

While it is unfair to blame education for all . . . problems, there seems little doubt that the drive to Americanize the schools had an effect on a native culture which varied greatly from a western style.

A Historic and Current Sketch of Indigenous Education in Hawaii: With Emphasis on Funding

By John A. Thompson

Hawaii, as Mark Twain remarked "the loveliest fleet of islands that lie at anchor in any ocean," has had an interesting transition in its educational relationship with the Hawaiian feudal kingdom that escaped notice in the early waves of European colonization. Thus, the country (actually a conglomeration of greater and lesser chiefs loosely coupled by a polytheistic religion and a rigid social class system) matured and developed its own culture, language, and economic system with little intercourse with other societies.

Obviously, a country with a well-developed culture, including the arts, recreational activities, interisland trade, a maritime tradition, and a three-class social system must have had some type of an educational system. Unfortunately, little, with the exception of the knowledge of the "halau," which was the school for training the art of hula, currently exists.

When Captain James Cook discovered (at least in the European sense) the islands in 1788, he found a well-developed society which had finally united under the rule of Kamehameha I, which he noted and described, but apparently did not attempt to westernize. After discovery, the Hawaiian Islands rapidly became a crossroads for the pan-Pacific traders. For the next 30 years traders and adventurers came to Hawaii but did little to affect the indigenous education "system" (or non-system) until the advent of a remarkable group of Protestant missionaries who arrived in 1820.

This group of six missionaries, accompanied by two of their wives and four Hawaiian youths who had been attending a mission school in Connecticut, were sent by the American

Board of Missions to "raise the people to an elevated state of Christian civilization." It is abundantly clear that this group and four subsequent parties from the Board set about this task with great ardor. Their plan followed Calvinist traditions of missionary activity: (1) to reduce the Hawaiian language to a written form, then (2) to establish schools to teach the Hawaiians to read in their vernacular by (3) writing and printing (at least one of the missionaries in each of the parties was a printer) materials for use in the schools, and (4) using the Bible (in the Hawaiian form) to instill the Christian faith through the word to the people.

They set about this activity with great vigor. By 1822, they had developed and were printing in the Hawaiian language and by November of that year 15,000 people (mostly adults) were receiving instruction.² This remarkable interest in learning the written word burgeoned so that in a decade it was estimated that 250 mission schools existed and the literacy rate was above 80 percent of adults.³

Thus during the mission school period from 1822 to 1840 (officially, but actually until circa. 1855) the entire educational system was conducted in the Hawaiian language, although the educators (at least those in charge) were all Americans. Certainly, a different beginning from the educational endeavors of the missionaries, and others, who began the "civilization" of the indigenous in North and South America.

Early Financing of Indigenous Education

All of the earliest educational activity was in the Hawaiian language and under missionary control. The finance of the missionary phase is not documented other than in the report of the missionary board. All of the money used to support the missionary endeavor was paid by the American Board of Missions. That included the costs of printing materials in the Hawaiian language. The amounts grew from a report in 1822 of \$2,000 to \$10,000 in 1834.⁴

In addition, the kings, beginning with Liholiho "gave" land to the missionaries to support the schools, and the Hawaiian commoners were to help work the land for these missionaries. Since there was no system of land titles in the 1820's it is difficult to determine to what extent these mission lands contributed to the support of education.

Also, during the first 20 years, the system of taxation was essentially feudal. That is, the king and the subchiefs enforced a work tax on the commoners. As indicated above, the kings assigned some of this work activity to the missions. However, since the feudal system was disintegrating, there was no agency to enforce the work tax, at least for the missionaries. One, however, could conclude that the effect on school finance was, at best, nominal.

The Beginning of Public Education

The official beginning of a public education system occurred with the adoption of a constitution in 1840. The constitution called for compulsory education of all Hawaiian citizens. However, the system to accomplish that goal was not specified. The Organic Acts of 1845 did provide for a Minister of Public Instruction as one of the five cabinet level positions for the monarchy.

The Organic Acts provided for a system of local control and taxation, similar to those in the states in New England, but the local control soon gave way to centralized control system with six school districts. The old labor tax was replaced by a school tax which was collected by the central government, and in 1850 the legislature and the king signed an appropriation bill which transferred the funds collected by the tax to the minister of public instruction for allocation to the districts in the sum of \$22,000. From that time forward, the appropriation of funds for the operation of schools came from the legislature.

The school tax, which was levied until after the conclusion of World War II, and money from the lease or sale of a portion of the Crown lands (note the parallel to the Northwest Ordinance)

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were the financial basis for educational appropriations until Hawaii became a United States territory in 1898.

