

THE EFFECTS OF A HAWAIIAN LANGUAGE IMMERSION PROGRAM
ON STUDENT AND FAMILY DEVELOPMENT

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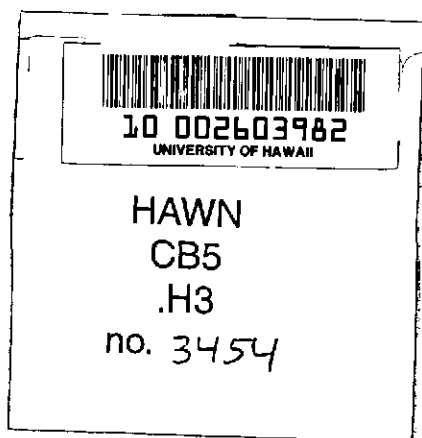
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Abstract

The Hawaiian people are one of many indigenous communities who are struggling to save their native language from extinction. In the past few decades, the Hawaiian community has come together in an effort to revitalize the Hawaiian language through the creation of a Hawaiian language immersion program. This program is designed to ensure the survival of the native language and culture through the transmission of cultural knowledge to the younger generation of native Hawaiians. This study investigated how this culturally-based educational program influenced the students and families involved in the program. This case study examined the perspectives of students and families in the program using archival data collected in 1999-2000. Interviews with 12 families from five of the schools were analyzed. Results suggested that this program increased students' sense of cultural pride and responsibility, strengthened social connections within the program and in the larger community. Participants also reported that the program influenced community perspectives about the program's goals and the Hawaiian language and culture revitalization efforts.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

In recent years, there has been increasing interest in and a growing body of research on bilingual and bicultural education. In the U.S., the number of indigenous languages still spoken by people under the grandparent generation is staggeringly low (McCarty, 2003). Out of 175 indigenous languages, approximately 125 are at risk of disappearing with the remaining elderly speakers. In response to this imminent loss, language activists have developed immersion language education programs in an effort to revitalize indigenous languages.

The Hawaiian language immersion program is one of many indigenous language revival efforts. After a nearly 100-year ban on the native language, the Hawaiian community created a culturally-based education program that uses the Hawaiian language as the medium of instruction (Warner, 2001). This program is known as the Hawaiian language immersion program or Kula Kaiapuni. Its goals are to increase the use of the Hawaiian language, to revive traditional Hawaiian practices, and to create an educational foundation in the Hawaiian culture and values system amongst native Hawaiian children (Ka Papahana Kaiapuni Hawai'i, 2007).

Other pioneering immersion programs such as the Maori language immersion program in New Zealand and various Native American language immersion programs share similar goals with those of Hawaiian immersion (Pease, 2004; McCarthy & Watahomigie, 1999). Studies of students in immersion programs suggest that students can successfully be taught in a native language and still achieve in all subjects on standardized tests, including the dominant language in the community (Reyhner, 2003; Genesee, 1987). In addition to academic achievements, results show that these programs strengthen family and community relationships. Furthermore, students develop a better understanding of themselves through their culture, solidifying their identity as an indigenous person in the community.

Research on immersion programs such as these has paved the way for the revitalization of numerous indigenous and endangered languages. However, most of the literature has focused on evaluating programs based on students' academic outcomes or on specific elements of immersion education, such as the incorporation of culture into the curriculum and the support of families and the community (Johansen, 2004; McCarty, 2003; Slaughter, 1997).

In this study, I focused on understanding the perspectives of the students and families directly involved in the Hawaiian language immersion program. I examined their views about this culturally-based program to

understand how this program has influenced their development. In the following sections, I review the literature on colonialism and education, describe the study's purpose and theoretical framework, highlight various indigenous language immersion programs throughout the world, as well as provide an overview of the Hawaiian language immersion program.

Colonialism and Education

The effects of colonialism on indigenous populations have been documented in many societies. Colonialism is defined as "the establishment of a domination over a geographically external political unit" (Oliver, 1996, p.3). This definition portrays colonialism as a process wherein the colonizing power, justified by an ideology which characterizes the colonized group as inferior, systematically undermines, transforms, or destroys native values. One of the most direct and powerful methods employed in this process is the establishment of the dominant society's educational system (Cummins, 1989; Oliver, 1996).

Typically, the goals of a colonialist educational system are designed to benefit the colonizer and not the colonized (Cummins, 1989). In the case of Native Americans, for example, the misconception of their inferior status was passed on by educators who believed that Native American children had

limited academic potential, and therefore, did not offer them the same opportunities as other students.

Cummins (1994) states that knowledge, as well as personal and cultural identity, are socially constructed by students and educators. Students in colonized societies commonly exhibit a pattern of insecurity and ambivalence about their cultural identity as a result of their interactions with the dominant group. Over time, these students tend to devalue their cultural heritage and accept the dominant culture as superior.

In Hawai'i, the effects of colonialism on the Native Hawaiian population are evident in the school systems. Historically, Native Hawaiian students score lower on standardized measures of achievement and have higher drop-out rates than students of other ethnic backgrounds (Kana'iaupuni & Ishibashi, 2003; Office of Hawaiian Affairs, 1994; Takenaka, 1995; University of Hawai'i Institutional Research Office, 2002). Statistics show that they are also over-represented in special education and under-represented in post-secondary education in comparison to their same age peers.

Research in the Hawaiian community suggests that the values, expectations, and socialization process in the American schooling system are often incongruent with Hawaiian students' home culture (Benham & Heck,

1998; Gallimore, Boggs, & Jordan, 1974). Researchers from the Kamehameha Early Education Project (KEEP) discovered certain aspects specific to Hawaiian home culture that were incongruent with traditional American pedagogy (Tharp, 1982; Weisner, Gallimore, & Jordan, 1988). One significant aspect was that these Hawaiian children were less often engaged in direct adult-child interactions in the home (Yamauchi, 2005). Common home activities such as household chores and sibling caretaking were carried out by the children as a group with the older siblings having responsibility over the younger siblings. They were used to working together with siblings, cousins, and peers. However, this peer-assisted cooperative learning was not encouraged in standard American classrooms.

KEEP researchers also discovered a conversational style of speech used in these children's home (Au & Jordan, 1981). This "talk story" conversational pattern involved overlapping speech between speakers such that one speaker began talking before the other finished. In this style of speech, co-narration also occurred when both speakers retold an account together. This was different from a more traditional classroom setting where only one person spoke at a time and only when called upon by the teacher.

The collectivistic values of the Hawaiian culture made the classroom an uncomfortable place for Hawaiian children. These children were not used

to being singled out for praise or punishment (Yamauchi, 2005). Traditional Hawaiian culture also placed a value on observational learning (Pukui, Haertig, & Lee, 1972; Chun, 2006). Children showed respect to elders by watching, listening, and then doing. They were not expected to speak or ask questions until the lesson was over, and they were granted permission. This became a problem for students when they were expected to be vocal and participate in classroom lessons. The students' lack of involvement may have been seen as a lack of knowledge or interest in school activities.

Purpose and Theoretical Framework

The purpose of this study is to investigate how Hawaiian language immersion programs influenced students and their families and to understand their views about their involvement in this culturally-based educational program. I wanted to discover how students' and families' involvement in this program influenced their psychological development. In particular, I was interested in how their involvement shaped their views about the Hawaiian culture and language and about their cultural identity.

I examined these issues using a sociocultural perspective (Vygotsky, 1978). The sociocultural theory suggests that individuals' thoughts, ideas, views, and beliefs develop from the social interactions in a particular community. This constructivist perspective purports that children's

development is directly affected by the active constructing of the world around them through interactions with their environment.

The sociocultural perspective is congruent with the Hawaiian culture and values system. Traditional Hawaiian teachings and practices focus on experience-based learning activities and the social context of learning (Chun, 2006; Pukui, Haertig, & Lee, 1972). Hawaiian culture embraces holistic learning and values the social interactions of those involved in all aspects of the child's education and development. The socio-cultural identity of the Hawaiian student is deeply rooted in the language, history, and cultural practices (Kawakami & Dudoit, 2000).

Immersion Education for Language and Cultural Revitalization

In the following section I describe the literature on other indigenous language immersion programs and effects of such programs on students, families, and communities. This is followed by a description of the Hawaiian context and program.

Language Revitalization in Canada

One of the first successful immersion methods of teaching language was used in Quebec, Canada in the 1960s to teach French to English-speaking students (Reyhner, 2003). Results of academic assessments of these immersion programs showed that students were able to master a second language and

achieve academic test scores comparable to those of students in English-only classrooms, while maintaining English proficiency.

The Cree Way project was another language immersion program that began in Quebec, Canada in 1973 (Stiles, 1997). It was created in response to the incongruity of the Canadian curriculum for the Cree way of life. The goal was to create a program that would be more suitable for Cree children by using the Cree language, valuing the Cree culture, and encouraging the Cree identity in the schools, while increasing literacy for a traditionally oral culture. In addition to an increase in proficiency in both languages, the results of this program have shown a decrease in the high school drop-out rates and an increase of higher education graduates returning to lend their expertise to the bilingual community.

Maori Language Revitalization, New Zealand

The Maori immersion program has been credited as a successful model for the development of other immersion programs. The Hawaiian language immersion program is among the programs inspired by the Maori model (Warner, 2001; Monastersky, 2004). In an effort to increase the use of English among youths in 1877, the use of Maori was banned from schools (Matsubara, 2000). Students were punished for speaking their native language at school. This ban, which lasted for over one hundred years, led to the decline in the

use of Maori. Negative attitudes towards the Maori language continued through the 1960s. A common misconception was that bilingual students could never become fluent in English, and therefore, bilingualism was the reason for the Maori children's poor performance in school.

Governmental changes during the 1980s led to the allocation of funding for Maori-based education. In 1982, a preschool was created that used the Maori language as the medium of instruction called Te Kohanga Reo (The Language Nest). This preschool led to the development of Maori language immersion schools at the elementary level called Kura Kaupapa Maori in 1985 (Durie, 1999). The program was designed to incorporate traditional cultural practices in the classroom as well as using the native language as the medium of instruction. It was created in an effort to restore the use of the Native Maori language amongst youths while also increasing a sense of pride in the Maori culture. In 1987, the Maori Language Act was passed which declared the Maori language as an official language of New Zealand.

Educational research conducted in New Zealand looked at the perpetuation of the Maori language and culture in school programs. One study found that there was a positive feeling among the students to study Maori culture (Ballingall, 1994). In response, the School of Education in New

Zealand focused on a bilingual and bicultural education for its students. The use of the indigenous language as well as the English language is encouraged. The Maori people believe that a necessary part of supporting Maori education is preserving the language. The research conducted in this area acknowledges the importance of maintaining the indigenous culture and language of the community and encourages bilingual and bicultural education (May, 1999).

The results of the research conducted in these programs suggested strong positive outcomes. Between 1983 and 1993, there was a significant increase in the number of Maori children participating in early childhood education (Benton & Benton, 2001; May, 1999). Initial academic assessments of the program also stated that the academic achievement of students in the Kura Kaupapa schools were comparable to their peers in standard public schools. Not only had the use of the native language increased, but the students expressed an increased positive outlook on education and pride in their use of the native language.

