KA PAPAHANA KAIAPUNI: GRADUATE PERSPECTIVES
ON HAWAIIAN IMMERSION EDUCATION

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE DIVISION OF THE UNIVERSITY
OF HAWAI‘I AT MĀNOA IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF EDUCATION
IN
EARLY CHILDHOOD EDUCATION

DECEMBER 2012

By
Christine Kilikina Namau‘u

Thesis Committee:
Donna J. Grace, Chairperson
Barbara DeBaryshe
Alice Kawakami
Abstract

The broad theme of this study focuses on a specific means of language retention in the face of the larger issues surrounding language loss amongst indigenous cultures. Focusing on the graduates of Papahana Kaiapuni, Hawaiian language immersion program in the state of Hawai'i, this study was undertaken to help parents decide if this particular program is a good educational choice for their children, and subsequently if not ultimately if they believe language retention is important, and why. Research was based on surveying the graduates of Papahana Kaiapuni and then interviewing a cross sample of some of these graduates and their parents. The findings illuminated the positive impact this program has had on their lives through effects on language use and development, cultural values, identity development, and their own personal contributions within the context of community.

This paper is useful for anthropologists, ethno-botanists, ethno-musicalogists, curators and students of museum studies, students and teachers of cultural studies, linguistics, and geography.

Though the research yielded an overwhelmingly positive experience in Hawaiian immersion programming, it is recommended—given the opportunity and resources—to expand the study to other indigenous communities for a more broadly writ basis of comparison.

*Author is of Hawaiian descent, whose personal experience as both an educator and a parent in this particular immersion experience should be noted.
KA PAPAHANA KAIAPUNI: GRADUATE PERSPECTIVES ON
HAWAIIAN IMMERSION EDUCATION

Abstract......................................................................................................................... 2
Table of Contents............................................................................................................. 3
List of Tables..................................................................................................................... 6
List of Figures.................................................................................................................... 7

Chapter 1: Introduction................................................................................................. 8
  Background..................................................................................................................... 9
  Purpose........................................................................................................................ 10
  Historical and contextual background................................................................. 10
    Pre-contact era........................................................................................................ 11
    First western contact............................................................................................... 12
    Missionary era......................................................................................................... 13
    Plantation era........................................................................................................... 15
    Post World-War II era............................................................................................. 16
    Cultural revitalization era to present.................................................................... 17
  Description of the Papahana Kaiapuni................................................................. 17
    Types of language immersion within Kaiapuni................................................... 18
    Immersion at the secondary level....................................................................... 18
    Extending and supporting immersion education............................................. 19
  Philosophy................................................................................................................... 20
  Summary..................................................................................................................... 20

Chapter 2: Literature Review....................................................................................... 22
  Language..................................................................................................................... 24
    Revitalization.......................................................................................................... 24
      Models of language immersion................................................................. 24
      Authenticity in revitalization........................................................................... 27
    Immersion assessments....................................................................................... 28
    Language and culture........................................................................................... 31
    Unique philosophy................................................................................................. 31
  Cultural Identity....................................................................................................... 33
    An indigenous perspective.................................................................................... 34
      Self-identification............................................................................................... 35
      Community identification.................................................................................. 35
      External identification...................................................................................... 36
    A Native Hawaiian perspective......................................................................... 40
      Mo‘okū‘auhau.................................................................................................... 41
      Aloha ‘āina.......................................................................................................... 42
      Commitment to ‘ohana.................................................................................... 44
  Cultural based education (CBE)........................................................................... 45
Hawaiian cultural based education (HCBE) ........................................ 46
CBE among Hawai‘i teachers ........................................ 47
Positive self-concept ........................................ 47
Cultural knowledge and practice ........................................ 48
Community attachment ........................................ 49
School engagement ........................................ 50
Conclusions of CBE strategies ........................................ 51

Indigenous Research Methodology ........................................ 51
Models of Indigenous Research Methodology .................. 52
Hawaiian Indigenous Research Methodology .................. 54
Comparative Indigenous Research Methodologies ......... 57

Chapter 3: Research Design ........................................ 59
Introduction ........................................ 59
Methodology ........................................ 60
Recruitment ........................................ 61
Participants ........................................ 62
Data Collection ........................................ 63
Surveys ........................................ 63
Interviews ........................................ 64
Data Analysis ........................................ 66
Limitations of Research ........................................ 71

Chapter 4: Analysis of Findings ........................................ 73
Introduction ........................................ 73
Quantitative Survey Data ........................................ 73
Qualitative Data ........................................ 80
Ka ‘Ōlelo/Language ........................................ 80
Survey responses ........................................ 81
Graduate interview responses ........................................ 83
Parent interview responses ........................................ 84
Nā Waiwai Kuʻuna/ Cultural Values ........................................ 85
Survey responses ........................................ 85
Graduate interview responses ........................................ 86
Parent interview responses ........................................ 88
Survey responses ........................................ 89
Graduate responses ........................................ 90
Ka Pikoʻu/ Identity ........................................ 91
Survey responses ........................................ 91
Graduate interview responses ........................................ 92
Ka ʻOhana/Family ........................................ 93
Survey responses ........................................ 94
Graduate interview responses ........................................ 95
Parent interview responses ........................................ 96
Ke Kuana/Attitude ........................................ 97
List of Tables

Table 3.1  Distribution of classes 1999-2006..................................................62
Table 3.2  Demographics of the graduate participants.......................................65
List of Figures

Figure 3.1  Distribution of graduates' immersion programs ................................  67
Figure 3.2  Years in which the students graduated ...............................................  68
Figure 3.3  Grade that students entered an immersion program .............................  69
Figure 4.1  Graduates' identification with the Hawaiian culture ............................  74
Figure 4.2  Importance of Hawaiian culture and language to the graduates ..........  75
Figure 4.3  Language usage ..................................................................................  76
Figure 4.4  Language use with children .................................................................  77
Figure 4.5  Next generation of immersion enrollment ..........................................  78
Figure 4.6  Graduates' higher educational pursuits ..............................................  79
CHAPTER 1

Introduction


...I am Kili Namauʻu a descendant of Robert Namauʻu and Kapule Kanaʻe of Waiheʻe, Maui. This is my moʻolelo1.

The above personal introduction is traditional within the scope of Hawaiian formal address, and as such is both how I as a researcher introduced myself to my research participants, the graduates of Papahana Kaiapuni2, and how I now embark on the journey of sharing this research with readers. For nearly two decades, I have been involved in the Hawaiian language movement, initially as a volunteer in an educational setting, then as a parent of three children in the immersion programs, and currently as a director of a Hawaiian immersion preschool.

---
1 Story, tale, tradition
2 Papahana Kaiapuni may also be referred to as Kula Kaiapuni, Hawaiian Language Immersion Program (HLIP) throughout this paper.
My children have had their entire formal education, preschool thru 12th grade, conducted in an immersion environment. Our family has made a commitment to immersion education and we have certainly experienced great benefits from the program. I have a strong personal commitment to this program and to see that it can be sustained as long as possible.

**Background**

It’s natural for parents to have concerns or apprehension about their children’s education. Many families are interested in introducing their children to the Hawaiian language, culture, and values, but hesitate to approach an immersion program due to educational concerns mainly in three primary areas. The following are typical questions asked by parents of prospective immersion students, within these three areas:

**Language.**

“Why should my child learn Hawaiian?”

“Is it useful?”

“No one really speaks Hawaiian anymore, is my child going to be able to use it in the real world?”

**Benefits and outcomes.**

“Why should I enroll my child in this Hawaiian immersion program?”

“What are the benefits to my child?”

**Community assimilation.**

“Will my child learn the English language well enough so they can succeed in life?”

“Will my child be able to function in mainstream society?”
Purpose

To the above questions, I often provide a response based in my experience as a parent and in my lifetime dedication to Hawaiian immersion education. I share that education in Hawaiian immersion is not an easy road; there are many challenges, but it is a very rewarding experience. Additionally, however, I realized that the answers parents are looking for may only be found by asking our graduates to share their perspectives. They are the evidence and outcome of Hawaiian immersion education and their perspectives therefore provide useful data, which can serve as support for parents considering Hawaiian immersion education for their children. The data and analysis presented here may also provide insights to the public at large, including those who may have preconceived or misguided notions of immersion education.

In addition to offering the perspective of the graduates, I also interviewed a sampling of parents. It is important for their manaʻo\(^3\) to be shared, to illustrate the sacrifices these families experienced in providing Hawaiian immersion education for their children.

Historical and Contextual Background

In order to gain an understanding of how and why it was necessary to establish the Papahana Kaiapuni program, one must have some background of the unique and varied history of the Hawaiian islands. The ancient culture, oral traditions, and missionary and western influences all have had an impact on the current statewide public educational system and the significance of the Hawaiian language within that system.

\(^3\) Thought, idea, belief, opinion
Pre-contact⁴ / kahiko era.

Education in the kahiko⁵ era was primarily family and community based, and highly integrative of environmental elements.

“Kanaka Maoli traditional life was an oral culture. Oral artistry was highly valued; poetry and song ranged from short welcome chants to the Kumulipo, a cosmological chant of over two thousand lines. Mo‘olelo ‘legend/history’ ranged from short folk tales to epics described as taking sixteen hours to recite. Oratory was so valued that no music or dance ever developed in classical Hawai‘i without accompanying words. Even in the case of musical instruments that are played with the mouth, ‘Words are formed in the mouth and echoed out with the vibrations of the instrument’ (Kimura, 1983, p. 175).

A much quoted proverb in Hawaiian is ‘I ka ‘ōlelo ke ola; I ka ‘ōlelo ka make. Life is in speech; death is in speech. [i.e.,] words can heal; words can destroy’ (Pukui, 1983 p. 129).

The Hawaiians encountered by Captain Cook in 1778 belonged to an adept and sophisticated society,

“An intricate kapu system gave order to their political system and their ecologically-balanced subsistence economy. Modern studies make it increasingly evident that they were in possession of a substantial understanding of the ecology of their natural environment;

---

⁴ Hawai‘i before the arrival of Western contact in 1778
⁵ Ancient
that they studied and practiced an advanced form of what we would call psychiatric or psychological services, built of subtle inter-personal relationships, and were advanced in the expressive arts…”

(Steuber, 1991 p. 19).

Marion Kelly (1991, p. 13) describes education in pre-contact Hawaii as “practical, skill-oriented, socially-useful, in tune with reality, environmentally-aware, conserver-cognizant.” There was a strong emphasis on learning-by-doing, “on-the job learning, together with memorization and rote.” Ralph Stueber (1991, p. 20) adds, “Learning was intimately woven into all activities of life”.

While the education of the children of chiefs was different than that of commoners, all families had their own “traditional and specialized knowledge” that was passed on by the parents and elders, providing children with a “strong sense of meaningful participation in the social and economic life of the community…A sense of self-worth was engendered as more and increasingly difficult tasks were mastered” (Kelly, 1991 p. 9). The work of everyone was needed for survival in a subsistence economy and productive work was respected.

First western contact.

The Hawaiian Islands had undergone tremendous changes following the arrival of Captain Cook, whose maps enabled traders, drifters, beachcombers, whalers, missionaries, merchants, and settlers to find their way to Hawai‘i. Hawaiians contracted diseases to which they had no immunity. They experienced a tragic population decline of over ninety percent within just one hundred years (Osorio, 2002).

Initially, the Hawaiian language continued to thrive, strengthened by its richness
and complexity. Layers of meaning, or kaona, gave speakers the ability to communicate meaning that was lost on non-speakers, and characterized the daily usage of Hawaiian by native speakers.

**Missionary era.**

It was with the arrival of American missionaries in 1820 that the assault on the language began. Their arrival coincided with a time of enormous upheaval in the social order of Hawai‘i. The kapu system, a sacred system of governance, rules, and protocol that dictated the behavior of the Hawaiians (Kanahele, 1986) had just been abolished in 1819 by ruling chief Liholiho, son of Kamehameha I.

During the period from 1820 to 1898 the American missionaries exerted great influence on the ali‘i, the educational system, and the language.

“In the eyes of those responsible for schooling, from the arrival of the Protestant missionaries in 1820 and throughout the remainder of the 19th century, the major function of the school was to supplement and implement the efforts of organized religious work to raise the Hawaiians from their alleged savagery and degradation and to help them pattern themselves as a people after their western teachers” (Steuber, 1991 p. 16).

The task of committing the Hawaiian language to writing was the first task of the missionaries. Their goal in doing so was to instruct and convert the natives to the Christian religion. Once they committed the language to writing, they were able to train native teachers who then were sent throughout the islands from 1820 to 1830, teaching Hawaiians to read and write in the Hawaiian language. During this time, the school law
of 1824 resulted in 50,000 adult Hawaiians attending 1,000 native schools by 1831, resulting in literacy for nearly the entire adult population.

By the 1830’s, the focus moved from educating adults to educating children. It was during this time that two kinds of native schools developed. Children of commoners attended common schools taught by missionary-trained native teachers. The children of the chiefly class attended select schools taught by missionaries. Both were taught through the medium of the Hawaiian language. At the same time, specialized schools such as Lahainaluna Boarding School, Hilo Boarding School, the Oahu Charity School, the Chief’s Children’s School, and Punahou School were established. Hawaiians became one of the most literate populaces of the 19th century. In 1861, there were 266 schools conducted in Hawaiian and servicing 8,000 students (Silva, 2004).

The third period of the American Missionary Era is referred to as the Armstrong Era, from 1848-1860. As school superintendent, Reverend Richard Armstrong responded to the segment of the population calling for instruction in English by establishing a small number of government English select schools. By the 1880’s, full government support and other benefits that favored English speaking schools allowed them to supplant the common schools. When Queen Liliʻuokalani and the Hawaiian monarchy were overthrown in 1893, a more centralized school system was established, and on June 8th, 1896, with the passing of the Republic of Hawaii Act 57, section 30, the Hawaiian language was abolished as a medium of instruction in “all public and private schools” (Benham & Heck, 1998). However, Noenoe Silva (2004) also writes that the Native Hawaiian population in the early 1890’s continued to create and recreate the inner domain of spirituality and cultural identity based on their love for the land, even while
operating within the U.S. political arena.

By the end of the 19th century, a once vibrant population estimated by some experts at one million native inhabitants had been reduced to a surviving population of 40,000 (Trask, 1993). To get a feel for the enormity of this loss, one might imagine that eighteen or nineteen out of every twenty people that you know have died of disease, and you and the rest are living in a country no longer your own, almost completely stripped of everything familiar to you. The Hawaiian language ceases to be the language of education, politics and commerce. You and your family must conform your thoughts to an alien tongue. Amidst this tidal wave of change, the education of the Native Hawaiian was also torn from its roots.

It is no surprise that except for the tiny and isolated island of Ni‘ihau and the few children raised by their native speaking grandparents, Hawaiian children born after 1920 could not speak Hawaiian fluently.

**Plantation era.**

For the Native Hawaiian, the public schools continued to foster further segregation. Sugar plantations became the main economic engine of the islands, fueled by immigrant labor from China, Japan, Portugal, Korea and the Philippines. Pidgin English became the language of communication between all the ethnic groups, including the Hawaiian population. School superintendents continued to have a major influence on school policy. By the early 1920’s, Superintendent Willard Givens was charged with educating the populace of immigrant labor and expanding the industrial and agricultural base by opening high schools for these purposes, thus maintaining a labor source for the
plantations. The Americanization of schools or the upgrading of Standard English led to the establishment of the English Standard School System. English proficiency testing limited the admittance to these schools and as a result the educational system created more barriers for Native Hawaiians and immigrant groups. This dual-school allowed the middle class white population to receive academic preparation in the English Standard Schools while other racial groups were tracked for vocational training in regular public schools.

**Post world-war II era.**

During the post World War II era, the cultural integrity of Native Hawaiians continued to be compromised through loss of population and land, and divisions in social class and economic status. In 1959, Hawai‘i achieved statehood at the same time the English Standard Schools were discontinued and returned to a single standard school system. The educational system in Hawai‘i had successfully acculturated the Native Hawaiian and the other groups by enforcing the use of the English language and adhering to American political and social ideals. This ideology adapted an educational philosophy built on scientific knowledge and social progress and ignored the issues of race and cultural differences (Benham & Heck, 1998).

McNassor and Hongo validate this chasm claiming that by the early 1970’s, Hawaiian youth had become “strangers in their own land.” In terms of academic achievement, these Native Hawaiians were doubtful of their own intellectual ability and fearful of failure in college. These authors state that “Self-disparagement in a significant number of ethnic Hawaiian youth on the island of Hawaii” was deeply imbedded in personality by age 18…they felt “inferior, incapable of success in liberal studies beyond
Cultural revitalization era to present.

By the late 1970’s Hawaiian self-determination and personal identity had gained momentum. The resurgence and popularity of Hawaiian issues and cultural activities impacted the public educational system in the state of Hawai‘i and positively affected school policy. As adopted at the state constitutional convention in 1978, Section 4 of the Hawaii constitution states, “the State shall promote the study of Hawaiian culture, history and language.” Due to legislative changes in the statutes, public schools had to include a Hawaiian education curriculum that focused on these three components. In addition, community members were invited to participate and many kūpuna or elders became a source of Hawaiian knowledge to be shared in the classroom.

As new forms of teaching were being established, Hawaiian language and studies increasingly became a part of standardized public school curriculum in the state of Hawai‘i. The return of Hawaiian curriculum in the standard classroom prompted the public education institution to shift. The thought of conveying knowledge through the medium of the Hawaiian language was no longer discouraged, thus allowing the first of the Hawaiian language immersion schools — the Papahana Kaiapuni—to be established.

Description of the Papahana Kaiapuni

The Hawaiian Language Immersion Program, Ka Papahana Kaiapuni, is the State of Hawai‘i’s public school K-12 indigenous language program. Through the use of the Hawaiian language as the medium of educational instruction and experiences, the program leads to the fulfillment of the Hawaii Department of Education mandated Hawaii Content and Performance Standards. English instruction begins in grade 5 and
continues on to grade 12. Although the primary instruction is implemented in the Hawaiian language, students are expected to reach appropriate levels of achievement in English and Hawaiian after their sixth grade year.

**Types of language immersion within Papahana Kaiapuni.**

Language immersion is a method of teaching children a second language. In this case, the target language\(^6\) is Hawaiian. Students receive their basic educational instruction in Hawaiian. There are many types of immersion education programs in the world. The Papahana Kaiapuni program is considered a total immersion program through the elementary grades because the students are totally immersed in the target language throughout that time. Beginning in the fifth grade, the students receive a minimum of one hour a day of direct English instruction. Due to full immersion experience in the elementary grades, students tend to become fluent speakers of the Hawaiian language at a young age.

**Immersion education at the secondary level.**

In the 2008-2009 school year there were 1846 students in grades K-12 enrolled in 22 schools in the Papahana Kaiapuni. Of these only seven were total immersion campuses. The other 15 shared campuses with English medium classes. As the students matriculate to higher grades, the method of immersion education may shift and vary, including stark differences in how teaching is implemented in the various Kula Kaiapuni schools.

A variety of courses are needed at intermediate and high school levels. Since many of these courses are required for graduation, some Kula Kaiapuni teachers teach

---

\(^6\) The language that is being revitalized.
courses outside their certification area. Due to the enactment of the No Child Left Behind Law\(^7\) and the requirements of the Hawai‘i Teachers Standards Board, the need for licensed teachers in all content areas has intensified. There has been a shortage of qualified teachers with the proficiency to maintain a full Hawaiian language environment for the entire school day. Thus these secondary Kula Kaiapuni schools are usually considered sheltered language immersion programs. A shelter school usually falls under the jurisdiction of a larger school and is sometimes known as a “school within a school”. The larger school is responsible for the educational policies of the entire school and is subjected to district and then state authority, whereas a charter school has sole governance of their school’s program and has some autonomy by reporting to the state directly.

Implementation at the secondary level is largely dependent on the content area expertise and the Hawaiian language proficiency of the teachers at the site. For example, Nāwahīokalaniʻōpuʻu on Hawaiʻi island is a K-12 full immersion charter school. All content areas are taught through the Hawaiian language. The teachers in the immersion program at King Kekaulike High School on the island of Maui are social studies certified. Thus the curriculum focuses on social studies integrated with traditional Hawaiian knowledge. In addition, health and physical education courses are offered. Other content area courses outside of the program are taught by English medium teachers.

**Extending and supporting immersion education.**

For most of the students enrolled in the Papahana Kaiapuni program, English is their first language, though we have begun to see growing numbers of children who arrive with a basic Hawaiian vocabulary. Their Hawaiian language abilities may have

---

\(^7\) Also known as NCLB, supports standards-based education. Setting high standards and establishing measurable goals can improve individual educational outcomes.
begun at home or in a preschool setting. Learning a new language is made easier when used and reinforced in a variety of tasks such as reading, writing, speaking, and listening. Because English is such a dominant language outside of the immersion setting, efforts are made to create and extend the immersion experience outside of the classroom, including during recess and lunch periods.

Philosophy.