During the period of the 1840's-50's, the medium of instruction remained the Hawaiian language, although several private schools, which were subsidized by crown funds, including the Royal School to which the "alii" (royalty) attended soon began to use English as the preferred instructional mode.

As additional American and British immigration brought merchants and planters into Hawaii the language of trade and commerce increasingly became English. Also, the Hawaiian monarchy became obsessed with breaking the power of the missionaries, who strongly supported the continued use of the Hawaiian language in the schools, so the royal family began to favor the use of English in the schools. The result of this leverage and some other political and economic matters was that the Board of Education, which had been created by law in 1886, began to require both English schools and Hawaiian schools. The latter steadily lost standing so that by the late 1880's they were abolished. A Board of Education regulation in 1890 made English the medium of instruction and banned instruction in Hawaiian.

Thus, public education which had begun in the 1820's being taught entirely in Hawaiian had by the 1890's become devoid of instruction in that language. As the Hawaiian schools were closed, the teaching about their culture also ceased. Many of the cultural aspects, particularly those which had a religious significance, were derided and devalued. By 1900, there were few pure blood Hawaiians, some estimates were less than 35,000, and those who were of mixed blood tended to hide their native roots and emphasize their "haole" (foreign) ancestry.

Even the Kamehameha Schools (which will be described in a later section of this paper) that were established to aid the education of Hawaiians promulgated a rule in 1887 that required all teaching to be strictly in English.

While the public education of the indigenous people continued unabated, the teaching did not favor things hawaiian. Since the 1840's the finance of public instruction had been through appropriations from either the monarchy or after 1856 the legislature, the upper house of which was made up of appointees from among the chiefs of the realm. Yet, it was these Hawaiians that closed the native schools and subsequently funded a public school curriculum that eschewed both their language and culture. This was how things stood when Hawaii became a territory of the United States in 1900.

The Territorial Period

It was the avowed purpose of those who were responsible for the overthrow of the monarchy, the establishment of an interim republic and finally incorporation into the United States as a territory to become a state of the union. One of their most cogent arguments was that the Hawaii public school system was American in its philosophy, organization, and curriculum. The leaders were sure in 1900 and remained so until 1958 that this was one of the most telling arguments for statehood. Consequently, there was nearly unceasing effort to teaching "things" American, using the English vernacular, and to downplay the culture and language of the Hawaiians. There appears to be no effort to attempt to expend public funds to teach native Hawaiian children in their own language and culture during the territorial days.

This concern even manifested itself in efforts during the 1920's to ban foreign language schools which had sprung up during the period from 1895 onward. They taught young children of oriental descent (mostly Japanese and some Chinese) in the language of their parents. These were private, often sponsored by religious groups, and the students attended after the regular public school day. So concerned were the political leaders of the time (1920's) that they passed legislation which

effectively banned these schools. The United States Supreme Court declared these laws unconstitutional, (*Farrington v Tokushige* 273 U.S. 294 [1927]) and these schools have played a part in the education of some children (not actually indigenous, but an important part of Hawaii's population) up to the present time. Obviously, no public monies were involved.

Thus in the period between 1900 to approximately 1970, the effort was to Americanize children in the educational process. As far as can be determined, no special appropriations were made to teach indigenous children, except on the island of Niihau, which was privately owned and which in 1930 the Board of Education had decided was able to teach students on the island in the Hawaiian vernacular (the current enrollment is only 34 students).

The Modern Era—Post Statehood

The previous part of the Hawaii experience, as far as public education was concerned, ended during the territorial period. Essentially, it involved removing from the schools things that were Hawaiian and stressing things that were calculated to enhance "Americanism." To a large extent, that concept was also stressed in the non-public schools including even the Kamehameha Schools.

During the later territorial period, from 1940-1958, little change in the curriculum in the public schools was evident. With some minor exceptions, the same might be said for the first 20 years of statehood. The exceptions were such things as teaching some songs in Hawaiian, including the State Anthem, "E Pono Mai," and certain cultural events, mostly in the fourth grade curriculum. However, there had been strong "undercurrents" rising among the native Hawaiians and part-Hawaiian groups to infuse a much more prominent role for the Hawaiian culture, history, and language into the public school curriculum.

