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How do Native Hawaiian Concepts of Well-being Inform
the Meaning and Social Function of Food?

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy
in Public Health

by

Darrah Leigh Goo Kuratani

2015

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

How do Native Hawaiian Concepts of Well-being Inform
the Meaning And Social Function of Food?

By

Darrah Leigh Goo Kuratani

Doctor of Philosophy in Public Health

University of California, Los Angeles, 2015

Professor Marjorie Kagawa Singer, Chair

It is well known that indigenous communities are vulnerable to the plight of the social gradient of health and are overly burdened by chronic diseases. One common risk factor for the major chronic illnesses among indigenous communities, such as heart disease, metabolic syndrome, diabetes, and cancer is obesity. The indigenous people of *Ka Pae Aina* (the Hawaiian Islands), the *Kanaka Maoli* (Native Hawaiians), reside as minorities in their native land, and have the poorest health outcomes. They also have one of the highest rates of obesity in the world. Even though obesity rates have risen for all groups nationally, Native Hawaiians are almost twice as likely to be obese. In Hawaii,

Native Hawaiians have the highest obesity rate (47%) when compared to other ethnic and racial groups, including Non-Hispanic Whites (NHW) (21%), Japanese (16%), and Filipinos (21%) (HHDW, 2013). The epidemiology clearly shows that the problem exists, but current research does not explain *why* the obesity rate for Native Hawaiians is so incredibly high. Such reasons remain poorly explored, and this lack of knowledge undermines efforts to effectively reduce the rates of obesity.

The U.S. colonized Native Hawaiians in 1898, and colonial culture and laws have worked to marginalize, stigmatize and alienate Native Hawaiian people from the larger society. The overarching impact of imposed and embedded colonial denigration of the Native Hawaiian people has been reported to be the perpetuation of negative self-image and their social position has been restricted to the bottom of the political hierarchy. The consequences of both these forces generally has been to limit their lifestyle choices and options about their own health and well-being. Yet these factors are rarely included as active factors in the theoretical frameworks used to address the health status of this population.

Rather, studies that address Native Hawaiians and other indigenous peoples, often intimate that their culture is a large part of the problem. However, interventions designed to improve the negative health status of native peoples and Native Hawaiians, in particular, do not seem to identify what it is about culture, and in particular, whose culture, may actually be influencing the behaviors that lead to overweight and obesity. Previous interventions that have integrated cultural values and practices in weight loss programs with Native Hawaiians have shown initial benefit, but were unable to sustain long term results. This is likely because the focus was on individual level beliefs and practices. The larger social

and political forces that address daily realities of work and low income, and institutionalized discrimination towards Native Hawaiians were not addressed. Individual level strategies are necessary, but not sufficient to sustain healthier choices if these contextual forces are not addressed.

In the 1970s, the Hawaiian Renaissance was founded and became an emotional and political turning point for Native Hawaiians. Its goal was to reinvigorate cultural pride and interest in the values and wisdom of Native Hawaiian culture in contrast to the 120 years of explicit denigration of Native Hawaiian culture, and explicit pressure to assimilate into white European Christian culture. The spirit of the Hawaiian renaissance has given rise to a counter consciousness and spurred an ongoing struggle to recognize and reconcile the two competing sets of cultural messages for the native peoples and, primarily, the political power and social structure of Hawaiian society today.

This study applied a socio-ecologic conceptual cultural lens to understand the concepts of well-being among Native Hawaiians to investigate if and how social, political, and historical contextual forces may still affect Native Hawaiians' sense of self, and if and how these forces may impact their conceptualizations of and decisions regarding health. The intent was to investigate how a multi-level, multidimensional concept of culture might better elucidate how we understand the relationships of these contextual forces on the meaning of well-being and food, the use of food in social relationships, and, ultimately, its potential relationship to rates of obesity.

This ethnographic study was conducted on the island of Oahu with participant, observational, archival investigations and one-on-one inductive qualitative, interviews with twenty-nine Native Hawaiian participants. Interviews were audio-recorded,

transcribed, and analyzed. The conceptual frameworks that guided this study included, the Cultural Framework for Health (CFH), and the philosophical and theoretical concept of empathy. The CFH recognizes and incorporates an explicit definition of culture as a scientifically grounded, multidimensional, and multi-level construct, inclusive of biopsychosocial and ecological frameworks and recognizes and incorporates geographical, historical, social and political realities of diverse communities.

The findings show that Native Hawaiians' conceptualizations of well-being are based on five core Native Hawaiian cultural values: 1) *ohana* (family), 2) *aloha* (love, care, and compassion), 3) *kokua* (to help without being asked), 4) *lokahi* (harmony), and 5) *mana* (life force, energy, power). One of the key ways these values are expressed and manifested interpersonally is symbolically through the meaning and use of food. Food was found to be a key component in how Native Hawaiian identity is conceptualized and as a way to express and access love, compassion, and comfort. Notably, the findings showed that the conceptualizations of well-being extend beyond the individual and include family, community, social, political and historical issues and structures that have the potential to provide a sense of worth and empowerment.

This study suggests that the use of food may also be a coping mechanism for Native Hawaiians to seek comfort from the feelings of powerlessness and denigration by the overarching social structure that has relegated them to being "the forgotten people." Health interventions would likely be more effective and long lasting if this more comprehensive and scientifically grounded cultural analysis informed the design and implementation of such efforts.

The dissertation of Darrah Leigh Goo Kuratani is approved.

Christopher J. Throop

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Marjorie Kagawa Singer, Chair

Dedication

For Jason, Ryan, Lauren & Kapon.

*For Momm, Gramma, and all the strong women in my life
who have supported me and lifted me up so I could reach for the stars.*

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Hawaiian to English Glossary

Hawaiian	English
Aina	Land
Aloha	Love, care, compassion
Kanaka Maoli	Native Hawaiians
Ka Pae aina	Hawaiian Islands
Kokua	To help without being asked
Kolohe	Naughty, rascal
Kuleana	Sense of responsibility
Kupuna	Elders
Lau lau	Traditional Hawaiian food; meat, usually pork, with a small piece of fish, wrapped with taro leaf
Lokahi	Harmony
Mana	Energy, life force
Mo'opuna	Grandchildren
Na'au	Intuition, instinct
Ohana	Family
Poi	A highly nutritious Polynesian staple food; made from the root vegetable taro (<i>kalo</i>), cooked and pounded until viscous consistency; a starch component to a traditional Hawaiian diet
Pono	Balance, righteousness, going the right thing
Pumehana	Warmth, love

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"Alone we can do so little, together we can do so much." --Helen Keller

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Mahalo piha.

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Goo, D.L. (November 1998). Asian American women: Cultural influences on sport and physical activity participation. Paper presented at the North American Society for the Sociology of Sport Annual Conference-Las Vegas, Nevada.

Chapter I: Introduction

In recent years, the Institute of Medicine reported that the overall health of United States citizens has appeared to improve. However, tremendous gaps in health outcomes continue to persist when Non-Hispanic Whites (NHW) are compared with other racialized groups (K. M. Anderson, 2012). For Native Hawaiians in Hawaii, alarming disparities exist in the incidence, prevalence and mortality rates for related chronic diseases when compared to NHWs. Research has found Native Hawaiians have among the highest prevalence of chronic diseases and shortest life expectancy. In Hawaii, Native Hawaiians have high prevalence of cardiovascular disease (CVD), cancers, asthma, diabetes and obesity (Kaholokula et al., 2013; M. K. Mau, Sinclair, Saito, Baumhofer, & Kaholokula, 2009) of all ethnic groups (HHDW, 2013). Obesity is an important risk factor to pay attention to among Native Hawaiians, since the prevalence of having two or more chronic diseases increases with obesity (M. K. Mau et al., 2009). However, public health research tends to focus almost exclusively on the proximal behaviors and biology related to the causes of obesity. These studies focus on caloric intake versus output, portion sizes, food choices, and exercise, but overlook social inequalities caused by social, political, environmental, and historical factors. Such important factors may have an even larger impact on the etiology of obesity (Cummins & Macintyre, 2006; Puhl & Heuer, 2010; M. C. Wang, Cubbin, Ahn, & Winkleby, 2008), particularly among indigenous peoples around the world. Therefore, this study focuses on conceptualizations of well-being and the meaning and social function of food and how these forces may contribute to the high rates of obesity among Native Hawaiians.

Section 1. Problem Statement

Globally, the number of adults (over 20 years old), who are considered obese, has more than doubled in the last 30 years (World Health Organization, 2012). According to the WHO, between 1980 and 2008 the prevalence of obesity doubled from 5% to 10% for men and from 8% to 14% for women. These percentages translate to an estimated 500 million people (205 million men, 297 million women) across the globe who are obese (World Health Organization, 2012). If the global rate of obesity continues to increase at the same pace, estimates suggest that 50% of the world's population will be obese by 2030 (Ogden, Carroll, Kit, & Flegal, 2012).

Obesity rates continue to rise in the United States, and Indigenous populations, such as Native Americans and Native Hawaiians, are overrepresented among those affected (Gortmaker et al., 2011; Hosper, Nicolaou, van Valkengoed, Nierkens, & Stronks, 2011; Nguyen & El-Serag, 2010; Redwood, Lanier, Johnston, Asay, & Slattery, 2010; Wilson, Gilliland, Moore, & Acton, 2007; Zephier, Himes, Story, & Zhou, 2006). Though most low-income ethnic groups of color have higher-than-average rates of obesity compared to Non-Hispanic Whites (NHW) in the U.S., Native Hawaiians have some of the highest rates of obesity (Kaholokula, Grandinetti, Keller, Nacapoy, & Mau, 2012; M. K. Mau et al., 2009; Moy, Sallis, & David, 2010; Y. Wang & Beydoun, 2007). Recent reports show that this population is twice as likely to be obese: 47% of the Native Hawaiian population falls under the definition of obese, compared to 26% of the NHW population (CDC, 2012; HHDW, 2013; Kaholokula, Grandinetti, et al., 2012; Moy et al., 2010). Though health disparities between NHW and ethnic groups are well documented, the mediating factors of these disparities, especially concerning obesity,

have yet to be fully explained (Hosper et al., 2011; Ogden CL, Carroll MD, Kit BK, & KM., 2012).

Among marginalized populations, culture is often noted as a likely causative factor of obesity. However, a recent report, *The Cultural Framework for Health (CFH)*, published by the Office of Behavioral and Social Science Research (OBSSR) points out that in health research, in many cases, race is used as a proxy for culture, and race is unable to capture the multitude of elements that create culture (M. Kagawa-Singer, Dressler W, George S, and the NIH Expert Panel, 2015).

CFH recommends a more thorough accounting for cultural processes in health research. This report also states that “health research is often devoid of any clear definition of culture, measurable constructs beyond race or ethnicity, or conceptual models of how cultural processes interact,” and notably, culture is often viewed as a “deficit rather than an asset” (M. Kagawa-Singer, Dressler W, George S, and the NIH Expert Panel, 2015). The *CFH* expert panel argues that clear descriptions of standardized concepts of culture are necessary for innovations in health behavior research. For instance, examinations of the relationship between Native Hawaiian culture and obesity have been hampered by the assumption that Native Hawaiians have a singular, unitary culture. This sort of assumption is commonly made about ethnic groups of color. Native Hawaiians differ by generation, sense of place, education type (public vs. private), education level, being a mix of different ethnicities, religion and life experiences, among others factors.

Multiple disparities and oppressions challenge Native Hawaiian health outcomes. Research indicates that colonialism, which systematically dismantled Native Hawaiian culture, continues to have detrimental effects on modern Native Hawaiian identity,

competence, culture, language, health, and well-being (R. K. Blaisdell, 2001; Crabbe, 1998b; G. L. King et al., 2012; McMullin, 2010). Most of the literature surrounding the issue of obesity among Native Hawaiians assert that Western colonization has and continues to contribute to poor health outcomes. However, efforts continue to focus specifically on the impact that Western dietary practices and the decreased accessibility to traditional Hawaiian foods have on Native Hawaiians (Fujita, Braun, & Hughes, 2004).

Given the history of rising obesity rates overall, and among Native Hawaiians in particular, and estimates of continued increases in prevalence, a new approach to research in this area is needed. Extending research on obesity to include its social inequalities and relevant cultural determinants may help us develop a more comprehensive understanding of its etiology. This, in turn, would identify the broader determinants of other chronic diseases that burden marginalized populations, and may be amenable to interventions that could reduce the burden of obesity.

This ethnographic study was designed to ultimately investigate the alarmingly high obesity rates among Native Hawaiians in Hawaii by exploring both the proximal and more distal and historical ecological factors that may contribute to obesity. In particular, the way Native Hawaiians conceive of their own identity, health, and well-being, and related to this conception to Native Hawaiian self-image, and meaning and use of food in relation to well-being.

Previous research has not examined these linkages, and this lack of knowledge undermines efforts to reduce the rates of obesity by purely individual level focus. A more complete, multi-level social and historical picture is required to reduce the obesity rate among this indigenous population. In order to accomplish this, an ethnographic

framework was employed to investigate the cultural aspects of Native Hawaiian life in Hawaii and the forces that shape the meaning and use of food. The ethnographic framework aimed to understand another way of life. Ethnography accomplished this by learning from the people themselves; how they understand the social forces that mold conceptualizations of well-being that may inform the meaning and social function of food (Le Compte & Schensul, 1999; Patton, 2005). Toward that end, this study also applies an explicit definition of culture to guide the development of inquiry about the influence of “culture” on the behavior of focus.

The usual practice in “measuring” culture in health research is to apply race/ethnicity as a proxy. The definition of culture used in this study views culture as a scientifically grounded, multidimensional and multi-layered construct. The definition includes what culture is and what it does. It will allow for a more valid, relevant, and contextualized assessment of the cultural processes operating on the health behavior of focus (M. Kagawa-Singer, Dressler W, George S, and the NIH Expert Panel, 2015)

The study, therefore, holds that culture is:

“Dynamic and ecologically-based. The elements of cultures constitute the life ways of a people, and are inter-related and function together as a living, adapting system. Defining culture begins with a perspective that contextualizes population groups within a multi-level, multi-dimensional, biopsychosocial, ecological framework and explicitly recognizes and incorporates the geographic, historical, social, and political realities of diverse communities. All of these elements constitute the cultural framework its members use to “see” the world and attribute meaning to their daily lives” (Kagawa Singer et al., 2015).

And the function of culture is as follows:

“Culture enables us to interpret the world in which we live through beliefs, attitudes, practices, and spiritual and emotional explanations that are used to create social institutions and norms of ways of being and interacting. Together, these cultural ‘tools’ enable group members, ultimately, to make sense of their world and to find meaning in and for life by providing a sense of safety and well-being, a sense of integrity of living one’s life well, and a sense of being a

contributing member of one's social network" (M. Kagawa-Singer, Dadia, Yu, & Surbone, 2010).

Section 2. Health Significance

A complex interaction between behavior, genetic predisposition, and environmental factors causes obesity. The emerging literature reveals that social determinants of health (Berkman, 2009; Braveman, 2006; Hogan, Rowley, Bennett, & Taylor, 2012; M. G. Marmot, 2003) predominate in theoretical approaches to obesity research. These models consider broad, interdependent contextual forces that operate at the population level (Puhl & Heuer, 2010). However, research and interventions concerning Native Hawaiians obesity rates have focused on changing individual behaviors, but what have gone unexamined are the structured, colonially structured social inequalities in society that may add an important dimension to explain why Native Hawaiians consume more food than others. For example, unpublished research on eating habits of several ethnic groups that reside in Hawaii showed that all groups ate the same type of foods, but the volume of what Native Hawaiians ate was greater than all other groups (Personal communication, Kaholokula, 2013). Another example is that the majority of obesity prevention programs developed specifically for Native Hawaiian communities concentrate on proximal, individually motivated causes, intervene after the onset of obesity, and have not been able to show long-term behavior change (Fujita et al., 2004). None of these programs sought to identify the underlying socially and culturally constructed reason(s) for the disproportionately high rates of obesity among Native Hawaiians.

The tendency to focus solely on behavioral determinants (e.g. how much food is consumed) without taking into account that social and environmental determinants

(e.g. impact of social inequalities) leads to an inadequate assessment of the etiology of obesity. Vital information concerning broader social inequalities, or the larger cultural context, is overlooked (K. M. Anderson, 2012; Braveman, 2006; Hruschka, 2009). Thus, Native Hawaiians may not be eating any differently than other groups, they may just be eating more. Focusing solely on food intake and portion sizes, however, may hamper the expansion of research directed at more relevant issues that may play a stronger role in health behaviors. Therefore, this study is innovative in public health research because it pays special attention to the impact of the social and historical aspects of Western colonialism on Native Hawaiian ethnic identity and sense of well-being.

Section 3. Research Questions & Aims

This study was designed to investigate how Native Hawaiians define their well-being and how the social forces molding those conceptualizations, may inform the meaning and social function of food. Two questions were posed.

Research question 1:

- 1) What role do Native Hawaiian cultural values, such as aloha, play in the Native Hawaiian conception of well-being? This question encompasses three specific aims:
 - a. To explore how subgroups of Native Hawaiians define their well-being.
 - b. To identify if and how an individual's overall sense of well-being is impacted by the community-level social construction and/or reconstruction of a Native Hawaiian ethnic and cultural identity.
 - c. To identify how age and generation may modify a Native Hawaiian's sense of well-being within his/her larger social and political climate.

Research question 2:

- 2) How does the Native Hawaiian conception of well-being influence the meaning and use of food as a symbol of aloha?

Section 4. Organization of the Dissertation

This dissertation was conducted utilizing the Cultural Framework for Health. It examines the sociocultural aspects of the larger society that shape the definitions of a subgroup at the intersections of these two major cultural interfaces. These concepts of health and well-being are related to the role of food choices by the subordinate group. Chapter 1 outlines the problem, discusses the health significance, and presents the framework of the research question and aims. Chapter 2 briefly summarizes relevant historical background information and presents the literature review. Chapter 3 describes the design and methods, Chapter (4-7) presents and summarizes the results. Chapter 8 presents the findings and discussion and finally, Chapter 9 discusses the conclusions and recommendations for public health.

Chapter II: Background

This chapter briefly summarizes relevant historical background information and presents the literature review that was conducted in preparation for this study. The first section provides information on core Native Hawaiian values. The second section discusses the characteristics of pre-colonial Hawaiian society and the impact of colonization on Native Hawaiian culture. The third section includes a synopsis of the revitalization of Native Hawaiian culture through the “Hawaiian Renaissance.” The fourth section discusses the impact of social inequalities. Then the fifth section introduces obesity and current obesity rates among Native Hawaiians in Hawaii. The sixth section introduces research conducted among other indigenous communities. Finally, the seventh section provides information on Native Hawaiian concepts of well-being.

Section 1. Core Native Hawaiian Values

Five core values are relevant to this study. The five values are: 1) *ohana* (family), 2) *lokahi* (harmony), 3) *kokua* (helpfulness), *mana* (energy or life force), and 4) *aloha* (acceptance, hospitality, and love) (Marsella, Austin, & Grant, 2005; Pukui, Haertig, & Lee, 1972; Rezentes, 1996). These values are interrelated, and demonstrating the spirit of these values on their own and in combination helped the researcher build rapport.

The first value is *Ohana*, which means family. *Ohana* consists of kin relations, extended family, community, informal relationships, such as friends and family of friends, and *hanai* relations (children of other families given to another family to be raised and cared for (L. D. McCubbin & Marsella, 2009)). Hawaiian culture promotes

interdependence, reciprocity, and inclusion as sources of strength needed to create strong families (S. M. Kana'iaupuni, 2004a). This value is experienced through the hospitality of Native Hawaiians. They will invite a visitor to their home as if they were family, which includes unyielding generosity including offering of food.

The Native Hawaiian worldview reveres relationships above all. *Ohana* is a primary source of well-being. The word comes from oha, which is the highly revered taro plant. It symbolizes that all *ohana* come from the same root. No matter what family or generation Hawaiians are from, they all recognize that they all came from the same root and thus are all part of the same family (S. M. Kana'iaupuni, 2004a). It has also been asserted that these relationships provide a positive sense of belonging and norms that regulate behavior (L. D. McCubbin, McCubbin, Zhang, Kehl, & Strom, 2013)

The second value is *lokahi*, which roughly means “to maintain harmony” with others, land, ocean and all of nature. Individuals are expected to exhibit qualities that maintain harmony. Such characteristics include humility and modesty, politeness and kindness, helpfulness, and acceptance, hospitality, and love (McCubbin & Marsella, 2009).

The third Native Hawaiian core value is *kokua*, which means to help without being asked (Marsella, Oliveira, Plummer, & Crabbe, 1995). This value encompasses several essential attributes in the Native Hawaiian worldview, including giving, generosity, kindness, and helping without expecting anything in return. In order to exhibit an understanding of *Kokua*, for example, a researcher might bring food when going to someone's house to interview him or her.

The fourth cultural value is mana. Mana is known to Native Hawaiians as energy or life force and has the power to calm, energize, heal and relax (L. D. McCubbin &

Marsella, 2009; M. F. Oneha, 2001). Mana and lokahi are interdependent; they bind and connect person, family, land, and the spirit world (L. D. McCubbin & Marsella, 2009).

The fifth cultural value is *aloha*, which means acceptance, hospitality, and love (Kana'iapuni, 2004). To give or show *aloha* encompasses all the core values that were previously described. Aloha is a very difficult term to explain and grasp. While growing up in Hawaii, I mostly heard the word used by tourist industry as a greeting, like saying hello or goodbye. However, when I began collecting data for this study one of my informants showed me what a complex concept *aloha* actually is. I had not met this informant before, and was referred to him by a friend. He agreed to meet with me only because he trusted the referent, and my friendship with her gave me credibility. Near the end of his interview, he said to me "You know what, I going *aloha* you..." He then proceeded to share with me a collection of articles about Native Hawaiian beliefs that are rare and hard to come by. In that moment, I felt an overwhelming sensation of love, generosity, and kindness, and I could sense that he wanted nothing in return. He told me that his hope was that anything he could do to help me would in turn help the Native Hawaiian community in some way. That is how I now understand *aloha*.

Section 2. The Impact of Colonization on Native Hawaiian Culture

In order to understand modern-day Native Hawaiians, it is important to have a working knowledge of Native Hawaiian society and culture prior to European contact. Such knowledge contextualizes the drastic changes to the life ways of native Hawaiians that occurred when the Hawaiian Islands were colonized. Traditional Native Hawaiian

lifeways including their social, political and cultural core values were in many ways quite different from the values of western explorers and missionaries who wanted to own and settle the land of Hawaii for themselves. Colonial values and worldview favored individuality and autonomy and missionaries were determined to convert Native Hawaiians to Christianity. The changes that occurred after western contact devastated Hawaiian culture and well-being of its people. This section will describe who Native Hawaiians were prior to colonial rule, the strategies that colonizers used to change Native Hawaiian culture, and the immediate and continuing impact of these strategies implemented during colonization.

Pre-Colonial Native Hawaiian Society and Culture

Before western contact, Native Hawaiians called themselves *Kanaka Maoli*, meaning “true people.” They called the island archipelago where they lived *Hawaii Pae’Aina*. *Hawaii Pae’Aina* are located in the eastern area of the Pacific Ocean known as Polynesia, and *Kanaka Maoli* were the descendants of voyagers who sailed from distant places like Tahiti, Fiji, Tonga, and Samoa, using the stars and observations of the ocean swells to navigate their long journeys (R Kekuni Blaisdell, 1989). *Kanaka Maoli* initially settled *Hawaii Pae’Aina* over 500 years before western explorers arrived, and they thrived in isolation (R Kekuni Blaisdell, 1989; R. K. Blaisdell, 2001; Hughes, 2001; M. F. Oneha, 2001). At the time of contact, the Native Hawaiian population was estimated to be over 800,000 (Blaisdell, 1989).

Prior to colonial rule, traditional Native Hawaiian society was ordered by kinship and based on agriculture (J. Linnekin, 1983; J. S. Linnekin, 1983). Everyday life was structured, purposeful, and hierarchical. *Kanaka Maoli* developed complex social

systems, which included organized agricultural labor and food distribution (R. K. Blaisdell, 2001; Hughes, 2001; Kaholokula, Grandinetti, Kamana'opono, Chang, & Kenui, 1999). *Kanaka Maoli* were highly skilled astrologers, philosophers, agriculturists, warriors and craftsmen (R Kekuni Blaisdell, 1989; Browne, Mokuau, & Braun, 2009; Hughes, 2001; Silva, 2004). They were also “careful environmentalists and highly skilled in farming, fishing, and lifestyle practices that protected and improved the environment” including the land and the ocean (Hughes, 2001). For instance, *Kanaka Maoli* used the *ahupua'a*, an agriculturally efficient system that gave each group equal access to all the food and material necessities of life. Each *ahupua'a* was a pie-shaped division of each island that extended from the mountain tops down to the sea. (R Kekuni Blaisdell, 1989; Earle & Ericson, 1977).

The lifeways and world view of *Kanaka Maoli* were guided by a profound spiritual connection with all things in the universe, animate and inanimate. The Hawaiian creation chant explains how *Kanaka Maoli* are the living descendants of *Wakea* (sky father) and *Papa* (earth mother), who also created the cosmos and everything in it. Since *Kanaka Maoli* consider everything in the universe their siblings, they maintained *pono* (balanced relationships) with all things. Maintaining balanced relationships is a core Hawaiian value. For Native Hawaiians, maintaining balanced relationships with the universe included communicating with their *Ke Akua* (the spiritual realm), caring for the *aina* (land), and the *moana* (ocean) (R. Kekuni Blaisdell, 1989).

Kanaka Maoli considered themselves stewards of the land, and had no concepts of money or private property (J. Linnekin, 1983). They saw themselves as part of a much larger group that included generations of people before and after them. Their *kuleana*

(responsibility) was to all generations: their *kupuna* (ancestors and elders), *opio* (children), and *mo'opuna* (grandchildren). Their duties involved caring for and cultivating the lands, the ocean, and their people. *Kanaka Maoli* made a concerted effort to remain in harmony (*lokahi*) with their environment by doing things in a way that respected all natural elements.

Just as *Kanaka Maoli* worked the land, the land in turn nourished them physically and spiritually. Consuming sustenance from the land was symbolic of the Native Hawaiians' connections to their ancestors and their gods. The act of eating was an internalization of their ancestors because *Kanaka Maoli* actually saw the food as their ancestors or gods, capable of giving them *mana* (power). (R Kekuni Blaisdell, 1989). Therefore, by fulfilling their role – taking care of the land, receiving in return food from the land – Native Hawaiians saw themselves as doing their part to maintain balance in the universe.

Kanaka Maoli were healthy, physically active, and were generally characterized as muscular, graceful and hard working. During this time, the *Kanaka Maoli* somatotype is described as generally healthy. Western voyagers noted that the indigenous people they encountered were “muscular, nimble, graceful, and enduring” (R Kekuni Blaisdell, 1989). However, dramatic changes occurred after western contact with explorers and missionaries arrive in Ka Pae'aina (Hawaiian Islands). The foreigners introduced diseases that led to drastic decreases in population. They also imposed western lifeways that were contrary to the core beliefs and values to Hawaiians, as they were for all the other indigenous populations that experienced colonization as noted below.

Colonization's Impact on Native Hawaiian Culture

The strategies of colonization are fundamental social determinants that have had a lasting impact on the health and well-being of modern day Native Hawaiians (M. King, Smith, & Gracey, 2009). Major differences in Native Hawaiian and Western conceptions of lifeways reveals factors that have caused lasting turmoil and cultural upheaval for Native Hawaiians. Colonial rule in Hawaii imposed unfamiliar practices that completely contradicted and sought to obliterate the Native Hawaiian worldview. No aspect of Native Hawaiian society was left unaffected by colonialism. Of particular interest to this study are the changes to practices of food cultivation and land ownership, which will be addressed later in this chapter. Substantial population decline immediately ensued upon first contact with westerners and would continue for 120 years. In 1778, English sailors inadvertently landed in Kealahou, located on the Hawaii Island, the southernmost island among the archipelago. Captain Cooke and his crew became the first Europeans to make contact with *Kanaka Maoli* (R Kekuni Blaisdell, 1989; R. K. Blaisdell, 2001). They brought with them sexually transmitted infections (STIs), tuberculosis, and hepatitis. Later colonists arrived with measles, mumps, smallpox, diphtheria, and pertussis, among other infectious diseases. Since these diseases did not formerly exist among the Indigenous, they had no immunity. Researchers estimate the population declined from ~800,000 at first contact in 1778 to fewer than ~40,000 in 1893 (Akeo et al., 2008; R. K. Blaisdell, 2001; Kanahale, 1982).

In addition to population decline, colonial education and the institution of private land ownership had the heaviest impact on the loss of *Kanaka Maoli* culture. In 1820, Christian missionaries arrived and suppressed Native Hawaiian language, art,

dance, and education (Kimura, 1983). Missionaries forced *Kanaka Maoli* children to act, think, speak and live in the image of a ‘civilized’ Christian” (Greer, 2013). Through education *Kanaka Maoli* were taught that their cultural practices, Indigenous religion, and overall cultural logic were misguided and lacked morality. Education was used to change the social structure and values of the colonized, and to ensure future generations would follow indoctrinated in western ideology (Rogoff, Paradise, Arauz, Correa-Chávez, & Angelillo, 2003).

