

Ka Whānau mai te Reo

Supporting whānau reo Māori development during educational transitions

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KEY POINTS

- Successfully learning te reo Māori through the education system can be as much a game of chance as playing Snakes and Ladders.
- Effective transition processes that prioritise reo Māori can make a positive difference to reo Māori learning continuity.
- Everyday impacts of institutional racism make it difficult to learn te reo Māori in schools.
- Ongoing conversations about bilingualism in school environments are important.
- Schools are part of a complex support system, including homes and communities, for many reo Māori learners and their whānau.
- Schools should be asking critical questions about how they can better support reo Māori learners.

Over a period of 4 years (2012–15) the kaupapa Māori research project Ka Whānau mai te Reo focused on how whānau reo Māori development is, or could, be supported as whānau move into, within, and beyond the compulsory education sector. Transition practices that prioritise te reo Māori would be a positive step forward in schools' support for reo Māori learners, but this has to happen in conjunction with prioritising te reo Māori in everyday practice.

Introduction

In Aotearoa New Zealand, the natural process of Māori-language transmission within whānau has been eroded by the effects of colonisation (Waitangi Tribunal, 1986; Benton, 1978), to the point where most adult speakers of te reo Māori have learned it as a second language outside of the home environment¹ (Statistics New Zealand, 2014). Although whānau, hapū, iwi, language advocates, institutions and many more work towards reinstating te reo Māori as a primary language of the home, the education system has an important role to play in supporting learners and whānau who wish to learn te reo Māori.

Ka Whānau mai te Reo is a kaupapa Māori research project that focuses on how whānau reo Māori development is, or could be, supported as whānau move or transition into, within, and beyond the compulsory education sector. Transitions between and within educational environments are important times of change, challenges, and opportunities. Learners are vulnerable because of the significant types of changes that occur at these times; for example, experiencing new ways of learning and dealing with the onset of puberty (Education Review Office, 2012; Cox and Kennedy, 2008). Effective transition processes can contribute to ongoing learning success in many ways, including promoting learning continuity across the education settings a child is moving between (McGee, Ward, Gibbons, & Harlow, 2003, citing Croll, 1983, and Kruse, 1995). For whānau, effective transition processes could also support reo Māori learning continuity.

When whānau are choosing a school, they have to consider many factors, which can include the capability of the school to support their reo Māori aspirations. Most reo Māori learners are participating in English-medium settings with limited opportunities to experience Māori-medium learning and where transition processes are unlikely to focus on te reo Māori (Bright with Wylie, 2015). This means

that learners and their whānau who aspire to learn Māori through the education system are particularly vulnerable to disruptions to their reo Māori learning during transitions into these learning environments.

The primary focus of Ka Whānau mai te Reo is on transitions because of the potential to trigger transformations in thinking and practices at these points. However, it is important to be aware that once learners and their whānau have completed a transition—and particularly when it is to predominantly English-medium environments—they are likely to continue to experience barriers to reo Māori learning and use on a daily basis.

With this in mind, transitions provide a useful starting point for schools to think about how their current transition processes support ongoing reo Māori language learning, and how they can provide information to whānau about the ways that te reo Māori is valued and supported within the school on an everyday basis.

Whānau voices and the methodology of whanaungatanga

Ka Whānau mai te Reo is kaupapa Māori-based research that focuses on whānau priorities, aspirations, and experiences. In 2012 we spoke with a group of whānau to find out what sorts of educational research would be of benefit to their children and whānau in education (Hutchings, Barnes, Taupo, Bright, with Pihama & Lee, 2012). Both transitions and reo Māori development were strong themes that came through the kōrero ā-whānau.² As a result, Ka Whānau mai te Reo (2012–2015) has focused on how whānau reo Māori development is, or could be, supported as whānau move into, within, and beyond the compulsory education sector.

Ka Whānau mai te Reo used the methodology of whanaungatanga, which focused our research on whānau engagement in education. It is also whānau driven. Placing the perspectives of whānau—as a

group of people connected either through whakapapa (shared heritage) or kaupapa (commitment to a particular philosophy)—at the centre recognises the importance of the interwoven relationships of whānau. Education is a collective whānau learning experience, particularly as it relates to Māori language development.