The route that was taken was through a constitutional convention (Article XVII, Section 2 H.S.C.). "The convening of such a convention shall be determined by electoral question once in every ten years." In the convention held in 1978, two matters of importance to education in Hawaii were passed. The Hawaiian language was made one of two official languages in the state (Article XV, Section 4 H.S.C.). The second was added to the article on Education (Article X, Section 4), "The State shall promote the study of Hawaiian culture, history, and language."

The State shall provide for a Hawaiian education program consisting of language, culture, and history in the public schools. The use of community shall be encouraged as a suitable and essential means in furtherance of the Hawaii program (p. 145 H.S.C.).

These constitutional amendments occasioned significant changes in the curriculum of the public schools. The following are the major program initiatives and the appropriations used to meet the constitutional mandates.

The State of Hawaii uses a program budget structure to allocate funds. The initiatives to fulfill the constitutional mandate are budgeted in ED 106 General Education. All of the funds for the programs under General Education are general fund expenditures which are generated through state taxing sources, i.e., general excise, individual income tax, corporate income tax, accommodation tax, plus several minor revenue raising taxes and fees.

The general education funds are distributed by the Hawaii Department of Education (DOE) on an informal (not mandated by statute) per pupil basis. However, each subdistrict has a reserve which can be used to give additional resources to schools that need funds.

The first program, The Hawaiian Studies Program, is taught to all students whether they are indigenous or not. It has two major parts. One, "kapuna" portion in which there are pre-

sently 365 ethnic Hawaiians who are assigned to elementary schools. They visit classes on a rotating basis and teach about Hawaiian culture. Some Hawaiian words used in songs, chants, etc. are taught but not the Hawaiian language (*per se*).

The second aspect is a set of three curricular experiences. The grade four social science curriculum studies ancient migration, customs, and culture. The seventh grade social science is a study of the Hawaiian Monarchy. In grade eleven a one-semester course in modern Hawaiian history is mandatory. In addition, under the Asian, European, Pacific Language program, Hawaiian is one of several "foreign" language options given in elementary and secondary schools. It is not a requirement. This program was established by the Board of Education in response to the constitutional mandate. It began in the 1980-81 school year with a budget of \$90,732. In 1992-93 the budget will have grown to \$3,403,495.

The second ED 106 program which has a more direct relationship to the indigenous (although due to the nature of the public school system cannot be limited to only Hawaiian children) is the Hawaiian Immersion Program. In this program the regular public school curriculum is taught in Hawaiian. English is taught for a maximum of one hour per day. The amount of instruction in English is to increase as the student moves into the secondary schools. Presently, there are five elementary schools that offer the program (mostly in areas of high Hawaiian population). It began in 1987 with kindergarten and has advanced one grade per year. The current enrollment is 251 pupils and will rise to 350 by 1992.

The budget in 1987-88 was \$33,085 and has grown to \$747,615 in 1991-92.

The Board of Education, against the advice of DOE administration and superintendent, voted to increase the program beginning in 1992-93. If funded, it will ultimately allow students to complete all of their education (K-12) in the Hawaiian language.

In addition to the immersion program, one school with two teachers and 36 pupils on the privately owned island of Nihau has for at least 50 years taught all students in Hawaiian. The funds are allocated for this activity are part of ED 106, and do not appear as a special appropriation by the legislature.

This is the extent of the public education effort to teach indigenous students. The philosophy in 1990's appears to be the same as in the 1880's which is to bring Hawaiian children into the mainstream American culture rather than to make active efforts, with the exception of the Hawaiian Immersion Program, to maintain the distinct Hawaiian language and culture.

A final note to this section is that the DOE has entered into several joint arrangements with the Kamehameha Schools which have placed additional resources into schools with large ethnic Hawaiian school populations. These will be discussed in the next section.

The Kamehameha Schools

These unique non-public schools came about as a philanthropic and civic desire of the last of the Kamehameha line that had been the monarchs in Hawaii since 1787. Princess Pauahi, the last heiress, received substantial land holdings at the time of the land division in 1848. Subsequently, she married Charles Bishop and in her will she left her entire estate (the two were childless) in trust to establish schools for the education of Hawaiian children. The estate, which at her death was valued at \$477,000, has grown to between 1½ to 2½ billion dollars by 1990. All of the profit from the estate, is used to support the Kamehameha schools and certain other educational projects to benefit indigenous children.

The boys school, interestingly enough, named the Manual School, began in 1887. In accordance with the times all instruction was to be in English, and the curriculum was generally vocational in nature. The girls school began in 1894 and for at least 50 years the emphasis was on home life and service.

Hawaiian language and culture were not introduced in the schools until 1923 when courses in the language were established.

