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PULULIMA FAIFAI PEA

ESTABLISHMENT OF SĀMOAN IMMERSION EARLY CHILDHOOD EDUCATION CENTRES AND BILINGUAL UNITS IN PRIMARY AND INTERMEDIATE SCHOOLS

A thesis submitted in fulfilment
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By

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THE UNIVERSITY OF
WAIKATO
Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato

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DEDICATION

O lenei su'esu'ega ou te āualofa atu ai iā Fetāomi Afamasaga loasa, le uso o si o'u tinā sa galue ma le mālosi e a'oa'o la'u faitautusi ma la'u tusitusi mai le Tusipa'ia ma totonu o ā'oga a faife'au. E āualofa atu ai fo'i isi a'u fānau lāiti o Sebryus, Seina ma Sedric Ah Kuoi. E lē māfai fo'i ona galo nai tua'a ua fai i lagi lā lātou fōlauga o ē sa lātou fa'ata'oto ni fa'avae ma ni ālāfua auā se manuia o lo'u olaga a'oa'oina. O si o'u tamā o Vaitimu Tuāfuti Timoteo Tema ma si o'u tinā o Sinalaufelō Afamasaga loasa; aemaise o nai o'u tua'a sinasina o Vaitimu Timoteo Tema ma Evelina Seuseu Aviga, o Afamasaga loasa Sauoaiga ma Pua'i Taupaū Sisi. O ā outou galuega, o le Tusipa'ia ma le poto mai le Atua, o lenei ua manuia ai lo'u olaga a'oa'oina.

This study is dedicated to my Aunty Fetaomi Afamasaga loasa who has been an inspirational leader and a strong advocate in my educational life. She taught me how to read and write from the young age using the Bible. I also dedicate this work to my grandchildren Sebryus, Seina, and Sedric Ah Kuoi. I must not forget our ancestors who are no longer with us but have laid a strong foundation and guidance for my educational life, my parents Vaitimu Tuāfuti Timoteo Tema and Sinalaufelō Afamasaga loasa and my grandparents Vaitimu Timoteo Tema and Evelina Seuseu Aviga, Afamasaga loasa Sauoaiga and Pua'i Taupaū Sisi.

ABSTRACT

Sāmoan Immersion Preschools (Ā'oga 'Amata) and Bilingual Education units covering from year one to year eight of school have become well established in some areas in the Auckland region since the 1980s, due to the commitment, support and contributions of parents, the Sāmoan community, church leaders, families and some schools. Given that parents, families and communities appeared to have played such a seminal role in their establishment, this research was set out to investigate Sāmoan parents' lived experiences in relation to the establishment of ā'oga 'amata and Sāmoan bilingual education units. *Fa'afaletui phenomenology*, a term I developed in the process of conducting the research, was employed as a culturally appropriate coupling methodology. Phenomenology is about lived experiences and fa'afaletui is a process and procedure of revealing participants' lived experiences. Insights into parents' lived experiences were obtained by using various methods namely: questionnaire, focus group discussions, individual interviews, couple interviews and testimonies. The lived experiences were collated from the recounts of past events. The recounts were analysed for themes, which arose from the comments and interpretations of the past events, and the expressions of emotions attached to the events. Observations and analyses of past events highlight many challenges that the participants experienced. Challenges ranged from financial difficulties and lack of resources, to lack of understanding about bilingual/immersion education. What the results make clear is the resilience of the participants in defending what they believe is right as far as fa'asāmoa is concerned, and the powerful role of emotions in personal and educational lives. Resilience and emotions are coefficients in the results and they have theoretical importance in understanding the research findings.

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FA'AFETAI LE ATUA - O LAU PULE LEA !

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E LĒ SILI LE TA'I NAI LŌ LE TĀPUA'I

A BRIEF NOTE ABOUT TRANSLATION AND THE USE OF SĀMOAN LANGUAGE IN THIS THESIS

PULULIMA FAIFAI PEA: This Sāmoan title is not a literal translation of the English version. Professor Aiono Fanaafi Le Tagaloa suggested this Sāmoan version of the title during our initial discussions of my research topic. The meaning behind Pululima Faifai Pea is that the establishment of Sāmoan ā'oga 'amata and bilingual units is ongoing and hands on collaborative work. It is a continuum and legacy that needs to be passed on from generation to generation, which means that working together with hands on tasks or activities would make things happen, instead of just talking about them. Sāmoan readers may interpret the term pululima as *pulupululima*, which also makes sense. However, Pululima Faifai Pea as the title for this thesis has a very strong message that the establishment of ā'oga 'amata and bilingual units does not only reflect on-going journey of hard-work, celebrating of success, but also a journey of overcoming struggles, humiliation and fear. Such journeys are reflected in the Sāmoan parents' and community's stories of collaborative efforts to establish ā'oga 'amata and support bilingual units instead of waiting passively for funding from the government. The late Professor Aiono Le Tagaloa also shared her wisdom that Pululima Faifai Pea enhances a journey of nurturing of the Sāmoan community as a whole, avoiding degrading and disempowering attitudes towards others.

The term fa'asāmoa has various meanings. Fa'asāmoa simply means the Sāmoan way. The term is used in this thesis as a collective verb or adjective. Take for example the following extract: *fa'asāmoa mai fa'amolemole?* Translation - Speak to me in Sāmoan please. Another example on how the term fa'asāmoa is used as a collective adjective in this thesis: *E fa'asāmoa le fa'aipoipoga* Translation - It's a Sāmoan traditional wedding. The term fa'asāmoa is commonly used in the participants' stories and throughout the thesis.

The English translations of the Sāmoan stories, the proverbs, the idiomatic expressions and the concepts used in this thesis are written with the intended contextual meanings in mind. Sāmoan fluent reader of this thesis may therefore find my translations different from theirs due to the fact that my translations were based on the contextual meanings of the phrases and sentences including non-verbal features of language that were captured on video and during meetings and interviews. Each Sāmoan short quote within the text will be in italics followed by its English translation in regular font. The stand-alone quotes and their translations will be in regular font.

Please note that the first time a Sāmoan term appears in this thesis will be in italics with its English translation immediately after in brackets; subsequent use of the same term will be without italics or English translation in brackets. This format is a matter of respect for the Sāmoan language indicating that the inclusion of Sāmoan is not unusual and must be read in a fluent way. The author is a passionate believer in the use of both languages as mediums of instruction in teaching and learning and also in educational documentation such as findings of research with indigenous people and/or participants.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

SETTING THE SCENE

1.1 Introduction

The establishment of Pasifika immersion and bilingual units in Early Childhood Education and primary schools began in the early 1980s. After many years of such establishment, there is little documentation on how and why such establishment occurred. This research adds to the limited body of knowledge by documenting Pasifika parents' lived experiences in this establishment. The study is the first of its kind that uses a dual-methodological research approach to capture parents' lived experiences in regards to the establishment of Sāmoan *ā'oga 'amata* (immersion preschools) and bilingual units in primary and intermediate levels of schooling. As a Sāmoan researcher doing research with 20 Sāmoan participants, I present the case that the subjective experience of the researcher is integral to this process; hence I begin my introductory chapter with some personal and philosophical background to my involvement in this research.

1.2 Personal road to this study

I am a passionate bilingual education advocate. I value the Sāmoan oral traditions, informal and communal learning and acknowledge these, as parts of my academic and personal growth. My personal road to this doctoral study began with informal discussion with Sāmoan language and bilingual education experts in 2002 when some colleagues and I were working on a chapter for a book edited by Roger Barnard and Ted Glynn (McCaffery, Tuafuti, Maihi, Aukuso & Ioapo, 2003). Some questions that arose from initial informal discussion especially with Sāmoan language experts, bilingual teachers and the community were based on the issue of

mismatch between what parents want for their children's education and what they actually do. Through bilingual education professional workshops for bilingual teachers, I often heard teachers of Sāmoan immersion ā'oga 'amata and bilingual units blaming the parents by saying that parents want their children to succeed in education, to learn and maintain fa'asāmoa on one hand, but they use English and/or send their children to mainstream classes to learn English.

Some issues were also raised at the Ulimasao Bilingual Education Association's First International Conference in 2002. Pasifika teachers' presentations raised the same issues of disparity or inconsistency between parents' aspirations and expectations for their children's education and what parents do in reality.

1.3 Justification for the study

Although the study officially began in 2004, the prior informal work with Sāmoan language experts, elders and the community, with common issues and concerns gathered and learnt from the Ulimasao conference, was crucial in the structuring of this research plan and focus.

My first step towards the research study that I would eventually carry out was to establish a need for the research based on the parents' lived experiences. I decided to focus my study on the establishment of Sāmoan immersion/bilingual programmes in investigating the what, who, how and why such establishment happened. Questions asked included ones on parents' aspirations and expectations, questions on whether or not the participants had changed their attitudes and beliefs about the importance of Sāmoan language in education over time, and how such changes happened. In other words, what were the turning points in the participants' lives, the lives of their children, families and community? I then began my search for a research methodology that would fit with my research questions.

1.4 Researching lived experiences

The overall purpose of the study was to systematically uncover and describe the meanings of parents' lived experiences in relation to the establishment of immersion and bilingual units. It was the literature on qualitative research and initial discussions with Associate Professor Margaret Franken, Sāmoan language experts and elders that helped provide me with the impetus I was looking for. Literature that I explored mainly referred to the term, lived experience, as a phenomenon and hence, phenomenology, under qualitative research paradigm, came to mind. The more I read qualitative research literature, the more I became convinced that phenomenology was an area to pursue. Because this study was about lived experiences in regards to the establishment of Sāmoan immersion and bilingual units, I needed to find out what lived experiences meant to me and in this study, and of course what it meant to the participants.

The Kura Kaupapa Māori and Pasifika research concepts that I explored provided some affirmation of what I was planning to do in my research in relation to acknowledging the importance of concepts of relationships, family, community, and looking at research as a holistic endeavour. These concepts were useful starting points but failed to satisfy my desire to understand what lived experience is about.

I became very interested in phenomenology because it captured my deep sense of curiosity wondering about the lived experiences relating to the observations that Pasifika parents say one thing and mean the other in regards to education of their children. The clearest and most useful definition of phenomenology for me appeared in van Manen (1990, 1997a) who described phenomenological human science as the study of lived or existential meanings; in other words, phenomenology is about describing and interpreting meanings to a certain degree of depth and richness. According to van Manen (1997a) phenomenology is “not a rule-bound process but a free act of seeing meaning” (p. 79). Phenomenology

therefore fitted with the depth and richness of my investigation questions on the what, who, how and why, regarding the establishment of Sāmoan immersion and bilingual units. My enthusiasm to find out more about phenomenology drove my search into the origin of the term (see Chapter Six).

From the literature of the three threads of phenomenology namely phenomenology of the mind/spirit, transcendental phenomenology and phenomenology in social reality or social groups, I discovered and reaffirmed that phenomenology in general is about lived experience. Phenomenology of the mind/spirit is a process of insightful invention or a discovery of experiences, which perhaps are not totally accessible initially. I employed this as a theoretical foundation to explore and bring the unacknowledged, unheard experiences to the surface. The participants' lived experiences also helped me to identify any changes in the participants' lives and how those changes happened.

Transcendental phenomenology advocates *bracketing* pre-conceptions from the research process and aims for researchers and participants to start afresh in order to gain deep understanding of lived experiences. This was the most difficult theoretical aspect of phenomenology to put into action because of the pre-conceptions that the participants and I held. Most of the participants knew each other either from the same village in Sāmoa, or from the same church community or their children had attended the same immersion preschool or bilingual unit in a primary school. The bracketing process was important in order to provide participants the freedom to voice or share their stories. However because of the Sāmoan culture of gerontocracy I needed to employ some Sāmoan concepts in the process (see Chapters Six and Seven).

The third phenomenological thread concerns the relationship between lived experiences and social lives. This thread of phenomenology (existential phenomenology), argues that understanding of each other has

to be developed in a community of which one is a member. Because the researcher and the participants are all Sāmoans, speaking the same language with the same culture and traditional practices, I assumed that this research study would be easy. However, the process brought with it multiple challenges caused by cultural protocols and practices. I discovered that the three threads of phenomenology could not be separated. I realised that disclosing of lived experiences could be difficult for some people, and that a phenomenological approach would present challenges.

In order to reconcile the challenges of enacting a phenomenological study, I needed to consider another conceptual framework and to this end I drew on the Sāmoan concepts of *fa'afaletui, teu le va* and *'aua le toia le va* (see Chapters Six and Seven). This supported the research process and enabled choices of research methods for all participants. The participants and I co-constructed a coupling methodology; a progressive and complex methodology that played a significant role in revealing the essence of the participants' lived experiences. I named the coupling methodology *Fa'afaletui Phenomenology*. This coupling methodology, drawing on Samoan cultural practices, involved co-constructing of the methods, and providing choices for the participants of the what, where, and how they wanted to reveal their lived experiences

I essentially gathered the participants' stories from questionnaires, individual interviews, couple interviews, focus group discussions and testimonies. I was fully involved with the story-telling sessions especially in focus groups. My intervention as a researcher was important in order to guide the process so that everyone had a turn to share his or her stories. I found myself continuing to reflect on becoming and being an indigenous researcher, including the challenges that I experienced by being a member of the same community (in some ways) as the participants. I argue in this thesis that *becoming* an indigenous researcher is in fact an on-going process that is inextricably linked to *being* a member of the same

indigenous researched group. In fact, the becoming for me led me to feel much more a part of the community and culture I was researching.

I also argue in this thesis that it is very important to understand parents' perceptions in relation to their children's education. Those perceptions need to be brought to the surface in order to be heard, understood and be acted upon. It is very important to understand the reason why parents say one thing and mean the other. I also argue in this thesis that one cannot explain an effect of any problem, a situation or any Pasifika parent's behaviour and/or action in relation to their children's education unless one understands the cause of it, as those who are involved present it.

Through this study, I hope to make an important contribution to educators; policy-writers and decision makers' understandings of parents' lived experiences. Bringing to the fore Pasifika parents' unarticulated lived experiences in relation to their children's education can also provide a foundation for other educational research involving Pasifika parents, families and communities.

1.5 Organisation of the thesis

This thesis is organised into ten chapters. The literature review on Chapters Two and Three will cover historical, immigration and geographical information in regards to relationships between Sāmoa and New Zealand. Chapter Four discusses bilingual education models and principles with suggestions of appropriate programmes for Pasifika learners. Chapter Five and Six explore cultural and epistemological factors and various conceptual frameworks. Chapter Seven explains the research methods and methodology covering information about the participants and research processes and procedures. Chapter Eight explains the research findings followed by a discussion in Chapter Nine. Finally the conclusion that includes recommendations for future research is Chapter Ten.

CHAPTER TWO

PASIFIKA POPULATION IN NEW ZEALAND

2.1 Introduction

The growth of the Pasifika population in New Zealand has been one of the most significant and noticeable features in New Zealand society. In the 1945 Census, there were fewer than 2,200 Pasifika peoples in New Zealand. Between 1945 and 2001, Pasifika peoples in New Zealand grew from just 2,200 to 232,000, almost 6.5 percent of the total New Zealand population (Statistics New Zealand, 2002; Ministry of Education, 2004; Ministry of Social Development, 2005).

The 2006 Census again showed further growth of Pasifika population, which was the second-largest increase since the 2001 Census, and they made up 4.7 percent to reach 265,974 (Statistics New Zealand, 2006). The 2013 Census showed that 7.4 percent of the New Zealand population (295,941 people) identified with one or more Pasifika ethnic groups, compared to 6.9 percent (265,974 people) in 2006. However, the rate of growth for the Pasifika people ethnic groups slowed between 2006 and 2013. There was a 14.7 growth between 2001 and 2006, but only 11.3 percent between 2006 and 2013 (Statistics New Zealand, 2013).

In contrast, the Fijian ethnic group grew by a bigger percentage between 2006 and 2013 with 46.5 percent than between 2001 and 2006, with 40.1 percent (Statistics New Zealand, 2013). Over the last four decades, from 1945 to 2013, the Pasifika population has grown steadily through migration, but more recently through the natural increase of births in the country.

Table 0.1 Rate of growth in selected Pasifika ethnic groups between 2001 and 2013 Censuses.

Ethnic Groups	2001-2006	2006-2013
Tongan	24.0	19.4
Sāmoan	14.0	9.9
Cook Islands Māori	10.4	6.6
Niue	11.6	6.3
Tokelauan	9.9	5.2

(Adapted from Statistics New Zealand, 2013)

Now the diverse Pasifika population is predominantly New Zealand born younger age group and highly urbanised with 98 percent living in urban areas and 66 percent living in the Auckland urban areas alone. Because of the Pasifika population's low rates of mortality and high birth rates, it exhibits a high natural rate of population growth. Hence, it is predicted that by the year 2016 nearly half of the New Zealand population will identify as being of Māori or Pasifika descent (Statistics New Zealand, 2006).

In addition to high birth rates another significant factor that contributes to the Pasifika population growth is cross-cultural marriages and births. The 2001 Census showed that most births to one Pasifika and one non-Pasifika parent are being classified as Pasifika. In contrast, Pasifika parents of mixed marriages did not record their children as Sāmoans, Cook Islands and so forth in earlier Census reports. The characteristics of the 2001 Census suggest a great shift of parents' attitudes. Pasifika parents from cross-cultural and mixed marriages who are willingly opting for their children to be identified as Pasifika seem to be taking a pride in their heritage.

The 2006 and 2013 Census results also showed that the ethnic make-up of New Zealand's population continued to change. More Pasifika parents

of mixed marriages had identified their children as Sāmoans, Tongans, Cook Islands Māori and Niue. The 2013 Census showed that the Pasifika remained the major ethnic group with the highest proportion of children, aged 0–14 years, at 35.7 percent, in comparison to the following proportions of other major ethnic groups: Māori, with 33.8 percent; Asian, with 20.6 percent; European with 19.6 percent, and Middle Eastern/Latin American/African with 25.5 percent (Statistics New Zealand, 2013).

Although the median age of Pasifika peoples was 22.1 years slightly increased since 2006 when it was 21.1 years, Pasifika peoples still remained a youthful population. A little under half, with 46.1 percent, were less than 20 years old, compared with 27.4 percent for the total population, and the majority with 54.9 percent, were younger than 25 years old (Statistics New Zealand, 2013). The Pasifika population had the second largest increase since the 2001 Census and is projected to reach 480,000 by 2026

Table 0.2 The Pasifika population compared to New Zealand total population from 2001 to 2013 Censuses

Census	N.Z Population	Pasifika Population
2001	3,820,749	231,789
2006	4,116,900	265,974
2013	4,242,048	344,400

(Adapted from Statistics New Zealand, 2001, 2006 & 2013)

2.2 Different Pasifika groups

The current six main Pasifika groups in New Zealand are Sāmoans, Cook Islands Māori, Tongans, Niue, Fijians and Tokelauans. Other minority groups consist of Tuvaluans, Tahitians and Kiribati. Sāmoan remains the largest Pasifika ethnic group in New Zealand with the population of

144,138, an increase of 9.9 percent between 2006 and 2013, compared with an increase of 14.0 percent between 2001 and 2013.

Table 0.3 The Sāmoan population compared to New Zealand Pasifika population, from 2001, 2006 and 2013 Censuses.

Census	Sāmoans	Pasifika Population
2001	115,000	231,798
2006	131,103	265,974
2013	144,138	344,400

(Adapted from Statistics New Zealand, 2001, 2006 & 2013)

The Sāmoan population between 2006 and 2013 increased by 9.9 percent compares with an increase of 14.0 percent between 2001 and 2006. The Sāmoan population in 2013 was 144,138 with 92.9 percent (133,971) people live in the North Island, 7.1 percent (10,167 people) live in the South Island and less than 1 percent live in Chatham Island. The most common region for the Sāmoans to live in is the Auckland Region with 66.5 percent (95,916 people), followed by the Wellington Region with 15.5 percent (22,383 people), and the Canterbury Region with 4.8 percent or 6,984 people (Statistics New Zealand, 2013).

Of those Sāmoans living in the Auckland Region, the majority live in South Auckland in the Mangere and Otahuhu Local Board with 18.3 percent, Otara and Papatoetoe area with 17.6 percent, and Manurewa Area with 14.9 percent. The geographical number of Sāmoans living in South Auckland is reflected in the rapid growth of Sāmoan ā’oga ‘amata and bilingual units in the area.

The next largest group is the Cook Islands Māori with 61,839 people (20.9 percent) of the Pasifika population. Tongan is the next group with a

population of 60,333 (20.4 percent), and the Niue with 23,883 (8.1 percent) of the Pasifika total population. The last three groups are Fijian, Tokelauan, and Tuvaluan. The significant numbers of migrants from the Pasifika nations who settle in New Zealand have made Auckland the largest Polynesian population of the South Pacific (Statistics New Zealand, 2013). The geographic distribution of Pasifika migrants reflects their settlement patterns when they first arrived. Most new migrants were drawn to larger centres particularly Auckland where the main port of arrival was located, where there was employment, and where their extended families had already settled.

2.3 Reasons for settlement in Auckland

The majority of the Pasifika total population presently reside in Manukau in the South Auckland region with 59 percent living in Mangere and Otahuhu area, 46 percent living in Otara and Papatoetoe, 28 percent living in Manurewa and 11 percent living in Papakura (Statistics New Zealand, 2013). This is partly because it is where the majority of Pasifika peoples prefer to live with extended families when they migrate from their homelands. It appears that the ideology of village and communal lifestyle and cooperative traditions are reinforced in that context. This communal lifestyle is reflected in the growth of Pasifika languages early childhood centres and churches in the Manukau area. The other possible reason accounting for earlier settlement was that a large number of state houses were built in Mangere and Otara in the late 1970s and early 1980s for Pasifika peoples to be shifted to from the Auckland inner-city areas such as Grey Lynn, Ponsonby and Newton (Moore, 1982; Stevenson, 1992).

2.4 Immigration and economic factors

The Pasifika peoples historical ties with New Zealand extend to the 1900s when New Zealand assumed political control over the Cook Islands and Niue in 1900; Sāmoa in 1914; and Tokelau in 1948). Sāmoa became fully self-governing in 1962 and Fiji in the 1970s (Stevenson, 1992). The New Zealand Immigration Act 1987 provides a visa system for all visitors to

New Zealand including Pasifika with the exempt of Niue, Cook Islands Māori and Tokelau. The visa system is for temporary permit in three categories: visitor's permit; work permit and student permit. The Act also provides other provisions for Pasifika peoples to obtain New Zealand residence permit and/or citizenship (Immigration Act 1987, section 14 (1)).

Immigration of Pasifika peoples has been influenced by economic factors particularly workforce demand. These factors are discussed in detail together with changes in immigration policy and how these reflect economic fluctuations.

2.5 Workforce factors

Over a number of decades, the promise of work has motivated Pasifika people to migrate to New Zealand. Although the Pasifika movement to New Zealand began in the early years of the Second World War, it did not gain momentum until the 1950s when the first Cook Islands Māori immigrants arrived in the Hawkes Bay as farm labour followed by Niue (Challis, 1973; De Pres, Campbell & Harris 1974; Moore, 1982; McGill, 1981; Stevenson, 1992).

Sāmoans began to migrate in substantial number to New Zealand between the years 1953 and 1955 (Challis, 1973; Moore, 1982, Stevenson, 1992). Subsequently, during the economic boom in the 1960s and 70s, early Pasifika immigrants chose to resettle in New Zealand, taking advantage of the availability of employment and education. However, the economic boom did not continue. The economic restructuring saw the removal of many domestic industries and factories, which resulted in the closure of firms. The restructuring in the late 1980s and late 1990s caused huge job losses for Pasifika peoples, as they were over-represented in unskilled or semi-skilled jobs. Between 1987 and 1996, the labour force participation rate of Pasifika peoples fell from 70 percent to 59 percent, compared with the overall labour force rate, which

fell from 66 percent in 1987, to 63 percent in 1993, and later recovered to 66 percent again (Statistics New Zealand, 2001).

The closure of industries during this time created a growth of Pasifika beneficiaries, which prompted the coalition government of National and New Zealand First in the mid 1990s, to introduce workforce programmes with a focus on welfare dependency (Stevenson, 1992; Statistics New Zealand, 2001).

Although economic conditions improved slightly and new employment has emerged for Pasifika peoples since the 1990s, they have not returned to stability of employment that they had in the 1970s. There are still disparities between rates of labour force participation in the Pasifika population and the national population. In the 2013 Census, 59.9 percent of the Pasifika peoples aged 15 years and over were in the workforce. The unemployment rate at the time was 40 percent. The rate of those who were not in education, employment, or training (NEET) was 38.9 percent. The Pasifika workforce participation rate in the Auckland region itself was 56.4 percent, the unemployment rate was 14.5 percent and for the NEET, it was 19.1 percent. The Pasifika peoples are over represented in the lower skilled categories in the workforce. The most common occupational groups for the Pasifika peoples are labourers with 22,300 workers and machinery operators and drivers with 13,900 workers (Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment, 2013; Statistics New Zealand, 2013). It is also reported that the number of Pasifika on an unemployment benefit has fallen from 4,935 to 4,343, a drop of 12.0 percent; hence there is a sign of improvement here concerning employment for Pasifika peoples in New Zealand.

2.6 Immigration policies

Conditions of entry into New Zealand vary for different Pasifika peoples. Both Fijian and Tongan peoples have very restricted rights to enter New Zealand. Sāmoans on the other hand have to meet a small number of

criteria. They must be between 18 and 45 years. Their health must be checked and employment and housing must also be guaranteed. These conditions are subject to inspection by immigration officials (Challis, 1973; Stevenson, 1992).

Since the 1970s and early 1980s, immigrants have been predominantly business peoples from Asian countries. *The New Zealand Immigration Book* (Freeman, 1991) was compiled to assist immigrants to plan before they migrate to the country. This was and still is geared directly for business building purposes. At the time, the Minister of Immigration noted that New Zealand is a good place for “skilled and entrepreneurial people to settle” (Freeman, 1991, p. 5). Arguably, this excludes Pasifika talents and communal expertise.

New Zealand immigration and socio economic policies for Pasifika nations have changed immensely since the arrival of the first immigrants for cheap labour purposes between the 1960s and 1970s.

Since the 1975 election and the closure of many factories, the New Zealand immigration policies have been based on economic growth and less on people and/or familial interests (Burkey, 1986, & Moore, 1982). Then came a stricter policing of Pasifika people entry permits to New Zealand. A comprehensive review of the immigration policy in 1986 resulted in the reaffirmation of the existing policy on Cook Islands Māori, Niue and Tokelau peoples to still have unrestricted entry to New Zealand, and demand for skilled immigrants from Sāmoa, Tonga and Fiji. Family reunification provisions are also accepted in the new policy regulations for the latter groups.

2.7 The legacy of immigration and socio-economic policies

With the major migration of Pasifika peoples to cities such as Auckland, Wellington, Christchurch and Dunedin in the mid 1970s, there was tension. Moore (1982) documents that New Zealand enjoyed good race

relations prior to the 1970s, because there was little competition for homes, jobs or even for hospital beds. However, the major migration of Pasifika peoples to urban areas had “wiped the scab off a sore part of the Pakeha¹ character” according to Moore (1982). Moore continued by saying that this “sore had been used for political purposes in the 1975 election with the call to send all offending Pasifika people back to the Islands when they committed crimes” (p. 12).

As a result of this call, immigration official and police conducted *dawn raids*, random house checks of over-stayers, early in the morning when all family members were likely to be at home. These acts were disturbing and disruptive for Pasifika peoples, the Sāmoans, Tongans and Fijian in particular (Moore, 1982; Statistics New Zealand, 2002).

The largest-scale migration from the Pasifika nations occurred in the 1960s and 1970s during the period of demand for cheap labour. This migration boost was also part of New Zealand’s colonial role in that Cook Islanders and Niue had unrestricted rights of entry and became permanent residents of New Zealand. Tokelauan direct migration to New Zealand started when Western Sāmoa became an independent territory in 1962. Tokelauans as New Zealand citizens could no longer enter freely and settle in Sāmoa. They therefore had to migrate directly to New Zealand (Gray, as cited in Rata, E., Carpenter, V., Dixon, H., and Rawlinson, C., 2001, p.196; Stevenson, 1992; Statistics New Zealand, 2001).

Bill Birch, Minister of Immigration during the National government in the early 1990s, discussed a New Zealand immigration policy with a view to treating all applicants fairly from wherever they came from. The policy had the flexibility to deal with family reunion, occupational and business migration categories, and with special cases. The policy objectives were to ensure that New Zealand was strengthened and improved by its migration programme (see Freeman, 1991).

¹ Pakeha is defined as a white person and/or dominant white race in New Zealand (Briggs, 1990).

Hence, according to the policy, and because of entry-restricted rights, for Sāmoans, Tongans and Fijians family reunion and special cases were the only promising provisions for non-skilled peoples from those Pasifika nations.

In 1984, a unit for Pasifika peoples was created within the Department of Internal Affairs after several years of advocacy by Pasifika in New Zealand. The unit, still known as *The Ministry of Pacific Islands Affairs* (MPIA), was established in Wellington in 1985, and a sub-office was opened in Auckland in December 1988. The MPIA became a separate department in July 1, 1990 (Freeman, 1991; Ministry of Pacific Island Affairs, 1992). Since 1990, the MPIA has established itself as a unique entity, ensuring that needs of Pasifika peoples are recognised. The MPIA's mission is to encourage the Government of New Zealand to recognise and accept the contribution of Pasifika peoples in New Zealand, and to promote Pasifika values and aspirations (Ministry of Pacific Islands Affairs, 1992)

There have been some changes to immigration policy since the establishment of the MPIA. Temporary permit and residence permit were introduced between the 1980s and 1990s. There are three types of temporary permit. The first type is a visitor's permit, which entitles an immigrant to be in New Zealand during the currency of the permit for any lawful purpose such as family and social visits, business meetings, or undergoing medical treatment. The second type is a work permit, which entitles the holder to be in New Zealand to undertake employment. The third type is a student permit, which entitles the holder to be in New Zealand to undertake a course of study or training (Immigration Act, 1987).

Applicants for the above three types of temporary permit need a New Zealand address for service. Each applicant may be required by the Minister to supply a written undertaking by a sponsor (who must be a New

Zealand citizen or a holder of a residence permit), relating to the employment, accommodation, and maintenance of the applicant and any dependants of the applicant. A temporary permit can be granted for any period not exceeding the period prescribed in respect of temporary permits of that type (Immigration Act 1987, Regulation 18). The maximum periods of temporary permits are: 12 months for a visitor's permit, three years for a work permit, and four years for a student permit (Immigration Act 1987).

A residence permit entitles an applicant to be in New Zealand indefinitely. A holder of a residence permit can undertake employment and/or study. Residence permit applications can be done from the Islands or in New Zealand. Those who apply from the Islands require a residence visa and must be in New Zealand during the currency of that visa. Application is to be made on the arrival card.

Application requirements by people already in New Zealand are that applicant must be a holder of a temporary permit, and holders must apply not later than seven days before the date on which temporary permits expire; applications must be in the prescribed manner (Immigration Act, 1987).

The two current schemes for Pasifika immigration and residence policy are the Pacific Access Category and Sāmoan Quota Scheme. The Pacific Access Category allows up to 250 citizens of Tonga, 75 citizens of Tuvalu, 75 citizens of Kiribati, and 250 citizens of Fiji (including partners and dependent children of principal applicants under the Category), to be granted residence in New Zealand each year. To qualify for residence under the Pasifika Access Category, the principal applicant must be a citizen of Tonga, Tuvalu, Kiribati, or Fiji. Applicants' applications must be drawn from the relevant pool of the Pasifika Access Category aged from 18 to 45 years; have an acceptable offer of employment; meet health and character requirements; and with a minimum level of English language ability (Immigration NZ Instructions Circular No. 2006/06).

The Sāmoan Quota Scheme allows up to 1,100 Sāmoans, including their partners and dependent children, to be granted residence in New Zealand each year. To qualify for residence under the Sāmoan Quota Scheme, the principal applicant must be a Sāmoan citizen (having been born in Sāmoa or born overseas to a Sāmoan citizen who was born in Samoa); be either in Sāmoa or legally in New Zealand at the time their application for residence is made. Applicant must be aged 18 and 45 inclusive; have an acceptable offer of employment; meet health and character requirements for residence; and meet a minimum level of English language ability (Amendments to Government Residence Policy February, 2006).

The English language criteria may be a barrier for applicants with no educational qualifications. The interviewing immigration officer determines whether applicants meet minimum English language requirements by assessing if they are able to read English; understand and respond to questions in English; and maintain an English language conversation about themselves, their family or their background.

The 2013 New Zealand Census results showed that over 50 percent of Sāmoan people who were unable to speak English were born mostly in Sāmoa. Of those born outside of Sāmoa and reluctant to speak English, 55 percent had been in New Zealand for more than 10 years. Over 80 percent of Sāmoans in New Zealand prefer to speak Sāmoan than English (Statistics New Zealand, 2013).

2.8 The language legacy

Research on Pasifika Languages in the Manukau region by the Woolf Fisher Research Centre (1999, 2000) had a specific focus on the use and maintenance of the languages. It also looked at the percentages of people who, at the time of the research, used English as one of the languages of communication. The research accumulated census results and also data collected, looked at five ethnic groups: Māori, Sāmoan, Cook Islands

Māori, Tongan and Niue. The research highlighted the fact that most of the non-English language speakers within the Manukau region are residents of Otara and Mangere. Using the age distribution of the 1996 census publication (5 years to 75 years), the research findings indicated a great loss of Pasifika languages.

There was a gradient from the oldest age group, with most speakers of the Pasifika ethnic languages, to the youngest age group with the fewest speakers. In contrast, the youngest age group at the time of the research spoke more English than the older age group. Out of the five Pasifika Islands groups that were included in the research, Sāmoan was the most robust of the languages, followed by Tongan, Niue and Cook Islands (Bell, Davis, Starks, 2000). The research results indicated that 30 percent Cook Islands Māori peoples spoke their heritage language, 57 percent of the Niue population spoke their language, and both Sāmoan and Tongan peoples had over 80 percent use in their heritage languages (Bell, Davis, Starks, 2000).

Considering the fact that the populations of the Cook Islands Māori and Niue in New Zealand were more than those of their Islands, this has had important implications for the loss and shift of their languages. In addition, the encroachment of English was also well advanced in both Niue and the Cook Islands Māori homelands. This was true also to a lesser extent about Tongan in Tonga and Sāmoan in Sāmoa.

The 2001 census publications indicated that both the Sāmoan and Tongan languages have started to follow the same pattern of language loss and shift seen in the Cook Islands Māori and Niue generations. Bell, Davis and Starks (2000) reaffirmed that Sāmoan and Tongan are also endangered languages in New Zealand. The report continues by saying that “unless vigorous efforts are made, it appears that the Sāmoan and Tongan languages will within two generations be at risk in New Zealand as the younger age group between 5 and 24 who couldn’t speak Sāmoan or

Tongan” (p.18). This was evident in the 2013 Census results, which showed that English was the most widely spoken language in the Sāmoan community with 9.0 percent. This was an alarming report for the Sāmoan language community and advocates to find out that only 55.6 percent of the Sāmoan population spoke Sāmoan according to the 2013 Census, a decrease from 60.7 percent in the 2006 Census.

Bell, Davis and Starks’ (2000) research results indicated that the vigour of Sāmoan was shown by 90 percent level of fluency among all the Sāmoans aged over 35. The encroachment of language loss can be seen in the falling proportion in younger age groups, down to 75 percent for the 5-14 years old. For Tongans there was a small increasing group-by-group language loss from age 55-64 downwards. According to the researchers, this was a definitely an “early warning sign of language loss in the two more vigorous Pasifika languages in New Zealand” (p. 18). Such a warning has now become a reality in the 2013 Census, indicating that the New Zealand born Sāmoans were less likely than those born in Sāmoa to speak Sāmoan, at 36.1 percent and 88.5 percent, respectively (Statistics New Zealand, 2013).

2.8.1 Responses to language issues

English for new arrivals and second language learners has been the most popular emphasis of language programmes since the 1970s and 1980s. There has been little action undertaken to develop a culturally and linguistically appropriate language policy that recognises the place of languages other than English.

The history of a language policy development goes back to the late 1980s when the Ministry of Education (MoE), carried out its own work on the issue of language policy. The impetus of such work was driven from the first Community Languages and English Speakers of Other Languages (CLESOL) conference in Wellington in 1988. Lo Bianco, the author of the Australian National Languages policy was one of the conference keynote

speakers who shared his experience on developing the Australian languages policy.

Between 1988 and 1990, and as a result of Lo Bianco's input, the Ministry formed a small policy-working group to look at the issue. The group produced a document to the Ministry urging the government to formulate a languages policy. In the CLESOL 1990 conference, the Minister of Education announced the government's intention to develop a languages policy for New Zealand, which would establish a co-ordinated framework to include English Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL), Māori as one of the National languages, the English language requirements, and the maintenance of community languages (Waite, 1992a).

In 1991, Jeffrey Waite was contracted by the Ministry of Education to lead a research project towards the development of a New Zealand languages policy. Waite (1992a; 1992b) clearly identified significant issues and benefits in "adopting a policy to maintain, enrich and expand the diversity of languages used by New Zealanders" (Waite, 1992a, p. 10). Lockwood Smith who was at the time the Minister of Education appeared to support the initiative and stated that New Zealand "needs to adopt a coherent and comprehensive approach to all the languages issues, and seek possible range of views on the development of a New Zealand languages policy" (Waite, 1992a, p.10). Waite's report identified significant issues in literacy and bilingualism and stated that:

Bilingualism in Samoan and English or any other combination, confers upon the speaker intellectual benefits in the form of an enhanced ability to manipulate language. These linguistic skills can be transferred from one language to another, whatever the language (Waite, 1992a, pp. 9-10).

Despite Waite's report, and despite apparent support from the Minister, the MoE ignored the report, and undertook no further development of a

language policy. Instead, the New Zealand Curriculum Framework (NZCF, 1992) was then developed including one page on language and languages (Ministry of Education, 1992).

A brief paragraph on Pasifika languages says:

Students whose mother tongue is a Pacific Islands language or another community language will have the opportunity to develop and use their own language as an integral part of their schooling. The nature of mother tongue programmes will be decided by schools in response to local community needs and initiatives (p.10).

From the NZCF, various language curriculum statements have been developed. The English curriculum was the first to develop in 1994, then the Māori. The Sāmoan language curriculum was the first Pasifika language to develop and it has been implemented since 1996. The Cook Islands Māori language curriculum was implemented in 2004, followed by the Tongan language curriculum, the Tokelauan and Vagahau Niue. These curricula are designed for second language learning contexts not for bilingual contexts and/or learning.

The MoE (1993) defined one of the education aims in New Zealand as: “Equity of educational opportunity for all to reach their potential and take their full place in society” (p. 34). A disparity between the discourse in policies and actual practices exists. Coxon, E., Jenkins, K., Marshall, J., and Massey, L., (1994) claim that the “current policies and practices in the New Zealand education system somehow have a inherent belief that the system provides equality of opportunity through which aspirations for social equality are met” (p. 25). McCaffery, J., and Tuafuti, P., in association with Mahi, S., Aukuso, S., Elia, L., & Ioapo, N., (2003) also argue that the lack of recognition of Pasifika cultural and linguistic difference has become the entrenched New Zealand hegemonic ideology

saying that everyone is the same regardless of their differences in languages and cultural traditions, beliefs and values.

New Zealand is a nation of many cultures, languages and ethnicities. Supporting our diverse nation is a democratic ideal that our education system will serve all children and their families. In reality, the notion of *one size fits all* and the dominant culture inherent in the education system brings disadvantages for our Pasifika students. Curriculum and teaching methods are drawn from the dominant culture. Thus, education cannot offer equality of access or opportunity for Pasifika students. What is needed is the acknowledgement and involvement of Pasifika languages and cultural knowledge in the education system. Bishop (2003) suggests that interaction patterns between family and school must acknowledge and utilise cultural knowledge that students bring to school. (See also Bishop & Glynn, 1999).

2.8.2 The Ministry of Education approach to Pasifika bilingual learners

In 2003, the MoE launched its approach of supporting Pasifika bilingual learners where a Pasifika learner's first language is used as an anchor or bridge for learning English. The MoE flawed assumption was that accessing the New Zealand curriculum through the English medium would raise achievement of Pasifika bilingual learners.

The MoE launched three initiatives. The first initiative addressed the need for Pasifika language research and guidelines to support classroom inclusive practice, including the use of materials in Pasifika languages. This initiative was the Language Enhancing Academic Achievement of Pasifika (LEAP) conducted from 2003-2004 (Franken, May, & McComish, 2006). The second initiative began in 2005 to support community organisations that wanted to provide language learning in their communities, by offering funding for Study Support Centres and after school Pasifika language programmes. The third initiative funded a

number of Pasifika bilingual language assistants or teacher-aides to work alongside mainstream classroom teachers who were working with Pasifika learners (Ministry of Education, 2003). The MoE's vision and goals for Pasifika learners, families and communities are discussed in the Pasifika Education Plan (Ministry of Education, 2008 & 2013).

Since the LEAP initiative, there have been a limited number of other bilingual education projects such as the Manurewa Enhancement Initiative (MEI) of the Sāmoa Bilingual Cluster from 2008 to 2009. This project's focus was on the moderation of assessment in Sāmoan. The schools in the MEI cluster included Finlayson Park Primary, Clendon Park, Te Matauranga, Weymouth Intermediate from Manurewa, Sir Edmund Hillary from Otara, Mangere East and Richmond Road from Auckland Central. A team from the University of Auckland led this initiative in partnership with the principals and lead-teachers. The Teuila Consultants are currently conducting another project on bilingual education with Auckland Sāmoan bilingual teachers from the same schools as the MEI contract. These types of fragmented projects need coordination to avoid repetitive research work and to ensure a focus on what works well for Pasifika bilingual learners.

2.8.3 Pasifika languages in bilingual and immersion contexts

The growth of Pasifika languages and immersion/bilingual programmes in New Zealand has been a long, slow and difficult process. Its origins can be traced back to two major positive developments. One, the initial attempts of some schools in Auckland like Hillary College in Otara (1985) and Richmond Road in Ponsonby (1985) to teach Pasifika languages, primarily Sāmoan. The slow rate of development can arguably in part be attributed to the ambivalent and uninformed attitudes of Pasifika peoples towards the place of their own languages in education, the lack of policy and guidance from the MoE and the lack of professional knowledge about immersion/bilingual education in schools (McCaffery & Tuafuti, 1998).

Pasifika language classes for adults began to appear in the late 1970s. The centre for this work was called the Pacific Islanders Educational Resource Centre (PIERC) in Herne Bay, Ponsonby. Partnerships between Galumalemana Alfred Hunkin of the PIERC and the North Shore Teachers College staff, Jim Dickie, Roly Golding, and John McCaffery were developed. This saw student teachers learning Sāmoan language and engaging in cultural activities as part of their Multicultural Education studies (McCaffery & Tuafuti, 1998).

2.8.4 Pasifika languages in the secondary school context

In secondary schools, Pasifika languages, mainly Sāmoan, are taught as subjects of study much the same way as French and Japanese. Two or three secondary schools in Auckland have started to use the Samoan language to deliver other subjects like science, maths, technology, and social studies. Secondary schools with Sāmoan language programmes also prepare students to sit the National Certificate in Education Achievement (NCEA) in Sāmoan. Auckland secondary schools' annual festival sponsored by the Auckland Saving Bank (ASB) and Manukau city council also provide opportunities for young Sāmoans with their parents and extended families to appreciate, celebrate, learn, respect, value, and maintain Sāmoan language and culture.

The other three Sāmoan organisations that have supported the development of Sāmoan language and bilingual programmes since the 1990s were the Sāmoan language teachers association in Aotearoa called Fagasā, the bilingual education association called Ulimasao and the Sāmoan ā'oga 'amata association called Sa'asia. These three associations have various roles and responsibilities of supporting Sāmoan language use and language maintenance in New Zealand. Members of the Fagasā and Sa'asia associations were involved in the development of the Samoan language curriculum called the Ta'iala (Ministry of Education, 1996). The Fagasā and Sa'asia associations were also involved with the development of *Mua Ō: An introduction to Gagana Samoa: Teachers*

guide and support materials, published for the Ministry by Teuila Consultancy (Ministry of Education, 2009). Ulimasao plays an important role in the development of Sāmoan bilingual units in primary and intermediate schools and organises bilingual education workshops for teachers and parents/communities.

2.8.5 Pasifika languages and bilingual programmes in the primary school context

In the early 1980s, Richmond Road in Auckland central became the first primary school in New Zealand to begin using Sāmoan language in school in 1985 for children and community activities, followed by the establishment of their Sāmoan bilingual unit in 1987. The Sāmoan bilingual unit at Kowhai Intermediate was established in the mid 2000s by the Richmond Sāmoan parents. The Sāmoan bilingual unit at May Road primary school in Mount Roskill was established in 2013.