Our whanaungatanga approach is further refined by focusing on three central kaupapa: ngā moemoeā, te reo Māori, and rangatiratanga. Ngā moemoeā focuses on whānau aspirations for their reo; te reo Māori focuses on whānau experiences of learning and using te reo Māori; and rangatiratanga focuses on how decisions are being made and who is making them (Bright, Barnes, & Hutchings, 2013). This approach is about making sure the research reflects whānau priorities, provides practical advice and information, and poses critical questions for whānau, schools, and communities who have a role in reo Māori development.

Our research approach, based on the concept of whanaungatanga, is illustrated in Figure 1. It locates whānau at the centre of the research, addresses the concerns of whānau, brings whānau voices to the forefront, and grounds our work in te ao Māori.

We invited whānau involved with Kōhanga Reo, early childhood education (ECE) settings, kura, or schools who had some level of interest or involvement in te reo Māori to kōrero with us about their experiences at three

transition points: from 4 years old to Year 1, from Year 8 to Year 9, and from secondary school onwards.

The first transition and natural-decision making point occurs when whānau who have chosen to start in either a Māori-medium or an English-medium ECE learning environment decide whether they want to continue along a similar education pathway in the compulsory education system, and where reo Māori fits within that journey (Bright et al., 2013). The second occurs when learners are moving between primary, intermediate, and secondary environments, which can be a particularly vulnerable time because multiple changes—such as having to become familiar with a new school and new teachers, experiencing new ways of learning, and the onset of puberty—are happening all at once (Bright et al., 2013). The third transition occurs when learners are moving out of the compulsory education sector.

Whānau included tamariki or ākonga,³ their close whānau members, or whānau connected through their involvement with the kura or school. Within the whānau grouping we made sure to speak with ākonga in either Year 8 or in their last year of school, because they were the ones most directly affected by transition processes. We also spoke with kaiako, who play a vital role in developing and facilitating the transition process.

Whānau were all at different points in their reo learning, with their own specific reo aspirations.

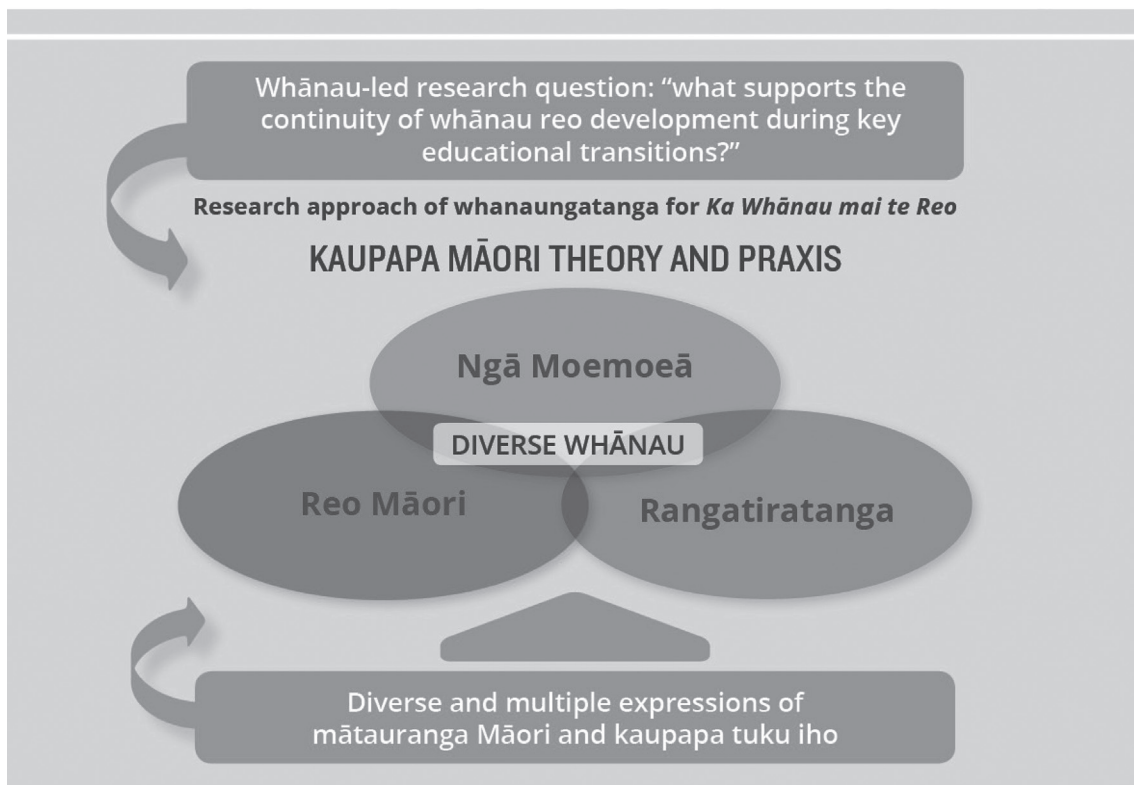


FIGURE 1. KA WHĀNAU MAI TE REO CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Regardless of whether they aspired to be highly fluent bilingual speakers or whether they saw themselves in a supporting role for reo speakers in their whānau, reo was important to them all.

