

## **The Influences of Indigenous Heritage Language Education on Students and Families in a Hawaiian Language Immersion Program**

Rebecca J. I. Luning and Lois A. Yamauchi, University of Hawai'i

### **Abstract**

Papahana Kaiapuni is a K-12 public school program in which the Hawaiian language is the medium of instruction. In 1987, parents and language activists started the program in response to the dwindling number of speakers that resulted from a nearly century-long ban on the indigenous language. This study examined how participation in this indigenous heritage language program influenced students and their families. Data included interviews with 12 adolescent students and their family members. Results suggested that the program promoted students' learning about and practicing traditional Hawaiian values, and influenced cultural pride among family members. Participation in the program also encouraged youths and their family members to become politically active around Hawaiian cultural issues. Unlike the more typical process in which culture is passed down from the older to the younger generations, participants viewed Kaiapuni students as the carriers of the culture and language, teaching older family members about these topics. Informants also reported that Kaiapuni promoted positive community views about both Hawaiian language and culture revitalization efforts.

### **Introduction**

To date, few studies have focused on the influence of indigenous heritage language programs from the perspective of students and their families. This study examined how participation in Papahana Kaiapuni, a K-12 public school program that uses the Hawaiian language as the medium of instruction, influenced students and their families. In particular, the study investigated how the program affected students' and family members' understanding about and identification with Hawaiian culture.

### *Brief History of the Hawaiian Language in the Schools*

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 classrooms (Kawakami & Dudoit, 2000). Although Hawaiian was originally an oral language, when missionaries arrived in 1820, they developed a writing system and translated the Bible into Hawaiian (Warner, 2001). Numerous publications, including bibles and newspapers, were published in the Hawaiian language. Literacy rates among native Hawaiians were high. By the 1850s, it was reported that all Hawaiian adults were 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 in public schools, and corporal punishment was used if children spoke the language (Kawakami & Dudoit, 2000). The ban led to the rapid decline in Hawaiian language use. Hawaiian families encouraged their children to use English, believing that it was necessary for their success.

The ban on the Hawaiian language continued for nearly 100 years. During this time, the number of native speakers decreased, and the overall status of the language declined significantly (Warner, 2001). It was not until the late 1960s to early 1970s that there was a resurgence of pride in the Hawaiian culture and language. This movement has come to be known as the “Hawaiian Renaissance” and coincided with indigenous and ethnic minority movements throughout the country. During this time, many 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 Hawaiian 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 English (Kame‘eleihiwa, 1992; Wilson, 1998).

*History and Description of the Hawaiian Language Immersion Program.*

In 1987, in response to political pressure from Hawaiian language activists and families, the Hawai‘i State Department of Education started Papahana Kaiapuni, the Hawaiian Language Immersion program (Kame‘eleihiwa, 1992; Wilson, 1998). Before the program began, there were about 2,000 native speakers of Hawaiian left. Of these native speakers, the majority was over the age of 50 and about 30 speakers were under the age of 18 (Heckathorn, 1987).

Inspired by community-organized Maori immersion preschools in New Zealand, Hawaiian language activists developed a private Hawaiian language preschool. Similar to Maori language revitalization, Hawaiian language activists realized an urgent need and developed the program at a grass-roots level. Like its Maori counterpart, the Hawaiian program was designed to incorporate traditional cultural practices in the classroom, as well as use a native language as the medium of instruction. Both programs were efforts to restore use of the heritage languages amongst youths while also increasing a sense of pride in the traditional cultures.

When children who attended the Hawaiian language preschools were close to school age, their parents and other activists lobbied the State Department of Education to begin a public Hawaiian language program (Jacobson, 1998; Warner, 2001). While the program founders, teachers, and family members generally spoke English as their first language, most of them had learned Hawaiian through classes at the University of Hawai‘i. Some of them already spoke to their children in Hawaiian but wanted to create a way to continue their children’s development in the language through formal education (Yamauchi & Wilhelm, 2001; Monastersky, 2004). Research on language revitalization efforts emphasizes the importance of providing opportunities for continued language use and education in the heritage language through adolescence and adulthood (Fishman, 2001; Hinton, 2001).

Papahana Kaiapuni is part of the State Department of Education, a public school system with a single school district. Along with its goal of revitalizing the Hawaiian language by adopting it as the language of instruction, the Kaiapuni curriculum also focuses on Hawaiian culture and indigenous studies (Yamauchi & Wilhelm, 2001). Unlike English medium schools in the State, Kaiapuni schools offer English language instruction for one hour each day beginning in Grade 5.

In 2008, there were approximately 1,500 Kaiapuni students enrolled at 19 sites throughout the islands (Hawai'i State Department of Education, 2008). In the 1999-2000 school year, when data for this study were collected, there were 17 Kaiapuni sites. Out of these 17 sites, 15 of them were "schools within a school," sharing campuses with the more typical English language program (Piper, 1994). These schools were located on five of the eight major Hawaiian islands, namely Hawai'i 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 youths in over a century to have completed their elementary and secondary education in the Hawaiian language. That year, there were approximately 1,700 students in the program. As the preceding statistics show, 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<sup>1</sup> speakers. In 2001, about 20% of the families regularly spoke Hawaiian at home, and few students entered the program able to speak Hawaiian fluently (Yamauchi & Wilhelm, 2001). Although 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), few parents continue learning the Hawaiian language to the level of fluency.

