



## Pacific Islander American students: Caught between a rock and a hard place?

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### ABSTRACT

As a part of a community action plan for assisting Pacific Islander American high school students and their parents in navigating the educational system and building on previous studies on Pacific Islander youth [Vakalahi, H.F.O. & Godinet, M. (2008). Family and culture and the Samoan youth. *Journal of Family Social Work*, 11(3), 229–253.], this article discusses the perspective of Pacific Islander American students and their parents regarding family, culture and community, school, and peer/social relations-based risk and protective factors for academic achievements and risk for school dropout. Also explored in this study was their perspective on programmatic means by which to prevent school dropout. Study participants included Pacific Islander American youth and parents in one school located in a western U.S. state. Data were collected via focus groups. Results indicate that family relationships and dynamics, parental expectations, community and cultural duality, commitment to school, and peer relations serve as sources of risk and/or protection for educational achievement and risk for school dropout. Programmatic means such as availability of study hall, tutoring, incentive programs, and access to higher educational information were identified as necessary for school achievement and prevention of school dropout. Theory building, implications for research and policy and practice are also discussed.

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### 1. Introduction

A history of colonization, oppression, and marginalization among many Pacific Islander communities has contributed to a dichotomized perception of the U.S. educational system. One, the system is perceived as a “sacred” authority figure to which parents are held accountable but are never engaged in the system’s conceptualization and implementation; and two, the system is an untrusted entity that compromises adherence to cultural values and engagement in cultural practices. This disconnect often generates an attitude of indifference among many Pacific Islander parents towards the possible positive contribution of the U.S. educational system to the lived experiences of their students. The missed opportunity for family–school partnership in positively contributing to students’ academic achievements is but one source of risk for school dropout. Other areas including cultural and community life ways (Davis, 2008), and peer relations also serve as possible sources of risk or protective factors for academic achievements or school dropout.

Although the literature on the Pacific Islander American student experience in the educational system is extremely limited, studies conducted on general youth populations provide some enlightenment as to sources of risk or protection for academic achievement and school dropout. Studies affirm that personal, family, cultural, systemic, and economic-based factors are sources of risk and/or protection for youth outcomes such as low educational achievement, school dropout,

juvenile delinquency and other deviant behaviors (Hawkins, Catalano et al., 1992; Medley, 1998; Pope & Feyerherm, 1993; Vakalahi & Godinet, 2008). As a recent immigrant group to the U.S., the effects of risk factors may be particularly pronounced among Pacific Islander American students and their families given the negative factors often associated with the immigration experience.

As a part of a community action plan to assist Pacific Islander American high school students and their parents in effectively navigating the educational system, and building on previous studies on Pacific Islander youth (Vakalahi & Godinet, 2008), this article discusses the perspective of Pacific Islander American students and their parents regarding family, culture and community, school, and peer-based risk and protective factors for academic achievements. Also explored in this study was their perspective on programmatic means by which to prevent school dropout.

### 2. Literature review

#### 2.1. Conceptual framework

This study was guided by structuration theory (Dear & Moos, 1994) which provides a framework that honors the connections and interactions between students and systems such as schools and communities, and empowerment education theory (Freire, 1993) which further supports the idea of empowerment and increasing power and control over one’s life. The concepts of risk and protection (Hawkins, Catalano et al., 1992) were also integrated into this conceptual framework, in that, sources of risk and/or protection for

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educational achievements and school dropout among students are based on complex interaction of influences comprised of family, cultural and community, school, and peer-based variables.

## 2.2. Status of Pacific Islander Americans

Pacific Islander Americans are one of the fastest growing ethnic communities in the United States. According to the *U.S. Census Bureau (2008)*, in 2006, 1 million U.S. residents identified themselves as Native Hawaiians and Other Pacific Islanders (.3% of the population). In 2010, it is projected that there will be approximately 16 million (5% of the population) Pacific Islanders in the U.S., and by 2050, approximately 38 million (9% of the population). They live primarily in majority–minority states such as Hawaii, California, Utah, Washington, Texas, New York, Florida, and Oregon.

