12-18-2020

Acculturation: A Factor in Risky Behaviors among Low-Income and Immigrant Youth in Kalihi

Lindney Acosta
University of Hawai'i at Mānoa

Acculturation

A Factor in Risky Behaviors among Low-Income and Immigrant Youth in Kalihi

Lindney Acosta

Honors 491 (Junior Seminar)
Mentor: Dr. Dawn Morais

Adolescence is a period of risk-taking and experimentation. It is a prime time for youth to explore their place in society. Consequently, the decisions made during this transitional phase may have negative implications for future health and well-being. Youth from Kalihi particularly face a higher risk of engaging in risky behaviors due to several environmental factors. Kalihi is one of the most diverse communities in Honolulu, creating possible tension between cultures. With its dense immigrant population, acculturation stress inevitable. The high rates of low-income households and households in poverty may also exacerbate the situation. Among the major ethnic groups in Kalihi (Filipinos, Native Hawaiians, Pacific Islander), it is apparent that risky behavior has ties with what their ancestors had experienced. Therefore, cultural histories are explored to understand how they have influenced the decisions youth make today. Possible solutions proposed to help Kalihi's at-risk youth include cultural interventions for those in need and the incorporation of cultural-based education in the school systems. Although culturally focused solutions may lift youth from risky behaviors, a multidimensional approach may be more effective.

Introduction

Adolescence is a period of physical, cognitive, and emotional changes (Sanci, Webb, & Hocking, 2018). It is a stage of discovery as individuals start to apply themselves within the environment they inhabit. Sometimes, the risk-taking and experimentation during this transitional phase may interfere with their biopsychosocial development and jeopardize future health and well-being. Serious consequences for various health-risk behaviors put youth at-risk for premature mortality, morbidity, and social problems in terms of academics, poverty, and crime (Kann et al., 2018). Particular attention needs to be brought to Kalihi, a town that is home to many low-income and immigrant families. Immigrants come from places like the Philippines, Korea, Samoan, Tonga, the Pacific Islands, and more (Friedheim, 2016). In the Hawaiian language, Kalihi means "the edge." Though more recently, Kalihi has been

Lindney is a Public Health major who was born and raised on Oʻahu. She wrote this piece for HON 491: Family Matters, where she learned about the struggles faced by families in Hawaiʻi. As a Kalihi native, she believed it was important to raise awareness on the underlying issues that impact the at-risk youth in her community. In developing this paper, she learned that many societal forces—some out of one's control, contributed to a person's behavior. With this piece, Lindney hopes to inspire many people to understand others' hardships from various perspectives.

labeled as the last working-class neighborhood in central Honolulu. Residents find themselves needing to work two or three jobs in order to make a living. They typically work in landscaping, construction, or hotel and food service industries. Children of immigrants face their own hardships as well, dealing with assimilation and poverty. And from time to time, violence erupts in the neighborhood, especially in public housing complexes.

Many immigrants choose to come to Hawai'i for better employment, healthcare, and educational opportunities. Fundamentally, to make a living and survive. However, some arrive facing more dire situations. It has been observed that Kalihi youth tend to engage in delinquent and criminal behaviors. To intervene with the issue, it is important to consider how various environmental factors encourage and exacerbate risk-taking behaviors within this vulnerable population. Because of Kalihi's cultural wealth and fast-paced lifestyle, this paper will focus on how acculturation and a sense of estrangement from traditional culture and the lack of full acceptance in the new culture play a role in youth risk-taking.

Acculturation as the Root Cause

Acculturation can be described as a process that involves changes at the individual, family, and cultural level due to contact with different cultures and social systems (Sirin et al., 2019). Past research (Balidemaj & Small, 2019; Bursztyn & Korn-Bursztyn, 2015; Sirin et al., 2019) argued that acculturation was a unidirectional process—immigrants would seamlessly assimilate from their culture of origin to that of the host. However, many scholars have agreed acculturation to be more of a bidirectional process—adapting to the host culture and maintaining their own culture are two independent processes (Sirin et al., 2019). It is reported to be one of the most important developmental processes for youth in immigrant families. An outcome of acculturation would be that those who can balance their associations with both cultures, will experience better health outcomes. Conversely, others may endure acculturation stress and have negative mental health trajectories. This leads to cultural identity confusion and overall disorientation. Having a diffused state of identity can be associated with risk-taking behavior (National Research Council, 2011).

