HE REO KA TIPU I NGĀ KURA

GROWING TE REO MĀORI IN ENGLISH-MEDIUM SCHOOLS

FINDINGS REPORT

NICOLA BRIGHT AND ESTHER SMAILL

TE WĀHANGA
HE WHĀNAU MĀTAU HE WHĀNAU ORA
NZCER

Rangahau Mātauranga o Aotearoa | New Zealand Council for Educational Research
Te Pakokori, Level 4, 10 Brandon St
Wellington
New Zealand

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Nicola Bright and Esther Smaill

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NZCER
Rangahau Mātauranga o Aotearoa

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Toia mai te taura o te reo. Mā wai e tō, māu e tō, māku e tō, mā te matarahi, mā te moroiti e tō ki te ikeiketanga atu o te tāhūhū, whakairi, kōrero, tēnā tātou katoa.

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He kupu taka List of terms

Term	Definition
Acquisition	Learning or acquiring language.
Critical awareness	Understanding language revitalisation.
Elements	"Refers to the key elements of language revitalisation and planning. They are critical awareness, status, corpus, acquisition, and use" (Bright et al., 2019, p. 50).
English-medium primary schools	English-medium primary schools are contributing primary schools (which cater for tamariki in Years 0–6), full primary schools (which cater for tamariki in Years 0–8), and intermediate schools (which cater for tamariki in Years 7–8).
English-medium schools	"Schools where English is the primary but not necessarily the only language of instruction" (Ministry of Education, 2009, p. 6). Some English-medium schools also provide Māori-medium education.
Hapori	Society, community.
Heritage language	A language, other than the dominant language, that people are connected to through their family and/or their ancestry (Bright et al., 2019).
Hoa rangatira	Spouse, partner.
Indigenous language	The language of the indigenous people of the country or region. In Aotearoa New Zealand, te reo Māori is the indigenous language.
Kaiako	Teacher.
Kairangahau	Researcher.
Kapa haka	Māori cultural group, Māori performing group.
Karakia	Prayer.
Kōrero	Narrative, story, conversation.
Language revitalisation	"Bringing a language forward into common, normal use in modern life by increasing the number of speakers and the range of domains in which it is used" (Bright et al., 2019, p. 10).
Māori-medium education	Schooling in which students are taught the curriculum in te reo Māori for at least 51% of the time (Ministry of Education, 2022a).
Microaggression	Microaggressions are "subtle, ambiguous and often unintentional acts of casual racism" (Blank et al., 2016, p. 14).

Mita	Rhythm, intonation, pronunciation, and sound of a language, accent, dialect.
Mōteatea	Lament, traditional chant, sung poetry.
National language	Te reo Māori is one of three official languages of Aotearoa New Zealand, sometimes referred to in this report as a national language.
Non-Māori pou reo	Pou reo who identify as non-Māori.
Normalisation of te reo Māori	"Bringing a language forward into common, normal use in modern life by increasing the number of speakers and the range of domains in which it is used" (Bright et al., 2019, p. 10). An approach within which the focus is on "strengthening and linking up domains where te reo Māori is normal" (Olsen-Reeder et al., 2017, p. 28).
Pou reo	Individuals or groups who actively support reo Māori teaching and learning in a school. In the context of this study, pou reo included kaiako, teachers, kaiāwhina, tumuaki, principals, and whānau members.
Pou reo Māori	Pou reo who identify as Māori.
Reo Māori, te reo Māori	Māori language, the Māori language.
Reo Māori domains	Reo Māori domains are people who use te reo Māori, and places, times, kaupapa and activities where reo Māori use is normal and expected (Bright et al., 2019, p. 50).
Status	Valuing the language.
Tamaiti	Child.
Tamariki/children	Includes tamariki Māori and non-Māori children.
Tamariki Māori	Māori children.
Tangata Tiriti	A non-Māori person who seeks to honour and uphold their responsibilities to Te Tiriti o Waitangi.
Taonga tuku iho	Inherited treasures.
Te Tiriti o Waitangi	Te Tiriti o Waitangi and the Treaty of Waitangi are the Māori and English language versions of a Treaty between Māori and the Crown.
Teina	Of a junior line, junior relative.
Tikanga Māori	The customary system of values and practices that have developed over time and are deeply embedded in the social context.
Tuakana	From a more senior branch of the family.
Use	Using the language in the home or school community.
Waiata	Song, to sing.
Whakataukī	Proverb, significant saying.
Whānau Māori	A group that includes children, parents, and caregivers.
Whare wānanga	University, place of higher learning.

He whakarāpopototanga
Executive summary

He reo ka tipu i ngā kura—Growing te reo Māori in schools is a multi-phase research project designed to support English-medium primary schools with taking strategic approaches to strengthening reo Māori teaching and learning.[1] This phase of the research examines the efforts of 20 Māori and 20 non-Māori pou reo to grow te reo Māori in 10 primary schools. Pou reo are individuals or groups who actively support reo Māori teaching and learning in a school. In the context of this study, pou reo included kaiako, teachers, kaiāwhina, tumuaki, principals, and whānau members. The research has a particular focus on how their efforts will benefit tamariki Māori and whānau Māori.

The overarching research question that the project addresses is: How can English-medium schools develop a strategic approach to Māori language teaching and learning? Within this report, we focus on answering two sub-research questions:

- What are key issues for English-medium primary schools to consider when developing a strategic approach to Māori language teaching and learning?
- What practices create a positive impact on Māori language teaching and learning in English-medium primary schools?

Key issues for English-medium primary schools to consider when developing a strategic approach to Māori language teaching and learning

We identified two key issues for English-medium schools to consider when developing a strategic approach to Māori language teaching and learning. These concerned the identity and positioning of Māori and non-Māori pou reo, and the motivations for pou reo to teach and learn te reo Māori within these schools.

Identity influences how pou reo position themselves in relation to teaching and learning te reo Māori. We found that most pou reo Māori clearly positioned themselves in relation to te reo Māori, while many non-Māori pou reo were tentatively working through their positioning. Creating space for discussions about identity and positioning is important because it gives pou reo the opportunity to make clear their personal values, priorities, and challenges, and to clarify expectations and boundaries around their roles. Pou reo who were able to clearly position themselves in relation to te reo Māori appeared to be more settled and confident in their roles.

Understanding what motivates pou reo to teach and learn te reo Māori can provide schools with valuable insights into how to encourage individuals to step up and assume greater responsibility for strengthening the provision of reo Māori teaching and learning.

1 In this report, we use the term "primary school" to refer to contributing primary schools (which cater for children in Years 0–6), full primary schools (which cater for children in Years 0–8), and intermediate schools (which cater for children in Years 7–8).

We found that pou reo were motivated to provide reo Māori learning opportunities to help all tamariki feel secure in their identity and see te reo Māori as part of their identity. In many schools, however, more needs to be done to ensure that tamariki Māori have learning experiences that meaningfully support their identity as Māori.

Many pou reo—both Māori and non-Māori—were motivated to help tamariki learn te reo Māori, either as their heritage language, or as an official language of Aotearoa. For pou reo Māori, teaching te reo Māori was first and foremost about ensuring tamariki Māori had access to their own language and culture. At least some non-Māori pou reo were motivated by a desire to uphold the indigenous linguistic rights of tamariki Māori. Pou reo aspired to some shared, but also some different, aspirations for tamariki Māori and non-Māori children. These aspirations informed their approaches to teaching and learning te reo Māori. Although the pou reo did not refer directly to the Māori language goals stated in education strategies and policies, there were clear synergies between these system-level Māori language goals and the reo Māori aspirations that pou reo had for all tamariki.[2]

Both Māori and non-Māori pou reo believed that schools had an important role to play in supporting the revitalisation of te reo Māori, and all pou reo aspired for schools to become domains where te reo Māori is expected, valued, and prioritised. Some non-Māori teachers and school leaders were motivated to actively support the provision of reo Māori teaching and learning opportunities because of responsibilities they associated with being an honourable Treaty partner, or a tangata Tiriti, or because they understood that doing so was required by *The New Zealand Curriculum* (Ministry of Education, 2007).

We found that pou reo Māori are more likely to be critically aware of the ongoing impacts of colonisation on te reo Māori than non-Māori pou reo. The new curriculum content for Aotearoa New Zealand's Histories—to be taught in all schools from 2023—has the potential to educate both tamariki and pou reo about the history of te reo Māori and provide further motivation for pou reo to grow te reo Māori in their schools (Ministry of Education, 2022c).

Practices that create a positive impact on Māori language teaching and learning in English-medium primary schools

We identified four good practices that create a positive impact on Māori language teaching and learning in schools.

Strategically planning to grow te reo Māori in schools

We found that the schools that had made the most progress with growing te reo Māori had comprehensive long-term reo Māori plans. Schools' efforts to grow te reo Māori can be broadly defined in three stages of growth, from emerging, to establishing, through to flourishing. In English-medium schools, "flourishing" meant being in a position to offer reo Māori teaching and learning at multiple levels to support whānau aspirations for te reo Māori. Flourishing also meant having embedded strategies and practices in place to support ongoing growth.

2 For example, *Maihi Karauna: The Crown's Strategy for Māori Language Revitalisation 2019–2023* (Te Puni Kōkiri et al., 2019) and *Tau Mai Te Reo: The Māori Language in Education Strategy refreshed* (Ministry of Education, 2020h).

Involving whānau and communities in Māori language planning and programmes

Schools were finding innovative context-specific ways to involve whānau and the local hapori in the development and implementation of their reo Māori programmes. We found that pou reo were creating opportunities for whānau to share their reo Māori aspirations, they were welcoming whānau into their schools as pou reo, and they were supporting tamariki and whānau to learn te reo Māori together at home.

Developing reciprocal relationships that benefited schools and whānau and local hapori was an important avenue for strengthening reo Māori teaching and learning opportunities in schools and in communities. However, building relationships with whānau, hapū, or iwi, or other types of Māori communities, was an area that some pou reo needed support in. It is also important to note that the local hapū or iwi are not always in a position to engage with schools.

Raising the profile and status of te reo Māori in schools and communities

Pou reo in English-medium primary schools have an important role to play in influencing the beliefs and attitudes of tamariki and communities towards te reo Māori. Our findings show that pou reo were leaders who took others along with them. They supported those who were actively working to grow te reo Māori and advocated to increase the visibility of te reo Māori in schools. Pou reo also encouraged positive attitudes towards te reo Māori in tamariki, so that tamariki could share their positivity and learning with those at home.

Although we saw some evidence that attitudes towards te reo Māori are changing for the better, racism continues to be directed at Māori and te reo Māori in some school communities. There is still much work to be done to ensure all school environments and communities value te reo Māori and see the language as "normal". Pou reo who were prepared to have critical conversations with colleagues, and community members were able to challenge racist assumptions and ideas.

Providing reo Māori teaching and learning at school

All the schools visited were providing tamariki with teaching and learning experiences that supported Māori language acquisition and raised the profile and status of te reo Māori to some extent. However, permanent reo Māori domains such as bilingual classes made a particularly important contribution to meeting the aspirations of whānau for reo Māori education and elevating the status of te reo Māori. In addition, through goodwill, modelling, and sharing of practices by pou reo, bilingual classes enabled tamariki in other parts of their schools to gain greater access to reo Māori learning opportunities.

Providing tamariki with experiences like learning karakia and opportunities to participate in kapa haka are effective early steps in raising the profile and status of te reo Māori. However, on their own, these types of experiences and opportunities are unlikely to contribute significantly to increasing the reo Māori proficiency of tamariki. Being clear about how, and to what extent, a school can support tamariki to develop their reo Māori proficiency is an important element of Māori language planning. Providing this information can assist whānau—for whom te reo Māori is an important consideration—with making informed decisions during transitions to and from primary school.

Recruiting staff who can speak te reo Māori is a major challenge for schools. For the most part, teachers are tasked with teaching te reo Māori while still learning it themselves. We found that schools had identified a range of creative ways to support teachers with their learning. Where this involved the provision of informal in-house professional learning opportunities, this was typically provided by pou reo Māori. Schools were also increasing the proficiency and confidence of teachers by funding formal professional learning opportunities, employing reo Māori speakers in their communities, and bringing in external support when needed.

Our findings highlight the importance of pou reo having opportunities to engage in critical conversations about their identity, positioning, and motivation in relation to te reo Māori. Having such conversations can create shared understandings amongst pou reo and provide schools with a solid foundation for growing te reo Māori. The good practices shared in this report provide schools with a range of strategies and ideas that will help them to grow their reo Māori teaching and learning programmes.

1. He kupu whakataki Introduction

He reo ka tipu i ngā kura—Growing te reo Māori in schools is a multi-phase research project led by Te Wāhanga, Rangahau Mātauranga o Aotearoa—New Zealand Council for Educational Research (NZCER) to support English-medium primary schools in taking strategic approaches to strengthening reo Māori[3] teaching and learning.[4]

This research prioritises the aspirations of Māori as those who have the most at stake in revitalising te reo Māori. Our research examines the efforts of both Māori and non-Māori pou reo to grow te reo Māori in primary schools, with a particular focus on how these efforts will benefit tamariki and whānau Māori.

In recognition that both Māori and non-Māori have roles in revitalising te reo Māori in schools, and to bring the perspectives of both groups to this work, this project was co-led by Māori and non-Māori kairangahau. The dual leadership model also embodies NZCER's commitment to honouring Te Tiriti o Waitangi.

The overarching research question that this research project addresses is: How can English-medium schools develop a strategic approach to Māori language teaching and learning? The project's sub-research questions are:

1. Why should English-medium primary schools take a strategic approach to teaching and learning te reo Māori?
2. What are key issues for English-medium primary schools to consider when developing a strategic approach to Māori language teaching and learning?
3. What practices create a positive impact on Māori language teaching and learning in English-medium primary schools?

English-medium primary schools cater for tamariki in Years 1–8 where English is the main but not necessarily the only language of instruction (Ministry of Education, 2009). A small proportion of children who attend English-medium primary schools have access to Māori-medium education, where they are taught the curriculum in te reo Māori for at least 51% of the time (Ministry of Education, 2022a).

He reo ka tipu i ngā kura—Growing te reo Māori in schools has generated two reports: this report, which draws on interviews with 20 Māori and 20 non-Māori pou reo from 10 English-medium primary schools, and an earlier literature review (Bright et al., 2021). Although each report stands alone, they are complementary, and the literature review provides the foundation for the findings report.

The literature review identified three key reasons why English-medium primary schools should actively and strategically support te reo Māori through their approaches to teaching and learning.

3 The title of this report is *He reo ka tipu i ngā kura—Growing te reo Māori in schools*. Where the phrase "te reo Māori" is used—for example, within the title and research questions—this is intended to be understood as meaning "te reo and tikanga Māori". This is because language and culture are inseparable.

4 In this report, we use the term "primary school" to refer to contributing primary schools (which cater for children in Years 0–6), full primary schools (which cater for children in Years 0–8), and intermediate schools (which cater for children in Years 7–8).

KEY REASON 1: Having the opportunity to learn te reo Māori at school is a linguistic right for tamariki Māori.

KEY REASON 2: Te reo Māori is part of our national identity and is important for all New Zealanders.

KEY REASON 3: Primary schools are expected to provide instruction in tikanga and te reo Māori.

The review also identified five key issues or kaupapa that English-medium primary schools should consider as they seek to develop a strategic approach to Māori language teaching and learning.

1: Māori language planning
2: Whānau involvement in the development and implementation of reo Māori programmes
3: The profile and status of te reo Māori
4: Teacher identity and positioning
5: Teacher reo Māori proficiency and confidence.

Building upon the literature review, this report offers further insights into key issues or kaupapa that English-medium primary schools should consider as they develop strategic approaches to Māori language teaching and learning, this time from the perspectives of Māori and non-Māori pou reo.

This report explores the influence of identity on how Māori and non-Māori pou reo position themselves in their schools, and what motivates them to teach and learn te reo Māori. The report identifies practices that create a positive impact on Māori language teaching and learning in schools, as well as some of the main challenges that schools are navigating.

2. He kōrero tūāpapa Background

Historically, the English-medium education system in Aotearoa New Zealand has served as a powerful instrument of colonisation, actively deterring the use of te reo Māori in schools and assimilating tamariki Māori into a monolingual and monocultural environment (Ka'ai-Mahuta, 2011; Ministry of Education, 2013b; Rewi & Rātima, 2018; Waitangi Tribunal, 1986). The detrimental effects of this approach on the intergenerational transmission of te reo Māori have been well documented (Benton, 1997; Rewi & Rātima, 2018; Waitangi Tribunal, 1986).

Despite concerted efforts by Māori to revitalise te reo Māori (Ka'ai-Mahuta, 2011; Rewi & Rātima, 2018), and a turnaround in national education policy that now aims to support Māori to achieve success as Māori (Ministry of Education, 2013a, 2013b, 2020b, 2020f), the indigenous language of Aotearoa New Zealand is still considered an endangered or vulnerable minority language (Campbell & Belew, 2018; Moseley, 2010). This is a grave concern for Aotearoa New Zealand, but it matters the most for Māori, for whom being able to use and enjoy their own heritage language is an indigenous linguistic right.

Today, the majority of tamariki Māori in Years 1–8 attend English-medium primary schools, where they make up, on average, around 25% of the roll (Ministry of Education, 2020d, 2020e, 2022b). These schools have a vital part to play when it comes to supporting the revitalisation of te reo Māori (Ministry of Education, 2013b, 2020f). However, most tamariki who attend English-medium primary schools spend very little time learning te reo Māori (Educational Assessment Research Unit & New Zealand Council for Educational Research, 2016). Although a small proportion of tamariki within English-medium primary schools have access to Māori-medium education (Ministry of Education, 2022a), the majority of tamariki experience much lower levels of reo Māori (Ministry of Education, 2020e). Indeed, within English-medium primary schools, very few tamariki are provided with the learning opportunities that they require to progress beyond level 1 of *Te Aho Arataki Marau mō te Ako i Te Reo Māori–Kura Auraki*, the curriculum guidelines for teaching and learning te reo Māori in English-medium schools in Years 1–13 (Education Review Office, 2020; Ministry of Education, 2009, 2020e; Murphy et al., 2019).

In recent years, the New Zealand government—in conjunction with the Ministry of Education and its partner agencies—has streamlined its efforts to strengthen the provision of instruction in te reo Māori in English-medium primary schools. Evidence of this can be seen in the recently introduced Education and Training Act 2020, the *Statement of National Education and Learning Priorities* (NELP), the Teaching Council's new set of requirements for Initial Teacher Education (ITE) providers, and the refreshed versions of *Tau Mai Te Reo* and *Ka Hikitia* (Ministry of Education, 2020b, 2020f, 2020g; Teaching Council of Aotearoa New Zealand, 2019). Considered collectively, these efforts deliver a clear message to English-medium primary schools about the importance of providing tamariki with high-quality reo Māori learning opportunities.

The unique context of Aotearoa New Zealand, and relatively small proportion of Māori teachers in English-medium schools, means that strengthening the provision of instruction in te reo Māori in these schools necessarily involves both Māori and non-Māori teachers (Ministry of Education, 2021c). To date, the impact of being Māori or non-Māori on teachers' attitudes towards, motivations for, and experiences of providing tamariki with instruction in te reo Māori has received little attention (Barr & Seals, 2018; Coffin, 2013; Hunia et al., 2018).

In this report, we explore the experiences of 20 Māori and 20 non-Māori pou reo who are working to grow te reo Māori within their English-medium primary schools. Their stories provide insights into the ways that the experiences of these two groups of reo Māori champions converge and diverge. They also offer English-medium primary schools new ways of thinking about and approaching their efforts to grow the teaching and learning of te reo Māori.

3. Ngā tikanga me ngā tikanga matatika
Methodology and ethics

Centring Māori priorities

Te reo and tikanga Māori are taonga tuku iho integral to Māori identity and heritage. This research prioritises the interests of Māori, and particularly tamariki Māori and their whānau, as those who have the most at stake in revitalising te reo Māori.

Our team of Māori and non-Māori kairangahau came together with a shared goal of supporting English-medium primary schools to strategically grow te reo Māori through the provision of Māori language teaching and learning opportunities. With tamariki Māori and whānau acknowledged as our priority, the team then considered how our research could contribute to revitalising te reo Māori throughout Aotearoa.

Revitalising te reo Māori is a task that necessarily involves both Māori and non-Māori, because, while 17% of this country's population identifies as Māori, a far greater proportion of the population will need to value and use te reo Māori for the language to become normalised and thrive in Aotearoa (StatsNZ Tatauranga Aotearoa, 2021; Te Puni Kōkiri et al., 2019). Our research therefore examines the efforts of both Māori and non-Māori pou reo to grow te reo Māori in English-medium schools, with a particular focus on how these efforts will benefit tamariki Māori and whānau.

Our positioning as Māori and non-Māori kairangahau

The small team working on *He reo ka tipu i ngā kura—Growing te reo Māori in schools* included kairangahau Māori familiar with kaupapa Māori and other research methodologies, and non-Māori researchers trained in Western research traditions. The team wanted to explore the potential for learning, and for understanding differences, when we were explicit about the knowledges, values, and motivations that we, as Māori and non-Māori, brought to the research. This approach required us to have open conversations with each other about who we are and how we have positioned ourselves in relation to the kaupapa of growing te reo Māori in English-medium primary schools. For similar reasons, we asked pou reo Māori and non-Māori pou reo questions about their identity and positioning to explore the potential for learning in schools.