Acquiring a second language is more difficult for children who are limited by the lack of language use at home and in the community (Wong, 1999; Hinton & Hale, 2001). For this reason, Kaiapuni educators prefer that students enter the program at an early age, usually beginning in kindergarten. Despite students' limited exposure to the 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, 1997).

Kaiapuni students and families are fairly representative of families in the public school system in Hawai'i, specifically in regard to the families' range of socio-economic status and the ratio of honor students to special education students (Yamauchi & Wilhelm, 2001). However, unlike students in the broader school system, the majority of Kaiapuni students are of Hawaiian or Part-Hawaiian ancestry, although the program is open to students of all ethnic backgrounds. In addition, participating families often live in neighborhoods that are far from the schools 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 Kaiapuni curriculum focuses on indigenous language and culture, and the teaching methods are often designed to be compatible with traditional Hawaiian culture. Proponents argue that the

program is a more culturally compatible form of education for Hawaiian children because of its emphasis on indigenous language and culture (Watson-Gegeo, 1989).

Kaipuni students have achieved academic success in many ways. According to evaluations of the program, they were as proficient in English as their non-immersion peers and also attained a high level of proficiency in Hawaiian (Slaughter, 1991, 1997). In addition to meeting or exceeding the standardized test scores of their Native Hawaiian peers in English-only schools, Kaipuni students were able to successfully pass the University of Hawai'i English composition test, even though they did not begin taking English language classes until Grade 5 (Kamanā & Wilson, 1996; Wilson & Kamanā, 2001).

### *Purpose and Theoretical Framework*

This study investigated how participation in Papahana Kaipuni influenced students and their families. In particular, we were interested in how their involvement shaped their views about Hawaiian culture and their cultural identity.

We 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 maintains that children's development is directly affected by active construction of the world around them through social interactions.

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

### **Method**

The data for this study come from a larger project investigating the history and development of the Kaipuni program (Yamauchi, 2001). For this paper, we primarily focused on data that were relevant to issues of language and identity.

### *Participants*

The participants in this study were from 12 families in the Kaipuni program. These families were recruited from five of the 17 school sites in existence in 1999, located on four of the major Hawaiian Islands. All of the families included at least one adult family member and an adolescent Kaipuni 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.

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 (12 adults, 14 students) were of Hawaiian or part-Hawaiian ethnicity. Other ethnicities represented by the participants were European-, Chinese-, Japanese-, Filipino- and Samoan-American.

A snowball method of recruitment was used. Initially, participants were recruited through the Hawai'i State Department of Education and other program contacts. These participants and teachers nominated subsequent participants.

### *Procedure*

The data were collected using semi-structured interviews with the participants about their experiences in the Kaiapuni program. The interview questions for the adults covered topics such as personal experiences in the program, parental involvement, expectations for the students' education, program problems and barriers, and participants' roles in the Kaiapuni program (see [Appendix A](#)). The adolescents' interviews focused on their views about the Kaiapuni program, their use of Hawaiian and English both inside and out of the classroom, and their personal experiences as students in a Hawaiian immersion school (see [Appendix B](#)).

Each interview lasted approximately 60-120 minutes long. Most of the interviews took place in the participants' homes. Two or more interviewers conducted the adult and youth interviews simultaneously. The interviews were audio recorded and later transcribed. All adult participants were interviewed in English. The adolescent participants were given the option of using 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 and in these cases, a Hawaiian speaker transcribed and translated the transcriptions from Hawaiian to English.

### *Data Analysis*

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

Once all of the transcripts were coded, a second rater coded six transcripts (approximately 20 percent) separately to verify the codes and check for reliability. There was 84 percent agreement

of all codes between the two raters. That is, the two raters agreed on 294 of 350 instances of codes that had originally been assigned. In the case of discrepancies, the raters discussed their coding and came to consensus as to how to assign the final codes.

#### *Our Roles as Researchers*

*The first author:* I am a native Hawaiian and a member of the Hawaiian speaking community. Twice a week, I volunteer at one of the Kaiapuni schools as a teaching assistant. I personally know many Kaiapuni teachers, administrators, parents, and students from my involvement at that school and from other contacts in the Hawaiian speaking community. My position 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. 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.

*The second author:* I am a professor in the College of Education at the University of Hawai‘i, where many of the Hawaiian language immersion teachers have received their teaching credentials. Although I grew up in Hawai‘i and studied the Hawaiian language, I am not of Hawaiian ancestry nor do I consider myself a Hawaiian speaker. I was the principal investigator of the larger study from which data for this paper is a part. I also interviewed several family members and youths who participated. I know many Hawaiian language immersion teachers from my experiences studying the program and teaching at the University and am an advocate for indigenous approaches to education. These perspectives may have influenced me to seek out more positive images of the program. I also recognize that as an outsider to the program and the Hawaiian language community, I may have misunderstood what people said.

#### *Insiders and Outsiders*

It was our hope that our joint collaboration on this project, as insider and outsider, may have helped us to better understand perspectives of our participants. We are aware that our insider and outsider statuses can bias our views as researchers in different ways. We hoped that our different perspectives might have helped us to better recognize those biases and guard against them.