Acquisition of Hawaiian is not the only result of being an immersion student in Papahana Kaiapuni. A cornerstone of the program’s philosophy is that learning through the Hawaiian language creates a greater awareness and enthusiasm for the Hawaiian culture. The intent is for these students to perpetuate the Hawaiian language and become the stewards of the cultural heritage of the indigenous people of Hawai‘i.

Summary

The goal of the thesis and why this study was undertaken was to help parents decide if Papahana Kaiapuni Hawaiian language immersion program is a good educational choice for their children.

The mission statement of the Papahana Kaiapuni is to “achieve quality education based on knowledge of Hawaiian language and culture as the foundation upon which individuals become culturally responsive, sensitive, and productive adults who contribute significantly to all levels of Hawai‘i’s community and the world.”

Through the perspectives of the graduates and their experiences in Hawaiian language immersion education, the questions parents frequently ask us should be answered, thus determining if the Papahana Kaiapuni program is fulfilling its mission. With this background, I now move to the literature review that focuses on indigenous
language use in the learning environment, cultural identity, and indigenous research methodologies.
CHAPTER 2

Literature Review

In order to make use of a literature review as the base for Hawaiian language immersion research, one must understand that the context of native knowledge bases are predominantly not contained within written literature. "In the context of Indigenous knowledge, therefore, a literature review is an oxymoron because indigenous knowledge is typically embedded in the cumulative experiences and teachings of indigenous peoples rather than in a library" (Battiste, 2002, p. 2). The research presented here was primarily done with this understanding of the indigenous Hawaiian knowledge base.

For the purposes of this research, three key themes in the literature on indigenous language immersion pedagogy and its efficacy were explored. These were: the significance of using indigenous language in the learning environment, cultural identity development within an indigenous learning environment, and indigenous research methodologies. These three areas apply directly to the direction and content of research done within the community of graduates of Papahana Kaiapuni.

Many indigenous communities around the world are now using language immersion education environments. Reports of educational success in the Blackfeet nation, currently existing within U.S. borders, and the Maori people of New Zealand can be tied to their use of such environments (Harrison, 1998; Kipp, 2000). These immersion methods can be compared and referenced to the Papahana Kaiapuni immersion program in Hawaii. A longitudinal study of Papahana Kaiapuni’s initial implementation, conducted by Helen Slaughter in 1993, found educational success exceeding standard outcomes within the state of Hawaii (Slaughter, 1997). Language authenticity also
appears as a significant issue in indigenous immersion curricula. Finally, the Hawaiian educational philosophy known as Kumu Honua Mauli Ola reveals a curriculum supporting the significance of Hawaiian language use within Hawaiian learning environments. This theme of indigenous language in the learning environment will be further elaborated upon in the body of the literature review.

Cultural identity development also appears as a significant theme. Colonization of indigenous peoples, and specifically of the Hawaiian people, has lead to the loss of a positive cultural self-concept. Identity is described below through a Native American Indian perspective and then explored further in the context of a Hawaiian viewpoint. Genealogy (moʻokūʻauhau), a sense of place (aloha ʻāina) and family (ʻohana) are cultural concepts that contribute significantly in determining Hawaiian identity. The acquisition of this cultural knowledge leads to positive self-identity and empowerment. Additionally, culturally based education curricula, which include those used in Papahana Kaiapuni, are promising academic venues for Native Hawaiian students. As will be discussed below, an analysis of the Hawaiian Cultural Influences in Education (HCIE) study examines educational strategies and cultural practices among various educational settings. The HCIE study was conducted by the Kamehameha Schools Research & Evaluation during the school year of 2005-2006.

The third theme which necessitates exploration for the purposes of this study is that of indigenous research methodologies. These may be defined as methods aimed at, “… changing and improving conditions and are concerned with the survival of Indigenous peoples, languages lands and cultures…(and) driven by a purposeful dream, not a prescription…. (and) concerned with social change and emancipatory outcomes for
Indigenous peoples” (Umulliko Research Group, 2005; Smith, T., 1999). The works of Māori researcher Linda Tuhiwai Smith and Hawaiian educator Kū Kahakalau (2004) are examined to this end. The research conducted for this thesis was born from the indigenous techniques introduced by Smith and Kahakalau. These three themes will be addressed in the following.

Language

Revitalization.

The Papahana Kaiapuni was established after Hawaiian language professors from the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa and Hilo along with community activists lobbied the state legislature to dismantle laws that banned the Hawaiian language as a medium of instruction in the public classrooms. From a small handful of students on one site in 1984, the immersion schools have evolved into a student population of nearly 2000 strong throughout the state.

Models of indigenous language immersion supporting revitalization.

The full Hawaiian immersion program began with the creation of the Pūnana Leo preschools with the Kōhanga Reo of New Zealand as its model. The Māori population was able to reestablish education in their native language by immersing young preschool aged children in the program (Harrison, 1998). In Hawai‘i this format was adopted and children began learning and thriving in an early education environment that was taught solely in the medium of the Hawaiian language. As of 1987, when these youngsters graduated from the preschools they matriculated to the newly established Papahana Kaiapuni or Hawaiian immersion program in the public schools. The Papahana Kaiapuni is a grade K-12 program established on every populated Hawaiian island except for the
island of Lānaʻi (Yamauchi, Ceppi & Lau-Smith, 1999; Warner, 1999; Wilson & Kamanā, 2001; Kawakami, 1999). Full immersion continued with the establishment of Papahana Kaiapuni grades K-12. In all cases of immersion programs around the world, the target language is used; naturally the target language would be different for different groups. For example in Aotearoa, the target language is Māori and on the Wind River Reservation in Wyoming, Arapahoe is the target language.

The literature on immersion programs includes discussion pertaining to the educational formats and approaches for language revitalization. Included in the literature are bilingual\(^8\) approaches (Brown, Hammond & Onikama, 1997), full immersion\(^9\) (Harrison, 1998), and other forms including the supplemental use\(^10\) of the language (Holm & Holm, 1995). Many indigenous cultures are trying a variety of educational methods due to constrained resources; i.e. lack of native speakers\(^11\), a declining elder population, lack of certified educators, and limited funding. In some cases, such as with the Hupa and Karuk, tribes in California, there is a desperate need to accelerate the number of fluent speakers, since their languages are on the brink of extinction.

Hear the lament of these indigenous people as they describe how language loss directly impacts their connection to the culture and their own self-identity. A Navajo elder states, “If a child learns only English, you have lost your child” (McCarty, Romero, & Zepeda, p. 29, 2006) Greymorning, an Arapaho man, adds, “I am really worried if we lose our language we won’t be able to think in the Arapaho way” (1998, ¶2). He goes on

---

\(^8\) Programs generally use students’ native language for academic and language arts instruction while students are acquiring proficiency in English for academic purposes. Ultimately, the goal is to acquire proficiency in both languages.

\(^9\) The subject language is the language of instruction.

\(^10\) The Navajo language was considered a foreign language elective.

\(^11\) A speaker of a particular language who has spoken that language since earliest childhood.
to describe that the loss of language means the loss of ceremonies and it is the language that makes them strong. As stated by Hawaiian-born Noʻeau Warner, “In contrast to immigrants, when indigenous peoples lose their language and culture, there is no other group of people who maintain that language and culture in their homeland. The loss of the indigenous language is terminal” (1999, p. 72). The demise of indigenous languages in various cultures is another shared commonality. Near extinction is accelerated by the lack of present day speakers, the loss of the elderly population who keep the integrity of the language, and the sheer dominance of the English language (Greymorning, 1998; Johnston, 2002; Holm & Holm, 1995).

In recent years there have been a few success stories of immersion schools in North America. The Nizipuhwasin Language Immersion Center on the Blackfeet Reservation, established by The Piegen Institute in Browning, Montana, is one such example. The non-profit institute modeled their vision of language revitalization on the "language nest" concept that originated with the Kōhanga Reo, in New Zealand, and was adopted by Pūnana Leo (The nesting philosophy refers to the introduction of the target language to preschool students.) The Nizipuhwasin language center oversees the operation and management of three full language immersion schools, providing academic instruction in the Blackfeet language. Today, despite the challenges of funding, the Piegen Institute has assisted over 50 tribes in restoring their native languages (Kipp, 2000). The Alaskan Yup'ik tribe and the Navajo tribe in Window Rock use a two-way immersion model to implement the Yup'ik and Dine native languages in their communities. An immersion model delivers the target language in a 90/10 split. Ninety percent of the day, the Yup'ik or Dine language is used as the mode of instruction, while
English is used ten percent of the time. Although the “No Child Left Behind” legislation instituted in the United States in 2002, which mandates English-only instruction and strict testing standards in public schooling, has hampered revitalization efforts for indigenous languages, the students in the Yup’ik and Dine immersion programs have outperformed their peers in mainstream classroom instruction. Yup’ik sixth graders scored higher in reading and Dine immersion students exceeded in mathematics and writing assessments (Aguilera, D. & LeCompte, M., 2007).

**Authenticity in revitalization.**

Despite the hegemony of the United States over the Hawaiian nation and the loss of political and economic power, the Hawaiian language has survived. It is estimated that 100,000 speakers of a language are needed in order for any language to avoid extinction (Nettle & Romaine, 2000). There is much work to be done, but the Hawaiian language has greater opportunities for survival than other indigenous languages. As stated by Wilson & Kamanā, “Having established Hawaiian-medium programs from preschool through graduate school, Hawai‘i has the most developed movement in indigenous language—medium education in the United States” (2001, p. 147).

The Pūnana Leo and Papahana Kaiapuni programs have made great strides in the last two decades in language revitalization. However, there are other concerns beyond the preservation of the language. Not only is there a need for expanding language use, but the preservation also needs to be done in an authentic way. As Laiana Wong explains, authenticity refers to delivering the Hawaiian language in a Hawaiian thought process rather than through an English perspective (1999).

---

12 Hawaiian-medium is a form of instruction and dissemination of information using the Hawaiian language.
One aspect of the Hawaiian viewpoint is the use of kaona\textsuperscript{13} in the Hawaiian language. Many of the current instructors of the Hawaiian language are native English speakers, who speak Hawaiian as their second language. Their language perspective is situated primarily within the dominant culture of English. This problem has two facets. First as teachers, as native English speakers they may not truly understand the nuances or kaona of the Hawaiian language. Second, even for teachers who do understand the kaona it can be difficult to communicate these concepts to their students who live today in the omnipresent western/English based-culture that permeates our society. In this environment it is difficult to maintain a cultural lifestyle connected to Hawaiian identity.

In Aotearoa, New Zealand, the Kura Kaupapa Māori\textsuperscript{14} have also faced authenticity issues. Curriculum needs to be developed in a cultural context, so that students not only speak the native language but also have an understanding of their rich cultural heritage (Benton, 1996).

Additionally, there are academic disagreements between the faculties of the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa and Hilo regarding the development of new vocabulary by the Hawaiian Lexicon Committee\textsuperscript{15}. Due to the complexities of these challenges, authenticity is not often addressed and when it is addressed, challenges persist; yet there is on-going dialogue and solutions are sought (Warner, 2001).

\textit{Immersion assessments.}

The rejuvenation and use of indigenous languages in a modern context is a recent phenomenon. As a result, there has been little research conducted in evaluating

\textsuperscript{13} Kaona is the hidden meaning or true intent of what is being said.

\textsuperscript{14} Māori immersion medium schools.

\textsuperscript{15} The Lexicon Committee based in Hawai‘i, is composed of Hawaiian language scholars who review and create new and relevant Hawaiian vocabulary that reflect advances in technology, slang and other linguistic terms.
immersion programs. Most of the current research is limited to classroom pedagogy. The emphasis has been on training the teachers, creating the curriculum, or producing the materials in order to support the process. In the meantime, the students continue their immersion education, through language and cultural interactions. Once in a while they are given standardized tests and comparisons are made as to how they fare academically, corresponding especially to their counterparts in the traditional (English language) classrooms. As discussed below, the research on immersion students demonstrates positive results in many areas (Keegan, 1996; Wilson & Kamanā, 2006; Aguilera & LeCompte, 2007).

A longitudinal study was conducted in the Kura Kaupapa for Māori students, demonstrating positive results. Students were followed over a four-year period starting at three different ages: at five, eight, and eleven. In this extensive study, the participants were observed in their homes as well as their schools. Results showed that the students had steady growth in language, Māori tikanga (customs), and mathematics. The children interviewed indicated that getting a good education or job, learning in their native language, and family were most important to them. A safe environment, emphasis on family, and development of a strong sense of pride and identity were attributes that attracted parents in enrolling their children in a Māori immersion school. Due to their immersion experience these Māori children became fluent speakers of their native language (Cooper, Arago-Kemp, Wylie & Hodgen, 2004).

Additional data shows that children instructed in their native tongue can effectively transfer their literacy skills over to a second language, in this case the English language (Aguilera & LeCompte, 2007). Studies done in Aotearoa have shown that
“students who learn to speak, read and write in Māori are often more likely to succeed academically in both Māori and English” (Long Soldier, 2007, pg. 40).

There has been one longitudinal study evaluating Hawaiian immersion education conducted by Helen Slaughter that began in 1993. She observed the lead Hawaiian immersion classes at that time in Waiau and Hilo, on the islands of O‘ahu and Hawai‘i respectively. After following the initial cohorts of students thru the sixth grade, these were some of the educational outcomes reported: 1) students were fluent speakers of the Hawaiian language, 2) reading in Hawaiian was on par with the sixth grade level, and 3) when given mathematics achievement tests translated from English to Hawaiian, student performance was rated adequate to better than the state standard. The immersion students were assessed and compared favorably to their non-immersion peers on the (Stanford Achievement Test (SAT) in reading comprehension, writing, and mathematics. These results demonstrated the efficacy of immersion education in bilingual language acquisition.

Slaughter also reported that the program had grown rapidly throughout the state and there were challenges in having enough certified, proficient Hawaiian speakers as teachers in the classroom. In addition, the rate of curriculum development often lagged behind the levels needed for course delivery. Despite these struggles, there were positive attitudes towards the immersion program within the Hawaiian community and the community at large. The immersion program was not exclusively for Hawaiian and part-Hawaiian students, but the success of these students was considerable given that this group was at high risk for academic underachievement and for placement in special education. Slaughter’s study also was significant in that it gave promise to other
indigenous minority cultures that were seeking language revitalization, and illustrated that immersion education was an effective method to reclaim a language (Slaughter, 1997).

**Language and culture.**

The Papahana Kaiapuni program focuses on the revitalization of the Hawaiian language and is also concerned with Hawaiian customs and practices as a means of educating students. Hawaiian immersion education is not presented only in a “western”, “book-based” classroom setting. It is conducted through ceremonial rituals and environmental surroundings just as effectively (Yazzie, 2000). Student sessions on celestial navigation, moon phases and fishing techniques are examples of this non-western process. Hawaiian immersion students on Hawai‘i island are taught indigenous astronomy and Polynesian navigation on board the voyaging canoe, Hōkūalaka‘i; Moloka‘i students learn how moon cycles affect planting and harvesting in Halawa valley; and on O‘ahu, students study fish cultivation in the loko i‘a, fishpond in He‘eia. Students in Hawaiian immersion are taught cultural arts and skills in this language medium from the moment they step into the classroom.

**Unique philosophy.**

The Pūnana Leo and some Papahana Kaiapuni programs strongly rely on pedagogy based in the Kumu Honua Mauli Ola philosophy as a curriculum foundation. Kumu Honua Mauli Ola provides a culturally appropriate framework in which both Native Hawaiian individuals and the Hawaiian race as a whole may be defined. This philosophy is rooted in indigenous Hawaiian traditions and learning styles and speaks of the mauli, the cultural heart and spirit of a people. The mauli ola or living force is

---

16 These particular schools are under the direction of the ‘Aha Pūnana Leo.
fostered and attributed to four core elements; spirit, language, traditional knowledge, and physical behavior (Silva, 2000). In addition, a set of guidelines called the Nā Honua Mauli Ola, created by the Native Hawaiian Education Council, was built on this educational philosophy of the Kumu Honua Mauli Ola. These guidelines foster culturally healthy and responsive learning environments and offer schools and communities a tool to assess the educational and cultural well-being of their learners (Nā Honua Mauli Ola, pg. 2). The Center for Research on Education, Diversity & Excellence (CREDE) agreed that a consortium\(^\text{17}\) of educational institutions used these guidelines efficiently in the development of the world’s only immersion program that uses Hawaiian as the target language (2002).

There was one example in the literature regarding firsthand accounts of immersion education in Hawai‘i. Three mothers and their daughters related their personal experiences in the Hawaiian language immersion program. These mothers were also immersion educators and, along with their children, witnessed the genesis of Papahana Kaiapuni. Their stories are important and their observation of immersion education is shared: "The Hawaiian language is the critical link to being Hawaiian and understanding what being Hawaiian is all about. The language carries the code of Hawaiian behavior, and through it, Hawaiian thinking makes sense and the culture takes on a deeper and richer meaning" (Kawai‘ae‘a, Housman, & Alencastre, 2007, p. 205).

\(^{17}\) The consortium is made up of the Pūnana Leo immersion preschools and four immersion lab schools under the ‘Aha Pūnana Leo, Ka Haka ‘Ula O Ke‘elikōlani College of Hawaiian Language at the University of Hawai‘i at Hilo and works with Hawaiian language teachers elsewhere, including other immersion schools and the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa.
Cultural Identity

Due to historical events and the coming of Europeans and American missionaries, Hawaiian society and most of its institutions were dismantled. Disease took its toll on the people, the mahele\textsuperscript{18} divided the land into private ownership (usually for the benefit of non-Hawaiians), the constitutional monarchy was overthrown, and annexation was attempted by the American government (Warner, 1999; Yamauchi, Ceppi, & Lau-Smith, 1999). Hawaiians were no longer citizens of their own country and had no control of their government, which was now replaced by American control and American citizenship (Trask, 1993). As stated by Warner (2001, p. 133), “One by one, the markers of Hawaiian identity as a people have been stripped away, starting with the land, sovereignty, language, literacies, histories, and connection to our ancestry. In a sense, Hawaiians have become foreigners in their own land”.

The loss of culture has often led to the loss of identity. Hawaiians are not alone in this condition, as other indigenous peoples have endured similar experiences. Research has shown that the Native Hawaiian has experienced the same cultural struggles that have been experienced by the Native American cultures. They have been relegated to low status and self-esteem, and subjected to the dominant culture (Kawakami, 1999).

Colonization has allowed western cultures to typically dominate these native cultures through political or warring means (Greymorning, 1998; Johnston, 2002), through economic means - globalization that has replaced non-traditional businesses (Brown, Hammond, & Onikama, 1997), and/or through religious indoctrination by imposing

\textsuperscript{18} Enacted in 1848 by Kamehameha III, it allowed the redistribution of lands and private title to chiefs and commoners.
foreign beliefs on the populace (Martinez, 2000), thus creating the marginalization of Native Hawaiians.

It has been recognized that colonization has negatively impacted indigenous cultures. Loss of both language and identity can be adverse consequences. Schwartz, Zamboanga & Weisskirch (2008) have defined a person’s identity in two ways, personal and cultural. Both can be described through goals, values, and beliefs. More specifically personal identity is the individual’s viewpoint of these goals, values and beliefs, such as religious and political preferences, occupational choices, and relationships with families and friends. Cultural identity is described as encompassing cultural values and practices, such as interdependence, collectivism, filial piety, communalism and ethnic identity. Cultural identity is also described as the ways in which one regards the cultural and ethnic groups to which one belongs.

Cultural identity, as internally determined by indigenous peoples, builds a position of strength for that people. It is this very strength that methods of colonization have historically sought to disempower and disenfranchise. And, it is this position of strength from which indigenous language immersion programs operate (Weaver, 2001).

**An indigenous perspective.**

The complex topic of indigenous identity was addressed by Hilary Weaver (2001). How should Native people be identified? As Native Americans, Native Indians, First Nation people? Or should they be categorized by specific tribes such as Navajo, Sioux or Chippewa? And once that is determined, is identity now an issue of race, ethnicity, tribal affiliation, acculturation, or some other form of identity? As a Lakota woman, Weaver offered her indigenous perspective with a focus on cultural identity.
Weaver writes that cultural identity for Native Americans can be multifaceted, initially constructed in terms of a difference in relationships with others. A Native American came about only with the arrival of European settlers. Prior to contact, indigenous peoples made their distinction in terms of other indigenous peoples. Identity is multilayered. For some they recognize their clan as their primary identification, for others their tribal affiliation, or simply see themselves as an American Indian. Much of it depending on the context and with whom they are interacting; from the same reservation, another tribe, or with a non-Native person. Weaver outlines there are multiple facets of cultural identity. Self-identification, community identification, and external identification are three aspects that she examines further.

*Self-identification.*

Cultural identity is not stagnant. It is constantly developing and can be a lifelong learning process of cultural understanding and consciousness for any individual. Along the way that indigenous person may discover an increased self-awareness of being Native. It may be a personal belief about heritage or it is a result of economic, social, or political factors. A person may shed their Native identity because it may be negatively associated with stigma such as poverty and discrimination. On the other hand, Native identity may be embraced because it is fashionable or financially advantageous. Evidence shows that a strong cultural identity may increase with age. As these attachments become reinforced there is a revitalization of cultures in individuals and communities. The two are intertwined.