In this phase of the research, Nicola Bright (kairangahau Māori) and Esther Smaill (non-Māori researcher) were responsible for project leadership, planning, interviewing, analysis, and writing. Sinead Overbye (kairangahau Māori) and Sue McDowall (non-Māori researcher) assisted with the fieldwork at one of the schools visited. Sinead also helped with early data analysis. To help readers understand the viewpoints from which Nicola and Esther have written this report, their positioning statements are included at the end of this section.

He Awa Whiria

As a team, we drew upon the metaphor of He Awa Whiria—the braided rivers framework—to guide our rangahau (Macfarlane & Macfarlane, 2019; Macfarlane et al., 2015; Ministry of Social Development, 2011). Within this framework, Māori and Western knowledge streams are acknowledged, and a space is created "for Kaupapa Māori research as a distinct stream" (Macfarlane & Macfarlane, 2019, p. 53). As with the channels in a braided river, these knowledge streams flow alongside each other, at points converging and diverging. Where these knowledge streams converge "the space created is one of learning, not assimilating" (p. 53).

For our team, He Awa Whiria both elegantly summed up and created space for what we were trying to achieve. Our focus was twofold. Firstly, we, as kairangahau, wanted to bring together our separate knowledge streams to shape our research approach. Secondly, we wanted to analyse the different knowledge streams of Māori and non-Māori working to grow te reo Māori in primary schools.

Within our team, we identified and acknowledged Māori and non-Māori roles and responsibilities at every level. In this space, kairangahau Māori led discussions with the team about kaupapa Māori principles and practices to inform and influence the team's thinking and approach to the research. We paid particular attention to the principle of Taonga Tuku Iho which "asserts the centrality and legitimacy of Te Reo Māori, Tikanga Māori and Mātauranga Māori" (Rautaki Ltd & Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga, n.d.). We also discussed and were guided by the seven kaupapa Māori practices listed by Linda Smith (1999, 2021):

- Aroha ki te tangata (a respect for people)
- Kanohi kitea (the seen face, that is present yourself to people face-to-face)
- Titiro, whakarongo … kōrero (look, listen … speak)
- Manaaki ki te tangata (share and host people, be generous)
- Kia tūpato (be cautious)
- Kaua e takahia te mana o te tangata (do not trample over the mana of people)
- Kia mahaki (don't flaunt your knowledge). (Smith, 2021, pp. 136–137)

According to Smith (2021), for Māori researchers "these sayings reflect just some of the values that are placed on the way we behave" (p. 137). Other values and practices that guided our team in our work were: whanaungatanga, mahi ngātahi, ako, tino rangatiratanga, and whakamārama. We further explain our understanding of how these values and practices, including kia tūpato, guided us in our research.

Whanaungatanga—Relationships

Taking time for whanaungatanga and making connections was essential in establishing positive, enduring relationships within our research team, and mutually beneficial relationships with research participants. As part of whanaungatanga, we showed our appreciation of participants' generosity in sharing their experiences by giving kai and koha. The research team has committed to providing regional webinars for participants to share findings from the research and enable participants to reflect on what the findings mean for them. We also hope that this work has helped participants form connections with each other.

Mahi ngātahi—Collaboration

Mahi ngātahi refers to our positioning as Māori and non-Māori researchers working together to conduct research that supports schools to contribute to Māori language revitalisation and our roles

in holding ground for Māori voices, mātauranga, and perspectives. It also refers to the potential for Māori and non-Māori pou reo in schools to work together to support reo Māori revitalisation.

Ako—Co-construction

The principle of ako guided the way in which we worked, not only with participants but also with each other. Our research process allowed for reciprocal learning and the collaborative negotiation of meaning and knowledge.

Tino rangatiratanga—Self-determination

Mātauranga Māori and Māori perspectives are valid and central to knowledge building. This meant that we prioritised Māori knowledge and perspectives, while giving due acknowledgement to other perspectives.

Kia tūpatō—Be cautious

We must be careful and respectful in how we work with and care for people, both research participants and the members of our own team. Te reo Māori is closely intertwined with identity and feelings of self-worth. Because of this, we knew that we must tread carefully as people may have had both positive and negative experiences concerning te reo Māori and may also carry historical trauma.

Whakamārama—Communicating complex knowledge simply

Whakamārama refers to bringing together knowledge from many different sources to create a clear and understandable picture. For us, this principle is about communicating deep wisdom simply.

These values and practices guided our interactions as a team, our processes for participant recruitment, data collection and analysis, and reporting back to schools. While the research involved both Māori and non-Māori participants, our focus on kaupapa Māori ensured that we continually asked ourselves, "How will this research support transformational change and positive outcomes for Māori?"

NZCER Ethics Committee

The ethics application for this research project was approved by the NZCER Ethics Committee.

Fieldwork

Identifying and gaining access to schools

Three approaches were used to identify English-medium primary schools that were working to grow te reo Māori.

1. Whanaungatanga: Kairangahau drew on their existing relationships with pou reo to identify schools that had a clear focus on growing te reo Māori.
2. Te Reo Māori Assessment: With the help of NZCER's Assessment Services team we identified schools that had recently used *Te Reo Māori Assessment* (New Zealand Council for Educational Research, 2018) and expressed an interest in learning more about what NZCER was doing to support the teaching and learning of te reo Māori.

3. An online search: Kairangahau identified potential participant schools by searching Education Review Office (ERO) reports and school webpages for schools that had a clear focus on growing te reo Māori. During this process, kairangahau also accessed publicly available Ministry of Education (2020c) data about the Māori language immersion levels offered at the potential participant schools.

Once potential participant schools had been identified, a letter explaining the project was emailed to each school's principal. The letter invited principals to nominate Māori and non-Māori pou reo they thought would be interested in participating in the research. Pou reo were described as individuals, or groups, who actively support te reo Māori teaching or learning in the school. Pou reo could be teachers, kaiako, kaiāwhina, kapa haka tutors, leaders, specialist teachers, or whānau members. Principals could also nominate themselves as pou reo.

Because the research team wanted to share the study's findings with participants via a regional webinar, principals were also asked to indicate whether they were happy for other participating schools in their region to know that their school had been involved in the research. Ultimately, 10 principals agreed for their school to participate in the study. Every school that participated was offered funding for half a Teacher Release Day.

School characteristics

Pou reo were recruited from 10 English-medium primary schools in three regions: Te Tai Rāwhiti, Te Upoko o te Ika, and Te Waipounamu. Six of the schools that we worked with were in the North Island, and four were in the South Island. Eight of the 10 schools were in urban areas, and two in rural areas.

Today, the majority of tamariki Māori in Years 1–8 attend English-medium primary schools, where they make up, on average, around 25% of the roll (Ministry of Education, 2020d, 2020e, 2022b). At five of the schools we visited, more than 20% of their learners were tamariki Māori. Of these five schools, two catered for high proportions of tamariki Māori (80% Māori). At the remaining schools, between 9% and 17% of their learners were tamariki Māori.

All 10 schools offered reo Māori programmes of some kind. As can be seen in Figure 1, these programmes ranged across levels 1–6 of the Ministry of Education's Māori language immersion levels (Ministry of Education, 2020c).[5] Of the 10 schools that took part in this research, three offered some of their tamariki access to Māori-medium education at Māori language immersion levels 1 and/or 2. Schools with tamariki enrolled in Māori language immersion levels 1 through level 4b are eligible for Māori language programme funding (Ministry of Education, 2021b).

5 The data presented in this figure were sourced from publicly available information on the Ministry of Education's Education Counts website (Ministry of Education, 2020c).

FIGURE 1 **Ministry of Education data describing the Māori language immersion levels at the participating schools**

	Māori language immersion levels						
School	Level 1	Level 2	Level 3	Level 4a	Level 4b	Level 5	Level 6
A							
B							
C							
D							
E							
F							
G							
H							
I							
J							

Interviews with pou reo in schools

Pou reo are individuals or groups who actively support te reo Māori teaching and learning in a school. In the context of this study, pou reo included kaiako, teachers, kaiāwhina, tumuaki, principals, and whānau members. Twenty pou reo Māori and 20 non-Māori pou reo associated with 10 English-medium primary schools in three regions participated in individual or small-group interviews. We use the term "Māori" here as an identifier that is inclusive of the more nuanced descriptions of identity associated with iwi, hapū, hapori, whānau, and more.

Informed consent to participate

Each pou reo was provided with written and oral information about the research and proposed interviews and gave written consent to participate. Because of the health risks associated with participating in face-to-face interviews during the COVID-19 pandemic, participants were also provided with the option of taking part in an online interview. With one exception, all participants chose to meet with kairangahau face-to-face.

Interviews

Interviews were conducted during term 3 and term 4 of 2020. Kairangahau used a set of semi-structured interview questions to guide the kōrero with pou reo. Pou reo had the option of being interviewed in Māori or English, or a mix of both languages. Depending on the preferences of pou reo, they were interviewed on their own, in pairs, or in groups of three. With permission from pou reo, notes were taken and audio recordings were made during each interview.

In keeping with our methodological approach and the practice of kia tūpato, a kairangahau Māori interviewed pou reo Māori and a non-Māori researcher interviewed non-Māori pou reo. During each

interview, one kairangahau asked the questions while the other took notes. There was only one situation in which a non-Māori teacher was interviewed by a kairangahau Māori. This occurred during a group interview involving three pou reo, two of whom were Māori.

Kairangahau provided kai and a $30 voucher for each participant as a koha to acknowledge our appreciation of their time and contribution to the research.

Analysis and reporting

Pattern spotting

Pattern spotting is part of cultural historical activity theory (CHAT). CHAT is based on established systems principles and uses "systems based thinking of the real world in order to gain insights about the real world" (Capper & Williams, 2004, p. 2). To explore the data from each region, the team conducted three pattern-spotting exercises. During each regional pattern-spotting session, Māori and non-Māori data were analysed separately. The themes identified through pattern spotting were then used to guide more detailed thematic analysis and to help frame the report.

NVivo

All interview notes were imported into NVivo 12.6.0 and analysed thematically. During this process, data from Māori participants and from non-Māori participants were analysed separately to understand the similarities and differences in the perspectives of both groups of pou reo.

Checking accuracy of quotes

Key sections of the kōrero were transcribed in full, and all quotes used in the report were checked against the audio recordings.

Online presentations to participants

As part of our whanaungatanga approach to this research, the research team has committed to providing regional webinars for participants to share findings from the research and create space for participants to reflect on what the findings meant for them.

Report writers' positioning statements

Ko Tūhoe, ko Ngāti Awa ngā iwi

Ko Ngāti Rongo te hapū

Ko Te Mauku te maunga

Ko Owhakatoro te awa

Ko Owhakatoro te marae

Ko Nicola Bright tōku ingoa

E aku manu taki, e aku manu taikō i rere mai i te tāpaepaetanga o te rangi, tēna koutou katoa.

Through my mother, I am descended from Tūhoe and Ngāti Awa, and through my father I have English and German genealogical connections.

I have been involved in reo Māori revitalisation in a professional capacity for more than 20 years, 7 of those years at Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori, and 10 in the education sector as a researcher for Te Wāhanga NZCER—often supporting reo Māori revitalisation through kaupapa Māori research. My commitment and aroha for te reo Māori is lifelong. My work in reo Māori revitalisation is always focused on benefiting Māori first, as the heritage speakers of te reo Māori. However, in recent years, as more and more non-Māori have decided to learn te reo Māori and schools are taking on a greater role in teaching tamariki to speak Māori, it has also become important to me to understand and support the role of non-Māori in revitalising te reo Māori.

English is my first language and I have learnt te reo Māori as an adult. My own journey as a second language learner and the challenges that are associated with that are similar to what many of the pou reo in this study have experienced. As an adult, I have worked to grow my own reo through self-directed reo Māori learning, and formal learning opportunities including a year-long full immersion course at Waikato University, multiple kura reo, and most recently Te Pīnakitanga ki te Reo Kairangi at Te Wānanga o Aotearoa.

Most important for me, have been the opportunities to kōrero with my whānau; with my irāmutu as they have grown up; and with my aunties and uncles who are my role models.

As a child, holidays were spent with my grandparents in Rūātoki so I grew up hearing my Nanny and Koro speaking Māori in the mita of Tūhoe and Ngāti Awa. That is what "normal" reo Māori sounds like to me. My biggest aspiration for myself would be that I, too, sound normal when conversing in te reo Māori.

My learning will never end and it is likely that as a second language learner I will always have to take a deep breath and work hard kia patua te whakamā before I immerse myself in te reo Māori. That is a challenge for many of my generation, but hopefully not for the generations that follow us.

Nō Kōtirana, nō Ingarani anō hoki ōku tīpuna

He tangata Tiriti ahau

He haepapa nui tēnei, nō reira, ka whai au i ngā mātāpono o taua tiriti mō ake tonu atu

Ko Esther Smaill tōku ingoa

E aku nui, e aku rahi, tēnā rā koutou katoa.

I started learning te reo Māori close to 25 years ago. A few years later, when I became a primary school teacher, I seized the opportunity to begin teaching and raising the status of te reo Māori in my predominantly English-medium classroom. Upon reflection, although I wouldn't have described it in these terms at the time, that is when I became involved in reo Māori revitalisation. As a young Pākehā teacher working at a school that was led by a tumuaki Māori and that had a vibrant reo rua class, I'm embarrassed to admit that I didn't think too much about what it meant to be a non-Māori pou reo. My enthusiasm for te reo Māori was embraced and encouraged by those in my school community and I just got on with the job. In that context, te reo and tikanga Māori were normalised. Te reo Māori was spoken in the playground, during school assemblies, and the production that this school ran while I taught there was bilingual. I knew at the time that I was very lucky to be part of a school community that was doing so much to grow te reo Māori. I also knew that there was much work to be done before what I experienced as "normal" in this context was commonplace in Aotearoa New Zealand's primary schools.

Although I have long since left that school—and indeed the primary classroom—my journey as a reo Māori learner and advocate has continued. Through experiences like completing Te Pīnakitanga ki te Reo Kairangi at Te Wānanga o Aotearoa, encouraging and supporting my Pākehā hoa rangatira and tamariki to learn te reo Māori, and working in the reo revitalisation space as an educational researcher, I have gone on to think a great deal about what it means to be a non-Māori pou reo: a Pākehā learner and speaker of, and advocate for, te reo Māori. As a tangata Tiriti, I see Te Tiriti o Waitangi as providing me with the opportunity and the responsibility to undertake this mahi. I strive to uphold this responsibility in all aspects of my life, including in my work as an educational researcher.

The English-medium education system has privileged me. The same system has played a major role in disrupting the intergenerational transmission of te reo Māori (Benton, 1997; Rewi & Rātima, 2018; Waitangi Tribunal, 1986). Because the majority of tamariki Māori attend English-medium schools (Ministry of Education, 2020d, 2020e, 2022b), I see it as my responsibility to be a partner in growing te reo Māori in these schools. Within this research project, my primary goal is to benefit tamariki Māori. In addition, I acknowledge that I am also motivated by the benefits that this research will afford non-Māori children. As a non-Māori member of this project's research team, I am guided by my hoamahi Māori (the tuākana) and view myself as a teina within this research whānau.

As non-Māori, I see it as an enormous privilege to have been given the opportunity to learn te reo Māori. Although my journey as a reo Māori learner, which I see as lifelong, has already spanned more than two decades, I suspect that I will always feel like a beginner in this space. I am comfortable with this because my aspiration is not to be an expert—he matatau reo Māori—but an enabler, someone who knows enough reo to make the space for others to claim what is rightfully theirs.

4. He kitenga, he matapaki
Findings and commentaries

In our 2021 report *He reo ka tipu i ngā kura—Growing te reo Māori in schools: Literature review* (Bright et al., 2021) we identified five key issues or kaupapa that schools should consider when developing a strategic approach to Māori language teaching and learning.

That report drew attention to the importance of: developing a Māori language plan; involving whānau in the development and implementation of reo Māori programmes; elevating the profile and status of te reo Māori; raising critical awareness about how teachers position themselves; and increasing teachers' reo Māori proficiency.

This report builds on the literature review by providing stories about how pou reo in 10 schools in Aotearoa were addressing these kaupapa through their approaches to growing te reo Māori in their schools. The report does this in two ways. First, it focuses on the kaupapa of pou reo identity and positioning to explore who pou reo are and how their identity shapes their motivations for teaching and learning te reo Māori. Second, it draws on the remaining kaupapa to provide a structure for identifying practices that create a positive impact on Māori language teaching and learning in schools.

Ko ngā take matua hei whiriwhiri mā ngā kura auraki tuatahi ina whakawhanake i tētahi ara rautaki mō te whakaako me te ako i te reo Māori
Key issues for English-medium primary schools consider when developing a strategic approach to Māori language teaching and learning

This section of the report highlights our findings about setting strong foundations for reo Māori growth in schools through raising critical awareness about pou reo identity and positioning. It emphasises the importance of understanding who pou reo are and how their identity—as Māori or non-Māori—affects not only the ways in which they position themselves in their teaching and learning of te reo Māori but also their motivations for undertaking this important work.

Tuakiritanga: Pou reo identity and positioning

Forty Māori and non-Māori pou reo from across 10 primary schools participated in the research. The pou reo came from different backgrounds, ethnicities, and with varied levels of knowledge and proficiency in te reo Māori. When we spoke to pou reo about whether being Māori or non-Māori made a difference in how they saw their role as pou reo, it became clear that identity matters when it comes to the teaching and learning of te reo Māori.

Identity influenced how pou reo positioned themselves and understood, experienced, and enacted their roles. Māori and non-Māori pou reo views of identity and positioning had interesting and notable differences. These differences are important for schools to be aware of so that schools can better understand not only what drives and engages pou reo, but also how to support them in fulfilling their roles.

Pou reo Māori

Most of the 20 tumuaki, kaiako, kaiāwhina, and whānau involved in this study who identified as pou reo Māori had been working as pou reo in their schools for years. Three had been pou reo for 11–15 years, three for 6–10 years, and seven for 1–5 years. Only three were new to being pou reo. Many of the pou reo were able to reflect on changes they had observed and been involved in within their schools over a long period of time.

Most of the pou reo Māori came into their roles as pou reo either through having been employed specifically for positions focused on te reo Māori, or because they had volunteered to take on the role of pou reo in their schools. Some had also chosen to become pou reo to support their own tamariki to become reo Māori speakers. Almost three-quarters of the group (13 pou reo) were employed as kaiako, and two were kaiāwhina. Three of the pou reo were tumuaki, two of whom were in schools that included bilingual classes. Within the group, only the two whānau members were not employed in paid positions within the schools. The group included 16 wāhine and four tāne.

The pou reo were agents for positive change at different levels within their schools, as leaders, strategic planners, teachers, and advocates for whānau and community reo Māori aspirations. They were also supporters and enablers of others in their schools and communities.

> *"He aha taku tūranga?" Ki a au nei, he kaitaunaki, he kaitautoko, ka tautoko i te kaupapa, tautoko i ngā kaiako, i ngā whānau, mēnā ka hiahia. I te hapori, i te kura hoki.* (Whānau, Māori, School B)

When we asked pou reo what it meant to be Māori and a pou reo, they talked about how their identity and life experiences as Māori influenced their beliefs, attitudes, views of themselves, and interactions with the world. Although this study was primarily focused on the school context, discussions about Māori identity inevitably included whānau and the communities pou reo were part of.

> *It's imperative for me to whakamana i te reo Māori me ōnā tikanga … as much as I can in the school but also in the community and then in the wider community. I don't see my role as being just here in the school.* (Kaiako, Māori, School B)

Two of the important and common markers of Māori identity (Durie, 2001; Te Huia, 2015) highlighted by pou reo Māori in this research were whakapapa and te reo Māori. For all pou reo, their whakapapa was a source of pride and security, and all were deeply committed to revitalising te reo Māori.

Whakapapa

The pou reo we spoke with knew their whakapapa, who they were and where they came from. They were proud to be Māori. Some pou reo were connected through whakapapa to the communities they lived and worked in, but many were not. Knowledge of whakapapa was important to pou reo, and, as discussed later in the report, they made it a priority to support tamariki to understand their own whakapapa.

All but two of the 20 pou reo Māori we spoke with felt that their whakapapa as Māori made a difference in how they saw their roles as pou reo.

> *Definitely, [being Māori makes a difference] because it is just who you are. You have got a Māori lens already.* (Tumuaki, Māori, School A)

Even those who said that being Māori did not make a difference to their role as pou reo acknowledged the influence that being Māori has on who they are, and their views of the world. One pou reo noted that being Māori was so much a part of their identity that they found it difficult to separate out and explain how being Māori influenced the way they worked.

Being Māori brought particular aspirations, ways of doing things, and cultural knowledge to how pou reo supported the growth of te reo Māori in schools. For example, pou reo Māori often commented that being Māori helped them connect more easily with tamariki Māori, whānau Māori, and Māori communities.

> *It's who I am and it's what I am in my teaching … I do the things I do because I'm Māori and sometimes it is hard to explain or justify some of that sort of stuff.* (Kaiako, Māori, School B)

For many pou reo, being Māori also meant having a raised awareness of the impacts of colonisation in Aotearoa New Zealand and the racism experienced by Māori. One pou reo talked about how they incorporated their own experiences of colonisation into their teaching to provide tamariki with accessible insights into its meaning and impact on whānau.

> *One of the modules they were doing was about colonisation … how can I bring that forward so kids would understand it in today's terms.* (Kaiāwhina reo, Māori, School J)

In their experience, colonisation had influenced how their whānau chose to name themselves, the most recent generations choosing English names because they had been made to feel that it was not okay to have Māori names.