#### **Results**

Several major themes emerged from the analysis of the transcribed interviews. These themes centered on various areas of student and family development that were influenced by participation in the program. These included academic, social, personal, and language-related influences and issues related to culture and identity. For the purpose of this paper, we focus on text that was coded under the themes of language use and culture and identity to address the research question: How did the Hawaiian Language Immersion Program affect participants' views of the Hawaiian culture and their own cultural identity? Sub-themes under "language" involved topics such as the student's language use outside of school and the family's Hawaiian language fluency. Sub-themes coded under the theme "culture and identity" involved topics such as cultural values, community support, and political involvement.

### *Language Use*

#### *Bilingualism and Language Preference*

All of the adult and student participants spoke English. Of the 20 adult family members, 14 said that they did not speak the Hawaiian language, and 6 said that they were fluent. We asked the students, who were learning Hawaiian at school, to identify whether they preferred to speak, read, and write in Hawaiian or English. Regarding speaking, 10 of the students preferred Hawaiian, 1 preferred English, and 3 did not have a preference. For reading, 7 students preferred Hawaiian, 4 preferred English, and 3 said they had no preference. Nine students preferred writing in Hawaiian, 1 preferred English, and four did not have a preference.

#### *Language Use Outside of School*

The Hawaiian speaking participants described contexts outside of the school setting in which they used the Hawaiian language. Students reported that they spoke Hawaiian at home to parents, siblings, and grandparents. Some students, whose parents did not speak Hawaiian, used the language to communicate with siblings when they did not want their parents to know what they were saying. Similarly, a Hawaiian speaking mother said that she and her son used Hawaiian together when they did not want others in their household to know what they were saying.

Jennifer,<sup>2</sup> a parent who could speak Hawaiian, said that she and her children spoke Hawaiian with each other for one hour each day. She also switched from English to Hawaiian when she felt her children were becoming too rambunctious. Another mother, Adeline, thought the Hawaiian language had a calming influence, “It’s nicer. It’s a nicer tone.”

Student participants identified other contexts outside of school in which they used the Hawaiian language. One student said that she spoke Hawaiian when she attended her hula (Hawaiian dance) classes. Hīnano, another student, described participating in a canoe paddling club that was conducted using the language. She appreciated being able to use the language in this context, “That’s why canoeing is so good. We have a program that teach[es] Hawaiian, Hawaiian values, Hawaiian ideas . . . I think it’s good experience for other people and for me” (Hīnano, age 13). A third student gave an example of speaking Hawaiian at church services. The student’s pastor asked her to translate certain words for others in the congregation who were not as familiar with the language.

Lindsay, a parent who was learning Hawaiian, said that it was hard to find people in the community who spoke the language. Another parent, Julie, who did not speak Hawaiian, felt that the language played more of a role in the lives of her children than in her own: “For me, it’s making sure my children have that, the language and the culture.” Other family members expressed how the Hawaiian language was a means of regaining what previous generations had lost.

Two students said that although their friends spoke Hawaiian, they tended to communicate in English outside of school. Eighteen-year-old Maile said that her closest friends all spoke

Hawaiian, but each of them had learned it at a different school or university. They found that their language use was different, and although it was interesting to compare these differences, it was easier to speak in English.

Most of the students said that they had friends outside of school who did not speak Hawaiian. When asked what those friends thought about their being Hawaiian speakers, four student participants said that those friends thought it was “cool,” and one adolescent noted that these peers thought he was “special because I am the only one of my friends who can speak Hawaiian” (Kekoa, age 16). Two participants said that friends from outside of school asked them to teach them the language.

### *Culture and Identity*

The Kaiapuni curriculum was designed to incorporate the Hawaiian culture. Families reported that they valued the program’s emphasis on Hawaiian culture as much as its focus on the language. Several of the families placed a higher value on their children’s cultural education than on their academic achievement. As one mother noted, “Academics--that's what people send their kids to school for, academics. And that's what we started off thinking . . . academics in Hawaiian. And that was great, but we've also seen more than that” (Kāhea, parent). The families believed that the cultural aspect of Kaiapuni would promote children becoming more well-rounded. They felt that the program created positive images of being Hawaiian and could affect the community in positive ways. Families also appreciated the warm welcome they received when they initially inquired about participating.

Participant families liked the hands-on cultural experiences that the program incorporated into education. The students learned about agriculture through working in taro patches, about science by testing the water in streams, and about Hawaiian history by visiting historic sites on neighboring islands. Besides learning the culture through the curriculum, students practiced traditional Hawaiian customs through daily activities. Every morning before entering the classroom, students would *oli* (chant) together in unison a traditional chant that asked permission of the *kumu* (teacher) to enter the classroom, signifying their readiness to learn. Some students, like their parents, said that they felt it was just as important for them to learn the culture as the language.

These youths also experienced the spiritual aspects of practicing Hawaiian culture. Some family members acknowledged this spiritual aspect of the program and its significance and uniqueness.