Identity in Youth Development

Erikson's theory proposes that the primary and most critical task for adolescent development is to solve the identity versus role confusion crisis (Ragelienė, 2016). This means that adolescents will need to construct their own unique sense of identity and find the social environment in which they can establish a sense of belonging while creating meaningful relationships. The concept of identity can be defined in various ways. Identity can reflect a person's best potential through self-realizing activities, represent a cognitive model of how one processes and examines information relevant to their identity, or can simply be the answer to "who am I?" The process of identity formation is important because it allows an individual to explore his or her competences and interests, and to make adequate decisions (Pellerone, Passanisi, & Bellomo, 2015). Those who hold a consistent sense of identity have reported higher self-esteem, lower internalizing symptoms, and are less likely to engage in risk-taking behaviors compared to those with less developed identities (Meca et al., 2017). Even though developing a general sense of personal identity is a normative task for adolescents, immigrant and ethnic/racial minority adolescents are challenged with the additional task of developing a cultural identity, the understanding of how their ethnic group and membership fit within the larger group. Moreover, in a study done by Meca et al. (2017), it was noted that recently immigrated Hispanic adolescents in the United States are likely to experience cultural stressors, complicating cultural identity development. Therefore, determining factors that hinder identity formation is essential for proper intervention to the issue.

Financial Instability in Youth Development

It is also important to note that critical financial circumstances may disrupt acculturation, and more generally, youth development. Family income can determine the environment in which children and adolescents grow up (Escarce, 2013). For example, the quality of neighborhoods and schools, whether they are nurturing or destructive, matters. High-poverty neighborhoods tend to have less high-quality public and private services like parks, preschools, childcare centers, social supports, and more. These neighborhoods also have higher rates of crime and street violence, greater availability of illegal drugs, more negative peer influences, and less adult role models. Such factors can jeopardize cognitive functions and socialization for youth. Low-income children also lack the proper nutrients needed for optimal development. This may lead to malnutrition, health problems, and potential brain damage (Sandstrom & Huerta, 2013). Mothers who work in the labor force can experience additional stress and have difficulties in supervising their children (Escarce, 2003). Children in such situations tend to gain autonomy too early. Unsupervised youth were found to be more likely to smoke cigarettes, drink alcohol, use drugs, be depressed, and engage in risky behaviors. Financial circumstances is thus indirectly related to risk-taking behavior.

Kalihi and Risk-Taking Youth

In the 1900s, Kalihi was home to primarily middle-class Hawaiian, Portuguese, and Chinese people. A few decades later,

Kalihi was a working-class and affordable neighborhood, causing a lot of different ethnic groups to migrate (Real Estate And Living Hawai'i, n.d.). To this day, it is still considered a low-income and diverse community. In addition to the struggles of assimilation and colonization, Kalihi has had a reputation of lawlessness and danger. In fact, according to Jory Watland, a Lutheran minister and Kalihi resident, Kalihi has been known as "a very dangerous place to live," (Gee, 2003).

Risk-taking behavior in general is influenced largely by the individual's environment (National Research Council, 2011). In terms of violent crime rates, the Kalihi/Farrington area was at 3.6%, compared to the statewide rate at 2.4% (Center on the Family, 2019). However, the community must be evaluated comprehensively to understand the "whole story." Table 1 shows that Kalihi has a dense immigrant population. This may imply that the discomfort of being caught between two worlds may put our vulnerable populations at risk for mental health problems and therefore influence decision making and risk-taking propensity. It is also evident that many residents are housed in low-income households or households in poverty. This shows that several families are under-resourced, whether it be in terms of food, healthcare, education, and more. The economic deprivation may increase the risks of parental mental health issues, which interferes with their capacity to practice positive parenting (Hodgkinson et al., 2017). Critical environmental factors of Kalihi may therefore, contribute to the acculturative stress that youth face.

Kalihi's population consists mostly of Filipinos (46.5%), Hawaiians/part Hawaiian (13.3%), and Pacific Islanders (11.9%) (Center on the Family, 2019). Due to the constant influx of immigrants to Kalihi, it is important to consider where they are from, what they have endured in their country of origin, and the reasons why they ended up here. These factors help explain the varying degrees of acculturation stress experienced among different cultures (Rothe, Tzuang, & Pumariega, 2010).