Some of the pou reo Māori felt that they had, at times, been judged by non-Māori and Māori alike for not fitting a particular view of how Māori should look. One pou reo Māori, although comfortable talking with the kairangahau about their whakapapa, had not shared that information with their school community, yet they were proudly Māori and were committed to making sure that tamariki had access to reo Māori teaching and learning opportunities.

> *It's been a fight, because I'm blue-eyed and have white skin, no one wanted to see me as Māori of course … no one sees me as Māori, it's only me.* (Tumuaki, Māori, School G)

The security of knowing one's whakapapa and having pride in being Māori could be viewed as a protective factor for pou reo, and particularly so for those who did not feel that they were immediately "seen" as Māori.

> *I think it's a real honour [to be a pou reo]. I feel that I look like a wee 'whitey', but I know who I am.* (Kaiako, Māori, School H)

Te reo Māori

Te reo Māori was important to pou reo Māori at a deep personal level, as part of their identity as individuals, and their collective identity as whānau.

> *It is really important to me that I and my family can learn as much as possible and really use the language and make it as normal as possible because it is part of who we are … It's a taonga in New Zealand, we're the only people that [use it].* (Whānau, Māori, School F)

One of the pou reo Māori described their role as a pou reo as embodying and giving life to te reo and tikanga Māori, to help tamariki feel comfortable speaking Māori.

> *Te whakatinanatanga o tēnei mea te reo me ōna tikanga katoa … kia tangatanga te reo o te tamaiti.* (Kaiako, Māori, School C)

Te reo Māori was the everyday language for only four of the pou reo, and most of the pou reo we spoke with had learnt (or were learning) te reo Māori as a second language. The pou reo were teaching te reo Māori as part of the curriculum while at the same time integrating their own reo and culture into their lives at school.

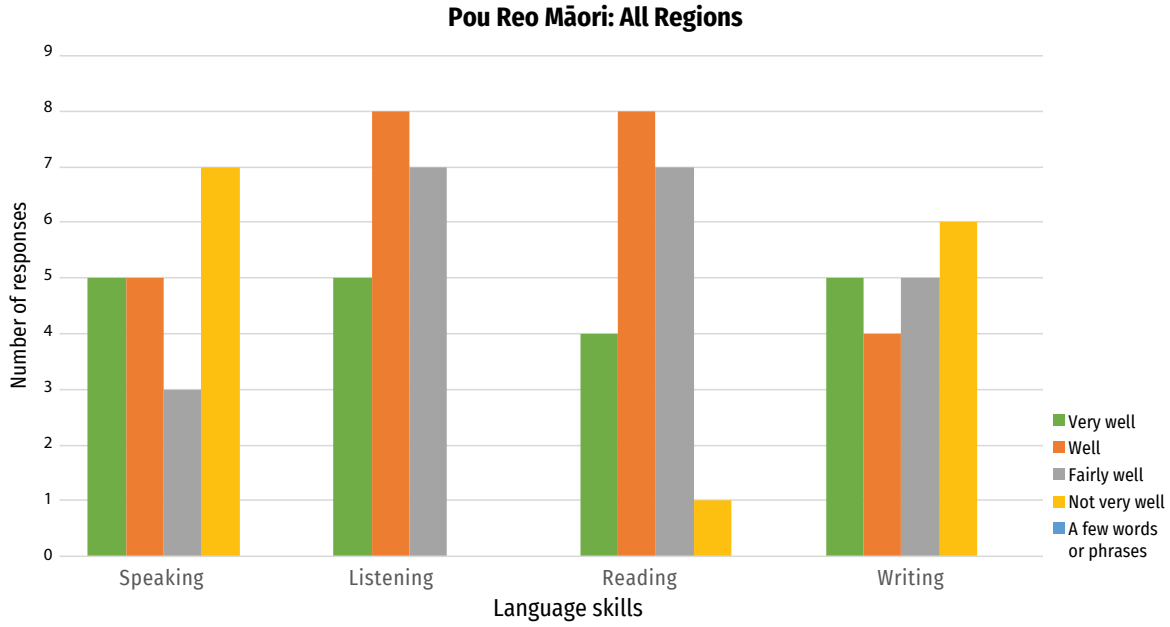
The pou reo we spoke with considered learning te reo Māori to be a continuous and a lifelong journey. This belief was shared by pou reo with high levels of reo proficiency as well as those with lower levels of proficiency. Overall, pou reo Māori tended to have higher levels of reo Māori proficiency than non-Māori pou reo.

Many pou reo wanted to improve their proficiency in te reo Māori and were committed to working towards this over many years. Some, but not all, pou reo Māori were part of networks of Māori speakers at home and in the community. Professional learning and development and using te reo Māori at school provided important opportunities to build proficiency and confidence in te reo Māori. At least five of the pou reo Māori were enrolled in reo Māori courses in 2020.

> *I think it doesn't matter how much reo you know, I think that PLD is a huge thing.*
> (Kaiāwhina, Māori, School C)

To better understand the range of reo Māori proficiency amongst the pou reo, we asked them to self-rate their reo Māori proficiency in the productive language skills of speaking and writing, and the receptive skills of reading and listening to/understanding spoken reo Māori. For each skill, pou reo were asked to indicate whether they could conduct this skill (e.g., speak Māori in day-to-day conversation) very well, well, fairly well, not very well, or whether they had no more than a few words or phrases. The responses for pou reo Māori are reported in Figure 2.

FIGURE 2 **Pou reo Māori self-ratings of their ability to speak, write, read, and listen to (understand spoken) reo Māori**



Pou reo Māori were more likely to rate their ability to understand and read te reo Māori (receptive language skills) higher than their ability to speak and write Māori (productive language skills). Half the group of pou reo Māori were able to speak te reo Māori well or very well, and the other half spoke Māori fairly well or not very well. Pou reo Māori were also more likely than their non-Māori counterparts to report that they could speak, read, write, and understand spoken reo Māori "very well" or "well".

A few of the pou reo who described themselves as having low levels of reo Māori proficiency felt that they had lost some of their ability to kōrero over time: firstly, because they had had limited opportunities to use te reo Māori; and secondly, because negative reactions from others to their efforts to speak Māori had resulted in them feeling too whakamā or embarrassed to try, particularly in front of more proficient speakers. These pou reo felt the lack or loss of their language deeply and they spoke about how that had negatively affected their confidence in themselves and in their ability to speak Māori.

> *I won't go and speak Māori in front of Māori at all. From earlier experiences, criticism, and things like that where people laughed at your pronunciation.* (Kaiako, Māori, School G)

> *Feeling like kind of a phoney not knowing te reo … it just cuts deeper when you know you don't know reo as deep. That's my biggest challenge.* (Kaiako, Māori, School E)

Another pou reo talked about how they were careful to gauge people's comfort with te reo Māori before speaking Māori in front of them. They felt conscious that their ability to use te reo Māori might make other Māori, with less proficiency, uncomfortable.

The personal challenges some of the pou reo experienced as reo Māori learners did not stop them from doing their work as pou reo. Some of the pou reo talked about how they had had to learn to push past their own discomfort or whakamā at times, to accept that they would make mistakes and carry on regardless.

> *Mēnā he Māori koe, ā, ka tū koe mō tō ake Māori. He tauira tērā mō ngā whānau Māori me ngā tamariki Māori hoki. Ka kite rātou te uauatanga, ahakoa he Māori ahau, kāore au i tipu ake i te reo. He haerenga, he huarahi uaua. He tauira ki ōku nei whakaaro ki ngā whānau kāore i te mōhio nō hea rātou.* (Whānau, Māori, School B)

> *Nobody is going to learn if nobody stands up and teaches and encourages that mahi. For pou reo it's a journey. In a mainstream school—I have to be uncomfortable. I have to stand up and if no one's going to do the whaikōrero—hei aha, e tū … it's a challenge and it's a blessing … In my classroom you have to be that leader, you have to stand up … you've got to mirror te ao Māori, te reo Māori, up front for them. Make a mistake—kei te pai. Haere tonu.* (Kaiako, Māori, School F)

Pou reo Māori emphasised the importance of confidently leading reo and tikanga Māori in their schools, even when uncomfortable, in order to fulfil important tikanga and show colleagues, tamariki, and whānau the way forward. They also spoke about the importance of being unapologetic about taking space to do this, because the work is important.

Non-Māori pou reo

Who are non-Māori pou reo?

Our conversations with non-Māori pou reo suggest that these school-based reo Māori champions are a diverse group. Of the 20 non-Māori pou reo who participated in our study, 14 were classroom teachers, four were principals, one was a learning support co-ordinator, and another was a school administrator. Of these pou reo, just one (a principal) worked at a school that offered Māori-medium education, while another (a teacher) worked in a class within which tamariki were taught under what was described as "a te ao Māori umbrella".[6] Within the wider group, one pou reo was their school's lead teacher for te reo Māori, while another had held this position until recently. Sixteen of the non-Māori pou reo we spoke with were female.

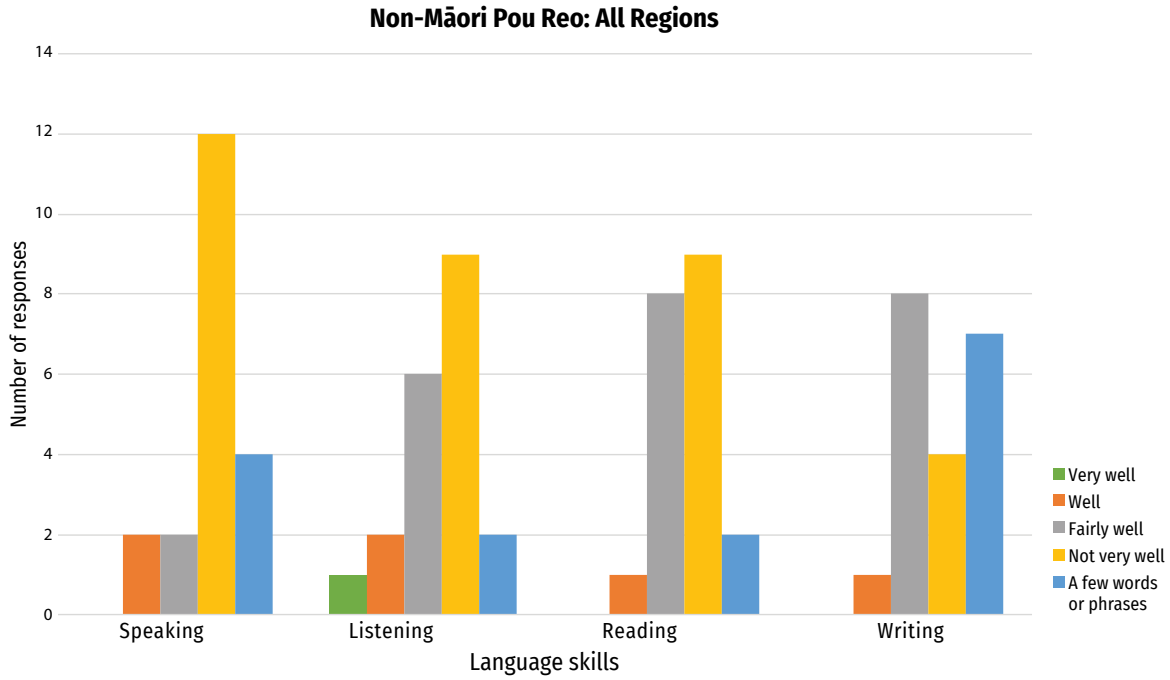
6 Further details about this class are provided later in the report.

Although all non-Māori pou reo shared a common commitment to te reo Māori, they brought a range of experiences, expertise, and knowledge to the role. A few pou reo spoke about members of their whānau who were Māori. These pou reo felt confident and comfortable within te ao Māori. One of the pou reo had recently immigrated to Aotearoa and another had recently returned after living overseas for many years. Some of the non-Māori pou reo had stepped into their roles as pou reo within the past 1–3 years, while a very small group had been pou reo for a decade or more.

Just under half of the non-Māori pou reo reported that they were either currently studying or had previously studied te reo Māori. Here, too, their experiences were varied. One pou reo had embarked on their reo Māori journey early, beginning when their parents enrolled them at a kōhanga reo and then later the "reo unit" at their local primary school (Teacher, non-Māori, School I). Another non-Māori pou reo had completed a "degree in te reo Māori at university" (Teacher, non-Māori, School E). Te Wānanga o Aotearoa featured frequently in the kōrero that non-Māori pou reo shared about their reo Māori learning experiences, with a fifth of them reporting that they were either currently studying or had previously studied te reo Māori at this whare wānanga. A further two pou reo had recently completed one of the Ministry of Education-funded Te Ahu o te Reo Māori courses.

Despite the commitment that many non-Māori pou reo had made to learning te reo Māori, members of this group commonly reported relatively low levels of reo Māori proficiency. When talking with pou reo, we asked them to self-rate their reo Māori proficiency in the productive language skills of speaking and writing, and the receptive skills of reading and listening to/understanding spoken reo Māori. For each skill, pou reo were asked to indicate whether they could conduct this skill (e.g., speak Māori in day-to-day conversation) very well, well, fairly well, not very well, or whether they had no more than a few words or phrases. Their responses are reported below in Figure 3.

FIGURE 3 **Non-Māori pou reo self-ratings of their ability to speak, write, read, and listen to (understand spoken) reo Māori**



Very few non-Māori pou reo reported that they could speak, listen, read, or write "well" in Māori. Instead, many pou reo reported that they did these things "not very well", and in some cases that they could use only "a few words or phrases". About a quarter of the non-Māori pou reo told us that they had concerns about their ability to pronounce kupu Māori accurately.

Almost all of the non-Māori pou reo we spoke with felt that being non-Māori made a difference to how they saw their role as pou reo. However, perhaps unsurprisingly given the group's diversity, there were different ways in which people understood and experienced being a non-Māori pou reo. As we explain next, some pou reo appeared to have a relatively settled and secure understanding of what it meant to be a non-Māori pou reo, whereas others were still negotiating how they defined their roles.

Identifying as a reo Māori ally

Non-Māori who had settled into their roles as pou reo had usually formed clear views about their own positioning as reo Māori allies or non-Māori who support reo Māori growth in schools when it is not their heritage language. In some cases, these pou reo understood this role as an important element of being an honourable Te Tiriti o Waitangi partner. Pou reo in this group conveyed a sense of confidence in their ability to respectfully provide access to and facilitate and/or enable the learning of te reo Māori. As one pou reo in this group explained, "When you get it [your role as a pou reo], you relax into it … because … [you] understand what's going on" (Principal, non-Māori, School B).

This group's collective stance was summed up by one pou reo who explained, "My role is more as an enabler, I'm not an expert. It's [being] a door opener. It's [being] a space giver" (Teacher, non-Māori, School H). It is important to note that this group of non-Māori pou reo did not feel that they had to be fluent speakers of Māori in order to be pou reo. However, they all had enough understanding of te reo Māori, tikanga Māori, and te ao Māori to proceed carefully and respectfully in their roles.

Those non-Māori who had settled into their roles as pou reo were school-level "doers". They found ways to help tamariki and colleagues experience reo and tikanga Māori learning opportunities. This looked different in different schools. In one school, a non-Māori pou reo (a principal) was instrumental in establishing the conditions required to develop and support a bilingual class. In another school, a non-Māori pou reo supported their colleagues to acquire the skills and knowledge they needed to host a Māori-immersion morning during te wiki o te reo Māori.

In two schools, the non-Māori pou reo took on the position of lead teacher of te reo Māori. One of these pou reo observed that being a Pākehā lead teacher of te reo Māori may have afforded them some "leverage" when it came to connecting with and encouraging their Pākehā colleagues to realise their responsibilities in relation to teaching and learning te reo Māori (Teacher, non-Māori, School D).

> *As a Pākehā person, I wanted to do it [become my school's lead teacher for te reo Māori and tikanga Māori] because I wanted to be a representative of a Pākehā person who is interested … Because we have a lot of Pākehā teachers that like [say and/or think], 'Oh I'm Pākehā, I don't have to worry about it [te reo and tikanga Māori], it's not my responsibility'. So, I felt like having a Pākehā person who is like 'Actually, it is our responsibility', would be useful.* (Teacher, non-Māori, School D)

However, this pou reo was clear that, as a Pākehā, they had viewed their lead teacher role as an interim one. They had recently handed their lead position over to a newly appointed Māori colleague, explaining that "I wanted to make a bridge and I think I have done that and now I think it is great to have a Māori person in that role" (Teacher, non-Māori, School D).

These types of comments, that conveyed a respectful understanding of the limits of what a non-Māori pou reo could and should do, and an understanding of the tensions that exist when non-Māori step

into what would, ideally, be Māori roles, were common amongst those who had carefully considered their positions as non-Māori pou reo. For example, a pou reo talked about how they would always check in with Māori colleagues before making decisions about tikanga.

> *I'd be happy to teach someone something in te reo, but I also feel like it's not my place … especially with things around tikanga … If I do make a decision [about tikanga], I'd want to check with someone Māori to make sure. I often check with my friend who works at … [high school] about [those] things.*
> (Teacher, non-Māori, School E)

Likewise, another pou reo who was a proficient reo Māori speaker felt there were limits to what was appropriate for them to do in terms of te reo and tikanga Māori.

> *As a non-Māori with the reo, it is not my position to say to someone else how to do things or how to say things … I don't know how to explain it but I think it is just because of the history of colonisation … It is not my position to say what is right and what is wrong but I am there to support and encourage those who do inquire [about te reo Māori] and I am more than happy to share … I guess I am just saying, I know my place.* (Teacher, non-Māori, School I)

Negotiating identity as a non-Māori pou reo

Although all non-Māori pou reo were committed to strengthening the provision of reo Māori learning opportunities in their schools, some were clearly still working out how to position themselves as non-Māori who supported reo Māori growth in schools. People in this group commonly linked issues or challenges that they experienced as pou reo with being non-Māori. In this regard, pou reo typically described these identity-related issues in one of two ways: either positively and constructively as opportunities or as challenges that they intended to take on and overcome, or as somewhat paralysing.

Those non-Māori pou reo who were able to frame the identity-related issues that they experienced positively and constructively talked about, for example, being cautious and careful when stepping into a situation, and being prepared to ask questions.

> *I feel totally inadequate [as a non-Māori pou reo], but also … I feel like the advantage of that is that I'm in the same position as everyone else who is non-Māori, to some extent … So, it is a kind of mixed thing. And I guess it [my sense of inadequacy] makes me cautious which is good. I don't just go in going, 'We have got to do this' but 'What do we need to do?' and having that questioning approach is a good thing. It's [my sense of inadequacy is] possibly holding me back a wee bit at the moment … because I am so unsure … But I just need to overcome that and start doing it, I think and deal with the difficulties as they come up.* (Teacher, non-Māori, School E)

Pou reo in this group often acknowledged how much they still needed to learn—about both te reo Māori and te ao Māori—to enable them to genuinely fulfil their roles as pou reo.

> *Te ao Māori is a very different world to, well I think about my upbringing on a farm … That [te ao Māori] wasn't in my upbringing. And so, I think being non-Māori, the difference is I know there's so much to learn, and I'm not talking about te reo, I'm talking about te ao [Māori] … I know that I have got this huge journey ahead of me as a non-Māori pou reo. And that's the difference.* (Teacher, non-Māori, School F)

Another pou reo directly acknowledged the guilt that they felt in relation to the colonisation of Aotearoa. Instead of letting this guilt overwhelm them, they used it as motivation to fulfil their role as a pou reo.

> *I suppose being non-Māori means I probably carry a whole lot more guilt for what's transpiring in this country than if I was Māori. I think it's up to someone who is non-Māori to work twice as hard.*
> (Principal, non-Māori, School I)

All the non-Māori pou reo we spoke with were reo Māori champions within their schools and all were making important contributions to the teaching and learning of te reo Māori. However, as noted earlier, some of the stories that pou reo shared about the identity-related issues they had experienced as non-Māori pou reo suggested that their uncertainly or fear about doing things incorrectly could, at times, be overwhelming and potentially even paralysing.

> *I find it hard [to know] where am I stepping over the boundary. Is it ok for me to be teaching this even though I'm not fluent? Am I teaching the right thing? So, I am questioning everything that I am doing because I am just not too sure. I feel like I could be invasive here … Am I sticking to tikanga Māori? Am I sticking to teaching the right language? So, it's really hard … because it is difficult for a non-Māori teacher to really know where the boundary is.* (Teacher, non-Māori, School D)

Another teacher, who was studying te reo Māori in their own time because they wanted to strengthen their ability to teach te reo Māori, reflected on their experiences as a whare wānanga student. They had found it hard sometimes being non-Māori and trying to connect with the Māori language and culture.

> *It's pretty hard not being Māori and you're trying to understand and learn. My upbringing and everything was completely different … Our kaiako [at my wānanga reo Māori class] he talks so passionately about his tūrangawaewae and everything and like I [as non-Māori] just feel like I'm a bit lost really.*
>
> (Teacher, non-Māori, School F)

Likewise, a teacher who expressed uncertainty about even describing themself as a pou reo talked about the discomfort that they sometimes experienced as a non-Māori pou reo.

> *I don't see myself that way [as a pou reo] at all. I think I just see myself as a little bit of a leader, just in the general sense of pushing things in the curriculum, so that [being a pou reo] just comes under that umbrella … I guess, like if I get up and I do the guitar in kapa haka, it doesn't feel very authentic or very real, especially because I have never done kapa haka myself. Yes that identity [stuff].*
>
> (Teacher, non-Māori, School J)

Each of these comments show that, through their work as pou reo, non-Māori sometimes experience identity-related issues and challenges. The pou reo stories and experiences that have been presented here indicate that some non-Māori pou reo may need additional support to ensure that these identity-related issues don't prevent them from continuing to realise their aspirations as reo Māori champions.