This growth offers tremendous opportunities for growth and progress; however, it also presents challenges. One example of these challenges is building an educational system that is responsive to the needs of Pacific Islander American students and their families, specifically in relation to support for students who are struggling to function in dual cultures. Parental language barriers, cultural expectations, community demands, and the often economically deprived circumstances of their families are part of this struggle. At the same time, this challenge presents new opportunities to hone the strengths of Pacific Islander American communities and build collaborative partnerships between these communities and the educational system (*Vakalahi, Godinet, & Fong, 2007*).

The literature on educational achievements and school dropout across ethnic/youth of color groups continues to need expansion particularly from a dual cultural perspective and an immigration context. Nonetheless existing information does shed some light on this issue. For example, according to the *U.S. Census Bureau (2008)*, Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders as an aggregated group are the highest educated ethnic and racial group with the highest median of household income in the United States. However, they also have higher rates of poverty for all ages; are underemployed (earning less than non-Hispanic Whites); and because of larger family size (multiple generational living) they have lower income per household member (*Mokuau, 1995; U.S. Census Bureau, 2008*) compared to other racial/ethnic groups. Socioeconomic status is one of the most misunderstood factors for Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders because of its mismatch with high educational achievements (*Chow, 2001*).

As a disaggregated group, 84% of Pacific Islanders have at least a high school diploma. Fourteen percent of those age 25 and older have at least a bachelor's degree compared to 27% of the total population in this age group; and 4% have obtained a graduate degree compared to 10% of the total population in this age group. Median household income of Pacific Islanders alone is about \$49,000 with 11% poverty rate and 21% without health insurance (*U.S. Census Bureau, 2008*). Within the Pacific Islander group, Tongans had the lowest number of high school diplomas earned (about 64%) and lowest number of bachelor's degrees earned (about 6%) (*U.S. Census Bureau, 1999*). According to a San Francisco Bay Area school district official, Pacific Islander students are the highest at risk for school dropout in that area.

Existing information also shows that Pacific Islander American youth are overrepresented in crime and delinquency which are strongly associated with educational failure. For example, *Kassebaum et al. (1995)* found that Samoan youth were overrepresented at specific decision points of the juvenile justice system including arrests, referral to court, and admission to secured facilities. The positive correlation between high school dropout and delinquency overlaid with the struggles of cultural duality and negative immigration experiences places Pacific Islander American students at highest risk for negative life outcomes (*Godinet, 1998; Vakalahi & Godinet, 2004*).

## 2.3. Duality of cultures

According to *Vakalahi et al. (2007)*, diversity in historical, cultural, political, and socioeconomic status contributes to major challenges in appropriately meeting the educational and social needs of Pacific Islander American students and their families. As immigrants to the U. S., each group of Pacific Islander American immigrants struggles with language barriers, poor health, exploitation (i.e., working labor jobs for less money), and oppression (i.e., under education). Subsequently, they become overrepresented in prison populations, unemployment, social service recipients, and educational failure (*Furuto, San Nicolas, Kim, & Fiaui, 2001*).

The struggle to align the shift in behavioral and cognitive functioning resulting from the interaction between the Pacific Islander and American cultures (*Berry, 2003*) also becomes a critical issue for Pacific Islander American students and their families. The stress of acculturation and the struggle to function in dual cultures not only negatively impact the biological and psychological health of individuals (*Berry, 1997; Nwadiora & McAdoo, 1996*), but it also often leads to rebelliousness against the dominant culture's norms and values. In particular, the stress of acculturation may be a significant source of risk factors for the educational development of Pacific Islander students from first or second generation immigrant families (*Godinet, 1998*). As first and second generation immigrants, these students continue to grapple with the cultural practices of their parents and grandparents while attempting to adjust to the U.S. culture, educational system, and other social systems (*Godinet, 1998*). Not only are these immigrants experiencing lost in translation, but also lost in transition and transcultural adaptation. This process of aligning with a new environment and a new educational system often results in emotional and physical stress that hinders healthy development among Pacific Islander students (*Vakalahi et al., 2007*). Historically and currently, the U.S. educational system as well as other social systems has not responded effectively to the needs of this population.