More specifically, Christian-run schools forcibly imposed Western and Protestant beliefs and values upon *keiki* (children). The missionaries were Protestant, conservative and judged others based on the scripture from the Bible. There was no aspect of Native Hawaiian life that was not deemed hedonistic to the Protestant missionaries because Native Hawaiian lifeways, practices and cultures were not derived from core Protestant beliefs about how to live (Greer, 2013; Silva, 2004). Missionaries made Native Hawaiian children believe that their traditions and way of life were shameful, and even wrong. They banned speaking Native Hawaiian and taught English to Native Hawaiians so they could study the bible and convert to Christianity (Greer, 2013). In stark contrast to the model of colonial values, the center of the traditional Native Hawaiian way of life and worldview was the sense that life’s purpose was fulfilling a spiritual and familial duty to take care of the land. According to Oneha (2001; 2004). *Kanaka Maoli*’s deep connection to the land is created by a “sense of place.” It is a “feeling of belonging to a place” created by the spiritual connection to higher powers and all natural elements that go along with caring for that land, that “place” (Oneha, 2001; 2004). But the passage of land laws in 1848 changed the traditional system of land use to private land ownership, which was never allowed before. Native Hawaiians found their social and cultural norms

disrupted even further. These land ownership laws removed *Kanaka Maoli* from their lands, and stripped of their land ownership rights (Kame'eleihiwa, 1992). This law, left the Indigenous people with less than 1% of Hawaii's total land mass and disconnected them from the spirit of the land and their reason for existing (Akeo et al., 2008; R Kekuni Blaisdell, 1989; Kame'eleihiwa, 1992). Losing the land stripped the Native Hawaiians of their connection to their higher powers, their natural elements, and all their siblings that existed in and on the land they had cared for over hundreds of years. Ultimately, such changes cost *Kanaka Maoli* their cultural, spiritual, and emotional identity (M. F. Oneha, 2001; M. F. M. i. Oneha, 2004).

The imposed laws drastically changed the lifeways of *Kanaka Maoli* and had detrimental impacts on health. In a relatively short period of time, the imposition of a colonial educational system and of new land ownership laws transformed *Kanaka Maoli* culture from a thriving, orderly, productive society to one crippled by social disadvantages, stigma, and shame (R Kekuni Blaisdell, 1989; Richard K Blaisdell, 1992; R. K. Blaisdell, 2001). As early as 1900, *Kanaka Maoli* were already characterized as having “the worst health profile in the islands, with the shortest life-expectancy, highest mortality and chronic diseases rates” (Blaisdell, 1983 & 1987).

Due to their ever worsening health outcomes Native Hawaiians became a minority group in their own homeland by 1900 (Linnekin & Poyer, 1990). During the first half of the 20th century, the Native Hawaiian population began to increase by ~10,000 per census period. However, the non-Native Hawaiian population grew as well, increasing by 50,000 - 100,000 per census period. These increases were due to the arrival of immigrants from Japan, Portugal, and the Philippines, who were recruited to work on Hawaiian plantation (Schmitt, 1977).

Eventually these labor immigrants and others intermarried with the Native Hawaiian population. Even though the 2010 Census finds that 23% of Hawaiians identify themselves as Native Hawaiian, only 6% (80,337) identify as Native Hawaiian only, with the remainder (17%) identifying as mixed heritage (Census, 2010; Hixson, Hepler, Kim, & Census, 2012). The 2010 Census reports the total population of Hawaii as 1.3 million. Other ethnic groups that make up the island population include Caucasian (21%), Japanese (22%), Filipino (16%), Chinese (5%), and Others (13%) (Census, 2010).

The imposition of western cultural values and social norms destroyed *Kanaka Maoli's* connection to their ancestors, disrupted their stewardship of the land, and their perceptions of self-image and well-being (R Kekuni Blaisdell, 1989; Crabbe, 1998b; Greer, 2013). As a result *Kanaka Maoli* endured loss of; power, identity, cultural traditions, customs, language, Indigenous religion, and their deep connection to the land through their agriculturally based lifestyle (I. Anderson et al., 2006; R Kekuni Blaisdell, 1989; Casken, 2007; M. F. Oneha, 2001).

Among the consequences of these changes were increased despair, self-hate, and doubt among Native Hawaiians about their identity. In short, colonialism stripped Native Hawaiians of their self-esteem. Even more tragically, colonialism also led to an increased mortality rate among Native Hawaiians. When conducting research studies among Native Hawaiians, it is vital to understand how Native Hawaiians have endured the imposition of colonial culture and how their culture has been dismissed, misrepresented and undervalued since that time to today (Kana'iaupuni, 2004).

Section 3. Hawaiian Renaissance – Resurrecting Cultural Pride and Health

After the Hawaiian Kingdom was illegally overthrown and then annexed by the United States in 1898, Hawaiians endured 70 years of struggle as minorities in their homeland. Then, in the 1970s, the Hawaiian Renaissance worked towards decolonization and improving the well-being of Native Hawaiians was founded. During this major turning point in Native Hawaiian history, Native Hawaiians experienced a renewed sense of the value, wisdom, and importance of Native Hawaiian culture. The “Renaissance” became a movement to reignite pride in all things Hawaiian. The goal was to recover all that was lost during the last 200 years of occupation. Native Hawaiians sought to restore their culture, land, language, arts, music, ethnic identity, self-determination, health and, ultimately, their sovereignty

One central event of the Renaissance was the successful voyage of the *Hokule’a* in 1976. The *Hokule’a* was a double-hulled canoe that used ancient navigation techniques to retrace the route taken by ancestors of *Kanaka Maoli* when they traveled back and forth from Hawaii to Tahiti. Its success proved that *Kanaka Maoli*’s ancestors did not land in Hawaii by accident, and were indeed highly skilled navigators and sailors. The voyage substantiated the determination and skill of Native Hawaiian ancestors who had traversed the Pacific Ocean in search of new, uninhabited lands where they could live (R Kekuni Blaisdell, 1989; R. K. Blaisdell, 2001; Hughes, 2001; S. M. Kana’iaupuni, 2004b; J. S. Linnekin, 1983; Sharp, 1957). Also, in a broader sense, Native Hawaiian people felt vindicated by the voyage of the *Hokule’a*. Its success refuted the western stereotypes and labels that devalued and incorrectly characterized Native Hawaiians as lazy and unintelligent.

Soon after, the Hawaiian Renaissance was buoyed by a revival of Native Hawaiian arts, music, previously banned cultural traditions such as *hula*, and, most notably, the Native Hawaiian language (Kanahele, 1982). Prior to the Renaissance, less than 1 percent of Hawaii's estimated 30,000 Native Hawaiian children were able to speak Hawaiian. But beginning in 1984, *'Aha Pūnana Leo* (Hawaiian language immersion preschools) began to be established (Kanahele, 1982; Ng-Osorio & Ledward, 2011). Currently, Hawaiian language immersion programs are teaching the Hawaiian language to approximately 1,500 students (Ng-Osorio & Ledward, 2011). The program includes 21 public Hawaiian immersion K-12 schools throughout the state of Hawaii.

The Renaissance not only sparked greater pride in being Native Hawaiian, it also drew more attention to the health and well-being of Native Hawaiians (R Kekuni Blaisdell, 1989; M. F. Oneha, 2001). In 1983, Congress commissioned a Native Hawaiian health needs study that included a comprehensive review of existing health data on Native Hawaiians (R Kekuni Blaisdell, 1989; M. F. Oneha, 2001). The report, titled "*E Ola Mau* (Live On) Native Hawaiian Health Needs Study," emphasized the plight of Native Hawaiian health. It focused on barriers Native Hawaiians face when accessing health care, and pointed to colonization as the root of these barriers (M. F. Oneha, 2001). The *E Ola Mau* Study highlighted the high rates of chronic disease among Native Hawaiians, lack of substantial data about Native Hawaiians and barriers to care within the community. Some of the barriers included socioeconomic disadvantage, discrimination, cultural degradation, and a loss of self-worth (Goodyear-Kaopua, 2011). The results of *E Ola Mau* led to the development of The Native Hawaiian Health Care Act of 1992. The Act established and funded Native Hawaiian Health Centers run by Native Hawaiian organizations, which aimed to raise the health

status of Native Hawaiians throughout the Hawaiian Islands (R Kekuni Blaisdell, 1989; M. F. Oneha, 2001). Shortly thereafter researchers began to investigate cardiovascular disease (Aluli, 1991), cancer (Banner et al., 1995), diabetes (Grandinetti et al., 1998), and obesity (Aluli, 1991; Shintani, Beckham, Tang, O'Connor, & Hughes, 1999), in the Native Hawaiian population.

Traditional Hawaiian Diet Programs

Colonization introduced alien foods to the Indigenous people of Hawaii, resulting in eventual but long-lasting changes to traditional foodways. Presently, among the Pacific Islands as a whole, an increased dependence on imported foods, which are low in nutrients and high in fat, has contributed to the demise of locally grown foods (Egan, 1998; Evans, Sinclair, Fusimalohi, & Liava'a, 2002; Pollock, 2007). In Hawaii, the inaccessibility and the exorbitant costs of indigenous foods like taro, breadfruit, and sweet potato has caused tremendous decreases in consumption. For example, one serving of fresh poi costs \$5, so feeding a family of four would cost at least \$20 per meal. The total cost of a meal, including protein and vegetables, would likely exceed a reasonable amount for middle and low-income families. For this reason, many islanders eat rice, which is not locally grown but rather imported. A 15-pound bag costs as little as \$10, and can feed a family of four for at least a week, if not more.

Another reason why Hawaiians might not choose Native Hawaiian food staples is because they have been of misinformed as to these staples' nutritional value. Before the Hawaiian Renaissance, western medical professionals in Hawaii believed that taro was not a healthy food, and Hawaiians struggled with the idea that taro, a central object of their core beliefs, could be bad for their health. But since the Hawaiian Renaissance,

diet programs using Indigenous foods have proven that the Native Hawaiian diet can indeed be nutritious and effective in promoting healthy weight maintenance (Fujita, 2004). (See: <http://nutritiondata.self.com/facts/vegetables-and-vegetable-products/2674/2>)

Over the years, dietitians, physicians, and researchers have worked together with Native Hawaiian Health Centers to develop culturally appropriate diet, exercise, and behavior change programs to promote healthy behaviors among Native Hawaiians. The majority of these programs sought to develop interventions that employed a diet comprised of Indigenous foods that Native Hawaiians consumed when they were an agriculturally-based society.

The Traditional Hawaiian Diet (THD) consists of primarily plant-based foods including starchy plants (sweet potatoes, yams, and breadfruits) and leafy green vegetables (taro leaves) with some fruits (mountain apples, berries, and bananas). It also includes moderate amounts of protein and fat (coconut, fish, shellfish, and chicken) (Fujita et al., 2004). Initially, these foods were prepared traditionally, meaning they were served raw or steamed with no seasoning. The indigenous foods that were allowed on the diet program were mostly plant based, high in fiber, and low in fat and sugar (Fujita et al., 2004).

All THD programs generally demonstrated the effectiveness of culturally relevant interventions on health behaviors. Furthermore, evaluation results from the programs showed that participants were very satisfied with the programs' curriculum and process. Traditional Hawaiian Diet-based programs were very popular for several reasons: first, Hawaiian values guided the development and delivery of the program. All programs included traditional Hawaiian practices such as communal eating sessions. The

programs also included educational talks concerning traditional Hawaiian farming, lifestyles, and healing practices (Fujita et al., 2004). Native Hawaiians who had been yearning for traditional culturally appropriate practices welcomed this opportunity to learn about and eat like their *Kupuna* (ancestors). Another reason for the THD programs' popularity was that they successfully met their goals. Initial results showed significant reductions in participant weight, blood pressure, glucose, and lipid levels. These successes made the program novel, and participants were hopeful for continued success.

Notably, even though all THD program participants experienced initial success, none were able to achieve long-term weight loss (over six months) or continue the practices beyond the interventions. However, participants felt strongly that the experience was worthwhile and a vital milestone to improving their health outcomes overall.

The Evolution of Traditional Hawaiian Diet Programs

In 1987, the first THD program was initiated with 10 people (Aluli, 1991; R Kekuni Blaisdell, 1998; Fujita et al., 2004) and soon after many others followed. The popularity of these THD programs, which was largely attributable to their focus on traditional Hawaiian practices and the reports of initial weight loss, continued to increase over time despite the variations in programs. All THD programs ran for a minimum of 3 weeks. Some of the variations among the programs were the amount of food intake, extent of instruction on food preparation, inclusion and variation of exercise, and the level of social support participants received (Fujita et al., 2004).

As the programs were developed, they used participant feedback to build on one another adding or modifying relevant constructs as needed. For instance, the first three programs – *Ho’oke Ai* (to fast) *Molokai* (1987), *Waianae Diet Program* (1989), and *Ai Pono* (balanced eating) (1992) – focused solely on diet intake, eating only traditional foods and eating at least one meal a day collectively with all the other participants. Participants reported that the foods were limited, boring and had no flavor. So, the programs were modified to include foods from other cultures that mirrored the nutritional content of the THD.

Later, *Uli’eo Koa*, another THD-based program, added a culturally-tailored collective fitness component to build on the THD with a multi-cultural menu and social support used in the previous models (Hughes, 2001). The newest weight loss program, *Pili Ohana* (2007) is different from all the others (Nacapoy et al., 2008). It does not incorporate THD but rather includes constructs that are relevant to living in Hawaii at the present. (e.g. learning how to eat any food available in Hawaii, portion sizes, psychological barriers to weight loss, etc.) One of the major differences is that its curriculum addresses reported barriers to health behaviors among the community. It also includes other Pacific Islander communities (e.g. Samoan, Chuukese etc.). *Pili Ohana* is a community-based weight loss and diabetes prevention program that focuses on behavior change related to eating (e.g. healthy choice, portion size, and learning to manage emotions related to eating). The nine-month curriculum includes monthly meetings emphasizing behaviors related to nutrition, fitness sessions and social support networks (Kaholokula, Mau, et al., 2012; Marjorie K Mau et al., 2010; Nacapoy et al., 2008). Participants are encouraged to build networks among the monthly group participants as well as outside the group. This will ensure continued support long after

the group ceases to meet. Among evaluations, *Pili Ohana* has shown significant long-term weight loss (over six months) and maintenance and the curriculum is now being converted to be share with others over the internet (Palakiko, 2013). As noted, with the exception of Pili Ohana, all the other interventions based on THD were unable to show long-term weight loss (over six months). However one unifying aspect of all the programs is that they treat obesity after the fact. All programs also focus on the problems associated with individual health behaviors. What appears to be missing in the body of research on the problem of obesity is a deeper investigation of the underlying causes related to obesity. Research needs to begin to understand the ecological factors, such as the social determinants of health. It is imperative to understand how social forces, such as social inequalities, may contribute to the high rates of obesity.

Section 4. Impact of Social Inequalities on Native Hawaiians

It has been over 200 years since initial colonial contact and Native Hawaiians continue to struggle to reconcile their notions of self in relation to the dominant non-Hawaiian society (Linnekin, 1990, Crabbe, 1998). As described above, colonization dismantled Native Hawaiian culture and uprooted Native Hawaiians' consciousness. Ongoing social inequalities manifested in power imbalances, imposed culture, and devaluation of their lifeways. At the same time, conflicting ideas about identity created an ongoing struggle for Native Hawaiians to reconcile their Hawaiian identity with the counterintuitive dominant culture.

Colonization forced Native Hawaiians to the fringes of society as second class citizens in their own homeland. Research has shown that trauma and stress

experienced by other Indigenous groups around the world, including Native Hawaiians, has been linked to some of the highest rates of mental and behavioral health disparities. Among these disparities are, alcoholism, drug abuse, violence and depression (Mayeda, Hishinuma, Nishimura, Garcia-Santiago, & Mark, 2006; Umemoto et al., 2009). If these aforementioned risky behaviors are known to coping mechanisms for dealing with the trauma and stress of displacement and devaluation, then how has the relationship of food not been considered when identifying behavioral health disparities?

For many people, food not only represents a way to nourish the body (Garth, 2009), it also symbolizes comfort and reward (Hamburg, Finkenauer, & Schuengel, 2014). Food is a known coping mechanism for stress and depression. It has been shown to decrease feelings of stress and depression (Hamburg et al., 2014; Markus et al., 1998) and increase feelings of joy (Macht & Dettmer, 2006). Also, food has the ability to replicate the good feelings associated with memorable situations or contexts (e.g. family gatherings, special events).

Social inequalities may play a critically overlooked role in the etiology of obesity. Considering social inequalities would contextualize the study of health behaviors, and would not force researchers to separate the population group from its historical and current contextual contexts (K. M. Anderson, 2012; Williams & Sternthal, 2010). Social inequalities are underlying causes that directly impact the morbidity and mortality of marginalized populations within and between groups (K. M. Anderson, 2012). In the context of this study, inequalities in society are defined as power imbalances and unequal access to resources related to overt and covert discrimination due to race, class, gender, age, sexual orientation, or disability (Braveman, 2006; Byrd & Clayton, 2003; Reid, Pederson, & Dupéré, 2012; Schulz & Mullings, 2006). For instance, colonization

imposed western social norms, values, religion and worldviews, which created social inequalities related to the stigma associated with being Native Hawaiian (R. K. Blaisdell, 2001; Crabbe, 1998a; Greer, 2013; Kanuha, 2004).

In an effort to “improve” the lives of Native Hawaiians, missionaries enforced their political and social power and imposed laws, which forced Native Hawaiians to assimilate to Protestant lifeways. Colonizers were ignorant about the prosperity Native Hawaiians experienced for over 500 years before their arrival. For example, Native Hawaiians became stereotyped for their work style, which differed from that of Europeans. In traditional times, and even in modern rural places, Native Hawaiian families started work in the early morning when it was cool and stopped in the early afternoon when it got too hot to work in the sun, as in most tropical climates. They used that time to forage food for the rest of the day and enjoy time with the family. Protestant missionaries considered this work style lazy, and perpetuated a stereotype of the lazy Hawaiian.

Forcing Native Hawaiians to live a colonial lifestyle (e.g. independent, wealth seeking, Protestant, and English speaking) was in direct contrast to living the Hawaiian way (e.g. connecting to all living things, organizing society communally, worshipping Hawaiian gods, and acting as stewards of the land). A by-product of the process of assimilation has been the assumption by Native Hawaiians of a sense of inferiority to the dominant culture. The imposition of colonial cultural standards and values continually reinforced discriminatory social attitudes. In turn it caused deep internal strife and confusion related to Hawaiian identity. The continued oppression caused Native Hawaiians to develop negative self-images through familial relationships. Some of these negative self-images lasted over entire generations (Romanucci-Ross, De Vos, & Tsuda,

2006). For example, concepts of physical beauty such as skin tone or color, hair texture, and body size or type are very often concepts used to reinforce internalized oppression. In familial settings, negative comments from parents and siblings who are commonly the people that fuel self-hatred and self-rejection, both of which work to reinforce racial oppression and inequalities in society” (Romanucci-Ross et al., 2006). In addition, “racial oppression can also be internalized by an entire generation that reinforces degradation of the oppressed and flattery towards the oppressor” (Romanucci-Ross et al., 2006).

Section 5. The Problem of Obesity among Native Hawaiians

It is well known that obesity is a worldwide pandemic that continues to escalate. An individual with a body mass index (BMI) ≥ 30.0 kg/m² is defined as obese (World Health Organization, 2012). Globally, the number of adults (over 20 years old) who are considered overweight or obese has more than doubled in the last 30 years (World Health Organization, 2012). Research shows that between 1980 and 2008, the prevalence of obesity doubled from 5 % to 10 % of men and from 8 % to 14 % of women. This translates to an estimated 500 million people across the globe who are obese (205 million men and 297 million women) (World Health Organization, 2012). If the global rate of obesity continues to increase at the same pace, estimates suggest that the prevalence of obesity will reach approximately 50% by 2030 (Ogden et al., 2012). Obesity severely burdens the health of communities putting their members at high risk for other diet-related co-morbidities such as, Type 2 diabetes, stroke, hypertension, heart disease, and cancers (Kaholokula, Grandinetti, et al., 2012; M. K. Mau et al., 2009; Nguyen & El-Serag, 2010). For this reason, obesity is a critical issue that needs attention.

Recent studies have shown that most ethnic groups of color have higher than average rates of obesity compared to Non-Hispanic Whites (NHWs) in the U.S. However, Indigenous groups such as Native Hawaiians are disproportionately affected by obesity, and in fact, have some of the highest rates of obesity in the world (Kaholokula, Grandinetti, et al., 2012; M. K. Mau et al., 2009; Moy et al., 2010; Y. Wang & Beydoun, 2007). For instance, compared to NHWs, Native Hawaiians are twice as likely to be obese. Nearly half of the Native Hawaiian population (47%) falls under the definition of obese compared to 20.5% of NHWs (HHDW, 2013). The State of Hawaii obesity rates show that 79% of Native Hawaiians are overweight, with 32.1% overweight and 47.1% qualifying as obese (State of Hawaii, 2013). Their rates of chronic diseases such as heart disease, Type 2 diabetes, hypertension, and cancers are concomitantly high.

Despite the alarming prevalence of obesity among Native Hawaiians, these rates are invisible within the national data. The overall rates of obesity by state is often aggregated by racial categories that mask distinctive ethnic and cultural groups (HHDW, 2013). Considering only aggregated data leaves the Native Hawaiian population even more vulnerable to an already dire situation, as aggregated data obscures their need for services and treatment (Marjorie Kagawa-Singer, 2000; Kagawa-Singer & Pourat, 2000).

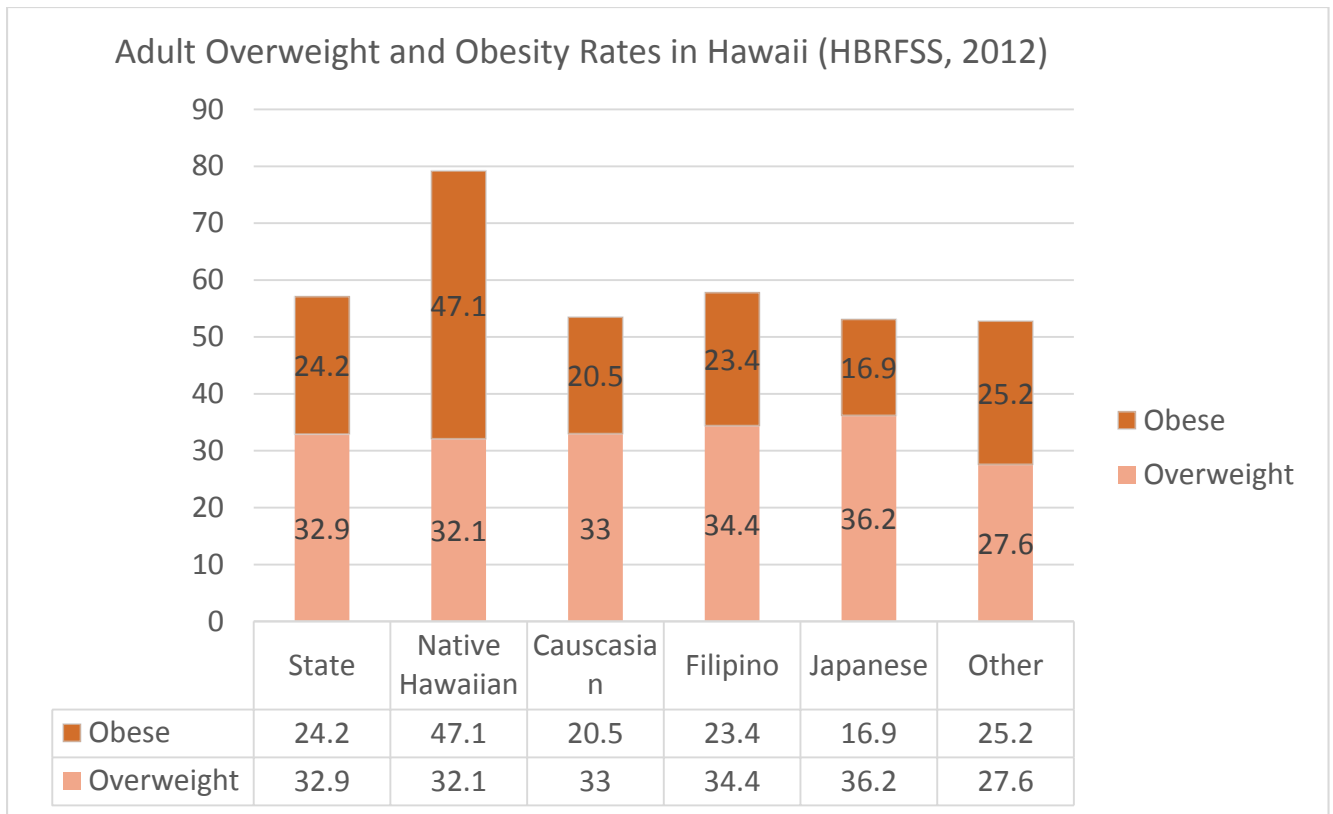


Figure 1. Adult Overweight and Obesity Rates in Hawaii (HHDW, 2013)

Causes of Obesity

The etiology of obesity for all populations is complicated and not well understood. What is known is that complex interactions between environmental, biological, and behavioral influences lead to obesity. (Affenito, Franko, Striegel-Moore, & Thompson, 2012; Nguyen & El-Serag, 2010). The key contributing influences are further defined as a combination of proximal and distal factors. Proximal causes include: a) a major decrease of traditional plant-based diets, b) a corresponding increase in energy-dense diets that include processed foods high in fat and sugar, c) a decrease in fiber intake, and d) an increase in sedentary lifestyles (Kimokoti & Millen, 2011). Despite our success in identifying these proximal causes, distal factors, like environmental and ecological

determinants, are less understood (Lopez, 2007). Yet despite our knowledge of the contributing factors, little progress has been made in stemming the obesity pandemic.

Many weight loss interventions focused at the individual level are available for Native Hawaiians and the general public. They share a common methodology: encouraging individuals to decrease caloric intake and increase physical activity. Yet, the success of these efforts on either a population wide basis or sustainability of this type of behavior change is minimal. Weight loss programs have not been able to show long term behavior change or weight reduction. Therefore, only paying attention to input and output of calories is not enough. Research shows that marginalized populations, such as Native Hawaiians, experience multiple disparities including social inequalities. Therefore, in order to understand health behaviors that contribute to the ever-increasing rate of obesity, more attention is focused now on ecological factors that may undermine healthy behaviors.

Ecological models help to visualize and theorize the dynamic layers of society. The ecological constructs offer the ability to construct a concise description of culture that is shaped by the social, political, and historical contexts in society (M. Kagawa-Singer, Dressler W, George S, and the NIH Expert Panel, 2015). Paying attention to ecological constructs to guide and frame this study helped to distinguish the unique realities among Native Hawaiians. but, untangling fact from fiction among stereotypes about Native Hawaiian culture also requires differentiating the subgroups that exist among those who identify as Native Hawaiians. Therefore, this study focuses on the diverse Native Hawaiian population in Hawaii. This group of Native Hawaiians suffers a disproportionately pervasive problem of overweight and obesity that threatens their

well-being and quality of life compared to other ethnic and cultural groups in the Hawaiian Islands.

Section 6. Research from the field

Social, political, and historical factors mediate concepts of self-image. Research concerning concepts of ethnic and cultural identity among Indigenous, colonized groups are exemplified by studies on the Navajo (Schulz, 1998), Maori (C. Houkamau, 2010), and Native Hawaiians (McMullin, 2010). Such studies have found that, even when social inequalities exist, it is possible to formulate a positive conceptualization of one's self (C. Houkamau, 2010; Schulz, 1998). The mediating factors can be a support system or role model that helps the Indigenous person create an alternative identity. This independent identity is an alternative to the racial oppression that exists in the dominant social milieu (C. Houkamau, 2010; McMullin, 2010; Schulz, 1998). Those study participants who lacked a support system or role model to counter the oppressive forces internalized a sense of shame about their ethnic and cultural identity. (C. Houkamau, 2010).

In order to counter the oppressive forces of colonialism, several communities have developed programs to re-construct positive identities through cultural revitalization. The Suquamish Tribe (Lisa Rey Thomas et al., 2011), Pacific Islanders (Umemoto et al., 2009), and Native Hawaiians (Tengan, 2008) have developed and received cultural revitalization curriculums that emphasize the value and wisdom of these native cultures. These programs extend social support, and include elders as role models, and have resulted in reductions in risky behaviors (e.g. drug abuse, violence) (Lisa Rey Thomas et al., 2011; Umemoto et al., 2009). Additionally, participants report a

deep sense of clarity concerning their conceptualizations of themselves as Indigenous persons living in a western world (Tengan, 2008; Lisa Rey Thomas et al., 2011).

Navajo and Indian Concepts of Identity

Two examples are presented here of studies that have identified key factors that could support positive changes in self-identify for indigenous women. Houkamau (2010) and Schulz (1998) examined how Maori and Navajo women respectively conceptualize their ethnic identity. They both found that constructions of ethnic identity varied by generation, and were influenced by political power, policies, the social milieu, and the availability of support networks.

Cohort (N=31)*	Born	Age Range
1	before 1946	46-76
2	1946 - 1960	32-44
3	1961-1972	15-27

Figure 2. Navajo Study Cohorts Birth years and age range (Schulz, 1998)

*sample numbers for each cohort were not provided in the research article

Among the Navajo women studied, the concept of an “Indian” identity was mediated by factors associated with the social conditions shaped by United States policies towards Indians during their respective formative years. This study qualitatively interviewed 31 intergenerational Navajo women about how they conceptualized their “Indian” and “Navajo” identities (Schulz, 1998). Identities were conceptualized as either “Indian” (as a supratribal identity) or “Navajo” (as a tribal

identity. The older Navajo women, who could speak the language, used their language to explicitly describe aspects of Navajo culture that make it unique.

Characteristics of the social and political environments differentiated the two older cohorts from the youngest. Cohorts 1 and 2 grew up speaking Navajo, and considered themselves fluent in the language. They also learned traditional cultural, economic, and spiritual practices (See Figure 2). Yet they also encountered attitudes that devalued the Navajo experience and felt pressure to assimilate to White Anglo culture. Members of Cohorts 1 and 2 attended boarding schools or lived with Anglo foster families that forbade the use of their native language. By contrast, Cohort 3 grew up during the social movements of the 1960s and 70s, which were shaped by a spirit of indigenous self-determination. Members of Cohort 3 had access to social support while living at home. They attended school within the Navajo Nation but learned English as their primary language while struggling to speak, read, or write Navajo.

The following are results on how each cohort constructed their Indian and Navajo identities. In terms of an Indian identity, all participants of Cohort 1 conceptualized Indian identity as negative, something externally imposed by others. They defined being “Indian” as being different, set apart, devalued or lower status than Anglos (Schulz, 1998). Situational identities were also a part of these participants’ concepts of ethnic identity. For example, being around Anglos made members of Cohort 1 felt devalued. They did not speak outwardly when they felt offended by Anglos. Yet at the same time, some of them had social support that “provided an alternative and internal sense of self, grounded in Navajo heritage” (Schulz, 1998).