Commentary

Acknowledging that identity influences how pou reo view their positioning in relation to teaching and learning te reo Māori creates space for conversations about whakapapa, values, priorities, and challenges. Having discussions about positioning gives pou reo the opportunity to express a holistic picture of who they are, and to clarify expectations and boundaries around their roles as pou reo.

Whakapapa and te reo Māori are integral parts of identity that came to the fore for pou reo Māori in this context. When te reo Māori is part of identity, it is a powerful enabler for pou reo. Their work as pou reo was personal, collective, intergenerational, and included tamariki, whānau, and hapori. Pou reo Māori had a critical awareness of how colonisation and racism continue to impact negatively on Māori, and particularly on te reo Māori.

As a group, pou reo Māori self-ratings of their proficiency in te reo Māori were at higher levels than those of non-Māori pou reo. However, for most pou reo Māori, learning te reo Māori is a lifelong journey, and pou reo Māori who are second language learners often have to push past feelings of

whakamā or discomfort to learn while also supporting others to learn. Feeling whakamā about their proficiency in te reo Māori was an issue shared by non-Māori pou reo. However, the reasons these two groups of pou reo are in this situation differ significantly. For Māori, language loss has been a direct result of colonisation. For non-Māori, a sense of whakamā about their ability to acquire reo proficiency was often tied with an awareness that they had links with those who contributed to the colonisation of Aotearoa.

Many non-Māori acknowledged that they had experienced identity-related challenges and uncertainties in their roles as pou reo. Those who had looked to Te Tiriti o Waitangi to create a space from which to grow te reo Māori within their schools were particularly well positioned to carry out this important mahi. They understood that, as a non-Māori pou reo, giving effect to Te Tiriti o Waitangi involved knowing when to step forward and shoulder a load, and when to step back, hold the door open, and create space for pou reo Māori, tamariki Māori, and whānau Māori.

We found that most pou reo Māori clearly positioned themselves in relation to te reo Māori, while many non-Māori were tentatively working through their positioning. A possible benefit to Māori in articulating their position to others is that their work is "seen" and less likely to be taken for granted. For non-Māori, articulating their positioning in relation to te reo Māori could help them clarify why they are working in this space, thereby reducing their experiences of uncertainty and paralysis.

Whakahīhikotanga: Motivations for teaching and learning te reo Māori

Understanding what motivates Māori and non-Māori to teach and learn te reo Māori can provide schools with valuable insights into how to encourage individuals to step up and assume greater responsibility for strengthening the provision of reo Māori teaching and learning. Two key factors motivated pou reo to teach and learn te reo Māori in schools. The first was linked with pou reo aspirations for tamariki, the second was associated with beliefs that the pou reo held about the role of the education system in supporting reo Māori revitalisation. In each case, these motivations were influenced by pou reo identities and their positioning as Māori and non-Māori.

Aspirations for tamariki

Tamariki feel secure in their identity and see te reo Māori as part of their identity

Our kōrero with pou reo about their aspirations for tamariki provided valuable insights into their motivations for providing instruction in te reo Māori. Pou reo, both Māori and non-Māori, believed it is essential for all children to know who they are, where they come from, and to be proud of their whakapapa. Many also saw te reo Māori as an integral part of tamariki identity. In some respects, Māori and non-Māori pou reo shared similar aspirations for all tamariki. However, there were also some interesting differences in pou reo aspirations that related to whether tamariki were Māori or non-Māori.

Pou reo Māori perspectives

Aspirations for tamariki Māori

The pou reo Māori felt that, when tamariki are secure in their identities, they are confident, able to make connections with others, and be more resilient in life. It was particularly important to them that tamariki Māori knew their whakapapa and felt proud of being Māori.

> *[My aspiration is that] Māori students feel safe enough to be Māori, to be themselves, they know themselves when they leave this school, they know where they stand in the world, they know who their whānau are, their hapori.* (Kaiako, Māori, School B)

In addition, one of the pou reo Māori spoke about the importance of tamariki Māori learning about the local stories and tīpuna of the area, so that they understood their connections to the whenua and people, whether they were from the rohe or from outside of it.

In every school, pou reo made it a priority to help tamariki Māori identify and locate themselves through the reo, tikanga, and values expressed through pepeha and mihimihi. As touched on earlier in this report, language is an important aspect of Māori identity.

> *Identity has to be one of the most important things that we teach. Our topic at the beginning is 'Ko au' and we plan that. It's about knowing our tikanga, our values at school, getting to know them, learning their pepeha from day one. Who they are, where they come from, making connections, engaging them in our activities.* (Kaiako, Māori, School C)

In schools that only offered lower levels of Māori language education (e.g., levels 5 and 6), pou reo Māori sometimes felt more of a need to advocate on behalf of tamariki Māori to ensure they had opportunities to express themselves as Māori. For example, in one of the schools, the pou reo always made sure that tamariki Māori had opportunities to sit on the paepae and to lead kapa haka and karakia.

> *Because our Māori roll is quite small, but also, to honour the Treaty and where we are in Aotearoa, our Māori kids are given an opportunity to celebrate their identity a lot more. They're given priority to sit on the paepae at assemblies. If they don't want it that's when we ask others to step in. Leadership roles in kapa haka … it's prioritised to the Māori kids, especially the older ones. At special assemblies they're given opportunities to speak, and with anything Māori they're prioritised.* (Kaiako, Māori, School E)

In another school, a pou reo had noticed that some tamariki Māori were whakamā or uncomfortable about speaking Māori in front of their more confident non-Māori peers. The pou reo decided to provide separate sessions on whakapapa to encourage these tamariki to feel secure and proud of being Māori.

In a few of the schools, the pou reo Māori were concerned that some tamariki did not feel comfortable being identified as Māori, speaking Māori, or able to safely express that part of their identity.

> *There are quite a few [tamariki] here that don't want to know that they're Māori.*
> (Kaiāwhina reo, Māori, School J)

> *In the short-term I'd love to see students be confident that they can be a Māori student and confident to speak te reo, confident to not shy away from being Māori.* (Kaiako, Māori, School D)

The pou reo wanted tamariki Māori to be able to walk comfortably in both te ao Māori and te ao Pākehā. However, in almost every school, the pou reo shared stories about people in the community who had expressed negative attitudes towards Māori. While the pou reo emphasised the importance of tamariki being proud of their identity, culture, and language, it was clear that not all tamariki Māori consistently received this positive messaging in all areas of their lives.

Aspirations for non-Māori children

Pou reo Māori felt it was just as important for non-Māori children as it was for tamariki Māori to be proud of their identities.

> *We are like a whānau here … we have Tongan tamariki … we have Indian, Pākehā, and you can see them wanting to get up and learn who they are and where they come from.* (Kaiako, Māori, School C)

They hoped that all children would feel that te reo Māori is a part of their identity, and a normal aspect of life in Aotearoa New Zealand. They viewed learning te reo Māori as a pathway to creating better understanding and good relationships between Māori and non-Māori.

> *I think that they're [non-Māori children] able to feel just as proud to stand and know who they are and able to relate to where Māori stand and have that joint understanding. That's my aspiration so they can transfer their learning, whether it be reo or tikanga into those different environments and learning opportunities that they're going to face.* (Kaiako, Māori, School B)

Non-Māori pou reo perspectives

An aspiration for all tamariki to feel secure in their identity and to understand that te reo Māori is relevant, important, and of value for all New Zealanders motivated some non-Māori pou reo to provide tamariki with reo Māori-focused learning opportunities. There were, however, some differences in the ways in which non-Māori pou reo talked about the aspirations they had for tamariki Māori and non-Māori children.

Aspirations for tamariki Māori

When reflecting on their aspirations for tamariki Māori, non-Māori pou reo often talked about their hope that these tamariki would feel proud of their language and culture. Within their kōrero, pou reo often emphasised that they wanted tamariki Māori to understand that te reo and tikanga Māori were valued by their school community and by non-Māori in particular.

> *I want, first and foremost, the Māori students to feel proud of their language and their culture and to know that we find it as important to us as Pākehā.* (Teacher, non-Māori, School D)

> *I certainly want Māori students to feel proud of their culture and to walk away from here knowing this was a place that it [te reo and tikanga Māori] was valued and embraced and that it [te reo and tikanga Māori] was exceptionally important for us as non-Māori, as it is for them.* (Principal, non-Māori, School F)

In addition to talking about the importance of tamariki Māori feeling proud of their language and culture, some non-Māori pou reo also explicitly linked their motivation for providing instruction in te reo Māori with a desire for tamariki Māori to feel secure in their identity as Māori.

> *I want Māori students to feel that pride and that sense of identity in who they are.*
> (Teacher, non-Māori, School J)

Considered collectively, these kōrero suggest that some non-Māori pou reo were motivated to provide instruction in te reo Māori because they believed that these learning opportunities would show tamariki Māori that te reo and tikanga Māori were valued and considered important. Likewise, because non-Māori pou reo aspired for tamariki Māori to feel secure in their identity as Māori, they hoped that providing them with opportunities to learn about te reo Māori would assist with this.

Aspirations for non-Māori children

When talking about their aspirations for non-Māori children, some non-Māori pou reo emphasised that they aspired for these children to value te reo and tikanga Māori and to see these taonga as being relevant and significant to their identities as New Zealanders.

> *I want non-Māori students to feel like, 'Oh wow, the world of te ao Māori is amazing and I am in this country, and this is part of who I am too, because I have grown up here too'. And if non-Māori can have that same, 'Oh yeah, I have got those [te reo and tikanga Māori] skills out of being at kapa haka, I feel kotahitanga, I feel part of something, I feel that I'm a New Zealander'. Both Māori and non-Māori, I'm a New Zealander.* (Teacher, non-Māori, School D)

The aspirations voiced by some non-Māori pou reo were closely aligned with the first of the three "audacious goals" that are presented in the *Maihi Karauna—The Crown's Strategy for Māori Language Revitalisation* (Te Puni Kōkiri et al., 2019, p. 11). This goal states that "by 2040, 85 per cent of New Zealanders (or more) will value te reo Māori as a key element of national identity" (p. 11). Mirroring this sentiment, one non-Māori pou reo talked about how important it was for non-Māori children to value te reo Māori as a dimension of their national identity.

> *For non-Māori … that they value [te reo] Māori particularly as part of New Zealand. That that [te reo Māori] is not just seen as another language or another culture, that it is our language and culture, even if it is not personally your heritage.* (Teacher, non-Māori, School G)

Statements like these indicate that some non-Māori pou reo were motivated to provide instruction in te reo Māori because they felt that doing so would help non-Māori children understand that te reo Māori is not only valuable, relevant, and important but also a key element of their own national identity.

Tamariki understand and speak te reo Māori

For many pou reo, the desire to strengthen the ability of tamariki to understand and speak te reo Māori motivated them to provide instruction in te reo Māori.

Pou reo Māori perspectives

Aspirations for tamariki Māori

Aspirations for tamariki Māori to be able to understand and speak their heritage language—te reo Māori—were a powerful motivator for pou reo Māori to teach and learn te reo Māori. Their aspirations concerning the level of reo Māori proficiency tamariki might attain while at primary school varied depending on the school and classroom context, the stage schools were at in their plans to grow te reo Māori, and the aspirations of tamariki Māori themselves.

In classrooms with low levels of Māori language provision, the pou reo Māori hoped that tamariki Māori would have gained at least a basic level of knowledge about reo and tikanga Māori by the time they left primary school. They wanted tamariki Māori to be able to pronounce Māori words correctly and to feel comfortable and confident participating in tikanga such as karakia.

> *My aspiration as a parent would be that kids feel comfortable and confident hearing and using a basic level of te reo Māori, and have a basic level of tikanga Māori, Māori and non-Māori.*
> (Whānau, Māori, School F)

> *If I was looking at it from a kura perspective, I would want them to be able to do the basics, be able to pānui, know ngā oro, know how to count …, mōhio mārika ki ngā tae, and actually know, I suppose kia tangatanga ngā taringa ki te reo, so then even if they are not really confident speakers or writers, they're able to read it. So pānui would be a big one because ngāwari ake te pānui i te kōrero. So if they can do that and actually be able to hear reo, and if they're not able to speak it as such, you know, te whakahoki i roto i te reo, kei te pai tērā because it just tells you they know what you are talking about. For each tamaiti it would be different. If they had the basics of pānui, te whakarongo, I'd be happy with that. I'd be really really happy with that.* (Kaiako, Māori, School C)

In classrooms with higher levels of reo Māori provision, tamariki were more likely to have the opportunity to attain higher levels of reo proficiency. We also noticed a marked difference in pou reo aspirations for the level of proficiency tamariki might gain in level 1 immersion compared to level 2 immersion classrooms.

In part, pou reo aspirations for tamariki Māori to learn te reo Māori depended on the existing opportunities and access tamariki had to te reo Māori within their schools. However, an important part of the role of pou reo was to increase reo Māori provision through planning and advocating for change within their schools and communities.

For example, the pou reo in one school had aspired for many years to help tamariki Māori become confident reo Māori speakers. They had known it would take time and ongoing commitment from all involved to fulfil this aspiration, so they had worked closely with whānau to put in place a long-term plan for growing te reo Māori in their school. They first made sure that whānau understood what second language learning would entail so whānau could decide whether this was the right reo Māori learning pathway for them.

The first class included nine 8-year-olds who had no reo Māori. Three or 4 years later they were working to lift the immersion level for those tamariki to 80%–90% of the day. In the rest of the school, aspirations for reo proficiency were lower, largely because of the difficulty in recruiting teachers who were able to provide instruction in te reo Māori.

In another school, the pou reo wanted to increase the school's provision of reo Māori teaching and learning and normalise te reo Māori for everyone. However, this school was at an early stage in their journey to grow te reo Māori and did not yet have in place a long-term plan to make these aspirations a reality.

> *I would like everyone to be able to have normal conversations in te reo … banter and everything … I'd love for all of us to be able to do it.* (Kaiako, Māori, School E)

Another pou reo referred to the aspirations that tamariki had for themselves for learning te reo Māori as a determining factor for how much they would learn.

> *For their reo when they come out of here, I suppose it depends on each tamaiti and their aspirations on how they want to learn te reo and how much reo they want to learn.* (Kaiako, Māori, School C)

Pou reo aspirations for tamariki Māori to learn te reo Māori were tempered by realism about the time it would take to grow te reo in their schools, but they were also ambitious and hopeful. Some schools and kura were closer than others to achieving their aspirations.

Aspirations for non-Māori children

The pou reo, particularly tumuaki and kaiako, hoped to encourage non-Māori children to have positive attitudes towards te reo Māori, and to value, respect, and care for te reo Māori. Pou reo shared stories of how nurturing the language in children created positive attitudes about te reo Māori that children then shared at home with their families.

> *For the non-Māori students, it's to respect the language as a taonga, and to understand that it is important to speak the language and to love it. But it's more to encourage them. I think a lot of the non-Māori whānau that attend our kura do feel that way. I suppose they choose to come here, so they understand that that's a big part of our curriculum.* (Tumuaki, Māori, School C)

The aspirations of pou reo Māori for non-Māori children centred around helping children to learn enough reo and tikanga Māori to feel comfortable in Māori contexts, and to see such contexts as normal parts of their and their families' lives.

> *Kids are going to come out bi-cultural, bilingual, with an open perspective to life. That's my goal for our non-Māori.* (Tumuaki, Māori, School A)

Non-Māori pou reo perspectives

The desire to strengthen all children's ability to understand and speak te reo Māori appeared to motivate some, but by no means all, non-Māori pou reo to provide instruction in te reo Māori. It was also clear that pou reo in this group had differing expectations about the level of knowledge and understanding of te reo Māori that tamariki would acquire. For example, while a few pou reo hoped that the provision of instruction in te reo Māori would enable tamariki to hold conversations in Māori, others had much lower expectations. In general, pou reo in this group appeared to be motivated by the prospect of providing all tamariki with the opportunity to strengthen their ability to understand and speak te reo Māori.

None of the non-Māori pou reo we spoke with taught in classes that offered high levels of Māori language provision (e.g., Māori language immersion levels 1–3). Despite this, a few non-Māori pou reo aspired to equip tamariki to be able to have conversations in te reo Māori. These pou reo were all competent reo Māori speakers who had the ability to converse in the language themselves. Of these pou reo, one explained that they wanted tamariki to have "the confidence to speak, just basic kupu, basic sentences to each other" (Teacher, non-Māori, School I). Their focus was on speaking rather than writing Māori.

> *I would like to be able to, not so much, see it [te reo Māori] written or the reading side of it but just orally being able to hear them [the tamariki] conversing in te reo with each other. Whether it be connected to academic learning or just general relationship whanaungatanga, building sort of stuff. I'd love to be able to hear more of the spoken reo.* (Teacher, non-Māori, School I)

Similarly, another pou reo in this group explained that they wanted tamariki to be at a "level of being able to have a conversation in te reo and [to] feel confident with it" (Teacher, non-Māori, School E).

The limited progress that most tamariki in English-medium schools make in relation to *Te Aho Arataki Marau mō te Ako i Te Reo Māori–Kura Auraki*,[7] the curriculum guidelines for teaching and learning te reo Māori in Years 1–13 was acknowledged by one non-Māori pou reo. This teacher explained that they aspired for achievement in te reo Māori to align with what was expected in other learning areas.

> *In terms of the language side of things … at the moment, those curriculum levels are slightly under with our te reo language … My aspiration would be that te reo would fall into line with the other curriculum levels.* (Teacher, non-Māori, School J)

Many non-Māori pou reo had modest expectations when it came to language acquisition. For example, one pou reo who began by saying that they wanted tamariki to leave their school speaking "more confidently and competently than they do now", went on to say:

> *I guess what I want them to do is to be proud to be able to speak any te reo Māori … and to value the importance of the language and to treat it respectfully.* (Principal, non-Māori, School E)

Another non-Māori pou reo acknowledged that the aspirations they had for tamariki at their school, in terms of the ability to speak te reo Māori, were unlikely to be realised.

> *What I want is probably different than what I'm going to get. My aspiration is that kids would … leave being able to speak some Māori, but I don't think that's going to happen for all kids. So my aspiration for them is to have a knowledge of things Māori, and to be sensitive about things Māori, to enjoy things Māori, to just embrace that.* (Principal, non-Māori, School I)

7 https://tereomaori.tki.org.nz/Curriculum-guidelines

Amongst those pou reo who indicated that a desire to strengthen children's ability to speak te reo Māori had motivated them to provide instruction in te reo, one non-Māori pou reo explicitly linked this motivation with a particular commitment to supporting tamariki Māori to acquire their heritage language.

> *We have fantastic and brilliant, amazing reo pou ako in our kura kaupapa. But there aren't as many, I think, in the mainstream area, where a lot of our Māori students are.* (Teacher, non-Māori, School I)

This pou reo had chosen to work in an English-medium school rather than a kura kaupapa Māori because they felt they could make a positive difference for tamariki Māori there.

Commentary

The desire to fulfil the aspirations they had for tamariki motivated all pou reo to provide reo Māori learning opportunities. Pou reo wanted all tamariki to feel proud of who they are and provided structured formats in te reo Māori (e.g., pepeha) for acknowledging and celebrating children's identity, and for making connections to people and places.

Providing reo Māori learning opportunities was a way to recognise and incorporate aspects of Māori identity and culture into school life. However, pou reo Māori sometimes expressed concern that tamariki Māori in their schools did not feel happy and confident about being identified as Māori. This was more apparent in schools that were just beginning to grow their provision of te reo Māori teaching and learning opportunities.

In many cases, pou reo were, often without really being critically aware of it, seeking to prioritise access to te reo Māori for tamariki Māori. We had the feeling that some pou reo were unsure whether prioritising Māori interests might be frowned upon by colleagues or school leaders.

Many pou reo Māori aspired for te reo Māori to be considered an aspect of identity for non-Māori children too. Pou reo Māori hoped that this would have a positive impact on children's ability to form good relationships and increase understanding between Māori and non-Māori.

Most non-Māori pou reo aspired for tamariki Māori to feel that their language and culture were valued by their school community, and this motivated them to provide reo Māori learning opportunities. Likewise, non-Māori pou reo had aspirations for all tamariki to see the relevance and value that te reo Māori has for all New Zealanders.

Many pou reo—both Māori and non-Māori—had been motivated to take on their roles because of their desire to help tamariki learn te reo Māori, either as their heritage language or as an official language of Aotearoa. For at least some non-Māori pou reo, the motivation to provide tamariki with opportunities to learn te reo Māori stemmed from a desire to uphold the indigenous linguistic rights of tamariki Māori.

Although the pou reo did not refer directly to the Māori language goals stated in the *Maihi Karauna: The Crown's Strategy for Māori Language Revitalisation 2019–2023* (Te Puni Kōkiri et al., 2019) or *Tau Mai Te Reo: The Māori Language in Education Strategy* (Ministry of Education, 2020f), we saw clear synergies between these system-level Māori language goals and the reo Māori aspirations that pou reo had for tamariki.

The *Maihi Karauna*, which is intended to support the revitalisation of te reo Māori, specifies three "audacious goals" (Te Puni Kōkiri et al., 2019, p. 9). The first two goals apply to all New Zealanders and are about valuing the language and being able to communicate about basic things in te reo Māori. The third goal, which is focused on the Māori population, is considerably more ambitious than the first two.