In South Auckland the Sāmoan bilingual unit, Lumana'i, was established at Clydemore primary school in Otara in 1988. It is important to mention here that Clydemore primary school has been disestablished and merged with Sir Edmund Hillary Collegiate, and the bilingual unit is currently operating under new management. An established bilingual unit was at Yendarra primary school but was closed down in the early 2000s by the senior management. Other Sāmoan bilingual units in Otara are at Kia Aroha College and Flat Bush primary school. Otāhuhu primary is the only school in the Otāhuhu area with a Sāmoan bilingual unit. In the Manurewa area, there are five Sāmoan bilingual units. Finlayson Park primary school started their Sāmoan bilingual unit in 1996; Te Maturanga primary school in 2002; Glendon primary in 2005; Weymouth Intermediate in 2006, followed by Roscommon primary school. In 2015, Wiri Central primary school in the Manukau area opened their Sāmoan bilingual unit. In the Mangere region, Robertson Road primary school established their Sāmoan bilingual unit in 1994 followed by the establishment of their Tongan bilingual unit in 1997. Unfortunately the Tongan bilingual unit was

closed down in 2008. Sutton Park primary school has Sāmoan and Tongan bilingual units and were both established in the mid 1990s. Mangere East primary school and Sir Douglas Bader Intermediate both have Sāmoan bilingual units and were also established in the late 1990s.

In West Auckland, Rosebank Road primary school established their Sāmoan bilingual unit in 1994, followed by Henderson South in the early 2000s and Lincoln Heights in the mid 2000s.

2.8.6 Pasifika languages in the early childhood education context

Other community initiatives to promote Pasifika languages include ā'oga 'amata and various Pasifika home based language playgroups. In 1991, the Bernard van Leer Foundation sponsored a pilot project to explore the benefits of first language early childhood home based education. The project was so successful it has grown into a major cultural force in education and community affairs and was called *Anau Ako Pasifika*. Because of its success, the MoE took over funding it in July 1996 when the initial grant ran out (Mara, 1995; McCaffery & Tuafuti, 1998).

Since then, Pasifika early childhood education has made positive impacts on Pasifika language survival and language maintenance. The MoE (2000) report on Early Childhood Education (ECE) statistics in New Zealand indicated the growth of Pasifika centres that used Pasifika languages as mediums of instruction. In 1999, 31 Pasifika ECE groups came under the immersion mantle and out of these, the majority were Sāmoan Centres. Pasifika early childhood groups were at the time of the research, the single largest provider of ECE services to Pasifika children. The number of ECE Pasifika children enrolled in their own languages centres were: 204 Cook Islands Māori children, 104 Niue, 353 Tongans, 17 Tuvaluans, and 1,485 Sāmoans. Pasifika ECE centres are located in the community often on church premises with the community and parents having a major stake in them.

The number of licensed early childhood education services that were identified as Pasifika ECE centres has increased dramatically since the 1980s when the community used church facilities. Reflecting on the overall Pasifika population proportions, the majority of the licensed Pasifika ECE centres were identified as Sāmoan, with the Cook Island Māori and Tongan being the next most numerous (Ministry of Education, 2004). The use of Pasifika languages in Pasifika ECE centres varied from 12 percent to 80 percent of the time. A Sāmoan total immersion ā'oga 'amata may use Sāmoan as the language of instruction anywhere between 12 and 100% of the time. The MoE categorises a Pasifika language immersion ECE centre if the language is used for 81 to 100% of the time. Centres that use Pasifika languages between 12 and 80% of the time are classified as bilingual services. This MoE classification of what total immersion and bilingual services are about is confusing and I would not recommend it. Complex issues relating to bilingual models and programmes are discussed in Chapter Four. Pasifika ECE teachers need to do professional development on bilingual/immersion education. According to the MoE classification of Pasifika ECE total immersion, Sāmoan and Tongan have the highest level of Pasifika language immersion centres, with 31 Sāmoan centres and 8 Tongan centres (Ministry of Education, 2004).

2.9 Conclusion

Chapter Two summarises the growth of the Pasifika population in New Zealand and issues on immigration, economic, education and language policy development. It also highlights some MoE initiatives as a response to raising Pasifika children's achievement. Considering the Census results that the Pasifika youth population is growing fast but over-represented in the lower skilled jobs; with 19.1 percent of the youth population not in education, employment or training, it is fitting as a conclusion to Chapter Two to suggest that the Pasifika communities in New Zealand need to take charge of their own children's destiny in partnerships with schools.

The MoE's fragmented initiatives that were supposed to raise achievement of Pasifika bilingual learners need to be evaluated and reported to the Pasifika parents and communities to ensure that culturally appropriate teaching/learning approaches are in place. The Pasifika communities might wish to take debate forward, on the MoE statement on the rate of the language of instruction in Pasifika ECE total immersion, and bilingual services. Any change in the rate increase of language used as medium of instruction in ā'oga 'amata immersion programmes would have significant impacts in dual medium bilingual programmes in primary school, and also in teaching Sāmoan as a subject of study in secondary and tertiary levels.

Issues on colonisation and effects on minority languages will be discussed in Chapter Three

CHAPTER THREE

COLONISATION AND MINORITY STATUS: EFFECTS ON LANGUAGE

3.1 Introduction

Chapter Two presented demographic information and reviewed Pasifika people's settlement patterns in New Zealand. It discussed important immigration and economic factors and policies that had an impact on both social and economic conditions for Pasifika peoples, and on their patterns of language use. In this chapter, a number of considerations about language shift and loss are presented and discussed to set the background against which the following sections on colonisation and language, and minority cultures in dominant societies can better be interpreted.

3.2 What is language shift and language loss?

Language shift occurs in societies and communities, and indeed is often taken for granted for minority groups when living in a predominantly monolingual country such as New Zealand. Language use patterns change over time across and within different domains. For example, Pasifika children who learn and speak a Pasifika language such as Sāmoan in ā'oga 'amata may shift to use English only, once they reach primary and secondary schools. In ā'oga 'amata, children use Sāmoan in prayers and memorised scripts, and once they reach the higher levels of schooling, English is likely then to become the predominant language of instruction in education. Hence, children slowly shift to English. Sāmoan children's patterns of Sāmoan language use tend to vary across time, as there is less exposure to the Sāmoan language. It is explained in this chapter that language shift is a communal or social process and without intervention inevitably leads to language loss.

Language shift and language loss is a global phenomenon that occurs in the minority communities within a majority society (Baker & Prys Jones, 1998; Baker, 2000; May, 2001) and it also occurs in the context of a linguistic and cultural pressure from forces outside a country as happened in the Pasifika nations during colonisation. Baker and Prys Jones (1998) and Baker (2000), suggest that changes in functional purposes are the key stages of language shift in many parts of the world.

As observed in many monolingual countries like New Zealand, any minority language such as a Pasifika language has been historically considered for some time as the language of the home only, not in schools; Pasifika migrants needed to learn English fast in schools for survival purposes. Many Pasifika peoples also considered English, as the language of *smart children*. There is no doubt that such a perception has been one of the causes of language shift in Pasifika communities. As a consequence, many Pasifika peoples have started to lose their home languages. Some people might understand their home language but cannot speak it.

People, who understand a dying language but do not speak it are called *semi-speakers* (Baker & Prys Jones, 1998; Baker, 2000). Semi-speakers might remember who the native speakers were but are likely to have lost their early linguistic ability. The semi-speaker is a common phenomenon in contexts of language shift, language decline and/or language loss around the globe (Baker, 2000; Crawford, 2000).

Comprehensive research of the Pasifika languages in Manukau, South Auckland (Bell, Davis, & Starks, 2000), provided a clear warning that if a Pasifika language “decline is not arrested; the result will be language death” (p. 150). This was, and remains, a particularly serious warning sign for all Pasifika peoples in New Zealand, especially the Niue and Cook Islands Māori peoples in whose communities this pattern can be most clearly observed. The 2006 Census showed that only 17% of Cook Island

Māori, 24% of Niue, and 41% of Tokelauans living in New Zealand were able to speak their heritage languages. The percentages have dropped 1-4% since the 2001 Census. The 2013 Census also showed a decrease of Pasifika language speakers. This worrying data is a strong signal of language loss not just for the Cook Island Māori, Niue, and Tokelauan groups, but also for the Sāmoans and Tongans.

Taumoefolau, Starks, Davis, and Bell's (2002) study of Pasifika languages in Manukau shows a clear pattern of language shift across age groups. Older Pasifika peoples are more fluent in their heritage languages than younger speakers. There is evidence of Pasifika language shift and languages loss, but to varying degrees. More evidence of this shift is shown in the 2013 Census results.

3.3 Explanation for language shift and language loss

This section draws on both the work of Crawford (2000) and language maintenance and socialisation theoretical views. Crawford presents seven hypotheses on language loss, which are drawn from historical research into indigenous languages in the United States of America and on anecdotal observations from Crawford's visits to Native American communities in the late 1990s. The first section below covers the first three of Crawford's hypotheses as they relate to Pasifika language shift in New Zealand.

The first hypothesis according to Crawford is that language shift is very difficult for a colonising power to impose from without, and may take quite extreme measures such as the genocide of the speakers themselves, or it may also occur as a result of the natural death of its speakers. In the USA, many indigenous languages disappeared once their speakers were murdered. One example cited by Crawford was the Yana language tribe, which was systematically hunted down and exterminated by Californian settlers in the late 19th century. The last speaker of the Yana language died in 1916. One may predict that such a situation could occur in some

Pasifika nations such as Niue, the Cook Islands Māori, and Tokelau where the predominant language spoken by those communities both in New Zealand and their homelands is English (Bell, Davis, & Starks, 2000). It is also important to remember the age structure of Pasifika language speakers. The older members of the communities speak a Pasifika language fluently, but there are not many of them (Chiles, 2007; May 2000a; Taumoefolau, et.al. 2002). Although, the Sāmoan language seems to be the most robust of all the Pasifika languages in New Zealand, the fluent younger speakers can be seen as a falling proportion (Taumoefolau, et al. (2002, 2004). According to this research, fluency in Sāmoan has fallen to 75% for the 5-14 year olds. There are other signs of Sāmoan language shift in the home environment (McCaffery & McFall, 2010).

Fairbairn-Dunlop (1984) and Pitt and Macpherson (1974), also discuss factors that relate to language shift and loss of Sāmoan in New Zealand. Such factors include intermarriage and a decline in the number of speakers identifying as Sāmoan. The future of Sāmoan in New Zealand depends on this second-generation language use, however second generation Sāmoans may have not see that they have a Sāmoan identity. Family ties play a significant role in language maintenance. If those family ties are broken, the bonds between the young Sāmoan generation and their elders and family will be weakened. Hence New Zealand Sāmoans may not share their elders' obligation of maintaining the language and fa'asāmoa.

McCaffery and McFall (2010) document some significant signs of language shift within the Pasifika communities in New Zealand, with several languages unlikely to survive unless maintenance and support strategies are adopted. Pasifika migrants came with the belief that English is the language of success and such belief is now deeply entrenched in New Zealand. It is evidenced in my observations of the Pasifika Secondary schools annual cultural festivals that youths are increasingly

using English except when on stage. In other words the youths use only Sāmoan when they perform but once they come off the stage English is a dominant language of conversation.

Franken, May and McComish (2005) suggest that language shift within the Pasifika communities is often a result of negative attitudes towards bilingualism, and the demand for proficient monolingualism in English in the English medium context in most New Zealand schools.

In addition, Romaine (as cited in Satoko, 2004) highlights some factors that cause language maintenance, shift, and death. Such factors include numerical strength of any minority group in relation to other minorities and majorities, social class, religious and educational background. Other factors relate to settlement patterns and their ties to their homelands. Satoko's (2004) brief review of language socialisation theory identifies the importance of parental and community involvement in language development and support, to avoid language loss and death.

Literature and studies on bilingual education programmes such as Spanish-English and French-English in the USA show a pattern of quick language shift from the first language to English. The major cause of this is because the USA education system has implemented a subtractive bilingual model, which is a quick exit from heritage languages to English only (Baker, 2001; Cummins, 1996 & 2000; Cummins & Corson, 1997; May, 2002).

Language loss derives not only from language policies of schools and government, but also from parents and communities' choices of language use. As Pasifika children start school, peer relationships grow so does the language dominance and preference of children for one of their two languages and often children choose English instead of their Pasifika language. This is worrying for many Pasifika parents. If Sāmoans in New Zealand for example, want to pass on their family histories, cultural beliefs

and values to their children, they need to use Sāmoan in the home in a positive manner.

Crawford's (2003) second hypothesis is that "language shift is determined primarily by changes internal to language communities themselves" (p.72). Because of external pressures, the factors that contribute to minority communities' togetherness will be weakened. Demographic factors such as migration, intermarriage, and forcible dispersion of the dominant language, as discussed earlier in this section, all contribute to language shift. Economic forces and the prevalence of dominant language mass media such as English-only television programmes and newspapers are all sources of external pressures. If Pasifika languages are not valued and used in school, Pasifika children will then create ways and situations to expose the use of their heritage language and social identities. Pasifika social identities refer to extended family, church, village, community and cultural groups (Tuafuti & McCaffery, 2005).

Cummins (1996) writes extensively about building relationships between educators and students and between minorities and majority systems. Such relationships must be at the heart of student learning. Building relationships according to Cummins "entails a process of negotiating identities" and the process is not only about recognition of culturally diverse students and communities in resisting devaluation and reaffirming of their basic human rights. It also focuses on the fact that "identities develop in a social context" (Cummins 1996, p. 18). Pasifika peoples in New Zealand find English to be the language to enjoy new social identities and thus shift from using their languages to learning English (Bell, Davis, & Starks, 2000).

Because identities are developed in social contexts conflict of hybrid identities between New Zealand born Sāmoans and Island born Sāmoans was a subject of discussion in the 1990s. Identity conflict can be a major socio-cultural and psychological issue. Anae (1997) investigates issues of

identity journeys for New Zealand born Sāmoans by exploring various challenges of one's right to be a New Zealander, and on the other hand one's right to be a Sāmoan. According to Anae (1997), New Zealand born Sāmoans being brought up through the palagi education system are aware of two different knowledge systems which sets them apart from their parents and Island born āiga. New Zealand born Sāmoans preferred language according to Anae is English. Anae also claims that some New Zealand born Sāmoans have developed secure identities as Sāmoans and an understanding of fa'asāmoa through many challenges in their lives. New Zealand born Sāmoans according to Anae (1997) have experienced identity confusion at not being accepted by Sāmoan āiga and hence, often apologise for not being able to speak Sāmoan fluently but choose to speak English.

However, choices of which language to use whether it is Sāmoan or English depend on each individual young Sāmoan's upbringing but not the place of birth. Some New Zealand born Sāmoans are brought up in the fa'asāmoa in which Sāmoan is the main language used in family, church and community activities. Such Sāmoan youth groups are aware of the importance of both Sāmoan and English in their educational journeys hence, they choose to use each language according to the context of audience, purpose and situation and they are skilled and confident to do so.

On the other hand, some Island born Sāmoans prefer to use English rather than Sāmoan because of the environment and the way they are brought up. Such Island born Sāmoans are brought up in familial and educational environment where parents and educators believe that English is more important than Sāmoan, hence children have entrenched such a belief in their educational lives and they bring such a belief with them when they migrate to New Zealand.

Language shift also happens through assimilation of speakers into other cultures with other cultural values, whether forced or by choice. Pasifika peoples have been assimilated since colonisation. Causes of assimilation of Pasifika peoples are complex. Assimilation is sometimes caused by religious beliefs, faith and cultural values. For example during the years of colonisation, Sāmoan elders had the view that English was the language of *pā-pā-lāgi* (people from the sky), and it was therefore deemed to be powerful and prestigious. Hence, they did not question the authorities, as Pasifika peoples honoured their religious and cultural beliefs and rituals, which are *tautua* (service), *alofa* (love) and *fa'aaloalo* (respect). Because of the treasures (measina) of the Sāmoan culture of service, love, and respect, people at the time were uncritical. This common uncritical acceptance and lack of awareness of assimilation led many Sāmoans to believe that their economies would grow if they replaced their own language with English (McCaffery, 1999, 2010).

Crawford's (2003) third hypothesis is that language shifts reflect "a change in the choices of social and cultural values" (p. 72). According to Crawford under the influence of dominant Western cultures *individualism* (the putting of self interest ahead of community interest) is seen to become the goal for some minority peoples. An example of this is when a Pasifika person uses cultural values and beliefs inappropriately for personal gain.

Pragmatism is another value. This is when minorities focus on what works rather than defending principles that may seem old-fashioned or outmoded. A common ideology that some Pasifika peoples have is that their heritage language is of little use in New Zealand education and will not help them to gain employment so there is no need to learn it (Bell, Davis & Starks 2000; McCaffery, 1999, 2001; Tuafuti, 1998, 2000). Language, educational, cultural and economic factors cannot be separated from identity hence Pasifika communities and schools need to build relationships through planning a balanced language diet for Pasifika bilingual learners, considering all the different contexts, situations and

occasions where Sāmoan and English could be used. Such a parent-school plan needs to have principles to guide the pragmatism. Therefore for example the school and parents may decide where they could exploit more naturally occurring contexts for the use of Sāmoan such as parent/teacher interviews with translators, or Sāmoan performances for parents and grandparents.

Pragmatism is also necessary to avoid enforcing rigid rules about language use in the home. When children and teenagers reject their Pasifika language, negative reactions by parents will only do more harm and may lead children more quickly to language shift. Schools and parents still need to provide sufficient positive support for Pasifika teenagers to use their Pasifika language. Some Pasifika bilingual education principles will be discussed in Chapter Four.

The last value often adopted by minority cultures according to Crawford (2000) is *materialism*. This is allowing spiritual, moral, and ethical values to be overshadowed by consumerism. Another common attitude of minority communities including Pasifika peoples, is that their heritage languages will not put bread and butter on the table so why waste the time preserving or even learning it? Such attitudinal responses are often shared during educational meetings, parents' interviews, and radio programmes.

3.4 The process of language shift

The relationship between language maintenance and language loss factors discussed earlier in this chapter can be overlapped with Crawford's (2000) hypotheses on language shift and language death. May (2000a) describes the process of language shift in three broad stages. The first stage is increasing pressure on minority language speakers to speak the majority language. The second stage consists of both the minority and majority languages continuing to be spoken in a period of bilingualism. The third stage covers the replacement of the minority language with the majority one (May, 2000, 2000b, & 2001). The first stage of language shift

happens predominantly in formal language domains where the facilitation and introduction of education is always in the majority language (May, 2000a). This process will slowly lead to the “decrease in the functions of the minority language in formal settings” (p. 366). For example, MoE educational meetings with Pasifika communities are always conducted in the majority language. This type of practice is a signal to parents and Pasifika community that their language is not important in education settings (Esera, 2001; Fetui, & Malaki-Williams, Lameta, 2000; Tuafuti & McCaffery, 2005).

The second stage of the language shift process is a period of bilingualism in which both languages continue to be spoken concurrently. This stage also leads to the lessening of the number of minority language speakers due to a gap between the older fluent speakers and the young generation. There is a decrease in the fluency as their language is spoken less and is used in fewer and fewer domains (May, 2000a).

The third stage may occur over a period of time within the course of two or three generations and sometimes fewer according to May (2000a). This process also sees the replacement of the minority language with the majority language, as more and more speakers become passive bilinguals. In other words the minority language may be understood and remembered, but it is no longer an active language of communication in the wider community.

In addition Fishman (1991) introduced the Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS) and the cause of reversing language shift (RLS), suggesting that the main focus of an RLS initiative should be determined by the GIDS stage of the language. Fishman’s (1991) GIDS has served as an influential evaluative framework of language endangerment since the 1990s. The GIDS eight stages and/or levels of endangered languages are shown in Table 3.1

Table 3.1 Summary of Fishman's (1991) Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS).

Stage	Description
1	Endangered language is used in education, work, mass media, & government at the nationwide level
2	Endangered language is used for local and regional mass media & governmental services
3	Endangered language is used for local & regional work by both endangered and dominant languages' speakers
4	Literacy in endangered languages is transmitted through education
5	Endangered language is used orally by all generations and its effective used in written form throughout the community
6	Engangered language is used orally by all generations and is being learned by children as their first language
7	The child-bearing generation knows the language well enough to use it with their elders but is not transmitting it to their children
8	The only remaining speakers of the language are members of the grandparent generation

The GIDS is focused on the level of disruption rather than on the level of maintenance and it can be read from top to bottom or from the least disruptive level (Stage 1) to the most disruptive (Stage 8). Lewis and Simon (2010) elaborate on the GIDS and provide the Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (EGIDS) in 10 stages for assessing endangered languages. The EGIDS provides useful and focused key questions to ask when assessing the current status of a community language such as Sāmoan in New Zealand. Using the EGIDS assessment framework should make possible a much more comprehensive categorisation of the Sāmoan language use not only in Samoa itself but in other parts of the world such as New Zealand, Hawaii, Australia and United States where Sāmoans are mostly likely to live.

The next section discusses the situation of colonisation and its effect on language maintenance and loss.

3.5 Colonisation and language

Political interdependencies still exist between the now independent Pasifika nations and their former colonial rulers, as has happened in other parts of the world. For example, in a number of African countries, France and England continued to promote their powerful education system, culture, and language although the colonised countries gained their independence in the early 1960s (Alidou & Jung, 2001).

The French policies that were in existence during the period of colonial occupation were clearly guided by assimilationist ideology disguised as a *civilizing mission* advocated by most colonising European forces to justify colonisation as a necessary path to development of African countries (Alidou & Jung, 2001). This could be a view and a history shared by many colonisers and their colonised peoples.

Ideologies of language replacement, language shift and language decline accompany the civilising mission. For instance, during colonisation there were two main goals that France considered for the colonies' education. The essential goal of elementary education was to bring the greatest number of indigenous people closer to the French people, and to familiarize them with French, the institutions and methods, to lead them gradually toward economic and social progress by careful evolution of their civilization (Alidou & Jung, 2001). The goal was reinforced by the fact that French was the sole language in schools. Teachers were forbidden to use local languages with their students and by the end of the 1960s, over 90 percent of the indigenous peoples of these countries were illiterate, in both French and their heritage languages (Alidou & Jung, 2001).

In relation to Pasifika nations, Sāmoa gained its independence in 1962, but New Zealand and Australian *authoritative power in education* still exists. I experienced English-only rules at secondary school in the late 1960s and early 1970s, where I was punished for speaking Sāmoan. I saw

students who were mocked, and beaten because they could not speak English properly. I participated in the introduction of the United Nation Development Programme (UNDP) for English in schools in the middle of the 1970s, as I was told that Sāmoan children needed English and English only. In the 1990s, the Australian government through Macquarie University were funding contracts to create English resources for primary schools. Canada was funding contracts for Early Childhood Education (ECE) in Sāmoa. As a result, more and more English medium ECE centres are now established in Apia, and young children from outer villages attend those centres because parents still believe that English is better than Sāmoan (Esera, 2001; Lameta, 2000, 2005).

Although colonisation ended in the 1960s for most Pasifika nations, their former colonial rulers' political and economic authority over their former colonies arguably still exists. For example, France continues to have a strong presence in Tahiti or the Society Islands and Vanuatu. There is also a strong influence that the New Zealand and Australian education authorities have in their on-going educational contracts in the Cook Islands, Niue, Tokelau, and Sāmoa. Some of these involve developing, reviewing, and even replacing educational curricula and also language policies, and most pay little heed to the first language or bilingualism.

In 1996, the New Zealand government and the Cook Islands government jointly commissioned Lincoln International consultants to investigate the current state of Cook Islands languages in the Cook Islands. Lameta (1997) reported and made a number of significant recommendations about the future of the languages and dialects in the Cook Islands. Some recommendations have been accepted and acted on, such as the proposal for a Cook Islands language commission. Other recommendations are still awaiting action such as the introduction of bilingual education. The New Zealand government seems most interested in pursuing English-only outcomes. Positions for English language teachers in the Cook Islands are often advertised in the New Zealand

Educational media such as the *Education Gazette*. These types of practices or English-only projects have a clear message that Pasifika languages are not good enough for schooling.

3.6 The language of minority cultures in dominant societies

The previous section briefly examined policies and practices associated with colonisation and considered the situation in much of the Pasifika with respect to the promotion of English and the devaluing of the indigenous language. From this point I now examine the effect of experiences, policies and practices of a minority culture within a dominant society.

Crawford (2000) states that speakers of one language have “more political power, privilege and social prestige than the speakers of the other language” (p.151). Hence speakers of minority languages are usually pressured from “without and within” (p. 151). In other words, speakers of the high status language may wish the low status language speakers to become more like them. The powerful language may be enforced from without as the language of politics, law and education as discussed by critical theorists on languages and bilingual education (such as Corson, 1993; Crawford, 2000; Cummins, 2000 & 2001; Fairclough, 1989; Fishman, 1991; May, 1999, 2000).

The other major reason from my experience of Sāmoan language shift is that many Sāmoan parents, particularly those less educated about bilingualism promote the importance of Sāmoan language for family reasons and identity purposes only such as for chiefly (*matai*) titles, but not for academic achievement. For academic purposes, such parents want their children to learn English as quickly as possible. Once their children have basic interpersonal communication skills (BICS) in English, parents believe that their children are intelligent, because they believe that English is the language that children speak to show intelligence (McCaffery 1999; 2010). Another social variable that may affect language choice and/or language shift is that some parents believe that English is valued in the

workplace hence their children need to learn English only as quickly as possible for employment purposes, and hence devalue their mother tongue. These sorts of colonised beliefs still exist within the Sāmoan community in New Zealand and Sāmoa (Esera, 2001; Lameta, 2000; Tuafuti, 2000, Tuafuti, Pua & van Schaijik 2011). Early transition from an immersion Pasifika ECE environment to an English-only environment in school might also contribute to language shift.

Tagoilelagi-Leota, Glynn, McNaughton, MacDonald, and Farry (2005) in their research of tracking transitional issues for Pasifika children specifically Sāmoan from a'oga 'amata in Auckland, highlighted that children were losing their home language because they were transitioned quickly into an English-only learning environment. Hence, progress in children's first language literacy was slowed and signs of language shift were also noticeable.

3.6.1 Responses to language loss

Language shift is not just about language or curriculum it is about community, people, and culture. Hence, one must understand the reasons for language shift before attempting to change matters or provide support. Fishman (1991) provides critical comment on people's effort to reverse language shift without understanding the problem by saying that it is like "blowing air into a punctured balloon, which does not make the balloon reusable" (p. 186).

Crawford (2000) says that "one cannot from the outside inculcate into people the will to revive or maintain their languages" (p. 78), and "if language revitalization efforts are to succeed, they must be led by indigenous institutions, organizations, and activists" (p. 79). It is important for minority groups to understand the current stage of their own language loss and then plan and act appropriately for what is to be done. The other significant strategy is to develop indigenous or minority languages leadership from within the community or society. Outsiders cannot provide

this. However, outsiders can serve as valuable allies, to provide resources, training, and encouragement to indigenous language activists (Crawford, 2000).

The New Zealand Human Rights (2005) response was to identify language as one of the key priorities in their Action Plan. Minority languages rights and status are lacking at all levels—from the macro policy-making level, to the meso level of schools, Board of Trustees and curriculum, to the micro level of children and pedagogical practices. This is a common scenario that Sāmoan parents and communities have experienced. Through personal communication and participation with Radio Sāmoa talkback sessions on bilingual education, Sāmoan community members have voiced their views that some schools do not support their vision and aspirations of language maintenance or the development of Pasifika bilingual/immersion programmes.

3.7 Challenge for Pasifika educators and communities in New Zealand

Language loss and language shift has occurred throughout the course of human history. As May (2000a) says:

Language loss and language shift have always occurred languages that have risen and fallen, become obsolete, died, or adapted to changing circumstances in order to survive. But what is qualitatively (and quantitatively) different as we enter the twenty-first century is the unprecedented scale of the process of decline and loss some commentators have even described it as a form of linguistic genocide (p. 367).

A challenging question remains for Pasifika parents, educators, and communities. What can be done to reverse language shift and language loss?

It is noteworthy that education for Pasifika peoples in New Zealand has followed a similar trend as Māori students' history of under-achievement (MoE, 2000, 2001, 2002; 2004a). From a number of MoE research projects designed to raise achievement for Pasifika students, results show that there is improvement, but it is not enough (MoE, 2004). Hence, a challenging question that Pasifika educators need to pose is: If under-achievement for Pasifika learners is historical, why are we still doing the same thing? What else could be done? (McCaffery, McFall, 2010; Tuafuti, Pua, & van Schaijik, 2011).

Current research on Māori bilingual/immersion programmes has shown some significant improvements with Māori children's literacy development (May & Hill, 2005; May, Hill & Tiakawai, 2004; Rau, 2005). These research results suggest that using Māori-medium programmes for Māori students from predominantly English-speaking backgrounds could be as effective as higher levels of immersion currently in widespread use. In other words a two-way immersion programme in Māori and English could be as effective as Māori-medium programme. Two-way immersion approach will be discussed in Chapter Four. The research also suggests that Māori teachers need support, knowledge, and experience in bilingual/immersion pedagogy and critical reflection (May & Hill, 2005).

Franken, May and McComish 2006) present other significant research that might provide some answers. The MoE has produced the LEAP web-based resource with a focus on developing effective programmes for Pasifika students in both bilingual and mainstream classes. The resource contains pedagogical resource materials, valuable links and videos that assist all schools to respond to Pasifika students' bilingualism and education in general. The materials also provide professional information for teachers and suggest action research investigations that teachers can do. In learning more about Pasifika communities and additive bilingual education teachers will be better placed to support Pasifika parents' vision

and aspiration for their languages to be maintained. The authors have this to say:

There are many important and ongoing research and professional development initiatives for Pasifika students in New Zealand schools. However, until recently, the focus of much of this work has been on the acquisition of English literacy, with little reference to how this might link with bilingualism of many Pasifika students In fact, there is still relatively little research in New Zealand, in general, on the links between Pasifika bilingualism and schooling. Given this, it is perhaps not surprising to find that schools and parents are not always aware of, or sure about, how the use of Pasifika languages can actually enhance the language learning and educational achievement of Pasifika students (p.11).

Another MoE collaborative research project was the ECE first language literacy project (Tagoilelagi-Leota, McNaughton & MacDonald, 2005), which focused on comprehension skills from year four to year eight children in the Mangere area in South Auckland. The project had a Sāmoan student strand reported by Amituanai-Toloa (2005), which examined reading comprehension in Mangere Sāmoan bilingual classes. The findings of this research also indicated that due to inadequate knowledge of schools and teachers about “best evidence, and best practice” reading comprehension programmes run by schools were ineffective in supporting bilingual learners. This issue has been well researched by numerous scholars (May, Hill & Tiakiwai, 2004; Franken, May, & McComish, 2006; McCaffery & Tuafuti, 2003; Thomas & Collier, 1997, 2002; Tuafuti, & McCaffery, 2005).

The research report by Richmond Road (ECE) Ā’oga Fa’asāmoa in Auckland Central into its *Centre of Innovation* work (2006) also discusses

the importance of developing and strengthening effective ECE and primary languages and collaborative links with their communities (Podmore, & Samu, 2006).

3.7.1 So what can be done?

Collaborative links between researchers, schools and communities could be considered as a significant pathway forward for Pasifika learners to raise achievement, build capacity and therefore reduce disparity. Cummins (2000) suggests a “recurrent source of frustration for bilingual educators is the difficulty of communicating the research findings to those who actively oppose or just remain sceptical of bilingual education” (p. 232). Pasifika bilingual educators in New Zealand have experienced similar frustrations since the 1970s, not only with the mainstream education system but also with the colonised attitudes of many Pasifika communities. Pasifika people themselves need to take a lead in any initiatives to reverse language shift.

It is essential for schools, teachers, and communities to develop and/or strengthen genuinely effective programmes, in partnership with bilingual education experts. Despite extensive research on the advantages of additive bilingual education, bilingualism and biliteracy, Pasifika learners and parents’ expectations and needs are not being heard. Tuafuti and McCaffery, (2005), have this to say:

One wonders how many reports and recommendations there will need to be, and how many schools will need to begin bilingual programmes, before the New Zealand Ministry of Education will be required to act, and give official recognition and resourcing to such programmes (p. 499).

As discussed earlier in this chapter, parents and schools need to be pragmatic about Pasifika children’s educational outcomes. In other words, they need to build relationships themselves and take a lead in planning

programmes that work. Collaborative empowerment of people occurs in schools' and parents' relationship building (Cummins, 2000). According to Cummins, empowerment is not a "fixed quantity but generated through positive empowering interactions with others" (p. 44). Empowerment is about having both life chances and life choices. Life chances refer to the ability to compete and succeed academically within a dominantly English-speaking environment. Life choices refer to one's choice of remaining as a fully functioning member of own culture and community (May, (1994a). In this sense, empowerment is about collaborative creation of choices for students between school and community. It is more than just academic success in English only terms. It is about personal, cultural and linguistic success that allows intergenerational language, knowledge and proficiency to be developed and maintained. I argue that genuine partnerships between school and Pasifika communities must be considered as a positive way forward.

Parents must be encouraged to voice their concerns and reveal their stories of success for schools to understand. Schools and Pasifika communities' collaborative dialogues and empowerment might provide some answers to help support and maintain Pasifika language and bilingual programmes, and about what can be done to avoid language shift and language loss (May, 2000a & 2001). Pasifika educators also need to support the parents in the process of sharing aspirations for their children. If dedicated Pasifika bilingual educators and communities want to support Pasifika language and bilingual programmes, then they must engage in dialogue with schools. Both schools and communities must join forces to articulate a vision of a society through cooperation rather than competition across cultural boundaries and where cultural and linguistic differences are enriching rather than separating such differences (Cummins, 2000).

Another strategy to avoid language shift and loss is for Pasifika parents and communities to extend the range of language experiences in the mother tongue. Strategies might include visits to Pasifika cultural festivals,

attend family reunions in the Islands, renewal of reading materials in the mother tongue, listen to Pasifika language videos, and pop music and concerts. If parents read to and with their children regularly, and manipulate the use of the mother tongue to advantage, then language shift in the home may be re-adjusted. Persuasion rather than domination tends to achieve more in the long term. In my view, parent-dominated rules in the home on the children's choice of language, creates negative attitudes towards the mother tongue, and the outcome would be language shift.

What can be done in terms of research to avoid language shift? Cummins (2000) has summarised both theoretical and practical issues, and has suggested how to support language maintenance and/or avoid language shift. One particular important quote from Cummins is that "cultural and linguistic differences enrich rather than fragment the whole" (p. 240). Hence, research needs to be inclusive of Pasifika peoples. Doing research *about* Pasifika peoples exclusively will only provide fragmented data and/or results. Researching *with* Pasifika peoples using their language, cultural protocols and practices will enhance self, familial and communal pride. Regaining pride in the home language will contribute to the process of language maintenance and/or language revitalisation.

3.8 Summary

In Chapter Three, I summarised some of literature on colonisation and minority status within predominantly English-speaking societies and their effects on language. I discussed theoretical perspectives on language shift and language loss, and how these relate to Pasifika languages in New Zealand. Further, I emphasised that language shift and language loss has to be understood within a context of the speakers of the language. Hence, the survival of Pasifika languages in New Zealand depends on the Pasifika peoples in partnerships with schools. I emphasised the importance of learning and using Pasifika languages in a fun-positive manner instead of through the use of rigid rules in the home. I concluded the chapter suggesting what can be done to avoid language shift and language loss

within the Pasifika communities. One of those ideas is that open communications and sharing with children has long-term beneficial outcomes and it is more successful than domination. Examples of such practical ideas will be discussed in the next chapter about Bilingual Education principles and models for Pasifika learners.

CHAPTER FOUR

BILINGUAL EDUCATION PRINCIPLES AND MODELS FOR PASIFIKA LEARNERS

4.1 Introduction

Pasifika children in New Zealand arrive at school with valuable resources: their first language (hereafter referred to as L1) whether it is Sāmoan, Tongan, Tuvaluan, Niue, or Cook Islands Māori. Children also bring their cultural knowledge, preferred learning styles, and their learning dispositions and interests. Most Pasifika children in New Zealand are educated in English or their second language (hereafter referred to as L2). Pasifika children who are educated in English-only contexts eventually lose proficiency in their L1. Hence, linguistic and cultural resources within Pasifika communities in New Zealand also disintegrate (McCaffery & McFall, 2010). Only a small number of Pasifika children are educated in early childhood education immersion centres using a Pasifika language or a dual medium bilingual education programme in primary and intermediate levels in which two languages for example, Sāmoan and English are used.

Bilingual education for Pasifika learners in schools is a controversial topic in the New Zealand education system. Issues of educational benefits need to be kept separate from political issues. However, languages are never free from political power and economic debates. May (2001) suggests, “debates about language education are never simply about language or even education but are always situated within a wider context of power relationships and an ongoing contest for recognition, rights and resources” (p. 372). Some educators and policy makers believe that using any language in schools other than English creates divisiveness, while others believe that the freedom to speak whatever language one chooses is a fundamental human right, and that diversity enriches society. Yet others feel that Pasifika bilingual educational programmes in schools are expensive and cannot be afforded in difficult economic times.

Many people are afraid of bilingualism according to Fishman (1991) who claims that people use bilingualism as “a temporary strategy aiming for a completely monolingual learner” (p. 84). Others oppose bilingualism because they have been “wrongly taught to associate it with disadvantaged status socially and culturally, with civil strife politically and with lower productivity economically” (Fishman 1991, p. 84). This is evident within a group of Sāmoan elders who have been in New Zealand for over 30 years but are reluctant to learn English. According to Fishman, bilingualism should not be considered as a threat and/or a strategy to promote monolingualism, but rather an “enriching concomitant to the multicultural reality of the modern world” (Fishman, 1991, p. 84).

Bilingual education programmes are so diverse that it is problematic to make generalisations. However, Cummins (2003, 2008a & 2008b), May, Hill, and Tiakiwai (2004), and McCaffery and Tuafuti (2003) suggest that well-informed bilingual programmes raise achievement when children’s L1 is used as medium of instruction. Whether children maintain their L1 while acquiring an L2 depends on many factors. These factors include children’s levels of proficiency in their L1 and L2, children’s age, the teachers involved and their proficiency in both languages, teachers’ knowledge of bilingual education aims and goals, pedagogical practices and curriculum understanding, and parents’ support. All of these variables make each bilingual programme distinct and outcomes diverse (Baker, 2006; Cummins, 2008a, 2008b, May, 2008; May, Hill & Tiakiwai, 2004; Tuafuti, & McCaffery, 2005).

Chapter Four will begin with contextualising key characteristics of bilingual education, followed by a discussion of bilingual education models and approaches including subtractive and additive approaches. This section will also cover the role of bilingual education for Sāmoan children whose second language is Sāmoan. It will then lead to a discussion of Pasifika bilingual education research and projects in New Zealand schools.

Chapter Four considers the “role of quality pedagogical practice” from Franken, May and McComish’s (2006) as one of the important features in Pasifika bilingual education. Hence the chapter will further explore Cummins (1986, 1989) intervention and empowerment model as highlighted in Chapters Three and Five, and the significance of embedding such a model in additive bilingual education programmes as a quality pedagogical response to Pasifika education local conditions. Chapter Four will conclude with suggested bilingual education guidelines and principles for Pasifika learners in New Zealand classrooms.

4.2 Contextualising key characteristics of bilingual education

4.2.1 Bilingual Education

In the New Zealand context it is appropriate to use Holmes’s (1984) definition of a bilingual education programme, as one intended to promote bilingualism either by the “predominant use of a minority language or by the use of two languages as mediums of instruction in the school” (p. 1). Immersion and dual medium are two of the strongest models of bilingual education. In order to promote bilingualism, a well-informed and effective bilingual education programme is required, and it can draw on either or both of these two models. Such a programme can use two languages (Sāmoan and English) to deliver the curriculum or alternatively, one language (Sāmoan) could be used in the early years of schooling and then both (Sāmoan and English) later in children’s schooling. May, Hill and Tiakiwai (2004) suggest that bilingual education occurs when areas of the curriculum are taught in two languages (e.g. Māori and English) and students become fluent speakers and writers in both languages when they exit school. A bilingual program according to May (2008) must provide both content and delivery in two languages, although bilingual programmes may be different in how the languages are distributed across the curriculum.

Franken, May and McComish's (2008) comprehensive review of bilingual education and Pasifika learners provides some key points as a basis for development of guidelines to support Pasifika learners both in bilingual and mainstream settings. The key points include the role of bilingualism, the role of quality pedagogical practice, and the role and nature of second language instruction. May, Hill and Tiakiwai (2004) also provide another comprehensive review of bilingual/immersion education, in regards to Māori and Pasifika learners. Part one of the review includes a discussion of bilingual/immersion education models and programmes. Part two examines the most effective approaches to bilingual education. The summary of this work in MoE (2006) highlights forms of bilingual education with national and international examples of models and approaches.

4.2.2 Bilingualism/biliteracy

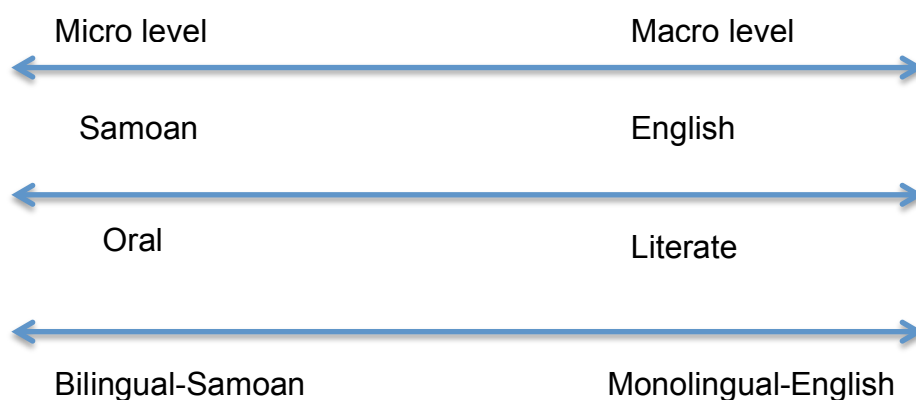
Bilingualism and biliteracy will be discussed interchangeably in this section. Bilingualism can be defined as an equal ability to communicate in two languages but with greater skills in one of them; biliteracy on the other hand is the ability to read and write as well as speak in two languages (May, 2010; May, Hill & Tiakiwai, 2004). Any definition of bilingualism must have high expectations to ensure that the minority child has the "chance to learn and use both L1 and L2 at a very high level and to identify positively with both" (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000, p. 573). Definitions of bilingualism with low expectations show "no demands made on the minority child's competence in her mother tongue" (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000, p. 574).

There are three types of bilingualism: simultaneous, sequential or consecutive and receptive. Simultaneous bilingualism refers to the process of acquiring or learning two languages usually in early childhood education where children and teachers speak and read in both languages so there is simultaneous dual language development. Sequential or consecutive bilingualism refers to acquiring an L2, when or after the L1 is already developed. Sequential bilingualism often occurs in later childhood

or in adulthood and usually as a result of an additive bilingual education programme. Receptive bilingualism refers to a process whereby learners' receptive skills of listening and reading are more advanced in one language than their productive skills of speaking and writing (Cummins, 2000; McCaffery & Villers 2008).

Biliteracy can be defined as the ability to read and write proficiently in two languages. Levels of bilingual learners' L1 and L2 proficiency depend on many factors. Hornberger's (2003) provides a conceptual definition of biliteracy in continua of four interrelated factors namely; context, content, development and media in which bilingualism and biliteracy occur. See Figure 4.1 for example of context continua in relation to Sāmoan bilingual learners.

Figure 4.1 Example of biliteracy context continua



Biliteracy occurs in contexts from micro to macro levels along with the oral-literate and bilingual-monolingual continua. The micro and macro levels continuum represents Samoan as a less powerful language and English as a more powerful one. Oracy and literacy is seen as a continuum from the use of language in societal activities to written texts.

The context continuum also acknowledges and extends the notion of *translanguaging* as an important factor for the biliteracy conceptual framework. Hornberger (2003) suggests that translanguaging could be

placed in the bilingual end of the monolingual-bilingual dimension of the continuum in classroom contexts as demonstrated in Figure 4.1. The term translanguaging will be discussed later in this chapter.

Biliteracy content continuum considers minority language to majority, concrete to abstract or contextualised to decontextualized continuum. This framework includes divergent to convergent and consecutive to simultaneous continuum (see paragraph two of this section).

Biliteracy development continuum considers receptive skills, which involves listening and reading skills, as well as productive skills of speaking and writing; from oral to written. The development of biliteracy is a demanding process, because it happens both consciously and unconsciously within people's relational and life experiences. People can use their two languages in most contexts and situations in accordance with their own needs and wishes.

Because biliteracy is developed and expressed through language scripts hence biliterate individuals use two languages to communicate based on contexts. Biliteracy media continuum promotes both simultaneous and successive exposure of both the minority and the majority languages, for example Samoan and English. Hence, the media continuum interrelates and/or intersects with the context, content and development continua.

The conceptual framework highlights that it is important to understand that biliteracy occurs within a complex continuum, explaining that individual develops biliteracy at different times, different rates and at different points. According to Hornberger (2003) not every point in each continuum has been attended to. This issue raises a challenging question for teachers of Pasifika bilingual learners on how they support biliteracy development of bilingual students in classroom contexts.

I will now discuss two bilingual education models namely subtractive and additive models.