*Community identification.*

Weaver broadens the definition of indigenous identity by relating it to "a sense of
peoplehood inseparably linked to sacred traditions, traditional homelands, and a shared history as indigenous people" (2001, p. 245). Often the reservations and tribal communities are the integral identification of these Native people. Sometimes there is such a strong sense of identity to the land and geography that displaced Native people can only regain an identity balance by returning to their traditional territories and participating in their sacred ceremonies. Additionally, the surrounding communities can have an impact on the identities of these tribal groups. Neighboring indigenous tribes existed previously, however other cultures are now the norm.

Contrasts in identity are not only between neighboring groups but differences exist within the indigenous community itself. Tribal policies and laws determine memberships in the tribes and these memberships can have an effect on identity. For example membership to a particular tribe can determine one's political participation or accessibility to natural resources.

Activism has also played a formidable role in community identification that crossed several Native tribes collectively. Intertribal protests such as Wounded Knee and the occupation of Alcatraz united Native people against the injustices that their ancestors endured. Because of these efforts of activism for some indigenous people they gained a strong sense of identity and pride in their heritage and a renewal of their cultural traditions.

External identification.

Weaver questions those outside sources who have shaped the identity of Native peoples. The federal government has varying criteria for Native nations and individuals. What does constitute a Native person? Are these indigenous people U.S. citizens? Are
they wards of the federal government or are they members of "domestic dependent nations."

Native tribes have a complicated history in terms of law and governance with the United States. Before 1871 tribal relationships with the American government were dictated by a series of treaties. Since then treaties were abandoned and instead replaced by legislation or by executive order. There are various forms of federal recognition depending on the legal nature of land status of a tribe, or there are tribes with no trust land, or even off reservation Natives who are considered "urban" Indians.

Tribal affiliations are still the most important point of identification. Descent, lineage, clan and acceptance into specific tribes determine a Native person's identification. However the federal, state and tribal governments still have complicated methods of tribal identification. Within the federal government, the Department of the Interior or the Department of Labor makes those determinations. Sometimes blood quantum is a factor and other times tribal rolls are used (Chaudhuri, 1985).

"Documenting a minimum tribal blood quantum (one-fourth) is a requirement for official federal recognition as an American Indian, and documenting some evidence of an Indian heritage is a requirement for membership in most American Indian Tribes" (Peroff, 1997, p. 486).

Historically, indigenous people understood who they were. In recent years indigenous people have had to rationalize their identity. Sometimes it was for their own individual purposes, to reacquaint themselves with their ancestors. Sometimes it was for their tribe, clan or community, to reconnect with their culture. Sometimes it was to reap the benefits of a governmental agency.
Others, wishing to define their own identity through family structure, relationship to the land, and sacred tradition, refused to participate in being defined by any state or federal entity.

"There are 563 American Indian Tribes who are recognized by the federal government of the United States.... There are over 200 tribes who are state recognized but not federally recognized and over 600 tribes which are not recognized by any state or federal government… Their ancestors chose not to be on those rolls. This does not take away from their heritage and lineage. They are still tribal members of their own bands who continue to be Cherokee Indians" (Ywahoo, 2012. p.18-21).

Textbook history often dictates that the only Native American people “left” after centuries of oppression are those whose ancestors chose to be enrolled in a federally or state recognized tribe, or on another tribal roll that was made open to the public. In contrast to this belief, Ywahoo continues to clarify, that for safety and security reasons, many indigenous families went into hiding, appearing in the world one way while maintaining indigenous identity in secret. Families maintained spiritual practices close to the hearth fires until The American Indian Religious Freedom Act, (Public Law No. 95-341, 92 Stat. 469) was passed on Aug. 11, 1978 making it again legal for Native American people to practice their religion. The same issue of choosing to engage or not engage in a U.S. or state-controlled roll faces Hawaiian people today, with the
Kana‘iolowalu\textsuperscript{19} rolls.

What makes a person identify themselves as an American Indian? Still the answer is a complex one. Peroff & Wildcat (2002) introduce the terms spatially and aspatial to describe the Indianess of a person. They see tribes as being complex adaptive systems (CAS) that reflect a diversity of Indian identity within and alongside American society. Spatial Indian identity can be described as one who is physically born into a tribe and thus recognized by a geographical and cultural basis. An aspatial Indian identity defines individuals who have not been associated with a specific geographical Indian tribe or community and physical space. Instead their Indianess may have been formed by the ubiquitous American mass culture. They see one's Indianess as residing on a continuum from a spatially defined place to one that is aspatially defined.

Spatially Indian identity is defined as shared experiences that are associated with a specific place such as a reservation, sacred site or ancestral homeland. It is a dynamic process of interaction between the parts of an Indian tribe and its unique environment. It is the relationships and interactions between tribal members, interactions with other tribes or with the federal government are also factors in an Indian identity.

Aspatially Indian identity is defined not by the dynamics of an Indian tribe but by a larger CAS, the dominant American society. It is the symbolic imagery or characteristics of how non native people see traditional Indian culture. It is made up of images in popular culture of American Indians in media such as television and movies. It

\textsuperscript{19} On July 20, 2012, the Native Hawaiian Roll Commission (NHRC) launched Kana'iolowalu to create an official list of Native Hawaiians who want to reorganize a governing entity. Kana'iolowalu is the official Native Hawaiian Roll and is the next step in self-determination. The NHRC was created by Hawai'i State law and has declared Native Hawaiians the only indigenous, aboriginal, maoli people of Hawai'i.
is the perception of what most Americans have of Native Indians. Life in urban and suburban centers has impacted the lives of Native Indians who do not have an intimacy with their traditional heritage. Instead they are impacted by popular U.S. American culture and developing an aspatial sense of Indianness.

Peroff and Wildcat maintain that Indianness identity is not any more or less in tribal places than experienced in the wider American society. However, the sustaining of this individual identity is a continuous and an emergent property of a spatially grounded tribal community. It is an "ongoing process of tribal self-renewal". They also recognize that Native Americans who live and work in the dominant American society are also part of this ongoing process but their Indianness can be tenuous.

**A native Hawaiian perspective.**

The previous section discusses identity through Native American indigenous perspectives. Native Indian tribal and Hawaiian cultures share some similarities in that they have been severely impacted by the American dominant culture. Currently these cultures are witnessing a renaissance and a desire to reestablish identity by their Native peoples.

John Osorio (2001) notes that the unique Hawaiian culture thrives strongly even though it continuously adapts to lifestyle changes in society. Shawn Kanaʻiaupuni (2004) acknowledged three elements most associated with Native Hawaiian identity. They are moʻokūʻauhau (genealogy), aloha ʻāina (love of the land) and ʻohana (family). Manu Meyer (2003) also identifies these three cultural values as being significantly important to the Hawaiian people. She also expands her definition of Hawaiians as a spiritual people who bring a deep sense of compassion and aloha to the world.
Moʻokūʻauhau.

In ancient Hawaiʻi, genealogy was the most significant component of all relationships. Hawaiian identity was determined by the ancestral circumstances. A Hawaiian chief was distinguished in oratorical chants, identifying his genealogical lines that connected him for generations, back to the creation of man and the universe. The Kumulipo was the creation chant of Hawaiians and man could trace his roots thru this eloquent proclamation (Beckwith, 1951).

Kameʻeleihiwa (1992) believes that Hawaiian identity does originate from this great cosmogonic genealogy, the Kumulipo. She notes that in Hawaiian thought, all parts of the world are interrelated. The gods, the land, and the people are all derived from one inseparable ancestry. Genealogical chants also create social relationships and share family stories. The names that are identified in these chants are "family possessions".

Osorio describes today's Hawaiians as descendants of the ancestral people who resided in the Hawaiian Islands before European or western contact in 1778. Hawaiians are identified by ancestry and being born from a Native person should identify you as a Native person. Hawaiians are an ethnic group and thus blood quantum issues that are used to determine identity are irrelevant.

Kameʻeleihiwa is much more direct concerning the foreign visitors and the cultural and physical decline of her Native people.

“Moʻokūʻauhau defines our identity and our relatedness. Our genealogy unites and strengthens us against those foreigners who would debase our culture and despise our race. Foreigners have tried to pretend that we all died off long ago, but here we are—200,000 strong. Some of us carry many bloods and do not look
as our ancestors did. Nonetheless, our indomitable ancestors live in us; we are the
descendants of those who survived the disease and degradation of the West. Our
moʻokūʻauhau give us mana, and we can rejoice in our survival" (1994, p. 322).

Kameʻeleihiwa sees genealogy in today's society as a social connection to one's extended family and "collective identity". This ancestral identity sets one apart from the foreigners who have overwhelmed the Hawaiian Islands.

_Aloha ʻāina._

As described in the Kumulipo all creatures and natural elements such as wind and rain are considered the original ancestors. ʻĀina or land is respected as an older relative of living Hawaiians. They share an interdependence that requires care and protection and in turn provides shelter, sustenance and well being for the people. (Thomas, Kanaʻiaupuni, Balutski, & Freitas, 2012).

“Hawaiian well-being is tied first and foremost to a strong sense of cultural identity that links people to their homeland. At the core of this profound connection is the deep and enduring sentiment of aloha ʻāina, or love of the land. The ʻāina sustains our identity, continuity, and well-being as a people" (Kikiloi, 2010, p. 75).

Kikiloi also shares that place names create a relationship with the land. Thousands of place names have been researched and documented preserving a rich historical significance of land to Hawaiian cultural identity. Place names can reflect the love for the land, familial ties, and crucial connections to its past. Hawaiians have honored these places through songs, chants and stories (Kanahele, 1986; Pukuʻi, Elbert, & Moʻokini, 1974).
Historically to the Hawaiians it was unconscionable that land was being divided and sold off. After all land was an ancestor of the Hawaiian people. Generations of families lived and worked on this cherished ʻāina. Foreign intervention systematically took control of land through Western legal strategies via government and religious entities. The Native population describes the circumstance, “while we looked to the heavens for their gods, they stole the land beneath our feet” (Kameʻeleihiwa, 1994, p. 108).

Kanahele describes Hawaiians as belonging to the land. In ancient Hawaiʻi, man and nature were interrelated. The kanaka sought to be in harmony with the land. This Hawaiian perspective of mālama ʻāina is the caring of the land, and the land reciprocating, taking care of its people. Kanahele further explains this relationship. "How could you ever own a place, let alone sell it as a commodity, if its true value is found in the sum of the lives, memories, achievements, and mana (spiritual power) of the generations who once dwelled upon it?" (Kanahele, 1986, p. 208).

Kanaʻiaupuni & Liebler (2005) best sum up the relationship of ʻāina and Hawaiian identity.

“For people of any racial or ethnic group, characteristics of place —its location, social and ethnic composition, physical features, and historical significance to a people can have profound symbolic and practical effect on identity and identification processes. Living or growing up in Hawaiʻi is certainly a notable experience that affects the identity processes of all its diverse residents. But one unique characteristic that Native Hawaiians will always have is their genealogical connection to Hawaii as the ancestral homeland. No other group holds this claim"
Commitment to ʻohana.

Kanaʻiaupuni (2004) specifically focuses on the strengths of the Hawaiian ʻohana or family. She shares that the relationships within the family are what provides the basis for Hawaiian identity. These familial links also provide for a cultural richness and a living testament that contributes to today’s global society. The intergenerational relationships are unique and lasting in the lives of Hawaiian families. They differ from other western philosophies because the cultural values concerning moʻokūʻauhau, aloha ʻāina and commitment to ʻohana are practiced.

Kanahele (1986) reinforces the concept of commitment as going beyond just the physical structure of families. This commitment spreads not only to the immediate family, but reaches out to the extended ʻohana as well as the greater community. Hoʻokipa or hospitality is heavily emphasized. The sharing of food, bestowing of gifts, and the opening of one's home to family as well as neighbors is prevalent.

Handy & Pukui (1958) concur that these familial relationships extend beyond the immediate biological family and that these relationships are reciprocal. Hawaiian families practice inclusion and exchange mutual benefits and appreciation. The concept of hānai, or adoption, is also a familiar practice. Hānai children are supported emotionally and socially, regardless of their kinship affiliation.

Ancient Hawaiʻi had a rich cultural history and despite the effects of colonization, Hawaiians still maintain a strong connection to their ancestral ties, homeland and family
relationships. Thus, moʻokūʻauhau, aloha ʻāina, and ʻohana are predominant influences in
determining Hawaiian identity in contemporary society.

**Cultural based education (CBE).**

Language loss and cultural identity issues in the world can be the result of
historical and ongoing colonialisit actions, such as the exploitation of a sovereign nation,
an indigenous tribe or geographic area. Recent studies conducted in Hawaii however,
have identified culturally based education as having a significant impact on student
learning and mitigating the negative effects of colonialism. An analysis of these studies
conducted by Kamehameha Schools (2008) has revealed that education that is delivered
in a cultural context positively influences teacher performance, assessment, cognitive
empowerment of students, community and global awareness as well as civic
responsibilities and duties. Kanaʻiaupuni (2007) defines culture as a shared way of being,
knowing and doing. She further describes culture-based education as the basis for
instruction and student learning in this shared way. This educational foundation would
also include the values, attitudes, experiences, customs, knowledge, traditions and
language of the indigenous culture. She further identifies five components that essentially
constitute cultural-based education. These five elements can vary depending on the
setting and the cultural circumstances or the shared ways of knowing. These are:

- Language- The native or heritage language is acknowledged and used in the educational
  setting.

- Family and Community- The family and the greater community are active
  participants in the educational process. Providing cultural practitioners and experiences
  or assist in the curriculum development are some examples of participation.
• Context- The overall presence of the school and classroom are structured in an appropriate cultural way.

• Content- The substance of learning is relevant and meaningful in a cultural way.

• Data and Accountability- Assessments of teaching and learning are collected and examined in an appropriate and culturally responsible way.

Hawaiian cultural based education (HCBE).

The goal in Hawaiian cultural based education is to improve the learning outcomes and to lessen the disparaging educational differences between native and non-native students. In order to achieve these results, best practices of culturally relevant education were identified for HCBE. These best practices were a reflection of the essential components of cultural-based education. They include: 1) The active involvement in educational activities by family members and the use of community settings to broaden participation and learning, 2) Rigorous assessments of learning that evaluate a range of learning and competencies that go beyond standardized testing and grades, 3) The promotion of community well-being by utilizing service learning projects, and 4) Preparing students as global citizens through career planning and preparation.

The Hawaiian Cultural Influences in Education (HCIE) was conducted during the 2005-2006 school year and provided quantitative data about Hawaiian students. A variety of school settings participated in the study. These school types included conventional public education schools, Kamehameha Schools, Kula Kaiapuni, Hawaiian medium charter schools, Hawaiian focused charter schools, and Western focused charter schools. The study surveyed 600 teachers, 3000 students and 2500 parents and/or
culture-based education among Hawai`i teachers.

Educators who participated in the study were evaluated using the five essential elements that compose cultural-based learning: language, family, context, content and assessment. Teachers who taught in Kula Kaiapuni, Hawaiian-focused charter schools and Hawaiian medium charter schools scored consistently the highest for the CBE domain. Classroom strategies that used cultural approaches made learning more relevant and meaningful to the students. Teachers who employed these cultural approaches were more likely to see gains in their students' cultural knowledge, community participation, school engagement, and positive self-outlook (Ledward, Takayama, & Elia, 2009).

Of the teachers who participated in the study, 33.7% of the non-Hawaiian educators were ranked moderate or high CBE teachers compared to the 69.3% of Hawaiians. Teachers of all ethnicities have the ability to offer relevant learning strategies to students by utilizing best practices for cultural based education.

Positive self-concept among Hawaiian students.

The idea of self-concept can be theorized into three categories ethnic or cultural identity, self-esteem and self-efficacy. Ethnic identity can be defined as how one relates to a particular cultural or ethnic group. Self-esteem may be defined as how one perceives their own self-worth, together with one’s own beliefs of oneself. Self-efficacy is how one measures their capability to complete tasks and to pursue and fulfill goals.

The HCBE study showed that cultural-based education contributed to a positive self-concept for students. The most influential factor was the recognition of their ethnic
or cultural identity. Self-efficacy and self-esteem were less significant. However this was not considered an anomaly, since Native Hawaiian culture does not focus on individual accomplishments but rather on the work of the collective group (Takayama & Ledward, 2009).

**Cultural knowledge and practice among Hawaiian students.**

Why is cultural knowledge significant? It is believed that there are negative impacts for students when there is a disparity between home and school cultures. As similar values and practices can be integrated, more relevant learning can prevail for students. The study evaluated the cultural practice and knowledge of participating students. Three areas were examined: Hawaiian language skills, the understanding of Hawaiian values, and the practicing of traditional Hawaiian activities. These three facets were identified to gain a clearer understanding of levels of cultural knowledge the students' attained. Language was assessed on the ability to speak and convey concepts through the use of Hawaiian. In other words, how the Hawaiian language was utilized for contextual learning and protocol in a curriculum rich in culture.

Student responses about Hawaiian values were evaluated not on their knowledge of a particular value but how they integrated the value in their lives through their behavior. For example instead of identifying mālama ʻāina as taking care of the land, their stated responses of how they view and practice mālama ʻāina were the significant factors. "Land is a sacred being that I should protect". "Pono (righteousness) I strive to be pono in everything that I do."

Students were surveyed on their practice of 25 cultural activities and beliefs. They ranged from dancing hula, chanting, lei making to native medicinal practices, learning
genealogy and habits of Hawaiian hospitality. High CBE students believed that 21 of the 25 activities were important whereas students of low CBE teachers believed that only 15 of these activities and beliefs were significant. Cultural knowledge and practice were prevalent in schools with a high degree of cultural based education. CBE also had meaningful impacts on student engagement and community (Ledward & Takayama, 2009).

Community attachment and giveback among Hawaiian students

Research has shown that when students experience service learning opportunities they become more engaged in their communities. They are more socially responsible and participate in their civic duties. New leaders are developed through this process. The HCIE study focused on a sense of place, community involvement and interaction with cultural issues to evaluate the connectedness to communities.

In Hawai’i areas are defined by their place names, stories, historic events and physical attributes such as mountains, wind or rains. Students were evaluated on their knowledge of a sense of place. Community involvement was measured in a variety of ways, including political participation, ecological and land stewardship, identifying native plants and participating in public meetings and demonstrations. Students were also surveyed on their knowledge of issues in their community and the relationship to their culture. Some of these issues included tourism, the military, genetic modification of agricultural products, Hawaiian navigation and language revitalization.

The study concluded that students with high CBE teachers significantly outperformed their peers with low performing CBE teachers concerning community issues. These students had a high knowledge of these key components. They understood a
sense of place, had a greater awareness of the political and cultural issues and an increased participation level in their community (Ledward & Takayama, 2009).

**School engagement among Hawaiian students.**

Research indicates that school engagement is directly related to academic achievement and graduation rates (Fredericks, J.A., Blumenfield, P.C., & Paris A.H., 2004). There are increases of graduates and higher levels of achievement as students have greater concentrations of engagement with their schools. Three forms of student engagement measure school engagement: emotional, behavioral, and cognitive. Students were asked about their feelings towards teachers, students and school in general. Behavior was measured by positive actions and compliance to rules. Cognitive engagement was analyzed through the student's effort to learn.

The results of the HCIE study showed little impact on student's engagement behavior. Comparisons between high and low CBE students showed little differences. However, there were significant differences associated with the emotional and cognitive engagements. Students had higher aspirations of graduating from college. There were preferences for their current CBE schools they attended. They felt a closer bond to their high CBE teacher. 88.1% felt they had a familial bond with their teacher, compared to 59.7% of low CBE teachers. The students trusted their teachers more and appreciated that they would go out of their way to assist them.

In terms of cognitive engagement, research shows that learning is much more sustained when applied to environments outside of the classroom. Statistics confirmed that students of high CBE teachers practiced the skills and knowledge they attained at
school and applied it to their home environment, where their families participated and benefited (Takayama & Ledward, 2009).

Conclusions of cultural based education strategies.

The HCIE study confirms that Native Hawaiian students can experience significant positive outcomes in education if they are exposed to a cultural based learning environment. Conventional schools have made little academic progress over the years and there is now evidence that students exposed to high CBE teachers are exceeding expectations in many ways. These students are achieving higher academic standards, have a greater graduation rate, are culturally knowledgeable, and have a superior self-concept. They are also emotionally and cognitively engaged in their school and community. This is not surprising since CBE strategies stress the importance of family and community.

Teachers recognize that they are not the only source of knowledge in providing a culturally relevant learning experience. Many members of the community, including cultural practitioners also contribute to and enrich the learning of these students. This study, although a comprehensive one, is only an initial examination of the importance of and implication that culturally based education strategies have for Native Hawaiians.

Indigenous Research Methodology

It seems appropriate in evaluating a non-western indigenous educational program to use non-western indigenous research methodologies. The final section of the literature review explores indigenous research methodology as a basis for the research of this thesis.
Models of indigenous research methodology.