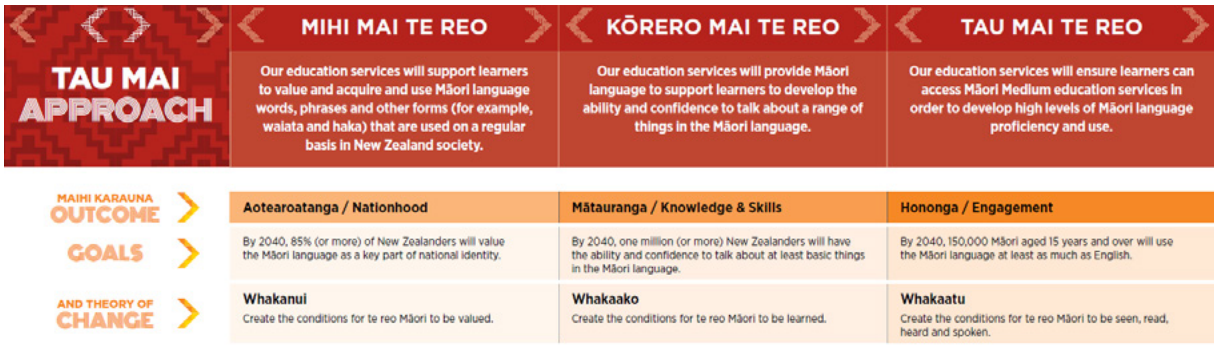
Audacious Goal 1: By 2040, 85 per cent of New Zealanders (or more) will value te reo Māori as a key element of national identity. (p. 11)

Audacious Goal 2: By 2040, one million New Zealanders (or more) will have the ability and confidence to talk about at least basic things in the Māori language. (p. 12)

Audacious Goal 3: By 2040, 150,000 Māori aged 15 and over will use the Māori language at least as much as English. (p. 14)

The Ministry of Education has integrated the three *Maihi Karauna* goals into the refreshed version of *Tau Mai Te Reo*, the Māori language in education strategy (Ministry of Education, 2020f). Figure 4 shows how the goals have been mapped onto the "Tau Mai Approach" (p. 3).

FIGURE 4 **Ministry of Education diagram showing how the Maihi Karauna goals map onto the Tau Mai Approach**



All pou reo were motivated by aspirations to support "learners to value and acquire and use Māori language words, phrases and other forms … that are used on a regular basis in New Zealand society": the goal for *Mihi Mai Te Reo* (Ministry of Education, 2020f, p. 3).

In addition, some pou reo were motivated by an aspiration for "learners to develop the ability and confidence to talk about a range of things in the Māori language": the goal for *Kōrero Mai Te Reo* (Ministry of Education, 2020f, p. 3).

In a few cases, pou reo aspired for tamariki to "develop high levels of Māori language proficiency and use": the goal for *Tau Mai Te Reo*. For all pou reo, their expectations for how proficient tamariki might become in te reo Māori while at primary school were influenced by their own reo proficiency and the extent of reo Māori provision in their schools. However, pou reo were often working towards longer-term aspirations for increasing reo provision, and were not limited to keeping the status quo.

Aspirations for the education system

As noted previously, the pou reo did not talk explicitly about system-level strategies that support the revitalisation of te reo Māori. However, their aspirations for te reo Māori were closely aligned with the goals specified within system-level strategy documents and it was clear that a commitment to revitalising and normalising te reo Māori within their schools had motivated many pou reo to become leaders in increasing reo Māori provision in their schools. This was true for both Māori and non-Māori pou reo. In addition, some non-Māori pou reo were motivated by a desire to honour Te Tiriti o Waitangi and to fulfil current legislative and curriculum expectations related to te reo and tikanga Māori (Ministry of Education, 2007, 2020a).

Te reo Māori is normalised in schools

Pou reo Māori perspectives

Pou reo Māori were motivated to grow te reo Māori in their schools because doing so supports the survival of language and culture for current and future generations of Māori. They saw contributing to the revitalisation of te reo Māori as a personal responsibility, where they could make a positive difference.

> *Mainly what I'm really wanting to do here, is grow the reo, but growing more so for us and our people … making sure our tikanga is kept alive and our reo through trying to pass it on to our kids, kei ngaro.* (Kaiako, Māori, School A)

> *You have this sense of responsibility like you feel like you really need to. You look at the marae and you know the language is, there are not many speakers here and that you are doing it for your people and for these kids and their future.* (Tumuaki, Māori, School A)

Pou reo Māori saw schools as an important domain to grow and normalise te reo Māori. One pou reo Māori described schools as a safe, secure place for the revitalisation of te reo Māori to occur. The pou reo believed that schools were places where all tamariki should have the opportunity to access reo Māori teaching and learning and have their identity celebrated. This was particularly important for tamariki who did not have opportunities to experience te reo and tikanga Māori outside of school.

> *For me it's about upholding the mana of our ancestors, kind of fighting the good fight on their behalf. And also being able to teach tamariki Māori who may not necessarily get the reo or the tikanga at home, and can come to school and that's where they learn to be who they are.* (Kaiako, Māori, School B)

> *When I first studied, the first question they asked me was, because I am a fluent speaker, why am I doing a mainstream course? I am pretty comfortable knowing that our Kura Kaupapa are doing well, our kids there are fine. But I really wanted to help our tamariki in mainstream.* (Kaiako, Māori, School C)

Pou reo Māori helped to normalise te reo and tikanga Māori in their schools through the fact of being pou reo who are Māori, and through practices that are influenced by mātauranga Māori including language, values, concepts, and ways of seeing the world. Pou reo who had previously worked in Māori-medium kura where te reo Māori is the language of instruction, brought the values, skills, and experiences from those settings into their practice in English-medium primary schools.

When pou reo make it fun for tamariki to learn te reo Māori at school, they are creating positive linguistic environments that help normalise the language for tamariki. A positive linguistic environment is one where te reo Māori use is welcomed and expected. Many pou reo talked about how important it was to them that tamariki enjoy learning about te reo and tikanga Māori at school.

> *The language and the tikanga need to be revitalised and used and taught and learned and normalised. I think schools are a really great place for that to happen. An unintimidating environment, a really secure*

and safe environment … and take part and make it really enjoyable and something the kids want to learn about, something that they're hungry to learn. (Whānau, Māori, School F)

Non-Māori pou reo perspectives

Like their Māori colleagues, some non-Māori pou reo clearly linked their motivation for growing te reo Māori within their schools with a commitment to revitalising and normalising te reo Māori.

It [being a pou reo] means that I'm helping to protect and preserve and extend the use of the language, and it's showing a commitment to my staff team, the wider school community but importantly to our Māori students that we are committed to making sure that their language is kept alive, and that we're doing our bit, our contribution, to making that happen. (Principal, non-Māori, School E)

A non-Māori pou reo, who spoke about the importance of keeping te reo Māori alive also acknowledged the role that learning about Aotearoa New Zealand's histories had played in helping them understanding the impact of colonisation on Māori and on te reo Māori. That learning helped them understand their responsibility—as a teacher—to support the revitalisation of te reo Māori.

Through doing that tikanga paper at the wānanga, like we did all that mahi around the land wars and the history and about how te reo was banned in schools … and it just really touched in here. And I just don't want it [te reo Māori] to be gone … It is our language as well, and it's really important that we keep it going and I don't want to see it get lost. (Teacher, non-Māori, School F)

Another non-Māori pou reo linked their goal to normalise the use of te reo Māori within their school with a broader aspiration for tamariki Māori and non-Māori children to normalise te reo Māori "in their whole lives, not just at school" (Teacher, non-Māori, School E).

Schools honour Te Tiriti o Waitangi

Honouring Te Tiriti o Waitangi was mentioned as a motivation for growing te reo Māori by non-Māori pou reo but not by pou reo Māori. As already mentioned, pou reo Māori were strongly motivated by other identity-related factors.

Non-Māori pou reo perspectives

Te reo Māori is protected as a taonga by Article 2 of Te Tiriti o Waitangi (Waitangi Tribunal, 1986). Therefore, for non-Māori, being an honourable Treaty partner necessarily involves (but is not limited to) seeking to protect te reo Māori. A strong commitment to honouring Te Tiriti o Waitangi had motivated some non-Māori pou reo to become champions for te reo Māori. A principal, when asked to talk about how they came to be a pou reo, explained that this was linked with their commitment to upholding the principles of Te Tiriti o Waitangi.

I came with a vision to this school … I had previously been at … [a school] where te reo and tikanga were valued. Then I went to a [different] school … and … I realised that they didn't share the same values as I did … and I … felt compromised at times in my beliefs about honouring the Treaty … I knew that I needed to … go to a place where I could actualise my beliefs. Because I had strong views on some things … So, I came with very clear ideas about what I wanted to do. (Principal, non-Māori, School E)

Like this principal, several other non-Māori pou reo acknowledged that their commitment to Te Tiriti o Waitangi had shaped their efforts to grow te reo Māori within their schools. For example, one teacher talked about how their bilingual vision for kura was framed within a Treaty partnership.

With our Treaty relationship it's [te reo Māori is] something that we should all be entitled to understand and know and be part of … So, when I became a teacher, that was always really important to me and so I had the vision … where all kura are … bilingual kura, where all kura have that access to both sides of the [Treaty] partnership. (Teacher, non-Māori, School D)

Another non-Māori pou reo, who positioned themself as a tangata Tiriti (a non-Māori person who seeks to honour and uphold their responsibilities to Te Tiriti o Waitangi), explained that they linked their moral responsibility for supporting te reo Māori with their commitment to Te Tiriti o Waitangi.

> *There is no doubt that we are called morally, as well as in our roles as employed indirectly by the state, to support [te reo] Māori, both for Māori and for non-Māori. I quite like the terms Tangata Whenua and tangata Tiriti. I think those two terms describe our position really well. So, tangata Tiriti gives some mana to non-Māori in Aotearoa. So, both that moral responsibility and an expectation from our Education Act … that this [supporting te reo Māori] is our duty.* (Principal, non-Māori, School B)

This pou reo also talked about the expectations stated within the Education and Training Act 2020 concerning the teaching and learning of te reo and tikanga Māori. The understanding that the Ministry of Education expects primary schools to provide instruction in tikanga and te reo Māori surfaced as a factor that had motivated others to become pou reo and is examined next.

Teachers are expected to provide instruction in te reo and tikanga Māori

Non-Māori pou reo perspectives

English-medium primary schools in Aotearoa New Zealand are expected to provide instruction in te reo and tikanga Māori (Ministry of Education, 2020a), and a few non-Māori pou reo indicated that they were motivated, at least in part, to provide tamariki with instruction in te reo and tikanga Māori because they understood that doing so was part of their job.

Specifically, the Education and Training Act 2020 states that one of a board's primary objectives in governing a school is "to ensure that the school gives effect to Te Tiriti o Waitangi, including by … taking all reasonable steps to make instruction available in tikanga Māori and te reo Māori" (section 127). Consistent with the 2020 Act, *The New Zealand Curriculum* (*NZC*) includes the following statement:

> The curriculum acknowledges the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi and the bicultural foundations of Aotearoa New Zealand. All students have the opportunity to acquire knowledge of te reo Māori me ōna tikanga. (Ministry of Education, 2007, p. 9)

A few of the non-Māori pou reo we spoke with referred to the place of te reo and tikanga Māori within *NZC* and noted that this focus had shaped their classroom practice and motivated them to learn more about te reo Māori.

> *I feel that teaching te reo is part of the curriculum, and something that I knew nothing about … having been [overseas] for a long time. So, I decided that as a teacher … part of my job is to be able to teach it [te reo Māori], and I couldn't at that time because I had no language whatsoever. So, I have been studying it [at Te Wānanga o Aotearoa].* (Teacher, non-Māori, School H)

A similar sentiment was expressed by a non-Māori pou reo who had recently immigrated to Aotearoa New Zealand. They felt that it was a priority to build their knowledge of te reo Māori for their career as an educator.

> *Because I've arrived to the country and wanted to pursue my teaching here … I've realised the importance of building up as much as I can in … my [te reo and tikanga Māori] subject knowledge … Because … it's [te reo and tikanga Māori is] very much a priority for me in my development and in my career.* (Teacher, non-Māori, School J)

Another non-Māori pou reo acknowledged *Our Code Our Standards: Code of Professional Responsibility and Standards for the Teaching Profession* (Education Council, 2017). They credited these standards with making expectations about the teaching of te reo Māori clearer and suggested that, for some, this may have been a motivation to grow their teaching of te reo and tikanga Māori.

> *I think that's come through with more prescriptive things in terms of the teaching standards. It's [te reo and tikanga Māori] now right at the top of that [those standards], whereas before it [te reo and tikanga Māori] used to get lost. But now we're actually pinpointing what is it you do to meet those standards around being bicultural in New Zealand.* (Principal, non-Māori, School I)

Commentary

All pou reo aspired for schools to become domains where te reo Māori is expected, valued, and prioritised. For Māori, this aspiration was closely connected to identity, and, as such, their aspirations were personal, collective, and intergenerational. Both Māori and non-Māori pou reo believed that schools had an important role to play in supporting the revitalisation of te reo Māori and this motivated them to strengthen their provision of reo Māori learning opportunities.

Understandings of Te Tiriti o Waitangi and the responsibilities that are associated with being an honourable treaty partner, or a tangata Tiriti, motivated some non-Māori teachers and school leaders to actively support the provision of reo Māori teaching and learning opportunities. A few non-Māori pou reo were motivated to provide tamariki with instruction in te reo and tikanga Māori because they understood that doing so was required by *NZC* (Ministry of Education, 2007).

The kōrero from non-Māori pou reo, for whom te reo Māori is not a heritage language, highlights the value of linking learning areas such as te reo Māori and Aotearoa New Zealand's histories to educate people about the impacts of colonisation on te reo Māori. This includes the historical role of this country's education system in deterring the use of te reo Māori and disrupting intergenerational transmission within whānau. This knowledge can provide both pou reo and tamariki with a better understanding of why it is important to grow te reo Māori in schools.

The kōrero shared by non-Māori pou reo suggests that better understanding the legislative and curriculum expectations related to the teaching of te reo and tikanga Māori may also motivate some teachers to provide instruction in these areas.

Ko ngā tikanga mahi tino whai hua mō te whakaako me te ako i te reo Māori i ngā kura auraki tuatahi
Practices that create a positive impact on Māori language teaching and learning in English-medium primary schools

In this section of the report, we share some good practices for growing te reo Māori in English-medium primary schools. Drawing on our kōrero with pou reo at the 10 schools involved in this research and the *He reo ka tipu i ngā kura—Growing te reo Māori in schools: Literature review*, we have chosen to focus on four good practices. These good practices were:

- strategically planning to grow te reo Māori in schools
- involving whānau and communities in Māori language planning and programmes
- taking steps to raise the profile and status of te reo Māori
- providing reo Māori teaching and learning.

These practices also align with key elements of language revitalisation, including status, critical awareness, acquisition, and use (Bright et al., 2019).

We begin with a snapshot view of where the schools were in terms of strategically planning to grow te reo Māori. This is followed by stories of how these schools were involving whānau in the development and implementation of their reo Māori plans and programmes, raising the profile and status of te reo Māori in their schools, and providing reo Māori teaching and learning. We also describe some of the main challenges that pou reo and schools were experiencing during their journeys to grow te reo Māori.

Strategically planning to grow te reo Māori in schools

At a school level, Māori language planning should include the school community's Māori language needs and aspirations, a set of goals, and a plan for achieving these goals in manageable steps (Bright et al., 2021; Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori, 2017). School-level Māori language planning includes, but is not limited to, the development and implementation of reo Māori learning programmes. Māori language planning advice from agencies such as Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori encourages the inclusion, in planning, of the language-revitalisation elements of status, critical awareness, acquisition, use, and corpus (Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori, 2019).

Through talking with pou reo, we learnt that the schools in this study had engaged in the language planning process to varying degrees and were at different stages on their journeys to grow te reo Māori. Their progress can be broadly defined in three stages of growth: emerging, establishing, and flourishing.

Schools that were flourishing had made the most progress with growing te reo Māori. They had the most comprehensive language plans and had been working towards their aspirations and goals for many years. Their Māori language planning provided a framework for involving whānau in the development and implementation of reo Māori programmes, raising the profile and status of te reo Māori in schools, and increasing teacher reo Māori proficiency and confidence.[8]

The pou reo in these schools had established strong relationships with their communities and worked with them to identify their aspirations for te reo Māori. Building on their community's aspirations, the schools in this group had well-planned long-term strategic approaches in place that included clear goals for te reo Māori. They had embedded good practices to support reo growth in their school culture and curriculum.

In these schools, the pou reo understood that they could not grow te reo Māori without buy-in from whānau. Likewise, they understood that getting this buy-in takes time and that their planning needed to take this into consideration.

> *Before I was a tumuaki here, I … taught in Māori medium and then came across here and the community wasn't … quite ready … this is a long time ago, maybe 15 years ago. They weren't ready for the change for like rūmaki and reo. So we had to just pace ourselves and get the buy in from the community, which took a long time … So we started … with bringing in more tikanga … bringing it into the curriculum. The connection with the marae here and instilling the stories about the place … And then in the last probably five years, we got a little bit of a push from the community, wanting more reo. That's when we started … So we had to really gauge our community first. Because we had colleagues of ours, really staunch kura kaupapa [advocates] like 'get in there and make it a kura kaupapa'. But we knew that if we went down that track, we would have lost our community. We wanted to bring our people with us on the journey … It is a long journey and I think we are in a pretty good place now.*
>
> (School A)

8 Late in the production of this report, the Ministry of Education published *Hei Raukura Mō te Mokopuna* which is a strategy to strengthen te reo matatini and pāngarau across te reo Māori education pathways. Schools may find this helpful when developing their Māori language plans. https://kauwhatareo.govt.nz/en/resource/hei-raukura-mo-te-mokopuna/

These schools, which had laid strong foundations through their long-term Māori language plans, were at a point where they were rapidly growing their capacity and capability to provide reo Māori teaching and learning. Their vision was clear and shared with staff and the community. All the schools in this group had well-established bilingual/Māori-medium classes and two of these schools were led by tumuaki who were pou reo Māori.

Those schools in the "establishing" stage of growth were engaging in language planning. They were making good progress growing te reo Māori but were not as far along as the "flourishing" schools. In these schools, pou reo—including school leaders, kaiako, and teachers—were having conversations about growing te reo Māori and were increasingly involving their communities in Māori language planning and programmes.

At one of these schools, the pou reo had been advocating for years to start a bilingual class. They had built up support in their community and were finally starting to see signs of willingness for change in their school. They were working on their overall Māori language plan and strategy for the school.

> *We're going to have a hui about our vision—because he [the principal] has indicated that he wants to take it to the next step.* (Kaiako, Māori, School I)

The remaining schools were in what we have termed an "emerging" stage of reo Māori growth. The pou reo at these schools were keen to make positive changes and had plans for growing te reo Māori within their own classrooms. Their schools, however, did not yet have a clear shared vision or cohesive long-term plan for their next steps. As a result, the schools in this group were taking ad hoc approaches to reo Māori growth.

> *The one [teacher] next door … she does something every single day. She does the calendar and days of the week and so on, and she does her counting songs. Everyone's doing a bit, but I don't know what … There's a lot happening but there's no cohesive plan.* (Kaiako, Māori, School H)

None of the schools we visited had enough reo Māori speakers to be able to provide moderate or high levels of immersion in te reo Māori across the whole school. Therefore, Māori language planning had to take account of existing reo Māori capability, and consideration needed to be given to how best to utilise and grow this capability in different parts of the schools.

Our kōrero with pou reo indicate that some schools wanted additional help with language planning. For example, pou reo in several schools talked about wanting to build relationships with other schools to form networks and share knowledge about how to grow te reo Māori. The pou reo in these schools had tried, with varying degrees of success, to reach out to local schools for support. For the pou reo in two of the schools, kāhui ako provided a mechanism for connecting with other pou reo in their area. However, some pou reo were disappointed that their attempts to establish relationships with neighbouring schools had not been more successful. One of the pou reo suggested it might take outside intervention to bring all the local schools together (for example, through an iwi education plan).

> *The only other thing I think we really lack is another kura or another whānau that we can whakapapa with and model from. Because we are growing our own waka here. We are making this up as we go along. We're only using our combined experience through years of teaching and bilingual education and building this.* (Kaiako, Māori, School I)

Within the following sections of this report, we provide insights into the ways in which schools were developing and operationalising their plans and approaches for growing te reo Māori. We begin by exploring how schools worked to involve whānau and the wider hapori in the development and implementation of their Māori language plans and programmes.

Commentary

Māori language plans need to suit each school's unique context and must reflect and address their community's needs and aspirations. The kōrero from pou reo suggests that creating opportunities for pou reo to share knowledge about Māori language planning would be useful to assist them with identifying practical and innovative ways to grow te reo Māori in their schools.

Good practice 1: Strategically planning how to grow te reo Māori in schools

Strategically planning to grow te reo Māori in schools involves:

- having a clear vision for reo Māori growth that is shared with staff and the community
- including whānau aspirations for te reo Māori in reo Māori plans
- obtaining buy-in and support for reo Māori plans and programmes from whānau and the school community
- seeking support from other pou reo when needed.