Language Revitalization in the United States

Native American, Navajo. Despite the fact that Navajo is one of the most widely used indigenous languages in North America, studies have found that less than half of school-aged children in these communities are able to speak Navajo (Francis & Reyhner, 2002; McCarty, 2003). In the 1980s, Navajo

immersion programs began in reaction to these findings. These programs were also modeled after the Maori immersion program in New Zealand. By the end of the fourth grade, students in Navajo immersion programs scored as well as or better than their peers in English-only schools on standardized assessments. Compared to their non-immersion peers, immersion students scored just as well on English assessments. They were slightly behind in reading, scored higher on writing tests, and scored much higher on mathematics.

Native American, Keres. The Keres immersion program in the Pueblo community used a different approach to revitalize their native language. They created a community-based immersion camp where young and old could come together to learn the language (McCarty, 2003). Unlike most school-based immersion programs, this camp facilitated conversational language use between generations. Preliminary assessments of this program showed that not only did children in this community improve their native language skills, but that this program increased the native language use throughout the community.

Native American, Hualapai. In 1982, approximately 92% of school-aged children in the Hualapai community came from families that spoke the native language at home (Stiles, 1997). Despite the extensive use of the native

language in the homes, the children themselves only spoke English in both the school and home setting. In an effort to maintain their native language, the Hualapai people created a bilingual program in 1975. However, this community faced a number of major challenges. A writing system had to be created before a curriculum could be developed because, up to this point, Hualapai was strictly an oral language. Many years were devoted to the construction of this program.

Although the development of this bilingual curriculum was successful, English continued to increase as the primary language among children entering the program (Stiles, 1997). This was partly a result of the lack of support in the community. Elders were initially against converting their traditional oral language to a written language. Also, parents in the community did not support the idea of their children learning Hualapai at school. They held the belief that a bilingual education would be confusing for children which would increase drop-out rates. After adjusting its approach by incorporating the culture into its curriculum and focusing on getting the community involved, the program began to see some success. Community support and parent participation has significantly increased. Many Hualapai community members are involved in the development of resources and school activities. Seventy-five percent of the parents in this program

volunteer in the classroom and participate in school events. The school is focused on the professional development of the staff, maintaining community and parents involvement, and sustaining resources for the development of the program.

Native Alaskan, Yup'ik. Unlike the Hualapai community, the language revitalization process in the Yup'ik community in southwestern Alaska received strong support from the elders in the community (McCarty & Watahomigie, 1999). Krauss (1998) discovered that only two of the 20 indigenous languages in Alaska were being passed on to the younger generations. In an effort to reverse this trend, a new approach to education was needed. The Yup'ik community created a way to incorporate the knowledge of the elders and the traditional cultural practices to develop a curriculum. This curriculum relates traditional practices such as hunting, fishing, weather forecasting, and a traditional style of storytelling called storyknifing with western subjects such as math and science. The successful use of the native culture and language to teach English and western subjects helped to change the previously held negative beliefs and attitudes toward the use of Yup'ik as an effective method of teaching.

The indigenous cultures of the immersion programs described above were subjected to colonization. As a result, these cultures have experienced

similar struggles to save their native language from becoming extinct.

Although the use of the native language in the home and in the community varied from culture to culture, the collective results of these immersion programs suggest that with the support of the community, native languages can thrive.

Overall, these programs successfully increased the students' use of the indigenous language while maintaining proficiency in the dominant language of the society (Pease, 2004; Stiles, 1997). Students were also able to meet and, in several cases, surpass the standard assessment scores of their non-immersion peers. Results show that these culturally based programs increased retention rates and decreased drop-out rates. In addition to improved attendance and overall academic achievement, many of these programs have improved family and community relationships. These programs have influenced the family and community members' views about the indigenous language and culture by encouraging their involvement in the program.

The Hawaiian Language Immersion Program

History of the Hawaiian Language

In this section, I provide a brief overview of the history of the Hawaiian language and its effects on the Hawaiian people. Prior to the overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom in 1893, the Hawaiian language was the official language used throughout the nation of Hawai'i, in all government activities as well as in all classrooms (Kawakami & Dudoit, 2000). Numerous books, Bibles, and newspapers were printed in the Hawaiian language. Literacy rates among native Hawaiians were extraordinarily high. By the 1850s, it was reported that every Hawaiian adult was able to read and write in their native language (Kloss, 1977).

After the overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy, a ban was placed on the use of Hawaiian language in public schools. Corporal punishment was used to enforce this ban on children who spoke Hawaiian in school. This led to the rapid decline of Hawaiian language use among students and their families. Hawaiian families encouraged their children's use of English, believing that it was necessary for their children's success.

This ban against the Hawaiian language continued for nearly 100 years. Through this time, the number of native speakers dwindled, and the overall status of the language declined significantly (Warner, 2001). It was not

until the late 1960s to early 1970s, during the time of the Vietnam War, that there was a resurgence in pride for the Hawaiian culture and language. This movement has come to be known as the “Hawaiian Renaissance” of the 1970s. During this time, the Hawaiian people began to regain a sense of pride in their heritage and sought reparations for the injustices against their government, land, and people. Hawaiians became more politically active, calling for sovereignty and restoration of many culturally important practices including the recognition of the Hawaiian language as an official language of Hawai‘i. In 1978, this goal was achieved and the Hawaiian language became an official language of the state along with the English language (Kame‘eleihiwa, 1992; Wilson, 1998).

Development of the Hawaiian Language Immersion Program

The Hawaiian Language Immersion program began as a grassroots effort to revitalize the Hawaiian language and bring it back from the brink of extinction (Kame‘eleihiwa, 1992; Wilson, 1998). It began in 1987 in response to political pressure from Hawaiian language activists and families in the community who sought to find a means of revitalizing the indigenous language. Before 1987, there were about 2,000 native speakers of Hawaiian. Of these native speakers, the majority were over the age of 50. There were

only about 30 native Hawaiian speakers under the age of 18 (Heckathorn, 1987).

Initially, the people involved in starting this movement met with many challenges in approaching the Department of Education to begin a public school (Jacobson, 1998; Warner, 2001). Government support was limited and funding was not guaranteed. Kaiapuni advocates decided to start a private preschool called Pūnana Leo which translates to “Language Nest.” This preschool was the first Hawaiian immersion school created. The founders, teachers, and family members involved in the development of the Kaiapuni program generally spoke English as their first language. For the most part, these individuals learned Hawaiian through classes at the University of Hawai‘i. Some of these individuals already spoke to their children in Hawaiian but wanted to create a way to continue their children’s education in the Hawaiian language through formal education (Yamauchi & Wilhelm, 2001; Monastersky, 2004). Later, through political lobbying efforts, the call for K-12 public immersion schools was heard and government support and funding was secured.

Description of the Hawaiian Language Immersion Program

The Papahana Kaiapuni is a K-12 public school program that uses the Hawaiian language as the medium of instruction. In the 1999-2000 school

year, when the data for this study was collected, there were 17 Kaiapuni sites throughout the Hawaiian Islands. Out of these 17 sites, 15 of them were also housed in an English language program or a school-within-a-school setting (Piper, 1994). These programs were located on five of the eight major Hawaiian islands, namely Hawai'i Island (Big Island), O'ahu, Kaua'i, Maui, and Moloka'i.

In 1999, the first class of students in the Kaiapuni program graduated from high school. These were the first students in over a century to have completed their elementary and secondary education in the Hawaiian language. That year, there were approximately 1,700 youths involved in the program. The foundation of this program has dramatically increased the number of Hawaiian language speakers below 18 years of age (Jacobson, 1998; Yamauchi & Wilhelm, 2001).

Students and Families in the Hawaiian Language Immersion Program

Most of the Kaiapuni students and families are English first language speakers or Hawai'i Creole English speakers. In 2001, about 20% of the families spoke Hawaiian at home (Yamauchi & Wilhelm, 2001). Few students enter the program able to speak Hawaiian fluently. Most of the Kaiapuni families enter the program with limited exposure to the language but learn Hawaiian through language courses (Warner, 1998).

Families involved in the Kaiapuni program are encouraged to learn the Hawaiian language along with their children and to use the language at home (Slaughter, 1997). However, few parents continue learning the Hawaiian language to the level of fluency. Students are often required to rely on their teachers and peers for academic support.

Students learn to speak Hawaiian in school through a conversational method much like they would acquire their first language. Second language acquisition becomes much more difficult for children who are limited by the lack of language use at home and in the community (Wong, 1999). For this reason, educators prefer that students enter the program at an early age, usually beginning in kindergarten. Despite students' limited exposure to Hawaiian language, most of these children are able to respond to their teachers in Hawaiian by the end of their first year in the program (Slaughter, 1987).

Kaiapuni students and families are fairly representative of families in the public school system in Hawai'i, specifically in regards to the families' range of socio-economic status and the ratio of honor students to special education students (Yamauchi & Wilhelm, 2001). The Kaiapuni community differs from the standard DOE community, however, in some important ways. Unlike typical public schools, the majority of the students in the

program are of Hawaiian or Part-Hawaiian ancestry although the program is open to students of all ethnic backgrounds. Also, families who participate in the Kaiapuni program may often live in neighborhoods that are far from the school and commute to attend these programs because of the limited number of sites.

Evaluations of the Hawaiian Language Immersion Program

Kaiapuni supporters suggest that beyond language revitalization goals, the cultural context of the program may be more effective in teaching Hawaiian children than the English language public school program (Benham & Heck, 1998; Yamauchi, Ceppi, & Lau-Smith, 1999, 2000). The indigenous curriculum perspective and teaching methods utilized in the Kaiapuni program are often designed to be compatible with Hawaiian children's home culture. Proponents argue that the program is a more culturally compatible form of education for Hawaiian children because of its emphasis on the Hawaiian language and the Hawaiian culture (Watson-Gegeo, 1989).

Students in the Hawaiian Language Immersion Program have achieved academic success in many ways. According to evaluations of the program, Kaiapuni students are as proficient in English as their non-immersion peers and also have attained a high level of proficiency in Hawaiian (Slaughter, 1991, 1997). In addition to meeting or even surpassing

the standardized test scores of their Native Hawaiian peers in English-only schools, Kaiapuni students are able to successfully pass the University of Hawai'i English composition test even though English language classes are not introduced until Grade 5 (Kamanā & Wilson, 1996; Wilson & Kamanā, 2001).

CHAPTER 2

METHODS

The purpose of this study was to examine the perceived effects of the Kaiapuni program on student and family development. This is a case study of the program using archival data collected in 1999-2000 under the supervision of Dr. Lois A. Yamauchi. These data were collected as part of a larger study that looked at various aspects of the Hawaiian Language Immersion Program. Researchers conducted interviews with the administrative staff, teachers, students, and families in the Kaiapuni schools. My study involves data from the student and family interviews only. Although the larger study included families of children in elementary school, my study included data from families whose children were adolescents.

My Role as the Researcher

Qualitative research often includes a statement of the researcher's relationship to the participants and topic and how these relationships might affect the study. I am a native Hawaiian and a member of the Hawaiian speaking community. I support Hawaiian language immersion education and personally know teachers, administrators, parents, and students in the Kaiapuni program. Although I was not directly involved in the data collection process, I am familiar with one of the participants interviewed. He

was a faculty member in the Hawaiian language department at the University of Hawai'i when I attended as an undergraduate student. However, I have never taken a class taught by him. My positionality as a Hawaiian, Hawaiian speaker, and program supporter could have biased my analysis of the data, as I may have focused more on positive program effects and coded data based on my prior knowledge of the program. To guard against this, I looked for negative instances of conclusions drawn. On the other hand, my familiarity with this community may have afforded me insights into the program that may have not been available to a non-Hawaiian researcher.