Cohorts 1 & 2 associated more positively with a Navajo identity and used Navajo language to describe what it meant to them to be a Navajo woman. They also distanced

themselves from an “Indian” identity (Schulz, 1998). Cohort 3, on the other hand, embraced an “Indian” identity, and acknowledged Indians’ history of marginalization and the stigma of being Indian. This cohort described “Indian” as a single entity, and lacked the ability to verbally differentiate Navajo culture from Indian cultures as cohorts 1 & 2 had done (Schulz, 1998). This cohort was also more willing to speak out and defend their culture when they felt offended.

In terms of Navajo identities, all women regardless of cohort expressed great pride in being Navajo. They cited their pride in the Navajo ability to display great resilience as a group, and to do so with strength and creativity. The Navajo worldview consists of maintaining: a relationship with the land, language, kinship network, and spiritual beliefs and practices (Schulz, 1998).

Maori Concepts of Identity

The study of Maori women included participants (n=38) aged 18-78 years old. Participants were divided into three intergenerational cohorts (See Figure 3). The divisions of the cohorts was dictated by governmental policy that influenced social conditions for Maori communities during the participants’ formative years. For example, when the second cohort was growing up Maori began to move away from their tribal lands. During this time, the government decided Maori needed to assimilate and did not support Maori culture and language. The discourse about Maori people reinforced negative stereotypes about the Maori as dirty, lazy and dishonest. Therefore, the middle cohort lacked positive role models and struggled to reconcile their ethnic identity.

This study found that the presiding socio-historical and geopolitical forces shaped the ethnic and cultural identities of study participants (C. Houkamau, 2010; Carla Anne Houkamau, 2006)The results show that the cohorts 1 & 3 reported positive concepts of ethnic identity. During the formative years of these cohorts, Maori culture was characterized by social support and positive role models. At this time, Maori culture was highly regarded by all members of society.

Cohort (N=35)	Born	Age Range
1 focus group (18 participants)	before 1946	46-76
9	1946 - 1960	32-44
8	1961-1972	15-27

Figure 3. Maori Participant Cohorts (Houkamau, 2010).

In contrast, during the formative years of cohort 2, Maori culture and rights were undermined and Maori people were seen as inferior to British subjects (Houkamau, 2010). Cohort 2 grew up ashamed of being Maori, because they were subject to prevailing ideas and stereotypes about Maori society. Cohort 2 also lacked social support systems or role models to teach them the value of their Maori culture, making it harder for them to combat discrimination or create an alternative ethnic identity.

Increased Self-Efficacy through Cultural Revitalization

Notably in the last four decades, Indigenous groups have worked within their own communities to develop cultural revitalization programs. These programs help their members construct or reconstruct a positive ethnic and cultural identity by enhancing self-efficacy against the stereotypes that were cast upon them. Such programs have been implemented by Native American/Alaskan Native, Native Hawaiian and Pacific Islander groups, including the Suquamish Tribe, a sovereign nation in Washington State (Thomas et al., 2011); Native Hawaiian men of Hale Mua in Hawaii (Tengan, 2008); and the Asian/Pacific Islander Youth Violence Prevention Center (APIYVPC) (Umemoto, 2009). These programs reported that participants experienced increased self-efficacy and reductions in risky behaviors (e.g. drug abuse, violence) (Thomas et al., 2011, Tengan, 2008, Umemoto et al., 2009).

One such project, The Healing of the Canoe Project, a collaboration between the Suquamish Tribe of Washington State, the Port Gamble S'Klallam Tribe, and the Alcohol and Drug Abuse Institute at the University of Washington, has seen great success. The project developed, implemented, and evaluated community-driven, culturally relevant substance abuse interventions that are proving to be best practices among Indigenous Native American/Alaskan Native (Donovan et al., 2015). The intervention used a canoe journey as a metaphor for life to cultivate culturally relevant social skills and positive views on ethnic and cultural identity.

The overarching concept of The Healing of the Canoe Project was grounded in the idea that a person's ability to cope with social disadvantage is directly related to the depth of his/her ethnic and cultural knowledge (Thomas et al., 2011). The essential elements of this program include culturally relevant topics and community elders. On

the surface of the program, elders act as role models to share and discuss tribe-specific traditional knowledge. At a deeper level, learning the value and wisdom of their traditional culture helps participants create or reclaim a positive ethnic and cultural identity. It also provides a social support system that reinforces the participants' positive identities. This program has found increased self-efficacy from baseline through four-month follow-up and reduced substance use from baseline through nine-month follow-up (Donovan et al., 2015).

Another example of how cultural revitalization helps to reclaim ethnic and cultural identity can be found in Kawika Tengan's (2008) ethnography, *Native Men Remade*. Hale Mua is a Hawaiian grassroots organization of around 40 men who have dedicated their lives to the *kuleana* (responsibility) of reclaiming their identity as Hawaiian men within and against competing discourses of culture and nation. Hale Mua "provides a space for teaching, learning, and practicing Hawaiian traditions and histories" (Tengan, 2008). The men of Hale Mua strive to be empowered, leaders, and warriors for their communities. They have chosen a lifelong journey to reframe their body, mind, spirit, language and performance. They train their bodies in the Hawaiian martial art of *Lua* to metaphorically fight for *Lahui* ("the people"), and also to spiritually connect with their *kupuna* (ancestors).

The significance of the name *Hale Mua* is that it was part of the Kapu system that governed laws in the Hawaiian kingdom prior to colonial rule. The Kapu system was a religious law system designed to maintain a balance of power (*mana*, divine power) between common and ruling classes of Hawaiians. The strict hierarchical system established rules and regulations that dictated daily life and provided harmony between the different classes of people, their gods, and nature (Malo, 1951). For example, the

Kapu system dictated that men and women ate separately, with their foods cooked separately. During certain summer months a certain type of fish was not allowed to be eaten (Malo, 1951).

The Native Hawaiian men of Hale Mua (the phrase means “mens’ house,” and refers to a pre-colonial traditional meeting place for men) shared with researchers that they didn’t realize something was missing in them until they started participating with *Hale Mua* (men’s house). At the cognitive level participants in Hale Mua reframe how they think about their actions, choosing to view them through traditional Hawaiian worldviews. For instance, rather than focus on how their actions will benefit themselves, they dedicate their actions or performances to honor *kupuna* (ancestors) who came before, *kupuna* (elders) who are here today, and all future generations.

Spiritually, Hale Mua participants learn and explore traditional Hawaiian religion. In terms of language, most are learning to speak Hawaiian but they also “talk story” in English to share, and explore, and learn from others. In addition, they also perform at special events that address issues of revitalization and nationalism. For instance, Hale Mua members were present when the *Hokule’a* arrived in Maui in 1997, and they dedicated an *awa* (kava, a sedative and anesthetic drink used in traditional Hawaiian ceremony) ceremony to honor the voyagers.

Another intervention shows how cultural awareness promotes tolerance and diversity. In Hawaii, a school-based ethnic studies course was able to increase participants’ awareness of and knowledge on issues related to ethnic identity. It also improved participants’ interpersonal skills with other ethnic groups. The Asian Pacific Islander Youth Violence Prevention Center (APIYVPC) does research and designs interventions to reduce youth violence in Hawaii (Umemoto, 2009). APIYVPC

developed a violence-prevention curriculum that was delivered to youth, their families and communities in schools that experienced the highest rates of violence on Oahu (Umemoto, 2009). One part of the curriculum included an ethnic studies course to promote self-identity development, intercultural understanding, and tolerance for differences. The goal of the course was to decrease pro-violence attitudes, and to teach conflict resolution and understanding of diversity (Umemoto, 2009). The class is mandatory for all 9th graders in the two schools where APIYVPC was contracted to work with because of the higher rates of fights among 9th graders. These studies are based on the assumption that an individual embedded in a negative social setting who lacks a positive sense of self can experience feelings of confusion, dislocation and worthlessness. One aspect of addiction that was missing from the aforementioned interventions is the role of coping. It is understood that alcoholism, drug abuse, and binge eating are common outlets for coping. However, no public health studies approach the idea of using food as a means of coping with a negative concept of ethnic and cultural identity. It might also be possible, too, to use cultural revitalization efforts to help address the stressors that lead to binge eating.

Section 7. The concept of well-being among Native Hawaiians

Recently, theory concerning well-being of indigenous groups has steadily grown and experienced a recent surge in scholarly attention. The examination of whether or not a strong ethnic identity is a protective factor for health among Native Hawaiians is a prominent area of study. There are strong arguments and evidence on both sides of this debate. Yet, there is a gap in the published research concerning how modern Native Hawaiians qualitatively conceptualize their own well-being through their lived

experience, which extends a lack of research on how Native Hawaiians' sense of well-being may impact their health-related behaviors.

The concept of well-being among indigenous populations is mainly found in psychology and public health literature. Well-being among the psychological literature spanned issues such as, resilience among families (DeBaryshe, Yuen, Nakamura, & Stern, 2006; Thompson et al., 1995), ethnic identity (L. L. D. McCubbin, 2006), relational well-being as a collectivist perspective as differentiated by Western concepts with the individual as the focal point (L. D. McCubbin et al., 2013), resilience with a relational well-being theoretical approach (L. D. McCubbin & McCubbin, 2013), indigenous knowledge (Mark & Lyons, 2010; Marsella et al., 1995; L. D. McCubbin & Marsella, 2009), cultural efficacy (Carla A Houkamau & Sibley, 2011), well-being scale based on Pacific identity (Manuela & Sibley, 2013a, 2013b, 2014), geography of health and well-being (Panelli & Tipa, 2007, 2009).

Well-being research among public health were concerned with health disparities (Cooke, Mitrou, Lawrence, Guimond, & Beavon, 2007), gender (Courtenay, 2000), climate change (Ford, Berrang-Ford, King, & Furgal, 2010), migrants (Lassetter, Callister, & Miyamoto, 2012), status, barriers and resolutions (Mokuau, 1996), spirituality (Ross, 1995), an ecological model (McGregor et al., 2003), and educational assessments (Kamehameha Schools, 2014; S. Kana'iaupuni, Malone, & Ishibashi, 2005). Notably, Davianna Pomaika'i McGregor (2003) developed an ecological model of Native Hawaiian well-being that reports how ancestral knowledge, an understanding of Native Hawaiian cultural values and their relationship to the land and the people can assist in

planning programs and services for Native Hawaiian people (McGregor et al., 2003). This study has been widely cited among many articles concerning Native Hawaiians.

An example of the types of constructs used to assess Native Hawaiian relational well-being include: financial stability, trust and predictability, active and meaningful participation in and contribution to the community, active learning, confidence to face and overcome adversities, caring for others, health promoting practices, appreciation and practice of culture, respect of elders, and valuing ancestral language (L. D. McCubbin & McCubbin, 2013; L. D. McCubbin et al., 2013). Also, Manuela et al., (2013) have developed a well-being scale to assess a Pacific identity among Pacific Islanders living in New Zealand. The major constructs Manuela et al., (2013) use to assess Pacific identity include: Pacific connectedness and belonging, family, religious, group membership, and societal support (Manuela & Sibley, 2013a).

A review of the literature found that these studies argue that measures of well-being have traditionally been based on Western conceptualizations of an ideal self as autonomous and independent (Panelli & Tipa, 2007). By contrast, indigenous perspectives of well-being are grounded in collectivist cultures in which the priority is a responsibility of social expectations to community rather than the individual. This has been defined as relational well-being (L. D. McCubbin et al., 2013; L. L. D. McCubbin, 2006). Another study conducted of rural communities in Hawaii found that well-being is inclusive of all dimensions of the social ecological theory including all types of accepted family, ancestors, the natural environment, community, society, and the world (McGregor et al., 2003). Notably, Marsella & McCubbin, L., 2009 & Marsella, Oliveira, Pummer, Crabbe, 1998 provided a traditional or pre-colonial perspective of the Native Hawaiian conceptualization of well-being. They explain that the optimum relationship

for health and well-being occurs when a person exists among a series of interdependent and interactive forces that extend from the family (ohana) to nature (aina) and to the gods and spirits (‘akua). The forces holding it all together are made up of core Native Hawaiian cultural values. The information is useful and has been cited by many studies concerning Native Hawaiians. However, the viewpoint is related to traditional cultural values only and does not reflect the lives of modern-day Native Hawaiians. Native Hawaiian must balance western and traditional Hawaiian values, and may conceptualize their well-being through their own qualitative assessment of their lived experiences and the relationship it may have to the meaning and use of food and food habits.

Chapter III: Design & Methods

Chapter Three provides a five-part discussion of the methods and analyses used in this study. Section 1 describes the constructs that make up this study's conceptual framework, focusing on the way these constructs relate to the study's research aims. Section 2 offers an overview of the method and a process of ethnography used for this study.

The next four sections provide a discussion of the research setting and the data gathering and analysis procedures that were implemented throughout the study. Section 3 provides details regarding the research setting and sample composition. Section 4 describes a detailed discussion of the procedures and data collection phases. In order to produce rich data, the methodology for this study required a multistage approach. The first stage, formative research, was conducted to gain entrée into the field, to collaborate with community, and to get feedback on data collection instruments. The second phase included the principle research phase data collection procedures, and the sample composition. Section 5 follows with detailed descriptions of the qualitative data analysis plan. Finally, Section 6 describes the study's ethical considerations and addresses issues of trustworthiness.

Section 1. Conceptual Framework & Rationale for Research Approach

The current study used three constructs to serve as its guiding conceptual framework. They are: 1) *The Cultural Framework for Health*, which includes 2) a definition of culture and 3) an ecological model (M. Kagawa-Singer, Dressler W, George S, and the NIH Expert Panel, 2015).

First, the *Cultural Framework for Health* (CFH) (See Figure 2) provides guidelines for including a comprehensive use of culture in health research. The *CFH* was created by Kagawa Singer and colleagues (2015) regarding the use of culture in health research. Its purpose is to “move the science of culture forward in health research” to better understand and measure the health behaviors and health outcomes that are attributed to culture but are currently inadequately conceptualized or measured. The CFH argues that the current and most common use of culture (in which racial and ethnic identity as often seen as proxies), lacks accuracy. A lack of accuracy hinders the study of culture, and hence limits our ability to effectively work with diverse cultural groups respectfully and synergistically. As a result, it is difficult to partner with these communities to develop and reach mutual goals for health and well-being (M. Kagawa-Singer, Dressler W, George S, and the NIH Expert Panel, 2015) . In order for the study of culture to evolve, the expert panel argues that clearer conceptualization and explicit operationalization of the use of culture among research studies would allow for comparisons across studies. Therefore, in order for such studies to generate comparable findings, the expert panel argues for the inclusion of a clear definition of culture. In each impending study that implicates culture as an active variable, the CFH strongly suggests including a clear explanation of how the cultural constructs are operationalized and will be measured in this study.

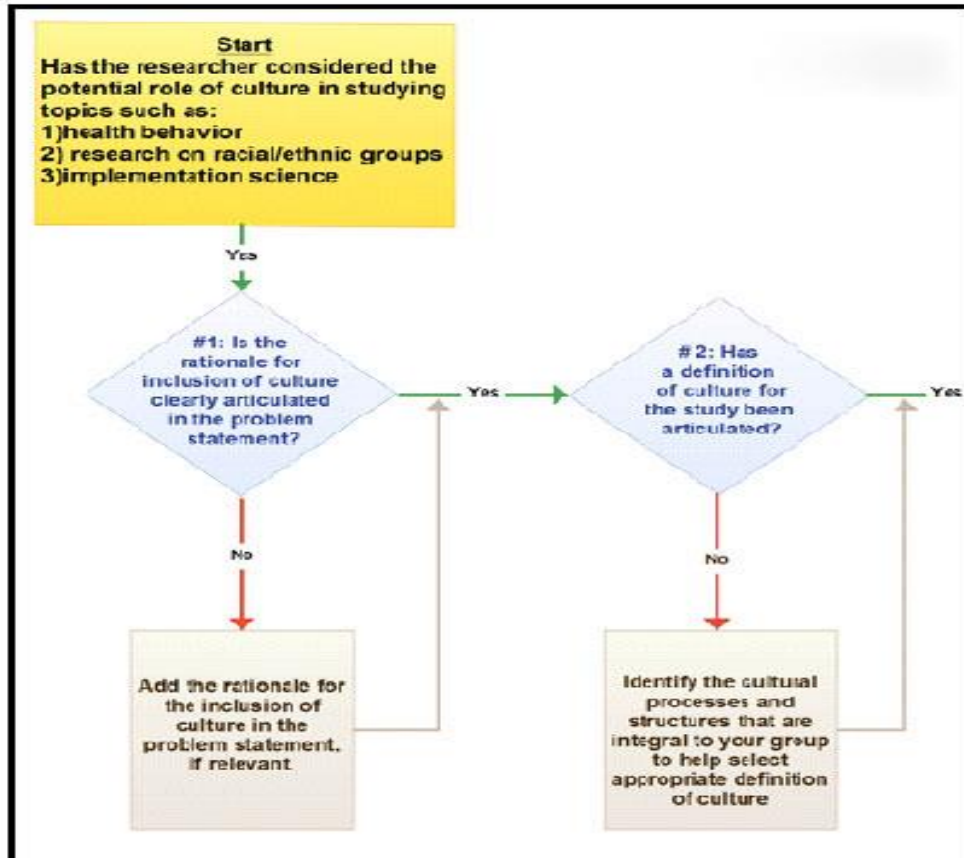


Figure 4. Steps 1 & 2 of the six-step Cultural Framework for Health flow map

This study only uses the first two steps of CFH's total of six steps, because its main objective was to learn and understand Native Hawaiian culture. Steps three through six of CFH address how to operationalize and measure cultural concepts to develop comparability with other studies. These steps were not relevant for this study because the purpose was not to test the effects of cultural values or behavior, but to identify whether or not they seemed salient to the research question. In terms of following the first two steps, the first step was to ensure that the use of culture is adequately articulated in the problem statement. Then, the second step was to define culture (see below) as it was conceptualized and investigated in this study. The CFH has provided expanded definitions of what culture is and what it does. Such expanded

definitions help clarify how culture is conceptualized in each study to allow for more valid and relevant identification of the cultural processes operating in health behavior.

This study uses the suggested definition of culture provided in the report (Kagawa-Singer et al., 2015).

The study, therefore, holds that culture is:

Dynamic and ecologically-based. The elements of cultures constitute the life ways of a people, and are inter-related and function together as a living, adapting system. Defining culture begins with a perspective that contextualizes population groups within a multi-level, multi-dimensional, biopsychosocial, ecological framework and explicitly recognizes and incorporates the geographic, historical, social, and political realities of diverse communities. All of these elements constitute the cultural framework its members use to “see” the world and attribute meaning to their daily lives (MKS et al., 2015).

And the function of culture is as follows:

Culture enables us to interpret the world in which we live through beliefs, attitudes, practices, and spiritual and emotional explanations that are used to create social institutions and norms of ways of being. Together, these cultural ‘tools’ enable group members, ultimately, to make sense of their world and to find meaning in and for life by providing a sense of safety and well-being, a sense of integrity of living one’s life well, and a sense of being a contributing member of one’s social network (M. Kagawa-Singer et al., 2010).

These definitions move well beyond the use of race or ethnicity as a proxy for culture or racial stereotypes. Culture is ecologically framed to integrate the dynamic elements of life that continually intersect, change, and are changed by multiple cultures over both time and place.

The CFH’s definitions of culture guided exploration of the research aims of this study to identify the specific features of culture that make a group unique. The CFH recognizes the historical, political and economic realities that shape the group’s particular experience in juxtaposition with others. This enables the facets of what culture is and how they operate to be considered. For instance, Hawaii’s Native

Hawaiian community is composed of many different subgroups. As a group, Native Hawaiians all share the experience of being Indigenous people and are impacted by colonization (S. M. Kana'iaupuni, 2004a). However, there are demographic elements that set subgroups apart. For example, living in an urban versus rural setting, the experience of private versus public education, and generational differences create unique subcultures.

The third construct from the CFH is the inclusion and recognition of a “multi-layered and multi-dimensional, biopsychosocial ecological framework” that pays explicit attention to and “incorporates geographical, historical, social and political realities.”

For this study, recognizing the relevance of the historical, social and political realities is of utmost important because among the legacies of Hawaii's history are social inequalities that continue to burden Native Hawaiians with poor health outcomes (Crabbe, 1998b; S. M. Kana'iaupuni, 2004a). Also, attention to historical events will help highlight how the Hawaiian Renaissance is a demarcation point for differential impact it has had on the generations that grew up before and after it. For example, this study will show that older and younger generations of Native Hawaiians conceptualize their identities differently. One reason for the difference is that social towards Native Hawaiians have changed and the way Native Hawaiians conceptualized their own identity has also changed. The results section will discuss this topic in greater depth.

Section 2. Methods

This section describes the method of ethnography used in this study as both a process and a product. Ethnography is a methodology that describes the culture of groups of people from their lived experience and to use the knowledge for theory building (Le Compte & Schensul, 1999). Most importantly for this study, ethnographic inquiry requires that we examine a community's cultural beliefs, practices, and settings and their effect on the community's day-to-day life. In this case, the study investigates how Native Hawaiians define their well-being and the relationship to meaning of food habits through interviews and observations within the daily setting over a significant period of time (Weisner, 1996).

Borrowing from LeCompte and Schensul (1999) several conditions are necessary in order use ethnography in a research study. First, the study should focus on a population or phenomenon whose characteristics are unclear, unknown, or unexplored. Second, the study should focus on a defined group. Third, the investigator should intend to use cultural constructs to help explain or interpret the findings. Fourth, the open-ended interviews and participant observations should be the intended types of data collection. This study met the aforementioned criteria. Thus, an ethnographic framework is the best fit for this research study, as it aims to understand another way of life by learning from the people the study seeks to understand (Harvey Russell Bernard, 2011; Patton, 2005).

Furthermore, two assumptions guide ethnographic inquiry. The first is that, cultural meanings are implicit and unspoken, and usually not conscious. The second is that, the ethnographer must rely primarily on the people she seeks to understand. In order to understand the meaning, goals and objectives that are important to the

participants, considerable time must be taken to get to know them. For this study, it was important to choose a location that would allow community leaders to refer subjects to me. This attribution of my trustworthiness would afford me entrée to the community. In addition, it was important to create relationships in which participants felt comfortable enough with me to share their stories.

The investigator must have the skills to help a participant feel comfortable enough to talk and share stories. These stories reflect the participant's values, beliefs and experiences. Together, these stories demonstrate how the participants' sense of self and understanding of the world were shaped. However, ethnography is not only shaped by the field experience. Ethnographers must be acutely aware of "the evolving schema in their own mind...against the changing and evolving materials gained from the field experience" (Weisner, 1996).

The ethnographic process is cyclical and iterative and facilitates the evolution of questions, observations, and field notes. This evolution begins when the ethnographer enters the field (Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 2011; Weisner, 1996).

The continual and simultaneous data collection and analysis helps the ethnographer to spend significant time with the data. Constantly ruminating over the data helps the ethnographer ferret out patterns, connections and relationships as they emerge from the data. Moreover, the ethnographer reflects on her relationships and interactions within the population of focus and the community in general, trying to recognize values and practices that likely differ from her own. Over time, the ethnographer learns social cues and norms that inform insight into the implicit knowledge that reflects the beliefs and values of a group.

This project used an ethnographic process because its purpose was to explore a potential relationship that has not been investigated in the area of obesity: the intersection of a sense of well-being and food habits. This approach furthers our understanding of the forces that may be impacting Native Hawaiian obesity at disproportionately high rates. It would not be possible to arrive at such conclusions using a deductive approach.

This ethnographic study of the potential relationship between a culturally defined sense of well-being and obesity among Native Hawaiians offers a unique and novel perspective. This approach garnered rich, descriptive information from Native Hawaiians themselves about the meanings of well-being. As expected, the study also found notable subgroup variations among the Native Hawaiians interviewed. These relationships will be discussed in more depth in the following chapters.

Section 3. Research Setting & Sample

Research setting selection and sample are essential to the research process. This section will discuss the logistical information that was used to plan and implement this study.

Research Setting

This study took place on O’ahu, Hawaii, the commercial hub of the Hawaiian archipelago. O’ahu was chosen for this study because compared to the other neighboring islands, it is home to the largest population of Native Hawaiians (180,775) (Census, 2010), and also has the highest obesity rates. In addition, O’ahu’s residents make up 70% of entire state’s population (See Table 1). I was based in Pearl City, approximately 12 miles west of Honolulu.

Table 1. Hawai’i Population Statistics

	O’ahu	Kaua’i	Maui	Hawai’i Island	State of Hawai’i
Total Population	902,303 (70%)	64,808	149,562	178,351	1.3 million
NH Population	180,775 (60%)	16,460	40,358	53,630	291,223

(Source: Census, 2010)

The study was conducted at various locations throughout the island, and used both one-on-one interviews and observations. Interviews were conducted in various towns: Ewa Beach, Honolulu, Kailua, Kalihi-Palama, Kaneohe, Kaka’ako, Laie, Makaha, Waimanalo, Waianae, Waipahu, and Pearl City.



Figure 5. Map of Hawaiian Archipelago (Ka Pae Aina)

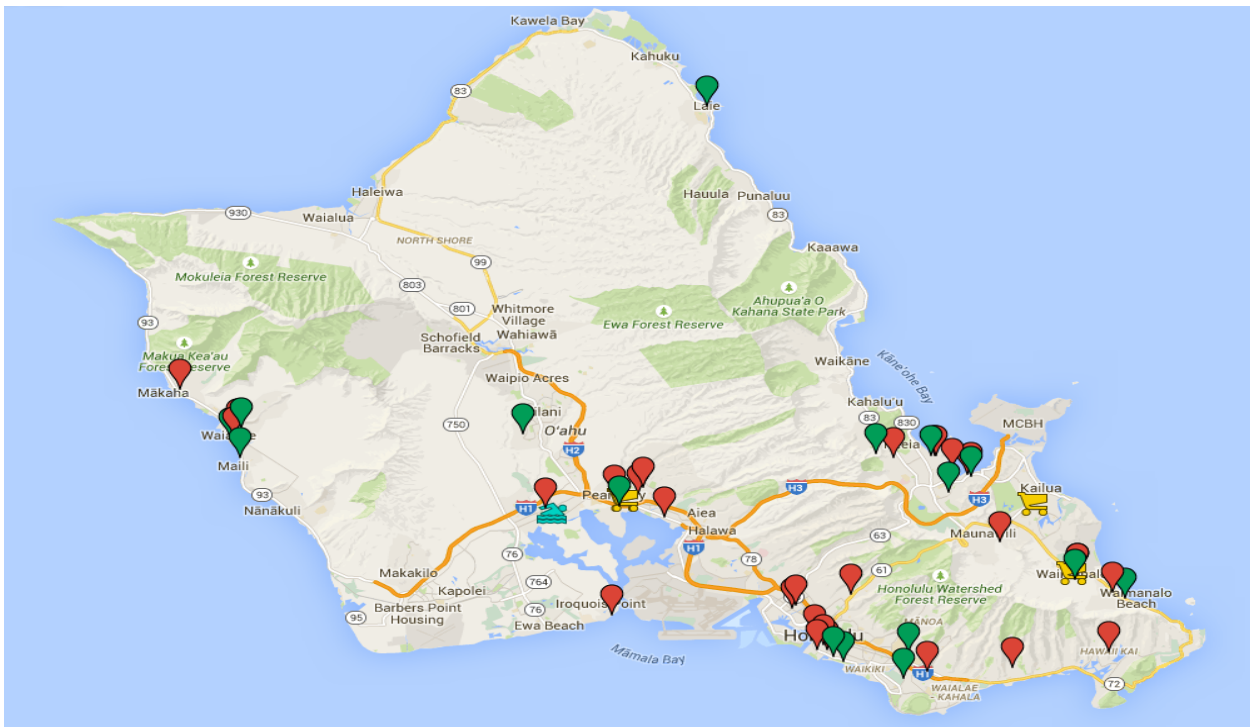


Figure 6. Data Collection Sites on Oahu-Interview (red) and Observation (green)

Sample

The goal of inductive qualitative research is to find uniqueness as well as norms and ranges of particular behaviors. Sampling is non-probability and purposive. Stratified purposive sampling is a way of selecting participants based on predetermined and prioritized selection criteria that are salient to the aims of the research study (Patton, 2005). In this study, recruitment criteria included: 1) self-identifying as a person of Native Hawaiian ancestry, 2) age/generation (born before 1960 and after), and 3) gender.

Stratifying the sample was used to help answer aims 1 and 2. The purpose of aim 1 was to explore how different subgroups of Native Hawaiians define their sense of well-being. The purpose of aim 2 was to identify how differences in generations are impacted by larger social and political climates. Active recruitment continued until the information reaches saturation, meaning that no new themes emerge from the data. No hard and fast rules for sample size exist in qualitative inquiry (Patton, 2005). However, guidelines exist for sample size. For instance, the standard cell size of saturation is met when a minimum of 5 and preferably 10 participants report similar responses. In this project, a sampling range of 28-32 was set prior to entering the field because of the three recruitment criteria for this study. Data collection and data analysis were conducted iteratively. A total of 40 interviews were conducted. Eleven formative interviews were conducted with key informants and 29 with primary participants from the community. The eleven formative interviews were conducted to ascertain the viability of the study and test research questions as well as to gain entrée into the field. Therefore, different and more general questions were used in these interviews. The data collected from the

formative interviews fully supported the development of the questions that were used to guide the discussion of the primary data collection. The 29 interviews in the primary data collection were used in the data analysis. Relatively equal numbers of all stratifications were obtained. (See Table 2. Recruitment by Criteria)

This study was reviewed and approved by the University of California, Los Angeles Institutional Review Board before it was conducted (IRB #14-000586). A systematic recruitment process was developed to ensure that participants were not coerced into participating and to assure anonymity and confidentiality. The IRB waived the written informed consent requirement for this study, so oral consent was obtained from all participants. All participants were provided an information sheet and informed of their rights as research participants.