Despite the struggles, challenges, obstacles, and barriers, Pacific Islander American students can draw on the strengths of their cultural values and practices to sustain them. Although, Pacific Islanders are diverse, there are common themes that emerge from their cultural values and practices that emphasize collectivity, inclusiveness, reciprocity, harmony in family relationships, love for children, respect for the elderly, and communal responsibility. Likewise, family is inclusive of spiritual and blood relations; it is the center of all relationships; it is a place in which love and support are not demanded but are simply there; and it is the agent of socialization where members learn to trust, respect, and love (*Vakalahi et al., 2007*). Pacific Islander students rely on their families and communities for support in dealing with an educational system that often misunderstands the reality of living in dual cultures and the struggle to strike a balance. These cultural values and practices are possible protective factors for success in the educational system and may protect one from a sometime hostile U.S. environment (*Milllett & Orosz, 2001*).

## 3. Methodology

### 3.1. Research design

Due to the fact that knowledge about experiences of Pacific Islander students in the U.S. educational system remains limited, particularly as it pertains to academic achievements and school dropout, an exploratory research method for the purpose of theory construction was essential. The inductive nature of grounded theory provided a systematic set of procedures for constructing a theory about a phenomenon that is grounded in data and the interpretive understanding of the meanings of an individual's lived experiences (*Charmaz, 2006*). The phenomenon that was explored in this study is the impact of risk and protective factors relating to family, culture and

community, school, and peer relations on the academic achievements and risk for school dropout among Pacific Islander students. Identifying programmatic means to prevent school dropout was also a central focus of this study. The study setting was a high school in one western U.S. state.

In keeping with the tenets of grounded theory, the following broad questions were explored with participants in order to allow them to share their lived experiences: (1) What are the familial, cultural and community, school, and peer relations-based factors that can serve as risk and/or protection for academic achievements and school dropout among Pacific Islander students? (2) What are possible programmatic means of preventing school dropout among Pacific Islander students?

### 3.2. Participants

A purposive sampling method was used in this study for several reasons. For instance, the study was initiated by students and parents approaching the researcher, who is a member of their community, regarding their concerns about school dropout in the community. In the high school of study, there were a maximum of about 30 Pacific Islander students at any given time which required caution in choosing a sampling and data collection method. Fourteen (14) of these high school students, grades 10 through 12, participated in the study. To allow for triangulation and ensure that multiple perspectives were being represented, nine (9) parents also participated in the study. Participants were orientated and asked to complete consent/assent forms as a requirement for participating in the study. Participants were assured confidentiality and privacy as all data were protected and secured in a designated area accessible only to the researcher.

### 3.3. Data collection and data analysis

Data collection, analysis, and theory construction are regarded as reciprocally related (Charmaz, 2006; Glaser & Strauss, 1967). In attempting to adhere to Pacific Island cultural group and collective orientation, interviewing participants in groups was deemed culturally appropriate. In emphasizing the significance of the naturalistic environment, students and their parents requested that the focus groups be conducted at the local high school which they attended and on a weekend. To ensure confidentiality and privacy, parents were not present in the student focus groups and vice versa. Focus groups were conducted by the researcher and two trained research associates. The meaning of focus group was explained to students and their parents as well as each person's role in the group, and the purpose of the study. Interviewing students and their parents in groups was important in order to compare and contrast meanings of their collective lived experiences in the U.S. educational system as they relate to family, culture and community, school, and peer/social relations.

To begin the process, participants completed a brief demographic questionnaire consisting of age, gender, family income, place of birth, year migrated to the U.S., grade level, number of and relationship between people living in the home, language use at home, parent educational level, employment, and type of employment. In the focus groups, open ended questions were asked specifically to identify collective meanings and themes regarding family, culture and community, school, and peer/social relationship-based risk and protective factors for academic achievements and risk for school dropout among students. Participants were also asked about their perspective on what can prevent school dropout. For instance, participants were asked, "Tell me about your family and how they influence your school. How has your culture and community influence your academic achievements or risk for school dropout? What have been your experiences in the school system? Tell me about your friends and how they influence your academic achievements or risk for school dropout?" Furthermore, participants were asked, "What can

your family, community, and school, do to prevent school dropout?" Each focus group has a one-time 90 min group interview. The research team used a semi-structured interview guide and tape and hand recorded the content of the focus groups.

Following the completion of the focus groups, data were transcribed by the research team. The data was then analyzed by the lead researcher through immersion in the data, coding processes, memo writing, and constant comparative analysis until saturation or redundancy (Charmaz, 2006; Denzin & Lincoln, 1994). First, a line-by-line analysis or open coding of each transcript was conducted verbatim in order to discover and describe significant themes related to the phenomenon. Second, memos were used to define interrelationships among themes and identify recurring patterns, which were then sorted into categories. Third, constant comparative analysis was conducted across cases in order to identify and compare themes and interrelationships among themes. Line-by-line analysis, memo writing, and constant comparison were conducted until redundancy, a point at which no new themes can be discovered.