Participants

The participants in this study were from 12 families in the Kaiapuni program. These families were recruited from five of the 17 school sites in existence in 1999. These sites were located on four of the major Hawaiian Islands. All of the families included at least one adult family member and an adolescent Kaiapuni student. Interviews with adolescent students were selected for this study in order to examine aspects of students' cultural identity development. In all, 16 adults (12 female, 4 male) and 14 students (4 girls, 10 boys) in the program were interviewed. Each student was related to one or more of the adult participants.

Adult participants were between 37- and 52-years-old. Their post-secondary educational experiences ranged from no college experience to completed master's degrees. Two participants did not attend college, seven had some college experience (1-4 years), one graduated from a trade school, three had associate's degrees, one had a bachelor's degree, and two had master's degrees. Student participants were between 12- and 18-years-old and were enrolled in Grade 6 through 12. Six participants were age 12, three were age 13, one was age 14, two were age 15, one was age 16, and one was age 18. Most of the participants were of Hawaiian or part-Hawaiian ethnicity (12 adults, 14 students). Other ethnicities represented by the participants were European, Chinese, Japanese, Filipino and Samoan.

A snowball method of recruitment was used. Initially, participants were recruited through the Hawai'i State Department of Education (DOE) and other program contacts. Subsequent participants were nominated by earlier participants and teachers.

Procedure

After potential participants were identified, arrangements were made to set up available times and places to conduct the interviews. The data was collected from semi-structured interviews with the participants about their experiences in the Kaiapuni program. The interview questions were open-

ended queries that targeted specific topics about the program. The interview questions for the adults covered topics such as personal experiences in the program, parental involvement, expectations for the students' education, problems and barriers for the program, and their role in the Kaiapuni program (see Appendix A). The adolescents' interviews focused on their views about the Kaiapuni program, their use of Hawaiian and English languages both inside and out of the classroom, and their personal experiences as students in a Hawaiian immersion school (see Appendix B).

Each interview was approximately 60-120 minutes long. Most of the interviews took place in the participants' homes. The adult and youth interviews were conducted simultaneously by two or more interviewers. With the participants' permission, the interviews were audiorecorded and later transcribed. Participants were given the option to use Hawaiian or English during the interview. When possible, the students were interviewed by a bilingual speaker because it was thought that some students might be most able to talk about school-related issues in Hawaiian. This occurred in four of the interviews. When the Hawaiian language was used, a Hawaiian speaker transcribed the interviews and translated the transcriptions from Hawaiian to English for coding.

Data Analysis

I used the constant comparative method of data analysis (Creswell, 1998). During the data analysis process, I continued to elaborate on the themes and sub-themes as they emerged by referring back to the information in the data set. The QSR qualitative data analysis software was utilized to assist with the organization of codes and data analysis. Using open coding, themes that emerged from the interview responses were identified (Creswell, 1998). In order to achieve "saturation," I continued to look for instances that represented each theme until no new information appeared. I then used axial coding to relate themes to each other and to represent the themes as a tree diagram in the QSR program.

Once all of the transcripts were coded, a second researcher double coded six of the transcripts (approximately 20 percent) separately to verify the codes and check for reliability. There was 84 percent agreement of all codes, meaning that the second researcher and I agreed on 294 out of 350 codes that I had originally assigned. For the discrepancies, we discussed our coding and came to consensus as to how to assign the final codes.

CHAPTER 3

RESULTS

Several major themes emerged from the analysis of the transcribed interviews. These themes centered on various developmental aspects: Academic, Social, Cultural, Personal, and Language. Based on the participants' perspectives, benefits and concerns were identified and coded as sub-themes.

For the purposes of this study, I will focus on the interview segments coded under Social, Cultural, and Personal to address the research question: How does the Hawaiian Language Immersion Program affect student and family development? Sub-themes that emerged from the sections coded under the theme "Social" referred to the effects of involvement in the Kaiapuni program on (a) the relationships between family members, (b) the relationships formed between family members and the members of the Kaiapuni program, and (c) relationships within the community.

Sub-themes coded under the theme "Cultural" involved topics such as cultural values, cultural transmission, and cultural responsibility as well as their political involvement. Sub-themes that emerged from the data under the theme "Personal" involved references to the students' future in the program

and goals after high school. The following is a description of the findings for each of these themes.

Effects of the Program on Social Relationships

Relationships within the family. Before enrolling their children in the program, parents had to accept the level of involvement that would be required of their family. Many parents understood that although their child was the one entering the program, much more participation would be required of them in this program compared to English-only schools. They also knew that their children faced the daunting task of entering an unfamiliar and unusual world. In several cases, parents involved these children, despite their young age, in the decision to enroll in the immersion school. Once these families decided to move forward, they knew they would need to prepare themselves for the journey.

Families who decided to enroll their children in the program often had to face criticisms from their own extended family members. Concerns were voiced about the children's ability to master the English language because it was not taught until the 5th grade.

One family in particular said that their grandmother, initially, was really against the program. She was specifically concerned that children needed to have a strong knowledge of English in order to succeed in the

world, and she saw this program as undermining her grandchildren's opportunity to master English. Others questioned the type of education these students would receive stating that program "would make them stupid" (Bianca, 777).

Despite these criticisms, these families continued in the program, and over time, they were able to change the negative opinions of their extended family members. During one interview, a parent was asked if her family was supportive of their decision to enroll their child in the "lead class," the oldest group of immersion students at that school. She responded:

No, they didn't think it was a good idea because they thought the English language is the main anchor They're proud of her now because she also works for . . . 'Aha Pūnana Leo . . . I'm really proud of her. I said, "Wow! You know, when I was your age, I was scrubbing the toilet, and look at you. You have this nice air conditioned office." I was really so happy for her, really proud of her. I mean, she gets to do all this higher up work. (Leimomi, 252-266)

However, changing other family members' views about the Kaiapuni program was not always an easy task.

My parents with whom we argued vigorously on the reasons why we put our son in Pūnana Leo, . . . grew up at a time when they heard

Hawaiian, they understood Hawaiian, but they didn't speak it. In fact they were discouraged from understanding and learning it. And arguing with my parents on why it's important for us to be a part of this program. And then the political part, you know, watching the news, and then you got the Kaho'olawe activists going and my parents goes "There goes those Hawaiians." And I'm like, "Yeah, those Hawaiians" After a while [that we were in the program] my dad got this sticker, "Proud to be Hawaiian" The effects have been good on my family. My mom's taking her [Hawaiian] flag all over the place. We go to the state capitol; she used to work at the state capitol. She's there, she's lobbying, she's visiting the offices of some of the people she knew. (Kāhea, 201-202)

Not only did the participants' involvement in this program influence the negative views of family members who were against the program, it also affected those that were in support of the program.

I think [the program] has opened my husband's eyes because [when he was growing up,] they were not allowed to be Hawaiian; through his parents' generation as well. So it's made him more proud to be Hawaiian. (Bianca, 590-600)

Many of the participants stated that other members of their family expressed a desire to become more active in reviving the language and the culture after witnessing the language fluency of their students in the program. One family shared the impact their involvement with the program had on their entire family, "Like, my uncle, after I started going, he wanted to learn the language" (Liko, student, 156). His mother similarly discussed how it affected the others in their extended family:

I can look at my family and see the impact it's made on my parents and me and my husband. But for me . . . and for my family, I've seen a major ripple effect. One major one was my older brother, who had gone to the University in the 70s, decided that when his son was of age, he wanted to send him to Pūnana Leo. Then [my brother] decided to go back to school He got his teaching degree, and now he's teaching at [a high school], Hawaiian Studies and Hawaiian language. (Kāhea, 200)

Relating to grandparents: Bridging the gap. For the most part, the grandparents of the students who were interviewed were exposed to the Hawaiian language in their youth. Many of them spoke Hawaiian as a child. However, the use of the Hawaiian language was discouraged so much so that many of these grandparents did not continue to speak it. Their

grandchildren's involvement in the program renewed several grandparents' interest in speaking the language.

Grandparents who were able to speak Hawaiian with their grandchildren encountered another barrier to their communication. The language that these children were learning in school was not the same language that the grandparents were raised speaking. The Hawaiian language being taught in the immersion schools was referred to by some of the participants as "University Hawaiian." One participant described it as being a more formal form of the language. A couple of the families reported that their grandparents often expressed frustration in speaking with their grandchildren in Hawaiian because of the differences in the dialects they spoke. A mother and daughter shared their experiences reintroducing the Hawaiian language to one of their grandparents. The daughter said:

He [My grandpa] speaks Hawaiian . . . when he was younger, he spoke Hawaiian with his grandma, but after she passed away, he didn't talk Hawaiian for like 50 years. Until we came along, and it's like . . . he has the totally different Hawaiian than what we're learning. When we talk to him, we really gotta listen because it's real old school Hawaiian, and it's like, "What does that word mean, grandpa?" "Oh, where is that?" 'Cause we don't know. We just know the modern Hawaiian, and it's

like, it's good to listen, but . . . then my grandpa just gives up because . . . he doesn't remember all the Hawaiian he used to know, so he just gives up and starts talking English. (Maile, student, 196)

This student's mother also shared her perspective about the Hawaiian language that her daughter is learning in school and her father's reaction to it.

As [my dad] got older, there was nobody to speak to, so [language skills] just kinda like lapsed. So now, when the girls started kindergarten, he started getting back into it, and it's a different language because theirs is more formal, for one thing. It's more university language, whereas my dad grew up learning more like a traditional language, so there are a lot of times during the earlier years when the kids would come home and, you know, speak to him and he would go "No, no!" And then I said, . . . "teach them both ways . . . teach them your way, how you learned it, and then they'll learn from school." Because that's all they have, you know? There's not too many kūpuna [grandparent generation] left. (Nāpua, 63)

Parental support. One of the concerns that emerged from the parent interviews was the effects that their inability to speak Hawaiian had on their involvement with their child and the Kaiapuni program. Only 30% of the parents in this study reported that they could speak Hawaiian, 40% of parents

said that they could speak very little Hawaiian, and 30% said that they could not speak any Hawaiian at all. In total, four of the families reported that neither parent spoke Hawaiian, and two families reported that both parents spoke Hawaiian.

Most of the parents with little Hawaiian language skill said that they tried to learn through their children. Families often attempted to speak with their children to practice their Hawaiian. Their children would help teach them Hawaiian and corrected their inaccuracies.

However, these language concerns were not only expressed by those with little Hawaiian fluency. Even parents who reported that they spoke fluent Hawaiian were concerned. Family members did not realize how quickly their children would pick up the language. These children's language development advanced so rapidly that one parent was worried about keeping up with her child's Hawaiian language fluency:

My biggest fear in immersion is if my daughter reaches a point where she's gonna tell me that she doesn't respect me because [of] my language, 'cause her language surpasses my language That's crushing. And even though you want your children to succeed, you want to be able to participate in that, you want to know how they're doing and what they're doing. (Rachel, 303)

Some family members said that their lack of Hawaiian fluency prevented them from supporting their children in school. Their inability to speak Hawaiian lowered their confidence in helping with their children's classroom. One parent described her experience as a chaperone on a class excursion to a neighboring Hawaiian island.

