

Kā whānau mai te reo Kia rite!

Getting ready to move
Te reo Māori and transitions

Nicola Bright, Alex Hotere-Barnes and Jessica Hutchings

Wellington
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TE WĀHANGA
HE WHĀNAU MĀTAU HE WHĀNAU ORA
 **NZCER**

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Photographic images have been given with consent by whānau.
He mihi nui tēnei ki ngā whānau Hotere me Taumata-Nairn.

Te rārangi take

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He mihi

E kore e mutu ngā mihi ki ngā whānau. Ka nui ā mātou mihi ki a koutou katoa i tautoko mai i te mahi rangahau nei.

Without the whānau who participated in Ka Whānau mai te Reo there would not have been a project. We thank them for their time, interest and commitment to sharing their diverse experiences with us and other whānau.

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Kupu whakataki

Preamble

He maha ngā aronga o te huahuatau 'Ka whānau mai te reo': Ko te whānautanga mai o te tangata ki te ao, ko te whanaungatanga o ngā taura here whakapapa, te tuakiri o te tangata, ā, ko te reo tonu o te tangata. I konei ka pā ēnei kupu ki te tīmatanga, me kī te whānautanga o te reo mā roto i te whānau, me te hokinga whakamuri o taua whakaaro, te tīmatanga, te whānautanga o te whānau, mā roto i te reo Māori.

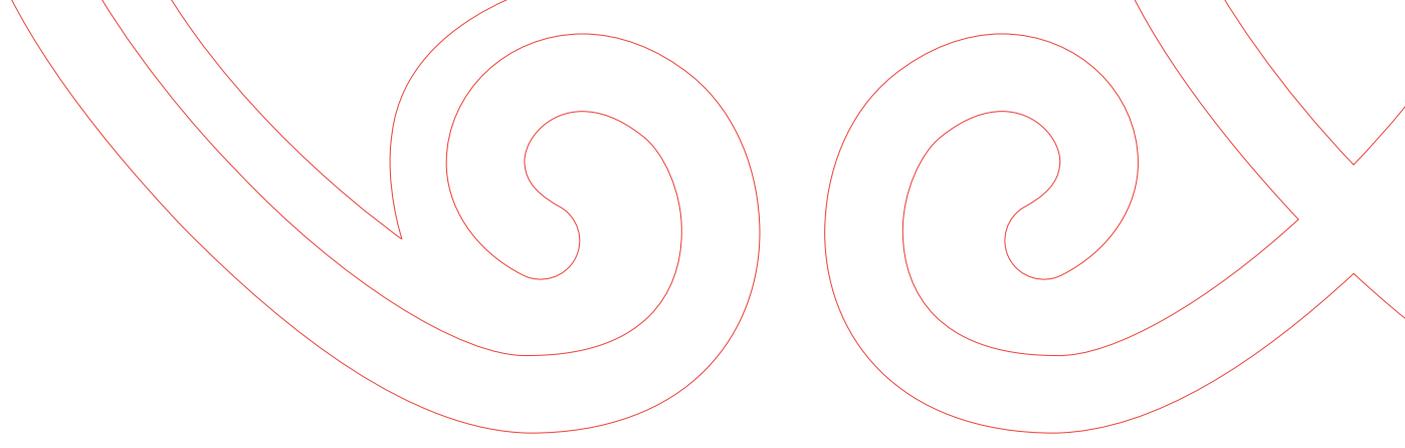
Ko te kaupapa matua o ēnei rangahau i raro i te kaupapa e kīa nei Ka Whānau mai te Reo, he tautoko i te whanaketanga reo Māori o te whānau. Tā tēnei kupu whakarite he whakaahua i ngā whakaaro ka ara ake mō ngā pūtakenga, mō te ngākau-nui, me ngā mahi nui e kawea nei e ngā whānau hei whakaora i tō tātou reo.

Ka whānau mai te reo has many meanings: birth, origins, the relationships between people who are joined together through whakapapa, identity and reo. In this context it refers to the beginning or birth of reo Māori through whānau, and conversely the beginning or birth of whānau through reo Māori.

Ka Whānau mai te Reo the research project is about supporting whānau reo Māori development, and this phrase encapsulates for us the thoughts that arise when thinking about the origins, commitment and efforts of whānau to revitalise our language.

