band application and a handheld audio-recorder. I took written notes during my interviews as well to supplement the recording, to capture nonverbal behavior and my own reactions to the participants' responses during the interview (Merriam, 2009, p. 109).

To supplement the interview transcripts and documents, I reflected on my observations of interactions between families and the school as a participant observer. I did not take notes during these interactions, but jotted notes and comments on these interactions in private at the end of the

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day. I also analyzed a number of government and school documents as part of my background

research of the problem. I examined public records including U.S. census data, school

achievement data, and school demographic data. I also examined internal school documents on

parent participation, school enrollment, Geographic Exceptions, and staff demographics.

Data Analysis

The most significant part of this study is the stories of some of the key stakeholders at

Waimānalo School—the parents and community members—which were recorded via interviews.

The literature on the interview data analysis process varies in the number of steps and the ways

in which to break interview transcripts down into meaning to produce a narrative of the results.

Because there is no "standard method" (Kvale, 2007, p. 103) of interview analysis, in

constructing my plan for data analysis, I drew upon grounded theory, oral and life history,

ethnography, and case study research strategies.

While most scholars agree that the data analysis begins prior to and continues during the

interview process, the literature on interview methods varies on the depth of the data analysis

occurring during data collection. Seidman (2006) recommends completing all the interviews

before proceeding with data analysis so as not to impose learning from early interviews on latter

interviews. He notes that it is natural for the researcher to review the data after each interview

and come up with follow up questions before the next interview, but he cautions against an in-

depth analysis until the interviews are complete (Seidman, 2006). Merriam (2009) recommends

conducting a "rudimentary" data analysis process simultaneously with the data collection process

to prevent the data from being "unfocused, repetitious, and overwhelming" (p. 171). Creswell

(2003) sees the data analysis process as being "ongoing" and one of "continual reflection" (p.

190), and not separate from the actual interview process. Kvale (1996) on the other hand, sees

the analysis as both ongoing and even preceding the interviews, as he believes a clear plan for the data analysis should determine the interview guide, process, and transcription, such that the interview is more of a confirmation or rejection of the researcher's hypothesis, resulting in an efficient final analysis. He emphasizes that the "1,000 pages of interview transcripts" post-interviews are overwhelming for a researcher, and thus advocates for incorporating the analysis into the interview process (Kvale, 1996, 2007).

Using these different approaches to the data collection and analysis process, I constructed a plan for data collection and analysis (Kvale, 1996), but I also reflected throughout the interview process, so I did not risk forgetting and losing possible meaning by waiting until all the interviews were complete to analyze the data (Creswell, 2003; Merriam, 2009). After each interview, I captured my initial thoughts in memorandums to myself, and added these reflections on the data, including notes taken during the interview, to the participant files (Merriam, 2009). Based on this immediate review of the transcript, I also revised my interview questions for subsequent interviews. I did wait until I completed all interviews before I analyzed the data closely (Seidman, 2006).

Since I conducted one interview for each participant, I needed to maximize my time with each person, and wanted to be able to learn from each interview in order to improve the questions and the process. Kvale (2007) provided the most useful option here in making the interview into a "self-correcting interview" by sending the meaning back to the participant during the interview to either confirm or clarify the data (p. 102). I asked clarifying and probing questions during the interview that were not planned as needed, but I also did a few brief follow-up interviews over the phone with participants when I needed further clarification after the interview.

The interview and transcription process overlapped as I began to transcribe earlier interviews while also conducting interviews. I transcribed the first seven interviews manually, but found that this was not conducive to meeting my timelines to complete the study. A colleague referred me to Happy Scribe, an online transcription service, which I used for the remaining interviews to provide me with a skeleton of the interview. I still had to go through each transcript to clean it up since the software did not always distinguish between my voice and the participant's voice, and could not accurately transcribe pidgin, slang, or Hawaiian words. This saved a great deal of time and allowed me to move on to the full analysis of the data set.

While I did not intend to generate a grounded theory, I utilized an inductive approach to the data and be open to what the data might say rather than to test a hypothesis or my theoretical framework through logical deduction (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Seidman, 2006). Seidman (2006) also notes than an awareness of one's own bias as the interpreter of the data is important. I was mindful of the theoretical framework to assist me in making sense of the data, but I did not necessarily try to match all the interviews with the theories. I took a balanced approach and was also open to the fact that the data might present other ideas outside of the theoretical framework.

Step 1: Organize the data. Many scholars note that it is important to first organize your data before you begin reading and analyzing the transcripts (Creswell, 2003; Kvale, 1996; Merriam, 2009; Seidman, 2006). As Seidman (2006) recommended, I needed to be meticulous in keeping track of participant documents such as participant information and consent forms, by creating a separate file (physical and digital) for each participant. As I completed each interview, I filed each participant's interview transcript and related notes in their individual participant file, with the exception of the two participants who I interviewed together. I printed one hard copy of the transcript to be able to work with in the analysis. Though Creswell (2003) recommends

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organizing the participant files by "type," I did not use this system because most of the participants fit multiple roles, and I could not classify them as one role type. Instead, I maintained a spreadsheet of all the participants with their names, pseudonyms, and roles, and I numbered the participant files in the order I interviewed them and by name. I used the role abbreviations "P" for parent, "C" for community, and "S" for staff.

Step 2: Review the study purpose. Though this step is not written into the formal sequence in most data analysis approaches, I included it as a part of my research plan to remind myself of the importance of the lens through which I will be interpreting the data. According to Merriam (2009), data analysis means to answer your research questions and the purpose of the study should be top of mind throughout the interview process and data analysis process. Schmidt (2004) also highlights the importance of reading each transcript with the aim of relating the information to the research questions. As recommended by Merriam (2009), between interviews and prior to reviewing all of my interview transcripts, I reviewed my literature review and research notes on the theoretical framework.

Step 3: Read all the data and write memos. Following Seidman's (2006) approach, I reserved the full "in-depth analysis" process for after all interviews were completed and transcribed, but my initial analysis began during the transcription process. Even with the help of the online transcription service, I listened to each recording five to ten times to ensure an accurate transcription. While it was fresh in my memory, I wrote a memo after completing finishing each transcript, which by Strauss' (1987) classification might be considered an initial or preliminary memo. Saldaña (2016), however, uses the term "analytic memo," regardless of whether the specific purpose of the memo, because he deems all memos to be analytic in nature. I used these memos to capture my initial thoughts related to the research questions (Creswell,

2003; Merriam, 2009), and to help me to adjust my interview questions since the I was transcribing interviews concurrently with conducting interviews.

Though it is recommended that after all interviews were completed and transcribed and my data was organized that I read through all of the transcripts to get a sense of all the information as a whole (Creswell, 2003; Kvale, 2007), because I completed the transcriptions within a two-month period, I found that I only needed to review the first five interview transcripts to refresh my memory. I read the interview transcripts in the order in which I conducted the interviews.

Step 4: Read and annotate each transcript. I began with annotating the physical transcripts, but after doing this for the first two interviews, I converted the text to a 3-column table so that I could easily transfer my notes to a list of codes, with the data in the left column. I read the data closely and typed initial thoughts and questions about the underlying meaning of the data in the middle column beside the related text (Creswell, 2003; Merriam, 2009; Saldaña, 2016). I also marked "what is of interest in the text" by highlighting interesting passages or "meaning units" in the transcript (Seidman, 2006, p. 117). These "units of data" were paragraphs, sentences, or even sequences of paragraphs (Bogdan and Biklan, 1982, p. 165). I considered Lincoln and Guba's (1985) criteria to determine whether a unit of data should be marked: the unit should be "heuristic" and direct the researcher, and should be able to "stand by itself" without needing additional information (p. 345). I also kept the research questions in mind as I read, so the marked passages were relevant to the purpose of the study (Merriam, 2009; Schmidt, 2004; Seidman, 2006).

Coding

Having read and annotated each transcript, and reviewed my research questions, the next step was to begin the actual "coding" of the data, which is a complex process in which the researcher labels and organizes material into smaller pieces, or "chunks" to be analyzed (Creswell, 2003; Rossman & Rallis, 1998; Saldaña, 2015; Seidman, 2006). Bogdan and Biklan (1982) explain coding as looking for patterns and ideas that "stand out" in the data then using words or phrases to represent those "regularities and patterns" (p. 156). This process is also referred to as "classifying" (Schmidt, 2004; Seidman, 2006).

Grounded theory provided the most useful technique for coding the data. Open coding involves analyzing the transcripts for any and all possible topics of interest (Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 2011; Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Merriam, 2009). Richards (2015) refers to this strategy of "labeling text according to its subject" as "topic coding" (p. 106). In a grounded theory approach, open coding is followed by analytical coding, which goes beyond marking passages of interest by naming the category and answering the question of why a passage is interesting to the researcher (Richards, 2015). Instead of analytical coding toward theory development, however, I examined and reflected on the data's meaning related to the research questions and theoretical framework which is considered a more focused or axial coding approach (Creswell, 2003; Emerson et al., 2011; Merriam, 2009). Using both open coding and focused coding allowed me to be open to concepts that may emerge organically from the data (Kvale, 2007; Seidman, 2006), yet stay focused on the research questions and intent of the study (Merriam, 2009).

Step 5: Begin labeling with topics. The first part of coding is labeling the marked passages with topics (Creswell, 2003; Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Merriam, 2009; Seidman, 2006;). As in Kvale's (2007) meaning condensation approach, I restated the "theme" from each "natural

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meaning unit" or marked passage, as a simplified phrase for each topic in the third column of the table, in line with the data in the left column and initial "comments" in the middle column. Whenever possible, I used the participant's own words to preserve the participant's perspective in writing the topics (Kvale, 2007).

Step 6: Converting topics to codes. In a separate document, I began compiling a list of all of the topics noted in the third column (Creswell, 2003). I looked for patterns within the first list such as repeated or similar topics (Saldaña, 2015), then clustered several topics together to make "major topics, unique topics and leftovers" (Creswell, 2003, p. 192). While Creswell (2003) suggests abbreviating the topics when converting to codes if necessary, I followed Saldaña's (2016) guidance and used the code words or phrases "completely" to make it easier to analyze the coded data later on (p. 22). I went back to each transcript and when the code was different from the theme that was already listed in the third column, I re-labeled the annotated sections with the codes aligned with the themes.

Bogdan and Biklan (1982), Kvale (2007), and Saldaña (2015) offer similar definitions for a "code" or "category." Bogdan and Biklan (1982) use "coding categories" to describe the words and phrases that a researcher chooses to represent topics, patterns and regularities in the data. Kvale (2007) defines a code as a "keyword" attached to a segment of text to be able to identify later (p. 105). Saldaña (2015) defines a code as "a word or short phrase that symbolically assigns a summative, salient, essence-capturing, and/or evocative attribute to a portion of language-based or visual data" (p. 11). The codes I used were informed by my theoretical framework and also by participants' actual words used in the interview (Kvale, 2007), so they were more of an interpretation, summary, and/or distillation of the data than a simple abbreviation of the text (Saldaña, 2016).

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Once I had analyzed all the transcripts, I felt I needed to pause from analyzing the data to deciding how I might present my results in the final paper. After looking at other dissertations for examples, I drafted several versions of a table of contents. I met with my advisor and decided on a tentative organizational outline for the paper. I decided to start with answering my research questions as a starting point to the discussion chapter. Similar to Maxwell's (1996) recommendation of writing a short summary of each interview, I answered each research question from memory, writing summaries of the participants' interviews that were relevant to each question. I realized that I should do this in a table as well, and typed the summaries in the middle column and made a column to the right next to each summary for "codes."

Step 6: Categorizing or Synthesizing. While I present the coding and categorizing as separate steps in my data analysis plan, in practice, I began clustering the codes into broader categories (Creswell, 2003) as soon as I analyzed each transcript rather than coding all the documents first and then forming categories from the codes. Saldaña (2016) refers to this transition from codes to categories as "synthesis" because it involves combining smaller pieces of data into larger chunks of data to create a new "whole" (p. 10).

Kvale (2007) and Bogdan and Biklan (1982) likely use the terms code and category together and interchangeably because of the simultaneous nature of these steps in the process, but I used the term "category" to indicate a broader concept than a code or unit of coded data based on Saldaña's (2015) definition. Saldaña (2015) distinguishes a category as "a word or phrase labeling a grouped pattern of comparable codes and coded data" (p. 13), whereas a code is the most specific label for a unit of text. The following diagram illustrates the relationship between Saldaña's (2015) definitions of codes and categories:
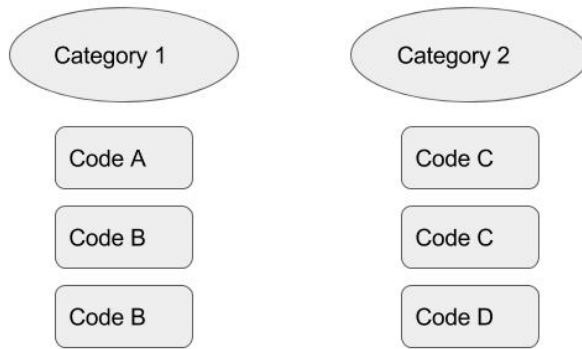
Since the outline was organized by research questions which were informed by the theoretical framework it was easy to connect the relevant categories from the coded data to each research question (Kvale, 1996; Merriam, 2009; Schmidt, 2004). I added codes to the right from the transcript tables and clustered them into a category heading under that research question. For example, since one of the research questions was about participants' experiences in school, I had codes related to their experiences such as "good student," "welcoming," and "favorite teacher." I clustered these together to form the broader category of "positive experiences in school."

I also made category headings based on the patterns I saw in the data. For example, multiple participants referenced the importance of a school garden, so I made a sub-heading for "garden" under the research question about what participants desire or want from the school. Other sub-headings were more general, such as "positive experiences" or "negative experiences" under parents' schooling experiences.

Merriam (2009) also notes that there should be three sources of categories: the researcher, participants, and outside sources or literature. This would allow me to maintain focus on my research questions, but also allow for categories to emerge heuristically from the data. Thus, I did include codes and thus categories that were not necessarily anticipated in my initial research questions. For example, though I focus on engagement in my research questions, some of the

participants were not engaged with the school because their children were grown or because they

sent their children to other schools. They shared their decisions about sending their child(ren) to

other schools, so I had a larger theme of "Parents' decisions about schooling" and categories

included "Waimānalo School," "Charter schools" and "Schools outside of Waimānalo."

   Step 7: Filing data into categories. It is important to note that the coded data fit into the

categories, and the categories are not synonymous with the data (Merriam, 2009). The following

figure from Merriam (2009, p. 181) illustrates the distinction:
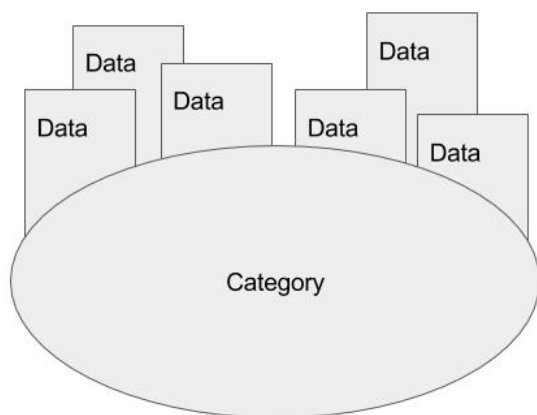
   Once I had answered all the research questions from memory, I went back to each

transcript table and copied and pasted the data into the table of categories which I referred to as

my "outline," beside the related categories and clustered codes (Creswell, 2003; Merriam, 2009;

Seidman, 2006). To keep track of the data that I was pulling from the transcripts, I underlined the

data in the transcript table that I copied into the outline.

   As I did this, I also transferred the themes from the transcript tables to a third column in

the outline labeled "Themes." As I did this, I revised some themes to be more general across

participants, summarizing the theme rather than trying to make a specific theme using each

individual participant's words if there was a common theme across the interviews. As I added

quotes from the transcripts, I also added or changed some of the category headings, finding that some quotes needed further clarification via a more specific or separate heading, or realizing that I had simply not remembered something in my "memory dump" and needing to include more data from the transcripts. I used the Table of Contents feature in Microsoft Word to help me jump from section to section as the document grew when I added each participant's data.

I did not ignore marked passages that did not seem to fit into the major categories, so some of the categories include few data, whereas others include multiple pieces of data. For example, there were only a couple participants who were very concerned about safety at school, and their responses on this issue were not extensive, whereas hands-on learning was a topic of interest for many of the participants, and they shared more detailed stories related to this topic. Some passages stood out because they were contradictory; I included these passages as well. Other passages stood out as important, but their significance was not be clear upon initial analysis, so I included these passages at the bottom of the document and noted in the Microsoft Word comments feature to return to those passages later (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Maxwell, 1996; Seidman, 2006).

As I was about halfway through the transcripts, I realized that by organizing my outline by research question, there was significant overlap between sections and I was often using the same quote more than once. This made sense, as the research question sections were titled "Values," "Perceptions," "Experiences," "Desires" and "Decisions." These are overlapping concepts, as a person's values and experiences undoubtedly influence their perceptions, desires and decisions. Even though I felt I was being redundant, I decided to complete all the transcripts before reorganizing the data in a different way, so that I was consistent in the way that I reviewed and put all of the data into the outline.

Once I added all the quotes from all the interviews, I found that there were recurrent headings under each of the research question sections. For example, "Hawaiian culture" came up in the values and desires sections. I decided it would make more sense to organize the discussion by these recurrent themes rather than by the research questions.

During this process, I revisited my separate "master list" of "codes" that aligned with the "codes" column in the outline. At first, I listed every code, even if it was similar to another code, but I clustered words that were similar such as "connected," "interconnected" and "connections" and listed them in the same row of the table. As I had been adding headings to the outline, my master list of codes and my category headings had expanded. Creswell (2003) recommended that once I built the master list of codes and categories from all the transcripts, to reduce categories to a manageable number of about 5-7 total (Creswell, 2003). Moreover, Schmidt (2004) noted that there should not be any overlap between labels of codes or categories. I needed to connect my master list of codes with the categories in the outline.

Step 9: Generating themes. While Creswell (2003) and Merriam (2009) classify categories and themes as synonyms, I prefer Saldaña's (2015) distinction between the two terms for this study. Saldaña (2015) considers themes to be more like topic sentences or main ideas, whereas a category may be a descriptive phrase, but not necessarily a stand-alone sentence. Similarly, Seidman (2006) sees themes as broader ideas that emerge from connections between categories. Here I used Saldaña's (2015) distinction between categories and themes, and Seidman's (2006) definition of themes as encompassing multiple categories.

Strauss' (1987) use of visual devices was beneficial in transitioning from categories and themes to analysis. I created a matrix as an intermediary step between codes and categories to develop themes and to draw theoretical connections (Maxwell, 1996). This matrix also allowed

me to quantify the number of codes in each category, how often codes appeared, and thus how certain categories may be "stronger" or have more emphasis than others.

I combined the master list of codes and also the category headings in the outline in a spreadsheet to see how they intersected. I copied and pasted the master list of codes into a spreadsheet as the first column, or y-axis. Then for the row across the top, I typed the categories under the research questions. If the category heading like "Hawaiian culture" appeared twice, however, I only included it once in the row across the top. If the category was relevant to the code, I put a number "1" in the intersecting cell. For example, the codes "aloha" and "aloha spirit" matched with the categories "Hawaiian people and homestead" and "Hawaiian culture" and "identity" so I marked a "1" in each of those intersecting cells. Once I completely filled the spreadsheets, I used the AutoSum feature in Excel and calculated the totals for each category. This allowed me to sort the spreadsheet by code and see all the corresponding headings that fell under that code, and also allowed me to see which codes had the most headings. The ones with the most headings would help me to decide on the more general category and theme. At this point, I was still overwhelmed by the hundreds of codes and several dozen categories and was not sure if what I was doing made sense.

I met with my advisor again and she then asked me which categories were most significant just off the top of my head. We discussed each one and came up with five broad themes that also aligned with the theoretical framework. I then clustered the category columns together and color-coded them, and added the broader theme at the top of each color-coded section. For example, I clustered the categories, "Hawaiian people and homestead," "Hawaiian culture," "restoration and resistance," "aloha spirit," "identity" and "charter school" under the theme "survivance." Each of the themes would then serve as a "chapter" focus and I would

organize the data by that theme instead of by the research questions. The research questions would be answered along the way through the theme instead of repeating the same idea multiple times. Figure 4 below summarizes the coding process from the raw data to the results:
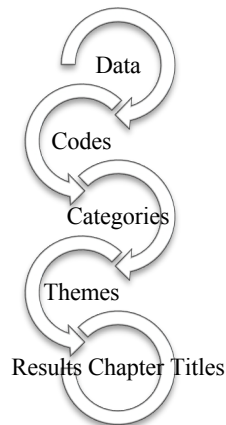
Figure 4. Coding process from data to results

Step 10: Re-interviewing and Re-coding. It was not my intent to interview participants more than once, but I did call and email a few participants to clarify parts of their responses that were unclear before moving forward with the narrative of the analysis. For the most part, however, I did not need to re-interview participants because I had a plan for each interview and asked clarifying questions during the interview process.

Step 11: Member checking and verification. Member-checking is an important step to ensure the data is accurate (Creswell, 2003). I shared the transcript with each participant to ensure it was accurate transcription of their story (Creswell, 2003). Several participants had corrections to names and specific details in the transcript and one participant asked me not to include an anecdote from her interview. I had originally included this in my outline, but had already omitted the anecdote from my outline prior to speaking with her. Several participants used Hawaiian words in their interview, so I used the online dictionary www.wehwehe.org to

translate from Hawaiian to English. I bracketed the English translation next to the Hawaiian words, and asked them to verify my translations. They reviewed my translations and corrected them as needed.

Verification involves an awareness of common biases that could impact my conclusions about the data, such as mistaking "co-occurrences" as correlational or causal (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998). To avoid falling into a bias trap, I had to step back from the data and critique my analysis. My advisor also helped me by providing me with feedback on my data analysis process and conclusions while I was coding the data (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998; Maxwell, 1996).

Step 12: Interpretation and Synthesis. Having completed the member-checking with the first draft analysis, I proceeded with synthesizing the data and interpreting it in narrative form. The last stage of data analysis is interpretation, during which the researcher to makes meaning of the interview data as the participants have already tried to understand their experiences and relayed that to the interviewer (Rossman & Rallis, 1998; Seidman, 2006). I started a new document, now using each theme as the chapter title and the relevant categories as the headings for the sections in the chapter. I then transferred the quotes from my original outline and pasted them into the new chapter document. I used the categories and the spreadsheet of codes and themes to search for relevant quotes in the old outline to ensure that I did not leave anything out. I then used the relevant theories to analyze and interpret the data; I summarized some of the data, synthesizing multiple participants' quotes when there were similarities, and also used direct quotations and flushed out individual stories that were particularly relevant to the category and research question.

As I synthesized the data, I applied the theoretical concepts of critical race theory, tribal critical race theory, community cultural wealth, settler colonialism, Native Hawaiian survivance, parent involvement and school-family-community partnerships.

Though I have attempted to sequence the steps in analyzing the interview transcripts, it is important to note that this was not a simple linear process, and I used numerous strategies to analyze the data. I did not follow my plan for analyzing the data exactly as written because the data analysis process was intertwined with the data collection process, and the interpretation of the transcripts occurred as I was coding and categorizing. The theoretical framework served as a lens throughout this process, but some of the theories were more relevant than others when analyzing and synthesizing the data. Participants were important throughout the analysis of data in ensuring the data was accurate and the conclusions drawn were significant and valid. Drawing upon grounded theory methods for coding, and the works of noteworthy qualitative researchers, I was able to analyze the data with some structure and also flexibility that fulfilled my objective of highlighting and empowering the stories of parents and community members in Waimānalo.

Limitations

A number of limitations are associated with qualitative research including credibility, reliability, validity, ethics, transferability or applicability, and usefulness to policymakers and practitioners (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Merriam, 2009). Lincoln & Guba (1985) use the term "trustworthiness" to summarize the common concerns of naturalistic or qualitative inquiry, which include questions in four specific areas: credibility, applicability, consistency and neutrality (p. 290). To this definition of trustworthiness, Rossman and Rallis (1998) add the element of having integrity or "soundness of moral principle" (p. 44). My position as vice principal at the school is a significant factor in the possible ethical limitations of the study and

must be considered as well.

Lincoln and Guba (1985) use the phrase "truth value" to describe how the researcher is able to prove the credibility of the findings as constructed by the respondents of the study (p. 290). One strategy to address this limitation is through member checking the data and interpretation of the data (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Richards, 2015; Rossman & Rallis, 1998), which I noted above in my data analysis procedures. Collecting data over time rather than at a single point in time also supports the "truth value" of the study (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Rossman & Rallis, 1998). This "prolonged engagement" with the site allows the researcher to build trust and to be able to identify and account for "distortions" that may appear in the data due to being an outside observer and due to the researcher's personal bias (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p. 301). Having worked at the research site for nearly six years, I am an insider in the school community, but am still somewhat of an outsider in the greater community; to overcome this limitation of "outsider status," I aimed to build trust with respondents I did not have an existing relationship with by checking for understanding throughout the interview process, and member checking the findings after the interview. I triangulated the interview data with other sources including school data and documents, field notes to support the credibility of the study by providing further clarification and verification of the meaning of the data (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Richards, 2015; Rossman & Rallis, 1998; Stake, 2000).

For qualitative studies, particularly for case studies, applicability, transferability or generalizability can be a limitation since the study focuses on a bounded system (Merriam, 2009). Applicability or transferability refers to the extent to which the findings of the study are relevant for other contexts or with other subjects (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). This also extends to the usefulness of the study to policymakers and practitioners (Merriam, 2009). The population

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and setting of the school is quite unique in my project, given that it is a small rural school in Hawai'i with a large Native Hawaiian population. However, I believe I addressed this limitation by providing a "thick description" of the historical, political, social, and economic context of the community, as well as describing the theoretical framework and methodology in detail such that future users of the study can determine how it applies to a similar situation (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Rossman & Rallis, 1998; Stake, 2000).

Validity and reliability fall under the category of Lincoln & Guba's (1985) criteria of "consistency" (p. 290). Validity and reliability pitfalls include inaccurate or incomplete data, ignoring "discrepant data" or alternative meanings, imposing my bias as a researcher or the theoretical lens through the interview, data analysis, and interpretation such that it skews the data (Maxwell, 2005, p. 112). Recording and transcribing interviews as opposed to only annotation during interviews minimized the threat of inaccurate and incomplete data (Maxwell, 1996). I recorded my interviews using two devices in the event one did not work, and though I used an online transcript service to create a draft of each interview, I transcribed all of the interviews through multiple rounds of listening to the recording, and checking back on the recording and the transcript during the analysis process if the data was unclear.

A sound research design and reflection upon how the data is collected, analyzed and interpreted can address the other threats of discrepancies and bias (Richards, 2015). Richards (2015) provides specific strategies for reflection: writing a reflection about areas I did not cover in my research, and what I might have covered in a broader study or what I might cover in future research. I addressed this by writing analytic memos after transcribing each interview, as well as memos after some of the interviews where I simply wanted to reflect on the interaction during the interview process (Rossman & Rallis, 1998). I also kept a "log trail" (Richards, 2015, p. 161)

or "audit trail" (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p. 319) of each step in the research process. Rossman and Rallis (1998) affirm that in a qualitative study, reliability does not equate with replicability as in a quantitative study; rather, it entails a rigorous effort to gather data, and to search for alternative meanings and interpretations.

Maxwell (1996) also highlights the importance of feedback from colleagues and member-checks as to further validate my study findings. Though my plan only included one interview per participant, I did call several participants after transcribing and analyzing their response to ask for clarification about certain parts of their interview. One participant asked that I omit a few parts of her response. I also checked with participants about the accuracy of their transcripts; for those who used Hawaiian words in the interview, I asked them to check my translations using an online Hawaiian dictionary database.

The final limitation of my study as a qualitative case study is the most important because it relies on my ability to be mindful of my positionality as well as protective of the privacy, emotional safety, and trust of each participant. Stake's (2000) analogy of qualitative researchers as "guests in the private spaces of the world" (p. 447) is especially fitting to describe how as a researcher, I must take great care to respect the confidentiality of my participants. Several safeguards were built into this study to ensure this protection of privacy: participants' identities were protected by using pseudonyms and by generalizing their role. I also secured the interview data I collected and did not share it with others using original names (Rossman & Rallis, 1998).

Informed consent is another vital aspect of conducting an ethical study (Rossman & Rallis, 1998). Before I conducted each interview, I provided participants with as much information as possible about the purpose and audience of my study, what their participation entailed, got their consent to interview them, and ensured that they understood the option to

withdraw at any time without judgment or fear of retaliation (Rossman & Rallis, 1998). My positionality as management at the school is of particular importance regarding this last component of informed consent, as I interviewed current, former, and prospective employees, parents and relatives of students who attend the school or may attend the school in the future, and community members who I have existing partnerships with or may need to partner with in the future. While this could have been a potential limitation, I found it to be a strength as I am not an outside researcher intent on taking from the community for personal gain and abandoning them without regard of its impact upon completion of my study. The intent of this project was to improve the school to better serve the students, families, and greater community, so the relationships with participants are of utmost importance not only to the success of my study, but to my ability to effectively fulfill my responsibilities as an administrator at the school. My honesty and integrity in my interactions with participants in my role as researcher and in my role as vice principal were necessary to ensure participants did not feel deceived, retaliated against, pressured, or hurt in any way by the process or by the results of the study. Overall, I found the interview process to be positive, and by interviewing these participants, my relationships with participants were strengthened.

Despite the safeguards for confidentiality, it is possible that one might glean identities of the participants given that this is a case study and I use the name of the community and school. I shared this potential risk to total confidentiality as well as other possible risks and benefits with participants up front prior to obtaining their consent to be interviewed (Rossman and Rallis, 1998; Kvale, 2007). Participants must also trust how they are portrayed, even though their names may be changed (Stake, 2000). As mentioned above, I conducted member-checks during and after interviews to allow participants to provide me with feedback and ensure their stories were

conveyed accurately (Stake, 2000).

      As with any research endeavor, there were numerous limitations that must be considered and accounted for in the design of the study. Having an awareness of and planning for the common potential mishaps of qualitative research, and specifically interviews and case studies, strengthened the trustworthiness of this study and thus its contribution to academic knowledge.

Chapter 4: Historical Overview

There are several key time periods and events in Hawaiian history that participants referred to in the interviews. As there are a number of historical works on Hawaiʻi throughout these time periods, my intention is to provide a brief historical overview of these significant moments to provide context for the findings in chapters 5 through 9. Summaries of these time periods are not presented in chronological order but rather organized by the following themes based on participants' responses: contact with Western settlers, the overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom and the Americanization of Hawaiʻi's public schools, and the Hawaiian Renaissance inspired by the renewed interest in traditional wayfinding and other cultural practices as well as Native Hawaiian activism related to struggles for land.

Western Contact

The arrival of Europeans or Westerners in Hawaiʻi is significant to this study in that it had devastating effects on the Hawaiian people that are still felt today, and led to the creation of a Western settler state that has governed all public schools in Hawaiʻi for nearly 125 years.

Most historians concur that while Hawaiians had contact with other Europeans, Captain Cook's arrival in the Hawaiian Islands in 1778 was the most consequential contact by a group of Europeans in Hawaiʻi. Utilizing technology that allowed Cook to chart his exact location and thus retrace his voyage, Cook made three trips to the islands, toured several of the islands, and stayed for extended periods of time. One of the most devastating effects of Cook's tours and the subsequent arrival of other Westerners, including traders and missionaries who arrived in the early 1800s, was the decimation of the Native Hawaiian population by hundreds of thousands due to foreign diseases (Coffman, Bates, Lake, Muheim, & Hawaiʻi Public Television, 1995). While estimates of the Hawaiian population in 1778 range from 300,000 (Schmitt, 1973)

to 800,000 (Stannard, 1990), there is general agreement among historians that epidemics took the lives of over ninety percent of Native Hawaiians (Coffman, 1998; Osorio, 2002). Later census reports show that by 1890, the population of Native Hawaiians had fallen to less than 40,000 (Stannard, 1990).

Though he was the only participant who referenced this aspect of history, for Samuel, this "decimation" of the Hawaiian population by foreign diseases from Cook's time was significant to understanding the struggles of Native Hawaiians today. He believed this to be the root of an "intergenerational trauma" that Native Hawaiians are coping with as individuals, families, and as a group. Samuel noted how the mass dying of Native Hawaiians had psychological and emotional effects that were passed down from generation to generation. He said, however, that it was easier to blame the "symptoms" of the underlying event, such as Hawaiians being "lazy," having trouble paying attention in school or not being "productive citizens," than it was to address the actual "crime" of Native Hawaiians being nearly exterminated by the influx of foreigners. In addition to the mass death of Native Hawaiians, he added that their culture was systematically eliminated "so that we would lose ourselves." In effect, he was saying that while the U.S. government was not responsible for the devastating loss of population by disease, it took part in the overthrow of the monarchy and took advantage of an already vulnerable people by utilizing policy and education as tools to replace the Hawaiian culture, language and way of life with American or Western government and culture.

The Overthrow, Occupation and Americanization of Schools

The Hawaiian Islands were recognized as an independent nation by Britain and France via the Anglo-Franco Declaration in 1843, and over the next four decades, entered into treaties with other countries including Austria-Hungary, Belgium, Bremen, Denmark, Germany,

Hamburg, Italy, Japan, Netherlands, Portugal, Russia, Spain, Sweden-Norway, Switzerland and the United States (Sai, 2008a; Sai, 2008b; Vogeler, 2014). Additionally, in 1882, the Hawaiian Kingdom obtained membership in the Universal Postal Union, an international body that was a precursor to the United Nations today (Sai, 2008a; Sai, 2008b; Sai, personal communication, January 13, 2018). This recognition by the international community as a sovereign nation is the premise for the assertion by many Native Hawaiian scholars that Hawaiʻi was and continues to be a sovereign state occupied by the United States (Goodyear-Kaʻōpua, 2014; Sai, 2008a; Sai, 2008b; Sai, personal communication, January 13, 2018; Vogeler, 2014).

In 1893, a group of American planters and businessmen conspired with John L. Stevens, the U.S. Minister to Hawaiʻi, to overthrow Hawaiʻi's monarch, Queen Liliʻuokalani. Stevens and the group of conspirators used U.S. military forces to coerce the queen into ceding her authority to the U.S., followed by Stevens requesting that the U.S. annex Hawaiʻi. Despite an incriminating report by investigator James Blount that "detailed the culpability of the United States government in violating international laws" and President Grover Cleveland's withdrawal of the annexation treaty, Liliʻuokalani was not restored to power (Sai, 2008b, p. 126). The American conspirators maintained control of the provisional government, declared Hawaiʻi a U.S. protectorate and renamed it the Republic of Hawaiʻi. Wanting Hawaiʻi for military purposes, newly elected President William McKinley and the U.S. Congress annexed Hawaiʻi in 1898 through a joint resolution of Congress, "clearly intended to mask the violation of international law as if the annexation took place by treaty," but the Hawaiian Kingdom's status as an independent state meant this was an illegal act of war by the U.S. government (Sai, 2008b, p. 154). While Hawaiʻi is considered the 50th state and part of the U.S. today, Sai argues that according to international law, "Hawaiʻi's sovereignty is maintained and protected . . . in spite of

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the absence of a diplomatically recognized government since 1893" (Sai, 2008a, p. 98) and Hawai'i remains a sovereign nation under occupation by the United States (Vogeler, 2014).

Two participants explicitly alluded to this understanding of the overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom and what it means for Hawai'i's status today. Kemakana stated, "We were illegally overthrown. Yes, we are still occupied. We are an occupied nation by America." Samuel also stated that the Hawaiian Kingdom was overthrown and subsequently taken over by the U.S. government. It is unclear how other participants felt about this specific issue as the question of Hawaiian sovereignty or U.S. occupation was not posed explicitly to participants as part of this study. There was a sense among several participants, however, that the Americanization of Hawai'i intensified after the overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom and continued throughout the twentieth century.

While Cook may have respected the Hawaiians and their culture, he and his crews "set in motion" numerous changes to Hawaiian society, including "the obsession with trading, the stockpiling of metal weapons, the distorting of traditional relationships between chief and commoner, and the bewildering spread of disease" (Coffman, 1998, p. 27). Other Western ships came to Hawai'i after Cook, including military and whaling ships for the British, French, Russians, and Americans. However, it was the Americans who would ultimately come to dominate life in Hawai'i. According to Umphenour (2000), American influence in Hawai'i spread in tandem with the growth of the sandalwood trade and whaling in the early 1800s, and the arrival of Christian missionaries in 1820 as "Americans controlled all three of these enterprises" (p. 33). In addition to exerting dominance over the economic, social and spiritual spheres, the U.S. intended early on to wield political control over Hawai'i. In his 1842 Special Message to Congress, known as "the Tyler Doctrine," President John Tyler acknowledged the

sovereignty of the Hawaiian Kingdom but explicitly warned European nations that "any attempt by another power, should such attempt be threatened or feared, to take possession of the islands, colonize them, and subvert the native Government" would "create dissatisfaction on the part of the United States" (Tyler, 1842). Despite Hawai'i's independence, the U.S. government sought to colonize the island nation as a part of their Manifest Destiny campaign (Benham & Heck, 1998; Trask, 1993).

This is in line with Umphenour's (2000) definition of Americanization in the Hawaiian context as "the systematic way Americans and their political and legislative structure, customs, morals, religion, business practices, lifestyle and the like came to dominate Hawaiian society" (p. 33). Tamura (1994) noted that during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, those in power used the term Americanization to mean assimilation, which meant Anglo-conformity. One of the systematic strategies to bring Native Hawaiians into conformity with an American identity was through education.

First arriving in 1820, the American Protestant missionaries sought to civilize Native Hawaiians, like Native Americans on the continental U.S., by providing them with instruction in literacy and other Western academic subjects to achieve their primary aim of indoctrinating Christian Anglo-American values, such as individual wealth and property (Benham & Heck, 1998; Kuykendall, 1938). Wist (1940) noted how it was the American missionaries who were "immediately responsible for the setting up of public instruction in Hawai'i" and they were "primarily interested in promoting religious purpose" (p. 48). Initially, the first schools provided English instruction, and the goal was to ultimately teach Hawaiians the English language, but the missionaries found it easier to spread their gospel by learning and teaching the Bible in Hawaiian, then reducing Hawaiian to a written language (Benham & Heck, 1998; Kuykendall,

1938; Wist, 1940). With the support of Queen Kaʻahumanu, a devout Christian, the missionaries developed a "common school system" intent on educating all the people of Hawaiʻi (Benham & Heck, 1998, p. 57). They focused first on adult literacy, then moved to "creating a three-tiered educational system for Hawaiian children" (Beyer, 2014, p. 61). At its peak in 1831, the missionary schools numbered more than 1,100, with over 52,000 pupils, including children and adults, or 40 percent of the population, in attendance (Kuykendall, 1938). There were only 140 missionaries who arrived between 1820 and 1848, so they could not meet the demand of teaching tens of thousands of students (Goodyear-Kaʻōpua, 2013, p. 15). Rather, the missionaries tapped "bright" Native Hawaiian students to become teachers who would then run their own schools (Kuykendall, 1938, p. 106). By 1853, an estimated three-fourths of the Native Hawaiian population over 16 were considered literate in their native language (Schmitt, 1977), meaning they could "read, write, and count in their Native Hawaiian language" (Benham & Heck, 1998, p. 70). Native Hawaiians were also involved in the printing of texts in Hawaiian to meet the demands of the growing school system and a literate populace (Kuykendall, 1938, p. 105).

For a few participants in my study, Native Hawaiians' literacy is an important form of community cultural wealth. Samuel and Kemakana spoke about the high literacy rates of Native Hawaiians prior to the overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom. Samuel declared, "Over 90 percent could read ʻōlelo Hawaiʻi. We had all of the different newspapers. We have thousands, still yet, got to be translated. We have the largest repository of native, native language sources." He also noted how this aspect of Hawaiian history is "forgotten" and must be taught to the younger generations of Native Hawaiians. Kemakana, too, mentioned how she did not learn about these and other strengths of Native Hawaiians until college, as her Western schooling focused only on the accomplishments of American leaders.

While literacy among Native Hawaiians grew significantly as a result of the common school system, resources and interest in the mission schools dwindled in the 1830s, so Protestant missionaries sought government support to bolster their cause and to thwart the influence of Catholic missionaries (Wist, 1940). In 1840, the first school laws of the Hawaiian Kingdom were passed, and mirrored educational policies on the U.S. mainland; these policies were "written to assure efficient acculturation of Native Hawaiians, disregarding native customs, oral traditions and lifestyle" (Benham & Heck, 1998, p. 65) and reflected Protestant Christian American values for attendance, behavior, and governance (Benham & Heck, 1998). However, these laws were passed with the support of the Hawaiian monarchs such as King Kamehameha III (Goodyear-Kaʻōpua, 2013). The missionaries may have initially established the common school system, but it was Native Hawaiian educators and leaders who were largely responsible for the high literacy rate among Native Hawaiians. Goodyear-Kaʻōpua (2013) notes that in the decades leading up to the overthrow, there was a contest for power over the public schools between the haole elites and the Hawaiian leaders that was "embedded in a larger struggle for hegemony between rival visions of Hawaiʻi's national future" (p. 17).

It is also important to note that at the outset, children of aliʻi, royalty, and the elites in the kingdom were not educated alongside the makaʻainana, commoners, despite the goal of providing education for all citizens (Benham & Heck, 1998). Makaʻainana attended common schools, the bottom tier of schools, while aliʻi and Hawaiʻi's haole, foreigners, attended select institutions, such as Lāhaināluna High School (Beyer, 2014). In 1840, Kamehameha III established the Chiefs' Children's School specifically for aliʻi children (Goodyear-Kaʻōpua, 2013, p. 16). The curriculum and resources of the different schools reflected the roles in society they were pre-determined to fulfill; Native Hawaiian commoners were provided only basic

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literacy and arithmetic instruction and primed for work as laborers, while aliʻi and haole children were educated to retain their positions of wealth and leadership (Benham & Heck, 1998; Beyer, 2014; Taira, 2018). Educational policy was also controlled by the elite, comprised of Protestant missionaries and American businessmen who gained increasing power in the Hawaiian Kingdom in the 1840s through the 1890s (Benham & Heck, 1998). Among them was Reverend Richard Armstrong, who served as the Minister of Education and later the President of the Board of Education from 1848 to 1860 (Benham & Heck, 1998). The creation of the Department of Public Instruction centralized administration and policymaking over schools in Hawaiʻi in 1845 and 1846, allowing Armstrong to wield significant influence over the public schools in Hawaiʻi (Benham & Heck, 1998). Armstrong's influence in education extended via his son, Samuel Armstrong, who became a proponent of manual training schools and established Hampton Institute for African Americans and Carlisle Industrial School for Native Americans, on the U.S. mainland (Beyer, 2014). The younger Armstrong also influenced the industrial education model at the Kamehameha School for Boys and Kauaʻi Industrial School (Beyer, 2014).

While initially giving up control of the common schools to a centralized administration favored the missionaries' cause, they lost control over religious-based Hawaiian instruction as the administration shifted to non-secular and English-only schools (Wist, 1940). A supporter of Horace Mann's ideology, Armstrong sought a universal school system that was nonsectarian and efficient in governance, and provided quality teaching and curriculum (Benham & Heck, 1998; Wist, 1940). His policies mirrored those on the U.S. continent, and secured power over educational policymaking among a small group of political and professional haole elites (Benham & Heck, 1998). One of Armstrong's most important efforts was the establishment of English-language select schools, which provided an alternative to Hawaiian-language schools,

and intentionally surpassed the latter in terms of quality of teaching and resources, thus becoming the more appealing option for Hawaiians wanting to advance in an increasingly Western society (Benham & Heck, 1998). Consequently, English-language select schools and more English-speaking teachers from the U.S. began to replace Native Hawaiian teachers and Hawaiian-language schools (Benham & Heck, 1998). By 1893, the year of the overthrow, Hawaiian-language schools had become "almost a thing of the past," dropping in enrollment to less than three percent (Wist, 1940, p. 73). Armstrong, like other American education reformers at the time, including his son, Samuel Armstrong, was part of the greater movement to exterminate the "African American, Native American, and Hawaiian soul" by institutionalizing Americanization (Benham & Heck, 1998, p. 95).

The 1893 overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom allowed the American elites to deal a final blow to Hawaiian-language education, and to Native Hawaiians' sense of identity. Trask (1993) stated that upon the declaration of the Republic of Hawai'i in 1894, "the 'Americanization' of Hawai'i was sealed like a coffin" (p. 21). In 1896, the Republic of Hawai'i passed Act 57, which mandated "the English language as the medium and basis of instruction in all public and private schools" (Republic of Hawai'i, 1896; Taira, 2018). Not only did this result in the closure of all Hawaiian-language schools (Trask, 1993), but for many families, English replaced 'ōlelo Hawai'i in the home (Taira, 2018). Generations of Native Hawaiian families were affected, and several participants, including Kiani Ani and Kahula, shared how their parents and grandparents could not speak Hawaiian or discouraged speaking Hawaiian at home because the children needed to learn English to do well in school. Native Hawaiians became increasingly disconnected from their culture as Western, American and Protestant values deemed Native Hawaiian beliefs, traditions and practices heathen and immoral (Benham & Heck, 1998). As

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mentioned previously, despite ongoing resistance to Americanization and attempts to resurrect Native Hawaiian independence and culture, it was not until the Hawaiian Renaissance that we see the beginning of the restoration of the Hawaiian language, culture, history and people.

Again, Samuel and Kemakana were the most vocal of the participants when it came to the issue of Americanization of Hawai'i. Samuel's interpretation of the U.S. government's takeover of the Hawaiian Kingdom was in line with a TribalCrit and settler colonial lens, that it was structural and ongoing, not a standalone "event" in the past (Wolfe, 1999):

> They never just take over the government. They took over education. We couldn't speak our language. We couldn't learn our language. . . . They supplanted all of our holidays. Instead of celebrating Lā Ho'iho'i Ea [Sovereignty Restoration Day], from 1843, we celebrate the 4th of July, Independence Day. Instead of celebrating Lā Kū'oko'a [Independence Day]. They had us forget. . . . When they overthrew our kingdom, they were so ingrained in everything, the economy—look at all the banks! Bishop. First Hawaiian Bank. The guys that overthrew the Queen! Utilize his bank! [emphasis added] Yeah, so, all of these things, they created our dependency upon them and they made sure that they cut off every avenue.

Kemakana classified her own schooling as "haole" because "everything was an emphasis on American history, about American presidents, and the good that they did for their people." She noted how proud she was to learn about the innovations and achievements of the Hawaiian monarchs, and "how important that is for a kanaka, a Hawaiian child," but how those stories were "never taught to us in school." Though perhaps the most outspoken of the participants on the topic of Americanization, Kemakana and Samuel were not alone in acknowledging its occurrence. Oluolu admitted that Native Hawaiians were "Americanized," but he believed it was

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important for Native Hawaiians to accept responsibility for "not going back" and learning about their history. His response to the past wrongs against Hawaiians was to organize and take part in community-based cultural projects. Maliʻu did not refer specifically to events related to the overthrow and Americanization, but he contrasted two opposing views among Native Hawaiians related to the subject, one believing they could "achieve independence again" versus "you gotta suck on the nipple of the system."

Not all Native Hawaiian participants viewed Americanization in a negative light. For Walter, learning American values and traditions in school instilled in him a sense of pride and loyalty. He stated, "We're Americans. We pledged allegiance to the flag, in every class, in the morning of the class. We did those kinds of things and it outlined who we were." Walter's responses exemplify one of the six principles of critical race theory, that each individual has overlapping and even conflicting identities (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001). Despite his sense of allegiance as an American and his service in the military, Walter had mixed feelings about the U.S. military and its presence in Waimānalo. His experience and perspective were similar to many other Native Hawaiians in the early 20th century, who had to negotiate between the conflicting identities and value systems of Native Hawaiians living in an Americanized society (Taira, 2018).