Involving whānau and communities in Māori language planning and programmes

The pou reo described a range of innovative ways in which they had involved whānau and the local hapori in the development and implementation of their Māori language plans and programmes. This included understanding and responding to whānau aspirations for their tamariki, recognising the role of whānau as pou reo in the school, supporting tamariki and whānau to learn te reo Māori together, and developing reciprocal relationships within the local hapori.

Understanding and responding to whānau aspirations for te reo Māori

Some pou reo worked closely with their boards of trustees to help them understand the aspirations that whānau had for te reo Māori. Because boards of trustees consist largely of parents and whānau, they are well placed to gather information from the wider school whānau and feed that back to pou reo.

> *Last year, the board of trustees put on a night asking the community what they needed to see more in the school and just about everybody said more [reo] Māori.* (Kaiako, Māori, School F)

Pou reo also created opportunities for whānau to share their aspirations with schools directly, through inviting whānau to hui specifically for this purpose.

Understanding and incorporating whānau aspirations into language planning could have a powerful impact on strengthening schools' provision of reo Māori learning opportunities. At one school, a commitment to honouring whānau aspirations had led not only to the expansion of their bilingual syndicate/unit but also to the establishment of classes that provided higher levels of reo Māori immersion.

> *Where our school was at the beginning, to how far it has come now in the demands of the whānau, wanting their tamariki in the bilingual unit … Now we have … 10 new bilingual classrooms … Ten out of [the] 21 classrooms [in the school].* (Kaiako, Māori, School C)

At another school, a group of pou reo who were fluent reo Māori speakers developed a "te ao Māori" teaching approach. They found this approach aligned well with the aspirations that whānau had for their tamariki, and the positive response from whānau prompted the school to increase the number

of "te ao Māori" classes offered. The next step for these pou reo was to gain approval for their "te ao Māori" classes to be formally recognised as bilingual classes.

> *All our tamariki in our three [te ao Māori] classes, their whānau have opted in. So it was opened up to the kura whānui, and anyone who thinks they'd like to have their child taught under a te ao Māori umbrella can opt in. So, this is our second year and we've got three classes now, and next year we are going up to five.* (Kaiako, Māori, School I)

Responding to whānau aspirations for te reo Māori did, however, pose some challenges for schools. In some of the schools, pou reo were responding to challenges by strategically planning the steps they would need to take to meet whānau aspirations, adopting innovative approaches, and implementing changes over time. For one pou reo, a tumuaki, being strategic involved recruiting and appointing reo Māori speakers to enable their school to transition—over time—to providing the higher levels of reo Māori immersion that whānau aspired to.

> *We've got two Level 2 classes and the rest are Level 3 and we are in a transition to move all of them to Level 2. However, we need to build our capability amongst the kaiako first to be able to deliver that level of reo. Because a lot of them are still learning. So, we have just hired another teacher who speaks fluent reo for next year, which is exciting so we can add another [Level 2] class on.* (Tumuaki, Māori, School C)

In addition, many whānau are not familiar with the process of acquiring a second language. In schools with bilingual or rumaki classes, the pou reo worked with whānau to help them understand the process of learning a second language, the time and commitment required, and what to expect in terms of their child's reo proficiency by the time they leave school.

With growing interest from whānau in reo Māori provision in primary schools, a challenge for schools and pou reo is to strategically plan to meet whānau aspirations when possible, while at the same time managing expectations.

Recognising the role of whānau as pou reo

In some cases, the pou reo we spoke with were whānau members. These pou reo had become actively involved in the development and implementation of their schools' reo Māori plans and programmes to support their tamariki.

One parent had become a pou reo through their commitment to and support of the school's kapa haka. Their involvement with the kapa haka had then motivated them to begin studying te reo Māori at Te Wānanga o Aotearoa alongside other pou reo from the same school. This pou reo Māori talked about the reciprocal gains associated with being part of the reo Māori teaching and learning community at their children's school. They supported their tamariki and the school, and at the same time enjoyed the linguistic benefits of being in reo Māori learning environments alongside their tamariki.

At another school, a parent who was also a pou reo Māori explained how the reo Māori aspirations that they had for their own tamariki had helped shape their school's reo Māori journey. The pou reo and their partner had committed to bringing their tamariki up speaking te reo Māori. Their commitment extended to advocating for their tamariki to have access to bilingual education at their local school, and eventually that school went on to establish a reo rua class.

> *Ko tētahi o aku pātai tuatahi [ki te kura], he tamaiti reo rua tēnei, me pēhea koutou e tautoko i tērā … He aha te take ka whakarerekē tō rātou ao ki te kura nā te mea i tipu ake rātou i tēnei ao, te ao Māori ki te kāinga. He momo whawhai, engari tō mātou waimarie i tautoko mai te tumuaki.*
>
> (Whānau, Māori, School B)

Tamariki and whānau learning te reo Māori together

Pou reo were using a variety of approaches to establish connections between school and home to support reo Māori learning for tamariki and their whānau. They found that a good first step to encourage whānau to use te reo Māori at home was through learning and reciting karakia together. Pou reo Māori shared stories about how tamariki were leading the way for their whānau by learning karakia at school, then incorporating karakia into their home routines.

> *We have had success with that with whānau commenting to us, 'We never used to say karakia before dinner, now these kids won't let us eat until ...'. So, it's making those home and kura connections because for a lot of our whānau, at home they have no reo ... So, the kids are now leading the way for them.*
>
> (Kaiako, Māori, School I)

> *We've just started doing a karakia kai before we eat our evening meal, which has been really good. I've been forgetting quite often but now all the kids are like 'Mum Mum the karakia'. And they've been wanting to do it and that's been great ... they're into it, they didn't use to be, but now they've almost tipped over into thinking it's quite cool.* (Whānau, Māori, School F)

At one school, the pou reo regularly included an invitation in the school newsletter for whānau to request to have bilingual (Māori/English) reading books sent home with their child.[9] This initiative enabled parents and children to support each other in learning to read and understand te reo Māori.

At another school, with an established Māori-medium class, parents who had enrolled their children in this class were required to commit to attending whānau hui. A key function of these hui, which were whānau run and very well attended, was for whānau to support each other to strengthen their ability to kōrero Māori.

> *The [Māori-medium class] enrolment form is quite explicit about the expectations that we are enrolling the whānau not the child ... If parents want their kids to be on this journey, they have got to commit to being on it too.* (Principal, non-Māori, School B)

For some whānau, a lack of reo Māori and feelings of whakamā could be a barrier to being more involved at school. Pou reo who were aware of this tried hard to make whānau feel welcome.

> *When I look at our tamariki ... their parents ... [are] very very whakamā as soon as they come near us, or out on the deck or if you kōrero to them. Some of them are really 'Oh, no no no, I can't speak' ... I said to them, it's not about having that shame that you can't come near us and learn this. It's about bringing our ancestors back and creating and making what they originally had.*
>
> (Kaiako, Māori, School I)

One of the many benefits of extending reo Māori learning into homes is that it can support intergenerational learning and use of te reo Māori between tamariki and their whānau, regardless of whether whānau choose to be closely involved with the school.

Reciprocal relationships with the community

Many of the pou reo we spoke with took a holistic approach to teaching and learning te reo Māori by focusing on tamariki along with their whānau, hapori, hapū, and iwi where possible. In some cases, multiple generations of the same whānau had attended a school, and pou reo felt a strong responsibility to look after such relationships.

9 Schools in Aotearoa New Zealand can freely access bilingual and reo Māori instructional reading books from Down the Back of the Chair, the Ministry of Education's online catalogue of teaching and learning resources for schools, kura, and early childhood education centres. https://www.thechair.co.nz/login/moe-thechair

Pou reo built trusting and reciprocal relationships by being kanohi kitea or "seen faces", known within the community. Many of the pou reo Māori we talked to were actively working to support and grow te reo Māori within their communities as part of their deep commitment to revitalising te reo Māori. In some cases, pou reo aspired to establish reciprocal relationships with their community but acknowledged that they needed some support to do so.

> *I'd like some more support around whānau hui and whānau engagement and how we can connect in a way that is more than just 'give us all your knowledge' ... to not just be a transmission of information but in a relationship.* (Kaiako, Māori, School D)

While pou reo supported their hapori in many ways, the hapori also supported the pou reo in developing and implementing their Māori language plans and programmes. The following are examples of the mutually supportive relationships pou reo were involved in within their communities.

A close relationship with the local iwi and marae

In one region, the two pou reo Māori at the local school—one of whom was from the area—talked about the strong responsibility they felt to support their community and tamariki to keep te reo and tikanga Māori alive.

> *Our relationship is really strong with the iwi ... because we give, and the marae gives to us. We can go down there anytime, open up the doors, do writing down there ... Or we can go down there and draw the tukutuku panels. It's like having another space that our kids feel naturally comfortable with.*
> (Tumuaki, Māori, School A)

The pou felt that maintaining a strong relationship with the iwi and local marae was very important. In this case, the school involved benefited because the relationship with the iwi meant that all tamariki were welcome at the marae and were able to regularly spend time there.

Iwi stories in the local curriculum

In one of the schools, the pou reo noted that relationships with the community had changed and become more positive over time as the school did more work within the community. By providing kapa haka, māra kai, and other opportunities for whānau to be involved, the school helped the community develop a sense of belonging that they had previously lacked. Because of this improved relationship, the local iwi had shared local tīpuna and iwi stories with pou reo, who were able to take their learning back to school and create localised curriculum. The school also hired community members to share their knowledge and support kaiako with their reo and tikanga learning.

Commentary

Establishing and maintaining reciprocal relationships between schools and whānau and local hapori was an important avenue for strengthening the provision of reo Māori teaching and learning opportunities in schools and in communities.

Our kōrero with pou reo suggests that schools are finding innovative context-specific ways to involve whānau and the local hapori in the development and implementation of their reo Māori programmes.

Pou reo at several schools acknowledged that building relationships with whānau, hapū, or iwi or other types of Māori communities was an area in which they had encountered challenges and needed additional support. For example, some pou reo found it difficult to build long-term reciprocal relationships with whānau in an intermediate school setting where tamariki only attend for 2 years before they move on to secondary school. It is also important to note that, in the regions we visited, the local hapū or iwi were not always able to engage with schools.

Good practice 2: Involving whānau and communities in Māori language planning and programmes

Involving whānau and communities in Māori language planning and programmes can be done through:

- ensuring whānau aspirations are included in reo Māori planning
- welcoming whānau into schools as pou reo
- supporting tamariki and whānau to learn te reo Māori together at home
- developing reciprocal relationships that benefit the school and the community.

Raising the profile and status of te reo Māori in schools and communities

In this section of the report, we look at the ways pou reo have been working to raise the profile and status of te reo Māori in schools and communities. This focus on profile and status—a key element in language revitalisation—is necessary to understand and address the negative impacts that colonisation and racism have had and continue to have on people's attitudes and beliefs about te reo Māori.

The strategies and approaches that pou reo were employing to raise the profile and status of te reo Māori in their schools included: leading the way forward; valuing pou reo and supporting their work; prioritising time for teaching and learning te reo Māori; increasing the visibility of te reo Māori at school; encouraging positive attitudes in children and communities; and challenging racism and negative attitudes towards te reo Māori.

Leading the way forward

We found that school leaders (tumuaki, principals, and members of school leadership teams) played an essential role in raising the profile and status of te reo Māori in their school communities. Schools that had developed successful reo Māori programmes were typically led by tumuaki and principals who had a clear vision for te reo Māori within their schools and plans in place for realising this. These pou reo were often speakers and/or learners of te reo Māori themselves, and they valued and supported the work of other pou reo.

A strong vision for te reo Māori

Leaders who were effectively growing te reo Māori in their schools had a strong guiding vision and were conscious of the need to take others along with them. Such leaders shared ideas and planning with kaiako and teachers, whose job it was to bring the vision to life for tamariki in their classrooms.

> *I have to say it's our tumuaki and our senior management team. It's her vision [for te reo and tikanga Māori]. Once you see her vision and understand it, you go 'Right, our boss is for our community and definitely for our whānau and our tamariki' … The tautoko of our staff makes that vision come true.*
> (Kaiako, Māori, School C)

Pou reo in school leadership positions also set expectations for all teachers to support the teaching and learning of te reo Māori so that everyone was working towards a common goal.

> *It's directed by the leadership … that's how it started … [the teachers] have the understanding that they have to support the language in their classrooms as well in order to support the children in our [bilingual] class, which is really good.* (Kaiako, Māori, School B)

> *Ko te tautoko a te kura. Kāore he mea tua atu i tērā. Mēnā kei reira te tautoko o te kura me ngā kaiako, te tumuaki, kei te whārangi ōrite, kāore he whawhai.* (Whānau, Māori, School B)

Another way in which school leaders sought to realise their vision for te reo Māori was through deliberately and strategically appointing teachers and kaiāwhina reo who had knowledge of te reo and tikanga Māori. Further details about this approach are provided later, in the section that focuses on building teacher reo Māori proficiency and confidence.

Role modelling

School leaders were role models for their staff. When leaders committed to learning te reo Māori themselves they showed how much they valued the language, and they raised the status of te reo Māori for others. According to one non-Māori pou reo, this type of role modelling by their principal, who was learning te reo Māori with other principals in the area, helped motivate teachers to learn te reo Māori.

> *I think, unless we get our principals and DPs and everyone modelling that [commitment to learning te reo Māori] and doing it, it is easy for teachers to not do it.* (Teacher, non-Māori, School D)

Valuing pou reo and supporting their work

Ensuring that pou reo had the support they needed to do their jobs was another way in which school leaders elevated the profile and status of te reo Māori. It was especially important that pou reo Māori received support from school leaders because they were more likely to being doing additional work to educate their non-Māori colleagues. This support took different forms and required an awareness of staff attitudes towards and beliefs about te reo Māori.

Some school leaders raised the status of te reo Māori by creating dedicated positions to recognise the knowledge and skills of pou reo. In one school, the principal created a new position called "official lead teacher for te reo and tikanga Māori provision", to which additional remuneration (in the form of a salary unit[10]) was attached. The principal explained that they had decided to create such a position in their school to show how much they valued te reo and tikanga Māori.

> *Because I rely on [that teacher's] skill and knowledge, she has a management unit. I didn't consult on that, I made it as a decision myself, to make sure that she is recognised with a leadership position because it [te reo and tikanga Māori] is important.* (Principal, non-Māori, School E)

Some of the pou reo Māori had found that their non-Māori colleagues expected them to be reo and tikanga experts, regardless of their age, knowledge, abilities, experience, or access to Māori networks. In a few cases, school leaders who were critically aware of the dynamics amongst their staff spoke about how non-Māori teachers often expected kaiako Māori to be their school's unofficial resident reo and tikanga experts.

One pou reo Māori talked about how they had made a point of occasionally correcting their colleagues' assumptions.

> *Every now and then I like dropping in the, 'Oh no, I don't know. I'll have to find out.' And they go, 'But you're Māori, you should know this.'* (Kaiako, Māori, School I)

School leaders supported pou reo Māori by managing their colleagues' expectations, assumptions, and requests for reo and tikanga Māori-related support. For example, a non-Māori principal made sure to remind other teachers not to take advantage of Māori colleagues when it came to strengthening their own understandings of te reo and tikanga Māori.

> *There is a huge respect for the mana of our kaiako Māori [but] I don't like them being used, like they are not the be all and end all of things Māori in the school. Recently we had a teacher only day and*

10 The Ministry of Education provides schools with salary units which they can allocate as permanent or fixed-term additions to teachers' salaries (Ministry of Education, 2021a).

> *I revisited some of our expectations [in relation to te reo and tikanga Māori] and what the code of practice says, the Teaching Council, and I reiterated it is not the job of the Māori teachers to lead this for you. You have got to do it.* (Principal, non-Māori, School B)

Actions like this elevate the profile and status of te reo Māori because they clearly signal that the time and knowledge of pou reo Māori are valuable and not to be taken for granted. They also remind teachers of their own responsibilities to educate themselves in relation to te reo and tikanga Māori.

School leaders also supported pou reo by providing them with the mandate and the backing that they required to do their jobs. Many of the pou reo we spoke with had experienced negative reactions in response to their efforts to grow te reo Māori. Support from leaders was very important when anticipating and facing push back from colleagues and communities. Knowing that the principal or senior leaders would back them helped pou reo to continue with their work.

> *That was a big help, knowing that you've got the support of the senior staff and the principal.*
> (Kaiāwhina reo, Māori, School J)

Pou reo also acknowledged the importance of having the support of senior leaders when it came to managing the anxiety that could accompany their efforts to elevate the profile and status of te reo Māori. A non-Māori pou reo who had been concerned about the possibility of negative reactions from parents was able to embrace the opportunity that te wiki o te reo afforded for elevating the profile and status of the language, because they had the backing of their syndicate leader.

> *This week [te wiki o te reo] we've done a lot of te reo in the class, and I feel a little bit nervous, because we've strayed away from reading every day in English … and we've done writing in te reo and things like that … Even though this [te reo Māori] is just as important and I checked with [my syndicate leader] and it was all fine … you still feel a little bit like, maybe I will get a complaint [from a parent].*
> (Teacher, non-Māori, School E)

Pou reo Māori also found it helpful when school leaders understood Māori ways of doing things and supported them without the pou reo having to justify their actions. For example, a pou reo told the story of how they had experienced push back from colleagues when they had been trying to follow the correct tikanga for a particular situation in their school. The principal, who in this case was non-Māori, was quick to support the pou reo to enact the correct tikanga without further justification or explanation. Actions like this, which show trust in and support of pou reo, assist in normalising tikanga Māori within school settings and elevating the profile and status of these important practices.

Prioritising time for teaching and learning te reo Māori

Integrating te reo Māori into the school timetable is an important way of signalling its status, and schools were taking different approaches to doing this. Some took a whole-school approach to integrating te reo Māori within the curriculum. For example, one school set a time each week when all the teachers provided their classes with reo Māori lessons, while another school hired a tutor to come in one day a week and move through each classroom providing reo lessons. In one of the bilingual schools, the tumuaki made it clear that all kaiako and teachers were to allocate time to teaching and learning the local mōteatea.

> *That's us saying to the kaiako if you're going to teach this, you need to put time into it. It is not just going to happen. Every morning you might take 20 minutes and do your mōteatea. They've got it written up on the walls. It's pretty awesome.* (Tumuaki, Māori, School A)

Even when schools were very supportive of te reo Māori, the crowded nature of the curriculum meant that pou reo often found it difficult to spend as much time focusing on these learning areas as they wanted to. One pou reo talked about the creative approach that they used to address this challenge.

> *We always plan to do more than we can … You get to week 10 and we've got 3 lessons left to do or whatever it might be … I think the way we get around that … though is by using those 10 minutes … before the bell, using those times to, like play a game [using te reo Māori] or … let's recap what we learnt [in an earlier session] . . .Those sorts of incidental times that we can use. But like with everything, there's always time pressures.* (Teacher, non-Māori, School J)

Another school had discovered that their creative approach to making time for and promoting te reo Māori had had an unintended consequence. This school had specified a common time each week in which teachers provided reo Māori lessons to all tamariki, but they offered kapa haka during the same session. This meant that tamariki had to choose between the two. Many tamariki Māori chose to go to kapa haka and the pou reo were aware that this was problematic as they were missing out on more formal opportunities to learn te reo Māori.

> *The way that we've set up teaching te reo means that many of our students who speak te reo are at kapa haka when that's happening, so we know that that's a limitation.* (Kaiako, Māori, School D)

The tumuaki (also a pou reo) of one of the schools with bilingual classes reflected on whether the traditional, mainstream school timetable was ideally suited to bilingual learning environments. They were considering exploring new ways of structuring their timetable to increase the focus on te reo Māori.

> *We're quite traditional in our timetables. So, I hear how other students learn in immersion settings, there's a lot of wānanga and things like that. I think to continue to grow the reo at [Māori language immersion] level 2, we are going to have to have some changes with the way that we structure the programmes with those classes.* (Tumuaki, Māori, School C)

Creating space in the school timetable for te reo Māori is an effective way of elevating the profile and status of these important learning areas. Creating this space is also essential if tamariki are to make progress as learners of te reo Māori. The kōrero that pou reo shared with us indicate that some schools are exploring creative ways of making time for te reo Māori. It is also clear that this is an area in which further support and guidance are needed.

Increasing the visibility of te reo Māori at school

Incorporating te reo Māori into a school's linguistic environment, including through written language, signals that te reo Māori is valued and has status in the school. We found that schools had identified a range of creative ways to do this. For example, one of the schools had adopted Māori values as their school values and displayed the kupu Māori prominently on the outside of their school buildings.

At another school, one of the non-Māori pou reo spoke about the impact that introducing Māori values had had on raising the profile and status of te reo Māori in their school. The teachers had incorporated the values into teaching and learning activities, their everyday conversations, and their reward system for tamariki (e.g., by awarding certificates to tamariki who demonstrated manaakitanga).

> *We introduced the Māori values a couple of years ago and they have become a big school focus, and something that we talk about and relate everything that we are doing to … I think that works really well, consistently through the school … Everybody talks with the kids about showing whanaungatanga, manaakitanga, kaitiakitanga, and ako.* (Teacher, non-Māori, School E)

In another school—with a high non-Māori population—a new principal had recently agreed to install bilingual signage in the school. A pou reo Māori at this school had tried to convince the previous principal to install bilingual signage but had been unsuccessful because that principal had not believed it was a worthwhile initiative. The pou reo saw the new principal's openness to te reo Māori as a positive move in increasing the status and use of the language in the school.