4.3 Bilingual Education Models

4.3.1 Subtractive Models

Subtractive views of bilingual education are concerned with replacing children's home languages with English. They are based on the Separate Underlying Proficiency (SUP) model of bilingualism (Baker, 2000; Cummins, 1980). The SUP model assumes that there is no interconnection or a transfer between the languages because each language operates independently. Baker (2001) suggests that the case of the SUP is where "common sense is common, but not sense" because "there is no research evidence to support this model" (p. 73). This model assumes that everything learnt in the first language has to be re-learnt in the other one. Clearly that is not the case. Lessons learnt in Sāmoan can readily transfer into English. Take for example a Sāmoan child who has been taught how to multiply numbers in Sāmoan he/she can easily transfer multiplication skills into English. The child does not have to be re-taught to multiply numbers in English. Subtractive models of bilingual education are ineffective in educating minority or bilingual students if bilingualism and biliteracy are the desired outcomes (Cummins, 2000; Franken, May & McComish, 2006; May, Hill & Tiakiwai, 2004; Tuafuti & McCaffery, 2005).

Models and approaches under the umbrella of subtractive bilingual education are also called *weak* forms of programmes. Two examples of weak forms of programmes include submersion or structured immersion where the minority child is taught in an English-only classroom; and submersion withdrawal where the minority child is pulled out from the classroom for L2 lessons. The common aim of weak programmes is to produce monolingualism and to do so quickly so that the child can

participate in English language curriculum learning (Baker, 2001; Cummins, 1987, 2000; May, 2008; McCaffery & McFall, 2010).

4.3.2 Additive bilingual education models and approaches

Additive bilingual education models refer to positive models with a goal that students add a second language to their “intellectual tool-kit while continuing to develop conceptually and academically in their first language” (Cummins, 2000, p. 37). National and international research on bilingual education has paved some positive ways forward for Pasifika bilingual programmes in New Zealand schools. Cummins (1980a, 1981a) introduced a model called the Common Underlying Proficiency (CUP). This model suggests that there is an easy and considerable transfer between the languages. For example, a mathematical concept can be easily transferred from the L1 and immediately used in the L2 if such concept is well developed in the child’s L1. When the child knows how to add or subtract in Sāmoan, he does not have to re-learn it in English. Understanding of concepts and processing of information operate from a shared system between the languages. There are no separate language systems. Transitioning from the child’s L1 to L2 is likely to be most successful if L1 literacy is fully developed (Baker, 1996, 2001; Cummins, 2000).

A review of Peal and Lambert’s (1962) research on French/English bilingualism (Baker 2001; Baker & Prys Jones’ 1998) concluded that additive bilingualism provides greater mental flexibility, the ability to think more abstractly, the capacity to think independently of words, and superiority in concept formation. Peal and Lambert’s argument was that “a well founded and enriched bilingual and bicultural experience benefits the development of intelligence” (Baker, 2001, p. 69). It may be argued that most research has been based on the French/English provisional bilingual programmes and therefore may not relate to Pasifika bilingual learners in New Zealand. However, the evidence appears to be language exclusive, and they therefore are of relevance.

Thomas and Collier's (2002) study of students in American public schools over five years from 1996 to 2001 provided similar understandings that additive bilingual models bring progress and/or achievement for minority children. Thomas and Collier's study covered schools with different types of bilingual programmes including full immersion in a minority language, transitional programmes that used children's L1 but only as a bridge, and dual medium programmes where both the minority and the majority languages were used as mediums of instruction. Thomas and Collier concluded that children's achievement and gains in both their L1 and L2 were most evident in programmes that used the children's L1 for an extended period of time. In other words, success in the L2 depends on how firmly L1 has been established. I will now discuss two additive bilingual education models namely immersion and dual medium.

4.3.3 Immersion approaches

The Hawaiian Pacific Policy Research Center's (2010) review of successful bilingual/immersion models provides a broad definition of immersion as a method of teaching language in the children's L2. It could be argued that this definition would make sense for those children who learn their own language as an L2. For example, some Sāmoan New Zealand-born children learn Sāmoan as their second language because English is their stronger language. The children's L2 is used both in the curriculum content and medium of instruction. The three types of immersion programmes are total, partial and two-way. Total immersion is a programme, in which 100 percent of the day is spent in L2 and/or all subjects are taught in L2. Partial immersion programmes differ in the time they allocate for the use of the L2, usually half of a day's programme or 50 percent of curriculum areas are taught in L2. The third type of immersion programme that has been popular in the United States is called the two-way immersion, which is sometimes referred to as two-way bilingual/immersion, or two-way dual immersion (Cummins, 1989, 1996 & 2000; May, 2008; May, Hill & Tiakiwai, 2004).

The two-way immersion programmes combine language minority and language majority students in the same classroom learning two languages with the goal of academic achievement and bilingual proficiency for both groups. The three common characteristics of the two-way immersion programme are that instructions are in two languages and one language at a time is taught with a paired or shared facilitating/teaching by two teachers a native speaker of L1 and a native speaker of L2 (Baker & Prys Jones, 1998; Cummins, 2003). There are two main types of two-way immersion programmes, 90 percent by 10 percent, and 50 percent by 50 percent models, which illustrate the proportion of time that each language is used as a medium of instruction when children start school. The proportions of time allocated for each language change as children move up through their class levels.

May, Hill and Tiakiwai (2004) and May and Hill (2005) provide a general comprehensive review of the two-way dual immersion model in relation to Māori-medium programmes. Because Māori children learn Te Reo Māori as a second language, literature from Canadian immersion is mostly helpful. Māori-medium programmes address academic English in their programme before children move up to the next level of schooling, unlike Kura Kaupapa Māori programmes that remain 100 percent Māori immersion (May, Hill and Tiakiwai (2005). Berryman and Glynn's (2003) research in a Māori-medium school also highlights the importance of explicit formal teaching in both Māori and English, because most Māori children are learning their own language as a second language within a dominant English-speaking environment in schools and community. Their research also highlights the importance of collaboration between teachers, parents and community in promoting linguistic and sociocultural knowledge.

Research such as that of Berryman and Glynn (2003) is particularly important to Pasifika bilingual/immersion programmes in New Zealand

because sometimes a Pasifika language, for example Sāmoan is taken for granted by teachers and parents and it is expected that children learn how to read and write through osmosis. The two-way immersion bilingual programme discussed above differs from the model that is commonly used in Pasifika bilingual programmes called dual medium, which will be discussed later in this chapter.

4.4 Pasifika immersion programme

It is important to note here that an Immersion Pasifika language programme is different from an immersion programme in Canada (referred to in the literature as Canadian Immersion Programmes or French Immersion (Baker, 1996, 2001) as discussed in the previous section). The aims of the Immersion programmes in Canada were for children to become competent speakers, readers and writers of French; to reach normal achievement levels throughout the curriculum including the English language and to appreciate the traditions and culture of French speaking Canadians as well and English speaking Canadians. Hence, bilingualism in French and English was the main aim of the Canadian Immersion programme (Crawford, 1999; May et al. 2004). It is assumed here that French and English can be both categorised as majority languages in Canada. This model overcomes segregation by integrating for example, French-dominant and English-dominant students in one class. This model is worth exploring with Pasifika bilingual programmes in New Zealand.

Currently immersion in the context of Pasifika education in New Zealand is operational only when a Pasifika language, which is a minority language, for example Sāmoan or Tongan is a main language of delivery. Immersion programmes in Pasifika ECE centres continue to use the children's L1 in the learning as medium of instruction. A genuine Pasifika Immersion ECE programme is one that uses solely a Pasifika language to deliver, promote and enhance the ECE curriculum four principles of empowerment, holistic development, family and community and relationships. The principles highlight the importance of children's language and culture in their early

learning (Ministry of Education, 1996, 1998). It is therefore advisable to begin Pasifika Immersion ECE programmes in New Zealand as early as possible. As argued in this study the language and cultural capital that children bring to school is an important aspect of their life-long learning. However, programmes in a Pasifika immersion-learning environment, (for example Sāmoan ā'oga 'amata), need to emphasise the importance of explicit instruction that focuses on aspects of language through enhancing children's linguistic and sociocultural knowledge.

Cummins (200b) suggests that minority children such as Sāmoan in total immersion programmes need maximum knowledge of cognitive academic language proficiency (CALP) in their L1 for a successful transference of skills to L2. This does not mean that teachers will teach formal L1 lessons. Instead, the L1 is used as medium of instructions to its maximum level by qualified experienced L1 role models, with parent and community's active involvement and support as highlighted in Berryman and Glynn (2003). It is argued that minority children's L1 should be given maximum development until the age of 8-9 years to allow for academic skills to be firmly established so that children can cope with abstract knowledge as is required for academic learning tasks (Corson, 1993; Cummins, 2000; Cummins & Swain, 1986). Although there are debates that learning to read and write in children's mother tongue just happens through osmosis, Cummins (2000b) argues that such assumption does not have rigorous evidence. However researching of such issues in relation to Pasifika bilingual programmes and teachers would be helpful in strengthening bilingual approaches and teacher's pedagogical practices.

4.5 Dual medium Pasifika bilingual programme

Dual medium Pasifika bilingual programmes are similar to the two-way immersion programme discussed earlier in this chapter but differ in delivery and classroom organisation. A two-way immersion programme integrates both minority and majority students in one classroom with two teachers, native and non-native speakers of the minority language. In other words

the classroom would include L1 speakers of minority language and L1 speakers of English, including teachers. A typical Pasifika dual medium bilingual classroom in New Zealand includes mainly minority children, for example Sāmoan, with one teacher usually an L1 or native speaker of Sāmoan. What is often not known in dual medium Pasifika bilingual programmes is the children's L1 and L2 proficiency, as such information helps in organising classroom programmes and determining the proportion of time used in each language. The other factor is the limited use of L2 native speakers in the classroom. As discussed earlier, paired-teaching with a native speaker of L1 and a native speaker of L2 has proven to be an effective model for children to learn from, as they witness their teachers and other adults in the same classroom using and learning each other's language and culture.

One of the key principles of effective bilingual/immersion pedagogy in a dual medium programme is to separate languages of instruction (Baker, 2001; May & Hill, 2005; McCaffery & Tuafuti, 2003), although there is now some debate about this as a rigid process. (See for instance the work on translanguaging by scholars such as Creese and Blackledge, 2010; Garcia, 2009; Garcia and Li Wei, 2014). Although the strict separation of languages is not supported, it is still a common practice in many Pasifika dual medium programmes in schools where use of the languages may vary widely. For example some programmes may use different languages at different times of the same day. Other programmes separate the languages on alternate days of the week. This strict separation includes the separation of languages by areas of the curriculum or subjects, but there is a warning attached to it. The word of caution is to avoid language use becoming subject-oriented, and/or teaching language as a subject. For example Maths might be delivered in L1 while Social Science is delivered in L2. It is advisable instead, to use both L1 and L2 in all curriculum areas (May, Hill & Tiakiwai, 2004).

Rigid separation of languages is an obsolete view to bilingualism because using two languages interchangeably in all curriculum areas aligns with what bilingual education experts now called translanguaging. Translanguaging is defined as an approach to bilingualism that is not focused on languages but on the practices by bilingual learners in order to make sense of their bilingual and/or multilingual realities. It is an act by bilingual and multilingual learners through accessing different features of various modes of their languages in order to maximise communicative capabilities (Garcia, 2009; Garcia & Li Wei, 2014). A translanguaging approach enables individuals to extend their vocabulary practices of their languages in various sociolinguistic environments and situations. In other words translanguaging refers to the use of two or more languages simultaneously to communicate. Garcia (2009) and Garcia and Li Wei (2014) suggest that translanguaging goes beyond what has been termed codeswitching although it includes it.

It is important to consider translanguaging in this study to provide opportunity for the participants to use their skills and ability to move between Sāmoan and English treating the two languages as an integrated system. Translanguaging may help the participants to convey certain nuances of meanings. For example, Samoan language could be appropriate to convey meanings of metaphors, myths and legends, biblical texts and testimonies. The participants could shuttle between the two languages as they wish, depending on the situation and their needs. Translanguaging may also promote the participants' deeper understanding of the phenomenon or topic being investigated.

Codeswitching is a common debatable practice in Pasifika immersion ECE programmes whereby teachers switch from using Sāmoan to English assuming that the children cannot understand Sāmoan instructions because they cannot speak Sāmoan. Codewitching like translanguaging is an approach or practice that individuals adapt and adjust to various sociolinguistic and sociocultural situations and environments. While total

immersion ECE philosophy refers to 100 percent use of the language by teachers, it is important that both translanguaging and codeswitching are not legislated against, as they are natural processes of language use in communication between bilingual speakers. Having said that, I maintain that in a Sāmoan total immersion ā'oga 'amata environment codeswitching by the teachers is not advisable especially if the teacher's stronger language is Sāmoan because children need to interact with proficient role models of languages. Hence, the use of codeswitching in ā'oga 'amata depends on teachers' proficiency in their L1 and L2 and parents' expectations of why they send their children to total immersion ā'oga 'amata; an issue that is under researched. Teachers of ā'oga 'amata need to be well informed about the three types of immersion programmes as discussed earlier in this chapter, in order for them to make decisions of whether or not a two-way immersion approach is more appropriate for ā'oga 'amata than total immersion.

Sāmoan children, who do not have Sāmoan language as their L1, will benefit from a two-way immersion programme equivalent to a two-way Canadian-French immersion bilingual as discussed earlier in this chapter. The L1 and L2 learners of Sāmoan language combined with L1 and L2 learners of English in one class with two teachers, a native speaker of Sāmoan and a native speaker of English will benefit both L1 and L2 learners of Sāmoan.

The MoE in partnership with the Lift Education Company has started developing dual language resources in Pasifika language(s) and English to enhance and/or support Pasifika children's learning. Dual language (Sāmoan and English) reading texts enhance the roles of both types of learners. Sāmoan L1 learners read in Sāmoan to L2 learners of Sāmoan and vice versa

4.6 Pasifika bilingual education research in the New Zealand context

In New Zealand, there are limited national studies in Pasifika research that focus directly on bilingual education. Additive bilingual education has been well researched internationally. Findings show that such provision supports minority language maintenance as well as academic success of bilingual students. Franken, May, and McComish's (2006 & 2008), LEAP project provides a review of research reports that support Pasifika bilingual programmes in New Zealand. The LEAP review highlights consistency of evidence that children who continue to develop their abilities in more than one language have social, cultural, economical and cognitive advantages over monolingual children. The summary of the LEAP project includes a discussion of four key areas of thinking on why bilingual learners in additive bilingualism and biliteracy programmes outperform monolingual children. The four key areas are "cognitive flexibility, metalinguistic awareness, communicative sensitivity and field independence" (see Franken, May, & McComish, 2008, pp. 11-15).

Research on Sāmoan bilingual education in New Zealand includes Tuafuti's (1994) study on ten Sāmoan children from a Sāmoan bilingual unit in Mangere in South Auckland. The classroom teacher selected a controlled group of ten 8 and 9 years old children who were identified by the teacher as having mathematical problem-solving difficulties. Nine of the ten children were New Zealand born and one was born in Sāmoa. The study began with a pre-test on word problem-solving, followed by eight weeks of teaching on how to solve mathematical problems using Sāmoan and English languages as medium of instruction. A post-test was then conducted after the teaching period. The study's focus was on children's understanding of mathematical word problems and how they solved such problems. It was a statistical study that also covered information about the language(s) spoken in the home. The results in both pre- and post-tests showed that the performance in mathematical problems of children from

Sāmoan-speaking backgrounds, who used Sāmoan as the language for interaction and instruction, was higher than the performance of those Samoan students who used solely English. The children from the Sāmoan-speaking background demonstrated much more language input in both Sāmoan and English in analysing and sharing their stories on how they solved mathematical word problems.

Limitations of this study concerned issues of validity and reliability because the timeframe was restricted: the pre-test, teaching and post-test were all performed within a period of ten weeks hence other variables were not explored. The variables included information on L1 and L2 proficiency; the languages that children used at home; the classroom teacher's knowledge of the principles of bilingual education and models and the effects of the school English as a Second Language (ESL) pull-out programme in which four children in the controlled study group attended for half an hour for four days a week.

The latter is an important variable to discuss. ESL pullout or withdrawal is where children are pulled out from their usual classroom routine to attend extra English classes. Although it is a common practice in New Zealand schools, the ESL pullout programme approach is seen to be the least effective programme for L2 learners of English because L2 learners need rich language acquisition, a meaningful learning environment with peers, friends and everyday classroom teachers, and a connection to curriculum (May, Hill & Tiakiwai, 2004; McCaffery, 2003). The effects of such approach in children's mathematical problem solving were not explored in Tuafuti (1994) limited study.

Lameta's (1994) study on the use of Sāmoan language in Science academic learning tasks in a secondary school for girls is an interesting one. Lameta divided a group of girls from Sāmoan speaking background into two groups. The two groups worked on similar Science topic-based academic learning tasks but used a different language for discussion. One

group used Samoan and the other one used English. Lameta recorded the discussion and interaction among the students and found that discussion in the group that used Samoan to be more in-depth and extensive than the group that used English. The group that used Sāmoan discussed the new Science terms and concepts vigorously with humour as they explored unfamiliar terms with enthusiasm. In comparison, the students who used English struggled to understand the learning task when they came across new Science terms and concepts hence, their discussion was seen to be quieter and disjointed.

The groups were also instructed to prepare an English written report each at the completion of their Science academic learning tasks project. Despite the fact that the report was written in English, Lameta found that the report from the students who used Sāmoan in discussion and interaction was comprehensive and in-depth compared to the written report from the students who used English. It is evident in Lameta (1994) that students learn better in a language they understand and feel most comfortable with. Lameta's instructions for the students about which language to use and for what purpose, is an example of translanguaging practice in a classroom context, where students read and discuss a topic in one language and then write a report about it in another language. Full conceptual process of topic-based tasks may not occur; however linguistic process is likely to help in deeper conceptualisation of new terms and concepts (Garcia & Li Wei, 2014; Hornberger, 2003).

Esera (2001) did an exploratory comparative study of the acquisition of English language proficiency of 20 year 6 students from two bilingual programmes in two primary schools in the Manukau region. Ten year six children from each school were randomly selected. The study sought to identify the key language components (listening, speaking, reading and writing), policies and practices in both Sāmoan and English that appeared to be effective in raising student achievement. Programme one from School one in the Mangere area, was described as a Sāmoan bilingual

programme, although Sāmoan was only used as a medium of instruction half a day a week. Programme two from School two in the Manurewa area, was described as dual medium in which Sāmoan and English were used 50% each day as the medium of instruction to deliver the curriculum. Esera assessed and interviewed the 10 Year 6 students from each programme, and observed them in classrooms at both schools. Fifteen administrators including teachers and parents from both schools were also interviewed.

This was a descriptive study with Esera concluding that bilingual programme two from School two was more effective than bilingual programme one from School one. These assumptions were based on Esera's observations, analysis of policies and children's results in standardised tests from both programmes. While standardised assessment results were used in both programmes, Esera also used his own self-selected material in Sāmoan and English to assess students from both schools. The reasons as to why Programme two from School two was more effective than Programme one also may need to be treated with caution because there may be complex relational issues associated with each school and/or programme. There are issues with the way in which Esera measured bilingual teacher fluency and competence in Sāmoa. Teachers' fluency and competence in Sāmoan or in any other language for that matter cannot and must not be measured by the results of children's standardised tests. A researcher's collaborative observations of teachers in action in classrooms and/or within community educational tasks could provide some reasonable comments about teachers' fluency and competence in Sāmoan.

A similar exploratory comparative study was conducted by Aukuso (2002), which sought to describe the long-term effects on children's reading progress of a seven-year dual-medium programme in Sāmoan and English of two groups of 20 children all from one school but in different programmes. One was a group from the bilingual programme and the

other group was from the English-medium mainstream setting. Twenty students from each programme were selected from Years 3, 4, 5 and 6. Data from both groups were collected, discussed, and compared, and evaluated with previous years data in partnership with the school's senior staff member who was responsible for the school's student assessment processes. Aukuso's (2002) results showed that students from the bilingual unit reached chronological reading ages in Samoan at around Year 3. By Year 6, the Sāmoan reading levels for students from the bilingual unit were approximately 1 to 1.5 years above their chronological ages. In fact those students' reading levels in Sāmoan remained ahead of their reading levels in English until midway between Years 5 and 6 when the gap between Samoan and English reading levels closed rapidly.

The limitations of Aukuso (2002) study are similar to those found in Esera (2001), in which results relied heavily on a comparison of reading levels between two groups of students using standardised reading assessment tools such as Informal Reading Inventory (IRI) (Smith & Elley, 1997, pp. 91-97). These tools included a running record taken on a series of texts graded in levels of difficulty and followed by comprehension questions. These types of standardised assessment tools may not adequately deal with comprehension issues because of a number of factors. Results of IRI and Progress Achievement Tests (PAT) are inadequate in placing students at appropriate reading levels. The usefulness of such assessment tools for diagnostic and consequent teaching for bilingual learners is also questionable.

Although, both Esera's and Aukuso's studies have limitations as discussed, both studies provided a case that long-term effects of bilingual programmes must be assessed at least within a seven-year dual medium programme as children need seven to eight years to develop both basic communication skills and academic language proficiency in their L1 and L2. In addition, both studies were conducted at schools with strong parents/community support for their bilingual programmes. Effective

engagement and empowerment of parents in and through the programme was found to be an essential component of an effective bilingual programme. The use of Sāmoan as medium of instruction for half a day in a week was proven to be unhelpful and tokenism, which can also be interpreted as a practice of a subtractive model (McCaffery, & Tuafuti 2003).

Amituanai-Toloa (2005) doctoral work as part of one of the Woolf Fisher Research Centre's projects also focused on reading comprehension of Sāmoan children in bilingual classes. The study examined the effectiveness of reading comprehension instruction in the context of six Samoan bilingual classrooms in two schools in south Auckland. This study was a quasi-experimental intervention that involved two phases over three years. The two phases included the development of an inter-school standardised process of administering and scoring assessments and ten sessions of professional development. The study required repeated measures of students' comprehension using Progressive Achievement Assessment Tests (PAT) (Reid & Elley, 1991; Smith & Elley, 1997), and Supplementary Test of Achievement in Reading (STAR), (Elley, 2000) at the beginning of the year and at the end of the year for two years. Four testing periods of STAR and two PAT comprehension tests were administered to students of bilingual classrooms in Year 4 to Year 8.

Results for this quasi-experimental research also relied heavily on standardised tests similar to Esera (2001) and Aukuso (2002) studies. Using PAT and STAR test results Amituanai-Toloa (2005) compared the effectiveness of the intervention for period of three years, at the beginning and at the end. Amituanai-Toloa also compared the effectiveness with a new cohort of Year one and Year two children, and she also compared teaching practices in bilingual classrooms with teaching in mainstream classrooms. The results suggested that reading comprehension programmes run by schools were ineffective in supporting bilingual learners. Amituanai-Toloa (2005) also claimed that the Sāmoan bilingual

learners' decoding skills in English were more advanced than their understanding of the text they read. A challenging question that arose from the results of Amiatuania-Toloa (2005) is that if these Samoan bilingual learners were having difficulty in understanding of a text in their second language, should this be interpreted as reading problem or language problem? This is an issue for future research, which will be discussed in Chapter Ten.

Comparison of existing groups and/or results of previous studies is a typical feature of quasi-experimental research. When human subjects with many different experiences are involved in quasi-experimental research, there is never a 100 percent guarantee that the results of the intervention can be unequivocally attributed to the intervention itself (Schoenfield, 2006). The other limitation of this study is again the use of standardised tests, as with Esera (2001) and Aukuso (2002) to assess Sāmoan bilingual learners.

Many multicultural schools in New Zealand with large number of bilingual learners are reluctant to use PAT testing believing that such testing does not signal progress and achievement but suggests failure (McCaffery & Tuafuti, 2003). Although Amituanai-Toloa (2005) may provide partial explanations about reading comprehension levels of Pasifika bilingual learners, the study clearly provides a challenge for schools and bilingual teachers to develop bilingual assessment tools in partnerships with parents and bilingual education experts.

4.7 Empowerment and transformative pedagogy for Pasifika bilingual education programmes

Pasifika students like any other students require a high level of literacy and numeracy to prepare them to become successful in schooling and beyond. Hence it is vital to consider bilingualism, biliteracy and academic success as the main goals of additive bilingual programmes for Pasifika

students. Teachers of additive bilingual education programmes must strive to create learning contexts in which students develop a sense of empowerment through acquisition of language/culture, bilingualism, biliteracy, and academic success.

Cummins' (1989; 1996 & 2000) model of empowerment is defined as a collaborative creation of power, where power is generated in interpersonal and intergroup relations, therefore becoming additive rather than subtractive. In other words, bilingual teachers, children and parents need to be empowered through collaboration of everyone involved in the bilingual programme. Collaboration is also required from outside educators, and researchers with status and power who are associated with the bilingual unit project and/or research within the bilingual unit. Thus, power is created within transparent, trustworthy and respectful relationship between everyone involved in the education of Pasifika children (see also Chapters Three and Five).

Cummins (1989) argues that minority students are empowered or disempowered by the ways schools operate. These conditions include the incorporation of the children's language and culture into the curriculum, empowerment of parents' participation in their children's education; promotion and encouragement of children to become active learners, and assessment of minority children (McCaffery & Tuafuti, 2003; Tuafuti & McCaffery, 2005). Applying Cummins (1989) critical empowerment factors in a Sāmoan dual-medium bilingual programme can contribute to bilingual children's success and achievement. In other words children and their parents could not only experience success in formal education but also success in their own world as Sāmoans. Their linguistic and cultural capital would be affirmed, valued and celebrated within the bilingual programme and the whole school.

Cummins (1996 & 2000) also explores the concept of transformative pedagogy, which refers to interactions between teachers, and children and

their families to foster the collaborative creation of power. Such interaction can cause either empowerment or disempowerment of Pasifika children and their families. Transformative pedagogy is about teachers and decision makers' letting go of power and giving voice and power to children and their parents. Cummins suggests that if children do not have power to voice and share their identities and needs in the classroom or home, they will look somewhere else to exercise that power, and often children find that common place on the street. Cummins also suggests that the root causes of academic failure of minority children stem from the fact that the interactions between the educators, decision makers and children and families, often reinforce the wider societal pattern of coercive relations of power between the powerful and the powerless (Cummins, 1996 & 2000).

I maintain that using Pasifika children's L1 for academic learning within a strong empowerment base in a dual medium or two-way immersion bilingual programme is the most efficient way not only for enhancement of conceptual and academic knowledge, but also for enhancement of children's identities and sense of belonging. I believe that collaborative and well-informed additive bilingual programmes are the most powerful approach in the education of minority groups such as Pasifika children (Baker, 2001; Cummins, 1996 & 2000; McCaffery & Tuafuti, 2003).

4.8 Bilingual Education and Empowerment Principles for Pasifika bilingual education programmes

The following principles of bilingual education and empowerment can be used as guidelines to support and/or enhance development of Pasifika bilingual education programmes in the New Zealand context. These principles are adapted from the additive two-way immersion and dual medium bilingual model literature, and are informed by Cummins (1996 & 2000) collaborative empowerment of power and transformative pedagogy as discussed in this chapter. The principles are not listed in any order of

importance, as they are all equally important in the education of Pasifika learners. The principles are highlighted as follows:

- (i) Additive bilingual programmes are the most effective bilingual education programmes in terms of fostering bilingualism, biliteracy and academic success. The most successful additive model is two-way immersion with 90-10 or 50-50 two-way bilingual immersion programmes.
- (ii) Successful two-way bilingual immersion programmes allow students to participate for at least six years; the ratio of speakers of each language is balanced; languages are carefully separated in instruction; the minority language is emphasised in earlier grades; instruction emphasises core academic standards; parents have strong and positive relationships with the school (Thomas & Collier, 1997).
- (iii) Two-way bilingual immersion programmes overcome segregation by integrating Sāmoan L1 learners and English L1 learners with a Sāmoan monolingual teacher and an English monolingual teacher.
- (iv) Longer additive bilingual programmes are more effective than shorter-term programmes because they allow for the time needed to develop cognitive academic language proficiency (CALP) in an L2.
- (v) The empowerment model must be utilised in two-way bilingual immersion programmes. This is about collaborative creation of power. Power is generated in interpersonal and intergroup relations. Parents, children, schools and teachers are empowered through their collaboration. Identities are affirmed when each individual has a greater sense of efficacy to create change in his or her life or social situation.

- (vi) Transformative pedagogy must be implemented in two-way bilingual/immersion programmes (see previous sections of this chapter). Transformative pedagogy promotes the desire for students to become active seekers of knowledge and not just passive receptacles. Teachers must let go of their power, and listen and give voice to children and their parents (Cummins, 1989, 1996 & 2000).

- (vii) Two-way bilingual immersion programmes challenge coercive power relations in the education system and in the broad society by affirming students' identities at school.

4.9 Conclusion

I have argued in this chapter that a development of any Pasifika bilingual programme is complex and multilayered. Pasifika children's L1 is significant for their cognitive development and academic achievement. Children need to be highly proficient in their L1 before engaging in academic work in L2. A mother tongue-based programme will only be effective in the early years if delivered by skilled early childhood educators and teachers who are fully fluent in L.1 and who have access to language-rich resources, including extensive written resources in the L1. Children's L1 is the most efficient language for early literacy and content area instruction (Benson, 2002; Cummins, 2000).

Bilingual/immersion teaching techniques can change both teachers' and students' lives for the better. Butzkamm and Caldwell (2009) state that teachers of bilingual children need to "believe in the power of teaching, experience the excitement of teaching by using the mother tongue, and teach with the wind beneath their wings" (p. 242). This is a challenge for educators of Pasifika bilingual learners especially if teachers do not speak and/or understand the children's mother tongues.

Adopting an additive approach to Pasifika bilingual education programmes where students' bilingualism is recognised as a key linguistic resource could be the key to academic success of Pasifika students. Increased educational success has significant wider and longer-term implications for the social and economic pathways of Pasifika people. I believe that the greater the Pasifika students' success in education, the greater the social and economic benefits of Pasifika people to the wider New Zealand society.

Implementing a successful additive bilingual education programme depends on many factors. Such programme needs the whole school support and active commitment to equality, teacher understanding of research and theory underpinning additive bilingual education models. Other factors include teacher understanding of second language acquisition, distinction between conversational competence and academic language proficiency, and positive teacher-student, and teacher-parent relationships.

An ideal Pasifika bilingual education programme involves interconnections between Pasifika languages, cultural and spiritual beliefs and values, identities, promoting academic achievements, and how we as Pasifika people relate to the wider world.

Chapter Five will discuss Pasifika epistemology with cultural and language issues that may have influenced Pasifika children's education in the New Zealand context.

CHAPTER FIVE

EPISTEMOLOGICAL, CULTURAL AND EDUCATIONAL FACTORS

5.1 Introduction

Chapter Three provided a background for this chapter in that it identified a fundamental foundation or belief that education for Pasifika peoples, specifically to Sāmoans as far as this research is concerned, is about the whole person. Drawing on that foundation and belief and on literature on language shift and language loss discussed earlier, I will elaborate on this metaphor of wholeness or the whole person as an educational foundation or belief, and identify more closely some of the factors that may have influenced Pasifika education. I have grouped the factors discussed in this chapter into three categories: epistemological, cultural and educational.

The three categories should not be considered as either complete in themselves or as separate from one another. Rather, there will be overlap among them and hybrid versions are possible.

5.2 Epistemological factors

5.2.1 What is epistemology?

The term epistemology caused me initial confusion. If epistemology is a study of the theory of knowledge, whose theory and whose knowledge am I representing in this thesis? Much epistemology is concerned with how beliefs and values might be properly justified. Wilson (2008) suggests that the epistemology question that any indigenous researcher should ask is: “How do I know what is real?” (p. 33). The question for us then as Pasifika researchers is how we can justify the beliefs and values that have been transmitted orally from generation to generation? How can we as Pasifika educators and researchers empower our people to voice their opinions or stories about a researched topic, and how can those opinions or stories be

justified? What are Pasifika epistemological beliefs and why are they important?

Epistemological arguments can influence a researcher in multiple or conflicting ways. One can argue that the combination of cultural beliefs and values with educational theories and experiences will justify what we know, but others might disagree. Nevertheless, researches that exist in Samoan epistemology highlight principles that reflect the concepts of wholeness as discussed in Chapter Three. The principles include connection of Samoans to their land, chiefs' titles, extended family and community. Samoan epistemology encompasses spiritual, educational, cultural, physical, emotional and psychological values and beliefs. Hence, knowledge in Samoan epistemology is collectively owned (Amituanai-Toloa, 2009; Tamasese, Peteru, Waldegrave & Bush, 2005; Tui Atua, 2005). Samoan ways of knowing are consistent with Māori and other Pasifika epistemology affirming that knowledge is not owned or discovered by an individual because knowledge is gained through a collective process (Bishop, 2005; Helu-Thaman, 2008; Sauni, 2011; Smith, 1999). Hence, the phenomenological approaches that I used in this research consider epistemology.

This study includes a collection of accounts and narratives of Sāmoan parent and community experiences in the establishment of ā'oga 'amata and Sāmoan bilingual units and hence the issues discussed in the research are not only contextualised within Sāmoan culture but they are related to educational factors. Such factors are discussed in this chapter. I will also attempt to make explicit some of my own convictions. My viewpoints are derived from a combination of western and traditional theories, beliefs, values and experiences. However, mainstream educators might find them unjustifiable, as they are based on cultural, communal and personal experiences. The epistemological section will include a discussion on issues relating to aspirations and expectations and an elaboration on the Pasifika metaphor of wholeness.

5.3 Aspirations and expectations

There are very few studies or written reports on Pasifika parent and community aspirations for and expectations of their children's education. This limitation has caused misleading beliefs, such as: parents do not attend meetings, they do not care, or they do not want their language taught in school or they want English. These beliefs are strongly reinforced by the parents' apparent passive attitudes and silence. Tuafuti's (2010) study of Pasifika parents' silences in educational consultations shows that parents do have aspirations and expectations for their children to succeed both in formal education and fa'asāmoa. Parents believe that their role is to work hard in whatever employment they can find so that their children's education is supported financially. Education has been the main stimulant in the Pasifika nations, and Pasifika parents in New Zealand have shown a great interest in education as they see education as a mechanism to prepare their children for a better future (McCaffery & Tuafuti, 2003; Tuafuti & McCaffery, 2005; Tuafuti, Pua & van Schaijik, 2011).

Sāmoan parents' aspirations and expectations for their children to succeed academically and their reluctance to attend educational meetings might be seen as unrealistic for those who do not understand Pasifika cultures. The dominant authoritative ideas are often irrelevant to Pasifika children and communities and the cycle of underachievement continues (Milne, 1999; Ohanian, 1999; Pasikale & Wang Yaw, 1988). To raise academic achievement of Pasifika students, schools and decision-makers must listen to parents' aspirations, visions and expectations. It is essential to involve parents in decision-making, and academic work, such as curriculum planning and assessment rather than just using them as fundraisers. Having said that, there are several MOE initiatives that highlight some positive and effective strategies on how to engage parents in education. One of such initiatives is the Pilot New Entrant Programme (PNEP) that began in 2014 that aimed at piloting the use of dual-language books for new entrant classes both in schools and homes. The PNEP

included teachers' professional development programme led by Dr Rae Si'ilata and workshops for parents led by myself.

I have elsewhere (Tuafuti, 2010) highlighted some reasons of why parents do not attend educational meetings and these included the language used in meetings, a lack of parents' understanding of issues discussed in meetings and so forth. The question then is: How could schools encourage Pasifika parents to be engaged in the education of their children? An effective lesson learnt from the PNEP is the planning and running of workshops for parents. The features that make them effective from experience are:

- They are family focused. Parents bring their children. Schools organise programme for children separate from parents' workshops. Children could be involved in some activities with parents.
- They use the parents' first language
- They use cultural protocol, e.g. beginning and starting workshops with a lotu
- They are interactive and reciprocal where opportunities are given to parents to share and tell their stories
- A package of activities demonstrated in workshops is prepared for parents to take home.
- Planning dates and time of workshops should work with parents in mind so that they are scheduled when most parents are available
- The workshop programme is on-going not a one off. Each workshop has a key focus

Finally, contents of parents' workshops must include both theoretical and practical ideas. Schools and workshop facilitators must not and should not devalue parents and assume that they do not understand theory. Parents understand if the language used and delivery is comprehensible to them. Schools and workshop facilitators must have

up to date knowledge, skills and positive attitudes on how to organise and run workshops effectively with Pasifika parents. Facilitators must be well informed of theoretical based knowledge of topics or issues shared in workshops.

Workshops of such types would support parents to be well informed of educational issues concerning their children's learning before they are asked by schools to tick the boxes of 'Yes' or 'No' to any prescribed decisions.

5.4 The Pasifika metaphor of wholeness

Wholeness relates to Cummins (2000) collaborative empowerment of power (see Chapter Three section 3.4.) I have learned more about the term wholeness during my work in ECE over the last 20 years. Holistic or wholeness education is paramount in ECE. Holistic education pioneers such as Montessori and Steiner insisted that all education is concerned not only with academic or psychological development of the child but includes moral, spiritual, cultural, emotional and physical dimensions (Miller, 1996; Morrison, 1984; Toso, 2011a). Samu (2004) also highlights the importance of using multiple lenses when viewing children's world.

The accumulation of all the above dimensions is known as *Holistic Development* and is highlighted in the ECE curriculum (Ministry of Education, 1996), which relates to wholeness and a Sāmoan metaphor known as "*Ua atoa li'o o le masina*" (Tagaloa, 1998, p.16). The metaphor recognises the ideal as a complete whole, the circle of the full moon. The full moon metaphor clearly explores the importance of understanding how each part or fraction fits into the framework of a Sāmoan child's educational journey (Tuafuti, 2000).

The wholeness metaphor is also practised within extended family in activities such as family weddings blessing of new chiefs or opening and blessing of new buildings. The extended family also assembles to

celebrate success of their children. Pasifika children's knowledge, intelligence, talents, and skills are far more complex than their scores on standardised tests indicate. Sāmoan wholeness education includes both individual and collective components. It is based on family aspirations and the family-oriented premise that each child's education success is also the success of the whole family. Each child in the family finds identity, meaning and purpose in life through connections to extended family, church, and community (Amituanai-Tolosa, 2009; Sauni, 2011; Tui Atua, 2002).

Integration of Sāmoan wholeness with the mainstream individualistic belief about learning is significant in children's education. For example, New Zealand-born Sāmoan children might be familiar with an individualistic style of learning and therefore, to build their social and cultural learning skills and experiences, they need to be grouped together with Sāmoan-born children. However, there might be New Zealand-born Sāmoan children who are grounded in fa'asāmoa better than those who were born in Sāmoa. Children should be encouraged to use both languages Sāmoan/English during in-group activities before they move on to individualistic tasks. Wholeness and individualistic ideas and concepts are both vital in children's learning. Community, parents and educators need to value, respect and understand the whole child in order to support and/or develop understanding. Cognitive, emotional, social, cultural and spiritual influences all play a part in how children acquire and/or change their understanding and therefore, gain and retain their knowledge and skills. Hence, holistic and individualistic experiences can be used interchangeably with the whole learning process of any child.

5.5 Cultural factors

E mitamita le Tava'e i ona fulu

This expression referring to a bird *tava'e* being proud of its feathers explains the intense passion and fierce pride of the Sāmoan people in

their culture. Sāmoans carry with them the honour and dignity of their families, villages, titles, language, and heritage from their ancestors. The pride of Sāmoans in being Sāmoans is often seen in Sāmoan ECE Immersion Centres, Sāmoan Bilingual units and community partnership activities, white Sunday activities in which heritage language and cultural values are enhanced and celebrated (Toso, 2013b). The Sāmoan *aganu'u* (culture) is known as *fa'asāmoa*. In this section I will use *fa'asāmoa* and culture in an interrelated manner.

5.6 My understanding of *fa'asāmoa*

The term *fa'asāmoa* refers to the total or entirety of the Sāmoan culture, language, traditions, values and beliefs. Whether they are visible, invisible, verbal or non-verbal, they are all significant components and characteristics of *fa'asāmoa*. Mulitalo (2000) defines *fa'asāmoa* as the “umbilical cord that attaches Sāmoans to their culture” (p.12). *Fa'asāmoa* therefore represents the fundamental ingredients of the full Sāmoan culture and language (Kamu, 1996; Le Tagaloa, 1998; Tui Atua, 2002). Sāmoans strongly believe that their culture is of divine origin. Thus, *fa'asāmoa* is not a man-made achievement because its origin was from God (Tagaloa-a-lagi) (Kamu 1996; Le Tagaloa, 1997, 1998; & Tui Atua, 2002). Many aspects of the Sāmoan culture and language are considered sacred and worthy of being worshiped. In the past, Sāmoan ancestors lived in communion with nature. Sāmoans especially the elders have close affinity with the ancestors, the land and the sea, and as a result, traditions, language and culture are held in high regard. A lack of validation of these aspects can destroy the culture and can also cause language and identity loss.

Fa'asāmoa includes the processes and practices associated with traditions, values and beliefs. Such practices are conducted within a “sacred ground of being Sāmoan, because people are dealing with what has been traditionally developed and purposely brought forth by the society to govern its activities and values and all that lends to its religious

life” (Kamu 1996, p. 16). Such sacred ground as Kamu cites, means that the whole environment in which fa’asāmoa is practised is significant, including education. Fa’asāmoa includes the culture of silence, which I will discuss later in this section.

5.6.1 Social structure of fa’asāmoa

The social structure of Sāmoa consists of two main institutions the āiga and church. The matai is the head of the family and the *suafa matai* (title name) belongs to *aiga potopoto* (extended family). Different chiefly titles hold different status and perform different roles or functions within a village.

The matai system has kept the Samoan culture alive for many years. This system is governed with honour and the ways of *fa’atamāli’i* (noble descent). There are no *tūfanua* (bad-mannered people) according to fa’asāmoa. A Sāmoan will become a tūfanua only when his behaviour is unacceptable according to fa’asāmoa. In other words, when one trespasses the dignity of fa’asāmoa on whatever is sacred and sanctified by God s/he will be called a tūfanua. Hence a matai’s role is important. His role includes guiding his extended family including adults without matai titles, youth and children to live in harmony, ensuring that each member of the extended family abides with the village rules and regulations. These are based on the three core values of fa’asāmoa, love, service and respect (Kamu, 1996; Mulitalo, 2000; Le Tagaloa, 1998). The matai system still operates for Sāmoans in New Zealand and is likely to affect the participants’ contributions in the ways they share their stories.

5.6.2 Culture of silence in fa’asāmoa

Silence speaks meaning within fa’asāmoa. It is sometimes more powerful than the spoken word. For example ifoga (a ceremony of public apology for forgiveness and reconciliation) is done with silence. Silence is a symbolic and fundamental structure of communication and many Sāmoans especially the elders, comprehend the whole framework that

constitutes its meaning. Many Sāmoan elders describe the culture of silence as a mechanism with spiritual and sacred power.

Silence in fa'asāmoa is structured within an interdependence model, which is about shared-understanding between an actor and an audience of silence. Hence, silence is a manifestation of indirectness: "if indirectness is a matter of saying one thing and meaning another, silence can be a matter of saying nothing and meaning something" (Tanner, cited in Kim, 2002, p.137). Hence, in the Sāmoan culture of silence understanding may result from empathy rather than from one's verbal communicative convention.

The nature of the culture of silence in regards to Pasifika education is complex. Lee Hang (2011) discusses cultural practice in Sāmoan classrooms, highlighting various forms of silence including, shyness, embarrassment of not knowing the answer, mockery and fear of making mistakes. All these forms of silence especially the fear of making mistakes can be seen as detrimental to children's learning (Davidson-Toumu'a & Dunbar, 2009; Fairbairn-Dunlop, 2010 Lee Hang, 2011). Davidson-Toumu'a and Dunbar (2009) suggest that silence was interpreted by students in their research as being politeness whereas asking questions indicated that students were not listening and a sign of impoliteness.

Fairbairn-Dunlop (2010) argues that fear of making mistakes and/or asking questions occur mainly with male students because of such cultural beliefs that asking questions is a sign of disrespect. Fairbairn-Dunlop (2010) suggests that the New Zealand educational system needs to be reviewed with a "Pacific gender lens" (p. 150), to gain understanding on how and why Pasifika cultural beliefs and values affect Pasifika education. It is important to consider gender issues in this study because they are likely to affect the participants' involvement in focus group discussion.

Because silence is attributed to respect or being respectful to elders, younger people do not tend to challenge decisions made in regards to the

education of their children. For this research I deliberately planned to use the process of fa'afaletui with the participants to break the culture of silence to ensure that the research participants' responses and stories were shared. I was more interested in the meso and micro perspectives (see Chapter Three, section 3.5.1) of how the participants interpreted lived experiences in relation to the establishment of ā'oga 'amata and bilingual units, resistance, and how they overcame their struggles or resisted participating in educational activities.

5.6.3 How fa'asāmoa manifests itself

The crest of Sāmoa states: Sāmoa is founded upon God. *Fa'avae i le Atua Samoa*. This belief manifests itself in fa'asāmoa that people will support and help each other to achieve their goals in life. The practices of love, service, respect and working hard in life, not for personal gain but for glorification of God and credibility of the family, village and country are the foundations of fa'asāmoa (Kamu, 1996; Le Tagaloa, 1996, 2005; Mulitalo, 2000). Fa'asāmoa therefore, is about people's feelings, and the knowledge being shared to support each other.