Hawaiian Renaissance

Native Hawaiian historian and activist George Kanahele referred to the Hawaiian Renaissance as the "rebirth of artistic and intellectual achievement accompanied by a revival of interest in the past" (Kanahele, 1982, p. 1) that was "unprecedented" in its "magnitude and strength" compared to previous efforts (Kanahele, 1982, p. 3). The Hawaiian Renaissance was significant in that it "galvanized into a movement for Native Hawaiian recognition and

sovereignty" (McGregor, 2007, p. 48). Goodyear-Kaʻōpua (2014) points out that for Native

Hawaiians, life, or ea, "encompasses the cultural, the political, the economic" aspects and cannot

separated by "arbitrary boundaries between activities" (p. 12). Therefore, Native Hawaiian

cultural movements such as the Hawaiian Renaissance are also political movements (Goodyear-

Kaʻōpua, 2014, p. 12). This era of Hawaiian resurgence was also historic because many of the

efforts born during this period have sustained for more than 40 years.

The Hawaiian Renaissance united Native Hawaiians, Native Hawaiian organizations, and

non-Hawaiians in a collective effort to restore culture, language, education and practices, land

rights, and improve the declining social, economic, and political status of Native Hawaiians

(Kanahele, 1982). Several landmark political events provided rallying points for Hawaiians and

their supporters, including the protest of the eviction of Native Hawaiian farmers from Kalama

Valley by landowner Bishop Estate (Goodyear-Kaʻōpua, 2014; Kanahele, 1982) and a series of

protests on Oʻahu and Kahoʻolawe and court battles against the U.S. military's longstanding

occupation and bombing of the island of Kahoʻolawe (Kanahele, 1982; Protect Kahoʻolawe

ʻOhana, 2018).

While the Kalama Valley farmers and activists lost the immediate battle and the area was

ultimately developed into a subdivision of "high-priced homes" (Kanahele, 1982, p. 38), the

Kōkua Kalama Committee and their leadership influenced other specific efforts within the

Hawaiian Renaissance, including the Kahoʻolawe movement (Osorio, 2014). Kōkua Kalama

expanded their efforts as Kōkua Hawaiʻi to resist antieviction of Native Hawaiians across the

islands (Goodyear-Kaʻōpua, 2014) and was one of the groups that inspired the establishment of

the Ethnic Studies Department at the University of Hawaiʻi at Mānoa (McGregor & Aoudé,

2014). The Ethnic Studies faculty and students also participated in the protest of the bombing of

Kahoʻolawe (McGregor & Aoudé, 2014). The founding members of Protect Kahoʻolawe ʻOhana (PKO) were also inspired by Kōkua Hawaiʻi's values of "self-sufficiency and autonomy, sovereignty over the land, and the need to care for the lands as a vital resource" (Osorio, 2014, p. 142). The PKO adopted aloha ʻāina, "to cherish and care for the land," as their motto and focused on "land use and land management issues" rather than "monetary reparations from government" (Osorio, 2014, p. 146). Ultimately, the efforts of Protect Kahoʻolawe ʻOhana (PKO) and their supporters were fruitful, leading to the de-occupation of the island by the U.S. military in 1990, albeit at the cost of the lives of some prominent Native Hawaiian activists (McGregor, 2007; Protect Kahoʻolawe ʻOhana, 2018). The PKO remains an active organization today and their motto of aloha ʻāina remains central to the work they do on Kahoʻolawe and throughout Hawaiʻi (Osorio, 2014; Protect Kahoʻolawe ʻOhana, 2018). According to McGregor (2007), the Kahoʻolawe movement played a pivotal role in the revitalization of Hawaiian cultural practices including agriculture, the arts, and navigation.

The revival of traditional wayfinding was a one of the most notable efforts of the movement. Modern scholarship on the settlement of Hawaiʻi posits that the islands were not found by accidental discovery but rather navigated to skillfully by oceanic peoples using indigenous knowledge of the stars and planets, tides, currents, winds and weather patterns. Coupled with their ability to build seaworthy sailing canoes, or waʻa, the ancient Hawaiians utilized wayfinding techniques to settle the Hawaiian Islands around 300 A.D., and possibly as early as 1 A.D. (Coffman, 2016, p. 11). Archaeologists used carbon dating to verify what many Hawaiians already knew about their people, that the Hawaiians settled in the islands around two thousand years ago, and developed a complex civilization (Coffman, 2016; Coffman, T., Bates, R., Lake, J. K., & Muheim, H. M, 1995; Lewis, 1994). Additionally, the successful navigation of

Hōkūleʻa, the double-hulled sailing canoe, by Mau Piaulug and Nainoa Thompson using traditional methods instead of Western technology helped to debunk the once popular drift theory that argued that Hawaiians drifted accidentally to Hawaiʻi (Coffman et al., 1995; Lewis, 1994; Low, 2013).

Beginning in the 1960s, a renewed interest in the ancient art of wayfinding led to the formation of the Polynesian Voyaging Society and the building and sailing of Hōkūleʻa (Coffman et al., 1995; Lewis, 1994; Low, 2013). Hōkūleʻa became "one of the proudest symbols of the Hawaiian Renaissance" and (Kanehele, 1982, p. iii) and her successful voyage to Tahiti and back using traditional wayfinding techniques signified "one of the greatest accomplishments of the Polynesians" (Kanahele, 1982, p. 17). These early voyages sparked a movement to resurrect Polynesian voyaging and wayfinding methods which continues today. In 2013, Hōkūleʻa and a sister waʻa, Hikianalia, embarked on a four-year worldwide voyage to bridge "traditional and new technologies" to spread the message of Mālama Honua, "to care for our Earth" (Polynesian Voyaging Society, 2018). Today, Hōkūleʻa stands as "an icon for the renewal of Indigenous Oceanic pride and faith in ancestral knowledge" and resists the narrative that Native Hawaiians were "incapable and inconsequential" (Goodyear-Kaʻōpua, 2014, p. 12).

Several Native Hawaiian participants in this study viewed the Hawaiians' ability to wayfind using traditional methods as a source of pride, familial capital, identity and survivance. Samuel referenced ancient Hawaiians' ability "to traverse the largest seas" as an example of how exceptional and "sturdy," or "kūpaʻa," they once were. He also noted their connection through this ability to navigate to other Pacific peoples, such as the Maori, who sailed from New Zealand to Southpoint, Ka Lae, on Hawaiʻi Island. He explained how important it is for Native Hawaiians

to restore what they have "forgotten" and relearn their history and culture instead of only connecting to the "Western world."

Ancient Hawaiians' use of nature to navigate resonated with Kemakana as well. Their ability to travel the seas "with no compass at all" meant they were "a surviving people" who were also "bright and intelligent," which made her proud to be Hawaiian and strengthened her self-identity. Learning about Hawaiian culture and history also became a journey of self-discovery for Oluolu. In the same way that Samuel said, "Our people have forgotten," Oluolu said he was gaining "learning that was lost" that was actually in his DNA. Though he paddled since his youth, learning Hawaiian history from a strengths-based lens later in his life allowed Oluolu to see paddling as intrinsically connected to the art of navigation and to his ancestors.

The Hawaiian Renaissance was especially successful in restoring Native Hawaiian language, music, dance and other art forms through education as well as political activism. A number of these efforts have continued to flourish to the present day, including the establishment of kula kaiapuni, Hawaiian immersion schools. The Hawaiian Renaissance not only created Hawaiian immersion schools, but brought ʻōlelo Hawaiʻi back as an official language of Hawaiʻi and restored its prevalence in public, private, K-12 and higher education settings (Oliveira, 2014). As mentioned earlier in this chapter, since ʻōlelo Hawaiʻi was eliminated as the language of instruction in Hawaiʻi's public schools in 1896 as a political act of the settler government, restoring the Hawaiian language in schools was an act of survivance and political resistance. Though some Native Hawaiian families and a group of University of Hawaiʻi professors and instructors kept ʻōlelo Hawaiʻi instruction alive for decades prior to the Hawaiian Renaissance, the 1970s brought a resurgence in interest among students to learn Hawaiian (Oliveira, 2014). These university activists and other supporters organized a movement to preserve the Hawaiian

language by recording native speakers, establish Hawaiian language schools, repeal the state law banning Hawaiian language from schools, and to recognize ʻōlelo Hawaiʻi as the official language of Hawaiʻi (Oliveira, 2014). Despite the changes to the law in 1978 validating the latter two goals, the state government did not act on these changes, so a group of activists established Pūnana Leo [language nests] preschools before receiving state approval or funding (Oliveira, 2014). Eventually, their "civil disobedience" and "ʻŌlelo Hawaiʻi activitism" was successful as K-12 Ka Papahana Kaiapuni Hawaiʻi [Hawaiian Immersion Program] was approved by the state Board of Education in 1987 and granted permanent status in 1992 (Oliveira, 2014, p. 83).

Participants were influenced by the revival of the Hawaiian language in various ways. Maliʻu greatly benefited from and valued kula kaiapuni as a former student and as a parent with children in Hawaiian immersion schools. A number of participants, such as Uluwehi, Kemakana, Rowena and Samuel, were able to draw upon this legacy and took Hawaiian language and culture courses in college, while Kahula could revisit and pass on her knowledge from her childhood to students in the public elementary school where she serves as the Hawaiian studies kupuna. For Ana, ʻōlelo Hawaiʻi and hula were integral parts of her upbringing, schooling and family life, and continue to be important to her as a kumu hula. She experienced the interconnectedness of culture and politics of the kula kaiapuni movement firsthand as a student. She continues to support the movement as a mother of children in Hawaiian immersion schools, and when she had to live on the U.S. mainland for a year, she homeschooled her son to maintain his foundational learning in Hawaiian language.

Though the Hawaiian Renaissance "reversed years of cultural decline" (Kanahele, 1982, p. 10), the work of the movement is not yet complete. Author and PVS member Sam Low (2013) expressed a similar feeling when he described the Hawaiian Renaissance as "a time of intense

joy as Hawaiians took pride in the achievements of their ancestors, mixed with sadness and anger as they understood how their culture had nearly been destroyed" (p. xvii). Several participants shared their concern that a lack of consciousness among most Native Hawaiians about their culture and history persists today. Both Kahula and Samuel were worried that Native Hawaiians were succumbing to a Western lifestyle. Despite this concern, some participants were hopeful and shared stories of their own cultural awakening. Kemakana said she gained a consciousness about the strengths of her people and culture when she took Hawaiian language and culture courses in college, while Oluolu said he continued to learn moʻolelo about Waimānalo from the youth he worked with through the canoe club.

The testimonies of Native Hawaiian participants in this study highlight how the Hawaiian Renaissance inspired a "new kind of Hawaiian consciousness," a "greater pride in being Hawaiian," and a "new political awareness" among Native Hawaiians (Kanahele, 1982, p. 10). Kanahele (1982) said Hawaiians were stereotyped as "dumb, fat, lazy and undisciplined," and the Hawaiian Renaissance was trying to remove these "ethnic prejudices" and instill Hawaiians with "a greater sense of identity, self-assurance, and pride" (p. 7). Hawaiian activist Loretta Ritte echoed this sentiment when reflecting upon the Kahoʻolawe movement and Hōkūleʻa, and contrasted the stereotype of Hawaiians as "lazy" with the feeling of "a strong opening of the eyes of who we were as people" when she saw Hōkūleʻa sailing toward Molokaʻi (Goodyear-Kaʻōpua, 2014, p. 12). For Native Hawaiian participants in this study, the Hawaiian Renaissance played a significant role in their personal lives by revitalizing Polynesian navigation and canoe paddling, ʻōlelo Hawaiʻi, political activism, and a sense of cultural pride and identity.

The history of Waimānalo is intrinsically tied to the history of Hawaiʻi. For Native Hawaiian participants in particular, their understanding of Hawaiʻi's history is critical to their

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beliefs about their community, education, and the schools in their community. A few participants felt strongly about the influence of Westerners, especially Americans, on Native Hawaiians and their status today. The key time periods covered in this chapter were especially significant in several Native Hawaiian participants' worldviews. While other participants did not comment specifically on these historical events and their implications, the context for this study must account for the comprehensive impact of Western contact and Americanization on Hawai'i, and the fact that Waimānalo School was and is part of the American public-school system.

Chapter 5: Small, Close Community and School

One of the most distinguishing elements about Waimānalo is that it is a small town. According to the 2010 census, there are only about 5,450 residents in Waimānalo in an area less than five square miles (U.S. Census Bureau, 2015b). In addition to being small in terms of its population, Waimānalo is a close-knit community. Rias, who serves on the neighborhood board, considered this characteristic one of Waimānalo's greatest strengths: "It's a small tight knit community. I always embrace that because that's what makes this community successful." Walter added that Waimānalo growing up was "very rural. Lots of love. Lots of trust. Lots of sharing." Most of the participants agreed with these descriptions of Waimānalo.

The size of the community in terms of population and area influences the lifestyle, culture, family dynamics, relationships among residents as well as the schools and businesses in the town. Waimānalo is not just "small" in population size, but it has a community culture that is intimate, interdependent and connected. Waimānalo School is one of three schools in the community, and much like the community it serves, it is considered a small school with less than 500 students in grades kindergarten through eighth grade.

The location and history of Waimānalo are also important in its small-town and rural culture. The neighboring towns are residential, and it is at least a 30-minute drive to downtown Honolulu. Its distance from urban centers, and abundance of agricultural land continue to give it a "country" feel. In addition to once being a dairy and rodeo town, Waimānalo also had a sugar plantation. While the plantation is closed, its legacy is the diverse ethnic and cultural mix of residents. The rodeo and farm culture continue to thrive, with multiple ranches and stables, and a polo field. Most of the land in the "backroads" are agricultural lots and range from small family-run farms to large commercial operations.

In addition to being small and rural, perhaps one of the most important qualities of Waimānalo is that it is an ahupuaʻa. Ahupuaʻa were "landscape segments from the ocean to the mountain that served as the traditional human support systems" (Mueller-Dombois, 2007, p. 23). Though officially, the historical ahupuaʻa of Waimānalo extends much further around its eastern point, and incorporates part of the neighboring town of Hawaiʻi Kai, most residents consider the ahupuaʻa of Waimānalo today to be the four-mile stretch between mountains known for their hiking trails. As an ahupuaʻa, Waimānalo was once a self-sustaining community. The people of Waimānalo utilized mountain, land, and ocean resources, and relied on one another.

All of the participants, regardless of their differences in demographics, perceive the smallness of Waimānalo and its interconnectedness as an ahupuaʻa community as strengths. Their shared appreciation for their community for these qualities represents community cultural wealth that transcends their individual differences. This chapter explores participants' beliefs and experiences related to these strengths, which serve as counter-stories to racial and socioeconomic divisions, and an internal and external stigma of the community (Solórzano & Yosso, 2002).

Everyone Knows Everyone

All of the participants described Waimānalo as a small, rural town where everyone knows everyone. They view this as a strength and a quality of the community that positively impacts the interactions and relationships between residents. Darcy lived on the Hawaiian homestead as a child and later when she returned from college. She said family and friends were close in proximity and "you're kind of all, in the center, and even if you did walk, you kind of knew people along the way." Oluolu, who also grew up on the homestead, recalled how "everybody knew each other, from end to end, from every street as we were growing up." Aveao said even now, people in the community had a familiarity that he considered "still the ʻohana kind of

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concept. . . . Everybody know everybody, almost." This closeness provided warmth and comfort to residents.

For Catherine, who grew up in Waimānalo, the connections between residents in the community made Waimānalo "special in its own way." She noted, "If you don't know people directly, you know their aunties and uncles or somebody." Even if connections were not direct or apparent at first, she added, "You just have to start talking to them and then, some connections happen." These close connections in the community provided her with a sense of safety growing up: "I had friends in the neighborhood. Like, my parents knew them and everybody was connected and it wasn't like a scary place to be" because "there's always somebody you know around."

For several participants who grew up in Waimānalo, the connectedness among neighbors and strong familial ties made Waimānalo a place where conflicts are avoided or resolved more easily. Uluwehi said she never had challenges growing up in Waimānalo because "everybody knows everybody, and I think, overall everybody get along." Samuel stated that generations of families living, working, playing, and going to school together in Waimānalo made for quick resolutions to any "pilikia" or "problems." He said, "Once you find out that they know your mother or your father, squashed. No, no problems."

Rias viewed the closeness of his neighborhood as a strength that provided him with comfort and "peace of mind." He said, "Your neighbors don't bother you," and that living in duplex housing, "You get even more tighter where you know just live next to someone right next to you." He shared how going to school with his neighbor allowed him to see that person in a different light. At first, he did not care much about the person, but "having that person as a

classmate, and through that, having him as a neighbor, and now going to school together," he was able to see that "this person isn't that bad."

Participants who experienced living in other places said they appreciate Waimānalo compared with other communities that were more developed and/or had a more urban culture. Ruth grew up in Waimānalo, but lived most of her adult life in Honolulu until she moved back to Waimānalo in her fifties. She said that while living in Honolulu, she "struggled everyday" because it had a "high, money-making" culture, and she was used to a more "down to earth" lifestyle coming from Waimānalo. She likes living in Waimānalo because it is "comfortable" and "a nice community" where "everybody treats you like whatever you are." Moving back to Waimānalo has allowed her to connect and reconnect with other longtime residents: "I've met more older Waimānalo people who went away, came back, and they all live in Waimānalo. And we've known, not known each other, but we know of each other through other kids or other brothers and sisters, and it's really nice."

Ana spent her early childhood in the neighboring community of Kailua, but recounted how it had a similar feeling to Waimānalo that made her transition to living in Waimānalo easy:

Kailua was like how Waimānalo is still today. . . . It's big, but it was so small in that, you can walk anywhere and everybody knows who you are. They know which ʻohana you belonged to. . . . That's what growing up in Kailua did for me, and then moving into Waimānalo which was very similar to my understanding of Kailua. Some differences for sure, but still that home feel, still that community feel. Everybody knows everybody.

The feeling that everybody knows everybody provides participants with a sense of peace, comfort, safety and security. They value knowing their neighbors and being a small community.

Rural Town

Participants consider Waimānalo a rural town, even though it is only about a 30-minute drive from urban Honolulu. There are no high-rise buildings. There is one main road that goes through the town, one shopping center, and just two traffic lights. A few participants value the country feeling and the slow pace of the community. Gloria likes that Waimānalo is "far away from town" with "not a lot of stores," making it "quiet," and "kind of a slow pace." The people are also "kind of low key, and easygoing." She appreciates living in the backroads, where she said it is "even more country-side." Catherine lived on Hawai'i Island for a few years, which she described as "country." She liked that Waimānalo is rural but not far from urban centers: "Being in the country but, you're not totally in the country. We still have the O'ahu feeling."

Four participants who experienced farming or ranching life value that type of lifestyle. Walter said that when they were growing up, "We had, we raised chickens from chicks. We had all, cages, and animal feed. We were a farm. In a neighborhood, but we were a farm. Self-sufficient. Turkeys. The turkeys, we ate a lot of turkey." He had fond memories of collecting the eggs and tending to the animals with his siblings.

Ruth still lives in her family home, and continues to operate her family farm business. Her grandchildren live with her and help out on the farm. She values the comfort of living in a small town and her grandchildren being able to share in that comfort, as well as providing them with the experience of living on a farm. She recounted a conversation with her grandson about farm life. He told her, "Wow. Nobody knows what a farm is like," and she responded, "Yeah, you're right. Not many kids are born in the farm, or live on a farm." She added that he and his sister experience "a different way of life" and "a different way of thinking" because they live on a farm.

Ruth acknowledged that outsiders may have a deficit view of Waimānalo as a rural town because it is "slower" and "not so rich," but she sees these aspects as strengths, and wants her grandchildren to be proud of their community. "They need a community they can say, 'Ah! You from where?' 'Me, too.' You know, instead of, 'Where?'" She challenged the notion that a community's wealth must be monetary. She believed it was more important that her grandchildren are able to experience a connection to the land and to the people around them.

Mahealani had the unique experience of being raised on a dairy in Waimānalo. She said that it was hard work, but she has great memories of her childhood: "We grew up on a dairy, on a ranch type living, so were always working from very young, 'cause we had animals and plants, and our pets . . . so it was a very busy, fulfilling life." Since it was a country town, she remembered being able "ride your horses all over the place" without worrying about what time it was, because "Waimānalo was really a safe place back then."

Uluwehi's family raised pigs from when she was a child. She valued learning as a child how to raise, kill and cook them in a traditional Hawaiian way, and being able to practice those skills as an adult:

I appreciate that we still get pigs in my backyard today. We had 'em for maybe about 8 years, but we always had 'em growing up. We had pigs. We was around the pigs and imu [underground oven]. This year I got to take the pig from, all the way into the imu and out, with one group of boys, and I one girl. My father actually--I went, tell him for sit on the side. Cleaning fish, and that kind stuff, I wasn't supposed to do growing up, but I was around 'em all the time, and I could do 'em. And for be, I mean, I 51, and at 51, if I can do 'em, and I still remember, I think that's an accomplishment.

Uluwehi's story is an example of familial capital, which is a form of community cultural wealth. The knowledge of how to prepare food in a traditional Hawaiian way was passed down to her from her father, not necessarily through explicit instruction but through exposure and Uluwehi's own observation and practice. Uluwehi was able to tap into her memories and her "cultural intuition" to continue these cultural practices (Yosso, 2005, p.79).

Since many areas on Oʻahu have been developed over the last century, there are few rural towns left on the island. The participants who experienced farm life cherish their memories of growing up in a small country town, and appreciate seeing Waimānalo retain that country feeling, despite a growing population. In particular, by continuing to practice a rural way of life, Ruth and Uluwehi are ensuring this form of community cultural wealth is passed on to the younger generations in the community.

Place and People

When asked what they love or value about Waimānalo, the top answers were the people and/or place. Some participants said it was people over place, and one participant said the place more than the people made Waimānalo special. However, upon closer analysis of the responses, participants overall value both the people and the place, which are connected through shared experiences, values and culture.

Three participants expressed a love for both people and place in general. Uluwehi stated that she values "the people and the place." Oluolu shared the love of "our people" and added that he loves the culture and is "proud of where we live." Edwina appreciates Waimānalo because it is "not that crowded," "pretty neat, clean, warm" and the "people are nice."

For several Hawaiian participants, the Hawaiian concept of wahi pana, or "special places" exemplifies a deep connection between people and place. Kiani Ani believed that the

wahi pana are what make the community special, as well as the significant Native Hawaiian population. To Samuel, the past, present and future bonds between the people and wahi pana in Waimānalo are significant: "The people make Waimānalo special. Because of all of those layers. But, the best part about Waimānalo, and all throughout Hawaiʻi, is there are things that is intrinsically Waimānalo." He explained how he was reminded of the meaning of wahi pana when the community was helping to rebuild an ancient fishpond:

> *That* [emphasis added] is more Waimānalo than me. It's been here before me, it'll be here after me. Yeah, it is way more permanent than my impermanence. And it makes me appreciate it even more, because our kūpuna made this. And then it is just that connection to place. The connection to ʻāina [land]. Kaiāulu [community]. Knowing.

Samuel noted that this cultural valuing of wahi pana is practiced throughout Hawaiʻi, not just Waimānalo. The history of the wahi pana in Waimānalo is thus not just important to these individual participants or to the Hawaiian community, but important to the community at large in remembering its unique history and culture.

Kiani Ani explained how even as an adult, he is gaining more knowledge about the history of these special places. He recently learned "a couple of cool stories about my ʻāina," including one about a specific area below a mountain:

> I knew the name of the place, I didn't know the history and the reason for its name. . . . We had some seafarers that came from, we don't know if it's Kona or Tonga. 'Cause it's kind of the same. The name Kona and the name Tonga, they are, in Polynesian language, one in the same. And that was their landing place. They landed in Waimānalo and they named this place Puʻu O Kona, and it still stands there today.

Like Kiani Ani, Oluolu said he is still learning about the wahi pana in his community, which brings new meaning for him when he visits these places. This deeper understanding of the significance of cultural and historical sites deepens his appreciation for his community. He just learned about the significance of an area near one of the beaches in Waimānalo, and explained how he felt about this new understanding of a familiar place:

> I just learned that. So, shame on me, to live here all these years and not knowing how this is one of the oldest fishing villages in the state. I come here, just nonchalantly, not knowing the value of what it really means to the people before me. So I [was] not honoring or respecting. And then that goes for also with the turtle pond.

In addition to sites that are traditionally significant in Hawaiian culture, Oluolu and Henry suggested incorporating landmarks in recent history such as the sugar plantation as part of the community history that should be shared with residents. To Oluolu, the sugar plantation is important not because it is "sacred," but because it is "about informational knowledge," and "knowing how it came about." Henry wondered if students who live in Waimānalo know about this aspect of their community's history: "How many kids can look up the hill and see that little mark in the bottom of the mountain, and know that that's an auwai? That's the ditch, built by, for the Waimānalo sugar plantation." While these sites were not considered wahi pana, Oluolu and Henry felt they were part of the community's memory that should be passed down to younger generations.

Participants' appreciation for the people and place is rooted in their culture, experiences and their relationships in the community. In particular, for Native Hawaiian participants, wahi pana exemplify the deep historical connection between people and place in Waimānalo that

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persists to today. Moʻolelo (stories) of these wahi pana serve as familial capital for the Hawaiian community and the greater Waimānalo community.

Mahealani said she believed the environment in Waimānalo made it special to its residents and visitors, more so than the people. She asserted, "It's the location, it's the climate. . . . it's just the environment of Waimānalo that people love." She might perceive that Waimānalo's environment is more unique than the people because she also considers how visitors feel about the place:

Because when we have visitors that come, the first thing they say, "This is such a beautiful place." And when it rains and you have the waterfalls coming down the side of the mountains, they are just so awed of the beauty.

Non-residents may not know the history or culture of the community, and may not get to experience the close-knit community feeling, so they may not share that same appreciation for the people as residents. Despite her belief that the main draw for people to Waimānalo is the place, Mahealani did value the people as a longtime resident: "We've been here a while, and we have roots, and you know, lots of family and friends that live here, too."

Edwina grew up in Chuuk, Saipan and Guam. Now as a resident of Waimānalo, she appreciates the weather and beauty of the island, as well as the "convenience" of the "school, stores, and transportation." She stated, "It's so easy for me to just walk out, the road is right there, the bus stop. Yeah, pretty much, that's what I like about staying here." While Mahealani and Edwina highlighted the value of the environment and location of Waimānalo, both said that they value the people as well.

Another important aspect about Waimānalo as a place is that it is an ahupuaʻa. Though they did not all explicitly use the term ahupuaʻa, many participants value this mauka to makai, or

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mountain to ocean, aspect of the community. While ahupuaʻa living is grounded in a Native Hawaiian perspective, regardless of the cultural background of the participants they share a love for the geographic landscape of Waimānalo. For Catherine, a non-Hawaiian participant, the "beautiful mountain views and the ocean" make Waimānalo special.

Participants who grew up in Waimānalo associated their childhood memories with time spent in the mountains and/or the ocean. Uluwehi remembered that as a child, she "got to climb the mountains" and "go down to the ocean." Ikaika stated that he has "great memories of growing up, going to the beach, or messing around in the mountains." Walter grew up in Waimānalo when most of it was undeveloped. He recalled specific landmarks that were special to him and other kids in the neighborhood, such as the black rock behind his house, and the pier across the road. The mountains and the ocean were places of refuge and play for him and other children in the neighborhood:

> So we used to climb up the mountain a lot. And, every time you go up there and if you see some people up there, that means they're in trouble at home. So they go there for solace they go out there for protection, and, just to get their heads together. But it was all pasture behind. . . . Mountain and the beach, that was our activities.

For some participants, going to the beach is a significant part of living in Waimānalo because it means time spent with family. Gloria and her children treasure the "beautiful" and "priceless" beaches: "For all my children, even the ones who go to college, they come back. That's where they want to go. They want to go hang out at the beach and barbecue with family." Jade said her children "would look forward to the weekends because they knew, okay, we get to go to the beach. We get to do something fun. Not stuck in the house and everything and good family time, we would have." According to Aveao, the "nice beaches" are "one thing that's

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famous, for Waimānalo, that's nice. And it's obvious because every weekend, Kaionas [beach park] is always full. There's always parties out there." Catherine said the beach was also where the family could gather with little expense: "We didn't have a lot of money so a lot of the events or things that planned, was around going to the beach with barbecue and spend all day at the beach." These participants also mentioned how the beaches are convenient in Waimānalo. Catherine commented that "the beach is right there. You know, you live so close to the beach." Jade noted that taking her kids to the beach was "so simple" because "it's right down the road."

For Uluwehi and Kahula, the beaches were not just a weekend activity, but an integral part of life. Uluwehi recalled as a child that her dad "was one really awesome fisherman, so we ate a lot out of the ocean." She fondly remembered when her dad would catch tako [octopus]: "I used to love when my dad would come in with the takos, and I would grab the takos, one in each hand, and I was little and I would chase all the other kids down the beach." As a family, every year they spent the "whole summer" camping at Kaiona Beach Park. It was not just a family activity, but a community gathering. As a child, Kahula would accompany her grandmother to the beach, which was "loaded with limu. All kinds of limu and we knew--she would teach us all—what to pick." She considered the beach her "playground." Since her house is on the main road directly across from the beach, she asserted, "I live the ocean" because "I'm right there."

From a traditional Hawaiian perspective, the mountains and the ocean are not just for playing or spending free time with family. Since an ahupuaʻa was a system, ahupuaʻa living also describes the social dynanmics of the community. For Kahula, ahupuaʻa living meant sharing resources and gifts. She remembered, "When I was growing up, it was a thing of sharing." Her grandfather would give some of the fish he caught to the neighbors, and they would share lychee sent from Kauaʻi. She passed on this important family practice to her daughter, who is a teacher,

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by reminding her, "So you learn things and you share it. You don't keep it to yourself." Rather, Kahula asserted that these gifts should be shared "equally with everybody, and how much better than to share it with children."

Ana, also a Native Hawaiian, described the "ahupua'a mentality" as "working together, being open with one another, and reciprocity." She added that traditionally, while everyone might have had a different role or responsibility in the ahupua'a from lauhala [pandanus leaf] weaver to fisherman, "we all know what we need to be doing" to ensure everyone's safety and survival. Today, Ana still saw this practice as important to the success of the community: "That ahupua'a living mentality, where, I cannot do my job well if you're not doing your job well, if he's not doing his job well, and we're doing it for each other." Like Kahula, Ana's application of the ahupua'a perspective provides the continuation of the familial capital of Hawaiian values to be sustained and practiced. The ahupua'a lifestyle in Waimānalo occurs within the physical landscape of the community, with mountain, land and ocean views, and it signifies the interdependent and reciprocal relationships among residents.

The participants who value the people of Waimānalo had common descriptors for the people as a whole. They described Waimānalo people as both warm and loving, but also tough and resilient, a counter-narrative to negative portrayals of the community. Rather than seeing the people through a deficit lens, the participants viewed residents through a community-cultural-wealth lens that values their toughness as a form of resistant capital (Yosso, 2005).

Darcy, Ikaika and Oluolu noted that while residents may not appear welcoming to outsiders initially, they are actually a community that is full of aloha. Darcy said, "If you are respectful," the people of Waimānalo are "very loving and caring people." Ikaika describes Waimānalo residents as "rough around the edges, but they have a lot of love for you once you

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get to know 'em." While Oluolu referred to the people in general, his use of the term "our people" can be interpreted as specifically Native Hawaiians in the community. He shared a similar perception as Darcy and Ikaika, and described the wariness of Waimānalo people to outsiders as a "thick skin" of naivete and arrogance that hides their inner beauty from outsiders. He noted, "Then when you really get down to meet them, you can find out some beautiful, beautiful people out there, through that thick skin that they have." He explained that his use of the terms "naïve" and "arrogant" are not meant as criticism, but are influenced by his experiences traveling outside of Waimānalo, where he learned what it was like to be "in the minority" and "not in the majority."

Two participants who moved to Waimānalo as "outsiders" validated the notion that the people in the community are welcoming and accepting, despite an initial resistance or guardedness. Edwina made the same observation of the people of Waimānalo as Darcy, Ikaika and Oluolu: "It's so beautiful. The people are warm, and you just got to get to know them. I don't know, we just feel the aloha spirit here in Waimānalo. We love this place. I feel so blessed. Since I came to this island, I've lived in Waimānalo." Jade also moved to Waimānalo as an adult, and said that at first, when she moved to Waimānalo she was worried because it was a new neighborhood and she did not have friends or family in the community. She said that she grew to like it because "the people that we lived near were really good" and she thought the kids who befriended her children "were really nice" and "the families were nice."

Participants' stories of the inner beauty of the people of Waimānalo are counter-stories to the perception that the community is "rough." Though most participants value people over place, all the participants share a love of the people and of the natural landscape of the community.

ʻOhana

All participants spoke to their valuing of ʻohana, or family. For Hawaiian and non-Hawaiian participants, the definition of ʻohana is broad, and can include relatives, neighbors, friends, fellow church members, and even hānai or adopted children. For many Waimānalo residents, an ʻohana mindset speaks to the familial relationship between people.

Parents played an important role for most of the participants in their upbringing, but for a few participants, the absence of a parent was also a common theme. Kiani Ani, Uluwehi, Jade, and Aveao all lost their mothers while they were still in school. Kahula, Edwina and Kemakana were not raised solely by their parents, but grew up with other family members. Oluolu and Ana were raised mostly by their mothers.

Several participants reflected on how their parents instilled values in them from an early age that continue to influence them in adulthood. Catherine has a close relationship with her parents. She and her children live with them in their family home. She credited her parents with "instilling a lot of the values that I had" such as "knowing right from wrong" and "keeping family together." Catherine's mother was also actively involved in her school life. Her mom began working at the school when she was a student, and continues to work there in a supportive role to Dominque who is now a classroom teacher. Like several other participants, her mom played an important role in her education and in her future.

Ana is also very close to her mom, who raised her. Her mom's influence on her education and her path in life was significant. Hula and Hawaiian culture remain central to Ana's life. She recalled deciding to paddle in high school over other sports, "partly because I loved it, partly because, I have my grandmother and my mom in my head saying you're not going to play any sport that's going to ruin your hula hands and your hula legs."

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Ana now lives next door to her mom in Waimānalo and also helps her mom as a kumu hula [hula teacher]. She explained how her relationship with her mom influenced her decision to return home after college instead of going on to graduate school: "So when I finished, I came home and my mom needed some help. And then it was just the natural path for me to take." Ana's mom volunteered regularly at her school and in advocating for Hawaiian immersion school to ensure her daughter's education in Hawaiian language and culture was strong. Additionally, she helped Ana to learn English, which was important to Ana's future success: "So, my mom, I'm super fortunate I had a very--I have a very hands-on mom who is super grounded in everything." Like her mother, Ana took a hands-on approach with her first child, homeschooling him when they lived in Washington for a year, to ensure his continued learning of Hawaiian language and culture in an immersion setting.

Walter recalled his dad teaching him discipline and basic academic skills which helped him to get ahead in school:

> My dad was a disciplinarian and he was a teacher. I did the multiplication tables, one to twelve, every week. Write it out. Along with penmanship exercises. And then, we had homework. So, by the time third or fourth grade came around, I knew all of it and we had flashcards. Pluses and minuses.

He added that he and his siblings were expected to complete book reports, and that his mother would take them to the library to find books. Walter also credited his mom with getting him into 'Iolani School, a prestigious private school, in 9th grade: "She says she picked the hardest school at that time. 'Iolani was like, Punahou. If you made it in 'Iolani, you will make it anywhere. That's the reason why I went to college. Because of the study habits that I had." Walter believed

it was because of his parents' discipline and high expectations for his learning that he was able to go to a rigorous private school, and eventually on to college.

Gloria, who has helped to sustained Waimānalo School's parent organization with her husband for the last 12 years, recalled her mom being very involved in her school activities: "Every event, every meeting, she would always come. She made it a point to come. But I always remember that a lot of the other parents didn't come." Gloria thought her mom was "very different from a lot of Samoan moms because she's very outspoken, and she would come to every school function we had." Since she attended an all-girls Catholic high school and was one of only two Samoan students at the school, it was especially meaningful for Gloria that her mother was actively involved in her school.

Kiani Ani's parents, especially his mom, believed education was the "number one" priority. His mother also wanted him to attend Kamehameha Schools, a private school for students of Native Hawaiian ancestry. He was accepted into Kamehameha Schools before his mother passed away due to illness, and he after graduating from Kamehameha, he went on to obtain his college degree. He remembered that his mother wanted him to become a "doctor," and though he did not become a physician, he is currently on track to get his doctorate in education.

For participants who are parents, the education, safety, health and well-being of their children are important. They serve as caregivers, teachers, advocates, and role models for their children. Kiani Ani values his role as a father and the time spent with his children:

I'd say the biggest part for me is being a father. . . . A lot of my time with my kids is spent at the beach, at Kaiona, because it's safe for them. And I would say that just being able to share that time with them is something special to me.

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As a single mother, Catherine must balance her career with caring for her children. She teaches full-time, works a second part-time job, and is a single-mom of three kids. She explained that being a single parent means "I'm constantly the one, like if there's doctor's appointments, dentist appointments, I can't do it during school days so I have to schedule after school."

Like her mother, Gloria is actively involved in her children's education. When she had her oldest son, she took responsibility for his preschool education in an immersion setting:

> We had our own preschool at school. Just in-house kind, a lot of the young families. Only in the mornings, and it was all in Samoan. So you know we taught them the alphabet, and numbers. . . . We used to go for trips to the zoo and little events.

All four of her children have attended Waimānalo School, with her youngest child still at the school. She can be regularly seen on campus for school events and meetings, as well as dropping off and picking up her daughter.

Walter helped to develop his two sons' knowledge of their genealogy by taking them to the countries of their multi-ethnic roots. He took them to Denmark as well as to China "because that was their legacy" and he wanted them to know "who they are." Like his mother did for him, Walter also advocated for his sons to get into private schools. He spoke with the head of school at Kamehameha Schools after his son took the placement test and placed at the top of the class. He said he wanted his son to go to college, but he could not afford it, so he asked the principal for a full scholarship. The principal promised him a full scholarship and Walter agreed to send his son to Kamehameha, but asked if the principal would also admit his second son.

Kūpuna, or grandparents, were an important part of several participants' upbringing. For Hawaiian participants in particular, kūpuna served as caregivers and teachers. Darcy said she "spent the first five years living with my grandma and my older brother on the homestead side,

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and then we moved to Kailua." Kahula's grandparents raised her as their own: "My mom lived on Kaua'i, and my grandparents raised my sister and I. I was legally hānai, at birth. So on my birth certificate get my grandparents' names." Kahula recalled learning how to speak Hawaiian from her grandparents as well as learning much about the ocean through a Hawaiian mindset from her grandmother. Ana's grandparents also helped imbue her with Hawaiian cultural knowledge:

> My grandmother was a master kumu hula and so, and she lived with me growing up, and helped to raise me, so that was a big part of my livelihood every day. And my grandfather was a really, really strong fisherman and waterman, and so all of those practices, everything that comes hand and hand with hula, and, and all of those components, and then everything about the kai were a big part of my life growing up.

Grandparents played an important role in non-Hawaiian families as well. Ruth, who is of Okinawan ancestry, helps her daughter with her family. Her daughter and her daughter's children live with Ruth and her husband, and Ruth takes the children to school and picks them up every day. Like Gloria, Ruth has a regular presence on the school campus and attends all the school activities with her grandchildren. She noted the close relationship she has with her grandchildren, and her role in protecting them: "As long as they got Grandma around I think they feel safe."

Extended family were also important to their upbringing for some participants. Uluwehi recalled growing up on the homestead with dozens of cousins because her tutu had 13 children. Both Darcy and Uluwehi remembered camping during the summer at Kaiona Beach Park, with "all the families had their same spot, every year, every summer. All the same families, so we just had one big family thing every year." For Aveao, because his father was a pastor at the Samoan Church in Waimānalo, his family and the church members were intertwined: "We were always

surrounded by family, not only immediate, but also extended family and the church family, so if you step out of line, they let you know. They give you cracks and that's how you learn tough love." These connections among family members, both immediate and extended, were important to participants, regardless of their cultural background.

An 'Ohana Culture and Aloha Spirit

This inclusive love and appreciation for family, friends, and neighbors among participants can be defined as an 'ohana mindset or an 'ohana culture. As a small, tight-knit ahupua'a community, 'ohana means that everyone, blood relation or not, is treated like family. Walter explained how there was an 'ohana culture growing up in Waimānalo.

Everybody—was family. I mean—everybody. If I was hungry, I walked into Aunty's house, "Aunty, you have anything to eat?" And she'd serve you like she'd serve her own children. We did everything together. And, because most of us were all related anyway, everything we did was on a family basis.

Before working at Waimānalo non-profit organization, Ana worked as a case manager for a homeless shelter. She realized through her experience that the value of an 'ohana mindset was not limited to Hawaiian culture, and that 'ohana was more about how people connected with one another:

It was right here in Waimānalo--so I worked with the population here, and the diverse ethnicities that we have here in Waimānalo. Everybody's the same. Everybody wants the same thing, and that's to feel like they're part of a family.

Because the sense of 'ohana transcends bloodlines, in Waimānalo, friendships are an important aspect of community. Several participants shared how their childhood friendships have endured. Uluwehi attended private school for her intermediate years, then went to Kailua High

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School in 9th grade and was reunited with old friends from her preschool days. They graduated together, and she said she still maintains friendship with those "first friends."

Ikaika went to Pope School, then Waimānalo School and Kailua High School, so he was able to attend school with his friends from K through 12th grade: "I hung around with a—and, they're still my friends, good friends till today. I hung around with a ruggeder group of guys, and we've been friends since, you know, kindergarten." Oluolu had a similar experience to Ikaika, attending Pope, Waimānalo, and Kailua High with the same group of friends: "Our same group to this day that I hang with is the same group that I hang with since my intermediate and elementary days. Very same friends. . . . I would say that's about 45 years of friendship."

Aveao moved to Waimānalo before his 8th grade year, went to Kailua High School and lived in the community ever since. He still values the friends he made as an adolescent and as a teenager. "It's where I was raised, for the most part of my teen life. Growing up to being an adult. So, it has a special place for me. And, still get friends there. We went to intermediate school together, from intermediate to high school. We still have fun."

Rias values the friendships he gained over the nine years he was at Waimānalo School, and during the four years at Kailua High School. Though he only recently graduated from high school, he saw the potential in the relationships he has made through school and in the community:

> It's just, those friendships, those relationships just stay with you. When you get into your career, you know when I get into whatever it may be next, it's just to know, that, they're there. That there are those type of people that are there that you know and that you can depend on.

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Samuel believes the friendships and relationships among the people in Waimānalo are special because they are interconnected through family, school, work, church and community, and span multiple generations. He also saw these "layers" of "interconnections" as an essential part of Waimānalo's unique history and character:

What makes Waimānalo special? I think it is the deep, rooted, connection, to that which was before us. You know, majority of the people in Waimānalo is Hawaiian, yeah? Generations of Hawaiians living here. We all, pretty much learned how to live here together. We get shared kūpuna, shared experiences, eh, plenty of 'em go St. George Church, you know, so we have all of these interconnections. With school, with work. You know, our kids play sports. Yeah, so, it's these layers upon layers upon layers, yeah, so you kind of understand . . . what is appropriate. What is expected of you.

The strong connections that participants feel toward their childhood and school friends in the community is part of the 'ohana culture in Waimānalo.

In addition to a strong sense of 'ohana, participants valued the aloha spirit in their community. Two participants highlighted how people drive in Waimānalo as an example of that aloha spirit that is hard to find anywhere else. When driving on the main road in Waimānalo, the norm is stop and allow someone making a left turn onto the main road or onto a side street. Since there are only two stoplights in on the main road and during high peak traffic, this courtesy allows drivers coming in or out of the side roads to turn safely. If you live in Waimānalo, even if you live on the main road, you will have to make a left turn at some point, be it to the grocery store, school, or a family member's house, so you understand the benefit of the left turn courtesy. However, this is not a written or posted rule, so drivers who are passing through and/or not from

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the area may not be aware of this simple act of aloha. Aveao explained how this aloha while driving distinguishes those who are from Waimānalo and tourists or foreigners:

> One thing good about Waimānalo, I think is, you know like if driving, they give chance for you to come on the road. Where if you know if it's a tourist or a haole, they not going let you in. . . . "Eh, you must be from Waimānalo," they let you in. But if you're not, it's kind of like that bumper sticker, "Slow down, this not the mainland."

Ruth added that even drivers from neighboring communities don't necessarily practice that same sense of aloha on the road:

> Only in Waimānalo can you make a left-hand turn 'cause somebody is stopping on both sides of the road to let you through. Only in Waimānalo. And all of us go, "They're not from Waimānalo. They're from Kailua. They're from Hawai'i Kai. Look at them, they're not from Waimānalo." So there is a really genuine human feeling in Waimānalo, which I like.

Both Aveao and Ruth spoke proudly of this shared understanding among residents of Waimānalo that represents the spirit of aloha. Though it is not a cultural practice, it is a form of community familial capital, and the continued practice of it resists both the dominant "mainland" or "outside" culture of more affluent communities nearby.

Waimānalo's aloha spirit can be seen in residents' idea of everyone as one. Though Waimānalo is known for its strong Native Hawaiian community, the population is a mixture of cultures, ethnicities and nationalities. Some of the neighborhoods in Waimānalo are still stereotyped by ethnic groups reminiscent of the plantation days. Walter described these micro-communities and how they are classified by ethnicity:

So we have the Hawaiian Homestead. We have the Beach Lots. Normally, were the

Caucasians. We had the farm lots. Normally were the Japanese. We had Filipino camp,

for the sugar workers. Normally, Filipino.

As a diverse community, Waimānalo residents value a spirit of aloha as a universal

practice and part of the entire community's culture. Despite the division of the community

among racial and ethnic lines, Walter attests to a sense of unity and inclusion among residents.

So, interesting thing was that, there was absolutely, no racial divide. Absolutely. In fact,

we all thought we were all Hawaiians. No matter what the racial background was, and the

community really got along. We all thought we were all same race. So, school, everybody

got along. No fights.

Kahula said this oneness was reflected in Waimānalo School: "We had everybody's nationality.

Was something to see. Was really where--everybody came together as one." Like the Waimānalo

of the past that Walter and Kahula described, Oluolu views aloha as a universal value that

connects people of all cultures. He acknowledged that not all Native Hawaiians might agree with

his perspective that the spirit of aloha is not limited to Hawaiian culture or Hawaiian people, but

he said he chooses to see people beyond their race or ethnicity:

The spirit of aloha is a word that doesn't come with the blood. It's not part of your koko,

it's not part of your DNA. It is about the spirit that you carry. And I tell people that all the

time. . . . The Hawaiians think that they got aloha because they got the koko. . . . But

more important, I've met more people of Hawaiian spirit than, who are not of our race. I

respect that. I honor that.

Kahula also saw being Hawaiian as an inclusive classification, not based on koko. She

recalled a conversation with another kupuna about the concept of Hawaiian:

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I said, "I no care if you black, brown, purple, green, yellow. You live in Hawai'i you

Hawaiian. Don't let anybody tell you anything else." She said, "They ain't Hawaiian."

You don't have the koko, okay, you don't have the blood, but you Hawaiian. So, if you

lived in Alaska, what would you be? One New Yorkan? You live in California, you

Californian. You live New York, you come from, you in New York. So if you live in

Hawai'i, you Hawaiian.

Despite their beliefs that the aloha spirit transcended racial lines, Kahula and Oluolu

recognized that Waimānalo was not immune to racial tension. Kahula said that even though the

community had a sense of oneness over racial or cultural differences in the past, now she viewed

the groups as "all segregated in their own little communities." Oluolu did not feel that this made

Waimānalo dramatically different from other communities: "There's a tint of that everywhere.

Waimānalo's not--not where it cannot be touched by that, you know?"

While both Oluolu and Kahula were realistic about Waimānalo having some division

along racial lines, they also maintained that the aloha spirit was very much alive in Waimānalo

and that teaching children the universality of aloha and other Hawaiian values helped to bridge

the gaps between the diverse cultural groups in the community.