Table 1   Data on Indicators in the Kalihi/Farrington Area

INDICATOR	STATE	KALIHI/ FARRINGTON
Residents who are new immigrants (since 2000)	6.8	17.4
Children in immigrant families	28.9	57.0
Children in families that receive public assistance	26.3	42.8
Families (with children) in poverty	11.0	18.1
Children in low-income households	32.4	45.9
Students (K-12) learning English language	7.5	20.9

Note: Data obtained from the University of Hawai'i's Center on the Family (2019)

Methodology

Three, semi-structured, one-on-one interviews were conducted to gain insight into what led youth from different ethnic groups in Kalihi toward risky behavior. Since Kalihi is a diverse community densely populated with immigrants, the process focused mostly on exploring the relationship between acculturation and risky behavior. All types of youth risky behaviors were considered. Participants were Native Hawaiian or Micronesian. Scott (pseudonym), 68, is part Native Hawaiian and was raised in Kalihi. Ashley (pseudonym), 20, is Micronesian and immigrated from Guam. Michelle (pseudonym), 20, is also Micronesian and was raised in Kalihi. They have all been a part of Kalihi since their youth, speaking with more than 15 years of experience. Filipino, Native Hawaiian, and Pacific Islander cultures, in the context of risky behaviors, will be briefly examined in the following sections.

Filipinos

The first record of *sakadas* (Filipino contract laborers) in Hawai'i dates back to 1906, when 15 of them were recruited from the Philippines by the Hawaiian Sugar Planters Association (Aquino & Magdalena, 2010). Many were already motivated to come to Hawai'i to get away from the poor economic conditions and natural disasters (Info Graphic Inc., 2020). In fact, many Filipinos come from the Ilocos region, a populous area with inadequate farmland and very few jobs outside of farming (Agbayani et al., 1985). More and more Filipino laborers were brought to Hawai'i for the plantations, but some did not last long and slowly drifted to Honolulu for better jobs. They faced challenges in adjusting to the novel environment, which often led them to crime. As such, Filipino males were labeled as *poke knives*, describing their tendency to use knives during altercations (Jocano, 1970). More Filipinos, especially professionals, then emigrated to Hawai'i to work, but most found it difficult to get jobs that reflected their education level. Instead, many unexpectedly found themselves going through financial hardships. It was even harder for non-professional Filipinos, as they were seen as inferior. This discrimination would often lead to Filipino boys getting into trouble, which further exacerbated the challenges they faced in adjusting to their new home. Although Filipinos immigrated to Hawai'i for better economic opportunities, their primary reason was to join their families (Agbayani et al., 1985). These connections were important as family members could be petitioned to come to the United States under the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965. By 1975, most Filipinos resided in Kalihi, Waipahu, or Ewa-Makakilo due to economic factors but also closeness with other Filipinos.

For Filipino youth, discrimination continued to play a role in delinquent behavior. A study on Filipino youth gang

members in Hawai'i found that gang membership was essential to ensure protection from racial and social discrimination (Kim et al., 2009). In these gangs, youth carried immense pride in their culture and therefore fought back against forces (ie. peers) that caused oppression. In contrast, another study conducted among Filipino and part-Filipino adolescents in Hawai'i showed that low cultural identification was linked to delinquent behaviors (Guerrero, 2010). The mechanism that explains this phenomenon was that absent or ineffective adults caused a child to have adverse peer influences, which in turn allowed the child to engage in delinquent behavior. Thus, having high or low cultural ties was associated with increased delinquency among Filipino youth.

Native Hawaiians

Kalihi has a rich and storied Hawaiian soul; it has been known as a place of abundance and justice (Saramosing, 2018). Moreover, the *mo'olelo* (story) of Wākea, the sky father, and Haumea, the Earth mother, demonstrated that Kalihi's plethora of food and resources were for all of its people to thrive. It was once the paradise for Native Hawaiians, but environmental changes in Hawai'i have altered their traditional way of living. Western threat to Hawaiian sovereignty and, later, statehood started around 1778 when the British explorer Captain James Cook arrived (Medeiros, 2017). Consequently, Native Hawaiians were introduced to deadly foreign diseases by explorers and missionaries, causing a 90% decrease in the Hawaiian population within the first 100 years of Western contact (Mokuau et al., 2016). Also, the missionaries established boarding schools and heavily implemented Christianity, English, and Western culture. This progressively erased practices of Hawaiian language and culture. As more foreigners immigrated, Native Hawaiians lost control in terms of land, politics, and economy. Then in 1893, Queen Liliuokalani was overthrown by the United States. As a result, Hawaiian people lost original agricultural and aquaculture way of life, had limited access to native foods due to the cost and land policies, and the Hawaiian language was replaced with English in legal and educational settings.