I haven't been able to help in school, basically because I don't speak as well, as fluent, as the kids do. I have a hard time being around them, feeling like, okay . . . not knowing what's going on. But during my daughter's 4th grade year, that year I was their parent rep [elected parent to represent class on the school board], and I helped with the fundraiser, and it was for a trip to O'ahu, and I was able to accompany them on their trip, which is such an experience because the trip was all in Hawaiian. So most of the time, I wasn't really sure what was going on, but it was just so uplifting to be around the kids and [to] listen to them. No matter where we were or who was around . . . they had to speak to each other in Hawaiian, and had to speak pretty much to everybody except myself, in Hawaiian... I felt so proud to be a part of their group . . . it was a real eye opener. (Julie, 78)

Parents were also concerned with the effects their limited language skills had on their abilities to assist their children with homework. Sometimes

students had to first translate their homework into English, in order for their parents to help, and then translate it back into Hawaiian afterward. However, students reportedly had many other options available for them to seek help. “We have my teacher’s phone number at home. I can call my friends up, I can ask my parents, a lot of ways to find help” (Hīnano, student, 204).

In families with more than one student in the program, parents often relied on the older siblings to assist their younger siblings with their schoolwork and with strengthening their Hawaiian language skills. They were often encouraged to speak Hawaiian to each other at home. Five students said that they enjoyed taking advantage of the fact that not everyone could understand Hawaiian in their households. At times, these students would use the Hawaiian language to speak to their siblings, parents, or friends when they did not want anyone else to know what they were saying. It was a way for them to communicate in secrecy.

Despite the fact that these parents were not as fluent in the Hawaiian language as their children, many of these parents found creative ways to encourage the use of Hawaiian language at home. One mother said that she would tell her children to switch to speaking Hawaiian whenever they would start to grumble or fight. According to her, it had a calming influence on her family and would usually defuse the tension. She also enforced a phone call

rule. If friends from Kaiapuni called, they were required to speak Hawaiian or they would have to hang up the phone.

Although many of the parents were not able to directly support the strengthening of their children's Hawaiian language skills, parents were supportive of and involved in their children's education. They understood the level of commitment that it would take to be a part of this program.

We send our kids to school and we think it's the school that makes the child, or the school that makes my kids smart, . . . but we didn't realize the effect it was having on our family, that we'd gotten so into it that our kids know how important education or how important Kula Kaiapuni is, not just for them but for all of us. (Kāhea, 217)

Relationships between families and the Kaiapuni program. Families who enrolled their children in the Kaiapuni program knew that they would become members of a small community of people taking on the enormous task of building and supporting a new program. They understood that the level of commitment to this type of program would be higher than typical English language programs. Program supporters, Kaiapuni teachers, and family members had to work together to ensure the success of the program. They knew that it would not be an easy task, but they felt that the benefits for

their children and their family as a whole outweighed the challenges that lay ahead.

The development of social relationships in the Kaiapuni program was particularly important to the success of this program. These relationships fostered family and community involvement upon which the program depended. Parental involvement in this program was key. The lack of financial support from the government meant that the task of generating funds often fell to the families. Parents were heavily involved in the fundraising aspect of the program.

I think a lack of assistance from the Department of Education.

Although the Hawaiian language program was accepted as part of the DOE program, DOE does very little to assist the program It's like saying, "Yeah, you can, you can, but we don't have the funds." And so the parents have to get together, have these major, mega fundraisers.

(Sarah, 535-539)

These families saw it as their responsibility to be involved in the program. They felt a sense of ownership toward the development and success of the Kaiapuni program. "The success of the program is through the success of the families I don't want the program to fail so I'm going to work even harder. And that's the same way a lot of our families feel" (Kāhea, 202).

Kaiapuni families felt that the relationships they formed with others in the program were much closer than that of other educational programs. Students and family members commonly viewed the teachers and other students as part of their own family. Thirteen of the students in this study said that one of the most valuable things that they gained from the Kaiapuni program was the connections they shared with their classmates and teachers.

I like my friends, 'cause I've known them since kindergarten, and we have a connection that you wouldn't usually have with, in another school I like the student-teacher connection because . . . most of them up there are your family, and if they tell you something, you're gonna listen 'cause they're your family. (Maile, student, 98)

In response to the question "What do you like about your school?" one student responded, "How I have gotten really close to my classmates. In the past years, these other people have become family to me, and they support me. They are there in hard times" (Kekoa, student, 57). He said that he felt that the main difference between the Kaiapuni program and "regular" education was the close relationships he shared with the other students as well as the teachers, "You are not only a student to them, but you become their child in immersion. They take care of you" (Kekoa, student, 117).

One of the Kaiapuni mothers shared her thoughts about the personal connection she felt with the teachers and students in the program.

The teachers are caring. They know each child. And if you're supporting the program, you get to know the teachers, too. And it's like, that's your family . . . every kid there is my kid, my responsibility, too. That's why it's like a family program. Because anything any kid does, that's your kids too, and if you know they shouldn't be doing that, you scold them and if they're doing good, you congratulate them . . . They're part of your family and you take care of each other.

(Jennifer, 258)

Relationships between families in the program were cultivated by the high level of family participation and the relatively small number of Kaiapuni families. Parents reported that through fund-raising and other school related activities, support networks developed between students' families. One parent felt that these families were able to support each other by "sharing what's worked for them and what hasn't; also sharing about what their child's going through" (Anuheia, 1458). This parent felt that it was an asset for families in the program to come together to share their experiences, to support each other, and to improve the program.

Parents really collaborate a lot of their ideas and a lot of their efforts towards trying to make the program better for all the children in Kaiapuni, so that no one other family or parent has to go through the same things that we've gone through But being able to hear . . . what's worked for them really helps give a lot of other parents, especially new parents that are coming into the program, gives them a better insight about what the expectations are and what to expect . . . or new ideas on how we can better things in the program. So that's how I think it's been beneficial in regards to family involvement. Sharing the same ideals, ideas, and being able to work on it together. (Anuheā, 1458)

These family-like relationships shared by students benefited them academically. Their close relationships with their classmates and teachers increased student participation in academic activities. Students reported that they felt more comfortable in class which allowed for more active participation and listening. *One student participant compared her student-teacher relationship with that of her friends in the English language program. She felt that the relationships in the Kaiapuni program were "better because you feel more comfortable in class, and you listen more"* (Maile, student, 104).

Another family member shared one of their first experiences in the program that demonstrated the effects that the close classroom relationships had on students. The student's mother had recently enrolled her in the program as a second-grader, which is relatively late to start in the immersion program. Her mother was concerned and wanted to make sure she was doing well in school. She asked her daughter about the other students in her class, "Who are the smart kids in the class? You know, maybe they'll help you, cause kids are so 'olu'olu [pleasant]." Her daughter wasn't sure, which was unusual because at her previous school, her daughter received high marks and always knew her class standing. So, the mother didn't understand why her daughter couldn't tell which students were at the top of the class. When she inquired about this, her daughter replied, "because at [her previous school] . . . only the smart kids answered the questions. And in Kaiapuni, everybody answers the questions" (Rachel, 157-160).

Another way that these close bonds fostered learning was by promoting assistance with school work. Parents were not always able to help their children with homework, especially if they weren't Hawaiian language speakers. When students needed help with their homework, most of the students said that they would grab a book and try to figure it out for themselves first. If they still needed help, then they would call one of their

classmates or contact their teacher at home. Also, students would meet before school to help each other or get help from the teacher together. One student reported, "We do our homework, and we help each other, and if we have questions, we ask [the teacher], and she helps us" (Lehua, student, 285).

Students also said that all classmates helped each other during school hours, as well. *If someone did not understand something then they would work on it with another student or ask the teacher for help.* Another student said that she even helped her classmates with their English skills.

I ended up having to teach the kids in my class how to read . . . in English. And spelling-wise, too, I knew how to spell. Don't spell really good, but I can spell better than everybody in my class, and I can help them do that. (Maile, student, 174-176)

One reason that these students shared such close relationships may have been because of the limited number of students who attend Kaiapuni as well as the limited number of Kaiapuni campuses. Many of these students were in the same class with their classmates since kindergarten, or even preschool. Student participants also reported that class sizes were small, generally ranging between 4-15 students per class.

At the middle and high school level, class sizes tended to decrease even further. This resulted from parents pulling their kids out of immersion

after elementary school for a variety of reasons including, but not limited to, concerns about English language development, increased difficulty in the curriculum and Hawaiian language development, concerns about parents' inability to help their children with schoolwork, burnout from the intensity of family participation, or children getting accepted into a private school. One mother described her experience in the program:

When we came to junior high school, a lot of [the students] left because the parents were worried their kids were not gonna get the right education and we had so few teachers. And there was a big conflict, you know, of their worrying about their child, or staying in the program. The four of us that are left, we're the die-hards of the group. One of the parents just pulled out this school year because it costs so much to bus them so you know, there's a reason for everybody dropping out, but, you know, now that there's four, they can, they're getting the specialized attention, that's for sure, but I wish it were a little bigger. (Bianca, 776-808)

Although the small class sizes were beneficial in some ways, this also led to problems for families in the program. The small number of students in the program often meant that there was not a big enough budget to support teachers. One student shared his concerns, "There aren't enough teachers and

not enough funding. There are people who could become our teachers, but there is not enough funding to support them and pay them" (Kekoa, student, 61).

A few of the families voiced a concern for the lack of teachers in the program. Fewer teachers meant that student had limited classroom options. Sometimes, students would have the same teacher three years in a row. In a couple of cases, families were not comfortable with a particular teacher's pedagogical style. In this situation, families had to decide whether or not to withdraw from the program. Their only options were to continue in this teacher's class or to transfer to an English language program.

Relationships between families and community members. Initially, the Hawaiian language immersions program was not well received by many community members of both Hawaiian and non-Hawaiian decent. Some people did not believe that the program should be created in the first place. Others said that it would not last. One such criticism was described by a parent who recounted her conversation with the principal of a Kaiapuni school-within-a-school site when the program was first established:

A lot of our friends were saying, "Don't. If you have to send them somewhere, don't send them there." So I'm like, "I'm pretty sure they have a really good curriculum, you know, and I'm pretty sure it's a

good school." . . . I had an interview with [the principal], and his thought was that, "Oh, yeah, we're gonna start this new program. It's gonna be in Hawaiian, and yeah, don't worry, it's not gonna last. I mean, we expect just a year." And I'm like, "Excuse me?" . . . What a thing to tell a parent, you know? And I said, "Well, I'll tell you what, . . . I think this is a great idea, especially in a Hawaiian community".

(Nāpua, 73-77)

Families who enrolled their children in the program received negative feedback from friends, coworkers, and others in the community about enrolling their children in the program. During the formation of the Kaiapuni program, various people in the community articulated their opinions and predictions about the program through the newspaper. Supporters of the program were enraged by some of the unfounded comments made.