Colonizers, as a way to carry out acts of discrimination and oppression, and in order to promote self-advancement at the cost of others, have distorted the histories of indigenous peoples. In the past Native peoples have struggled to right the wrongs of Western points of view. Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999, 2005) introduces the concept of indigenous research methodology as a tool for decolonization. It is a way for native people to reclaim and protect their language, culture and ways of knowing. Smith (1999) defines indigenous research methodology as morphing, weaving classical anthropological ideology with oral traditions handed down and shared by keepers of traditional knowledge. Smith declares that indigenous peoples have been the most researched group in the world under the microscope of western researchers (1999). She introduces the Kaupapa Māori\textsuperscript{20} and reveals the framework for culturally appropriate approaches to research, involving her people, to inform non-native researchers. Several challenges for Kaupapa Māori research exist, since historically, western research of Māori by non-indigenous researchers has been biased. Thus there are struggles in the “attempt to convince Māori people the value of research for Māori, to convince the various powerful research communities the need for greater Māori involvement in research, and to develop approaches, which take into account the legacies of previous research and the parameters of previous and current approaches,”(Smith, 1999 p. 183).

Some of the culturally appropriate approaches Smith advocates include the following practices:

\textsuperscript{20} Kaupapa Māori or Māori-centered research is research that brings forth indigenous values, attitudes, and practices rather than disguising them within Westernized labels such as “collaborative research”. No date was provided as to when this was created. This recently named concept of Kaupapa Māori has evolved over time.
• Relating to being Māori\textsuperscript{21}
• Connecting to Māori philosophy and principles
• Recognizing the importance of Māori language and culture
• Understanding one’s own identity
• Seeking permission from elders of the community
• Understanding the cultural ground rules of respect
• Working with the Whanau\textsuperscript{22} concept
• Sharing the processes, knowledge and outcomes with the community (same comment)

In addition to the Kaupapa Māori there has also been a shift in the research paradigm among Native American tribes. Historically, research has had adverse impacts on these native peoples from the zealous collecting of artifacts to somatology, or the gathering of human remains. However, according to K. Tsianina Lomawaima (2000) a balance of power has shifted in American Indian education and research. Native American and Alaskan Native communities now have the power to define the educational objectives of their children’s education as well as create research review guidelines. This power shift has been facilitated because of the increasing self-determination of Native tribes. These Native communities have empowered themselves to seek new levels of control in reviewing research protocols.

\textsuperscript{21} How a person of Māori ancestry identifies him or herself in cultural context with the world he or she lives in.
\textsuperscript{22} In pre-colonial times, the whanau was the core social unit, rather than the individual.
The research review guidelines and parameters, such as those established by the Hopi and Navajo Native American tribe were established not to impede educational research but to protect tribal intellectual property and cultural preservation. They include the expectation that researchers will reciprocate for the opportunity to conduct research. These agreements are made with the prospective tribe and can include shared data and royalties, credit or co-authorship, the creation of educational curriculum, mentoring of native students or employment for tribal members, among other benefits.

**Hawaiian indigenous research methodology.**

Indigenous research methodology is also currently playing a critical role in the Hawaiian language and cultural revitalization movement. Numerous methods are now being employed to uncover new historical evidence, enabling native Hawaiians to change the way history is taught and shared. In addition, and more relevant to this work, new paradigms of indigenous research methodology are being developed, empowering native Hawaiians to shape our present and future stories, and influence how they will be told in public and academic spheres.

For example, students in Hawaii have historically been taught that there was no significant protest by Native Hawaiians in the attempted 1898 annexation of the Hawaiian Kingdom to the United States. After applying indigenous research methodology, Noenoe Silva was able to prove that this was not the case. Through her knowledge of the Hawaiian language and study of the Hawaiian language newspapers, she was able to reveal the ideas, concerns and perspectives of the Native Hawaiians and their significant opposition to annexation. Silva’s research uncovered nearly 38,000 petition signatures of the citizens of the Hawaiian Kingdom in the archives of the Library
of Congress (2004). This represented over 95% of native Hawaiian people living in Hawaii at the time. At the time of Silva’s historical discovery, this prompted further outrage among Hawaiian people, yet also furthered pursuit of self-determination and academic achievement continuing to the present day in the Hawaiian community.

Julie Kaomea (2000) questioned the appropriateness of Hawaiian studies curriculum in the public schools. Kaomea has dissected core textbooks and instructional guides which had been revised to include the historical accounts of Hawai‘i through the viewpoint of the oppressed minority. She found instead that the materials perpetuated a stereotypical characterization of the Hawaiian people as "ambassadors of aloha", a compliant people, similar to tourism guides of the islands. The textbooks in question thus served the economic interests of the state and legitimized a source of cheap labor to support and perpetuate the tourism industry.

Kaomea (2003) continued her research of Hawaiian curricula presented in the public schools by analyzing the Kupuna program. In the research process she subscribes to the same indigenous approaches that Linda Tuhiwai Smith affirms. Kaomea additionally created a new indigenous tool and described this method as a "defamiliarizing interpretive technique." The process looks beyond the initial and positive impressions of the dominant familiar narrative, to expose oppression, and uncover previously marginalized attitudes. She initially observed these Hawaiian elders in a familiar narrative, being greeted with warm alohas and congenial in their disposition. However, on closer examination, Kaomea found that the Kupuna program is a continuation of oppressive tactics in a post colonialist world. The curriculum does not

---

23 The Kupuna program is conducted by Native Hawaiian community elders and cultural experts who offer weekly visits to supplement Hawaiian studies instruction in the public schools.
address the historical atrocities that occurred in the Hawaiian Islands such as the overthrow of the monarchy, the decimation of the Hawaiian population, and the dispossession and destruction of Hawaiian lands. Instead, Kaomea reports that the Kupuna program places a heavy emphasis on Lei Day celebrations\textsuperscript{24}. Enormous amounts of instructional time and dedication are devoted to creating this elaborate event resulting in the kūpuna acting as unwitting agents of oppression. They are not utilized for their ancestral wisdom and experience and instead are relegated to a scripted classroom curriculum that "emphasizes benign lessons in Hawaiian arts, crafts, and music."

In the process of pursuing her doctorate degree, Kū Kahakalau, a native Hawaiian researcher, modified existing Western methodologies and aligned them with an indigenous perspective, thereby developing her own research methodology that she calls Indigenous Heuristic Action Research. This process consists of a mix of established methodologies aligned with native epistemology (Kahakalau, 2004). Some of the key features to this methodology are:

- research is initiated to answer an indigenous question for the benefit of the indigenous people
- the research is conducted by an indigenous person, within an indigenous community, and for the benefit and assistance of the community
- the researcher and his or her family and community are personally affected by the research done
- an action research project is developed to benefit the community, using quantitative and qualitative analysis

\textsuperscript{24} Orchestration pageants of Hawaiian song and dance, usually conducted during the month of May on elementary school campuses.
• indigenous protocol is used for data collection, such as observation and talk story
• the research follows a six stage phenomenological process called heuristics, developed by Clark Moustakas
• the research findings are presented in a format understood and accepted by the indigenous community as well as by academia

**Comparative indigenous research methodologies.**

In contrasting this approach with Smith’s, Kahakalau has developed a system that can be applied by all indigenous communities, whereas Smith’s approach is exclusively focused through the Māori culture. Lomawaima introduces some of the research parameters now being practiced by American Indian tribes. They share similarities with Smith and Kahakalau in that indigenous protocol needs to be followed and that outcomes are shared with the community for the benefit of the community. Smith and Kahakalau also insist that the researcher understands his own identity. However, Lomawaima does not discuss that the researcher be one of their own, instead much of the protocol has been established for non-indigenous researchers, which is the norm for most Indian tribes in America. The hope is that local tribal councils will be able to facilitate and restrict the research process according to the community’s rules and policies.

Without appropriate guidance from knowledgeable Native peoples, the perceptions of the non-native researcher may still taint the outcomes. Personal beliefs and assumptions affect their interactions with indigenous people (Smith, 1999). As colonized peoples, it is important to ensure that we are researching our world not as we were conditioned to see it by the dominant culture, but as a connected people; a people who are engaged with an ancestral past, an earthly present, and to the womb of our future
generations. We, as Native Hawaiians, are encouraged in our efforts to help ancestral memories become clear through our genetic makeup, our spirituality, along with persistence and patience. So the questions must be asked to keep us clear, “Will we research our own as the colonizer has researched or viewed us?” “Will we dehumanize our own culture as the colonizer has done to us?” While we strive to set standards for others in their pursuit to research indigenous issues, we remind ourselves to reconstruct traditional roles and to challenge existing knowledge that is primarily ideological or false (Smith, 1999).

Indigenous methodology continues to evolve as we shift to a new research paradigm based upon the perspectives of native people. This approach incorporates the collective viewpoints of communities, not just individuals. Building upon this collective knowledge, culturally sensitive approaches allow non-threatening communication thus permitting richer and deeper conversation, and sources of information and knowledge. The underlying issue continues to remain the empowerment of a colonized people through culturally appropriate means, the development of children with a stronger sense of self, and increased parental involvement and activism. We are awake, we are thriving, we are finally activated to heal ourselves and work through the diseases of our minds, hearts, and being.

---

25 As previously stated in the section regarding Kaupapa Māori.
CHAPTER 3
Research Design

Introduction

A mixed methods approach was used in the design of this research project. This thesis is an intrinsic case study (Stake, 2005) of the Papahana Kaiapuni. An intrinsic case study allows one to investigate the uniqueness of a phenomenon. It differs from an instrumental case study for example, which seeks to define a broader issue.

This research is a detailed collection of information on the graduates of immersion education and the ways in which this educational mode has impacted their lives; thus the study of the immersion graduates is the unique phenomenon that is explored. This qualitative approach transpired over a two-year period in its design and data.

In order to provide evidence to support the case study, a survey was designed to gather demographic data, such as the graduates' background, gender, school, language usage, and college or vocational pursuits. This initial quantitative data provided group demographics, including school background and location, and initial data demonstrating personal and family use of the Hawaiian language. In addition to the survey, the final portion of the information gathering returned to a qualitative approach by conducting in-depth, semi-structured interviews (Bernard, 2006) of a select group of graduates and their parents.
Methodology

Utilizing the case study method, a sample group of graduates and their parents were the focus of the research. Their reported experiences were used to explore the phenomenon of Hawaiian immersion education.

I chose case study as the approach for this thesis because it fit well with indigenous methodology, and was a research strategy that allowed us to follow Hawaiian protocols. Linda Tuhiwai Smith (2002) summarizes this process, stating “Indigenous methodologies are often a mix of existing methodological approaches and indigenous practices" (p. 143). Many indigenous researchers combine their academic training with their own practical judgments to determine how research should be conducted within their communities.

From the beginning, I have used indigenous research strategies in my approach to this work. Primarily, I have used the principles of Kaupapa Maori, the indigenous research approach developed by Smith. My process however, was contextualized to reflect the Hawaiian culture. I was comfortable with my Hawaiian identity and recognized the significance of the Hawaiian language and culture, so this portion of the Kaupapa Maori design was not applied. Additionally, I worked within the ‘ohana concept, which parallels Smith’s Whanau concept, and promotes cultural ground rules of respect. Seeking permission from and knowledge from the Elders in the community is also a Hawaiian protocol paralleling Kaupapa Maori, so this methodology was also employed in my research. As a long time parent and educator, I am inherently comfortable with and skillful at applying these indigenous research methods.
Mataira, Matsuoka, & Morelli (2005) identify some essential components of indigenous research: trust, access, and authenticity. I incorporated these components into my research process. I gained the trust of the graduates by communicating my motivation and my nearly twenty-year commitment to the immersion community.

**Recruitment.**

Due to my affiliation with the immersion and early childcare communities, I had resources that I could call upon in locating these graduates. I composed a letter of introduction, in which I shared my background and acknowledged my ancestors, identifying myself through the genealogical and geographical connections of my kūpuna and ʻāina. I also humbly requested the assistance of the graduates in the study. When the time came for the in-depth inquiry, the interviews were conducted in an authentic way. As expected in the Hawaiian culture, the settings were in a comfortable atmosphere and sometimes I was invited into their homes. Although I had a preset list of probing questions to ask, I still presented the process in a conversational, talk story fashion. I was there to listen and put no constraints on the participants. I respected the stories they chose to share with me. Upon completion of the interviews, I acknowledged and thanked each participant for their assistance and presented each graduate and parent with a makana. My gifts were rather modest, but I felt they were appropriate. Each graduate was presented with a lauhala box containing ʻōlelo noʻeau, or Hawaiian poetical sayings. Each day they could choose a new passage and reflect on its meaning.

---

26 Ancestors, elders
27 Land, in this case my birthplace as well as my residence
28 Gift
29 Woven pandanus leaf container
Parents were given packages of seasoned salt for cooking. Pa‘akai in Hawaiian tradition symbolically represents hospitality, because it is used in the sharing of food.

**Participants**

Selection of research participants was limited to those who had completed elementary through high school in a Hawaiian immersion setting, and their parents. There were 213 students of the Papahana Kaiapuni, Hawaiian immersion schools, who graduated from high school over a seven-year span from 1999 to 2006. There were a total of 35 graduating classes from seven schools on five islands.

Table 3.1 Distribution of Classes 1999-2006

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School</th>
<th>Island</th>
<th># of Graduates</th>
<th># of Graduating Classes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nāwahiokalani‘ōpu‘u</td>
<td>Hawai‘i</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ānuenue</td>
<td>O‘ahu</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kekaulike</td>
<td>Maui</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kapa‘a</td>
<td>Kaua‘i</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ni‘ihau o Kekaha</td>
<td>Kaua‘i</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kamakau</td>
<td>O‘ahu</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moloka‘i High</td>
<td>Moloka‘i</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Class size ranged from one to twelve graduates in any given year. The majority of the students graduating since 1999 came from two schools: Ke Kula ‘O Nāwahiokalani‘ōpu‘u and Kaiapuni ‘O Ānuenue. The most recent graduates in this research were from the island of Moloka‘i who had its first graduating class in 2005.

---

30 Salt
Data Collection

Surveys.

The ‘Aha Pūnana Leo provided a list of the immersion graduates, the year of their graduation, and the schools from which they had graduated. I then needed a way of contacting the individual graduates. I used my personal knowledge of teachers, administrators, and parents on different islands as community-based contacts. They became the representatives for me. If the graduates agreed, then I was provided with preliminary contact information. I then mailed out the surveys or they were distributed directly through my intermediary contacts.

The survey was developed specifically for this study. There were 21 questions asked on four pages (Appendix B). The mailings also included an introduction letter about myself and a sharing of my genealogy (Appendix C). In addition a consent informational letter was included, stating confidentiality and their rights as a participant (Appendix D). According to the University of Hawaii’s committee on human subjects review, a returned signed consent form was not necessary. Instead, the graduates had given me permission to use their data by mailing back the surveys themselves. I also included a postcard, for the graduates who were willing to participate in a further in-depth study (Appendix E). All returned materials were self-addressed and postage was provided. Numbers were used to code the surveys, and to protect the graduates’ identities and maintain confidentiality. This process also allowed me to keep track of the respondents. Each participant was thanked with a $5 gift card from Jamba Juice. Of the 213 students who completed their education in the Papahana Kaiapuni during the years 1999-2006, I was able to get contact information for 107 graduates. A total of 68 surveys,
or 64% of surveys sent, were returned. There were 33 postcards returned from graduates willing to take part in the interviews.

**Interviews.**

Following the surveys, it was evident that further study was necessary to allow for a deeper analysis of the participants’ experiences. From the 33 graduates who were willing to be interviewed, five graduates and their parents were selected for this process. There was an attempt to make selections that represented a cross section of the immersion population, with a variety of backgrounds. The graduates were chosen because of their personal circumstances, such as vocational or academic choices, parental status, and geographical location.

Of the five students and their parents that were initially selected, one parent was unable to participate in the interview process. Therefore another graduate was identified, along with a parent. In the end there were a total of six graduates and five parents who participated in the interviews. The six graduates included two men and four women and the parents consisted of one father and four mothers. There was representation from college students and laborers, and mothers and fathers, depicting different graduating classes from across the state. Interviews were conducted throughout the state and represented the island of Hawai‘i, Maui, Moloka‘i and O‘ahu.
Table 3.2 Demographics of the Graduate Participants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participant</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Education</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Parent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>23</td>
<td></td>
<td>Musician</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>BA in Cultural Anthropology</td>
<td>Administrator</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>Currently in school</td>
<td>Dental assistant</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>BA in Agribusiness</td>
<td>Farmer</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>Some college</td>
<td>Homemaker</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>Currently in school</td>
<td>Preschool teacher</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Questions regarding the influence of immersion education were posed to the graduates who participated in the in-depth interviews (Appendix F). Here is a sample of those questions:

What were some of the expectations and challenges of immersion education?

What significant events do you remember about your experience in the program?

How has your experience in immersion education shaped you as an adult?

In addition to the graduates, their parents were also interviewed because they had made the choices for their child's education and they were intimately involved in the immersion process. The goals were to get multiple viewpoints from each household, and to gain an in-depth perspective and discover shared experiences. These were some of the questions asked regarding their immersion experiences:

Why did you choose to enroll your child in Hawaiian immersion?

What were the greatest assets or challenges in the immersion program and how has it affected your family?

In addition both graduates and parents were asked:
How do you envision immersion education in the next 20 years, and your family’s role in this?

Do you have any regrets about being enrolled/involved with immersion?

In the end, eleven semi-structured interviews were conducted with graduates and their parents separately – one per individual participant in an office setting or privately in their own homes. Six of the interviewees were located off-island, and one interviewee lived on the mainland. Given these geographic limitations, these interviews were conducted thru Skype, a computer software application that allows video-audio conversations over the internet.

The interviews varied in length from 25 minutes to two and one half hours. The participants were able to opt out if they did not want to participate or continue with the interview. All the interviewees chose to fully participate in the process and their identities were kept confidential.

**Data Analysis**

The majority of the survey questions were asked in a manner that allowed the responses to be quantified for purposes of analysis. Raw data was entered into Excel spreadsheets and then used to create charts and graphs that depicted the percentage of responses in each category. This provided a framework of the graduates’ backgrounds and created a context in which to do further analysis.

Data was collected on the demographics of the graduate, such as gender, ethnic Hawaiian identity, school and year graduated, and level of college educational experience. There were 45 females and 23 male graduates who responded to the survey. In terms of ethnic identity, 47 were part Hawaiian, 19 Native Hawaiian, and two marked
other. In hindsight this was a poorly worded question, because I did not clarify the definitions of part Hawaiian and Native Hawaiian.

Figure 3.1 Distribution of Graduates’ Immersion Programs

Five islands were represented in the survey results, Moloka‘i, Hawaii‘i, Maui, O‘ahu, and Kaua‘i. The greatest number of respondents came from two schools, 25 each from Nāwahi‘okalani‘ōpu‘u on Hawai‘i island and Kekaulike on the island of Maui.
2005 was the year with the most graduates who responded to the survey.
The majority of the graduates had begun their immersion experience at the early education levels: 29 at preschool in the Pūnana Leo programs, and 24 in the Papahana Kaiapuni kindergarten classes. There were 15 graduates who began their immersion experience at higher elementary grade levels. Three started during their middle school years in grades 7 and 8. Sixty of 68 graduates or 88% had been enrolled continuously through the program after entering. There were eight graduates who left for a variety of reasons, such as a family move or to try an English language education in a conventional classroom. Eventually all eight were able to return and graduate from the Papahana Kaiapuni.
Each survey also asked a final question, “What was the most significant impact that Hawaiian immersion has had on your life?” As with the interview data, the results of this question were transcribed and analyzed. The open responses to the question were categorized and the broad themes were coded.

Once the stories were taped, transcribed, and compiled, they were taken back to the participants for verification, validation, and accuracy. Upon approval by the participants the transcriptions were coded with a descriptor and reviewed for the data analysis process. Examples of codes included the following descriptors: Graduates were coded A thru F and parents were paired with their child in double letters. For example the parent for graduate C was coded as CC.

I took a grounded theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) approach to analyzing the qualitative data. Grounded theory is an inductive process, which allows the data to be simultaneously collected and analyzed. In this process, data is focused and refined as new data emerges to be analyzed (Charmaz, 2005). In reading through the transcribed texts, salient threads were recognized and an understanding of the data materialized. Some examples of these salient threads were language, identity, family and challenges. As the themes themselves became evident, they were then compared and grouped into broader categories that linked with one another. An example of this process is illustrated: graduates mentioned Hawaiian values such as respect, gratitude, and responsibility. These salient threads were gathered and grouped as a theme of values and values became a category under culture. The quotes from the surveys and the interview narratives were used to further demonstrate the various developing concepts that had emerged.
Limitations in the Research Design

Attempts were made to contact as many graduates as possible throughout the state. Despite attempts to convene a diversified pool of respondents, the majority of the respondents came primarily from two schools—Nāwahīokalani‘ōpuʻu on Hawaiʻi island and King Kekaulike on the island of Maui. These schools were the two to which I had the closest ties and relationships. Many of the graduates knew me personally and perhaps felt compelled to respond. Almost half of the graduates who responded to the survey were also willing to participate in the in-depth interviews. Ultimately interviewees were chosen because they represented a range of conditions; the college student, the non-student, the mother, the father, the non-parent, the urban graduate, the non-urban graduate, etc.