Catherine, who is not of Hawaiian ancestry, reinforced Oluolu and Kahula's point that

aloha and Hawaiian culture were not only for Native Hawaiians. When she was growing up, she

defined herself as "not Hawaiian," despite her love of the culture. As an adult, however, she

realized that she did not need to be ethnically Hawaiian to appreciate and embrace the Hawaiian

culture:

I was included in the community because I look Hawaiian but when it came down to it I

wasn't Hawaiian, and that was one thing that, like, I don't know, I always felt like I

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wanted to be a part of. I love the culture and I love Waimānalo. . . . I've learned a lot growing up, that, it doesn't matter that I'm not Hawaiian, you know, you still can carry the culture with you.

The sense of ʻohana and aloha in Waimānalo resonated with Hawaiian and non-Hawaiian participants. These values may be rooted in Hawaiian culture, but participants interpreted them as universal values. One's ʻohana could include friends and fellow church or community members that were not blood relatives, just as the aloha spirit was not limited to those with "koko" or of Hawaiian "blood." Some participants were nostalgic for a more unified Waimānalo of the past, but participants overall felt the aloha spirit was still shared among residents and was especially evident when driving in the town. The ʻohana culture and aloha spirit in Waimānalo could be seen as community familial capital and a strengths-based response to the perception of the community as divided along racial lines or that a Hawaiian culture-based values system was reserved only for Native Hawaiians.

Population Growth

Population growth was a major concern among participants, both for the potential of development and threat to the small town feel of the community, and for the impact on traffic. Most of the participants did not seem to like this influx of newcomers. Ruth said Waimānalo has become a "hotspot" where "everybody wants to move." She listed the beaches as one reason people are flocking to Waimānalo: "In fact, there was a beach that was put on the most beautiful beach in the world. Anyway, it was in one of those tourist magazines." She stated that Waimānalo residents fought against the publicity because they "didn't want any more people coming to Waimānalo" and that they feel it is "saturated" already with people. Uluwehi echoed this sentiment that the "population is growing and the ʻāina shrinking" in Waimānalo. Catherine

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described Waimānalo now as "so crowded" and that "there's so many new people in Waimānalo that makes it, like, just, not as a close knit, like how it used to be."

Mahealani did not necessarily see the influx of different types of people as negative, but she acknowledged how new residents change Waimānalo from a small town where everybody knows everybody: "But now it's a little different, more population, more people, more--more cultural mixed, yeah? Before, you could tell who lived in Waimānalo, you could name all the families, but as the community grew, more people and cultures came in."

Samuel was concerned about the social and cultural impact on the community, since these newcomers lack the shared, layered history and experiences that longtime residents have in common:

> Now, you have this influx of people that's coming in that no more that. They no more those experiences, they no more nothing for pull upon. They get their own struggles and despair. But that is outside of Waimānalo. And they bring that over here. But, it doesn't jive well. With, with what, what we've grown to be.

While these participants did not speak of a particular group of people coming in, they share a nostalgia and protectiveness of their community that can be interpreted as a resistance toward settler colonialism because these incoming "settlers" threaten the community's way of life, their history and their culture.

Several Hawaiian participants were more direct in their opposition toward incoming settlers, specifically "poe haole" or Hawaiian for "those foreigners." Kemakana and Kahula used this term as a form of resistance toward Waimānalo being taken over by settler colonialism through gentrification. Kemakana mentioned how "affluent" poe haole from "continental America" are settling in Waimānalo, and how they want to change the community to

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accommodate their privileged lifestyle. She said they want things like "rights," "bike lanes" and "areas so they can go do their jogs in the morning," and how their desires are being prioritized over that of locals and longtime residents of the community. She said this type of gentrification "continues to form and change our communities."

Another example of Kemakana's objection to settler colonialism in her community was her counter-story about the "troublemakers" in the community.

> Sometimes I look back at, like I'm very happy that a lot of those troublemakers aren't doing those things anymore. Because it's making a safer environment for my children. But at the same time, they played a role for our community also. They kept gentrification from happening. . . . They slowed the process.

Uluwehi also saw the negative perception of Waimānalo as unsafe or dangerous as a way to protect the community against further settlement by foreigners. When asked what she would say to outsiders about her community, she responded, "I would say, no come. Stay where you at. Dangerous, over here."

Kahula was also explicit in her opposition to poe haole settling in Waimānalo, particularly on land that she said was supposed to be designated as Hawaiian Homelands. She recalled how the beach front properties that "cost plenty money" and where "poe haole live" were essentially "robbed" from Native Hawaiians before her parent moved to Waimānalo in 1939. Kahula referred to the illegal transfer of Hawaiian Homelands to the territorial government that occurred between 1921 and 1959 by executive orders and proclamations (State of Hawai'i, 1992). In particular, 25 parcels of homestead land in Waimānalo were sold to private parties by the territorial government (State of Hawai'i, 1992, Exhibit E). Moreover, though the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act of 1920 "awarded" 4,000 acres in Waimānalo for Hawaiian homestead

lands, not all of those lands were actually set aside for Hawaiian homes (Bailey, 2009, pp. 176-177). Kahula said there were two subdivisions in the town that were given to the Department of Hawaiian Homelands later on, and another area near the golf course was offered, but it was in a floodzone and no one wanted to live there. She was resigned to the fact that the original homestead lands along the beach front were gone, and "we cannot change anything that happened long ago" but was adamant that further settlement and development by foreigners needs to be prevented.

Kiani Ani shared the same story about the loss of Hawaiian Homelands under the territorial government. He said "some kind of corruption" on the government's part led to the to the beachfront subdivision in Waimānalo being sold as individual lots to "haole." He was disappointed that there could have been Hawaiian homes there, but instead, the neighborhood was mostly "white" with Hawaiian residents "few and far between." He was concerned that further settlement by poe haole in the community is on the horizon, and gentrification would turn Waimānalo into the neighboring community, which he compared to San Diego.

Mahealani said that without the Hawaiian homestead lands, "you could not buy land in Waimānalo to live" because it is so expensive. She said, "The weather, the climate, the closeness to wherever you want to go" make it special and an attractive place to live to many people. While she was not as explicit in her resistance toward poe haole settling in Waimānalo, she implied that she would rather keep things as they are, and that outsiders can "just live where you're at" instead of moving to her community.

Non-Hawaiian participants also oppose gentrification and further development changing the community. Aveao and Gloria shared their concern how the main road through the town,

particularly between the Beach Lots and the Hawaiian homestead, represents a separation that has come with gentrification between the "haves" and "have-nots."

Rias said his number one concern for Waimānalo is development. He added that the neighborhood board is also primarily concerned with development, and being "smart and strategic" and controlling any future development projects. He acknowledged that Waimānalo is "somewhat of a conservative community" that is "not really open for change until we're really stuck on an idea." He noted how the community "will voice their concerns and they will do whatever it can to make sure that what you guys do in this community is right for the people." Rias' statement is an example of the strong resistance capital among longtime Waimānalo residents who want to protect the community from development by outsiders.

Like Kiani Ani, Rias was also worried about gentrification turning Waimānalo into a place like Kailua, and the impact of tourism on Waimānalo. He shared that "buses going to the shopping center is already one issue" that was of concern to the community. He wondered how as a community, Waimānalo can continue to keep the aloha spirit alive, but be protected from gentrification: "We want to share the beauty of this community, but how do we provide balance to it?" These counter-stories and statements of opposition to poe haole, gentrification, development and population growth in general show participants' resistance to settlement and development by outsiders who do not share the same values of Waimānalo as a small, close-knit town with a strong Hawaiian cultural base.

A Community School

Just as Waimānalo is viewed as a small, close-knit community, Waimānalo School is seen by a few participants as a school that reflects those qualities. Gloria noted how the school is like the community, where she knows the teachers and staff, and feels comfortable. She

contrasted Waimānalo with Punahou, a large private school where her son went to school for high school after Waimānalo School:

> If you're coming from Waimānalo where everyone knows everybody else and everyone knows your business, and you go to Punahou it's totally different. Yeah, so there are pros and cons. That's the nice thing about Waimānalo, you know everybody. Punahou, I mean they don't even know everyone in their whole class.

> Ruth said she likes the "community feeling" at Waimānalo School, and how students will come up to her and tell her how her grandchildren are doing, good or bad. She said there was some doubt about sending her grandson to Waimānalo School at first, but the fact that it was a small school was a benefit. "I was glad we went to Waimānalo. The ratio was good because there was little bit of students. Small is good." She contrasted the size of Waimānalo with her nephew's school, which was crowded. Her nephew told her that he felt like "cattle" or that he was in a "prison" at his school. When he visited Waimānalo School, he commented, "Oh, this is so nice, so open."

> Rias felt the teachers were able to provide him with more individual support because the class sizes were smaller: "It's because of that guidance the support that allowed them to, it comes back to the idea again that, it's a small tight-knit community of a school. So teachers get to know you on a personal basis and they know your struggles and that's how they can adapt to making sure that you're successful in the long run." He valued the school being a K-8 school, because those "nine years provided me an opportunity to, you know, get to know a lot of people." He also appreciated that he learned "a lot about community," understanding "the value of community" and "how to get along with each other."

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Several participants said that they chose and liked coming to Waimānalo School because their friends were there. Mahealani said one of her sons wanted to come to Waimānalo School from Pope School because "all his friends were coming to Waimānalo."

Though Darcy does not live in Waimānalo, she said she believes parents who send their kids to Waimānalo School choose the school because "sending them here is connected to where they grew up, like, they came here before." She posited that community members would "prefer that their kids remain and learn within Waimānalo" before high school rather than to schools outside the community.

These examples show participants' appreciation for Waimānalo as a school that is like the community—small, close-knit, where everybody knows everybody, and connected to family, friends and community.

An 'Ohana Culture and Village Mindset

The feeling of 'ohana on campus is important to participants who value the same feeling in the community. They believe the community, staff, and families should surround the child with support, and embrace one another as an 'ohana, or as a "village," for each child to feel loved and be successful. Ana referred to the African proverb, "It takes a village to raise a child,"[9] to describe the support system she had growing up. Her village, which included her family members and her teachers and school staff, contributed to her success:

> Thanking my mom, my grandmother--my grandparents, my 'ohana, all of the teachers, all
> of the kūpuna, all of the staff of the school, both schools that I went to, to help me
> succeed. We were set up well. There were people in all facets of my life who I knew I
> could turn to for support, for guidance, and who I knew understood what I was going

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[9] The exact origin of this proverb is unknown (Goldberg, 2016).

through. And so, if children can have that, then they can succeed, 100 percent, in what they're interested in succeeding in, in what fits for them.

Kahula echoed the same sentiment: "It doesn't take one person to raise a child. It takes the whole village. Everybody. And the school going be like that village that is going to nurture and raise that child, like every child should be raised, yeah?" She added that even though she felt the "village" concept was "Hawaiian style," the school should ensure all students feel a sense of 'ohana "no matter of race, color, ethnicity." Oluolu described this partnership between the community, families, and school as a "triangle" of support and communication that keeps each other abreast of the student's well-being. He asserted that all stakeholders need to "get connected" and see each child as "our child" and not "my child." He emphasized that "relationship, relationship, relationship" is important and "the best thing to help communication" among all partners.

For some participants who are parents, this 'ohana or village mindset already exists at Waimānalo school, and they see it as a strength. Gloria referred to the "family connections" at the school as a "positive aspect" and a "real strength" of the campus, and that it helps to keep the students accountable and safe because "you can keep an eye out, and you know the kids, if something's not right."

An important part of being an 'ohana at school is having the spirit of aloha permeate throughout the campus. Four participants said that they felt welcomed on campus. Three of them are Waimānalo School alumni. Having run the school's parent association for over 12 years and sent all four of their children to the school, Aveao and Gloria are familiar with the teachers and staff. Gloria said she receives a "warm welcome" from staff when she comes onto campus, and Aveao also said that because everyone knows him, staff greet him warmly. Ikaika said that being

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an alumnus of the school helps to make him feel comfortable: "I went here, so I feel like, not home, but I feel I'm welcomed." Ruth also said she feels welcomed by both teachers and students. She said she will "make sure I say hi to all the teachers because I want them to know" and that "the kids are really nice, too" and will come up to her and tell her positive things about her grandchildren.

Despite these few parents saying that they feel welcomed on campus, there were more participants who said the school was not welcoming, either based on first-hand experiences or based on what they had heard from other people. Even though Aveao felt welcomed on campus, he recalled when he first got involved with the parent association and a parent complained to him that they went to the office and "nobody paid attention to them." He said that it made them feel that they didn't belong there, and it "left a bitter taste in their mouth." He said perhaps it was because no one knew the parent that they did not engage her: "Unless you know the person, or unless someone knows you, that, they probably won't give, give the time of day to you or whatever."

Ana had a similar story about not feeling welcomed when she would sign in to work at the school. She said that in general, she perceived the school culture to be "just, not Waimānalo. It's not a good example of the kind of community Waimānalo is." She believed the school should be "welcoming, because that's what Waimānalo views this community to be, is a welcoming neighborhood." Darcy, who is a teacher at Waimānalo School, also felt that the school was not welcoming like the community. When asked if she felt the school was open to parents, she could not confirm that the school's culture was aligned with the community: "I know we want to be. We say we are. But I'm not really sure."

For Rowena, there was a stark contrast between her children's former school, a Hawaiian-culture-based charter school, and Waimānalo School, in terms of aloha. She said that when her oldest sons began attending Waimānalo School, "it was different. The children didn't care the way the kids did when they was at charter. There wasn't the same aloha, as you found where they were. It was night and day for them." Despite being strong academically, her second eldest son struggled motivationally and behaviorally at Waimānalo School, especially during his last semester there. Rowena attributes the lack of a genuine sense of aloha among students and faculty as a significant factor in her son's negative experiences at the school.

Uluwehi did not say explicitly that she did not feel welcomed at Waimānalo School, but she said she never attended school events when her children went there, and contrasted how she felt about Waimānalo School with how she feels about Pope School: "I never even have kids at Blanche Pope Elementary, and I felt like they wanted me to be there, so I went. When my kids was at Waimānalo School, I never go to nothing." While she thought it was "sad" for the students at Waimānalo School that she does not participate in their school events, she viewed the school as not worth her time: "Just one whole 'nother animal, and, it's a hard nut to crack, and I no waste my energy." She did not say why she perceives the school this way, but the perception appears to have influenced her engagement with the school. When asked what has made it difficult to build a relationship with the school, she said, "I have no idea. I actually, for myself, I can say that I haven't tried. I get enough for do already." Based on her other responses, it can be inferred that she has not been invited or asked except for one or two occasions, and thus, she perceives the school as uninterested in her and unwilling to engage with her, and as a result, not worth her time.

Kahula had some negative experiences, and as a result, does not want to engage with the school. She said she was rejected as a potential kupuna when she initially inquired, and she got an offer at a school in Kailua instead. She said the school called her later to offer her the position, but she responded, "I don't want to work at your school." She also said that one of her friends, who is a renowned cultural practitioner, was turned away when he offered to build a hale at the school, so he no longer wanted to engage with the school.

I include these perceptions, not to criticize individuals at the school, but to provide insight as to how some of the participants view the school and subsequently engage with or avoid engaging with the school. As Aveao noted, the parent who did not feel welcomed said she stopped going into the office. For several community members, despite having minimal contact with the school to begin with, not feeling connected or welcomed at the school prevented them from getting involved any further, even when asked. It is important to note that the participants who had a first-hand experience of not feeling welcomed at the school were all of Hawaiian ancestry. However, none of the participants stated that they were made to feel unwelcome due to their race, culture or ethnicity. Perhaps they were more aware of a sense of aloha (or lack of it) at the school because the practice of aloha is such an integral part of Hawaiian culture and of the Waimānalo community.

According to TribalCrit theory, inclusion of these stories as "data" is a critical first step in understanding indigenous perspectives and experiences. Brayboy (2005) states that the stories must not just be "listened to" but be "heard," placing the "onus for hearing" "on the hearer rather than the speaker for delivering a clearly articulated message" (p.440). These stories are thus important for the school administration and staff to consider when trying to understand why parents and community members may not engage with the school, and in discussing next steps to

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address these areas for growth. As many indigenous cultures see individuals as "parts of communities rather than individuals alone in the world" (Brayboy, 2005, p.439) these stories should not be received as individual complaints. Analyzing their message through a TribalCrit lens "leads to different ways of examining experiences and theoretical frames through which to view the experiences." (Brayboy, 2005, p.438). Hearing these stories with the understanding of the Hawaiian participants' value of aloha and sense of 'ohana highlights a desire to feel wanted and welcomed as parents and community members, and a desire to have a school in the community that aligns with the community's values.

The final tenet of TribalCrit theory calls for "action or activism" that moves from theory to "praxis" (Brayboy, 2005, p. 440). In this case, one of the participants provides a concrete recommendation for creating a more welcoming culture at the school. Ana suggests that the school staff embrace the spirit of aloha and the Hawaiian concept of ho'okipa to help all students, parents, and community members, not just Hawaiian students, to feel welcome on campus and want to engage with the school

> The common language in everyone, is that sense of aloha and ho'okipa, being welcomed and being welcoming. Everyone speaks that language, no matter where you come from, no matter what kind of person you are, no matter what kind of drugs you're on, everybody's going to stop and, be like, "Oh. That was nice."

She explained that as families have more positive interactions with staff, they will want to participate and engage more with the school because they will feel "more comfortable to be like, 'Hey, by the way. Thank you for telling me hi. By the way, I have this question.'" She stressed the importance of all staff members doing their part to create this shift in the school culture, and discourages staff from "compartmentalizing" their positions to avoid taking responsibility for

interacting with parents. Instead, she recommended a "consistent" or "standard" that "no matter what's happening, no matter who it is, we're rolling out the red carpet for everyone" when they come onto campus. Ana said that simply taking the time to say "aloha" "doesn't take a long time to make an impression on someone, and to make someone feel welcome."

Participants seem to value their community schools just as they value their community, but they also want their community schools to reflect the strengths of their community. Two of the strengths they would most like to see at Waimānalo School are a sense of ʻohana, or family and the spirit of aloha, which work hand in hand. While some participants see these values already on campus, others feel that more work is needed to be done at the school to achieve a schoolwide culture of aloha and ʻohana.

Chapter 6: Stigma

Most of the participants who grew up and live in Waimānalo said there is a negative perception of the community that is both external and internal. It is unclear when this negative perception developed, but several participants stated this "stigma" attached to Waimānalo was always there, even in their youth. Participants believed the stigma was related to several factors in the community—poverty, homelessness, crime, violence, drugs, and the high Native Hawaiian population. However, since Waimānalo is a diverse community made up of different cultural, ethnic, and religious groups, and residents have different levels of income, the multiple layers of this stigma towards an entire community require further examination.

The definition of stigma that applies to this case is a "stereotypical view of certain groups of people" that can cause them to be isolated or excluded socially from others (Burke, 2007, p.11). When we stigmatize a person, "we construct a stigma-theory, an ideology to explain his inferiority and account for the danger he represents, sometimes rationalizing an animosity based on other differences, such as those of social class" (Goffman, 1963, p. 5). Goffman (1963) uses the term "normals" to describe the people who stigmatize someone for his or her "differentness" (p. 5). Though it is difficult to determine who the "normals" were who initially constructed the "stigma-theory" of Waimānalo, we can infer that the people who continue to stigmatize the community are those who continue to negatively stereotype Waimānalo as dangerous, poor, criminal, and homeless.

While one aspect of the stigmatization of Waimānalo is the stigma of poverty because it discredits a group of people for poverty-related issues, such as homelessness or accessing social services, such as welfare (Waxman, 1977), poverty alone does not explain the stigma. Participants explicitly stated that the stigma was inherently attached to the population of Native

Hawaiians in the community. This negative stereotype attached to Waimānalo based on the perception that most of its residents are of a particular race makes it a form of tribal stigmatization (Goffman, 1963). Tribal stigma can be "transmitted through lineages and equally contaminate all members of a family" (Goffman, 1963, p. 4), which could explain how Waimānalo participants perceived the stigma to persist over time and span multiple generations.

Wacquant (2007) added to Goffman's typology of stigma the "blemish of place" that is "superimposed on the already existing stigmata traditionally associated with poverty and ethnic origin or postcolonial immigrant status, to which it is closely linked but not reducible" (p. 67). Even though Waimānalo is more rural than the urban examples that Wacquant (2007) provides, it otherwise meets the criteria that make it subject to "territorial stigmatization," having a population of minorities, immigrants, and people living in poverty (p. 68). Waimānalo has low-income housing and transitional housing as well as a concentration of homeless and houseless families and individuals, which is another common aspect of Wacquant's (2007) stigmatized zones (p. 67). Wacquant (2007) notes that "whether or not these areas are in fact dilapidated and dangerous," the community is stigmatized based on its demographic composition (p. 68). This aligns with multiple participants' testimonies that all of Waimānalo is labeled dangerous and criminal even though they view their community as safe.

The perception of Waimānalo as a poor and dangerous community is an example of tribal and territorial stigmatization, yet in this chapter, participants challenge this deficit view with counter-stories of resilience, pride, resistance, activism, and love for their community.

Troublemakers and Crime

Several participants commented that Waimānalo has had a negative reputation associated with crime and troublemakers for a long time. Ruth recalled Waimānalo being labeled as

"criminal" when she was young, as a result of "murders, stealing" and "a lot of troublemakers" who "ended up in jail." Similarly, Aveao remembered that Waimānalo had "some punks" and that certain families were "known to be troublemakers." Kemakana said that "crime was bad" when she was growing up, and that there was "stealing going on" and "drugs on the corner" in her neighborhood. Walter said that he wanted to go to Kailua High School, but that his father would not allow it "because all the Waimānalo kids were at Kailua" and his father said "that's where the gangs were." Walter said that Waimānalo had some "entrepreneurs" at the time "who started stealing from cars."

Despite these "entrepreneurs" or troublemakers, Walter remembered Waimānalo as "a very cohesive town, everybody got along together and stuff." He said that later "there was a period of time when the drugs came in. And it was really nasty. It wasn't bad, it was nasty." Because Waimānalo was a small town, Walter said, "Of course you knew everybody who was selling drugs." He said at first, "We'd always call the cops, call the cops, call the cops," but the police were not able to stop the drugs from coming in. Eventually, the people in the community took matters into their own hands by making "a deal" with the drug dealers. So long as they were not selling to children, they told the drug dealers, "We won't report you to the police." Walter said that residents wanted to return to their slow-paced, small-town lifestyle, and "just wanted, kind of, same thing, peace in the land." Unfortunately, the perception of Waimānalo as a safe and peaceful town was never restored.

The stigma of the community as dangerous and criminal is reflected in how people also view the community schools. Ana's children do not go to school in Waimānalo. She said that she has heard that parents were concerned with "the level of violence and just misbehavior that happens at the school and the way that those situations are handled" at both Waimānalo School

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and Pope School. Gloria recounted a conversation of a similar nature with the mother of her daughter's soccer teammate, who was also from Waimānalo. She said the mother was "so worried" and "so afraid" that her daughter wanted to go to Waimānalo School for 7th grade, because she perceived the school to be a bad school where the kids were tough.

The tribal and territorial stigmatization of Waimānalo School mirrors the stigmatization of Waimānalo as a community—it is rooted in how the school's population is perceived. Since the 2013-14 school year, the percentage of students who qualify for free or reduced lunch at Waimānalo School has consistently held at over 80 percent (Hawai'i State Department of Education, 2016; Hawai'i State Department of Education, 2018d). This is well over the 10 or 15 percent eligibility requirement for consideration for federal Title I funding, which is intended for "schools with high numbers or high percentages of children from low-income families to help ensure that all children meet challenging state academic standards" (U.S. Department of Education, 2018). The high concentration of students who are considered low-income by this federal definition translates to the school being perceived as poor, and makes it susceptible to the stigma of poverty, which includes being labeled as a "tough" or "violent" school. Just as Wacquant (2007) explained how stigma towards communities persists regardless of the actual rates of crime or violence, so does the stigma towards the community school. According to the HIDOE School Quality Survey, parents who responded to the survey rated Waimānalo School higher in terms of safety than the state average every school year since 2013-14, and just 3 percent lower than the state average in school year 2017-18 (Hawai'i State Department of Education, 2018d). While the survey return rate for parents at the school is less than 25 percent and the state average is less than 30 percent, the parents that did respond felt that their children were safe at Waimānalo School more so or at comparable rates to parents at other HIDOE

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schools (Hawaiʻi Department of Education, 2018d). The School Quality Survey responses are in line with the responses of participants in this study; the majority of participants who are parents or grandparents of students who attend Waimānalo School felt the school was safe. Participants shared stories of people who perceived the school as not safe or the students as more violent than at other schools, but those people did not actually have children enrolled at the school, so their beliefs about Waimānalo School were more consistent with the tribal and territorial stigma attached to the community and not necessarily based on direct experience.

Some participants felt the effects of this stigma in school, in talking with people from outside of Waimānalo, and also internally among other Waimānalo residents. Ruth and Uluwehi experienced the stigma when they went to high school, where Waimānalo students mixed with students from the neighboring community of Kailua. Ruth recounted that during her 10th grade year, the school singled out Waimānalo students for being so-called troublemakers, and called them to a "special meeting" because "they felt it was Waimānalo students causing trouble" in the cafeteria. After the meeting, the school found out it was not Waimānalo kids, but "a group of local kids who lived in Kailua . . . that were the mouthy ones, the ones causing the trouble because they thought they were better than Waimānalo." She recalled when she went to the meeting, other students asked her surprisingly, "Oh, you from Waimānalo?" She said the assumption stemmed from the fact that she was "Oriental" and not Hawaiian, "so they don't associate me with Waimānalo." She responded proudly that she was from Waimānalo. Even when she moved out of Waimānalo, Ruth continued to experience people stigmatizing her community: "You tell anybody you're from Waimānalo and they go, 'Ugh.'" She said that this view was consistent "everywhere in town," and "no matter where I went, Waimānalo had a

stigma." Even though Ruth was not Hawaiian, she still experienced the stigma towards Native Hawaiians and the community because she was from Waimānalo.

Though Uluwehi went to high school over a decade after Ruth, she agreed that Waimānalo kids "always had it rough" at the high school. She said the football coach treated the Waimānalo kids differently from the Kailua kids, and that "Waimānalo kids, he always had us on the shit list." She acknowledged, "Always going have rifts" between the two communities, but that "it's horrible . . . when it's Hawaiians pulling down Hawaiians." For Uluwehi and Ruth, despite being made to feel "less than" because they came from Waimānalo, they live in Waimānalo today and have a hopeful outlook for the community.

Participants who grew up in Waimānalo acknowledged that there was criminal activity in their community that likely contributed to its stigmatization, but they did not see these issues as unique to Waimānalo. They felt that the negative stereotyping of the community and schools as criminal or violent was unfair, and did not accurately reflect the entire community.

Poverty Mentality

In addition to being labeled "criminal," Waimānalo has been stigmatized as a poor or impoverished community. Yet, while participants shared genuine concern for issues related to poverty in their community, such as hunger and homelessness, several participants emphasized that lacking financial resources should not mean that a person should succumb to deficit-thinking about oneself or one's community. Kemakana used the terms "poor mentality" and "small town mentality" to describe how some residents resigned to having low expectations for themselves and their community, and that they believed, "Whatever you going get, you going get." Goffman (1963) described this response by the individual being ostracized as "acceptance" of the stigma and belief that their stigmatization is warranted (pp. 8-9). Reutter, Stewart, Veenstra, Love,

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Raphael, and Makwarimba (2009) examined poverty stigma, in particular, and saw that among their study participants living in poverty, there was a "stigma consciousness" which they defined as "a belief that they are viewed negatively, as a burden to society, and essentially deserving of what they get" (p. 302). Though Kemakana was aware of the stigma of poverty and the internalization of the stigma among some Waimānalo residents, she stated, "We can't be victims anymore."

Although Rias said he thinks the negative comments about Waimānalo are largely "coming from outside, like your neighboring [communities], Kailua, Kaneohe" but he also sees it "internally, here in this community." Like Kemakana, he said the internal stigma results in an attitude or mindset of failure, low expectations, where people believe "because they're from Waimānalo, they can't make it. They can't succeed." He said for young people in Waimānalo, they may blame their circumstances, and think that "my mom's a crazy addict" so "I can't succeed." He does not agree with this mentality, however, and cites himself and fellow classmates as examples of success.

Goffman (1963) stated that another form of acceptance of the stigmatized was to attempt to improve or correct what they see "as the objective basis" of their "failing" (p. 9). Viewed through Goffman's (1963) lens, leaving Waimānalo or sending one's children to schools outside of the community was thus a form of acceptance of the stigma. Kemakana explained how her own parents sent her to elementary and middle school in Kailua, and there was a shared but unspoken understanding among her fellow classmates who were also from Waimānalo that, "Oh, we're the lucky few," and "Wow, we made it out." Even as a child, she was aware of the stigma that Waimānalo is "bad news" and "you no like go school over there" and going to school in Kailua was an opportunity to escape. Kemakana internalized the stigma as a child, and only later,

while pursuing her college degree, did she realize how going to school outside of Waimānalo and growing up "haole" disconnected her from her community as well as her own history, identity and culture as a Native Hawaiian. She explained how she changed her approach to the stigma from acceptance to resistance by embracing her community rather than distancing herself and her children from it.

Aveao said he also knows parents who "choose to send their kids elsewhere" to school as a way out of the community. He said that these parents perceive Waimānalo School as "kind of ghetto" and "associated with something negative." While he did not explicitly state that these parents make race-based or class-based arguments, the implication is that in sending their children to schools in a more affluent, predominantly Caucasian community, these parents do not want their children to be educated with poor students of color. Similar to Kemakana, he had a strong sense of poverty stigma attached to Waimānalo.

Darcy shared how when her family moved to Waimānalo from Kailua, her parents were not happy with their children dating other people from the community. She said they felt like they needed to "go back to Kailua" where there was less "drama." She also said that her children's father grew up on the "rougher side" of Waimānalo and thus did not want his kids growing up there. On the other hand, Darcy said that she partly wishes that she raised her kids in Waimānalo because of the sense of closeness in the community and "a lot of the family members live in Waimānalo." She also noted that Waimānalo is "very rich in cultural values and practices, as opposed to Kailua" where she lives. For her, the community cultural wealth in Waimānalo is valuable, but her children's father sought a life outside of the community based on his experience.

Ruth knew another parent who had the same desire to leave Waimānalo. She said the parent left Waimānalo "to get away from, to save herself and her family" and that "she was glad she did because Waimānalo would have pulled her down and she would not be where she was today." Ruth said she was "really sad" that this mother felt the way she did about Waimānalo, because she sees the community as ever-changing for the better and not like it was when she was growing up.

Burke (2007) explains this phenomenon of residents fearing stigmatization by association as the "transferability of disadvantage" where "associating with disadvantaged groups or individuals confers an element of disadvantage on the associate" (p. 11). Wacquant (2007) considers this denial of association within the community to be a common response to territorial stigmatization. He defines this internal casting of the stigma "onto a faceless, demonized other" by residents in the community as "lateral denigration and mutual distanciation" (Wacquant, 2007, p. 68). Yoder and Lopez (2013) suggest that exercising their ability to send their child to another school may have been empowering for parents who felt marginalized (Yoder & Lopez, 2013). Where these parents may have otherwise felt powerless because of their socio-economic status, "school choice" could give parents the opportunity "to exert power and dominance when they would otherwise feel ostracized by school communities" (Yoder & Lopez, 2013, p. 429). Participants' stories of Waimānalo residents' responses to the stigma attached to their community include examples of denial, dissociation, distanciation, and school choice, but participants' own personal stories reflect a rejection of the stigma by embracing community cultural wealth.

Despite the stigma of Waimānalo School being a struggling school, Rias sees its strengths from an "immigrant family" perspective. He said that in the Philippines, where his family is

from, families must pay for public schooling, as well as uniforms, so he is grateful for the free public education he received at Waimānalo School, with supportive teachers and friends. He said each person makes his or her own path at the school, and that "you don't need to go to private school, you don't need to go to a public school in urban Honolulu to succeed. Yeah, you, you are the student. And you need to do what you can to succeed." He said his parents taught him to make sacrifices and take initiative, but he acknowledged that it can be "a struggle for a lot of people, young people" and it was something that he was working to change through his neighborhood board position.

Oluolu echoes Rias' rejection of deficit-thinking toward Waimānalo. He said, however, that some people use their struggles as a "cop out" and give up. He noted how the homeless population in Waimānalo was increasing, but he challenges their argument that they cannot succeed or pull themselves out of their circumstances: "No, no, your parent never raise you to be homeless, your parent never raise you to be a drug user, they never thought that, and if they did, shame on them. But I believe every parent wants a kid to be better than them." Oluolu distinguished between being "homeless" and "houseless;" he said he believed a homeless person is "a true person with financial crisis" who may have lost his job or fallen on hard times, whereas a houseless person is someone who was kicked out of his home for doing or selling drugs and not wanting to take responsibility. In either case, he maintained that people need to take responsibility and a strengths-based approach to their lives and their community. He sees the negative aspects of Waimānalo—the homelessness, crime, and drugs—as the things "on our front door" or on display, when "there's so much positive out there." Oluolu added that the stigma did not accurately represent Native Hawaiians, as "our Hawaiian community is so much more beautiful than what shows on the outside of our door." He also believed that in order to

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change the negative perception of Waimānalo, the community needed to seek solutions for the houseless and population.

Kahula criticized the poverty mentality and did not like that Waimānalo was beginning to look like a "homeless village." She stated that she and her daughter share the same perspective, that "Hawaiian values is not being homeless" and that "when you able-bodied, and you can work, you go work." She said that while she felt sorry for those who were struggling, that they should not be too proud to work in whatever type of job was available, and that they should not be so dependent on their parents for money or help. Kahula also noted that Waimānalo School used to have higher standards for students, and Pope School was a high-performing school, but over time, the schools and the community have lowered their expectations and succumbed to "negative" thinking. Like Rias and Oluolu, Kahula disagreed with the poverty mentality and stigma and believed in taking responsibility as a solution to dealing with unfortunate circumstances. She saw giving in to drugs or homelessness as giving up, and allowing the stigma to overtake the positive aspects of the community.

Native Hawaiian Population

Another aspect of the negative image of Waimānalo is that it is a predominantly Hawaiian community. Only a couple of Native Hawaiian participants explicitly call out the stigma as discrimination towards their community. Oluolu said Waimānalo School is thought of as being "more rough" because of the "majority" Hawaiian population at the school. Kemakana stated frankly that "the Pizza Hut man still to this day does not deliver pizza in Waimānalo" and a primary reason was "because of the Hawaiian population." She noted how Native Hawaiians in her community are subsequently labeled with negative, deficit-thinking descriptors: "They're poverty. They need money. They have, you know, they have domestic violence. They have drug

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abuse." Kemakana added that the stigmatization was not only towards Native Hawaiians in Waimānalo, but that Native Hawaiians across Hawaiʻi were stereotyped in the same way.

Other participants may not have stated a direct connection between the stigma and Native Hawaiian population, but it is implied in Ruth's and Uluwehi's stories. Ruth noted how her high school peers did not think she was from Waimānalo because she was not Hawaiian, and that the meeting for Waimānalo students was thus assumed to be a meeting for Hawaiian students from Waimānalo. Uluwehi's story of feeling that Waimānalo students "always had it rough" at Kailua High School, particularly because of the football coach, suggests a similar racial discrimination against Waimānalo students. Ruth's and Uluwehi's experiences are first-hand accounts of racial bias and marginalization of students from Waimānalo by staff in a public school. Though the high school staff members did not explicitly state a bias towards Native Hawaiians, Ruth and Uluwehi understood the implication that they were treated differently because they were from a predominantly Native Hawaiian community. Though this discrimination occurred more at the micro/individual level rather than at a structural institutional level, it had an endemic quality in that it was experienced by two participants at different times at the school and carried out by multiple staff members. In addition to reflecting a tribal stigma towards Waimānalo students by some of the high school staff, these two examples illustrate the critical race theory and TribalCrit principles that racism and colonization are endemic to society, and in this case, to a public institution (Brayboy, 2005; Yosso, 2006). Both participants resisted a deficit view of their community based on racial stereotypes and expressed pride in being part of Waimānalo.

Resistance to Stigma

Participants responded to their community being stigmatized in a variety of ways, but all of their responses can be seen as forms of resistance and examples of community cultural wealth

(Yosso, 2005). Several participants expressed a protectiveness and sense of pride in their community in spite of the stigma, and some participants turned the negative reputation into a source of empowerment.

Aveao actively defends Waimānalo as a community and as a school against being stigmatized. Like other participants, he acknowledged the existence of crime in the community, but he felt that it was a mischaracterization of the greater community. He said he even knew the mother of some of these individuals, and that "she's real sweet, but for whatever reason her kids, they chose the wrong path." His response is in line with his overarching view that while some individuals may make poor choices, it does not accurately reflect the whole community. He also concurred with Ruth in suggesting that things have changed in Waimānalo, and those few individuals who may have caused trouble before are no longer around. He maintained that both the community and the school "for the most part" have "always been good" and he was "not sure where these other reports are coming from" that might suggest otherwise.

While he knew that Waimānalo School does not have a strong reputation, Aveao told parents that it is "a good school" and that "it's been a good school for a while." He said he even jokes that perhaps the school is good because their children are not there, and that if they did go to the school, "you going make 'em bad." He said he is trying to "change that perception" and is hopeful because some parents have brought their children back to the school. However, he acknowledged that despite his efforts, the reputation is "one of those things that you can't really shake it, or shake it off." Aveao understood that some parents choose schools outside of Waimānalo because they "work in town," but disagreed with parents who send their kids to schools in Kailua. He believed those parents need to "step up" and send their children to their community school. Aveao resisted the deficit-thinking of Waimānalo School and community as

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being troubled, criminal and poor by his active engagement in the school and the town, and by sharing his counter-narratives with other parents.

Gloria also made it a point to tell parents who perceive Waimānalo School as a "bad school" that "all my kids went through Waimānalo" and that "Waimānalo is a good school." Having worked at other DOE schools, she said she has learned that "middle school is tough, right across the board, doesn't matter what middle school you go to," but parents don't necessarily understand that. She admitted to sometimes using her 10-year old daughter, who is quiet and polite, as a counter-example to the perception of Waimānalo as violent or "tough." Gloria said she will tell her daughter, "Come here, stand there in front of this lady and show her how tough and scary you are." She added that if parents and community members were aware of the good things that students were doing and actually heard it from students themselves, "they'd never think of this school as a scary, tough school." She said the school had a lot of students who were "gifted" in music, sports, robotics, and other areas, and that people in the community "just need to hear more about them."

Rias and Kemakana recommended the use of technology and social media to highlight positive stories about the community and the school. Kemakana said she uses Facebook to "highlight good things about my community, 'cause poor things have been highlighted so long already." She said the school should utilize social media as well, as there were a number of programs and strengths that she as a parent was not aware of until she did some research. In particular, she said the Special Education program was a "benefit for Waimānalo, in my opinion because I checked for all the special education programs in the area, elementary, as well as intermediate, and Waimānalo just blew them out of the water." She also mentioned that the middle school afterschool program was a bright spot for her daughter, "but at the same time, we

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don't know about 'em." She only recently learned about the program a year after she enrolled her daughter at the school. She believed making families and the public aware of such programs would help to change the stigma of the school and community.

As a neighborhood board member, Rias used social media to poll his constituents as well as to highlight good things happening in the community. He said he has a sense of the negative perception of Waimānalo, but he countered that "there's so many positive things that can overcome all these negative things." He emphasized the power of social media, technology, and individual stories in reshaping how Waimānalo is portrayed. "As much as they see Waimānalo, always under, needs improvement," Rias said that there are stories of personal success that exist but simply need to be told. He posed the question to the school: "How do we use technology, the tools that we have in front of us to share our story and to share, you know, great things are happening at the school?" He mentioned the updated Waimānalo School website as a strength and urged the school to continue using that and other platforms to communicate with families and the public.

Kiani Ani put it simply: "How do you make a school look good? Make the kids look good." He said one way to make the students look good was to put out "favorable statistics" or higher test scores, but he acknowledged that improving students' performance on high stakes assessments is "not easy" and is "contingent upon participation from the kids as well as their parents." Kiani Ani also acknowledged that "having that stigma just breeds the same thought for future generations." Given that many in the community have internalized the stigma attached to Waimānalo and Waimānalo School for so long, changing students and families' mindset of low-performance and failure to high achievement and success becomes an even more difficult task for the school.

Research on schools and poverty supports Kiani Ani's notion that turning the test scores around is not a simple endeavor. In reality, improving student achievement in high-poverty schools requires more than just student and parent participation. Schools with "concentrated poverty" face a "constellation of inequalities that shape schooling," including "less qualified and less experienced teachers and fewer learning resources" as well as "more student and family mobility" (Darling-Hammond, 2010, p. 37). Students who attend these schools will typically achieve at lower levels regardless of their own individual socioeconomic status (Darling-Hammond, 2010, p. 37). The increased segregation of schools has compounded the issue of concentrated poverty and consequent inequality in schooling on the mainland (Darling-Hammond, 2010, p. 37). As noted in several participants' stories, the stigmatization of Waimānalo has had a similar segregating effect on the school; some parents choose to send their children to schools in the neighboring communities, private schools, and public charter schools, and typically the parents who leave are the parents with the means to do so. Given that on average, more than 80 percent of Waimānalo School students come from low-income homes (Hawai'i State Department of Education, 2018d), but only 21 percent of the community lives in poverty (U.S. Census Bureau, 2018), the students at Waimānalo School seem to disproportionately represent families living in poverty in the community. While the challenge of poverty may seem insurmountable, participants were hopeful that de-stigmatizing the school and community was possible, and that drawing families back to Waimānalo School would help to improve the school as more students meant increased funding and more resources for students and teachers.

Providing counter-examples to a negative profile also challenges a deficit-lens of Waimānalo. Several Native Hawaiian participants took another approach to de-stigmatization by

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suggesting that the reputation of Waimānalo is not something to be ashamed of; rather, it is a source of pride and a protective mechanism against settler colonialism.

Uluwehi, Kemakana, and Samuel see Waimānalo's roughness and toughness as a strength. Uluwehi proudly exclaimed, "I was from the hood!" and said that she hung out with the "renegade" kids in school. Kemakana said she was "very proud to come from it because Waimānalo was looked at as rugged" and strong. She added that residents would not tolerate disrespect, "because if you come into my community, and you try make any kine, you know, you going get it." Darcy cautioned that outsiders should be mindful in Waimānalo: "Like any place, you have your stellar members of society, of the community, and then you have the rough, the rough neck of the woods. Just don't cross the rough neck of the woods." Samuel shared how his father is an example of the community as a place where physical strength and respect are valued: "My father is a warrior. He is a warrior. He came from one time of Waimānalo where respect was everything. And he could, he could get into fights every single weekend. You know, sometimes, two, three fights in one day." Kemakana, Darcy and Samuel highlighted that respect was highly valued by Waimānalo residents, and that disrespect could result in physical consequences. In this sense, Waimānalo's reputation as "tough" was a form of Native Hawaiian survivance.

Several participants mentioned that visitors, tourists, foreigners or outsiders were most at-risk of experiencing trouble in Waimānalo. Kemakana said she felt safe because she was "part of the community" and "didn't think anything was going come to me; it came to others that weren't from here." She remembered tourists were the ones getting "ripped off" by locals, and that it was uncommon to see a "haole person walking in Waimānalo when I was growing up. There weren't any, 'cause they'd get beat up. That's just how it was." Kahula was the only participant who said

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her house was robbed—once, by her neighbor's kids, who were on drugs. She said this did not make her feel unsafe, however, as the kids who stole from her later came back and apologized. She said she still leaves her doors unlocked because she feels safe.

The feeling of being safe as an "insider" or "local" in the community was not limited to Native Hawaiian participants. Rias, who identifies as Filipino, mentioned never having any problems in the community or in school. Gloria, who is of Samoan ancestry, recalled an incident when her family was ordering their food at a local fast-food restaurant, and the cashier yelled "profanities" at a man in the parking lot who was trying to break into her car. She said the cashier continued serving her family and then cheerily told them, "Have a nice day!" She laughed as she told the story, and said, "Only in Waimānalo. I mean for us it was funny, but I thought, Oh, my goodness, imagine somebody was visiting or a tourist."

These participants also recast the notion of a "poor" community as a non-issue or a source of strength. Kemakana did not consider her community to be impoverished until she was an adult, when "my husband who was raised in Kailua, when his family came over, was like, 'Oh, it's so [im]poverished over here.' I'm like, I was looking around, and I guess it was, I never really thought of that." She said that even though there were "abandoned vehicles on my, on our road all the time" and drug deals on her street, she felt safe. Oluolu reflected on his childhood in a similar way: "Never knowing that you was poor. Just thought everything was fun. You never realized it was only a state of mind, being poor, you know. We were on everything from welfare, free food stamps and tokens." He said that he and his siblings had to fundraise to play sports, but that taught them how to work together and work hard. Samuel believed that growing up poor with other families fostered a sense of community, resilience, and gratitude, turning their struggles into familial capital:

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Came from poverty. Eight kids. One can tuna. One, one loaf bread. Plenty times and they

never have food. Yeah, so these layer upon layer of generations in Waimānalo, was, and

one time when everybody was poor. Nobody had anything. So, was a shared struggle.

Shared appreciation of little.

He added that because people "never had money" back then, if there was a wedding or a party in

Waimānalo, "*everybody* showed up at the party" because it "was one *community* celebration."

For Samuel, the "shared struggle" in his family and community was a form of community

cultural wealth, rather than a source of shame or failure.

All participants admitted that challenging issues did and do exist in Waimānalo, but that

they still feel safe because they are a part of the community. Most of the participants choose to

focus on the positive parts of the community and want to highlight stories of success as a way to

challenge deficit-thinking and de-stigmatize the community and their community schools.

It is important to note that all of the participants had concerns for their community that

align with the elements of its stigma, namely drugs and homelessness. However, they said that

these problems are not limited to Waimānalo, and thus, should not be a reason that Waimānalo is

stigmatized.

Ikaika said that while there were drugs in his neighborhood growing up, "as a parent it

seems like it's gotten worse." He saw that other people his age were "messed up" and now "their

kids are messing up." He pointed out that "it's a way larger problem than Waimānalo."

Mahealani agreed that drugs are more pervasive outside of Waimānalo: "The more money you

make, the more drugs you can buy." She said that she knew people who worked at a more

affluent school in Honolulu, and they had drug problems at the school.

Catherine said that drugs "happens more at nighttime, like the craziness that happens at night" in Waimānalo. This made her feel as though the community was becoming less safe than when she was growing up. She wanted those issues to be addressed, "to go back to where . . . it's safe to be around, and you're not like constantly wondering what's going on."

Other participants such as Oluolu and Kahula also expressed concern about drugs and homelessness negatively affecting their community, but they also did not feel that these issues were unique to Waimānalo. Kahula said she noticed that grandparents were "taking care of the kids because their children was into drugs." She maintained, however, that the neighboring community where she taught was not any different from Waimānalo. She said in Kailua, "Get drugs. We get homeless people. We have children that are poor," yet the community was not stigmatized as poor or drug-ridden.

Participants were aware of the realities that affected the health and well-being of Waimānalo residents, yet felt that their community should not be seen only for crime and poverty, and characterized solely through a deficit lens. Participants' counter-stories resist the stigma of being a poor and dangerous community, and point out that poverty-related issues such as drugs and homelessness are systemic problems in society and not unique to Waimānalo.