Although most historical Hawaiian events occurred centuries ago, historical trauma has prevailed in different forms. Places like Kalihi continually face settler colonialism, the exogenous domination of settlers, which in this case endangers native land and its peoples (Corpuz, 2017). Today, the presence of the rail stops in Kalihi will increase property values and rent for current residents. To keep costs affordable for Kalihi residents, politicians plan on increasing density by building more public housing complexes. Corpuz (2017) criticizes that this "solution" will just welcome more outsiders and threaten the livelihoods of the *Kanaka Maoli* (Indigenous or Native Hawaiian) in Kalihi. Actions like these suppress and could soon eradicate Hawaiian culture, leaving thousands unaware of their origins.

It was already the case for Hawai'i resident David Kahalewai, who was an adult inmate at the Saguaro Correctional Center in Eloy, Arizona. The film *Out of State* (Lacy, 2017) shows that Kahalewai was convicted of crimes like assault, promoting a dangerous drug, burglary, and criminal trespass. After routine participation in Hawaiian cultural activities in prison, he reflects upon his old self saying, "I didn't know who I was. I wanted to know where I come from. Who am I, inside. You need to know your culture to know who you really are," (Lacy, 2017, 0:01:15). He therefore implies that for a very long period of time, he unintentionally lived a life disconnected from his own culture. Consequently, his criminalistic acts were perhaps attributed to his diffused state of identity. It was prison that taught him about himself and his origins. A situation like this also raises questions about how much cultural knowledge he was exposed to growing up, how previous generations endured cultural suppression, but more importantly, how environmental factors inhibit or promote the dissemination of Hawaiian knowledge.

Similar to Kahalewai, Scott has also gone through some rough patches in his earlier years. He is now a junior priest and alcohol and drug counselor. When interviewed, he recalls some of the environmental influences that impacted him as he grew up in Kalihi:

> As I grew up, my father was a street fighter…he insisted that we learn how to fight…he worked at Pearl Harbor Naval Shipyard and he was working all the time, and hardly spent any time with us. And when he did, he was drunk. And when he was drunk, he was usually abusive. So, I didn't have good parenting. (Scott, personal communication, April 3, 2020)

Scott described the conditions he faced at home. This supports the notion that busy parents can establish a disconnect with their loved ones. The decreased amount of quality time can often lead to neglect. Scott therefore shares more about the progression of his life, and the things that have kept him occupied:

> …I grew up in a drug culture. I became a pretty big drug dealer…[he references when his habits started] I was 14 years old, and I was making 100 bucks a week profit…little did I know that was my slow steady decline into drug addiction and the netherworld/dark world. I became a very bad drug addict. I got arrested…I had lost everything that was a value because my grandmother was a good catholic. I was always praying, and we were always given good values, but I migrated to the tough guys in the family because that's what I thought was important. (Scott, personal communication, April 3, 2020)

For him, familial values like religion prevented him from engaging in risky behaviors., but other familial values like

toughness guided him towards it. However, Scott ultimately turned his happiness into another direction and decided to inspire others and make a change in his community. Through educating and counseling those that were in his position, he has been able to get more in touch with what he calls his, "Hawaiian-ness." He speaks of his experience in educating those incarcerated, about their Hawaiian culture:

> We have been trying to share culture with the prisoners, because they've lost their roots. They have no sense of being Hawaiian, no sense of their culture, no sense of their language/no sense of their 'ōlelo. They don't speak Hawaiian. They have no idea what Makahiki season is. So, we teach them to learn what their Hawaiian roots are, and they love it. And it has helped quite a few of them. (Scott, personal communication, April 3, 2020)

Therefore, there seems to be a commonality between Kahalewai's and Scott's stories: people are unaware of their origins. This state of mind can cause one to find something else to conform to. And without proper guidance, people are vulnerable to choosing a negative path. Thus, for this group, the emphasis can be on personal and cultural identity as colonizers have in part, caused a fragmented community (Howes & Osorio, 2010).