A shift from the manual curriculum to a college preparatory (the boys and girls schools were merged) occurred by the 1950's. Students, with some minor exceptions, were admitted on the basis of high test scores and the entire K-12 enrollment has been limited to approximately 3,000 to 3,500 students.

Two factors should be noted:

1. There are very few pure-blooded Hawaiians left so nearly all the students are of mixed blood lines. Names such as Ching, Thompson, Klien, and Yamamoto are as common as Naahoopii or Akana, but we are still talking about the education of indigenous children.
2. Because of the use of test scores and size limitations at the school, the great majority of Hawaiian and part-Hawaiian children do not attend this school. During the past 20 years the trustees have recognized an obligation to try to benefit these children as well. Thus, outreach programs have grown significantly. Probably the largest is the KEEP Program which has become involved with research leading to programs to enhance learning for Hawaiian students who attend public schools.

The current enrollment of the Kamehameha Schools (both the lower and upper divisions) is approximately 3,000 students which includes 450 boarding students from the other islands in the state. They attend school on a scenic 600 acre campus in Honolulu. The Kamehameha Schools do not calculate a per pupil cost (at least for public use) which can be compared to those of public schools throughout the United States. However, the following data which are excerpted from a handout given to parents present data that are fairly close to a traditional concept of per pupil cost.

Figure 1. Educational Costs at Kamehameha School, 1991-92⁵

Grade	Tuition	Parents' Share		Total Cost	KS/BE Per Student
		Fees	Meals		
K-6	553	81	288	922	11,182
7-12 Day	688	172	357	1,217	14,458
7-12 Boarder	688	239	1,545	2,472	24,216

The handout indicates that "since the beginning of Kamehameha Schools the cost of educating students has been shared by both parents and the Kamehameha Schools/Bishop Estate. For the school year 1992-93, trustees have decided to retain the present tuition; meal charges amount to 7.3% of total costs on average across all grade levels. The KS/BE share, on the other hand, amounts to 92.7% of the total costs on average.

It is clear that the six percent of the students of Hawaiian or part-Hawaiian heritage in the state who matriculate in the Kamehameha Schools receive an elite education. There is a lively competition among parents of Hawaiian ancestry to enroll their children in the school.

The Kamehameha Schools proclaim that they are a college preparatory school (in 1991, 96% of the graduates enrolled in post-secondary institutions). Thus, students in the secondary division are admitted based upon standardized test scores. The state is divided into districts based upon the percent of families with Hawaiian heritage and prospective students compete with others within their area for admittance.

Pre-collegiate training has been the goal since the 1950's. Prior to that time, as noted previously, the schools tended to stress the manual trades with relatively few students attending college.

Kamehameha Outreach Activities

In addition to the campus activities, the KS/BE attempts to reach other children and students of hawaiian ancestry with a variety of outreach programs. They are divided for administrative purposes into two divisions, the Early Education and Community Education Divisions. The Early Education has three programs (1) a pre-kindergarten which provides a parent-infant section which features trained home visitors to work with both parents and offspring. There are 349 families served. (2) Traveling pre-schools which hold meetings twice weekly with two and three year olds and their caregivers at parks, schools, or other gathering places. The teachers instruct in preschool learning activities and encourage parents to continue the teaching between sessions. There are nine sites statewide and approximately 3,000 students are involved. Finally, there is a center-based preschool which serves 467 four year olds in classrooms. The focus is upon developing language skills and school readiness. The total budget for 1992 is 4 million dollars of which \$1,557,000 or 39% comes from federal funding (see Native Hawaiian Family Based Education Centers, Title IX, Section 4004).

The Kamehameha Elementary Education Program (KEEP) is a language arts skills program which was initiated after ten years of research and development at the Kamehameha Schools. It is in use at the elementary school there, as well as in a joint program with the public schools (DOE). The public school sites with large Hawaiian student populations use the program. Not all teachers in these schools use KEEP. About 50 percent of the students in these schools are taught with this program. KS/BE furnishes training for the public school teachers who volunteer to use it—aides, books and materials, and consultant assistance. The program is budgeted at \$1,770,418 for FY 1992. Part of the money in the Native Hawaiian Model Curriculum section (4003) of the federal Native Hawaiian Education Act is used to evaluate the effectiveness of this program.

The Community Education Division operates a variety of programs, many of which are short-term classes for adults, summer sessions for student, special federally funded programs such as drug education, and a variety of post-secondary talent searches and scholarships for Hawaiians. The 1992 budget is \$4,100,000.