Love for Community

Despite the stigma, participants overwhelmingly valued their community, whether they had grown up there or whether they moved there later in life. They love Waimānalo. Those that had the strongest feelings for Waimānalo were the participants who were born and raised there, and who were also Native Hawaiian. Kahula began to tear up when she said, "I love Waimānalo. There's nothing I wouldn't do for Waimānalo." She said that she chooses "no other place. I born here. I going die here, you know?" Uluwehi said she feels the pull of Waimānalo, especially

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when she goes away on a trip: "If I go to America, and I hear one Hawaiian song, I start crying, I really like come home." For Samuel, Waimānalo is not just a town or a place to live, but it evokes a feeling of connectedness for him that he believes is special because he grew up there:

> Waimānalo is *home* [emphasis added]. Home. It's deep-seated. That appreciation and love for home and Waimānalo, it is deep-*seated* [emphasis added]. You cannot explain that. You cannot teach that. Everybody from Waimānalo, any native born, they will always have that longing. It's that salmon, trying for get back to that pond, that stream. People not going to understand that.

The love that participants who grew up in Waimānalo feel for their community is evident in their emotional testimonials.

Participants who did not grow up in Waimānalo still felt affinity for the community. Gloria stated that she loves Waimānalo, and that she feels a part of the community "since I've lived here for so many years, even though I don't sound it." Rowena said that she was not raised in Waimānalo, and only spent some weekend or vacation time with family in the town, "but there was just something about Waimānalo, I really, really loved. I don't know what it was, but coming over here was always a good time for me." She added proudly that she now had her "own Waimānalo boys." Jade said that her children like living in Waimānalo so much that "they wouldn't want to move. You know, even if dad or I got a job change or anything, they're like, we're staying here. You guys can move." Like the other participants who grew up in Waimānalo, Jade's children felt a deep connection to their hometown that transcended even familial ties.

To Walter, the people of Waimānalo make it special, despite the negative aspects of the community. By contrasting these negative elements with the strengths of the community, and

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accepting both as part of the community's unique character, he provided a counter-narrative that resists a solely deficit approach. He remarked:

> It's hard to distinguish because of the thievery, the homeless, and the poor people and stuff. But I say all the characteristics is all a part of who you are, who we are, who we were, and growing up, and so, it doesn't make anybody better than anybody. But it's just, was a wonderful upbringing. We have so many people in the community, especially now; they want to help the youth, want to help adults.

For Walter, the negative aspects of the community do not amount to deficits; rather, he sees Waimānalo through a strengths-based lens. Though Waimānalo has changed since his childhood, he believes there are still people who are keeping the aloha spirit of old Waimānalo alive.

Despite negative experiences in, or characterizations of, the community, all 22 participants felt an appreciation for Waimānalo and reject the stigmatization of their community. Moreover, the nineteen who reside in Waimānalo either said that they love living there or expressed no desire to live anywhere else. This shared love for their community represents a strong sense of survivance and community cultural wealth among participants, particularly aspirational and familial capital, as they hope to better their community and want to maintain its cultural assets, namely, continuing as a small, close-knit, diverse town with a significant Hawaiian population.

Even though participants resisted the stigmatization of their community, not all participants felt the same way about Waimānalo School. A couple of participants accepted the negative reputation of Waimānalo School and seemed to be influenced by how relatives, neighbors or friends felt about the school. Parents of Waimānalo School students were more apt to defend the school and reject the stigma of it as a "violent" school or a school of "tough" kids.

One explanation for the divergence in participants' beliefs about the community versus the school is that all of the participants live and/or work in the community and can thus defend against its stigmatization based on personal experience, whereas not all of the participants had direct or recent experience with the school. For those participants who were not or only loosely connected to the school, their perceptions of the school were based on what others told them, and negative stories seemed to reinforce existing stigmas. All of the participants, however, did see the stigmatization of Waimānalo School as attached to the stigmatization of the community and expressed hope that both the school and community could work towards having a more positive identity.

Chapter 7: Survivance

Participants shared that an important part of Waimānalo is the high Native Hawaiian population, largely due to the Hawaiian homestead lands. The main and original homestead area spans much of the mauka or "mountain" section along the main road across from Kaiona Beach Park all the way to the polo field. There is another newly built homestead community just up the road from the shopping center, which is considered the center of town.

Several participants compared Waimānalo to the town of Wai'anae because of the significant Native Hawaiian population. Darcy said that "unless you're going out to the west side, Wai'anae side, it's probably where you'll find the most populated Native Hawaiian families." Kiani Ani made a similar comment that Waimānalo has "the second highest population of Native Hawaiians. I think, only second to Wai'anae," and this was especially important to him as a Native Hawaiian.

Mahealani referred to Waimānalo and Wai'anae as "twin cities." She lived in Wai'anae for three years, and eventually moved back to Waimānalo. She said she "found similarities in Wai'anae and Waimānalo, according to their cultures. You know, they embrace the Hawaiian culture, they embrace the aloha spirit." Rias is not Native Hawaiian, but he also appreciated Waimānalo's Native Hawaiian community and culture: "It's stayed the same community it is, you know, with a high Native Hawaiian population, with the aloha spirit that's here." Rias and Mahealani take a strengths-based approach to Waimānalo, but as noted in the previous chapter, many people outside the community and even residents associate the Native Hawaiian population with poverty and/or with drugs, crime, and homelessness. This chapter expands on participants' resistance to settler colonialism and stigmatization by sharing their values, efforts and desires related to the restoration and strengthening of Hawaiian culture in their community

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and schools. Together, their stories represent a general trend of survivance among both Hawaiian and non-Hawaiian participants and residents.

Hawaiian People & Homestead Lands

The Hawaiian homestead lands are a significant part of Waimānalo's history and culture. For Kahula, the homestead lands make Waimānalo special: "Waimānalo is an important community because we have Hawaiian Homelands." Residents on the Hawaiian homesteads value living there, being close to family and neighbors. Walter, Uluwehi, Kemakana and Kahula's families were on the homesteads for generations, and felt a strong tie to the community. Walter's family lived in Kapahulu before moving to Waimānalo. He recalled that his family moved onto one of the first 20 homestead lots in Waimānalo. He was able to grow up on the homestead and still lives in his family home today. Kahula said her parent moved to Waimānalo in 1939, when "there was no Ala Koa Street" and there were "just a few houses in Waimānalo." She remembered that there were only "three or four houses" at the time in the second homestead section, and "we are the number-six house in the first homestead in this subdivision." Kemakana's family moved to Waimānalo around the same time, as her "great-great-grandparents were one of the first 12 original homestead families of Waimānalo, so they moved there probably in the 30s." She said that because multiple generations of her family have lived on the homestead and in Waimānalo, she "get plenty tie to my community." Uluwehi said her father's family lived on the homestead since he was a baby, with relatives all close by. Her tutu, grandfather, and her grandfather's brother and sister "all had houses within a five-lot vicinity."

There were also concerns and challenges with homesteads. As discussed in "Chapter 5: Small, Close Community," Kiani Ani and Kahula pointed out the illegal transfer of Hawaiian Homelands in the decades before statehood. They explicitly stated that the beach-front lands

were originally slated as Hawaiian homelands, but that due to "corruption," the lands were sold as private lots to haole. As residents of the homesteads, they expressed disappointment and frustration, and saw this as a significant loss to the Hawaiian community that favored the haole settlers and the settler government.

Uluwehi expressed the need for Hawaiian families to understand the process of obtaining a lot on Hawaiian homelands. She emphasized that "Hawaiian kids from homestead" need to have "succession planning, they need understanding of how homestead works," and that families need to know how to pass on homestead land to their children, and to also know how to get on the list. She said getting a homestead lot required "understanding paperwork at the department," going to the office on the other side of the island, and putting your name in to qualify for a lot. She perceived these barriers as difficult enough to keep people from accessing this opportunity, and stated that "get plenty people qualify who don't think it's important because their grandparents had to wait, and they already dead, and they never got any, but if you don't put your name in the hat, you never ever going get called." Uluwehi also said she had seen families get "ripped apart" over succession disputes when a kupuna or parent died, and that was why she felt it was important for families and children to have knowledge of the process. She was able to pass on such knowledge to her children: "Definitely my children understand it very well because they on the list." By teaching her children how to obtain a homestead lot, Uluwehi was transferring her navigational capital, "the ability to maneuver through social institutions not created with communities of color in mind" (Yosso, 2005, p. 131). Uluwehi not only saw this as important for her family, but felt that Native Hawaiians in her community needed access to this form of community cultural wealth.

Not all of the Hawaiian participants lived on homestead lots, but most of them had experience living there at some point in their lives, or had family and/or friends who lived there. The preservation of the homestead lands for Hawaiians was important to Native Hawaiian participants and they saw these lands as a community strength.

Hawaiian Culture

Hawaiian and non-Hawaiian participants valued Hawaiian culture, particularly because Waimānalo has such a significant Native Hawaiian community. Catherine noted that even though she is not Hawaiian, she loves Hawaiian culture because she grew up in Hawaiʻi. Rias, who identifies as Filipino, said that he loves the aloha spirit in Waimānalo that comes with the Native Hawaiian population. Most of the Hawaiian participants underscored the importance of a Hawaiian perspective and lifestyle, living in accordance with Hawaiian values, and being able to learn and speak ʻōlelo Hawaiʻi, the Hawaiian language. They expressed the importance of teaching cultural knowledge and skills to younger generations.

Uluwehi talked about the need for Hawaiians to share any cultural practices with the community, especially with the children: "We need our own people to come back to the community and to help the education, not only in the system, but just in general. Just any kind of sharing. Whether it's lauhala, or coconut, or lūʻau making. . . . Whatever gifts." Oluolu added that Hawaiian culture is "not a landmark, it is a way of life," and children need to learn familial capital to guide them in the present and the future:

Learn about it, share it, so our kids can respect the land that they're on. . . . They gotta know their role and their responsibility once you're on the land. If I'm here, I shouldn't dirty this place. I shouldn't be disrespectful this area, why, because my kin's been here. This where a battle's been here. This is where we used to pray.

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Uluwehi and Oluolu share an appreciation for Hawaiian culture as a lifestyle and integral part of their everyday lives.

Hawaiian Language

Several participants mentioned the importance of Hawaiian language in their own upbringing, schooling, and also how it was important for their children and Hawaiian children in general to be able to perpetuate their culture. Speaking and learning ʻōlelo Hawaiʻi and learning in Hawaiian is not like taking any other language course for fun or as a school requirement. Because the Hawaiian language was systematically eliminated and replaced with English as the language of instruction in 1896 by the settler colonial government following the overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy (Republic of Hawaiʻi, 1896), speaking, learning and learning in ʻōlelo Hawaiʻi became a political act of resistance (Oliveira, 2014). Those who continued to speak ʻōlelo Hawaiʻi were "severely punished" (Oliveira, 2014, p. 80). Through a TribalCrit lens, Brayboy (2005) considers such policies towards indigenous people to be "oriented toward a problematic goal of assimilation" (p. 436).

ʻŌlelo Hawaiʻi and its restoration in schools and society are thus part of the larger movement for Hawaiian survivance and sovereignty. The revival of ʻōlelo Hawaiʻi as a medium of instruction began during the Hawaiian Renaissance in the 1970s (Kanahele, 1982; Oliveia, 2014). Trask (1993) connected Hawaiian immersion schools with the "cultural resurgence that also includes reclaiming of ancestral lands and moves toward various forms of self-government" (p. 52). She added that "language instruction is understood to be both a cultural and political assertion" because it is occurring in a settler colonial system (Trask, 1993, pp. 52-53). The kaiapuni [Hawaiian immersion school] movement is dismantling the stronghold of the American settler government on the language in schools used to perpetuate settler values and practices. The

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following Native Hawaiian participants' stories about the Hawaiian language show the impact of settler colonialism in their families and community, and how they engage in these individual and collective acts of resistance.

Kahula grew up with her grandparents speaking Hawaiian at home, but they understood that she would need English once she started going to school because public school classes were taught solely in English. She recalled when she was of school age, her grandfather told her, "No, you have to speak English. You not going school and speaking Hawaiian." She said they then started to speak to her in English, but she could still understand when they spoke to one another in Hawaiian. Despite going to Waimānalo School and Kailua High School, which were American schools, Kahula retained her linguistic knowledge from her grandparents and is able to pass it on to others now as a kupuna at an elementary school in Kailua, where she teaches the basics of Hawaiian language as part of her culture-based lessons.

Kiani Ani said his father could not speak Hawaiian, recalling that "for people in my dad's generation, speaking Hawaiian was not acceptable, not accepted." Despite his father's inability to speak Hawaiian, he "always encouraged" Kiani Ani, who attended Hawaiian immersion preschool, to speak Hawaiian. When sitting down to eat dinner, he remembered, "My dad and mom having me say whatever blessing for the food in Hawaiian." Since there was no Hawaiian immersion elementary school in the community, when Kiani Ani entered kindergarten at Pope School, he could not continue his Hawaiian language lessons. It was not until high school that Kiani Ani took Hawaiian language again at Kamehameha Schools, but he said because he had a foundation in ʻōlelo Hawaiʻi, "It kind of came back, came easily, and it never left so I think that was like the start for me, in engaging community in Native Hawaiian values today." The value of Hawaiian language as important cultural knowledge has stayed with Kiani Ani; one of his

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children attends Hawaiian immersion preschool. He said that he likes being able "to use Hawaiian language in my home with her."

Kemakana had a similar experience in that learning ʻōlelo Hawaiʻi awakened a "consciousness" in her that led to a greater appreciation for her Hawaiian culture and history. She said she spent little time in Waimānalo as a child because she "grew up very haole" in private schools in Kailua, with few Hawaiian peers and mostly Caucasian students. She credited her Hawaiian language instructor in college with helping her to see the connections between pidgin and Hawaiian language, and encouraging her to "*think* Hawaiian" [emphasis added], which led to her reflecting on her identity as a Native Hawaiian, and invigorating her to reconnect with her culture and community. She then "learned about my own history" beyond what was taught in school, about how the Hawaiian monarchs implemented systems of "education, health care, public service" for the Hawaiian people, and did "all of these different things that are so pivotal to the high literacy of this nation at one time." For Kemakana, it was a major step in understanding that she "came from a great people." She learned "all these awesome things in American history," but she never had the opportunity to learn about the innovations and accomplishments of Hawaiian leaders in school until later in life.

This represented a turning point for Kemakana in her self-identity as a Hawaiian, and increased not only her interest in Hawaiian language, history and culture for herself, but for her children. She proudly exclaimed, "We were really awesome and intelligent and innovative people. You know, once I started to see that, and understand it, I was like, whoa! My kids need to know this." Initially, Kemakana sent her first three children to religious private school and then to a public school in Kailua because she wanted them to have "contact with haole" and understand "more than just the homestead life." Her awakening shifted her thinking about her

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children's schooling, and she sent her younger children to a Hawaiian-focused charter school. When the school closed down, she sent them to their neighborhood HIDOE schools because she saw the schools were working to "involve not only a Hawaiian cultural piece but the want to connect with community." She still valued a Hawaiian-culture based education, but also realized "the importance of community," and was satisfied that the schools were providing more culture and community-based opportunities as well as allowing her children to grow up with their Waimānalo peers. Learning ʻōlelo Hawaiʻi allowed Kemakana to reconnect with her culture and provide her children with the opportunity to acquire community cultural wealth, an opportunity that she never had attending schools outside of her community when she grew up.

Ana is the only participant whose first language is Hawaiian. She attended Hawaiian immersion school until 7th grade, when she attended Kamehameha School. Her experience is significant and unique in that she entered school when there was a rebirth of kula kaiapuni Hawaiʻi, or Hawaiian-immersion or Hawaiian-medium school. There were only a few schools in existence at the time, and none on the windward side of the island. From a very young age, Ana understood that kaiapuni was more than just a language program—it was a movement grounded in Hawaiian values and in opposition to a settler colonial school system, and an act of survivance for her family. She recalled:

> Hawaiian was my first language. I had my grandmother in my home and she spoke with
> me, and so, the natural thing was to go to Hawaiian immersion school. So, to be told,
> "No, you cannot," didn't sit well with my mom.

Ana's mother joined a group of other parents and teachers who were trying to create a kaiapuni at Pūʻōhala Elementary School on the windward side of Oʻahu. They succeeded in starting the school, so Ana was able to learn in Hawaiian from kindergarten, but since the school

was a HIDOE school, they were not provided adequate space for their classes. Ana said her early years were not just spent learning Hawaiian language and culture, but learning about the barriers of practicing Hawaiian culture in an American settler system. Her teachers would hold classes at the State Capitol to advocate for space for their school. She said they would sit in legislators' offices to show the importance of kaiapuni because "there wasn't really a strong push on the legislature's side to, to make it a normalcy in every community." Even though students from different communities wanted to attend Kula ʻŌlelo Hawaiʻi [Hawaiian language school], they had "nowhere to go, and the reality of driving them to, to Waiau every single day or ʻĀnuenue, is just, unrealistic for working parents." Ana's mother and other parents were vocal about their desire for their children to learn in Hawaiian. She said her mom and other parents pledged their support for the teachers, and even went along to the Capitol to sit in on their classes and talked to legislators. Ana was thus instilled with a sense of resistance towards oppression and the importance of the survival of her language and culture from her mother and teachers:

> All of those different teachers as real foundational teachers for us, helping to show the importance of this. My mom likes to joke that, she, pretty much would tell everyone, "How much is that chair that you're sitting on, in the legislator's office?" And it's like, couple hundred dollars for their leather chairs, and they had fifty of ʻem, but they couldn't buy plastic chairs for children to sit in the classroom. . . . At the time, it was kūʻē [adversarial, rebellious], to most people, but for us, it was just trying to get the message, that, you know, we need a place, too, we need a home, too.

Their persistence paid off, as eventually, they were given several classrooms at Pūʻōhala Elementary School. For Ana, speaking Hawaiian as her first language and being able to learn in a Hawaiian immersion setting were integral to her later success in high school, college, and

beyond. Moreover, Ana was raised with "verbal and non-verbal lessons" in resistant capital (Yosso & Solórzano, 2005, p. 131) from her mother and teachers, which influenced her choices about her children's schooling, her career and her work in her community.

Mali'u also attended Hawaiian immersion school, but he started his education at Waimānalo School. He said that even as a second grader, he did not feel connected to Waimānalo School and the culture there. His older brother, who was also at Waimānalo School, "was all about rap and Eminem, and all of this and that" and Mali'u recognized "that's not who we are, because we live homestead, and I'm just like, that's not our people." His mother was able to connect with a kumu [teacher] at the Hawaiian immersion school at Pū'ōhala, and the kumu said, "Just bring the boy. If he like stay, then I going make space for him." Mali'u said that going to Hawaiian immersion school had "a different feeling" that was more authentic than what he experienced at Waimānalo School, so he "took to it, and everything just clicked after that." Though he attended several different schools, he remained in the Hawaiian immersion setting and was in the second graduating class of a new immersion school on the Windward side. His siblings after him also attended Hawaiian immersion school. Mali'u perpetuates this familial and linguistic capital in his family by sending his children to Hawaiian immersion school.

Kiani Ani, Mali'u, and Ana each send their children to Hawaiian language schools outside of the community because they value Hawaiian immersion as community cultural wealth for their kids. They noted that other Hawaiian families want this as well as there is a push for Hawaiian immersion in Waimānalo, and they would like it at Pope and Waimānalo School. Kiani Ani, Ana and Mahealani thought a Hawaiian immersion program at Waimānalo School would benefit the school and the community would support it. Kiani Ani, who sends one of his children to Pū'ōhala for immersion school, believed an immersion program would help to boost

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enrollment at Waimānalo School. He said even if the program started with one grade level and gradually expanded, "that would increase your guys' school population." He said there are students who live in Waimānalo but go to Pūʻōhala, because their families want them to be in a Hawaiian immersion school and there is no immersion option in Waimānalo. Mahealani echoed this and said it would be a "win-win" because Waimānalo families who want Hawaiian immersion for their children will no longer have to travel outside of Waimānalo, and the school would benefit from the added enrollment of those students. Ana said that the initial plans are to bring immersion to Pope School, but she thinks it should be an option at both Pope and Waimānalo School. She recognizes, however, that one possible barrier to expanding the program might be the lack of qualified teachers. She said, "Logistically, I know why, 'cause there's not enough teachers. We don't even have enough teachers for the Hawaiian immersion schools that we have now."

While Ana values Hawaiian immersion as a schooling option for families, what she values more is the restoration of Hawaiian language and culture for all students. She said it's not just about Hawaiian students learning their language, but about students in Hawaiʻi learning the host culture: "If you are [in] a school in Hawaiʻi, Hawaiian language should be available to you. And should be, at least taught, in every classroom . . . for every student, at a foundational level, whether it's kindergarten or first grade." She shared how some private schools provide ʻōlelo Hawaiʻi courses, or even hula classes. However, she stated that such opportunities "shouldn't only be available for private institutions who can make their own rules. It should be a foundation for all schools in Hawaiʻi. . . . And ʻōlelo Hawaiʻi is a part of that, because this is Hawaiʻi. It's a language of our state. It's not a secondary language."

If the immersion program at Waimānalo School could not be realized, Ana said there are other ways to teach students ʻōlelo Hawaiʻi, such as "doing things as simple as, changing the labeling around your school" and incorporating Hawaiian "in all facets of your school." She gave some examples of how renaming buildings like the cafeteria to "Hale ʻAina" [eating house] would encourage students to use Hawaiian words "as normal words, and not a fad." For Ana, re-naming places on campus with Hawaiian words is not only about teaching students the Hawaiian language, but it is an "everyday" act of "resurgence" and decolonization (Corntassel & Bryce, 2012, p. 160). She emphasized that she was not pushing for Waimānalo School or Pope School to become immersion schools, but because they live in Hawaiʻi, ʻōlelo Hawaii and Hawaiian culture should be infused into "everyday practices" and becomes "a normalcy for kids," so they see that "everything we do is Hawaiian culture. The way we think is Hawaiian culture." She said students should not have to go to "an after school or community program" to learn about Hawaiian culture, nor should Hawaiian words just be posted on the wall and not used.

For Ana, valuing ʻōlelo Hawaiʻi as an official language requires learning proper pronunciation as well. She clarifies that "there's pidgin, there's slang, but then there's *ʻōlelo Hawaiʻi*" [emphasis added]. She said she wants people who live in Hawaiʻi to realize "it's my kuleana to make sure, that, I don't sound ignorant when these things come out of my mouth. . . . That I sound like I've done my due diligence to respect this host culture that I'm living in, or my culture, even." Ana added that Native Hawaiians must take responsibility for their language, as she knows "plenty Hawaiians that speak less Hawaiian and worse Hawaiian than non-Hawaiians," possibly because the non-Hawaiians "don't have it every single day" and value the language more. She stressed that "we cannot have that happen," where non-Hawaiians value ʻōlelo Hawaiʻi more than Native Hawaiians.

Hawaiian Values

In addition to language, participants stressed the importance of a Hawaiian value system as intrinsic to Hawaiian culture. Kiani Ani appreciated that his younger daughter's immersion program does not isolate the language or values from the culture. He said, "Not just the fact that they speak Hawaiian in school, take that a step further, they--the whole mentality is different, and I love that. Their mentality is one borne from Hawaiian values and they live it." Ana also talked about how Hawaiian values were "ingrained in every single thing that you do" and serve as "the driving force" in a Hawaiian value system. She clarified, "We're not doing community service because it's good to do community service. We're doing community service because this is my ʻohana, and it's my kuleana to mālama [care for] my ʻohana."

Just as she believed all students in Hawaiʻi should have access to the Hawaiian language, Ana said everyone should be able to learn the value system of the host culture. She recognizes that Hawaiʻi is a "melting pot," but said the "underlying foundational culture" matters in Hawaiʻi, just as it does in other countries: "You wouldn't go move to the Amazon and then just not pick up any of their customs, right? It should be the same here, whether we're a U.S. territory or not. It should be the same." For Ana, restoring the Hawaiian language and Hawaiian values as normal, integrated and respected by the people and children of Hawaiʻi is an act of survivance. Just as schools were used by the settler government to erase Hawaiian culture and replace it with American culture and the English language, Ana believed schools can be the venue for resistance and restoration. She said, "Especially schools in predominantly Hawaiian communities" need to take the charge to set the example for the state that Hawaiian culture, language, and values are "not only important to those kūʻē [resistant, opposing] guys over there. It's important to

everyone, because it's more than language. It's more than practices. It's a value system that should go throughout the entire state of Hawai'i."

Restoration and Resistance

Learning and living Hawaiian culture represent acts of survivance within a settler society for Ana. Other Hawaiian participants also felt the same way. Like Ana, Samuel believes it is important to teach Hawaiian culture to everyone who lives in Hawai'i: "The main thing is to normalize that which was here prior to us. Instead of having 'em be one, okay, this is Hawaiian language month. . . . Shortest month of the year. Coldest month of the year. No, we no like that. We like 'em every day." For Samuel, restoration meant acknowledging the history of settler influence in Hawai'i as well, from Captain Cook and his sailors to the Americanization efforts of the provincial and territorial governments. In line with a TribalCrit perspective, he went on to identify the historic, systemic and strategic actions taken by the American settler colonial government to eliminate the Hawaiian culture, from replacing the Hawaiian language with English in schools, to replacing Hawaiian holidays with American holidays. He emphasized how recognizing and celebrating Hawaiian holidays was one way to restore Hawaiian culture:

> That's why I believe it's so important to have Lā Ho'iho'i Ea [Sovereignty Restoration
>
> Day]. Have Lā Kū'oko'a [Independence Day]. So that we can concentrate on what is
>
> positive. Let us celebrate. And let us remember. Slow, you know? Not going be fast, fast,
>
> but, slow.

Samuel said the "intergenerational trauma" among Native Hawaiians manifested as poverty, crime, and homelessness and made it difficult for Hawaiians to thrive. To cope with the loss of their culture and identity, Samuel stated that it was easy for Native Hawaiians to "connect to the Western world" and "forget" who they were and where they came from. He believed that tapping

into the cultural memory of Hawaiians through celebration and historical restoration helped to instill a sense of pride and identity among Native Hawaiians.

For Maliʻu, survivance meant restoring a sustainable and independent Hawaiian way of life. He said when he was young and working in construction, he "realized that we spent all our time earning currency to go pay somebody else to take care of us. . . . Like growing of food, building our homes." Instead of paying someone to do those things, or looking externally for role models for the children, he sought a way "to become these things for ourselves" and "establishing meʻe's [heroes], or examples or superheroes within our own community." He wondered, "How do we tweak, how do we jockey our kids' perspective, so they view mom and dad as their superheroes?" Maliʻu decided to "live off the grid" as a form of survivance, to become an example for his children and community. According to Corntassel and Bryce (2012), "indigenous communities adamantly assert an inherent right to subsistence living," which encompasses "everyday cultural, spiritual, and social interactions grounded in reciprocal relationships that sustain communities for generations" (p. 154). In learning how to build and wire his own house, and grow his own food for his family and for his community, Maliʻu was restoring his relationships with the land, food, natural resources, and his community through an indigenous way of life. He acknowledged that the lifestyle he chose was not for everyone, and that he was not disparaging Hawaiians who chose to depend on the system, nor was he "here to change people's minds," but rather he hoped to be a "guide, and bring value to the people who are listening." Most importantly, Maliʻu said he wanted to show his children and community that it was possible to go back to a way of life that was truer to his culture, "to show our keiki that we are capable," so they could understand their history, and "know what they made of."

Oluolu also believed it was important to restore the "true essence" or "spirit" of Waimānalo, which was about "respecting the culture and who you are in namesake, so you honoring your parents before you when you come to this table." Especially now that we live in an age of technology, Oluolu said it was crucial to remember "that piece of aloha that we lost, you know, because if it's iPhone, i-this, i-that, microwave this, quick gimme now . . . it takes away from the enjoying the moment of where we came from." Catherine, Samuel and Uluwehi were also concerned that technology was preventing people, especially young people, from experiencing the world around them, and learning and experiencing cultural traditions. On the other hand, Ikaika and Kinai pointed out the benefits of the Internet and smartphones, and how it could provide a repository of knowledge to anyone in an instant. Ultimately, Oluolu recognized the potential of technology to engage the community and youth and perpetuate Hawaiian culture. He even asked his young paddlers to teach him how to use his smartphone, and now utilizes social media as a tool to highlight cultural events and activities in the community.

Oluolu also noted how the children are the key to reviving community cultural wealth and leading a movement of survivance. He admitted that he lost the connection to his culture, and the kids were helping him to find his way back. He said he was "learning a lot of it from the kids. . . . who learning it from the Hawaiian culture practitioners, who get that available from their teachers, and the practitioners of old who teach them and who come back and teach us." He said it inspired him to "reach out to the practitioners, and tell 'em, 'Teach *me* now [emphasis added]. I wanna be the student.'" Oluolu's story is about undoing the "intergenerational trauma" that Samuel spoke of by revisiting his ancestry through a strengths-based lens:

> I learning who I am. . . . Now I learning my responsibility. . . . learning that was lost, that actually, that's in me. My DNA says that I supposed to be a navigator, one canoe paddler,

one farmer, or one practitioner, for teaching how to fix one house from the bottom up,

'cause why we build rock walls, houses, of grass shacks, or whatever might be, turtle

ponds, fish ponds, we did aquaponics--in the lo'is. So we did all that. We navigators,

without compass.

Like Mali'u and Samuel, Oluolu did not dwell on the negative impact of settler colonialism on

Hawaiians. He acknowledged that Hawaiians were "Americanized" but said, "Now it's our fault

not to going back . . . our fault for not going researching it." He believed in restoring the culture

through action. He said, "That's why we bringing back the sailing. We doing the rock wall

building. We doing the hale building." By reviving these traditional Hawaiian practices, Oluolu

helps to ensure that community cultural wealth is not lost to the next generation of Native

Hawaiians.

Most of the participants acknowledge that Waimānalo is a diverse community and not

solely a Hawaiian community, but there was a general sense that because of the significant

Hawaiian population, that the Hawaiian culture be respected as the host culture. Though

Hawaiian participants spoke about Hawaiian values and a Hawaiian mindset, because of the

strong Hawaiian culture base and integrated nature of Waimānalo's community history, many of

the residents of different cultural backgrounds have embraced Hawaiian values as community

values, and aspects of Hawaiian culture as community culture.

The Role of Schools in Survivance

All of the participants expressed their belief that schools play an important role in the

community. In addition to Hawaiian language immersion schools, for some Native Hawaiian

participants, Hawaiian-focused charter schools are crucial institutions to the survivance of Native

Hawaiians and their culture. Kamehameha Schools is also important in that it is the only private

school dedicated to creating "educational opportunities in perpetuity to improve the capability and well-being of people of Hawaiian ancestry" (Kamehameha Schools, 2018). However, since space for students is limited at Kamehameha Schools, Hawaiian-focused charter schools and Hawaiian immersion schools, participants felt it was still necessary that regular HIDOE public schools also made changes to curriculum, instruction and learning for all students to support survivance of the Hawaiian culture and people. Despite being located in a predominantly Native Hawaiian community, Waimānalo School is a HIDOE public school that teaches primarily American curriculum and standards like all other HIDOE public schools.

Charter Schools

Several participants value Hawaiian-focused charter schools because they offer an alternative to the standard HIDOE public school agenda. Kemakana lauded Hawaiian charter schools for taking a more hands-on and differentiated approach to learning, thus being able to meet the individual needs of Hawaiian students, unlike the HIDOE public schools. As mentioned above, she sent two of her children to a Hawaiian-focused charter school for a few years, and liked that her children were able to learn about their history and culture and "start understanding who they are, to help their own identities." She recalled that her children were able to learn different subjects and skills outside of the traditional classroom through restoration projects in the community. She felt this different approach helped them to develop their sense of identity and see possibilities for their future. When the charter school closed, she made a conscious decision to enroll her children at the schools in their community rather than a different Hawaiian-focused charter school outside of Waimānalo because she wanted her kids to "still grow with their community."

Kemakana stated that she would "put [her] kids where [she feels] they belong." She continued, "If I don't feel it's happening in this one space for this one child, I'll push them and put them somewhere else." She referred to HIDOE schools as "standard" and "blankety," which she defined as synonymous with "haole" or "foreign." While she viewed most HIDOE schools as pushing a haole agenda, she said that she saw how both Pope and Waimānalo School were trying to incorporate more culture and community-based learning, "or even bringing in people to share these alternative thoughts," which led her to send her children to the public schools in her community. Kemakana utilized school choice as a form of survivance for herself and for her children, knowing that the education her children received in school would impact their access to community cultural wealth.

Samuel attended HIDOE public schools growing up, so he did not have experience with alternative schools. His mother-in-law introduced the idea to him. He said she learned about charter schools from Native Hawaiian leaders and activists when the Hawaiian culture-based schooling movement was taking off, and "she would be so full of energy, talking and everything" about "education reform." At the time, he was living in Honolulu, and when he would return to Waimānalo, he noticed that "kids wasn't as respectful as they used to be. They no fear nobody, they no scared nobody. You know, they talk out of line, and they say all kine inappropriate things." He felt "we could do better. A lot of our kids is falling in the cracks," so he got involved with founding a Hawaiian-focused charter school with his mother-in-law. He said, "that's when we started to believe, that you know what, eh, we can make a difference" and "do something, to better our people, our kaiāulu, the community. The lāhui [nation]." Samuel realized that Hawaiian-focused charter schools were not just valuable for his own children, but

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for all Native Hawaiian children and for his community. He actively engaged in the movement for Hawaiian survivance through the charter schools.

Rowena, Samuel's wife, was also an integral part of the process in founding the charter school. She said it was important for them to distinguish themselves from the HIDOE system, particularly in how they taught and interacted with students: "We're not trying to duplicate what you're doing with the DOE. It's very different, how we dealt with the kids, how we handled the kids." She said that at the charter school, they worked off the premise that "every child is different. We don't know what you're going through at home, we don't know if you had dinner last night, breakfast this morning, if an ambulance came to your house, if you saw your parent get arrested, we don't know what's going on." Rowena said that at the charter school, "it was on an individual basis in terms of, what they did and what they didn't do," unlike the "standard" practice Kemakana saw in the HIDOE schools. Rowena said that this individualized method worked for students at the charter school, so it was difficult for her children to transition to the HIDOE public school culture, which was "day and night for them."

While Kemakana said that she saw Waimānalo and Pope Schools moving in the direction of integrating more Hawaiian culture, Rowena had a different experience with her children when they attended the schools. Rowena said that it was especially difficult for one of her sons, who had only attended the charter school, to adjust to Waimānalo School. She had not anticipated that her son, who was strong academically, would struggle so much in the HIDOE setting: "We knew that when we brought the boys into the community that it isn't a charter school, but I did not know how much disconnection, I guess there was from what we were trying to, to have them connect to." She said that at both Pope and Waimānalo School, the teachers did not listen to her sons nor take the time to understand their perspective—contrary to the approach of the

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Hawaiian-focused charter school. Even though the schools were in the Waimānalo community, Rowena thought they were still disconnected from the Hawaiian perspective by treating students in a way that contradicted Hawaiian values and culture. Rowena and Samuel chose to send their children to the community schools just as Kemakana did, wanting them to grow and learn with their peers in the community as an act of survivance, but they realized that this came with a sacrifice, in that the kind of education their children got in the HIDOE public school was still entrenched with systemic settler colonial practices and values.

Kamehameha Schools

A few participants mentioned how Kamehameha Schools is significant in that it is a private school specifically aimed at educating Native Hawaiian children. However, participants who attended Kamehameha Schools noted how it was more Western than Hawaiian in culture and in the curriculum and teaching style. The experiences at Kamehameha Schools varied for the participants who went there, and it is important to include their stories to understand how they view survivance through education.

Ana, Kiani Ani, and Darcy valued the education they received at Kamehameha Schools. Ana did well at Kamehameha, which she attended from 7th through 12th grade. Even though she attended Hawaiian immersion school until 6th grade, she said she was "set up for success for Kamehameha" by her mother, who gave her "enough foundations where [she] could hold [her] own in a more Western setting." In addition to being prepared with dual-language skills, Ana said Kamehameha equipped her with a strong support system: "Our main counselors were Hawaiian language teachers. . . . We were all put on the team with the Hawaiian chant and dance teacher. We were in these settings where, it really helped us to succeed." Despite Kamehameha

Schools being more Western its culture than her Hawaiian immersion school, Ana valued the teachers and classes that provided her with continued education in Hawaiian culture.

For Kiani Ani and Darcy, attending Kamehameha Schools was not a drastic change in school culture since they both came from Western schooling settings. Kiani Ani attended Pope School prior to Kamehameha, and only noted that he went from feeling like a "big fish, small pond" to being "just any other fish" in an "ocean" instead of a "pond." Overall, his experience was positive, and he wished for both of his children to also attend Kamehameha. He listed several benefits of the school, including its "reasonable" tuition, "wonderful" facilities, and that the school is "getting more into like, Hawaiian culture, and I think every kid has to take Hawaiian language at least one semester."

Darcy also mentioned that Kamehameha Schools was a "bigger" school than the small Catholic School she attended in 7th and 8th grades, but she added that she felt "inter-connected with being part Hawaiian, and that's probably where I learned the most about Hawaiian culture." She acknowledged that even now, the school is "making changes to adjust, infusing more of the language and the culture," but when she was a student, it did provide her with a stronger foundation in her culture. Like Kiani Ani, Darcy valued her experience at Kamehameha Schools, such that she sought the same opportunity for her children.

Attending Kamehameha Schools was a legacy in Rowena's family. She said her parents both graduated from Kamehameha, so from an early age, she thought, "This is where the Hawaiians go. And that's where I'm going to go." However, the reality fell short of her expectations when Rowena arrived at the school in 7th grade: "When I got there, I quickly learned that, you are a Hawaiian because you have blood, you're not necessarily learning about Hawai'i." She thrived in Hawaiian culture classes like social studies and hula, but wanted more

Hawaiian history and culture to be infused into the curriculum. She told her English teacher, "I get you folks are talking about this person named Shakespeare. I just can't relate to him. . . . How about teaching us about our moʻolelo so that we can connect to it? I can't connect to Shakespeare, I cannot connect to Macbeth, and to Romeo and Juliet." To her dismay, Rowena said there were teachers that could not even pronounce the Hawaiian names of their students. Eventually, she transferred to Kailua High School. She is aware that things have changed at Kamehameha Schools since she was a student, that now there are more Hawaiian classes available to students.

Kamehameha Schools, though similar to other HIDOE public schools and private schools in that it was Western or American, stands out among the schools for Native Hawaiian participants because it is the only private school specifically designated for Hawaiian children. Participants who attended the school had different experiences, but all valued the school as being an institution that they expect to perpetuate Hawaiian culture and instill students with a sense of survivance.

Waimānalo School

The perception of Waimānalo School is consistent with the perception of the community—participants said that the school is seen as having a high population of Native Hawaiian students. According to the most recent School Status and Improvement Report from the Hawaiʻi Department of Education, in 2017-18, Native Hawaiian students constituted 58.2 percent of the student population, making them the largest ethnic group on campus (Hawaiʻi State Department of Education, 2018d). When asked what words come to mind when she heard, "Waimānalo School," Darcy said, "what comes to my mind before being here, was, Native Hawaiian students, was the families, was the unity." Prior to working at Waimānalo School,

Darcy worked at a public school in Kailua. In fact, the Hawaiian population at Waimānalo School was the reason why Darcy transferred there from her previous school, even though it resulted in a longer commute to work.

Kemakana said this perception tended to be negative, and was connected to the stigma of the community "because there's a lot of Hawaiians at that school." Oluolu agreed that Waimānalo School was stigmatized as a school with many Hawaiian students, but he took a strengths-based approach. He said that as a Hawaiian community, Waimānalo and Waimānalo School were special, and unlike other communities on the island. He recommended flipping the deficit mentality of viewing Hawaiian students as the root of the problem to seeing them as the solution: "Your problem is your savior. Your problem is the answer. . . . If you flip it that is to be your best answer and strengths you going have." In other words, he said the school could help students to begin to restore their culture, and the change could "ripple to the whole community." This would hopefully recast the Native Hawaiian population at the school and in the community in a positive light.

Several Native Hawaiian participants shared that they value the survivance of their culture, history, language, and people, and thus support Hawaiian immersion programs and schools, as well as Hawaiian-focused charter schools. These alternative programs and schools may be an option for some Native Hawaiian families, but not for all in the community. Participants stated the importance of meeting the needs and wants of these families through non-Western approaches to teaching and learning, including culture-based, place-based, community-based, project-based and hands-on learning opportunities. They see these strategies as beneficial to all students, regardless of whether they are Hawaiian or non-Hawaiian, in instilling in them a sense of identity, place, and pride, and preparing them for success in a changing world.

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Culture-based Education

Hawaiian and non-Hawaiian participants explicitly mentioned the importance of providing students at Waimānalo School with a foundation in Hawaiian culture. This includes teaching students ʻōlelo Hawaiʻi, history, music, crafts, games, values, and thinking. Rather than utilizing traditional Western teaching methods of lecture, reading and writing, teachers should immerse students in hands-on, real world, project-based experiences both on and off-campus. Students should learn from cultural practitioners, family members, and one another. They should learn about their community and their role in the community through service projects and place-based learning.

For Hawaiian participants especially, Hawaiian culture-based learning is an important form of survivance for the Hawaiian people. Rowena stated her desire for "more mea Hawaiʻi [Hawaiian subjects, matters]" for the students because "we are in Hawaiʻi. Most of the keiki are the kanaka. And you know what? If you're not kanaka, you still living in Hawaiʻi." She felt it was imperative for all children to "know and to understand what our traditions, learn from the people who continue to keep them alive, to bring them into the schools, or take them to where they at." She said she wanted students to hear ʻōlelo Hawaiʻi spoken properly and normalized, so "when they try to say it, they're not laughing because they think it sounds funny. It's them being able to say things and it's like, 'Oh, yeah, yeah,' because we all do it at school." Samuel added that the Hawaiian language and culture should be "as ingrained as any one of us being able to sing one folksong," and that the moʻolelo [stories] and songs should be taught and made "paʻa" [solid, strong] so students could "be productive citizens." Samuel's response demonstrates the connections between different forms of community cultural wealth and the need for students to be able to acquire them.

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Hawaiian mindset. Participants value both the content and context when it comes to teaching students about Hawaiian culture. That is, Hawaiian culture-based learning is not teaching the content of Hawaiian history or language or culture as isolated subjects through Western methods in a classroom. According to Ana, "Learning from a Hawaiian, from a naturally Hawaiian mindset and framework, teaches children to be way more aware of their surroundings than a boxed in curriculum" and encompasses how one observes the world and makes decisions. She attributed her successful transition to Kamehameha Schools from Hawaiian immersion school to this mindset: "It's because, everything we learned in Hawaiian immersion school was all based off of what we see in every single day around us." She said they learned academic language and concepts, like Newton's law and pi, but, she explained, "We learned about it in a real-life setting and that's why it stuck with me. That's why I know it, because I could connect it to my life."

Ana said there were ways to infuse Hawaiian culture not only into individual classrooms, but into the greater school culture so that students and families could feel it on campus. She proposed "naming buildings, telling those moʻolelo. Having every year start with moʻokūʻauhau [history or genealogy] of the school, and of the place that you're on." While these are not based on standards or part of the curriculum, she believed, "Families value that you are taking the time to teach their children about that. And then, using all of that as the basis to learn everything else. That's history, that's math, that's science." She discouraged referring to it as "the Hawaiian component" and advocated for infusing Hawaiian culture so that "it's a part of everything" and becomes "building blocks" for learning or "essential functions of everyday living" and not a separate course or class to take.

Whereas American or Western schooling separates content into subjects and involves attaining knowledge through listening, reading and writing in the classroom, Hawaiian culture-based learning involves engaging with one's environment and seeing connections. Ana talked about how a Hawaiian mindset was interconnected and mindful of context, not just content. At the non-profit organization where she worked, the staff planned thematic units to connect their after-school programs and lessons. The teachers relied on and promoted a sense of trust, "that you did what you needed to do. . . . I just know that you did it and I know the kids are going to get it, when I bring something else up." She said for Waimānalo School, perhaps if students were not doing well academically it was not because of the students' inability to grasp the content, but it was "because the context is not working." Rather than trying to fit the students into a Western mindset, she recommended approaching teaching and learning from a mindset and context "that fits these students. So if you have students who live in predominantly low-income homes in Waimānalo, you gotta teach them about what they know. Or from a perspective of what they know, or that they understand, and then they'll get it."

Kahula said providing Hawaiian culture-based education is important for Hawaiian children because it "draws children back to their heritage, their type of learning. Because, when you're Hawaiian, there's a different type of learning." She distinguishes how students have different learning styles: "You have kids that can read and excel, you have kids that can…watch a movie and excel, you have kids that have to do hands-on, and they can excel." She said that Hawaiian students are typically more "hands-on" and "learn better outside," whereas others are better readers; in her class, she differentiates instruction to meet the varied strengths of her students. Kahula added that Hawaiian students would benefit from a learning environment in

which "you study at your own pace, and then you keep increasing and increasing and increasing and increasing."

Several participants agreed with Kahula that hands-on learning experiences were important for students, especially for Hawaiian students. Uluwehi said she appreciates how Pope School continues "teaching the kids how fo' do everything, teaching all hands-on learning, because, they flourish." Hands-on learning and culture-based learning overlap in many ways, but hands-on learning experiences do not necessarily have to be cultural. Uluwehi valued learning how to make "resin, diamonds, . . . leather bracelets," carve soap, and even how to sew in after school and summer fun programs in Waimānalo when she was a kid. When she tried to resurrect hands-on learning programs about a decade ago, she said, "Nobody wanted to fund 'em." She is hopeful about renewed interest and funding for these activities now, yet she was disappointed that "we missed one generation" of students who lacked access to such programs.

While Catherine loves Hawaiian culture and wants the school to incorporate more of it, she added that even "just a lot more hands-on learning" would provide students with more options. She fondly recalled when she was a student at Waimānalo School, she had classes like art and gardening. The art classes fostered a lifelong love of art for Catherine, so much so that she said she wished she majored in art, and was even considering going back to college to get her degree in art. She appreciated working on a class garden because it allowed her to be outside of the classroom and learn the value of taking care of something. These non-core classes provided her with formative learning experiences that she still values today.

Kemakana said, "Because of the high Native Hawaiian rate" at Waimānalo School, curriculum and instruction should be "tweaked . . . because we're servicing a different population of people." She compared this individualized approach to teaching students with the

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ahupua'a systems of Hawai'i. She said, "In Hawaiian of old, we had so many different ahupua'a, and although all Hawaiian, they all had these different ways and processes that was fitting to them, you know? Whereas our current systems, it's very, like I said, standard. Blankety." She appreciated how Waimānalo School allowed her son to work in the lo'i to provide him with a hands-on learning experience, as an example of our push to incorporate more Hawaiian culture. She said this is also a reason why she continues to send her daughter to our school.

Henry recalled taking a poi board-making class at the community organization where he serves on the board. One of the staff members, who was also a former student of the after-school program was also in the class with him. At the end of the course, when they were asked to present their board to the rest of the class, the staff member said, "I've never focused on one job for nine hours at a time without thinking of one other single thing until now." Henry said the teacher intentionally gave the staff member "the hardest piece of wood because he knew she can do it. And she did it, and she was so proud of herself." Though Henry was not from Waimānalo, he saw how "these cultural experiences for these Waimānalo kids, many of them who are Hawaiian, is a great thing for learning" and hoped Waimānalo School would provide similar opportunities for students.

Kūpuna. Kūpuna[10] [grandparents] play an important role in passing on community cultural wealth to the next generation. In HIDOE public schools, the kupuna program is for elementary schools only, and is dependent on the availability of funds from the state and the availability of kūpuna to teach at the various schools in the district. Uluwehi expressed the value of kūpuna in "sharing all the stories, sharing all, the way they grew up, and they from the community, and they can talk about our different areas of the 'āina that they remember."

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[10] Kūpuna is the plural form of kupuna, or "grandparent."

Especially since Hawaiian culture relied heavily on the oral transfer of knowledge, kūpuna are vital in ensuring students have access to familial capital.