One of the newspapers wrote an article right in the beginning about how if you teach the kids in Hawaiian, then . . . it's going to create division between people, and . . . with no evidence to support it, these kind of statements are made. And that's really harmful. (Kaleo, 185)

All of the parents interviewed expressed a sense of frustration in having to repeatedly justify and defend the program. Yet, they all believed in the program's goals and in the benefits that it would have on their children.

There's been a lot of people that questioned and thought I was doing something very harmful to my child . . . [They] thought he was gonna be a dumber kid, not gonna know his math, not gonna know his science. You know, lot of people felt that way I basically told them he was gonna be learning the same thing as their child, but in a different language, and that he would be ahead of their child in the long-run because he knew the other language. (Bianca, 660-676)

Community members who did not support the program were concerned about the students' English language skills. They were worried that, living in an English-speaking society, these students were going to struggle without English language skills. They postulated that "these kids are not gonna learn how to fill out an application form" (Nāpua, 624). Some even insisted that the "Hawaiian language was a dead language" (Rachel, 143). Therefore, it was a waste of time for children to learn Hawaiian.

I used to be offended when people used to tell me that you know, "This is an English-speaking society. Why you want them to learn Hawaiian? Why you want them speaking Hawaiian? Nobody else is going to speak the language?" But . . . I know in the long run they'll be . . . a whole person, having that in them And actually, that's good enough for me. (Julie, 201)

Discrimination was another issue that emerged from the data. A few of the families with students in the school-within-a-school site suggested that the Kaiapuni students were being unfairly treated by some on the English-only side of the campus.

They mainstream more in the high school into regular [English-only classes] . . . but they get kind of labeled: "Hawaiian" . . . by the other kids. Well, actually, the sad part is, even by administration. I've had a comment come back to me . . . that these counselors had said, "Um, does your sister not want them to go to college?" And so my sister answered, "What do you mean?" "Well, she has them in Hawaiian immersion." And it infuriated me when I heard it . . . It's almost like they've given up on these kids. Why do you already label them as failing? . . . Of course I want my child to go to college. But that's a little bit of the mentality that's in the school that I've come across anyway. (Cathryn, 97-117)

One of the student participants was a senior in the program and was in the lead class for the immersion school. She reflected on how much the program had changed and evolved over the years. She compared her experiences to those of the younger students in the program. She felt that the

younger classes had quite the opposite experience and did not appreciate the struggles that her class endured.

They [the English side] would intimidate us 'cause we were Hawaiian. "Oh, you Hawaiian? Oh, you suck." We wanted them [the younger Kaiapuni students] all to know how it is to be a Hawaiian in an English society. It's like you don't know what we went through, kay? You don't know what we had to go through so you could go to school. (Maile, student, 248)

Although, there may have been some tension between the English-only and Hawaiian immersion sides of some campuses, the data showed that non-Hawaiian members of the community were just as welcomed into the Kaiapuni program as Hawaiians. All of the families that we spoke with were in support of non-Hawaiian families becoming involved in the program. In fact, four of the parents who participated in our study were not Hawaiian. All of the students in this study were part-Native Hawaiian, but the majority of these participants said that they identified with more than one ethnicity and placed a value on learning about their other ethnic backgrounds.

We want to work with the community, and not just our Hawaiian community . . . because before the overthrow, there were many people of all [ethnicities] that spoke Hawaiian. Hawaiian was the language of

commerce, and certainly the language of this land, and so I think it's something that should be available to everyone who wants to learn the language, and to participate in reviving this beautiful language.

(Rachel, 44)

Over the years, the negative comments about the program have decreased considerably. Participants reported that the more the community was exposed to the program, the more their skepticisms and criticisms diminished. Families felt that the program had proven that these students could successfully be educated in the Hawaiian language. One parent explained her perspective about the early criticisms:

Actually, it doesn't bother me anymore Then, the program was pretty new to them. So they've had enough exposure, and because the language and the culture is just . . . it's reviving, no one even bothers to say anything anymore So it's not so negative anymore. Not that I really cared. My kids, they're doing well, and to me it's like it'll make them more confident in themselves to have that knowledge, to have that culture, too, in them. (Julie, 203)

Popularity in the program and interest in the Hawaiian language is also gaining with the younger generation. All of the students reported that their friends and cousins, who were not in the program, thought it was "cool"

that they were in the Kaiapuni program. Some of their peers were impressed and wanted to learn Hawaiian themselves, possibly even enroll in the program. One student reported that she started teaching a friend of hers, who was not in the program, how to speak Hawaiian.

Community support. Community support was another key element in revitalizing the Hawaiian language. The Kaiapuni founders collaborated with the mānaleo (native Hawaiian language speakers usually from the grandparent generation) as well as other supporters of the native Hawaiian culture. All of the families agreed that it was important to incorporate community members in their efforts. A student explained the difficulty of trying to “just speak Hawaiian the whole time... you can't do that by yourself, you have to have the whole class or a whole lot of people to help you do it” (Maile, student, 81).

The Kaiapuni program often had kūpuna (individuals from the grandparent generation) come to the school to share their knowledge about the culture and the language. All of the families expressed a sense of respect for these kūpuna's cultural wisdom and an appreciation for the connection that these kūpuna had with their children. One parent explained how important she felt it was for families and the community to support these children:

It can't be just this little isolated group of children; it has to, like I said, build those branches with our parents That's the attitude I want to see instilled in us as a community. (Rachel, 304)

Families believed that there were a number of ways that Kaiapuni program effectively increased the community's involvement in perpetuating the Hawaiian culture and language. The program welcomed family and community members to participate in cultural events put on by the school. Experts with skills in areas such as Hawaiian navigation, agriculture, and natural resources collaborated with educators in the classroom. A parent suggested that one important aspect of the program is that "it makes the community more aware of the Hawaiian situation. And I ran across a lot of people who are very, totally impressed when they know that these children can speak Hawaiian, that they're fluent Hawaiian" (Michelle, 114).

Families have also seen the mutual benefits that the Hawaiian language has had on the students, the families, and the community. Involvement in the program and with the Hawaiian language brought people in the community together, created changes in society, and passed on cultural values to the younger generation. One parent acknowledged the positive influences that this program has had on the larger community.

I've seen in the prisons they started teaching Hawaiian language classes where they never used to. It's changed some of the laws, some of the policies in other schools. People's attitude towards speaking Hawaiian has changed drastically. At our school, we have this Lā Kūpuna [grandparents day] where the kids prepare food and things in their classrooms, and the kūpuna go and spend the day with them. I don't see that in other DOE schools. (Kāhea, 213)

Kāhea also appreciated that through the program's efforts to involve the community, traditional cultural values, such as respect for elders, were being instilled in the children and restored in the community.

Just the respect that I think a lot of kids in other schools, in this society as a whole has lost for their kūpuna. That's a major effect on a community because the kids feel a little more responsible, not just for themselves but for the effects they have on the community. (Kāhea, 213)

Effects of the Program on Cultural Development

The curriculum in the Kaiapuni program was designed to incorporate the Hawaiian culture. Families reported that they valued the program teaching Hawaiian culture as much as its emphasis on the Hawaiian language. Several of the families placed a higher value on their children's

cultural education over their academic achievement. They believed that having the culture instilled in their children would make them a well-rounded person, teach them cultural values, and give them a sense of place and spirituality.

When some families were first introduced to the program, they felt that the program was so welcoming and spiritually Hawaiian that they wanted their family to be a part of that group. They felt that the program created a positive image for being Hawaiian and saw that the families in the program affected the community in a positive way. They viewed the Hawaiian language as a vehicle to help transmit the culture.

Participant families appreciated the hands-on cultural experiences that the program incorporated into their children's education. The students learned about agriculture and irrigation through working in taro patches, about science by testing the water in the streams, and about Hawaiian history by visiting historic sites on neighboring islands. Students also had the opportunity to compete with other immersion programs at the Makahiki¹ festival held on Moloka'i. As one mother noted, "Academics--that's what people send their kids to school for, academics. And that's what we started

¹ Makahiki is ancient celebration which begins in mid-October and lasts for about four months. During this time, war is prohibited, sports are played, and religious ceremonies are held (Pukui & Elbert, 1986).

off thinking, that academics in Hawaiian. And that was great, but we've also seen more than that" (Kāhea, 190).

In addition to learning the culture through the curriculum, students practiced traditional Hawaiian customs in their day-to-day activities. Every morning before entering the classroom, these children would oli (chant) together in unison a traditional chant which asked permission of the kumu (teacher) to enter the classroom. It signified the students' readiness to learn. Some students said that they felt it was just as important for them to learn the culture as well as the language.

We have quarterly performances and when visitors come to our school . . . we greet them in the proper fashion. And it helps us because as a host, as a school, there's about 77 kids. With all those kids, we can chant together, or we can dance together, and it really helps us with our coordination and to just practice our Hawaiian customs or skills up there . . . I would rather have more of the culture up there than the language. (Maile, student, 73)

In practicing the Hawaiian culture these children also experienced the spiritual aspects of the culture. Some family members acknowledged this spiritual aspect of the program and how it had helped these children grow. They saw this as a significant and unique part of the program.

There's a more . . . spiritual feelings, force, in the Kaiapuni program that the English cannot offer . . . the reason why I know it is 'cause I've been there in the mornings and when they go on these special field trips. You just get goose bumps, and you just have that good feeling, where you know the kids are learning culture . . . learning respect. . . learning other things, values You see a lot of them even just cry when they're doing their oli in the morning. It's like their prayer for the day. (Jennifer, 250-256)

Students also felt a connection to the spiritual side of the Hawaiian culture. In becoming a part of revitalizing the Hawaiian language and culture, students understood their connection to their ancestors. In describing what she thinks it means to be Hawaiian, one student said:

I guess you would have to, like, go to the roots . . . get everything you learned. It has already been experienced by your ancestors or the elders of your family, so they help, they guide you and they teach you and then you don't have to do anything by yourself because you know they're always gonna be with you. (Maile, student, 21)

Parents believed that the spiritual side of the program was not something that could be taught out of a book. It was imbedded in the culture

and language and had to be lived and experienced. They saw the value of passing on those spiritual beliefs to their children.

By learning the language, you know your culture. By knowing your culture, you know the people, your ancestors. I always share with my children that, when they leave their house, they not only represent who they are, but they take along with them their mommy, their daddy, their mommy's 'ohana (family), their daddy's 'ohana, and their kūpuna, who had left years before they were even brought on to this earth. In other words . . . when they go out there, every choice that they make, they make with confidence If it wasn't for the sacrifice that their family had made, in the years prior to their existence, then they wouldn't be where they are today in this lifetime. (Sarah, 560-572)

This connection between culture and religion has, at times, blurred the line of the separation between church and state. One family described a dispute that occurred between families at the school a year prior to the interview. It was the first year that the school had celebrated Makahiki instead of Halloween. Some of the parents were upset because, as part of the traditional Makahiki festivities, an ahu (Hawaiian alter) was built in the courtyard of the school. One parent, in particular, held strong Christian beliefs and insisted the ahu should be removed. Parents were divided; some

wanted to break it down, others felt that it was an important part of the traditional Makahiki ceremony. As one parent explained her perspective:

The Hawaiian belief, Hawaiian living was so holistic that their religion was a part of their life. It wasn't something that they did just on Sundays It was like their whole life was revolving around religion and vice versa. So to break down the ahu would be almost like saying no, we don't want to do the Hawaiian things . . . that was part of the Makahiki. (Kāhea, 172)

Living Hawaiian values. One of the major benefits that families felt their children acquired from the program were Hawaiian values. Parents and students alike appreciated that the program modeled these values. Part of being Hawaiian and learning the Hawaiian language was understanding these cultural values. Family members felt that they were learning “the values that is taught through the language” (Sarah, 640). Many expressed this as a unique aspect to the Kaiapuni program.