Kamu (1996) explains the importance of integrating fa'asāmoa and religious beliefs and values in people's lives. Some missionaries according to Kamu, encountered many difficulties because they failed to take into account the culture of the people whom they were to evangelise. Kamu continues by saying that "this is true in Sāmoa, if the church ignores the importance of fa'asāmoa, it runs the risk of being ignored and being rootless in society" (p. 35). Nowadays, fa'asāmoa practices are evidenced in church activities, such as opening of new church buildings, birthdays, weddings and funerals. Church activities are therefore grounded within fa'asāmoa (Kamu, 1996; Toso, 2011a, 2013b). It is important to consider church activities and practices in this study as they are likely to affect the participants' contributions and choices of method(s) used.

5.6.4 Practices of fa'asāmoa

A Sāmoan saying reminds all Sāmoans: *E iloa lava le tamālii i lana savali ma lana tautala*, which means that the aristocrat of noble birth is recognised through his or her respectful and noble way of walking and speaking. The reverse saying is therefore appropriate for bad-mannered people (see page 82). *E iloa lava le tūfanua i ona fua*, a bad-mannered person is easily recognised by his misdeeds. Fa'asāmoa has clearly set down the *tapu* (sacredness) of all human relationships with nature, past and present. Referring to Le Tagaloa's (1996) metaphor of verbal diet, if Sāmoans are fed with a proper diet of fa'asāmoa, they will remember and practise the sanctity of these relationships (Kamu 1996; Le Tagaloa, 1997; Mulitalo 2000; Ngan-Woo, 1985; Tui Atua, 2002).

Fa'asāmoa may also refer to how a Sāmoan must behave in various contexts. Offering a cup of tea or lunch to guests without asking is one of the common Sāmoan ways to demonstrate warm relationship and hospitality. Respect between younger generations and elders, and/or people with status such as, chiefs, church ministers and their wives, is a common practice in fa'asāmoa. These types of cultural practices are likely to occur in this study during meetings and interviews.

5.7 Educational factors

This section will discuss educational factors in relation to fa'asāmoa and Pasifika education in the New Zealand context. The discussion will also include issues of language planning.

5.7.1 Implications of fa'asāmoa in New Zealand educational context

Although the Sāmoan culture including the culture of silence, values and beliefs has powerful spiritual and sacred meanings, many Sāmoans challenge it. One of the basic components of cultural and communicative competence in fa'asāmoa is to know, and understand when, where, and

how to speak or be silent in various contexts. Sāmoan children are often introduced to these concepts in a religious context where they learn biblical verses and rules such as “Honour thy father thy mother, that thy days may be long upon . . .” When children challenge their parents, such discourse is considered unacceptable and not seen as fa’asāmoa. Children are often reminded of this religious rule when they go to school, to honour the teacher and not to challenge people more senior. Such parent belief still exists both in New Zealand and Sāmoa.

Concepts of respect in the fa’asāmoa context need to be clarified so that children’s critical thinking skills and learning are enhanced. Some Sāmoan adults define and consider the term *critical* as being *disrespectful*. This is one of the major challenges of fa’asāmoa in New Zealand educational context. Hence, it is important in this research especially in focus group sessions to consider young participants critical comments and/or opinions as valid data.

Some Sāmoans have adjusted to the western system and have developed a more individualistic perspective. Many Sāmoans within a contemporary education system have experienced fa’asāmoa either positively or negatively depending on their upbringing. Some have eliminated fa’asāmoa from their lives; some have adjusted to the modern society’s values and beliefs, while others still hang onto fa’asāmoa values and beliefs as precious gifts. A Sāmoan who is assumed or considered to be working for personal gain or personal glory or status is described as *fiapālagi*, which means, *wanting to be like European*.

5.7.2 Language within fa’asāmoa

Le Tagaloa (1996) also describes the Sāmoan awareness of the insistence of the proper verbal diet for a young Sāmoan, the words of his or her mother tongue. The proper verbal diet as described by Le Tagaloa is embedded in the whole package of culture and must be practised in everyday life. A Sāmoan proverb says: E fafaga tama a manu i fuga o

laau, ae fafaga tama a tagata i upu ma tala. Translation - Young animals and birds are fed with berries, but the young of humans shall be fed with words.

Words will shape the mind, the soul and even the sight of man, because “words have the power to control and channel into socially acceptable ways the biological inheritance of man” (Le Tagaloa 1996, p. 18). Hence, it is important for all Sāmoans to be aware of the verbal diet and practise it in social and educational contexts. As long as a Sāmoan is being fed with the verbal diet, s/he will acknowledge and live *fa’asāmoa*. One Sāmoan saying regarding the verbal diet: *E iloa lava le tamālii i tū ma aga ma lana tautala* relates to the language, traditions, customs, personal dignity and etiquette, which are *vā-tapuia* and *feagaiga* (respect, courtesy and politeness), and the cultural code between people *pa’ia ma le mamalu* (honour and dignity) and *tapu* (sacredness) (Le Tagaloa, 1997; Tui Atua, 2002).

The choice of who can speak, what to say, when to speak, and how depends on the contextual and sacredness factors of the relationships between the speaker and the listener. For example the relationship between a chief and his/her extended family is structured in a way in which the chief becomes the main speaker of any family gathering. Another contribution of the verbal diet to *fa’asāmoa* is the sense of *fa’asinomaga* (security and identity), which refers to each individual Sāmoan point of reference. The sense of belonging as practised by extended families is associated with the structure of a Sāmoan family within a village. This structure is important to consider in this study because some participants are likely to be chiefs from various villages and it could affect other participants’ behaviour in focus group sessions.

5.8 Hegemony: Raise your hand if you have a question

What does the above discourse hegemony of raising hand, and/or asking a question mean for Pasifika students? How does the role or status of a

dominant authority affect a Pasifika student's reaction to such discourse? The Sāmoan culture of silence is not without risk. A school or college might be the first context in which some Sāmoan students and parents would hear such discourses. One or two students might ask questions but the majority of students might be sitting at the back of the classroom in silence (Jones, 1999). In certain circumstances, it is culturally inappropriate to ask, and if you want to convince a Sāmoan student to do otherwise then you have to use the student's language, not language in the narrow sense of word, but the language of the mind (Corson, 2001; Jones, 1991; Samovar & Porter, 1997; Tuafuti & McCaffery, 2005).

The silence of Sāmoan children and the community in mainstream educational contexts might be interpreted as impoliteness, avoidance, incompetence denial, incapability, shyness, lack of verbal skills, or agreement (Jones, 1991). It is however, a mistake to consider silence as one, or all, of the above. Such misconceptions and implications of silence may have caused teacher's misunderstanding regarding Pasifika's children's learning.

Awareness and understanding of critical theories supports a blending process of both fa'asāmoa and the New Zealand educational system in order to assist children and parents to achieve their goals. Educators' understanding of what culture of silence meant to Samoan children and their families would make a huge contribution to any Samoan child's success. Critical theorists such as Foucault, 1980; May, 1999, 2003; McLaren, 1997, Young 1990 and others will be discussed further in the later chapters.

5.9 Conclusion

In this chapter I discussed epistemological, cultural and educational factors though in various contexts, they are explained in an integrated manner. The chapter emphasised the importance of blending fa'asāmoa, parents' aspirations and expectations with formal educational system in

order to enhance children's learning. Understanding fa'asāmoa is not enough, actions are needed as Spolsky (1998) suggests. Pasifika communities in New Zealand as the Sāmoans need to take a lead in language planning programmes. Such programmes must include Pasifika values and beliefs.

The fa'asāmoa values and principles provide guidance to what is important to Sāmoan people's lives; it also allows other possibilities not previously conceived to be revealed. Hence, fa'asāmoa is a framework of meaning and with its respectful and empowering aspect; it plays a transformative role in this study.

Such framework of meaning will be explored further in Chapter Six.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORKS

6.1 Introduction

Some Pasifika researchers' conceptual frameworks make explicit the importance of cultural beliefs and values to be embedded in research (for example, Anae, Coxon, Mara, Wendt-Samu, 2001; Fairbairn-Dunlop, 2008; Helu-Thaman, 2008 Tanielu, 2004). Others have developed conceptual research frameworks based on metaphors that are assumed to underpin their research designs (for example, Manu'atu, 2003; Sauni, 2011; Vaioleti, 2006). Most Pasifika conceptual research frameworks acknowledge Pasifika knowledge and the importance of collaboration with Pasifika families and communities. A review of some existent Pasifika conceptual research frameworks provides a window on what has been considered important to this research while also providing the theoretical foundation, which has informed my research methodology.

The first section of this chapter is a review of some Pasifika research methodologies followed by an examination of Maori Indigenous Research and the role of a researcher as an insider and as an outsider, particularly in specific cultural contexts. The chapter will then provide a conceptualisation of phenomenology and the Sāmoan concept of fa'afaletui. The conceptualisations of phenomenology and fa'afaletui were used in this research to shape the particular methodology that underpinned this study.

6.2 Pasifika research methods and methodologies

Some Pasifika researchers have named a particular research methodology believed to be appropriate for research of and by Pasifika researchers by means of a metaphor (Sauni, 2011; Utumapu, 1998; Vaioleti, 2006). The metaphor guides the epistemology and method of the

approach. One such approach that I have explored is the Tongan researcher Helu-Thaman's (1996, 2002) *Kakala* (floral lace) metaphor, which discusses a process of kakala making and its significance. The process of collecting, selecting, and threading of flowers highlights that each step of the process is interconnected and crucial to the end product, which is the gifting of the kakala. The process is a communal activity and in terms of research, it is significant that once research is completed, knowledge must then be returned to the community. The process of making the kakala is the basis of Helu-Thaman's conceptualised framework that she initially developed not only to assist Pasifika educators and students to reclaim teaching and learning in culturally appropriate contexts, but as a research approach. Sauni (2011) a Samoan researcher draws on the Kakala model but has termed it *Ula* (floral ace) for her research on the involvement of male teachers in early childhood education.

A Pasifika concept of *talanoa* (talk), Vaioleti (2006) stresses the importance of sharing Pasifika stories in a Pasifika context and manner. Vaioleti (2006) claims that widely used talanoa "belongs to the phenomenological research family, because phenomenological research approaches focus on understanding the meaning that events have for participants" (2006, p. 25). This assertion does not provide a clear-cut explanation of what phenomenological research is, or any relationship between talanoa and phenomenology for that matter. Phenomenology will be discussed later in this chapter.

Utumapu (1992 & 1998) analysed key issues in the establishment of Sāmoan language nests in New Zealand, using the two concepts of *Finau i Mea Sili* (to argue or debate for the best) to underpin the research. Utumapu (1992) explored this concept not only as the title of her research, but also as it underpinned the attitudes of Sāmoan families in New Zealand to education and how those attitudes to education had changed with colonisation and Christianity. Utumapu's (1998) subsequent concept

of *Poutu* (middle pole of a Sāmoan traditional house and its main strength) symbolises the strength within the women's roles not only in the establishment of the Sāmoan language nests in New Zealand, but the roles of women in fa'asāmoa and society in general. Another concept that Tamasese, Peteru, Waldegrave, Bush, (2005) explore in their investigation of Sāmoan perspectives on mental health is the Sāmoan concept of fa'afaletui, which was used interchangeably with talanoa as both a method and a methodology. Tamasese, Peteru et al. (2005) discuss fa'afaletui as a process of weaving (*tui*) together of all the different expressions of knowledge from within various groups.

Another researcher who includes Sāmoan perspectives is Tanielu (2004) who researched with Sāmoan communities in New Zealand. Tanielu in her research on literacy education, language, reading and writing in the Ā'oga a le Faife'au, (the Pastor's School of the Congregational Christian Church of Sāmoa CCCS), discusses the merging of fa'asāmoa and fa'apālagi (Western Education) in this context. This merging, according to Tanielu, has had an impact on maintaining Sāmoan language. Tanielu (2004) emphasises the importance of using Sāmoan cultural beliefs and values in research methods.

Mila-Schaaf and Hudson (2009) discuss the idea of a "negotiated space" (p. 7), which they refer to as a place of mediation between Western and Pasifika ways of knowing. Mila-Schaaf and Hudson (2009) refer to negotiated space as a "junction of intersecting interests and negotiations between ways of knowing and meaning making" (p.7). In other words it is a negotiated space between epistemologies. Such a space could provide a place where Pasifika people can "establish connections as well as breaks from dominant Western ways of thinking" (p. 8). Although such a concept sounds promising, Helu-Thaman (2008) reminds us, as Pasifika researchers, of the real challenges we face in legitimising Pasifika knowledge, beliefs and value systems in the education field. The challenges, according to Helu-Thanan (2008) are due to the lack of institutional support and lack of advocacy by Pasifika people of Pasifika

knowledge as they (Pasifika researchers) face “the dilemma of advocating for Pacific research, yet they are also products of western education and research” (Helu-Thaman, 2008, p. 51). There is also a generation that has not had their culture handed down to them.

Anae (2007, 2010) discusses the Sāmoan concept of *teu le va* as a research approach with an emphasis on building relationships between a researcher and researched, and between researchers and funders, for example, the Ministry of Education. *Teu le va* is one of the most critical concepts in fa’asāmoa as it extends beyond relationships. The *teu le va* concept contains sacred communal components, which need to be employed sensitively, interactively and in depth. *Teu le va* will be explored in more detail later in this chapter.

While I acknowledge the work of Pasifika researchers who have explored various Pasifika conceptual frameworks in their research, there is still work to be done exploring of Pasifika intellectual knowledge and epistemologies and how such knowledge can challenge the westernised views of the world. I consider Mila-Schaaf and Hudson’s (2009) suggestion of combining the Western and the Pasifika ways of knowing as a reasonable idea to adopt in this research. This is because the knowledge of the researcher and the researched in terms of this study are a combination of fa’asāmoa and what has been learnt through a westernised formal education system.

Utumapu (1992, 1998) explores the two concepts of *Finau i Mea Sili* and *Poutu* interchangeably with the westernised theoretical frameworks of Bronfenbrenner’s (1979) ecological model and Vygotsky’s (1978) sociocultural framework. Bronfenbrenner’s (1979) ecological model discusses children’s development in natural settings while they are interacting with familiar adults over prolonged periods of time. Vygotsky’s (1978) sociocultural framework of human learning, describes learning as a social process and the origin of human intelligence in society and/or

culture. Vygotsky's theoretical framework assumes that social interaction plays a fundamental role in the development of cognition.

The two Sāmoan concepts that Utumapu (1992; 1998) explores blend well with the ecological and sociocultural theoretical frameworks. Utumapu argues that the establishment of Pasifika ECE language nests in New Zealand is a collaborative and communal affair where teachers, parents, church, community at large, and MoE all play vital roles. Social interactions and understandings between these groups support children's learning.

I argue that Pasifika researchers need to explore further for valid and culturally appropriate conceptual frameworks in research. Such frameworks must be taken to deeper levels of conceptualisation. Research that utilises Pasifika concepts needs to demonstrate that prioritisation of human need is paramount. This is a core purpose of phenomenology. I argue that the concepts and meanings of *teu le va* in the Sāmoan indigenous context are different from other indigenous Pasifika contexts. Only Sāmoans can understand the spiritual meaning of *teu le va* as they live with it and practise it in everyday lives.

Aveglio's (2009) commentary of Samoan indigenous knowledge highlights Tui Atua (2000; 2005) discussion of wealth in Sāmoan indigenous contexts. The meaning of wealth in the Sāmoan indigenous context is far broader and encompasses people's needs; it is not concerned with money, profit or the accumulation of goods. Wealth and cultural capital in *fa'asāmoa* is about *alofa* (love and compassion), *fa'aaloalo* (respect) and *tautua* (service).

Sāmoan indigenous writer Tui Atua (2009) also provides commentary on the importance of blending philosophies and methodologies in policy settings and research. Tui Atua (2009) suggests that any research about Pasifika people needs to be congruent with Pasifika worlds. Pasifika

people should draw on the strengths, understandings and meanings of their worlds and have their own role models leading the research (see also Smith, 2004). If this approach is adopted, according to Tui Atua, (2009), Pasifika peoples will “offer rich new paradigms, greater diversity and colour in practice, and the warm connections of humanity with land, sea and spirituality. *E iloa le lima lelei o le tufuga i le so’ofau-the mark of good statecraft is shown in blending idiosyncrasy*” (p. 91).

In addition, Tupuola (2007) suggests that any researcher who conducts research with Pasifika people needs to have a full understanding of Pasifika knowledge and an awareness of Pasifika cultures. Tupuola also states that such knowledge and awareness are “absorbed from other dominant discourses and ideologies” (p. 54). What this means is that a Pasifika researcher’s knowledge is a combination of both western and his/her Pasifika education experiences and learning.

To capture the complexity of this research regarding establishment of Sāmoan bilingual/immersion units, it is important to further draw on some Māori indigenous-based research, as there has been substantial work done in this area. This is discussed in the next section.

6.3 Māori Indigenous Research

Bishop and Glynn (1999) suggest that any research done within the Māori community must be by Māori and for Māori. The term for this research is Kaupapa Māori Research. Smith (1999) suggests that Kaupapa Māori Research is about Māori philosophy and principles that validate and legitimise values of being Māori. Kaupapa Māori Research encompasses the “importance of Māori language and culture and is connected with the struggle for autonomy over one’s own cultural wellbeing” (Smith, 1999, p.185). It is clear that Māori research is connected to Māori people’s struggle to revitalise their language and culture. A move to regain and/or revitalise language, culture, traditions, beliefs and values is highlighted as the clear rationale behind Kaupapa Māori Research platform.

Bishop's (1996), Bishop and Glynn's (1999), and Smith's (1999) discussion of indigenous Methodologies and Kaupapa Māori Research has reaffirmed my beliefs on how fa'asāmoa values of love, respect, and service can be integrated into a research methodology. The concept of whanau in Kaupapa Māori research methodology aligns with the fa'asāmoa concepts of āiga, the village and church. Bishop (1989) and Smith (1999) highlight the importance of the concept of whanau as a communal body with an organisational structure to handle research. Smith (1999) interprets this structure as an "intersection where the research meets Māori or Māori meets research, on equalising terms" (p. 185). Bishop refers to this organisational structure as a research whanau of interest. In relation to my current research, the whanau notion is equivalent to the notion of fānau in fa'asāmoa. The concept of research with Māori, for Māori and by Māori as discussed in the Kaupapa Māori research paradigm is important to this research because the investigation is about revealing participants' lived experiences hence it is vital to research with the participants. The whanau idea was used within this researcher's focus groups fa'afaletui enabling the participants to articulate their lived experiences in a bound relationship.

6.4 Insider looking out or outsider looking in?

Bishop (2005) raises questions as to how research with Māori and indigenous people should be conducted. According to Bishop, consideration must be given as to who does the research and for whom. The question is who initiates the research, whose concerns or interests are being investigated and who will benefit from the research outcomes (Bishop, as cited in Denzin & Lincoln, 2005, pp. 111-113). Gomm (2004) suggests that insiders looking out refer to researchers who join the participants and "learn their ways of speaking and acting, learn to understand things as participants understand them, and then report back as a member of the category of people being studied" (p. 272). On the other hand, outsiders looking in refer to researchers who "assume that the

people involved would not themselves be able to provide information for a satisfactory explanation, and hence where becoming one of them would not be enlightening” (p. 273).

Smith (1999) suggests that many of the issues in relation to indigenous research literature are concerned with both insider and outsider positions in research. Most research methodologies assume that the researcher is an outsider able to observe without being implicated in the scene. Smith continues by saying that there are multiple ways of being both an “insider and an outsider in indigenous contexts” (Smith, 1999, p.137). For example, a Pasifika researcher who is an employee of an education institution such as university who conducts a research in a Pasifika community (like I am) would be both an insider and outsider.

Despite the consideration of insider and outsider research for indigenous research, the dilemma remains that non-indigenous researchers often conduct research on indigenous people. Hence voices from the groups under study are still to be audible. What is missing from non-indigenous researchers who conduct research on indigenous groups, according to Swisher (as cited in Denzin & Lincoln, 2005, pp. 111-113), is “the passion from within” and “the authority to ask questions based on histories and experiences as indigenous people” (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005, p.112).

The difference between non-indigenous researchers conducting research on indigenous groups and indigenous researchers conducting research with their own people involves more than just diverse ways of knowing. It concerns indigenous researchers “knowing what they think is grounded in principles of sovereignty and self-determination; and that it has credibility” (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005, p.113). This influences not only the validity but also the meaningfulness of the research. An understanding of ways of knowing between the indigenous researcher and the indigenous participants is a practice of cultural and historical significance.

Assumptions and debates about who can conduct research, who is an outsider or an insider, and who has the ability to read and understand cultural nuances and viewpoints need to be addressed (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). One can argue that a cultural insider might well undertake research in a more sensitive and responsive manner than an outsider, because s/he has the ability to ask meaningful questions, read, and understand non-verbal cues and interpret what is being said better than an outsider. Conversely, there are concerns about an insider being inherently biased or too close to the culture to ask critical questions. However, Smith (1999) argues that both insider and outsider researchers must have ways of thinking critically about their processes, their relationships, and the quality of their interpretation of their data and analysis. According to Smith, the major difference is that “insiders have to live with the consequences of their processes on a day-to-day basis for ever more, and so do their families and communities” (Smith, 1999, p.137).

Insider research must be as “ethical and respectful, as reflexive and critical as outsider research” (Smith, 1999, p. 139). Because an insider researcher is a member of the community with a different set of roles and relationships, status and position, the research needs to be done in a critical but respectful manner. Having said that, Smith (1999) also argues that indigenous researchers themselves do not automatically conduct research in a respectful and culturally appropriate manner, even when researching their own communities (see also Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). Indigenous researchers sometimes use westernised methodologies and methods or use their own indigenous models trivially in ways “that marginalise the communities’ contributions to the investigation” (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005, p.112).

One aspect of the insider and outsider roles that has not been discussed or questioned is the fact that there may be degrees on how much a researcher plays a role as an insider or outsider. Hence, while I may consider myself an insider with respect to the fact that I am Sāmoan and

of the community, my other identities as an academic and researcher reposition me as an outsider to a degree.

As an outsider looking in, I played the role of being a researcher from a university who planned to investigate the phenomenon with many preconceptions. With such preconceptions embedded in my thinking, I initially thought that my research was a straightforward investigation due to the fact that I was familiar with the phenomenon and known to the participants. However, being an outsider looking in made me more aware that the pre-planned research design needed to be altered in order for the participants to reveal their lived experiences. I then became an insider looking in by going back to the Sāmoan protocol of *soālaupule*, which is about negotiation and/or sharing of power with the participants, to allow freedom and choice of methods for sharing their experiences.

This study has used phenomenology as the main western concept. It is therefore important to contextualise phenomenology and how it relates to this research.

6.5 Conceptualising Phenomenology

It is important for me to understand the term phenomenology, its origins and meanings, in order to shape my perceptions and understanding of its relevance in my research. Some researchers (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2000; Lichtman, 2006; Lodico, Spaulding & Voegtle, 2006; and McMillan, 2008) claim that Edmund Husserl was the founder of phenomenology, whereas others (Natanson, 1970; Pivcevic 1970; & Wagner 1970) claim that the origin of phenomenology derived from Hegel's work in the 1800s. I am interested in the meaning of phenomenology and its appropriateness to my research hence exploring its origins might help in shaping my thoughts.

The original and general aim of phenomenology is to describe experiences and underlying reasons embedded within such experiences. Although this

definition of phenomenology is broad, it clearly indicates that phenomenological study rests in the domain of human experiences as stressed in the origin of the term. The term *phenomenology* has derived from two Greek words, *phainomenon* meaning to appear and *logos*, which means reason. Much of phenomenologically based research reflects this original meaning “whatever appears, appears in concrete experiences” (Pivcevic, 1970, p. 11). Concrete experiences appear within three phenomenological contexts; namely spiritual, transcendental and communal and/or existential phenomenology and these are discussed in the next section of this chapter.

6.5.1 Spiritual phenomenology

There is a spiritual meaning of phenomenology, which refers to one’s evolving patterns of life experience, from the simplest to the most sophisticated forms of consciousness, or from concrete to abstract (Houlgate, 2005). Spiritual phenomenology aims at gaining a deeper understanding of the nature of human beings’ systematic stages of life experiences, beginning with consciousness, self-consciousness, reason, and spirit/mind leading to knowledge (Houlgate, 2005; Pivcevic, 1970).

Sensuous certainty refers to people’s simple consciousness of what appears now, and in the presence of things. This stage of consciousness avoids all other possible mediating and relational factors, but affirms its certainty that there is nothing before the now or the present. Such initial certainty is not simple but a complex whole of various experiences that extend back across time, space and other relational factors in people’s lives. In this study, although the participants are all Sāmoans, their different lived experiences could affect their perceptions of each other, and such perceptions could be positive, or negative. It is therefore important in this research for the researcher and the participants to build understanding from the beginning especially as this research is about participants’ lives and lived experiences. Building understanding between the researcher and the participants and their families, and among the participants

themselves is a major component of the phenomenology of the mind/spirit and in this research.

Houlgate (2005) suggests that one who conducts research based on immediate sensuous certainty should acknowledge that the phenomenon under investigation is more complex than it is first perceived to be, even if one is seemingly familiar with the phenomenon under investigation. For example, I am familiar with the establishment of Sāmoan bilingual and immersion units and I am also a member of the Sāmoan community, but that does not provide a clear understanding of the participants' lived experiences in relation to the establishment of the units. It is not a straightforward research because of the researcher and the researched may have different preconceptions about the establishment of immersion and bilingual units. These preconceptions must be brought to the surface as part of building relationship and understanding of each other.

How does phenomenology of spirit/mind relate to Pasifika people's life experiences? Tui Atua (2009) suggests that Pasifika people's lives are grounded in their genealogical, historical, colonial, cultural and spiritual cosmos. Pasifika people's relationship with nature highlights spiritual dimensions that are practised within people's everyday lives. Tui Atua's writings are echoed in Avegalio (2009) suggesting that Pasifika people's consciousness is formed and reformed through mediating categories such as culture, religion and spirit. Le Tagaloa (1996e) also discusses the spiritual power of fa'asāmoa traditional discourses and practices, as discussed earlier in Chapter Four.

The phenomenology of spirit/mind and its mapping of the developmental process of consciousness highlights the importance of researching real and meaningful life experiences; and hence a researcher should construct the research with as much understanding of the phenomena and the people involved (Houlgate, 2005; Wagner, 1970). According to Houlgate (2005), and Wagner, (1970), constructing phenomenological research is

emotional especially when people share experiences of struggle, pain, and frustrations in their lives. The researcher and the participants of this study are likely to have experienced similar challenges in their lives of being Sāmoans and their involvement in the establishment of ā'oga 'amata and bilingual units.

Sharing of people's lived experiences especially in focus group discussion could be difficult for some participants hence ideas from transcendental phenomenology might help find ways to support the revealing process.

6.5.2 Transcendental phenomenology as research practice

Barnacle (2001), Moustakas (1994) and Pivcevic (1970) claim that Husserl's transcendental phenomenology is a study of consciousness or the whole mind and beyond, which in fact points back to the phenomenology of the spirit/mind.

Although transcendental phenomenology is about searching beyond the details of people's everyday life experiences to the essence underlying those experiences, there is limited literature on how searching for the essence of lived experience happens. Cohen, Manion, and Morrison (2000) also argue that a phenomenologically based researcher should look "beyond the details of everyday life to the essences underlying them" (p. 24). The essence is the central underlying meaning of human beings' experience, shared with the different lived experiences. Lester (1999) argues that phenomenological methods play a significant role in "surfacing deep issues and making voices heard" (p. 3). Lodico, Spaulding and Voegtli (2006) additionally claim that the role of a phenomenologist is to "give voice" (p. 16) to participants' perspectives. Giving *voice* to participants was a compelling motivation in the process of framing this study.

Through the process, I found myself asking many questions. These included: What does transcendental phenomenology mean to this

research? How could I as the researcher underpin the essence of the participants' lived experiences? How could the researcher and the researched knowledge and preconceptions shift? Why is this process important in this research? Because the participants are all members of the Sāmoan community who know each other either through extended aiga or from the same villages or churches, preconceptions of each other including those of the researcher needed to be put aside temporarily to allow freedom and space for all participants to share their stories.

According to Lichtman (2006), Pivcevic (1970) and van Manen (1990, 1991), the role of Husserl's transcendental phenomenology begins with bracketing or setting aside all presuppositions of the phenomenon under investigation and starts the research afresh. Once the bracketing process is done, the researcher and researched can then begin with the research process in whatever way they consider, depending on the relationship between the researcher and the researched.

Schmidt (2005) called the bracketing process the "letting go of knowing, embracing of not knowing, and maybe never knowing" (pp. 121-133). I realized that I must employ a Sāmoan culturally appropriate approach in the temporary bracketing process. Examples on how such process occurred in this research are discussed in Chapters Seven and Eight.

Spiritual and transcendental aspects of phenomenology are connected to the contexts in which lived experiences occur. Because people's lived experiences exist in their lives within a community, it is important to explore communal and/or existential phenomenology and how it links to spiritual and transcendental aspects.

6.5.3 Communal and/or existential phenomenology

Perspectives on communal phenomenology derived from the work of Schutz's existential phenomenology (Natanson, 1970; Wagner, 1970). Existential phenomenology refers to views and conceptualisations of

meanings of people's experiences as they are socially derived and distributed in their community (Natanson, 1970). In other words people's lived experiences are meaningful if they are communal or familial based as in this study. In this research, the shift in the experiences of the researcher and the researched are communally constructed as we are from the same community that speak the same language with the same cultural beliefs and values. Perspectives from phenomenology of the mind, transcendental phenomenology and the existence and connection between people's lived experiences and society, have all contributed in shaping my thoughts as I explored various conceptual frameworks. These frameworks have helped me engage in a co-constructive methodology that underpinned this research.

In the next section, I draw on both phenomenology and the Sāmoan concept of *fa'afaletui* to explain how these worked as the basis for my research.

6.6 Conceptualising of Fa'afaletui

This research draws on the concept of *fa'afaletui* to guide its methodology. Galumalemana Alfred Hunkin, Muliagatele Vāvāo Fetui and Aiono Fanaafi Le Tagaloa (personal communications, 2008 & 2009) explain that the word *fa'afaletui* originates from the word *faletui*. The concept *faletui* can be translated as a *tui* (threaded through) *fale* (house), which refers to Tui Manu'a-the king of Manu'a's meeting place. Manu'a is one of the small Islands in the American Sāmoa territory. Tui Manu'a would invite high chiefs for *faletui* (important meetings), which were always held behind closed doors. Whatever decisions made behind those closed doors contributed to the *faletui*, which assumed to refer to the law and regulations that were collaboratively created by the Tui Manu'a and high chiefs. Any *faletui* between the Tui Manu'a and high chiefs was regarded as the most secretive but important meeting, from which the villagers were excluded.

The concept of fa'afaletui extends beyond that of talanoa (Vaiotei, 2006), referred to previously. Fa'a in the term f'a'a-fale-tui is the causative prefix used with a large number of base words and in this context, means to cause someone or something to have or to do something. Fa'afaletui is used in this study both as a verb and as a noun. As a verb, it refers to process of progressive and important sharing of lived experiences. As a noun, it refers to the actual sharing. The term also refers to the building of close bonds between the researcher and the participants through collaboration (Tamasese, Peteru, Waldegrave, & Bush, 2005). Fa'afaletui in this study encompasses the two Sāmoan idiomatic expressions, one of these is *teu le va*, which reinforces fa'asāmoa protocol and community structure of gerontocracy between the researcher and the participants through negotiation of their identities. The other idiomatic expression is *'aua le to'ia le va*, which is a call for order within any fa'afaletui. The inclusion of such a concept is paramount in the process of fa'afaletui and it is used in a non-coercive but influential manner. What it means is that *'aua le to'ia le va* respects everyone who is present at each fa'afaletui. For example, if any participant disrupts others while sharing their stories, it is necessary as a researcher, to intervene by saying *fa'amolemole 'aua le toia le va* - please don't disrespect the space.

The concept of fa'afaletui is also explored in the Ministry for Women's (2015) research of Samoan people's understanding of primary prevention of violence against women. Here, fa'afaletui is used interchangeably as a methodology and as a method. The fa'afaletui methodology prioritises fa'asamoā in terms of how, why and for whom the research is conducted. The fa'afaletui method through focus groups sessions does not only acknowledge different levels of knowing in the traditional Samoan community, but also prioritises the sharing of views towards a consensus about the range of views presented, and possible solutions for moving an issue forward. (See also Suaalii-Sauni, & Fulu-Aiolupotea, 2014).

Pasifika ways of knowing suggests it is homogeneous but it is not. However, research within the fa'asamoa includes respect between people with status (researcher) and the others (researched). Teu le va is a Sāmoan concept and what it means to Sāmoans is the respect between people of various status, authority, gender and age. To keep that respect Samoans want to maintain teu le va regardless of whether or not they disagree with what is discussed in any situation such as research. This is because respect is more important to Sāmoans than challenging the researcher or anyone with authority, and this is likely to affect the participants in this study. This is the major reason why coupling the concepts of teu le va and 'aua le toia le va with other views, namely fa'afaletui and phenomenology is important in a research process using methods that provide freedom for participants to share their stories.

6.7 Conclusion

In this chapter I explore phenomenology of the spirit/mind, transcendental phenomenology, communal phenomenology, some Pasifika research concepts and Kura Kaupapa Māori indigenous research perspectives. I have learnt from indigenous-based research about the significance of utilising traditions, values and beliefs in research and conducting research with people rather than about people, which highlights inclusion and the empowerment of the whole āiga and community to partake effectively in discussions. The literature explored have also provided me with a critique of western research models, power relations between western perspectives and indigenous research methods and methodologies, issues of debate on ethics and validity, and about who does research for whom and for whose benefit. I have also found various phenomenological perspectives compelling. Such views have all contributed to the shaping of the methodological framework for this study.

I have reviewed various concepts to illustrate how the essence of the participants' lived experiences could be revealed within a culturally specific Pasifika research framework. The research was a collaborative event in

which the researcher and the participants played significant roles in reconstructing the initial research plan. My role in this research was both as an insider and an outsider. As an insider looking out, I actively played my role as a member of the same researched community with the same language, cultural beliefs, and values. The participants and I negotiated our identities in a progressive and respectful manner. We understood each other's self-consciousness and how to respect the gerontocracy system, which frames us culturally. But I also needed to ensure the freedom to share our lived experiences.

The conceptual frameworks discussed in this chapter have influenced my thoughts in terms of researching with our Pasifika people. I have attempted to work with common Pasifika metaphors and concepts in a deep way. Using metaphors and Pasifika concepts in a trivial manner does not provide opportunity; space and freedom for both the researcher and the researched to reveal the essence of individuals' lived experiences. People's lived experiences can only be revealed through the use of culturally appropriate and sensitive in-depth approaches.

As a result, I have termed my coupling research framework Fa'afaletui Phenomenology, one that accommodates itself within a qualitative research paradigm. Fa'afaletui and phenomenology each has its own entity, which could be coupled and/or utilised interchangeably throughout this study. This coupling methodology will be discussed in Chapter Seven.

CHAPTER SEVEN

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND METHODS

7.1 Introduction

This chapter describes the methodology of the study and the data collection methods used to investigate the research phenomenon. The phenomenon is the establishment of Sāmoan Early Childhood Education Immersion ā'oga 'amata and Sāmoan bilingual units in primary and intermediate levels of school. The chapter will first explain the nature of the study, which is being investigated through a qualitative research paradigm. To capture the complexity of parents' lived experiences, the study selected a fa'afaletui phenomenological approach as discussed in the previous chapter, with multiple methods. The chapter continues with an elaboration of each method employed, followed by a description of the research data analysis process.

7.2 Nature of the study

This study sought to capture the experiences of Sāmoan parents and communities in relation to the establishment of bilingual/immersion education for their children. Methodologically the two broad issues that initially shaped my thinking were: how and why did parents establish immersion and bilingual units? And what were the parents' experiences regarding the establishment of those units? From the literature review, I formed a position that it would be more productive to listen to parents' voices through investigating not only their experiences but also the meaning of those experiences. The investigation included trying to capture an in-depth view of whether or not parents' experiences and perceptions of immersion and bilingual education had changed since the establishment of the units. If the parents' views had changed, how and why did those changes happen? In other words, what were the turning points in the parents' lives and experiences? The broad methodological issues and

questions asked focused on understanding the investigated phenomenon. My intention was to allow the participants to talk openly about their experiences. The parents will be encouraged to share their experiences in multiple forms: in a form of story and in the language(s) of their choice, in a questionnaire, in interviews, testimonies and/or focus groups meetings.

7.3 Qualitative research

Qualitative research is complex in nature and can be conducted through a range of methods to attain better understanding of particular phenomena. Denzin and Lincoln (2005) state that qualitative research “must work within a complex field of inquiry” (p. 2). Because qualitative research needs to be dynamic and responsive to context, it does not necessarily use one single method. In addition, Creswell (1998) describes qualitative research as a conceptual “civic” process (p. 49), which refers to collaborative participation between a researcher and participants with on-going complex ethical dialogues. Through participation and collaboration, ethical dialogues between the researcher and the participants can provide in-depth meanings for interpretive inquiry (Mason, 1996). This resonates with the earlier discussion of insider and outsider position, and of the collaborative and mutually respectful approach advocated by fa’afaletui.

McMillan (2008) suggests that qualitative research stresses a phenomenological model because its “multiple realities are rooted in people’s perceptions” (p. 11). This latter position of a phenomenological model with multiple realities is the one that I adopted as discussed in Chapter Six. I came to appreciate the nature of active and in-depth listening in order to make sense of many realities offered by different participants at different points in time. In general terms, qualitative research is based on the premise that knowledge is gained through in-depth understanding of the direct experience of participants in an individual case; it is descriptive in nature, relying primarily on narrative and/or reflections on events. As Creswell (1998) states:

Qualitative research is an inquiry process of understanding based on distinct methodological traditions of inquiry that explore a social or human problem. The researcher builds a complex, holistic picture, analyses words, reports detailed views of informants, and conducts the study in a natural setting (p. 15).

Qualitative research has developed from a wide range of disciplinary traditions and is commonly interconnected within the social interpretive paradigm. It is grounded in a philosophical view that is concerned with how the world is interpreted, understood, experienced, and recorded or produced (Lichtman, 2006). The nature of qualitative inquiry provides a range of elements to any research. The three common and most relevant elements and/or characteristics of qualitative research for my study are that it is a naturalistic, collaborative and holistic form of inquiry.

7.3.1 Naturalistic inquiry

A naturalistic setting refers to a research context that is familiar to participants and is culturally appropriate for them to share their experiences. Participants' experiences are best understood when they are produced within an environment that is free from external control and restrictions (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2000; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; McMillan, 2008). Because "meanings of experiences are mostly generated within such contexts, applying naturalistic inquiry in qualitative research is critical" (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p. 89). Having said that, recognising the importance of naturalistic inquiry in qualitative research is not in itself enough. Employing naturalistic inquiry must align with cultural factors in order to produce social explanations that have a wider resonance. Therefore, a qualitative researcher must look beyond being satisfied with explanations, which are limited by the empirical parameters of their study, according to Lincoln and Guba (1985). Meanings must be contextualised; and a context "demands a human instrument" (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p. 187). In other words, interpretation depends upon how

people view the meanings of a phenomenon from the inside; and how people interpret those meanings through employing “multiple interactive and humanistic methods” (Rossman & Rallis, 1998, p. 8). Implementing naturalistic inquiry in this study involves not only the physical settings, but also the cultural – the conducting of various fa’afaletui in a Sāmoan culturally appropriate manner and according to accepted and respectful protocols as discussed in Chapter Six.

7.3.2 Collaborative inquiry

Collaborative inquiry in qualitative research happens when those involved in research work together fully as co-researchers (Reason, 1988). Although working with participants as co-researchers in the true sense of the word is from initiation of a research project to its documentation, but this is not always possible. The success of collaborative inquiry in qualitative research depends not only sustained involvement of all but also upon openness and genuine negotiation in discussion with everyone involved in the research (Gomm, 2004; Reason 1988). In other words, every participant should be encouraged to contribute to the discussion of the phenomenon in such a way as to enable the development of authentic and genuine relationships. It is therefore vital to conduct research with people rather than on or about people (Creswell, 1998).

Collaboration among participants, their families and the researcher was paramount in this study. However, encouragement and empowerment of individual participants to participate in discussion in fa’asamoa context is not free of challenges because of the structure of the Sāmoan community as a typical gerontocracy, in which young participants often wait for their turns to speak after the elders, as explained previously in Chapters Five and Six. Le Tagaloa (1997) sets out the sacredness of respective space between specific human relations as a means of addressing people in any fa’asāmoa gathering context.

7.3.3 Holistic inquiry

Holistic inquiry involves the study of a phenomenon in its entirety rather than identification of specific variables. It complements collaboration and refers to all parts being bound or belonging together. Such a vision of qualitative research as holistic was noted by Reason (1988), who highlights the importance of humanistic, social, and spiritual aspects in research being bound together, moving away from fragmentation or “ecological devastation” (p.10). Ecological devastation refers to an act of segregation of humanitarian factors such as social/communal, cultural and spiritual aspects of life from research. In addition, Le Tagaloa (1996e) discusses holism or wholeness as the “full-circle of the moon-*atoa li’o o le masina*” (p. 31), when all cultural, communal, and spiritual aspects of Sāmoan people’s lives are brought together to become complete entities. This resonates with spiritual phenomenology discussed previously in Chapter Six.

A holistic way of thinking and behaving within fa’asāmoa, according to Le Tagaloa, encompasses and integrates multiple layers of meanings and experiences in a more democratic and humanistic manner, rather than observing or defining an individual’s experiences in isolation. Tanielu’s (2004) research identifies the significance of holistic inquiry throughout her work, not only with various groups of Sāmoan participants including church ministers and their wives, Sunday school teachers and children, but also with historical and genealogical resources.

This study can be seen as a form of holistic inquiry. Taking account of the participants’ family, language, cultural, and spiritual practices throughout the research process all contributed to a holistic view of the research context. Being respectful and accepting of the participants’ different spiritual beliefs and values, different denominations, different age groups and different levels of ability also signified an important commitment to holistic inquiry. My role will be to view such variables in a holistic manner and to describe and interpret those variables holistically.

7.4 The research process

I have discussed the research methodological framework in Chapter Six. In this section of Chapter Seven, I will discuss the research process followed by a discussion of the participants' backgrounds. The final sections will discuss the data collection methods.

7.5 Process of selecting the participants

Selecting of participants was open to parents, grandparents and/or any Sāmoan who was involved in the establishment of āoga 'amata and Sāmoan bilingual units in primary and intermediate levels of schooling. The participants were self-selected after a series of meetings. I initially organised two informal meetings with the networks of Sāmoan parents from Auckland and Tokoroa that I have worked with and supported since the 1980s. The meeting in Auckland was held at a school hall in central Auckland. The Tokoroa meeting was held at a Maori wananga building in the area. The purpose of the two meetings was to discuss the research topic and the data collection methods. Fifty parents attended the meeting in Auckland, and 10 parents attended the meeting in Tokoroa. From those two meetings only 35 parents from Auckland and five Sāmoan parents from Tokoroa agreed to be part of the research.

A letter (see Appendix 1) was then sent out to the 40 identified participants to re-explain and reaffirm purpose and process of the study and issues that were discussed in the general meetings. A consent form both in Samoan and English (see appendices 2a & 2b), copies of questionnaires with return address-stamped envelopes were also sent out. Out of the 40 questionnaires sent out only 26 were returned with signed consent forms. The returned copies consisted of 22 from Auckland and four from Tokoroa. I then decided that 20 would be a manageable number of participants to proceed with further meetings. Thus, it was considered wise to withdraw the Tokoroa participants' contributions owing to the travelling distance and to keep the data to a manageable amount. I made contact with the four

Tokoroa informants to discuss the decision made and to affirm that all the data collected from Tokoroa would be kept confidential. Two of the parents from Auckland could not continue with the research as one parent left Auckland for Sāmoa and the other one migrated to Australia.

Table 7.1 The remaining 20 research participants' backgrounds

Regions	No of participants	Female	Male	Born in Zealand	Born in Sāmoa
South Auckland	13	12	1	0	13
West Auckland	4	3	1	0	4
Central Auckland	3	3	0	1	2

The participants' ages at the time of the research ranged from 30 years old to 62. A strenuous attempt was made to encourage more men to be part of the study. However, it was noticed that the men preferred to transport their wives to group fa'afaletui and waited for them in their cars rather than attending the meetings themselves. The wives also confirmed that their husbands preferred to wait in the cars. This is consistent with practices within a Sāmoan village organisation called '*saofa'iga*' where the women's organisation is different from the men's and each organisation plays different roles and responsibilities within the village (see Le Tagaloa, 1996e, 1997). More samples of the Sāmoan socio-organisational system and the roles of women in society will be discussed in Chapter eight. The two men involved in the study were husbands of women participating in the study. The participants in the study were predominantly parents. They represent a particular sample in terms of their commitment to Sāmoan language and bilingual education through initiating communal and church ā'oga 'amata regardless of various challenges that they had encountered.

The parents' experiences in learning English will be highlighted in Chapter Eight. This leads to a discussion of methods used to analyse the extensive amount and range of data collected for this study.