Ana recalled that her kūpuna were always there and central to her learning in Hawaiian immersion school, and her grandmother and mother were integral to the kupuna and makua [parent] program at her local public school when she was growing up. She said, regretfully, "There's not a lot of kūpuna around anymore, and those who are around are kind of jaded. They're not interested." She mentioned that kūpuna might have felt taken advantage of in the role, or felt that they are not valued. Kahula talked about her friend who was the kupuna at Waimānalo School having trouble getting enough hours to make it worth her time, and when Kahula tried to apply for the position, she was turned away by both Pope and Waimānalo School. She was encouraged, however, that Waimānalo School recently hired a new kupuna, who she knew was dedicated to the community and the survivance of Hawaiian culture.

Identity. Several participants talked about how culture-based learning supports students learning who they are, and how rebuilding identity is vital to the survivance of Native Hawaiians. Darcy explained the concept of the three piko in Hawaiian culture: "The piko poʻo is for your ancestors, and your piko waena is for the present, and your piko maʻi is for the future" She said that the school would better serve students by helping them in "aligning the pikos, and grounding them in who they are, where they come from, and who they represent, in hopes that if they can connect to that, they will be more prone to want to strive for more." She contrasted a student whose piko are aligned as one who is grounded versus a student whose piko are not aligned as "not motivated" and disconnected. Darcy hypothesized, "If our kids know who they are, if our parents know who they are, and where they come from, then they'll be more apt to partake things that are beneficial to them." She was committed to helping students to be more in

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alignment as the catalyst to help families and the community. She surmised that building a personal connection with students would help students decrease negative or disruptive behaviors in the classroom and increase their willingness to learn, and their potential to develop a stronger sense of self.

Kemakana said that she could not speak for everyone in her community as to what they wanted to see in the school, but stated that she knew that "what's important to a kanaka is identity." According to Kemakana, many Hawaiians "walk around with that void" as a result of intergenerational trauma from losing of their culture and people. She admitted that parents do not always have the answers, and "sometimes the parent gets it wrong," so that is why "the educational institutions of the community are so important" in helping students to find themselves and fill that void. Kemakana said, "You guys get our kids more than we get 'em" so schools have a significant impact on the child and developing his or her self-identity.

Though these participants stated the benefits of Hawaiian culture-based learning for Hawaiian students, they were also mindful of the diverse makeup of Waimānalo as a community and as a school. They felt it was important to provide all students with a base in the host culture, and still honor all students' backgrounds through a culture-based approach. For Kemakana, personalizing learning for Hawaiian students was just as effective as it was for students from "different ethnicities and backgrounds." Ana acknowledged the challenge of connecting "a lot of different ethnicities, a lot of different cultures, and a lot of different kind of, styles, lifestyles" at Waimānalo School. She recommended teaching and practicing Hawaiian values such as aloha, which she felt were universal and transcended individual differences.

As a kupuna who works with all students at her elementary school, Kahula gave examples of how she connected with students of different cultural backgrounds through language

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and music. She said she would teach a word in Hawaiian, and have the student teach the word in their home language, or teach songs representing different cultures. For example, she would tell a Micronesian student, "Teach me a word, then I can teach you in Hawaiian, so we can connect." She said that at Waimānalo School, where there were many different cultural groups, teachers should learn about students' cultures and provide students with the opportunity to learn about their own culture, and one another. She added that because there are students from multiple Pacific Island groups, "yes, you have Hawaiian Studies, but the Hawaiian Studies teacher gotta learn all of Polynesia." Kahula said the goal was to make students "feel a part of" and to "find some kind of connection." Rather than Hawaiian culture being exclusive, Kahula saw it as the connecting point between the diverse cultures in the school.

Place-based learning. Place-based learning is an integral part of culture-based instruction. Uluwehi stressed how wahi pana, or "important spaces" in the community "have to be nurtured and shared, especially with our own kids" so they "know where they came from." Kemakana also believed place-based learning is a key part of students' sense of self or identity. She proposed the idea of all three public schools in the community partnering to take "kuleana for a specific area . . . that's relevant to moʻolelo or wahi pana, or place-based learning." She appreciated that when her children were at Pope School, they adopted Muliwaiʻōlena stream and combined place-based learning with community service, and even incorporated traditional academic subjects like math into the project. She said when the students cleaned the stream every week, "they're not only learning about . . . kuleana, the responsibility piece. There's a restoration, bringing life back to the land. There's an identity piece." Their school project led to a larger restoration effort with an organization dedicated to beach cleanups, and to the students and

community members protecting the area. Kemakana saw how "reclaiming" the stream gave the students responsibility and helped them to "find themselves."

Kahula used the concept of a waʻa, or canoe, to explain how learning about their community helps students to realize their role in it: "They need place-based learning. I live in Waimānalo. I live in these surroundings. I'm going to get into this canoe, and I'm going to paddle, and we all going learn as one. . . . That's what the canoe—the waʻa is. To learn as one."

Henry, Rowena and Kemakana emphasized the value in taking kids off-campus for learning experiences. Henry talked about how field trips in Waimānalo could enhance place-based learning for our students. He listed several places of signifiance in the community he thought students might enjoy learning about and visiting. He said, "There's two major, three major heiau, mauka, Waimānalo" that would be "cool" for students to take a field trip to, and also the UH research center was "an awesome place to take kids." He noted, "They have every variety of taro that's known." In addition to places significant to ancient Hawaiʻi or traditional Hawaiian culture, Henry thought learning about more modern landmarks would also be interesting: "How many kids knew it was a sugar plantation? How many kids can look up the hill and see that little mark in the bottom of the mountain, and know that that's an auwai? That's the ditch, built by, for the Waimānalo sugar plantation." He said field trips could go beyond one day and allow students to have an extended and in-depth learning experience. He and his colleagues had led field school experiences for students in the past, and said it would be "an awesome thing that would be great for Waimānalo, too."

When she worked at a Hawaiian-focused charter school, Rowena said they took their students on field trips as much as possible because they wanted the students to have real world experiences to be able to formulate their own questions and opinions. She gave the example of

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taking the students to ʻIolani Palace during a controversial event and allowing students to ask questions instead of providing them with answers. She said they even took kids to the orchestra, symphony, and plays at the Blaisdell, so they could learn about music and the arts. Field trips enhanced their core subject-area learning as well: "We would take the kids to the beach. They got to do science kind stuff at the beach." When her children transitioned to the HIDOE public school from the charter school, Rowena admitted that she "had a hard time understanding how the kids are not, they're not taken out, and being able to see things." She felt like students' excursion options were limited to college field trips, which she thought was "boring" for the younger students. Rowena valued field trips that provided students with unique and significant learning experiences that exposed them to new or different topics and situations, taught them important skills, or enhanced the lessons they received back at school.

Similarly, Kinai believed that students need exposure and experience to learn and grow. He said that experience is the key to finding what you are passionate about, and for kids in today's society, they need hands-on, real world experiences to match the informational knowledge that they can easily find online. Kinai described this gap in experience that his non-profit organization is aimed at closing:

> So now you have kids whose knowledge IQ is huge, but their experience is not. So they have educational points, but they don't have résumé points. Their resume is empty. So it's about the experiences. So if we can give them experiences, then they can find what they like. And that's why I want them to touch everything they can, farming, painting, masonry, mechanics. Then they say, you know what, "Uncle, I love to do this. It just makes me just, feel centered."

He added that a Western, settler colonial setting where a student is "sitting in a classroom for 18 years" provides them with only three viable options for the future: "College. Military. Or good luck." Kinai was committed to changing the third option "to not be good luck, but now, I know what good job is" by giving kids the opportunity "to experience the different experiences that books can't, that can't give you on its own" so they can "find what they're confident in." While Kinai valued students being able to have basic academic skills such as reading, he felt it was important to allow kids "to read things that they like to read, and building on that strength" as well as providing them with hands-on experiences. For students who were not strong in academics, Kinai wanted them to have the option to excel in other areas like construction or farming. This would allow them to enter the working world with basic job skills, a sense of their interests and strengths, and hopefully find a job doing something that they love.

Kinai redefined education for young people in his community from a Western notion to one that aligned more with his Native Hawaiian values. He posited, "The definition of education is confidence, is allowing them to find out who they are, what they are, and what they like" rather than students "sitting in the classroom, and just reading to them. You're just telling them what you like, or what someone that taught you what they like, or someone that taught them what they like." Youth, in Kinai's eyes, were like seeds; by showing them the different possible conditions they could grow in, "they'll know, what is the right soil for them. They choose the right soil. They know where they're going to grow best, not us." For Kinai, survivance is empowering Native Hawaiian youth with confidence through experience and skill-based learning so they can see themselves through a strengths-based lens instead of a deficit-lens.

Darcy, who teaches at Waimānalo School, concurred that parents wanted more culture-based learning at Waimānalo School. She said, "For parents from what I've heard, it's more of

the culture part of it." Even though the school tries to engage parents by hosting monthly family events such as Math Night and Literacy Night, she felt "parents want a connection somehow just as much as the kids do, and not necessarily on the academic level." Students, too, have expressed the desire to learn more about culture. Darcy said students have approached her and asked, "Miss, can you teach me Hawaiian?" As a parent, Darcy believed all schools, "not just Waimānalo," should be "more project-based or culture-based" because Hawaiian students have different learning styles. She observed how her own children were "built differently" and were similar to the students in Waimānalo—they were "very social. Very active. Their hands have to be submersed in, in the learning. Not a very good listen lecturer [sic] type of learner, which is what I see here."

Ultimately, the importance of culture for her own children affected Darcy's decision about where to send her children to school. She said she considered bringing her children to Waimānalo School since she was working there, "partly because they started the Hawaiian language program" but the school in her neighborhood had more culture- and community-based learning opportunities than Waimānalo School. Even though there were few Native Hawaiians at her home school, she said that "for 4th grade, they learn more Hawaiian history than we've ever taught our kids here. . . . and they take them more on Hawaiian cultural . . . excursions. They went to the lo'i the loko i'a. They're involved with the community. They're building their garden." She was disappointed and found it "ironic" that for a school with less than 10 percent Native Hawaiians, "they know more than the kids here" at Waimānalo School, which is almost two-thirds Native Hawaiian.

Catherine, a non-Hawaiian participant, also said she knew families in Waimānalo who valued culture and thus chose to send their kids elsewhere because Waimānalo School lacked

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"connections or culture-based things in the classroom and in the school and I guess that's where they make the decision to not be a part of Waimānalo School". Like other participants, she felt the absence of culture-based learning was a disconnect from Waimānalo, which she considered "a strong Hawaiian community." She noted how Waimānalo School did not offer the "hands-on activities that a lot of the other schools do." Catherine said she knew parents who chose to send their children to a Hawaiian culture-based charter school in Waimānalo, and that they love that the school is "very project-based" and that Hawaiian culture is central to the curriculum and the pedagogy. She said the children are "getting the literature but it's through the Hawaiian stories, the moʻolelos" and that "they go on a lot of field trips, and visit these places and learn about where they're growing up, the island they live on."

A Cultural Shift for Waimānalo School

Participants recognized that Waimānalo School is a HIDOE public school and incorporating more Hawaiian culture or any culture-based instruction would require a cultural shift among the teachers, staff and administration at the school. Ana said changing to a more Hawaiian mindset was "bigger than just what Waimānalo School could do" because the school is just one part of the larger HIDOE system. She was hopeful that there seemed to be momentum with Nā Hopena Aʻo, a framework of Hawaiian values supported by the HIDOE, but she emphasized that:

> If we're gonna have a shift in the mentality of how we're teaching, if we're gonna go with Nā Hopena Aʻo, if we're gonna shift everyone to that style of learning and teaching, and facilitating things, then we gotta do it completely. It cannot be piecemeal. It cannot be, just in this classroom setting, we're going to do it this way, but our administration and our supervision and everything is still going to be Western.

She acknowledged that such a shift is "scary for people" but she said that they need to try to make the change. Ana recommended that policies also need to be changed, not just curriculum and instruction, "not to fit the school in Kansas, but to fit this school in Hawai'i."

Oluolu said the shift in culture starts with leadership, that "the difference gotta start from the top" but then it also needs to occur in the classroom and on the playground. He compared the academics with paddling, and said he believed the sport of paddling would thrive if the culture was supported, "because it's one Hawaiian community and the only Hawaiian homestead in the whole windward side." Likewise, he said, "If we can capture our kids in that sense of, strengthening the things that they lack, which is culture" and provide them with a base "of knowing who they are, of what is their role and responsibility as being one Hawaiian homestead, Hawaiian culture, Hawaiian family," then they would be able to learn and succeed in the school. He viewed the HIDOE's Nā Hopena Aʻo, or HĀ initiative, as a "doorway" to incorporating Hawaiian culture into everything at the school level. As a next step, Oluolu proposed connecting key aspects of Hawaiian culture, like the waʻa, to academic subjects like math, science, as well as to careers like architecture and construction to build students' aspirational and familial capital.

Participants are not suggesting that teachers at Waimānalo School completely abandon what they teach, but to reflect on how they teach and by understanding that indigenous students may learn best from a culture-based approach.

Community Values for Community Schools

Since most participants take pride in the significant Native Hawaiian population of Waimānalo as well as their community, they also want their community schools to reflect the values of Native Hawaiians and be a source of community cultural wealth for their children. Some participants chose to send their children to Hawaiian-focused charter schools, Hawaiian

language immersion schools, or even other public or private schools that provide Hawaiian culture-based opportunities, while some participants opted to send their children to the schools in the community so they would be able to learn and grow with their peers in Waimānalo. Both groups want to restore Native Hawaiian culture and independence, though they approach survivance through education in different ways. Participants are aware that providing such alternative learning experiences in a settler colonial school system is difficult, but they are encouraged by recent efforts by the schools in the community to incorporate more place-based, community-base, hands-on and culture-based learning activities into their instruction.

Participants' see these non-Western methods as beneficial to all students, but especially to Hawaiian students. According to Barnhardt and Kawagley (2005), "Indigenous people have traditionally acquired their knowledge through direct experience in the natural world," whereas Western education is often "decontextualized" and "taught in the detached setting of a classroom or laboratory" (p. 11). As Ana, Oluolu and other Native Hawaiian participants shared, learning from a Hawaiian mindset would involve students learning how things are connected in the world through interaction with their environment. Like other indigenous cultures, learning from a Hawaiian perspective also means seeing how "the particulars come to be understood in relation to the whole" versus subjects being taught and learned in isolation (Barnhardt and Kawagley, 2005, p. 11).

Indigenous cultures also differ from Western education in how students are expected to demonstrate competency (Barnhardt & Kawagley, 2005). In Western educational settings, students are "often assessed based on predetermined ideas of what a person should know, which is then measured indirectly through various forms of 'objective' tests," but indigenous cultures value testing one's knowledge "in a real-world context" (Barnhardt & Kawagley, 2005, p. 11).

Thus, indigenous students might thrive in an educational environment where they can learn and show what they know in more culturally relevant ways. Rowena and Samuel shared a story about one of their former students, Brent, at the Hawaiian-focused charter school they worked at. Rowena said Brent did not test well if he was asked to write, "but he could tell you everything that he just said. He could show you, too." Samuel added that "adjusting the assessment, instead of just everything got to be da kine, written, written, written" would help students like Brent to show what they learned. Differentiating assessment methods, as well as curriculum and instruction, can thus better support the strengths of Native Hawaiian students.

Research on indigenous education and knowledge also supports participants' desires for culture-based education for all students in their community. Barnhardt and Kawagley (2005) noted how "the depth of Indigenous knowledge rooted in the long inhabitation of a particular place offers lessons that can benefit everyone" (p. 9). Even if students are not of Hawaiian ancestry, as members of the Waimānalo community, they can gain familial capital from a Hawaiian cultural perspective that strengthens their knowledge of and ties to their community. Not only is culture-based education beneficial for students, the complete absence of it can be damaging: "When a mainstream, standardized, one-size-fits-all curriculum is all that is offered, too often the result is a homogenizing, monocultural, colonizing approach to community and human service development that is inappropriate for the varied social ecologies of Indigenous children and families" (Ball, 2004, p. 457). It is important to note, however, that neither participants nor indigenous researchers suggest that students do not learn basic academic skills that they would learn in a Western schooling model. Rather than viewing culture-based education that values indigenous ways of knowing as in complete opposition to Western schooling, Brayboy (2005) points out that indigenous communities do value academic

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knowledge and how learning Western forms of knowledge can be a source of navigational and resistant capital. He explains that "knowledge learned in school can be used in conjunction with tribal knowledge toward social justice" and how strategic use of these various forms of can empower indigenous communities (Brayboy, 2005, p. 435).

Participants ultimately want Waimānalo School and Pope School, as well as the HIDOE system in general, to value the different cultures in the community rather than providing a monocultural Western approach to learning. They acknowledge that Waimānalo School is making steps toward a more culturally responsive way of teaching students, and support the school providing students with more learning opportunities that will build their strengths, self-identity, confidence, and pride in their culture and community.

Chapter 8: Kuleana

The most common theme that arose in participant interviews when discussing the idea of parent and community engagement in school was "kuleana." While the Hawaiian word kuleana has multiple meanings, kuleana as a responsibility is most applicable to the topic of engaging families in schools (Pukui and Elbert, 1986). The concept of kuleana in this sense is closely related to the themes of ahupuaʻa living and a village or ʻohana mindset, which were covered in "Chapter 5: Small, Close Community." All participants believed that families, especially parents, and the school had shared kuleana, or responsibility, for each child's success. A few participants felt it was more important that the student take personal responsibility for his or her learning. Some participants wanted the community to play a greater role and wanted the school to also be more open to community involvement in the school.

Shared Responsibility for Learning

All participants said that parents and children had some responsibility, or kuleana, when it came to learning, and that it was not only the school's responsibility to teach the child. Oluolu referred to this as a triangle or triad, with school, community, and parent surrounding the child, and each doing their part to raise the child, as well as communicating with one another to support the child. Oluolu's notion of the school, community, and home coming together to support the student was similar to Epstein's (2001) overlapping spheres of influence model. In Epstein's (2001) model, each sphere represents an influential factor in the child's life, including family, community, and school. The spheres overlap with each other to show the connections and interactions between the factors, and they all overlap in the middle to show how they influence the student (Epstein, 2001). Oluolu uses the triangle to emphasize the two-way communication

between the external factors (school, home, and community), but like Epstein (2001), puts the student in the center to show that each aspect supports the child.

Rowena additionally spoke of a 3-pronged partnership comprised of the student, parent, and school. Instead of the student being in the center, as in Oluolu's "triangle" or Epstein's (2001) model, Rowena envisioned the student as playing an active role in the partnership's success. She communicated this philosophy to parents when she worked at a public Hawaiian culture-based charter school:

> I tell the parents, this not all on the school. A big part is home. Yeah, so, body, mind, spirit kind. I tell the parents, it's the student, it's the parent--it's the household, and it's the school. In order for, in order for everything to be okay for that baby, you need those three things.

While Oluolu's perspective and Epstein's (2001) model focuses on the actions and connections of the school, community, and family and how they affect the child, Rowena and other participants alternatively viewed the child, or the student, as playing an important role in their own education as well.

Parents and Families

All of the participants spoke about a sense of responsibility for their child's education or the role of the parent in a child's education. However, the participants noted how this was not necessarily a shared belief among all parents at Waimānalo School or within the community. A few participants commented that some parents think it is the sole responsibility of the school to educate their children. Kahula posited, "Because, parents think, that's what you go school for, you go school and learn, but learning begins at home. Especially if you want your child to get

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ahead." Other participants concurred with Kahula's perspective that parents have a responsibility to continue their child's learning at home.

Ana said parents needed to teach their kids in immersion school how to succeed in the Western world, and it was not the sole responsibility of the school. She recounted a conversation with a student who asked to interview her about going through Hawaiian immersion school. The student asked Ana how she felt about parents who doubted that Hawaiian immersion school prepared students for success in college and beyond. She responded that it was "not the school's kuleana to make sure these children are mākaukau [ready] for college" but it was the parents' job. Her mother used to take her to the library to read English books after school since she was in Hawaiian immersion school during the day, and when she had a question, her mother challenged her to look for the answer on her own. She added that she wanted to "stand on [her] own in both worlds," so she also worked hard to "be very proficient, and educated in the ways of Hawai'i, but also the Western world, too." She credited her family with instilling the values and practices in her that got her "mākaukau for college" and that helped her to succeed in college and enjoy learning. She acknowledged that her teachers were part of the "village" that supported her, but ultimately it was because of her family that she transitioned easily to Kamehameha Schools' more American learning environment and later to a traditional American four-year university.

Now as a parent with two children in Hawaiian immersion schools, Ana said she carries on what her mother taught her: "I believe this with my own children as well--it's the parents' kuleana, if your children are going to Hawaiian immersion school, it's your kuleana to make sure that you balance them, so that they're mākaukau for any other piece of the world that they go into." She took this further when her family had to move to Washington for a year, and she homeschooled her son following the Pūnana Leo model.

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Ana noted that unfortunately parents of students in Hawaiian immersion schools today are not like her mother. She felt it was "more of a fad for a lot of people, and so, they want to send their keiki there, but [they think that] it's the school's kuleana to make sure [their] keiki are mākaukau." She said this resulted in parents criticizing Hawaiian immersion schools for not preparing their students for the "outside world," particularly in being able to read in English, but she countered that parents must recognize "it's still our kuleana as parents to teach our children," and in this case, to teach their child English since the school was designed to teach students Hawaiian. Ana said that it is not a "regularity" or "normalcy" for parents or families today to do the extra, difficult work of supporting their child's learning at home. She reasoned that parents today struggle when challenges, such as working multiple jobs or single-parenting, "take time away from being there for our keiki." The "default," she said, was for schools to be responsible, and parents in turn "put a lot of pressure on the schools to do that work." Though she understood these realities, Ana felt it was "hewa [wrong]" and "not pono [right]" because the schools "are just one facet of the children's learning and upbringing and families need to really start to come around to that if [they] want to make sure our keiki are successful leaders of tomorrow."

Ana asserted that parents should be required to participate in school, and that the school should be "encouraging" parents to want to be involved. She said even her son's school, a Hawaiian immersion school, did not "require families to do anything." When she asked why, they responded, "Because, we're still technically a DOE school, and you can't require families to do anything." Even though her son's immersion school falls under the HIDOE, Ana felt strongly that parents and families at Waimānalo School should engage more with the school: "We're a kula Hawai'i [Hawaiian school]. And in, hana Hawai'i [Hawaiian practice], families are required to be there for their children. And to be a part of things together. It's never separate. Never." She

told the school that it was more important for her that parents participate than abiding by HIDOE rules, so when they asked her to lead activities, she told them, "I'm going to tell the families, they have to be there. Not that it's optional, but they have to be there. I'll let them know why." Ana's resistance to conform with the HIDOE culture could be interpreted as a form of survivance, as she sees the inclusion and involvement of families in a child's education as integral to Hawaiian culture.

Ana extended her beliefs about kuleana to regular HIDOE schools, like Waimānalo School, and said it was important to get "the entire community, all of the parents, everybody involved, to understand that, I have a responsibility, I have a part in this child's schooling as well." Like Oluolu, she asserted that it was the kuleana of all stakeholders to support the children. She added that rejecting kuleana meant giving up the right to complain, so if people did not get involved, they "need to be maikaʻi [fine, good] with whatever's happening."

Samuel echoed the sentiment that Hawaiian-focused charter schools, including immersion schools, were not preparing the children to "walk both worlds" successfully, and that parents have to do their part. Like Ana, both Rowena and Samuel said that they understood their kuleana to teach their child at home. Their beliefs about kuleana were influenced by their experience as parents and working with parents as staff members at a Hawaiian culture-based charter school. After attending open house with her sons at Waimānalo School, Rowena said it was important for schools to have big, general events for parents like open house, but it was also important to have "little orientations with parents," which were more intimate in nature, to go over school expectations as well as support structures. By being able to talk one-on-one with the child's teacher, she said as a parent, she could better understand the teacher's expectations and uphold those expectations at home with her child. She believed the school should be teaching

parents "that they have the kuleana to teach their keikis right from wrong" and reminding parents that ultimately "[schools] need [parental] support in order to make their [students'] educational experience a good thing."

Similar to Ana, Jade believed that families need to take a more active role in the school for their children. She works as a preschool teacher at another local HIDOE school, and said at Waimānalo School, the level of parent involvement is "different." She felt that some parents in Waimānalo "look at school being daycare" where "my kid is your problem" during the day, and "I'll deal with them when they get home." From her perspective, "the parents that are always willing, or are here, are the ones that have high standards for their kids, that want to see their kids succeed," whereas other parents are "just, okay, our kids gotta go to school, make it work." Moreover, she thought there were "a lot of kids that just aren't getting that support from home" which made it difficult for them to focus and learn in school. She felt it was unfortunate that some children had to navigate school on their own.

Jade was satisfied with the school's existing family events and programs, but said that "it's the families that really want to try and get involved, that allow the kids to get involved." She gave the example of Science Night, and how she thought the "turnout is good" but that it would "be even greater if parents that had the time took the time to come and bring their kids." She continued, "It's the community, I think, that have to put in as well, you know, to make something big and successful. She understood the challenges on both sides, and noted that "the school can only do so much as well as the community can only do so much." She wondered if the school reached out, if the community would actually respond back.

All the participants who are parents believed it was their kuleana to support their children's learning, though they took different approaches based on their availability due to work

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schedules and other factors. Ikaika said he does his best to help his children with their homework when they come home from school. He felt that he was "giving it 100" in terms of helping his daughter, yet he admitted, "Honestly, I don't know if I'm doing enough with her." However, he added, "If I'm doing everything on my end right . . . the school definitely has to step it up" by offering additional tutoring for his daughter. Edwina said that she communicated with her son's teacher and made sure to go to the school in the event something happened. She told his teachers to "call [her] right away if anything [happened], because [she didn't] want him to grow up and be a troubled boy."

Jade also requested of her children's teachers to communicate with her about any concerns and took responsibility for disciplining her children at home if they caused trouble at school. She said the teachers "know the type of parent I am, like, I'm not going to put up with certain things when it comes to my kids." She wanted the teachers to feel supported and would tell them, "My kid's going to get it when they get home so hopefully after this you know they'll straighten up" and reassured them that "I'm always here, I'm always available. If I'm not, if I don't answer, leave a message, you know. I either text back or you know I'll get back to you as soon as possible." For Jade, it was important for the teachers to know that "where I come from, if my kid misbehaves it's not because I don't care or I'm not around."

In addition to maintaining an open line of communication with the teachers, Jade said she wants to do more with her son at home in terms of checking in and setting goals, as well as being more involved at school by helping in the class or going on field trips. Jade said she talked to her husband about being there for their son: "We really got to buckle down with him, and make sure we do daily check-ins. In the morning before I leave for work, you know, I've got to do check in with him, see where he's at, see what he's going to do differently today." She told her son she

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wanted to sit down and set goals together before school began. She hoped that by writing and

posting his long-term and short-term goals, he might challenge himself to attain them, and

possibly even participate in the middle school incentive activities such as the end-of-the-year

banquet. As a preschool teacher, Jade knows that "it's not easy, it's not easy being a teacher, it's

not easy having to deal with kids, especially, you know, those high-end ones that just need a lot

of help," so she wanted the teachers to know she was there to support them in helping her son.

Aveao expressed the need for parents to engage more with the school, and understand

how their active involvement was about showing their own children how much they care as

parents. Since he was raised with "tough love," he raised his children the same way, and

supported his children's teachers by telling them, "If you have the need to smack them, you

smack them. But if they act up, just let us know." He added, "It's not only the teacher's

responsibility, but I would think that teachers should have some sort of leeway just to discipline

them, well obviously, not corporal punishment, but if you gotta tell 'em off, you gotta tell 'em

off. . . . I mean, you gotta keep 'em in line." While he supported teachers being able to do their

jobs during the school day, he also felt that parents and families "need to be involved in [their]

child's education, especially when they come home" by helping the child with their homework

and ensuring that their child has safety and structure after school. He explained that as a parent,

"you gotta know what they're doing. And then of course you gotta slap a curfew on them, 7:00

you be at home, no dilly dallying around, or else you will get cracks. I mean, there are

consequences" so that the child will behave appropriately and know that their parents care about

them. Aveao admitted that for parents, it is easy to put the burden on teachers for teaching the

child: "I think that's where most of us drop the ball, is from 8 to 2; I think that's the mentality."

However, he said that it is "vital" to "let your kid know . . . you're there for them."

While Aveao believed it was his responsibility to help his child after school hours, he said it can be difficult to help with homework since the curriculum and teaching methods have changed since he was in school: "We old school, we never had that training." He said that in the past, the school had workshops for parents and suggested "some type of training . . . just to kind of help the parents out, or the family, with doing homework with the kids." Though Aveao was the only participant to suggest any sort of training for parents, given his active participation with parents and the school for the past twelve years as with the ʻOhana parent group, the school would do well to heed his recommendation by asking other parents about the suggestion.

Kemakana said her involvement is connected with her love of community. She was deeply committed to being involved in the school as a parent and community member, but admitted that she was "still trying for even figure that out, about how we can get our parents involved." She wondered, "How come I like be involved, like how come tita them no care? They just care about the bills, which is important too." She empathized with other parents who were just trying to survive, but Kemakana changed her outlook when she returned to school and had a self-realization about her own identity in relation to her culture and community. Despite having her college degree, she stated, "I chose to not go out and work full time because I still wanted for be with my kids, you know, and still try to work on my community that my kids are growing up in."

A couple of parents noted how the expectations for parents had changed and that when they were growing up, their parents were not expected to participate in the same way that parents are expected to participate now. Aveao recalled that "the only time [his parents] got involved was when [he] got into trouble. Or when the teachers called up, and told them, 'Oh, your son wasn't in class.'" He said they did follow up with discipline for behavior at home, but that was

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"the only time they get involved" and "other than that, they don't usually get involved because I think what they thought of as, that's your responsibility from certain time, from 8 to 2." Aveao's own parenting philosophy is that "you always have to be involved with your kids' education, their upbringing. It's a 24-7 job."

Mahealani said her parents were supportive of her and her siblings and their schools, but that unlike nowadays, "they didn't judge the school." She remembered that they "kept us responsible for our school work" and "if there's things we wanted them to do, they would volunteer." She recounted when she was in intermediate school, and her father worked at the dairy. She told her dad, "My school wants to come, on a tour the dairy." She said her dad acquiesced, and the school "rented a bus, and they brought us to the dairy, and they had their tour."

Participants' beliefs and stories about families' shared kuleana for children's schooling demonstrates that they value this responsibility greatly. According to Epstein (2001, 2011), parenting at home, communicating with the school, and learning at home, in addition to more traditional activities like attending school events, are all examples of PI. Participants also gave examples of goal-setting, monitoring homework and performance at home and at school, and setting expectations for children's behaviors, which are key family processes that align with a family resilience perspective that contribute to a child's educational success (Amatea, Smith-Adcock, & Villares, 2006). These mirror the activities that the Harvard Family Research Project identified through a review of decades of research as encompassing parents' "responsibility for learning outcomes," which include "supporting literacy, helping with homework, managing children's education, and maintaining high expectations" (Harvard Family Research Project, 2006, p. 2).

These strengths-based or asset-based approaches to PI show participants as engaged with their child's learning. However, the participants perceive other families as not being involved, in line with a deficit-lens. This could indicate a possible gap between participants and other families in values and beliefs about parental involvement and schooling, or a misperception about other families because the participants seem to subscribe to the more traditional view that PI means participating in school activities and completing teacher-assigned tasks at home with your child (Lareau, 2000). In either case, Waimānalo School would benefit from employing a strengths-based approach to school and family partnerhips by informing parents about the different ways they can—or already do—engage with their child's learning beyond a traditional definition to change the negative perception that Waimānalo School parents are not involved or engaged.

Student

A few participants talked about the student's responsibility in their education. As mentioned earlier, Ana said that she actively worked against being labeled inadequate because she was an immersion student by being skilled in both Hawaiian and English. Rias said his parents weren't actively involved in the school but that they instilled a sense of "drive" and responsibility in him and his brothers. They felt it was important that he and his siblings "do what you can to succeed" and so he worked hard to meet their expectations. Rias knew that school was a priority for his family, but that due to their work schedules, his parents were not always able to engage with the school directly or participate in school activities. As a result, he took responsibility for his own learning, and believed that students must do this if they want to be successful: "It really is up to the student to see what their potential is." He noted how his parents "weren't always there" and sometimes he had to do his homework on his own without

help. He added, "Your parents can't always be by you, trying to push you. You might have to take your own initiative." He acknowledged that taking responsibility for one's own learning was "a struggle for a lot of people, young people" and saw it as "something we need to change." Rias mentioned how his teachers throughout his schooling were instrumental in helping him to realize his potential and interests, so teachers could play an important role in helping to build students' intrinsic motivation to learn. He also tried to serve as a model for his peers and other young people as a neighborhood board member.

Mahealani said she enjoyed her schooling experience because of the values her father instilled in her, and as a result, she took responsibility and was open to change. She believed that "in order to make it positive, you have to do it yourself. You cannot sit back and think somebody else is going to make your life easier, or make it important, or help you move along, 'cause they're not." Furthermore, she stressed that "you have to go in with an open mind." For her, this openness to change was important when she had to move from Kailua to Waiʻanae for the last three years of high school. She said her sister "hated it" and "just couldn't adjust. She cried all the time." Mahealani told her sister, "That ain't going to do it. We're here. We're here. You just gotta get over it." Relying on her father's sense of resilience and self-reliance, Mahealani felt she made the most of her high school experience at her new school, as well as future obstacles that she faced.

School

All participants agreed that the school bore some responsibility in engaging families in addition to providing a schooling experience that would prepare students for the future. Participants mostly believed Waimānalo School was attempting to interact with families and parents, but saw the need for greater and more strategic effort by administrators, teachers, and

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staff to establish a vision, trust, open communication, and strengthened relations among the school, families, and community.

A major kuleana of school administration is serving as the voice of the school and setting the tone for how the school interacts with families and community. Ana recommended being open and transparent with parents and asking for help. She said it could be "as simple as really inviting all of the families in, and saying, 'Hey. This is a mandatory meeting. For your child to be in this school, we need you to come.' . . . And at that meeting, really talk about the goals of the school. Open it for forum." She said that by genuinely asking, "Can anybody offer anything?" or "What would you like to see?" that parents might be more willing to speak up and give honest feedback. For Ana, it was important to establish "that sense of transparency, so families know what's happening," and to shift toward "a more Hawaiian-culturally sound framework of how we do things. How we communicate." Getting families and the community involved in the decision-making at the school would empower them and show how their voices matter. She acknowledged that it was difficult for HIDOE schools to show that they are "vulnerable" and allow community input. However, she believed that it would take a level of vulnerability and humility with families to "really get them to want to be here, and want to be in this school." She suggested telling parents, "We want to teach your kids. We want to be here for this community. What do we need to do to make that a reality?" She said this was an important first step for both community schools in Waimānalo, to be willing to "be truly vulnerable in the community" by asking for help. Ana said this open approach to families was also crucial to her as a parent and influenced her decisions about her children's schooling. She said she would keep her children at their schools "as long as they continue to involve me in the decisions. And that

doesn't mean that my decision needs to be the one that's chosen, but at least I know I'm being heard, and the communication is open."

Kahula also stressed that school leaders must be willing to hoʻolohe pono, or listen well, to the community. She recalled talking to the former principal at Pope School. The principal asked her why Waimānalo was so "separated" and despondent. She replied, "Drugs has a lot to do with it. People, lives have a lot to do with how they change." She told him, "You can bring them all back. Everybody can come back to their proper place if everybody just remembers to hoʻolohe pono. Listen good. Listen to the people. Listen to the children." For Kahula, listening was the starting point to hear what the community, families and children had to offer in terms of strengths. From there, she told the principal, he would be able to "build upon what they have. . . . And then, it'll get stronger." Both Kahula and Ana recommend school administrators take a strength-based approach in working with families and the community, a strategy that involves asking and listening for feedback.

Kiani Ani said he began to attend the School Community Council meetings at Waimānalo School because he wanted to know more about the school and how he could support the school as a community member, even though his children did not attend the school and he only went to one summer session there as a child. He attended the meetings at the other schools in the community as well, and was particularly interested in how the schools utilize their funds from the state. He desired transparency by school administrators in terms of "where the money's going," not because he had a particular stake in the school, but because he wanted to help the school and the community.

Participants' statements aligned with researchers' recognition of the role of school administrators in determining the kind of partnership the school has with families and the

community, from leadership that values authentic partnerships on one end of the spectrum to leadership that prevents partnerships on the other end (Auerbach, 2010). In desiring more input in the school, Ana, Kahula, and Kiani Ani are asking for "authentic partnerships" (Auerbach, 2010, p. 729). Auerbach (2010) defined these as "mutually respectful alliances among educators, families and community groups that value relationship building, dialogue and power sharing as part of socially just, democratic schools" (p. 734). There are also principal leadership styles that promote "nominal partnerships" synonymous with "come if we call" or "open door" policies, or "traditional partnerships" that are two-way in communication but still largely focused on the school's agenda (Auerbach, 2010, pp. 734-735). However, Auerbach (2010) posited that while these types of partnerships may align with models by prominent PI research such as Epstein and Henderson, nominal and traditional partnerships fall short of the "reciprocal empowerment" embedded in authentic partnerships (p. 735). Ana, Kahula, and Kiani Ani believed it is important for the leaders at Waimānalo School to listen and to share decision-making power with families as part of the school's kuleana.

Another important responsibility of administrators is to lead the staff towards a vision of success. While Waimānalo has a school vision, a couple of participants felt that simply having a vision was not enough, and that it needed to be consistently utilized by administration as a tool to bringing the staff together, which in turn would help to create a school culture that parents and families desired for their children. As a teacher, Catherine saw the need for a clear vision and collaboration among teachers toward a common goal over individual preferences: "Whether it makes the staff happy or not, I think there's just a vision that needs to still be set and worked towards." She felt a sense of purpose and connection to the community, and hoped that if other staff "just maybe found something that they can connect to or something, why they're here you

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know, that they would feel that same purpose." She said that "if the vision of the school is not what they're envisioning, if everybody can come together and have that one vision, that will make this school."

These connections, or relationships between and among administrators, teachers and staff were crucial to Catherine: "You need that in order for anything to work." She said everyone in the school would need to be part of the change because the "ship can't sail if there's people hanging off of it. You need to have everybody jump in and be on board." Ana concurred that the teachers need to be on board with the vision and that the vision should be in line with the values of the community:

> Each teacher comes in with something, with a different idea of how they want to teach, which is maika'i [fine], that's the teacher's prerogative, but it still needs to be consistent with the vision for the school, which should be consistent with the vision of Waimānalo, yeah? If the school's vision and mission is different than what Waimānalo wants, then they not going to send their kids to you.

In addition to working towards a shared vision, Ana talked about the importance of the staff being interdependent. At the community after-school program where she worked, Ana said they adopted an ahupua'a mindset, where "there's people with certain skillsets and certain interests, and they do great at it" but everyone must also be willing, "whether it's [their] skillset or [their] area of focus," to have a level of confidence to be able to fill the gap if the expert in that arena is not there. She said in an ahupua'a, "when the master kālai wa'a [canoe carver] passes away, it doesn't just stop. Somebody took the interest to make sure that they do it" and even if "the apprentice wasn't mākaukau yet," the group bands together to "make it happen." She said schools also need to "stop relying on one person, to be that person, and we need to make it

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the kuleana of everyone, no matter what their positions are." Ana acknowledged how adopting an ahupuaʻa mindset might be "uncomfortable for people, especially teachers who aren't from this community, or even aren't from Hawaiʻi" and when the work is packaged as "something in addition to what their kuleana is." Rather, she said if the messaging is, "This is your sole kuleana and from this, everything else will happen, then there's that mind-shift" to a more "community-focused mindset" that is aligned with a Hawaiian culture-based perspective.

Kahula said that everybody at the school needed to be on the same page in order for the school to be successful. She said it was the principal's responsibility to tell teachers to "step it up, or else get out of this canoe" and "go find one job elsewhere." She felt that holding teachers to a high expectation to work together toward a common goal was an example of Hawaiian values-based leadership.

At the charter school where Rowena worked, staff buy-in was a key part of their success. She said, "It took everybody who was going to be a part of the school--admin, teachers," to meet and agree, "If we're going to do this, we're going to try and do this the best that we can for the children and the families that are coming in." They would meet before the school year began to determine the focus for the year and discuss how to scaffold "from little ones all the way up to the top . . . to break it down and say, okay, the end of the year project is going to, we want it to be this, so we're going to start here." Although she felt teachers were "not compensated the way that they should be," they "would just come together" to plan, and put a lot of time building the curriculum and determining measures of growth. She appreciated the "collective effort of all teachers involved" and said it was because "everybody bought in." Conversely, she warned, "If you got people in left field, it's not going to work. It's not going to help the little ones."

Maliʻu put the notion of everyone buying in to a common vision in terms of consumers and products: "The consumer needs to realize the value, in order for the consumer to buy in." He considered all stakeholders, including students, families, faculty and administration as "the consumers," and stressed how they would all need to "buy into the product" or they would not be willing to help.

Oluolu talked about the importance of all staff, from custodians to volunteers, and not just teachers, to be on board. He noted how the non-teaching staff sees the students outside of the classroom, and their interactions with students are just as important in moving the school toward the vision. He said these staff members must be able to learn about the community and culture with the teachers, so "they understand and they get it to--how to properly behave, protocol, even outside of the class. So they take that understanding of how and what they see is not pono."

According to Oluolu, the school was "the glue, really to bring this whole thing together." Like the other participants, he stated, "The school needs everybody to be on the same page, and be a part of everything. It gotta be one family." To achieve this, Oluolu said teachers could not view teaching as, "I running away, starting my car at 2:00 when I pau work at 4. I trying to leave before I even finish the day." Rather, he believed teachers needed to "get one invested interest, or skin in the game." He believed there were "great teachers" at Waimānalo School, but thought they "maybe was just tired, or maybe never get the support, or maybe just got worn down," and hoped that by letting them know, "we're here to help you," and getting families and community businesses to also put skin in the game, would "put some gasoline in them." Ultimately, he saw the need for the school to be in sync with home and community so the students "cannot use one of us against each other."

While multiple participants clearly saw the importance of a school community that is

united in working toward a common vision that is aligned with community values, and involved

families in the process, there was also a sense that Waimānalo School has some significant work

to do to achieve this goal, namely in getting more staff members to participate in existing parent

and community engagement efforts, such as the School Community Council and the parent

organization, 'Ohana. Kiani Ani mentioned how the School Community Council could be a

valuable asset to the school, as well as the parent association, but that there needed to be greater

participation from parents, community, and staff in those groups. He said while there might be a

"lack of participation from the community" in School Community Council meetings, "that

shouldn't stop your employees from being there. Everybody get family, so that's not an excuse."

Regarding 'Ohana, Aveao thought it "would have been nice for the staff and teachers to be

involved. For whatever reason, it's minimal, I think, well, from my observation." Like Kiani

Ani, he acknowledged that everyone has "their own lives, too" but that it was important to have

staff involvement. Still, he added that "the bulk should come from the actual community, the

parents or grandparents or even extended family." A next step is for administrators to consider

how to increase staff, parent, family and community engagement to support these and other

efforts on campus.

Parent Involvement

Participants valued parents and family members being involved in school. As mentioned

above, the parent organization, the 'Ohana, is an area of need for greater participation by staff

and families. Both Aveao and Gloria, who have been integral to the association for years,

expressed the need for more parents to be involved in the group. Aveao stated, "The parent and

'ohana involvement, I think is a must." He and Gloria said parent involvement has decreased

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since they first got involved and it is time for "new blood" to lead the group. Aveao recalled, "Back then, you know, the beginning, there was a lot of parents that were involved, that actually went out of their way to make it work. . . . but they moved on." He admitted to feeling a bit "stuck" in the ʻOhana, though he chooses to continue organizing events because he still has one child left at the school and shows his support for her and the school by being actively involved.

Gloria was worried that "we're getting a bit more complacent" without new families joining and helping to lead the ʻOhana. She felt everyone assumed that her family would just "take care of it," and she too, admitted that she was "starting to get to the point we're like, oh, if no one else does it, then we'll do it, which I don't think is a good motivation to do something." She did not want her family alone to "be the face of ʻOhana," because she thought, "ʻOhana should be more diverse and include a lot of parents." She felt "sad" that while there were "a lot of really committed parents" and "really good staff over the years," they were not "able to maintain those parents."

Kiani Ani also saw the need to get more parents on board as part of the ʻOhana. He said it was "unfortunate" that Aveao and Gloria were "like the only piece of the PTA puzzle," but added that the school was "lucky to have them." He said that "a lot of thanks should be given to them because they've been there for x amount of years, filling that void, and taking on their kuleana." Recognizing that their children would not be at the school forever, Kiani Ani pointed out the need for a "succession plan" for the ʻOhana.

According to Maliʻu, the issue of the same parents always helping the school was not limited to Waimānalo School, but happened at his children's school as well. Maliʻu said he "used to go to all the meetings" at his kids' school, but he felt it became "the same thing, year in year out," with "the same people doing the same old thing." He posited that "this may be true, maybe

not, with everybody else in Waimānalo, but, you know it's just, when things just get redundant, and you're just doing the same old thing, things are boring," that parents were less likely to attend meetings or events at school. He said he preferred that the school reach out to him when they needed his help and he would then meet their need.

Participants offered a variety of suggestions in how to improve and increase parent involvement at Waimānalo School, including asking for help, building relationships and reaching out to parents by going door-to-door, providing a more welcoming environment for families on campus, and improving communication with parents. These recommendations are supported by Epstein's (2001) research on PI, which found that parents were more likely to be involved in their child's education as partners if they perceived that the school has "strong practices" to involve parents (p. 212). Studies also show that when parents feel the school is involving them, they have a more positive outlook on the quality of the school and teachers (Epstein, 2001). By reaching out to parents who are not actively engaged in school activities and by strengthening family engagement efforts as a school, the research suggests that Waimānalo School may be able to help boost the number of parents who join and participate in the parent organization, involve parents in more meaningful ways in the school, and improve parents' perception of the school.

Asking for Help

The Native Hawaiian parent participants expressed a common theme of the Hawaiian practice of kāhea, or "to call," when it came to improving parent engagement. They talked about how the school needs to ask for help if they want more parent and community engagement. Uluwehi highlighted the importance of the school asking for volunteers from the community and not expecting people to come knocking on the school's door. She said that one teacher invited her to come to his class to do a few demonstrations and presentations, "but, I have to be asked.

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I'm not going to volunteer." Uluwehi also recalled when she was a student, her parents were not actively involved in her schools, but they supported her with "whatever I wanted" for "birthdays or potlucks or whatever." She said it only took calling her dad and saying, "'Dad, I need this,' And he would just bring 'em. Always." Kemakana said the same about her parents meeting her needs when she was growing up. She explained that she never received an allowance, but "it was just always about my needs." She was expected to do "what I needed to do" and "when I had needs, then they would meet the need if I needed it."

Darcy's view was similar to Uluwehi's and Kemakana's statements. She believed that by asking parents, they would meet the needs of her students. Since she "was never in a lead position as a gen ed teacher to ask more of parents," she felt that she was not in a position to challenge other teachers' comments about parent participation. She said there was "always a complaint, that we don't have a strong parent involvement." However, she was transitioning from a support role to a lead teacher position, and said she planned "to test this theory this year" and ask parents to help support their child in school, with the hope that they would be more engaged. Having worked previously with a teacher who "had a relationship with parents" and when "she asked, they provided," Darcy strongly believed "that if I were to ask, and build a relationship with them, that some will come in." She noted that parents "can't read our minds," are "busy" and "trying to figure out life was well," but it's "part of the culture here in Waimānalo," that "if you ask, they'll provide," and "if they don't have it themselves they will ask someone who does."

Darcy mentioned the high involvement of parents at her own child's school, and how the school "would ask for volunteers, and they would open, the classrooms, the school up, to parents to be there." Conversely, she had not seen teachers ask for volunteers for things like "room

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parents" at Waimānalo School. Similarly, Ana suggested letting parents know, "We need you. We need all of you to help us be a part of it." She recommended informing parents about new programs or initiatives and inviting them to help move the school forward.

Rowena talked about the abundance of family and community involvement at her former charter school, especially in times of need. When "somebody's house flooded," they would "put the kāhea [call] out" and parents would bring clothes and supplies to support the family. She said she "made it very clear to parents and to the students that we all have a kuleana."