Section 4. Procedures & Data Collection

In this section, I discuss the data collection procedures used throughout the research process. The first section gives a detailed description of the formative and principle research phases that draw from the method and process of ethnography. Prior to the principle phase of the study, formative research was conducted to inform the development of the project and the data collection instruments. The discussion begins with the methods used for the formative phase, followed by those used for each phase of the principal research phase.

Section 4a. Formative Research Phase

The purpose of the key informant interviews was to elicit several types of information. These interviews were conducted to provide suggestions on how to approach participants, word the interview guide, and yield better information. The key informant interviews also helped me learn how community members might react to my questions.

I conducted one-on-one, in-depth interviews with key informants from various agencies that focus on improving the health of Native Hawaiians. The key informants chosen for this study were known for either their expertise in issues concerning obesity, health behavior, or nutrition, as well as their longstanding commitment to advancing the well-being and recognition of the Native Hawaiian communities. The informants included health educators, community advocates, and researchers from both academia and the community.

Additionally, other key informants were referred by this study's advisor. In turn, some of these key informants referred me to topic experts who could offer expertise concerning various facets of this study. Finally, I introduced myself to various agency representatives and individuals with whom members of the Native Hawaiian communities reported strong and reverential relationships.

Interviews in this formative phase were conducted in July 2014. Eleven key informants were interviewed in their offices or in public spaces. All key informant interviews were audio recorded with oral consent from the participant. The requisite for written informed consent was waived by the University of California, Los Angeles IRB and replaced with oral consent. Oral consent was obtained and all questions about the protocol were answered to the participants' satisfaction.

The formative phase provided valuable information about the interview process, and this data informed the development of the study. Some of the information gained during the interview process included: the best way for the researcher to introduce herself to participants, and possible questions participants might ask about the research study. Additionally, the key informants suggested changes to the wording of the interview questions in order to reflect the language in common usage among community members.

Section 4b. Principle Research Phase: Data Collection

In the principle phase of this study, semi-structured interviews and participant observations were used as the primary data collection techniques. These ethnographic methods allow the researcher to consider the population being studied in its natural setting and to focus on its culture (Le Compte & Schensul, 1999). Interviews and observations in this principle research phase were conducted between July 2014 and November 2014.

The semi-structured interview was used in this study because the study's research question has not been explored yet. The key objective of the study was to understand respondents' conceptions and values from a different perspective than is currently in the literature (Ritchie & Lewis, 2003). An interview guide was used to elicit the respondents' personal thoughts, opinions and interpretations surrounding the meaning of food. (See Appendix C)

The flexibility of the semi-structured interview allows the investigator to vary the order of the questions and probes depending on the respondent's answers (Ritchie & Lewis, 2003). In this case, it is up to the investigator to do two things: stay focused

enough to remember what topics need to be covered, and also be flexible enough to allow the participant to share his/her stories. In developing the semi-structured interview guide, the questions must be carefully created. Questions in a semi-structured interview must develop rapport between the respondent and the interviewer, but they also need to elicit information about the participant's way of thinking about the role of food in his/her world (Spradley, 1979).

Section 4c. Recruitment

Recruitment of participants started during the key informant interviews in July 2014. At first, several key informants offered to help recruit at least three recruits each. But when my repeated reminders and requests for updates met with no response, I immediately began to spread the word among family and friends on O'ahu. Within a matter of days, I had a list of 22 potential participants.

The majority of interviews were conducted at participants' homes (n=13). Other locations included workplaces (n=7), restaurants or bars (n=2), beaches (n=3), community centers (n=3), and the YMCA (n=1). These locations were chosen by the participants. All interviews were conducted by the researcher face-to-face. Oral consent was obtained from all who agreed to participate. Written consent was waived by the UCLA IRB (See Appendix B).

The interviews ranged in length from 35 minutes to 4.5 hours. All interviews were audio recorded, with the participant's permission, and transcribed verbatim. A total of 29 interviews were conducted with Native Hawaiians in an age range of 24 – 88. The average age was 56 and the median age was 50. (For more detailed information concerning demographics see Table 2). All participants were given a box of pastries or

fruit upon arrival. Before departing, all participants were given a handwritten thank you card, a set of homemade crafted blank cards, and a \$10 gift card to either Longs Drugs or Subway.

At the outset of the interview, the participant was thanked for agreeing to participate. In most cases, participants were nervous, so I shared introductory information about myself to help them relax. I shared where I grew up in Hawaii, who my family is, and where they are from as part of my attempt to establish rapport. In Hawaii, conversations normally start with finding out which people you belong to and whether there may be some connection or relationship among the dyad's families. Utilizing this protocol helps the dyad get to know each other, because it situates that individual within a context and sets a physical and emotional tone of familiarity.

I asked all participants a descriptive question to open our interviews: "Tell me about where you grew up." This initial question prompted the participant to reflect on being a child, which usually elicited detailed stories. In some cases, no probes were needed for additional explanation. However, in other cases, I struggled to get more than a few sentences from the participant and would then refer to my list of probes. In most cases, something on that list would elicit a story that would reveal the participant's language, attitude, and point of view.

Participant observations were used to complement the interview data. This technique is one way to collect data in an unstructured manner and in a natural setting (H Russell Bernard, 1998; Dewalt, Dewalt, & Wayland, 1998; Spradley, 1980). It allows the researcher to participate in the everyday activities of the people being studied. Ethnographic research experts state that observations enhance the quality of the data collection and interpretation (Desjarlais & Jason Throop, 2011; Dewalt et al., 1998).

They believe that experiencing the world of the people being studied gives the ethnographer a tacit understanding of ways of being that are difficult to put into words (Dewalt et al., 1998). In developing a plan for observation sites relevant for this study, I shopped for groceries in towns that were densely populated by Native Hawaiians and engaged in conversations with other shoppers. Also, because the majority of the study interviews were conducted at participants' homes, and often at their kitchen tables, I had the chance to see their kitchens and observe the foods that were offered. Observations were conducted informally at participants' homes (n=16), beach parks (n=3), Hawaiian Home Lands ¹ (n=3), traditional Hawaiian healing arts classes (La'au Lapa'au), local markets (n=4), and at Chinatown, downtown business district (n=1).

¹ Hawaiian Home Lands Home Lands are a government sponsored program that leases land to Native Hawaiians who are at least 50 percent Hawaiian blood. The purpose is to provide economic self-sufficiency through the provision of land. The leases cost \$1 per year and can be leased for 99 years only.

Section 5. Qualitative Data Collection & Analysis

Data collection and analysis were conducted simultaneously in this research study. Data analysis in ethnography is an iterative and cyclical process. After every data collection episode, data was analyzed “to identify core consistencies and meaning or themes and patterns” (Patton, 2005; Ritchie & Lewis, 2003). Such analysis was performed using content analysis and in vivo coding. As more data were collected, the new data results were constantly compared with older data results, which often had to be recoded or reconceptualized as the process evolved.

Constant comparison sought recurrent patterns in the data, and these patterns eventually became categories for analytical focus. This analytic process helped identify themes, related items, links or consistent relationships among the data. As the data collection and analysis evolved, the results began to reveal domains, which are higher-order patterns or categories of meaning. (Harvey Russell Bernard, 2011; Le Compte & Schensul, 1999).

Immediately following each interview, memos were written about the interview including highlights and the researcher’s evaluation of the content that was discussed and any descriptive information about the participant and his/her responses. When possible, the audio recording of the interview was played back. Then more notes were written about the researcher’s perceptions concerning the concepts that were shared during the interview.

All interviews were transcribed verbatim. In some cases the participants had very thick accents and spoke pidgin’ – those transcripts were not translated to English and all analyses were conducted in “pidgin”. Only quotations selected to be incorporated into the text of this dissertation were translated.

No personal identifiers were included on the transcripts, only a participant code. Data were stored in a locked file cabinet and all electronic files were stored on a password-protected computer. Files were backed up on an external hard drive that was also stored in a locked file cabinet.

Analytic Process

The analytic procedures for each interview started by listening to each audio recording. Then once the interview was transcribed, it was uploaded to Dedoose (REF) and read through in its entirety. The next step was to repeatedly review and code for concepts and categories.

The first step to develop the coding scheme, which organized topics, issues, themes, and domains that emerge from the data, was to highlight significant phrases. In vivo coding was used to capture the participant's exact sentiments (Charmaz, 2014). The next step was to assign a code or phrase that would encompass the interpretation of the significant phrase. The codes generated from each analysis were used to create a codebook (see in Appendix A)

The guiding questions that were used to generate the codebook were: 1) How do the significant phrases address the research questions? 2) What significant phrases and codes can be grouped together to form categories? 3) What other information has emerged from the significant phrases and codes that may refine or alter the research question as originally proposed?

Three main themes emerged out of this process: 1) Family, 2) Experiences of Native Hawaiian Identity, and 3) Meaning of Food. Ten categories and twenty-two sub-categories were established (See Appendix 1 for thematic codebook). Memo writing,

visual conceptual maps and constant comparison were an important part of developing the codebook.

Memo writing was helpful way to sort through the complicated thoughts, overwhelming data and ideas about the research. It was a constant part of my ethnographic experience. As the data were being collected and included in the analysis, various thoughts about the data or the process would come to mind.

Memoing gave me a mechanism to record all the ideas and experiences that were happening during my data collection phase. It also gave me the opportunity to reflect on the experience for the purpose of improving my interviewing skills. For example, I was able to note in my memos times in the interview when a probe would have been appropriate.

Throughout the journey I created conceptual maps of diagrams of the data that were emerging. I used a display board to hold post-its of ideas that emerged or phrases that were used during interviews to try to understand how the data were coming together. Making this display board was a way to visualize which parts of the data were not appearing.

During the analysis, the demographic list was also a useful tool. Some of the demographic information that emerged from the interviews included age, ethnic background, education, childhood residence, current residence, and religious affiliation. Comparing the participant's responses to similar demographic descriptors helped to identify emergent findings and contextualize the data. For example, a number of participants were making similar statements about their Hawaiian identity. The demographic matrix helped me to see that they all attended the same school. This

information contextualized the data by showing that there was something about attending that school that gave them all a similar sense of well-being.

Limited descriptive statistics were computed to relate to the concepts, categories and themes generated from the interviews. The data were iteratively interpreted until data collection was completed and saturation achieved in the domains and themes identified and organized. A conceptual model was developed from the analysis that maps out the relationships found in relation to the research questions.

Section 6. Ethical Considerations - Issues of trustworthiness

Trustworthiness is an important component in evaluating the rigor of a qualitative research study. The components set forth by Lincoln and Guba (1985) to establish trustworthiness include taking necessary steps in the research process to ensure credibility, transferability, and dependability.

Credibility refers to increasing the likelihood that the research findings are reliable or a correct interpretation of the participants' responses. In this study, I tried to stay in the field as long as possible. My total time doing fieldwork was 9 weeks. In that time, I tried to avoid expectations about what observations and interviews would consist of in order to be open to learn about the culture I was trying to understand. In preparation for entering observations, I wrote about my experience growing up in Hawaii pertaining to that particular observation location. For example, I wrote memos about what shopping at the market was like so that I could identify bias in the memo I wrote after the observation. During follow-up interviews, my participants and I both seemed to be more comfortable than the first round. One of the things that made the follow-up interviews feel like they were more in-depth was that all the questions were descriptive and garnered lengthy answers and stories. During the data collection and analysis I also debriefed with other public health researchers in Hawaii, advisors, colleagues and other Native Hawaiians for feedback. After the results were completed, I sent them to selected participants and key informants to member check the results and get their feedback about my conceptual framework and how the data were interpreted.

Transferability criteria pertain to providing enough information to allow others to transfer the process of the original study to other similar contexts through this descriptive data. The goal of this study was to explore how Native Hawaiians

conceptualized their well-being, ethnic and cultural identity and to identify possible connections between the conceptualizations and meaning of food habits. Even though the findings from this study are not generalizable, there are aspects of the study that can be shared or modified to be used in other applications. For example, the findings from the study may be used as starting points to investigate the reliability of the findings with other participants, or another health disparity among Native Hawaiians. In this study, I provided detailed descriptions of the participants and the emergent data that could be used in other contexts and applications.

Dependability criterion refers to clearly and concisely documenting each procedure that was used in the research so that the data collection and analysis can be used as a roadmap for another researcher to systematically follow, i.e., the auditability of the method. In this study, I provided detailed descriptions of all methodological procedures (e.g. formative research, recruitment, sampling). Other research processes such as field notes, coding protocols, and memos were documented to provide a systematic process to review how the study was structured.

Lastly, the interviewer must use the process of researcher reflexivity to uncover personal biases. This was performed periodically throughout the data collection and analysis process through memoing and conversations with other researchers and colleagues.

This chapter described the methods used in this study, the rationale for using ethnography, the research setting and sample demographics, data collection and analysis procedures, and ethical considerations. The next four chapters will present the results.

Chapter IV: Results - Participant Demographics

Participant Demographic Characteristics

The purpose of this section is to describe the demographic characteristics of the study participants. The information presented here was gathered entirely from the responses given during the open-ended semi-structured interviews. A demographic questionnaire was not given to participants to collect demographic data. There are only a few domains that are missing data from 1-2 participants at most. As a whole, the current state of the data is sufficient to provide a broad picture of the participants as a group.

In the formative phase of this study, key informant interviews were conducted with eleven leading experts on issues concerning either Native Hawaiian health, well-being, obesity, or cultural and ethnic identity. Key informants included Native Hawaiian Health Center Executive Directors, academic researchers, community advocates and health educators. The purpose of these interviews was to inform the development of the discussion guide, introduce myself and my research to the leaders in Native Hawaiian health, and also gain entrée into various Native Hawaiian communities.

During the main phase of data collection, a total of 29 Native Hawaiian men and women participated in a semi-structured interview. A total of 30 people were asked to participate, and all agreed. However, one person had to cancel and was not able to set another date. The gender of participants was nearly equal, 45% were men (n = 13) and 55% were women (n= 16).

Table 2. Participant Demographics (N=29).

Demographic Characteristics	n =	Percentage
Gender		
Male	13	45%
Female	16	55%
Generation		
born before 1960	14	48%
born after 1960	15	51%
Residence		
ever lived on Homestead	6	21%
currently live on Homestead	4	14%
Ethnic make-up		
Hawaiian only	0	0%
Hawaiian + 1	9	31%
Hawaiian + 2	10	35%
Hawaiian + 3	2	7%
Hawaiian + 4	5	17%
Hawaiian + 5	3	10%
Education		
8 th grade	2	7%
Some high school	4	14%
Trade school	2	7%
High school graduates	12	41%
College graduates	4	14%
Advanced degrees	4	14%
Unknown	3	10%
High School Type		
Private school	16	55%
Kamehameha Schools	11	38%
Catholic school	5	17%
Public school	8	28%
Another state/country	3	10%
Unknown	2	14%
Marital Status		
Married	18	62%
Divorced	3	10%
Widowed	3	10%
Never married	4	14%
Employment		
Employed	16	55%
Self-employed	1	3.5%
Retired	11	38%
student	1	3.5%

The group can also be organized by age in order to analyze generational differences. It can be split in almost exactly half by age. Those born before 1960 make up 48% (n=14) of the group, while those born after 1960 are 51% (n=15) of the total group. Participants' ages ranged from 24-88. The median age was 50 and the average age was 56 years old.

All participants were born and raised (for some or all of their lives) in Hawaii. The majority of the participants (79%, n=23), have moved away from the town they grew up in, and 21% (n=6) have lived in their hometowns through the time of the interview. Also, 21% (n=6) have lived on Hawaiian homestead land, and 14% (n=4) continue to do so in Waianae (n=1) and Waimanalo (n=3).

None of the participants was full Native Hawaiian. The closest was one male participant who was three-quarters Hawaiian and one-quarter Spanish. The range in mix of number of ethnic backgrounds was varied, and age had no bearing on the number of ethnicities a participant identified with. For example, the oldest participant reported being Hawaiian plus four other ethnicities (German, Irish, English, and French). The youngest participant listed Hawaiian plus five other ethnicities (Portuguese, Irish, Korean, Filipino, and Spanish).

Concerning education, the majority of participants (41%, n=12) were high school graduates, while 14% of participants (n=4) had left school to support their families. Seven percent of participants (n=2) completed their education at the 8th grade, another 7% completed some high school (n=2), and another 7% went to trade school (n=2). Twenty-eight percent of participants (n= 8) completed college and 14% (n=4) of those completed advanced degrees. Also, more than half, 55% of participants attended private high schools (n=16). Of those, (n=11) attended Kamehameha Schools and (n=5)

attended Catholic schools, and 26% (n=8) attended public schools. Two participants did not state high school attended.

The majority of participants were married (62%, n=18) during this study. Marital status for the remaining, 10% (n=3) were divorced, 10% were widowed (n=3), and 14% (n=4) never married.

As for the employment status, employed (55%, n=16) were employed. The remainder of participants, 38% (n=11) were retired, and one person was self-employed (3.5%). Another participant was a student (3.5%).

Of the participants, 66% (n=19) stated religious affiliation as being Catholic (n=9), Christian (n=7), or Mormon (n=3). In eight of the interviews religious affiliation did not present itself or could not be gleaned from the information given. Seven percent of participants said they were learning the traditional Native Hawaiian religion (n=2).

In summary, as a group, the Native Hawaiian participants of this study represent a broad and diverse array of demographic characteristics including gender, age, ethnic diversity, education, marital status and employment. The results of the interviews with these participants coalesced into three themes and their respective categories and sub-categories, which was the basis of the codebook for the qualitative data (See Figure 8). The three themes are described in-depth in the next three chapters (5-7). Lastly, the evolution of the data analysis transformed into two conceptual models that will be provided and explained in chapter eight.

Themes	Categories	Sub-Categories
Family	Sense of Responsibility	Intergenerational Household
		“Take Care”
	Children’s Prosperity	Parents well-being contingent on children’s well-being
		Children’s jobs and educational attainment
		Parents’ unyielding support
	Experiences of Family	Support
		Loss
		Violence or Abuse
		No Support
	Conceptualizations of Native Hawaiian Identity	Sense of Place
What do you sacrifice? Money or Aloha Aina?		
Generational differences		Living off the Land
		Experience of attending Kamehameha Schools
Social Constructions of Identity		Oppression – dumping ground, forgotten people
		What is “real Hawaiian? Struggle with identity Phenotype
		Religion Follow God’s plan; Christian struggle with Hawaiian religion
Meaning of Food	Symbols of comfort	Family Gatherings
		Special person’s cooking
		Food provides warm feelings and comfort
		“The land is our icebox”
	Empathy	Cooking and offering food

Figure 7. Conceptualizations of Native Hawaiian Well-being Codebook

Chapter V: Results - Family

Theme 1 – Family

This section will report results related to how Native Hawaiians in this study conceptualize their well-being through family relationships. This study operationalizes well-being as a sense of having a happy, fulfilling or good life. Within the data, three categories and seven sub-categories coalesced inside the theme of “family.” The three categories that make up family include: 1) Sense of responsibility), 2) Children’s Prosperity, and 3) Experiences of Family. Each sub-category, similarly, has been derived from the data collected for this study.

All the names of participants are pseudonyms and are titled either “uncle,” “auntie,” or “cousin.” They do not indicate relations but rather affection and respect.

Themes	Categories	Sub-Categories
Family	Sense of Responsibility	“Take Care”
		Intergenerational Household
	Children’s Prosperity	Parents well-being contingent on children’s well-being
		Children’s jobs and educational attainment
		Parents’ unyielding support
	Experiences of Family	Support
		Loss
		Violence or Abuse
		No Support

Figure 8. Familial Concepts of Well-being

This study shows that for the majority of participants, family is at the core of their well-being. This section will describe the sub-categories evoked by participants' responses. You will notice that the theme of family is interwoven throughout all of the other themes, though its level of influence may vary.

Generally, conceptualizations of well-being that addressed family were described from the perspective of a grandparent, parent, or adult child reflecting on their experience of family, or from the participant's perspective as a part of a larger extended family. Overall, participants most frequently mentioned one particular concept as central to a sense of familial well-being, and that was caretaking. The experience of taking care of others or being cared for oneself was vital to a sense of well-being. Of note, there were a few participants (n=4) who did not report "family" as the core of their well-being. Instead these participants cited the core of their well-being was their "work" or "making money." Of note, the few who did not cite "family" as the core of their well-being (n=5) instead reported "work" or "making money" as their conceptualization of well-being. This will be discussed later Section 3. Experiences of Family.

Section 1. Sense of Responsibility

This study defines a "*sense of responsibility*" as actions, events, or sentiments that participants are committed to provide to family and others. Responses range from what participants have experienced, have provided to others, or what family members commit to do for one another. Among Native Hawaiians, as with other ethnic groups, *family* includes not only blood relatives, but also other individuals or families that have

a special connection. The data that constitutes “sense of responsibility” includes two sub-categories: 1) “Take Care” and 2) Intergenerational households.

Section 1a - “Take Care”

When discussing well-being, participants described everyday situations in which they themselves or their families have helped or been helped. The reason “take care” stood out among the results was that almost all the participants used the phrase. The meaning seemed to be taken for granted among participants. To “take care” of others was simply something that was done, even when doing so was difficult. These next three examples show how participants went above and beyond to take care of family, keeping in mind that very close friends and other non-blood relatives can also be considered family. Aunty Jeanne’s sense of responsibility to her mother was so strong that she would leave school early to tend to her mother. She shared:

My mother wasn’t well ... since I had been going to Sacred Hearts Academy, I had lots of credits, more than I needed to graduate. So I asked for just going to school half a day so I could take care of my mother at home. Aunty Jeanne

Participants cited a number of unique ways in which they could take care of each other.

Unless they were physically unable to assist, they rarely found a need that they could not meet. For example, Uncle Bill said of his community of elders:

The *kupunas* (elders) here, I help them out a lot, if they need help, I help them. As long as I can walk and carry you guys, I help you. Uncle Bill

Another participant shared how she takes care of the grandchildren in her family:

Part of it is the generational view that all of the opio (children), all of the mo’opuna (grandchildren), they’re all in one generation. They’re all of ours. We share the upbringing of this child. For example, I don’t have children of my own biologically, but I can tell you that there are 16 grandchildren in our family and at least two-thirds of them recognize me as a second mother, very, very close.

Actually, now I'm expecting in January I think the fifth or sixth one that will come and live with me anywhere from two to as many as five years. They will come here because of the university. They will have a room. Everything is set up for them and they literally will live with me for that time. And then when they graduate, then they go off. They're very successful in doing their things, but that's how it is. The concept of hanai (an agreement for another family to care for a child, similar to adoption among Hawaiian families, not necessarily permanent) is something I think very beautiful and it's very different from a regular adoption.
Tutu Lettie

A recipient of caretaking explains how when the parent is not available, other adults in the family take their place.

In Pahoia, growing up, my mom was working all the time. So, I was pretty much taken care of by all my aunts and uncles. Cousin Nani

Participants also shared how indigent or foster children were not forgotten among their communities. During an impromptu interview, Aunty Fran shared her experience of being a foster parent to Hawaiian children from her town. The children she cared for were orphaned while one or both of their parents were incarcerated. She was compelled to pass on the values her parents gave to her.

Aunty Fran grew up in an agricultural area of Hawaii. Her entire family, including all the children, worked together to tend to the land and harvest food they had grown. She spoke of her stewardship of the land, and said that the responsibility of taking care of the land with her family taught her many family values, especially ones that pertain to time and attention.

I learned so much from working the land with my family...That's what kids are missing today. They only play video games, they have no responsibilities...they don't know how to work and they don't have family taking the time to share with them knowledge or how to do things. That's why I took in foster children, I want to share what my family gave me with these kids. Aunty Fran

She also shared her hope to be a role model not only to the children but to their parents as well. These hopes manifested in daily routines for the children to learn the value of

hard work, to take pride in a job well done, and to work together towards a common goal. She was able to provide these services to foster children because of her familiarity with her town and the culture of the Native Hawaiian people of the surrounding area gave her easy access to resources that supported her and her foster children.

In a similar situation, a participant expressed admiration for her grandparents, who cared for orphaned children. Tutu Annie shared her explanation of what made her proud to be Hawaiian while growing up:

Proud, Gramma lived alone in Kahaluu, Gramma took care of people that were destitute. There was Teddy, he was deformed and crippled, Gramma would carry that boy on her back to church, she kept him until he was sixteen years old. (Tutu Annie starts to cry) How can you not be proud? Tutu Annie

Other participants spoke of taking care of those who were not even family members.

Uncle Mano, for example, used to take care of his friends by taking them out to eat with the money he had earned. He didn't have to share his hard-earned money with them, but it made him so happy to do so. He shared this memory:

When I was a kid, I found a way to fish and make money ... my biggest joy was taking my friends to go eat. It's what we do. That was my biggest joy. There was a lot of freedom. I had money in my pocket. I played sports. It was a really good life. Uncle Mano

When Uncle Mano shared this story during the interview, his face lit up, and he was very proud that he was able to take care of his friends by taking them out to eat. He was beaming. It was clear that giving and sharing gave him great joy. His next comment refers to such generosity as a cultural norm when he said, "It's what we do." This pride in tradition came across directly in some interviews, but indirectly in the majority of interviews.

Among the data, almost all participants emphasized the importance of "taking care" or said they "gotta take care," which means there is a *kuleana* (sense of

responsibility) to care for others. The implicit sense of responsibility or *Kuleana* comes from traditional Native Hawaiian cultural values and practices that were based on a collective paradigm of life (*See Chapter Two: Background for Pre-Colonial agriculturally based lifestyle*) and is represented in the Hawaiian word *kakou* (we are in this together; all of us). Therefore, focusing on the self was not and is not an attractive character trait among Native Hawaiians.

Participants were more inclined to explain that an individual is responsible to be a caretaker than they were to cite moments when they themselves had acted as caretakers. This next example reflects why there are fewer stories about how participants have helped others than there are stories about how others have helped participants. This quote explains an indirect way of referring to their own caretaking practice which reflects the centrality of humility to Hawaiian culture. Tutu Lettie explained:

For Hawaiians, gifts we have, these ambitions, if you will, are kept secret. They're not shared. They're not bragged about...because we didn't need to. Beyond our close-knit family, we contained our ambitions, our focus, our vision. As a result, we didn't need to prove ourselves to anyone else as long as we held true to that.
Tutu Lettie

The results of this study show that participants were more likely to share stories about how others helped them and how deeply they appreciated the acts of kindness. Several participants shared the deep feelings of comfort and lasting sense of support their families had given. Uncle John shared the ways he felt supported by his family:

All the family would always would go out to watch sporting competitions, games, the family was always together, uncles and aunties would teach the young ones.
Uncle John
Where ever I went, to all my uncles and aunties, I was able to go there. No matter what age. I always know I have a place to stay with family, all we needed to do

was ask. They would say, “Oh don’t worry, just come over” you know the door was always open so that was good. Uncle John

The next two excerpts describe how a person or family gave participants respite from difficult situations and offered welcomed comfort:

There was no shortage of love. There was no time when I didn't feel like there wasn't some place I could go to for sympathy kind of a thing. Uncle Mano

Being with Auntie (his wife), that's the joyous part, because she took me away from the dysfunctional setting ah? Uncle Doug

Then, in these next three excerpts, participants express how the person they are today and the values they hold are due to the time invested in them. What comes across in the quotes is the great care that was taken to support them and the deep connection between parent and child:

We live here, we grew up, we want to learn. I went on teaching how to surf and how to swim and how to fish, dive. That's like my rule as dad. When I was growing up, my dad and mom separated when I was seven (years old). Some things I took from him. One was like (dad saying), “hey, we got to get out.” A man has to take care of his family and supposed to provide and be active. That's what my dad was. That was how he was. I think he was a good dad. I know he wasn't a good husband but he was a good dad. And so those things I pick and choose what I want to be like. My dad was not Hawaiian, but he knew Hawaiian ways and he knew a lot of Hawaiians. Cousin Frank

My mom was always solid as a rock. If it wasn’t for her, I don’t think any of what we’ve accomplished would have, I mean, I don’t know where we would have been. But I have always been pretty determined to succeed. Cousin Sean

Well, now that I am older, I appreciate it. But back then, I used to think, oh, my mom is so strict. She was like -- because she had to be a mother and a father (to me) and dad was just so inconsistent. So she was constant. It seem like she was constantly on the defensive to try and mitigate things from negatively impacting me like just dad not being there. Cousin Kekoa

In this next instance, the caretakers were not biological family to the participants. They were “local” people, local sailors that felt responsible to take care of the participant. The quote will show how they saw her as a “sistah” who needed help:

The haole (foreigner) sailors, they thought they were better than everyone else. One day I was riding the bus and one haole sailor kept pulling my hair, I asked him to stop...all of them laughed, I raised my voice and the sailors called me a "nigger." So I took my shoe off and whacked him in the face...and they were all stunned. The bus driver heard the commotion, the bus driver, told me "Come over here tita (tomboy), come sit over here." The sailors were still mouthing off, then a bunch of local sailors came on the bus, they asked me "how you *tita*², come, we take care you." Then the same haole sailors tried to reach for me but I was surrounded by the local sailors, and they kicked him off the bus and the other haoles left the bus too. Tutu Annie

In summary, taking care of families and others was one of the most frequently mentioned sources of well-being among participants. Notably, there are more stories of how participants were taken care of rather than how they helped others. According to Aunty Lettie, one of the participants, being humble and quiet about success is a traditional Hawaiian characteristic that is favored among Hawaiians.

² Sometimes, a term of endearment used to call younger sisters, nieces, especially if said girls are sassy and precocious (Referenced from <http://www.urbandictionary.com/define.php?term=Tita> on March 1, 2015).

Section 1b. Intergenerational Households

Among the participants (n=29) in this study, 38% (n=11) lived in intergenerational living situations, in which elders/grandparent, parents, and grandchildren lived together in a single household. In Hawaii, it is common for several generations to live in one house or residence in order to defray the high cost of property and housing. For example, parents may take their adult children into their homes until the children can save enough for a place of their own, or until an addition can be built to add space. Findings showed that of the eleven participants living in intergenerational households, four cited economic reasons, and seven stated the living situation was by choice. One common reason for choosing to live with extended family was to avoid putting elders into a nursing home. For example, Aunty Jeanne explains:

My mom was 76. She died in our Maili house, at home. We were taking care of her and my dad ... my children were raised with Tutu in the house. Tutu was paralyzed, she had a stroke. So, she was bedridden, so we just took care of her just because we knew we did not want her to into a home.