During the course of this study, I was unable to take advantage of technological advances. The survey was distributed the old fashioned way— the U.S. postal service. The introduction and consent letters, along with the survey questionnaire and postcards were compiled and placed in envelopes, stamped and addressed. In fact while I waited for contact information, I produced the questionnaire packets, and 107 packets were eventually distributed. I should have realized earlier how technologically savvy these graduates were. It would have been much easier and timelier had I designed the survey so that it could be disseminated via the internet. I'm certain the response time would've been quicker and perhaps more graduates would have participated.

This thesis did not provide specific objective educational outcomes from the program such as standardized test scores or scaled interview results. The methodology of this study was to utilize a model that followed indigenous standards of behavior. To a
large extent this limited the ability of the researcher to acquire standardized data. Further research designed along longitudinal lines may be needed in the future.

Normally, the goal of the western research model is to have the research conducted by a “completely unbiased, objective researcher.” However, in using an indigenous research approach, such as Hawaiian protocol and non-structured settings, there is a certain amount of intimacy between the researcher and the participant. This “intimacy” allowed the research to be conducted in participants’ homes. Also, my long involvement in the immersion program and its application to recruitment and data collection might raise questions about the objectiveness of this study. However, although I have a strong personal commitment to the Hawaiian immersion program, the questions to the graduates and the parents were structured as open-ended questions, so that they could feel comfortable and free to provide honest answers. This, I believe, provided a satisfactory context of research objectivity.
CHAPTER 4
Analysis of Findings

Introduction

The demographics of the Hawaiian immersion graduates were illustrated in chapter 3, providing an introduction and a background of the research participants. The focus of the rest of this chapter is to address the remainder of the survey questions and the qualitative data from the interviews, illuminating the perspectives of a sample of the immersion graduates and some of their parents. In the following, the survey data was quantified to depict participants’ thoughts on identification with the Hawaiian culture, importance of using the Hawaiian language, rates of language use, enrollment of their own children in immersion, and their aspirations for higher education.

The analysis of the responses to the open-ended survey question are also reported, along with the results of the interviews that were also qualitatively analyzed. Five broad themes emerged from the participants’ responses to the open-ended survey question and the in-depth interviews: language, cultural values, identity, family, and attitude. Graduates and their parents also shared challenges in the Papahana Kaiapuni program. Additionally, parents also shared their perspectives in regard to responsibilities and parental involvement.

Quantitative Survey Data

The graduates were asked, “How strongly do you identify with the Hawaiian culture?” The data was collected using a five-point Likert scale from very strong, strong, somewhat strong, marginally strong and not at all. Sixty of the graduates or 88% of the group identified strongly with the Hawaiian culture.
The graduates were also asked, “How important is the use of Hawaiian language and culture in your life?” Responses were rated on the Likert scale ranging from very important, important, somewhat important, marginally or not at all.
In figure 4.2, 59 graduates or 94% surveyed believed that the use of Hawaiian language and culture was important or very important in their lives.

Figure 4.3 illustrates the language usage in the home prior, during, and after the graduates’ enrollment in the Papahana Kaiapuni. Questions of the graduates were phrased: “Was the Hawaiian language used in your home before you started at Papahana Kaiapuni?” “Was the Hawaiian language used in your home during the years enrolled at Papahana Kaiapuni?” “Is the Hawaiian language used in the household in which you live today?” Graduates choices on the Likert scale were rarely/never, ¼ of the time, ½ of the time, ¾ of the time, and almost all of the time. There was a higher percentage of usage while graduates were students in the program. Overall, more graduates are speaking Hawaiian than prior to their enrollment in the program. The decrease in graduates speaking Hawaiian 100% of the time is due to the lack of opportunities to converse.
These students are living on the mainland or have few occasions to interact with other Hawaiian language speakers. One graduate remarked that when she returns home to Hawaii and is speaking Hawaiian, “it’s like riding a bike.” The speaking is initially slow, but eventually she is in full form interacting with former teachers and classmates.

Figure 4.3 Language usage

Graduates were also asked to share how they use the Hawaiian language in their daily lives. This question was answered in multiple ways with a total of 248 responses. The majority of graduates used their Hawaiian language in daily conversation and email correspondence for work, teaching and/or studying. In addition 21 graduates used their Hawaiian language for reading newspapers and another 34 used it for reading books.

Of the participating graduates, 14 were also parents. Of that group 57% or 8 parents indicated that they use the Hawaiian language with their children 100% of the
time. An additional 4 parents or 29% use Hawaiian language with their children at least 50% of the time. One graduate who was pregnant with her first child also expressed “I speak almost all the time with my ‘ōpū.”

Figure 4.4 Language use with children

Assuming that in the future all of those surveyed became parents, the majority would be supportive of enrolling their child(ren) in a Hawaiian immersion program. Figure 4.5 shows that 58 out of 68 graduates or 86% of those surveyed would definitely or probably enroll their child in an immersion program.

---

31 stomach
In terms of higher education, there was a high percentage amongst the students who were furthering their educational experience. Fifty-seven graduates or 84% of the respondents had been or were currently enrolled and seeking degrees in higher education. Figure 4.6 illustrates the variety of degree programs that were being pursued by 40 of the graduates. Of this group 8% were in graduate school, 61% were obtaining a bachelors degree and 16% were seeking an associate degree. Eleven graduates had already completed a bachelor’s degree.
There were several graduates pursuing college degrees in Hawaiian Studies and Hawaiian Language, with some expanding their educational training into immersion teaching certification. Other graduates choose broad and diverse majors. The fields of study listed by the graduates included nursing, art, tropical horticulture, marine science, anthropology, business, forensic science, geophysics, liberal arts, social work, law enforcement, early childhood education and Japanese.

Some of the graduates listed their current occupations as teacher, cultural consultant, musician, cook, and organic farmer. In addition, graduates listed future vocational goals, which included visitor industry, magazine or clothing company owner, lāʻau lapaʻau\textsuperscript{32} practitioner and dentistry.

\textsuperscript{32} Medicinal
Qualitative Data

I realized that the quantitative data gathered from the surveys was just a start to the process of answering my research question, and that doing in-depth interviews would provide a deeper understanding of the impact of immersion education. The survey asked the graduates one open-ended question, “What was the most significant impact that Hawaiian immersion has had on your life?” The responses to this question were included with the other qualitative data, which were categorized according to the five prominent themes that were identified: language, cultural values, identity, family and attitude. To see a full list of topics generated from this survey question, see Appendix H.

For organizational purposes, the data has been arranged by theme in three separate sub categories: survey responses, interview responses of program graduates, and parent interview responses. A representative sample of the participant’s comments related to these themes follows. It must be noted that specific questions about the themes were not asked of the interviewees; instead these responses were generated throughout their transcribed responses.

In addition to the previously identified categories, I also include two additional areas of responses: challenges and parental involvement that also emerged from the interviews.

Ka ‘ōlelo, language.

About one-third of the survey respondents mentioned language as being the most significant impact of Hawaiian immersion schooling. Being educated in and learning the Hawaiian language was the one commonality shared by all of the graduates. Many expressed themselves passionately.
Survey responses.

Our ancestors bestowed a special gift upon us. The language! A lot of my family members agree with my parents. They're proud that my siblings and I can speak our native tongue. I really can't picture my life without the Hawaiian language. (#206)

Being able to learn the language for my people is to me one of the most significant impacts of my whole immersion experience. Culture is very important to me and I wouldn't ever switch to an English speaking school. (#222)

ʻŌlelo and ʻike Hawaiʻi has been the skill set that has differentiated me from the competition in the job market. (#207)

Several responded in the Hawaiian language. Here are two offerings. The translations present only a faint glimmer of their passionate voices.

ʻO ka mea mua ka ʻōlelo Hawaiʻi, ke aloha o ka ʻōlelo, ka ʻike ʻana o ka holomua o ka ʻōlelo Hawaii, ka hoʻohana ʻana o ka ʻōlelo Hawaiʻi ma ka hula, ka ʻōlelo pū ʻana me ka ʻohana, ke aʻo ʻana o nā poe ma ka ʻohana mele ʻana. Ka hoihoi ʻana i ka ʻōlelo o kou mau kūpuna i paʻi iʻia ai iā lākou no ka ʻōlelo Hawaiʻi ʻole i ko lākou wā kamaiʻi. Ka mahalo ʻana i ka mea loa. A ka nani o ka ʻōlelo Hawaiʻi. (#123)
Hawaiian language is in the forefront, love for the language, seeing how it has progressed, how it is used in hula, speaking with your family, teaching people in the family through song, the excitement of speaking to my kūpuna who, themselves were punished in their youth for speaking it, being grateful for what we have, and the beauty of the Hawaiian language. (#123)

ʻAʻole a ‘ike i nā pōmaikaʻi a pau o ka hele ‘ana i ke kula ʻōlelo Hawaiʻi ma ka hoʻomaka ‘ana, akā, i kēia manawa, ʻaʻole hiki iaʻu ke hoʻomau me ka loaʻa ʻole o ka ʻōlelo e pili pū ʻana i ka nohona oʻu. ʻAʻole o ka ʻōlelo Hawaiʻi he mea nui iā kākou poʻe Hawaiʻi wale nō, ua koʻikoʻi ka ʻōlelo ma ka honua a puni, keu hoʻi i nā lāhui e hoʻāʻo ana e hoʻōloa i ko lākou ʻōlelo makuahine i hiki iā lākou ke hoʻohana iā mākou me ke ʻana he kumu hoʻohālike. E hoʻomau ana au ma ka ʻōlelo Hawaiʻi a i ka pau ʻana oʻu, no ka mea, he kuleana, a he kūpono. E ola ka ʻōlelo Hawaiʻi. (#237)

I did not realize the advantages of attending a Hawaiian language school in the beginning, but now I wouldn't be able to progress without the language in my life. Hawaiian is not just important to us, Hawaiians but the language is important to the world, to those other nations trying to revive their mother tongues. They are able to use us as an example. I will continue to use the language until the end of my days because it is my responsibility, my duty and it is the right thing to do. The Hawaiian language shall live. (#237)
Graduate interview responses.

The graduates shared their thoughts on their current usage of the language. Again there is a sense of pride being able to speak Hawaiian.

*Every time we go out we speak Hawaiian. We always try to keep it alive and I know one thing about us we always say we’re so proud, we’re so proud to know and we don’t regret anything and I think that’s what we look for our kids. We want them to have that same feeling too, to be so proud to know a language and to keep it alive. That’s how we all feel and that’s how I look at myself. I feel like I look at myself, as I’m proud to be Hawaiian. (Participant C)*

*For the families that speak Hawaiian we had a stronger bond outside of school and it seemed the difference, the uniqueness of speaking Hawaiian at home, outside of school, camping, doing work in the lo‘i or just community outreaches, stuff like Lā Kūkahiki at UH, just using the Hawaiian language out and about in the community. That’s what was unique and now you hear it all over and you start speaking Hawaiian and guys tell you “oh yeah, I know what is that” or they start speaking back to you. So you gotta watch out what you say or just how you approach people these days, there are more speakers. (Participant D)*

*The language is important not because we know how to translate or because we know what they’re saying, it’s just like I said, that deeper meaning in the language and when you have – I don’t know if I can*
explain it right – but when you have a deep meaning in your language it shapes you into a different person, the way you think, the way your naʻau (instinctive wisdom) is. There is a whole lot of love in this program that comes from that. I like to think that’s how it benefited me and shaped me to become more of a loving respectful person. (Participant E)

Just being able to be a part of the revitalization of the Hawaiian language.... My manaʻo is just to hoʻomau ka ʻōlelo (continue the language) you know and that we have, poʻe Hawaii (Hawaiian people), we have our own language. We can achieve anything we want to. (Participant F)

**Parent interview responses.**

Of the five parents interviewed their primary purpose for enrolling their children in Papahana Kaiapuni was the learning of the Hawaiian language.

*I think the fact that my mother was very open with the language in her growing up I felt that was important for her to see her grandchildren speak.* (Participant FF)

*We would be giving our children not only the regular education that they were entitled to receive, their regular academic education, but that they would have the additional benefit of being able to speak the Hawaiian language and to think in Hawaiian terms as well as think in western*
academic terms. So this flexibility of thinking and broadness of thinking, 
this alternative way of thinking was very important to us. (Participant BB)

Nā waiwai kuʻuna, cultural values.

One of the reasons the Papahana Kaiapuni established itself as an immersion 
program for language was the understanding that this would inevitably lead to the 
learning of cultural values, since the culture is embedded in the language. The majority of 
graduates mentioned that Papahana Kaiapuni instilled values, which are a significant 
influence in their lives. Through the language the graduates gained a deep appreciation 
for the Hawaiian culture and the values that were practiced by their elders. The value of 
respect was a particularly notable response amongst the graduates.

Survey responses.

The degree of values instilled in the children that attend Kaiapuni is 
beyond measure. Aloha kekahi i kekahi (loving one another), haʻahaʻa 
(humility), kuaʻana/ kaikaina (distinguishing older/younger siblings) 
dualities are among the many values practiced on a daily basis in the 
Papahana Kaiapuni. I do not feel this is present in any other school 
setting. (#184)

To respect all those around you, to be humble, to be disciplined and to 
take ownership for the decisions you make. (#145)

Set the foundation for my value system. (#136)
It taught me how to be a Hawaiian and how to respect your elders and be a good role model for the younger generation. (#251)

Being in the Hawaiian language program gave me a sense of respect, not found in public schools. We learned how to carry ourselves properly and always respect our elders and be proper role models to those who were younger than us. The language itself and the cultural practices and values are much important in my life today. (#274)

Ma o ka ʻōlelo Hawaiʻi ua aʻo mai au i nā loina o kuʻu mau kūpuna a ma ia hana ua hoʻomaopopo i nā mea like ole a ka pili uhane, pili kanaka, pili ʻohana a pili honua no hoʻi. (#144)

Through speaking Hawaiian I have learned the traditions of my ancestors and as a result, I came to understand things concerning spirituality, human interactions, family connectivity and living in a global society. (#144)

**Graduate interview responses.**

This particular theme had a subtle presence through my conversations with the graduates. Cultural values were not mentioned as obviously as they were in the surveys. I believe this is so, because I did not specifically ask about cultural values. Again the value of respect was noted, as well as relationships, and a responsibility to mālama or a caring of the language, culture and family.

*I mean when you learn more about your culture you learn more about how your kūpuna lived, just the culture itself, once you learn more about it, it
helps you make better decisions for yourself. You have a better understanding of the way to go about things and to have respect for everything, the land, your family, your friends, people around you and yourself. I think that the wonderful thing about it was I got a regular education and along the way I was able to learn a deeper understanding of things around me – myself, my family, etc. (Participant B)

The things that people are looking to buy for self-gratification or just to be happy in life, who end up finding in the end or hopefully early in their life that it’s not about the kālā (money) and not about the best education but it’s about the time you spent to make life work like the bonding of our ‘ohana and the ‘ōlelo and learning together and working on the same thing. It’s a beautiful thing in life and it’s priceless. The bond between us people is what you cannot buy. You can’t buy that, you can’t change that and the strength of the bond is the beginning of it all. It’s to keep on going even though we’re being rejected or put up against barriers, that we’re just trying to take care of and keep these cultural practices alive. If you can help teach people it’ll come back. (Participant D)

We’re just actually more known throughout the community because at events we always sing, dance, so everybody knows my ‘ohana and knows us. We’re the kids that can hula and mele and make leis and decorate parties for free. So everything we do is pretty much for our community with aloha and we don’t ask for anything back. And being a part of the
Hawaiian immersion, just the ‘ano Hawaii (Hawaiian character), just mālama everything no matter who you are, we always help with whatever is needed. I always want to make things easier for everyone else. And always, always wanting to mālama the ‘ōlelo and the culture, and my ‘ōhana. (Participant F)

**Parent interview responses.**

Language revitalization was only one motivating factor for parents who chose immersion education for their children. They also saw the program as an opportunity to strengthen the Hawaiian culture.

*One of the main reasons why I decided to enroll my child in the Hawaiian immersion program was that I realized that I wasn’t able to provide the right cultural knowledge that I should know to my child. So I was actually trying to seek out an avenue where I would be able to obtain this knowledge for him before it was too late.* (Participant DD)

*So with the rejuvenation of the language I felt that the cultural things, understanding of family, ‘ohana, aloha, ho‘okipa (hospitality) and just respect would come back ‘cause that’s what we learned when we were their age.* (Participant EE)

*In a sense we all had an investment in the cultural learning and context provided by the immersion experience, and we wanted that to continue for our children.* (Participant BB)
This last parent had started her child in the Pūnana Leo and wanted that experience of cultural knowledge to continue in the older grade levels.

Another value that was featured so prominently by the graduates was the concept of mahalo or gratitude. As a cultural value, mahalo is not an emotion but rather an acknowledgement, as in an honoring of elders, culture and knowledge. Many of the students had expressed their gratitude for being a part of the program. The graduates were very grateful for the opportunity to become fluent in the Hawaiian language, for having a better understanding of their kūpunas’ values, an acknowledgement of their ancestors, and for giving them the foundation on which to build their lives.

Survey responses.

I am proud to not only be a product of the program but of all who have come before me who have created an ‘ohana in which we are given the opportunity to learn the language and the ways of our kūpuna. (#149)

It was a privilege for myself to be a part of the program for 14 years of my life. (#256)

I am so proud to be so fluent. Thanks to the program, I can’t wait to have children just so I can send them to Pūnana Leo. By far the best decision my parents ever made. (#259)

Mahalo to my parents and kumu for allowing me to learn such a beautiful thing. There is not enough words to say how lucky and how proud I am to
have been a part of this wonderful program. I believe that if I was taught
any other way, I wouldn't be the strong person I am today. (#262)

Graduate interview responses.

It’s definitely been a huge blessing. I know there are a lot of hardships,
it’s a lot of work, there’s a lot of time investment on the families and the
parents, but man...there are some wonderful things the kids experience
along the way and that I experienced myself that are irreplaceable, I
wouldn't change anything. (Participant B)

I think it changed me a lot. I’m thankful that I chose to stay in Hawaiian
immersion...But you know what, it was my tūtū wahine, she’s the one who
because I was so close to my grandparents on my dad’s side, she kinda
told me you know, I want you to be the one who’ll follow through in
Hawaiian immersion and I want you to be the one to graduate, and I want
you, when you’re pau (finished) from Hawaiian immersion, I want you to
teach Hawaiian and give back to the Hawaiian language. And in my heart
I always held that in my heart you know. (Participant C)

I just can’t explain the feeling I have for the ‘i’ini (desire) for the
perpetuation of the ‘ōlelo. Mahalo mom, for pushing us and for being such
a strong person for our ‘ohana. (Participant F)
Ka piko‘u, identity.

As has been expressed by Trask (1999) and Benham & Heck (1998) and others, identity is important. For the greater part of recent history, since the overthrow of sovereign Hawaiian government in 1893, identifying oneself as a Hawaiian brought about negative connotations and a lack of self-esteem. Another significant impact that the Papahana Kaiapuni provided was instilling a proud sense of identity in many of the graduates. Again about a third of the graduates mentioned a sense of identity as a result of their immersion experiences.

Survey responses.

*Kaiapuni has helped me become more aware of who I am not only as a kanaka Hawai‘i (Hawaiian person) but also as a positive contributor to the perpetuation and advancement of the culture. (#149)*

*My educational experience has helped to form my Hawaiian awareness and strengthen my foundation, who I am, where I came from, my kūpunas and what is my responsibility to pass this knowledge down to my children. (#111)*

*The highest impact is that I got to learn and understand my culture more and deeper into meaning, feeling. I am 75% Hawaiian and 25% Samoan, yet I knew more about my Samoan culture than my Hawaiian, so it made me more confident in myself and in my culture. (#310)*
It has been a lifestyle that connects to everything else in my life. The most significant impact has been to know my self-identity, through the “Hawaiian Immersion Lifestyle”. I have learned about my past and how it connects to my future. (#101)

Graduate interview responses.

It is interesting that in the following statements, these graduates saw their identity through ʻōlelo Hawaiʻi, the language itself. Being culturally educated was important, but knowing the language offered a unique experience and set them apart from others. They also felt a responsibility to perpetuate the language. There was also an attitude of confidence conveyed. Not in an arrogant way, but one that conveyed self-assurance.

I definitely identify myself as a Hawaiian. So I think the language is incredibly important but I think one of the most important things I know on my parents behalf was that the program would create these kids who could go out into the world and live these lifestyles that were so culturally appropriate, just being respectful, etc. I don’t speak as often as I would like to but a lot of what I learned is very pertinent in my life. (Participant B)

I can do anything pretty much if I set my mind, that’s what I think of myself. Anything and everything. Another self-identity would be a phrase, “go big or go home.” That’s how I would explain myself. Either go big or do nothing at all. That’s just my style...When I walk into the room I know
I’m the only Hawaiian immersion student that has been going for 23 years ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i. Sometimes I know I’m the only one and I guess ‘ōlelo is my vanity. That’s what identifies me or describes me, that’s what makes me different from the masses. I just think it’s rare, like an endangered species. Just getting out there and trying to show the difference. I cannot be as Hawaiian without it. (Participant D)

I think being a part of the immersion program made me who I am. I am respectful, humble, helpful, drug-free, alcohol-free. I always keep knowledge of my kūpuna and the people before me. I do everything for my ‘ōhana and my friends. Everything I do I try to do with aloha and I think it made me a very good person; I think I’m a good person. I think if I had done things differently I wouldn’t be who I am and have desire, ambition, holomua (forward movement) in school, college, work in Pūnana Leo. I am Hawai‘i. I ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i and I’m going to do everything I can to mālama the ‘ōlelo. (Participant F)

Ka ʻohana, family.