Mali'u was working on a community project to show that natural farming on a large scale was possible. He had years of experience farming and growing his own food at home, and even working with at-risk youth. When asked if he had ever shared his knowledge and skills with Waimānalo School students, he said he preferred "to just be patient" and wait for the people that "want that change, and then I'll assist them when they call," rather than going to the school to "fight tooth and nail for, to try and create change." He explained, "That's how kanaka society used to function," where, "You no go somebody else's business until you get the kāhea." He continued, "If yours looks better than theirs and they get questions, then they come up to you and go assist them." To Mali'u, it was important to wait for the kāhea to avoid "friction." In this same vein, he and other Hawaiian participants believed the school should kāhea when they needed help, rather than expect parents and community members to volunteer and show up unsolicited. Furthermore, as Darcy mentioned, it was important to build relationships with families and community as a foundation on which the school could reach out to them for assistance.

Building Relationships

Participants expressed the importance of positive relationships between school staff and students and parents. They shared examples of how Waimānalo School staff and staff at other schools fostered these kinds of relationships with them as parents, and how Waimānalo School could continue to grow in this area through outreach, improving communication, and taking a strengths-based approach when interacting with families.

Gloria recalled one of her friend's child's schools "went door to door for kindergarten registrations," so she also wondered if it was possible for Waimānalo School to reach out to parents in that way. She was aware that Waimānalo School was struggling with kindergarten enrollment, and thought it might be effective to "put a face to the school and actually go door to door." She said, "It'd be nice to just reach out and go, you know, 'We have registrations,' or 'We have something happening at the school.'"

Darcy also saw the power of the community's strengths and relationship building with parents as the key to success for her grade level team. She said because she and her teaching partner were "both from the community, we both know like their parents or their grandparents. And . . . both of us have the ability to build relationships with them, and show respect," that she felt they would be able to "make a big change" for their students and "could possibly do more things." Both she and her partner were interested in project-based, hands-on and community-based learning, as well as incorporating more Hawaiian culture into the classroom. Like Gloria, Darcy suggested going a step further and doing home visits since she did them in her previous job at a local organization. She loved home visits because "when you walk into someone's house, and there's connection immediately, for those parents, where they feel like, if I'm going to let you see me at my worst, at my best, you know, and you don't judge me for it, it can only be

a positive stepping stone to building that relationship." She understood that her partner might not have the same level of comfort with home visits and did not expect to do them, but she thought it was one way to build stronger relationships with her students' families.

In order to foster these relationships, Darcy said as a school, it's important to be empathetic but not to treat parents as "less than." She acknowledged the perception that Waimānalo was "a rough community" and that people in the community might have "a lot of problems, that some of us probably never went through, or even imagined." However, she said, "Let's not put ourselves on a pedestal that we're better than them. Because they can read through that." She cautioned, "When you make comments about parents, or about their struggles, it can be perceived as you're judging them, and you're better than them, and you're inept from experiencing any of the struggles that they've had to go through." She felt that teachers and staff need to be mindful of how the stigma towards the community might affect their perception of the families, and ultimately be a barrier to forging trusting relationships with those parents.

Darcy's perspective on parent involvement is in line with more current studies of communities with nondominant populations; Waimānalo's high Native Hawaiian and diverse ethnic and cultural population, as well as the higher rates of people living in poverty make it a community with a mostly nondominant population. These studies intersect with TribalCrit and CRT frameworks that criticize deficit views of nondominant families and suggest asset-based or strengths-based approaches (Amatea, Smith-Adcock, & Villares, 2006; Green, 2017a; Green, 2017b; Ishimaru, Torres, Salvador, Lott, Williams & Tran, 2016; Kerr, Dyson & Gallannaugh, 2016). Moreover, Darcy's suggestion that teachers and school staff try to understand rather than judge parents is in accordance with the work of Hoover-Dempsey and Sandler (2005) and

Hornby & Lafaele (2011) to examine the factors in parents' lives that affect their engagement with schools.

Ana, too, posited that improving relationships with families required a strengths-based approach to communicating with families. She said it was important for teachers to meet with families, "not only when their child's doing something wrong" but also "to go over all of these great things." She believed "every single school should have a quarterly hōʻike or whatever it is, that families have to come to, to see what's going on with their kids. And see how they can be a part of it." Ultimately, Ana said that schools need to include families in the classroom as well as in activities on campus in order to bridge "that huge disconnect between families and childhood learning" and for families to assume kuleana for their children's learning.

The relationship and communication between the teacher and parent were essential for Ana. She mentioned that "some teachers," not necessarily at Waimānalo School, "won't even have a phone conversation. Everything has to be email." Her response to this type of communication was, "No, I want to know you. You're my children's teacher. I want to have these conversations." She added that it was important for her to be invited into her child's classroom, "not because I'm being nīele [nosy]" but because she felt the teacher spent "more time with my keiki than I do" and she wanted to be able to trust the teacher. She saw this more inclusive, inviting and open approach as aligned with Hawaiian values, and that it would constitute a "cultural shift" because most schools, she believed, were about "boundaries" and "very, black and white." As mentioned previously, she recommended creating a culture of aloha on campus where families and visitors felt welcomed.

Edwina valued having a positive relationship and open communication with her son's teacher. She liked that the teacher would call "right away" if something happened, but was

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surprised that his teachers did not call her all the time with bad news, because she said her son was a "struggle at home." Rather, the teachers told her, "He's doing really good," which made her "happy" because "he's not that good boy at home." Furthermore, she could easily come to school and talk to the teacher, and get helpful strategies to support her son at home. She was "grateful" that the teacher would explain to her in "details," "Oh, I tried doing this, that to him, and this and that," and when she went home, Edwina would "try that method and it work[ed]."

Rowena said that when she worked at the charter school, they had an "open door policy" with parents. She offered, "You want to come in, you want to sit in so-and-so's class, just let us know." Beyond this "open door policy," which Auerbach (2010) considered to be characteristic of a "nominal partnership" between school and family (p. 734), Rowena said the charter school welcomed the parents' presence as well as "their input." She remembered that "a lot of families brought beautiful things, their skills. Some of them would pack up their papa kuʻiʻai and their pohakus and bring kalo for the little ones to pound. They get moʻolelo, they get lessons off of that." One of the parents and his ʻohana would take the students sailing on the canoe. To Rowena, "the experiences the kids gained" from these "connections and the relationships that the teachers made in the community" were "priceless." This culturally responsive approach and valuing of parents' voice and skills represented a more authentic partnership (Auerbach, 2010). Rowena did note, however, that these types of learning opportunities were rare "outside that kind of education" in a Hawaiian culture-based charter school.

Both Uluwehi and Kemakana thought Waimānalo School missed opportunities to communicate and engage with them. Uluwehi said that even though her own children did not attend Pope School, she went to their school events because she "felt like they wanted me to be there." On the other hand, when her kids were at Waimānalo School, she admitted, "I never go to

nothing. I don't know, for whatever reason." She did not recall if it was because "the paper never come home" to inform her about the event or if it was her child's responsibility to inform her of events. She said the paper could have been thrown away if her child did not want to go to the event, but she was not sure. Ultimately, she did not get involved as a parent perhaps because she did not feel the school made her feel wanted or invited. Kemakana also mentioned that she never knew about the middle school after school program or other things at the school because the paper didn't come home with her son. Now that her daughter is in middle school and does bring home flyers and letters from school, she realized how many opportunities were missed for her son. She recommended that the school use social media as a more up-to-date and effective way to communicate with parents.

Overall, participants expressed the importance of and need for strong, positive relationships between the school and home to help students to be successful and to improve family engagement in school. Participants defined these desired relationships as having open two-way communication, being respectful of parents' life context and potential barriers to their participation, valuing parents' and families' strengths, and showing the school staff's willingness to actively engage with and invite parents into the school.

Family Events

Participants who are parents or grandparents of students at Waimānalo School said there were existing family events that were successful and should be continued. A couple participants felt the number of events was adequate and the school did not need to add any more. Ruth also added, "It's enough. I'm so tired," since she attended most of the events with her grandchildren.

Hōʻike was the most popular family event among participants, though some commented that they would like it to include more cultural dances and music rather than contemporary

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American numbers, as well as involving all grade levels and not just the elementary students. Some of the participants recalled that the Hōʻike program used to honor the diverse cultural groups of Waimānalo, rather than only Hawaiian culture.

Science Night was the second most popular event among the parent participants. They enjoyed how seeing how their children had fun learning. Jade said her son enjoys Science Night because his friends attend, and he's "actually learning something. She would "see him kind of by himself," looking at the science fair projects, "actually reading it and looking at it and thinking." Her daughter examined the projects for ideas, and asked her, "Oh, Mom, can we try this at home?" Jade also noticed some students "are here because they need the extra credit, but with that extra credit, they're looking at things, and I think they actually take home something from it." Ruth recalled, "This last science fair was fun. They had kids organized where they were doing things as a group." She said one of the teachers gathered up the students, and "got 'em as a group, working together, and all grades, and so that was fun to watch."

In addition to Science Night, some participants mentioned Math Night, which is a similar family event dedicated to the subject of math. Jade said her children "love those kind of things" and "as soon as the flyer comes out they're like, 'Okay, Mom, you got to sign this. You know, we got to go.'" Aveao also said, "We enjoy the program that you folks put on, you know like the Math Night." For him, participating in such family nights is part of "letting the child know that you're there for the support." He was satisfied with the school's existing activities, and said, "Everything you folks put out, we enjoy."

One of the events that the ʻOhana parent association hosts every year is Movie Night. Aveao and Gloria continued to hold this event because families had enjoyed it in the past. Several parent participants said they liked Movie Night and had attended the event. Rias said

Kailua High also had a movie night, but they also invited anyone in the community, not just families from the school. Uluwehi said Pope School had one as well that she attended. Kemakana added that Pope School provided a meal at their Movie Night and thought that a meal was an effective way to "entice" parents to attend a school event. She also said that advertising the event is key to greater participation.

In addition to the events that parents already seemed to enjoy, participants suggested a number of other activities the school could try to draw more families in to the school, such as a fundraiser, a garden party, or hands-on activities. Several participants said that fundraisers are not just important to raise money for the school, but because they bring community together. Ana felt fundraisers were valuable because parents could "rally around for their kids." Uluwehi said that when Pope has fundraisers or other activities and she gets invited by the students, and "even if I only get 20 bucks for spend, I going spend 20 bucks, because that's for the kids." Catherine also mentioned how Pope School holds a carnival to fundraise, and how she would like to see similar activities at Waimānalo School. She was aware that such events required "a lot of work" but felt that for Waimānalo, "fundraisers are a huge thing" and "the community loves to support the school."

Ana thought it was a good idea to invite parents to help work in the garden because it was a collaborative activity that families would be able to enjoy doing together. Similarly, Henry shared how the poi-pounding nights at a local community organization have been successful because families are able to engage in a culture-based, hands-on learning experience together. He said that poi-pounding evenings are especially popular among the fathers, and the poi board making class was also "a real bonding experience for families."

Just as bringing families onto campus and making them feel welcomed and needed was a priority among participants, so was increasing the school's presence out in the community.

Community Engagement and Partnerships

At least half of the participants advocated for the school being more involved in the community and at a deeper level. Uluwehi acknowledged that "showing up to neighborhood board is great" but called for "more interaction with community" beyond that. Gloria, who had recommended going door to door, said there was "just something about, instead of people going to the school I wish there was a way that we could go out to the community." Oluolu added that by doing more activities in the community, the school would not be viewed as "invisible" or just a "daycare" for student, and parents may be more willing to engage with the school.

Participants suggested participating in community activities and events like the annual Christmas parade, taking students off-campus for service projects like beach or stream clean-ups, inviting people from the community on campus to interact with students, hosting community events, especially fundraisers, to engage parents, families and the public and also inviting community organizations to participate so people know the resources available in the community. They also noted the importance of place-based learning as part of this community engagement piece.

Catherine said she wanted Waimānalo School to be "more involved in community events" like Pope School to make it "known that Waimānalo [School] cares." She remembered that Pope took part in the annual Christmas parade, and she wondered, "Wait, where did we fall out of this?" She did not know schools could even participate in the parade, and when she saw the principal and the students, she realized how important it was for the students at Waimānalo School to be able to "rep their school" in such community events.

Gloria said that engaging with the community would help to dismantle negative stereotypes about Waimānalo School. She felt it was necessary for the students to be out in the community "to put a face to the name of Waimānalo School" so the public would not just think that "they're all bad kids." She also mentioned how critical it was for teachers to be out representing the school as well, so people would say, "That's the teacher who's at Waimānalo, or that child that goes to Waimānalo," but in a "positive" way.

Aveao said the school should be trying to make the community "a better place." Kiani Ani recommended students participate in community service projects and do learning trips in the community: "Do stuff for the community and that might be like a beach clean-up, or community service projects—those always go over well with Waimānalo." He acknowledged that such activities could be "a tough sell," with teachers because they may have to work beyond their contract hours "to take the kids on learning trips to help the community in some way or other." Ultimately, he said it was important to "get out there" if the goal was to improve how the school served the community at large.

Rias iterated the importance of community partners in engaging students. He knew about Waimānalo School partnering with the University of Hawaiʻi and Kamehameha Schools, and encouraged the school to continue working with these institutions. He mentioned the Waimānalo Health Center and Job Corps, which are both active and well known in the community. He suggested having "these community partners be at the school and to share information" with students and families, as "a reminder that all of these organizations that could be of resource to you, exist."

The school could also bring value to community members by opening its doors. Uluwehi said that it was "awesome" when the school partnered with a local community college to provide

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classroom space for night courses. She liked not having to drive to the college and being able to attend the classes in her community, but since she was in the program a few years ago, she was not sure if the partnership still existed.

Oluolu valued the existing partnership between Waimānalo School and the canoe club. He recalled that the relationship began by asking, "How can your stuff be a part of mine, and mine be a part of yours? And we just said let's build it." The partnership started with bringing the canoes on campus for career day every year to teach students about the waʻa and paddling, which led to students signing up for paddling and going on to represent the school and community at state championships year after year. After a few years of success with that initial effort, the partnership deepened and took teachers into the community for learning trips. Teachers and staff learned firsthand about paddling by getting into the canoes steered by former students. They also saw the ongoing community-wide effort to restore an ancient fishpond and heard moʻolelo from young leaders and teachers from the community. Staff were receptive to this type of professional learning experience grounded in culture and community and when community organizations were involved, especially Oluolu and the canoe club, staff were excited to continue partnering for similar activities in the future.

Toward a More Collaborative Family and Community Engagement Model

Overall, participants believe in shared kuleana among families, students, community and the school for each student's success. They also want their community school to engage them as family and community members in ways that reflect their values and beliefs. For a few participants, Waimānalo School offers them engagement opportunities that they are satisfied with, and they do not see a need to for drastic changes. Some believe the issue is rooted in the community or families not wanting or willing to engage. For most of the participants, however,

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especially those of Hawaiian descent, Waimānalo School's family and community engagement efforts are similar to most public schools in that they are not effective in connecting with all families. These participants desire approaches that are more culturally relevant, strengths-based, empathetic and mindful of families' values and struggles, which align with a multitude of research that shows the benefits of asset-based and strengths-based approaches to PI (Amatea, Smith-Adcock, & Villares, 2006; Epstein, 2001, 2011; Harvard Family Research Project, 2006).

Ana, Kahula and Kiani Ani alluded to the need for Waimānalo School to listen to input from and engage families in the decision-making process, which are emblematic of authentic partnerships (Auerbach, 2010). Such relationships among the school staff and families are respectful and reject a deficit view of nondominant families, and have relational trust, which Bryk and Schneider (2003) define as consisting of four criteria: respect, personal regard, competence in core responsibilities and personal integrity (p. 42). Respect is shown by "genuine listening to what each person has to say" (Bryk & Schneider, 2003, p. 42) similar to Kahula's description of "hoʻolohe pono" or listening well to parents and community. "Personal regard" is reflected in staff's "willingness . . . to extend themselves beyond the formal requirements of a job definition or a union contract" and their "competence in core role responsibilities" is their ability to "produce desired outcomes" (Bryk & Schneider, 2003, p. 42). The final piece, "personal integrity," is the notion that families can trust the school to "keep their word" (Bryk & Schneider, 2003, p. 42). Bryk and Schneider (2003), Auerbach (2010) and participants note the importance of all stakeholders to be on board, but also point out the significant role of the principal in establishing trust among staff and determining how the school will interact with families and community members.

Hoover-Dempsey and Sandler's (2005) model could also help Waimānalo School's administrators and staff to understand the factors behind parents' levels of involvement, and seek ways of engagement that take those factors into account. One approach that would take into consideration the realities of families' lives as well as the strengths they bring to the school is the community-based equity audit, which "helps educational leaders reconsider underserved communities . . . from resilient and asset-based perspectives" (Green, 2017a, p. 5). Green (2017a) uses Packham's (1998) definition of the word "audit" in this context, describing it as an "act of listening" to glean "what resources are available" rather than an evaluation for "punitive" or "high-stakes accountability" (p. 9). This is synonymous with Kahula's and Ana's suggestions that Waimānalo School administrators and staff listen to the views of parents and community members. To be able to listen with openness, Green (2017a) suggested that educational leaders utilize the Freirean "tenets of dialogue" of "love, humility, faith, hope, and critical thinking" as a guide (p. 13). Participants articulated feelings of love, hope, and faith in their interviews, and these tenets also embedded in the values of aloha, ʻohana, ahupuaʻa living, and survivance that participants expressed as being integral to their community and Waimānalo School. Green (2017a) defined humility as being "open to new ideas and understandings" and critical thinking as an awareness "of the systems and structures that perpetuate community inequity" (p. 14). These qualities were also identified by participants as important for Waimānalo School staff to exhibit to be able to connect with families in the community.

Green's (2017a) process for conducting community-based equity audits also aligns with a TribalCrit action-oriented lens and participants' suggestions for the school to better engage with Waimānalo families and community. The four phases of the audit process are: "(a) disrupt deficit views of community, (b) conduct initial community inquiry and shared community experiences,

(c) establish Community Leadership Team (CLT), and (d) collect equity, asset-based community data for action" (Green, 2017a, p. 17). Community-based equity audits support empowering communities and families as partners in improving schools rather than as "agentless actors" or "docile recipients of services" that "need fixing to fit White, middle-class norms" (Green, 2017a, p. 19). For Waimānalo and Waimānalo School, the process would involve dismantling external and internal stigmas of the school and community and look at students, parents and relatives, community members and groups, teachers and staff as interdependent agents of change (Green, 2017a).

Looking at family partnerships as part of "community-based education reform" (Horsford & Heilig, 2014; Ishimaru, Torres, Salvador, Lott, Williams, & Tran, 2016; Warren, 2005) and utilizing community-based relational approaches (Warren, 2005; Warren, Hong, Rubin and Uy, 2009) would support not only families and schools, but the betterment of the whole Waimānalo community. Community-based education reform refers to approaching public school reform as part of a greater effort by community organizations to revitalize and empower communities from the bottom up (Warren, 2005). These collaborations involve community organizations and public schools, and utilize different approaches to improving schools, known as community-based relational approaches (Warren, 2005). Warren's (2005) approaches can be viewed as the action or implementation phase that would follow Green's (2017a) community-based equity audit.

Warren (2005) identified three collaborative community-based relational models; all three models apply to the types of partnerships identified by participants in this study. Opening the school to community-based organizations (CBO) to provide services for the public like hosting community college classes at night is an example of the service-delivery model (Warren, 2005; Warren et al., 2009). Partnering with the canoe club, the culture-based after school

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program, and other community organizations to drive deeper change in the community and school is an example of a school-community organizing model (Warren, 2005; Warren et al., 2009). In the third model, the "development approach," a community organization will sponsor a new charter school in the community (Warren, 2005), which is how the one charter school in the community was established. The three schools in the Warren et al. study bore similar challenges with family and community engagement as did Waimānalo School and showed improvement by utilizing community-based relational approaches.

Quitman School, located in New Jersey, was faced with a community dealing with "extreme poverty, instability, and rapid neighborhood change" due to "deindustrialization and White flight" (Warren et al., 2009, p. 2217). Like in Waimānalo, many children in Quitman were raised by grandparents or other family members due to poverty-related issues such as drugs and alcohol abuse. Quitman School partnered with Community Agencies Corporation of New Jersey (CACNJ) in the late 1990s to "serve families and rebuild the community" by practicing a "holistic approach to schooling" and became Quitman Street Community School (Warren et al., 2009, p. 2217). The transformation included providing "a full array of physical, dental, and mental health services to children and their families" as well as after school tutoring and enrichment programs, including "dance classes and field trips to cultural events in the city" (Warren et al., 2009, p. 2217).

Initially, however, Quitman School had to start with rebuilding trust and relationships with parents, who felt "alienated" from the school and district because many of the parents who grew up there "did not have positive experiences with school themselves," and parents did not have a voice in changes at the school or district level (Warren et al., 2009, p. 2218). One of the staff members reported that parents did not feel welcomed at the school. Staff members at the

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CACNJ focused on building relationships with parents and school staff, while the school staff "emphasized consistency to build trust with parents," in particular, getting parents to realized that they were "here to stay" at the school (Warren et al., 2009, p. 2219). They "made a concerted effort to build relationships among parents in a welcoming environment" and created a "safe place for parents," (Warren et al., 2009, p. 2219). Eventually, as the relationships between school and families strengthened, the school was able to "involve parents more actively" in the school and not just come to the school to receive services, but to attend workshops and volunteer in the afterschool program (Warren et al., 2009, p. 2220). Parents were eventually asked to help serve as group leaders for the afterschool program, and were formally trained, which brought value to the program and to those parents as they "learned how to deal more effectively with her own children" through those professional development opportunities (Warren et al., 2009, p. 2221).

The challenges Quitman Street Community School faced are not much different from those facing Waimānalo School. Although the ethnic composition of the schools and surrounding communities differ, both communities struggle with poverty-related issues. Participants noted how "disconnected" the school is both internally and relative to the community and families, much like how the Quitman parents felt "alienated" from their school. Additionally, like Quitman parents, Waimānalo parents want teachers and school staff who are "here to stay" or committed for the long-term to the school and the community. As noted by all the participants in this study, a trusting relationship between the school and families is important, and it was in Quitman.

The Quitman example highlights the service approach to community-based reform, whereas the Camino Nuevo Charter Academy (CNCA), a charter school in Los Angeles, is an

example of the development model (Warren et al., 2009). The community faced similar socioeconomic challenges to Quitman, and had a significant Latino population, and parents in the area also felt "alienated from existing schools in the Los Angeles Unified School District (LAUSD)" (Warren et al., 2009). Pueblo Nuevo Development Corporation (PND), a local CBO, founded CNCA and "first sought to make the school a place where parents would feel welcome and respected, where they could begin to build relationships with school staff" and achieved this by making Spanish language "an integral part" of the school and incorporating Latino culture into the curriculum and extracurricular programs (Warren et al., 2009, p. 2225). Administrators made sure to be accessible and the school developed an "elaborate system of communication" that was "responsive" and gave parents a "sense of openness" (Warren et al., p. 2225). As in the Quitman example, this foundation of trust allowed the school to ask parents to be more actively involved in the school by attending workshops, volunteering to help in classrooms, supporting and even leading projects such as neighborhood clean-ups and fairs, and even joining the staff (Warren et al., 2009). These were still "traditional forms of parent involvement," however, and CNCA wanted to go beyond this "to cultivate authentic parent leadership and participation in decision making in the school" and at the time of the study, was in the beginning stage of developing parent leaders to be able to contribute more confidently to school policy discussions (Warren et al., 2009, p. 2227). Additionally, providing parents with opportunities to actively engage in projects on campus allowed them to build relationships with one another to see themselves as part of a parent community.

Camino Nuevo Charter Academy's focus on welcoming families by making the campus culture more relevant to Latino culture is in line with what both Hawaiian and non-Hawaiian participants in Waimānalo want to see at their community schools—the integration of not only

Hawaiian culture and language, but of the other cultures represented in the community. Like the CNCA parent, Waimānalo participants valued open communication with their children's teachers, and believed families should be more actively involved in the school. Even though Waimānalo School is not a charter school, it might achieve success like CNCA by integrating the cultures of the community more meaningfully into campus life and the classroom, continuing to improve communication and transparency, and providing more opportunities for families to be involved in different ways at the school—not just by attending events held by the school, but by helping to lead and coordinate projects, and by attending training sessions that will boost their confidence in participating in school policy decision making processes.

The organizing approach is exemplified in the Warren study by Chicago's Logan Square Neighborhood Association (LSNA), a CBO that works with multiple schools in the community. The schools in this part of the city are socioeconomically on par with the other case study schools and Waimānalo School, and comprised largely of Latino immigrants. The LSNA "moved explicitly away from a more traditional model of involvement, in which parents support school needs, to a model of engagement" in which parents, school staff and the LSNA worked "collaboratively on a project of shared interest" (Warren et al., 2009, p. 2230). One of the most significant aspects of this partnership is their parent mentoring program, which supports building relationships between parents so they no longer feel like individuals, but part of a "collective community" with a "shared responsibility for children" (Warren et al., 2009, p. 2240). This parallels the ahupuaʻa, "village" and ʻohana mindset that many of the Hawaiian participants in Waimānalo desired for their community school. To be able to accomplish this goal would require staff, student, family and community buy-in that goes beyond what exists currently at Waimānalo School, but there are multiple community organizations in Waimānalo that the

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school has partnerships with that could be strengthened and other groups that the school leaders can reach out to see if there is potential for such a collaboration. Conducting a community-based equity audit could also build the relational trust with community leaders and groups necessary to achieve this outcome.

Overall, the themes that emerged from the participants' responses in this study, parallel the Warren et al. (2009) study, particularly the importance of relationships between the school, families and community, and the need to move away from traditional one-way PI to a more collective capacity-building approach. Even though Waimānalo is a culturally unique community, participants' beliefs about their kuleana related to schooling and their hopes for their community schools are similar to parents in other communities. They believe that students, parents, families, and the community are capable of and responsible for being a part of improving learning and the educational experiences of students in their community schools. Waimānalo School can draw upon the Green (2017a), Warren (2005), and Warren et al. (2009) studies and other research on PI and community-based reform for strategies to develop powerful partnerships with community-based organizations and families to uplift children and communities.

Chapter 9: Teachers, Classrooms, and Schools

Participants' experiences in school and with teachers varied, but the majority of their stories were positive. Some participants shared stories of their favorite teachers, who valued them as individuals and challenged them to reach their full potential, or made school fun and memorable. Conversely, some participants had negative experiences with teachers, or even felt marginalized for their ethnicity or race. Some participants enjoyed school for the activities or social aspects, while others remembered the things that they learned in classes even decades later. In addition to their own school memories as students, participants who are parents and grandparents told stories about the positive and negative experiences of their children and grandchildren in school. Overall, participants' stories show the important role teachers and schools play in their lives and the lives of their children and grandchildren.

Despite their different experiences, participants shared a desire for schools and classrooms that are safe, both physically and emotionally, promote a healthy lifestyle for their children, value the individual needs, strengths, and voice of every child, and prepare students for success in the future. Because of the unique values of Waimānalo as a small community with a significant Native Hawaiian population, some participants also want their community schools to serve as places of survivance, not only in the curriculum and instruction, but in the representation and culture of the staff and leadership. All participants value public schools and want the public schools in the community to thrive and to reflect the strengths of Waimānalo.

Participants' Schooling Experiences

Positive experiences. Of the nine participants who were alumni of Waimānalo School, several recalled fond memories of their time at the school. Catherine attended Waimānalo School from kindergarten through 6th grade, and liked all aspects of her experience, from classes to her

teachers, as well as schoolwide activities. She was in gifted and talented art and science, and especially enjoyed art. She remembered how her art teacher entered her artwork into contests, and fostered a lifelong love of the subject in her. She was also an officer in student council and remembers planning student activities. She enjoyed learning about the election process firsthand, from voting to campaigning and giving speeches.

For Catherine, teachers contributed to her overall positive experience: "I don't have any bad memories from elementary here. I loved every teacher that I had. All of them were different in their own way." She noted, however, that she "always liked school" and "wasn't really a trouble child either. . . . I listened, I followed the rules." Of her teachers, Catherine said that two stood out. She said her kindergarten teacher was "welcoming" and "made me comfortable" and also made her mother feel comfortable. Catherine said that her 5th grade teacher, Ms. Brady, stood out because she, too, was "loving" and "welcomed the kids." Even when she was scolding a student, Catherine said Ms. Brady was "more trying to instill like, some kind of lesson in why she's scolding you. . . . She explained a lot, why this is happening." She also said Ms. Brady's passion for social studies made learning fun. She remembered "memorizing the preamble and, and all those things and now I'm like oh my God, we did that? But at that time like she made it enjoyable that we memorized it."

Rias, who was at Waimānalo School for his elementary through intermediate years, also said Ms. Brady was one of his favorite teachers. Rias said Ms. Brady recognized the potential in students, "even if they were a bad kid or a good kid like me. She provided the same type of effort into them." He remembered Ms. Brady as "always one of those teachers that was so giving and so kind." During the annual book fair, she would reward students with book vouchers, which she paid for out of her own pocket. Rias also mentioned that his student leadership teacher made a

positive impact on him. He said she provided him and other students with "the solid skills to succeed at Kailua High student activities" and challenged them "already at the middle school level that excuses are unacceptable." Rias went on to become the student body president at his high school, and said he valued seeing his former leadership teacher at district student council meetings, as she would still praise and encourage him. Rias believed having the "same core teachers" at Waimānalo School "who have been very impactful on students" was one of the major strengths of the school.

Samuel could describe each of his teachers from Waimānalo School. He said his favorite was Miss Stewart, his 4th grade teacher, because "she used to sing a lot" and she was tall like his mom. One of Samuel's best memories from Waimānalo School was winning a competition that Mr. ʻAkamu put on, which he called the "Turkey Trot." He said it was a Hawaiian history quiz game among classes, and he and his two classmates "went blow everybody out da water. Because we loved, we loved the monarchy, we loved Hawaiian history." He said he was so proud to have won first place, and still has the picture of himself "holding up the turkey" that he received for winning.

Four of the participants attended Pope Elementary School, and liked that it reflected the values and traditions of the Native Hawaiian community it served. For Uluwehi, the "Hawaiiana" she learned at Pope is cemented in her memory. She said she knows "songs that I learned when I was 4, 5, 6" and "can still remember all the words today," whereas she "can learn one song now, I cannot remember tomorrow." Oluolu also enjoyed Pope School "because it was . . . not only a community school, but was more of a Hawaiian culture." Like Uluwehi, Oluolu said, "A lot of it was learning the dances and songs" as well as learning how to play the ʻukulele. Oluolu attributed the success of the Hawaiian music program to Mrs. Mahelona, who he said

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"was making sure that the kids in Waimānalo, being one Hawaiian homestead community, had some kind of a curriculum that was, or in the light of Hawaiian culture." Ikaika also valued the teachers he had at Pope School and said they were all "good."

Kiani Ani said that he doesn't recall anything special about Pope School, but he "enjoyed school" particularly because of the "social aspect." He felt that he learned "the social game" from school, which he thinks is important for his children as well.

Ten of the participants attended the high school that Waimānalo School feeds into—Kailua High School. A few participants noted how they enjoyed their high school days at Kailua, largely due to the friends they made. Uluwehi said going to Kailua High School was the "best" because she was finally with her "own element," with other kids from Waimānalo, in the "right environment" with the "right colors," coming from a mostly white, Western private school. She reconnected with some of her friends from preschool, and remains friends with them today.

Oluolu and Aveao both played sports for Kailua High School, and made friends with fellow athletes. Oluolu said he loved high school because he kept busy and was always playing a sport. His focus was on the "sports side" and "it was really fun because we did all kind things together." Like Uluwehi, he valued that his "same group to this day" that he hangs out with were his friends since "intermediate and elementary days." Aveao felt similarly about his high school experience, that it was "fun" and "good," and that he still keeps in touch with the friends he made during high school.

Participants who attended schools outside of Waimānalo also shared positive experiences. Mahealani recalled her elementary school in Kailua as "a very safe school" that was also "very proactive." She said the school culture was "very friendly" and "the teachers were very nice."

Aveao went to elementary school in the Kāneʻohe area for a few years before moving to Waimānalo. He described one of his best memories from that school.

There's one day I remember for whatever reason, we cleaned up the whole class. I think something, someone messed it up or something. The teacher was so impressed by us doing it, and there was just three of us, that they pulled us aside, or they told us to stand up and kind of acknowledged that in front of the whole class. . . . That was a good memory. That was one thing I still remember that to this day. How the teachers actually acknowledge you, the good stuff that you do.

That experience impressed upon him the importance of teachers acknowleding the positive contributions of students, and he values that as a parent.

Gloria went to school in New Zealand, and liked attending a public school for her elementary years because "everyone was different so it was okay." She liked her middle school as well, and said "some of my happiest memories were middle school" because she had "really, really good teachers" and "we did a lot of good things." She appreciated that they "had a lot of camps and events that we did with school" and attributed her involvement in student leadership to helping her to have a positive experience.

Both Maliʻu and Ana went to Hawaiian immersion school and loved their teachers and getting an education grounded in Hawaiian values. Ana recalled the feeling of a village supporting her:

We were never in the classroom for the entire day, you know. It was the entire school campus that taught us. It was our teacher's aunty and uncle, who taught us. The kupuna program wasn't just a kupuna program. Our kupuna was with us all day long. So, she

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only had, or they would only have certain sections that they focused on teaching us, but

they were with us all day, you know, in those younger, younger years.

She remembered each of her kūpuna and teachers and respected that they "had a lot of ʻike

[knowledge], and they helped us a lot." She was most thankful for the "foundational values,

those core values" she received "straight from kūpuna, on a regular basis."

Edwina loved her schools when she moved to Saipan because she said she learned so

many new interesting things in contrast to her schooling back in Chuuk. She said all of her

memories are "good, because I learned, pretty interesting stuff. And, I was really into it." In

Saipan, she had access to "all kinds of topics of different places, culture" that she said "opened

up my . . . learning, because, back home, I don't even know those things exist." She recognized

the stark differences between Saipan and Chuuk, and was inspired by her new surroundings and

opportunities: "It's amazing how you grow up being poor and you go to a place where it's so

different and you see a lot of things, you know, that's something that really make me want to

learn."

Darcy said her memories of school are positive because "I think I was kind of geeky, so

in general, I just liked school, and I liked learning." She said that in her elementary and

intermediate schools, the teachers made her "feel comfortable" and that everything felt

"connected." She said the students did everything "together" and it felt like a "small knitted

community." She also recalled that there was a lot of parent participation as well as after school

activities.

Despite not really enjoying school for most of her K-12 experience, Jade said she did like

the teachers she had her senior year when she had to go to credit recovery classes after school.

She said they "really made it interesting and fun," so much so that she and other students would

stay longer, and "we'd all just chat like at least another hour before we would go home." Jade admitted that she is easily bored in class, but that ultimately, it was "those teachers and that counselor and my sister guys [who] believed in me and they pushed me, and I was able to graduate."

For participants who recalled positive experiences in their schools, there were four common contributing factors—teachers who made a personal impact on them, school activities they enjoyed, lessons learned that connected to their culture and identity, and relationships with their peers.

Favorite teachers. As mentioned in the previous section, participants liked teachers who made students feel loved and welcomed. For several participants, their least enjoyable teacher became the teacher they loved the most, because the teacher challenged them and held them to high expectations. Aveao recalled his expository writing teacher from high school, who no one liked "because she was tough." He, too, hated English class because of the writing aspect, but he found out that Ms. Beckett was also "fair." He said he was "failing her class until she called my dad, and my dad influenced me to do better. But after that . . . I passed. I got an A." He said Ms. Beckett pulled him aside at the end of the school year and told him, "You know you have a lot of potential, but you just don't know it." That conversation served as a "wake up call" for Aveao, and she became one of the teachers he grew most fond of. He "made it a point every time just to thank her" whenever he would see her, even after she retired.

Mahealani concurred that "sometimes your teachers, the one you think you hate the most is the one who is really helping you the most. The one who corrects you." She recalled how her teacher would tell her to "sit down and be quiet" and made her write "I will not talk in class" multiple times as discipline. She said, at first, she only pretended to write, but her teacher refused

to accept a blank page, and instead "took one page, and he would write in for me, I will not talk in class." She then wrote her lines without protest. She thought it was "awesome" that he would help her write the lines he assigned to her, so much so that "the next day, when I came to school. I bought him a little gift to say thank you." Since her father worked at the dairy, Mahealani would bring her teacher fresh milk. When her father questioned her about filling up a Thermos with milk at home, she said, "My teacher, he's so good to me. I said I would bring him milk."

Oluolu remembered Mr. Chung, his teacher from Waimānalo Intermediate, as someone who was tough but well-respected by the students and families. He was a Hawaiian teacher who "would slap you like his own kids. He would yell at you like his own grandkids. He would pull your ear like the kupuna." He continued that Mr. Chung would not do so out of malice, but "with such strong force of being one proud Hawaiian so you gotta respect that." Mr. Chung was not only Hawaiian, he taught students what it meant to be Hawaiian, "so you understand your role." Oluolu said "the kids respected him and the parents did not cross him" because they believed "he was there for the best interest of the kids."

Rias said he was thankful for his teachers in helping him to grow "because I wasn't the most social butterfly of a student" and it took his teachers' guidance to help him develop his social skills as well as his academic prowess. He recalled two of his teachers who challenged him—Mrs. Nakajima and Mrs. Liu. He admired Mrs. Nakajima because "she always challenged me, and I think she saw that potential in me." He was happy that she took on a new position out of the classroom at the school, but had hoped that "my little brother would have had an opportunity to have had her a 3rd grade teacher . . . because she was so good at it." He credited Mrs. Liu for helping him to read his first chapter book. He recalled that it had "big vocabulary

words" and he asked Mrs. Liu, "How do you pronounce this?" Instead of reading the words for him, she challenged him and said, "You try pronounce it."

Aveao said he doesn't recall anything negative about the teachers his kids had at Waimānalo School. He noted the teachers his kids had "were all good" because "they kept the kids in line, in check." Samuel also spoke with admiration about his teachers who were strict. He said Miss Lehua, who was a substitute teacher, would talk to the students in pidgin, "Eh, I going tell your parents, I know them." He said, "Ooh, you no like mess around with her. 'Cause she tell you straight." Another teacher he admired was Mrs. Sasaki, who Samuel recalled was his "most strict teacher" but from whom he learned a lot. For Samuel, Mrs. Sasaki provided "structure" and challenge, which he said are important for kids, and "whether they understand that it is relevant or not, then they appreciate challenge." He contrasted Mrs. Sasaki with another teacher, Ms. Mitchell, who he said was the one teacher he disliked because she was "old school" and used to just yell at students.

Ruth preferred older teachers with more experience. She valued the kinds of teachers she had when she was a student at Waimānalo School, who she recalled were "really nice, but they were older and stable." She said her two grandchildren had different experiences in school based on the different teachers they had—her older grandson had "really kind teachers" whereas her younger granddaughter had younger, newer teachers who she felt were less capable of managing behaviors in the class. Like Samuel, she disliked teachers yelling at students, but she said she does not "blame" the teachers. Gloria expressed a similar appreciation for the "old-timer" teachers who she knows well "because we've been there so long, and they've all taught our older children so I think we have a relationship with them."

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Unlike the other participants, Mahealani appreciated one of the younger teachers her son had versus an older teacher. She said the younger teacher "was well-equipped" and would ask him if he was feeling anxious, and allow him to "run around the building, come back in and he'd sit down and be settled in." She said the older teacher he had was not a Special Education teacher and "couldn't handle" him because of his attention deficit disorder, whereas the younger teacher "was a Special Ed teacher, so she had the skills" to deal with students like him, and her son "actually loved her, and did better."

Participants' experiences and preferences for teachers varied, but those who recalled specific experiences with teachers either as students or as parents share a common value for teachers who have the skills and knowledge to challenge students but also support them and meet them where they are. The favorite teachers were the ones who took the time to "see" students as individuals and help them reach their potential.

Negative experiences. While participants on the whole shared more positive experiences in school, they did have some negative experiences as students, including getting into trouble at school, feeling disconnected, and even feeling discriminated against or marginalized because of their race, culture, or ethnicity. Several participants also told stories about their children or grandchildren having a difficult time in school.

Oluolu, Samuel and Ikaika talked about getting into fights either in middle school or high school, but they still maintained that overall, they had positive feelings towards school. Oluolu and Samuel spoke about a "clash" in 7th grade at Waimānalo School between incoming students from Pope School and students who were already at Waimānalo School. Samuel said it was to be expected that the students from Pope "get along because they've been going, you know, kindergarten to sixth grade, fighting each other and everything. And Waimānalo get their own,

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too, because I went fight with plenty of my classmates." He explained, "When you get the so-called bulls of each grade coming together, it's like, ho, a mean clash." He saw the culture on the homestead as "different" from the "town side" of Waimānalo, particularly because the homestead comprised all Hawaiians, versus the more "diverse" makeup of the "town side," where "get plenty Filipinos, plenty Japanese, get haoles, you know, get all kind, diverse. . . . Some Samoans here and there." He added that he had friends of different backgrounds from the various parts of town.

While Samuel went to Waimānalo School from kindergarten, Oluolu was one of the students who came to Waimānalo School from Pope in 7th grade. Oluolu believed the fights occurred between the two groups because "that's the first time you get challenged . . . 'cause you're the incoming school" and the only connection between the students prior to 7th grade was if they played sports together outside of school. He said that there was a sense of competition as well as aggression. Oluolu said Waimānalo School was a "fun school" but that there were "fights everywhere." He said that there had been fights at Pope School, but there were more in intermediate because 7th grade was the first time he felt that students had to prove themselves.

Ikaika shared that he was suspended for gambling and fighting when he was in high school, but he saw it as "part of the high school experience." He admitted that he was always trying "to find a way to get out of there, and if we're being honest, cutting school, and getting in trouble from my parents" but he still viewed his schooling experience as "mostly positive." For Ikaika, Oluolu and Samuel, perhaps getting into trouble for fighting in school did not color their whole perspective toward school because they saw it as the norm among their peers and they were not marginalized for their behavior.

Participants who felt disconnected or isolated for whatever reason seemed to view their experiences more negatively. Kinai did not share any specific stories about his schooling, only that he had "trouble" and "problems" in school. He tried to provide his son with a better experience than he had, but still saw his son struggle, even in different settings, from public to private schools. He said his experiences influenced his philosophy on education as a parent. Based on what he and his son went through, he believed that students needed to be taught basic skills like reading, but that they must be given choice in the topic of the reading, as well as other non-Western learning experiences such as project-based learning and hands-on learning opportunities, so they could find what things they were interested in and discover their passion. Instead, he felt that most schools trained students "to read things they didn't like, so now they hate reading." These negative experiences had such an impact on Kinai that he formed his own non-profit organization dedicated to providing youth with alternative positive learning experiences to prepare them for the future.

Mali'u left Waimānalo School as a student because of the bullying behaviors he saw among his classmates. He said even though he was only in second grade and he was never bullied, he recognized "the differences, you know, within the classroom. You know, some students just make trouble to the rest and all that. So, I just like never be a part of that." He went on to attend Hawaiian immersion school which he found to be a better fit for him.

For several Hawaiian participants, they distinctly felt detached from the standard public and private schools. Uluwehi initially attend Pope School, which primarily served students like her from the Waimānalo Hawaiian homestead. Since her parents both worked in Kailua, they then sent her to a private Catholic school in Kailua, which she considered a "white, Western" school. Uluwehi referred to her transition to the school as "junk" because she "definitely never

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fit in one private school." At the time, she said she didn't know better, but as an adult, she realized the difference between the private school and Pope School, and how she felt more comfortable at Pope. In high school, though she was no longer a minority, Uluwehi recalled the football coach discriminating specifically against students from Waimānalo. She said the coach "always had us on the shit list" and that "Waimānalo kids always had it rough." More recently, when her children attended high school, she had conflicts with the principal and one of her son's teachers, who was from the mainland, and who she felt "couldn't relate with the kids." These negative experiences with school personnel contributed to Uluwehi's distrust of educators who prescribe to a Western perspective and look down upon or are biased towards Native Hawaiian students.

Rowena said even though she went to Kamehameha Schools, it was more American than Hawaiian in culture and curriculum, and she could not connect with what they learned. Growing up, she saw Kamehameha Schools as her family's legacy, and a place where she would learn more about Hawai'i. She realized, however, that her parents "were taught how to be good American citizens" at Kamehameha Schools, and she felt the same way when she was a student there. She was disappointed that reality did not match her expectations for Kamehameha Schools, but she said she was happy for the younger generation because after she left, they began to offer more Hawaiian cultural classes at the school.

Kemakana said she was the "only brown person" in the private intermediate school she attended. Even in her elementary school, she was one of a minority of Hawaiian students. While she did not have any specific negative memories of school, she noted how she felt disconnected from her community when she went to private elementary and middle schools in Kailua. She wanted to go to public school with her Waimānalo peers, and felt liberated when she went to

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Kailua High School with them. Later, when she went to college and learned about her own people and culture, learning that she had missed earlier, she pursued different schooling paths for her children so they would not have to "catch up" as she did.

Aveao and Gloria spoke about how they believed they were treated differently in school because of their Samoan heritage. Aveao felt this specifically in high school, but Gloria experienced this throughout her schooling in New Zealand. Aveao said he was put into a class in high school perhaps because his Samoan name "stuck out" and was not perceived as "local." He said it was not an English Language Learner (ELL) class, but it was "out of the way" and he thought it was a dumping ground for students who "they don't know what to do with you, so they stick you in that one class." He recalled the class was taught by "TAs" or teacher aides who would "just come in, and . . . kind of like babysit you, so we didn't learn much." He regretted that he did not try harder or learn more, but at the time, he said he "didn't know better" and was just "skating" by in class and just avoiding getting into trouble. Though he was not sure that he was placed in the class because he was Samoan, he observed that "most of the kids there were Samoans, who had not haole names, or not local names" and there was a sense that the school "didn't know what to do with us." They were given easy, low level work, which he remembered "was the kind of work I remember doing back in intermediate."

Gloria went from a public middle school that was diverse to a private Catholic school where she was only one of two Samoan kids in the entire school. The only other Samoan girl happened to be her cousin, who was a senior when Gloria was a freshman. She remembered "the rest were all haole" and so being a minority "was quite a challenge, but interesting too. I had to represent the whole of the Samoan community." She recalled several instances where she felt uncomfortable for being singled out:

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I remember . . . sitting in my history class and we were learning about apartheid. And my

English, she was an English background teacher, but she was our history teacher, she was

from England . . . and I was the only person in my class that was different. And she said,

"Just imagine if we had segregation here, then Gloria wouldn't be in the class with us,"

and I'm sitting there going, I wish the ground would open up and swallow me up right

now. But I always remember that, but that was kind of how it was.

Gloria was aware as a student that she was different from all the other students in her class and in

the school, but she felt further marginalized by the staff when they pointed this out in front of

other staff and students.

Another time, the principal called Gloria into the office and "wanted [her] to say [her]

name a couple of times to one of his friends or a visitor that was there because it sounded so

funny." The principal said of her Samoan name, "Oh, it has a really nice ring to it. Say it again."

Looking back, she thought it "was terrible" that he exploited her in such a way. Gloria said she

felt the discrimination among peers "indirectly" as well. She remembered a meeting with

students from another school, and how it made her feel "very uncomfortable, because," she said,

"Everything they talked about were just things I couldn't associate with, because a lot of them

were mouthy kids. They talked about things they did. I really didn't understand, and sometimes I

felt kind of left out." She added that when she was a junior, the principal asked her to help

another Samoan girl who came to the school who was struggling to fit in, "because I seem to

have adjusted really well to the whole school." Initially, she "thought it was a big honor" but she

realized the principal "was exploiting me again." Thinking back, she surmised, "There were

probably a few times where I was passed over . . . because of where I'd come from or who I was.

I didn't have the same connections as some of the other girls."