7.6 Data collection methods

Educational researchers are increasingly recognising the value of using mixed methods because it allows "flexibility in choosing methods of data collection" and the presentation of results can be "convincing and powerful" when both summary numbers and in-depth portraits of a setting are included" (Lodico, Spaulding, & Voegle, 2006, p. 282). Mixed methods research emphasises the need for the researcher to focus on all parts of the mixed methods used. In other words, the combination of mixed methods data is more vigorous than viewing the sum of its parts separately. Thus, extensive data collection is required in mixed methods research to generate rigorous data. Mixed methods research has become popular and appreciated by more educators as a "legitimate inquiry approach" (Brewer & Hunter, as cited in Creswell, 1998, p. 559). One purpose of using mixed methods is to "integrate multiple databases to best understand a phenomenon" or topic being investigated. Data could be collected separately in two phases so that data from one source could elaborate, or complement data from the other source (Creswell, 1998). The use of mixed methods allows a researcher to identify "strengths of one method" in a way that "compensates the weaknesses" of the other (McMillan, 2008, p. 311).

Using mixed methods for collecting data in this study was challenging but enjoyable, because the participants had a choice to select their preferred method(s). The mixed methods used included a questionnaire, focus groups, interviews and testimony. Different participants contributed different types of data. Data collected from focus group, interviews and testimony have added depth to the participants' responses to the questionnaire. The following illustrations provide a summary of the participants' preferred method(s) of sharing their lived experiences.

Table 7.2 South Auckland participants and mixed methods used

Participants	Questionnaire	Focus group	Interview	Testimony
Couple	X	X		X
3	X			
4	X		X	
5				X
6	X	X		
7	X	X		
8	X	X		
9	X	X		
10	X	X		
11	X	X		
12	X	X		
13	X	X		

The South Auckland couple did the questionnaire and decided to join one focus group. The couple also conducted their own tape-recorded testimony. The participant who preferred to do the questionnaire only was a busy grandparent with no transport. One parent did both the questionnaire and an individual interview. One parent preferred a tape-recorded testimony. The rest of the South Auckland participants decided to join the focus group interviews in addition to the questionnaire.

Table 7.3 West Auckland participants and mixed methods used

Participants	Questionnaire	Focus group	Interview	Testimony
Couple			X	
16	X	X	X	
17	X	X	X	

The West Auckland couple preferred an interview only at their ECE centre. The rest of the participants decided to use three methods: questionnaire, focus group and interviews.

Table 7.4 Central Auckland participants and mixed methods used

Participants	Questionnaire	Focus group	Interview	Testimony
18	X			
19	X		X	
20			X	

From central Auckland, participant 18 did the questionnaire only as she was a full-time ECE teacher and found it difficult to attend focus groups fa'afaletui. Participant 19 was a grandmother who did the questionnaire and an individual interview. Participant 20 from central Auckland was a New Zealand born Sāmoan who decided to do an individual interview only.

7.7 Process of data collection

I initially planned to use questionnaire and focus group fa'afaletui sessions only. However, the idea of individual interviews and testimonies emerged during the fa'afaletui phenomenology process. Firstly, I informed the 20

participants about the two choices of methods and the data collection process by visiting them in their workplaces or homes. Letters were also sent to the 20 parents, followed by a second home visit to further explain the mixed methods approach. I informed the 20 participants that focus groups and individual fa'afaletui sessions were invaluable opportunities to elaborate on the issues in the questionnaires and to share their stories in their own language, words and interpretations. Hence, I conducted data collection in three independent periods within the first two years of the research. The step-by-step process began with the questionnaire, followed by the focus group sessions and finally the individual interviews. Couple two's interview and the testimonial data were collected during the process.

7.7.1 The questionnaire

I sent each participant a copy of the questionnaire (see appendix 3), a return-stamped envelope and a letter asking for a two-week turn-around. I also followed this up with phone calls and visits. Once the questionnaires were collected, my next step was to analyse the questionnaire responses to guide the fa'afaletui sessions. All the parents filled out the questionnaires with the exception of the couple from West Auckland and the New Zealand-born parent from Central Auckland, who preferred interviews. However, I still used the questionnaires during interviews, to gather the additional participant background information in an informal but sensitive manner. I had to be humble because I belong to the participants' community. Smith (1999) reminds any indigenous researcher to be "ethical and respectful" when researching with their own people (p.140).

7.7.2 Focus groups

Data from focus groups were audio and/or video recorded. I used the responses to open-ended questions from the questionnaire to guide both groups' discussions. One of the reasons for using a video-recorder was to capture both verbal and non-verbal features of language and behaviours of the participants during the fa'afaletui. It took about two to three hours for each focus group fa'afaletui, including prayers and hymns, and long

continuous periods of social talk and laughter. Each member of the two focus groups was informally invited to view the video-discussion with the researcher. However, it was difficult to organise times that would suit everyone, so a gathering for such a purpose was subsequently not possible. I still made an attempt to contact individual participant of the focus groups to reaffirm any verbal contribution that was not clear on the video-recorded sessions.

Focus group one in this study consisted of six female participants combined from South Auckland and West Auckland. The first fa'afaletui for this group was held at the researcher's workplace at Central Auckland. The second one was held at the researcher's place in West Auckland.

Focus group two consisted of six participants of five females and one male. There were four from South Auckland and two from west Auckland and one of them was also in focus group one. The first fa'afaletui for this group was held at the researcher's workplace at Central Auckland. The second one was held at a Sāmoan ECE Centre at West Auckland.

One important issue in focus group discussion is confidentiality and participant welfare. There is no guarantee that participants of focus groups will respect each other's confidentiality after the research, even if they signalled their willingness to respect this at the beginning of the research, by signing the consent form. The participants' experiences sometimes led to debate because they had differing views, and this made confidentiality an important issue. For example when one participant said that she sent her children to an English-speaking school in Sāmoa, other participants began a debate by asking controversial questions such as "*Aiseā na 'ave ai lau tama i le ā'oga pālagi a'o oe o le Sāmoa* (P18FG2). Translation - Why did you send your child to a pālagi school but you are a Sāmoan?

The participants' lived experiences were explicitly shared and therefore created opportunities for debates and comments. Further examples of such debates are highlighted in Chapter Eight.

7.7.3 Individual interviews

There were five individual interviews altogether, two from Central Auckland, two from West Auckland and one from South Auckland. Each interview was tape-recorded with the participant's approval and it lasted for approximately one to two hours. After each interview, the participant listened to own recorded story to affirm that lived experiences or what they meant to say were recorded accurately. I visited each participant again within two to three weeks to check the transcript of the tape-recorded narrative. The interviews were conducted at various places as requested by the participants.

7.7.4 Interview for couple two

I made a personal visit to couple two from West Auckland at their ECE centre to organise their interview. They both decided that the best time was in the evening as it would be quiet after school. The interview was then conducted on a Friday evening within a week. The interview was tape-recorded. However, there were instances when the couple, particularly the husband, told me to stop the recording. Such instances included the use of culturally inappropriate language to express the couple's frustrations and feelings of anger. I explained that such instances were particularly important to the study. Hence I asked for approval to record such instances. I also ensured them that there would be no names mentioned in the research. The interview lasted for about two hours, including the checking and reaffirming of the couple's tape-recorded shared experiences. The couple and I listened to the tape-recording and the husband made some changes with the wife's affirmation. After the two-hour session, the tape-recorded interview was close to a fully transcribed version. Because this couple did not do the questionnaire I gave each a copy to complete just the personal background section. A third meeting

was organised to view the full transcript within two weeks. However, due to the couple's busy responsibilities of their newly developed centre, I decided to send a copy of the full transcript for comments and requested them to return it in the self-stamped envelope provided. However, after two weeks the transcript was not returned so I contacted them on the phone and the response from the husband was that there were no comments.

7.7.5 Testimonies

A testimony is personal, written and/or spoken statement. One parent from South Auckland who initially agreed to do an individual interview preferred to tape-record her own personal testimony, instead of a face-to-face interview. The parent did as she wished and personally delivered the tape-recorded testimony with a written statement to me. Couple one from South Auckland informed me during the focus group sessions that they preferred to tape-record their testimony in the privacy of their home Instead of a face-to-face interview. The couple did as they wished and the wife personally delivered their tape-recorded testimony to me.

7.8 Data analysis

Data analysis in this study thus began with reading and thinking about the stories throughout the research journey from meetings, interviews and transcription procedures, to more reading. The transcript for each story was in the Sāmoan language.

I initially interpreted each story before translation was undertaken. Interpretation of each story was far more meaningful in the same language that the participants used. In other words, the meanings in each story were sorted in Sāmoan and compared to other essential understandings of relational issues across the stories. When all the stories had been interpreted several times, their interpretations became the basis of dialogue with Sāmoan language experts, supervisors and shared at conferences.

I searched for understandings that might shed light on the data analysis process adopted. I identified a set of initial emerging themes across the stories. For example, the themes that emerged during the initial stages of the process were related to participants' struggle, determination, perseverance and courage. These themes revealed essential meanings of relational lived experiences. The lived experiences of the phenomenon were all recorded in the form of stories. Various themes were noticed in each story. Hence, the next step of data analysis that I engaged with was thematic analysis.

7.8.1 Thematic analysis

Thematic analysis is sometimes referred to as content analysis (Gomm, 2004). The role of a thematic analyst is to search for themes in the transcripts and create a framework of themes. Such a thematic analysis framework is usually couched in terms of who says what in relation to a particular theme, and why and how saying something will be significant in regard to one theme, but also relates to another theme. Braun and Clarke (2006) suggest that thematic analysis is a method for identifying, analysing and reporting of patterns or themes within data. Braun and Clarke argue, "Although thematic analysis is not explicitly claimed as a method of analysis" in actual fact "a lot of analysis is essentially thematic" (p. 80). Braun and Clarke use the term "constructionist method" (p. 81) for thematic analysis, in which its function constitutes the inter-relationships between participants' realities, meanings of their experiences and how such experiences occur. Thematic analysis can also be a "contextualised method sitting between the two poles of essentialism and constructionism" (p. 81). In other words, thematic analysis represents the data transparently in terms of the participants' experiences of the world and their reality within the context of the research. Thematic data analysis involves familiarising oneself with data; generating initial codes; searching for themes; reviewing themes; defining and naming themes; and producing the report. Themes in a thematic analysis are thus not merely convenient headings for use in

writing up the results or in reporting research, but actually stand for something about “the way the minds of interviewees are organized” (Gomm, 2004, p. 250).

Van Manen (1990) suggests that the purpose of thematic analysis of phenomenological data is to “grasp the essence” (p. 78) of lived experience, which involves reflection, appropriation, clarification, and making the structure of lived experience explicit. Phenomenological themes may be understood as the “structures of experience” (p. 78), determining what the themes are, and how such experiential structures make up those experiences.

Throughout the process of transcribing, reading and coding, initial themes were detected and then recorded (see Table 7.5 for an example of thematic analysis).

Table 7.5 Focus group 1 Example of thematic analysis

Speakers in focus groups fa’afaletui	Speech	Theme
FG1 -SP 1	O le faigatā ia o le tau’amataina o le ā’oga leai ni tupe fai i fale ta’avale e le faigōgie e tigā . . . Translation – It was hard when we started the a’oga with no money – we used the garage- its painful . . .	Struggle Pain Lack of finance
FG1 SP-2	E fa’apenā foi lā mātou ā’oga i le tau ‘amataina e leai ni mea e fai ai tigā le mālūlū ae fai lava i le hall a le ‘aulotu Translation- Just like our a’oga at the beginning – no resources – we used our church hall but it was cold	Struggle No Resource

Themes were selected from the participants' combined stories from questionnaires, focus groups, individuals and the couples' contributions. Although the stories were guided, the fa'afaletui phenomenological view of the data analysis related to the outer world of the experiences, or how the experiences were experienced. According to Denzin (1989), the "outer world locates the person in the world of others" (p. 28). How the researcher and the participants connected their experiences to the others became a key aspect of the research. For example, everyone involved was conscious of the presence of the chiefs and church ministers' wives, thus the Sāmoan culture of respect was activated. The chiefs and church ministers' wives on the other hand were conscious that others were aware and conscious of their status. Thus their respect for others was also evident. The concept of I as a We and We as an I was practised throughout the study. Each participant in focus groups shared a combination of personal, familial, church and communal story. Each participant acted as a representative of his or her extended family and/or community. Such connections were reflected in the focus groups' video-recording data and the summary of individual and couples' contributions, when participants spoke of we; for example, *o lā ma'ua fānau* (our children), *o lō mātou 'ā'iga* (our family). In all the stories including the testimonies, the participants talked about their children, our family, our communities, our church, our language and our culture in a plural term. The participants' dreams and aspirations for their children's educational success were for the benefit of the family, church, community, village and country.

To value the participants' life experiences, the researcher must have the ability to capture, probe and render understandable problematic experience in the participants' stories. Personal stories and historical life experiences described critical events in an individual's life. Such critical events are "epiphanies," which refer to "interactional moments and experiences, which leave marks on people's lives" (Denzin 1989, p. 70). The effects of such moments can be positive or negative. Reading the

traces and evidence of problematic experiences and striking occurrences that are given in the participants' stories, strengthened my understanding throughout the data analysis process. The participants were able to share these experiences emotionally and/or angrily because of humorous encouragement and commentary not just from the researcher but also from other participants in the focus groups.

Coding is important in the thematic analysis process. The initial coding and conceptualising of data began in the earlier stage segments from the questionnaire data. These were combined with the interview and testimony transcripts. Breaking the data analytically into parts with codes created more questions than answers, as Coffey and Atkinson (1996) explain:

Codes are organizing principles that are not set in stone. They are our own creations, in that we identify and select them ourselves. They are tools to think with. They can be expanded, changed, or scrapped altogether as our ideas develop through repeated interactions with the data. Starting to create categories is a way of beginning to read and think about the data in a systematic and organized way (p. 32).

The in-depth coding proceeded from a micro-level, which was concerned with coding small text or segments, before the coding of large segments with the goal of arriving at a manageable number of codes. Such a process was adapted from Coffey and Atkinson (1996) and the intention was to retrieve any missing threads from the ideas threaded through stories. From the retrieving process I recontextualised the data under emergent sub-headings of patterns using diagrams, webs, matrices and maps. Accessibility to coded data in dynamic ways was important not merely for exploring, expanding, transforming data and searching for common themes, but also because it created more possibilities for further in-depth analysis. While exploring codes on matrices and maps, I

discovered the overlapping of codes. The overlapping of codes had created common themes. For example, the overlap of codes in the combinations of emotions of pain and struggle, pleasure and aspirations, created a turning point code and so forth. These overlaps will be discussed in the next chapter.

7.9 Extra analysis: Biblical and metaphorical texts

It was vital in this research to do an analysis of ideas and meanings beyond the themes and interpretations of Sāmoan traditions, because the data generated included other forms such as the chanting of old historical events and sharing of humorous social stories. Such additional analysis was significant because the stories were shaped and shared in relation to cultural, social, traditional and spiritual understandings. The collective stories were also part of the representations of the Sāmoan community's current perceived, and culturally located reality. The stories provided varied ways of viewing and presenting the factors that influenced the establishment of the ā'oga 'amata and the Sāmoan bilingual units that the participants were involved with.

I drew on the traditional knowledge and concepts from the Sāmoan indigenous writers Le Tagaloa (1996a, 1997) and Tui Atua (2009) to guide the analysis of the traditional rituals, chants and metaphors used in the stories.

The analysis of metaphors in the stories explored the intent or function of the metaphor, its cultural context, and its semantic mode (Coffey & Atkinson, 1996). Participants commonly used metaphors in their stories, especially in the focus group narratives, when the emphasis was on the issues in relation to their experiences of the phenomenon. According to Coffey and Atkinson (1996) "metaphorical imagery can provide a useful way of thinking about and interpreting textual data" (p. 85). Tui Atua (2008) conceptualised "metaphors as linguistic tools that have the ability to make meaning" (p. 71).

As for the traditional songs, ritual, musical legends and stories, biblical scripts, and humour, I highlighted these texts and social practices into the analysis of transcript data to affirm interpretations I had made.

7.10 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have illustrated the multifunctional and multiple-layered nature of my research using the fa'afaletui phenomenology methodological framework discussed in Chapter Six. Such multiple layers describe the foundational background of my research design process, which in fact has been moderated continuously throughout this phase of the study. The dynamic process was due to many complex layers that surfaced as a result of the phenomenological approach that I sought to follow throughout the research. The initial phase of the process began ahead of the data generation phase, with community meetings. The integral subjective nature of fa'afaletui phenomenological approach of this research explored the participants' essence of their lived experiences and opened up their unrevealed knowledge. A key learning from the research traditions that I have discussed in both Chapters Six and Seven is that research is multi-dimensional and multi-methodological.

This fa'afaletui phenomenology coupling methodology was employed in this study, because I believe that there is no pure fa'asāmoa research methodology. The coupling of Fa'afaletui with phenomenology, each of which have their own and different underpinnings, has contributed to the shaping of an appropriate methodology for this study. The researcher and the participants' life stories and experiences were the accumulations of cultural, historical, colonial and westernised learning and practices. The revealing of the participants' aspirations and expectations of their children's education and why they established and/or supported the establishment of ā'oga 'amata and bilingual units was a challenging process, because of the participants' varied backgrounds and status.

Husserl's concept of bracketing of preconceptions described Chapters Six and Seven as collaborative practice. This collaborative practice incorporated active and important roles played by the researcher and the researched at each step of the way.

This coupling methodology acknowledges the fa'asāmoa structure of gerontocracy and traditional concepts of knowing in order to assist the researcher and the researched gain full understanding of individuals' lived experiences. Hence, I suggest that asking basic why questions when conducting research with Pasifika people is as necessary as the what or how descriptions of the phenomenon under investigation. Why do parents say one thing and mean another? For example, why do they say that their language is the gift from God and yet they want their children to learn English only? Why do they want their children to learn English at the cost of their own languages? I argue, that responses to such why questions can only be revealed when a coupling research methodology such as fa'afaletui phenomenology is employed. Using an indigenous concept with its own entity and coupling up with a westernised concept to create a coupling methodology for research with Pasifika peoples could be an area for further investigation.

Chapter Eight will discuss the research findings, including the observations of the additional sources such as metaphors and biblical versions as points of reference in relation to the participants' experiences.

CHAPTER EIGHT

RESEARCH FINDINGS

8.1 Introduction

The participants' relevant demographic information is given in Chapter Seven. All participants identified that their first or main language was Sāmoan, including the one New Zealand-born participant. Hence, the predominant language used in this research was Sāmoan as is demonstrated in the participants' stories.

Chapter Eight presents the findings in ten interrelated themes representing the one phenomenon. Each theme is illustrated with quotes, terms, and phrases used by one or more of the participants. Extracts are numerically coded according to the participants' numbers (see Chapter Seven) followed by the method, which generated the data. For example, participants three and 18 preferred to use solely the questionnaire to express their experiences. Thus, extracts from those two participants' stories are coded as (P3Q) and (P18Q). Participant five preferred a personal testimony so extracts from her testimony are coded as (P5T) and so forth.

The questionnaire responses, stories from focus groups, interviews and testimonies provide the basis for judging how the establishment of ā'oga 'amata and Sāmoan bilingual units in Primary and Intermediate levels has influenced individuals' lives, families and communities.

8.2 The Initiation of ā'oga 'amata and bilingual units

Pasifika playgroups were identified as Language Nests (Utumapu, 1992 & 1998). However, they began initially as playgroups in the late 1980s, and they were all voluntary operated. Out of the 20 participants, four grandparents and 12 parents established Sāmoan playgroups. Three

playgroups associated with the participants were established in church halls, two in community halls, two in family garages, and one in a hall attached to an intermediate school. According to the participants, the church ministers and their wives initiated the playgroups in church halls with support from their congregations. The parents and community members also initiated the playgroups in garages, community halls and any available rooms attached to a school. Out of the eight playgroups that the 16 participants were involved with, five playgroups became fully licensed ā'oga 'amata and the other three have discontinued because of lack of resources, financial difficulties and because the parents who were involved moved on to paid employment. These reasons will be discussed further in the themes section.

8.2.1 The Initiation of Sāmoan bilingual units in Primary and Intermediate levels of schooling

The initiation of Sāmoan bilingual units in primary and intermediate levels was slightly different. The difference was highlighted in the stories of the participants who followed their children from ā'oga 'amata to primary and intermediate levels. For example, couple one highlighted the reason why they were willing to initiate a bilingual unit at the Intermediate school that their children attended. The husband explained:

O le mā fanau na ō i le pailigo Sāmoa i le primary mā te mānana'o lava lā e fa'aaauau le gagana Sāmoa i le intermediate (C1T). Translation - Our children attended a Sāmoan bilingual at primary so we wanted them to continue their Sāmoan language at Intermediate level.

Participant 16 showed her enthusiasm to follow her children from ā'oga 'amata to primary school by approaching the school principal to initiate a Sāmoan bilingual unit. Some participants transported their children to Sāmoan bilingual units in other areas of Auckland because there were no bilingual units close to where they lived.

The participants, who were involved with the establishment of ā’oga ‘amata, all supported the establishment of Sāmoan bilingual units either directly with their own children or with those of the extended family and church communities.

Participant three specified that the Sāmoan bilingual unit where her grandchildren attended began when the new primary school opened at Manurewa as she explained: “It started when Clendon Park Primary school opened” (P3Q). Participant five clearly expressed that she was not involved in the establishment of the Sāmoan bilingual unit, but her only son attended a Sāmoan bilingual unit in primary school. Her testimony will be shared later in this chapter.

According to all the participants, the schools initiated the Sāmoan bilingual units, informing the parents and community through newsletters. As being a top-down process, many participants also believed that the initiation of Sāmoan bilingual units was not clearly explained. Participant one explained:

Na ‘aumai le tusi mai le a’oga po’o le pulea’oga ea? Ua galo iā a’u . . . fai mai e ō atu i le fono e fai le bilingual ia tā te lē mālamalama po’o le a lea mea o le bilingual ia na ō atu lea i le fono ta te alu atu fa’apea e fa’asāmoa ae ō atu ae fenanui mai a’o Sāmoa ai ona o lātou o faia’oga (P1FG2).

Translation - A letter was sent to us from the school or the principal I think? I forgot . . . to come to a meeting to start a bilingual I didn’t understand what that thing bilingual was. We went to the meeting and we thought that the meeting was in Sāmoan but they used English. I think it’s because they were teachers.

Participant one had the idea that the meeting was about a bilingual initiative, but had no understanding of bilingual education. It is evident that

this participant was expecting the meeting to be run in the Sāmoan language. The same participant continued:

O le lua 'ea o fonotaga ae fai mai e su'e tupe mātua e alu le malaga i Sāmoa na ou fesili ai . . . po'o le faiga lā lenā o bilingual, e ō i Sāmoa . . . (P1FG2).

Translation - I think it was the second meeting that parents' fundraising for a trip to Sāmoa was discussed, so I questioned if bilingual was about a trip to Sāmoa?

There are signals here that participant one was not clear about bilingual education and the purpose of the trip to Sāmoa. It is also interesting to notice that this participant expressed the same issues about his misunderstanding about bilingual education both in the testimony and during the fa'afaletui.

Many other participants shared similar experiences that the schools initiated bilingual units but the parents were not clear about the meaning of bilingual education. Participant six articulated her experiences as follows: E fa'apenā fo'i lā mātou bilingual na tusi mai faiā'oga i mātua mo le fono a mātua Sāmoa uma e talanoa le bilingual fai mai o le vasega Sāmoa. E oso lota 'ino'ino ona o su'egātupe lava nā muamua talanoa iai fai mai o le a fai le vasega Sāmoa ae mana'omia ni tupe (P6FG2).

Translation - It's like our bilingual the teachers sent letters to all Sāmoan parents for a meeting to discuss bilingual they said it's a Sāmoan class. I felt disappointed because the first thing they talked about was fundraising . . . they said that they'll start a Sāmoan class but they needed money.

Participant six specified that the teachers informed the parents. This participant also expressed her disappointment because to her, the rationale and/or purpose of the Sāmoan bilingual unit was about

fundraising, not education. This participant was reluctant to support the bilingual unit as soon as she heard the word fundraising as she explained: *Na 'ou fa'alogu atu loa o su'egātupe mea o'u musu loa 'ou te le'i toe alu ini fono a le bilingual* (P6FG2). Translation – As soon as I heard the word fundraising I refused to go to any more bilingual fono.

In contrast to the above experiences, participant three stated that the teachers of their bilingual unit and parents had combined meetings as she claimed: “Parents and teachers stand together by having meetings and discussions and they used both Sāmoan and English languages” (P3Q).

Participant three responded to the research questionnaire in English only. This participant also claimed that the bilingual unit that she was involved with began when the new primary school opened in the Manurewa area.

Participant 18 in addition, claimed that the teachers, principal and parents' association together, initiated their Sāmoan bilingual unit. She explained:

Ua leva ona 'amata le mātou bilingual, o faiā'oga, puleā'oga fa'atasi ai ma le sosaiete lautele a mātua nā 'amataina i fonotaga e tele sā fai (P18Q).

Translation - Our bilingual unit began long time ago teachers, principal and the parents association started it with meetings. There were many meetings.

Participant 18 also explained that both languages were used at meetings, but there also was an interpreter.

Sa fa'aaogā le fa'apālāgi po'o le Inilisi sa fa'aali manatu o mātua Sāmoa ae sa iai le fa'amatala'upu o le Inilisi ma le Sāmoa ona o nisi mātua sa fa'aaogā le fa'asāmoa pe a fa'aali manatu a'o isi sa fa'aaogā le Inilisi sa iai le fa'amatala'upu o gagana uma (P18Q).

Translation-English was used but some Sāmoan parents used the Sāmoan language and others used English and there was an interpreter of both languages.

It is important to mention here that participants three and 18 preferred to share their stories solely in the questionnaire. Hence, their responses were brief. Both of them claimed that the Sāmoan and English language were used at meetings. Participant 18 was the only participant who mentioned that an interpreter was present at parents' meetings.

Many other participants who were involved with the initial stages of the establishment of bilingual units shared that they had initially had misunderstandings about bilingual education. Issues from the stories on the initial stages of the establishment of bilingual units in primary and intermediate schools can be identified in the following ways: the schools were initiating bilingual units not the parents; the parents did not understand what bilingual education was; the parents experienced disappointment when the teachers used English at meetings; and some parents had concerns about fundraising and trips to Samoa at the initial stages of the establishment of bilingual units. The reasons behind establishing ā'oga 'amata and bilingual units will be discussed in detail in the themes section.

8.3 Beliefs and experiences

8.3.1 Beliefs about the use of Sāmoan language

All the participants believed that Sāmoan must be encouraged in the home so their children could communicate with the elders in the family who could not speak English. Participant 17 said that English was banned in their homes. She explained:

E fa'asā le nanu i lō matou fale . . . o'u fai atu i le mā fānau a
tou ō i le a'oga ona nanu lea . . . a ō mai i le fale ona

fa'asāmoa lea. E iai la taimi e galo ai. . . ae o 'ita lava o le matua e fa'amanatu i fanau e fa'asāmoa i le fale. . . . (P17Int).

Translation - English is banned in our home . . . I said to our children when you go to school you speak English . . . when you come home you speak Sāmoan. But there are times that children forget . . . so its up to us parents to remind our children to speak Sāmoan in the home

Some participants also highlighted in one way or another that the new migrants from Sāmoa were the ones who encouraged their children to learn English quickly. Participant 13 explained:

O lo matou 'āiga e solomua lava i le vaega lea fa'atoa o mai mai Sāmoa le manana'o e a'o vave Igilisi a latou fānau . . . ia ona e fai mai o le tamaitiiti e lelei lana nanu o le tamaitiiti poto lenā . . . o manatu lava na ua leva ua le toe taulia i aso nei (P13FG1). Translation - Like the new migrants of our family from Sāmoa they want their children to learn English quickly . . . as they believe that a child who can speak English well is a smart child . . . that's an old belief we don't use it today

In the words of participant 13, the new immigrants from Sāmoa were the ones who encouraged their children to learn English quickly. Such beliefs appeared to be influenced by colonial, educational and economic factors as evidenced in the participants' stories. Samples of such beliefs will be discussed later in other themes.

8.3.2 Experiences of learning English

The participants used sharing humour during discussion of their recollections of learning English, but also expressed frustration and

shame. Nineteen participants were born in Sāmoa, thus their experiences of learning English in Sāmoa were all very similar to the following extract.

Na a’o mai lava la’u Igilisi i le primer one . . . i le this is the boy and this is the girl (laughs) E fa’asino e le faia’oga le ata o le tama ma le teine i le tusi faitau ma fai mai this is the boy and this is the girl (P8FG1).

Translation - I learnt English at class one . . . from ‘this is the boy and this is the girl . . . (laughs) The teacher pointed to a picture of a boy and a girl in a book and said this is a boy and this is a girl

Participant eight in focus group one was referring to how her teacher taught English from a textbook using pictures and repetitive scripted dialogues between the teachers and children. This was a style of teaching that most of the participants were familiar with and was called the ‘Gloria Tate Method’ with a focus on memorisation and imitation. For example, a teacher would point to an object, say a sentence about that object and children would repeat it.

The following extract shows similarities of the participants’ recollections of learning English. Such similarities include a teacher-directed style of teaching from a textbook and memorisation. Participant 10 explained:

O le a’oga lava a le tūlagalua na ‘amata ai ona a’o la’u Igilisi po’o le primer three ea E fai mai lēsona a le faia’oga i le tusi e fa’asino ata ma fai mai “the boy is running” o isi aso e fa’alogo i le polokalame a’oga i le leitiō ma fa’ata’ita’i iai po’o le a’o fa’atauloto foi o tauloto mai chart poo tusi pei o le Jack and Jill went up the hill po’o le a ea ua galo . . . (P10FG1).

Translation-I started learning English at primary school, I think . . . The teacher pointed to pictures in a book and said “the boy is running” and sometimes we listened to school

programme on the radio and repeated sentences or we memorised poems from charts like Jack and Jill went up the hill, I think! I forgot . . .

These participants' recollections of experiences of learning English show that teachers used textbooks, charts and radio programmes to teach English lesson by lesson. There were no signs of disagreement on how the participants learnt English using textbooks, charts and radio, but instead there were long periods of laughter and jokes indicating shame. Participant 12 explained:

Ta te taunu'u loa i le malae o le a'oga lēai loa ma se toe fa'asāmoa, ta gūgū lea ta te mā e ta'u atu se upu pālagi e mamafa o ta laugutu e o'o i le upu good morning (laughs) E mamafa tā te mā nei tei ua palauvale se isi ae lelei la'u spelling a'o le tautala oka o le mamafa ia o oka laugutu (P12FG1).

Translation - As soon as I arrived at the College ground Sāmoan language was banned so I kept quiet. I was ashamed to open my mouth as I have heavy lips even to say good morning (laughs) It's heavy I was ashamed I might say a swear word but my spelling was good but when it came to speaking wow my lips became heavy

It is evident that the participants' experiences of learning English were inseparable from personal emotions. Feelings of shame about speaking English due to difficulties in pronunciation of English words were shared with humour. Participant nine explained:

Suga e tutusa uma lava tātou e mamafa laugutu e ta'u se upu palagi . . . (P9FG1).

Translation - Hey, lady we are all the same with heavy lips when we say an English word . . .

What is evident here is that the participants strongly expressed how they felt at the time they began learning English, and such emotional experiences show interrelated links to the rest of the themes. ...1

8.4 Themes

The main themes are grouped under different categories followed by sub themes. The categories are (i) reasons for establishing a'oga 'amata and Samoan bilingual units; (ii) challenges; (iii) attitudes; (iv) aspirations and expectations; (v) divided loyalties and uncertainties; (vi) impacts and changes.

The interrelated themes and sub-themes demonstrate the participants' lived experiences. These experiences were shared mainly in focus group discussions as a result of revisiting past experiences. The first two themes provided vital information that shaped the researcher's understanding of why the participants initiated or supported the establishment of ā'oga 'amata and bilingual units.

8.4.1 Reasons for establishing ā'oga 'amata and Sāmoan bilingual units

The results highlight the fact that the participants' experiences of the importance of ā'oga 'amata were not something new to them. The participants were familiar with the language, culture, and traditional practices. They were familiar with pastors' schools in which the Sāmoan alphabet was taught. To the participants, religious and traditional beliefs and values were inseparable from learning. The participants' recollection of their experiences in the establishment of ā'oga 'amata in New Zealand was an exercise of remembering or revisiting their lived realities. Participant six in focus group two explained:

Na fai mai lava lenei mea o ā'oga 'amata ma ā'oga a le faife'au i Sāmoa o lenei lava e fai o mea ua māsani ai e le ni mea fou . . . (P6FG2).

Translation - Our involvement with ā'oga 'amata and pastor school began in Sāmoa and we're still doing it, we are familiar with it, its not a new thing . . .

It is evident that the participants' past experiences motivated them to establish and/or support ā'oga 'amata and bilingual units. The data show that the main purposes of establishing or supporting ā'oga 'amata were maintenance of language/culture and identities, continuity of religious beliefs and values, easy communication with elders, church commitments and responsibilities. In addition, biblical connections and/or gifts from God were commonly expressed in all the participants' stories and considered as a sacred reason of using and maintaining the Sāmoan language and culture. The following sub-themes categorise the participants' reasons as highlighted above.

8.4.2 Language maintenance, culture and identity

All participants highlighted the fact that language and culture maintenance were important in their lives and their children's education. Participant seven articulated the following thoughts:

Ga fai lava le a'oga o lō ka gaugau ia maukū le gagaga kū ma aga a le fāgau.... (P7FG1).

Translation - The reason for establishing the ā'oga is for our children to maintain the language and cultural beliefs and values.

The New Zealand-born participant also highlighted her reasons why she played an active role in the establishment of their church ā'oga 'amata. She began her involvement as one of the teacher aides and is currently a parent herself with two young children. Hence she wanted her children to maintain fa'asāmoa. She explained:

E to'alua la'u fānau laiti ou te mana'o lā ia mautū la gagana, le aganu'u ma tū ma aga fa'asāmoa e fa'amālosi mai lo'u tinā i la'u fānau e fa'asāmoa (P20Int).

Translation - I have two young children so I want them to maintain their language, culture traditional fa'asāmoa beliefs and values. My mother also encourages my children to speak Sāmoan.

In addition, participant five described why she sent her son to a Sāmoan bilingual unit in a testimony:

Ou te le'i iai i le fa'atūina o le bilingual ou te lē iloa fo'i po'o le ā le māfua'aga na 'amata ai ae na a'oga la'u tama i le vasega Sāmoa ona ou te mana'o ia mautū lana fa'asāmoa (P5T).

Translation - I wasn't involved with the establishment of the bilingual unit and I did not know how the bilingual unit started but my son was in the bilingual class because I wanted him to maintain the fa'asāmoa.

Although participant five was not involved with the establishment of the Sāmoan bilingual unit, the significance of maintaining fa'asāmoa was her priority. Hence, she wanted her son to attend a bilingual class regardless of whether or not she was involved with the establishment of the bilingual unit. More of her story will be discussed in the aspirations and expectations theme.

Many other participants shared their positive experiences about Sāmoan bilingual programmes. Participant 12 described her experiences in relation to her young son:

E poto lava la mā tama laitiiti e fa'asāmoa ona o la e alu i le vasega pailigo i Magele. Lea ua 'ou malamalama i le tāua o lā tātou gagana ma le aganu'u i totonu o a'oa'oga (P12FG1). Translation - Our youngest son is smart in fa'asāmoa as he goes to a bilingual class in Mangere. Now I understand about the importance of language and culture in education!

Participant 12 shared her pride in sending her youngest son to a bilingual class as she confirmed the importance of the Sāmoan language and culture. The participant youngest son's achievement had convinced her that the Sāmoan language could be used in education.

8.4.3 Religious reasons

All participants explained religious reasons as to why the Sāmoan language is important to their children, their families, and communities. Participant nine described her experience that language was not only about identity but was a gift from God. She explained:

O le isi mea e lē na o le fa'asinomaga e aogā ai le gagana, fai mai le Tusipa'ia o le gagana o le meaalofa mai le Atua. (P9FG1). Translation - The other thing is that language is not just about identity; the Bible says that language is a gift from God.

It is evident that the Bible is a very important source of knowledge to the Sāmoan community as participant nine articulated.

Participant four added similar reasons for why she supported ā'oga 'amata and bilingual units. She explained:

O le mā fānau lea nā ō i le ā'oga 'amata o lā e ō i le bilingual Sāmoa i Manurewa . . . o le popoto ia i le fa'asāmoa e o'o i le mātou faifea'u e fiafia e tu'u mai tofiga o le lotu a tamaiti i lā

mā fānau po’o se tatalo, faitauga o le Tusi Paia po’o se lāuga foi ona o le popoto o lā mā fanau e fa’asāmoa, ia tā te mimita ai lava ita o le matua . . . (P4Int).

Translation - Our children went to ā’oga ‘amata then to a Sāmoan bilingual unit at Manurewa . . . They are very smart in fa’asāmoa even our church minister he’s happy to give our children key responsibilities when it’s White Sunday like a prayer, reading a biblical script or preach because they are smart in fa’asāmoa and to me as a parent I’m so proud . . .

Participant four was so proud of her children’s success in the Sāmoan language especially when they were actively involved in the White Sunday programme, and when she was aware that their church minister had acknowledged the quality of her children’s fa’asāmoa. She had realised the significance of continuity of the Sāmoan language and culture from ā’oga ‘amata to primary and intermediate levels.

Participant 13 added that children at Sāmoan bilingual classes were more knowledgeable in the Sāmoan language than their parents. She described this as follows:

Ua popoto atu ai tamaiti lā le pailigo e fa’asāmoa nai o lātou mātua . . . pei o mātua o lā mātou ‘aulotu . . . e ō mai tamaiti ua a’oa’o iai le fa’asāmoa (P13FG1).

Translation - The children in bilingual classes can speak Sāmoan better than their parents . . .even the parents of our church . . . the children come home and teach them the fa’asāmoa.

This participant’s experience was based on her church and family community understanding of fa’asāmoa and what she felt was happening in the school environment. Participant 13 continued:

O mea lā e fai i ā’oga ‘amata ma pailigo ua ō mai tamaiti ma a’oa’o i mātua o le tele foi o pese Sāmoa a ā’oga ‘amata ma pailigo lea e fai e le mātou a’oga Aso Sā (P13FG1).

Translation - The children at ā’oga ‘amata and bilingual are teaching their parents what they have learnt in ā’oga ‘amata and bilingual like Sāmoan songs. Even at our Sunday school the children from ā’oga ‘amata teach their songs to other children

It is evident that participant 13 valued the importance of transferring what children had learnt in bilingual classes to family and Sunday schools. In this way, language, culture, traditional beliefs and values were inseparable from formal education.

Participant seven added the connection between fa’asamoa and religious beliefs. She explained:

E lē fou nei mea o le fa’asāmoa kū ma aga ma le fa’aaloalo gā kākou masagi mai lava i Sāmoa i a’oga a faife’au i le faikauga o le pi ma fesili mai le Kusipaia o ai gā faia ‘oe o ai ga kāiga le papa . . . (P7FG1).

Translation - It’s nothing new about the fa’asāmoa beliefs and values like respect, that we were familiar with from pastors’ schools with learning the Sāmoan alphabet and biblical verses . . .

8.4.4 Cultural capital issues in the participants’ stories

The perceived cultural capital of being bilingual and being able to speak Sāmoan was another reason why parents supported ā’oga ‘amata and Sāmoan bilingual units. Participant 19 explained:

O le tele lava o gāluega i nei aso ua mana’omia tagata e tautatala i isi gagana e mānaia ai la le fa’a-pailigo o polokalame (P19Int).

Translation - There are jobs that require people who can speak other languages so it's good to have bilingual programmes.

This participant continued on by saying:

O lē isi mā tamaitiiti e faigaluega i le Inisiua fai mai lana tala e fesoasoani mālosi i o tātou tagata e fa'amalamalama mea i le fa'asāmoa.

Translation - One of our sons works at an Insurance company and he said that he strongly helped our people by explaining things in Sāmoan.

Participant 19 shared her pride that her bilingual Samoan son could help his Sāmoan customers within his work at the Insurance Company. This participant had experienced some benefits of bilingual programmes and to her employment was one of them.

Sāmoan children's cultural capital is often tied up with traditional beliefs, parents' aspirations and expectations to benefit the extended family and the Sāmoan community as a whole. Minority groups such as Sāmoans in New Zealand have their own sets of linguistic and cultural capital that are different from that of the majority culture of the schools as was discussed in Chapter Five.

8.5 Challenges

All participants shared the challenges that they experienced throughout the establishment of ā'oga 'amata and bilingual units. Challenges varied from lack of resources to a lack of understanding. These challenges are categorised as shown in the extracts below.

8.5.1 Lack of resources

Financial support and lack of resources were major challenges for most of the participants. Participant 11 claimed:

E lē o se mea faigofie le 'amataga o le ā'oga lēai ni tupe lēai ni mea e fai ai sā fai lava i lō mātou fale ta'avale, e tigā le mea (P11FG2). Translation - t's not an easy thing to start ā'oga 'amata with no money and no resources we used our garage it's painful . . .

Participant eight described the same experiences of financial struggle and lack of resources, but with determination and perseverance. She began her ā'oga in the family garage, before it was transferred to a room attached to an intermediate school. She explained:

E faigākā le kaumafaiga o le mākou ā'oga . . . e leai ni mea e fai ai. O le loko lava ma le faku e fai ai . . . e mākikiva . . . kake sau lava ika ma 'aumai gai 'apu ma pea ma moli mo mea'ai a kamaiki. Sa fai muamua i le fale ka'avale . . . o'o aku lea i le ā'oga intermediate e fa'agoi iai mo se avagoa e fiu lo mākou āiga e su'e mea o le umukuka ua i le fale ka'avale mo le ā'oga . . . (P8FG1).

Translation - The beginning of our ā'oga was not easy . . . we started with nothing. It's all about determination and the heart . . . we were very poor I provided apples, oranges and other food for the children. We started in our garage . . . then slowly we asked an Intermediate school for an available space for our ā'oga. Our family tried to look for our utensils but they were in the garage for the ā'oga . . .

The participants especially the mothers continued to express their emotions of struggle, pain and determination. Participant 19 for example described her experience as follows:

E lēai ni mea e fai ai le a’oga. Sa fa’aaogā fagupa’u ua tu’u iai ma’ama’a ma fai ma mea fai mūsika . . . tigā le mātitiva ae taumafai lava . . . (P19Int).

Translation- We had no resources for the a’oga. We put small stones in plastic bottles and used them for musical instruments . . . although we were poor we still tried . . .

In the words of participant 19, although their family was poor, she as the mother was determined to create learning resources by using everyday materials such as plastic containers and so forth. The participants’ determination and perseverance to overcome the challenges are demonstrated not only in participant 19’s story, but in other participants’ stories as well.

In the context of their struggle and many challenges, they felt the need to maintain resources for the ā’oga ‘amata. Participant eight explained:

O’u fai aku i lō mākou āiga o mea lā i le fale ka’avale o mea gā a le ā’oga . . . ‘aua ge’i koe aumaia i kokogu (P8FG1).

Translation - I said to our family what’s in the garage belongs to the ā’oga . . . so don’t bring them back inside

An extract from a couple’s interview highlights the same challenges that other participants encountered. However, the couple explained that they experienced more problems since their a’oga had become a fully licenced preschool as the husband explained:

We started our playgroup in our garage with 25 children with no money or resources but now we have a licenced Centre . . . ua tele atu lā fa’afitauli . . . e le o se mea faigofie le tau amataina o le a’oga . . . (C2Int).

Translation - We have more challenges since our centre have become a fully licensed one . . . starting ā'oga is not easy . . .

Couple two, especially the husband codeswitched between Sāmoan and English during their interview as seen in the transcript. The couple expressed similar experiences of hardship because of financial difficulty and lack of resources.

8.5.2 Lack of parents and teachers' commitment

The other challenges that the participants shared were to do with the parents and teachers. In the words of couple two, they experienced more complex challenges relating to parents and teachers' commitment as far as education for children was concerned. The husband explained:

Lea lā ua laisene le ā'oga o le tele ia o ona lavelave e le mafai ona fa'amatalaina o le isi mea it's hard to bring children to school as not all families have cars. O le isi foi mea o le paiē lava ia tailo. E mana'omia ni faia'oga lelei ma alofa fa'amaoni i tamaiti . . . (C2Int).

Translation - Now our ā'oga is licensed and we have many complex problems that is impossible to talk about them all it's hard to bring children as not all families have cars. The other thing it's laziness well I thinkWe also need good teachers who honestly love the children . . .

Some of the challenges that couple two experienced included parents' lack of commitment to bring their children to the ā'oga. The couple assumed that some parents were either too lazy to take children to the ā'oga or they [parents] had no transport. The couple also expressed a need for quality teachers. It was interesting that the husband did most of the talking during this couple's interview while the wife played a role of supporting what the husband said. The wife also reminded the husband of

any issues that she felt he had forgotten. These sorts of practice reflect relationships within the Sāmoan societal organisation as was explained earlier. Couple one also showed a relationship of support between the husband and wife during the fa'afaletui. This relational support will be highlighted in the extracts in the following themes in this chapter.

Although many participants claimed that the establishment of ā'oga 'amata was not easy, participant seven, an experienced and older person shared her experiences by saying that an establishment of ā'oga 'amata or a Sāmoan school was not difficult. Anyone can do it, according to her. The voices of self-determination echoed through the fa'afaletui, once this participant shared her experiences. The following extract illustrates this feeling:

Sē o le loko lava ma le faku e fai ai . . . a kelē le faku e mafai! Ia o le ā le mea a lē mafai ai? A mafai e palagi ona fai 'aiseā e lē mafai ai e kākou Sāmoa fai se a'oga . . . ? (P7FG1).