Throughout this project we focused on bringing the diverse experiences of whānau to the fore through wānanga and kōrero ā-whānau to share their wide range of experiences of Māori-language education within and beyond the Aotearoa education system. Our kaupapa Māori theory relies on these inter-related kaupapa being used as a lens to critically analyse and identify themes that arise through kōrero ā-whānau.

In 2014 data collection began for a related research project *Ka whānau mai te reo: Kei tua o te Kura*: Understanding how tertiary education organisations are supporting the transitions of reo Māori learners and speakers (reported in Broughton, Hutchings, & Bright, in press). This project was undertaken by NZCER in partnership with Te Wānanga o Raukawa and co-funded by NZCER and Ako Aotearoa. *Ka Whānau mai te Reo: Kei tua o te Kura* focused on the transition into tertiary learning for learners of all ages because it had become apparent early on in *Ka Whānau mai te Reo* that there was little information published about this transition and whānau reo Māori development.

Findings

1. Successfully learning te reo Māori through the education system can be as much a game of chance as playing Snakes and Ladders

Our research found that for many whānau, learning te reo Māori through the New Zealand education system can be a difficult and disjointed experience, particularly if it is the only source of reo Māori learning available. For some whānau, learning te reo Māori through the education system—and particularly through English medium (where te reo Māori can be learned as a subject, or in rumaki, bilingual classes or units)—can be compared to playing a game of Snakes and Ladders. Success relies on the roll of the dice, or, in this context, on the choice of a school or series of schools and the types of connections between those learning environments.

You can have a couple of really good years and then a year with nothing and it's sort of going up and down. I know it's a real pipe dream, but for me, this would be a non-issue if it was compulsory to have te reo Māori for every child right the way through school. (Kaiako/whānau in low immersion environment)

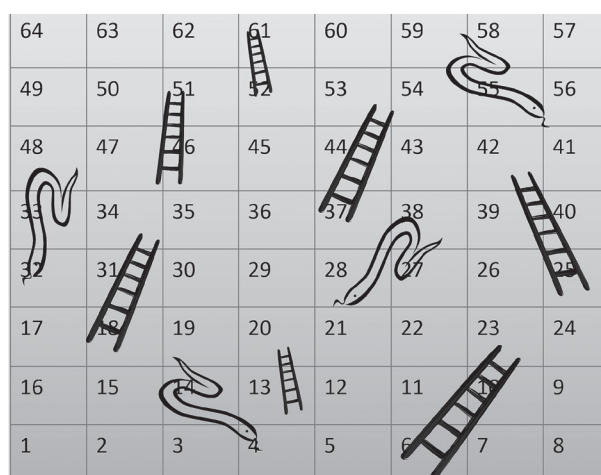


FIGURE 2 LEARNING TE REO MĀORI CAN BE LIKE A GAME OF SNAKES AND LADDERS

In the Snakes and Ladders game, you are most likely to win if you land on a ladder each time you roll the dice to help you get to the top of the board. To get the most benefit out of reo Māori education, whānau need the equivalent of these 'ladders' or enablers that do a variety of things to help whānau get to a place where they can fulfil their reo aspirations. For example, different kinds of 'ladders' could:

- connect learning environments (transition processes)
- build on existing language knowledge and skills (i.e. individualised learning support or plans)
- provide effective reo Māori learning options (i.e. Level 1 or Level 2 Māori-language immersion or bilingual education)
- be environments where reo Māori use is considered the norm—inside and outside of classrooms.