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Gloria added that she felt her school did not connect with non-white parents either:

I don't think that they related well with the parents, especially ethnic parents. I think my

mom was very different from a lot of Samoan moms because she's very outspoken, and

she would come to every school function we had. . . . But I always remember that a lot of

the other parents didn't come.

She said the parent-teacher association at the school was cliquey and based on "who you knew,"

and because she was a minority, she sometimes felt like "an outsider."

While Aveao and Gloria experienced more subtle discrimination based on their ethnicity,

Jade saw a more blatant form of racism growing up on Maui. Though she was of Marshallese

descent, Jade was adopted and did not learn about her heritage until she was in middle school.

Even after she found out she was Marshallese, she said she "never told anybody. . . . Never.

Yeah, because some of the kids I knew would get harassed. Badly harassed." She said

Micronesian students were "mistreated," "bullied," called names, and told they "don't belong

here." She felt like the Micronesian students were the only ones being singled out and harassed

in that way. Jade was not sure that the teachers knew about how the Micronesian students were

treated, because "it wasn't as open then, as it is today."

In this study, I examined participants' experiences in school as students and as parents or

grandparents to hopefully understand their beliefs about PI based on Hoover-Dempsey and

Sandler's (1995) model, which identifies parents' motivational beliefs as one of the major factors

that affects their involvement in their child's school. Hornby and Lafaele (2011) pointed out that

parents may lack the confidence to engage with their child's school if they "had negative

experiences with their children's previous schools, or through them experiencing either learning

or behavioral difficulties during their own schooling" (p. 40), so I hypothesized that negative

experiences in school among participants might correlate with negative beliefs or an avoidance of contact with their children's school. However, most of the participants shared positive schooling experiences, and were highly motivated and highly engaged with their child's learning. A few participants such as Edwina and Ikaika shared that they were not always able to help with their children's homework and relied on the teachers for assistance, but this did not seem to prevent them from being actively engaged with their children's learning and teachers. For these participants, Hoover-Dempsey and Sandler's (1995) model and Hornby and Lafaele's (2011) model may not be relevant in understanding their beliefs about PI because they have mostly high levels of engagement, but these models might be appropriate for the school to utilize to understand how to reach families that are less engaged with the school.

For the participants who shared negative experiences in school, the only effect this seemed to have on their child's schooling was where they chose to send their children to school. However, these negative experiences are important for the school to be aware of as it can result in families choosing to send their children to other schools instead of Waimānalo School.

The Role of Teachers

In participants' recollections of their schooling, teachers played a significant role in how they or their children or their grandchildren experienced school. Some participants identified teachers as a strength at Waimānalo School, while others had challenging experiences with teachers at the school. When asked what they would like to see in their ideal school or how Waimānalo School could be improved, participants described the kind of teachers they felt would best serve the community and their children.

Teachers at Waimānalo School. Some of the parents mentioned that teachers at Waimānalo School work hard and care about the students. While Ruth thought her teachers at

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Waimānalo School were stronger when she was a student, Ikaika said when he was in school, "it kind of seemed like they [the staff] didn't care." In contrast, he said "it seems like the teachers are more in touch with the parents nowadays." He noted how the teachers communicate with him when it is important, and especially for his kids who are in elementary school, the teachers are "hands-on and helpful." He explained how one teacher will "go out of her way to, or at certain points, to have my daughter stay a little longer after school so that she can get her more caught up on reading and stuff like that."

Edwina said she likes all her son's teachers "because he learns so fast" and he has done well in school despite having a "behavior problem at home." She felt he was "a different person" at school since the teacher told her at their parent-teacher conference "about how great he's doing." She mentioned that they have even taught her strategies to use with him at home to manage his behavior. She also liked that they communicate with her whenever something happens so she can address it at home.

Jade said she was "truly blessed to have really good teachers" for her kids. She appreciated how the teachers and administration helped her to take care of her daughter when a few girls threatened her daughter's life, and liked how the teachers communicated with her frequently about her children. Since she works two jobs and cannot easily take off from work, the communication with teachers was "great" and "to get the e-mails or you know, just get the phone calls and the messages, touch bases, meant a lot" because it allowed her to know what was going on. She saw the willingness of the teachers to communicate with her as a reflection of how much they cared.

Kemakana said one major reason for bringing her son to Waimānalo School was the Special Education program. She said the program, essentially the teachers, surpassed all the other

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programs at other HIDOE schools. She appreciated what the teachers did to help her son. Ruth, too, was grateful for the school staff, noting that some were so hardworking that they were "there all day long."

Caring teachers. Participants valued teachers who cared for students by being willing to listen to them. This was not the experience of Kahula's granddaughter with her fifth-grade teacher at Waimānalo School. Her granddaughter told her that she was trying to help a fellow classmate but was scolded by the teacher, and eventually, her granddaughter became openly defiant and said she wanted to go to a different school because of the teacher. Kahula felt the teacher was representative of a "listen to me" culture at the school, and suggested the school commit to hoʻolohe pono, which means to listen rightly or listen well, to students and parents rather than presuming negative intentions.

Rowena felt strongly about teachers listening to and relating to students. She recalled her older son being chastised by the teacher for speaking up for himself and did not want her youngest son to have the same issue with the teacher. She felt teachers should listen to what their students are trying to tell them with an open mind and heart rather than presuming that they are being disrespectful. She empathized with teachers, having worked in the classroom and in the office at the charter school, and knew "how frustrating it can get." Yet she also understood that her son would also "get frustrated really, really quickly" in class and have trouble when the teacher would constantly correct him. She said she, too, would find it difficult to learn in that situation. Rowena wondered, "What other tools can they use? How can they better connect to these kids that come from a small little town. . . . We've got different ethnic groups. How can we connect and do things?" She said providing students like her son with a quick break outside the classroom or stress relieving tools like squeezy balls worked at Pope and at her charter school.

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Watching her sons struggle with the culture in the HIDOE schools, Rowena got the sense that "once you come into the DOE, it's just very, do as I say, and, that's it. There is no wiggle room. And I'm not saying wiggle room is do one junk job where, or be lazy about it, but to know and accept that kids are all different." She pointed out how children come with different strengths, abilities and learning styles, but in the HIDOE classroom, "if they don't fit inside the box, everybody looks at them differently." She wanted teachers to value each child's voice and their individual strengths and needs.

Mahealani also had difficulties with some of her sons' teachers who she felt were unable to adequately address their specific needs. She said teachers must provide an environment where students feel "comfortable in the school, that they feel they can go to a teacher, or to a staff, and share what they're experiencing, if they're having hardships at home" as well as "challenged" to meet individual goals that are attainable. Rather than focusing solely on teaching the grade level standards, she said teachers must acknowledge that students are not always academically at grade level, and "you need to meet them where they're at and help them build" to grade level by "seeing the child's needs and fears" that might hold them back from learning.

Kinai talked about valuing each student's individual strengths as opposed to treating or teaching all students the same. Kinai said, "Not everybody's way is the same in the right way for everybody." He explained how "youth are seeds" and "different type of seeds that grow in different types of environments," so some will grow into plants on the beach while others will grow in the mountains. He expanded the notion of strengths beyond the Western academic view, and gave the example of how even non-academic areas such as athletics should be considered as valid career pathways: "What if we let the kids that are great at football play football? Play football so good, that, now they get one scholarship." He pointed out that if people go to school

to get a good job, and being a professional athlete is a high paying job, then athletics should be reconsidered in school as just as valuable as academics. He defined a good job as one "that you can go to every day and not even get paid for, you would go to, you would love to do that, and you got paid to do something you love, all day long." Kinai still stressed the importance of students being able to read, but he wanted to be able to give students who were disconnected from the traditional classroom as many experiences in different trades and skills as possible to find their passion. Though he wanted all of his mentees to learn construction basics so that they could have the foundation of being able to build or fix their own house, he sought diverse opportunities for their unique strengths and interests.

Teacher representation. Though they did not devalue teachers based on their cultural or ethnic background, some participants acknowledged that the faculty at Waimānalo School do not necessarily match the demographic makeup of the community or student body, and expressed the desire to have more teachers that represent their community's cultures. Just as Japanese-Americans make up the largest ethnic group among teachers in the HIDOE (Okamura, 2008) there are disproportionately more Japanese-American teachers at Waimānalo School than Japanese American students. Okamura (2008) also noted how the HIDOE recruits many teachers from the mainland; at the time of this study, at least one-fourth of the teachers at Waimānalo School were not raised in Hawaiʻi, and less than 10 percent of the teachers reside in Waimānalo.

Historically, the teachers and administrators at Waimānalo School have not been from the community. Kahula remembers when she was a student that her principal and teachers at Waimānalo School were not from Waimānalo because they lived in the principal and teacher cottages on campus. Even though there is no longer faculty housing on campus, a majority of the teachers and the administrators commute to Waimānalo School from other communities.

Rowena thought perhaps teachers who represented the demographics of Waimānalo would better serve students, as opposed to teachers from outside the community or outside of Hawaiʻi. She stated, "We live in Waimānalo, and . . . I think one of the things that I wasn't happy with, was watching how, in the Hawaiian communities, they bringing in a lot of outside educators." She felt Hawaiian teachers might "be able to relate to Hawaiians, and understand the struggle, if there is the struggle. And, a lot of times in our little Hawaiian communities, you have that." Uluwehi made a similar comment about the students in Waimānalo needing "teachers that look like them, really going help them" instead of teachers from the mainland. In addition to the need for teachers who listen and relate to students, Rowena and Uluwehi spoke to the need for equal representation of Native Hawaiians and other minorities among the faculty in their community schools to provide students with an image of aspirational capital in their classrooms.

Participants also valued a teaching staff that committed to the community. Rias said that "having that same core teachers still there" at Waimānalo School was important to him and to the school. He liked that when he would drop his younger brother at the school, he would still see some of his former teachers and was able to check in with them. One reason Ruth preferred "older, stable" teachers was because she saw younger teachers as temporary, just "coming in, leaving." Kiani Ani also saw the turnover of teachers as an area of concern. He recalled that the principal told him that "teachers come in for like a year, they get their feet wet." Uluwehi stressed the need for teachers "here for the long term" and that the work of such committed teachers' "doesn't end at two o'clock when school ends." She said teachers need to "really dig [their] heels in, and let the students know that, you know, [they are] in it to win it," which means supporting "their learning in and out of the classroom, not only, and not only discipline or whatever, but even extracurricular and co-curricular."

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For Gloria and Aveao, "local" teachers tended to be more relatable for the students and for them as parents, versus teachers from the mainland. Gloria admitted to not being "familiar with" the newer teachers on campus "so I don't think we have that same connection" that she had with long-time and local teachers at Waimānalo School. At the private high school his sons attended, Aveao described the "local teachers" and staff as "good" and "open-minded."

Participants' appreciation for staff who were "local" was not about racial or ethnic preference, but about their desire to have teachers who were committed to Waimānalo School and the community, and teachers who could relate to students coming from nondominant cultural backgrounds. As mentioned in "Chapter 8: Kuleana," parents in the Quitman Community School case study expressed similar feelings of wariness toward "outsiders" who would only be at the school for a short period of time and who would not be invested in their community (Warren, Hong, Rubin, & Uy, 2009, p. 2219). The Quitman parents valued the staff's efforts to build relationships over time (Warren et al., 2009).

Relationships with students and families. Strong, positive relationships between teachers and students as well as teachers and parents were similarly a priority for participants in this study. Jade said the teachers and staff were key players in children's lives, and "with a certain amount of, just care, love and support from the school, teachers, counselors. It will help that child get molded into what they want to do in life for who they want to be or who they are." She noted that some students may not have the resources or support at home, so "if it's not going to happen at home it's got to happen somewhere" and she saw the school as the only other place that can help the child.

Having mentored young adults for years, Mahealani said, "Staff interaction with students is important. And not just the class you're teaching, but every student on campus." Her work

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involved matching every student to an internship placement, so she had "to know all of their goods and bads, and weaknesses and strengths." Mahealani's approach with students was simple and consistent:

> Just saying hello, how are you. I said, when I say, "Good morning," you're supposed to say, "Good morning." And if you don't say "Good morning, I'm still going to say good morning until you tell me "good morning." And then will [I] stop? No, I will keep saying "Good morning."

She added that "the examples that you set" as staff also impacted students. She acknowledged that "we all have bad days," but said when you come to work, you should leave those issues "at home" and maintain a positive attitude so students are not negatively influenced by your personal concerns.

Henry emphasized the importance of teacher-student relationships and shared learning experiences at a Waimānalo community organization that runs an after-school program for elementary through high school students. He said the relationships among students and teachers are "strong" because the students are not "just in the classroom sitting next to each other" but going on "adventures together" after school. According to Henry, these relationships and experiences fostered a sense of loyalty and appreciation for the organization among students. He observed an "inspiring" moment at their most recent graduation:

> All the students from all past years . . . were all gathered throughout the audience with their families. And they all came up, and it was like this huge like, mob, that came up front, and they all sang this song. . . . People had tears in their eyes. Nobody knew, up until that point of how many former students, and we're talking, people who graduated from college already, who started first grade at [the organization].

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To Henry, the students and families of Waimānalo valued the relationships and learning opportunities they got at the program, so they would appreciate being able to have similar experiences at their community schools.

Oluolu said that it did not take much for teachers to establish relationships with the students. He said the first step was simply getting to know the students, and vice versa, "the kids--first they gotta know you." Once there is trust, he said, the students would "see that you care, then they going love you." Oluolu emphasized how this initial stage of the relationship could not be avoided or overlooked, or the students would resist "because . . . you don't even care about me. You don't even like me. You don't even know me." With this trust, he said a teacher would be able to call home and instead of growing angry, the student would understand it as, "This guy right here, he love me so much, he went out of his way to call my mom. Oh. How I going disappoint that?"

Oluolu pointed out that the teachers' race or culture is not as important as how they relate to and care for students: "Some of the teachers that I told you was my favorite wasn't from Waimānalo. It is because they went care." Some Native Hawaiian participants felt that the ethnicity or culture of the teachers mattered, and expressed the desire to see more local, Waimānalo, and/or Hawaiian teachers in the schools. Oluolu thought it was more important that teachers show students they care and have a "line of firmness and fairness and understanding" than to focus on the ethnicity of the teachers, and for students to also see past race or ethnicity and appreciate when a teacher was showing care for them. He did not disagree that Hawaiian teachers would raise up Hawaiian students, but for students, he said,

> All that racial stuff going make them look like one idiot for saying that, when they finally
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> went to somebody who cares about me, how dare am I to talk like that to somebody there

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who care? Better than my mom, better than my dad, who is Hawaiian, who is smoking

and drinking whatever.

Oluolu's approach to survivance focused more on the ability of Hawaiian students to be able to

succeed regardless of their teacher or setting, whereas the other Hawaiian participants focused on

changing the settler colonial system that perpetuated a disproportionately low representation of

Native Hawaiians among the teaching faculty in HIDOE schools. Despite their different

perspectives on the issue of race and ethnicity among teachers, Oluolu and the other Native

Hawaiian participants shared a hope that Native Hawaiian students would have access to

teachers who cared about them and would support their all-around success.

Participants wanted teachers who care about their children, who see and value them as

individuals, each with a unique set of strengths, needs, abilities, and struggles, who are equipped

with the training and tools to support them, and who are committed to the school and

community. Just as they value the close relationships in the community, they want their child's

teacher to be able to relate to their child and to their family. Ultimately, it falls on the shoulders

of school leaders to reconcile the realities of individual teachers' motivations, beliefs,

capabilities and ideas with those of the parents and community members into a plan of action

that is realistic and attainable.

Connected and Disconnected at Waimānalo School

A major theme that emerged from participants' interviews was connectedness. In

particular, Hawaiian participants felt Waimānalo School was "disconnected," either internally or

externally, and wanted to feel a sense of intra- and inter-connection on the campus, among

students, teachers, families, community and administration. Darcy, who has taught at Waimānalo

School for several years, explained how the school was divided into grade level clusters and

subject area clusters, causing a disconnect among teachers. She said even though the school spanned multiple grade levels, being "broken up" into groups was a "weakness." Since meetings were typically held in the smaller groups and not often as a large group, she felt "where, I don't really know what's going on" in other grade levels. Uluwehi also said the campus "has to be inclusive of all activities so everything is interdependent, not separate."

The feeling of disconnection extended beyond just internal organization and campus layout and affected teacher and student relationships. As a teacher, Catherine observed "between teachers and students . . . some disconnect." She admitted that she struggled with this herself at her previous school, and would ask herself, "Why am I here? Like you know, is it just a job? Like do I just come, clock in, and clock out." Conversely, now that she is teaching at her alma mater, in her community, she said she finds herself willing and able to put in extra hours during the summer and on weekends because she feels "more of a connection and like a purpose." She understood that teaching was not easy because "the kids can be really hard to handle" but her strategy was to "come in the next day and just like saying yesterday was a wash and starting over." She recommended teachers be patient, compassionate, and not blame or hold grudges against students who needed "a second chance, or . . . a third chance, a fourth chance, a million chance" because they were struggling.

Darcy, who is also a teacher, observed students displaying active resistance against teachers they did not connect with, and seeking out teachers with whom they felt a connection. She said students would go so far as to choose detention rather than be in class. She tried to counter the feeling of disconnection on campus by connecting with students on a personal level, providing them with a safe space, listening to them, and meeting them where they are at. By building trust, she was able to "speak to them truthfully and on a real level, and get them to open

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up" about their struggles. She said students were "receptive" and her room became a place "to come to, to just diffuse, instead of backlashing out in their classroom, or during recess." Students' feelings of disconnection were not necessarily always about the teacher-student relationship. Darcy noted that students' home lives could impact them in school, and sometimes it was due to parents' "busy schedules" that "the kids look for connection" to fill a void of parents not being "present."

Darcy also said part of helping students to feel more connected is helping them to embrace failure as "a part of learning" and that "in fact, we learn more if we're struggling." She was committed to "building that safe community" in her classroom where "mistakes happen" for everyone and are "meant to challenge our brain." She felt that by creating that "connection" in her classroom for students, they would be "more motivated to learn for themselves." For Darcy, establishing a connection with her students meant meeting them at their level and letting them know that "you are going to struggle, but I'm going to struggle with you" and as their teacher, "I'm going to help you learn from that struggle." She felt that teachers need to empathize with parents and students as a starting point to strengthening relationships with them. She suggested that she and fellow teachers go through some type of experience or course "that makes us all realize, like people struggle. Kids struggle. Parents struggle."

Catherine and Darcy's stories suggest that teachers who are disconnected may not have positive relationships with their students and/or may view their students in a negative light. McKenzie and Scheurich (2004) refer to these "ways of thinking or assumptions that prevent educators from believing that their students of color can be successful learners" as "equity traps" (pp. 601-602). Two examples of "equity traps" that are relevant to the discconect between teachers and students at Waimānalo School include "deficit views" and "paralogical beliefs and

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behaviors" (McKenzie and Scheurich, 2004, p. 601). Teachers who consider their students to have "inherent" or "endogenous" qualities such as "lack of motivation, poor behavior, or failed families and communities" are essentially viewing their students through a deficit lens (McKenzie & Scheurich, 2004, p. 608). Paralogical beliefs and behaviors are similar to deficit views in blaming students or treating them negatively based on "premises that logically do not warrant that conclusion" (McKenzie & Scheurich, 2004, p. 624). If a teacher attributed their "negative or destructive behaviors" towards students to "how their students treated them and each other," they are demonstrating paralogical beliefs and behaviors rather than taking responsibility for the way they interact with students (McKenzie & Scheurich, 2004, p. 624). McKenzie and Scheurich (2004) recommend that teachers reflect on their practice and beliefs about students as part of the equity audit process to assess whether these equity traps may exist in their classroom. Instead of engaging in these negative thought processes, teachers can then replace deficit views with strengths-based ones to establish meaningful and positive connections with students.

Rias, Aveao, Darcy and Catherine said they felt valued by their teachers and by their schools. Darcy fondly remembered when it was her turn to be showcased as "Student of the Week" at her elementary school in Kailua. She said that "every kid" got to be student of the week because it was a small school, but she still felt it was "a connecting part. Made you feel valued, even if it was only once for the year. You kind of waited for that 'Student of the Week.'" She recalled the recognition came with incentives such as extra computer time with a friend, as well as a book "where everyone wrote to you, and presented it to you." The "Student of the Week" also got to create "a board . . . to show our family pictures of who we are." For Darcy, the "Student of the Week" honor strengthened her connection to her fellow classmates and the

school, and made her feel valued as an individual. She also went on to send her children to the same elementary school.

Rias felt special when he was recognized on the "Student of the Month" poster at Waimānalo School. As a high performing and well-behaved student, he also enjoyed the acknowledgment of his teachers in the classroom and in awards assemblies. He remembered in elementary school, "walking up on stage and getting my pencil and having a collection of a hundred of them after I was finished at the school" in addition to receiving "all the certificates being signed by the principal, my teacher." He hoped that Waimānalo School would continue "to recognize students in terms of their accomplishments and finding ways to make them feel that [they're] doing something right." He added that the Pono Posse program, "where teachers would secretly see students doing great things, and [recognize] them for it," helped students to feel that teachers "noticed" their positive deeds. Rias said that acknowledgement was significant because it made students "happy" to know "that they're doing good . . . to make their parents proud." Especially since "a lot of students already have bad days at home," Rias felt the school had a responsibility to make the student feel valued: "The least the school can do, is to say, 'Good job, you're doing something right.'"

Several participants talked about students living with issues at home that the school or teacher might not be aware of, from parents being on drugs to domestic violence, and how this created "baggage" or trauma that affected students in school. Jade acknowledged that the school can provide a safe haven for children at least during the day, even though "once they leave here they have to go back to reality, on their lifestyle, and stuff which is hard." She said, "For a child to be able to balance that kind of emotions out" was difficult, "but for them to look forward to being at school, every day, I think that's great. . . . That means that the school is doing something

great, and making an impact on that child." For Jade, providing emotional safety meant supporting the child "in the way that they need it . . . regardless of what situation they're in." She added that the school was on the right track "as long as the kid can come here and feel safe" and feel "like they're wanted, like they mean something."

Ruth thought it was important to have compassion for students, and said she appreciated how the administration made an exception for students who did not have perfect attendance to attend the middle school banquet. She knew the students who were allowed to attend the event, and she said, "They will always remember that. I tell you, that, they couldn't stop talking about it." She understood that one of the students was sick quite often, "so he could never be hundred percent anyways, no matter how hard he tried." She said the student's sister "was glad she got to go free" since the afterschool program subsidized her ticket, and the students' mother was also "happy" that her children got to attend.

Rowena said that when they founded the Hawaiian-focused charter school she worked at, their philosophy was to acknowledge that "every child is different" and that a child could also have trouble at home that the school was not aware of. As a school, they tried to treat every student "on an individual basis" because "we don't know what you're going through at home; we don't know if you had dinner last night, breakfast this morning, if an ambulance came to your house, if you saw your parent get arrested; we don't know what's going on." Since she worked in the main office, she would tell parents that she did not need the details, but that she appreciated a "heads up" that there were things going on that may cause the child to behave differently so she could notify the teachers. She said that the information allowed teachers to be more patient and compassionate "when little guy does something" and "they can just give him a hug" or if they saw the child crying, think "how can we aloha them" instead of disciplining the child.

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Sometimes the child would come to her in the office, and she would let them cry, or "process and release what they got to release." She added that they did a schoolwide breathing exercise and held quiet time every morning to provide students with some release from whatever problems they had at home before they needed to focus on learning at school.

Maliʻu said the school should make each child feel valued, and "the child needs to see value" added to his or her life. Rather than focusing on how to reach the parents, he said those children will grow up to be parents and will then have a sense of appreciation and loyalty to the school that added value for them. He explained what this meant from his perspective as a farmer:

It's always about the next generation. We may not, in your time there, in your time employed there, we may not be able to change the community and get the parents involved. But, if we invest into the children currently there, because we know, 15 years from now they going to be the next parents within the community, and the parents who, they going be grandparents and the great-grandparents.

He compared the parents to a peach tree that he wanted to grow, and said, "If I couldn't get, for instance, a specific peach tree and uproot it from Japan and bring it here, I take the peach and bring it here." Instead of worrying about how to connect with parents, he recommended that the school concentrate on the students and "provide the best environment for them and teach them these values, about giving back to their community" so they would develop that loyalty to the school and become stewards of their community.

Mahealani also hoped the "culture of the school" was to look at the student and understand "that the only thing you can impact is the student." She learned from her work as a recruiter that "you cannot change" the "family culture" but by helping the student to change himself, she said, "Hopefully the parents can see the change in the student." Just as Maliʻu felt

valued when his kumu "made space" for him, Mahealani thought it was crucial to see and make time for every student because they may be struggling and facing challenges, no matter how old or young they are.

Several participants believed that culture-based learning could improve the teacher-student connection. Oluolu felt the one thing missing at Waimānalo School was "the connection," namely "that goes from the teachers to the students," but that through hands-on, culture- and community-based experiences, teachers and staff could connect with students. He valued the partnership between the school and his canoe club as a tool to provide those opportunities for the teachers. He talked about how taking the staff to the beach and allowing them to experience paddling in a canoe was significant for the teachers and students:

> So now later on, when we share the kids to come over here, when they talking to the kid, they going relate directly. When I was in seat one, I was dying. When I was in seat six, I was so scared. When I'm in seat three and four, I thought we were gonna flip. So I can relate. Now the connection come closer, yeah?

For Oluolu, the waʻa, canoe, served as a connector between teachers and the community, Hawaiian culture, and their students.

Ana offered a unique approach to connect the staff and students through Hawaiian language and culture. Since the school's mascot is a honu, sea turtle, she suggested organizing campus culture around an ocean theme, or using place-based names to ground student, staff, and visitors in the community. For example, she recommended renaming the student council ʻAha Opio [youth leaders?] and renaming the buildings "for the different winds in Waimānalo" or "the different mountain peaks." Her strategy would normalize Hawaiian language, culture and history, as well as connect everyone, student, staff, parent, visitor with their place by making the

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campus "a walking moʻolelo." Both Ana and Oluolu expressed the importance of Hawaiian culture as the host culture to fulfill students' and teachers' need for connection.

Henry described the deep connection between teachers and students as evident "after the school's over." He observed how the community after-school program cultivated such a "bond" with their students "because in many cases it saved ʻem from whatever." Another example of this deep connection between the school and student was when Maliʻu said his kumu "made space" for him in his elementary class in Hawaiian immersion school. Maliʻu recalled, "When I moved to Pūʻōhala, I felt like value was added back to my life. So I stayed on that path." Not only did he remain in the Hawaiian immersion setting through his high school graduation, as a parent, he returns on that value gained by sending his children to the same school. He added that whenever someone from the school calls, "we engage. It's because, you know, we have that appreciation" and the desire to give back to the school.

Though participants shared different views on how the school was either connected or disconnected, and how to create that connection for students, they all saw the need for students to feel connected to their teachers, classmates, and school. Ensuring that students feel valued and seen by their teachers and the school, and staff taking the time to know the individual situations of students and be able to treat them with compassion and understanding was important for participants.

Safety and Health at School

A few participants expressed the importance of their children's safety and wellness at school. Ruth was especially concerned with the security at school, even though she said "Waimānalo is pretty good." She said it "kind of scares" her that there is "no security at school" beyond the teachers. She understood that security personnel were "expensive," but she also felt it

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was the school's primary role to "keep the kids safe during school time." She listed several specific concerns such as the "big campus" and the safety of the students if there was another "missile alert."

Kemakana admitted that she worried about sending her kids to Waimānalo School because she did not know the teachers or the school. Her older children "never went to school in Waimānalo" and went to Kailua Intermediate School, so she had no connection to Waimānalo School prior to sending her younger son in 7th grade. She said she "had the hardest time. . . . because as a parent in the homestead, I know everybody . . . I could call, I had my eye on my kid and exactly what was happening with them" but she "never know faculty" at Waimānalo School. Still, Kemakana said she "took a chance" at sending her daughter and son to the school because she wanted them "to still grow with their community" and she knew that the Special Education program at Waimānalo School was strong.

A more pressing concern among participants than safety was the quality of the food and the health of their children. Kemakana was critical of the food not specifically at Waimānalo School, but at all HIDOE schools. Having sent multiple children to HIDOE schools, she said she "watched the food get shitty and then the, the bill for it, or the price of it, go up" and saw "how they went from cooking real food to processed foods that they give to our children." She stressed the need for "talking more about growing the foods that they need to eat" as well as the need to actually teach students how to grow their own food.

Rowena was equally concerned about the meals served in HIDOE schools. She wanted more fresh food and less "sweetened, canned fruits" and "canned meats." She recalled a news story about the HIDOE serving "pink slime" (Star Advertiser, 2012) and she wondered, "Why, why feed, why feed our babies that kind stuff, you know?" She understood that federal funding

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came with certain requirements when it came to the food, but she maintained that she would like "better food for the keikis."

As a farmer and Native Hawaiian, Maliʻu saw the issue of food in school as a greater concern for the health and wellbeing of his community and for all Native Hawaiians. He stated, "the health of the land reflects the health of its people. And vice versa. The health of its people reflect the health of the land." He explained how the Hawaiian word for land, ʻāina, is derived from ʻai, which means "food," and na, which means "for" or "of," making food the "bridge" that "connects us all." He also said food was "identity," because "whatever food you put out for the keiki, when they're hungry and consume it they'll become that. We all believe that you are what you eat." Putting out unhealthy, processed food would result in students who reflected those ingredients, and students who were further disconnected from their land and culture. To combat this, Maliʻu believed his responsibility as a farmer was not to simply grow food, but to "grow people" by putting "love," "excitement" and "energy" into the food he grew so that when "the person consumes it, that person becomes that." He added that food was not only what students ate, but "everything that we write in the book and try to transfer to our students is food. It's food for thought. Food for emotions. . . . Food for your naʻau [gut; heart]. Food for your soul." In that vein, Maliʻu saw the restoration of a healthy food system in schools as important as providing students with learning opportunities that nourished their hearts, minds, and souls, and part of larger movement to restoring the health and welfare of Hawaiian people.

Prepared for the Future

In addition to wanting students to feel connected and valued at school, participants want students to be prepared for the future. For some participants, this meant having access to and instruction in technology, while others felt it was more important for students to have an array of

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options to be able to find out what they are interested in. All participants did share the sentiment that while Waimānalo School does provide the students with some preparation for the future, there is room to grow.

Technology. Rias said he utilizes social media and saw the value in digital online tools and technology. He felt it was important for the school to adapt "as the times change" by using technology as a tool to support student learning. He liked online programs, such as the reading program his brother used at school and at home. He saw the new STEM (science, technology, engineering, and math) building as "a great opportunity to start the kids young, to start students young in terms of the STEM careers" and felt it was a good transition for students moving on to high school where they would "be exposed to all of these in-depth science courses."

Several other participants talked about how the STEM program and the new STEM building would be an asset to the school. Kiani Ani commented that the STEM building would be "awesome" for both the community and the school. Aveao, too, thought the STEM building was "one step in the right direction" and that the school was "paying attention to what the kids want" by having programs like robotics.

Despite the positive responses to a move toward more technology in school, a few participants felt students need more than just technology to learn. Samuel and Uluwehi stated that students still need real world learning experiences and time outside; they felt students were missing out on the world around them and further disconnected from their community and culture by only using technology to consume or entertain themselves.

As a mother and a teacher, Catherine understands the allure of technology for kids. She said her children are very interested in "hands-on technology" and that one of her sons enjoyed his robotics and computer programming courses that he took over the summer. However, she

admitted, "As much as I think technology is super important . . . [I] just feel like we throw these kids on the computers way too much." For her students, she said she wants to "give them more experiences without technology because I feel like they do that so much even outside of the classroom" and "they're constantly on there." She believed her students would "benefit from the learning more in like a hands-on, classroom observing things" and was "inspired" to do more of those types of activities in her class.

 Basic skills. Ikaika felt basic skills such as reading and math were especially important for students to be able to succeed in a future career. He said he would like more programs to support students' basic skills in things like reading because he was most concerned about his children having "core knowledge and skills." He stressed that reading is a critical foundation skill that students need to learn in other subjects: "If you can't read you can't do math because there's a lot of math problems you got to read. You can't write because you can't really spell. You know, all that's tied in." He also questioned whether the current standards and curriculum were helping his children to learn. He noted that students already know how to use technology "because everyone has a computer, or a phone." He said answering a math problem was easy with technology, because "I can just go on my phone, hitting a couple buttons and I can get the answer." Still, he wanted his children to know how to do basic math and considered the new math curriculum used in the schools to be "ridiculous" because it was not easy for him as a parent to follow, though he could get the correct answer. He said, "I'm a longshoreman, I'm not a teacher or some genius," but added that his brother is "well educated" and agrees that the new curriculum "is a waste of time." When asked if he felt that the curriculum was not relevant to the real world, he replied, "Yes. I absolutely feel that way. I felt that way when I was in school."

Several other participants also said that they wanted students to have the basic skills in reading and math that had real world relevance. Ruth wished schools would go back to teaching "basic" skills like memorizing math times tables. She acknowledged that it might be considered "old fashioned" but that she still uses those tools today.

Though Kinai advocated for students having non-Western, hands-on learning experiences, he stressed the importance of reading to support students being able to find their strengths and interests. He compared the ability to read with a "muscle" that needed to be "built" or trained:

> It's like building speed in a human. If you don't have that speed, you're not going to do track or do a sport that requires speed. But you have to build that muscle. You don't just walk on the track, and then you have this speed. . . . Some people are naturals. But we have to build those muscles. The only way to build those muscles is by building their confidence, so they understand that, eh, I can read. So if I have something that I don't want to read, but I know I could read it fast and get it over with, I can do it.

He stressed the importance of students being able to read well so they could find out what interested them, then build on their strengths through experiences. He felt it was important for teachers to help students learn *how* [emphasis added] to read and to allow them to "read things that they like to read" so they would want to practice reading, and realize "the more you read the faster you can read."

Darcy also said that she valued the classes she took in school that taught her skills like typing and public speaking because they "prepared me for what was to come" and "were in the long run helpful." She encouraged the same types of courses for her own children, and they, too, found those classes to be beneficial.

Strong academics. Some participants were especially concerned with students having access to a strong academic program at Waimānalo School. Kahula probably felt the strongest about Waimānalo School needing higher standards of teaching. She felt that the standards were higher back when she was a student.

Rias admitted that he "wasn't prepared" when he got to 9th grade because his 8th grade math class at Waimānalo School "wasn't enough." He felt students needed to be more "rigorous" classes where they "are challenged and when they get to that high school level, they're not going to be struggling." He noted how at the other feeder school, the students took Algebra I but he did not have that opportunity at Waimānalo School, so "there was that deficiency." He said his 8th grade math teacher was "off and on," and they had a long-term substitute teacher who taught from the textbook. He said, "Students nowadays don't like to be taught from a textbook" and recommended that such instructional approaches should be "phased out as we move into technology." Rias' experience of having a substitute teacher instead of a highly qualified teacher who specialized in the subject is unfortunately common among students in high poverty schools (Darling-Hammond, 2010).

Even for highly qualified teachers, Darcy said that the state-mandated curriculum could be overwhelming given the range of student levels and needs in the classroom. She said some teachers felt they needed to cover everything, resulting in teachers and students just going through the motions to try to finish all the pages in the workbooks, rather than taking the time to let students struggle with the content and actually learn. Darcy observed that many students were thus "great at copying, not great at thinking," creating an environment of low expectations. She recognized that the curriculum issue was a greater statewide issue, and not limited to Waimānalo School, so she did not see changing the curriculum as an option. Rather, she hoped that by

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setting and holding students to high expectations and leveraging her relationships with students, that she would be able to challenge them to achieve at high levels.

Kiani Ani said as a middle school, Waimānalo School has "a lot of kuleana in shaping the next generation of high schoolers." While he did not provide a specific recommendation for the school in how to better prepare students, he said it did not seem like Waimānalo students were moving on to top-rated private schools or had access to scholarships for private high schools. He added that it was not just about sports, and that a student has to be academically prepared to excel in private school and college. This includes having soft skills like time management and self- motivation. He implied that the school should not only prepare students academically, but provide students with opportunities to be well-rounded and to be able to compete with other students for a spot in a private college-preparatory institution.

Kiani Ani values top private schools such as Punahou and ʻIolani, which seems to conflict with this appreciation for Hawaiian immersion and Hawaiian culture-based schools. While he does not explain how he reconciles this conflict, Brayboy (2005) and Barnhardt and Kawagley (2005) are helpful in understanding how Kiani Ani can simultaneously value settler colonial institutions and culture-based educational models. Brayboy (2005) noted how indigenous knowledge includes "book smarts" (p. 435), which Kiani Ani sees as important for Native Hawaiian students to be able to have in order to succeed. Barnhardt and Kawagley (2005) explain how indigenous and Western ways of knowing intersect and can complement one another, which supports Kiani Ani's beliefs that stronger Western-oriented academics *and* keeping Native Hawaiian cultural traditions alive are both important for students at Waimānalo School.

For Samuel, as a Native Hawaiian and former teacher, he felt strongly about Native Hawaiian students being equipped with familial capital to perpetuate their culture, as well as the navigational capital to succeed in a Western society. He valued the "world" that Hawaiian culture-based and immersion schools created for students, but was concerned that "they're not necessarily getting them able to walk in both worlds." In the charter schools, he continued, "we create all of these values and everything else, okay, we try for push all of these traditions, the nohona [mode of life, relationship], and morals and lessons," yet he recognized that teaching students solely from and about a Hawaiian perspective may "have retarded their ability to adapt" to the world beyond the charter school because "nobody else utilizes those" Hawaiian values and practices. He thus saw the need for Native Hawaiian students to be prepared to face the challenges of adulthood after school with a range of skills and abilities that made them resilient and adaptable.

Samuel and other Native Hawaiian participants in this study are not alone in wanting Native Hawaiian students to be able to "walk in both worlds." According to Ball (2004), a group of First Nations leaders in Canada envisioned and applied this "bicultural respectful stance" to a community-based education program in 1989 (pp. 459-460). Through this training program, indigenous leaders wanted their community members to be grounded in their native culture to support indigenous children and families, as well as to "become qualified for employment in non-Indigenous settings" (Ball, 2004, p. 460). The program successfully "created the safe and supportive context for communities of learners to become engaged in co-constructing culturally grounded training curricula that combines two knowledge 'traditions'" (Ball, 2004, p. 460). This dual approach to education for indigenous students aligns with participants' desire for cultural

survivance and their community schools valuing community cultural wealth in addition to Western concepts of knowledge.

Options for Students

Waimānalo School follows the same academic standards as all other HIDOE public schools. Students in all grade levels are provided with instruction in the core subject areas, language arts, math, science, and social studies. Additionally, students may have classes in elective areas such as health, physical education, music, library, career and technical education, and Hawaiian studies. The school also has co-curricular and extracurricular programs such as interschool and after school athletics, robotics, gardening, cooking, and sewing. Many participants valued options beyond the traditional core subjects to be prepared for the future. Some participants felt the programs offered at Waimānalo School were sufficient, while others felt the school should try to add more and different alternatives for students.

Kemakana wanted her children to be exposed to "alternative views" in school so they would have an "open mindset" and "know there are other avenues" to success beyond the college-track. She said her son thrived in the woodshop class at Waimānalo School, and would proudly tell her, "Mom, I got to run the bandsaw all by myself." She was disappointed that when he went on to high school, there was no woodshop class, automotive, or "any of those things that benefit the kids that not strong in academics." Kemakana added that students should learn other life skills that would prepare them for the future such as goal-setting and financial literacy.

Walter was satisfied as long as kids learned something in school that helped them to "have a chance in life." He said, "Be it academics. Be it cooking class, and be it getting along with others." He wanted students to be able to be contributing members of society. He noted how he sees "kids . . . that are not in school, the young kids" and that Kinai was helping to take those

kids off the street by taking them under his wing and giving them purpose. Even though he had conflicts with the military presence in Waimānalo, Walter said he even promoted the military as an option for students because it provided them with opportunities to learn job skills.

Mahealani also stressed that "life skills" were important to students being able to survive and "feed their families." She said, "I come from a family who's worked all our lives," so she understood what it takes to be able to succeed in the workplace and in the world. Furthermore, she believed students should "have an opportunity to express themselves in whatever media," be it computers or music.

Several other participants agreed that students should be able to learn different forms of creative expression such as music and art. Uluwehi advocated for "programs that [we] used to have before, like 'ukulele and band" that were cut at many schools. Rowena said when her son got his schedule at Waimānalo School, he told her disappointingly, "Mom, I don't have music." She said at Pope, the students learned how to play the 'ukulele and steel guitar through a local music foundation, and her son "really loved it." She knew the music class was available to 7th and 8th graders, but was disappointed that as a 6th grader, her son would not have music class for a year. Aveao said his perception of the music department at Waimānalo School was that it was "good," because his children had spoken highly of the classes and the teacher.

Catherine said she enjoyed art class when she was a student, and how it fostered a lifelong love of art. That passion was rekindled when she attended a Mele Murals workshop. She was excited to do more art with the kids, and said she was considering going back to school to pursue an art degree. She said when she was a student at Waimānalo School, "Art was a huge thing" and that was something she hoped, now as a teacher at Waimānalo School, to resurrect in her classroom.

Of all the programs, a school garden was the most valued by participants. Nine participants talked about the importance of a garden and how it could not only provide students with healthy food but serve as a vital learning tool for students. Uluwehi remembered the former garden teacher at Waimānalo School as "awesome" and "loved" by the students. She said that the students "took produce home and they sold it, and they made money. And, that's the kind of programs that [we] need, but those special teachers are really, really hard to find." Still, she felt that improving the garden and agricultural program should be a priority at the school.

Catherine fondly recalls working in her class' garden when she was a student. She said each class could have a garden bed, and as a class, they "would have a time that we went and took care of our garden." Taking care of the garden and growing things was powerful for her and her classmates because it showed them "the process of, and how much you need to nurture things" and it also ensured that they "weren't always just stuck in the classroom."

Ana stated that the garden "is a perfect avenue to bring people in" to the school. She recalled how families at Pope School were "super jazzed" about their gardening program, and "everybody came out to help with it." She suggested inviting families to come and help with the garden, so "their hands are working, their minds are flowing, everyone has comradery, they're not sitting in a cafeteria" and "not sitting in a meeting." She said a family garden project would be an all-around win because it would allow parents to work together with their children, see their children learning and enjoying themselves, and feeling "like they've done something for the school." She pointed out the importance of maintaining the garden over time, however, as she had previously seen the garden program last only one or two years, only to be "overgrown."

Henry saw the garden as the most valuable tool on campus. He said, "Every non-traditional educational program I've been to has always had a garden, and it's one of the great

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teaching tools." He talked about the "unlimited" "educational opportunity" of the garden, noting how students could learn different subjects from "soil chemistry" to "plant pathology" and even "ethnobotany," and that students could plant a medicinal garden and grow their own food. Kemakana also loved the idea of students growing food in the garden, and creating a "garden to table" program at the school. She said, "That would just be amazing."

Participants also shared individual preferences and recommendations for options at the school based on their own experiences or their children's experiences. Catherine talked about how she enjoyed being in the gifted and talented (GT) program when she attended Waimānalo School. She felt it was important to have programs for "the higher kids" and "not only intervention programs all day long." In line with the notion that participants want all students to be valued, she believed the GT program helped her to develop her individual interests and strengths, and be challenged to work hard.

Kemakana said that there are a lot of sports-driven parents in Waimānalo, herself being one, and that paying for sports registration for students might entice them back to the school. Kinai said that sports should be considered a legitimate career and that students who are good at sports should be valued for that strength, not just academics. Along the same lines, Uluwehi said that students need physical movement. She said when she was a student, there used to be intramural sports and suggested that as an option that would allow students to an outlet because they "need for burn energy, not sit in one class and be one zombie."

Ikaika said the only thing he would like the school to implement was afterschool tutoring for students in elementary grades. He said he had trouble helping his son with his math homework because the strategies and methods were so different from the way he learned math. He could tell his son the answer, but he would have to use Google or YouTube to show the

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process. Other than tutoring, Ikaika felt the afterschool options for students were adequate, noting, "You guys have quite a bit of things happening after school." Rias agreed that the afterschool programs at Waimānalo School were a strength, and felt it was imperative that "the school continue to do the things that it does well."

Catherine and Rias highlighted the student leadership program at Waimānalo School as a bright spot that the school should continue to provide. Catherine said student council was important in "developing these leaders that they're meant to be." Rias did not join student leadership until his 8th grade year, but the experience and mentoring of his leadership teacher influenced his high school career: "When I got to high school, I got straight into leadership because I said you know, I want to do this. And it wasn't till senior year where I was privileged to have served as student body president."

Though participant's preferences for specific programs differed in what they felt Waimānalo School should offer students, all participants agreed that Waimānalo School should provide students with a wide range of options that support students' diverse interests and help students to become well-rounded individuals who are prepared for the modern world. The options mentioned in this chapter are also in addition to participants' desires for culture-based educational approaches, topics and opportunities covered in "Chapter 7: Survivance." Culture-based education works hand in hand with the programs in this chapter, especially because they involve students learning through hands-on, real-world and project-based experiences.

From Settler Colonial School to Community School

This chapter examined participants' desires for Waimānalo School based on their schooling experiences as well as their values and beliefs. Despite their different experiences as students, participants largely agreed on the significant role that teachers play in students' lives,

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and the need for students to feel connected to their teachers and their school. This means having teachers who understand and value children's individual strengths as well as their diverse cultural backgrounds, and learning in a setting that is mindful and supportive of these unique qualities. For some participants, this meant having teachers at Waimānalo School who represented the community, and for some participants this meant retaining teachers who were invested in the school and community.

While most participants were optimistic that Waimānalo School could improve to better meet the needs of the community, a few participants acknowledged that asking or requiring teachers to change was not an easy task, especially when it comes to changing beliefs about students. Mahealani said she believed that "the teacher is a personal individual so the school cannot control the teacher." She had both positive and negative experiences with teachers at the schools she attended and with her children's teachers, so she understood that each teacher had his or her strengths and weaknesses, just as each student was unique.

Several participants said it was about teachers' openness to change, and that would be the biggest challenge for Waimānalo School. Darcy, who is a teacher, admitted that teachers were often resistant to change, but in their resistance, they were not able to see how new teaching strategies would "be helpful if you're open to it." Catherine valued a solution-oriented or growth mindset over a closed mindset that resisted change. She said that teachers could not place the blame on administration for being the problem "when you're not willing to try to help or change or, do something different." As a community member, Maliʻu said he would also be willing to work with those open to change, but that he would not want to waste his most precious resource, time, in trying to convince people who were unwilling to listen or change. As in "Chapter 8:

Kuleana," participants felt that school administrators, teachers, staff, and students and families would need to work together to effect deep and lasting change at Waimānalo School.

Participants' specific ideas about how to provide an ideal school for their community also varied, but there was a common theme that the school should help students to be prepared to navigate the world by providing them with both a strong academic foundation as well as options beyond the classroom and core subjects. Since Waimānalo School is a regular HIDOE school that teaches the Common Core Standards similar to other mainland states, most of the participants felt the school could improve in terms of rigor and strengthen students' skill base in the core areas such as reading, writing, and math. They also felt the school should continue to provide options for students to help them to be well-rounded and learn hands-on, life skills such as working in a garden or learning how to play a musical instrument. Participants did not want students to be completely consumed by modern technology, but they want students to be able to be adept at using online programs and devices to learn and thrive in a modern world.

Participants also want Waimānalo School to focus more effort and resources in building students' knowledge of their own culture, history, and community. As mentioned in "Chapter 7: Survivance," this includes students having culture-based and place-based learning opportunities to strengthen their knowledge of and ties to their culture and community. Samuel and Ana referred to the importance of Native Hawaiian students being able to "walk in both worlds" by having a solid foundation in their own culture and also having the knowledge and skills to be able to navigate a Western settler society. This "both worlds" (Ball, 2004, p. 459) approach to schooling is in line with a TribalCrit perspective, which views indigenous knowledge as "the ability to recognize change, adapt, and move forward with the change" (Brayboy, 2005, p. 434) and includes "academic knowledge" which is "acquired from educational institutions" (Brayboy,

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2005, p. 435). This idea of providing students with a balance and range of experiences and skills to support them in a variety of future career and life paths resonated with Hawaiian and non-Hawaiian participants.