## 4. Results

### 4.1. Demographics

To allow for some individual processes, prior to engaging in the focus group, each student and parent was given a questionnaire to complete. Students came from families with yearly income of zero to over \$40,000. Participating students were proportionate in number of females and males and ranged in grade from 10 through 12. Participating parents range from ages 39 to 60. Majority of students were born in the U.S. except one student. All except one parent were born outside of the U.S. and migrated to the U.S. between 1963 and 1987. Students lived in intergenerational homes with number of people ranging from 5 to 14 including grandchildren, in-laws, spouse, children, siblings, cousins, nieces and nephews, and parents. Languages used at home include English and another Pacific Islander language; these students are bilingual and bicultural. Parent educational level completed range from 6th grade to college completion. None of the students is employed. All but two parents were employed in various settings including juvenile probation, care giving and nursing, construction, airport, and taxi driving.

## 5. Students lived experiences

### 5.1. Family dynamics

Family practices, dynamics, and expectations were identified as influential factors on educational achievements. For example, consequences for failure in school included long lectures from parents, losing privileges, and physical punishment. All of the students indicated that physical punishment was for their own good and it positively contributed to doing better in school. Mom was identified as the most powerful person in the family, most effective problem solver, enforcer of rules and administer of rewards for school achievements. Yet, she was also seen as overbearing and overprotective at times which may or may have not positively influenced school achievement.

In terms of parental expectations, students unanimously without hesitation indicated high achievements in school were their parents' top expectations, in addition to church activity and citizenship. However, the reality of the conflict between expectation and support received was also acknowledged. Several students' comments reflected this shared expression, "my parents want to help and expect me to do well, but they are not able to help me get good grades. They can't help with homework, they don't understand English very well, and there are little resources to help us. My parents have to work many jobs to pay for our home and make sure I have stuff for school".

Similarly, students' expectations which contributed to school achievements were identified as parents being there for them, support from family, friends, teachers, regulations in the athletic programs, and the freedom to express themselves. Whereas positive relationships and involvement in sports were protective factors for school achievements and good citizenship, a few students indicated that the “my way or the highway” mentality of their parents was a barrier to open communication about their experiences in school.

### 5.2. Cultural duality

Students identified struggling to function in dual cultures—being American yet living in a traditional Pacific Islander environment, as a major daily stressor that often negatively influenced their experiences in the school system. Cultural customs and traditions practiced in their families included eating traditional food (i.e., lupulu, palusami), speaking the native tongue, strict adherence to parental directives, following traditional ways for celebrating a birthday, mourning a death, church activity, and family prayer. Despite the daily struggle to align these cultural ways, pride in being Pacific Islander American was identified as a locus of control that has positively influenced their academic achievements. Furthermore, students also acknowledged the difficulty they faced in making good grades when the demands of the culture and community were overwhelming on their families' time and resources, and the struggle to reconcile a situation where a student did not want to live according to the Pacific Islander way.

### 5.3. Systemic perceptions

The most salient factor that influenced a student's experience in the school system was the teachers and administrators perceptions of Pacific Islander students as “trouble makers” and “dumb”. Cultural pride and the pressure to break these perceptions and stereotypes were major stressors for students. Several youths said, “Some teachers think we're trouble makers before they know us.” They identified racism from teachers, administrators, and other students as a significant part of their daily school experience. Not fully understanding the subject matter yet being shy about asking for help in class in fear of being labeled as “dumb” were also challenges that negatively impacted their school achievements.

### 5.4. Peer group influence

Peer influence among these students was stronger because their peer groups consisted mostly of siblings and cousins. A few students said, “They got our backs, we got theirs. We depend on one another. They show us respect and we give them respect too.” Decisions on activities for the day were always made as a group. Examples of activities included playing cards, dancing, playing basketball, football, softball, watching movies, and church activities. Attending college was a common topic of discussion among peers. However, if one person goes home to do homework, the others would tease that person.