2. Effective transition processes that prioritise reo Māori can make a positive difference to reo Māori learning continuity

In *Ka Whānau mai te Reo* we focused first on the potential of transition processes (thinking and activities that occur during transitions) to support whānau reo Māori development during three significant transitions: 4 years old to Year 1, Year 8 to Year 9, and from secondary school onwards. Transitions between learning environments are often trigger points for whānau to reflect on their educational and reo Māori aspirations. They are decision-making times when whānau have the opportunity to assess whether they are on the right learning pathway to fulfil their reo Māori aspirations.

Reo Māori learning continuity (reo Māori learning that continuously builds on existing knowledge and skills) can easily be disrupted during transitions. When there are no 'ladders' or enablers (e.g. links between existing reo programmes in different schools), or if a school doesn't

provide appropriate reo Māori programmes, then reo learning can suffer. This can happen again and again as whānau move through the compulsory education system.

Some whānau are setting clear long-term reo Māori goals for the whole whānau to help them decide which educational pathway is going to support their reo aspirations over time:

I had wanted to make the decision forever, for all my kids and for all of their schooling. I felt like making that decision was huge but I feel like I only wanted to do it once and hopefully I only have to do it once. (Whānau in Māori medium)

However, the education system is not set up in a way that makes all possible pathways clear, and in some contexts, particularly in English medium, those pathways might not even exist (Bright, with Wylie, 2015):

I'm limited by what schools I can send my kids to because of zoning. And in my zone that I can go to there are no bilingual units at all. Where am I supposed to send my child? What options are available for my child for them to engage and learn in te reo Māori? (Kaiako/whānau in low immersion environment)

Transition processes are an important means of setting up pathways for learning te reo Māori, although increasing the provision of all reo Māori education options is required to address the larger issue of making sure there are pathways in the first place.

Through talking with whānau about what matters most as they are making a transition, two key points emerged. The first was that whānau should have opportunities to learn and use reo Māori and tikanga Māori in both Māori-medium and English-medium learning environments. The second was that the education system should support reo Māori learning continuity through providing:

- access to all Māori-language education options
- effective transitions processes
- accessible and relevant information about reo Māori provision.

Current literature cited in Bright et al., 2013 also suggests that successful transitions for learners happen when transition processes are set up in a way that:

- recognise and value learners' existing knowledge and abilities
- support reo Māori learning continuity
- create and maintain good relationships between all those involved in transitions
- provide information about Māori-language education options.

Practical strategies to improve transitions for reo Māori learners and speakers could include organising school visits for small groups of whānau, providing pānui,⁴ holding regular whānau hui to talk about what will be

learnt, and taking a whole-school approach to supporting te reo Māori (Bright et al., 2013).

Ensuring that transition practices prioritise te reo Māori would be a positive step forward in supporting reo Māori learners and speakers. There are many strategies being used in schools, and particularly in kura, that others can learn from. One strategy for providing information to transitioning learners and their whānau is to hold wānanga where all centres/schools/kura in a region present their reo Māori programmes to whānau and provide information about the pros and cons of each. With the 'big picture' in front of them, we suggest that whānau would be better placed to plan strategies for their entire education journey.

Transitions can be times of communication, reflection and decision making. It may be helpful to think of times of transitions as being 'conversation kick starters'. They present useful opportunities for both whānau and schools to enter into conversations about reo Māori aspirations and actions to support reo Māori learners.

3. Everyday impacts of institutional racism make it difficult to learn te reo Māori in schools

Once learners have transitioned into a new learning environment, they can continue to experience barriers to learning and using te reo Māori on an everyday basis, especially when moving into or between predominantly English-medium education environments. One of the ākonga we spoke with shared their experience:

That's what I reckon is kinda bad, 'cause there's the Māori class, but outside of the class no one speaks it, so it's not like, as soon as we go out of class, you can't really go to your mate and talk to them in Māori, so you don't use it as often. (Ākonga in low immersion environment)

When te reo Māori is not valued and the use of te reo Māori is discouraged, either actively or passively in the wider school environment, it is a form of institutional racism. Institutional racism creates an unequal power relationship where one side makes most of the important decisions and promotes a particular set of values and beliefs about what matters, to the detriment of other values and beliefs (Penetito, 2010). Part of the difficulty in addressing institutional racism and its effect on Māori learners is that it is not always recognised or understood. It often goes unchallenged because 'that's just how things are'.