Among the participants who chose to live with extended family, the living situation has moved from being a choice to seemingly just the way it should be. In order to accommodate the increase in family size, families either buy bigger houses or add on to existing residences. Aunty Bell shared a story of when she and her husband bought a new property and were planning how many bedrooms to build. This example epitomizes participants' overall sentiment about multi-generational living:

When we bought this lot, we planned to build this house, it was supposed to be a four-bedroom house and then Harry says, let's show the kids, so we all were gathered around and they go where is Gran and Pa's room (grandparents) ... and then it was well Gramma and Grampa (great-grandparents) need a room too, and then all of a sudden, you know uncle Tom needs a room because he's coming back home, that's how we ended up with a seven-bedroom house. Aunty Bell

Aunty Jeanne explains that living with multiple family generations is the Hawaiian way, and so she wants to follow it:

I wanted a bigger house because I want to stay with them, my whole philosophy of growing up was, I was always with my mother, right up until she passed and my father, until he passed. So, I thought, well my kids got to be with me until I pass, their father passed now so, now it's my turn. You know we just gotta, it's the way we live our lives. I don't see us living separately. It's a community, a collective, we help each other. But that's what it was in Papakolea (Hawaiian Homestead Lands in Honolulu, Oahu) and it has to continue you have to continue that collective living in support of each other. To me that's how the Hawaiians did it. Aunty Jeanne

Finally, Cousin Sean shared informally that he recently moved his parents from an outer island to live with him and his family because he now has the means to take care of them. He wants them close and is trying to what he can to make them feel at home:

We've gone back to Maui to bring back the kind of plants that mom had in her yard so we can make the back yard feel like she is in Maui. There's a small stream down in that little hill and it's just like the one she has near her our old house in Wailuku. Mom likes to do gardening and be out in the yard so I wanted her to feel like she has a little bit of Maui back here. Cousin Sean

Overall, among the participants who live in intergenerational households by choice there was a strong sense of responsibility to care for kupuna or grandparents. Participants who are grandparents delighted in time spent with mo'opuna (grandchildren). While participants, who are adult children, expressed comfort and satisfaction in knowing their parents were being cared for and kept close and that they could give back to their parents by taking care of them in this way.

Section 2. Children's prosperity

This section includes another aspect of how participants conceptualize their well-being that relates to their children's prosperity and overall well-being. The data that makes up "Children's prosperity" includes three sub-categories: 1) Parent's well-being contingent on children's well-being, 2) Children's jobs and educational attainment, and 3) Parents' unyielding support.

Section 2a. Parent's well-being contingent on children's well-being

The welfare of participants' children and grandchildren was another major factor that impacted their well-being. Several participants asserted that their well-being is contingent upon their children's well-being. The next two passages communicate parents concern for their children:

When kids do well...if family is happy and content then I'm content. Aunty Cami

I think for my personal sense of well-being I need my children to be, even though they're grown, I need for them to be doing well, I can be at peace if everything, if they are at peace and my grandchildren are at peace and it really has nothing to do with food per so it's just more their mental and emotional health and that's where the problems come in because everything now it's so very difficult for them to make a decent living, afford a decent house, and just pay the day-to-day expenses that come with living in this, in this society we live now. Everybody has to drive, everybody has to work, so you have to have daycare, the pressures are enormous on them, much more so than they were on even me, as a mother with small kids. So then I see the stress, the stress and the anxiety that they are going through, that gives me stress and anxiety. Aunty Carol

My kids are doing good, they both went away to college and came back because they didn't like the mainland, but they came back and finished college here and both have good jobs, I'm good. I'm so proud of both of them. Aunty Ella

Section 2b. Children's jobs and educational attainment

Another way participants expressed the importance of their children's welfare was by sharing the pride they took in their children's accomplishments. Several participants expressed pride and satisfaction in knowing their children had good jobs, happy marriages, or notable educational achievements:

They (the kids) all married, so must be good, their life must be better than mine, they have good jobs. Uncle Bill

After Jeremy graduated from college he played all summer and took four months to find a job. He found out the employees working under him made more money. I told him he should have gone straight to a master's program but he didn't want to go to UH (University of Hawaii), but he ended up going there and later called me to tell me he wished he listened to me. He's doing quite well now, he is working at (find exact quote for the end about where he is working and the kind of money and benefits he is getting). Aunty Bell

The kids brought us so much joy and happiness, the kids excelled in what they had to excel in. They both have accomplished so much. My son got his master's and now he wants to get a PhD but its too expensive. Uncle Doug

Part of it is the generational view that all of the *opio* (youth), all of the *keiki* (small children), all of the *mo'opuna* (grandchildren), they're all in one generation. They're all of ours. We share the upbringing of this child. For example, I don't have children of my own biologically, but I can tell you that -- see, there are 16 grandchildren in our family and at least two-thirds of them recognize me as a second mother, very, very close. Actually, now I'm expecting in January I think the fifth or sixth one that will come and live with me anywhere from two to as many as five years. They will come here because of the university. They will have a room. Everything is set up for them and they literally will live with me for that time. And then when they graduate, then they go off. They're very successful in doing their things, but that's how it is. Tutu Lettie

Talking about children's accomplishments in and of itself is a way of showing pride. However, participants were careful to share successes without appearing to brag, because boastfulness is considered an unattractive character trait among Hawaiians.

Section 2c. Parents' unyielding support

One of the participants described her father's deep sense of responsibility for his children's welfare and how his dedication reached beyond the immediate aspects of academics. From Cousin Tara stories, many aspects of life were structured to prioritize education and discipline. Many aspects of life, direct and indirect, that would reinforce their academic success. For example, her father enforced discipline at home related to studying, spending quality family time together regularly, and not watching TV while eating so they could have conversation. Here are some examples from DIP's perspective of what her father did to ensure his children's' success:

Growing up, we sit down every night and have dinner together. If you're not hungry or if you don't want to eat, then you can go straight to bed or you just have to sit there and watch everybody else eat. It's not an option to come to dinner. You had to come to dinner..." Cousin Tara

Dad, all my friends are going to Kaiser. Can I please go to Kaiser for this summer? How about Kalani (nearby public school)? You don't have to drive me up to campus." He's like, "No. You're going to go to Kamehameha. You're going to go to Kamehameha summer school. Cousin Tara

At Kamehameha, you have to drive all the way up the hill. He would drive me and my sister all the way up the hill. I was like, "Dad, just drop me off at the terminal bus and I'll catch the shuttle bus up." He's like, "Oh, no. I'm going to drop you off there. I want to make sure you get to class. I'm going to make sure you get to campus on time." I'm like, "Dang! I can't do anything!" but I know why. I would do the same thing for my kids. "There's no way I'm giving you an opportunity to go to Kamehameha Bowling Alley and buying French fries. Cousin Tara

These next two passages tell stories of how each participant was nurtured, the examples show how much parents were willing to do for their children to ensure their academic potential was met. In this next excerpt, Cousin Sean's mother surprises him with a celebration for his acceptance to attend Kamehameha. Cousin Sean is upset and

doesn't want to move away from his family in Maui to board at school in Oahu. His mother, probably disappointed always him to feel attending is his decision. He shares how he changed his mind:

My mom, she kind of just let it be. You know what I mean? She wasn't like all in my face about it. I said, "I'm not going. So you can please call them and tell them I don't want to go and they can let some other kid go." Then we had a family party in our backyard for uncle Eddie. I think he just got out of jail, everybody is drinking and then they start scrapping (fighting), and then Kekoa (my brother) and I were standing there. I remember it vividly, like it was yesterday. We were in the backyard facing the mango trees and there was a little patio. My aunts and uncles were all over there. Kekoa and I were a bit off to my right and we're looking at them. I grabbed him (Kekoa) and I said, "Let's go in the house." I put him in the house and remember thinking, "This can be us." So I remember I took a long shower. (tears welling up) It was one of those moments where I just had this – sorry (tears streaming down). It was just one of those moments where I was like, "Okay, this is life changing, right?" I was thinking, "Oh, man, if I don't go do this (go away to board at Kamehameha School) I'm going to end up like these guys." So I rushed back and I said, "Mom, you got to call Kamehameha because I think I made a big mistake." So she said, "Don't worry. I already have your tickets. I've already bought your suits and all that stuff. Cousin Sean

In this next passage, Tutu Lettie describes how her curiosity about science was met with care and patience by her parents. She is so thankful that her parents always took her ideas seriously and supported her ideas by helping her to conduct experiments. In the quote she describes her science experiment on pasteurization after reading a biography about her two childhood heroes, Louis Pasteur and Madame Curie:

I explained to my mom and dad that I wanted to get some raw milk from a cow and I wanted to pasteurize it, then we could actually drink the milk safely and not get TB. I was maybe eight and a half years old, not quite nine years old.

What my dad did is -- he had a friend who had a cow, so he woke up extra early in the morning and he went and milked the cow and brought home the milk early in the morning. My mom was waiting with me. And so, she set up the stove so I could bring it up to the temperature and then freeze it, put it in the freezer, and then I served the milk to my siblings for breakfast and I explained the whole process of pasteurization.

My parents were very patient listening to me, but many years later, my mother let me in on the secret that she and my dad never told me, which is they switched the milk with regular milk because they didn't want to take a chance that maybe my pasteurization failed, but it's an example of how with very little means, what my parents modeled for me is first of all, they took me seriously.

Secondly, while they couldn't give me material things like the chemistry set every year I hoped for, but we couldn't afford, they basically gave what they could in order never to squelch my creativity or the belief that you know what, you don't need to have all the material resources to become the scientist you imagine yourself to be.

I think that's why for me at a very young age, I said, "I want to be a scientist" or "I want to be a researcher" or "I want to be a doctor." For me, it never occurred to me that that was impossible. I never bragged about it. In fact, my parents never let their family know that I was going to be a doctor. They never allowed themselves that vanity, until literally two weeks before they made the reservations to catch the plane to come to my medical school graduation.

In summary, children and future generations are very important to the participants of this study. The quotes show the care and nurturing that afforded to children by and for these participants. These results show that children's well-being is deeply connected to parents and grandparents sense of well-being.

Section 3. Experiences of Families Impact on Well-being

Analysis revealed that there was an emergent relationship between how family life was experienced and how it shaped participants' concept of well-being. Among the participants of this study, the presence of a role model, an admirer or empathizer, and/or social support was associated with conceptualizing well-being as family. The absence of support was associated with conceptualizing well-being as work. According to Kohut & Elson (1987), healthy development is contingent upon having: 1) an individual that empathized with or admired the participant, which according to Kohut (1987) fosters healthy ambitions. Two, having a role model or someone for the individual to idealize, such a parent or caregiver. And, three, social connectedness, which promotes a sense of belonging to a larger group. The presence of at least one of three tenets of development (Kohut & Elson, 1987) during participant's formative years determined how well-being is conceptualized.

The following sub-categories will provide descriptions about how experiences of family impact participants' sense of well-being. This section will report the experience of: 1) support, 2) losing a parent, 3) violence or abuse in the home, and 4) not having family support. All of these responses were derived from asking the participants what life was like for them growing up.

Section 3a. Experiences of Support

The first sub-category, “Experience of family support” was reported in the previous category “Sense of responsibility.” These included how family take care of one another, the experience of being cared for, the importance of children’s well-being, and the experience of intergenerational households. For example, Cousin Tara shares how her father nurtured her in a time of deep disappointments.

When I didn't get in (to medical school), it was kind of like, "What am I going to do now?" I remember having this deep conversation with my dad about, "I'm so sorry, Dad. I didn't get in. I know you're disappointed." He looked at me and he's like, "What are you disappointed about? I'm the one who put that pressure on you, so don't even (feel bad)" I never knew (he felt like) that. It made everything okay. Cousin Tara

Section 3b. The experience of losing a parent or parents

The participants that expressed a mix of positive and negative experiences of family made up 28% (n=8) of the 29 participants. The participants of this subgroup expressed some type of trauma or drastic change in their life that involved the loss of a parent, parents, or parent figure(s) during their formative years. Participants were either struggling to deal with changes that complicated family life after divorce or struggling with the death of one or more parents, and a result they shared both positive and negative descriptions of family life. For instance, Uncle Bill grew up in Kauai and fondly remembered spending a lot of time with his parents and sixteen siblings. He has vivid memories of how his family spent their summers:

Every summer we go camping, we go across rivers, its in private land, we sneak in and build one house for us of over there, made out of *Koa* (trees indigenous to Hawaii), hunt, we make a trap to block the river and catch *O'opu* (fresh water fish native to Hawaiian waters), from big water, the *O'opu* always come, pick em' up, trow em' in the screen box in the back...my family when we was small, we stayed

there for three months and we lived off the land too, my dad used to hunt, make pig or goat and you know we dry it out and smoke 'em ... so last longer yah? So back at home. Every summer we does that ... all my family, sisters and their kids and my brothers. Uncle Bill

At twelve years old, Uncle Bill lost his parents and had to learn to survive on his own. His concept of well-being crystallized around the necessity of making money and having a good job:

I was 12 years old by the time both my parents passed away, but my oldest sister didn't want me around. I was *kolohe* (naughty) ah? So I stayed by myself from twelve years old. I used to go work, cheat my age and go work cannery when I was 15, but twelve years I started staying by myself already ... I started drinking when I was twelve years old...I quit school at 17, didn't have money, had to work. Uncle Bill

Cousin Sean's parents divorced when he was in grade school, and he describes a tumultuous childhood filled with family conflict. He said of the period immediately following his parents' divorce:

The early days we moved around a lot. And then he (his dad) moved closer to my mom in *Kawaehae* and we would just pretty much walk back and forth. Yeah, it was a lot of just kind of wasted energy when I was young, a lot of tension, a lot of drama. Even on my mom's side, my aunts and uncles that were – at least one uncle that was in and out of jail and kind of involved in some violence and what not. And my dad was just a wimp. He didn't stick up for us at all. So it was just real disappointing as we started getting older. Cousin Sean

However, because of the support he felt from his mom, who always encouraged him to further his education and the support he got from Kamehameha Schools, his concept of well-being is about family.

But my mom was always solid as a rock. If it wasn't for her, I don't think any of what we've accomplished would have – I mean I don't know where we would have been. But I always pretty determined to succeed. And I think a lot of that came from kind of looking at my dad and thinking I don't want be like that. I was driven because of the stories she would tell us to succeed, but I was also just kind of because of where we were and all the tension and drama and all. That contributed to me being pretty I think a little bit angry as a kid. But that lit a fire in me. I mean everything I did, I wanted to be the best. I wanted to just make sure that I can get a good education, get a good job, and take care of my family. - Cousin Sean

Uncle Mano's mother passed away when he was five, and his grandmother moved in with him and his father. He would go to stay at his grandmother's house on homestead lands every weekend. This was where he received a lot of negative attention. He explained:

Most of my childhood I was raised in the Hawaiian setting and not the Caucasian setting. Monday through Friday, she (Gramma) would live with us and then every Friday, she would pick me up from school and I would go to homestead and I'd stay there Friday nights, Saturday nights, Sunday, drive back to Kailua. Summertime, longer stints, so I stayed there for three weeks, four weeks. I hated it. I always used to get beat up when I went to homestead to go stay with my Gramma, I looked real *haole* (white) so, they made me feel like I didn't belong. – Uncle Mano

Also, Uncle Mano's mother's Caucasian family was not keen on their daughter's marriage to Uncle Mano's Hawaiian father. When his mother died, the lack of communication between his father and his mother's family was awkward. He elaborated:

We would see my *haole* grandma maybe four times a year, five times a year, and special occasions. My father wasn't allowed in the house. He'd have to drop us off outside; you walk inside. Come to pick us up, we walk outside, no connection at all ... my childhood was that environment all the way through. Uncle Mano

However, Uncle Mano's responses revealed that he felt unconditionally loved by his father and the rest of his family.

There was no shortage of love. There was no time when I didn't feel like there wasn't some place I could go to for sympathy kind of a thing. Uncle Mano My father, he was extremely compassionate and very strict, hugs every day, "I love you" every day, but if you fell out of line, you're in the corner covering up. - Uncle Mano

Section 3c. The experience of violence or abuse

In the next two sections, all the participants that described negative or non-existent relationships with family (n=5) were also the same participants that conceptualized well-being as having a good job and making good money rather than family.

Among participants, 10% (n=3) either experienced or witnessed violence or abuse. Of those participants, 7% (n=2) were physically and verbally abused. Their descriptions of family are very similar. For example, Uncle Larry shared his experience of growing up:

My dad was abusive, I got lickings every week almost ... I was kinda a mistake I guess during the war days ... my brother and sister are much older. Uncle Larry

And Uncle Doug explained:

My dad he was too strict ... the thing is you have to learn fast or you get cracks ... I used to get cracks if I didn't get it right on the first try ... rather take cracks from dad than mom, always felt degraded by mom, mom would say 'you gotta be like your older *braddah*' ... Uncle Doug

These two individuals reported anecdotally that they found social connections with co-workers. Spending time with co-workers/friends outside of work, drinking, and

hanging out in bars appropriated time that the participants said should have been spent with family. These participants' wives and children look back with disappointment about the time that was lost. As Uncle Doug's wife explained:

He always wonders how come the kids don't ask him to do things with them. And I say, "Well, gee, think about it." Everything was the *braddahs* (close friends/brothers), the boys, drinking having a good time, fooling around, doing the devil, whatever he was doing. That always came first, before we did and it's unfortunate because in this stage of his life, he know how important we all are.
Aunty Ella

The single participant that reported she witnessed abuse of others growing up shared that her abusive parent favored her over her four siblings because she "looked real Hawaiian" compared to them. What "real Hawaiian" is will be discussed in Chapter 5. BLT attended a highly regarded all-Hawaiian private school, Kamehameha Schools:

My father really wanted me to go to Kamehameha...so he was real happy when I got in. I was the daughter that looked Hawaiian. Aunty Ella

My father had a rough life. He had it pretty bad. The anger just continued with us. I mean he was very abusive, extremely abusive. Those three kids (her half-siblings) were not his. So he was really bad towards them. The fortunate thing about me, I was baby. So I had preferential treatment. Aunty Ella

In the aforementioned statement, Aunty Ella shows that even though her father was abusive, he still admired his daughter for her aesthetic beauty and her acceptance to Kamehameha Schools. According to Kohut (1987), this admiration from her father may have been the need that filled her as a child and gave her healthy ambitions. Also, as was reported by other participants, attending Kamehameha schools is a unique experience for Hawaiians because it is the one context in which they all know they share a common ancestry.

Aunty Ella also reported that seeing her mother abused and humiliated for so many years motivated her to give her children a safe and loving home environment.

As a whole, it was pretty bad. I told myself I would never repeat that when I became an adult and I never did. I told myself no man was going to hit me. I was not going to let my children be exposed to that. I'm surprised how well I turned out really, because I could have gone the other way. I really could have gone another way. Aunty Ella

My kids are my everything. They bring me so much happiness. I knew everything about their friends even as little as they are. As they grew up I knew all their friends. I knew where they were. They made me happy, now I'm getting him to come in bed with me and we talk for hours, but my son was in college in Oregon. I swear we'd stay on the phone three hours just talking story and how his football practice is. How is all of that? It's just talking, talking and then my daughter was in school in Utah, same thing. Aunty Ella

Therefore, even though Aunty Ella's childhood was traumatic, having empathy from a family member gave her a sense of social connectedness. This may have had a strong influence on her self-esteem and positive conceptualization of well-being.

Section 3d. No Support from Family

The five participants that reported money and jobs were the most important to making a good life have similar backgrounds. All reported feeling abandoned in some way, without anyone to depend on except themselves in their formative years, when they lost one or both parents or just felt parents were preoccupied with their work. All participants reported experiences of not having relationships with family. All five expressed the importance of working and "making good money" to support themselves. Therefore, working and having jobs was central to their well-being.

Uncle Bill described the changes in his life that occurred after his parents' death:

I was 12 year old when my parents passed away, but my oldest sister didn't want me around (to live with her), I was *Kolohe ah?* (naughty, you know?) ... so I stayed by myself from 12 years old then I used to go work, cheat my age and go work cannery, 'til 16 I worked cannery ... but 12 years old I was staying by myself already... Lani Cox had a house there, but he was staying Kekaha side, so he rented me the house for \$10 a month, as long as I upkeep the house, so I worked, I used to make \$2/day so then I grew up working all my life. Uncle Bill

Uncle Bill's eldest sister didn't want him to live with her because he was *kolohe* (naughty, rascal), and the rest of his family shunned him. He felt abandoned by his family, who "only wanted him when he had money." He started drinking alcohol at this time as well, and he continued to do so for many years.

Working was central to Uncle Bill's life since he was a child. Later, he had to quit school because he couldn't make enough money to survive on part-time jobs. He had many different types of jobs while he was growing up. Then in high school, he worked for Future Farmers of America. Then, while he was nearing the end of high school, the produce job abruptly ended and he was forced to quit school to find full-time work to support himself.

I was going school working and for one year worked Future Farmers of Association, grow vegetables, pick up when ready, put on the table at cafeteria and sell to teachers, that's how I paid for books ... it was getting hard because people started stealing the vegetables at night ... had to quit school, didn't have money, had to work. Uncle Bill

When he talked about working the land and tending to the produce, Uncle Bill's facial expression suggested that he enjoyed this type of work. He also shared:

I always look back and wonder...those days was kind of hard...wished I had more love (from his family) back in those days. Uncle Bill

Another participant, Uncle Sam had a mixed experience of family life. He reported that the family's centrality to his life changed when he was in the fourth grade. At that time, his parents divorced. However, despite my numerous attempts to draw out his experiences before and after the divorce, Uncle Sam did not have much to share. He was reluctant to speak about his family and grew irritable, summing his views up like this:

I don't remember anything from growing up, only remember being poor, can't have what you want, that's all I remember. That's why I wanted to work right after I got out of high school, didn't think about college or anything like that. I joined the military and became a helicopter mechanic.
Uncle Sam

Uncle Charlie expressed his experience of not having support from parents and family like this:

I didn't think about the future when I was growing up. I did a lot on my own, just going out and having a good time. My family, my house always had something going on. My parents were deeply involved with the church. After my brother survived a near death illness, my parents felt faith and prayers saved him. They became very involved in church activities, which were normally hosted at our house by my parents. My parents were always around but I never felt like they were there for me. I felt like I was on my own. I am just realizing now that I acted very similar to my children. I dedicated myself to my job and it became who I was. So when I was let go, I was devastated. I see now that my children really needed me. I'm trying to be there for them now. I'm learning how to be what my family needs. Uncle Charlie

This sections shows how a perceived lack of family or parental support left participants feeling abandoned and on their own to make life decisions. The participants do not conceptualize family as their source of well-being because it was not a part of their life experience during their formative years. They didn't have it modeled

to them. Rather, they created an alternative identity by using work life to become their source of identity and sense of well-being. Casual conversation with participants' children, wives, or the participant they revealed that participants practiced what they learned from their families: that family was not a priority for the participants when they were raising their children as well.

The results in this chapter revealed that taking care of families and others was one of the most frequently mentioned sources of well-being among participants. To take care of others was also reported to be a characteristic trait that gave several participants pride. Participants described pride in knowing that, as Hawaiians, they would go to great lengths to help anyone, as long as they were physically able. Some respondents saw their own well-being as dependent on the well-being of their children. In one case, a respondent shared that a lack of well-being among her children was a great source of her own stress (See Chapter 7, Section 1c).

While most participants shared positive recollections about their families, a smaller subset of participants felt their parents or families gave them little support or even abandoned them. They described mixed (positive & negative), negative, and non-existent experiences of family. Interestingly, the participants who felt abandoned all expressed their sense of well-being to be tied to their job or career rather than family.

Chapter VI: Results – Conceptualizations of Native Hawaiian Identity

Theme 2 - Conceptualizations of Native Hawaiian Identity

This section reports on the ways that Native Hawaiians in this study conceptualize their cultural and ethnic identities. The sub-categories describe how participants’ responses clustered to form the corresponding three categories.

Theme 2	Categories	Sub-Categories
Conceptualizations of Native Hawaiian Identity	Sense of Place	Birthplace
		What do you sacrifice? Money or Aloha Aina?
	Generational differences	Living off the Land
		Experience of attending Kamehameha Schools
	Social Constructions of Identity	Oppression – dumping ground, forgotten people
		What is “real Hawaiian? Struggle with identity Phenotype
		Religion
		Follow God’s plan; Christian struggle with Hawaiian religion

Figure 9. Conceptualization of Native Hawaiian Identity

Section 1. Sense of Place

This section will present participants’ conceptions of what it means to be born and raised in Hawaii. Similar to what Mary Oneha (2001) found in her ethnographic study on Hawaiian sense of place in one community, the following sections will present ideas about birthplace and living in Hawaii versus living on the mainland. The data reflect how *sense of place* is directly linked to self-identity, self-esteem and spiritual well-being among indigenous populations (M. F. Oneha, 2001).

Section 1a. Birthplace

When two Hawaiian people first meet, questions about birthplace and hometown are common conversational topics that follow the first question. Borrowed from Kana'iaupuni (2004), "*where you wen grad?*"³. Whether an individual was born in Hawaii is regarded as an implicit measure of his or her connection to place. Knowing this information helps individuals to gauge one another's level of understanding of local culture. As will be discussed later, knowing whether someone was born in Hawaii can help two individuals place each other among their people. On another level, being born in Hawaii is an identity in and of itself. Stating one's affiliation in this way reveals the depth of a person's connection to that town or island. It is really saying, "I belong here, I'm one of the people."

In casual conversation and during interviews, participants were apologetic when they explained that they were not born in Hawaii. It is also this researcher's experience that I myself was apologetic when I would explain that I am not Hawaiian. In addition, for those participants that lived away from Hawaii for some time and were asked to participate in this study, they would reply that they wouldn't have much to share or they didn't know much because of their lengthy absence. This revealed the notion that Hawaiianness is measured by origin, presence, and nativity.

Related to origin, in the next two citations, two female participants reported that it was important to them for their children to be born in Hawaii. The strength of their connection to Hawaii can be seen in how these participants and their spouses have

³ Meaning where did you graduate from high school. This bit of information is telling of many different demographic details about a person. It is also a way to begin to try to make connections with the person by finding out if they know any one that you may know.

made accommodations and sacrifices so that their children can be born in Hawaii.

Cousin Joann, for example, always planned to come back to Hawaii to raise her kids so they could be near family, but it is clear that she also wanted her new baby to begin her life in Hawaii:

I came back to Hawaii to give birth to her. While he (her husband) was in Japan and then we went (moved) to Oklahoma. I wanted to come back to Hawaii to have my children, to raise my kids here. Cousin Joann

In this next passage, Cousin Lauren describes how she always intended to raise her family in Hawaii:

I always wanted to go to the mainland for college but I think that I thought that I would move away for a while ... I would move away and I always thought that I would come back here to raise my kids. Same as what my mom did. She had my brother on the mainland but as he was getting older, she moved home and raised him. She just wanted to raise him in this environment, in this community. So I think that I always thought that that's how it would be. I know Phillip (husband) can't stay in Hawaii forever, it's just too small for him. We will eventually move back to California but he understands for now how important this is for me to have our kids here. Cousin Lauren

The Hawaiian environment and community that Cousin Lauren alludes to is described perfectly by Cousin Sean. Though Cousin Sean doesn't necessarily say he wants his children to be born in Hawaii, he expands on what Cousin Lauren called "this environment... this community" by offering a definition of what Hawaiian means to him. Like other participants, Cousin Sean left Hawaii (in his case, to attend college) but decided to return:

Whenever I think about what Hawaiian means, for me if I were to kind of boil it down to one thing and I think about how I want to be as a person, how I want to behave, how I want to treat people ... having *aloha* for one another. It's number one. And I've been in other places where people don't treat each other the same

way. And that was one of the things that appealed to me when I decided ... I'm going to come back ... it was the way people treat each other. And a lot of that is rooted in Hawaiian culture and just having *aloha* for everybody and respecting each other. I mean the culture is very kind of open and welcoming culture. Cousin Sean

Cousin Sean's quote reveals that to him, the most important facet of Hawaii, as a sense of place is how people treat one another. After the connection to family and their proximity, the kindness and generosity of Hawaii people is what motivates him to decide on Hawaii as a place to raise his children. Of note, "Having *aloha* for one another" as Cousin Sean stated is a recurrent Native Hawaiian cultural value that will be discussed further in the conclusions.

Similar to Oneha's study (2001), the results of this section make it clear that sense of place is an important facet to Native Hawaiian well-being. Origin, length of residence and the social environment all contribute to participants' well-being and conceptualization of identity.

Section 1b. What do you sacrifice? Money or Aloha Aina? (Love of the land)

Deciding whether to move to the mainland or to stay in Hawaii is a difficult decision for many Native Hawaiians and their families. The positive motivating factors related to moving to the mainland are largely economic. Salaries are higher and the cost of living is lower. In addition, many Native Hawaiians consider moving to states like Nevada that do not tax income or retirement. However, making such sacrifices for economic prosperity weighs heavily on some participants. Being away from Hawaii means being away from family and other facets of life unique to Hawaiian living. Four

commonly cited attributes that people who move away from the islands miss are the people, the place, the aloha and the food (and not necessarily in that order) .