Typically the Papahana Kaiapuni graduates experienced the span of their education, kindergarten through high school, with the same classmates. In the process, the bonds shared between the students grew beyond the classroom. These experiences strengthened their relationships and were often extended to include teachers, parents and other family members. Many of the graduates expressed thoughts about their expanded
‘ohana and often appreciated the support and closeness that these “family” members provided.

Self-identity offered them some individual expression, however the graduates also identified themselves with a larger unit, the ‘ohana. They responded positively to this greater community. About a quarter of the surveys mentioned the concept of ‘ohana. Family was significantly emphasized during the personal interviews, especially in regard to relationships with teachers and classmates.

Survey responses.

The immersion program also had the side effect of introducing me to young children, like myself, and allowing us to grow together over the course of the entire program, thus making us a family. (#197)

I don't think there is another program in which students, teachers, and parents are so close. I am unsure of how to explain, but it just feels as if I am one of their daughters as well. (#259)

The family environment gave me a sense of belonging. (#257)

The classmates that I graduated with are not just friends but became my brothers and sisters and I think that is the reason for my confidence and selfless attitude towards the people that continually come into contact within my life. (#248)

Hawaiian immersion also gave me an extended family, friends who have been with me since the beginning and learned and shared the same values
as I do. We all share a lifelong closeness that I could never imagine ever finding at a "regular" school especially in a world like today. (#219)

My ‘ohana became part of a larger ‘ohana. (#189)

Graduate interview responses.

This theme was strongly expressed by all the graduates and mentioned numerous times throughout our conversations. Family had a significant impact on their involvement in the program; the motivation for enrolling, the support being offered, and the close relationships and bonds formed between the students, teachers, and parents. Those close ties were maintained throughout their education and continue to be a strong bond long after their formal education has ended.

I’m just speaking from my year, it really gave us – the students – a special bonding...we have to move in our lives but yet we always somehow find each other and we’re always in communication and/or trying to reconnect. (Participant A)

In Kaiapuni we’re closer together, more like sisters and brothers than just friends. Everything we did, we did together and we always had the Hawaiian culture in everything we did.... We just had all of us and didn’t have those kinds of cliques and whatever. We were our own clique. (F)

When I was going through Hawaiian immersion, when I was going to college I should say I met people who were not in Hawaiian immersion and I noticed that their thinking of friendship is different. My friends, we
have a bond where it’s like ‘ohana, it’s really strong, we’re like family. I have other friends who are not from school, but I can’t get that same bond with them. (C)

So, I think some of the memories that I cherish the most are those when we were all coming together as a big group and we were just enjoying each other and really engaging in a lot of what the culture was about — family.... Everything was about family and respect and love and so you learn it in school, it’s happening around you, what then falls next in place is that you create these relationships with people that are basically your family, you consider them to be your family. Just because we weren’t blood related didn’t mean that we weren’t ‘ohana, as it was we’re ‘ohana Kaiapuni and we still are. (Participant B)

**Parent interview responses.**

Like their children the parents also credited the Papahana Kaiapuni for providing for more than an academic or cultural education. They saw themselves as part of a larger family. They had a sense of belonging and they expressed their gratitude for the opportunity to participate.

Yeah, it was a lot of commitment at the beginning. All the parents that were first starters will tell there was a lot of commitment in the beginning. But it was a lot of fun, we as the parents were close because we did so many things together. (Participant CC)
The other thing that the parents provide is there has always been a sense of community about Hawaiian language immersion and that was really important so that you got beyond the nuclear family and extended the kind of connectivity you have within the nuclear family into a larger group of people. (Participant BB)

Ke kuana, attitude.

Another category that emerged from some of the survey respondents was that of attitude. This attitude is not described as an arrogant or assertive manner, but rather defined as an approach or outlook. This area of responses overlapped at times with some of the previously identified categories including a sense of identity, family, and cultural values. The topic of attitude, however, extends beyond the respondents’ selves and ‘ohana, and towards a broader outlook—a more worldly view. They also express an obligation to give back to community and a responsibility to perpetuate the Hawaiian language and culture.

Survey responses.

Focused my way of living, provided guidance in the way I live and treat all those around me and the decisions I make. Hawaiian immersion helped me to remain connected to my Hawaiian ancestors and utilize their teaching and what they passed on to be successful now and in the future. (#145)

The immersion program allowed me to become more open-minded and more relative to cultures. The program allowed me to view things in more
than one perspective. It also has driven me to learn more and more on different cultures, being that I already completed studies in two points of view. (#103)

As an immersion graduate I feel that my life has a well-roundedness to it and that I can see some of my peers still looking for. My understanding of ‘ohana is a bit different than someone raised in "regular" school. For myself, I feel that returning to teach immersion has been my calling. (#104)

It changed the way that I carry myself. In my everyday life you become more observant at the way that I live my life. You learn to give back to your community. It is not all about you and what you can get out of it. You learn to listen to your na’au and not outside influences. (#235)

The Hawaiian language has taught me to look at life differently and has given me a broader outlook on many things. (#236)

Hawaiian immersion has helped me identify who I am as a Hawaiian, and it has also helped me learn my Hawaiian culture. Hawaiian immersion has led me to many doors of opportunity for a higher education, more jobs and careers. It has also allowed me the opportunity to give back to my community, my culture and my family. (#244)

Everything. It changed my whole outlook on life. I am who I am now because of the papahana. In the immersion program, they prepare you to
be confident with yourself and willing to grow stronger. I also learned that no matter what, your actions reflect yourself and your family. I cannot even begin to imagine my life without my immersion in Hawaiian. It is not a fad or trend to me, it is my lifestyle. (#238)

**Graduate interview responses.**

In this category, the interviewees shared responses similar to the survey participants, representing a view that goes beyond themselves and their family.

*I think I’m a little bit of everything in the sense of I know my limit. I know what I can’t do and again I’m always open to learning more things so that… I’m definitely not ashamed of what I do. I love being able to know and understand the Hawaiian language. I just hope to one day be a great role model for those who are younger than me. (Participant A)*

*I was studying to be a kumu because it just did so much for me I couldn’t help when I graduated to feel that I totally needed to give back. Seeing all the struggles our programs been through, especially getting kumus, I really felt that I have all the resources and I need to apply them and I need to go back and give back. That is something the program teaches you without saying “I’m going to teach you, you need to give back” it just teaches you throughout all your years…. Well, I’m going to be a kumu. It’s taking some time, I’m 23 already, and they’re so in need of kumus. But while I’m not a kumu, I’m being a home kumu with my babies and teaching them from when they’re young. That’s my role. (Participant E)*
I know that it helped me make decisions and it affects the way that I treat people. It affects the way that I treat the things around me, not just the people, but the land, the environment. It affects the way that I think. I mean there are some things that you learn but you continue on with it, you learn it in school but it’s something that you use in your life, it’s not something that you only use in the school classroom, it’s something that you use for the rest of your life. (Participant B)

This whole schooling made me, not for be ho’okano (rude), but I can do anything and people told us the Hawaiian language is dead, told us the culture is gone, most of it is gone. This is just ways we can strengthen that and prove that’s wrong and keep on going and look at whatever resources we have and just analyze and not just look at it as if we going lose ‘em and we not going have something to fall back on if...all the works been done already, we just gotta keep on utilizing that information and make sure we perpetuate it, keep it alive and not just let it dwindle away and be lost. (Participant D)

Nā ālaina, challenges.

It is important to note that there was one survey response that was negative and critical of the Papahana Kaiapuni program, and conveyed the graduate's unpleasant experience. He had several concerns. Among them he felt his treatment by the teachers was biased and his time in the immersion program was further exasperated by the lack of special education support.
Survey response.

Sad to say but not good. Lots of racism. I was never “Hawaiian” enough. Kumus never saw I was ADHD. Said I was just not trying. I’m smart but can’t focus. I hated school and don’t want to go to college cause it might be the same. Immersion is only for kids who have no learning problems. The rest of us suffer, but I stayed because it was so easy to pass, especially in high school. Work was easy compared to the English side.

Sorry but it’s the truth. (#258)

Graduate interview responses.

Although there was only one survey respondent who shared any negative impressions of their immersion experience, it was necessary to explore the issue of challenges in the Papahana Kaiapuni program further. The interviews allowed me to query the graduates by asking, “What were some of the challenges in the program?” For a couple of them, their greatest concern was learning English. They felt that it should have been introduced at an earlier time. A third graduate had a similar understanding in that the English component might be a hindrance, however due to the support of her family it was easily overcome. Others had expressed different obstacles, such as lack of teachers, curriculum and physical classroom space. Many of these students were schooled in the early years of the program and, thus experienced the initial hardships of implementing an educational program taught through the medium of Hawaiian.

Yes, there were definitely challenges. I personally had a lot of challenges as far as once we reached high school I think it was, we started to
transition over to the English side and so learning all of this, I gotta say it’s a little bit hilahila (shame) but I had a hard time spelling, grasping spelling for English words because I was only taught in Hawaiian. So it just kind of came a little differently for me. I would say that was one of the biggest challenges. (Participant A)

I had a lot of challenges because when I started they didn’t introduce us to English until about 6th-7th grade, we started really late. Everything was strictly just Hawaiian until maybe 6th, 7th grade. That was a big challenge. I sort of felt behind and to be honest I felt kinda like I’m not as intelligent as other kids because I started English so late and that’s one thing I didn’t like because I didn’t know as much English as everyone else. But, I’m happy now because I heard that they start sooner now, I think it’s like 1st, 2nd grade now at Ānuenue so that’s really good, I’m really happy about that because for us they started so late. (C)

Sometimes it was stressful because the program was just emerging, it wasn’t yet solid. They were always looking for kumus (teachers) and people were always trying to do away with the project, but as much as it was stressful I think it was way more beneficial. We lost a lot of our students because the parents were seeing how it was hard for them and their grades were dropping so sometimes they would take them out or – it would hurt, you would see your kid stressed – so okay you want to go to the other side? Okay. ‘cause then they felt they weren’t really benefiting

33 A K-12 grade immersion site in Honolulu.
from the program. Personally, I feel if you stick with it and there are people to not discourage you and you get the support, you can do it. I’m not saying their decision was bad, that’s just my personal decision, because I was fortunate enough to have that support with my family. Even English students who weren’t in Hawaiian immersion their whole life, they have a hard time, even they have a hard time and they have to go to special ed and they have to get tutoring. (E)

I can remember that some people had questions about whether or not we would be a little behind regular education students that were taught in the English language and because we didn’t start English language studies until I believe the third grade I know people were a little bit worried about our ability to take standardized testing, or go into college, things of that sort and it was very clear to me, especially through my parents, that because we had this opportunity to be in Kula Kaiapuni o Maui that the family and your parents would support you in helping you stay at a similar level with your regular English speaking students. So I think it was fairly clear, for me I knew that I had to do extra outside of Kula Kaiapuni to stay at a similar level to the other students. Just for English language, that kind of thing, not for any regular science or math courses, it was basically just for the English language I think that it was clear that we needed to get extra help from your parents or your family. (Participant B)
Parent interview responses.

Many of the parents who were interviewed were the initial families who established immersion education in their communities. They had several obstacles to overcome, including physical challenges as well as emotional challenges. The initial programs had a lack of resources including space, certified teachers, and curriculum. However, many of these parents understood their role in the process. They needed to take on the responsibility of ensuring that the program was going to thrive and they offered whatever they could to support the school and their child’s education. Some of these parents began their immersion odyssey at the preschool level.

It was very hard in the beginning, but we worked hard. We had such a small group that was helping. We didn’t have facilities. We were in a church. We had to do all our own curriculum. We had nothing to start with. Now they have it easy. In our day we worried about everything. We had to always clean the classroom. We had to do all the maintenance, the yard, we had to worry about everything.

For this parent the challenges and kuleana continued at the Papahana Kaiapuni.

We had to make sure we had teachers. We had to do combined classes. We had to fight for classroom space as the children were coming up to the next grade. The kuleana was different because they didn't require you to do much of anything once you reached Kaiapuni. But for me, I'm their mother and a couple years later you still had to try and keep the kids in the community eye so the program would have some kind of recognition.
way back then. It was doing all the parades, doing the little programs, trying to make our program....acknowledge our program. (Participant FF)

Another parent also shared her immersion preschool experience.

*Fundraising was very important because the school needed to increase their funds so we started the Ho’omau concert and we had other small fundraisers. Then we also had to do the cut and paste of the books, the children’s books, we had to help with the cut and pasting. I was asked to, because I worked at the bank, to do the books. So I did the books for the school too. I just kept tabs on the parents tuition and who pay and who didn't pay, and then at the end of the year I would give the books and I guess they would have some tax service do the taxes. My husband built easels for the school and we'd bring whatever kind of bookcases and stuff, we'd donate because the school didn't have.* (Participant CC)

Other families continued their commitment from the preschool to the Papahana Kaiapuni, where they faced similar challenges.

*To be there for the students and the school. Be there to do the fundraisers and excursions and whatever you took, especially to try to have the skeptics understand what the reason for it was all about, cause it was a big thing. We helped paste books so they would have a library, helped with fundraiser, helped with the mana’o (thought) —how we felt things should be, not so much should be but how we felt the thing was going—but*
mostly I feel that the most important thing at that time was helping build the library for the haumāna (students). (Participant EE)

Well, it was always clear to me that it was necessary for the parents to participate in the Hawaiian language immersion education experience because there were so few resources available to us. Parents would have to undertake some responsibility with providing help to the teachers, to the program, to their children. For instance, if reading in English was an issue, the hope is that parents would be able to work with their children at home in boosting their English language and reading skills as well as affirming and assisting with their Hawaiian language reading and speaking skills, and contributing in the classroom or the program in ways that were possible for each parent or each household..... I was actively involved in the parent group supporting the Kaiapuni program. We were the first Kaiapuni program to establish a non-profit organization in the state. And because we were on Maui where we did not have the benefit of a four-year university like Hilo or Mānoa, we had fewer academic resources at our command so we had to do a lot of advocating for our program in order to get people, teachers, to come to Maui or to be a part of the Kaiapuni program here. (Participant BB)

When my oldest began we needed to build the program so there was a lot of foundation work, a lot of political action work. Then my second child came in and it was a matter of survival. More political work, but not as
much as in the beginning. But now, our program is better and actually it’s more of an expansion. So now things that we look at are their testing, No Child Left Behind—how do we address that issue in our program, meeting the standards but yet being able to continue on our foundation, not theirs.

(Participant DD)

**Parental involvement.**

*Perspectives of the graduates who were parents.*

None of the survey questions asked about the participants’ roles as parents and how immersion has impacted their own children. The interviews gave me an opportunity to explore that issue. I wanted to have a better understanding as to how the participants’ immersion experience, if any, had an effect on their own children. I also wanted to learn about their viewpoint now that they were parents themselves. Three of the graduates interviewed had young children. They all expressed a desire to continue a new generation of Hawaiian speakers, with the hope that their children could participate in the Papahana Kaiapuni.

*Question: And is it your intention to send your child to immersion as well?*

*Response: Yes, I do. I must be honest, in the beginning I wasn’t too sure if I wanted to, before I even got hāpai (pregnant) I told myself I don’t want to send him to immersion school because it was really hard for me because they started English with us late, but I did hear that they start early now so I’m kind of oh, okay, that’s really good. But going to Pūnana*
Leo and going back to Hawaiian immersion really thought, you know, I think I want to send him to Hawaiian immersion school, I do. I want to send him to Pūnana Leo. I think it’s great and actually right now, now that he’s an infant, I actually try to speak to him in Hawaiian. (Participant C)

I have this need to want the same thing for my children, what I got. I like to focus on how much it benefited us because it gave us tools to use in our family and I guess now ‘cause I’m a mom. I’ve seen it before, but now that I actually have two kids and a husband to apply it to, it’s important. This program totally made me aware of things that I don’t know if I would be completely aware of. My family is pretty solid in that, but it brought more to the table. I like to think it did help me be a better mom and a better wife and a better daughter also. (Participant E)

A lot of things changed in my life just because of immersion. Like, my daughter is opening up a gate every morning and especially when she speaks Hawaiian and you know that it’s worth it, all the work you did is worth it if comes naturally out of her mouth just being around me and my wife, that’s just a beautiful gift. (Participant D)

**Perspectives of the parents of the graduates.**

Parents of the initial graduates had a greater understanding of the sacrifices needed for their child’s education. These were the parents who had to struggle and fight to have this education for their children. In the early days, in some cases they transported their children several miles and across the island, because there was no transportation
provided. They cut and pasted Hawaiian translations into books due to the lack of curriculum. They had to lobby, testify before the Board of Education and the legislature to change laws for the right of their children to be educated using the Hawaiian language as the medium of instruction. For these parents, the dedication is deeper and the appreciation is greater for the Papahana Kāiapuni, whereas the families of immersion students today have not encountered the obstacles that these parents had to endure.

The parents of the graduates also shared thoughts and advice for others considering immersion education for their children.

*It was nice to be part of that history, developing the Hawaiian immersion program. Of course, my kids can speak Hawaiian, that’s a plus too, but it was just nice to be a part of that building on the program to where it is now....I guess everything is a commitment—but for Hawaiian immersion it’s like a total immersion of the whole family into the program, not just the child. All of us had to be involved and work at it because it is something different; we’re in the minority as far as everybody else. That’s the only thing; people who go into immersion have to understand that they need to make it a commitment. (Participant CC)*

*Being an active ‘ohana. Because by being an active ‘ohana, your child would succeed in the program. If you’re expecting not to participate, then don’t go in. In order for your child to succeed you need to participate in the program. You have to be active. I think it’s not easy as an immersion parent and that you want the best for them so we spend our nights in*
hālāwai (meetings) and our weekends in activities related to the program.

But when I look back, every moment was worth it because I didn’t imagine that I would be at this point looking back and seeing the journey, not too sure what that was, but in looking at my children.... (Participant DD)

This chapter examined the results of the research questions to provide perspective on the views of the immersion graduates and their parents. Much of the focus of the survey responses, as well as the graduates’ and parents’ interviews centered on language, cultural values, identity, family, and attitude. Parents shared advice on the importance of parent involvement and responsibility for their children and the immersion program. Both graduates and parents had a collective viewpoint concerning challenges in the Papahana Kaiapuni, yet this did not undermine their enthusiasm for the program. The overwhelming majority would re-enroll or continue their involvement in supporting Hawaiian language immersion education.
CHAPTER 5

Discussion

This chapter identifies and extrapolates on five broad themes that define the fundamentals of immersion education: language, cultural values, identity, family and attitude.

Language

The use of the Hawaiian language and the practice of Hawaiian culture were extremely important to the graduates who were surveyed. According to the findings, over 90% of the graduate population surveyed viewed the Hawaiian language and culture as important to their lives with over 75% of the total considering it very important.

Any language immersion program has as one of its goals the acquisition of the target language. For parents enrolling their children in the Papahana Kaiapuni program the fundamental assumption is that their children will gain fluency in the Hawaiian language. Immersion is generally recognized as the best way to gain fluency in a language. It is the best way to stabilize the health of a language and provide people with the ability to speak the language (Long Soldier, 2007)

Parents however, frequently have multiple questions about putting their children in a Hawaiian immersion program; particularly how useful or viable its use will be in every day life.

Use and fluency.

Graduates can be considered fluent speakers because the majority of them use the Hawaiian language routinely in conversation every day. Evidence shows that they are
using the language in the work environment, at home, with their children, and as teachers. One graduate interviewed uses his Hawaiian language knowledge to compose music.

The data demonstrates that there is more usage of the language currently than when these students first entered into the program. Half of the students report using their language at least 50% of the time.

Helen Slaughter’s study (1997) also confirmed that the Papahana Kaiapuni program creates fluent speakers of Hawaiian. This longitudinal study had its merits in collecting and reporting the data concerning academic achievement for the initial immersion cohorts. It was helpful in assessing the program at a time when there was a dearth of supporters and nay sayers. Most of the data reflected the challenges incurred in establishing an immersion program. Slaughter evaluated the students’ learning achievements up until the sixth grade. I had the opportunity to study some of these same students, who now have graduated and are using their language skills beyond the classroom.

Graduates of the Papahana Kaiapuni use their language skills in a variety of ways. In response to state law amendments regarding the promotion of the Hawaiian language and culture, there are new opportunities being created by government and private businesses. There is a growing capacity for competent language speakers as new jobs that make use of speakers are being established. A background in Hawaiian language and studies is a hirable attribute for industry jobs in media, journalism, land surveying, fish and game management, social services, entertainment, law, education, and agriculture.