On the other hand, involvement with delinquent peers led to delinquent behaviors, involvement in the juvenile justice system, and eventually school failure. Several students had been arrested for activities such as burglary, petty theft, assault, and drinking, at an age as young as 12 years old. Despite the reality of peer pressure, students also acknowledged their personal responsibility for involvement in delinquency and school failure.

## 6. Parents lived experiences

### 6.1. Family dynamics

Parents discussed spending more time monitoring student progress, praying, and looking for additional help for their students.

Several parents said, “We try to make sure there are enough time for work and our children. Time is important. We sacrifice our needs and time for our children.” Working together closely was important in keeping a large intergenerational household peaceful and supportive of students' school achievements. Parents expressed, “One person cannot do everything for the family; spouses need to help with cooking, wash dishes, clean house. High stress from work and caring for family results in mom yelling and getting mad. But, the yelling also keeps our family on its toes”. Others said, “Sometimes children get disciplined, a slap if they are not listening. But, they are good children and they make us happy. Despite all the yelling, we get together for family prayer in the morning and evening.” Parents expected nothing more than their students doing their best in school and working towards earning “As”. However, when students fail school, it breaks these parents' hearts.

In resolving problems related to school failure, verbal communication and physical punishment were identified. Parents felt that some children only needed a talk whereas others needed physical punishment. Several parents said, “First talk and give a chance. If repeat the behavior, then scolding and yelling. If continue, then grounding. Last resort is physical punishment.” Others said, “After the physical punishment, children don't repeat the behavior. Physical punishment should be given if a child is caught with marijuana, drugs or alcohol. Physical punishment is the last resort to ‘save our children’.” Although physical punishment had its place, open conversation was affirmed to have had a longer lasting positive effective on student behavior.

Unlike the student responses, dad was identified as the most powerful person in the family, but mom was the most involved. Dad was described as very strict, firm, born and raised in the island, and only asks for something once. Dad's heavy handedness may have been a risk or protective factor for school achievements. Parents also indicated that caring teachers, school counselors, older siblings, prayer, and church activities positively influenced their students' school achievements.

### 6.2. Cultural roots

Parents acknowledged the reality of the conflict between home and school cultures. However, parents unanimously affirmed that practicing cultural customs and traditions such as love, respect, reciprocity, and obligations to the community contributed positively to their students' school achievements. Participation in cultural dances, ceremonies, speaking the native tongue, and church activities were also identified as positive influences on student achievements.

### 6.3. Systemic partnership

Parents indicated that improvements to student academic performance required parent–teacher partnership in checking homework daily, following up on student arrival in class on time, and preparing students to pass high school exit exams. Tutoring and role modeling by members of Pacific Islander communities who have earned higher education degrees were also identified as positive influences on student achievements.

### 6.4. Peer interaction

Parents indicated that their students were involved with a mixed group of good and problem students hanging out at home, church, shopping center, and the park. They also stated that their students spent a lot of time with their friends and this has influenced their school for good and bad.

## 7. Prevention of school dropout

An important part of the study was soliciting the perspectives of Pacific Islander parents and students regarding means for preventing school dropout. As supported in the literature and practiced in the school systems, participants indicated the need to create a school day schedule that fits each family's needs and abilities; provide students with access to study hall after school; facilitate access to tutoring, incentive programs, and mentoring program; provide help with standardized test strategies; and provide complete information on admission and graduation from the university.

In terms of a School Day Schedule, participants suggested: Breakfast 7:00–8:00 am; homework time 8:00–9:00 am; classes 9:00 am–3:00 pm; study hall/tutoring 3:00 pm–5:00 pm; and chores at home in the evening. Study hall needs included space and time specifically for studying; additional help and resources for homework; internet access; and additional information on time management and using peer support. Snacks during study hall were also suggested. Tutoring was requested twice weekly for English, Math, History, Computer, and Languages. Pacific Islander tutors from the local universities were specifically requested for role modeling purposes. Student incentives for good grades included money, field trips, celebratory dinners, and workshops on importance of staying in school. In terms of mentoring, participants suggested having Pacific Islander mentors to help students through the process of entering higher education and developing a career path. Participants identified the need for more information on university admission processes, financial aid, athletic opportunities, and graduation processes. Lastly, participants indicated a need for help in developing test taking skills.