Translation - It's determination and heart . . . if we have a big heart we can do it . . . Why can't we do it? If the palagi can do it, why can't we Sāmoans start a school . . . ?

The encouraging words of this elderly participant saying that anyone could start a preschool were well received by the other participants as participant 13 added: "*Ae sa'o a? A mafai na fai e isi 'aiseā e lē mafai ai ona fai e tātou?*" (P13FG1). Translation - That's right? If others can do it why can't we?

The interactions between participants show self-determination and perseverance that anyone can establish ā'oga 'amata.

It is also evident in the participants' stories about the establishment of ā'oga 'amata that the women were at the forefront, and that they played important roles in the establishing and operating of ā'oga 'amata. Their

roles included looking after the children and their families' wellbeing, making resources, fundraising, and seeking financial support.

8.5.3 Lack of transitional programmes from ā'oga amata to bilingual units

Many participants supported Sāmoan bilingual units in primary and intermediate levels, although some expressed some concerns and challenges due to the lack of transitional programmes from ā'oga 'amata to Sāmoan bilingual units in primary school.

Participant 17 shared her experience and claimed that at parents' meetings she often voiced her concerns at the lack of continuity of the Sāmoan language from ā'oga 'amata to primary levels. She explained:

E fa'aali so'o lava o'u manatu pe a fai fonu a mātua e lelei lelei lava mai ā'oga 'amata ae o'o atu loa tamaiti i le primary ia ua oki akoga le fa'amoemoe . . . (P17FG2).

Translation - I often voice my concern at parents' meetings that it's great in ā'oga 'amata but when children reach primary then there is no more hope! It's dead!

This participant claimed that there was no hope as far as the transition from ā'oga 'amata to primary school was concerned. It is evident that participant 17 believed that a smooth transition from ā'oga 'amata to a Sāmoan bilingual unit could be a method for continuity of the Sāmoan language and culture for her children.

The following quote also describes the importance of bilingual programmes and a smooth transition from ā'oga amata to bilingual units:

'Ese lā le mānaia o le sosolo mai o ā'oga 'amata sau i bilingual i primary oso atu i le bilingual i intermediate a ea? (P2FG2). Translation - It's great to have a smooth transition

from ā'oga 'amata to Sāmoan bilingual unit in primary then to Sāmoan bilingual unit in intermediate, don't you think?

Participant two was one of those parents who followed her children from ā'oga 'amata to primary then to intermediate. The participant had witnessed the significance of continuity of fa'asāmoa from ā'oga 'amata to intermediate. She said:

Ua mā talitonu i le aogā o le fa'asāmoa mai lava i lalo se'ia o'o i vasega maualuluga . . . ona o la ma fanau e lelei uma gagana o le palagi ma le fa'asāmoa . . . (P2FG2).

Translation - We believe that fa'asāmoa is very important from ā'oga 'amata to higher classes because our children are good in both English and Sāmoan . . .

The extract above represents both the mother and the father's voices: "*Ua mā talitonu!*" We believe... It is evident that both parents believed that a smooth transition from ā'oga 'amata to a Sāmoan bilingual unit would be a better option for their children to be successful in both Sāmoan and English.

Participant 18 described a similar experience about the importance of transitioning of children from ā'oga 'amata to bilingual units. She explained:

Ua tele mātua ua mānana'o e fa'aa'o'oga lātou fānau i ā'oga 'amata o lā mātou ā'oga fai mai faia'oga o le telē ia o le lisi fa'atalitali o le isi mea o le tele o mātua pei o mātou e mamao le mea mātou te nonofo ai mai le ā'oga amata, ae ona o le manana'o ia soso'o atu lava ma le bilingual Sāmoa i le tulagalua la e soso'o (P18Q).

Translation - Many parents now want their children in ā'oga 'amata, the teachers said that our ā'oga has a big waiting list

the other thing, many parents like us we live far from the ā'oga but we want our children to continue from ā'oga 'amata to the Sāmoan bilingual unit in the primary next to the ā'oga.

Participant 18 expressed that there was a waiting list to enter their ā'oga 'amata. This was a signal that parents wanted their children to be educated in the Sāmoan language and for easy transition from that particular ā'oga 'amata to the Sāmoan bilingual unit next door.

Participant four shared her recollection of her excitement when she heard about the establishment of a Sāmoan bilingual unit close to the ā'oga 'amata where her children attended. She explained:

Na fai mai loa o le vasega Sāmoa o ta fiafia o le ā iai se vasega e fa'aauau ai le fa'asāmoa a la'u fānau lea sā i le ā'oga 'amata (P4Int).

Translation - When they said they were going to start a Sāmoan class, I was happy that there's a class for my children who attended ā'oga 'amata to go to.

Participant four was overjoyed to have a Sāmoan class for continuity of Sāmoan language and culture. She continued:

O le mea nei sā tu'u fesili ma le popole po'o fea a o iai tamaiti mai le ā'oga 'amata? Auā o le fa'afitauli telē lenā lea e tupu ua tele ā'oga 'amata i Aukilani ae leai ni pailigo (P4Int).

Translation -The thing is, I often ask and worry about the next step after ā'oga 'amata. Where the children from ā'oga 'amata would go to next? That is the current problem there are many ā'oga 'amata in Auckland but not enough bilingual classes.

This participant initially showed concerns about her children's transition from ā'oga 'amata to primary school, but that concern was overturned with joy when she heard about the establishment of a Sāmoan class. The participant also articulated that the number of Sāmoan bilingual classes in Auckland was insufficient.

The final extract is from participant 16 who shared her experience and vision of how she voiced her request with the school principal. Participant 16 explained:

E leai se bilingual Sāmoa e latalata mai i le mea mātou te nonofo ai e 'ese le faigatā ua tā fiu e fai i le pulea'oga e fai se bilingual Sāmoa ae fai mai e lē lava tamaiti Sāmoa e 'amata ai se vasega Sāmoa auā o la'u fanau na a'o'oga i le ā'oga 'amata . . . ia o le ā le aogā e leai se bilingual Sāmoa e latalata mai e ave iai? (P16FG2).

Translation - There is no Sāmoan bilingual close to where we live it's hard. I have asked the principal many times but the response was that there weren't enough Sāmoan children to start a class but my children went to ā'oga 'amata . . . what's the point if there's no Sāmoan bilingual close to us for my children to attend.

It is interesting to notice that although this participant approached the school principal with an idea of establishing a Sāmoan bilingual unit, the response was based on statistical factors, rather than on the parent's request. Regardless of the school's lack of willingness to initiate a Sāmoan bilingual programme, it was significant to this participant that she had voiced her wishes and vision for Samoan language continuity from ā'oga 'amata to primary level. Participant 16 was being proactive and determined, which was evidence of a strong desire to support the establishment of Sāmoan bilingual units. The participant's wish for a bilingual unit closer to where they lived so that her children could attend

and continue on with their Sāmoan language was the reason for approaching the principal. Participant 16 had made a courageous attempt to voice her wish.

All the participants supported the establishment of Sāmoan bilingual units although many of them had experienced challenges in the initial stages of the establishment. Some participants expressed their concerns about fundraising and teachers using the English language at meetings. However, they were still very supportive of the establishment of bilingual units.

The data as discussed in this theme has highlighted the participants' motives in supporting the establishment of ā'oga 'amata and Sāmoan bilingual units. The participants' thoughts as to why they supported Sāmoan bilingual units include: language and culture maintenance; continuity of traditional beliefs and values; identity; smooth transition from ā'oga amata; communication with elders; church responsibilities and employment.

8.6 Attitudes

Section four of the questionnaire was focussed on attitudes, aspirations and expectations. The same questions from the questionnaire were used to guide the process of fa'afaletui and testimonial narratives. This theme focuses on the participants' own attitudes and attitudes of others towards Sāmoan bilingual education and Sāmoan language in general. The next theme will focus on the participants' aspirations and expectations.

Attitudinal issues discussed in this theme will include: parents' views of their children as English language mentors; the church and community belittling attitudes towards bilingual education; and the use of English language in Sāmoan parents' meetings. Participant eight shared her own past experience of using her children as English mentors. She explained:

O isi kaimi i aso ia ou kē gagu i la'u fāgau oga e lē mālamalama i le fa'asāmoa ia ma a'o ai foi la'u gagu e kaliē ai lava la'u fānau i le kaupagupagu o a'u gagu ae pau gā o se auala e kau faigōfie (P8FG1).

Translation - Sometimes in the past I used to speak English to my children because they couldn't understand the Sāmoan language and the other thing was for me to practise my English . . .my children laugh at me because of my broken English but that's the only easy way.

Participant eight realised that the only easy way to communicate with her children was for her to use English although her children were making fun of the way she spoke English. The participant's attitude about her use of English was also based on her belief that her Sāmoan language was excellent, but she needed help with her English. She explained:

E selau pasege la'u fa'asāmoa ae o la'u gagu ia e lēai se kākou . . . (P8FG1).

Translation - Well my fa'asāmoa is 100% but my English well there's nothing there . . .

It was interesting to notice that this participant's attitude was not only based on easy communication with her children but her determination to learn English within her own family environment.

Participant ten described some similar past personal attitudes. She described her experiences as follows:

O a'u fo'i sā 'ou ita i le fa'asāmoa o le ā le mea e maua i lea fa'asāmoa? E maua mai ai se mea a le āiga? O aso ia a mātou ō i le shopping ma la'u fānau ou te nanu lava i la'u fānau ou te lē fa'asāmoa nei tei ua fa'alogo mai nisi . . .

(P10FG1). Translation - I used to hate fa'asāmoa . . . what's the point of fa'asāmoa? What do we get out of it? In the past when we went shopping with my children I spoke to them in English. I never spoke to them in Sāmoan in case someone might hear us.

Participant ten expressed the view that her past negative attitudes towards the Sāmoan language meant she used English with her children especially in public places to avoid being heard by others using her mother tongue. This participant also questioned the significance of the Sāmoan language and whether or not her family would benefit from using it. The same participant continued with her story. She said:

O le mea lea ua iai nei . . . ua matuā lagona lava le salamō sē ina ua tapa mai loa le āiga e 'ave atu se isi o lā ma fānau e matai... la, o le ā le mea ua fai? O nei uiga sā fai ma le lē mautinoa le tāua o le gagana ma le aganu'u i le āiga ma la'u fānau. Ae soia o le mea sili lava lea ua toe feala mai mata sa momoe . . . (laugh) (P10FG2).

Translation - We feel sorry now . . . especially when our family wanted one of our children to become a chief so what could we do? I never thought of the importance of the Sāmoan language to my family and my children but never mind the best thing is that our eyes are well opened now we have been sleeping . . . (laugh).

Participant 10 realised her past negative attitudes towards fa'asāmoa and she explained her experience apologetically. These negative attitudes according to her were caused by lack of understanding of the long-term benefits of the Sāmoan language and culture to her family and children.

There were also some excerpts in which the participants described the demeaning attitudes of others towards bilingual education and Sāmoan

language. The following excerpt was taken from participant 12 who expressed her feelings of anger and resentment caused by belittling attitudes of some Sāmoan women in her church community.

E lē na o isi tagata e a'amu mai, o isi fafine o lā mātou 'aulotu e faifai mai tala iā a'u. Fai mai pe 'ave e ā la'u tama i le bilingual, o Niu Sila lea tātou te iai e a'o nā o le nanu. O'u fai atu e suga o a gā mea fa'apenā o a'u o le Sāmoa 'ou te mana'o e a'oa'o le fa'asāmoa a la'u tama o lona fa'asinomaga lea ua 'ou iloa lo'u sesē i la'u fānau mātutua lea ua lē iloa fa'asāmoa? (P12FG1).

Translation - Not just other people who mock us but some women from our church mock me. They ask why I take my son to the bilingual unit this is New Zealand just learn English. I said hey I'm a Sāmoan and I want my son to learn Sāmoan it's his identity. I know what I've done wrong, look at my older children they can't speak Sāmoan?

It is evident that some Sāmoan families and church communities in general also hold negative attitudes towards bilingual education and the Sāmoan language. Participant 12's response reflects how she regretted her decision to send her older children to an English-speaking school. She also realised the benefits of Sāmoan bilingual programme in relation to her youngest son. She reported that her realisation of regretted past decisions had made her a strong woman, and she was able to challenge the influential Sāmoans in her church about the importance of Sāmoan language, culture, and identity. Emotionally the same participant described her experiences in relation not only to her children's education, but also to her own educational history. Participant 12 expressed her experiences of being ashamed and humiliated at school when she could not pronounce an English word. She thought that English was better than Sāmoan hence she encouraged her older children to speak English. She believed that such a decision was mistaken.

Participant seven articulated that teachers and other parents' attitudes towards the Sāmoan language operated as a barrier in the establishment of ā'oga 'amata. Interactions between the participants highlighted various attitudinal problems such as teachers using English in ā'oga 'amata. For example an elderly participant and a young one interacted on this topic:

Gā amaka o le ā'oga 'amaka Sāmoa gā o le fa'asāmoa e fa'aaogā ae ke'i fai fai lava fa'alogu aku ua fegagui mai faia'oga ma mākua gā iai se o uiga lava ia o kākou Sāmoa ka ke fiu e fa'asāmoa aku ae gagugagu mai lava e oso ai le fe'efe'e ma le ma'i o le kāgaka (P7FG1).

Translation - We started as a total immersion ā'oga 'amaka centre only Sāmoan was used but slowly I heard teachers and parents at the ā'oga began to use English an attitudinal problem of some Sāmoans you speak to them in Sāmoan and they respond to you in English makes you sick with elephantiasis.

It is evident that this participant was not only disappointed by the attitudes of others in relation to the use of language in the ā'oga but she also made fun of such attitudes. Participant 17 humorously interacted as follows:

Se fe'efe'e po se fugafuga po'o se fugausi . . . ? Ha ha (laugh) suga e faigatā tele . . . ae ua ou mātuā talitonu lava a'u i le aogā o le gagana Sāmoa i la'u fānau . . . 'āuoi tāfefe se mala ina a telē . . . (P17FG1).

Translation - Was it elephantiasis, sea slug or a parrotfish? (laugh). . . it's very hard but I strongly believe about the importance of the Sāmoan language to my children . . . wow, what a huge curse ?

The interaction between participant seven and participant 17 shows that both participants remembered with some humour the negative attitudes of others towards the Sāmoan language. Such negative attitudes may have caused misunderstanding about the importance of the Sāmoan language and cultural traditions, beliefs, and values. According to participant 17, any negative attitude towards fa'asāmoa was a curse. The rest of the group fa'afaletui joined in with a long period of laughter, jokes and chanting. It is clear from the stories that the participants believed that misunderstanding and a lack of belief in bilingual education and the importance of language in education, caused them to have negative attitudes towards themselves and others.

The data also show that past educational and communal experiences may have caused confusion and negative attitudes. Participant 20 explained:

O le isi mea a ta alu atu e piki mai la'u fānau ta te fa'alogo atu lava i isi mātua they speak English to their children but o le vasega Sāmoa, ia ta te leiloa I don't know lā po'o a ia mea fa'apea? O uiga lava ia o isi mātua I think they speak English iā lātou fanau (P20Int). Translation - The other thing too when I went to pick up our children I often heard other parents speaking in English to their children, so what was that all about? Some parents' attitudes they want to speak English to their children!

Participant 20 was also concerned about parents of children in the Sāmoan bilingual unit who used English. "What was that all about?" This could be a signal of the participant's disapproval of whether or not the parents should have spoken to their children in English. To participant 20, the Sāmoan parents who communicated in English with their children had an attitudinal problem "*O uiga nā o isi mātua.*" Translation - that's the attitudes of some parents. Participant 20 talked about her own efforts at communicating with other parents in Sāmoan as she explained: A

taumafai e fa'asāmoa atu ae nanu mai. Translation - I tried to speak to them in Sāmoan but they responded in English.

Participant 20 assumed that Sāmoan parents of children in ā'oga 'amata and bilingual units who spoke to their children in English had negative attitudes towards the Sāmoan language. This participant's assumption matches other participants' stories below who at times expressed their frustration and disapproval with other Sāmoan parents speaking in English in the ā'oga 'amata and Sāmoan bilingual unit environment. Some participants expressed their own attitudes and feelings, which they said were also caused by the attitudes of others. Participant one explained:

Sa iai lava taimi sā lagona ai le lē lavā i amioga a isi ma tau fa'ama'amulu ai . . . ona ua fiu lava e taumafai atu ae ā isi lava mātua e fa'atu'iese ma 'amu'amu mai po'o ā ia mea o bilingual . . . o faia'oga foi lātou ua tatau ona sui uiga e fa'amalamalama lelei i mātua lea mea o le bilingual i le fa'asāmoa (P1FG2).

Translation - There were times that we felt tired of other people's attitudes and nearly gave up . . . because we were tired of trying but other parents mocked and questioned what is this bilingual thing? Teachers also need to change their attitudes and explain to parents what bilingual is about in Sāmoan.

Participant one stated that some parents were tired of the process of establishing Sāmoan bilingual units, especially when the obstacles were related to the attitudes of their own family, church, community, and schools. According to participant one, the Sāmoan teachers and other parents also had attitudes about using the Sāmoan language in ā'oga 'amata, in bilingual classes, and in meetings with parents. In participant one's view, teachers needed to change their attitudes and explain things to parents in Sāmoan. It is evident here that parents' understanding of the

benefits of ā'oga 'amata and bilingual programmes would improve if teachers explained it clearly in Sāmoan during the establishment process of each ā'oga 'amata or a bilingual unit.

Participant 10 described her past negative attitude, which had been encouraged by perceptions that the performance of Sāmoan language rituals, culture, customs and traditions in education was irrelevant and would not provide any jobs:

Fa'apea lava ita a nanu le tamaitiiti ua poto aiseā e toe fai ai lenā fa'asāmoa o Niu Sila lenei? E maua ai ni galuega? (P10FG1).

Translation - I thought that if a child spoke English he was a smart one why do we carry on with that fa'asāmoa, we are in New Zealand? Will it give us jobs?

This participant had revisited her past attitudes and had come to realise that these past attitudes had caused her to make a decision for her children to learn English only. More findings related to negative attitudes towards Sāmoan language and culture will be discussed in the next theme.

8.7 Aspirations and expectations

Aspirations and expectations associated with language are evident at personal, family, and community levels. The maintenance of language, beliefs and values are also highlighted in all the aspirations and expectations.

Personal aspirations and expectations in extracts below show the interweaving of the participants' past experiences with their present and future. The participants' aspirations and expectations also reflect some of the reasons why they established or supported a'oga amata and bilingual units (see section 8.3) in this chapter. The participants represented their

aspirations and expectations in various ways. For example some participants used chants, and cultural and biblical expressions in focus group discussions, while others used self-recorded individual testimonies in the privacy of their own homes. While the participants shared their hopes and dreams for the future, they also reported what, in their view, were misguided past aspirations and expectations.

The first extract was taken from participant three who preferred to express her experiences solely in the questionnaire. She responded to all the questions in English as she described her aspirations of why she sent her children to a Samoan bilingual unit: *“I want my children to speak Sāmoan fluently and also in English” (P3Q).*

Participant three provided a very brief statement that she wanted her children to be successful as Sāmoan bilingual learners.

Many other participants commented on aspirations and expectations in terms of their children maintaining the Sāmoan language and culture. This is demonstrated in the following extract, which shows that the aspirations regarding language and knowledge relate not just to the personal but also to the societal. The extract also shows how religious values are associated with the Sāmoan language.

O si o’u tamā e leiloa nanu . . . ou te mana’o mā lo’u fa’amoemoega maualuga mo la’u fānau ia ola ma māfuta ma si o’u tamā ia a’oa’o le gagana ma le aganuu . . . auā e le māfai ona galo la tātou gagana o le meaalofa mai le Atua . . . (P16FG2). Translation - My father doesn’t speak English . . . so my hope and aspiration is for my children to grow and have good relationships with my father so they could gain understanding of the language and culture . . . we can’t lose our language it’s a gift from God . . .

This participant's hope was for her children to be able to communicate with her father in the Sāmoan language. The participant also urged that Sāmoans must not lose their language because it is a gift from God.

The following example also mentions past aspirations and expectations and how these aspirations continue into the future. The extract highlights the couple's reasons why they migrated to New Zealand. One of their aspirations was to set up an early childhood preschool as a way of supporting spiritual and cultural beliefs and values. They described this in the following way:

O le lu'itau ma fa'amoemoega māualuga o ma'ua mātua ina ua taunu'u mai i Niu Sila ia mā galulue mālosi ma sāili so mātou lumana'i o le lotu sã fesoasoani . . . o le poutū mālosi, e leai se mea e faigatā pe afai e te pipi'i i 'a'ao o le Atua . . . 'ave lou fa'atuatua 'atoa i le Atua (C2I).

Translation -The challenges and high hopes for us when we arrived here in New Zealand was to work hard for our future the church was our main strong support . . . nothing is impossible when you are in God's hands . . . give your whole trust to God . . .

The couple had high hopes of working hard when they arrived in New Zealand. They believed that the church and God were their main sources of strength. They also described the ā'oga as an institute or place to encourage language and cultural continuity as they explained:

O se moemitiga iā mā'ua ia faia se ā'oga Sāmoa ina ia fa'aauau ai le fa'asāmoa a lā ma fānau aemaise tū ma aganuu, o le lotu ma mea sa tātou masani ai (C2I).

Translation - It was our dream and hopes to start ā'oga to continue on with fa'asāmoa and our own cultural and spiritual beliefs and values that we were familiar with.

This couple's dream had been fulfilled as they came to operate a fully licensed ā'oga amata. They realised that the only way to maintain traditional and religious beliefs and values was to establish their own ā'oga amata regardless of many obstacles that they had experienced when they arrived in New Zealand (see also section 8.2).

Participant four described the interweaving of cultural values of love and respect especially within the Church. The participant grew up with these strong values and beliefs and to her they were gifts from God. Her aspirations and expectations were for her children to use and maintain the language, beliefs and values so these could be passed on to their own children and future generations. Participant four also considered a Sāmoan school to be a way of maintaining continuity of her aspirations and expectations. Participant four explained:

O a'u ia o lo'u lava naunauta'iga ia iloa e la'u fānau le fa'asamoa tū ma ga na tātou ola uma mai ai ma fafaga ai tātou i 'upu ma tala . . . na fafaga a'u i upu ma tala i le vā fealofa'i, fa'aaloalo, alofa aemaise le lotu e fa'avae mea uma i le Atua. Ou te mana'o foi lā i la'u fānau ia ola ma mafuta i tū ma aga fa'asāmoa ma le gagana aemaise le Atua aua a ola a'e ma fai ni a lātou fānau ia ona tu'ugutu atu foi lea iai o le gagana tū ma aga ma le lotu o meaalofa ia mai le Atua ae mānaia lava pe ana iai lava sā tātou ā'oga Sāmoa a ea?
(P4Int).

Translation - My high hopes and aspirations are for my children to grow up and know the fa'asāmoa, language beliefs and values. I was fed with words and strong cultural beliefs of love and respect of each other especially the church everything is founded in God. I want my children to learn those fa'asāmoa values and the language so when they grow up and have their own children they will pass on

those beliefs and values, they are gifts from God but it would be nice if we had our own Sāmoan school.

As demonstrated in the previous extracts, a number of participants referred to biblical or cultural scripts or metaphors to express and clarify their aspirations and expectations. Participant four also described similar aspirations that language, cultural beliefs and values were all gifts from God. These gifts must be transmitted to their children and future generations. Participant four also suggested a Sāmoan school as a context for conveying such gifts to younger generations.

Participant five represented her aspirations in a self-recorded testimony in the privacy of her own home. This participant organised her testimony in a well-structured piece of written text before she recorded it on tape. Both versions were handed in to the researcher. Her story started in the following way:

Se'i fai sina sa'afi'afiga ma sa'u molimau ona o itū lelei nā māfua ai ona 'ave la'u tama i le vasega bilingual. O se moemitiga na tutupu mai lava i le fa'afaileleina o la'u tama ina ia ola la'u tama, iloa ma malamamala i le fa'asāmoa auā o lona fa'asinomaga lea, aua a 'uma atu a'u ma lenei lalolagi ae lā nā te iloa lona āiga (P5T).

Translation - I would like to say a testimony about the good reasons of why I wanted my son in the bilingual unit. It was my dream that grew and sprung up in the early development and nurturing stages of my sons' life, that he would grow up to know and understand his language and culture so when I leave this world he knows his family.

Participant five began her testimony with an overall introduction about her aspirations and expectations and why she wanted her son in the Sāmoan bilingual unit.

Muamua ou te mana’o ia fa’atūmauina pea le gagana muamua a la’u tamaitiiti o le gagana Sāmoa lea.

Translation - Firstly I want my son to maintain his first language, which is Sāmoan.

Lona lua ia mafai ona feso’otai ma ona tagata i lana gagana aemaise lava lo’u tinā.

Translation - Secondly I want my son to communicate with his own people in his first language especially with my mother.

Lona tolu ia iloa e ia malamalama i le lotu auā o le lotu e fa’asāmoa.

Translation - Thirdly, I want my son to value church gatherings especially when church services are mainly in Sāmoan.

Lona fā, ia iloa foi e ia tautala i gagana e lua aemaise le faitauga o le Tusipa’ia.

Translation - The fourth reason is for my son to be able to speak two languages especially in Bible reading.

Lona lima ou te mana’o i la’u tama ia ola, iloa mā malamalama i le fa’asāmoa ma lona fa’asinomaga auā a uma atu a’u ae lā na te iloa lona āiga. Ou te mana’o ia fa’aauau pea le fa’asāmoa mo lona lumanai ma ia iloa lona gafa ma lona fa’asinomaga.

Translation - The fifth one I want my son to grow up with understanding of fa’asāmoa and his family because when I die he knows his family. I want him to continue using his fa’asāmoa in the future and to know his genealogy and identity.

Participant five clearly described an anticipated future for her son. The plan highlighted the inseparability of education, language, culture, and religion and all these elements were aspirations for her son. There is evidence here that this participant thought of life as a rich experience of continuity and connection as was described in other participants' stories. Some participants highlighted Sāmoan language speeches as one of their aspirations either for speech competitions or as part of special occasions such as White Sunday.

Participant 16 described her aspiration as follows: "*Na sili la'u tama i le tauvaga lauga fa'asāmoa 'oka so ta fiafia*" (P16Int). Translation - My son won the Sāmoan speech competition at school and I was so proud.

Participant four articulated similar aspirations: "*E lauga so'o lava lā mā tāmaititi i lotu tamaiti ona o le lelei o lana fa'asāmoa*" (P4Int). Translation - Our son always says a Sāmoan language speech on White Sunday because his Sāmoan is great.

Sāmoan speech competition is a common practice in church and communities. Hence, it is evident that these two participants' aspirations were for their children to learn the Sāmoan language and to perform well at speech competitions and biblical speeches on White Sunday; a special day for children. It is an annual occasion in the Sāmoan community when children of each congregation run the church programme including prayers, hymns, and speeches. Everyone is expected to dress in white. The following extracts also highlight family and societal aspirations and expectations. Many participants shared similar dreams and hopes. A Sāmoan school was also suggested as a way to fulfil their aspirations and expectations. This is explained below:

Gā o mo'omo'oga lava pe aga iai sā kākou lava ā'oga
fa'asāmoa (laugh) semagū ua 'ou alu aku e fai le fa'asāmoa

pe ā moi a . . .? la auā o i gā e fesoasoagi e a’o ai kū ma
aga pei o le fa’aaloalo . . . ua iloa foi fai mai le muāgagana a
Sāmoa e iloa lava le kamalii i laga savali ma laga kaukala . .
. ai lava se māgaia a ea . . .? (P7FG1).

Translation - Just hopes and wishes for our own Sāmoan
School and I will teach fa’asāmoa I wish . . .? Because that’s
where we teach our cultural values and beliefs like respect . .
. like the Sāmoan saying the aristocrat of noble birth is
recognised through his respectful and noble way of walking
and speaking . . . wouldn’t it be nice . . .?

Participant seven believed that a Sāmoan school would provide
opportunities to teach children about Sāmoan beliefs and values. The
participant also described herself in a humorous manner as someone who
could support such a school through teaching fa’asāmoa.

Using the Sāmoan metaphor ‘*e iloa lava le kamalii i laga savali ma laga
kaukala* Translation - The aristocrat of noble birth is recognised through
his respectful and noble way of walking and speaking,’ is a signal that
participant seven was not only knowledgeable in fa’asāmoa but she also
played a role of a chief by reminding other participants of the Sāmoan
value of respect and how it should be practised in society.

Participant 19 described one of her aspirations in relation to her children
and religious continuity. She described: “*O le mo’omo’oga lava ia alu se isi
o lā ma fānau i Mālua e a’oga fa’afai’au*” (P19 Int). Translation - Our
wish is for one of our children to go to Mālua theological college to be
trained as a church minister. It is evident that shared aspirations described
in most stories were not only related to education, church, family,
language and culture but also to the children’s future. Participant 19
considered a church minister as a future for one of her sons.

Participant nine expressed a general aspiration in relation to children's future: "*O fānau o lumanai ma fa'amoemoega o āiga ma nu'u ia ma ekālesia foi*" (P9FG1). Translation - Children are the future and hopes of family, villages and church. This participant's contribution to the fa'afaletui was a reminder to others that children were the future of any village, family and church. It is evident here that participant nine was aware of the importance of children's education, as she expressed that the future of any village family and church was dependent on the children. Participant nine generally expressed families' and communities' aspirations through the use of metaphors. She explained:

O le tele lava o fānau ua galo tū ma aga fa'asāmoa, ua iloa foi fai mai le 'upu o le tama a le manu e fafaga i fuga o la'au . . . a'o le tama a le tagata e fafaga i 'upu ma tala . . . o le mātou āiga e fai fa'atasiga fa'alemāsina ona o le naunauta'iga lava ia fafaga fānau i le gagana, tū ma aga . . . a leai ni mea fa'apea ua tata'a solo fānau pei o ni fānau a manu (P9FG1).

Translation - Many children have lost the language, culture and Sāmoan traditions as the cultural proverb says that animals and birds feed their young with fish, blooms or berries . . . but the young of humans shall be fed with words . . . our family meet every month with high hopes that we need to feed our children with the language, traditional beliefs and values . . . because if we don't have things like that the children will go astray like animals

Using the metaphor of animals and birds being fed with blooms and berries while humans are being fed with words represents the metaphor of a verbal diet for Sāmoan children. Participant nine stressed how fa'asāmoa should be practised within the Sāmoan families and communities in New Zealand. Many participants constantly used metaphors, biblical verses, and cultural proverbs as references for their

aspirations and expectations for their children, extended families, and communities. The following extract was taken from participant 17 who expressed how proud she was because her children could speak both Sāmoan and English. She described this as follows:

E lelei le fa'asāmoa a le ma fānau o se fiafiaga ma se mitamitaga tele i lo mātou āiga . . . o mo'omo'oga nei ma moemitiga a so'o se mātua Sāmoa . . . auā a ōmai nai o'u mātua mai Sāmoa e lē iloa nanu, ia a fai atu le toeaina e alu e fai se ipu ti ae lā e malamalama 'oka so ta fiafia . . . e fai lava le fa'atonuaga i le fānau a ō i le ā'oga nanu, a ō mai i le fale fa'asāmoa (P17FG2). Translation - Our children's fa'asāmoa is good, our family are so proud this is one of any Sāmoan parent's dream and/or wish . . . because when my parents from Sāmoa come here you know they don't speak English . . . when the old man asks for a cup of tea our children understand so we are so happy . . . we tell our children when they go to school they speak English and when they come home they speak Sāmoan.

Participant 17 expressed a collective and familial pride because her children could communicate in both Sāmoan and English. The greatest gratification for this participant was that her children were able to communicate with elders, including her parents, when they visited their family in New Zealand. Participant 17 assumed that it was a wish of any Sāmoan parent for their children to be able to communicate in Sāmoan with the elders.

Self-pride and satisfaction were also described as participant 19 shared her dreams and aspirations. This grandmother described her self-pride and satisfaction because her dream for her grandchildren to use and maintain the language had been fulfilled as she explained:

‘Oka so ta fiafia pe a ‘ou fa’alogo atu o fa’apea si a’u grandson e ono tausaga . . . tālofa o Sione lea e tautala a’o ai lea e saunoa? O lā ta ita lenā ta’utinoga ma se molimau o moemitiga sa fai e leai se mea faigatā i le Alii . . .(P19 Int).

Translation - It’s a pleasure to hear my six-years-old grandson using respectful Sāmoan words when he talks on the phone. That’s my testimonial dream for my grandchildren to use respectful Sāmoan language - nothing is impossible with God . . .

8.7.1 Past misguided aspirations and expectations

It was interesting to note that there were some aspirations and expectations participants described as *taufā’avalea* or *taufā’asesē* (past-misguided aspirations). Some participants explained such misguided aspirations and expectations with emotion and anger. Some revisited their misguided aspirations and mocked them. Because of such misguided past experiences there was self-blaming.

Participant 12 in particular broke down in tears admitting that they as parents were the cause of their children losing fa’asāmoa. She described her emotions as follows:

Sa mā manatu fa’amauualuga lava o le Igilisi e poto ai le tagata o le ala lenā na ‘ave ai la’u fānau i le a’oga a Leifiifi i Apia auā fo’i e a’oa’o ai le nanu . . . na mātou ō mai lava la i Niu Sila ua iloa e la’u fānau fenanui ua ta mimita ai lava ma manatu fa’amauualuga o le a leai se f’a’aletonu iā lātou a’oa’oga iinei ona ua lelei a lātou nanu . . . ae ‘oka se fa’aletonu lea ua iai (P12FG1).

Translation - We had very high hopes and expectations that English makes our children clever that’s why we sent them to Leifiifi school in Apia for them to learn English . . .when we came here to NZ our children knew how to speak English

and we expected them to do well in schools we had high hopes that they [children] will have no problems... wow now we have a big problem! They only want to speak English . . .

Participant 17 intervened with challenging remarks. She said:

Suga o a nā mea taufa'avalea fa'apena . . . (laugh) . . . Nā e manatu lava e sili le Igilisi i le Sāmoa a'o 'oe ma lou toalua o Sāmoa uma? Suga . . . (laugh) (P17FG1).

Translation - Hey! What are those misguided things like that . . . (laughs) . . . Did you really think English is better than Sāmoa and you and your husband are both Sāmoans . . . (laugh) . . .

Participant 17's challenge was expressed with humour, but the impact of her challenge was felt. This participant was well aware of the status of participant 12, which was a phenomenological outcome of the fa'afaletui process in revealing the participants' horizons as was explored in Chapters Six and Seven. Hence the intervention between participant 12 and participant 17 was well received and respected by all participants in the fa'afaletui within the Sāmoan culture of gerontocracy. Participant 12 respected the challenge, and the conversation continued in the following way:

loe . . . auā foi lea sa fa'asala i le kolisi pe a fa'asāmoa . . . fa'apea foi lā ita o le Igilisi e popoto ai tagata . . . se ua tā ita lava . . . ou te ita lava a'u iā te a'u . . . ua mā iloa le ma sesā o'u fai atu i lo'u to'alua se'i va'ai lā i lā tā fānau ua leiloa fa'asāmoa . . . ua lelei ai le fa'asāmoa a lā ma tama laitiiti lea e alu i le bilingual i Magele . . . a fa'asāmoa atu lā ma tama laitiiti ae fenanui iai le aualii mātutua . . . se ua ita lava (P12FG1).

Translation - Yes . . . because we were punished for speaking Sāmoan . . . I thought that English would make people smart . . . I'm angry . . . I'm angry with myself . . . we

are sorry . . . we know what we did was wrong. I said to my husband look at our children now they can't speak Sāmoan . . . our young son is good because he speaks Sāmoan . . . he goes to a bilingual in Mangere . . . when our young son speaks Sāmoan to our older sons they speak English back to him . . . I'm angry . . .

The interactions between these two participants have highlighted some significant issues. They had different past perspectives on the importance of fa'asāmoa in education. Participant 17 seemed to be critical with more experience in fa'asāmoa than participant 12. It was also interesting that participant 12 grew up in Apia and sent her older children to Leififi School (the largest and most sought-after school in the capital of Sāmoa) to learn English. Participant 17 on the other hand, grew up and was educated in a village and district high schools before she migrated to New Zealand at the age of 23. It is evident that schools in Apia used English more than the Sāmoan language. Schools in the outer villages on the other hand, predominantly used the Sāmoan language. Self-blame and anger were signals that participant 12 had regretted her past decisions in relation to her children's education. She appeared to have the belief that what she went through in her education would also benefit her children. That was the reason for sending her children to an English-speaking school. Participant 12 continued with her story as described below:

Na mātou ō mai mai Sāmoa ma le manatu e sili na 'ave lā mā fanau e a'o le nanu ou te lei manatu i se fa'asāmoa auā foi lea fa'ato'a ō mai mai Sāmoa . . . (P12FG1).

Translation - We came from Sāmoa with the thought that it was better for our children to learn English we didn't think of fa'asāmoa because we have just left Sāmoa . . .

It seems as if the participants' past educational experiences significantly influenced their thoughts about fa'asāmoa. Participant 12 thought that

Sāmoan was to be used in Sāmoa only, and when they came to New Zealand, English was the only language to be used. This participant described these thoughts as based on her past educational experiences, such as being educated in an environment in which the Sāmoan language was banned. There were other participants who had the same beliefs in the past as participant 10 explained:

Suga e fa'apenā foi le mātou āiga o le mātou fa'amoemoe foi lenā sā iai, ia vave ona a'o le nanu e popoto ai tamaiti auā fo'i o nā aso a nanu atu loa se tamaititi ae fa'apea loa le faia'oga ma isi mātua o le poto ia . . . a sei va'ai lā lea ua iloa atu nei tafēfē . . . (P10FG1).

Translation - Hey! Just like our family we thought the same we were hoping for our children to learn English quickly to make them smart children. And you know when a child spoke English in those days the teacher and parents said that, that child was clever . . . and wow look at it now . . . ?

Participant 10 added that her family's aspirations were also misguided by beliefs that children who spoke English were smart. This participant signalled her awareness of these misguided aspirations by saying "*Se'i va'aia la lea ua iloa atu nei?*" Translation - Wow! Look at it now?

This sub-theme concludes with an elderly participant's general statement about aspirations and expectations that she also described as misguided:

O lā lava e iai kagaka fa'apegā o le lākou fa'amoemoe maualuga ia lelei le similī a lākou fāgau . . . kake alofa lava iai auā a o'o lā iga uma aku lākou . . . ia ka'ilo . . . ua leiloa e kamaiki le mea e ō aga'i iai . . . lākou kē lē iloa le kāua o le gagaga ma le agagu'u o le meaalofa . . . e ku'uguku i fāgau . . . (P7FG1).

Translation - There are still people with those sorts of hopes for their children to have good English . . . well I feel sorry for them as when they leave or die . . . well I don't know . . . their children will be lost . . . they don't know the importance of language and culture it's a gift . . . to be passed on to children . . .

Participant seven claimed that continuity and transmission of the Sāmoan language, cultural beliefs, and values from generation to generation and from parents to their children was a gift. The participant's reminder is attached with some words of advice for those Sāmoan parents who still are not convinced about the importance of language in their children's education and their future. The participant believed that it was every Sāmoan parent's responsibility to transmit traditional beliefs and values to their children through language. Such beliefs reflect the importance of the Sāmoan oral tradition where cultural and spiritual transmission occurs by word of mouth, in face-to-face contact and its survival depends on memory and habits of thoughts and action. Sāmoan oral tradition continues to play an important role in education and people's lives. Such transmission of language and cultural practices can also be described as making use of children's cultural capital from their home background into formal education contexts. More samples of cultural capital will be discussed in Chapter Nine.

8.8 Divided loyalties and uncertainties

There were incidents in the participants' stories that highlighted divided loyalties and uncertainties. The participants' loyalties to school authorities had created uncertainties as to whether or not parents could question schools' decisions about moving their children into and out of Sāmoan bilingual units without their approval. A school's decision to move a student from a Sāmoan bilingual unit to a special class had caused distress and anger among all the participants, not just the parents involved. Here is how participant one expressed anger:

Na sau lā ma tama i le isi aso fai mai ua 'ave 'ese ia mai le bilingual ae 'ave i le special class . . . ua tā ita lava . . . mā te lē manana'o i se vasega special . . . ma te manana'o i lā ma tama e a'o le fa'asāmoa . . . faiga lava lea o pulea'oga e va'ai mai loa i se mea ua lelei i le vasega Sāmoa fai mai loa e sui le polokalame . . . pē 'ave 'ese tamaiti lelei ae 'ave i isi vasega. . . . (P1FG2).

Translation - Our child came home one day and said that she was removed from the bilingual unit and put in a special class . . . we were very angry . . . we don't want a special class . . . we want our daughter to learn the fa'asāmoa . . . it's typical of principals when they see that good things are happening in the Sāmoan bilingual class programme . . . then they said to change it . . . or they remove the good children and put them in another class . . .

The parents wanted the daughter to remain in the bilingual unit and learn fa'asāmoa. The researcher asked the couple: *O le ā lā le lua mea na fai?"*

Translation - What did you do? The husband (as participant one in focus group one) continued their story:

E leai se ma mea nā fai nā o le ita ma nofonofo ia o le a le mea e fai . . . o le pulea'oga le mea . . . e leai se paoa o se isi . . . toetiiti lava 'ave 'ese le mā tama mai le ā'oga . . . ae ua ta musu . . . auā sa mā tutū mālosi lava i le tau 'amataina o le bilingual ona o le mana'o i lā ma fanau e a'o le fa'asāmoa . . . ia ma le isi mea sē o le fa'aaloalo lava . . . (P1FG2).

Translation - We did nothing we just got angry and did nothing . . . what could we do . . . it's the principal . . . we have no power . . . we nearly took our child out of that school . . . but we didn't . . . because we worked hard to support the

establishment of the bilingual because we want our children to learn fa'asāmoa . . . and the other thing . . . well, it's respect . . .

Although the couple were angry about the school's decision but they felt unable to do anything about it. Although they were aware of the significance of fa'asāmoa and wanted their daughter to remain in the bilingual unit, they respected the school's decision. The couple reminded themselves of the efforts they had put into the establishment of the bilingual unit on one hand and the Sāmoan culture of respect on the other. Because of that respect, they were unwilling to challenge the school's decision. However, other participants did not receive this story well. Participant six in particular was taken aback by the attitude of the school to move the child from the bilingual unit to a special class. After sharing humorous laughs and jokes, participant six challenged the couple as described in the following extract:

'Oka se fa'alekonu . . . nā o le ma'i le mea e maua . . . o le mā fāgau na 'ave i le bilingual i Otara ona o le maga'o e fa'aauau le fa'asāmoa lea e fai le fale ma le loku . . . sa 'ave foi le mā fāgau i le ā'oga fa'aka'ika'i Sāmoa mā le isi meaauā a ō mai o'u mākua mai Sāmoa ae lā e iloa e le mā fāgau fa'asāmoa . . . o le ā le mea na lua le ō iai mā fīgau . . . o lenā na lua fai mai na lua iai i le 'amataga o le bilingual . . . 'aiseā lā nā lua lē fīgau mālosi ai . . . 'aga o a'u e leai se ki kāofi . . . makuā mālosi kele gā paoa . . . ua muliga foi le mālosi o 'ofa . . . sole(P6FG2).

Translation - Wow! What a mess . . . makes me sick . . . our children went to a bilingual in Otara because we wanted them to continue using fa'asāmoa that we used in the home and church . . . we also took our children to a Sāmoa pre-school and the other thing . . . when my parents come from Sāmoa my children can speak Sāmoan . . . why didn't you

challenge them . . . you said that you were involved at the beginning of the bilingual . . . why didn't you argue strongly? If it was me, nothing would stop me . . . wow . . . their power is so strong even stronger than cyclone 'ofa . . . hey . .

Participant six described that her children attended a Sāmoan bilingual unit in Otara because of language, culture and religious sustainability. This participant also expressed her anger with the school's decision and thus challenged the couple for not questioning the school's decision. Participant six compared herself with the couple and used strong language such as "*Ana o a'u e leai se ki kaofi . . . !*" Translation - If it was me . . .

Some spoke out about the issue and some expressed annoyance in a quieter way. The couple's words of "*na o le ita lava ma nofonofo.*" Translation - Being angry and do nothing was a strong instigator for other participants to speak out. Participant 11 in particular felt that the school's decision to move the child from the bilingual units was intimidating and hindered the child's progress.

Faiga lava nei o ā'oga . . . ma le 'aufai pāoa . . . e va'ai maualalo mai iā tātou Pasefika . . . va'ai mai loa i se mea ua lelei ona taumafai lava lea e fai se mea e sui ai . . . (P11FG2).

Translation - It's always the case of schools . . . and people with power . . . they look down to us Pasefika . . . when they see that something is good they try to change it . . .