Staying in Hawaii has much to offer. In the following excerpt, Uncle Frank explains how he decided:

There's a lot of people who are living a good life, but not in Hawaii and that is – if you go away, it's hard to come back because you know when you can have a way, but you also know what you are not having. And so kind of like as a person from Hawaii, you got to decide what you want and what you'd really do to sacrifice for it. So as I stay here longer, I learn to live with less financially. I also work a lot more though, yeah. I work in the fire department and I work another part-time job, but I did that so that my wife can stay home too. And we don't have a big house. So she can raise my kids. Some people will choose it differently. Uncle Frank

Cousin Sean had the foresight to realize his choice of major during college would have an impact on whether or not he could get a job in Hawaii:

I wanted to make sure I could come back to Hawaii and contribute to this community and raise my family here. And so I started to reevaluate what was important. And the career became not as important as – what I would do with my career didn't come as – it wasn't as important as where my career would be.
Cousin Sean

Cousin Sean had a lucrative job offer in New York, but his thought process surrounding the decision demonstrates his commitment to returning to Hawaii:

When I was asked to do a partner training program in New York with PricewaterhouseCoopers which was starting on seven-figure paydays. I talked it over with my wife and what it came down to was that I don't care how much money they're going to pay me. I don't think I'm going to come home very happy every day. And we're going to be in New York. How are we going to get back home (to Hawaii)? Cousin Sean

The longer Cousin Sean stays in Hawaii, he more realizes that he made the right choice for himself and his family. He feels sad for friends who can't find their way back to Hawaii:

A lot of my friends had to move away to the mainland and not be able to work here in Hawaii and be close to their families. So being in Hawaii, being able to support my family and then as I start to learn, start to be more aware of the community and the role and the benefits that I could bring to the community just because of the work that I do and basically caring about this place.

Tutu Lady also shared how her grandson was frustrated with the lack of job opportunities in Hawaii and had to leave:

My grandson, I miss him. Last year and the year before, he put in for jobs. He goes "*Tutu*, I'm putting in for jobs and nobody calls me." He said, "I made up my mind, I'm going to join the Navy." So now he is stationed in Washington. He's doing good, he calls me to check on me, but I miss him. Tutu Lady

In contrast, another participant said he is not tied to the land, and that living near his children was his priority. Uncle Charlie is retired and has grown children who are looking outside of Hawaii for job opportunities. His children do not intend to return to Hawaii if they can find lucrative work elsewhere. Uncle Charlie explained:

The kids are finishing college and can't find the kind of jobs they would like here in Hawaii. Living near family and having close relationships with them is what's most important to me, if kids moved and have children, my wife and I will move away from Hawaii to be near them. I spent too much time away from them when I was working and missed out on a lot of their lives. I don't want to miss out anymore. Uncle Charlie

Section 2. Generational Differences

In this section, I will present information about how Native Hawaiians conceptualize their identity in relation to generational differences.

Observationally, the generational differences can be seen in how the two groups manifest and discuss their Hawaiian identities. Members of the older generation carry their Hawaiian identity in a quieter way, which is not to say that they hide who they are. Their Hawaiian identity, however, is not at the forefront of their self-presentation. Rather, being Hawaiian is worn like a vest under a jacket. Hints of the color of the vest can be seen as the body and the jacket move naturally. Yet, the vest is not the main attraction of the ensemble; it is an accent. The older participants in this study were proud Hawaiians, yet their pride was quiet and humble.

In comparison to the younger generation of participants, the older generation lacked a lexicon, in terms of historical events, for discussing what it is to be traditionally Native Hawaiian. Their discourse included descriptions of how they lived, and remembrances of encountering other Hawaiians who lived differently. They offered firsthand accounts about how people acted and lived, and about how Hawaiian lifeways have drastically changed with economic and environmental circumstances (e.g. access to fresh food versus dependence on imported foods, changes in the population, availability and expense of land and living in Hawaii, etc). They described character traits that are favorable among their generation.

Most older Hawaiians knew their genealogy, and most likely know the history of how the Hawaiian governmental was illegally overthrown. However, such history is not at the forefront of their identity or conversational topics. Not so long ago, government

and educational institutions prohibited Native Hawaiians from speaking Native Hawaiian language or engaging in cultural practices (e.g. rituals, healing). The older Hawaiian participants described the experience of living two lives: one at home, where one was part of a Hawaiian family, and another life outside, where one had to hide all traces of a Hawaiian identity. For instance, Aunty Jeanne describes having to keep secret her mother's visit to a Hawaiian healer for a dislocated shoulder :

Today, Hawaiians are even scared of their own healing, cultural healing. They don't understand it themselves because we're brought up in a different generation. You know my mother practiced rituals and I saw them, but I was raised in a Catholic school so I had to not talk about them. So I had this life of living in a contradiction or two worlds, trying to bridge two worlds, understanding. It was in secret that people met ... she went every week to somebody's house. They met in their own circles. They had their own meetings, but it was seen as pagan or – I don't know what the words are. But that was 1944. She wouldn't tell a doctor what she did. She kept it a secret. And so I grew up with that knowledge that my first entry into the world was into the world of contradiction and struggle between two cultures. Aunty Jeanne

Another notable characteristic trait among the older Native Hawaiians that was discussed earlier, was their deep feeling or responsibility to take care of those around them that were in need. The quotes were shared in the previous chapter but this pertains to a generational difference.

A common assumption made about the older generation is that they are fluent in the Hawaiian language. In reality, while older Hawaiians may know select words or phrases and have an implicit understanding of cultural values, they grew up in a time when the Hawaiian language and Hawaiian ways were forbidden. So, it cannot be assumed that *Kupuna* (elders) can speak and understand Hawaiian fluently.

For example, Cousin Nani described a situation where she tried to introduce a Hawaiian custom to her *Kupuna* (elders) group:

I actually tried to introduce an *Oli* (a traditional chant) a while back and try to make it part of our opening protocol per se. And they were fine with practicing it, but it didn't feel like it was something of a spiritual connection. In actuality, I felt it was more of a burden because then they have to memorize it... Cousin Nani

Finally, some older generation participants are worried about the future of Hawaii and Hawaiians. They are concerned Hawaiians will continue to be taken advantage of by westerners. Some of their concern includes young people moving to the mainland for education and not going back to Hawaii to contribute.

In stark contrast to the pre-1960 generation, members of the younger generation have a very different experience of being Hawaiian and embody or express their Hawaiian identity differently than the older generation.

The Hawaiian Renaissance of the 1970s prompted a widespread ethnic and cultural revitalization that continues to this day. The younger Hawaiian participants in this study grew up encouraged to learn about the value and wisdom of Hawaiian culture. As a result, the younger generation never had to deal with the contradiction of hiding their Hawaiian pride while in public. Therefore, their pride, though not boastful, is expressed in the way they carry themselves. Their pride in their Hawaiian heritage is worn as a beautiful jacket, rather than a vest, like the older generation.

The post-1960 generation has learned how colonial impositions devalued their ancestors and overlooked their ancestral wisdom. Many of these younger Hawaiians are ready, willing, and able to discuss any number of issues related to colonization, forced assimilation, and the deep losses of culture experienced by Native Hawaiians. Also, the

younger generation sees hope in the future of the Hawaiian people. Hawaiian language immersion programs continue to grow, and as they do Hawaiian youth grow up with an understanding of Hawaiian culture that only language can foster. The main concerns of the younger participants in this study were expressed through concerted efforts to contribute to *Lahui* (The Hawaiian Nation) and to prove to others that the stereotypes about Native Hawaiians are wrong. For example, Cousin Tara shared that she feels responsible to be an example that stereotypes of laziness and incompetence are completely false. She exemplifies a competent and prepared employee and director of various programs at a large hospital.

Integrating observational and interview data shows that generational differences emerged concerning how participants conceptualized their Hawaiian identity in relation to their lived experiences and circumstances. Among the older generation of participants (n=5), the most salient concept of identity was related to living off the land. Among the younger participants (n=8), the most significant concept of Native Hawaiian identity stemmed from attendance at Kamehameha Schools (Funded by Bernice Pauahi for the sole purpose of educating Hawaiian children). The following sections will report results within these two sub-categories.

Section 2a. Living off the Land

For several of the older participants in this study, living off of the land was a relevant manifestation of being Native Hawaiian. Working the land with their families shaped these older participants' identities. According to participants, the experiences taught them useful values, and helped to foster a sense of self. Participants consistently talked about learning from their families, and about learning from playing an assigned

role within a collaborative unit. These and similar values learned on the land, participants said, shaped the people they have come to be. One participant shared how she was forced to go live up-country with her grandma, an experience that she appreciates more now than she did at the time:

I went to go live with that *Tutu* of mine in Haula, I don't regret it, I learned my culture, we go get mountain *opai* (shrimp), I work taro patch, we go pick *limokohu* (seaweed) at low tide, we learned how to pound poi. Tutu Lady

Another participant reminisced about the how things were done in his family, how the work was divided up, and about what kinds of food were available. He spoke of these events with a longing for his family. During the interview it was clear that he was very proud of his family's self-sufficiency:

My dad used to hunt, make pig or goat and we dry it out and smoke 'em ... so last longer yah? So back at home, dad used to go hunting come back, he make small payments, so trade meat for rice or any other kind stuff you need, can goods ... we always had meat from the smoker, one of his brothers fished and two other brothers that hunt, they used to go out with his dad every weekend. Uncle Bill

Tutu Lettie explained the rewards of living in an agricultural area where produce was plentiful. She described differences between past and present-day preparations for a day at the beach:

You're very much connected growing up on a farm, I think, where you learn self-sufficiency. For example, I still chuckle when I look at my nieces and my nephews and the grandchildren when they go down to the beach and they have half their house packed up with them to go camping. In our days when we went to the beach, we would have usually maybe – we'd make *musubi* (rice balls) and we would have a bag of *poi*, and then our fishing gear to get *opihi*, catch crab, and catch fish, and we collected our food as we walked. So as we're walking down the trail, we always came across farms, other farms, and we'd pick mangoes, bananas, whatever we harvested as we went down. By the time we reach the beach, we had our own food then we would go fishing and then go to my uncles and cook it, and then have our

dinner and then we'd walk back home. And so, it's those traditional lifestyle things that you learn, subsistence, how to take care of it. Tutu Lettie

In Auntie Jeanne's description of her childhood, the importance of knowing the land and practicing traditional harvesting techniques emerges, as does the centrality of such activities to Hawaiian identity and well-being:

My mom only (cooked) Hawaiian food. She's really a fisherwoman. She would go squidding in Waikiki. That's how I became so acquainted with the ocean, and the ocean was so much a part of my growing up years because I would wait on the shore. I'll play in the sand while she was out squidding and getting food.
Auntie Jeanne

Auntie Fran also shared all the skills she learned from working the land:

I learned so much from working the land with my family. We all had a job and we knew it...We knew before we could play the yard needed to be raked and cleaned. I learned how to be responsible and take pride in my work. We used to go to sell the fruits and vegetable from our land so we had to take good care of our crop. That's what kids are missing today...I also got something that kids today don't get. I got to spend so much time with my parents and my family. We worked together and would enjoy time together when the work was all done. It was a lot of fun. I have good memories. Auntie Fran

For participants that shared experiences of living off the land and learning to be stewards of the land, the situation afforded those opportunities to learn life skills related to work ethic and responsibility. Also, in terms of identity, they were given the opportunity to share time with family where cultural and familial knowledge could be passed down to that in turned created their identity and a sense of well-being. They were able to witness the values and behaviors of their families through lived experience. They experienced how the family working together could create a good life that was congruently supported by each family member and the *aina* (land).

Section 2b. Experience of attending Kamehameha Schools

All participants expressed gratitude for being selected for admission to the Kamehameha Schools⁴, and felt honored to attend these schools. The older generation seemed satisfied with having graduated from the schools, but none spoke of what it was like to attend them. For this group, the fact of their graduation from these schools was a desirable status symbol. These older Kamehameha School graduates reported that their families were all very proud they were accepted and attended. The opportunities afforded by attendance and/or the experience of the school itself were less frequently discussed topics. Incidentally, none of the older Kamehameha Schools alums went on to college.

The responses that were given by The Kamehameha Schools alumni showed the how thankful participants were to be chosen to attend the prestigious schools was to these participants. In this next example, Aunty Ella reported earlier that her step-siblings were not Hawaiian. She was the only child that was and her father was not someone who would give compliments. She shared:

My father really wanted me to go to Kamehameha, so he was real happy when I got in. Aunty Ella

⁴ Kamehameha Schools (KS) is a private, charitable educational trust to educate Hawaiian children. It is endowed by the will of Princess Bernice Pauahi Bishop, the great-granddaughter and last direct descendant of King Kamehameha I. During her lifetime, she witnessed the rapid decline of the Hawaiian people. With that decline came a challenge to preserve the Hawaiian language and culture she held dear. Her vision was the perpetual educational institution that would build a vibrant future for the Hawaiian people. She willed her 375,000 acres estate to found The Kamehameha Schools in 1890. The annual endowment totals \$11 million. The application process is rigorous. Many apply and few are chosen. KS subsidizes tuition and is tremendously lower compared to other private schools. For example, the tuition for KS academic year 2015-2016 will be under \$5K annually compared to other private schools in Hawaii that range from \$10K - \$20K annually.

The next two passages describe the efforts of participants who went to great lengths to be able to say they were Kamehameha alumni:

I came back from the mainland senior year so I could graduate from Kamehameha. Aunty Bell

Uncle John attended high school in California. He shared a story about how he was recruited to play football at another high school there, but chose to return to Hawaii so he could graduate from Kamehameha Schools:

I was accepted back at Kamehameha, so I knew in the back of my mind that I would go back home. Then, my junior year, this coach stopped me and tried to recruit me to play ball. I said “Coach, I’m going to Hawaii, I’m going home.” I wanted to graduate from Kamehameha, so I’m going home. Uncle John

In comparison to these descriptions from the older generation, younger Kamehameha graduates fondly remember the unique experience of being part of an all-Hawaiian community. They emphasize that their Kamehameha experience was special and unique. In the next several excerpts these alums describe the environment of the Kamehameha Schools:

In my family as well, like my dad and most of his siblings are Kamehameha alum and so it was always something that was on the horizon for me. I danced *hula* since I was little, that's been the culture that I've identified with the most in my life and then especially going to Kamehameha too, it's like it's everywhere in everything they do just point Hawaiian culture, Hawaiian culture, Hawaiian culture, and it's what everyone has in common there so it's kind of a big deal. – Cousin Lauren

When that's (being Native Hawaiian) like the common uniting factor of everyone, I think that's one of the things that make this school so unique. Cousin Lauren

I thought it was awesome. This is looking back at the opportunities that I had. You never appreciate the opportunities at Kamehameha until you leave.
Cousin Tara

Among the younger generation of participants seven of the eight younger Kamehameha Schools alums in this study went on to graduate from college, and two of the seven have earned advanced degrees. All of the younger generation of participants who attended Kamehameha Schools mention how passionate they are about giving back to the community for Native Hawaiian advancement. Six of the eight Kamehameha Schools alums are also doing work for the advancement of Native Hawaiians. The following demonstrates their passion for giving back, as well as the centrality of the Schools to that passion:

So to me, that's part of me contributing to promotion of future for Hawaiians, I mean knowing where you came from. A lot of being Hawaiian is understanding what your past is. But I think really it's positively impacting the younger Hawaiians and giving them an opportunity whether it's talking at Kamehameha or that it's representing myself in the best possible way I can. Cousin Kekoa

Kamehameha has totally shaped the way I think of as Native Hawaiian in my own identity. I think that it means having a skill set, and it could be any skill set, but being really good at a particular thing and using that to maximize a contribution back to the [Hawaiian] community or back to the *lahui*. Cousin Tara

This section showed that The Kamehameha Schools has gone beyond its mission to provide education to Hawaiian children. It has afforded the participants a very special opportunity to experience a setting where everyone is Hawaiian. It may not sound like much to an outside observer, but to all the participants of this study who attended The Kamehameha Schools, it was described as a unique and special experience that has contributed to their identity as a Hawaiian and their sense of well-being. Notably, all younger generation Kamehameha Schools graduates continued their education and

received undergraduate degrees. Several went further and pursued and earned masters and doctorate degrees. Notably, all participants expressed the responsibility to give back to their community, the Hawaiian community, in order to move Hawaiians into the future in order to strive to no longer be a minority in their own land and become a powerful voice in the decisions that are made in Hawaii.

Section 3. Social Constructions of Native Hawaiian Identity

This section addresses social constructions that shape Native Hawaiian identity. It will include participants' thoughts about how identity is shaped by oppression, the concept of having a "real" Hawaiian identity, and religious affiliation.

Section 3a. Oppression

The following citations report that Native Hawaiians still see themselves as burdened by a colonial legacy of oppression:

There's still a lot of oppression for Hawaiians here. A lot of Hawaiians don't have a way to succeed educationally. You can say all you want. Oh, yeah, here it is, but really financially you haven't really given them those means. Given them some dream but no means. Cousin Frank

Aunty Jeanne lives on the Waianae coast, a densely populated Native Hawaiian community. When she tells me this story, her frustration is near the surface but it also runs deep because she has seen and realizes how Hawaiian people have been marginalized throughout her whole life. Aunty Jeanne explains:

We've been had! We've been had! As Hawaiians we have been had! And we know it, the writing is on the wall and it's been on the wall for 50 years, they've taken our culture, they've taken our language, they've taken everything, and now they expect us to pull ourselves up by our bootstraps ... I think there's a game being played on us and we have to wise up if we want to be healthy and live in a society where well-being is important, you cannot be well if somebody's playing you.
Aunty Jeanne

This statement resonates with another participant's advice to her son, who wanted to attend college in Hawaii instead of going to the mainland:

I told him, "You have to go away and learn their ways, so when they try to take advantage of us, you will know how to respond." These *haoles* (foreigners, whites) take advantage of our good nature, we are too agreeable and accommodating. Aunty Queenie

In another instance, Aunty Jeanne talks about the oppression that she experienced when she was a child, having to hide her Hawaiian identity because Hawaiian cultural practices were banned. She explained that her mother gave birth to all her other children with the help of a midwife. Aunty Jeanne was the only child of all her mother's children to be born in a hospital, and that she was taken there because her mother was 48 years old at the time of her birth. She explains there was a complication:

So my mother went to Queen's and she tells me the story that "they had to break one of your arms to get you out of the birth canal"... Mom wasn't satisfied. She took me to a Hawaiian healer in Makiki right straight from the hospital when she got out ... I think I had a very traumatized birth, she took me to a healer. And then when she had to go back to the doctor, the doctor asked her, "Oh, what have you been doing? This arm is healing incredibly well." And she wouldn't tell. She wouldn't tell where she went or what she did ... That was 1944. Hawaiian practices were not allowed. Finally, when I can resolve that, I think I had less struggle in terms of identity, who I am. And so – well, before I forget, so that struggle went all my life and I'm 70 now. Aunty Jeanne

These next two excerpts concern the power of knowing history and the detriment of believing stereotypes. The excerpts from a participant articulate how she embraced her culture and rejected the oppression:

We have to know our history and we have to know how things have changed. It has to do with being a colonial – and being occupied by other folks and how they changed us and how we're going to change back. Aunty Carol

You know the power of your mind and the words, and in Hawaiian culture words are very important, we keep planting these messages that Hawaiians are unhealthy – they're fat, they're poor, they're uneducated, they're substandard, you just hear it over and over and over. Aunty Carol

Two of the participants of this study were from the west side of O'ahu. The majority of the residents of that side of the island are Native Hawaiian. The two participants quoted in the next two comments are longtime Waianae coast residents. They both shared how the people of Waianae are tired of being treated as second-class citizens. They shared their perceptions of the overall Hawaiian community sentiment in west Oahu:

Waianae is the dumping ground for everything, sludge and asbestos. I was watching the news TV and I saw this explosion at Waikele. It was a number of years ago. And so I'm looking at that and then they're saying, oh, they're going to blow up all the fireworks out in the cave, in Waianae.

Aunty Jeanne

Waianae is the forgotten city. Being a resident there is hard life. Growing up there is a hard life. It feels like nobody cares about Waianae and everyone is waiting for the west side population to just die out. People in Waianae are angry because no one cares what happens out there. They have a lot of resentment.

Cousin Jason

It's clear that Hawaiians see and feel the burden of oppression and marginalization. Especially those that live in areas that are known to be densely populated by Native Hawaiians. The participants expressed deep frustration and concern about the state of their world and their concern about what is going to happen if life continues on the way it has been. Hawaiians understand that western values and behaviors operate on differing terms than Native Hawaiian cultural practices and behaviors. As one participant stated, they are expecting the younger generation to learn "their" western

ways and be able to identify Hawaiians are being taken advantage of. In addition, this is in part fueled by the constant discussion about sovereignty and self-determination that have been on Hawaiians' minds for the past 30-40 years or more.⁵

Section 3b. What is "real Hawaiian"?

In preparation for my field work in Hawaii, I was concerned about how I would be received because I am not Hawaiian. I knew I would be questioned about my nativity and where my people are from. However, what I learned during my field work is Hawaiians use an informal scale to measure and determine the Hawaiianness of other Hawaiians as well. The scale also assesses the depth of other Hawaiians' connection to and understanding of Hawaii. Based on comments I heard, nativity and length of residence determine where a particular Hawaiian falls on the scale. For instance, while I was having an impromptu conversation with someone about others I should interview, that person made this comment in passing:

You know, I don't think she was born or even grew up in Hawaii. I know for sure she wasn't born here and I'm almost positive she didn't grow up here. Aunty Carol

The idea that there is an esoteric scale that measures how Hawaiian someone is or if that person is a *real* Hawaiian emerged from the data as well. Not only is this scale esoteric, but it is subtle as well, and it governs the nuances of peoples' conversations

⁵ There are many Hawaiians who would like to be a sovereign and independent state from the U.S. or self-determined. In the 1970's when protests and activism roused the public with the information about the illegal overthrow of The Hawaiian Kingdom in 1893 by the U.S. government, there have been countless efforts to organize the Hawaiian people as an independent country, to claim their rightful Kingdom, and stolen lands. Hawaiian scholars recognize several renaissance's including the initial cultural explosion in the 1970's. Each has sparked passion and interest in becoming a self-determined and sovereign people. The second was the 100 year anniversary of the illegal overthrow in 1993. The third was instigated by the world wide voyage of Hokule`a and the townhall meetings hosted by the Department of the interior to hear testimony about how Native Hawaiians feel about becoming an independent country. (Interview with J. Tsark & N. Aitaota, 2013 & 2014).

about themselves and others. The scale includes nativity, as mentioned, but it also includes phenotype: skin color, hair color and texture, and facial features. For instance:

I tell my mom "Mom, I got robbed" she go, "Why?" Look at Hiwalani, my youngest sister, she no look like me and Joanne, you know the Pawdagee mix, she look Hawaiian, *real Hawaiian*, that beautiful Hawaiian skin and all dat and I go "Mom, look at Hiwalani, she look the beautiful Hawaiian and I look the ugly Pawdagee." Tutu Lady

There was a small group of participants whose ethnic backgrounds included Portuguese and/or Caucasian blood. These participants had fair complexions, and had few to no phenotypic Hawaiian facial features. They were the participants who felt they “didn’t fit in,” or were not considered by others as “real” Hawaiian and expressed this feeling in a few different ways. In this instance, Cousin Frank does not consider his immediate family or even himself truly Hawaiian. He refers to his cousins who phenotypically look Hawaiian as the “Hawaiian side.”

I learned from the Hawaiian side, family was first and then work and chores were priority to school. It was different. I am privileged to go to private school. They all went to public school and it was good and a good life. I know that they were hard workers, which was like, hey, I kind of keep up with them. They worked so hard in the sun. It was challenging. I only get burned and we get teased a lot and everything. Teasing was a part of my family. I was a little apprehensive about going there (to see family in Waianae) because, of course, I was always the reddest cousin around. Cousin Frank

This participant, Aunty Cami was describing what it was like to go to the beach with her family:

I'd be the little *haole* (Caucasian) girl going swimming with all her Hawaiian cousins, with my sunscreen and bathing suit. Aunty Cami

Another participant is half-Hawaiian and grew up abroad. She shared her experience about living in Hawaii for the past fifteen years:

I didn't grow up in Hawaii so I don't really get all the jokes and I don't know the customs. The culture here in Hawaii is so different, I don't feel like I fit in.
Cousin Nani

In this final instance, Cousin Frank described family members by their phenotype or skin color:

My Auntie Noe looks more Portuguese like my *vovo* (*Grandma*). My grandma is kind of half/half right there. And then my Uncle Kalei, the youngest, he's really Hawaiian-looking with silver hair since he was – forever, kind of like real dark.
Cousin Frank

From the participants' responses, there are several facets related to how some define their own Hawaiinness as well as that of others. The participants reported a *real* Hawaiian has phenotypic characteristics, is born and raised in Hawaii. Therefore, not looking Hawaiian and being born elsewhere or living away from Hawaii for many years may lower a person's Hawaiinness. Of course there are exceptions, and of course many other facets may exist.

In my experience, during the data collection, participants would ask about my ethnic heritage. When I would respond, some would jokingly compliment, "nah, that's Hawaiian" or "you Hawaiian, you get the aloha." In an effort to be objective, I'm unsure if these were compliments, or kind gestures, whatever the case was, in several instances they would express words or gestures that interpreted that I'm family to them now. For me, expressing this in words is very awkward because I am trying to show that I was accepted, which can be considered bragging, an unfavorable character trait. Because of

the way I was raised (in Hawaii), this type of explanations has no place being spoken out loud to anyone. This would be considered a success and successes don't need to be advertised. However, as a researcher, this is an important piece of information that needs to be shared to contextualize the information about how Hawaiianness and my relationship with my participants were shaped.

Section 3c. Religion: Identifying as a Christian

Among all the participants of this study, 86% (n=25) identified as Christian, Catholic, or Mormon. The other 14% (n=4) did not state. In this study, three participants reported that their identities as Christians had become a higher priority than their identities as Hawaiians. For example, in the previous section I reported that Cousin Frank felt he didn't fit in among Hawaiians. He describes the peace he found in dedicating himself to Christianity instead:

Me as a Christian, I started to value my Christianity higher than being a Hawaiian. And I started to change my point of view about – and the value of what Hawaiian means. I thought more value should be placed on being a Christian with Hawaiian culture. Cousin Frank

Cousin Lauren shared that in earlier years, she saw herself as a Hawaiian before she even saw herself as an American. She explained that her sense of Hawaiian identity has changed because of the combination of deep resentment toward her Hawaiian parent and as she grows in her faith in Christianity. She shared that she has actually prioritized her faith before her Hawaiian identity:

I think that my faith definitely is a huge impact. I gave my life to the Lord when I was three or four years old and so it's like I've always known who Jesus was in my life. So that's made a huge impact on just like the way I see the world. After living

away and coming back and being less involved in the Hawaiian community than I was before, and just as I grow more in my faith, I've come to a point where it's not the most important thing in my life to identify myself as a Hawaiian anymore.

Cousin Lauren

Like Cousin Frank, who spoke of “being a Christian with Hawaiian culture,” participant Aunty Jeanne reported that her different identities as a Hawaiian and a Catholic were not mutually exclusive. Instead, they could be balanced against each other depending on the context. Aunty Jeanne explained she “lived a life of contradiction” she had to hide her knowledge and witness of Hawaiian healing because it was forbidden in the 1950’s.

Lastly, Uncle Charlie shared that he does not prioritize his identity as a Hawaiian. Even though his main priority is not Christian, it is still higher on his list than being Hawaiian. He shared:

I lived away from Hawaii for almost twenty years. Now, we have lived back here for about fifteen years. I don’t see myself tied to the land like others do. My priorities are my kids and my faith in God. If my kids move away and settle somewhere other than Hawaii, I have no problem selling this house, even with all the work we have done to bring it to what it is today, I could leave easily to be with my family. My wife has been so patient with me and has shown me what’s important in life... I know others feel so passionately about sovereignty but I just don’t...I think the things that are Hawaiian to me are my food and my music, that’s it. Uncle Charlie

This chapter has shown that there are many different facets that shape conceptualizations of Native Hawaiians identity as well as their concepts of well-being. Considering the history of colonization and the ensuing social structures that have continued to marginalize Native Hawaiians, still Hawaiians endeavor to construct and reconstruct their Native Hawaiians identity. They continue to strive to reconcile western values with Native Hawaiian beliefs and values that have either been handed down through generations or learned through historians and translated texts.

Chapter VII: Results - Meaning of Food

Theme 3 – Meaning of Food

The following section describes how the meaning and use of food manifest in the lives of these Native Hawaiian participants. Figure 6 below lists the categories and sub-categories that coalesced into this theme. The categories related to meanings of food included: 1) symbols of comfort, and 2) empathy.

Theme 3	Categories	Sub-Categories
Meaning of Food	Symbols of comfort	Family Gatherings
		Special person’s cooking
		Food provides warm feelings and comfort
		“The land is our icebox”
	Empathy	Cooking and Offering Food

Figure 10. Meaning of Food

This study explored the meaning of food in order to find potential pathways between individuals’ sense of well-being, food choices, and food habits. Exploring the topic of food along with the topics of well-being and Native Hawaiian identity was difficult because it didn’t feel natural moving from either of the aforementioned topics straight into food. I was able to conduct follow-up interviews with five participants in April 2015. During the follow-up interviews, I asked descriptive questions based on responses about food from the initial interview with the particular participant. This gave me an opportunity to develop unique questions related to food and probe deeper

depending on their initial response. Participants seemed to enjoy talking about their favorite foods, the memories connected with their favorite dishes, and the special people that prepared them. One participant blushed every time she would tell me a story about how her grandmother and great-grandmother would prepare special dishes because they were her favorites.

Contemplating food in general, around the world food holds special meanings to different groups. Even though food is a source of energy for our bodies, it holds much deeper meaning. It is widely known that food plays a major role in cultural identity. As Liu & Liu (2009) write: “Food is one of the most tangible cultural forms representing an ethnic group.” In addition, in Hawaii, there is a plethora of food choices from many different cultures. Many people’s favorite food is not necessarily tied to their ethnic heritage. For instance, I had informal conversations with random people and also my participants, who reported likewise. Another type of food (e.g. Filipino, Chinese, Japanese, Mexican), was their personal favorite. Also, Hawaiian food was explained as a very special occasion food because of its high price and limited availability.

Section 1. Symbol of Comfort

When I asked participants about what food meant to them, they frequently cited memories of favorite foods, especially favorite foods associated with a family gathering or with a special person who cooks their favorite dish or dishes. This section includes four sub-categories: 1) Family gatherings, 2) Special person’s cooking, 3) Food provides warm feelings and comfort, and 4) “The land is our icebox.”

Section 1a. Family Gatherings

Family gatherings in Hawaii are common among all cultures. Family gatherings though common do hold special meaning for participants. It's a time when all the extended family gathers, including cousins, grandparents, uncles and aunties from all the related families. It's also a time when special foods are prepared. Recipes that are time consuming, complicated, and hold special memories for family. Including unique dishes that were created by someone in the family that can't be found anywhere else or just not made the same way.