As a result of this study, the researcher in partnership with the community and the school system created and implemented The Young Minds Program, which is a tutoring and parenting program that promotes academic excellence and consistent parental support for students. The specific components of the Young Minds tutoring and parenting program included after school tutoring and study hall; parenting classes; special events (university admission, testing taking strategies, career mentoring and role modeling); and formal program evaluation (pre–mid–posttest, focus groups). Important components of the program also included The Forward which is an opening ceremony and The Retreat which is a closing ceremony for parents and students. The program was piloted in two schools where a large population of Pacific Islander students attended, and funded by two local foundations. Preliminary results generally indicated success among students and parents in both schools in increasing school performance and reducing risk for school dropout. Caution is taken in considering the preliminary results due to the fact that pilot programs must be implemented for a long period of time before it is deemed effective and generalizable. The community continues to seek funding to implement this program.

## 8. Discussion

### 8.1. Theory building

Guided by structuration theory, empowerment education theory, and the risk-focused model, this study identified significant issues to consider in working with Pacific Islander students including family dynamics; cultural roots and cultural duality; peer influence; and perception of and partnership with the school system. Findings of this study built on a previous study and grounded theory on delinquency developed by Vakalahi and Godinet (2008). These findings further the existing literature and continue to substantiate previous works on Pacific Islander American students.

Several factors from this study are discussed as follows. Mom as the most powerful person in the family, the most effective problem solver, the enforcer of rules and administer of rewards, as per students,

may be a source of protective factors for school achievement. Although, she may be overbearing and overprotective at times, she is in a prominent position to positively influence students for good. She needs to be engaged and partnered with the school in conceptualizing and generating best practices for preventing school dropout. Her innate and cultural position as nurturer will contribute positively to student life. The deeply embedded respect of students for their parents, which is strongly reflected in their acceptance of physical punishment as an acceptable disciplinary method, needs to be revisited and embraced as a possible source of deterrence from truancy and other misbehaviors that may negatively impact school achievements. The conflict between parental expectations and appropriate support must be addressed as a source of risk for academic achievements. The support of teachers, coaches, and peers who are also family members needs to be strengthened as positive contributors to doing well in school.

Cultural customs and traditions including respect for others, family unity, strong activity in church/religion, speaking the native languages, and eating the native food were integral parts of these students' lives and possible sources of protection. However, overwhelming demands of the culture in terms of time and resources were also identified to have had a negative impact on students' academic life. Reconciling the realities of cultural duality can be a major source of protection from school failure. Students reported being stereotyped as trouble makers and dumb, and being treated unfairly in the educational system. Some students struggled to combat these stereotypes by excelling in school, whereas others internalized these stereotypes as self-fulfilling prophecies and a possible source of risk for negative school outcomes. In addition to the efforts of students and their families, the educational system must take some responsibility for the academic achievements of these students by building a system that is respectful and responsive to diverse student, family, community, and cultural needs.

Regardless of the experiences of Pacific Islander American students in the school system, college graduation and establishing a better life for themselves and their community are their aspirations. Likewise, "saving" their children and building a better future were essentially the goals of parents, and education and church were the mechanisms for accomplishing those goals. The desire for a better future for their children and the known strong parental influence could be sources of protection for school achievements.

### 8.2. Limitations

The limitation of the sample size and nonprobability-type sampling method is the potential for the sample to be nonrepresentative of the larger population with the characteristics of the sample being reflective of only certain segments of the population. Generalizability of the findings of this study apply only to the population studied. However, the results of this study may be replicated in the future to test for consistency or reliability within the larger Pacific Islander American community.

### 8.3. Implications for research

The limitation of this study and the limited existing literature result in many implications for research on Pacific Islander youth. However, one of the necessary follow-up to this study is a more in depth mixed method qualitative and quantitative research on specific community and cultural-based risk and protective factors for educational achievements and school dropout. For instance, the in depth qualitative method could expand understanding of the impacts of factors such as church, reciprocity, functioning in dual cultures, physical discipline, whereas the quantitative method could enhance the generalizability of these study findings.

#### 8.4. Implications for practice and policy

As indicated earlier, this initiative proposes to link Pacific Islander parents and their children with the educational system. Although the educational system has not always been empowering to Pacific Islander students, study hall, tutoring, and other educational programs are identified as preventive measures for risk of school dropout. The Young Minds program needs additional resources and evaluation of its success in this community. In implementing these programs, cultural competency and diversity training for individuals and groups working with Pacific Islander students are necessary.

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