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 (chanting) in the morning. It's like their prayer for the day. (Jennifer, parent)



Students also reported that they felt a connection to the spiritual side of the Hawaiian culture. In becoming a part of the language and culture revitalization, students understood their connection to their ancestors. In describing what she thought it meant to be Hawaiian, one student said:

I guess you would have to, like, go to the roots . . . get [to] 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, age 18)

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 their school when they celebrated Makahiki (a festival in October that includes sports and religious activities) instead of Halloween. Some of the parents were upset because, as part of the traditional festivities, an *ahu* (Hawaiian altar) was built in the courtyard of the school. One of those parents, who held strong Christian beliefs, insisted the *ahu* be removed. Parents were divided; some wanted to break it down; others felt that it was an important part of the traditional ceremony. As a parent in our study explained:

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. (Kāhea, parent)

### *Living Hawaiian Values*

Families reported that they felt the Hawaiian values their children acquired was one of the program's major benefits. Parents and students alike appreciated that the program modeled these values. Family members felt that students learned "the values that [are] taught through the language" (Sarah, parent). Many expressed the teaching of values through the language as a unique aspect of 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, parent)

The program provided opportunities for 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* [unity] through activities such as building and maintaining a *lo'i* [taro field]. 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 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). 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. (Maile, age 18)

### *Carriers of Culture and Language*

Student and parent participants expressed the significance of this program and these children on the maintenance and perpetuation of the Hawaiian culture and language. Despite their young age, the adolescents' grasp of the Hawaiian language and culture far exceeded many older members of the Hawaiian community. Because of this, adults encouraged these youths to pass on their knowledge to others.

Families felt that perpetuation of Hawaiian language and culture was an obligation that should be shared by the entire community, including adults involved in the program. - However, many also realized that given the situation that many middle-aged adults did not speak Hawaiian, responsibility for preserving the language and culture fell on their children. The adults acknowledged this undue burden and supported their children as much as possible. One family described why they made this effort a priority:

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." (Michelle, parent)

Another mother acknowledged that her child learning Hawaiian was part of reclaiming part of an identity that had once disappeared.

I truly believe it's a lost identity that we've been able to re-grasp and make a part of our family life . . . I've not had the privilege of learning [the Hawaiian language] through my parents, so I want to give my children that . . . opportunity, so they can identify [with] who they are, where they come from, their cultural values (Anuheā, parent)

Adults also encouraged Kaiapuni youths to pass on their cultural knowledge by returning to the program as educators. One mother encouraged her daughter to become a teacher, something that was needed and that she would be prepared for: "I told my daughter, 'You know, you have that opportunity to become *kumu* [teachers] up there . . . Because the students who learn from college, it's not like how they learn from kindergarten'" (Leimomi, parent).

Older students in the program often supported the younger classes by assisting teachers in the classroom. High school students became teachers' aides in the elementary school classes and

assisted university Hawaiian language learners. Families felt that it was part of these youths' responsibility to give back to younger students by sharing their knowledge. Student participants discussed the responsibility they felt for maintaining the Hawaiian language and culture. 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). 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, age 16).

Yet, this responsibility for the language and culture felt by program participants and their families did have drawbacks. A father acknowledged that others often recognized students in the program as the new Hawaiian speaking youth. He understood that this could bring unwanted attention for his son, who tended to respond to his parents in English when they addressed him in Hawaiian, "From when they were small, they were always put on stage, so to speak. And I don't think he wants to be different. He wants to be like everybody else" (Kaleo, parent).

One family explained a debate they once had about leaving the program. Their concern was about their son's language development. Their son's Hawaiian language was stronger than his English, yet he began to use more English. New students in the program, who did not yet have a grasp of the Hawaiian language, were influencing the boy's language development. This frustrated his parents, but ultimately they 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, parent)

### ***Changing the Views of Family and Community Members***

#### ***Extended Family Support***

Families who decided to enroll their children in the program often faced criticism from their own extended family members. Most of the concerns were about the children's ability to master the English language because it was not taught until Grade 5.

One family in particular said that their grandmother initially was against their enrolling her grandchildren. She was specifically concerned that children needed to have a sound knowledge of English in order to succeed in the world, and she saw the program as undermining her grandchildren's opportunity to master English. Others questioned the type of education these students would receive, claiming that the program "would make them stupid" (Bianca, parent).

Despite these criticisms, the 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 [the private Hawaiian language immersion preschool]. (Leimomi, parent)

However, changing other family members' views about the Kaiapuni program was not always an easy task. One mother described her efforts to do so with her parents, who were Hawaiian.

My parents with whom we argued vigorously on the reasons why we put our son in Pūnana Leo [the private Hawaiian language immersion preschool], . . . 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<sup>3</sup> 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.” (Kāhea, parent)

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 that program involvement had on their entire family, “My uncle, after I started going, he wanted to learn the language” (Liko, age 15). His mother similarly discussed how it affected the others in their extended 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 [the private Hawaiian language immersion preschool]. 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, parent)

*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 children. However, the use of the Hawaiian language was discouraged so much that many of these grandparents did not continue to speak it past childhood. 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 more formal 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:

When he was younger, he [My grandpa] 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 . . . . 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, age 18)

This student's mother shared the grandfather's frustration when struggling to communicate in Hawaiian with his granddaughters:

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.” (Nāpua, parent)

### *Community Support*

Initially, the Hawaiian language immersion program was not well received by many community members of both Hawaiian and non-Hawaiian descent. Some people did not believe that the program should have been created in the first place. Others said that it would not last. A parent recounted her conversation with the principal of a Kaiapuni school-within-a-school site when the program was first established:

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? (Nāpua, parent)

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 expressed their opinions and predictions about the program in the newspaper. Supporters of the program were outraged by what they believed were unfounded comments.