Two programs fit into a true K-12 format. Alternative Education provides classes and counseling for high risk students. A total of 337 public school students are served. The Kamehameha Schools Intermediate Reading Program is operated in conjunction with the public schools to help seventh grade students improve their reading. While not all the students are Hawaiians, the programs are placed in twelve schools with a large percentage of Hawaiian students so that a majority of the 394 students served are indigenous.

Counting those students who receive all or a significant portion of their education through programs of Kamehameha Schools, it would appear that this educational entity serves approximately 15 percent of the indigenous students in Hawaii. There are in addition short-term and enrichment activities which serve many more students and adults as well as infants and the very young that are not included in the 15 percent.

Funding

The funding for the schools and the outreach programs comes from the resources of the Bishop Estate (see the description of the establishment of the estate in a previous section of the paper). The estate was for many years the largest private landholder in the state. For much of its history, the estate needed all of its resources to fund the operation of the schools and occasionally operated at a deficit. As late as 1972, the yearly Masters Report indicates income of 5 million and operating costs of 6 million dollars. The rise in land values during the 1970's and 80's allowed the trustees to fund the experimental

and outreach programs described above as well as the Kamehameha Schools. The 1990-91 Master's Report reported that the Education Division of the estate had total expenditures of \$53,116,327⁶. The diversification of assets into stocks, shopping centers, and ventures of various types as well as the continued increase in land values and lease rents in Hawaii make the financial future appear very promising.

The Bishop Estate has, for over one hundred years, been a major force in the education of native Hawaiians. However, even with expenditures in excess of 50 million dollars, the estate touches only about 15 percent of the Hawaiian school age population. The trustees of the estate, who are selected by the justices of the State Supreme Court, have not been representative of the indigenous population. Only within the last ten years has a majority of the board been of Hawaiian ancestry. Often trustees have been selected for their political clout rather than for their business acumen. The first president of Kamehameha Schools who is of Hawaiian ancestry was selected only two years ago; all previous presidents have been Caucasians. While these are steps in the proper direction, many Hawaiian activists believe that they have come much too late to help the native people.

Federal Educational Assistance to Indigenous People

A third player, the U.S. government, has recently been added to the cast of those involved in the education of Hawaiians. Under Title IV—Education for Native Hawaiians, Public Law 100-297—the federal government added Hawaiians to the list of those special indigenous groups who receive federal funds for education.

Using a variety of reasons, including the trust responsibilities for Hawaiian Homelands, the fact that Hawaiians score below state and national norms on standardized tests, and are under represented in the professions and at institutions of higher education, plus in some cases geographic isolation, special efforts to preserve the culture are necessary through the use of supplemental educational programs.

The original authorization for the title, which began in fiscal 1988, was for \$9,150,000, however, the actual appropriations were less than the authorizations. These are five sections with the following titles: Section 4003, Native Hawaiian Model Curriculum Implementation Program (KEEP). The Bishop Estate, through the educational development of Hawaiian children. This section was designed to install the KEEP in selected public schools throughout the state which had a substantial native Hawaiian student body, as well as to continue research and development and to assess the results. The amounts expended for this and the other sections that affect public education are recorded in Table 1 which follows the descriptions of the titles.

Section 4004, Native Hawaiian Family Based Education Centers, made grants to Hawaiian Organizations including The Kamehameha Schools to establish family-based education centers throughout the state. The centers, some of which are housed in permanent structures and others that use a mobile format, are to establish and operate parent-infant programs and pre-school programs for four and five year old children. By 1992, twelve such centers were in operation. The section also provided for additional research and development and assessment.

The third section (4005) established a Higher Education Demonstration project. Since the money was not K-12 education, no description is made here.

The fourth section is entitled, Native Hawaiian Gifted and Talented Demonstration Program (4006). The statute named the University of Hawaii at Hilo as the grantee to establish a project to address the special needs of Hawaiian elementary and secondary students who are gifted and talented. The project was to identify gifted students and to provide them with educational, psychological and developmental activities which show promise of meeting the educational needs of these stu-

Table 1. Amounts Expended for Each Sub-section of Title IV Education for Native Hawaiians from 1989-92

Year	4003	4004	4005	4006	4007
1989	395,000	1,778,000	1,500,000*	790,000	494,000
1990	494,000	2,765,000	1,700,000*	741,000	741,000
1991	535,000	2,860,000	2,659,000	887,000	600,000
1992	6,400,000* no delineation into specific sub-sections				

*Estimate from the Senate Select Committee on Indian Affairs

dents. Included was to be exploration of the use of Hawaiian language and exposure to native Hawaiian cultural traditions. The project was to provide leadership for replicating promising activities and to conduct research on the needs of these children, and provision of certain services to their families. This section was funded for three years at which time a new grant was to be created and funded on a year to year basis.