Institutional racism also manifests itself through lack of choice or resourcing for Māori-language education (Bright et al., 2013). This undermines the status of the indigenous culture of Aotearoa New Zealand, the official status of reo Māori, and the aims of the Government's strategy Ka Hikitia.⁵

Imagine if suddenly English was not commonly spoken in schools. What if there were few opportunities to learn in English-language immersion environments? What if English-language learners had to advocate to learn their own language? These difficulties in accessing and learning a language are the reality for many if not most whānau who aspire to learn te reo Māori through the education system.

In English-medium secondary settings, making a choice about learning te reo Māori is too often positioned as an ‘all or nothing’ choice; for example, when a learner has to choose between taking te reo Māori or computer science. This positions te reo Māori in competition with subjects that are not comparable in terms of supporting culture and identity, but are still important to future careers. By having to make these kinds of choices, learners are disadvantaged one way or the other. They need options that allow them to choose te reo Māori ‘and’ the subjects that are important to them.

Regardless of whether the instigator for change comes from whānau or from within educational institutions themselves, change in environment—which necessarily includes change to attitudes and beliefs—needs to happen if educational environments are to fulfil their role (and it is an important one) in supporting reo Māori revitalisation.

4. Ongoing conversations about bilingualism in school environments are important

It is important for schools to have conversations about bilingualism if we want to develop our knowledge about how bilingualism in Māori and English can be supported in Aotearoa, and what this will look like in practice in different environments. These conversations are particularly important for English-medium learning environments, where many whānau are choosing to learn te reo Māori.

For Māori medium, the conversation might be about the place of English in an environment designed to support reo Māori learning and use—not easy when it is also one of the few spaces totally dedicated to revitalising our reo. For English medium the conversation has to be about the place of te reo Māori in an overwhelmingly English-language environment. What are the opportunities to support reo Māori learners and speakers?

One theme that emerged from Ka Whānau mai te Reo concerned ‘confidence’. Being in positive language environments where reo Māori use is accepted as normal, and participating in supportive cultures of learning, helps whānau feel able to kōrero with confidence. A complimentary theme concerned setting up conditions to make te reo Māori the preferred language of use—the

‘easy’ choice; for example, through forming reo Māori language bonds/relationships with others, and treating te reo Māori as a necessary means to communicate rather than an option.

An ideal environment for reo Māori learning at school would be one that accepts reo Māori use as normal and essential for communication. It would mean that learners can kōrero in spaces outside of the classroom without getting strange looks or comments from their peers or teachers. It means going beyond participating in pōhiri, kapa haka and manu kōrero,⁶ which, though important, are not the everyday communication with other reo speakers essential to learning te reo Māori.

Through our conversations with the 236 whānau members involved in Ka Whānau mai te Reo (including those involved in the related transitions-focused project Kei Tua o te Kura), we found that Māori-medium environments, where te reo Māori is a priority, were more prepared to support whānau reo Māori development at transition points and afterwards. This suggests that there are useful lessons to be learned from Māori medium that could perhaps be adapted in English medium to better support learners of te reo Māori.

5. School is part of a complex support system, including homes and communities, for many reo Māori learners and their whānau

We spoke with whānau who had opportunities to kōrero Māori at home, in their communities, and at kura or school. We also spoke with whānau who were completely reliant on the education system for opportunities to learn and use te reo Māori. We explored the idea that whānau learning and use of te reo Māori sit within a complex support system unique to each whānau. This led us to the concept of he pūnaha taupuhipuhi (complex support systems) for whānau reo Māori development.

Thinking about the relationships and opportunities to learn and use te reo Māori as sitting within a complex support system emerged as a way to:

- visualise the diverse realities of whānau learning te reo Māori
- help whānau plan where and how they can access reo Māori support in the different areas of their lives, including home, kura, and community
- help schools think about their role in supporting reo Māori learners and speakers.

Within a complex support system there are potential relationships and opportunities to access *formal* (in Māori-medium and English-medium education) and *informal* (at home and in communities) reo Māori support. A complex support system can include whānau in their home environment, relatives and friends,

education environments and communities, and other forms of support. Complex support systems are also unique to each whānau and can look different to those of any other whānau, because they are shaped by the relationships and opportunities they have to learn and use te reo Māori. Complex support systems may also vary for individuals within whānau. For example the complex support system of a child attending a Kōhanga Reo may look quite different from the complex support system of a child attending an English-medium primary school.

The following story is about a whānau at the time they were transitioning to a new learning environment, using the lens of their own complex support system for te reo Māori to illustrate their experiences (Bright, Hotere-Barnes, & Hutchings, 2015). This story is an example of the primary role a school can play within a complex support system that supports whānau reo Māori development, especially at times of transition.