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 kinds of statements are made. And that's really harmful. (Kaleo, parent)

All of the parents interviewed expressed a sense of frustration having to justify and defend the program repeatedly. 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, parent)

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 would struggle without English language skills. They postulated that "these kids are not gonna learn how to fill out an application form" (Nāpua, parent). Some even insisted that the "Hawaiian language was a dead language" (Rachel, parent) and that learning it was a waste of time.

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?" (Julie, parent)

Students also experienced discrimination for their program participation. A few families suggested that Kaiapuni students were being badly treated by some students in the English programs at their schools. In one case, English language students called the Kaiapuni youths "Hawaiian," using the label in a negative way, and a parent noted that adults were also biased.

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. (Cathryn, parent)

Although there may have been some tension between the English-only and Hawaiian immersion sides of some campuses, our data showed that non-Hawaiian members of the community were just as welcomed into the Kaiapuni program as Hawaiians. All families who were interviewed for this study were in support of non-Hawaiian families participating in the program. In fact, four parents who participated in our study were not Hawaiian. All students in this study were part

Hawaiian, but the majority of these participants said that they identified with more than one ethnicity and valued learning about their other ethnic backgrounds, in addition to Hawaiian.

Over the years, the negative comments about the program decreased considerably. Participants reported that the more the community was exposed to the program, the more their skepticism 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. (Julie, parent)

#### *Advocacy and Political Action*

As a new program under the Hawai'i Department of Education, the Kaiapuni program needed considerable funding from the government. However, funding allocated for the program was limited. The program advocates struggled to find enough funding 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, parent)

The families' political involvement is one of the distinctive aspects of the Kaiapuni program. 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 pending bills in the legislature. One family mentioned an incident where parents were upset because they were not informed of a bill that was being passed. These families knew that "when legislative season is in, you can't hesitate; you gotta get it going" (Nāpua, parent).

It was not easy for families to sustain the program. When asked about their parental involvement, all parents in this study mentioned raising money for the program.

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 . . . for monies. (Kāhea, parent)

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 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, parent)

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 political involvement affected them positively. 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, parent). Adult participants also felt that their own involvement modeled the values that they wanted instilled in their children.

## **Discussion**

This study investigated the ways involvement in an indigenous heritage language program influenced the cultural identity of students and their families. In this section, we discuss three major themes of the results: (a) students' sense of responsibility as keepers of their culture, (b) political activism and family involvement, and (c) the ways in which perspectives changed in the community. We also describe implications for research and practice, study limitations, and ideas for future research.

### *Keepers of the Culture*

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. Students learned and practiced Hawaiian values and traditions. The families appreciated that their children benefited both academically and culturally, as the program focused on developing members of the Hawaiian community. The findings from this study revealed that the effect of these benefits extended to the students' families and the larger community.

Previous research indicates that incorporating indigenous students' heritage language and culture into the classroom may have positive outcomes such as increasing students' self-esteem, pride in the native language, motivation, and learning (McCarty, 2002; Wright & Taylor, 1995; Watson-Gegeo, 1989). Those working in Hawaiian education have emphasized the importance of contextualizing academic concepts within what students already know from home and community (Schonleber, in press; Tharp, 1989; Weisner, Gallimore, & Jordan, 1988; Yamauchi, 2003). In the Kaiapuni program, integrating the Hawaiian culture with classroom activities is an explicit program goal (Ka Papahana Kaiapuni Hawai'i, 2008).



Kaiapuni students were expected to pass the knowledge they gained about the Hawaiian culture on to the next generation (Ka Papahana Kaiapuni Hawai'i, 2008). Different from more typical educational programs, students in this program had the responsibility of ensuring the perpetuation of the culture and language. The way in which cultural knowledge is passed along to other community members is more typically viewed as a vertical process, from the older generation to the younger and horizontally, between peers (Schonpflug, 2001; Berry, Poortinga, Segall, & Dasen, 2002). Some researchers suggest that the vertical process, especially in an educational setting, should be considered a two-way process, as learners also affect the cultural knowledge they receive (Dekker, 2001). This concept is similar to sociocultural perspectives in that knowledge development is viewed as more co-constructive. For example, students learning Hawaiian prompted some of their grandparents to begin speaking Hawaiian again. However, some of the language spoken by the older generation was different from what the youths were learning at school. As the two groups interacted, they likely influenced each other's language use.

In the case of Hawaiian culture, the vertical process occurred in reverse, as children in this program brought cultural knowledge to older generations. Students shared their knowledge with college-age students, taught their parents the language and traditions, and worked to create materials about the culture in the Hawaiian language. The historical devaluation and subsequent revitalization of the Hawaiian culture disrupted the traditional way in which cultural knowledge is passed on. In a reversal of the process, students assumed the responsibility for passing on tradition, something that is more traditionally the task of parents and other older members of a culture. Some believe that this burden to perpetuate the language and culture may be excessively demanding (Warner, 1998).

Another concern is the potential conflict between students' responsibility as keepers of the culture and traditional Hawaiian values. Among Hawaiians, there is a strong value placed on respect for elders (Pukui et al., 1972; Chun, 2006). Children show respect to authority figures by listening and observing without speaking. In this sense, it may have been difficult for students to teach their elders while still showing respect.