The last section, 4007, created the Native Hawaiian Special Education Program. It provides for identification of special students and links this title to part B of the Education of the Handicapped Act. Thus, providing additional funding for the Hawaii Department of Education to address differential needs of native Hawaiian handicapped children who might otherwise qualify under PL 92-142.

The amounts expended for the four years for which data are available are presented in Table 1.

The federal government, through the Select Committee on Indian Affairs, chaired by Senator D. Inouye (Democrat-Hawaii), has made a specific recognition of the unique educational problems of Native Hawaiians. The fact that Title IV is a part of the Indian Education Act is evidence that the federal government perceives Hawaiians as part of the indigenous peoples that deserve special treatment in terms of education. In 1992, the appropriation was not delineated into specific titles. Rather, the funds were sent to the State of Hawaii to be distributed among the programs according to the perception of how they have impacted native Hawaiians.

While the total appropriation is not large, it seems targeted at several aspects of which appear to be related to matters which affect the ability of the indigenous peoples to achieve fully in the educational process, particularly, the curriculum section (4003) and the Family Based Education Program (4004) are designed to remediate problems of long standing.

Summary and Conclusions

The history of educational governance and support of the Hawaiians differs greatly from that of other indigenous groups in North America in several ways. First, the original educational "system" was brought to the islands by Christian missionaries and the curriculum was all in the Hawaiian vernacular.

It was the Hawaiian royalty who fought and finally succeeded in the dissolution of that system, not the European and American colonizers. For example, Princess Pauahi Bishop in her will said, "I desire my trustees to provide first and chiefly a good education in the common English branches, also instruction in morals and good and useful information."⁷⁷

Second, the desire of the populace to become a part of the United States in the post monarchy period led to the creation of a school system that emulated the American system in every respect.

Third, except for the very earliest missionary schools, the public system has been governed by some type of locally appointed or elected board of education. The governance was not imposed by outside governmental bodies.

Fourth, the school system has always been financed by local (meaning state) taxes raised in the islands, not with money sent from Washington.

Fifth, Hawaiians were not excluded from any part of the educational system by government action. As, for example, the Russians did with Aleuts.

Thus, at least from a governance and funding point of view, the education for Hawaiians was quite different from that of other indigenous peoples in North America.

Although, the education system for the native Hawaiian population differed from other indigenous groups in the United States, the present day results among them seem strongly similar. For example, Hawaiian children in public schools tend to under-perform other ethnic groups. Hawaiian and part-Hawaiian students in Department of Education have a mean performance in the 36 percentile in total reading and 47th in math. The mean for all public school students is 48th percentile in reading and 61st in math (1991 data). Although the DOE does not compare reading and math scores among ethnic groups by school site, the schools with the largest ethnic Hawaiian populations tend to have more children in the lowest three stanines. With two exceptions, the absence rates in schools with higher percentages of Hawaiian students are higher. When the legislature created a statute called Special Needs Schools H.R.S. 296D, the first school district (actually a sub-district of the single statewide district) to receive funds had the second largest number of students of Hawaiian ancestry (and that by only 200 students). The juvenile intake records (similar to arrests) have for the last ten years shown a higher proportion of Hawaiians than any other ethnic group. Census data indicate a larger poverty line than any other established (non-immigrant) ethnic groups in the state. The median income of the Hawaiian family is well below that of the state—\$16,345 for families with children in public schools, \$26,995 in Kamehameha and the state median of \$37,866.

While it is unfair to blame education for all of these problems, there seems little doubt that the drive to Americanize the schools had an effect on a native culture which varied greatly from a western style. Even the non-public Kamehameha Schools did little until the 1950's to reinforce the culture of those who attended there.

What should be done? Not an easy answer. Currently, there are efforts in public schools to enforce the constitutional amendment relative to Hawaiian culture, history and language. Devoting additional resources both time and money, might invigorate a minority (23%) at the educational expense of the majority of students (who do not seem interested in an additional culture) a questionable idea at best. Segregating Hawaiian children for a native in the vernacular is not the same as it is, for instance in Alaska. This is a small state with a very interactive economic structure. There will be very few adults that could operate in a substance environment.

Throwing money at the problem has not produced results to date. As with many of the social problems in this country, identifying the problem is easier than providing a solution.

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