Micronesians

Pacific Islanders are those who are from any of the three regions of Oceania: Micronesia, Melanesia, and Polynesia. Particularly, there has recently been a large and rapid influx of Micronesians to Hawai'i (Hiraishi, 2018). Their tragic history with atomic bombs provides insight into their unsettled livelihoods. It began in 1946 when the United States government decided, without appropriate consent, to use Bikini Atoll in the Marshall Islands as a nuclear testing site (Blair & Harris, n.d.-a). More than 60 nuclear weapons have been detonated, with some being a thousand times more powerful than "Little Boy," the deadly atomic bomb that struck Hiroshima. Homes were destroyed and residents had no choice but to relocate. The United States then entered into the Compact of Free Association (COFA). COFA addressed the damage imposed upon these people and their homes; it also allowed them to live and work in the United States without visas. In return, the United States would have access and military power over the Federated States of Micronesia (FSM), Republic of the Marshall Islands, and the Republic of Palau

Many Micronesians ended up in Hawai'i in hopes of escaping the tragedies faced back home. Motivation for emigration came from the fragile economy and natural disasters. Moreover, the FSM were remote and resource-poor, having little developmental potential besides fisheries and tourism (Grieco, 2003). Micronesia also faced climate change through sea level rise and powerful storms. In terms of physical health, survival depended on receiving medical treatment in the United States for life-threatening diseases (Blair & Harris, n.d-b.). This was especially important for those who developed chronic diseases as a result of nuclear testing.

Today, the atoll is too dangerous to live on due to the high radiation levels. The dirt is contaminated, making it unfeasible for life to thrive. Federal aid for the COFA people is running out, so those who have migrated, are being deprived of adequate resources to survive. The federal government only provides this aid to Hawai'i and Guam, which may explain this group's concentration in such regions. Hawai'i was only given $11 million, but has spent a total of $163 million to support COFA immigrants (Blair & Harris, n.d.-b). However, that is just a piece of what they have endured. The peace and livelihood of the COFA people have been interrupted by the United States. Little is left of the traditional Micronesian lifestyle as they have been scattered to different places, trying to find a home.

The effects of history have manifested in the subsequent generations. Micronesian youth have faced many disparities that often cause frustration and lead them into the risky behaviors. When interviewing long time Kalihi resident Ashley, who is of Micronesian descent, she says:

> I honestly believe that it [youth crime] all starts from home. Many Micronesian parents like my own aren't involved much in their kids' lives especially when it comes to schooling. Not because they don't want to, but simply because they didn't have that type of education back at home, so they feel helpless. So, it starts from home and the community we live in only makes it worse (Ashley, personal communication, April 11, 2020).

She supports the fact that economies and infrastructure back home have impacted parental support. Federal money that has been used to fund education and health resources in Micronesia are inadequate. Many Micronesian parents migrated in hopes of a better education and future for their children, and overall to pursue the American dream (Okamoto et al., 2008). However, in addition to critical financial circumstances, Micronesian youth often face language barriers that set them a little behind in school. The frustration from it puts youth at risk for substance abuse and dropout. This kind of struggle leaves room for feelings of inadequacy, as Ashley says:

> They also feel like they're not good enough. They're not smart enough. They feel like they have no help out here and not too many people to turn to, so they pretty much give up. They don't care, so instead of trying to be better, they turn and abuse themselves

with things like alcohol, smoking, fighting (Ashley, personal communication, April 11, 2020).

This comparison is expected as Micronesian culture is collectivistic; they seek community acceptance (Okamoto et al., 2008). Therefore, Micronesian youth may perceive themselves as inferior at times.

Feelings of unworthiness can also be a result of the media fueling Micronesian stereotypes (Blair, 2011). This has caused Micronesians to face discrimination from the general public. At times they have been teased about how they dressed or pronounced English words (Okamoto et al., 2008). They have basically been victimized for simply being "Micronesian." Ashley adds:

> A lot of Micronesian kids these days feel like they have to fight for our name. There are so many bad things said about our culture and people who dislike us because of where we come from. That's the way I think of it (Ashley, personal communication, April 11, 2020).