I just think that some of the things that they learn in that school, they'll never learn in an English school. The culture, the respect I think it's gonna have some kind of impact with them as they grow up.
(Keola, 289)

The program provided ample opportunities for these students to learn and demonstrate their cultural values. Students engaged in practicing values such as *mālama i ka ‘āina* (taking care of the land) and *lōkahi* (working together) through activities such as building and maintaining a *lo‘i* (taro field). Another example, described by one of the participants, illustrates the value that these families placed on these opportunities:

It's so important that these kids understand that life is a learning experience. You know, we learn from each other, we value each other. . . . That's why one of the things about immersion is that our children are going out into, you know, we just did *mālama i nā kahawai*, which is in conjunction with the Department of Land and Natural Resources, and that's a stream survey of how well our streams in Hawai'i are doing Our kids are being given the opportunity to look to see that there are problems here, right here in Hawai'i, and that they can affect those problems, they can make a difference in their own community.

(Rachel, 183)

Students also revealed the impact that the cultural values had on their identity as native Hawaiians. When asked what it meant to be Hawaiian, many of the students referred to Hawaiian values. One 12 year-old student responded: "It means to have respect, love for the land, the ocean, and the

people” (Pakalana, student, 54). Another student, when asked the same question, replied:

I guess it's . . . mostly family life, . . . you have to respect your elders, and you have to take care of your land, your 'āina, and you know, just basic facts that if any, if everybody would follow, would help this place, would help Hawai'i, would help the world to be a better place.

That's what it is. (Maile, student, 14)

Cultural responsibility. One important concept that emerged from the data, was a sense of cultural responsibility. Student and parent participants expressed the significance of this program and these children on the maintenance and perpetuation of the Hawaiian culture and language.

Preserving the Hawaiian culture, the Hawaiian language, the Hawaiian people . . . we have lost so much, and a lot of the stuff that you hear now about Hawaiian history is really sad what they did to the Hawaiian, I'm not Hawaiian by birth, but I'm very close to the native people . . . now, finally I see the Hawaiians stepping up and saying, “Hey, wait a minute.” And that's the idea. This is Hawai'i. I think the main language should be Hawaiian . . . We cannot lose our Hawaiian language. We can't lose more than we've already lost.

(Michelle, 44)

Families felt that this was an obligation that should be shared by the entire community and especially the families involved in the program. However, they also understood that ultimately the responsibility would fall to their children. "I hate to put all this burden on my daughter and save the Hawaiian. But you know what? You gotta step up" (Rachel, 316). Many of the families realized the weight of the burden placed on their children and supported them as much as possible. One family described how they made this effort a priority in their family's lives:

I saw how much of Hawai'i was being lost, and we have to train the new generation coming up in order to preserve it. And [my son is] one of them. And so I told him and his classmates, I said, "It's gonna fall on you folks." If somebody didn't take the stand to get going and say, "Hey, you know, we can't lose anymore," everything would have been lost already, you know? But it's all coming back because the people are standing up and that's like even our oldest son, his older brother [who was not in the program], is starting to get interested. And that's the thing. I mean he's, when he gets older, maybe he'll help and do even more to save the Hawaiians and that's the important thing. (Michelle, 52)

Some of the student participants that we spoke with also voiced their concerns for the perpetuation of the language and culture. They felt that this was a responsibility that fell on their shoulders. A 13-year-old student said: “I try to tell other people to speak Hawaiian ‘cause then if we don't speak Hawaiian, there's nothing to continue, and we have to speak all we can now” (Lehua, student, 337). Another student participant believed: “It is important [to speak Hawaiian] because the numbers of other languages are becoming extinct, and it is our responsibility to revive the language” (Kekoa, student, 27).

One family explained the debate they once had about leaving the program. Their concern was about their youngest son's language development. Their son's Hawaiian language was stronger than his English, yet he began to use more English. His language development was being influenced by new students in the program who did not yet have a grasp of the Hawaiian language. His parents were frustrated by this, but ultimately decided that it was not in the best interest of the Hawaiian community to remove their son from the program.

We've thought about just pulling them out, putting them in regular school, and we do the Hawaiian here at home But that wouldn't be good. Because this isn't about just our family, it's about our cause.

So if it's not gonna work for everybody, it's not gonna work at all. And it's not gonna do any good if our kids are the only kids who can speak Hawaiian. Who are they going to speak to? (Kaleo, 187)

Transmission of Culture. Through the education that the students received in the program, they became vehicles for cultural transmission. Despite their young age, their grasp of the Hawaiian language and culture far exceeded many older members of the Hawaiian community. Because of this, the Kaiapuni program encourages these students to pass on their cultural knowledge to others.

Parents also felt that the program gave their children opportunities for their future that would not have been an option for them had they attended another educational program. Some parents expressed a sense of obligation that was placed on these children. As one mother explained,

Because they speak the language. They know their culture. They could help other people learn and educate them I wish I had that opportunity, and I believe that if I had that opportunity, too, then I could be out there helping someone else to learn our culture. You live here in Hawai'i, this is our language. (Iwalani, 352)

The program also encouraged students to pass on their cultural knowledge to others. They often suggested that students return to the program as teachers.

There's not too many teachers. So, that's why they keep on asking for our students, college students, my daughter, she's getting old enough, she has that opportunity to be a teacher, to help the program up there. 'Cause they're gonna need help. They're gonna need the teachers. But that's why I told my daughter, "You know, you have that opportunity to become kumu up there." . . . Because the students who learn from college, it's not like how they learn from kindergarten From kindergarten, they pick up really fast. So they know a lot, and they help. The students help, the college students. They get together in groups. And then that's part of the Hawaiians getting together . . . helping support each other. (Leimomi, 543)

Within the program, older students often supported the younger classes by assisting the teachers in the classroom. High school students were welcomed to aid in teaching in the elementary school classes. Families felt that it was part of these students' responsibility to give back to the younger by sharing their knowledge.

What we've been able to do is incorporate in that the older kids . . . like assistants to the teachers so they'll go in a classroom and help if they have free time, the teachers let the kids go down and help the other teachers in the classroom. And to me that's a real important thing that I know they're getting out of the program they wouldn't get out of other high schools These kids are like family, I mean . . . I know the teachers, the teachers we socialize, so it's also a little small community too. (Kāhea, 190)

This mother hoped that one day her son would be able to contribute to the Hawaiian community. It was a priority for her that her son be able to give back and to become a role model for others. She felt that his involvement in the Kaiapuni program would give him that opportunity.

In giving back the same way he was able to go back to Pūnana Leo and work with the kids. To me that's going full circle already for him, because he started off in Pūnana Leo, as a student. And now he's going back as a teacher's aide. And in that way, if not in the classroom, you know, in the community, or as a role model. (Kāhea, 146)

Effects of the Kaiapuni Program on Personal Development

Political involvement. As a new program under the Department of Education, the Kaiapuni program needed considerable funding support from

the government. However, funding allocated for the program was limited. The program advocates struggled to find enough funding resources to meet its needs. In an effort to effect change, Kaiapuni supporters became politically involved.

Especially in the first few years, it was a big role, partly because we had to become involved politically as well And they've had fundraising efforts. But the main things that I would say that we were involved was getting the school together. Pulling teeth from the DOE to get things. That's where we were most heavily involved. (Kaleo, 52-76)

The families' political involvement is one of the unique aspects of the Kaiapuni program. These families lobbied for funds and marched on the capitol in support of the program and for native Hawaiian rights. Program educators and family members informed others about what was happening at the legislature. One family mentioned a situation where parents were upset because they were not informed of a bill that was being passed in the legislature. These families knew that "when legislative season is in, you can't hesitate; you gotta get it going" (Nāpua, 162-166).

It was no easy task for families to keep the program alive. When asked about their parental involvement, all of the parents in this study mentioned fundraising and fighting for funding.

If there's stuff going on at the state capitol, we're always there I call my parents and we rally . . . that's just I guess one of the harder parts of being a part of Kula Kaiapuni . . . we gotta scratch and claw and you know, beef it out [fight for it]. For monies . . . And that's the things I didn't think I would ever expect, I don't want my kids to have to go through, but sometimes through struggle you learn. (Kāhea, 92-202)

These families understood first-hand the amount of work, time, and energy that lobbying for funding required. Many of the families were frustrated by the lack of support and became exhausted from their continual efforts. However, they all believed that it was for a worthy cause.

This is what our Hawaiians got taken away from them. This educating in the classroom in all areas of it [the Hawaiian culture and language], and we have to fight to have it back, and yes, it ain't perfect now, but if we give up because it's difficult, then what are we teaching our children? That's it's not valuable enough. And I believe that these kids,

someday a light's gonna go on, and they're gonna say, "I'm gonna make a difference, I'm gonna change it". (Rachel, 253)

Parents also valued the effects of their political participation on their children. Through their families' political activism, children were learning about the way the government worked first-hand. They learned about current native Hawaiian issues and went to the legislature to lobby for these causes. Parents felt that their children's involvement had a notably positive effect on their child. They were learning life skills that would enable them to express their beliefs, to be comfortable with the wider world, and to "stand up for their rights as a Hawaiian" (Leimomi, 344).

Parents also felt that their own involvement modeled the values that they wanted instilled in their children. They were ready and willing to fight for what they believed in. "We got what we wanted because we've been fighting it from day one, and we'll continue fighting, even after our children are graduated. We'll be there to support" (Michelle 114). Their dedication and hard work was not only for the benefit of their children's future, but also for the future of the Hawaiian culture.

It would be a sense of loyalty and commitment and compassion for what we're all striving for, which is to allow our children to be able to be educated through the Hawaiian language, and still be able to

become professionals in our community And with that in mind, a lot of hard work and volunteer time, and sacrifices that it's taken for us to even get to this point in the program. It's been a lot of time on our part, a lot of fundraising, a lot of beating the streets and going out and finding donations. You know, calling up on the telephone, and going up to the legislature, going to statewide programs to be able to find out what's going on, what are some of the new things that are offered out there. Just getting educated in every which way possible [to do] what benefits all of us. (Anuheā, 1462)

Looking toward the future. For the most part, families enrolled their students in the Kaiapuni program so that their children could learn the Hawaiian language and culture. Parents expected the program to educate their child in the Hawaiian language while also providing them a good education that would afford them opportunities in their future. Most parents said that they want the program to help their child to achieve anything they want to do in life. For example, one mother noted, "I think that what we're trying to rear here is not Einsteins. My goal is to, to create a whole person . . . and allow them the opportunities to become all that they could be" (Sarah, 318-326).

The majority of the families in our study were pleased with the education provided in the Kaiapuni program and planned to remain in the program. Almost all of the students said that they would like to graduate from the Kaiapuni program. Although their parents wanted them to stay in the program, two students were unsure about continuing. They cited the distance from home as their main concern. Traveling to school in the mornings could be difficult for students who received permission to attend a school with the program that was not in their district. There were only a few immersion sites on each island, so attending this program sometimes required students to travel far to get to school. One student in particular said that he had to wake up at 4:00 in the morning in order to take a one hour bus ride to school.