In yet another school, also with a high non-Māori population, tamariki acted as pou reo by asking for bilingual signage to normalise and raise the status of te reo Māori. This request triggered staff debates about whether having bilingual signage would be tokenistic. Ultimately, the tamariki were successful, and the staff decided that bilingual signage was a way to genuinely show that they valued te reo Māori and were trying to incorporate it in the school. However, the same pou reo also shared an example of how a tamaiti who could speak Māori, and did so at home, was not comfortable speaking Māori at this school. The pou reo saw this as an indication that the school was not yet viewed as a space for te reo Māori.

> *It might be just a perspective of what the world is accepting, or what this space here is accepting of, and if you want to be a part of it, then that's how you fit in.* (Kaiako, Māori, School D)

This suggests that signage, while an important indicator of a language's value, is not on its own enough. If tamariki Māori perceive that schools are not a place for te reo Māori, it is important for schools to consider why this is, and what actions they can take to create a positive linguistic environment for te reo Māori.

One school actively sought to foster a positive linguistic environment for te reo Māori by posing wero or challenges each week to kōrero Māori. The wero were written up and introduced weekly within each class and displayed prominently inside the school's main entrance. Teachers and tamariki were challenged to learn and use a new reo Māori kupu or phrase each week. Tamariki heard using this phrase were rewarded with a certificate at the weekly assembly to show how much the school valued their use of te reo Māori.

Encouraging positive attitudes in children and communities

Pou reo at several schools talked about the important role that children's positive attitudes towards te reo Māori had played when it came to positively influencing community attitudes. For example, the pou reo at a rural school explained how their Pākehā children had learnt to pronounce Māori words correctly, and were enjoying learning te reo Māori. These children were taking their learning home and sharing it with their families. The pou reo viewed this as a gentle and effective long-term approach to encouraging positive attitudes towards te reo Māori within multiple generations in their communities.

> *For our non-Māori tamariki, they just get immersed in it. It's just part of their life here, and then it filters through to their whānau. They go home speaking reo, they go home singing these 20-minute mōteatea, they go home telling the stories, they go home with all this language so then most of the time it impacts on their whānau in a positive way. I'd say 99%.* (Tumuaki, Māori, School A)

Similarly, a pou reo Māori at another school talked about how the sharing of learning between tamariki and whānau, in this case through karakia, was a good strategy for encouraging parents to think more positively about te reo Māori.

> *One girl in [a particular teacher's] class came back and told her she's learning a karakia from her mum who's in a … corporate job … She was so excited that she could do her mum's karakia. So, she was making connections with the te reo at school and the te reo that's happening at home with her mum. And that's what we want them to do when they go out, is that they take those things back home so it makes a change in their parents' thinking.* (Kaiāwhina, Māori, School J)

This notion of children as change agents was also evident in a story shared by a pou reo Māori who was the tumuaki of a small rural school. They believed the local children had played an important role in improving community attitudes towards te reo Māori over time and attributed this change to the children's enthusiasm for te reo Māori.

Tumuaki: They [the parents] were really anti. To hear some of them now that are still here, you wouldn't know that. But comments like, 'What the f*** are you teaching them Māori for when they can't even bloody read in English?' and all those sorts of things. But we're long over that now.

Kairangahau: What changed?

Tumuaki: Just persevering and the fact that the kids love it.

Kairangahau: The kids love it?

Tumuaki: Yeah. Absolutely.

Kairangahau: Do you think that is a big thing for the parents?

Tumuaki: Oh, everything. You have got to work everything through the kids. (School G)

Challenging racism and negative attitudes towards te reo Māori

The pou reo shared many stories about the positive effects that their work was having on raising the profile and status of te reo Māori in their schools. Often their stories included indications that societal attitudes towards te reo Māori were becoming more positive.

> *[The principal] said that when she started teaching kapa haka parents would pick their children up so that they weren't involved. But there is a new … generation of parents … who possibly don't have the knowledge [of te reo and tikanga Māori] but see it [those skills and knowledge] as an advantage.*
>
> (Teacher, non-Māori, School G)

However, along with these positive stories, we also heard about numerous instances where pou reo, both Māori and non-Māori, had experienced negative and racist attitudes about te reo Māori from within their schools and communities.

After providing some contextual information about the type and nature of these challenging experiences from the point of view of pou reo Māori and non-Māori, we share some examples of the strategies that pou reo used to counter negative attitudes towards te reo Māori.

Pou reo Māori experiences of racism

The pou reo Māori involved in this study were committed to creating safe, positive environments for tamariki to learn and use te reo Māori. However, they were aware of the negative attitudes that were held by some members of their school communities. In all three of the regions we visited, pou reo Māori shared stories about instances in which efforts to provide instruction in te reo Māori had prompted negative reactions from parents, tamariki, and even their own colleagues.

For pou reo Māori, racism in their communities looked like: devaluing of, and intolerance towards te reo Māori; derogatory beliefs about Māori; low expectations of Māori; tokenism; and subtle belittling behaviour. Racism could and often did manifest as microaggressions or "subtle, ambiguous and often unintentional acts of casual racism" (Blank et al., 2016, p. 14). A pou reo at one school described racism as being more subtle than in the past, but just as upsetting and offensive.

> *You don't get so much these days … the direct racist comments, but it's all done in jokes, it's really subtle …*
>
> (Kaiako, Māori, School B)

A tumuaki in a rural school with a large transient population felt that the people in the wider school community were completely unaware of their racism.

> *They haven't thought about it. It's just not in their psyche to even wonder, rather than be deliberately racist. They don't think they are. They'll make statements all the time … about being 'a fair employer to my Māori worker or whatever' … why would you even need to say … that? That just shows your racism in making that statement. But they're not aware of it, not in the slightest.* (Tumuaki, Māori, School G)

This tumuaki went on to talk about the perceptions that the wider population had about the place of te reo Māori in the curriculum, and the need to elevate its status.

> *I'm sick of hearing on the radio and TV that it's [te reo and tikanga Māori] an option, just like swimming … That annoys me. And too many people believe it, even teachers themselves, that it's not a curriculum area.* (Tumuaki, Māori, School G)

Another pou reo spoke about microaggressions by work colleagues, in the form of low staff expectations when it came to integrating te reo and tikanga Māori into classroom programmes.

> *When we have students [student teachers] … I look at their paperwork … what they're supposed to cover. I see 'integrated te reo Māori and tikanga'. All they're told is 'Say kia ora, and ka kite at the end of the day' and then they get it signed off by their associate teacher … That to me is a form of dumbing it [te reo and tikanga Māori] down, not giving it value, and a form of racism really.* (Kaiako, Māori, School B)

Several pou reo Māori also told us about negative attitudes they had experienced earlier in their careers. They spoke of instances in which parents had tried to remove te reo Māori—in any form—from classes, and on one occasion, a parent who had tried to keep their children out of a particular class because the kaiako was Māori.

Non-Māori pou reo experiences of racism against Māori

We spoke with non-Māori pou reo at eight of the 10 schools that we visited. At each of these schools, non-Māori pou reo told us that they had encountered negative attitudes towards te reo Māori from parents, tamariki, and sometimes even colleagues. Their experiences and concerns had some similarities, but also some important differences to those of pou reo Māori.

For non-Māori pou reo, negative attitudes from parents often involved parents questioning the value of te reo Māori. In some cases, pou reo provided examples, including recent ones, of parents requesting to have their child removed from class during kapa haka and karakia sessions.

> *I did have a parent say to me that her son wasn't going to do karakia with the rest of the class and he wasn't going to do kapa haka … So, this child still doesn't do kapa haka, he goes to the office and just reads a book or something … It's not him, it's his mum. I think he feels weird about it.*
>
> (Teacher, non-Māori, School J)

Some non-Māori pou reo talked about their anxiety about the possibility of negative responses from parents. One pou reo, who had experienced some push back from children after increasing their use of te reo Māori, reflected on how even the possibility that their parents might complain had made them question their approach.

> *Some of them [the tamariki] are really wowed by it [my use of te reo Māori]. But you can tell by the looks on a lot of the tamariki's faces that they don't agree, they are not happy about it. Part of my psyche is, 'Can I be bothered with parents now emailing me to say, actually their child is really sick of me speaking in [te reo Māori]?' Because there is still a group of parents that would be anti.*
>
> (Teacher, non-Māori, School F)

Being prepared to have critical conversations

In most instances, pou reo responded directly to racism in the form of negative attitudes towards te reo Māori by having conversations with those who had expressed these views. These conversations were led by both Māori and non-Māori pou reo.

Being prepared was key to having these conversations, most of which were with colleagues and parents. The pou reo who were able to respond quickly and confidently reminded people of key messages including:

- We live in Aotearoa New Zealand, which has an indigenous people and culture.
- As good Te Tiriti o Waitangi partners, teachers have a responsibility to teach te reo Māori.
- Te reo Māori is part of the curriculum in Aotearoa New Zealand.

For example, one non-Māori pou reo told us about how they had responded to a complaint from a parent about their children being taught te reo Māori. They said, "I just explained [to the parent] that we're a bicultural country actually … and that's [teaching te reo Māori] our responsibility as a Treaty partner" (Teacher, non-Māori, School E).

In one school, a small group of pou reo, both Māori and non-Māori, reflected on how they had responded when some of their non-Māori colleagues had resisted incorporating te reo Māori into their classes. The following conversation amongst the pou reo shows how they challenged their colleagues' views while at the same time trying to find some common ground.

Teacher (non-Māori): I have some teachers say to me, 'It's not my culture, so why should I learn it, and why should I teach it to my students if it is not something that is my culture or what I have been brought up with?' So, they refuse.

Kairangahau: How do you respond to that?

Teacher (non-Māori): Well, I guess you can only give so much, you can only say so much, you can only share so much, and it's just about having those frank conversations with them. And just continuing to do so. And if they choose to come to us and get some ideas on what they could do to add little bits in then ka pai.

Kaiako (Māori): I remind them that they are in Aotearoa. I say, 'You're in Aotearoa, this is our indigenous people, this is our indigenous culture.' And I say that this is also part of the curriculum, Te Tiriti o Waitangi. I say, we are under a code of ethics as well. So, I have said to any teacher that comes to me with their raru and take about how they don't want to be teaching it, I remind them of what their obligation is as a kaiako.

Kaiako (Māori): Conversations I've had are very minimal, but I've said, 'Well what is your culture then? Bring your culture in and let's share our cultures together.' There's no point sitting over there and just saying, 'I refuse that.' What can you bring that could help you to understand what it is to bring a culture in, to bring your world into our world and let's merge them together. (School I)

At another school, a non-Māori pou reo talked about the creative approach they had employed after initially fielding some negative responses from colleagues about a request for all teachers to spend the night at a local marae.

> *I presented the concept [of spending the night at a local marae]. A couple of people said, 'So you are expecting us to stay overnight?' And a couple of people thought that wasn't a reasonable request. And so I left it for a couple of months and then I came back and I said, 'You know, I would really value us having another think about that.' And it had shifted, and so we went and nobody regretted going … But if I had been bruised enough by that first response [from colleagues] not to have taken it back again, I would have missed the opportunity for everybody. So, I think sometimes you have just got to weather that storm, bring it back and say why it is important and then hope that you get buy in.*
>
> (Principal, non-Māori, School F)

The importance of persevering when striving to counter negative attitudes towards te reo Māori was commented on by several pou reo. These pou reo understood that change could take time but felt that it was well worth making the effort.

Commentary

Pou reo in English-medium primary schools have an important role to play in raising the profile and status of te reo Māori and shaping the beliefs and attitudes of tamariki and communities towards the language.

The pou reo involved in this study encouraged people to value te reo Māori by demonstrating leadership, setting expectations, enabling others, and making sure that te reo Māori was visible in their schools. Kaiako and teachers taught te reo Māori in ways that encouraged positive attitudes in tamariki, who carried that positivity about the Māori language and culture home to their whānau.

In communities that valued te reo Māori, schools were working hard to keep up with the demand from whānau for more reo Māori learning opportunities. However, it was not uncommon for pou reo to experience racism from people in their communities that was directed at Māori and te reo Māori. It is therefore important for pou reo to be aware that their efforts to strengthen the provision of te reo Māori may be met by negative responses from parents, tamariki, and even colleagues. By being aware, teachers and school leaders can better prepare themselves to respond constructively to such responses.

Good practice 3: Raising the profile and status of te reo Māori

Raising the profile and status of te reo Māori involves pou reo:

- leading the way forward and taking others along with them
- supporting others who are actively working to grow te reo Māori
- advocating to increase the visibility of te reo Māori at school
- encouraging positive attitudes towards te reo Māori in children, so that children share their positivity and learning with those at home
- being prepared to have critical conversations to challenge racist assumptions and ideas.

Providing reo Māori teaching and learning

This section of the report focuses on the provision of reo Māori teaching and learning.

We begin by looking at how the schools involved in the study provided tamariki with opportunities for learning te reo Māori. They did this in two ways: through classes in designated reo Māori domains; and

through providing reo and tikanga Māori experiences. Providing teaching and learning for tamariki in te reo Māori addresses a key element of language revitalisation: acquisition. It also makes an important contribution to raising the status of te reo Māori in schools.

Providing tamariki with opportunities to learn te reo Māori relies on teachers having enough proficiency in te reo Māori to do this. A major challenge for schools lies in securing kaiako and teachers who can speak te reo Māori. For the most part, teachers are having to learn te reo Māori as they teach it.

In the latter half of this section, we look at strategies that schools were using to build their capacity and capability to provide reo Māori teaching and learning opportunities. They did this through increasing the reo Māori proficiency and confidence of their existing staff and through growing their own reo Māori teachers from within the community. Some schools were also providing extra reo Māori teaching support in classrooms.

Providing reo Māori teaching and learning for tamariki

Creating permanent reo Māori domains in schools

Four of the schools we visited provided reo Māori learning for tamariki in permanent reo Māori domains in the form of bilingual classes that valued and prioritised te reo Māori. These classes were operating at Māori language immersion levels 1, 2, 3, or 6.

Further details about the classes offered in the four schools are provided in Table 1. For ease, we refer to all these classes and units as *bilingual classes.*

TABLE 1 **Bilingual classes in four schools**

School	Bilingual classes	Description
School A	Bilingual class	A bilingual class in which the curriculum is taught in Māori between 81% and 100% of the time (Māori language immersion level 1).
School B	Bilingual unit	Two classes in which the curriculum is taught in Māori between 51% and 81% of the time (Māori language immersion level 2).
School C	Bilingual syndicate	Two classes in which the curriculum is taught in Māori between 51% and 81% of the time (Māori language immersion level 2). In the remaining eight classes, the curriculum is taught in Māori between 31% and 50% of the time (Māori immersion level 3).
School I	Bilingual syndicate	Three classes in which tamariki are taught under what the pou reo described as “a te ao Māori umbrella” (Māori language immersion level 6).

It is interesting to note that the Māori language immersion level listed by the Ministry of Education for the schools and the actual classroom practices were not always aligned. By this we mean that, in some cases, more appeared to be happening in terms of reo provision than the immersion level might suggest.

The teaching and learning of te reo Māori experienced by tamariki at a classroom level was mostly dictated by the tikanga set for the place, so in the bilingual classes all tamariki experienced the same teaching and learning opportunities regardless of whether they were Māori or non-Māori.

Although we did not specifically ask pou reo about the proportion of Māori and non-Māori tamariki in their bilingual classes, the pou reo indicated that these classes attracted and catered for higher proportions of tamariki Māori, which supports the indigenous linguistic right of tamariki Māori to learn te reo Māori (Bright et al., 2021; Lee-Hammond & Jackson-Barrett, 2019; United Nations, 1989).

Schools with bilingual classes increased access to reo Māori for whānau who aspired for te reo Māori to be part of their children's education in primary school. The popularity and roll growth that bilingual classes were experiencing indicates that these classes were addressing whānau aspirations for reo Māori education.[11]

> *The biggest challenge would be keeping up with the pace of growth, the demand from the families . . . for the reo and tikanga. We got to a point in [one reo rua] class where, halfway through the year, she [the kaiako] didn't have any more room. So, those kids who came in had to go into the mainstream class … for half a year, while they waited for a space for the coming year.* (Tumuaki, Māori, School C)

It is important to note that this study did not examine the effectiveness of bilingual classes in relation to increasing the reo Māori proficiency of tamariki. However, we did ask pou reo about their reo Māori aspirations for tamariki. With the exception of tamariki in level 1 Māori language immersion classes, pou reo had relatively modest aspirations for tamariki in terms of reo Māori proficiency. Few pou reo expected that being in bilingual classes would result in tamariki becoming fluent Māori speakers during their time at primary school.

In addition to the benefits that bilingual classes had for the tamariki enrolled in them, there were indications that these classes were influencing teacher practice and increasing the status and use of te reo and tikanga Māori within their schools' predominantly English-language domains. One principal talked about how their bilingual unit had "become the heart of the school" (Principal, non-Māori, School B).

Pou reo shared numerous stories about how teachers had adopted mātauranga Māori-based practices from the bilingual classes. For example, a tumuaki ensured that their whole school, teachers and tamariki, committed to learning and singing mōteatea. A principal at another school talked about how other classes had adopted some of the practices used in their bilingual unit, including the practice of holding bilingual assemblies.

> *Because [the bilingual unit] is so strong, many things that have happened in there have spilled over … The unit is very valuable for that.* (Principal, non-Māori, School B)

Another pou reo who taught in a bilingual class talked about their principal's and senior leaders' positive reaction to their class's tikanga-based approach for settling tamariki at the start of the school day. The practice was so admired that it was adopted by other classes in the school.

> *We [the three bilingual classes] always started our day with a pae, like on the ātea. And the tamariki would lead each part and we were just there in the background to tautoko. Then, the other three [mainstream] classes in our whānau said, 'That looks quite good, we'd like a piece of that too.' So, we said, 'Yes' … these other kids have gotten on board. They see the mana behind that. They have a real clear understanding of the tikanga and why we do it.* (Kaiako, Māori, School I)

Amongst pou reo themselves, opinions about bilingual classes were divided. Some pou reo were firm believers in the benefits of bilingual classes, while others were apprehensive about establishing such classes. Specifically, the non-Māori pou reo at two schools expressed concerns that starting

11 Further details about the efforts that schools were making to keep up with whānau requests for bilingual classes can be found in the section about "Understanding and responding to whānau aspirations for te reo Māori".

a bilingual class might have the effect of sidelining te reo Māori, instead of centring it throughout the school. These pou reo were also worried that having a bilingual class might limit the access that tamariki outside these classes, and particularly non-Māori children, had to reo Māori.

> *Through whānau hui, there's been a request, probably for the last five years, to explore the concept of a bilingual class … I have constantly thought, actually, this needs to become a way of being for us all. Not something exclusive for a group of students that might identify [as] Māori or want to be educated with te reo and tikanga. So that's [having te reo and tikanga embedded as a way of being] really the mission that I am on at the moment.* (Principal, non-Māori, School F)

> *So, a bilingual class, that's … a great starting point but I guess I just feel like lots of non-Māori people miss out because they don't come in contact and have a lot of experience … It just helps, I think, the more we connect and spend time in both worlds, the better off everyone is.* (Teacher, non-Māori, School D)

These comments suggest that amongst pou reo there were different understandings and opinions about who should be accorded priority access to te reo Māori, and what effective practices to support tamariki to learn te reo Māori look like.

Providing reo and tikanga Māori learning experiences

In all the schools, we heard about the benefits of teaching and learning karakia, mihimihi, and pepeha, and giving tamariki opportunities to take part in mihi whakatau, kapa haka, and marae visits. Our kōrero with pou reo suggest that these activities and opportunities were increasing the use, profile, and status of te reo Māori. Mihimihi and pepeha provided opportunities to acknowledge and celebrate children's identities as Māori and non-Māori. Karakia, mihi whakatau, marae visits, and kapa haka provided the additional benefits of helping tamariki become comfortable in Māori culture.

Activities such as karakia and kapa haka often formed the backbone of reo Māori programmes for tamariki in English-medium classrooms, where moderate and higher levels of reo Māori proficiency were not expected or required for participation. Tamariki in bilingual classes, on the other hand, experienced additional reo Māori learning opportunities in defined place domains where te reo and tikanga Māori were expected and normal.

As noted earlier, teaching karakia to tamariki who then practised karakia at home was an effective way to involve whānau in school-based reo Māori programmes and help them to become comfortable with using te reo Māori. Schools tended to talk about their kapa haka with pride, which indicates that kapa haka were valued by Māori and non-Māori. Some of the pou reo used kapa haka sessions to teach not only waiata, haka, and mōteatea, but also te reo Māori, karakia, tikanga, stories, history, and whakataukī.

> *The kapa haka tutors have done a really amazing job at this school. They come from outside. They're not just teaching songs and actions. They do a heap of stuff about karakia, and the meaning of the songs and tikanga behind lots of different things … The school is really supportive of them, and also really really proud of the kapa haka, cause they're amazing when they perform.*
>
> (Whānau, Māori, School F)

> *We have kapa haka every week, and every child participates for half an hour, in big whānau blocks … The whole idea was to give them an experience, being in the kapa, but I was hiding behind learning reo and teaching them reo, filling their kete. So, by the time they leave [this school], they go to an intermediate or high school and somebody says 'Who can do a karakia?' and they think 'I've got some karakia in my kete that I could use … I've got these waiata.'* (Kaiako, Māori, School I)

Building capacity and capability to provide reo Māori teaching and learning

All the schools visited wanted to increase their capacity and capability to provide teaching and learning in te reo Māori. A major challenge for schools was finding staff who could speak Māori well enough to teach it. This was a particular hurdle for schools with level 1 and level 2 Māori language immersion classes. These classes needed staff who possess the confidence and competence to teach through the medium of Māori, and who understand second language teaching pedagogy. In small, isolated rural schools, it was not unusual for the entire load of reo Māori teaching to fall on only one or two people. As one tumuaki noted, it could be very difficult to find replacements for pou reo in such situations.