#### *Political Activism and Family Involvement*

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. This family involvement was exceptional in terms of the varied roles, types, and extent of participation (Yamauchi, Lau-Smith, & Luning, 2008). In addition to more typical types of involvement such as communicating with teachers and attending school functions, parents were involved in decisions about school funding, were politically active, and used community cultural resources to facilitate their children's education.

Previous research has shown that parental involvement in schools influences students' academic outcomes and may affect parents' self-perceptions (Bromley, 1972; O'Connor, 2001). These

studies revealed that involvement in school promoted parents' more positive views of themselves and interest in education. A review of the literature on other heritage language programs also gives evidence of the importance of parental involvement for such programs (Cloud, Genesee, & Hamayan, 2000; Fishman, 1991; Wong Fillmore, 1991).

In the Kaiapuni program, families are encouraged to become politically active (Yamauchi, Ceppi, & Lau-Smith, 2000). Participants acknowledged the significant impact that their political advocacy had on their families' lives. Parents saw youths become more confident and appreciated that their children were learning to advocate for their rights as Hawaiians. 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 the culture and language to become teachers in Hawaiian culture-based educational settings. Others moved into careers that supported the creation of Hawaiian educational materials.

#### *Changing Perspectives*

Participation in the Kaiapuni program promoted positive images of the Hawaiian culture among those in the broader community, including Hawaiian kūpuna (elders). Similar to other indigenous language immersion programs (Stiles, 1997; Hinton & Hale, 2001), some members of the community, both Hawaiian and non-Hawaiians, were against the establishment of the immersion program (Yamauchi, Ceppi, & Lau-Smith, 1999). At first, some Hawaiian grandparents disapproved of the program. Considering the history of the Hawaiian people, this is not surprising. The colonization of the islands resulted in many negative stereotypes and discrimination against Hawaiians in education and other domains (Benham & Heck, 1998; Warner, 2001). Groups who are colonized often internalize the negative views of their colonizers (Cummins, 1994; Oliver, 1996). The resulting effects of colonization are often devastating to a people's belief in their traditions, values, language, and willingness to defend themselves. Ultimately, this may lead those who are colonized to identify with their colonizers and turn against their former way of life (wa Thiong'o, 1986). Non-majority groups often experience powerful pressure to assimilate to the dominant culture and language (Wong Fillmore, 1991).

The findings of this study suggest that as those in the broader community learned more about the Kaiapuni program and related language revitalization efforts, the stereotypes and stigma may have diminished. Participants noted that those in the grandparent generation began using the Hawaiian language more openly and became politically involved. Students' successful mastery of both the Hawaiian and English languages dispelled myths about the detrimental effects of bilingualism.

#### *Theoretical and Practical Implications*

This study is significant because it reveals the perspectives of the direct beneficiaries of an indigenous heritage language program. The findings are compatible with sociocultural perspectives indicating that individuals' thoughts, ideas, views, and beliefs develop from social interactions (Vygotsky, 1978). Those who are more proficient can assist learners, regardless of

their ages. In this case, Kaiapuni youths often assisted older members of their families in developing expertise as Hawaiian speakers and cultural members. The findings of this study are also consistent with the perspective that to learn a language is to learn a culture (Kawakami & Dudoit, 2000). Although the Kaiapuni program is labeled as an indigenous language immersion program, the results of this study suggest that it really is an indigenous culture and language immersion program. In addition to the language, students and their families learned Hawaiian values, traditions, and ways of being.

This study contributes to the growing body of research investigating the role of culturally based education and language revitalization for indigenous peoples. Our results 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. For example, the results suggest that educators and families may need to pay attention to the responsibility placed on children to be the carriers of language and culture. Such a responsibility is unusual and may overwhelm some youths. Adults may need to look for ways to support students' efforts in this area.

The results also suggest that families who choose heritage language education may need support for their decision to go against others in the community who do not value this form of education. Many of the adult participants expressed how initially members of their families and others did not agree with their decision to enroll their children in the Kaiapuni program. Although they remained positive about their own decisions, there may have been others who were not interviewed and did not experience such positive outcomes. Those developing heritage language programs that focus on minority languages may want to consider developing support groups for families and other means of assistance.

Finally, if there are native speakers in the grandparents' or older generations with whom student speakers may interact, educators and family members may need to recognize that the variety of language spoken by the older generation may be different from what is being taught at school. It may be necessary to help bridge the two varieties of language to facilitate communication between the two generations of speakers.

#### *Limitations of the Research*

This study is limited in its reliance on self-selection, self-report, small sample size, and other issues related to generalizability. Participants not only volunteered to be in this study but also chose to enroll in the Kaiapuni program. In an effort to support the program, the families who volunteered for our study may have been more inclined to provide a good impression of the program. As educators also nominated participants, those selected may have been more likely to express positive views.

This study employed a relatively small number of participants. For this reason, the findings may not generalize 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 who were involved in the program at that time and may not apply to current program perspectives.