Another student said that he did not want to continue in the Kaiapuni program because he was bored. He did not get along with his teacher, and he had class with that same teacher three times a day. This student's mother agreed that school had become stagnant for her child. Unlike more typical high school programs, the student did not have a variety of teachers. However, the mother felt that her son had become disinterested in school in general and hoped that their impending move to another island and new Kaiapuni site would give him a different perspective.

In one family, the mother wanted to pull her child out of the program. She did not agree with the way her son was being taught. Her son, however, disagreed and said that he was going to fight to stay in the program.

My mom wants to take me out . . . I think I'm fighting. We're still talking about it. She really wants me to get out, but I don't wanna go. She doesn't like how they teach, I guess. I think my dad realizes that it's a great responsibility to be the only one that has got into Hawaiian . . . He can tell you that I've been introduced to many things like hakas (a traditional dance) and spiritual things that we do in Hawai'i. So I think he realizes that . . . I learn a lot from Hawaiian language.

(Hīnano, student, 102, 454)

As far as their children's educational future, all of the parents expressed a desire for their children to further their education in college. Seventy percent of the students were certain that they wanted to attend college as well. The other 30% were unsure of their plans after graduating from Kaiapuni. A couple of students expressed an interest in joining the military. The majority of the family members said that they would support their children in whatever they decided to do. However, many of the parents also expressed an interest in seeing their children give back to the community in some way. Teachers and parents encouraged their students to get their

teaching degree at the University of Hawai'i and then return to teach in the Kaiapuni program.

Some students expressed an interest in returning to the immersion program as a teacher. In fact, one senior student was already taking a course in Hawaiian language at the University of Hawai'i as part of the immersion program. She also worked at a cultural-based non-profit organization translating English stories into Hawaiian. However, not all the students had this plan for their future. One student expressed his thoughts on this pressure to return to teach at Kaiapuni. He described the questions that were constantly being asked of him and his classmates.

Are they going to continue in a college? Are they going to become teachers? Are they going to teach their children? What will they do with Hawaiian? I mean, some of us like Hawaiian and everything, but we want to fulfill [our other pursuits] also. Hawaiian is so rich and important to us, and Hawaiian will remain with us for our entire life Just want something else right now. Like maybe after the armed forces or something else, I would maybe return here to Hawai'i and I will teach or help in immersion So I could be away for ten years, and return and go to college to become a teacher. (Kekoa, student, 205-209)

These students were also asked if, in the future, they would consider putting their own children in the Kaiapuni program. All of the students said that they would want their children to learn Hawaiian and would put them in the Kaiapuni program. However, 30% of our students expressed a concern that the program might not exist by the time they had children. One student said that he would put his child in to ensure the continuation of the program. Two expressed concerns for being too busy and worried about getting burnt out by the fundraising. Two believed that the program would give their child an advantage over the English language program. And one said that he wanted to enroll his child in the program, but ultimately that would be the child's decision.

The students were asked about any advice they would give to someone who was considering putting their child in Kaiapuni program. Their responses included advice, suggestions, and concerns. The advice most commonly mentioned was to be certain about this decision. The students seemed to understand the level of commitment that was necessary in this program. The most recurrent suggestion made was to start early in the program; enrolling in preschool or kindergarten. They shared about the difficulty some of their friends experienced starting the program later. The

most frequent words of encouragement were that it was a good program and that learning the language might be a challenge at first, but got easier.

CHAPTER 4

DISCUSSION

This study investigated student and family perspectives on the effects of a Hawaiian language immersion program on student, family, and community development. The results encompassed three major concepts: students' sense of responsibility to transmit culture, the importance of building and strengthening social connections, and the necessity of changing perspectives in the community. In this section I discuss each of these three broader concepts as well as the implications for research and practice, limitations of the study, and ideas for future research.

Cultural Transmission

Families in the Kaiapuni program recognized that the knowledge their children received from the immersion program was much more than an education in the Hawaiian language. They were learning and practicing Hawaiian values, traditions, and customs. These families appreciated that their children were not only benefiting academically but socially and culturally as well. The program focused on developing the whole child not only as a learner but as a member of the Hawaiian community. The findings from this study revealed that the effect of these benefits extended to the students' entire families and the larger community.

Previous research on indigenous populations has shown that incorporating students' home culture into the classroom may have positive outcomes for students such as increasing students' self-esteem, pride in the native language, motivation, and learning (Wright & Taylor, 1995; Watson-Gegeo, 1989). Contextualization in the classroom may be especially important for Native Hawaiian students (Tharp, 1989; Weisner, Gallimore, & Jordan, 1988; Yamauchi, 2003). In the Kaiapuni program, these students' home culture was not just incorporated in the classroom through lesson plans, but in the program's goals.

One of the goals of the program was to teach Hawaiian language and traditions in the hopes that one day the students would be able to pass that knowledge on to the next generation (Ka Papahana Kaiapuni Hawai'i, 2007; Heckathorn, 1987). Different from more typical educational programs, students in this program had the added responsibility of ensuring the perpetuation of the Hawaiian culture and language. A review of the literature on indigenous populations and immersion education suggested that the continuation of the indigenous language was the responsibility of the family and the community (McLean, 1997).

In a review of the literature, cultural transmission was predominantly examined as vertical transmission, from the older generation to the younger

and horizontal transmission, between peers (Schonpflug, 2001; Berry, Poortinga, Segall, & Dasen, 2002). Some researchers suggested that vertical transmission, especially in the educational setting, should be considered a two-way transmission, as learners also affect the cultural knowledge they receive (Dekker, 2001). This concept is similar to that of sociocultural perspectives in that transmission of knowledge is viewed as more of a co-construction of knowledge.

In the case of the Hawaiian culture, however, vertical transmission was occurring in reverse. The children in this program were transmitting cultural knowledge to the older generations. Students were sharing their knowledge with college-age students, teaching their parents the language and traditions, working to create materials about the Hawaiian culture in the Hawaiian language, and restoring their grandparents' Hawaiian language skills. The reversed vertical transmission may have occurred because of the unique history of the Hawaiian culture. The devaluation of the Hawaiian language and culture caused a gap in cultural transmission stemming back to these students' great-grandparents. Cultural transmission, which is typically the responsibility of the parents, became these students' responsibility. The concern was that this heavy burden to perpetuate the language and culture may be excessively demanding on these children (Warner, 1998).

Another potential concern was the effect that this pressure of reversed vertical transmission had on these students' cultural values. These students' responsibility to transmit culture to their elders may have been contrary to cultural values, such as respect for elders. Students were taught to show respect to authority figures by listening and observing without speaking. In this sense, it may have been difficult for these students to teach their elders and still show respect.

Also mentioned in the literature was a concern that the lack of Hawaiian language speaking ability in the parent generation would diminish immersion students' sense of responsibility to pass on the Hawaiian language and culture (Wong, 1995). The adult participants shared a concern for the uncertain effects of their inability to support their children's Hawaiian language. Although student participants were not always able to receive assistance from their parents, they reported that siblings, peers, and teachers were abundantly available for support. The results of this study suggest that these students and families, despite their parents' language speaking abilities, developed a strong sense of responsibility for cultural transmission.

Strengthening Social Connections

The Kaiapuni program was first established through the efforts of Hawaiian language supporters and families in the community. Since the

program's conception, families continued to build and maintain the program through their involvement in decision-making and political activism. Family involvement in this educational setting was rather unique when considering the varied roles, types and extent of involvement (Yamauchi, Lau-Smith, & Luning, 2006).

Previous research has shown that parental involvement in schools may have a positive impact on students' academic outcomes and may even affect the ways parents view themselves (Bromley, 1972; O'Connor, 2001). Studies of low income families revealed that, through parental involvement, parents gained a more positive sense of self and became more interested in education. A review of the literature on indigenous language immersion programs also gives evidence of the importance of parental involvement to the survival of the program (Cloud, Genesee, and Hamayan, 2000).

In the Kaiapuni program, parents, students, and extended family members were encouraged to become politically active (Yamauchi, Ceppi, Lau-Smith, 2000). Participants acknowledged the significant impact that their political advocacy had on their lives and their family's lives. Parents saw a change in their children's confidence levels. They appreciated that their children were learning to stand up for themselves and for their rights as Hawaiians. Differing from other research on family involvement, the family

members in this program often made major life changes in their careers and education. Several of the family members who had no Hawaiian language knowledge prior to their involvement in the program went back to school to study Hawaiian culture and language and have become teachers in various educational settings. Others moved into careers that supported the creation of materials in the Hawaiian language and culture.

Previous research in the Kaiapuni program suggested that teachers felt a family-like connection with students' and their families (Yamauchi, Ceppi, Lau-Smith, 2000). Participants in this study confirmed that the relationships between the families and the program members were more like extended family members. This study also suggests that involvement resulted in a closer relationship within the family as well as between members of the Kaiapuni supporters.

The small number of members in the Kaiapuni network fostered an intimate community environment. Students and families had a cultural connection to each other in that few Hawaiian people in the larger community, especially at that time, spoke the native language and engaged in cultural practices. Stern, Yuen, & He (2004) recognized that Hawaiian families value a sense of 'ohana (family) and community responsibility. Their research on families in Hawai'i, revealed specific qualities that may create strong

family ties. Among these qualities were a sense of commitment or family support, an appreciation for each other, a set of shared values and beliefs or spirituality, and an ability to rally together to maintain a sense of purpose when faced with a challenge. Several of these qualities can be found in the Kaiapuni program, which strengthens relationships within the program as well as within the families involved in this program.

One of the most significant and unique aspects that strengthened connections between those involved in the program was that they shared a common purpose of building the Kaiapuni program and fighting to revitalize the Hawaiian language and culture. Families pulled together to face the challenge of ensuring the survival of the program, the Hawaiian language, and the cultural practices. These families stood by the program and supported it regardless of criticisms they received from others outside of the program. They stood together against friends, extended family, coworkers, and the government. The commitment that these families made to perpetuate the language and the culture via the Kaiapuni program bound them together under a common goal.

Another characteristic of the program was the modeling of Hawaiian values and religion which placed an emphasis on family connections, especially with respect to elders, including non-familial relationships. Setting

it apart from most educational programs, the familial sense of responsibility extended to ancestral and spiritual connections. These students learned that they have a responsibility to, and are supported by, their ancestors who have already passed.

The family, teacher, and peer support also benefited students academically. Students reportedly felt comfortable in class. They also said that they supported each other academically, inside and outside of the classroom, because of these family-like relationships. Students would meet before class to assist each other with homework and would work together during class if a peer needed assistance.

Changing Perspectives

One major influence that the program had on these families was bridging the gap between the grandparents' generation and the immersion students' generation, both socially and culturally. The Hawaiian cultural revival occurred at a time when the generation of native speakers and bearers of traditional Hawaiian knowledge was dwindling. This program has been working to bring the elder and the younger generations together to support each other and thereby strengthen the cultural knowledge for these students and increase the cultural pride for the kūpuna. Previous research in other indigenous language immersion schools such as the Hualapai and the Yup'ik

similarly encouraged involvement of elders in the community (McCarty & Watahomigie, 1999).