Michelle supports that greater cultural identification among Micronesian youth may be associated with higher rates of risky behavior. Michelle, who is Chuukese and was raised in Kalihi, states that youth from her community do what they do today because of wanting to fit in. Complementing what Ashley said, Michelle adds:

> What most people see of our background, especially if it involves kids, is that we are just delinquent immigrants who just didn't belong here. But I guess overall, it's the fact that although we are the minority, people shouldn't make accusations, but just see us as who we are (Michelle, personal communication, April 11, 2020).

It is apparent that there is a negative connotation with simply being young and Micronesian, leaving their whole community as victims of oppression. Ashley explains the need for equity as she concludes the interview with:

> Thank you for not judging my people. My people are really good people. Like every other culture there will always be bad apples. But that doesn't make us who we are (Ashley, personal communication, April 11, 2020).

Many reasons explain why Micronesian youth engage in risky behavior, including critical financial circumstances, discrimination, and parental support. The major cause dates back to when the United States displaced them from their homelands. After relocating, many are still in a state of unrest.

Recommendations

Cultural intervention along with cultural-based education can perhaps mediate the effects of acculturation stress. In terms of cultural intervention, a recommendation would be Kokua Kalihi Valley's Kalihi Valley Instructional Bike Exchange (KVIBE). This program engages marginalized youth who suffer from displacement and historical traumas (Faller et al., 2019). Participants have been primarily low-income youth from the Philippines and Micronesia. KVIBE employs a pedagogy of health that utilizes culture and history to promote hope and resiliency. Therefore, it is through these cultural spaces that youth are able to learn about their purpose, their ties to their culture, and their guidance by their ancestors. In fact, participants have expressed a sense of belonging while a part of this program (Saramosing, 2018). A similar recommendation involves cultural-based education (CBE). CBE is based on the "grounding of instruction and student learning in the values, norms, knowledge, beliefs, practices, experiences, places, and language" that are a part of a particular cultural group (Kana'iaupuni, Ledward, & Jensen, 2010). This approach enhances socio-emotional well-being, and in turn better math and reading test scores. Moreover, a study (2010) among Native Hawaiians found that students under this curriculum reported greater Hawaiian cultural affiliation, civic engagement, and school motivation compared with other students not involved in cultural-based education.

Although reconnecting youth with their culture may contribute to less risky behaviors among low-income and immigrant youth in Kalihi, a multidimensional approach may be even more effective. It emphasizes the constant interplay between the individual's biological, psychological, and spiritual dimensions with the environment's relational, social, structural, and cultural dimensions (Macfarlane, 2012). This method allows one to address a complex problem with many different solutions, recognizing there is not just one causal factor. After all, parenting, peer influence, and financial circumstances have all contribute to youth risky behavior. Some suggestions that encompass a multidimensional approach include engaging peers and their friends in mentorship programs, implementing parent-adolescent programs, and improving access to federal assistance programs for those with critical financial circumstances.

Conclusion

With adolescence being a period of risk-taking and experimentation, it is not unexpected that young people will engage in risky behaviors. However, many Kalihi youth are at a higher risk due to the additional task of acculturation. This is particularly true with Filipino, Native Hawaiian, and Micronesian youth.

Risky behavior has been linked to discrimination against cultures as well as a lack of cultural identity. General suggestions to mediate the effects of acculturation stress include cultural intervention for those affected, and cultural-based education for the school systems. However, a multidimensional approach may be a more effective solution as it works to address the problem holistically. This is due to the fact that other factors like financial circumstances and peer and familial influences contribute to youth development.

References

Agbayani, A., Arnold, F., Caces, F., Cariño, B., Fawcett, J., Gardner, R., Hecht, J., Rivas, R., & Takeuchi, D. (1985). Filipino immigrants in Hawaii: A profile of recent arrivals. https://scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu/bitstream/10125/23271/FilipinoImmigrantsInHawaii1985%5Bpdfa%5D.PDF

Aquino, B. A., & Magdalena, F. V. (2010). *A brief history of Filipinos in Hawai'i.* Center for Philippine Studies. https://www.hawaii.edu/cps/hawaii-filipinos.html

Balidemaj, A., & Small, M. (2019). The effects of ethnic identity and acculturation in mental health of immigrants: A literature review. *International Journal of Social Psychiatry, 65*(7–8), 643–655. doi: 10.1177/0020764019867994