#### *Future Research*

The students who participated in this study are now young adults. We are interested in conducting a study to follow up on their personal and career development and to discover the extent to which these graduates are using the Hawaiian language and culture. Future research could also examine program effects on current student and family perspectives, and a larger sample could assist us in determining the range of perspectives. Finally, our findings suggest that more attention should be given to the reversal of the process by which culture is passed along. A future study could look at the effects of the added pressure and responsibility of cultural revitalization on students' development.

#### **Acknowledgements**

The work herein was supported under the Educational Research and Development Program, PR/Award R306A60001, as administered by the Office of Educational Research and Improvement, U.S. Department of Education. However, the contents do not necessarily represent the positions or policies of the U.S. Department of Education and readers should not assume endorsement by the Federal Government.

The authors wish to thank the students and family members who participated in this study. They are also grateful to Jeffrey Judd, Maile Aki, Valerie Amby, Liane Asinsen, Chantis Fukunaga, Makana Garma, William Greene, Dorothy Mane, Andrea Purcell, and Doreen Uehara, who provided research assistance and to Barbara DeBaryshe, Ernestine Enomoto, Seongah Im, Cecily Ornelles, Katherine Ratliffe, and Tracy Trevorow, who gave helpful feedback on earlier versions of this paper.

This paper is based on Rebecca Luning's master's thesis, and versions of it were presented at the 2008 annual meetings of the American Educational Research Association in New York, NY and the Hawai'i Educational Research Association in Honolulu, HI.

#### **References**

- Benham, M. K., & Heck, R. H. (1998). *Culture and educational policy in Hawaii: The silencing of native voices*. Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Berry, J., Poortinga, Y. H., Segall, M. H., & Dasen, P. R. (2002). *Cross-cultural psychology: Research and application*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Bromley, K. C. (Ed.). (1972). *Investigation of the effects of parent participation in Head Start*. Washington, DC: Office of Child Development.
- Chun, M. N. (2006). *A'o: Educational traditions*. Honolulu, HI: University of Hawai'i Curriculum Research & Development Group.

- Cloud, N., Genesee, F., & Hamayan, E. (2000). *Dual language instruction: A handbook for enriched education*. Boston, MA: Heinle & Heinle Publishers.
- Creswell, J. W. (1998). *Qualitative inquiry and research design*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.
- Cummins, J. (1994). Knowledge, power, and identity in teaching English as a second language. In F. Genesee (Ed.), *Educating second language children: The whole child, the whole curriculum, the whole community*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Dekker, J. (2001). Cultural transmission and inter-generational interaction. *International Review of Education*, 47(1), 77-95.
- Fishman, J. A. (1991). *Reversing language shift: Theoretical and empirical foundations of assistance to threatened languages*. Philadelphia, PA: Multilingual Matters Ltd.
- Fishman, J. A. (2001). *Can threatened languages be saved? Reversing language shift revisited: A 21<sup>st</sup> century perspective*. Tonawanda, NY: Multilingual Matters Ltd.
- Hawai'i State Department of Education (2008). *Ka Papahana Kaiapuni Hawai'i*. Retrieved from <http://www.k12.hi.us/~kaiapuni>.
- Heckathorn, J. (1987). Can Hawaiian survive? *Honolulu Magazine*, April, 48-49.
- Hinton, L. (2001). Language revitalization: An overview. In L. Hinton & K. Hale (Eds.), *The green book of language revitalization in practice*. San Diego, CA: Academic Press.
- Hinton, L., & Hale, K. (2001). *The green book of language revitalization in practice*. San Diego, CA: Academic Press.
- Jacobson, L. (1998). Turning the tide. *Education Week*, 18(6), 28.
- Kamanā, K., & Wilson, W. H. (1996). Hawaiian language programs. In G. Cantoni (Ed.), *Stabilizing indigenous languages* (pp. 153-156). Flagstaff, AZ: Center for Excellence in Education, Northern Arizona University.
- Kame'eiehiwa, L. (1992). Kula Kaiapuni: Hawaiian immersion schools. *The Kamehameha Journal of Education*, 3(2), 109-118.
- Kawakami, A. J., & Dudoit, W. (2000). Ua Ao Hawai'i/Hawai'i is enlightened: Ownership in a Hawaiian language immersion classroom. *Language Arts*, 77(5), 384-390.
- Kloss, H. (1977). *The American bilingual tradition*. Rowley, MA: Newbury House.
- McCarty, T. L. (2002). *A place to be Navajo*. Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Monastersky, R. (2004). Talking a language back from the brink. *Chronicle of Higher Education*, 51(16), 8-10.
- Oliver, C. (1996). The internal colonialism model: What the model has done to the education of Native Americans. *Resources in Education*, 31(11), 27.
- O'Connor, S. (2001). Voices of parents and teachers in a poor white urban school. *Journal of Education for Students Placed At Risk*, 6(3), 175-198.
- Piper, P. S. (1994). Schools-within-a-school: The Kapa'a Elementary School model. *Educational Innovations in the Pacific*, 1(2), 1-6.
- Pukui, M. K., Haertig, E. W., & Lee, C. A. (1972). *Nānā i ke kumu* [Look to the source]. Honolulu, HI: Hui Hānai.
- Schonleber, N. (in press). Culturally relevant pedagogy and the Montessori approach: Perspectives from Hawaiian culture-based educators. *Journal of American Indian Education*.