Schools were building their reo Māori capacity and capability through increasing the reo Māori proficiency and confidence of their existing staff and through growing their own reo Māori teachers from within the community. Some schools were also providing extra reo Māori teaching support in classrooms.

Increasing the reo Māori proficiency and confidence of existing staff

Schools understood that they needed to upskill their existing staff to grow their provision of reo Māori teaching and learning. We found that schools and pou reo were using a mix of in-house professional learning and development and external reo Māori courses to increase the reo Māori proficiency and confidence of kaiako and teachers.

In-house professional learning and development

In more than half the schools in our study, pou reo had created formal and informal opportunities for teachers to access in-house professional learning and development for te reo Māori.

One of the schools provided formal in-house professional learning and development through contracting a professional learning facilitator. The facilitator visited fortnightly and worked in Māori-medium classrooms for a set amount of time to help kaiako strengthen their reo Māori proficiency as they were teaching. In addition, the school had supported all teachers to strengthen their knowledge of te reo Māori through offering in-house Te Ātaarangi Māori language classes.[12] Another school brought in an external expert to run in-house weekly reo Māori professional learning sessions for local school leaders. Those kaiako and teachers who worked at schools that employed kaiāwhina reo or external reo Māori tutors to work in their classrooms also benefited from having the opportunity to learn alongside tamariki which we discuss further later in this section of the report.

Most of the informal professional learning opportunities were offered by pou reo Māori. These pou reo had taken on the task of supporting their non-Māori colleagues to become more able and confident to use te reo Māori and participate in situations that require some knowledge of tikanga Māori. In these situations, pou reo took on this extra responsibility in addition to their core job of teaching tamariki.

> *We awhi our teachers, our Pākehā teachers … It's about sharing what we have, for our tamariki. And if they get a bit mataku to have a go, I tell them 'We expect this from our tamariki, you need to step up and model it as well.'* (Kaiako, Māori, School C)

The pou reo Māori in one of the schools supported and enabled their colleagues to use te reo Māori through modelling its use in school contexts, having informal conversations about reo Māori learning, and creating tailored reo Māori resources. For example, they normalised te reo Māori in the staffroom by consistently greeting and farewelling each other in Māori. This helped their colleagues gain the

12 https://teataarangi.org.nz/

confidence to speak Māori to each other. They also created video and audio recordings of waiata and karakia to support their colleagues' learning. The pou reo used these strategies to educate their colleagues and help them move past their whakamā about using te reo Māori.

Pou reo Māori also modelled how to behave in tikanga-related situations, in part to enable their colleagues, many of whom were non-Māori, to feel confident about participating and taking on lead roles themselves. At times, these pou reo brought in experts to help; for example, for teachers to learn how to whaikōrero. Increasing the capability of other staff meant that there were more people to share responsibilities and that the pou reo Māori did not always have to take on the full load of the work.

> *Our male staff, my husband comes in and teaches them whaikōrero [every fortnight]. It's optional for them, but they all do it. There's no levels. They are pretty much in their own wānanga … Thrown in the deep end and immersed straight into it. It's really worked. I think three years ago we had one kaikōrero and then he left, and after that we had nobody. Now we have about 5 to 6 male staff [Māori and non-Māori] that can all get up and kōrero.* (Kaiako, Māori, School C)

> *We have just empowered our teachers that you can do this, because otherwise you feel like they're relying on us all the time. Like if we have a pōwhiri we just say, actually you can do this, think it through. We've modelled lots, helped them, just being involved all the time with them, and now at times we can just step back … I think we've built over time the capability of our teachers and our kaiāwhina as well.* (Tumuaki, Māori, School A)

At one school, a pou reo Māori noted how providing their colleagues with scaffolded support had helped them to eventually become more self-sufficient reo Māori learners.

> *When I started last year, 'Oh … what's the Māori word for this?' Now they know how to go look for themselves and research it … He waka eke noa.* (Kaiako, Māori, School F)

Like pou reo Māori, a few non-Māori pou reo worked hard to create reo Māori learning opportunities for their colleagues. For example, at one school, a non-Māori pou reo ran professional learning sessions during staff hui to provide teachers with the knowledge and confidence they needed to deliver instruction in te reo Māori in their classes.

External reo Māori courses

Many schools benefited from the fact that pou reo independently sought out and attended reo Māori courses, with many undertaking this learning in their own time. For pou reo, this included, but was not limited to, attending week-long immersion kura reo during the school holidays, or reo Māori classes at Te Wānanga o Aotearoa in evenings and at weekends, either face to face or online. Of the 40 pou reo we spoke with, at least five of the pou reo Māori and six of the non-Māori pou reo were actively involved in reo Māori studies in 2020, and more wanted to be.

In some cases, kaiako and teachers within the same school were participating in different types of learning to suit their needs and interests.

> *Everyone is on a journey with te reo. We have got some doing online learning after school, we've got some doing wānanga, without actually forcing them. They're choosing [to study] because they can see that we're growing, our reo's growing.* (Tumuaki, Māori, School A)

In at least one instance, pou reo from the same school—one of whom was a parent—were all attending the same evening class at Te Wānanga o Aotearoa.

> *I am also doing the course with [name of person] at Te Wānanga o Aotearoa. It's been really awesome . . . Two other kaiako here are doing the course too so we speak with each other.* (Whānau, Māori, School F)

Pou reo at several schools talked about the important role that their principal played in enabling them to access reo Māori professional learning opportunities.

> *If I saw a [reo Māori] course that I really wanted to do, I could rock up to [the principal] and go 'Hey … , I want to do this' and I know that [the principal] would go, 'Yep, sure, we will try and make it happen.'*
> (Teacher, non-Māori, School D)

In addition to reo Māori classes, a few of the pou reo had participated in professional learning about culturally responsive teaching and second language acquisition pedagogy.

There was also evidence that pou reo who participated in reo Māori-focused professional learning opportunities went on to share what they had learnt with colleagues and tamariki. For example, one non-Māori pou reo offered professional development support to colleagues based on their own learning from Te Wānanga o Aotearoa.

> *I've led staff development in te reo Māori and we did professional development every staff meeting for two and a half, three terms … And all I did, was I took what I had learnt at Te Ara Reo Māori and the stuff that I was actually confident with and gave them [my colleagues] the rerehāngū, and kupu and kēmu and things that they could implement in class straight away.* (Teacher, non-Māori, School D)

Another non-Māori pou reo was applying their reo learning from Te Wānanga o Aotearoa directly to their classroom practice. They explained, "Often I teach things that I have learnt [while studying] just directly" (Teacher, non-Māori, School H).

Although many schools and pou reo had identified creative ways to provide and access reo Māori-focused professional learning opportunities, several pou reo commented that it was an ongoing challenge to access formal professional learning opportunities. The restrictions imposed by COVID-19 precautions had caused some reo Māori courses to be cancelled, which further limited pou reo access to formal learning opportunities.

> *I can tell you that we haven't accessed any because we don't see any. The only thing that we tried to get on last year was the initiative that the Government put out, Te Ahu o te Reo … but it was a really difficult course to get onto. And that was it, there was nothing else for other teachers. The only other things that our teachers have been able to access is Te Wānanga o Aotearoa homebased [learning].*
> (Kaiako, Māori, School B)

Growing reo Māori teachers from within the community

All schools acknowledged the challenges associated with finding and appointing classroom teachers with expertise in te reo Māori. Some schools were responding to this challenge by growing their own workforce from within the community. These schools hoped to create career paths for reo Māori speakers without teaching qualifications. They did this by offering these reo Māori speakers work as kaiāwhina reo in formal recognised positions in the hope that they might like the work and be inspired to go on and become qualified teachers.

> *Teachers, finding teachers. That's the biggie [when it comes to challenges]. Now we are at the point where we try and grow our own. We have kaiāwhina in here and I go to them, 'What's your future pathway looking like?' Bring them in and let them learn alongside, and then they start getting quite excited about, 'Oh I could be a teacher.' Trying to grow your own from here as well. The challenge is building a succession plan.* (Tumuaki, Māori, School A)

Providing extra reo Māori teaching support in classrooms

Five of the 10 schools in our study employed reo and tikanga Māori experts to support their teachers to provide reo Māori teaching and learning. Four of the schools employed kaiāwhina reo, who worked alongside the classroom teachers to help them teach te reo Māori. Of the four, three schools had bilingual classes and used their Māori language programme funding to pay for their kaiāwhina positions. In most cases, the kaiāwhina came from the local community or were teacher trainees. This benefited schools by bringing local knowledge and expertise into the school.

> *We have a few [kaiāwhina] reo who are studying at the moment, and the rest come from the community. If we're looking for somebody, we ask 'Does anyone have any whānau who'd like to do this who can kōrero Māori?'* (Kaiako, Māori, School C)

One of the four schools that employed kaiāwhina reo had their kaiāwhina reo come in to support each of their bilingual classes for up to 45 minutes a day. The kaiako would plan the focus, which the kaiāwhina reo then delivered. The school did not require these kaiāwhina to have formal teaching qualifications. The most important qualification was their ability to speak Māori well. The pou reo who had received this support were grateful and saw clear benefits for tamariki in this approach.

> *For us, on our side, it is a double dose, it is amazing, it is like a consolidation. The tamariki get it from us as kaiako and then they get it from the kaiāwhina. It's consolidating the learning … It is like team teaching. I would recommend it.* (Kaiako, Māori, School C)

Another of the four schools with bilingual classes had employed a kaiāwhina to help a pou reo strengthen their reo Māori proficiency. The pou reo talked about how valuable this approach had been, both for them and the tamariki.

> *She was only there for me to fix up my hapa … she would come twice a week. She would still work in that capacity with the other children and kōrero Māori, but I would kōrero and then she would repeat it back and I would fix it up … That was really helpful for me.* (Kaiako, Māori, School B)

In the school that did not have a bilingual class, a teacher aide had supported the school to provide instruction in reo Māori over a long period of time. Their title was eventually changed to kaiāwhina reo in recognition of their expertise. The kaiāwhina reo would spend 20–25 minutes per day in the senior classes teaching te reo Māori in relevant contexts guided by tikanga Māori.

> *When I started … I asked the teachers what they would like, and they said, 'We would like them to learn about sentence structure, how to put certain words together and simple greetings' which didn't sit very well with me so I changed it around … I worked at promoting te reo through tikanga … In a tikanga Māori setting, if someone comes in [to the classroom] you mihi to them at the end of the day.*
> (Kaiāwhina reo, Māori, School J)

In the school without a kaiāwhina reo, an external tutor came in weekly to teach te reo Māori to each class. The tutor had full responsibility for teaching, while the regular classroom teachers had the opportunity to observe and learn alongside tamariki. The pou reo in the school acknowledged the professional learning benefits associated with having an expert speaker of reo Māori in the classroom.

> *He [the external tutor] comes in every Tuesday. He visits each class and has a specific reo focus, but also incorporates lots of tikanga and wider knowledge and is also very responsive to whatever teachers want … So it's PD [professional development] for us as well, we're learning alongside the kids.*
> (Teacher, non-Māori, School E)

Kaiāwhina reo were valued as pou reo in their own right who went above and beyond to support their schools. One pou reo reflected on the incredible support that their school's kaiāwhina had provided during COVID-19 lockdowns.

> *It's just how awesome it is to have our [kaiāwhina] reo, especially during COVID. They're a teacher aide position really … they didn't get paid for the extra stuff they did for us during COVID. They were going live on our Facebook pages and opening our day with karakia, made videos of sentence structures for the whānau to learn while they were at home that they could use with their tamariki … They are a really big part of some of the successes that we've had.* (Kaiako, Māori, School C)

The kōrero that pou reo shared suggest that both teachers and tamariki can benefit when schools employ experts to support and complement their reo Māori programmes.

Commentary

All the schools we visited were providing tamariki with teaching and learning experiences that supported Māori language acquisition and raised the profile and status of te reo Māori to some extent. However, permanent reo Māori domains such as bilingual classes made a particularly important contribution to meeting the aspirations of whānau for te reo Māori in education. These classes assisted with elevating the status of te reo Māori and with upholding the indigenous linguistic rights of tamariki Māori to learn their heritage language.

Bilingual classes provided tamariki with opportunities to learn through the medium of Māori and to develop their proficiency in te reo Māori. These opportunities contribute to fulfilling the Ministry of Education's third *Tau Mai* goal, that "learners can access Māori Medium education services in order to develop high levels of Māori language proficiency and use" (Ministry of Education, 2020f, p. 3). In addition, through the goodwill, modelling, and sharing of practices by pou reo, bilingual classes enabled tamariki in other parts of their schools to gain greater access to reo and tikanga Māori learning opportunities.

Providing tamariki with experiences like learning karakia and opportunities to participate in kapa haka are effective early steps in raising the profile and status of te reo Māori. The provision of these types of learning experiences is likely to assist with fulfilling the first of the Ministry of Education's *Tau Mai* goals, that of supporting "learners to value and acquire and use Māori language words, phrases and other forms (for example, waiata and haka) that are used on a regular basis in New Zealand society" (Ministry of Education, 2020f, p. 3). However, on their own, these types of experiences and opportunities are unlikely to contribute significantly when it comes to fulfilling the second *Tau Mai* goal, that of supporting "learners to develop the ability and confidence to talk about a range of things in the Māori language" (Ministry of Education, 2020f, p. 3).

It is important for schools to have clear expectations about how, and to what extent, they can support tamariki to develop their reo Māori proficiency. This information, which should ideally be included in Māori language plans, would also help whānau for whom te reo Māori is an important consideration when they make decisions during transitions to and from primary school (Bright et al., 2013, 2015).

Schools had to be flexible and innovative in their approaches to increase their capacity and capability to provide reo Māori teaching and learning. This often involved pou reo Māori providing their colleagues with informal professional learning and development. Schools made the most of the capacity they had and brought in external support when needed. They also created employment opportunities for the reo Māori speakers in their communities, recognising and valuing their skills.

Good practice 4: Providing reo Māori teaching and learning

Providing reo Māori teaching and learning for tamariki through bilingual classes can:

- provide tamariki with opportunities to learn in permanent reo Māori domains
- support whānau aspirations for their tamariki to learn te reo Māori
- raise the profile and status of te reo Māori amongst whānau and schools
- model reo Māori teaching and learning practices that can be adopted in other areas of the school.

Providing reo Māori teaching and learning for tamariki through activities such as karakia and kapa haka can:

- assist with raising the profile and status of te reo Māori amongst whānau and school communities
- encourage whānau to become involved with their children's reo Māori learning
- help tamariki and whānau become more comfortable and confident with reo and tikanga Māori.

Providing reo Māori teaching and learning to increase teachers' reo Māori proficiency and confidence can be achieved through schools:

- offering formal and informal reo Māori professional learning opportunities
- encouraging/supporting pou reo to seek out and attend external reo Māori courses
- growing their own reo Māori workforce from within the community
- arranging extra reo Māori teaching support in classrooms.

5. He kupu whakakapi Conclusion

This research project has examined the approaches that pou reo Māori and non-Māori pou reo in 10 English-medium primary schools were using to grow te reo Māori. Within this report, we have kept a particular focus on how the efforts of pou reo were benefiting tamariki and whānau Māori. Through our kōrero with pou reo, we identified key issues and good practices that schools should consider as they strengthen their provision of reo Māori teaching and learning opportunities.

In Aotearoa, growing te reo Māori in English-medium primary schools necessarily involves both Māori and non-Māori. We found that identity influences how pou reo position themselves in relation to teaching and learning te reo Māori, and that pou reo who were clear in their positioning appeared to be more settled and confident in their roles. Schools can support pou reo to confidently take on their roles by creating space for pou reo to have conversations about their personal values, priorities, and challenges in relation to te reo Māori, and their expectations and boundaries when it comes to being a pou reo.

Growing te reo Māori in English-medium primary schools will require a collective effort, and it is important to understand that pou reo are motivated by a range of factors, including identity, positioning, beliefs, and responsibilities. The reasons shared in this report about why pou reo were motivated to grow te reo Māori provide insights that schools can draw upon to encourage individuals to take greater responsibility for strengthening the provision of reo Māori teaching and learning.

The schools we visited were at different stages in their reo Māori growth, from emerging, to establishing, through to flourishing. Through our kōrero with pou reo at these schools and our earlier review of literature, we identified four school-based practices that were creating a positive impact on Māori language teaching and learning. These good practices were:

- strategically planning to grow te reo Māori in schools
- involving whānau and communities in Māori language planning and programmes
- taking steps to raise the profile and status of te reo Māori
- providing reo Māori teaching and learning.

The stories of how schools were enacting these practices offer English-medium primary schools—at all stages of growing te reo Māori—valuable insights into how they might strengthen their provision of te reo Māori.

One of the challenges that English-medium primary schools face as they work to grow te reo Māori is ensuring that their actions are useful, authentic, and suitable for their unique context. Making changes that will support sustained growth will require good communication, consistent effort, commitment, and resourcing, particularly in places where te reo Māori is not currently valued and where school communities resist change.

As English-medium primary schools grapple with how to fulfil Māori language goals and expectations stated in system-level strategies, policies, and legislation, and the reo Māori aspirations of whānau, it is important that we do not forget the essential role that Māori-medium kura[13] play in supporting

13 Kura kaupapa Māori and kura a-iwi.

reo Māori revitalisation. Kura were established to keep te reo Māori alive and are underpinned by Māori philosophies, beliefs, and values. They are dedicated reo Māori domains where Māori-medium education is the norm. For whānau who aspire for their tamariki to become fluent speakers of te reo Māori, kura provide immersive experiences in reo and tikanga Māori to support this.

Looking to the future, and mindful of the positive steps that schools are currently taking to support reo Māori revitalisation, we wonder what other innovative approaches could be explored to better support tamariki to learn and use te reo Māori. Can new reo Māori learning pathways be created that begin in English-medium schools and end in Māori-medium kura? Could a map of schools be created showing how—and to what extent—schools expect their reo Māori provision to support tamariki? Our hope is that the findings presented here prompt those in English-medium primary schools to have critical conversations about identity, positioning, motivation, te reo Māori, and racism, and to develop strategic approaches to Māori language teaching and learning.

Ētahi pātai huritao hei tautoko i ngā matapaki arohaehae: He taputapu mā ngā pou reo

Reflective questions to support critical conversations: A tool for pou reo

The following reflective questions have been designed to support pou reo to have critical conversations in schools about issues and kaupapa that are important to consider when strategically planning to grow te reo Māori.

Having conversations about your role in growing te reo Māori in schools can be challenging. To be effective, these conversations require honesty and openness about identity and positioning. There are many benefits of having such conversations. These conversations can help you to:

- be clear about your priorities, and how this affects your work as a pou reo
- set clear boundaries and realistic expectations for yourself and others
- take responsibility for your own learning
- ask others for support when you need it.

They can also help others to better understand who you are, and why you choose to be a pou reo.

How to use this tool

1. Set a time for the pou reo in your school to meet and discuss the reflective questions together. Be clear about whether you plan to have one meeting or a series of meetings. Allow enough time for the discussions.
2. Before the meeting, encourage everyone to read through the questions and think about how they will respond.
3. When you meet, set some ground rules (e.g., that everyone will have space to be heard, and that respect and care for each other will be shown).
4. Be prepared for hard conversations and think about how the group will manage them.
5. Decide whether the group wants to keep a record of the meeting, and if so, how.
6. Pick a set of questions (e.g., identity and positioning) and work through them together.
7. Reflect on how the meeting went, and plan next steps.

Reflective questions to support critical conversations

	Identity and positioning
Role and positioning	What is your role in supporting tamariki to learn te reo Māori? What is your role in supporting adults to learn te reo Māori? How does being Māori or non-Māori affect how you position yourself in relation to te reo Māori? What motivates you to be a pou reo? What are your own aspirations for learning te reo Māori?

	Te reo Māori
Benefits	What are the benefits of learning te reo Māori for tamariki? What are the benefits of learning te reo Māori for adults?
Aspirations	What are your aspirations for tamariki Māori in learning te reo Māori? What are your aspirations for non-Māori children in learning te reo Māori?
Expectations	What are your expectations for how proficient tamariki Māori will be in te reo Māori by the time they leave your school? What are your expectations for how proficient non-Māori children will be in te reo Māori by the time they leave your school? How do you or how would you communicate these expectations to whānau?
Colonisation	What does the legacy of colonisation mean for Māori who aspire to learn their heritage language? What does the legacy of colonisation mean for non-Māori who aspire to learn te reo Māori? How could you use content from the Aotearoa New Zealand's Histories curriculum about te reo Māori and colonisation to support your learning and work as a pou reo?
Review and next steps	What's working well to support reo Māori teaching and learning in your school? What are the challenges to supporting reo Māori teaching and learning in your school? What are the next steps for growing te reo Māori in your school? What kinds of support do you need as a pou reo?

	Racism
Challenging racism	What, if any, examples of racism against Māori or te reo Māori have you noticed in your role as a pou reo? How would you respond to a racist comment from a colleague or community member about Māori or te reo Māori? What could you do to better prepare yourself to respond to racist comments or attitudes?
Valuing te reo Māori	What does it look like when your school community values te reo Māori? What actions can you take to raise the profile and status of te reo Māori in your school community?

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