Blair, C. (2011). Media said to fuel Micronesian stereotypes. *Honolulu Civil Beat.* Retrieved from: https://www.civilbeat.org/2011/06/11722-media-said-to-fuel-micronesian-stereotypes/

Blair, C., & Harris, M. E. (n.d.-a). A journey that has no ending. *Honolulu Civil Beat.* Retrieved from: https://www.civilbeat.org/2015/10/a-journey-that-has-no-ending/

Blair, C., & Harris, M. E. (n.d.-b). An untold story of American immigration. *Honolulu Civil Beat.* Retrieved from: https://www.civilbeat.org/2015/10/an-untold-story-of-american-immigration/

Bursztyn, A. M., Korn-Bursztyn, C. (Eds.). (2015). *Immigrant children and youth: Psychological challenges.* Santa Barbara, California; Denver Colorado: Praeger.

Center on the Family. (2019.). *2019 Community Profile Series.* University of Hawai'i at Mānoa. Retrieved from: https://uhfamily.hawaii.edu/community-profiles

Corpuz, K. (2017). Living in Kalihi: Remembering stories of struggle and resistance. *Mānoa Horizons, 2*(1), 1–6. https://kahualike.manoa.hawaii.edu/horizons/vol2/iss1/2

Escarce J. J. (2003). Socioeconomic status and the fates of adolescents. *Health services research, 38*(5), 1229–1233. doi: 10.1111/1475-6773.00173

Faller, E. K., Jean-Pierre, G., Inada, M., & Acido, J. M. (2019). Pedals and pedagogy: Cycles of hope and health. *Hawai'i journal of medicine & public health: A journal of Asia Pacific Medicine & Public Health, 78*(6), 61–64.

Friedheim, N. (2016). Kalihi: 'The last working class neighborhood in central Honolulu.' *Honolulu Civil Beat.* Retrieved from: https://www.civilbeat.org/2016/10/kalihi-the-last-working-class-neighborhood-in-central-honolulu/

Gee, P. (2003). Bad reputation can't blot the valley's soul. *Honolulu Star-Bulletin.* Retrieved from: http://archives.starbulletin.com/2003/09/28/special/story6.html

Grieco, E. (2003, July 1). *The Federated States of Micronesia: The "push" to migrate.* Migration Policy Institute. Retrieved from: https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/federated-states-micronesia-push-migrate

Guerrero, A. P., Nishimura, S. T., Chang, J. Y., Ona, C., Cunanan, V. L., & Hishinuma, E. S. (2010). Low cultural identification, low parental involvement and adverse peer influences as risk factors for delinquent behaviour among Filipino youth in Hawai'i. *The International journal of social psychiatry, 56*(4), 371–388. doi: 10.1177/0020764009102772

Hiraishi, K. (2018). Next generation of Micronesians in Hawai'i reclaim the narrative. *Hawai'i Public Radio.* Retrieved from: https://www.hawaiipublicradio.org/post/next-generation-micronesians-hawai-i-reclaim-narrative#stream/0

Hodgkinson, S., Godoy, L., Beers, L. S., & Lewin, A. (2017). Improving Mental Health Access for Low-Income Children and Families in the Primary Care Setting. *Pediatrics, 139*(1), e20151175. doi: 10.1542/peds.2015-1175

Howes, C., & Osorio, J. K. K. (Eds.). (2010). *The value of Hawai'i: Knowing the past, shaping the future.* Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

Info Graphic Inc. (2020). *Filipino laborers arrive.* Hawaiihistory.org. Retrieved from: http://www.hawaiihistory.org/index.cfm?fuseaction=ig.page&PageID=316&returntoname=Short

Jocano, F. (1970). Filipinos in Hawaii: Problems in the promised land. *Philippine Sociological Review, 18*(3/4), 151–157. www.jstor.org/stable/23892015

Kana'iaupuni, S., Ledward, B., Jensen, 'U. (2010). *Culture-based education and its relationship to student outcomes.* Kamehameha Schools, Research & Evaluation. http://www.ksbe.edu/_assets/spi/pdfs/CBE_relationship_to_student_outcomes.pdf

Kann, L., McManus, T., Harris, W.A., Shanklin, S. L., Flint, K. H., Queen, B., Lowry, R., Chyen, D., Whittle, L., Thornton, J., Lim, C., Bradford, D., Yamakawa, Y., Leon, M., Brener, N., & Ethier, K. A. (2018). Youth risk behavior surveillance—United States, 2017. *MMWR Surveillance Summaries 2018, 67*(8), 1–114. doi: 10.15585/mmwr.ss6708a1