- Schonpflug, U. (2001). Introduction: Cultural transmission-A multidisciplinary research field. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 32, 131.
- Slaughter, H. (1991). Learning to read English outside of school: Patterns of first language literacy acquisition of Hawaiian language immersion students. *Educational Perspectives*, 28(1), 9-17.
- Slaughter, H. (1997). *Functions of literacy in an indigenous second language: Issues and insights from an ethnographic study of Hawaiian immersion*. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association, Chicago, IL.
- Slaughter, H. (1997). Indigenous language immersion in Hawai'i: A case study of Kula Kaiapuni Hawai'i. In R. K. Johnson & S. Merrill (Eds.), *Immersion education: International perspectives* (pp. 105-129). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- State of Hawai'i (n.d.). *Hanau hou he'ula 'o Kaho'olawe: Rebirth of a sacred island*. Retrieved from <http://kahoolawe.hawaii.gov/history.shtml>.
- Stiles, D. B. (1997). Four successful indigenous language programs. In J. Reyhner (Ed.), *Teaching indigenous languages* (pp. 148-262). Flagstaff, AZ: Northern Arizona University.
- Tharp, R. G. (1989). Psychocultural variables and constants: Effects on teaching and learning in schools. *American Psychologist*, 44, 349-359.
- Vygotsky, L. S. (1978). *Mind in society: The development of higher psychological processes*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Warner, S. N. (1998). Hawaiian language regeneration: Planning for intergenerational use of Hawaiian beyond the school. In T. Huebner & K. A. Davis (Eds.), *Sociopolitical perspectives on language policy and planning in the USA: Studies in bilingualism* (pp. 313-331). Philadelphia, PA: J. Benjamins Publication Company.
- Warner, S. N. (2001). The movement to revitalize Hawaiian language and culture. In L. Hinton & K. Hale (Eds.), *The green book of language revitalization in practice* (pp. 133-144). San Diego, CA: Academic Press.
- wa Thiong'o, N. (1986). *Decolonizing the mind: The politics of language in African literature*. Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann.
- Watson-Gegeo, K. (1989). *The Hawaiian language immersion program: Classroom discourse and children's development of communicative competence*. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the National Council of Teachers of English. Baltimore, MD: ERIC document ED 321 561.
- Weisner, T. S., Gallimore, R., & Jordan, C. (1988). Unpacking cultural effects on classroom learning: Hawaiian peer assistance and child-generated activity. *Anthropology and Education Quarterly*, 19, 327-353.
- Wilson, W. H. (1998). The sociopolitical context of establishing Hawaiian-medium education. *Language, Culture and Curriculum*, 11(3), 325-338.
- Wilson, W. H., & Kamanā, K. (2001). 'Mai loko mai a ka 'i'ini: Proceeding from a dream.' The 'Aha Pūnana Leo connection in Hawaiian language revitalization. In L. Hinton & K. Hale (Eds.), *The green book of language revitalization in practice*. San Diego, CA: Academic Press.
- Wong, L. (1999). Authenticity and the revitalization of Hawaiian. *Anthropology & Education Quarterly*, 30(1), 94-115.

- Wong Fillmore, L. (1991). When learning a second language means losing the first. *Early Childhood Research Quarterly*, 6(3), 323-346.
- Wright, S. C., & Taylor, D. M. (1995). Identity and the language of the classroom: Investigating the impact of heritage versus second language instruction on personal and collective self-esteem. *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 87(2), 241-252.
- Yamauchi, L. A. (2001). *The sociocultural context of the Hawaiian language immersion program*. Final report submitted to the Center for Research on Education, Diversity, and Excellence (CREDE). Santa Cruz, CA: CREDE.
- Yamauchi, L. A. (2003). Making school relevant for at-risk students: The Wai‘anae High School Hawaiian Studies Program. *Journal of Education for Students Placed at Risk*, 8, 379-390.
- Yamauchi, L. A., Ceppi, A. K., & Lau-Smith, J. (1999). Sociohistorical influences on the development of Papahana Kaiapuni, the Hawaiian language immersion program. *Journal of Education for Students Placed At Risk*, 4, 25-44.
- Yamauchi, L. A., Ceppi, A. K., & Lau-Smith, J. (2000). Teaching in a Hawaiian context: Educator perspectives on the Hawaiian Language Immersion Program. *Bilingual Research Journal*, 24, 385-403.
- Yamauchi, L. A., Lau-Smith, J., & Luning, R. J. I. (2008). Family involvement in a Hawaiian language immersion program. *The School Community Journal*, 18, 39-60.
- Yamauchi, L. A., & Wilhelm, P. (2001). E ola ka Hawai‘i i kōna ‘ōlelo: Hawaiians live in their language. In D. Christian & F. Genesee (Eds.), *Bilingual education* (pp. 83-94). Alexandria, VA: TESOL.

**Appendix A ([back](#))**  
**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 ([back](#))**  
**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 [ethnicity]?
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? (In not, choose a pseudonym).

**Notes**

- [1.](#) Hawai‘i Creole English is known locally as “Pidgin English.”
- [2.](#) All names are pseudonyms.
- [3.](#) Kaho‘olawe is an island that was seized by the U.S. military during World War II (State of Hawai‘i, n.d.). For 50 years, the island was used for soldier training and bombing practice. In 1991, after continued protests from Native Hawaiians, the federal government ended the live-fire training and returned the island to the State.