The couple's story prompted a long exchange of opinions amongst the participants. Participant 11 assumed that the school's decision was based on power and demeaning attitudes towards Pasifika people. The participant also made a generalised comment that people with power would make such decisions. Such decisions according to participant 11 happened when the powerful people saw something good. It was

assumed that “something good” according to participant 11 might be directed to the daughter’s achievement in the Sāmoan language. It was also interesting to notice that the couple respected the other participants’ challenging questions as the wife added: “*A fa’apefea ‘ea le fa’aaloalo? E faigatā!*” (P2FG2). Translation - What about respect? It’s hard!

The wife (as participant two in focus group two) supported what her husband articulated during the fa’afaletui. One of the core values of fa’asamoa is respect. This is evident in the couple’s story that it was that respect that caused their divided loyalties and uncertainties. Respect was also noticed in the relationship between the husband and wife of couple one during the fa’afaletui. Couple two also showed respect between husband and wife during their interview (see also section 8.2). Although other participants initially showed disagreement with the school’s decision, later in the fa’afaletui they began to understand why the couple were reluctant to challenge the school. Participant 16 commented:

Ae sa’o fo’i ā . . .? E faigatā tele le fa’aaloalo . . . o le teuga lava o le vā auā fai mai le Tusipa’ia ‘amuia e loto maualalo auā e fai mō latou tofi o le nuu . . . (P16FG2).

Translation - That’s right hey . . .? Respect is hard . . . it’s that sacred space teu le vā hey . . .as the Bible says ‘blessed are the gentle for they shall inherit the earth . . .

The latter participant reinforced the significance of the culture of respect using the concept of teu le va trying to align it with a biblical text to strengthen her opinion. Once participant 16 spoke the others seemed to agree and the fa’afaletui continued with different issues. It is evident that the participants had often been faced with divided loyalties and uncertainties in their lives.

8.9 Impacts and changes

The participants were asked to reflect on how the establishment of ā'oga 'amata and Sāmoan bilingual units had affected their families, the ā'oga 'amata, the schools, the Sāmoan community and their children's achievements.

8.9.1 Impacts and changes on family

Many implications were highlighted when the participants described their aspirations and expectations. The following extract was taken from an elderly participant's individual interview as she described some impacts on her family:

Ua iai lava nī nai sūiga i totonu lava o lō mātou āiga ua ta fiafia lava i la'u fānau ua lelei le lātou fa'asāmoa tū ma aga . . . a ō mai tagata i lo mātou fale ona sulu lea o 'ie lavalava ma fai se ipu ti a tagata . . . (P19Int).

Translation - There are some changes in our family I'm happy with our children they know the culture . . . when people visit our home they put on their lavalava and make them cups of tea . . .

Participant 19 considered children's ability to observe and practice Sāmoan cultural protocols as positive impacts on her family.

Participant nine shared her experience and noted that her family had made some changes in their attitudes towards the Sāmoan language in general. She explained:

Ua iai lava suiga i lō mātou āiga . . . ua fiafia lā ma fānau e fa'asāmoa . . . ua sui fo'i lā mātou lotu . . . ua ō i le lotu Sāmoa . . . (P9FG1).

Translation - There are some changes in our family . . . our children are happy to speak Sāmoan . . . we have changed our church too . . . we go to a Sāmoan church . . .

Participant nine described the changes based on her children's positive attitudes towards the Sāmoan language as a beneficial impact on her family.

An extract from a testimonial narrative also highlighted some similar experiences in relation to changes in familial situations. The participants described some changes within their family since the establishment of the Sāmoan bilingual unit, as they articulated in their testimony.

Ua telē lava se suiga i lō mātou āiga talu na 'amata le bilingual. O la mātou malaga muamua i Sāmoa lea na fai ma lu'itau i lā mā fānau. Na o le viga lava e o i Samoa pe a fai tu'uaga. E o'o fo'i ia ma'ua na o le fia o i Samoa. Ua fiafia foi la ma fanau i tauvaga lauga fa'asamoa . . . (C1T).

Translation - There is a big change in our family since the establishment of the Sāmoan unit. Our first trip to Sāmoa was a challenging one for our children. Now our children want to go to Sāmoa during school holidays. Even us we want to go to Sāmoa. Our children are also happy to join Sāmoan speech competitions . . .

The couple's children first trip to Sāmoa seemed to trigger interest in the use of Sāmoan language.

It is evident that since the establishment of ā'oga 'amata and the Sāmoan bilingual units, there had been many unresolved issues in relation to the participants' families. Such issues as demonstrated in the extracts also highlight that in the minds of the participants, language and culture are

inseparable from education, religion, and everyday activities within people's lives.

8.9.2 Changes in the use of Sāmoan language

Some participants shared the changes in the use of Sāmoan language in ā'oga 'amata and schools. Participant nine expressed the view that their ā'oga 'amata had made few changes as far as the use of the Sāmoan language was concerned. Participant nine explained:

Ua iai lava sina suiga laitiiti i faia'oga . . . ua seāseā lava o ta fa'alogo o toe nanu se isi i tamaiti . . . ua tele ina fa'aaogā le fa'asāmoa . . . (P9FG1).

Translation - There are some minimal changes in our a'oga . . . now I seldom hear the teachers using the English language . . . they use the Sāmoan language . . .

Participants 11 and 13 added similar comments:

O le bilingual la e ō iai la'u fānau ua iai sina suiga ua 'amata ona fa'aaogā mai le fa'asāmoa pe a 'aumai ni tusi i mātua ae le tele . . . (P11FG2).

Translation - The bilingual where my children attend has begun to use Sāmoan language in their newsletters to parents but not much . . .

Participant 13 commented:

Fa'apenā foi lā mātou ā'oga ua tā fiafia lava 'ona ua tā fa'alogo atu ua fa'asāmoa mai faia'oga a'o le mea sā iai e nanu mai lava i le taeao e o'o lava ina tū'ua le ā'oga o nanu lava (P13FG1).

Translation - Like our a'oga I'm happy to hear our teachers using the Sāmoan language . . . but before they used English from morning until the ā'oga finishes.

The above extracts show some reported changes in the use of Sāmoan language by the teachers in ā'oga 'amata and bilingual units. It was evident in the participants' stories that many Sāmoan parents were expecting Sāmoan as the predominant language in ā'oga 'amata.

Participant 19 described a similar impact in relation to the language used by teachers in their ā'oga. She explained:

Ua telē lava se suiga i lā mātou ā'oga ua tele lava ina fa'aaogā e faia'oga le fa'asāmoa pe a fai interviews a mātua (P19Int). Translation - There's a huge change in our a'oga teachers now use the Sāmoan language most of the time in parents' interviews.

The impacts on language use in ā'oga 'amata have highlighted teachers' attitudes towards the use of language in the ā'oga.

8.9.3 Impacts on the school

Participant six described that an impact on schools was an encouragement for parents to be involved in decision-making such as board of trustee levels. Participant six explained:

O le isi suiga ua iai ua fa'amālosi mai le ā'oga i nī sui Sāmoa i totonu o le Komiti fa'afoe (P6FG2).

Translation - The other impact was that the schools are now encouraging Sāmoan parents to have a representative on Board of Trustees.

Participant 16 explained some similar impacts on the school where her children attended. She described this in the following way:

O isi suiga ua ou va'ai a'u iai i ā'oga ua iai teacher-aides Pasefika ua faigāluega i le ā'oga e fesoasoani i tamaiti Pasefika pe ō atu foi e fesoasoani i culture day a le ā'oga ua le toe iai se gālue fua ua fai fo'i lātou tauvaga lāuga fa'apālagi ma le fa'asāmoa . . . (P16FG2).

Translation - The other change in the school where my children attend was that the school now employ Pasifika teacher-aides to help Pasifika children such as support on school's culture day there is no more work for nothing the school also runs speech competitions in English and Sāmoan . . .

This school had employed parents as paid teachers aides not as volunteers and to participant 16, it was a positive impact on the school.

8.9.4 Impacts on the Sāmoan community

The participants' stories highlighted four general impacts on the Sāmoan community. The impacts were related to the community's attitudes towards Sāmoan language, confidence to speak out at meetings, an increase of Sāmoan representatives on the school board of trustees, and familial choices of schools or ā'oga for their children.

Since the establishment of ā'oga 'amata and the Sāmoan bilingual units, participant nine described the change of attitudes of the Sāmoan community in Auckland. She described this as follows:

Ua tele tagata Sāmoa ua lātou fa'atāuaina le gagana . . . ua ō fo'i i fono ma fa'aleo o lātou manatu i le fa'asāmoa . . . ua lēai foi se mā e tautala i le gagana . . . e le pei o ia aso . . . (P9FG1).

Translation - Many people now value our Sāmoa language . . . they go to meetings and voice their ideas in the Sāmoan language . . . they are not shy anymore . . . not like before . . .

The influences on the Sāmoan community that participant nine described were about people's awareness of the significance of fa'asāmoa and confidence to speak out publicly in the Sāmoan language.

Participant 17 described an impact on the Sāmoan community in relation to representation on boards of trustees:

O lo'u iloa iai . . . ua to'atele foi sui o Sāmoa i komiti fa'afaoe a ā'oga . . . e le pei o aso ia sā tauanau tagata a'o aso nei ua lē fefefe tagata e pālota mai ni ō latou sui (P17FG2).

Translation - My understanding is that . . . there are many Sāmoan representatives on schools' boards of trustees . . . not like before that people were too scared to vote for a representative.

Participant 17 considered people's willingness to join boards of trustees as an impact on the community since the establishment of ā'oga 'amata and the Sāmoan bilingual units.

Participants nine and 17 compared the Sāmoan community's past behaviour to the present. They both used the following comment: "*E le pei o aso ia . . .*" Translation - Not like before . . .

Participants nine and 17 were aware of the Sāmoan community's history that people were reluctant to speak in Sāmoan publicly or put their names forward for nominees as representatives on schools' boards of trustees, compared to the community's willingness in the present.

Participant six described an impact that related to parents' choices of ā'oga or schools for their children as an outcome of Sāmoan community or word of mouth networks. Participant six explained:

O le isi suiga, ua tele mātua ua filifili ā'oga . . . tigā le mamao o le bilingual Sāmoa i Manurewa ae ua 'ave lava iai fānau 'ona o le mana'o ia fa'auau le fa'asāmoa . . . pei o le mātou āiga . . . ia ma isi mātua e a'o'oga fa'atasi lātou fānau ma le mā fānau i le ā'oga 'amata . . . o le isi āiga o le mātou 'aulotu sā tala ai i le mānaia o le bilingual lea e a'o'oga ai lana fānau i Manurewa . . . o le mea lea e fai nei e tagata ua su'e lava bilingual Sāmoa lelei e a've iai a lātou fānau . . . (P6FG2).

Translation - The other change is that parents have choices of schools . . . regardless of distance some parents now take their children to a Sāmoan bilingual unit in Manurewa . . . like our family . . . like the parents of those children in the same ā'oga 'amata where our grandchildren go . . . they take their children there . . . the thing is . . . the other family in our church told us about this great Sāmoan bilingual unit in Manurewa where their children go . . . people are now looking for good Sāmoan bilingual units for their children . . .

Familial and communal choices of schools for their children were what participant six described. In her own words, the Sāmoan parental and communal networks in Manurewa that spread the word about this quality bilingual unit to other Sāmoan community in Auckland had made an impact on family and community choices for quality education for their children. Some Sāmoan parents and community began to make informed choices in relation to their children's education. Evidence of quality Samoan bilingual programmes was what parents and community wanted to hear. Thus, word-of-mouth recommendations and testimonials from

community network themselves were powerful outcomes for participant six.

8.9.5 Impacts on the children's achievement

The participants described the impacts on their children's achievement in various ways. Some participants expressed their children's achievement in relation to being confident and competent in both fa'asāmoa and English. Some participants expressed their children's achievement in relation to reading while others referred to achievement when their children were well disciplined and respectful in schools.

The following examples show how the participants described what their children's achievement meant to them. Participant four described her son's achievement:

Ua lelei tele le fa'asāmoa ma le Igilisi a lā ma tama lea sā ā'oga i le bilingual o le tele lava o tauvaga lāuga e sili ai i lāuga fa'asāmoa ma lāuga fa'apālagi . . . e iloa fo'i faitau tusi fa'asāmoa ma le fa'apālagi . . . (P19Int).

Translation - Our son's Sāmoan and English languages are great because he went to a Sāmoan bilingual unit and he came first both in the Sāmoan and English language speech competitions . . . he can also read in Sāmoan and English . .

Participant six described some similar experiences of what children's achievement meant to her:

O lā ma teneiitiiti sā i le bilingual la ua le lunivesetē fai mai lana tala o le tele o taimi e fai a latou meaa'oga ma isi Sāmoa lātou te vasega ma talanoa fa'asāmoa . . . na te fesoasoani foi lā i isi tamaiti ā'oga e lē lelei le Igilisi . . . ta te mitamita ai lava ona o le lelei uma o gagana o lā mā teineititi

fa'apenā uma lava lā ma fānau . . . e lelei uma gagana . . . o fa'amanuiaga nā iā ma'ua mātua (P6FG2).

Translation - Our daughter who attended a bilingual is now at university and she said most of the time they study together with other Sāmoan students and talked in Sāmoan . . . and she helped other students who are not so good in English . . . we're proud of her because she's good at both languages, like all our other children . . . they are good at both languages . . . it's a blessing for us parents

Participant six daughter's achievement and success was attributed to knowledge of fa'asāmoa.

The following extract was taken from participant 18 who preferred to express her experiences in the questionnaire only. She described achievement in relation to reading.

Ua alu i luma le faitau tusi fa'asāmoa a la'u fānau ma le fa'aperetānia fo'i aemaise lava le faitauina o le Tusipa'ia Sāmoa (P18Q).

Translation - Our children have improved their reading in Sāmoan and English especially reading the Sāmoan Bible.

Achievement to participant 18 was related to her children's progress in reading both in the Sāmoan language and English especially in reading the Sāmoan Bible.

Participant three described her experiences solely in the questionnaire. "*Children are gaining respect for teachers and parents*" (P3Q). This participant responded to the questionnaire in English only. She highlighted respect for teachers and parents as an achievement.

Participant four added similar perceptions on ā'oga and Sāmoan bilingual units influenced her children's behaviour at school:

A 'ou alu i parents' interview e muamua lava ona 'ou fesili i faia'oga pe a mai amio a la'u fānau o le mea moni lava e 'ese le fiafia o faia'oga e tali mai o la'u fānau e amio pūlea ma fa'aaloalo o le fiafiaga sili lea o le fa'amanuiaga nā, o amioga a le fānau i totonu o a'oa'oga . . . (P4Int).

Translation - When I went to parents' interviews, firstly I asked the teachers about my children's behaviour the truth was the teachers were so happy to answer that my children were respectful and well behaved. That was the most satisfactory thing if our children were well-behaved in schools, that's an achievement for us parents . . .

Conduct became a priority for participant four hence she initially inquired about her children's behaviour in school at parents' interviews. It was the most satisfactory experience for her when the teachers responded that her children were well disciplined and to her it was an achievement.

8.9.6 Media as an influential factor

Media was also reported as one of the influential factors that the participants had experienced. Participant 10 described:

Pei ā o nusipepa fa'asāmoa ia na fa'amausalī ai lota māfaufau i le gagana ma pailigo ma fiafia e faitau auā ua tele mea tāua ua maua mai ai ona ua tele nusipepa . . . pei ua ta to'aga e fa'atau le Sāmoa time auā tala fa'asolo fa'afāgogo ia e sau ai. . . . (P10FG1). Translation - I think it was the Sāmoan newspapers that enhanced my belief about language and bilingual as there are plenty of Sāmoa newspapers now . . . I buy a Sāmoa time newspaper so I could follow a sequential legend or story . . .

Participant 10 expressed her enthusiasm to read Sāmoan newspapers. Through reading the Samoa *Times newspaper*, she has gained more knowledge and understanding about the importance of language.

Participant 13 described a similar experience:

O le leitiō Sāmoa le isi mea auā . . . ou te le'i iloa lava lea mea o le pailigo a'o polokalame f'a'alea'oa'oga ma pailigo ia e sau i le leitiō . . . ua tau maua mai ai sina mālamalama . . . o lota fa'alogologo so'o i polokalame fa'alea'oa'oga ia ma pailigo. (P13FG1). Translation - Radio Sāmoa was the other thing . . . I didn't know what bilingual was but I've gained some understanding from listening to the radio programmes on bilingual education.

8.10 Other influential factors in the participants' lives

Some impacts concerned employment opportunities. Participant 11 described this in the following way:

Ua lelei nei aso ua tele ā'oga 'amata ma pailigo Sāmoa e 'ave iai la'u fānau lāiti . . . ua misia e la'u fānau mātutua ia avanoa . . . ma le isi mea . . . ua tele foi gāluega ua mana'omia e pule tagata e iloa nanu ma fa'asāmoa foi (P11FG2).

Translation - It's great now that there are many ā'oga 'amata and Sāmoan bilingual units for my younger children . . . as my older children missed out from those opportunities . . . the other thing too . . . some employers want employees who can speak both English and Sāmoan.

This participant realised that her older children had missed out an opportunity to be educated at a Sāmoan bilingual/immersion unit. Such

realisation had motivated her to enrol her younger children and grandchildren in a bilingual/immersion programme. Participant 11 also recognised that more opportunities for employment would be available for those who were confident in both English and Sāmoan.

Some impacts and changes in the participants' lives were influenced by their children's achievement in the Sāmoan language and reading the Bible. Participant 16 described:

loe ua telē lava suiga i lota māfaufau ua o mai lā mā fānau
mai le ā'oga nā o le pepese i pese ma tauloto fa'asāmoa . . .
ua atamamai e fa'asāmoa o le faitauga o le Tusipa'ia . . . e
o'o i mātou lotu ua fai lava e lātou nā o le agaga fiafia ma
vivii a'e i le Atua! (P16FG2).

Translation - Yes there are many changes in the ways I think
because our children come home from school and sing
Sāmoan songs and poems . . . they are smart . . . in the
fa'asāmoa and reading the Bible . . . even our family prayers
- our children do that themselves, we are happy and we
praise God!

The following quotes reflect some impacts and influences on the participants' lives caused by a long history of Pasifika children under-achievement. Participant six described:

Ua sui foi le olaga ia . . . ua uma foi le nofonofo . . . sē mā
lota ita lava ma lota mā fai o Pasefika e ā ma ā . . . o le mea
lava lenā ua ta naunau ai e fai se ā'oga . . . (P6FG2).

Translation - I've changed . . . with my life . . . I'm not sitting
around any more . . . and because I'm angry and ashamed .
. . . they said Pasifika here and Pasifika there . . . that's why I
was determined to start a Sāmoan a'oga . . .

This participant expressed her feelings of anger and humility, which motivated her to start ā'oga 'amata. It is evident that emotions and education are interconnected. Another example of an impetus for change that was based on anger and humility was taken from participant 12 who sent her children to an English-speaking school in Apia. She described her story with remorse:

Sē ua tā ita lava iā tā ita . . . ou fai atu i lo'u to'alua . . . se va'ai lā, o lō ta'ua lava fa'atamala . . . o le mea lava lenā ua 'ave ai lā mā tama laitiiti i le bilingual i Magele . . . o lota ita ma le popole nei galo foi lana ia faa'sāmoa (P12FG2).

Translation - I'm angry with myself . . . I said to my husband . . . look what's happening . . . it's our fault . . . that's why we send our younger son to a bilingual class in Mangere . . . because I'm angry and worried that he too might lose his fa'asāmoa . . .

Participant 12 explicitly and emotionally described the attribution of fault. Her biggest fear was that her older children would not be able to speak Sāmoan. She admitted that she had changed in her ways of thinking and knowing, but with regret that it was too late for her older children. It was evident in this participant's narrative that her lived experience was a process of rediscovering prior knowledge and identity, which is part of fa'afaletui phenomenological process for revealing participants' lived experiences as discussed in Chapters Six and Seven. The process had created participant 12's reality of anger, self-blaming and mourning.

Participants eight and nine described the influences and changes in their lives when they went back to tertiary education and trained as early childhood educators. Participant eight explained:

Ua telē lava le suiga . . . tusa lava o lo'u toe foi e ā'oga . . .
lea ua 'ou tau malamalama ai . . . i nei mea uma . . .

(P8FG1). Translation - There's a huge change . . . I've gone back to training . . . I've gained some understanding . . . about all these things . . .

Participant nine added:

E fa'apenā foi a'u . . . tusa o le training a le early childhood mā le fa'amālosi mai a faiā'oga i le le tāua o le gagana ma le fa'aaogāina i totonu o ā'oga 'amata ua suia ai le tele o mea, ma lota māfaufau ma le iloa (P9FG1).

Translation - Just like me . . . it was the early childhood training and reinforcement from teachers and others about the importance of our language in ā'oga 'amata that changed lots of other things and my knowledge too.

Participants eight and nine claimed that they had changed and/or enhanced their ways of thinking because they understood the importance of their language in education.

8.11 Turning Points

The participants were also asked to reflect on the ways they thought about the Sāmoan Immersion/Bilingual Education before the establishment of the ā'oga 'amata or the Sāmoan bilingual units. The questions asked if there were any changes in the ways they thought about the Sāmoan language? If there were changes, how did those changes occur? In other words what were the turning points in their lives?

There were some historical events in the participants' stories that reflected the changes not only in their lives but the lives of those in their extended families and community. For example, prior to the establishment of ā'oga 'amata and bilingual units, participant 10 described that the turning point in her life was caused by her extended family's request for their eldest son to become a chief (see also section 8. 2). Participant 10 continued her story:

Ina ua mātou taunu'u mai i Nlu Sila e lēai se isi na māfaufau e toe fa'aauau se fa'asāmoa auā o le mea moni lava o le su'ega o ni gāluega e tausi ai le fānau sa fa'amuamua . . . ia ma a'o ai loa ma le nanu ina ia maua ai ni gāluega . . . o le tala moni lava . . . sā tā lē manatu e tāua le fa'asāmoa . . . pei o le taimi lava lea na fesiligia ai mā'ua e lō mātou āiga potopoto e 'ave atu lā mā tama matua e fa'amatai i le āiga o i'ina lā nā mā toe mānatunatu ai ma toe fa'apea . . . 'oka se fa'aletonu . . . lea lā ua tapa mai le āiga . . . ma toe suia ai manatu i le tāua tele o le gagana ma le aganu'u . . .

Translation - When we arrived here in New Zealand no one thought to continue using the Sāmoan language . . . the truth was that finding a job to support our children was our priority . . . so learning English was important to find jobs . . . the truth was . . . I didn't think Sāmoan language was important . . . it was the time that our extended family asked us for our eldest son to become a chief in the family . . . it was then that I re-thought about the importance of our fa'asamoā . . .

Selection of a Sāmoan chief is an extended family responsibility. Once a future family chief is selected, then it becomes a village or communal event. When participant 10 was asked for her eldest sons to become their family chief, immediately a question of her son's capability in knowledge of fa'asāmoa emerged. That was the time that participant 11 realised that her son needed some guidance in the Sāmoan language and culture. It was my turning point as she claimed: "*O i'ina nā toe liliu ai lo'u manatu i le aogā o le fa'asāmoa . . .*" Translation - It was then that I re-thought about the importance of fa'asāmoa.

Participant 13 also highlighted a turning point in her life before she became involved with the ā'oga 'amata that her son attended. Participant 13 explained:

O a'u foi sã 'ave la'u tama i le ā'oga pālagi sã 'ou manatu lava o le sa'o lea . . . ae o le konefelenisi a lã mātou 'aulotu sã fai i Otaga i le 2000 . . . na fai ai se saunoaga fa'apitoa ma le tãua a le faife'au toea'ina o lã mātou 'aulotu mai Sãmoa . . . o le 'autũ o le saunoaga . . . 'o lau gagana ma lau aganu'u fa'atasi ma le Tusipaia o fa'amalama ia o lou olaga a'oa'oina.' E lã mafai ona galo ia a'u lenã kolofelenisi . . . o le konefelenisi lenã na lĩua ai lo'u manatu fa'atauva'a i lã tãtou gagana . . . sau a upu loloto ma le tãua o le lãuga ofi i le mãfaufau . . . sui ai ma le olaga aemaise lagona e uiga i lã tãtou gagana . . .

Translation - I used to take my son to a pālagi pre-school I thought that was the right thing to do . . . but it was our church conference in Otaga in 2000 . . . that an elderly church minister from Sãmoa presented a very powerful speech . . . the topic of his speech was . . . 'your language and culture together with the Bible are the windows of your educational life.' I never forget that conference . . . that conference had changed my life and my thoughts about our language . . . the elderly church minister's speech was intense and influential . . . that changed my life and feelings about our language . . .

Participant 13 considered their church conference in the year 2000 as an unforgettable event that changed her life. Church conferences are important annual events in the Sãmoan community. Many church conferences themes are interwoven around language, culture, and the Bible, and this participant's church conference was no different.

8.12 Summary

The 20 participants in this study expressed their lived experiences in various ways. The fa'afaletui phenomenology process provided

opportunities for the 20 participants to select preferred method(s) of expressing their experiences about the establishment of ā'oga 'amata and Sāmoan bilingual units. The essence of each participant's experience was captured in the stories from focus groups, individual and couple interviews, testimonies and questionnaires.

Observations and analysis of the stories show that the participants had experienced many challenges during the establishment of ā'oga 'amata and bilingual units. It is clear that parents and church community initiated ā'oga 'amata whilst schools tended to initiate Sāmoan bilingual units. The challenges that the participants had encountered included financial difficulties lack of resources, past misguided beliefs, attitudes, lack of understanding about bilingual education, and being caught by divided loyalties and uncertainties.

Although the participants had experienced such problems, their self and communal determination and perseverance were never absent from their journeys. All the participants wanted their children to learn and maintain knowledge of fa'asāmoa. The participants had many other reasons why they established ā'oga amata or supported bilingual units. Reasons ranged from language and cultural maintenance to treasuring of what they saw as God's gift of language, and enhanced employment opportunities.

The participants' stories have made helpful contributions to this research. When conducting research with Pasifika parents, researchers must start from where the participants are, as we can only learn a new skill by building upon existing skills. The participants' existing skills in oral traditions, as demonstrated in speeches, music or biblical texts, were all evidence that the Sāmoan community wanted their children to learn and maintain fa'asāmoa. It is therefore, my responsibility as a Sāmoan researcher to support the participants in learning new skills of interpretation of those oral stories, and to transform them into written text within an academic paradigm such as in this thesis.

The involvement and support of the participants and their family and community made the research possible. The process also impacted on the participants themselves. For some, the experience was very emotional. There were times of laughter and times of shedding tears. There were times that the parents felt uncomfortable to share issues in relation to their frustrations and anger in their lived experiences and yet such pertinent issues were required in the research. The frustrated, culturally inappropriate discourses that few parents used apologetically were significant to this study.

Questions and issues that arose from the participants' stories will be discussed in Chapter Nine.

CHAPTER NINE

DISCUSSION

9.1 Introduction

The major purpose of this thesis was to investigate the core meanings of the participants' lived experiences in relation to the establishment of ā'oga 'amata and Sāmoan bilingual units in primary and intermediate levels of schooling. Different threads of phenomenology with the Sāmoan concept of fa'afaletui were used as a coupling methodology to frame this study. The coupling methodology was termed fa'afaletui phenomenology. The framework was employed to describe and explain the phenomenon, the what, why, and the how of the establishment of the bilingual/immersion units in New Zealand. In other words what were the participants' lived experiences as discussed in Chapters six and seven, and why and how did those experiences occur? Were there any challenges in the participants' lives in relation to the phenomenon? How did the participants overcome those challenges?

My approach to the research was that above all else I wanted participants to share their stories in a way that they wanted to. This meant that I was prepared to be flexible about data gathering methods, I did initially prepare a questionnaire and the issues that were shared and/or gathered from the open meetings shaped this. Subsequently I proposed different methods, such as a focus group, but participants also volunteered their own preferences. Participants' preferred way(s) of sharing their stories can be seen in Chapters Seven and Eight.

This chapter begins with a discussion of the results that will take readers further into an explanation of the relationships between the participants' experiences in relation to the investigated phenomenon and fa'asāmoa epistemology. The why of the participants' and researcher's experiences can be unveiled in depth by how they were shared. Phenomenology terms

this process a revealing of horizons. The chapter will then lead to a discussion of how various threads of phenomenology contributed to this study followed by a brief discussion of the contributions made by the Sāmoan concept of fa'afaletui with its mediators of teu le vā and 'aua le to'ia le va. The chapter will then lead to an overview discussion of the significance of the coupling research methodology, followed by a general discussion of women's roles.

9.2 Contributions from the findings

9.2.1 Contributions to understanding of cultural practices relating to educational decision-making

The data presented in previous chapters suggest a close connection between the reasons and experience of why the participants established and supported ā'oga 'amata and Sāmoan bilingual units and the participants' lives. These connections were shared or expressed within fa'asāmoa epistemology. Because this research needed to be grounded in a Sāmoan process and protocol, each group's fa'afaletui and interviews began and ended with a prayer. Sharing of food was a norm. These practices underpin epistemological beliefs of *tautua* (service), *alofa* (love) *fa'aalolo* (respect). Other epistemological beliefs that underpin the common practices implemented during the fa'afaletui include *vā tapuia* (sacred relationships). Such relationships exist between parents and children, brothers and sisters, older and younger siblings, matai and other member of the āiga, between the living and the dead and between people and their environment. The other epistemological beliefs that underpin the practices in this research include *fa'asinomaga* (identity). Fa'asinomaga is knowledge that explains identity and how one belongs to the Samoan community (Sualii-Sauni & Aiolutepa, 2014; Ministry of Women's Affairs, 2015). Practices that underpin Samoan epistemological and cultural beliefs are important in research with the Sāmoan community, and they are worth documenting because the participants' stories highlighted the key reasons for connecting the establishment of ā'oga 'amata and

bilingual units to their lives, and the lives of their extended āiga and communities.

Why is such a connection important in the participants' lives and to this current research? The participants in this research were capable and determined human beings with hopes and inspirations for better education for their children, and the maintenance of cultural beliefs and values.

Speaking of strong evidence or reliable facts in research, let us recollect what the participants shared in their stories as a "reliable form". The description and analyses of the participants' stories were categorised in various themes. Those themes represented captured objectives, aspirations, and inspirations as well as struggles and challenges that the participants endured.

The captured objectives, aspirations and inspirations were results of the participants' deepest thoughts and their connections to past, present, and future collective lives, as highlighted in the participants' stories (see Chapter eight). Tui Atua (2002, 2009) and Le Tagaloa (1996a, 1996e, 1997) highlight the significance of connectedness of people's social lives to their extended family and community, their language, cultural values and traditions. The establishment of ā'oga 'amata and bilingual units are examples of such important connected events. The results demonstrate that the participants want their children to succeed in education including the maintenance of fa'asāmoa. In other words, the parents want their children to succeed in two worlds, their world as Sāmoans and their world as New Zealand citizens with worldwide perspectives and understanding. The coupling methodology of Fa'afaletui Phenomenology provided opportunities for the participants to share their stories in their own language(s) and methods within their own choices of 'where' and 'when' such stories could be shared with me. I therefore argue that objective factors such as establishing ā'oga 'amata and bilingual units cannot be separated from participants' āiga, church community, and epistemological

and cultural beliefs. This is what a researcher might expect of any group of participants as expressed by the participants of this study.

9.2.2 Educational system

The participants' stories also identified another interesting aspect of the participants' experiences. There were three different types of educational systems highlighted in the stories. The first one was the church/community system in which Sāmoan was the only language used. The second one was the formal state school system where English became the dominant language used in schools. English was learnt through formal structured lessons. The third one was a dual language or bilingual system. These three systems have their own style of education.

The church/community system is an informal system in which learning is based on people's everyday events such as attending pastors' schools, going to church and acquiring familial chores of transmitting of biblical and cultural beliefs and values. The memorisation of cultural and biblical texts was identified as an important practice for the participants' children and their families. Memorisation of such texts according to the participants was vital in preparation for special occasions or events such as speech competitions and White Sunday ceremonies. It is important to mention here that in a Samoan community, rote learning and memorisation of biblical texts' emphasis is on reading and sometimes the reading text is far beyond the understanding of the children who memorise it. Hence, the level of the reading exceeds the children's speaking knowledge of the language; and yet they read it. Such types of practices are underpinned by fa'asāmoa epistemological and cultural values and beliefs of tautua, fa'asinomaga, alofa, fa'aaloalo and vā fealoaloa'i as discussed earlier in this chapter. Sāmoan people especially the elders believe that memorisation of cultural and religious chores would help retain fa'asāmoa.

A lesson learnt from the participants' stories is that Sāmoan L2 learners of English can read and write English before they have mastered the oral

and written system of the language, as demonstrated in the participants' lived experiences about learning English (see Chapter Eight). Hence the process of writing, reading, speaking and listening is interrelated and interdependent. Such process is practised within educational system one that some Sāmoan people are familiar with. For example, participant five preferred to write her aspirations and expectations for her son's education in a testimony. The written testimony was then read and tape-recorded.

The ā'oga 'amata that the participants were involved with were established as playgroups or language nests within system one as discussed above. The participants' aspirations drove them to establish a'oga amata in church halls and family garages. Such aspirations were for their children to maintain Sāmoan language and cultural beliefs and values for many reasons as highlighted in the stories. A couple of examples of such reasons include easy communication between children and elders, and for children to be well equipped for church activities and responsibilities.

The second educational system is a state school structured system, which is more formal. Learning is mainly from prescribed lessons and/or textbook focusing on developing English as quickly as possible. The participants described this system humously in their stories especially the process of learning English only. Learning English within this system in my view was meaningless because it had no connection to people's realities.

The third system as highlighted in the stories was a dual language or bilingual system. Stories stressed the importance of children being able to read and write in both Sāmoan and English. The participants believed that children's transition from ā'oga 'amata to bilingual education programmes in primary and intermediate schools would help them to be successful learners. The participants interpreted successful learners as those children who can read, write and achieve in both Sāmoa and English. This system can work well in partnership with system one.

Systems one and three as discussed are both important to the Sāmoan community in New Zealand, not only with the continuity of fa'asāmoa but also with enhancement of learning new content within a new context. Hence, it is part of our role as educators and researchers to ensure that what the child learns in the home must be enhanced in classroom practices. For example, a memorised biblical verse that the child brings from home could be extended through reading and writing programme in class. In the case of research, allow participants to use their own language and preferred method(s) to share their stories. Some Sāmoans or other Pasifika groups prefer oral/aural style of sharing information, whether they do it in focus groups, interviews or recorded testimonies. This aural/oral information could be transformed into written texts and become a reading document for the participants concerned. Few Sāmoan participants prefer to write answers of research questions using a questionnaire as shown in the results of this study.

System two which refers to formal structured type of education focussing on developing English only needs challenging. Assuming that system two still exists in education both in New Zealand and Sāmoa, what do we see as the challenges and opportunities for researchers in investigating such a system? If you were educated through this system, what lessons have you learnt from it? The stories in this research highlighted more on the participants' emotions rather than on lessons learnt, except for participant 12's expression of self-blame and remorse (see section 8.6 in Chapter Eight).

9.2.3 Cultural capital

The belief that people would have more opportunities in employment if they spoke more than one language was shared amongst the participants. The participants believed that their children were intelligent because they could speak two languages and therefore, could easily find jobs. The belief that it was a blessing for the children to speak two languages, not only a

blessing in the employment aspect, but also as part of their service to the Sāmoan community who needed help with the English language.

The key to learning as discussed in Chapter Five, is based on language, cultural knowledge and understanding. Linguistic and cultural knowledge encourages and increases children's understanding in new learning contexts as demonstrated in the participants' stories. Research in bilingual education (Cummins, 2000; Gibbons, 2002) and many others, identifies that the linguistic, and cultural capital that children bring from home to formal education settings have significant effects on the child's capacity to master his or her learning. Hence, it is the ā'oga 'amata and bilingual units' purpose to nurture and enhance the children's linguistic and cultural capital. It is highlighted in the results that the participants want their children to practise and carry out language and cultural values in ā'oga 'amata and bilingual units.

The thoughts and beliefs of maintaining language and culture have always been part of Sāmoan people's lives as demonstrated in the results. Those beliefs were maintained and never lost. People need empowerment and encouragement to reactivate those beliefs and thoughts.

The other linguistic and cultural capital that the participants discussed was related to their children possibly becoming a chief in their family. This belief can be linguistic or cultural capital in its own right, because the participants saw the necessity of gaining wealth in the Sāmoan language and culture as part of their children's preparation to becoming chiefs in their villages. This knowledge is important to the Sāmoan parents and community. It is therefore vital for Sāmoan children to visit and observe cultural practices such as blessings of new chiefs. From observations of oral/aural traditions, children could transmit such knowledge into print in both Sāmoan and English. Such practices are enhanced in Sāmoan secondary schools cultural festivals.

9.3 Contributions from phenomenology

This study employed the three threads of phenomenology namely, phenomenology of the mind/spirit, transcendental phenomenology, and communal phenomenology, or the relationships between phenomenology and community.

The essence of the participants' lives and experiences in this research could not be demonstrated by analysing only concrete problems of participants' social lives such as the lack of resources, financial difficulties and negative attitudes towards Sāmoan language. It was therefore crucial to reveal the emotional expressions that were associated with the participants' intentions of why they established ā'oga 'amata and supported Sāmoan bilingual units, and how this influenced their lives and the lives of their families and communities.

The process of revealing the participants' lived experiences was done through the researcher's purposeful intervention, through using *teu le va* and *'aua le to'ia le va*. Some other examples of culturally appropriate approaches included the practice of prayers before and after each meeting, sharing stories of myths and legends, songs and biblical scripts and hymns. The intersubjective challenges such as relationships between elders and young participants within transcendental phenomenology were sensitively addressed. Examples of such challenges are discussed in the nature of the coupling research methodology in Chapters Six and Seven.

Considering intersubjectivity raises questions such as: How is the experience of my understanding the other and her understanding of me shaped, respected and compromised? For example, how does a young participant in the focus group understand the experience of a church minister's wife in the researched group? How can these two participants each with a different status and therefore different experiences be constituted both within themselves and the rest of the participants? These

questions remained always in the forefront of my research journey. Schutz suggests:

Intersubjectivity should be treated as a fundamental ontological category of human experience; a precondition of all immediate human experience in the life-world to be accepted as something which is unquestionably given with apperception of other individuals in their physical appearance (Schutz as cited in Wagner, 1970, p. 31).

In relation to this research, the participants past lived experiences have shaped their present, and their future dreams and aspirations. These past experiences were revealed through sharing many intersubjective stories; whether they were personal, familial or communal stories, they were all important ontological components of the participants' lives as immigrant parents who struggled for survival in New Zealand. Sharing of stories is a common practice, which often occurs in a face-to-face context.

As discussed in Chapters Six and Seven, building a phenomenological relationship between two or more people is enhanced and nurtured in a face-to-face situation and through negotiation of identity and/or Thou orientation. Such orientation, as explained previously, is about building a relationship with another person with whom one has face-to-face contact and whom one considers as a specific person. Take, for example, when this research began with face-to-face meetings, each focus group participant brought with them their preconceptions of each other. One was aware and understood that there was a church minister's wife in the researched group because of one's physical appearance, the way she dressed, the way she spoke and so forth. One automatically perceived that the church minister's wife was a specific person hence a Thou orientation began with respect between oneself and the church minister's wife. An introductory process of the church minister's wife to the rest of the

group was included in the Thou orientation. This process aligned with the negotiation of identity sessions as highlighted in Chapters Six and Seven.

9.4 Contributions from the Sāmoan concepts of fa'afaletui, teu le va and 'aua le to'ia le va

The concepts of fa'afaletui, teu le va and 'aua le to'ia le va are discussed in Chapter Six. Employing any Sāmoan concept or term in research in a simplistic manner, could be considered an insignificant attempt at searching for a cultural and philosophical research methodology. A researcher must understand how a single entity or self is connected to and is part of a larger whole. Hence, in this research I made an effort to trace the origin of the concept of fa'afaletui in order to make sense of how the coupling methodology of Fa'afaletui Phenomenology would shape my thinking, and that of the participants, in relation to the establishment of ā'oga 'amata and bilingual units.

The roles of fa'afaletui, teu le va and 'aua le to'ia le va in this research created opportunities for the researcher and the participants to revisit and/or re-employ the collective and collaborative nature of fa'asāmoa (*'oe-ma-a'u, outou-matou-tatou*). The collective and collaborative nature of this research had supported, mediated and sustained the researcher and the participants' thoughts throughout the research journey. Figel, (1996); Seiuli, (2012), and Tamasese, Peteru, & Waldegrave (1997) from the health sector all comment on the I and a We concepts and the significance of connectedness of people and their holistic lives, which refer to the physical, social, cultural, intellectual and spiritual aspects of life.

As discussed in Chapter Six, the fa'afaletui concepts and cultural practices could not be employed separately from phenomenology. The researcher often intervened by using teu le va and 'aua le to'ia le va to ensure that each participant shared her/his experiences and stories in a genuine and non-coercive context. For example, there were some interruptions during

focus group discussions when enthusiasm to speak overruled respect in the turn-taking process. Hence the researcher had to intervene by saying, “*Fa’amolemole ‘aua le to’ia le va*”. Translation-Please don’t disrespect the space.

9.5 Contributions from the coupling methodology of Fa’afaletui

Phenomenology

Chapters Six and Seven critically discussed aspects of western research, power relations within western perspectives, indigenous research methods and methodologies, issues of ethics and validity and purpose of research. A key learning from the research traditions that I reviewed in Chapters Six and Seven is that research is multi-dimensional and multi-methodological, hence there is no pure fa’asāmoa research methodology, because knowledge and lived experiences of researcher and researched are educationally, historically, colonially and culturally influenced.

Because of such influential factors employing a coupling methodology in this study was significant. Fa’afaletui and phenomenology both with separate entities that support each other in the research process. The coupling methodology provided the participants various and flexible opportunities including the choice of method(s) to voice or reveal the essence of their experiences which they had never had before. However, the revealing process was retrospective because disclosing turning points for some participants was a problem. This issue will be discussed in the final chapter.

A person with critical behaviour is sometimes considered as being disrespectful within Sāmoan church and community. Hence, the coupling methodology also provided opportunities to develop the participants’ ‘*respectful courage*’ through conducting negotiation of identity and shared orientation sessions. In other words the participants were critical but respectful (*finau ma le mafau*) in the ways they shared their thoughts

and challenged each other especially in focus groups' fa'afaletui. There were no direct questions asked such as: Who are you? What is your name? Where do you work? The fa'afaletui phenomenology's contribution to this study was more like a critical, but respectful revealing process in providing time and space to build awareness and understanding between the researcher and the participants. Once the participants developed their awareness and understanding of each other, they became confident.

The coupling methodology underpins the mixed methods that the participants preferred to use. The participants had the freedom to share their identities and stories in their own time and in their own ways, whether in focus groups sessions, individual and couple interviews or testimonies.

The coupling methodology also posed questions in regard to all researchers. When conducting research with Pasifika people, all researchers need to be exposed to multiple epistemologies, methods and methodologies, especially when research is based on people's lives. There is also a need to explore specific methodologies and methods that are commensurate with Pasifika or any other researched groups' historical and cultural traditions within a transformative paradigm of research, which refers to collaboration and sharing of power between the researchers and researched as demonstrated in this study. This coupling methodological approach has the potential to challenge both existing Sāmoan and mainstream research perceptions. Alternative research approaches guiding indigenous research do exist, but they tend to be somewhat under-elaborated. For example, as previously discussed the concept of *teu le va* is simplistically used to capture the essence of appropriate research methodology for Pasifika people. In contrast, the coupling methodology adopted for this research is grounded in philosophy and permeated by Sāmoan cultural values. It also provides a case for the fact that there is no one pure Sāmoan research approach and there is no one pure westernised research approach either.

Hence I argue in this thesis that all researchers need to examine and interrogate methods and come up with a coupling methodology. Instead of arguing that Pasifika research must employ pure Pasifika or westernised research approaches and paradigms, we as researchers need to look within our educational histories and ask ourselves: Where were we educated? How did we gain our present knowledge? What language(s) did we use in learning? And what language(s) do we predominantly use in research? Various factors from our educational and personal lives have influenced our skills, knowledge and experiences and therefore have shaped our research paradigms.

9.6 Contributions to our understanding of religious and spiritual dimensions

Spirituality is often associated with church or religious practice as demonstrated in this research with each session beginning and ending with a prayer. The use of spiritual thoughts and knowledge in the participants' stories varied from referencing prayer, or church and God, to expressing cultural knowledge and understanding to confirm or reaffirm their experiences about the phenomenon. In the rest of this section I will explain spirituality as a different practice from church but refer to cultural values, and beliefs that motivated the participants' deep thoughts, searching for meaning of their lived experiences, and developing self-awareness and personal identity. A broader meaning of spirituality in this current research was related to connection and awareness.

The data showed that all the participants spoke of their dreams and aspirations and how transmission of beliefs and values as spiritual forces affected and shaped the knowledge and ways of knowing. Some of these spiritual effects included stories about the environment, ancestors' beliefs and transmitting of cultural knowledge and values from generation to generation. Cultural scripts, metaphors, idiomatic expressions, hymns, songs and musical legends were all spiritual forces embedded in the

stories. The use of cultural idioms and metaphors such as: *O le tama a le manu e fafaga i fuga o la'au, a'o le tama a le tagata e fafaga i upu ma tala*. Translation - Young birds are fed with pollen and berries, but young people are fed with words, was one of the strongest signals of an ontological key to how spiritual knowledge was exchanged, conveyed, and transmitted. Spiritual knowledge in this sense has a history and/or an origin. The elderly participants in particular spoke of themselves as the experts of spiritual knowledge who created an ontological chain of cultural continuity.