Overall, participants saw Waimānalo School as a typical HIDOE school that reflected settler colonial values and practices, which contributed to a feeling of disconnection, particularly among Native Hawaiian participants. However, there were aspects of Waimānalo School that reflected community strengths, such as caring and committed teachers, and programs that parents and community members saw as engaging and valuable for students. Participants hoped that by building on these strengths and collaborating with community and families, Waimānalo School could become a community school that better reflects the values and hopes of the children and people of Waimānalo.

Chapter 10: Conclusions and Recommendations

E kuahui like i ka hana.

Let everybody pitch in and work together.[11]

As mentioned at the beginning of this dissertation, the goal of this study was to provide recommendations to the administration and staff of Waimānalo Elementary and Intermediate School to strengthen their ties to families and community to ultimately help students to be successful. In this final chapter, I answer the research questions presented in Chapter 1 based on participants' responses and provide general recommendations relevant to each question for the school. I also provide more detailed recommendations for the school administration and staff that draws upon both the data and research in school, family, and community partnerships and critical theories. As an educator dedicated to empowering underserved students, families, and communities, and as part of the Waimānalo School administration team, I thought carefully about providing recommendations that promote equity and that are action-oriented and realistic for the staff to consider.

Research Questions: Responses and Recommendations

How do parents and community members in Waimānalo perceive Waimānalo School and the Waimānalo community? Overall, all participants perceive the Waimānalo community in a positive light, despite the stigma attached to the community. Chapter 5 captures how participants value their community's small town and rural feel, and how they see the large Native Hawaiian population as well as the diverse ethnic makeup rooted in the town's plantation history as strengths. In Chapter 6, participants acknowledged the longstanding reputation of Waimānalo as being criminal and poor, but they resisted the stigma with counter-stories of love,

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[11] ʻŌlelo noʻeau from Pukui (1983, p. 40).

pride, shared struggle, and survival. Participants shared stories of familial and resistant capital that challenge the deficit-view of the community.

Participants' perceptions of Waimānalo School, however, were mixed, mostly due to their varying levels of engagement with the school. Participants who attended the school or who had children at the school now or in the past shared mostly positive experiences at the school that they attributed to teachers who were caring, made learning relevant and meaningful, and held students to high expectations. Even if these participants had a negative experience, the positive outshined the negative due to their positive feelings toward the staff.

Participants who had a negative perception of the school tended to have less or indirect experience with the school, as students, parents, or community members. Their perceptions were more likely to be influenced by the experiences of others, especially negative experiences. These negative perceptions of the school also mirrored the stigma attached to the community; participants shared that there is a perception of Waimānalo School as unsafe, violent, low-performing, and uncaring.

Some former students as well as participants who were not engaged with the school did share the perception that Waimānalo School was an American or Western school, particularly in comparison to other community schools such as Pope School or Mālama Honua Charter School. A few participants viewed this as a weakness and felt the school needed to incorporate more culture-based learning, programs, and activities, while other participants were neutral on this issue and did not see this as a strength or a weakness.

Several participants had no opinion about Waimānalo School because they did not know anything about the school's current programs or activities. This perception of the school as "invisible" suggests that people in the community do not see the school engaged in outreach or

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community activities. Although Waimānalo School does have community partnerships and family engagement opportunities, the school staff need to highlight stories of current partnerships, evaluate the effectiveness of current practices, and develop more visible and effective collaborations with families and community groups.

Participants who have a child or children currently at the school said that for the most part, they are satisfied with the school. However, since only 9 of the 22 participants had children enrolled at the school at the time of this study, their views must be compared with other measures of parent satisfaction. The most recent School Quality Survey reports that 80.8 percent of parents who responded to the survey answered positively to the questions related to their satisfaction with Waimānalo School (Hawaiʻi State Department of Education, 2018b). However, less than 25 percent of parents responded to the School Quality Survey (Hawaiʻi State Department of Education, 2018b). Though the participants of this study and the School Quality Survey respondents may be mostly satisfied with Waimānalo School, their responses do not represent the perceptions and beliefs of the entire school community. The school needs to explore other ways to gather feedback from parents and families.

What have been the experiences of parents and community members with Waimānalo School? As mentioned above, participants' experiences with Waimānalo School varied. All but two participants who attended Waimānalo School shared mostly positive experiences attributed to teachers they loved. They recalled programs and activities that they found enjoyable, such as Hōʻike, the gifted and talented program, gardening, sports, and student leadership. There were a couple participants who did not have pleasant experiences as students, which they attributed to teachers and students who they felt were not caring, teachers who did

not foster a safe learning environment at school, or school staff who did not communicate effectively with families.

Parent participants who had an overall positive view of the school shared stories of teachers whom their children loved, but they also told stories of difficulties with some of the school's policies, culture, communication, and teachers. There were a couple participants who said their family members had traumatizing experiences at the school, due to a staff member or teacher being cruel or mean to students. Though participants said that these experiences were not with current staff, these experiences affect their individual and family perceptions of the school and can limit their engagement with the school. It is important for Waimānalo School administration and staff to model, teach, and be held accountable to high moral and ethical standards so that all students and families feel cared for and safe on campus.

How do participants' perceptions and experiences reflect their values and beliefs, and influence their engagement with Waimānalo School? Participants' perceptions of teachers at Waimānalo School were mostly based on direct experience as students and/or as parents. The perception that teachers at the school were caring reflects participants' value of teachers as influential to students' social-emotional well-being, as well as their value of 'ohana and a spirit of aloha. For them, teachers should be nurturing by taking the time to get to know each student, trying to meet students' unique needs, and making students feel welcomed and safe in school. Participants who perceived Waimānalo School in a negative light due to staff who they felt were less caring or even cruel actually shared the same beliefs about what teachers should be, but based on their own experiences or the experiences of their family members, they felt the staff did not exhibit those caring qualities. They also believed that the school staff need to better demonstrate care by being communicative with families. These participants who viewed the

school negatively based on their family's experiences also valued ʻohana in accepting their ʻohana's perceptions as valid.

Participant's positive perceptions of Waimānalo School were also connected with teachers they felt challenged students, believed in students' strengths and abilities, and made learning memorable for students. Former Waimānalo School students were able to recall specific memories about activities or projects they did, which they attributed to teachers they liked. These experiences and perceptions reflect how participants value high expectations, a strengths-based approach, and creative, non-traditional learning opportunities such as project-based learning and learning field trips. Most of the participants agreed that Waimānalo School was not yet where they wanted it to be in terms of providing community-based, place-based, culture-based, and hands-on learning opportunities. For a few participants, this gap motivated them to become more involved in the school; Oluolu sought a school-community partnership and Kemakana teaches Hawaiian studies at the school. For other participants, however, the lack of this type of programming further distanced them from the school; Maliʻu, Ana, and Uluwehi felt the school staff were unwilling to change to be more receptive toward culture-based learning and did not engage with the school unless explicitly asked.

For some participants, Waimānalo School was providing their child with some opportunities that they felt aligned with their values, particularly in the area of preparing students for the future. They cited programs like music, gardening, robotics, and student leadership as existing strengths at the school. A few parents had experiences with Special Education at the school and felt this was an asset at the school. For these participants, the school's ability to provide their child with programs and activities they valued increased their engagement with the

school in terms of enrolling their child, participating in activities on campus, and even volunteering or working at the school.

In addition to teachers and staff playing an integral part in how participants perceived Waimānalo School, the school's family engagement efforts were also related to participants' perceptions. Those with positive perceptions of the school also believed the school was making satisfactory efforts to reach out to parents and provide events for students and their families to attend, and believed it was the families who were choosing not to or unable to participate. They believed it was their kuleana to be a part of their child's schooling by attending family events at the school, communicating with their child's teacher, and/or helping their child at home with their schoolwork. Those who had negative or neutral perceptions of the school were not engaged with the school and felt the school was not successfully engaging families or not involved in community activities. They shared the value of participating in their child's education, but either their child did not attend Waimānalo School and they did not see the value in engaging with the school as a community member, or they felt the school should be making a greater effort to ask or invite them to participate.

The findings in this study align with Epstein's (2001) research which found positive correlations between PI in the school, their perception of the school's PI practices, and their perception of the quality of the school and teachers. Those participants who were more involved with the school tended to have more positive perceptions of the school and teachers, as well as the school's efforts to engage with parents. These positive feelings toward and beliefs about the school motivated them to continue engaging with the school. Participants who had negative perceptions of the school had little or no direct experience with the school, and were also less interested in engaging with the school.

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Most of the participants acknowledged the negative perception of the school connected with the stigma of poverty and violence in the Waimānalo community, but as mentioned above, participants who were engaged with the school and had overall positive feelings toward the school saw this stigmatization as unjustified. Even though a majority of Waimānalo School students are not performing at grade level on high stakes academic assessments, these participants felt there were strengths at the school that were not being highlighted for the public to see. Their protectiveness of the school against this stigma mirrored their protectiveness of their community. These participants expressed motivation and personal kuleana in resisting the negative stereotyping of their school and community.

There were a few participants who, in line with the deficit view of the community, perceived Waimānalo School was violent, low performing, and struggling, but they felt it was the school's kuleana to take the lead in asking for parent and community support to improve conditions at the school. A few participants felt the school needed to increase the rigor of their academic programs in order to improve test scores. These participants valued their community, but felt that if the school staff were not willing to change the stigma, that they would be fighting an impossible battle by trying to change the school from the outside. Regardless of how participants perceived the school, they agreed that higher test scores might improve the school's overall reputation in the community and increase enrollment by drawing families who had transferred out to higher performing schools back to Waimānalo School.

Though participants of this study differed in their ethnic and cultural backgrounds, they collectively valued their small, close-knit community and values based on Hawaiian culture such as a spirit of aloha, 'ohana and kuleana, as well as Hawaiian language and history. Their perceptions and experiences in schools, including Waimānalo School, highlighted these values.

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Most of the participants wanted to see more culture-based, place-based, and hands-on learning opportunities for students in the community, especially for students of Native Hawaiian ancestry. For a handful of Native Hawaiian participants, learning from a Hawaiian perspective was important, and they valued Hawaiian-focused charter schools and Hawaiian immersion schools for their children. All of the participants, regardless of their background, wanted the children of Waimānalo to value their community just as they did and have a sense of pride in where they come from rather than perpetuating a deficit-view of themselves, their community, and their school.

Participants' experiences in and with schools also highlight their desires to have teachers and staff who make students feel safe and comfortable at school, who view students from a strengths-based lens, who are invested in the school and community at large, and who help students prepare for the future. Some participants valued preparing students with 21st century skills such as using computers and other modern technology to learn, while other participants felt it was important for students to know and have basic knowledge and skills like reading, writing, and math to be prepared for the working world. Even Native Hawaiian participants who valued students' ability to know their culture, history, and language felt the need for students at Waimānalo School to also be able to succeed in a global society, which requires them to be literate in a Western sense as well as have a strong self-identity grounded in their culture.

Broader Recommendations

In Chapters 5 through 9, I presented participants' responses organized by themes and made initial suggestions for Waimānalo School administration and staff to address the values and desires of the participants of this study. In the following section, I present recommendations from

the relevant research on school, family, and community partnerships, and critical race theory, tribal critical race theory, settler colonialism, and survivance.

Shifting from deficit to strengths-based approaches. In "Chapter 5: Small, Close Community," I present a strengths-based view of Waimānalo and contrasted this with a deficit view of the community in "Chapter 6: Stigma." Participants in this study acknowledged the stigma attached to Waimānalo and Waimānalo School, and felt that this unfavorable perception harmed the positive aspects of their community by focusing solely on the poverty-related issues such as crime, drugs, homelessness, and violence. These negative stereotypes of Waimānalo are similar to how poor, urban communities on the U.S. mainland are characterized (Farber & Azar, 1999). Participants also noted how outsiders connected the negative reputation of Waimānalo to the significant Native Hawaiian population living on Hawaiian homestead lands, when in fact participants saw the Native Hawaiian population and the homesteads as community assets rather than deficits. This shows the need to incorporate culture-based and community-based learning at the school so students can appreciate Hawaiian culture and other nondominant cultures in the community as sources of pride and identity.

Researchers in multiple education-related disciplines have found that strengths-based approaches are important for underserved or nondominant communities. Waimānalo School administration and staff would thus benefit from understanding how deficit views of students, families and the community affect the school culture and practices, including how teachers teach, how students learn, and how staff interact with parents. Once administration and staff have that understanding, they can begin to examine individual and institutional values and beliefs as well as school policies and practices, and work on replacing deficit-based views with strengths-based views.

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Green's (2017a) community-based equity audit process provides a model for Waimānalo School leadership to consider utilizing as a way to shift from deficit to asset-based views and approaches to school improvement. Green (2017a) listed the disruption of deficit views of the community as both the initial phase and the "anchor of this work" (p. 18). The first step is for the principal to convene a school-based team of "diverse perspectives and backgrounds" with members who "represent a range of racial, social class, gender, and age backgrounds" and who represent the different role groups on campus (administration, teachers, support staff, parents, and students) (Green, 2017a, p .18). Green (2017a) also noted that this team should represent the community "proportionally" and that members should be viewed as equal partners in this work (p. 18). Once the team is assembled, Green (2017a) recommends using Paulo Freire's *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* as a guiding text to "define and discuss their current school-community practices" and shift to "asset-based perspectives instead of traditional, deficit views of underserved communities" (pp. 18-19).

Farber and Azar's (1999) analysis of deficit views of parents and teachers in high poverty schools may also help the team to understand the cycle of blame that can occur in these communities. Just as parents of students in high poverty communities are often seen as "failing" to help their children, teachers in high poverty schools are often blamed for being "unprepared, unmotivated, or unable to meet the demands and needs of urban minority children" (Farber & Azar, 1999, pp. 515-516). Such superficial deficit views of parents and teachers can be attributed to a lack of understanding of the multiple and complex factors that influence students' behavior and academic performance (Farber & Azar, 1999). Furthermore, parents and teachers may criticize each other for the failure of students and create a "self-perpetuating" and "negatively reinforcing" cycle of blame rather than facing the difficult work of addressing one's own role in

the situation and the complex interactions of factors that affect the child (Farber & Azar, 1999, p. 516).

A more nuanced understanding of these views should aid school team members to be able to work with community members and see them as actors with agency rather than "docile recipients of services who require outside expert training" (Green, 2017a, p. 19). Farber and Azar (1999) recommend unpacking the many variables that contribute to a child's behavior and achievement in school to develop solutions that address root causes. Amatea, Smith-Adcock and Villares' (2006) family resilience perspective looks at the family processes that help a child to succeed, thus taking a strengths-based approach rather than focusing on the factors that lead to a child's failure. These family processes include family beliefs and expectations, family emotional connectedness, family organizational patterns, and family learning opportunities (Amatea et al., 2006, p. 180). To add to this in-depth examination of these contributing factors, the team might also consider a review of possible barriers that affect PI. There are a number of studies that examine the factors that may affect PI such as Hornby and Lafaele's (2011), which considers individual parent and family factors, child factors, parent-teacher factors, and societal factors (p. 39). Finally, in addition to deconstructing deficit views of families and community, the team must examine and address possible negative perceptions of teachers and staff at the school in order to empower and engage them as partners in this process. Teachers in these communities must be equipped with training and strategies to be efficacious and effective in their work with families and students from communities with these various needs (Farber & Azar, 1999).

In moving towards an asset-based view of the community, Freire's asset view provides a starting point in recasting nondominant communities and families as "active change agents" that are "constrained" by power dynamics and embedded inequities (Green, 2017a, p. 19). However,

this view is limited in understanding the strengths of these families and communities. Yosso and Solórzano (2005) offer a more comprehensive strengths-based lens that identifies the different types of cultural wealth that communities of color inherently possess. As mentioned in "Chapter 2: Literature Review," the six types of capital are aspirational, familial, social, navigational, resistant, and linguistic (Yosso & Solórzano, 2005, p. 129). Using community cultural wealth to supplement Freire's asset view would allow the school team to not only see family and community members in Waimānalo as having agency, but the team could seek out and identify the specific forms of cultural wealth that family and community members possess that could serve as a resource to the school and community.

The next step in the process is for the school team to establish "equity-based core beliefs" (Green, 2017a, p. 19). Henderson, Mapp, Johnson and Davies (2007) offered examples of equity-based core beliefs, including the notion that families want what is best for their children (p. 41). Epstein's (2001) research also affirms the importance of the school team and the entire staff's belief in parents from an equity-based lens rather than blaming parents or looking down upon parents. When teachers believe parents are not interested in being involved in their child's learning, they make less contact with the parents (Epstein, 2001). Furthermore, teachers with different cultural or educational backgrounds than the families they serve are also less likely to get to know the parents, making it more likely for them to believe the parents are not interested or involved in their child's education (Epstein, 2001). Green (2017a) stresses that the team must be able to dismantle such "myths, assumptions, and stereotypes about students, families, and community" and commit to "equitable, collaborative, and dialogically centered school change" (p. 20). Then, with equity-based core beliefs and an asset view of Waimānalo and Waimānalo School, the team must be able to "assess the effectiveness of their current school-community

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practices" and decide which practices need to be eliminated or adjusted to better fit an equity-based core belief system (Green, 2017a, p. 20).

The process of a community-based equity audit is similar to the school accreditation process in that it requires school stakeholders to evaluate the school's policies, practices, and programs. However, a community-based equity audit goes a step further than an accreditation self-study by utilizing an equity-based and a community-based lens, and looking at the core belief systems of staff members that shape the school's culture, climate, and engagement with students, families and community. The community-based equity audit team is also a group of representatives of all stakeholder groups, whereas in the accreditation process, all staff members should be engaged in the process. This ensures that the voices of staff are heard so they take ownership of the study and the action steps they are responsible for executing at the completion of the process. Though Green (2017a) recommends that the audit team determine appropriate professional development for staff to "institutionalize" equity-based core beliefs (p. 20), and it might be challenging to involve all staff members in the all phases of the audit, it is important that the staff undergo the deep reflective work in order to shift deficit views to asset views. Since Waimānalo School is a small school with limited resources, it might be beneficial for the school to align their accreditation process with the community-based equity audit process to provide for a more meaningful and honest self-study that will result in areas for growth that will address root causes rather than superficial symptoms.

Hoʻolohe pono. Kahula, one of the participants in this study, recommended that the school hoʻolohe pono, or listen well, to the families and community about what they feel is important for the students and community and how to improve Waimānalo School. Ana, another participant, recommended that the school administration hold an open forum or "talk story"

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meeting with families with no predetermined agenda or response to be able to listen to families'

ideas and comments and dialogue with them rather than just presenting or talking at them. This

act of listening to the voices of school stakeholders mirrors the second phase of the community-

based equity audit, where school leaders "conduct initial community inquiry through asset

mapping, interview community leaders, and have shared community experiences" (Green,

2017a, p. 20). In addition to hoʻolohe pono, this phase of the audit involves building a

community asset map which reinforces a strengths-based approach to the community as the team

must identify the assets that already exist in Waimānalo. Green (2017a) cites community assets

as "gifts, skills, and capacities of individuals, associations, and institutions" (Kretzmann &

McKnight, 1993, p. 25 in Green, 2017a, p. 21). This definition of community assets is in line

with the findings in this study. Uluwehi, a participant, shared that Waimānalo residents must

share whatever gifts they have with the rest of the community, the youth in particular. She and

other participants share various forms of community cultural wealth with their own children and

other young people through community groups and school programs.

While Green (2017a) lists these steps sequentially, in reality, these activities will likely

need to occur simultaneously as the school team will need to talk to community leaders in order

to learn about the many assets that exist in Waimānalo. They need to simultaneously participate

in community activities to build trust and create natural opportunities for interaction and

dialogue with community leaders. Green (2017a) emphasizes that the objective of this stage in

the audit process is "to spend quality time in the community listening, supporting, and learning

about the community" (p. 23). Waimānalo School has existing community partnerships, and

students and staff do engage in community activities, but these are currently based on individual

connections and efforts. In order for these partnerships to be sustainable and part of greater

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school and community improvement, these existing efforts need to be aligned with the school improvement process, and the community-based equity audit process, and also be part of a schoolwide, long-term strategy toward becoming a partner in the Waimānalo community.

In the next phase of the community-based equity audit, the school team builds on the work of the first two phases by inviting community stakeholders to join the team to become a community leadership team (CLT) (Green, 2017a). The CLT collects and analyzes demographic data through an equity lens to add to the asset map and also determine areas of need (Green, 2017a). Again, this is similar to the work done by the school in the accreditation self-study process, so these efforts can be combined.

The CLT then engages in "critical community dialogues" (CCD) similar to the the conversations with community leaders, but these invite a broader range of community stakeholders to lend their voice (Green, 2017a). Green (2017a) recommends a four-part series of CCD meetings that begin with community asipirations and opportunities, then move toward community planning and action. The visioning process that Green (2017a) proposes as part of the planning dialogue is similar to the visioning process in the school accreditation process and the action dialogue can also be integrated as part of the academic planning process. This would ensure that Waimānalo School's vision and academic plan are synchronous with the values and needs of the community; the school can thus solicit support from the community as partners in achieving these goals that will not only benefit the school, but also the greater Waimānalo community.

These activities also help the team to build relationships by breaking down barriers of power by putting school staff on par with families and community members. Henderson, Mapp, Johnson and Davies (2007) reinforce this type of "public engagement" and suggest schools go

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"beyond" public relations and garner support from the community rather than just showcasing what the school is doing (p. 6). Public engagement involves being open to dialogue with people from the community of all backgrounds and role groups, not just leaders or experts (Henderson et al., 2007). According to Warren and Mapp (2011), working alongside community members and families builds "relational power" that "emphasizes power 'with' others" rather than power "over" others (p. 27). Ishimaru, Torres, Salvador, Lott, Williams, and Tran (2013) refer to this type of relationship and capacity building of families and community side by side with the school as "equitable collaboration" (p. 857). Since Waimānalo School is viewed as a Western school, this type of collaboration with families and community members might also serve to recast the school as a community school that aims to honor the values of the community rather than an institution that perpetuates the settler colonial values of the state bureaucracy. Moreover, as the first phase of the community-based equity audit required the school team to replace deficit views with asset views and establish equity-based core beliefs, in this phase of building relational trust and power with families and community, the team should be able to ask for input and feedback and listen with humility, empathy, and understanding.

This study was intended to serve as a model for this step by asking parents and community members to share their honest opinions about Waimānalo School to determine how the school can strengthen school-family-community partnership efforts that resonate with Waimānalo residents. However, since the researcher conducted the interviews and analysis independently, this study alone cannot serve as an exemplar of a community-based equity audit, which requires a team of stakeholders to engage in the work of listening to and learning from the community together.

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Becoming a partner school. Henderson, Mapp, Johnson and Davies (2007) describe four

types of models of family-school partnership: partnership school, open-door school, come-if-we-

call school, and fortress school (pp. 20-24). There are five areas in which families and

community can engage with the school: building relationships, linking to learning, addressing

differences, supporting advocacy, and sharing power (Henderson et al., 2007, pp. 20-24). Based

on the characteristics of each model, Waimānalo School is not a fortress school, where parents

are not welcome at all, but it also lacks many of the attributes of a partnership school, where

families and community members are truly viewed as partners in providing students with a

quality, well-rounded educational experience. Waimānalo School's current practices in

Henderson et al.'s (2007) engagement areas are representative of an open-door and a come-if-

we-call school. Waimānalo School is strongest in the area of linking to learning, as teachers do

try to communicate as often as possible with families about the curricular programs and students'

academic progress through face to face meetings, phone calls, newsletters, emails, and online

grading platforms. However, the areas in which Waimānalo School can move from being a

"come-if-we-call school" to a "partnership school" are in addressing differences, supporting

advocacy, and sharing power. Specifically, Waimānalo School needs to invite and empower

families to participate in students' learning, school decisions, and analysis of school's policies

and practices through an equity lens. The school also needs to be open, inviting, and inclusive to

all families and community as a resource center, and honor the gifts and contributions that

families and community organizations bring to the table to enrich the school (Henderson et al.,

2007). As mentioned in "Chapter 8: Kuleana," these characteristics are also emblematic of an

"authentic partnership" between the school and community (Auerbach, 2010). Since the

community-based equity audit process has the above actions embedded, Waimānalo School will

concurrently move toward becoming an authentic partner school by leading and participating in the audit process.

The community-based equity audit is not the end goal but a first step towards Waimānalo School strengthening its connections as part of the school-family-community partnership. Particularly during the planning and action phases of the audit, the CLT should explore research-based models for a school-family-community partnership such as community organizing for education reform (Warren & Mapp, 2011) and community-based relational approaches (Warren, 2005; Warren, Hong, Rubin & Uy, 2009) in mapping out a strategy for the Waimānalo community and Waimānalo School. Utilizing the asset map, the CLT can identify resources in the community that can partner with the school for long-term goals as well as possible funding sources such as community grants to help launch these partnerships. These approaches emphasize shared relational power, capacity-building and collaboration among school staff, families, and community members and leaders to not only improve educational outcomes of Waimānalo School students, but to improve life outcomes for students and families in the community which contributes to the community's overall resilience.

Equitable and relevant classrooms. The community-based equity audit process, community organizing, and community-based relational approaches, like the accreditation process, are geared toward systemic, community and schoolwide change and will thus take a significant amount of time to plan and execute with fidelity. While these processes are underway, the day-to-day operations of the school will continue, providing the opportunity for Waimānalo School staff to implement incremental school-level and classroom-level changes to the school's programs, culture, and climate based on the findings in "Chapter 7: Survivance," "Chapter 8: Kuleana," and "Chapter 9: Teachers, Classrooms, and Schools" of this study.

McKenzie and Skrla (2011) posit that "every system is ideally designed to produce what it is currently producing," whether the system is in business, industry, or education (p. 16). Therefore, in order for Waimānalo School to change the perception of a low-achieving school with students who have socio-emotional and behavior issues and who are disconnected from their cultures, the school must be redesigned at every level to produce high achieving students who are grounded in their familial and cultural ties, supportive of one another and motivated to learn. Participants of this study shared how they want to shed the stigma attached to their community and to Waimānalo School. According to McKenzie and Skrla (2011), changing the outcomes requires changing the system that produces inequity. The community-based equity audit process is intended to bring about macro-level change, but rather than waiting for these system-level changes to trickle down to teachers and students in the classroom, all teachers can simultaneously begin the process of moving toward equitable classrooms and a strengths-based approach toward their students.

McKenzie and Skrla (2011) provide a useful guide for classroom teachers to conduct an equity audit of their own classroom and practices. The two key aspects of "equitable and excellent teaching" are "equity consciousness" and "high-quality teaching skills" (McKenzie & Skrla, 2011). Similar to the community-based equity audit process, the classroom equity audit process involves teachers assessing their own understanding of equity and reflecting on their teaching, disciplinary practices, student learning, and parent involvement through an equity lens (McKenzie & Skrla, 2011). Simply saying that one has high expectations for students does not mean that all teachers actually believe all of their students can achieve at high levels (McKenzie and Skrla, 2011), so it is important that all teachers, not just the school audit leadership team, engage in this process of deep self-reflection and learning what equity (and inequity) looks like

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in practice. While the equity audit's self-assessments and discussions with peers may help to bring a greater equity consciousness and provide strategies for teachers that increase equity and teaching quality in their classrooms, effective professional development to support teachers in achieving equitable and excellent teaching will be necessary to truly change teacher practice. The teachers at Waimānalo School come from diverse backgrounds with a wide range of experience and skillsets so teachers will need differentiated levels of support in shifting towards equity in their classrooms.

In addition to improving equity as a way to address Waimānalo School's perception as a low-performing and settler school, as noted in "Chapter 9: Teachers, Classrooms, and Schools," the participants in this study felt that Waimānalo School would benefit from programs that meet the needs of the diverse learners that attend the school. Most of the participants agreed that culture-based, place-based, community-based, and hands-on learning opportunities would help all students; Native Hawaiian participants felt such non-Western approaches to learning would especially benefit Native Hawaiian students. Ana, Samuel and Kemakana clarified that learning from a Hawaiian perspective meant more than just learning Hawaiian words or taking Hawaiian studies as a separate class, but normalizing Hawaiian values, language, history, and culture such that it transforms curriculum and instruction to align with a Hawaiian way of knowing and living. Their understanding of learning from a Hawaiian mindset aligns with Kanaʻiaupuni, Ledward, and Jensen's (2010) definition of culture-based education (CBE) as the "grounding of instruction and student learning in the values, norms, knowledge, beliefs, practices, experiences, places, and language" (p. 4). This is also in line with TribalCrit theory, which identifies cultural knowledge, knowledge of survival, and academic knowledge as forms of indigenous ways of knowing (Brayboy, 2005). Native Hawaiian participants Walter and Kahula noted that culture-

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based learning did not have to be limited to Hawaiian culture since Waimānalo is a diverse community with a rich plantation history. However, Hawaiian and non-Hawaiian participants felt it was important to acknowledge Hawaiian culture as the foundation on which the Waimānalo community was built upon.

Participants' desire for culture-based learning is supported by a wealth of research "documenting the successful application of CBE" (culture-based education) and how CBE "enhances self-esteem, supports healthy identity formation, and fosters political activity and community participation" (p. 4). However, Kanaʻiaupuni, Ledward, and Jensen (2010) noted how these studies were primarily qualitative and there was a need for strong quantitative research linking CBE and the educational outcomes of students. A joint effort by Kamehameha Schools and the Hawaiʻi State Department of Education titled the Hawaiian Cultural Influences in Education (HCIE) study examined the effects of CBE on students of all different backgrounds in public schools across the state (Kanaʻiaupuni, Ledward, and Jensen, 2010). Based on previous studies, the researchers in the HCIE study predicted CBE would directly affect socio-emotional development and academic outcomes of students (Kanaʻiaupuni, Ledward, and Jensen, 2010). The findings of this study were "consistent with prior qualitative studies demonstrating that culture-based educational strategies positively impact student outcomes, especially among Native Hawaiian students" (Kanaʻiaupuni, Ledward, and Jensen, 2010, p. 15). The research thus reinforces the benefit of Waimānalo School examining how culture-based learning can be incorporated into the school's instructional program to improve socio-emotional outcomes as well as academic achievement for all students.

Place-based, community-based, and hands-on learning go hand in hand with culture-based learning, as students will naturally learn about culture when they engage in place-based

and community-based activities. Hands-on learning can also mean culture-based learning, but it is not limited to culture-based opportunities. As mentioned by several participants in this study, hands-on learning opportunities can involve students learning how to use modern technology such as robotics or learning life skills such as how to build a house or be financially literate. Since Waimānalo School has some of these programs that provide students with options beyond the core subjects, participants of this study suggested that the school continue offering these programs but also provide students with more of these hands-on learning opportunities to supplement the core instruction.

The extent to which these non-Western methods are implemented at Waimānalo School will depend on the faculty's willingness and ability to teach students using culture-based, place-based, community-based, and hands-on learning strategies. Having teachers go through the classroom equity audit process may not be enough to shift their daily practice toward more culturally relevant strategies, so the administrative team and teacher leaders may need to seek professional development opportunities to support teachers in this area. Since most of Waimānalo School's teachers are not from Waimānalo, community leaders and cultural brokers (Ishimaru, Torres, Salvador, Lott, Williams & Tran, 2016) might serve as resources to connect staff with community groups or to brainstorm ideas for culture-based and place-based learning activities. The asset mapping and interviewing of community leaders during the community-based equity audit process would further assist the school in finding potential partners in the community to help with these learning opportunities.

There is also a movement with the Hawai'i DOE to "honor the qualities and values of the indigenous language and culture of Hawai'i" through the implementation and promotion of Nā Hopena A'o or HĀ outcomes (Hawai'i State Department of Education, 2019a). According to the

Office of Hawaiian Education, "direct experience" is the best way for educators and students to learn and demonstrate these Hawaiian values-based outcomes (Hawai'i State Department of Education, 2019a). HĀ Community Days serve as models of culture-based and place-based direct experience learning opportunities (Hawai'i State Department of Education, 2019a). Designed in partnership with community groups, these community days are intended to engage educators at all levels of the system in the kinds of activities that teachers could then plan for students. Although Waimānalo School has not planned an official HĀ Community Day, several staff members participated in the event when it was held in Waimānalo and in Kāne'ohe; some of the teachers who attended were inspired to do more hands-on learning and work with community partners to do culture-based and place-based projects with their students. Waimānalo School administration also coordinated several culture-based and place-based activities with the help of several community partners for the staff on the opening days of the school year. The staff responded positively to the first of these community-based activities and asked that similar opportunities be provided throughout the school year and on an annual basis. The community leaders who were involved in these efforts also stated that these collaborations were positive experiences for their organizations and new mutually beneficial opportunities emerged after these initial activities.

The fact that the Waimānalo School staff found value in these community and culture-based activities suggest that the teachers would like to provide similar learning activities for their students but that there are barriers that prevent them from doing so that need to be further examined. Teachers may not know how culture-based learning looks like in the classroom or feel uncomfortable with addressing culture if they lack the strategies to be inclusive and responsive to all students' backgrounds. The administrative team would benefit from talking with teachers

about their comfort level when it comes to using culture-based and other non-Western teaching strategies in order to be able to address possible barriers and provide teachers with professional development and supports that meet their individual needs.

Final Thoughts

Through our accreditation self-study as well as my observations and experiences as the vice principal at Waimānalo School for the past six years, one of the areas that we as school staff have identified as an area of need is in how we engage with and empower our families and community. We have also faced declining enrollment in our school and negative perceptions of our school and community. We want to transform these deficit views to stories of strength and success, but it has been a challenge for our staff to find solutions on our own. This study examined the perceptions, beliefs, experiences, and values toward school and community of individuals who live and/or work in the Waimānalo community as a first step in our journey toward building a stronger partnership with Waimānalo School families and the Waimānalo community. I drew upon the literature on parent involvement and school community relations, and on critical theories including critical race theory, tribal critical race theory, settler colonialism, and survivance, to analyze participants' interview responses and provide recommendations for the school to improve our family and community engagement efforts. I hope that this dissertation can serve as a starting point for Waimānalo School staff and other schools who serve diverse populations to engage in deep and meaningful conversations about school improvement, equity, and community-based education reform.

Participants in this study shared that they want Waimānalo School to reflect the values and qualities of the small, close-knit community of Waimānalo. In particular, they value the aloha spirit, 'ohana, and kuleana, and they have a strong sense of pride and love for their

community. By addressing equity, viewing students and families through a strengths-based lens, listening with an open mind and heart to family and community members, and honoring Hawaiian culture and the diverse cultures of the students and families of Waimānalo, the teachers, staff, and administration can embody and teach these community values and ultimately change the perception of Waimānalo School as a settler colonial school and a poor and violent school. This shift will require school staff to wrestle with their own personal biases and stereotypes as well as the stigma from outside and within the community. Moreover, to impact deep, lasting community change toward an asset view of Waimānalo, the school must work alongside families and the community to replace Waimānalo's negative reputation with a positive outlook for its future. By combining the strengths of staff, students, families, and community, Waimānalo School can build a true school-family-school partnership to be able to provide all students with an education that meets their needs and prepares them for future success.

This study has been a personal journey of self-reflection and awakening for me. I have learned about my own privilege and power, and have gained an awareness of my own biases and deficit views. I recognize and appreciate that my privilege and my position have allowed me to pursue and achieve my dreams of completing this doctoral program. More importantly, I recognize that as a school administrator, I am in a position of authority at a school that is part of a larger bureaucracy with settler colonial values and practices. Also, as a Japanese American, I have the privilege of being part of the dominant group and culture in Hawaiʻi. I realized through this journey that my privileged upbringing and education instilled in me deficit views of nondominant populations, particularly people living in poverty. The participants of this study and my research have helped me to see Waimānalo through a new, strengths-based light. Just as the

Hawaiian word kuleana means both "privilege" and "responsibility," my privilege as the vice principal at Waimānalo School comes with the responsibility to support their efforts to empower themselves as students, families, and community members, rather than to use my privilege and power to further marginalize, demoralize, or stigmatize the people of Waimānalo. My journey to become the kind of educator who truly advocates for equity by removing barriers to the empowerment of others is not complete with the completion of this dissertation, however, as the work of checking one's privilege and power is never-ending and requires daily practice of hoʻolohe pono and self-reflection.

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University of Hawai'i

Consent to Participate in Research Project:
A Case Study of Parent and Community Engagement in a Rural Public School

My name is Cherilyn Inouye. I am a graduate student at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa in the Department of Educational Foundations. I am doing a research project as a requirement for earning my graduate degree. The purpose of my project is to identify connections and disconnections between the school and the community it serves, to better serve the needs of the community and to help the school to achieve its goals. I am asking you to participate because you are part of the school community.

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. The interview will consist of 10-20 open ended questions like, "What do you know about the school?" "How would you describe the school?" "What types of activities at the school do you participate in and why?" "Which events or landmarks in the community are most significant to you and why?" Only you and I will be present during the interview. I will audio-record the interview so that I can later transcribe the interview and analyze the responses. You will be one of about 20 people whom I will interview for this study.

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

Privacy and Confidentiality: During this research project, I will keep all electronically stored data password protected and all files locked in a secure location. Only my University of Hawai'i advisor and I will have access to the information, although legally authorized agencies, including the University of Hawai'i Human Studies Program, can review the research records. After I transcribe the interviews, I will erase/destroy the audio-recordings. When I report the results of my research project, I will not use your name. I will not use any other personal identifying information that can identify you. I will use pseudonyms (fake names) and report my findings in a way that protects 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 participating 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 school.

Questions: If you have any questions about this study, please call or email me at 808-391-4141 or cminouye@hawaii.edu. You may also contact my advisor, Dr. Eileen Tamura at etamura@hawaii.edu. If you have questions about your rights as a research participant, you may contact the UH Human Studies Program at 808-956-5007 or uhirb@hawaii.edu. Please keep this first page of this consent form for your records.

Signature for Consent:

If you agree to participate in this project, please sign this second page that has the signature portion of this consent form and return it to me at the following address:

> Cherilyn Inouye
> 41-1330 Kalanianaole Highway
> Waimanalo, HI 96795

I agree to participate in the research project entitled *A Case Study of Parent and Community Engagement in a Rural Public School.* I understand that I can change my mind about participating in this project at any time, by notifying the researcher.

Please initial next to either "Yes" or "No" to the following:

_____ Yes   _____ No   I consent to be audio-recorded in the interview.

_____ Yes   _____ No   I give permission to allow the researcher to use my real name to be used for the publication of this research.

Name (Print): _____

Signature: _____

Date: _____

Appendix B: Interview Questions

As noted in "Chapter 3: Methods," interviews were semi-structured. The interview questions below were used to prompt participant responses. Not all questions were asked of every participant as some questions were specific to their role or connection to the school, and some questions were unnecessary or irrelevant depending on how the participant responded to other questions.

Participant's Background/Context:

1a. Where were you born and where did you grow up?

1b. Can you tell me about your family?

1c. What is your ethnic or cultural background?

1d. What was it like growing up in xxxxxxxx?

1e. What memories do you have of growing up in xxxxxx?

1f. Where did you go to school? Elementary? Intermediate/Middle? High School?

2a. Can you tell me about your schooling experience?

2b. Tell me about a fun, happy experience in elementary school. Any other fun, happy experiences at this school?

2c. … in intermediate/middle school. Any other xxxat this sch?

2d. … in high school. Any other…..?

3a. What about difficult, unhappy experiences in elementary school?

3b. … in middle/intermediate school?

3c. … in high school?

4a. What interesting things did you learn at school? Elem, middle, high

4b. What did you like and what didn't you like at school? Elem, middle, high

5. Could you tell me about any memories that stand out from your schooling?

6. Thinking back on your schooling experience, was it mostly positive or negative? Explain.

7. Could you tell me about your teachers in elementary, middle, high school?

8. Could you tell me about your fellow classmates in elementary, middle, high school?

9. How did your parents feel about your schools? Explain.

Participant's Perceptions of the Community as a Resident:

10a. How long have you lived in Waimānalo (if did not grow up in ā as indicated above)?

10b. How would you describe your experience living here? Or what is it like to live in

Waimānalo? Do you have any good, challenging or bad experiences that stand out to you?

10c. How might you describe the community to an outsider?

11. What is your role in the community?

12a. What were some of the most important landmarks and symbols of Waimānalo? (wahi pana

or sacred places)

12b. What makes Waimānalo unique or special?

12c. What do you value most about living in Waimānalo?

12d. If any, what concerns do you have about Waimānalo? What do you think could be

improved?

Participant's Role/Connection to the School:

Staff Only

13a. What is your role here at the school?

13b. When and how did you start working in this role? What did you do previously at this

school?

13c. Did you work elsewhere before working at this school? Explain

13d. Why did you choose to work at the school?

13e. Tell me about your experience serving in this role here at the school. Can you tell me about good, challenging or bad experiences?

<u>Parents/Community members:</u>

14. What is your connection to Waimānalo School? What do you know about the school?

15a. Can you tell me about your relationships with the teachers and staff here at the school?

15b. Can you tell me about an experience you have had at the school, or with the teachers and/or staff, or with the students that stands out to you?

15c. How does the school or school staff communicate with you? How do you communicate with them? Do you feel this communication has been negative? Positive?

15d. What specific experiences in communicating with the school staff stand out to you?

16a. Can you tell me about any events or activities at the school that you have been involved in?

16b. Can you describe your level of involvement in the school and/or these activities? Are you as involved in the school as much as you would like, or in ways that you would like? If so, what allows you to do this? If not, what barriers might exist that prevent you from being able to do this?

16c. How would you like to be involved in the school? Do you feel that the school invites parents/community members to be involved?

17. What motivates you to be involved in the school?

<u>Parents NOT involved or directly connected to the school</u>

18a. Where does your child or children go to school?

18b. Why did you choose to send your child to xxxx School instead of Waimānalo School?

Participant's Perceptions of the School:

Parents/Community Members

19a. What words come to mind when you think about Waimānalo School?

19b. What is your perception of the school? The students? The staff? The parents? The students?

19c. Are there any specific experiences, memories, or examples that affected your perception or beliefs about the school?

19d. How would you describe the culture on campus? What feelings do you have when you come onto campus?

19e. Do you feel comfortable on campus? Why or why not?

Staff Only

20. How did you perceive the school prior to working here? Did your perception change after working here, and if so, how did it change?

Parents

21. How did you feel about Waimānalo School prior to sending your children here? Has your experience as a parent changed your perception of the school? How does this compare with your perception now? Explain.

22. Why did you send your children to Waimānalo School?

23. Are you satisfied with your decision to send your child(ren) here? Why or why not?

24. Has your experience at Waimānalo School as a parent been similar or different than your own experience as a student?

Parents who are Alumni

25. How did your experience as a student at Waimānalo School affect your decision to send your child here?

26a. Have you talked with other people in the community about the school? What do you think their perception is of the school, and why?

26b. Have you talked with other people in the community about the students or staff? What do you think their perception is of the students and staff, and why?

27. Have you had experiences at other schools besides Waimānalo School? If so, how would you compare Waimānalo School with other schools in neighboring communities?

Participant's Values:

27a. What do you think the school values? Explain.

27b. How does the school's values compare with your values?

28a. What do you think are the strengths of the school?

28b. What kinds of activities or events at the school do you value most?

29a. What do you think could be improved at the school to better serve students?

29b. What do you think could be improved at the school to better serve the community?

30. What role do you think the school should play in the community?

31. If you could describe your ideal school to send your child to or to have in the community, what would it look like? How would it be similar or different to Waimānalo School? What programs would it offer?

Appendix C: List of Study Participants

Participant	Roles	Gender	Ethnic Background
Aveao	Parent, Former student	Male	Samoan
Edwina	Parent	Female	Chuukese
Gloria	Parent	Female	Samoan
Ikaika	Parent, Former student	Male	Hawaiian, Norwegian, Irish
Jade	Parent	Female	Marshallese
Kemakana	Parent, Staff	Female	Hawaiian
Rowena	Parent	Female	Hawaiian
Ruth	Grandparent, Former student	Female	Okinawan
Samuel	Parent, Former student	Male	Hawaiian
Kahula	Former student, Community member, Former grandparent	Female	Hawaiian, Chinese
Oluolu	Former student, Community member	Male	Hawaiian
Rias	Former student	Male	Filipino
Walter	Former student, Community member	Male	Hawaiian, Chinese, Danish
Mahealani	Former parent, Community member	Female	Hawaiian, Chinese, Portuguese
Uluwehi	Former parent, Community member	Female	Hawaiian
Ana	Community member	Female	Hawaiian, Creole
Henry	Community member	Male	Caucasian
Kiani Ani	Community member	Male	Hawaiian
Kinai	Community member	Male	Hawaiian
Maliʻu	Community member, Former student	Male	Hawaiian
Darcy	Teacher	Female	Hawaiian, Tahitian
Catherine	Teacher, Former parent	Female	Filipino, German

Appendix D: Themes, Sub-Themes, and Theoretical Connections

Chapter	Theme	Sub-Themes	Theoretical Connections
5	Small, Close Community and School	• Everyone Knows Everyone • Rural Town • Place and People • ʻOhana • An ʻOhana Culture and Aloha Spirit • Population Growth • A Community School • An ʻOhana Culture and Village Mindset	• Community cultural wealth o Familial, resistant capital • Counter-stories • Settler colonialism • Tribal critical race theory
6	Stigma	• Troublemakers and Crime • Poverty Mentality • Native Hawaiian Population • Resistance to Stigma • Love for Community	• Counter-stories • Community cultural wealth o Aspirational, familial capital • Critical race theory • Tribal critical race theory

7	Survivance	• Hawaiian People and Homestead Lands
		• Hawaiian Culture
		• Hawaiian Language
		• Hawaiian Values
		• Restoration and Resistance
		• The Role of Schools in Survivance
		• Charter Schools
		• Kamehameha Schools
		• Waimānalo School
		• Culture-based Education
		  o Hawaiian mindset
		  o Kūpuna
		  o Identity
		  o Place-based learning
		• A Cultural Shift for Waimānalo School
		• Community Values for Community Schools
			• Settler colonialism
			• Community cultural wealth
			  o Navigational, familial, linguistic, resistant capital
			• Tribal critical race theory
			• Survivance

8	Kuleana	• Shared Responsibility for Learning • Parents and Families • Student	• Parent involvement, school, family, & community partnerships o Overlapping spheres of

		• School
		• Parent Involvement
		• Asking for Help
		• Building Relationships
		• Family Events
		• Community Engagement and Partnerships
		• Toward a More Collaborative Family and Community Engagement Model
			influence model (Epstein, 2001)
			   o Strengths-based/asset-based approaches
			   o Authentic partnerships (Auerbach, 2010)
			   o Hoover-Dempsey and Sandler (2005) and Hornby & Lafaele (2011)
			• Survivance
			• Tribal critical race theory
			• Critical race theory
			• Community-based equity audits (Green, 2017a)
			• Community-based education reform (Horsford & Heilig, 2014; Ishimaru, Torres, Salvador, Lott, Williams, & Tran, 2016; Warren, 2005)
			• Community-based relational approaches (Warren, 2005; Warren, Hong, Rubin and Uy, 2009)

9	Teachers, Classrooms, and Schools	• Participants' Schooling Experiences
		   o Positive experiences
		   o Favorite teachers
		   o Negative experiences
		• The Role of Teachers
		   o Teachers at Waimānalo School
		   o Caring teachers
		   o Teacher representation
		   o Relationships with students and families
		• Connected and Disconnected at Waimānalo School
		• Safety and Health at School
		• Prepared for the Future
		   o Technology
		   o Basic skills
		• Options for Students
		• From Settler Colonial School to Community School
			• Parent involvement
			   o Hoover-Dempsey and Sandler (2005) and Hornby & Lafaele (2011)
			• Community cultural wealth
			   o Aspirational capital
			• Tribal critical race theory
			• Survivance
			• Settler colonialism