Case study: Maria's transition between rumaki

Choosing to learn te reo Māori through rumaki in an English-medium school

A whānau had recently moved Maria from a rumaki (bilingual unit or class) in an English-medium intermediate school (Year 8) to a rumaki in an English-medium secondary school (Year 9). Maria and her mother, Lynda, chose this education pathway because they both felt that Maria needed to be in an environment that would prioritise reo Māori learning. The story highlights what was happening for them at home, with friends and relatives, at kura/school, and in their community around the time of transition.

Maria told us how important te reo Māori was to her, and talked about her aspirations for her learning:

[I'd like to] be more confident. Help me to speak in public situations. My family is supportive by encouraging and motivating me to stay focused.

Lynda wanted Maria to go to a school that would help her become a confident speaker of te reo Māori. She had herself participated in reo Māori courses in the past and was attending a wānanga course focused on tikanga Māori. Lynda explained:

In an ideal world I would love to converse with her, but at the moment I just think as long as I'm in that supportive role and I have a great understanding of tikanga I can keep up with what's right even though I may not be able to speak myself.

There were no relatives living at home or nearby for Maria to speak te reo Māori with, and Lynda shared her concerns about this:

All my whānau live over in Australia, or they've died. I feel a little bit isolated, and the same with Maria. Because of her family not being around it could be quite easy for her to lose it. So it'd be nice if she made those connections while she's at school so they will be sustainable out of the school environment, when she's an adult and on her own.

Having opportunities to learn and kōrero Māori at school, in the classroom and with friends, was especially important to this whānau. Apart from the school community (for Maria) and the tertiary learning community (for Lynda), there were few opportunities to use their reo. As a teacher herself Lynda was keen on being involved in a community of teachers learning te reo Māori in immersion environments.

I would love it if people like me, teachers, could live on the marae for six months, and then use it in their practice. It would be good if there could be more mainstream teachers who could immerse themselves—it's building that network of consistency with the reo.

She also noted that time constraints and other commitments would make it difficult for this to happen.

The transition process and te reo Māori

The transition process for new ākonga into the rumaki the whānau chose usually begins with an initial interview. In Maria's case the kaiako⁷ of the rumaki unit already knew her and decided it was not necessary. Lynda's view of the transition to the rumaki was that "in general it was pretty good" though she had some reservations:

You weren't as informed as you are in primary school. So sometimes you just sort of went with it. But they do have a whānau hui every term, and I have the email of all the teachers. It was probably more just letting it happen. I think I might've made a bit more of an effort if he (the teacher I already knew) wasn't there. (Lynda)

On reflection Lynda would have preferred that she and Maria had been able to have an interview. Maria herself found the move a bit scary, and would also have liked to have known more about what she was going to be learning in the rumaki earlier. As it was, she was welcomed to the school with a pōhiri for all new ākonga. It helped that Maria's older brother and her friends were also at the school.

Te reo Māori at school every day

Te reo Māori was the language of instruction in the rumaki, but kaiako also had to cater for the individual needs of ākonga who had not been in rumaki previously and had not experienced immersion education. There was an expectation that Māori be spoken in the playground—even though the school was otherwise English medium. The rumaki offered most subjects, but Maria also had to attend some mainstream classes, so she was learning in both Māori-medium and English-medium environments.

When asked whether she enjoyed being there, Maria said, "Yes because you can't speak English. I am enjoying being part of the whānau." Lynda noted that it was already having a positive impact at home because Maria's ability to "do stuff in reo" at home had improved. "She can get on and do things without asking for my help so much." (Lynda).

Lynda attended the whānau hui for the rumaki held once a term, where whānau could raise issues with the kaiako if they needed to.

Figure 3 is a visual representation of the complex support system of this whānau. The deeper colours signify where the most reo Māori activity, relationships or support are happening. For this whānau, their school community (kaiako, ākonga, whānau) was their main source of support for reo Māori learning and use. This would not be an uncommon scenario for many whānau.