Such a Sāmoan spiritual literacy tradition puts “premium on the ability to speak and use words in aesthetically telling ways” (Le Tagaloa, 1997, p. 12). To explain what this spiritual literacy tradition means to Sāmoans, I argue that it is the ability of any Sāmoan to speak in a poetic and metaphorical manner and such discourses and knowledge can be used in research. Le Tagaloa (1997) suggests that Sāmoan spiritual knowledge of literacy practices facilitated the spread of the written Sāmoan language when the missionary arrived. In other words, the missionary’s role of facilitating the Sāmoan written language was much easier because Sāmoans spiritual knowledge of literacy in their mother tongue was already established through oral/aural and visual means.

So how does this knowledge relate to education of Sāmoan children in today’s world? How does it relate to research with the Sāmoan or any other Pasifika community in New Zealand? The answer is simple: accept, respect, value and use the children’s oral/aural traditions in literacy/biliteracy programmes. The quality and quantity of children’s expressive language through oral/aural traditions support their learning pathway and transition into print.

An account of some missionaries’ work in Sāmoa also highlights that Sāmoan people preferred to express spiritual and cultural beliefs through oral traditions. According to Smith (1998), the hymnbooks, which

preserved an oral context of reference, were found to be acceptable to the Sāmoans and the Pasifika people. This was due to the fact that Pasifika people were/are fond of “metrical compositions, their history and traditions having been preserved in a metrical kind of ballad” (Smith 1998, p. 75). It is in fact suggested here that the Pasifika oral culture is a continuous process of expressing people’s spiritual living voices as demonstrated in the participants’ stories.

The participants’ stories were full of rich and varied examples to substantiate spirituality as a domain of experience. These spiritual experiences validated and strengthened the participants’ cultural understanding and knowledge about the establishment of ā’oga ‘amata and bilingual units. Some cultural wisdom and ways of knowing were related to general behaviour such as: *E iloa lava le tamāli’i i lana savali, o lana tautala, tū ma aga*. Translation - A respectful Sāmoan can be easily identified by the way he or she walks, talks and uses traditional beliefs and values.

To explain the above spiritual and cultural knowledge to non-Sāmoan readers, let me take you back to the Sāmoan culture of gerontocracy or respect between the young and the elders. The above epistemological expression highlights the participants’ spirituality and understanding that a Sāmoan’s behaviour is measured by the way he or she walks, talks and practises traditional beliefs, and values as discussed in Chapter Five. The participants’ stories highlighted a belief that if all Sāmoans especially the young ones understood this cultural knowledge, they would not need a reminder about the culture of gerontocracy. Another cultural belief and knowledge that was expressed nearly in all the stories was that if a Sāmoan child knew his identity and was fed with words and stories at a young age she or he would know how to behave respectfully as he grew up. Respecting the elders and people of high status such as Church ministers and their wives, is included in the well-behavioural category.

The participants' ways of expressing their experiences were formulated by fa'asāmoa epistemology. Such knowledge has a genesis; it has a place of origin. It is not something new or reinvented as all participants expressed in their stories: *E lē o ni mea fou nei mea na fai mai lava ā'oga fa'ata'ita'i ma ā'oga a le faife'au i Sāmoa o lenei lava e fai.* Translation - These are not new things we had ā'oga 'amata in Sāmoa and pastor's school and we are still doing it.

Cultural knowledge evolves and matures in a spiritual manner during the transmission from generation to generation, from place to place, from land to land, or from situation to situation. This research was another avenue for the participants to reactivate or revisit their cultural knowledge and ways of knowing.

Songs and hymns were the other strong cultural knowledge that strengthened spiritual power. The use of songs, hymns and other spiritual music in this research was a norm especially in the focus groups' sessions. Interactions between participants had demonstrated a sequence of morality. A call upon ancestors or spirits to provide understanding was often heard in the stories. For example, the interaction between participant 12 and participant 17 demonstrated a spiritual call for ancestry knowledge to provide understanding. Participant 17 initiated the groups' singing during focus group fa'afaletui with a very old spiritual song about the volcano eruption when she realised that participant 12 was struggling to revitalise the Sāmoan language and culture within her family. Religious and spiritual experiences are reflected upon and again embedded in the rest of the discussion chapter; in fact it runs throughout and within the whole thesis.

Why are these spiritual practices important in research or in education of Pasifika children for that matter? These practices add enjoyment to research and/or education; encourage researcher and researched to work together regardless of backgrounds and denominations. The spiritual

practices also remind children, teachers, parents, researchers, and researched of the importance of prior-knowledge and prior learning skills, and they need to use them to support new learning. Spiritual practices are like *learning pegs* from which new learning is attached.

9.7 Constraints on the process of change

The ways that the participants shared their stories in this research were examples of past fa'asāmoa traditional practices and are still alive in the present. Phenomenological views as highlighted throughout this research suggest that cultural formation is not only occurring in the past but also is essentially alive and significant in the present. The participants' lived experiences imply a continuity of the past with its own present future. In other words, the idea of cultural and linguistic continuity of past traditions was passed on from generation to generation and upon which the present stands, expressing future aspirations as demonstrated in the results. Phenomenology called this a "zone of common intrinsic relevance" (Wagner 1970, p. 238). The participants remembered the inner structure of meanings in relation to their morals, cultural beliefs and values. For example participant 10 apologetically shared her past negative attitudes towards fa'asāmoa but now realised the importance of Samoan values and beliefs in her children's education. Sharing stories in this research was only a matter of re-performing and re-activating of those beliefs and values.

However, according to phenomenology there is also another tradition called "a plastic living present" and such living present "is also a continuous process of traditionalising" (Natanson, 1970, p. 238). According to Natanson (1970) traditionalising refers to a continuous process of passing on of unproven beliefs or plastic living present from generation to generation. This plastic living present refers to knowledge from outside of people's communal lives that was imposed on them. In other words, imposed knowledge refers to knowledge, including language, skills and practices that people who do not belong to the same community

impose on that community. Such knowledge is meaningless and irrelevant to the community.

Imposed knowledge with imposed relevance has become a living present for some Pasifika people and, therefore continues to be traditionalised. For example, some stories in this research highlighted some issues in relation to the participants' powerless struggle to decide what was and what was not relevant to their lives and their children's education. Participant 12 decided to send her children to an English-speaking school because she herself was educated in an English-only school. Other participants shared the same types of stories about their lives thinking that English was better than Sāmoan because they were punished for speaking their mother tongue. This is what phenomenology calls a plastic living present. We as Pasifika educators need to take such a plastic living present into account. But the question then is, to what extent?

According to phenomenology "imposed relevance remains empty with unfulfilled anticipations" (Wagner, 1970, p. 238). For example, colonised ideas about Sāmoan language still exist as described in the participants' stories. When participant 12 and her family migrated to New Zealand she was proud that her eldest sons could speak English, thinking that they could still use Sāmoan because they grew up in Sāmoa. Unfortunately, that was not the case her eldest boys lost their Sāmoan language. Participant 12 was uncertain about her aspirations for her children to maintain fa'asāmoa hence she angrily blamed herself as she explains: *"O'u fai atu i lo'u to'alua sei va'ai lā i le mea lea ua tupu i la ta fānau. . .? Lea ua lē iloa fa'asāmoa . . . ua ta ita lava ita iā ta ita. . .* Translation- I said to my husband look what's happening to our children . . .? Now they can't speak Samoan . . . I'm angry with myself . . .

Pasifika communities in New Zealand, often internalised the colonised ways they were positioned by the dominant group (Cummins, 1996) and therefore believed, for example, that the English language was more

superior than their mother tongue. Politically, economically and socially imposed relevance is beyond the Pasifika parents and communities' control as demonstrated in the participants' colonised experiences.

9.8 Language and bilingual education advocates

The participants as strong advocates of Sāmoan language and bilingual education expressed their feelings of anger and despair caused by those with uncertainties and demeaning attitudes. Uncertainties and demeaning attitudes were influenced by colonial and misleading beliefs that English was a better language than Samoan. The dialogue between participant 12 and participant 17 is an example of a debate between a strong advocate of language and bilingual education, and one who had uncertainties in life (see Chapter Eight).

Participant 12 also expressed that some of her church community expressed their demeaning attitudes by questioning her on why she sent her son to a bilingual unit. Questions such as “*O a na mea o pailigo? O Niusila lenei . . . na’o le Igilisi e fa’aaogā* “ (P12FG1). Translation – What is that thing bilingual? This is New Zealand . . . we only use English.

Many other advocates of language and bilingual education expressed their disappointments and felt constrained not only by the attitudes of parents who constantly used English with their children within the Sāmoan bilingual environment but also with the attitudes of Sāmoan bilingual teachers who used English in parents' meetings (see Chapter Eight). When the advocates of language and bilingualism shared their frustrations and their pressured feelings, others in the groups encouraged and empowered them to continue on with the great work of promoting the language and bilingualism for our children's sake. Common encouraging comments were often shared during fa'afaletui. Some examples of encouraging comments included the use of terms such as *'fa'amālosi, onosa'i, 'aua le fiu gōfie . . . fai mai le upu o Sāmoa e saili mālō . . . e leai se mea e faigatā i le Ali'i* – Translation - be strong . . . be patient . . . don't

give up easily . . . Sāmoans always strive for the best . . . nothing is impossible with God.

It was also interesting to notice that through sharing stories, the participants who were uncertain slowly joined the discussions and began to grasp some understanding of the importance of fa'asamoa. Participant 12 explained: "*Lea fa'atoa 'ou mālamalama*". Translation-Now I understand (see also Chapter Eight).

Sharing stories is a powerful method for people to gain understanding; especially if sharing was done in the people's own language(s). Sufficient practices, modelling and sharing of stories and/or experiences help people gain understanding of new ideas and learning.

9.9 Success in bilingual terms

The participants believed that success for their children was for them to achieve both in fa'asāmoa and English. Some participants expressed their feeling of pride because their children could speak both languages and to them it was a success. The language and bilingual advocates were the ones who strongly demonstrated their pride in the success of their children because the children could read both the Sāmoan and the English Bible, or the children won Sāmoan and English speech competitions.

These beliefs of success in bilingual terms had motivated many participants to support bilingual programmes in primary and intermediate schools to ensure that children had a smooth transition from ā'oga 'amata to bilingual settings. Some participants supported the establishment of bilingual units close to ā'oga 'amata where their children attended for that same reason. For example, participant 18 explained that Sāmoan parents of the ā'oga 'amata that her children attended were the strong supporters during the establishment of the Sāmoan bilingual unit at the primary school next to the a'oga 'amata. Participant 18 wanted her children to be able to read and write in Sāmoan and English.

The transitioning of children from ā'oga 'amata to primary level of schooling was expressed as one of the participants' concerns. This concern was on the lack of bilingual units or programme in primary levels especially in those schools that are close to ā'oga 'amata. An enthusiasm for children to achieve in both languages had motivated some participants to seek alternative plans such as approaching primary school principals in their area about the possibility of starting a Sāmoan bilingual unit. This was a signal that some participants have gained confidence to seek and ask questions if they believed that their aspirations for their children to succeed in both the Sāmoan and English would be successfully achieved through bilingual education programmes.

9.10 Women's roles

Although this research was not about women's roles, it is important to report some significant factors in relation to the women's roles in the establishment of ā'oga 'amata and bilingual units. The stories suggest a close connection between the roles of women in their families and/or community and the establishment of ā'oga 'amata and bilingual units. The women's roles included their duties as resource makers, financial supporters through fundraising, support cultural activities, initiating networks, managing a'oga 'amata welfare in terms of children's wellbeing, and just being the observers, listeners and seekers for existing bilingual units for their children.

Chapter Five discusses Sāmoan cultural factors, which includes the women's roles of practising the Sāmoan collective culture, in which everything and everyone is connected to people's social lives. The collective nature of the women's roles reflects fa'asāmoa epistemology and ontological realities of why Sāmoan people live in community and think collectively as highlighted in Chapter Five. One of the effects of living collectively as demonstrated in the stories was to do with relationships' enhancement and responsibility distribution. Thus, the

participants shared and argued that the use of language and culture in education is the role of everyone including that of the ā'oga 'amata and bilingual units. Although women were at the forefront of the establishment and supporting of ā'oga 'amata and bilingual units, their roles were collective and collaborative with their husbands, extended families and communities.

The fa'asāmoa epistemology "*e au le ina'ilau a tamaitai*" refers to women as fast workers and quick thinkers. They are often the first group to accomplish or reach a threshold of any designed work before the men do. The original meaning of this cultural knowledge was reflected in the women's collective roles in the establishment of ā'oga 'amata as well as their roles as advisors or counsellors for their husbands and children. Past research on Sāmoan language maintenance in New Zealand raised some questions on whose responsibility to teach and support the use and maintenance of the Sāmoan language? Was it the parents or the schools? (Fairbairn-Dunlop, 1984; Utumapu, 1998).

Despite this generally positive and collective image of mothers', or women's roles, a small group of participants signalled that some mothers and/or parents might have failed to fulfil their responsibilities and duties to support ā'oga (see Couple two story in Chapter Eight). Such parents failed to send their children to ā'oga 'amata and failed to speak Sāmoan to their children in the home, at ā'oga 'amata, and bilingual units' environment. The mothers who were reluctant to speak Sāmoan with their children at ā'oga and bilingual unit environment were labelled as "*fiapālagi*" or they wanted to be pakeha or European. A common message shared in these stories was that the Sāmoan language maintenance was everyone's role. The ā'oga 'amata and bilingual units' staff, the parents and community all play important roles not only in the Sāmoan language maintenance but using Sāmoan in everyday activities including the curriculum such as reading and writing.

Another assumption about the mothers or parents' roles was signalled in one story where the view was presented that parents who forgot their roles were either lazy or simply they did not care. Such assumption was elaborated by Couple Two's story, saying that it was entirely the parents, especially the mothers' responsibility, to bring their children to ā'oga 'amata. Failure to bring children to ā'oga amata was considered in the same story as a problem for the management team of the ā'oga amata. Hence transportation was organised for such children to ensure they attended ā'oga 'amata. This is an area for further research, which will be discussed in the next chapter.

9.11 Conclusion

The literature review in this thesis highlights issues of epistemology, culture, education, and immigration, and those issues were further discussed and evidenced in the research findings. The participants have experienced many processes of rediscovery with significant potential yet often had to endure ridicule before they could eliminate western philosophies, views and beliefs that drove them to ignore fa'asāmoa epistemology.

The principal implication of the findings in my view is that, the participants' lived experiences through challenges and struggles in the establishment of ā'oga 'amata and bilingual units motivated them to become stronger, determined as they strove for a best solution for their children's education. All the stories highlight the importance of education to the participants and their families. Parents want the best education for their children. A best education in the parents' views is when their children succeed in both fa'apālagi and fa'asāmoa. Hence, I argue that schools and decision-making authority must understand the cause of Pasifika children's underachievement and why parents are reluctant to participate in their children's education before they can logically discuss effect. Otherwise the solution they provide to solve the lack of contributions by parents and to raise achievement of Pasifika children could be just a plastic living

present with unfulfilled aspirations as suggested by phenomenology discussed in this chapter.

How does this plastic living present relate to data presented in this study? All the participants' stories have highlighted in one way or another the impacts of colonisation on their personal, familial, and educational lives. Impacts and misleading beliefs caused by colonisation can be called 'plastic living present' because people who are entrenched with such beliefs find it hard to let go as demonstrated in the stories... *fa'apea lava ita a nanu le tamaitiiti ona poto lea ... na 'ave la'u fanau e a'o le Igilisi ma te lei manana'o e a'o le fa'asamoa aua foi lea sa fa'asa le fa'asamoa ile a'oga sa ou alu iai* (see Section 8.7.1 of Chapter Eight).

Chapter 10 will discuss the challenges and suggestions for further study.

CHAPTER TEN

CONCLUSION

10.1 Introduction

This final chapter will provide a broad overview of the thesis considering what the study contributed and where research could lead. This research has given me the opportunity to learn and grow as an indigenous Sāmoan researcher, amidst the philosophical complexity of the three threads of phenomenology and the Sāmoan concepts of fa'afaletui. The philosophical perspectives of transcendental phenomenology of bracketing preconceptions and starting afresh to give voice to others and Schutz's existential phenomenology emphasising the importance of understanding lived experiences underpinned this study.

I did not set out and/or start this research with a fixed view on how to explore parents lived experiences in relation to the establishment of ā'oga 'amata and Sāmoan bilingual units in primary and intermediate levels of schooling. Though I was aware and familiar with my topic it did not give me an in-depth view on how to go about researching it. Hence, I worked through the research with the participants bearing in mind that key question(s) asked were to do with the participants' experiential stories about the establishment of a'oga amata and bilingual units. Such questions were initially discussed during the two initial general meetings at the beginning of the process of selecting the participants.

The key question asked was: What are the lived experiences of the participants in relation to the establishment of a'oga amata and Sāmoan bilingual units? The sub-questions focused on why the participants established or supported ā'oga 'amata and Sāmoan bilingual units, who was involved, how the establishment of ā'oga 'amata and bilingual units changed the participants' lives and the lives of children and families and the significant turning points in their lives.

Although this study was an uplifting journey and a journey of transformation, there were some challenges. These challenges will be discussed in the rest of the chapter with suggestions for further research.

10.2 Challenges

The multiple challenges and complexities that I have experienced have taught me that researching with our people is a journey of constant interrogation of cultural consciousness and of practice. I was well aware of these cultural practices before I began the study. Firstly I was aware that every meeting or interview had to start and end with a prayer. Asking an elder or someone with status such as a church minister's wife to open focus group meetings with a prayer was appropriate. However, sometimes prayers and singing were prolonged and that overtook the scheduled timeframe for each meeting. The challenge for me as a researcher in these situations was to be patient and respectful.

Because I worked through the research with the participants I realised the importance of exploring various ways of collecting data as suggested by the participants (see Chapters Seven and Eight). The exploration of various ways of collecting data has application for future research. The testimony is an interesting way that needs further exploration as a method of collecting data. It would be very interesting to explore whether or not this is another way for Samoan participants in future research that parents feel more comfortable with, on how they want to share their stories. A testimony is quite a structured way and participants have more control over it.

Searching for a culturally appropriate research methodology was a dynamic process and one of tension because of the many cultural protocols and sometimes conflicting values in relationships between the researcher and the researched, between male and female participants, and between older and younger. Most significantly I needed to take into

account the culture of gerontocracy throughout the research study and at the same time create opportunities for all participants to voice their stories.

The most significant factor in this research was for all participants to voice or share their stories. The participants' stories and re-storying are combinations of many intersubjective complex threads of reality. These shared stories were also challenging for the participants especially between the young ones and older ones. When debates and disagreement occurred, I had to intervene in a culturally appropriate manner to ensure that the sharing sessions were on task and focused (see Chapters Six and Seven).

The initial and perhaps the most significant challenge that I experienced emerged during the first consultation meeting when one participant questioned the purpose of the research and whether or not they would receive any compensation for participating. This participant still decided to participate in the research. The same participant argued that people were sick of being researched for qualification purposes but they [researchers] never report back to the community. The participant argued in the following manner:

E maua mai ai gi kupe suga i gei research gā oga o mai
research . . . ma research mō kīkeli 'ea po'o a 'ea . . . ogā ō
lea e lē koe fo'i mai se isi i le community . . .

Translation - Do we get any money from this research? They
just come and do research . . . and research for their
degrees or whatever . . . and go and never come back to the
community . . .

The above challenge made me aware that conducting research with our own people is demanding, as we are answerable to our community. The fact that Sāmoan researchers who conduct research with the Sāmoan community have to work within cultural practices and possibly accept

humiliation as recognised by other researchers (Tui Atua, 2005). Hence I had to work throughout the research with the participants.

The other ongoing challenge concerned the participants' needs and wants in contrast with the purpose of the research. I argue that the participants' needs and wants were as important as the purpose of this research. It was the participants' commitment to their children's education that influenced them to initiate ā'oga 'amata and support Sāmoan bilingual units. The participants were involved in an ongoing experience of being parents who wanted the best education for their children. Migrating to a new and challenging environment did not prevent them from continuing in their commitment as caring parents who wanted their children to succeed in education while strengthening their fa'asāmoa.

The participants highlighted the lack of resources, people's negative attitudes towards Sāmoan language, and humiliations as challenges in their lives, but those challenges did not prevent or discourage them from establishing or supporting ā'oga amata and bilingual units. Ultimately the stories the participants told were ones of success. In fact, the challenges that the participants experienced motivated them to establish and/or support ā'oga amata and bilingual units (see also Chapter Nine).

10.3 Influences on wanting to set up ā'oga 'amata and bilingual units

As discussed in Chapters Eight and Nine, the participants' aspirations and expectations for their children to learn and maintain the Sāmoan language and culture were shaped by epistemological beliefs. These beliefs have been passed on from generation to generation. Many Sāmoan indigenous writers such as (Le Tagaloa, 1996a, 1997; Tui Atua, 2000, 2002, & 2009) have highlighted the importance of connectedness of education to people's lives and aspirations for the future of their children. The connectedness of fa'asāmoa epistemology and phenomenological views about what motivates and what is important for people to achieve

(people's motivational interests) has begun to pave some clear ways and understanding on how education for Sāmoan children is linked to their lives as Sāmoans living in New Zealand.

As highlighted in the participants' stories, their inner consciousness motivated them to initiate ā'oga 'amata because it was relevant for them to do so. Communal phenomenology categorises this act as "motivational relevance, which is governed by people's interests" (Wagner, 1970, p. 22). The interests and wishes of the participants of this research were for their children to learn and maintain fa'asāmoa and succeed in English, as highlighted in Chapter Eight.

All the participants established ā'oga 'amata and supported bilingual units because they believed in the importance of fa'asāmoa not only for their children's education but also for familial and communal activities and responsibilities (see Chapter Eight). Hence, their anxieties about their children losing their fa'asāmoa influenced them to establish ā'oga 'amata and support bilingual units. For example, participant 12 was worried about her Samoan-born sons losing their fa'asāmoa, hence she sent her New Zealand-born son to a Samoan bilingual unit. The participants' emotional accounts of their past experiences, feelings of remorse, anger and humiliation all contributed to why they wanted to establish ā'oga 'amata and support bilingual units. In other words, the participants' emotions played important roles in presenting their inspirations and expectations for their children's education. Other examples on how the participants' desires motivated them to establish ā'oga 'amata and support bilingual units are from participant 17's story. This participant shared her concerns about the shortage of bilingual units in West Auckland (see Chapter Eight).

Continuity of fa'asāmoa also motivated the participants to establish ā'oga 'amata and support bilingual units because they all wanted Samoan traditional beliefs and values to be passed on from generation to generation. The continuation of spiritual practices from home to ā'oga

'amata was also highlighted in the stories as a reason for establishing ā'oga amata and supporting bilingual units.

Ideas and issues arose from the participants stories' could be explored in future research. This is discussed in the next section.

10.4 Suggestions for further research study

Many lessons have been learnt from this research for both Pasifika and non-Pasifika researchers. One of the most important lessons is that researchers must construct their research *with* Pasifika people not *on* or *about* them. This is because Pasifika research participants bring with them to any research project their cultural and spiritual values and beliefs, their familial, church and communal responsibilities.

Any research plan with Pasifika people has to align with these beliefs, values and responsibilities. Hence, it is significant for both the researcher and the researched to co-construct any research process and procedure and to build understanding, relationships and trust. Researchers and researched must do research collaboratively within genuine partnerships, as the rationale of the Pulumia Faifai Pea research suggests.

Other significant findings that this research has shown include strong links between linguistic and cultural capital and education, continuity of language and cultural beliefs, and a lack of understanding about bilingualism. These links need to be further researched.

The findings also suggest that there was some confusion not only in the Sāmoan community but also the Sāmoan bilingual teachers as to what bilingual education means. Future research is needed in this area. Such research could be focussed on both Pasifika teachers and communities and should be constructed separately from research on parents' perceptions and beliefs. Researchers must work collaboratively with participants as equal partners to fully understand the meaning of bilingual

education and bilingualism. This is critical if we are to find ways to improve education for Pasifika children in New Zealand.

The research findings also suggest that there were some parents who sent their children to ā'oga 'amata but did not fully understand the meaning of a Sāmoan immersion preschool. The stories highlighted the participants' disappointment with those who constantly spoke English in ā'oga 'amata environment. Hence, further research on Pasifika parents' perceptions about total immersion in a Pasifika language in early childhood education programmes is required. Research questions could be based on why parents send their children to immersion early childhood education centres. Research participants could include all Pasifika ethnic groups especially the five common groups such as Sāmoans, Tongans, Cook Islands Māori, Niue and Tokelauan. Questions on the use of languages in the home and community would also be helpful.

This study was based on parents' lived experiences on the establishment of bilingual/immersion preschools and units, hence future research on Pasifika children's perceptions of the importance of language and bilingual education to them [children] needs to be investigated. Such research could be focused on students from secondary school level, as there is no research done in this area. Future research could also include questions based on Pasifika students' perceptions of what their language and culture mean to them and their education. Such research could be extended to Sāmoan students' reading comprehension in both L1 and L2.

Although participants were self-selected and this worked well in this research in terms of their commitment, there are limitations regarding this process. Because all the participants were born in the Island except one, hence New Zealand born parents' experiences as far as the establishment of ā'oga 'amata and bilingual units were limited. It would be very interesting to consider inviting and/or having a balance of New Zealand born and Island born participants in future research and compare experiences.

The participants' stories were analysed using thematic analysis framework not discourse analysis, hence the theme turning points arose from key events and/or changes in the participants' lives that were identified in the stories (see samples from participant 10 and participant 13 in section 8.11 of Chapter Eight). The participants talked about cultural and global things that happened 20 or 30 years ago that impacted on their lives and the lives of their children. Stories came from socio and historical concepts. Because I did not read the participants' stories from a discourse analyst view, it would be interesting for future research to revisit the participants' stories and analyse them using discourse analysis framework.

10.4.1 More phenomenological research

It is clear in this research that fa'afaletui phenomenology stresses the importance of each individual and his or her respective view of reality. The researcher's role in phenomenological study as explained in the coupling methodology is to give voice to individuals' perspectives. Because phenomenology aims to capture the core meaning of the human experience, this study suggests that more phenomenological research is needed to reveal the meanings of Pasifika parents' perspectives in relation to their children's education. There has been no phenomenological research based on parents' lived experiences regarding the establishment of bilingual/immersion education.

Two questions need further exploration: "How should we as Pasifika researchers support or empower our people to share their stories?" and, "What should we share?" Capturing the essence of participants' lived experiences in future phenomenological research needs sensitive planning to negotiate what participants personally and collectively want, and what they are comfortable with in terms of sharing publicly. This is a very sensitive matter that definitely needs thoughtful but culturally appropriate approach when constructing research with Pasifika people and/or community.

10.5 Conclusion

Now that I have reached the final chapter of the thesis, my realisation of what drove and sustained me to complete this research was/is my strong interest in Pasifika children's bilingualism/biliteracy and empowerment of Pasifika community within the New Zealand educational system. I realise that the parents' stories were derived from multiple and intersubjective threads of personal, colonial, educational, cultural and epistemological beliefs. Hence, the research had to be completed and shared with the participants, their families and communities, as they all have collective ownership of this thesis.

The knowledge that I have accumulated from the literature review, the interrelated theoretical perspectives from various Pasifika and Māori research models, the various threads of phenomenology and the concepts of *fa'afaletui with teu le va* and *'aua le to'ia le va* and words of wisdom from Tui Atua and Professor Fanaafi Le Tagaloa, have all contributed to this research study.

Working and researching with our Samoan community was a challenge but has also enhanced my own understanding of our people. From listening to the participants' stories, I realised that they [participants] have found ways of healing and rebuilding. Such a process of articulation of the participants' stories was possible because the participants expressed their own knowledge and ways of knowing using their own language and cultural practices.

It was my intention that this research journey would empower our people to voice their stories, challenge the researcher, debate and/or argue if they disagreed with any issues involved and put forward any ideas they felt were appropriate for them, such as choosing a testimony instead of an interview. This is a collaborative *fa'afaletui* (*outou, matou, tatou*). Researching of lived experiences is our ongoing collaborative journey with many aspirations, expectations and challenges.

I would like to finish this thesis with words from two of the most inspirational writers who have influenced my educational and research life. Tui Atua (2009, pp. 52-59), in “Fa’asamoa speaks to my heart and soul” states:

Resistance in the modern context is sometimes induced by the perception that the performance of ritual and the observance of customs and culture are demeaning and irrelevant (p. 52).

Words from Foucault (1998) are also inspiring:

I am fascinated by history and the relationship between personal experience and those events of which we are a part. I think that is the nucleus of my theoretical desire (p. 124).

The inner forces of the participants’ commitments to their children’s education determined their reasons for establishing or supporting the Sāmoan immersion and bilingual units. Commitment and determination are derived from people’s traditional and spiritual beliefs and values, language and history as highlighted in the participants’ stories. Hence they are intertwined in deep relationships with lived experiences and should not be separated. The use of metaphors, rituals and cultural protocols in research should be considered as relevant practices that would provide strength and rigour in research because they are parts of Pasifika people’s lives.

For me as a Sāmoan indigenous researcher and educator I personally reflect and evaluate this research journey by saying that my strong interest in bilingual education and academic success for Pasifika children kept the momentum of this journey. A deeper sense of purpose in my research

study was never absent because I was aware of the important connections of parents' lived experiences to the education of their children.

When parents say that they want their children to maintain fa'asāmoa on one hand but send their children to learn English only on the other hand, find out the entrenched cause of such decision. As educators and researchers, how do we gain understanding of the cause? The simple response is to listen to Pasifika children, their parents and communities, and construct research with them, not on them. We sometimes, as educators and/or researchers 'talk more and listen less'.

I am well aware of the constraints caused by the macro structural institutional forces in society that dictate what, why and how to teach and how to construct research. However, it is worthwhile mentioning in this study that working collaboratively with parents, listen to their aspirations and expectations and include them in school programme would make a huge difference in children's achievement.

It is therefore significant to conclude the final chapter of this thesis by saying that intersubjectivity in research must be utilised and reserved in its maximum strength because such theoretical view has basic foundation in its reference to people's social lives and lived experiences. Preserving such theoretical view according to phenomenology is "the only but sufficient guarantee that the world of social reality will not be replaced by a fictional non-existing world constructed by the scientific observer" (Wagner, 1970, p. 271).

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Fa'amatalaga 1. Mo tagata o le su'esu'ega.

Pululima Faifai Pea: O le fa'avaeina o lunita o Gagana Sāmoa ma le Igilisi

Talofa lava! Mālō le soifua ma le lagi e mamā!

Ma le fa'aaloalo lava ua vala'aulia ai lau susuga e 'avea ma se tasi e 'auai i lenei su'esu'ega. O lenei su'esu'ega o lo'o faia lea i le lunivesetē a Waikato i lalo o le va'ava'aiga a le alii polofesa o Stephen May ma le tamaita'i o Dr Margaret Franken. O le su'esu'ega o se vāega o le su'eina o se fa'aailoga o le PhD e uiga i polokalame o Gagana Sāmoa ma le Igilisi pe nā o le Gagana Sāmoa foi.

O le a'uga o lenei su'esu'ega, ia sālili ma tu'ufa'atasi ni tala po'o ni manatu o mātua po'o tagatanu'u lautele o Sāmoa i totonu o Niu Sila e uiga i le tau fa'avaeina o ni lunita po'o ni ā'oga e fa'aaogā ai nā o le Gagana Sāmoa (ā'oga 'amata) ma ni vasega e fa'aaogā ai le Gagana Samoa ma le Igilisi (bilingual units).

O fesili autū o lenei su'esu'ega:

- (i) O a ni mafua'aga na 'amata ai nei ā'oga po'o vasega?
- (ii) O a ni lu'itau sa feagai ma mātua ao tau fa'avae nei lunita po'o vasega?
- (iii) Afai ua sui manatu o mātua e uiga i nei ā'oga ma lunita 'aiseā ua sui ai?
- (iv) E iai nisi o mātua e le manana'o e ave a latou fanau i nei vasega, aisea?
- (v) O a ni lesona po'o ni a'oa'oga ua maua e mātua talu ona fa'aave nei lunita?

O lou 'auai i le su'esu'ega e 'auala lea i lou tali mai ini fesili ua ma'ea ona fa'atulagaina ise pepa. E mana'omia lou tali 'ato'atoa mai i nei fesili fa'amolemole. E pule foi lau susuga po'o le a le gagana e te tali mai ai, po'o le Gagana Sāmoa po'o le Igilisi foi.

O le isi vaega o le su'esuega e auala lea i se talatalanoaga a lau susuga ma le tama'ita'i su'esu'e. O talatalanoaga o se avanoa lea e fai ai sau tala e uiga i le fa'avaeina o se lunita. O lau tala o le a pu'eina lea ise la'au

pu'eleo (tape or video). E pule lava lau susuga po'o le Gagana Sāmoa po'o le Igilisi e te fa'aaogāina. O le i'uga o le su'esu'ega o le a lolomiina lea ise tusi. Ou te ta'utino atu ma lo'u mautinoa o le a le tūsia pe afāina ai lou suafa i lenei lōmiga. O lou suafa ma lau tala o le a malu puipuia sei vaganā ai ua e ioe ia tusia lou suafa pe a lolomiina fa'ai'uga o lenei su'esu'ega.

O fa'amatalaga foi o le su'esu'ega o le a teuina i se auala lilo e na o le tamatai su'esu'e na te iloaina nei tūlaga uma. Afai e te fa'ama'amulu mai i lenei su'esu'ega e mana'omia lou faia o lenei tūlaga pe a ma'ea le fono muamua (within one day). Talu ai ona e faigatā tele tūlaga o su'esu'ega fa'apenei, e talosaga ai ma le agaga maualalo lo outou lagolago mai ma tātou galulue fa'atasi.

Afai e te fia mālamalama atili fa'afeso'otai le tamaitai su'esu'e i telefoni nei: galuega: 09 6238899 Ext 48754; fale xxxxxx telefoni fe'avea'i-0211425651 po'o le imeli; p.tuafuti@auckland.ac.nz E mafai foi ona fa'afesili i polofesa o lo'o va'ava'aia lenei su'esu'ega o Stephen May s.may@waiakto.ac.nz po'o Margaret Franken m.franken@waikato.ac.nz

Fa'afetai tele lava le lagolago mai
O la outou 'au'auna

Patisepa Tuafuti (tamaitai su'esu'e)

Appendix 2a: Fa'amatalaga o le lōega a tagata o le su'esu'ega

Pululima Faifai Pea: O le fa'avaeina o lunita o Gagana Sāmoa ma le Igilisi

Ua ma'ea ona ou 'auai i le fonotaga muamua ma le tamaitai su'esu'e. Ua ou mālamalama i le uiga ma sini po'o 'auga o le su'esu'ega. O lea ua 'ou 'IOE" e 'avea a'u ma se tasi o sui e 'auai ma fai se manatu e uiga i le su'esu'ega.

Ua ou matuā mālamalama:

- (i) O le a ou tali i se pepa o fesili ma lo'u loto 'atoa ma le fa'amāoni
- (ii) O le a fai se mā fa'atalatalanoaga ma le tama'ita'i su'esu'e mā pu'eina la'u fa'amatalaga po'o sa'u tala i se la'au pu'eleo.
- (iii) E mafai ona ou fa'ama'amulu mai le su'esu'ega i le taimi nā o le tasi le aso pe a ma'ea le fonotaga muamua ma le tama'ita'i su'esu'e
- (iv) E pule lava a'u i le Gagana ou te fa'aaogāina, o le Gagana Sāmoa po'o le Igilisi.

Ua 'ou maile e lolomi la'u tala po'o tali o fesili i le lōmiga o lenei su'esu'ega auā ua 'ou mautinoa o le a lē afāina lo'u igoa po'o sa'u fa'amatalaga e fai.

Sainia: _____ Aso; _____

Saini a le tama'ita'i su'esu'e; _____

Appendix 2b: Consent form

Pululima Faifai Pea: Establishment of Sāmoan Bilingual/Immersion Units

I have attended the initial face-to-face meeting with the researcher. I have read the information and understood the description and the purpose of the above research project. I therefore agree to be a participant of the research.

I fully understand that:

- (i) I will respond or fill in a questionnaire as part of the research
- (ii) I have a choice to be part of the focus groups' interviews and my story will be recorded on tape or video-camera
- (iii) I can withdraw from the research within one day after the initial face-to-face session.
- (iv) I have a choice to use either Sāmoan or English in the process and procedures of the research.

I consent to publication of the results of the research with the understanding that anonymity will be preserved.

Signed: _____ Date: _____

Researcher's signature: _____

Appendix 3: Pepa o Fesili-Questionnaire

Personal background Information

E tāua tele le iloa e le tama'ita'i su'esu'e sina fa'amatalaga e uiga i lau susuga.

1. O fea na e soifua mai ai?
Where were you born?
2. Tausaga na e soifua mai ai
What year were you born?
3. Afai na e soifua mai i Sāmoa po'o se isi atunu'u, o anafea na e malaga mai ai i Niu Sila?
If you were born in Sāmoa or another country, when did you migrate to NZ?
4. Ua fia nei tausaga talu ona e nofo i Niu Sila?
Have many years have you lived in NZ?
5. Ua e ta'ua Niu Sila o lou atunu'u po'o lou āiga?
Do you consider NZ as home?
6. Afai na e soifua mai i Niu Sila, ua e nofo i Sāmoa talu ona e soifua mai?
If you were born in NZ, have you lived in Samoa at any time?
7. Afai ua e tali mai i le IOE, i le fesili 6, e fia ou tausaga a'o e nofo i Sāmoa, ao le a foi le umi?
If you have answered YES in question six, how old were you when you lived in Sāmoa and for how long?

Education information

8. O fea nā e ā'oga ai i le tulagalua?
Where did you attend primary schools, Sāmoa or NZ?
9. O le a le gagana sa fa'aaogā e faia'oga?
What language(s) did the teachers use?

Fa'amatalaga e uiga i lou āiga ma lau gagana Family and language situation

10. O le a lau faiā i tamaiti o lo'o e va'ava'aia, tinā, tamā, tinā matua..?
What is your relation to the children under your care, mother, father, or grandmother?
11. O le a le gagana po'o gagana e fa'aaogā i totonu o le āiga?
What language(s) do your āiga use in the home?
12. O le a le gagana muamua lava sā e tautala ai ina ua e soifua mai?

What was the first language you spoke when you were growing up?
Afai o lau gagana muamua o le gagana Sāmoa e fia ou tausaga ae a'oa'o loa oe i le Igilisi?

If your first language was Sāmoan, how old were you when you started learning English?

Tala'aga o ā'oga Sāmoa po'o Iunite o Bilingual- Brief history of a'oga Samoa and bilingual units

13. O anafea na tatala ai le Iunite po'o se ā'oga Sāmoa sa e 'auai i le fa'avaeina?

When was a'oga or the bilingual unit that you were involved with open?

14. O iai lava nā nai ou alo, po'o ni tamaiti o lo outou āiga i lea Iunite? IOE/LEAI Afai e te tali mai IOE e toafia?

Are your children, grandchildren or any child from your family still attending that unit? If YES how many?

15. Afai ua tāpunia le Iunite lea sā e 'auai i le fa'avaeina, ta'u mai mafua'aga ua tāpunia ai?

If the Sāmoan ā'oga or bilingual unit that you were involved with the establishment has closed down give the reasons why?

16. Afai o lā lava e iai le a'oga poo le Iunite bilingual ae lē o toe iai lau fānau po'o ni tamaiti o lo outou āiga, fa'amatala mai pe 'aiseā?

If the a'oga or the Samoan bilingual unit is still operating and your children or any child from your family are not attending that unit, give your reasons why?

17. Na fa'apefea ona 'amata le ā'oga po'o le Iunite? O ai e ona le manatu ia fa'atū se ā'oga po'o se Iunite?

How did the ā'oga and the bilingual units start? Whose idea was it to start ā'oga or a Sāmoan bilingual unit or class?

18. Afai o se manatu o le ā'oga na fa'apefea ona fa'afeso'otai mātua e uiga i lea manatu?

If it was the school's idea, how did the school contact you as a parent?

19. O le a le gagana sa fa'aaogā e le ā'oga mo feso'ota'iga?

What language(s) did the school use to inform you?

20. Afai o se manatu o mātua, na fa'apefea ona 'ave e mātua lo latou manatu i le ā'oga?

If it was the Sāmoan parents' idea, how did the parents inform the school?

21. O le a le gagana na f'a'aaogā e mātua e feso'ota'i ai ma le ā'oga?

What language(s) did the parents use to inform the school about the idea?

22. Aiseā sā e manatu ai ia fa'atū se lunita o gagana e lua po'o se ā'oga 'amata?
What made you think that it was a good idea to start ā'oga 'amata or a Sāmoan bilingual unit?

Fa'asologa o le fa'avaeina o lunita - Establishment process

23. O le a le umi na 'ave ai le manatu o mātua i le ā'oga fa'atoā anama'ia lea?
How long did it take before the idea became reality?
24. Sa iai ni fa'afitāuli i le tau 'amataina o le ā'oga po'o lunita?
Were there any barriers during the establishment?
25. Afai sā leai ni fa'afitāuli, fa'amatala mai pe 'aiseā na faigofie ai le tau 'amataina o le ā'oga ma lunita?
If there were no barriers explain why it was easy to establish the ā'oga and bilingual units?
26. Afai sā iai ni fa'afitāuli sa outou āsaina, fa'amatala mai mafua'aga o ia fa'afitāuli. Lisi uma mai fa'afitāuli sā feagai ma outou?
If there were barriers or struggles that you or members of your families experienced give your reasons why/ List all the types of barriers or issues that caused the struggle?
27. Na fa'afō'ia nei fa'afitāuli? O a ni 'auala sa mafai ona fa'afō'ia ai?
Were the barriers resolved? How were they resolved?

Amioga, tofāmamao ma fa'amoemoega - Attitudes, aspirations and expectations

28. O a ni sini ma ni fa'amoemoega lelei sa e manatu ia 'ausia e fānau pe a fai se ā'oga po'o se lunita o gagana e lua?
What benefits were you hoping to gain from establishing of ā'oga and a bilingual unit? What were your goals, aspirations and expectations?
29. Ua e iloa ua 'ausia sini autū o lou fa'amoemoe sa e manatu iai?
IOE/LEAI Tusi mai le mafua'aga o lau tali?
Do you think your goals, expectations and aspirations have been achieved? YES/NO Give reasons for your answer.
30. O a tū ma aga f'a'asāmoa sā e māfaufauina o le a fa'a'oa pē a fai se ā'oga po'o lunita o Gagana e lua?
What Sāmoan traditions, values and beliefs were you hoping to promote by establishing ā'oga or bilingual unit?

Suiga-Implications

31. Talu na 'amata le ā'oga po'o le iunite ua iai se suiga i le ā'oga, lou āiga, tagatānu'u o Sāmoa aemaise o a'oa'oga a ou alo?
Did the establishment of ā'oga and bilingual unit have any impacts on the school, your family, Sāmoan community and your children's education or achievement?
32. O a ni fesoasoani o lo'o e faia nei mo le ā'oga po'o le iunite:
What support do you currently do for the a'oga and the bilingual unit?
O a ni fesoasoani e te 'avea i lou alo o lo'o i le ā'oga po'o le iunite?
What support do you give your children in the ā'oga or the bilingual unit?
33. Ua iai se suiga o ou manatu e uiga i polokalame a le ā'oga po'o le iunite foi o gagana e lua?
Are there any changes in the way you think about the ā'oga and bilingual units?

Tomai ma le mālamalama i polokalame Sāmoa po'o iunite o Gagana e lua - Current knowledge about Immersion and bilingual units?

34. Fa'amatala lou malamlama ua iai nei i ā'oga e fa'aaogā ai le Gagana Sāmoa po'o iunite o gagana e lua?
Explain in simple words what you already know about immersion ā'oga 'amata and bilingual units?
35. O fea nā maua mai ai lou tomai ma lou mālamalama ua iai nei?
Where did you gain that knowledge?

Va'aiga mo le lumana'i - Ways forward

36. E iai ni vaifofō mo fa'afitāuli ua e silafia e aogā mo ni a'oa'oga po'o mātua o lo'o fia 'amata ni a lātou ā'oga po'o iunite o gagana e lua?
Are there any effective ways of dealing with the struggles or the barriers that might be helpful in the establishment of any future ā'oga or bilingual units?
37. Afai ae mana'omia sau fesoasoani i le fa'avaeina o nisi ā'oga po'o se iunite foi o gagana e lua o le ā se gāluega o le ā e faia e 'ese mai le gāluega sa e faia muamua?
If you had to help in the establishment of a new ā'oga or bilingual unit, what would you have done differently and why?

Manatu fa'ai'u- Final comments

38. E iai nisi ou manatu e uiga i le fa'avaeina o ā'oga po'o iunite o gagana e lua?

Do you have any other comments or suggestions about establishment of ā'oga 'amata or bilingual units?

Fa'afetai tele lava mo le fa'aāvanoaina o lou taimi e tali mai ai i nei fesili

Thank you for your time to respond to my research questionnaire

Patisepa Tuafuti (tama'ita'i su'esu'e).