Kim, S. Y., Benner, A. D., Takushi, R. M., Ongbongan, K., Dennerlein, D., & Spencer, D. K. (2009). "It's like we're just renting over here": The pervasive experiences of discrimination of Filipino immigrant youth gang members in Hawai'i. *AAPI nexus: Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders, policy practice and community, 6*(1), 11–30. doi: 10.17953/appc.6.1.0763n157667h72wx

Lacy, C. (Director). (2017). *Out of state* [Film]. Independent Television Service.

Macfarlane, S. (2012). Understanding human development: A multi-dimensional approach (2nd Ed.) *Australian Social Work, 65*(3), 437–438. doi: 10.1080/0312407X.2012.706526

Meca, A., Sabet, R. F., Farrelly, C. M., Benitez, C. G., Schwartz, S. J., Gonzales-Backen, M.,... & Picariello, S. (2017). Personal and cultural identity development in recently immigrated Hispanic adolescents: Links with psychosocial functioning. *Cultural diversity and ethnic minority psychology, 23*(3), 348.

Medeiros, M. (2017, June). Hawaiian history: The dispossession of Native Hawaiians' identity, and their struggle for sovereignty. *Electronic Theses, Projects, and Dissertations.* Retrieved from: https://scholarworks.lib.csusb.edu/etd/557

Mokuau, N., DeLeon, P. H., Kaholokula, J. K., Soares, S., Tsark, J. U., & Haia, C. (2016). Challenges and promise of health equity for Native Hawaiians. Discussion Paper, National Academy of Medicine, Washington, DC. https://nam.edu/wp-content/uploads/2016/10/Challenges-and-Promise-of-Health-Equity-for-Native-Hawaiians.pdf

National Research Council. (2011). *The science of adolescent risk-taking: Workshop report.* Washington, D.C.: National Academies Press.

Okamoto, S. K., Mayeda, D. T., Ushiroda, M., Rehuher, D., Lauilefue, T., & Ongalibang, O. (2008). Risk and protective factors of Micronesian youth in Hawai'i: An exploratory study. *Journal of sociology and social welfare, 35*(2), 127–147.

Pellerone, M., Passanisi, A., & Bellomo, M. F. P. (2015). Identity development, intelligence structure, and interests: A cross-sectional study in a group of Italian adolescents during the decision-making process. *Psychology Research and Behavior Management, 8,* 239–249.

Ragelienė T. (2016). Links of Adolescents Identity Development and Relationship with Peers: A Systematic Literature Review. *Journal of the Canadian Academy of Child and Adolescent Psychiatry = Journal de l'Academie canadienne de psychiatrie de l'enfant et de l'adolescent, 25*(2), 97–105.

Real Estate And Living Hawaii. (n.d). *Kalihi neighborhood guide.* REAL. Retrieved from: https://realhawaii.co/living-in-hawaii/oahu/kalihi

Rothe, E. M., Tzuang, D., & Pumariega, A. J. (2010). Acculturation, development, and adaptation. *Child and Adolescent Psychiatric Clinics, 19*(4), 681–696.

Rowan, M., Poole, N., Shea, B., Gone, J. P., Mykota, D., Farag, M.,... & Dell, C. (2014). Cultural interventions to treat addictions in Indigenous populations: findings from a scoping study. *Substance abuse treatment, prevention, and policy, 9*(1), 34. doi: 10.1186/1747-597X-9-34

Sanci, L., Webb, M., & Hocking, J. (2018). Risk-taking behaviour in adolescents. *Australian journal of general practice, 47*(12), 829–834. doi: 10.31128/AJGP-07-18-4626

Saramosing, D. S. (2018). Unsettling Kalihi: *The Kalihi Valley Instructional Bicycle Exchange (KVIBE) and its decolonization of urban space.* [Doctoral dissertation, UCLA]. UCLA Electronic Theses and Dissertations.

Sirin, S. R., Sin, E., Clingain, C., & Rogers-Sirin, L. (2019). Acculturative stress and mental health: Implications for immigrant-origin youth. *Pediatric clinics of North America, 66*(3), 641–653. doi: 10.1016/j.pcl.2019.02.010