The graduates themselves are doing their share to increase the number of Hawaiian language speakers. The data indicates that a majority of these graduates are
reinforcing the language in their homes, with high percentages of usage in raising their children. Numbers in the Papahana Kaiapuni are expected to grow as more and more of these second generation speakers are enrolled in the program. The data clearly shows that this is the intention of the majority of the graduates. Also when asked if they, themselves would choose an immersion education again, the survey participants overwhelmingly responded yes, most definitely.

The program is in a much better place in terms of the status of the Hawaiian language, compared to many other indigenous communities. The Hawaiian language immersion program is successful, in that the education system encompasses a large span from infant/toddler to graduate doctoral work. Hawaiians are still vulnerable however, and in danger of losing their language. There is a long way to go to reach the 100,000 speakers needed to rescue a language from extinction.

There is no estimate as to the current number of fluent Hawaiian speakers. The Kamehameha Schools Research Division has used the U.S. Census 2000 data to report there are 19,015 ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i speakers in Hawai‘i and 26,608 total speakers in the United States. However, these figures may be greatly inflated since it is difficult to evaluate if the respondents are fluent speakers. There is no distinction between a person who knows a few phrases of Hawaiian and a Native speaker, both would be documented as Hawaiian language speakers (2011).

Since the numbers of Hawaiian fluent speakers cannot be validated and the quantity may never be verifiable, a best guess is that there are 10,000 people with a workable fluency of the language (M.P. Nogelmeier, personal communication, October 12, 2010). It is a modest number, yet huge in comparison to the count in the 1980’s of
500, with less than 50 children speaking the native tongue. However, due to the existence of the Papahana Kaiapuni the population of fluent Hawaiian speakers has grown. At any given time there are nearly 2000 students enrolled in the program. The first immersion classes graduated in 1999 and small numbers of students continue to graduate each year.

The language revival has also grown beyond the individual graduates. Some communities are becoming quite fluent and you can hear many people engaged in speaking Hawaiian. As one graduate put it, “You gotta watch out what you say or just how you approach people these days, there are more speakers.”

**Knowledge.**

This thesis distinguishes between the use of the language and knowledge of the language. Language “use” can be thought of as a tool for communication; however in the Papahana Kaiapuni program language “knowledge,” includes an understanding of the deeper levels of meaning in the language, it is the gateway to the essence of the culture which it encompasses.

It is important to know the language because cultural understanding cannot be fully realized without knowing Hawaiian. There are kaona, nuances that are not grasped without comprehending the underlying meanings. The Hawaiian word kamalei is a poetic reference for a beloved child, kama = child, lei = a garland, necklace of flowers. So called because a beloved young child was carried on the shoulders, with legs draped down about the neck like a lei (Pukui & Elbert, 1986). Similarly place names in the islands, convey a story, geography, or a history of that area. For example on the island of Maui, Kepaniwai (the damming of the waters) is a place name where the bodies of
warriors slain in battle dammed the waters of ‘Iao stream (Kamakau, 1992; Pukui, Elbert & Mo‘okini, 1974).

*A knowledge of language leads to an understanding of the culture.*

If you do not understand the language then it is impossible to gain the essence of the culture. And a loss of the language will ultimately lead to a loss in the culture.

Native American people have countless tales—detailing how the loss of their languages has impacted their way of life, their culture, and their ways of knowing. Native Hawaiians have a kinship with these tribes because they too were marginalized and oppressed by the dominant culture.

Native Hawaiians have taken great strides to revitalize the language. The Māori have been able to revitalize their language as well. Within a short span of generations there has been a slow turning of the tide of hopelessness. Action is being taken and Native people have begun to demand their legal rights in an international arena. Today the Kuru Kaupapa Māori and Papahana Kaiapuni immersion programs serve as models in revitalizing indigenous languages around the world.

The line between language and culture is indistinct. Those who study anthropology define culture as the sum total of ways of living built up by a group of human beings and transmitted from one generation to another. Without the knowledge of the indigenous language this transmission is impossible as one informs the other. It is well expressed in the Nā Lau Lama Community Report,

“Our language connects us to a deeper understanding of the values and practices of our people. Only by knowing the language can we
truly learn and understand the ‘ōlelo no‘eau\(^{34}\), mele\(^{35}\), hula\(^{36}\) and other cultural practices mentioned above. Only by knowing the language can we truly “think” Hawaiian, as language informs thought processes.” (2009)

Nā Lau Lama is an initiative developed to improve the educational outcomes of Native Hawaiian public school students. This statewide collaborative effort is supported and funded by the Hawaii Department of Education, Kamehameha Schools, and the Office of Hawaiian Affairs.

**Cultural Values**

Papahana Kaiapuni is not only a medium of instruction but is a transformative agent for culture. Learning through doing is how knowledge is imparted to the immersion student. The poetical proverb, “Nana ka maka, ho‘olohe ka pepeiao, pa‘a ka waha, e hana ka lima”\(^{37}\) illustrates this notion (Pukui, 1983). A graduate said, “Hawaiian immersion not only taught me how to ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i (speak Hawaiian), but values and the Hawaiian culture were also learned and practiced.” The immersion student often learns through hands on activities done in a cultural way, such as food preparation, planting native gardens, or arts and crafts. One graduate expressed it well, “Now I can read stars, speak to my parents, tell stories, even cultivate Native medicinal plants, but these are only some things that impact my life.

---

\(^{34}\) Proverb

\(^{35}\) Song

\(^{36}\) Dance

\(^{37}\) Observe with the eyes, listen with the ears, quiet the mouth, and work with the hands.
Traditional ways of the ancestors are regularly incorporated into the lesson plans. For example, ecology is explained using the concept of the ahupuaʻa ʻ38 or aquaculture demonstrated by the conservation techniques in the loko iʻa. ʻ39 In the Papahana Kaiapuni, the outdoor classroom is as common as the indoor classroom.

The ancient Native Hawaiian, the Kanaka Maoli, preserved history via oral traditions. They did not have the written word, therefore the histories, stories, poems, of these islands were preserved in the language. Papahana Kaiapuni is an opportunity to resurrect the connection between the past and present. The sharing of chants and haʻi ʻōlelo ʻ40 are a part of daily protocol in Papahana Kaiapuni. Visitors to the schools are often greeted with ceremonial welcomes that include, oli, mele and a sharing of genealogical heritage.

The data suggests that the immersion graduate has been greatly impacted by Hawaiian culture and values. Sixty of the sixty-eight graduates identified strongly with the Hawaiian culture. Several participants mention the need to perpetuate the language as well as the culture. They often expressed how culture is an integral part of their lives: “I have the culture with me at all times…” “A Hawaiian immersion education has afforded me the opportunity to be immersed not only in the language but also in the culture.” “I am proud to know and understand my culture…”

Culture is formed by belief systems, customs, traditions, practices and social behavior and understandings, and in this case shared and lived by the Papahana Kaiapuni graduates. These collective Hawaiian rooted values, practices, attitudes, and goals are what characterize the immersion graduate.

38 A land division usually extending from the uplands to the sea.
39 A fishpond managed as a food source.
40 Speech
Values are the standards of worth and behavior, which are determined by society. Values and standards influence how you should behave, determine what actions deserve approval or disapproval, and guide what patterns or relationships should prevail.

Understanding these cultural values has given the graduates a significant foundation and has provided a basic core value system from which to live their lives.

Reflecting on the responses given by the graduates, the majority did not point out a particular value that they had gained from the program. They answered in generalities, “I have an understanding of my Hawaiian culture.” “The program taught me Hawaiian values.” “I use my values and culture.” However, in order to discuss further the link between cultural values and identity, a “list” of Hawaiian values may need to be recognized. These values are shared in no particular order (Kanahele, 1986; Say, 2004).

Aloha- Love
Hoʻomau-Persevere
Hoʻokipa- Hospitality
Haʻahaʻa-Humility
Lōkahi- Cooperation
Mahalo- Gratitude
Pono- Balance
Alakaʻi- Leadership
Lokomaikaʻi-Generosity
Paʻahana-Diligence
Leʻaleʻa-Playfulness
Huikala-Forgiveness
Na‘auao-Intelligence
Koa-Courage
Kōkua-Helpfulness
Kūhaʻo- Self reliance
Kūpono – Honesty

This is not a definitive list. There are many values and practices in the Hawaiian culture. However, a list or a definition of a Hawaiian value does not exemplify Hawaiian culture. Instead it is the emphasis on the act and the carrying out of these values that is important. These values are what guide the behavior and attitude of Hawaiians; in this case the Papahana Kaiapuni graduate.

There were several graduates who referenced particular values in the survey responses, as discussed in Chapter 4. The list below describes those values that were alluded to, as well as a list of cultural benefits gained in Papahana Kaiapuni that were significant to the graduates.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Values</th>
<th>Cultural Benefits</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hoʻihi (respect)</td>
<td>Hawaiian history</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kūpuna (elders)</td>
<td>Perpetuation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kuleana (responsibility)</td>
<td>Deeper understanding</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haʻahaʻa (humility)</td>
<td>Support traditions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aloha (love)</td>
<td>Pass knowledge down to children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hanohano (pride)</td>
<td>Increase sense of culture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahalo (gratitude)</td>
<td>Set foundation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʻOhana (family)</td>
<td>Connection to past</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laulima (working together)</td>
<td>Cultural understanding</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hoʻopaipai (encourage)</td>
<td>Hawaiian perspective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Firm grounding</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>In touch with culture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Knowledge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cultural learning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Importance of being proud</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Proud to know language</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Medicinal plants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Giving back</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Genealogy</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Regarding the value of gratitude, the graduates recognized the importance of immersion education, identified the unique experience that they encountered, and acknowledged all the appropriate parties who were responsible for their education, including the parents who made those initial decisions, the teachers who were caring and wonderful and the kūpuna who laid the groundwork for their learning.

There has been a break between the way in Hawaiian culture and Hawaiian values used to be taught and how they are taught today. In the past, children would learn alongside adults in the Hawaiian learning process. In modern society the extended family unit is dispersed. The generations and closeness of community are no longer there to encircle the child, impart knowledge, and reinforce that knowledge through practice.

Papahana Kaiapuni has reintroduced the Hawaiian teaching and learning processes. The teachers and families - in essence the community - are an integral part of the educational process. The students learn their values and culture through action. The values are not taught by definition, or demonstrated in an activity at an appointed time or place. This is a Western concept of defining and categorizing as was previously illustrated.

Hawaiian language immersion education is a community endeavor. Everyone is a part of the teaching and learning process. The graduates did not define their experiences with particular values, because the living of values and culture permeated throughout their entire Papahana Kaiapuni experience. So by the time they graduated from the program and became adults, these values were the determining factors of who they became and gave them their strong sense of cultural identity. As one survey respondent
expressed, “We didn’t just learn to speak Hawaiian, we practiced our culture and approached school from a Hawaiian perspective.”

Alice Kawakami (1999) states that any educational program must have a relationship with Hawaiian values as well as a Hawaiian language component. These values bridge the gap between homes and community. He kuleana kākou. Everyone is a stakeholder and everyone must provide opportunities for greater awareness of Hawaiian cultural values in order for one to have a sense of place and to connect to their own communities and their own identities.

Identity

The people of old.

Prior to 1778, Hawaiians had no reason to believe that they were an inferior people. Using their intimate knowledge of nature, from the winds and currents to celestial bodies as their guides, they had navigated from Polynesia to an archipelago in the middle of the Pacific Ocean. Over the next thousand years, they established complex, vibrant, sustainable communities. They had their myths, legends, history, religion and rituals, much of which was "documented" in the oral traditions. Native Hawaiians developed systems based on maintaining a harmonious balance among the people, land, and their gods. The economic and social structures valued and supported the wellbeing of everyone, regardless of class, rather than one that promoted individual advancement without regards to others. They took pride in their knowledge and at the highest levels became the kahuna, or the experts of that knowledge. Under the circumstances of the time and place and with the parameters of their natural resources, Native Hawaiians had developed a highly complex, advanced society which could have continued to thrive if

41 It is all of our responsibility.
not for the arrival of outsiders with opposing philosophies and purposes. Up to that point, Hawaiians did not look at themselves as inferior.

Once contact with foreigners began in 1778, the Hawaiians worldview comes into question. They succumb to illnesses with which they were not familiar. Western introduced items such as technology and the use of weapons such as cannons and muskets, established the perception of being superior (Kanahele, 1986). The loss of political and economic power and the decimation of the population all impacted the spiritual, social, and emotional attitude of the Hawaiian. Kanahele asserts that after decades and generations of this inferior mentality being repeated and reinforced, "the collective consciousness of the Hawaiian people" had surrendered to it.

Later as Hawaiians became politically astute, there began a shift and a rise in consciousness of Hawaiian identity began to emerge in many areas of the culture. The political activity also affected the educational arena and led to instructional reform in Hawai‘i. The establishment of the Papahana Kaiapuni resulted in a shift from a strictly western education model to one that focused on the recognition of Hawaiian culture and values in its teachings. The Papahana Kaiapuni has become a cultural kahua 42, a foundation for cultural identity.

The importance of cultural identity.

Cultural identity can be defined as the identity of a group or culture or by individual behaviors or traits that are recognized by a distinct group of people. Kanahele develops the definition further as “psychocultural identity”, in other words it is not the events, artifacts or things that make up the identity, instead it is defined by the feelings,
expectations, behavior and patterns of emotion (1986). It is not what we do or say but rather how we feel and think.

We are the sum total of our ancestors. They are our history and our future. We cannot move confidently into the future if we do not know where we have been. Our cultural heritage is woven not only in our collective DNA but also in our language and in our way of life. It defines our place in the universe and in our community.

**Papahana Kaiapuni as a cultural based education program**

The Kamehameha Schools research team was tasked with evaluating cultural based education programs in Hawai‘i. A variety of school settings were considered in the process, including immersion, private, public and chartered schools. Overall CBE programs have impacted Hawaiian students positively. It has been difficult to evaluate the Papahana Kaiapuni as a stand alone program due to a lack of system-wide assessment tools and resources. However, research shows that outcomes of other immersion programs have been very promising. Reconnection to cultural heritage in the Māori immersion system has been joyful and life-changing for both the individual and community. Through the value of language, the Māori community has restored the cultural identity that was lost in the process of colonization and assimilation. Their language and cultural programs are very successful. Māori participants have their self esteem strengthened and a sense of cultural identity empowered. For the Māori people, the phrase, “Ko te reo te mauri o te Māoritanga” translates as: “the language is the life principle of Māori identity” (Benton, 1996).

The lessons of the Māori also apply to immersion in Hawai‘i. To paraphrase E.W. Haertig, a co-author of Nānā i ke Kumu, changes in educational methods such as
Hawaiian immersion can boost the self image of Hawaiian youngsters - because the students are able to communicate and achieve and also see themselves as communicators and achievers (Pukui, Haertig, & Lee, pg. 312, 1972). The findings of this thesis supports these statements.

Concerning well-being.

The state of happiness, health and prosperity is the definition of well-being, according to the Concise Oxford English Dictionary (2008). That definition is not commonly used to describe the status of the Native Hawaiian who has often been portrayed in a negative, disenfranchised manner. Instead, the social indicators that have defined Native Hawaiians include: high unemployment rates, high incarceration rates, and high risk health factors such as alcoholism, obesity and smoking.

The Ka Huakaʻi: 2005 Native Hawaiian Educational Assessment, has evaluated Native Hawaiian education systems and educational outcomes in terms of well-being (Kanaʻiaupuni, Malone, & Ishibashi, 2005). The research used a strengths-based approach in analyzing the Native Hawaiian condition. A positive framework was created in which the findings were presented.

According to the research, social and cultural wellbeing is defined by how one interacts in relation to others in society, through family and community dynamics, social networks and behavior, including lifestyle and risk-taking. For Native Hawaiians this social lifestyle also includes cultural practices, language and traditions. Self-esteem, spirituality, attitudes, perception and feelings are all characteristics that contribute to emotional well-being. Research done by Kanaʻiaupuni, et al., has identified cultural
identity, spiritual connections to the past and present, ties to the land and a sense of place as positive contributions to emotional well-being (2005).

At its core, self-esteem and spirituality provide the foundation for emotional well-being. The students of Papahana Kaiapuni show a strong sense of self-identity, and high self esteem, which increase their chances to reach a state of emotional well-being. About 35% of the students identified a strong sense of self as one of the benefits of their participation in the program. One of the students put it best, “Gaining my self-identity and being able to know where I am from, who I am and where I will be in the future” is what my Papahana Kaiapuni education has done for me.

Their self-esteem is often increased by the fact that they are fluent in a language not spoken by the general populace. There were several graduates who expressed being proud of understanding and speaking the Hawaiian language and many shared an appreciation for their native tongue. This statement expresses a common thought, “I am grateful that I am able to speak my own language... and am proud to share the language with others.”

**Family and Community**

The Papahana Kaiapuni program has also strengthened bonds and relationships with family, classmates, teachers, and the greater community. Graduates commented that classmates were sisters and brothers, teachers were like parents, and other parents were considered an extension of the family and called “aunty” and “uncle”. As noted above, social and cultural well-being is defined by these healthy social interactions and familial relationships.
During interviews, the graduates not pursuing higher education shared that they, too, were leading productive lives. As a result of their experiences in immersion education, they viewed themselves as caring, responsible citizens, who had a deep concern for and willingness to assist their community.

Many of the graduates expressed the desire to share their language abilities with their children and family and beyond - by returning to the Papahana Kaiapuni as immersion teachers. During an interview one graduate expressed, “I could not help when I graduated to feel that I totally need to give back.” She went on to say, “That is something the program teaches you without saying you need to give back’, it just teaches you throughout all your years.” Another graduate was actively involved with the immersion preschool in her community. She shared “…after I graduated I still help with whatever they needed so it’s kind of like I never left, ‘cause I’m always helping.”

The graduates understood that they have kuleana, a responsibility to not only perpetuate the Hawaiian language, but to do so in a way that has purpose and benefits the immersion community. One respondent wrote, “I know that it is my duty to return to the papahana and share my ‘ike (knowledge) with more Hawaiian children and families.”

**Attitude**

The graduates spent their formative years in the Papahana Kaiapuni. Their character was molded and shaped by the teachings within the program. They did not project the negative imagery that for many years stereotyped Native Hawaiians. The graduates interviewed were articulate, solid, and grounded. They were also empathetic, moving, emotional, gracious, and passionate human beings. They respected other cultures, because they can respect themselves. More importantly, the graduates I spoke
with embraced their identity, self-esteem and empowerment with appreciation and humility. There was no strife, no militant attitudes.

My observations during my interviews led me to conclude these graduates had a sense of “center;” they were “balanced,” content people. They demonstrated an air of confidence, not arrogance. They were comfortable and positive young adults, assured that the world was wide open to them. A graduate referring to the Papahana Kaiapuni program shared this: “One of the goals for the students was to create these kids who would be worldly kids, ...who could go out into the world and be good people.”

**Parent Perspectives**

The opinions of the parents should also be reviewed particularly because it was the inquiries of prospective parents over the years that provided the initial impetus for this thesis.

This study found that parents reported three general results from the program: their children acquired fluency in the Hawaiian language (which was often the “primary” purpose in enrolling their children in the program), their children gained a deeper knowledge of the Hawaiian culture (including an appreciate for and feeling of inclusion in the culture), and finally the parents themselves reported the unexpected “benefit” that they and their children had become part of a larger family, the Papahana Kaiapuni ‘ohana.

Parents found that as part of a larger ‘ohana, they were expected to help the program overcome challenges including: classroom space, a small number of certified teachers, and a developing educational materials and curriculum. Parents found that although the time and effort they had to dedicate to the program was greater than they
would have had to offer for other educational options, the unexpected payoff was the development of stronger bonds within the Papahana Kaiapuni ‘Ohana. Parents reported that this deeper involvement and sacrifice left them with a sense of gratitude for the immersion experience.

**Future Directions**

The small numerical size of this study limited the objective review of the issue of English skills and academics to the individual academic achievements of the graduates who were surveyed. A more detailed longitudinal study of that issue should be undertaken in future. Much needs to be observed in the classroom to obtain a more comprehensive understanding of how immersion students perform by “Western” as well as Hawaiian standards.

It is significant that a high percentage of the graduates of the immersion program have gone on to post secondary education. More than 90% of the graduates surveyed had some college experience ranging from college credits to graduate school - with the vast majority – fully 63% pursuing a four-year degree. In comparison to the projections of public high school graduates in Hawai‘i, immersion graduates far exceed others in college enrollment. In 2008, only 37% of all “regular” public school seniors indicated they would enroll in a four-year institution after high school graduation (http:uhfamily.hawaii.edu).

The Papahana Kaiapuni graduates are functioning adults in our society, as noted by significant numbers of participants in higher education. According to the graduates’ aspirations, having an immersion education in the Papahana Kaiapuni did not hinder their educational pursuits, hopes, or dreams. One graduate remarked, “The simplest way to put
it is that I cannot imagine our lives without having had this experience. It is unique and irrereplaceable.”

**Summary**

Native Hawaiians have a rich cultural history though it was severely compromised and forever changed with the arrival of foreign cultures.