Uncle Mano shared his view, even though he doesn't directly mention food, its understood in Hawaii that food is part of the context of family gatherings:

Very traditional, typical, very typical, a lot of families coming together, a lot of extended families. I think it is somewhat Hawaiian or it's somewhat Hawaii to have a lot of extended family, and that was nice for me because it was more people that I could find comfort in. Uncle Mano

There were many responses about families getting together. However, there were three types of responses that stood out, or three characteristics of these family gatherings that many participants pointed to. One was that some families got together regularly:

We all have dinner together at least once a week. Cousin Kekoa

We always get together. Actually before when I was younger, we used to get together at my great-grandma's house a lot. We had like big gatherings with second cousins and stuff. Cousin Lauren

Another type of comment about gatherings emphasized that one person did all of the cooking for the entire group:

I remember all the family would come and have dinner at our house on Sundays and my mom would cook for everyone. Cousin Gordon

My mom would always cook for all the family, all the cousins would get together, it happened quite a bit. Cousin Sean

The third type of comment about family gatherings revealed that a favorite type of food, rich foods eaten only on special occasions – evoked particular memories. In the following citation, the participant associated memories of family gatherings with one unique favorite food:

My favorite food at family gatherings was *haupia* (coconut pudding). No one except *vovo* (grandma) and her sisters could make it the way she made it. Grampa would shave the coconut meat and *vovo* would put the grated coconut in cheesecloth and squeeze the coconut milk out. It was so smooth and creamy. She also added whole milk to the coconut milk. I haven't tasted anything like it, ever!
Aunty Cami

For this participant, the taste of a certain food brings back memories of family gatherings. He explains how the taste makes him feel:

There are certain tastes that I just like, they make me feel good, I enjoy them and some of the taste still makes me feel grounded back to childhood, like eating *opihī* (limpet), there are certain things that I get certain activities related to food too, we would pick *opihī* as kids with my mom, eating it right there on the beach. I think the taste of the food makes me feel happy. Not necessarily consuming a lot of it. *Opihī* reminds me about the happy times we had, the good memories that we had when we were kids, going to Hana, picking *opihī* with all the family, there's something about the taste. It reminds me of childhood growing up, it was one of the bonds we had. The one distinct memory I do have that takes me furthest back about picking *opihī* was when we were on my mom's land in Hana. Everybody was picking *opihī* and eating *opihī* just sitting on the bucket on the rocks and eating *opihī* out of the bucket. Cousin Kekoa

Section 1b. Special person's cooking

In an attempt to broach the subject of food in the first round of interviews, I did ask if participants had a favorite food. In these instances, there were some explanation about the person that cooked the dish. In these instances, there is a relationship between the food and the person, the cook, being especially loved by the participant.

Having *Vovo* (Gramma in Portuguese) fry fish. That's what I always remember is *Vovo* frying fish. That's probably one of the happiest ones (memories). All of us loved her. I always kind of admired her for the stuff that she did. Cousin Jason

My father used to make poi stew. Instead of using flour to the make the stew thick, you use poi. Was *ono* (tasty)! Uncle Bill

My grandmother cooked all our meals. Once my grandmother moved in with us she took over the kitchen. I have so many recipe's of hers that I make. She use to make up all kinds of different recipes, just made them up and they were so good. Things I have never before. Aunty Cami

My Gramma would make baked beans with Portuguese sausage, *vihna doas*, bread pudding, and beans and bacon. Mmmm, all the food she makes is just homey. Cousin Lauren

SALMON GRAVY! It's made with canned salmon, brown onion, can of tomato sauce and there you go. The only place I've eaten it is at this house. You don't get it any place else. You can't order it. *Vovo* used to make it for us. Cousin Jason

It's clear from participants' responses that emotions are deeply tied to favorite foods. Food was described as a symbol that represents family or family members who prepare their favorite foods. If you recall, family is also the essence of well-being for many participants of this study. So there is definitely a connection to family as well as food in constructing a sense of well-being and constructing identity among the participants. The next section will discuss how food makes participants feel.

Section 1c. Food provides warm feelings and comfort

Food was also described by several participants as *warm and homey*, something that makes you feel good. Here are a few of the participants' thick descriptions:

Food is warmth, whenever *Vovo* (Gramma in Portuguese) was cooking something, it's something good, it's more like a homey feeling, kind of being at home, with food itself it's what everybody, I think everybody can relate to it. It's something that people eat to make themselves feel better, when you do eat, regardless it makes you feel better, replenish yourself, certain foods can replenish your soul, foods from childhood, food that you ate, when you were a kid, you may not have had it in 25 years, you eat it again and you get all those memories from childhood. Cousin Jason

I think food triggers a sense of comfort, family and feeling good. Cousin Kekoa

Chili is warm and it fills you. My dad was sick and in the hospital for 40 days. I ate chili the whole time he was in the hospital. Even my mom notices and said, "Wow, chili is really a comfort food for you yah?" And I was like "Yah!" Everywhere I was going I was eating chili, that's just what I needed. That's when I discovered that chili was like a throwback to memories of my brothers playing ball and they would have chili and cheese and nachos, and my gramma and my mom made chili and I would eat it everywhere I go. I love chili and rice. Cousin Lauren

Like when my wife would make her oxtail soup and it just makes you feel better, when we would eat together, things lighten up, it makes the mood better. It makes you happy. Cousin Jason

In the previous three excerpts, participants shared memories of food as a source of comfort. In this next passage, this participant describes eating as a way of relieving stress:

So then I see the stress, the stress and the anxiety that they are going through, that gives me stress and anxiety and I eat because that's easily available comfort so I'm wondering if that's, that's maybe where their connection between poverty and overweight comes from, is that ... that's your only source of comfort, you're going to take it, so what can we do to alleviate that? It's bigger than providing more education about food choices, it's about providing a context so people can live without stressing themselves out 24/7. Auntie Carol

The responses show that food is perceived to have a positive impact on well-being. To these participants, food evokes comfort and augments a person's sense of well-being.

Section 1d. "The land is our icebox"

The landscape of food in Hawaii has changed over the last 50 years. Six of the 29 participants described their families maintaining subsistence lifestyles when they were growing up. While the previous chapter discussed the way that living off the land was part of the experience of Native Hawaiian identity, here I will discuss a sense, common among participants, that food is not as accessible as it once was. These days, islanders are not able to collect food in the ways that are described in the following excerpts:

I love what my mom used to say when we were having a particularly bountiful year in the harvest. She said, "For Hawaiians, do you know why we take care of the land so much?" We said, "No. Why?" She goes, "Because it's our icebox. It's your kitchen." If you think about the land in that relationship, it makes total sense. It feeds you, so you have to take care of it. When you do, it takes care of you. Tutu Lettie

We never needed to go home, had the *lilikoi's* (passion fruit), the mangos, lychee, pomegranate, in the park! So we go home, get the shoyu, vinegar, pepper salt, that was it, you no need go home [to eat]. Uncle Doug

Participants didn't offer any information about why food is not available in this way anymore. In these instances, participants were contextualizing the places where they lived and how things have changed.

Section 2. Empathy

Making food for others came up a few times among the participants' responses. They associated preparing and offering food for others with strong feelings of gratification and love, which are known among medical anthropology as a way to express empathy (Feinberg, 2011; D. W. Hollan & Throop, 2011; Ito, 1985). Empathy will be discussed later. Both of the following passages portray cooking as an enjoyable practice that goes beyond words to show someone how much you love them:

Food makes me feel good and doing things for others makes me feel good, happy and enjoying the food. Not because I want them to tell me the food was good, not some type of self-serving intention. I like cooking stuff for my mom and my brother and now my girlfriend and sharing with them some of the things that I like. I guess I just associate good taste with good feelings it triggers. I get gratification from cooking for others, just doing something for someone else and seeing them enjoy. That's my way of expressing my love for them. Cooking goes beyond what words can express. Cousin Kekoa

During my interview with Aunty Jeanne, she shared her cancer diagnosis. I proceeded to ask her how she felt when she got the news. Her answer was to read me this entry in her diary 10 days after she had the cancer removed:

I want to cook! The greatest manifestation of love is food. When we love each other, we express it by cooking. It is like passing *mana* (life force, power, strength) and *aloha* into the food. Food is preserved in rituals. Food preserved in rituals is something important that we need. Aunty Jeanne

She stopped reading from the diary and explained to me:

I don't know what I mean by that but that was written almost a year ago. So that was the consciousness I had after the cancer was removed from my body. I remember writing but not understanding why I was feeling that way but I came home and that's how I felt. I felt that food was the manifestation of love and people cook for one another or brought food. And they were passing *mana* through it, through one another. Aunty Jeanne

In summary, the data show that the relationship between food and well-being is salient. Food is described as a powerful factor related to a sense of well-being among this study's participants. Participants vividly described memories about how accessible food was in the past, as well as special food associated with events and precious people. Some participants got emotional during the interview when we discussed special people and events, showing how close food is intertwined with their emotions.

In addition, a critical finding about food emerged through the coding and analysis. Even though warm feelings are attached to special food and people, there does not seem to be a relationship between day-to-day eating and warm feelings. When I asked participants how special food played a role in everyday food choices, the common answer was that everyday food choices are made differently. Day-to-day food choices are made in accordance with practicality, economics, and of course taste. Everyday food choices are meant to be economical and be able to last as leftovers to be eaten on multiple days and taken for lunch. Whereas, special foods are eaten rarely, and are associated with special occasions such as holidays, events with special meaning or used to express a sense of gratitude to the participants, and family gatherings. For example, at special events such as graduation parties, family reunions, Christmas etc.

Chapter VIII: Findings & Discussion

This chapter provides a brief summary of the findings from each research question and aims. Section 1 introduces the conceptual model that emerged from the findings of this ethnographic study. Section 2 describes how the research questions and aims are interpreted from the findings within a social ecological framework and introduce the additional construct of *empathy* that emerged in the analysis.

Section 1. The Conceptual Model: Elements of Well-being for Native Hawaiians

This study sought to ethnographically explore the relationship between how Native Hawaiians conceptualize their sense of identity as a people, how they defined well-being and the meaning and use of food in relation to well-being. In order to accomplish this, the theoretical and conceptual frameworks explored deeper, social and historical factors that are elements of a fuller, more scientifically grounded definition of culture and which explicitly addressed the social structure and institutional discrimination perceived by Native Hawaiians and how these forces may influence their healthy behavior choices.

Initial data analysis culminated in the creation of the codebook of categories and themes that emerged from the interview and observational data and are presented in chapters four through seven (See Figure 7, pg. 72). The results showed the categories further analyses evolved into a conceptual model (See Figure 11. Elements of Well-being for Native Hawaiians, pg. 134), which shows how the domains fit together. The conceptual model helped to visually organize and interpret the data and identify the overarching story that emerged from the ethnographic process.

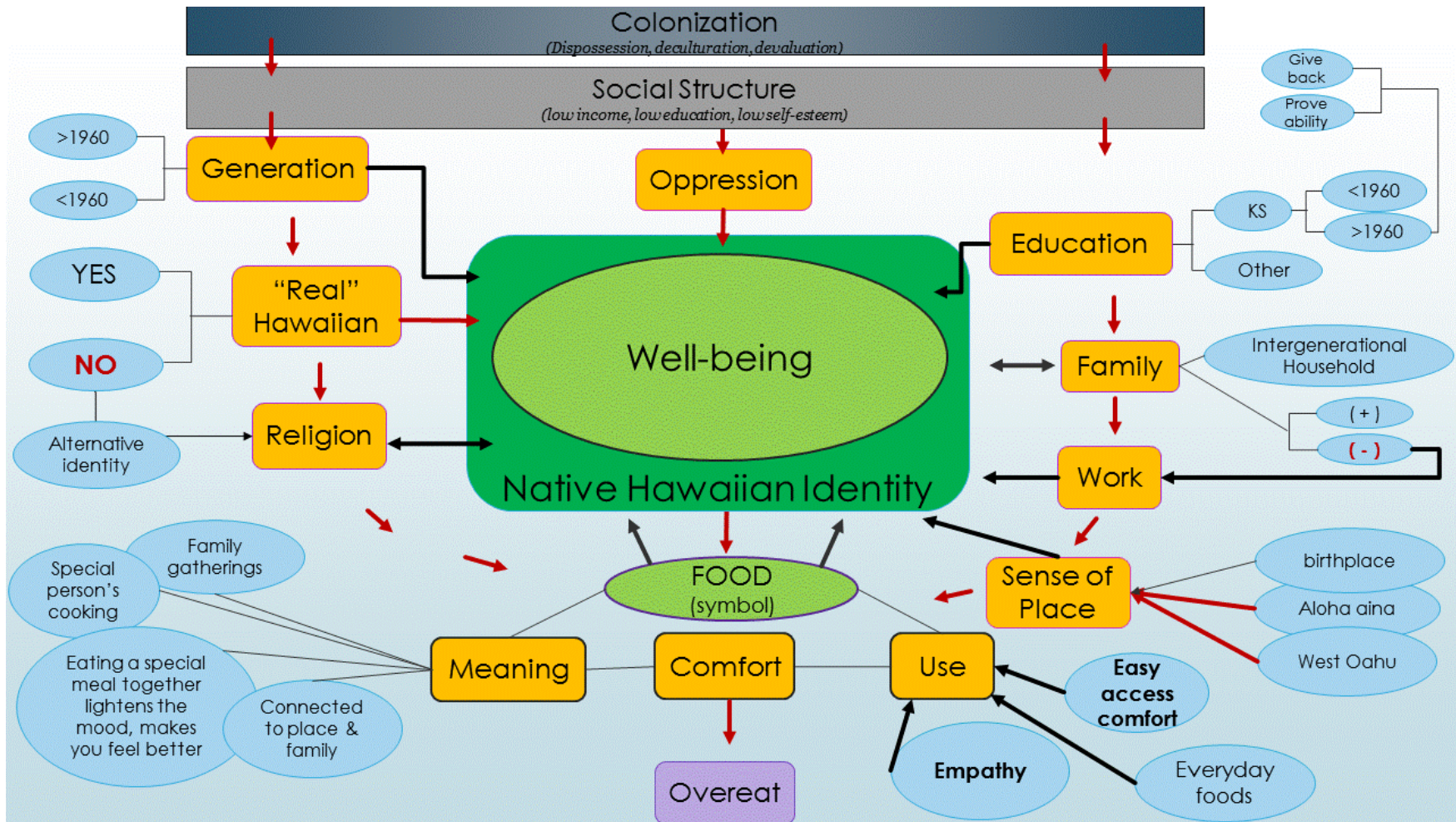


Figure 11. Elements of Well-being for Native Hawaiians

Legend
 Gold rounded boxes – domains that make up well-being
 Blue circles – the operationalization of the domains
 Black arrow – pathways
 Red arrows – pathways of stress

This study used the Cultural Framework for Health (CFH) (Kagawa Singer et al., 2015), to apply the concept and construct of culture to health behavior. The CFH was instrumental in the development of the conceptual model (Figure 11) and the social ecological model (Figure 12), which will be discussed later. The CFH “perspective considers a multi- level, multi-dimensional, biopsychosocial and ecological influence on behavior that explicitly recognizes the social, political and historical realities of the community of focus” (Kagawa Singer et al., 2015).

Figure 11 uses different shapes and colors to represent how the findings interrelate to create the story that emerged about how Native Hawaiians conceptualize their well-being and the relationship of well-being to the meaning and use of food. In Figure 11, the blue circles indicate the categorical domains that capture how participants operationalize well-being. The gold rounded boxes are used to identify the domains of well-being that arose from the themes. The red arrows are pathways of stress indicated by participant responses and observational data. And, finally, the black arrows signify the relationship between the domains and the themes (as noted in Figure 7, pg 72).

The findings from this study are similar to the findings of other researchers regarding the tremendous impact colonization has had and continues to have on indigenous populations, (Austin & Marsella, 2005; R. K. Blaisdell, 2001; Crabbe, 1998b; Greer, 2013; Hughes, 2001). Throughout the data, participants’ responses reveal an acute awareness of the history of colonialism as noted in Chapter six. This is represented in the conceptual model by the bars at the top of the model labeled “colonization,” “social structure,” and “oppression.” Deculturation, including the loss of language, lands, and prohibition against cultural practices left Native Hawaiians marginalized and oppressed. The findings show that the lasting legacy of colonialism

manifests in the stress and struggle that burden Native Hawaiians is rooted in the social structure that continues to oppress Native Hawaiians. One of the structural ways oppression occurs is to perpetuate the "place" of Native Hawaiians to low income, low education and low self-esteem (Irwin & Umemoto, 2012). The limiting social and political milieu has left Native Hawaiian people to struggle to reconcile their Hawaiian identity (Crabbe, 1998b). Even though the Hawaiian Renaissance has been successful in reinvigorating pride in Native Hawaiian identity and culture through cultural practices (e.g. language, dance, martial art), institutional and social inequalities continue to undermine Native Hawaiian communities (Kanahele, 1982; Tengan, 2008). As a consequence, Native Hawaiians' sense of well-being continues to be disrupted. The red arrows throughout the conceptual model (See Figure 11) represent stressors identified by participants in that particular domain of life. Notably, not one aspect or facet of life in the conceptual model is free from struggle. Therefore, for the participants in this study, multiple stressors and oppressions (e.g. class, race, and politics) are endured daily and pervade throughout life and cannot be ignored (Irwin & Umemoto, 2012; LaVeist, 2000; M. Marmot, Ryff, Bumpass, Shipley, & Marks, 1997; L. D. McCubbin & Antonio, 2012; Syme, 2008; Williams, Costa, Odunlami, & Mohammed, 2008). Similarly, research conducted specifically on racism and discrimination have identified daily stressors as micro-aggressions that significantly impact health outcomes (Williams & Mohammed, 2009; Williams, Neighbors, & Jackson, 2003).

Up to this point, this study has identified stress, struggle and oppression experienced by Native Hawaiians that could be perceived as barriers to good health. Importantly, several scholars have urged researchers working with Native Hawaiian communities to cease research using deficit models and move towards identifying

strength-based models (S. M. Kana'iaupuni, 2004b; L. L. D. McCubbin, 2006). At first glance, it would appear as though this research study has identified deficits among Native Hawaiians conceptualizations of well-being and identity. A closer look reveals that this study in fact identified domains within the external social structure that have created social inequities that work to maintain the marginalization of Native Hawaiians, and they seek to live meaningful lives in spite of the restraints.

Many of the identified behaviors are considered universal social reactions to stress and life struggles rather than culturally determined behaviors or practices, i.e., these become culturally informed coping mechanisms. Therefore, this study asserts that the social, political and economic structures are primary sources of the problem, and not the people or their culture. The culture of the dominant society creates the dissonance that Native Hawaiians must attempt to reconcile, for they bear the consequences of the social structure designed to marginalize them. The social structures, indicated by points of struggle (red arrows), are the additional and yet unacknowledged factors impacting well-being among Native Hawaiians that this study set out to uncover. These factors are gaining recognition in public health practice and research through the concept of the Social Determinants of Health (Williams, year? Marmot, year?), but have, heretofore, been conflated with culture and caste as deficits.

Despite the often used deficit model of culture, scholars have consistently asserted that among people of color, ethnic identity is positively associated with personal well-being (Ong, Phinney, & Dennis, 2006; Roberts et al., 1999; Lisa R Thomas et al., 2009; Yancey, Aneshensel, & Driscoll, 2001). Similarly, as situated in this study's conceptual model, "well-being" is embedded within "Native Hawaiian identity." Native

Hawaiian identity is described by the participants of this study as a function of well-being.

The next section will briefly synthesize the findings of this study as they relate to the research questions and aims designed to investigate conceptualizations of well-being.

Section 2 – Native Hawaiian Conceptualizations of Well-being

Research questions 1:

What role do Native Hawaiian core cultural values play in shaping the Native Hawaiian conception of well-being?

The story that emerged from the interviews, observations, and reflections reveals that the Native Hawaiians in this study have a deep sense of cultural pride in their heritage and their traditional lifeways. However, there is still deep sadness and resentment about the illegal overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom and the dire circumstances Native Hawaiians struggle with today. The majority of participants expressed their yearning to embody their concepts of traditional Hawaiian culture that were dismantled by colonization. The expressions and interpretations of how they embody traditional Hawaiian culture, however, were expressed in their definition of well-being. Native Hawaiian conceptualizations of sense of well-being was found to be differentiated by three subgroup variations: generation, education, and sense of place. This study also found that *ohana* (family) and food are key components in the conceptualization of Native Hawaiian identity. Also, food was found to be a way to empathize or to *aloha*; to express love, care, compassion, by sharing or giving *mana* (energy, life force). An additional and emergent finding is how the philosophical and

theoretical construct of empathy is characteristic of Native Hawaiian expressions of care and compassion.

The definition of well-being that emerged from this study was inspired by and represents the perspectives of the Native Hawaiian participants'. It is as follows:

- 1) Foremost is the cohesion, sustainability and prosperity of the Native Hawaiian family (including non-blood relations); and the *Lahui* (Native Hawaiian community);
- 2) Empathy; the ability to support and care for others with the spirit of aloha (or through aloha) (the spirit of aloha means to help in anyway, small or large, without being asked (*kokua*), and to maintain harmony (*lokahi*),
- 3) The feeling of being accepted and valued by other Native Hawaiians and by their society at large. Being treated with aloha constitutes a sense of acceptance.
- 4) Seeking justice for Native Hawaiians who have historically been taken advantage of (because of what participants perceived as Native Hawaiians' good-nature). A sense that future generations will know how to combat social and political manipulations, and in doing so will gain increased security.
- 5) Land ownership, and accessibility to the natural resources of the land and ocean (e.g. vegetation, flowers, wood, seafood, fish, etc.)

Of note is the fact that this definition is inclusive of the “three universal needs” Kagawa Singer (1993) reported as the primary goals of human behavior, which are:
1) sense of safety and security, 2) a sense of self-worth, and 3) a sense of belonging.

The following three sub-sections, labeled Aims A – C, will answer the three aims that were implemented to help answer research question 1.

Aim A: Exploration of Subgroup Concepts of Well-being

The exploration of potential subgroups among Native Hawaiians and how these subgroups define their well-being resulted in the identification of three subgroups. They include differences related to: generation, education and sense of place. Elaboration of these three differences are provided in the following sections to identify how these subgroups differentially shape their particular construction of Native Hawaiian identity and well-being.

Aim B: Community-level influence on Native Hawaiian identity

Sense of Place

Participants in this study communicated that a *sense of place* was an integral part of identity and well-being among Native Hawaiians. This sentiment is consonant with several authors of Native Hawaiian culture (McGregor et al., 2003; M. F. Oneha, 2001). The Hawaiians in this study expressed a deep sense of connection to not only Hawaii, but also their proximal community. Some Hawaiian families have lived in the same house or community for generations.

Participants of the Waianae coast reported a much heavier burden of oppression related to colonization's social and political constraints compared to Native Hawaiians who live on the rest of the island. Waianae is located 22 miles Northwest of Honolulu. The Waianae coast extends over 20 miles of and includes multiple land units, valleys, mountain and settlements. Residents of this particular delineated land suffer multiple oppressions. Not only do they feel oppressed by the social and political constraints of their Native Hawaiian identity, they also feel their community is neglected and devalued. Thus, adding to their oppressive environment. For example, participants

who live on Waianae coast reported feeling like “a dumping ground” for waste or disposal (e.g. illegal fireworks). Another label given to this area captured the sense of neglect: “we are the forgotten people.” Residents report excessive traffic and congestion due to the limited two-lane highway, a lack of parks for families and children, as well as lack of sidewalks that restricts their ability to walk safely, and contributes to the inordinate amount of fatalities along the highway.

Aim C: Generational Differences Impact Native Hawaiian Sense of Well-being: Generational Differences and Attending Kamehameha Schools

Generational differences

Remarkable differences between the generations were vividly reported in how they expressed their identity and well-being. The older generation of participants’ explained what it means to be Hawaiian using stories that reflected how they learned what it means to be Hawaiian by watching how others modeled behavior or things they did for others and acted generously, with aloha, and kindness. Several participants recalled stories of what they saw, heard and learned about being a Hawaiian person from others. They were born before 1960, and therefore had the opportunity to see first-hand, the living expression of traditional practices and remnants of denigrated cultural traditions. The younger generation, born after 1960, demonstrated their Hawaiian identity on a continuum ranging from completely immersed in traditional Hawaiian culture at one end, to a mid-range, bicultural balancing of the cultivation of traditional lifestyle practices (hula, paddling, working in the lo’i (taro patch), conversant in the Hawaiian language) and striving to be successful in the modern world. This middle group characterized the antithesis to Native Hawaiian stereotypes, e.g.

Hawaiians are lazy and incompetent. At the other end of the continuum were those who primarily did not identify as Native Hawaiian. In these instances, historical, environmental and social realities were at work, rather than the individual choosing not to identify as such. For example, the several participants who did not primarily identify as Native Hawaiian felt they identified as such because: 1) the participant had no knowledge about their Hawaiian culture including genealogy because the Hawaiian parent was not in their lives (e.g. death, divorce), 2) the participant's non-Hawaiian parent and their side of the family played a larger role in the social life of the family, or 3) religious affiliation was the participant's primary identity rather than their ethnicity.

This continuum of ethnic identity for these Native Hawaiians can be understood by viewing modern society in Hawaii within its historical context. We are then in a position to better understand the dire state of the Native Hawaiian community (D. W. Hollan & Throop, 2011). The older generation of Hawaiians experienced overt marginalization and discrimination. During this time period, Native Hawaiians were devalued except for their use as commercial marketing objects of romanticized, exotic, primitive people as a means to promote tourism. Similar to other marginalized groups in America during the early 20th century, such as Native Americans, Hawaiians had little power and lacked self-determination as a people. In contrast, the younger generation grew up in a time period when social and political forces began to support Hawaiians. The Hawaiian Renaissance of the 1970's, an off-shoot of the civil rights movement of the 1960's on the mainland, was the determining factor that changed how Hawaiians viewed themselves and recognized how society viewed them. The movement rejuvenated pride and a sense of value in the Hawaiian culture and the Hawaiian people. Social and

political institutions also slowly began to support programs dedicated to the progress of and for Native Hawaiians (*E Ola Mau* and Native Hawaiian Health Care Act).

Therefore, the current sense of Hawaiian identity is characterized by a mixture of a sense of loss woven with a growing pride in knowing who they come from and a deep sense of wanting to reclaim and extend Hawaiian culture.

Attending Kamehameha Schools

Another finding that related to the generational differences that impact Native Hawaiian well-being includes attending and graduating from Kamehameha Schools. Being a student and graduate of Kamehameha Schools impacts a Native Hawaiian's sense of identity and their concept of well-being differently than those who did not attend. Also, there are subtle generational differences among Kamehameha school graduates as well. Overall, Kamehameha Schools graduates exhibit a quiet, humble, and regal pride. For one, the selection process and limited space make it a prestigious honor to be accepted. However, because being boastful is not an acceptable or attractive character trait among Native Hawaiians, participants never expressed their own pride. Rather, they shared how their parents and families were happy and proud they were accepted to Kamehameha Schools. All participants expressed feelings that tended towards gratitude and appreciation for the opportunity.

For the older generation, honor was bestowed upon their families with their acceptance to and graduation from Kamehameha Schools. Hawaiian families enjoyed great pride in their children's' achievement. For this generation, the honor was in and of itself. From their humble responses, it was as if they could not have asked for more. Notably, during the older generation's era, the situation in Hawaii at the time resembled

that in New Zealand. Just as the government of New Zealand sought to deculturate the Maori people, the government in Hawaii sought to deculturate Native Hawaiians by eliminating their culture and language from their curriculum and daily behavior.

During this period, For example, language and dance, integral to Hawaiian culture, were not offered at Kamehameha schools, and discouraged. It is important to point out that before the Hawaiian renaissance (1976), Hawaiian culture existed only in Hawaiian homes.

Similar to what Schulz (1998) found among the Navajo of the same generation, situational identities were a part of Native Hawaiian concepts of identity and sense of well-being. For instance, the older generation experienced the dissonance of society's negative messages, and at the same time, positive messages of social support from their families. Native Hawaiians were living two lives, they hid their culture at home as the imposition of Western practices and lifestyle were predominate in schools and other public places. For example, at home, Hawaiian families exemplified the value of Hawaiian culture through actions that represented the traditional Hawaiian values of *ohana* (family), *aloha* (love, empathy), *kokua* (help without asking), *lokahi* (harmony), and *mana* (life force, power). Meanwhile, negative views about Native Hawaiian people and culture were commonplace in the classrooms and among social and political forces.

In contrast, the younger generation and their experience of attending Kamehameha Schools created a positive identity and positively impacted participants' sense of well-being. The experiences and opportunities reported by the younger generation were not mentioned by any of older participants.

Like their older counterparts, their families honor was also bestowed upon them with their acceptance to and graduation from Kamehameha Schools. These Hawaiian

families also enjoyed great pride in their children's' achievement. However, the impact on the participants' sense of well-being was different because the social and political climate of the time now endorses Native Hawaiian culture and language. These participants attended Kamehameha Schools during or after the Hawaiian renaissance, which reinvigorated the value and wisdom of Native Hawaiian culture,

Just as Houkamau (2010) observed about Maori of New Zealand, the social landscape of Native Hawaiian history and culture have shifted. Even though negative stereotypes endure among discourse, attending Kamehameha schools surrounds students with messages that cultivate positive views and cultural pride about Native Hawaiian culture. In fact, one participant said her education at Kamehameha Schools shaped her identity primarily as a Hawaiian even before her American citizenship.

One major difference between the generations was how the younger generation noted Kamehameha Schools made specific efforts to promote Native Hawaiian culture. Three curricular opportunities were noted among the younger generation. For one, the report of extra-curricular opportunities, such as sports and hula competitions. Second, financial support was afforded to younger participants for college tuition. This ensures more college graduates and advancement among Native Hawaiians. Third, collectively, the younger generation report that attending Kamehameha Schools is a special experience that they cherish. It was explained that since *everyone* is Native Hawaiian, it is a unique experience that doesn't happen in any other aspect of their lives. It is remembered as something very special that they hold dear. Demographically, the majority of the graduates of Kamehameha Schools that participated in this study have completed a college education or advanced degree. All reported a commitment to give

back to the Lahui (Native Hawaiian Nation) by dedicating their professional or volunteer work to advance the progress of Native Hawaiian people in some capacity.