A review of the literature suggests that community involvement in education, that may include service-learning opportunities, may have positive effects on students' academic achievement, increase self-esteem, and promote community activism (Honig, Kahne, & McLaughlin, 2001; Waldstein & Reiher, 2001). Previous research in the Hawaiian community has shown similar findings. For example, one study found that students in a Hawaiian Studies Program believed that their involvement in service-learning made a difference in their community, developed their career skills, and increased their knowledge about Hawaiian history and culture (Yamauchi, Billig, Hofschire, & Meyer, 2006). The participants in the current study reported similar results from their community involvement. However, they described positive changes for both the members involved in the program and the larger community. Their involvement promoted a sense of cultural pride and community responsibility.

Similar to other indigenous language immersion programs, some members of the community especially in the grandparent generation, were against the establishment of these schools (Stiles, 1997). At first, many of the Hawaiian language immersion students' grandparents as well as other

community members of both Hawaiian and non-Hawaiian ancestry disapproved of the program (Slaughter, 1997). Considering the history of Hawai'i and the colonization of the Hawaiian people, this is not surprising. Over the past century, the community has endured nearly insurmountable stereotypes and prejudices against the Hawaiian people.

The findings of this study suggest that as those in the broader community learned more about the Kaiapuni program and related Hawaiian language revitalization efforts, these stereotypes and stigma may have diminished. Through participation in the program, kūpuna were learning to be proud of their heritage again. They were becoming involved in sharing the culture with students in the classrooms and in the political advocacy of the program. These children's successful mastery of both Hawaiian and English languages dispelled any myths and fears about the potentially detrimental effects of bilingualism. These children surpassed the generational loss of cultural identity and foster a renewed sense of cultural pride and identity for their grandparents.

In the larger community, this program and these families have been instrumental in bringing issues of Hawaiian language and culture revitalization efforts into a new light. The skepticism and criticism that the program first endured, for the most part, appears quelled. The awareness that

these families have raised has helped to bring about a new climate in the Hawaiian community.

Theoretical and Practical Implications

This study is significant in its investigation of the perspectives of the direct beneficiaries of culturally based educational program. The findings of this study fit with the sociocultural perspective which suggests that individuals' thoughts, ideas, views, and beliefs develop from their social interactions (Vygotsky, 1978). This theory suggests that culture is transmitted through the interactions of those who have mastered the language and culture to the learner. For these students, however, the responsibility of mastering knowledge and assisting other learners occurs at an earlier age.

This study contributes to the growing body of research investigating the role of culturally based education and language revitalizations for indigenous peoples. The results of this study may be helpful for teachers, in and out of the Kaiapuni program, in understanding the effects of culture and education on student, family, and community development. This study highlights the importance of incorporating culture in the classroom, creating a comfortable classroom environment, and involving family and community members in students' education. The results also revealed some of the effects

and benefits of immersion programs on indigenous people in the larger community.

Family member participants also appreciated the community networks created by this program. A few parents suggested that programs should focus on collaborating with other immersion sites in order to benefit from each other's experiences, avoid some of the hardships that have already been encountered, and assist in the development of new sites. These findings may aid founders of other indigenous language immersion programs as well as families interested in immersion education by providing insights into the trials and triumphs of supporting and participating in an immersion program.

Limitations of the Research

Potential limitations of this study that should be considered are the reliance on self selection, self report, small sample size, and other issues related to generalizability. This study relied on participants' self selection and self reporting. Participants were not only self selected into this study but were also self selected into the Kaiapuni program. In an effort to support the program, the families who volunteered to participate in this study may have been more inclined to provide a good impression of the school. The participants were also nominated by teachers and administrators in the

program. Therefore, these individuals may have been more likely to express positive views about the school.

Although these findings are representative of the interviewed participants' perspectives, this study employed a relatively small number of subjects. For this reason, the findings may not be generalized to other Kaiapuni family members or members in the larger community. This study also utilized interviews from archival data collected several years ago. Therefore, the participants' views are representative of some of those who were involved in the program at that time and may not apply to perspectives in the Kaiapuni program today.

Future Research

The students who participated in this study are now young adults who are 20- to 26-years-old. It would be interesting to conduct a follow-up study to find out what they ended up doing after high school and to what extent they are using their knowledge of the Hawaiian language and culture. Future research could also extend the investigation of the effects of the Hawaiian language immersion program by examining current student and family perspectives in the Kaiapuni program and comparing them to what was found in this study. A larger sample size of families and students could also assist us in determining the range of perspectives on the program. It may also

be helpful to conduct a study that compares the perspectives of families and students in the Kaiapuni program with those of families and students in other Hawaiian culture-based programs that have since developed (e.g., Hawaiian charter schools) and in other indigenous language immersion programs.

Findings of this study suggest that more attention should be given to the reversal of cultural transmission. A future study could specifically look at the effects of the added pressure and responsibility of cultural revitalization and transmission on these students' development. In addition, future investigations could focus more on the unique political involvement aspect and the effects on their families' development.

Appendix A

Interview Protocol for Family Members

1. Would you state your name and spell it for us?
2. If you don't mind, would you tell us your age?
3. What is your ethnicity? (If multiple, is there one that you particularly identify with?)
4. Where did you grow up?
5. Can you tell us a little about your family? Who lives with you and how they are related?
6. What high school did each of you attend? Could you describe your post-secondary education and that of the other adults in your household?
7. What is your current occupation and that of the other adults in your household?
8. Do you speak Hawaiian?
 - a. If yes, From whom? Why did you decide to learn the language?
 - b. If no, do you think it affects your involvement with the school? Does it affect your working with your child? If so, how?
9. What role does the Hawaiian language play in your lives? (family and individuals)
10. How long have you been involved in the Kaiapuni program?
11. What roles have you played in the program? What kinds of school related activities have you been involved in? How often?
12. Can you tell us about each of your children's educational history? Where they have gone to school, where they go now and what grades they are in? (Pūnana Leo?)

13. Why did you choose to enroll your child in Kaiapuni? Could you talk through the process of how you heard about the program, what you considered and why you decided to send them to this particular school?
 - a. (Roles they played in the decision making process; importance of perpetuation of Hawaiian)
 - b. (Follow up questions to find out why leaving English-only or Kaiapuni for different children)
14. What are your goals for your child in terms of his or her education? (in general)
15. What were you expecting when you first enrolled your child in the Kaiapuni program? Were your expectations met or not?
16. Could you compare Kaiapuni with the English only program? (Any differences for students? Any differences for families?) How do you know?
17. What do you like about the Kaiapuni program?
18. What would you like to see changed or improved?
19. How long do you intend to keep your child in the program?
20. How, if at all, do you think being a Kaiapuni student affects your child's future?
21. What kinds of educational activities do you do with your kids, both related and not related to school? (language-related activities?)
22. From the very beginning of the Kaiapuni program, the policy has been to introduce English in grade 5 for one hour and to continue this through high school. What do you think about this policy?
23. Has this program influenced you personally? If so, how? Has this program influenced your family? If so, how?

24. (If the child is Hawaiian...) Do you think this program has influenced the way your child sees him/herself as Hawaiian? Has it influenced how others in the family see themselves?
25. (For Hawaiian participants) What do you think about non-Hawaiian participating in the program (students and educators)?
26. (If the child is not Hawaiian...) What is it like to be a non-Hawaiian in this program? What has it been like for your child?
27. Do you think families influence the program? In what ways? Can you think an example of how your family or another has influenced the program?
28. In what ways, if any, do you think the program influences the larger community? (People not necessarily involved in Kaiapuni)?
29. What kinds of questions or responses have other people made to you about having your child in the Kaiapuni program? What is your response? (extended family, other community support)
30. What advice do you have for families thinking of enrolling their children in the Kaiapuni program?
31. Do you have any other comments you would like to make about what we have been talking about?
32. Are there other parents that you recommend that we talk to about these issues?
33. Would it be alright to contact you if we have other questions? Would you like to see a transcript of the interview? Would you like us to send you the results of this research? Would you like us to use a pseudonym or your real name (choose a pseudonym)? Would we be able to use your voice in a presentation of these results?
34. Would you be willing to allow us to interview your child about their experiences in the program? (sign consent form for child interview)

Appendix B

Interview Protocol for Students

1. Could you tell us your name and spell it?
2. How old are you? When is your birthday?
3. What is your nationality?
4. Do you like being...
5. What does it mean to be Hawaiian?
6. What is good about being Hawaiian? What is good about being (other ethnic groups)?
7. Do you think it's important to speak Hawaiian? Why?
8. Who do you live with in your house?
9. Do any of your brothers and sisters also go to Kaiapuni? Do any of your cousins? (What does your family think about you going to Kaiapuni?)
10. What school do you go to? How do you get to school (transportation)?
11. Have you ever gone to other schools? Have you ever gone to a school where the kumus only speak English in class?
12. Why do you go to a Kaiapuni school? (Was it the student's choice?)
13. What do you like about this school?
14. What do you not like about this school? What would you change?
15. Could you describe what a typical day in school?
16. What subjects do you find easiest? What makes them easy? What subjects do you find hardest? What makes them hard? (math and science?)

17. Do you ever have a hard time understanding what your kumu is saying?
What do you do?
18. If you had a choice, would you rather speak in Hawaiian or English?
(When?) Read in Hawaiian or English? Write in Hawaiian and English?
19. Are there ever times that you want to say something in Hawaiian and
couldn't? Could you give me an example? What did you do?
20. Do you find reading Hawaiian easy or difficult?
21. Do you find writing in Hawaiian easy or difficult?
22. Was there ever a time that you wanted to say something in English and
couldn't? Could you give me an example? What did you do?
23. Do you find reading English easy or difficult?
24. Do you find writing in English easy or difficult?
25. When do you use English in school? (academic, texts) How do you feel
about English in school?
26. Do you think Kaiapuni and English school are different? How? Do you
think you are learning the same things as kids in the English only schools?
How do you know?
27. Is there anything that you do in school that students in an English school
don't get to do?
28. Are there subjects or courses that you wish you could take, but aren't
offered in Kaiapuni? How do you feel about that?
29. Are there other things related to school that you aren't able to do because
you are in Kaiapuni? (academic, social)
30. What do you do after school and on the weekends? Are any of those
things in Hawaiian? Would you want any of those things to be in
Hawaiian? Why? (sports, hula, A+, church?)

31. Do most of your friends know how to speak Hawaiian? Do your friends who don't speak Hawaiian know that you speak Hawaiian? What do they think about it?
32. Does anybody in your family speak Hawaiian? Who? Do you speak Hawaiian with them? When?
33. If you need help with your homework, what do you do?
34. Do people in your family come to your school? When? What do they do?
35. How long do you want to stay in Kaiapuni? How long do you think you will stay?
36. What do you want to do after you graduate from high school? (career)
37. When you grow up and have children, do you think your children will speak Hawaiian? How will they learn it? (Will you speak it to them?)
38. If someone wanted to go to a Kaiapuni school, what advice would you give him/her?
39. Are there any other things you'd like to tell me about being in the Kaiapuni program? What benefits do you think you get from being in the program?
40. When we tell people about this research, do you want us to use your real name? (If not, choose a pseudonym).

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