In just over a century the Hawaiian culture was dismissed and replaced with Western-centric political, social, and economic systems. This process was accelerated with reforms in the educational structure as well, and colonialism reduced a once thriving Hawaiian population in terms of numbers, cultural identity and self-esteem. In the later part of the twentieth century, a Hawaiian renaissance was born and since there has been a renewed spirit and pride in all things Hawaiian. The establishment of the Papahana Kaiapuni in the public educational system and the revitalization of the Hawaiian language is a fierce and determined response to the colonization.

Hawaiian immersion education is one way of turning back the clock on the losses suffered by Native Hawaiians. When students and family are put back in touch with their native heritage, their sense of identity and “well-being” is enhanced and youth and families no longer feel marginalized. In other words, “they are no longer strangers in their own land.”

The graduates of Papahana Kaiapuni are secure in their knowledge and use of the Hawaiian language. Most of them are using their language skills on a regular basis. They are enthusiastic about enrolling their children in the program, so much so if given the opportunity, they would re-enroll themselves.
The graduates are aware that their knowledge of the Hawaiian language leads directly to a deeper, more complete understanding of the Hawaiian culture. The Papahana Kaiapuani program teaches through culturally based education. Graduates reported that Hawaiian values are important benefits of the program. Hawaiian culture and values were practiced throughout their immersion experience and consequently it has become a significant part of their lives and contributes to their cultural identity.

Papahana Kaiapuni creates a Hawaiian cultural foundation for the graduates that can lead to a social, emotional and spiritual balance. When enhanced well-being of the graduates results, this has positive effects on society. The graduates in this study sample shared a sense of duty and a willingness to give back to their immediate family and the larger community, which includes the immersion community, and beyond.

As a teacher and parent of immersion children, Keiki Kawaiʻaeʻa eloquently describes Papahana Kaiapuni,

“The immersion experience does not handicap a child. It offers the opportunity to develop multilingual fluency; it challenges the complexities of the brain, broadens one’s world perspectives, and grounds the child’s cultural Hawaiian identity.”

(Kawaiʻaeʻa, et al., 2007, p. 209)
CHAPTER 6

Conclusion

The graduates of Papahana Kaiapuni are now adults. Some are continuing their formal education, some are pursuing their passions, and some are parents creating a new generation for whom Hawaiian is their first language. They have had some time to reflect on those immersion experiences. These shared experiences have never before been documented in the literature.

The participants themselves provided the “expert” opinion and experiences, which are the basis of this thesis. As a result, these data provide an understanding of Hawaiian immersion education. As graduates, they had the deep experience of living out this inquiry. Looking through their own lens within the cultural context of the Papahana Kaiapuni, they shared their truths, making the data more relevant than that which could have been provided by outside “experts.”

It is because of the graduates’ perspectives that the questions — posed by parents of potential students in immersion — can be answered.

“Why should my child learn Hawaiian?” Because it is pono⁴³. It is the proper thing to do if you want your child to be connected to the Hawaiian culture. Your children become fluent speakers of the language and in the process contribute to the perpetuation and revitalization of the Hawaiian language.

“Is Hawaiian language useful?” It is useful if you want a better understanding of the Hawaiian culture. Knowledge of the language allows one to understand the nuances and hidden meanings that an enriched culture presents.

---

⁴³ Pono has multiple meanings but in this case it means duty, necessary.
“No one really speaks Hawaiian anymore, is my child going to be able to use it in the real world?” Yes. The graduates use it in their daily lives, in many different settings and circumstances, including governmental affairs and business. There are many job opportunities that are being created as a result of increased interest in Hawaiian language and culture.

“Why should I enroll my child in this Hawaiian immersion program?” Through their participation in the Papahana Kaiapuni, they will learn about Hawaiian culture and values. Specifically the culture will be learned through active participation. The values will be learned throughout their immersion experience not merely as an activity, but collectively through behavior and relationships. According to the data gathered in the research, we are finding that graduates have gained a deeper understanding of Hawaiian culture and express that understanding passionately.

“What are the benefits to my child?” The graduates shared that they are grounded in Hawaiian values and culture. Due to the foundation that Papahana Kaiapuni has provided, the graduates are confident, secure and knowledgeable. These are healthy character traits critical to function successfully in society. Consistent with the data gathered, the graduates have self-esteem, a heightened sense of empowerment and a strong cultural identity. If you are seeking a cultural foundation for your child then Papahana Kaiapuni is an excellent educational choice.

“Will my child learn the English language well enough so they can succeed in life?” Although the research did not address test results for English competency, it may be inferred that the graduates’ immersion education were solid enough to pursue post-secondary education. They have an appreciation of education and are striving for more.
There are numerous graduates enrolled in college; many have received and more are pursuing four-year degrees. It may be reasonable to argue that the Papahana Kaiapuni subtlety influenced the graduates to seek higher education and value its importance. The graduates may have had a greater appreciation for education due to the experience they had in the Papahana Kaiapuni program. Or perhaps their self-esteem gives them the added confidence to pursue higher education. Regardless, this has not been proven empirically and the research needs to be followed further.

“Will my child be able to function in mainstream society?”

The data suggests that the graduates enrolled in college are able to successfully continue with post secondary education. They are pursuing higher education at nearly double the rate of their regular public school counterparts. Their immersion experience has not hampered their job opportunities and instead, may have enhanced their chances. It seems that a foundation in Hawaiian culture and values has given the graduates a sense of security about themselves as individuals and at the same time an understanding of the importance of family and the community.

The graduates expressed gracious attitudes and were grateful for the opportunities that immersion education has given them. Many graduates were conscious of their families’ involvement with the Papahana Kaiapuni. Families had to support the program on several levels, especially in the beginning stages. Parents have established non-profits, assisted with the creation of curriculum, and organized transportation when busing was not available. The graduates were also appreciative and respectful of their kūpuna. The family relationships forged in the immersion community, between classmates, teachers, and other parents are priceless.
The graduates had a strong sense of duty and a passion to give back to the community. The graduates recognized the importance of the collective rather than the individual. In general, the graduates exhibited signs of being stable emotionally, socially and culturally, which leads to an overall sense of well-being. This demeanor of the graduates along with a passion, compassion and kuleana has a positive impact on the greater society. It is a “kākou thing”—we will do it together.

There are few existing indigenous immersion programs that have a mature population of graduates. Therefore, data on graduates’ long-term views about their immersion education has not yet been documented. It is my hope that this study may enlighten other indigenous communities interested in revitalizing their languages and preserving their cultures. It offers ideas as to what resonates with students in an immersion program, and it may help in the development of curriculum and in the training of teachers.

The research on the graduates of the Papahana Kaiapuni needs to be continued. Graduates should have an exit interview while their immersion experience is still fresh. It would be advantageous if longitudinal studies could be coordinated and updated at least every five years to monitor a variety of issues and concerns. Since this study was conducted, several more classes of students have graduated, but the population is still small enough and thus manageable to study. It should not be too difficult to contact and maintain relationships with most of them; after all they are a part of a close-knit family with many familiar community connections.

Papahana Kaiapuni represents 25 years of solid education and the immersion experiment is still unfolding. The data that has been gathered for this study is an
affirmation. Some of the concerns have been answered and yet there is hope for so much more.

Elizabeth Kapu‘uwailani Lindsey, noted Hawaiian cultural anthropologist proclaims,

“At the turn of the new dawn, which has been interpreted as the 21st century, a wisdom would rise from this land, born of humility and pono, calling our people to ho‘i, to return to our source. And as we return, turn once more to that place from whence we come, we will remember that we are the beneficiaries of a mighty ancestral and spiritual legacy. And as we remember, we will meet adversity with spirituality, and like a phoenix from the ashes, like a giant awakening from slumber, we will rise again” (Office of Hawaiian Affairs Trustee Investiture Ceremony, Keynote Address, December 1, 2004).
Appendix A

Translation to genealogical introduction and letter sent to the Papahana Kaiapuni graduates.

Robert Namau’u a man, Kapule Kana’e a woman, came together in Waihe’e, Maui and Rebecca Na’ea Namau’u was born, a woman. Rebecca Na’ea Namau’u a woman, Gaudencio Aonan a man, came together in Pā’ia, Maui and Manuel Gabriel Namau’u was born, a man. Manuel Gabriel Namau’u a man, Elfriede Helene Eiseler a woman, came together in Honolulu, O’ahu and Christine Kilikina Namau’u was born, a woman. I am Kili Namau’u. I am a graduate student at the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa. I have also been the director of Pūnana Leo o Maui preschool for 13 years. I have three children in the Hawaiian immersion program at Kalama Intermediate and King Kekaulike. I have a humble request of you to complete this survey, so that we can all understand the value of the Papahana Kaiapuni, the Hawaiian immersion program.
Appendix B

Survey Questionnaire for Papahana Kaiapuni Graduate

What gender are you? Male________    Female_______

Please check one of the following.
       ______ Native Hawaiian
       ______ Part-Hawaiian
       ______ Other

How strongly do you identify with the Hawaiian culture?
       ______       ______       ______       ______
       ______
       very strong    strong    somewhat strong    marginally not at all

Was the Hawaiian language used in your home just before you started at Papahana Kaiapuni?
       ______       ______       ______       ______
       ______
       rarely/never    1/4 of the time    1/2 of the time    3/4 of the time almost all of the time

Was the Hawaiian language used in your home during the years enrolled at Papahana Kaiapuni?
       ______       ______       ______       ______
       ______
       rarely/never    1/4 of the time    1/2 of the time    3/4 of the time almost all of the time
How is the Hawaiian language used in the household in which you live in today?

______  rarely/never  _______  1/4 of the time  _______  1/2 of the time  _______  3/4 of the time  _______  almost all of the time

If you are using the Hawaiian language today, share how you are utilizing it. Please check all that apply.

_____ daily conversation  _____ workplace  _____ studying  _____ teaching  _____ e-mail

_____ reading newspapers  _____ reading books

What is the highest level of education you have completed?

_______ High School  _____ Some college credits  _____ Associates Degree  _____ Bachelors Degree  _____ Graduate Degree

What was your major and in what field?

Are you currently in school?  Yes _____  No _____

If yes, what kind of degree are you pursuing?

_______ Vocational  _____ Some college credits  _____ Associates Degree  _____ Bachelors Degree  _____ Graduate Degree

What is your major and in what field?

Have you chosen a vocational option?  Yes _______  No _______

If yes, what is your job title or description of your occupation?

_______  I am currently working in

____________________________________________.
I hope to be working in ____________________________.

What year did you graduate from the Papahana Kaiapuni?

What site did you graduate from?

At what level did you begin your immersion education?

_____ Pūnana Leo preschool
_____ Papa Mala ayo (kindergarten)
_____ Another grade level and please circle which grade.
   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   10   11   12

Did you stay in immersion the entire time? Yes ________ No __________
If no, please explain.

If you had the choice, would you choose immersion education again for yourself?

____   ______   ______   ______   ______
____
yes, definitely probably unsure probably not no, definitely not

Are you currently a parent? Yes _____ No _____
If so, are you speaking ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i with your child?

____   ______   ______   ______   ______
____
rarely/never 1/4 of the time 1/2 of the time 3/4 of the time almost all of the time

Would you want your child enrolled in Hawaiian immersion education?
How important is the use of Hawaiian language and culture in your life?

very important important somewhat important marginally not at all

What was the most significant impact that Hawaiian immersion has had on your life?
Appendix C

Letter to Papahana Kaiapuni Graduates

Aloha Kāua,


E lawe I ke aʻo a mālama, a e ‘oi mau ke naʻauao. He who takes his teachings and applies them increases his knowledge. ʻōlelo noʻeau

This research project is being conducted as part of a thesis for a master’s degree in Early Childhood Education through the University of Hawaiʻi at Mānoa. The intent of this research is to gather much needed information on Hawaiian immersion education, so that we can build on our strengths and identify and address our weaknesses. Data from the survey and interview will be summarized into broad categories. No personal information will be included in the research results. To protect participants’ privacy, a code number will identify all surveys. This survey should take you fifteen minutes to complete. Your participation is respectfully requested. Please fill out the following survey and return it to kili_n@leoki.uhh.hawaii.edu Upon receipt of your survey a Jamba Juice gift card of $5 will be sent to you as an incentive for your participation, please provide your mailing address. Please do not hesitate to contact Kili Namauʻu if you should have any concerns or questions. I can be reached at (808) 283-7733 and my e-mail address is kili_n@leoki.uhh.hawaii.edu. Again I thank you for your participation.

ʻO wau me ka haʻahaʻa,

Kili Namauʻu
Appendix D
Consent Statement

Please read this statement before you fill out the survey.

I understand that:

▪ I will be asked to complete a survey.
▪ I may be asked to participate in an interview with the researcher.
▪ Any information collected about me will be used for research purposes only. To protect my privacy, all information collected will be identified by a code number only.
▪ Even if I give my permission now, I can change my mind at any time, and I will not continue in the study.
▪ Portions of the data may be used in presentations by the researcher or in publications. The identities of all participants will remain confidential.
▪ I may contact Committee on Human Studies (CHS) at the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa if I should have any questions about my rights as a participant in this survey at:

UH Committee on Human Studies
2540 Maile Way Room 253
University of Hawai‘i
Honolulu, Hawai‘i 96822
Tel. 808.956.5007
Appendix E

A separate stamped and addressed post card was included with each questionnaire.

If you are interested in participating in further interviews and being a part of a comprehensive study, please fill out the following post card.

| I am interested in participating in further research regarding Hawaiian immersion programming. |
| Name |
| Address |
| Phone number | Home__________Business__________ |
| Cellular__________ |
| E-mail address ________________ |
| Best time to be contacted ____________________________ |
Appendix F

Interview questions for the Papahana Kaiapuni graduate.

Please state your name and spell it.

What year did you graduate from the Kula Kaiapuni?

Which site did you graduate from?

What motivated your ‘ohana to begin immersion education?

What was your role in the decision?

How did immersion education change your nohona/ʻohana?

What were some of the expectations?

What were some of the challenges?

Describe to what extent was Hawaiian spoken in your home as you grew up.

What significant events do you remember about your experiences in the program that stand out in your memory, good, bad, or otherwise?

In your opinion how did your immersion education differ from mainstream education experience and your social experience?

How did immersion education impact your relationships with friends and family?

How has your experience in immersion education shaped you as an adult?
What are you doing now? academics, vocation, career, profession, family?

Are there occasions or circumstances where you utilize your ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i?

Describe an activity that you participate in which the majority language is ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i.

Are you still involved in immersion programming?

To what degree is your family involved?

Describe yourself and how do you identify yourself.

Has immersion education played a role in that?

What do you envision for Hawaiian immersion education in the next 20 years?

And do you play a role in this?
Appendix G

Interview questions for the parent of the graduate.

Please state your name and spell it.

Why did you choose to enroll your child in Hawaiian immersion?

Were there any expectations having your child enrolled in immersion education?

What do you feel were some expected responsibilities of families coming into immersion education?

To what degree did you fulfill those expectations?

What is the greatest asset the immersion education program provided for your family?

And what were some of the challenges?

How effective were you and your family’s participation in your child’s immersion education?

How do you envision immersion education in the next 20 years and your family’s role in this?

Anything else to share? Do you have any regrets about doing immersion?
Appendix H

Topics derived from graduate survey, presented in no particular order.

Gratitude
Pride
Respect
Kuleana (responsibility)
Language perpetuation
Obligation
Duty
Give back to community
Parenting
Parental involvement
Challenges
Family
Kumu (teachers)
Environment
Love of the land
World view
Lifestyle
Community
Lack of resources
Hawaiian culture
Hawaiian values
Identity
Language
Kūpuna (elders, ancestors)
Grounding
Foundation
Aloha
Humility
Laulima (working together)
Genealogy
Self-esteem
Self empowerment
Purpose
Appendix I
Agreement to Participate in
A Case Study for The Papahana Kaiapuni: Graduates’ Perspective of Hawaiian Immersion Education
C. Kili Namau’u
Master’s Candidate in Education

These case study audio interviews are being conducted as part of a research project documenting the graduate perspectives of Hawaiian immersion education in the Papahana Kaiapuni. I will conduct one or two one hour audiotape recorded sessions with you and family members who supported your education in the Papahana Kaiapuni at a time and place agreed upon. Your participation in this project is completely voluntary and you may withdraw from participation at any time. You may elect not to answer any question(s) at any time for any reason. The interviews will be informal and conversational and will focus on your experiences at Papahana Kaiapuni and the impact it has had on your life. Following the interviews, the tapes will be transcribed, reviewed and edited. We will then return the transcript to you. You will be given the opportunity to review the transcript and make any revisions you wish. I will then incorporate your revisions into the transcript and, at a later date, final-type the transcript for publication. If you disapprove of your transcript or the above procedures, I will destroy both the transcript and the cassette tapes, and your participation in this project will end. Transcripts may be utilized in unpublished works and short excerpts from any of the transcriptions without obtaining permission as long as proper credit is given to the interviewee and interviewer.

Because of the need to create and make available to scholars and the general public a reliable research document, it is important that your name appear as the interviewee on the transcript. This may potentially lead to a loss of privacy through the use of your name in any future publication. If you wish, “Anonymous” may be substituted for your name. The interview process may also bring back painful or unpleasant memories. You may elect not to answer any question(s) at any time for any reason. There will be no direct benefit to you for your participation in this project. However, your participation will contribute to a first person historical record of Hawaiian immersion education.

“I certify that I have read and that I understand the foregoing, that I have been given satisfactory answers to my inquiries concerning project procedures and other matters and that I have been advised that I am free to withdraw my consent and to discontinue participation in the project at any time without prejudice.”

I herewith give my consent to participate in this project with the understanding that such consent does not waive any of my legal rights, nor does it release C. Kili Namau’u from liability for negligence.”

__________________________  _________________________
Printed Name  Signature of Interviewee

Please contact C. Kili Namau’u at 808.283.7733 if you have any questions regarding this project.

If you cannot obtain satisfactory answers to your questions or have comments or complaints about your treatment in this study, contact: Committee on Human Studies, University of Hawai‘i, 2540 Maile Way Room 253, Honolulu, Hawai‘i

Telephone: 808.956.5007  Copy to Participant
Glossary

ahupua‘a - a land division usually extending from the uplands to the sea
alaka‘ - leadership
ali‘i - chief, chiefess, ruler, monarch
aloha - love, affection, compassion
aloha ‘āina - love of the land or of one's country, patriotism
‘āina - land
‘ano - kind, variety, way, manner
ha‘aha‘a - humble, humility
ha‘i ‘ōlelo - speech, address, lecture
hālāwai - meeting
hānai - foster child, adopted child, adopted
hanohano - pride
hāpai - to carry, pregnant
haumana - student
haumāna - plural of student
hilahila - bashful, shy ashamed
ho‘i - to return
hōʻihi - respect
holomua - improvement, progress, forward movement
hoʻokano - rude, vain, conceited
hoʻokipa - hospitality
hoʻomau - to continue, persevere
hoʻopaipai - encourage

huikala - forgiveness

hula - dance

‘i‘ini - to desire, to yearn

‘ike - knowledge

‘ike Hawai‘i - Hawaiian knowledge

kahiko - old, ancient

kahua - foundation, base, site, location

kahuna - priest, sorcerer, expert in any profession

kaikaina - term of address for younger sibling of the same sex

kālā - dollar, money

kama - child

kamalei - beloved child

kanaka Hawai‘i - Hawaiian person

kanaka maoli - full-blooded Hawaiian person

kaona - hidden meaning, as in Hawaiian poetry

kapu - taboo, sacred, prohibited, forbidden

koa - courage

kōkua - helpfulness

kua‘ana - term of address for older sibling of the same sex

kuana - position, attitude, standing

kūha‘o - self reliance

kuleana - right, privilege, responsibility
kumu - teacher, source
kumulipo - name of the Hawaiian creation chant
kūpono - honesty
kupuna - grandparent, ancestor, elder
kūpuna - plural of kupuna
lāʻau lapaʻau - medicine
lauhala - pandanus leaf, especially as used in plaiting
laulima - working together
leʻaleʻa - playfulness
lei - garland, necklace of flowers, wreath
lōkahi - cooperation
loko iʻa - fishpond
lokomaikaʻi - generosity
mahalo - thanks, gratitude
mahele - portion, division, land division of 1848
makaʻāinana - commoner
makana - gift, present
mālama - to take care of, tend, attend
mālama ʻāina - caring of the land
mana - supernatural or divine power, miraculous power
manaʻo - thought, idea, belief, opinion
mauli - life, heart
mauli ola - breath of life
mele - song
moʻokūʻauhau - genealogy
moʻolelo - story, tale, myth, history
naʻau - intestine, gut, instinctive wisdom
naʻauao - learned, enlightened, intelligent
ʻohana - family, relative, kin
ʻōlelo - language, speech, word
ʻōlelo noʻeau - proverb, traditional saying
ʻōpū - stomach, abdomen
paʻahana - diligence
paʻakai - salt
papahana - plan, policy, program
pau - finished, ended
pikoʻu - identity
poʻe - people, persons
pono - goodness, righteousness, morality, balance
tūtū wahine - grandmother
waiwai kuʻuna - cultural value
References