Section 3: The Meaning and Use of Food

Research Question 2:

How does the Native Hawaiian conception of well-being influence the meaning and use of food as a symbol of Native Hawaiian core cultural values?

This study found that ohana (family) and food are key components in the conceptualization of Native Hawaiian identity differentiated by the meaning and use of food. Overall, the meaning and use of food are all related to the key word, comfort. In the case of the meaning of food, comfort was used to describe how the relationships associated with family made participants feel and how food was an affective bond. Participants would light up when they recalled memories of family gatherings, or the person, always the cook, who was associated with a fond memory of their favorite meal. Incidentally, participants' favorite foods were often associated with a close and meaningful relationship. Food was reported to be a source of comfort in troubling times. For example, one participant shared that when his wife would cook her specialty, "it just made everything right, like everything was going to be okay," he shared. In another example of comfort, several other participants shared stories about when households were described to be abuzz when a pot of the family's favorite or someone's specialty meal was bubbling on the stove.

The use of food as a symbol of well-being was explained in the interviews for this study, and emerged within three sub-categories that included: 1) *easy access comfort*, 2) *access*, and 3) *empathy*. The first, *easy access comfort*, indicated circumstances in

times of stress, particularly when participants' children's well-being was compromised or individuals were stressed themselves.

The second use of food, *access* is inclusive of the ease of access of fast food or calories dense foods. It also describes the difficulty in getting whole and nutritious foods and meals. Descriptions and observational data show that fast food, which is calorie dense, is easily accessible and affordable. One participant shared that on any given night, the drive-thru line at the local McDonald's in Waianae is at least 30 minutes long. It should be noted that Waianae residents who may work in downtown Honolulu have at least a 1.5 hour commute. In fact, during my data collection, rail construction delayed traffic even longer. One day it took me two hours to drive from downtown to Pearl City because of the traffic caused by the rail construction. This does not leave time to prepare home cooked meals.

Notably, Hawaiian foods are expensive and sometimes hard to get. For example, one pound of fresh poi serves two people and can cost as much as \$10. Lau lau (a traditional Native Hawaiian meal consisting of meat, usually pork, with a small piece of fish, wrapped with taro leaf) costs about \$5/each. For a family of four, this brings the total cost of the meal to \$40. When on average, a home cooked meal for four usually costs \$10-\$15 with leftovers for another meal. In addition, fast food normally costs double the amount of a home prepared meal and would cost about \$30. The cost of Hawaiian food is similar to eating out. This also explains why, when participants were asked how food is chosen on a daily basis, meaning is not part of the equation. Special or traditional foods are for special occasions. Day-to-day eating is based on practicality and price. Practicality in terms of whether it will keep well and be able to be eaten as leftovers as well as yield leftovers that can be used for lunches.

The third use of food described situations when comfort is achieved by offering food to others. Offering food to others usually occurs when someone else is in need of comfort. For example, when someone is ill, has lost a loved one, or is just having a hard time, Hawaiians, as with other cultures, will cook food and offer it. The offering of food is an act of love, compassion and aloha. It is also described as a way to give your *mana* (energy, life force) to someone else through the food you have prepared. Similarly, among medical anthropologists, this is also understood as an act of empathy.

Section 4: Empathy – The Expression of Aloha Through Food Offering

Empathy was found in this study to characterize how Native Hawaiians express love, care and aloha. This section will elaborate on how empathy is described in complementary literature related to social bonds among Native Hawaiians.

Ito's (1985) ethnography on Native Hawaiians found affective bonds of social relationships performed with sincere *aloha* to be integral to conceptualizations of self. In her study, social relations are of utmost importance, even above the self. Ito describes affective exchange of emotions by the participants in her study that exemplify how relationships are maintained even when there are disruptions. For example, when a relationship is damaged, the offending transgression communicates to other Hawaiians that the transgressor is self-centered and selfish. The transgression is proof of not acting out of *aloha*. Ito's findings suggest that when harmony is disrupted, the bond that supported and protected each person in the relationship is broken and each person suffers because of it; *mana* (energy, life force) is lost. It is the *Kuleana* or

responsibility of the transgressor to make things right to restore the relationship with sincere *aloha* (Ito, 1985, 1999).

Similarly, Feinberg found that the Anutan people of the Solomon islands manifest the western ideas of “love” “sympathy” “pity” and “compassion” through an empathic process of *aropa*. *Aropa*, like *aloha*, is a core cultural value that explains behavior and is the connection between food, life and sharing. Importantly, both values also operate as conceptualizations of identity. For example, among Anutans, non-Anutans are thought to be deficient in this key respect. This would explain why their actions would likewise lack *aropa* or *aropa*-like sentiments. Similar to what *aloha* means to Native Hawaiians, The Anutans ideal social behaviors is based on the degree to which their actions communicate *aropa*. *Aropa* is embodied among Anutan through action rather than words. *Aropa* actions take the form of sharing through economic assistance or resources (e.g. housing, canoes, garden land, or food).

Ito defines “aloha spirit” as the affective expression that creates and maintains relationships. The integral ingredients of *aloha* spirit include *aloha (love)*, *pumehana* (warmth), and the *na’au* (heart, intuition, or seat of thought). Of note, the *na’au* for Hawaiians or seat of thought in the navel area is identical to what Feinberg found among Anutan who believe thoughts and feelings originate in that area as well. Having or acting in the spirit of *aloha* is *lokahi* or to preserve harmony with others and among groups with *aloha* (Austin & Marsella, 2005; Marsella et al., 1995; L. D. McCubbin & Marsella, 2009). Acting out of *aloha* or expressions of *aloha* or to *aloha* someone is to have *aloha* spirit. According to Mageo (2011) and Von Poser (2013), such social behavior would be considered the “act of empathizing.”

This study adds to the knowledge concerning aloha by showing how food is used as an empathic-like agent. In this study, food is described as a symbol of *aloha*, love, compassion, and *mana* (power). Offering food serves to care for the emotional and physical well-being of the receiver. Also, the exchange of food indirectly reinforces the givers well-being and identity as a Native Hawaiian because as one participant put it, “this is what we do as Hawaiians, we take care of each other.” To “take care” was a salient finding in this study. Similar, to Feinberg (2011) and Ito’s (1985) data, empathy is central to Native Hawaiian well-being. It is also a core-cultural value that is “linked to explanation of behavior” (Feinberg, 2011) and operates as a construct of Native Hawaiian identity.

The next few sections briefly explain how empathy has grown as a construct of the dynamics social relationships. As noted by Throop (2010), “empathy is a multimodal process that involves perception, affect, imagination, and action.” Empathy is used to understand meaning and meaning making stories and information shared in one-on-one interviews and ethnographic observations of social situations “in which personal, interpersonal, historical and cultural influences are always at play” (Throop, 2010).

History of Empathy

In recent years, the study of empathy has become a principle focus of research in disciplines ranging from medicine to philosophy to neuroscience (D. Hollan, 2012). However, empathy was first studied in the early twentieth century by philosophers and psychologists. Psychologist Edward Titchener is recognized as responsible for the introduction of the term “empathy” into the English language. Titchener translated

“empathy” from the German term “*Einfühlung*” (“one feeling”), a term originally coined by Theodor Lipps (1903) to contextualize philosophical principles of art. Lipps (1903) understood *Einfühlung* as related not only to how humans appreciate and experience objects (e.g. art), but also to their affective responses. In other words, *Einfühlung* encompasses how people are moved to emotion by what they see, as well as the connection that the viewer feels with the object; at one with the artwork. Lipps later expanded his definition of *Einfühlung* to include the way that individuals become familiar with one another’s feelings (Håkansson, 2003).

Today, simulation theorists and theory theorists disagree on the meaning of empathy. Simulation theorists believe “basic empathy” provides us with “embodied senses and perceptions” that help us to relate to “others’ emotional and intentional states through automatic enactment and approximation of the perspective of others” (D. Hollan, 2012). Theory theorists, however, argue reenactive empathy, or borrowing from Hollan (2012) “complex empathy,” involves cognitive, emotional, and imaginative capacity to fully understand another person’s emotional state, intentions, and motivations. “Complex empathy” reveals an essential understanding about the personal and cultural background of the person to whom empathy is being extended. For example, to express basic empathy is to know that someone is having an emotional feeling such as happiness or sadness. Complex empathy, however, requires one to understand the reasons for that feeling or why a person is acting in a particular manner.

As philosophers’ interest in empathy began to wane, psychologists took the topic up, and, since the 1940s, have continued to intensively study the concept of empathy (Stueber, 2013). Among anthropological researchers, the struggle to make sense of the historical argument related to the appropriateness of *verstehen* (understanding) and

erklären (explanation) thwarted the discussion of empathy altogether (D. Hollan & Throop, 2008). Hollan and Throop (2011) suggest that discussions of empathy among ethnographers were quieted for many years following Geertz's (1974) criticism of empathizing ethnographers. Hollan and Throop (2011) explain that Geertz suggested that empathizers were misrepresenting their observations. Geertz (1974) argued that the empathizers were actually projecting their own thoughts, feelings, experiences, and ideas onto their observed social actors and the phenomena (D. W. Hollan & Throop, 2011; Poser, 2013).

Assumptions about Empathy

For Hollan and Throop (2011), empathy's increased momentum as a topic of ethnographic attention necessitates that a few assumptions about it be addressed. One such assumption is that empathy is "necessarily a positively valenced position that leads to prosocial behavior or involves altruistic motivations" (Batson, Ahmad, & Lishner, 2011; Hoffman, 2001) of care, compassion and love (Stueber, 2013). Psychologists Batson (2011) and Hoffman (2000) have both conducted comprehensive research of empathy and both strongly believe that empathy/sympathy lead to altruistic motivation and behavior (Stueber, 2013). The aspect of communal living identified among Pacific societies, such as Yapese (Throop, 2010) and Toraja (Hollan, 2011) is to tactically conceal even harmless or trivial information in order to protect themselves from the potential harm if others had knowledge of their secret (D. W. Hollan & Throop, 2011).

From this perspective, empathy appears to be a useful concept to describe the use of food in Native Hawaiian culture to communicate caring, compassion and to share your *mana* (life force). Empathy or the act of empathizing with food is part of the

connection between conceptualizations of well-being and meaning and use of food. Empathy helps to describe one of three aspects of how food was reportedly used. In this study, empathy or aloha is the affective expression of offering food to others when they are not well or in need as previously discussed.

Overall, the meaning and use of food all related to comfort. In the case of meaning of food, comfort was described in relation to the relationships associated with family and how food was used as an affective bond. The use of food described situations when the empathic act of offered food brought comfort and a personal act of using food to attain easy access comfort. Looking back at the conceptual model, Native Hawaiians understand that their current well-being includes stress derived from the larger social environment in their daily lives. Personal well-being is also compromised when other family members' well-being is in jeopardy. In addition, this study also found that Native Hawaiians who live on the Waianae coast are even more vulnerable to multiple oppressions, and, therefore, may deal with added daily stress related to frustration and resentment derived from their living situations.

This study posits that the insurmountable levels of stress and frustrations of powerlessness and oppression may be leading some Hawaiians to use food to seek comfort, to recapture the special feelings associated with the fulfilling bonds of family and empathic acts of kindness and care, and to seek to harness the mana that is transferred them when one is offered a gift of food. As a consequence of seeking to recapture good feelings, to increase a sense of well-being and heal the historical trauma of loss, the search for empowerment and healing may lead to a tendency to overeat.

Chapter IX: Conclusions & Implications

This chapter presents the synthesis of the study's findings, which concluded in the development of a social ecological model (Figure 12). Section 1 is a brief synthesis of how Native Hawaiians conceptualize well-being. Section 2 demonstrates how traditional Hawaiians values manifest among the levels of the social ecological model are bound by food. Section 3 discusses the value of ethnography. Section 4 states the limitations of the study. Finally, section 5 introduces the implications of the study's findings to public health research and theory.

Section 1: Native Hawaiian Conceptualizations of Well-being

Colonization

Among Native Hawaiians, well-being was found to be viewed through a cultural lens that views the present within the lasting legacy of colonization and the struggle to both define and sustain Native Hawaiian culture. Their sense of well-being is a mix of loss, frustration, and also hope. Memories of the history of Hawaii bring sadness. The lasting impact of oppression brings out frustration. But it is the growth and success of the *Lahui*, the Hawaiian nation, which brings hope.

Older Hawaiians are less likely to speak Hawaiian yet, have a deep sense of what it means to be Hawaiian. They are more likely to have witnessed examples of how others have lived "being" Hawaiian. Older Hawaiians are tired of being taken advantage of by the other groups who have different worldviews. They are worried about the younger generations experiencing the same plight and the future of the *Lahui* (the Hawaiian nation). The struggle to reconcile the Hawaiian worldview and lifestyle of

collectivism and generosity with Western or colonial ideals of individuality, autonomy and competition continue to frustrate older Hawaiians. Because they grew up in an era that suppressed Hawaiian culture, their sense of identity is held within, with a quiet pride. In contrast, younger Hawaiians have learned about Hawaiian culture through history, stories and media. They yearn to bring back traditional culture and fold it into modern day life, which is a constant source of struggle. Young Hawaiians must balance the legacy of colonization; the western lifestyle that demands high productivity and individuality, and at the same time strive to infuse Hawaiian culture into everyday life. For example, many expressed interest in learning to speak Hawaiian, if they don't already. Hawaiian expressions are actively shared and expressed among interpersonal exchanges and greetings, as well as electronic messages. The number of Native Hawaiian language speakers has grown and continues to grow. The culture is alive and cultural practices (e.g. hula, song, martial arts, canoe paddling, and healing arts) are popular and celebrated. The *Lahui* is vibrant and growing. On the other hand, living in Hawaii is expensive. Some Hawaiians report having to sacrifice in various ways to be able to live in Hawaii. For them, their priority is the culture of aloha that is sacrificed when you move to another state or the mainland for economic gains.

Family

Among all the stories that encompass how Native Hawaiians conceptualize well-being, the manifestation of traditional Hawaiian values emerged through family. As a whole, Native Hawaiian identity and well-being is manifested in family and identified as a prominent source of social support. Living in intergenerational families including 2-3,

sometimes four generations were common among participants. Some by choice, others for financial stability. Intergenerational households provided an added sense of support and comfort. Younger and older generations celebrated the shared space and opportunity to bond.

One of the most frequently cited intersections of family was with food. Food was found to conceptualize Native Hawaiian well-being through meaning and use, which both converge in a sense of comfort that positively impacts their sense of well-being.

Section 2: Traditional Hawaiian values

This study found that five traditional Hawaiian values: *ohana* (family), *mana* (life force, energy), *kokua* (help without being asked), *lokahi* (harmony) and *aloha* (love, compassion) permeated the data. A thorough explanation of the traditional Hawaiian values was described in Chapter 2, pg. 10. These five traditional Hawaiian values were also found to be the very constructs that contributed to Native Hawaiian identity and well-being. For instance, when participants shared stories about what well-being was to them, their story wouldn't necessarily include the Hawaiian word, but the essence of their stories include these core Hawaiian values.

Three core Hawaiian values are ideal characteristic traits that are highly regarded and interwoven, and make up the concept of identity and family alike. They are: *aloha*, *kokua*, and *lokahi*. The "Hawaiian ideal of extending one's self in generous sincere *aloha* is to cooperate with, and aid others" (Ito, 1985). Stories about feeling an overwhelming responsibility (*kuleana*) to help and take care of each other is the essence of *aloha* (love and compassion) and *kokua* (help without being asked) were abundant. *Lokahi* (harmony) was also expressed throughout participants' interviews as was

expressed in general by participants sacrifices to keep peace or going out of their way to maintain harmony and relationships among family and friends. To live one's life through *aloha* (love and compassion), *kokua* (help without being asked) and *lokahi* (harmony) are ways to share *mana* (life force, energy) with others. They are cultural expressions that manifest in everyday interactions with others among the *Lahui* (Hawaiian Nation) and the community-at-large. Fundamental to all these values, is the strength that emanates from the connection with the *aina* (land).

In this study, the five core values, noted above, are most visibly expressed through food at each level of the ecological model. Food, like *mana*, when present and offered in the situations discussed in this study, aroused a special sense of well-being drawn from the harmony and resonance across the family, community, and nature (Marsella et al., 1995). Sharing food is an expression of *aloha*. As a consequence, *mana* is also shared and heals both the giver and receiver, thus *lokahi* (harmony) is attained because of the unity that is felt. *Kokua* is implemented because in all cases, food is offered without being asked (See Figure 12, pg. 159).

Section 3: Value of Ethnography

The value of this study comes from the rich stories from the twenty-nine Native Hawaiian participants in their own voices. I was fortunate to learn how their own perceptions of their experiences, lifeways, and worldviews impacted their daily lives and overall well-being. Such stories were vital parts to uncovering and understanding the nuances of how the Native Hawaiian participants in this study “think, believe and behave” (LeCompte & Schensul, 2012).

Notably, all of the demographic information that was collected from this research study was gleaned from the interviews. The significance of this method was that it allowed the participant to express their life experiences without the boundaries or limitations that a demographic questionnaire can have. Ethnographic inquiry allowed the stories from this research study to be transmitted through the life context of the participant. Therefore, the participants were able to share the stories they believe were important events that shaped their lives, and how they defined the nature and salient qualities of their lives and life histories, rather than the acontextual categories often used, such as socioeconomic status, education, age, etc. The participants shared this information, but it was woven into the context of their life stories.

The ethnographic process also allowed for researcher insight. Hearing the stories, being at people's homes, and sitting with them afforded me the opportunity to get to know the person. This experience characterized their interview. It also allowed me to recognize overall differences and similarities in how the context of their life experiences shaped their well-being and Hawaiian identity.

The process of sitting and listening to people share stories created relationships. By sharing their stories with me, it seemed that they showed their trust in me. A connection was made and now they are a part of me. I feel responsible to honor their trust and am accountable to them with how I handle this information not only on a professional level but also a personal level. This translates to keeping in touch with participants and letting them know how the research has progressed, and getting their feedback on the findings and conclusions to see if they feel it fits their composite stories.

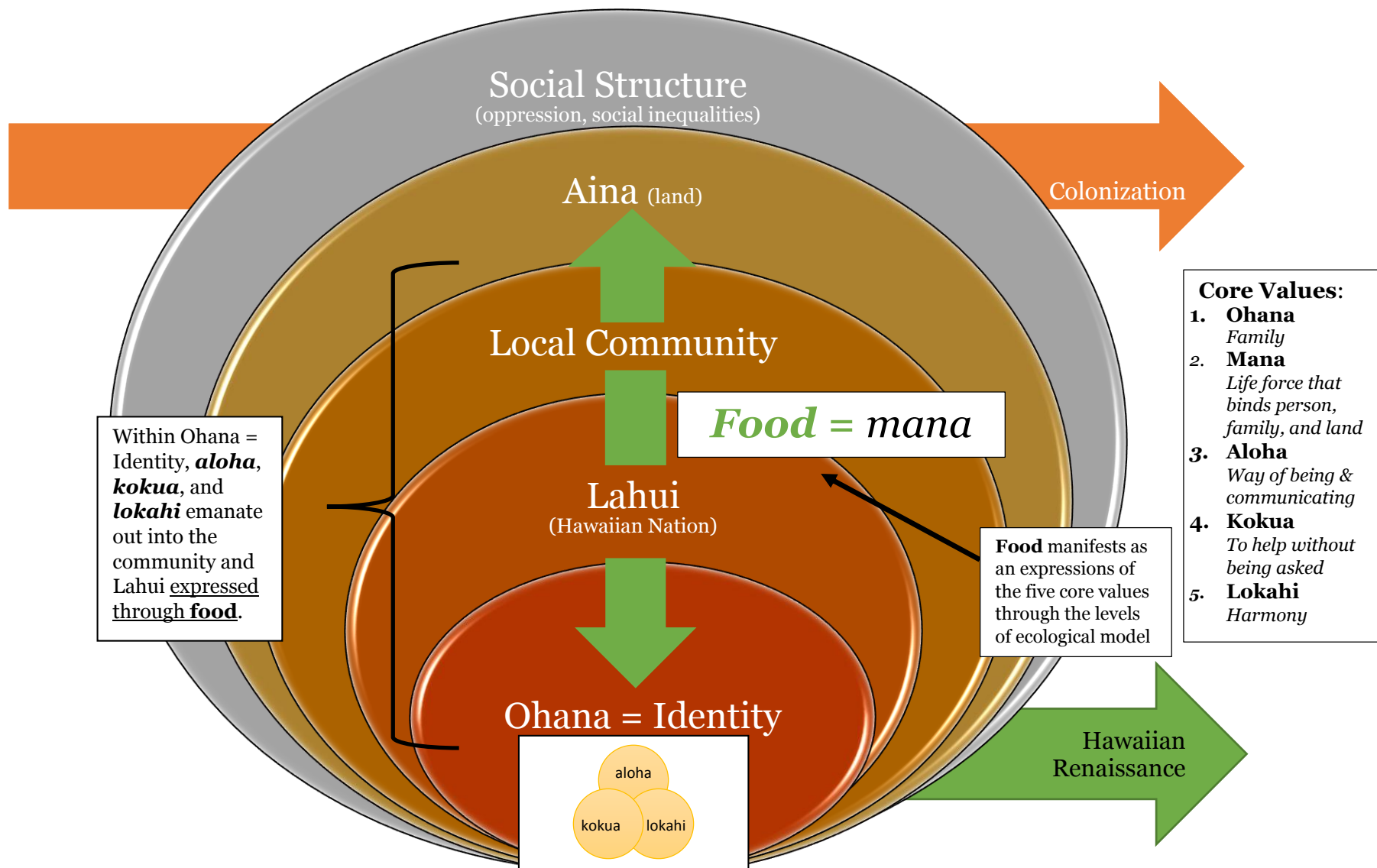


Figure 12. Social Ecological Model of Food's Meaning and Relationship to Native Hawaiian Cultural Values

This meets the quality criteria of “confirmability” in inductive research. Hopefully the experience of sharing their voices and their stories with research has given the participants a positive experience of what research can be.

Section 4: Limitations of this study

The findings of this study are not generalizable because of the relatively small purposive sample based on predetermined and prioritized selection criteria that are salient to the aims of the research (Patton, 2005). The study represents the views of a selected group of individuals, who chose to participate, and therefore may not represent the experiences of other Native Hawaiians. In spite of these limitations, the richness and depth of the data could inform the design of future studies with other Native Hawaiians. Also, because it is a purposive sample, the findings may have produced unique findings for currently intractable chronic health problems among Native Hawaiians (LeCompte & Schensul, 2012; Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

Section 5: Implications

The findings and conceptual model that emerged from this research study have important theoretical and public health research implications. The purpose of this study was to explore the role of cultural values in conceptualizations of well-being and how these cultural factors may influence the meaning and use of food.

The study’s results contribute to public health research by providing new information about Native Hawaiians in the form of a much more contextualized and historical/political understanding of Native Hawaiian culture. The ethnography

provides unique information in the form of thick description concerning Native Hawaiian beliefs about well-being and Native Hawaiian identity, how core cultural values manifest in everyday living, generational differences in relation to well-being, and the relationship between well-being and the meanings and use of food. The findings give additional insight as to why Native Hawaiians may be vulnerable to poor health and unhealthy behaviors.

This study also supports the necessity of using the more comprehensive definition of culture and the theoretical framework of the Cultural Framework for Health to guide the research (Kagawa-Singer et al., 2015), and ethnographic inquiry (LeCompte & Schensul, 2012; Weisner, 1996). Ethnographic inquiry was used because of its ability to provide the voice of the community of focus themselves from their perspective. Working together, the theoretical lens and the ethnographic process allowed me to identify how Native Hawaiians are comprised of significant sub-groups, and potentially identify how these groups may have developed and evolved, and how the convergence of social, political and historical forces along with Native Hawaiian core cultural values may differentially impact the meaning of food in their lives and social settings.

Consideration of the social, political, environmental and historical forces may provide insight into the etiology of obesity that exists today in the various subgroups, and how interventions may be better designed to meet their unique needs. Another theoretical lens that was used was in this study was the emergent finding of empathy. The value of utilizing the concept of empathy for this study is that it builds on Ito's (1985) findings in relation to affective bonds among Native Hawaiians with the addition of the act of food offering. The theoretical lens of empathy expands the knowledge of

this construct as part of the intricate operation of how core Native Hawaiian cultural values manifest through food of everyday forms of behavior to nurture relationships. Among the Native Hawaiians in this study, empathy was expressed as offering food to communicate love, care and compassion, essentially *aloha*. To empathize is to understand how the other person is feeling and what is needed without direct communication. In this case, to offer food is usually done without asking, which is to *kokua* (help without being asked). The by-product of the empathetic process is *lokahi* (harmony) and healing for both giver and receiver through the sharing of *mana* (life force energy) that occurs for both giver and receiver.

The theoretical implications related to the identification of cultural constructs can also be compared across other studies that have a similar definition and operationalizations of culture. The overall significance of the information about culture in this study will contribute to an understanding of culture as an ecologic system, and more precise use of “culture” to explain unexplainable phenomena in diverse populations (M. Kagawa-Singer, Dressler W, George S, and the NIH Expert Panel, 2015). The findings from this study identify that the social, political, and historical structure that has marginalized Native Hawaiians needs to be incorporated in order to address their Indigenous worldview and their relevant needs in today’s society (M. Kagawa-Singer, Dressler W, George S, and the NIH Expert Panel, 2015; L. D. McCubbin & Marsella, 2009).

At this point, what is apparent is that Native Hawaiians do not feel they are valued members of Hawaiian society. If you recall, a resident from Waianae labeled his community “The forgotten people.” Other residents of the Waianae coast had similar responses that echoed this sentiment. All participants mentioned improvements they

would like to see in their community to improve the quality of life, and poignantly, to begin, it would be as seemingly simple as putting in sidewalks: not only for safe walking, but importantly, to indicate to the community that they are valued by the local government. The intervention may seem simple, but the symbolic and physical meaning is of the essence in potentially changing behaviors that threaten the well-being of the Native Hawaiian people on Oahu. Such methodologic insights in gathering these findings suggest that any efforts to reduce health inequalities among Native Hawaiians would likely be more effective and sustainable if their design and implementation were informed by more comprehensive and scientifically grounded cultural analyses.

APPENDICES

Appendix A - Preliminary Analysis/Codebook

Themes	Categories	Sub-Categories
Family	Sense of Responsibility	Intergenerational Household
		“Take Care”
	Children’s Prosperity	Parents well-being contingent on children’s well-being
		Children’s jobs and educational attainment
		Parents’ unyielding support
	Experiences of Family	Support
		Loss
		Violence or Abuse
		No Support
	Conceptualizations of Native Hawaiian Identity	Sense of Place
What do you sacrifice? Money or Aloha Aina?		
Generational differences		Living off the Land
		Experience of attending Kamehameha Schools
Social Constructions of Identity		Oppression – dumping ground, forgotten people
		What is “real Hawaiian? Struggle with identity Phenotype
		Religion Follow God’s plan; Christian struggle with Hawaiian religion
Meaning of Food	Symbols of comfort	Family Gatherings
		Special person’s cooking
		Food provides warm feelings and comfort
		“The land is our icebox”
	Empathy	Cooking

Appendix B – IRB Approval Notice



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<http://ohrpp.research.ucla.edu>
 GC-IRB: (310) 825-7122
 M-IRB: (310) 825-5344

APPROVAL NOTICE New Study

DATE:	6/15/2014
TO:	DARRAH KURATANI COMMUNITY HEALTH SCIENCES
FROM:	ALISON MOORE, MPH, MD Chair, SGIRB
RE:	IRB#14-000586 An Ethnographic Exploration of the Relationship Between Native Hawaiian Sense of Well-Being and the Meaning of Food Habits Version: April 9, 2014

The UCLA Institutional Review Board (UCLA IRB) has approved the above-referenced study. UCLA's Federalwide Assurance (FWA) with Department of Health and Human Services is FWA00004642 (IRB00004474).

Submission and Review Information

Type of Review	Expedited Review
Approval Date	6/15/2014
Expiration Date of the Study	6/14/2017

Specific Conditions for Approval

– The IRB has determined that this study meets the criteria for a 3 year extended approval. (For reference, please see the OHRPP guidance document "Extended Approval for Minimal Risk Research Not Subject to Federal Oversight" at http://ora.research.ucla.edu/OHRPP/Documents/Policy/4/Extended_Approval.pdf)

Regulatory Determinations

– Expedited Review Category(ies) - The UCLA IRB determined that the research meets the requirements for expedited review per 45 CFR 46.110 category 7.

Appendix C – Initial Discussion Guide

C:\Users\Darrah\Documents\Darrah L. Goo Kuratani PhD\Diss Proposal Pano\DEVELOP PROPOSAL\questions

Participant Interview Script and topic Guide

The focus of my research is exploring what health and wellbeing means to Native Hawaiian people. So I would like to ask you about all the things you think makes a good or satisfying life.

Icebreaker/ childhood

Tell me about yourself. Where is your family from? Where did you grow up? Where did you go to school?

- Tell me about what a typical week was like when you were a kid in elementary school?
- What was a typical weekend like?
- How were special events celebrated?
- When you were growing up what were your dreams about what life would be like when you grew up? OR What did you picture your life to be like when you grew up?
- Are you where you wanted to be? (yes/no) OR How does your life today compare to what you thought it would be when you were younger?
 - *Probe* - What happened along the way? OR ...
- What did your upbringing (or family) teach you about what it means to have a good life?
 - *Probe* - What are all the things that make a good life?
- How does your view of a good life compare to your:
 - Community?
 - Grandparents?
 - Parents?
 - Kids?
- How is a good life shared or expressed with other family and friends?

Probes

- What helped make your dreams possible?
- What held you back from the things that would make you happy?
- How has your definition of a good life changed over time?
- What were the factors that changed your definition?

NHWB dkuratani April 2014

IRB #

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