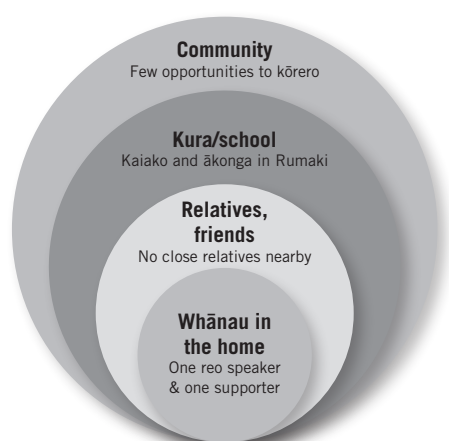


Figure 3. A visual representation of the complex support system of this whānau

Maria and Lynda were themselves agents of change—committed to improving their reo Māori. Both were working on strengthening their reo at home by actively learning Māori, even if they weren't quite at the point of having conversations in te reo Māori with each other. They both chose rumaki as the best way for Maria to strengthen her reo, and while the transition processes could be improved, her short time in the rumaki was already improving her reo at home. Lynda also had aspirations to strengthen their wider reo speaking community by participating in immersion learning with colleagues.

From stories such as these we see that schools and kura have an important role in supporting whānau reo Māori development at the point of transition and on an everyday basis. Viewing whānau experiences of learning te reo Māori within a complex support system highlights that reo Māori learning is a collective responsibility, and puts the role of the school or kura into context with other support whānau may be able to access.

How can schools better support reo Māori learners?

In the course of talking with whānau about how well they thought kura and schools had been prepared to support them to learn and use Māori, we found that they ranged from being well prepared to support reo Māori learners to not being prepared at all. The following critical questions for educational institutions encourage thinking about how schools could be better prepared to help Māori learners to learn te reo Māori at the point of transition and beyond.

Māori-language education

Are you connected with other ECE/Kōhanga Reo/schools/kura/tertiary institutions in a way that forms a clear learning pathway for learners and speakers of te reo Māori?

Can whānau access all Māori-language education options in your school (e.g. immersion, bilingual, or as a subject)? If not, how else are you supporting reo Māori learners?

How are you involving whānau in decisions about te reo Māori in your school?

Transitions

How are you finding out about whānau reo Māori aspirations? How are you incorporating those aspirations in your planning?

How do your transition processes ensure that your school can support reo Māori learners' learning continuity at the point of entry into and exit from the school?

What information are you providing to whānau about Māori-language education in your school? Is it clear and realistic about the impact you expect it will have on learners' reo Māori development?

Schools are part of a complex support system for whānau reo Māori development

How is your school culture/environment supporting reo Māori use in both formal and informal ways?

What everyday opportunities are there to kōrero Māori at school inside and outside of the classroom?

How are you strengthening connections between school, home and community to support reo Māori learning and use?

Kupu whakatepe: Conclusion

Whānau experiences of learning and using te reo Māori at home, at school and in the community are diverse—a state of affairs that is reflected in the uniqueness of the complex support systems of each whānau.

Transition processes can provide one of the early opportunities for whānau to find out about the formal and informal (inside and outside of the classroom) Māori-language education opportunities available at the schools and kura they are interested in. Transition processes that prioritise reo Māori can also contribute to supporting reo learning continuity as whānau are on the move.

It is important for schools to commit to supporting whānau reo aspirations in tangible ways through funding and resources, and in intangible ways such as increasing the status of the language through creating bilingual learning environments. These actions would go some way towards strengthening institutional responses to reo Māori revitalisation and counter the barriers caused by institutional racism that whānau currently face.

To truly support reo Māori aspirations in the long term, te reo Māori has to be prioritised in schools' every day culture and practice. For positive change for reo Māori learners and speakers to happen at deeper levels, it is important that schools have critical conversations about their values, beliefs, and practices and ask themselves how they can do more to support reo Māori learners and their whānau.

Notes

- 1 In 2013 approximately 257,500 Māori adults reported that they could speak more than a few words or phrases in te reo Māori. Of these, 38,000 (14 percent) said that te reo Māori was their first language.
- 2 Stories and views shared by whānau in groups or as individuals.
- 3 Students.
- 4 Newsletters.
- 5 *Ka Hikitia—Accelerating Success 2013–2017* is the Government's Māori education strategy.
- 6 Annual Māori speech competitions.
- 7 Teacher.

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Nicola Bright, Debbie Broughton and Jessica Hutchings wrote this paper as part of the Te Wāhanga team of NZCER. Te Wāhanga views Māori education and development as the intergenerational transfer of knowledge, which includes knowledge content, the method of knowledge transfer, and the ability of Māori to be in a position to determine what is transferred and how.

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