*He whakamana
i te whānau,
he whakatairanga i
te reo Māori*





Whakarāpopotanga

Iētahi wā he uaua te whakatau take mō ngā huarahi ako mō te reo Māori mā te whānau. Me hokihoki anō ki aua whiriwhiringa, whakatau, ina tae ā tātou tamariki ki ngā kura hou i te pakeketanga o te tamaiti, tae noa ki te mutunga o te pūnaha mātauranga, ki tua atu hoki.

Ko ngā **whakawhitinga** he wā e huri ai te ao o te tangata, e whakaaro nui ai te whānau mō ō rātou moemoeā mō te reo Māori, me te mōhio he rerekē tonu ngā moemoeā o tēnā whānau, o tēnā whānau.

Ahakoā tērā, kei te whakatau tikanga ngā whānau mō te akoranga reo Māori i roto i tētahi pūnaha kāore e tino tautoko i te **rere rōnaki o te akoranga reo Māori**, ina nuku haere te whānau mai i tētahi horopaki ako ki tētahi. I tua atu i tēnei, kei te ako te nuinga i te horopaki au reo Pākehā, e kitea tonutia ai te mate nei te kaikiri, e tāmi kino nei i te kōrerotanga i te reo Māori.

Ki tā mātou i kite ai, i ētahi wā i āhei ngā whānau ki te kōwhiri huarahi tautoko i ō rātou moemoeā reo Māori, engari he maha kāore i āhei ki te urutomo ki ētahi akoranga reo Māori e tautokona ai ō rātou moemoeā ā-whānau. Kei te arotahi nuitia te whāinga wāhi a te whānau ki ngā akoranga reo Māori hei wāhi matua o tēnei pūrongo, heoi anō, kua kōrero hoki mātou ki ngā whānau mō te tautoko i a rātou i te kāinga, i ō rātou hapori hoki, nā te mea, e rua ēnei kaupapa, he mea tino nui katoa, ahakoā ngā wero motuhake o tētahi, o tētahi.

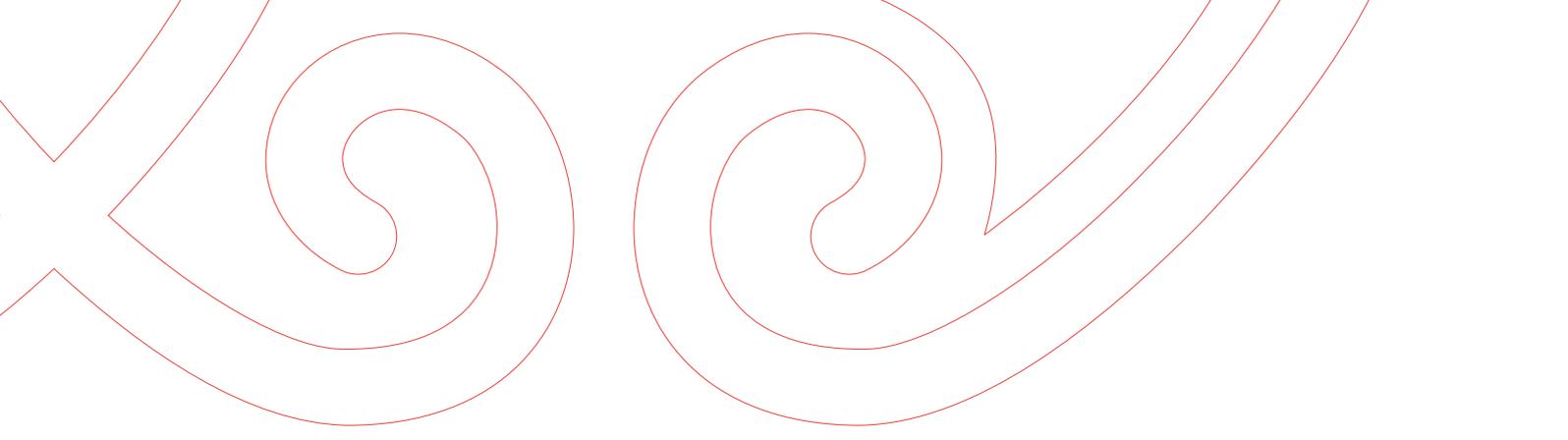
I kōrero mātou ki ētahi whānau, i te tatanga atu ki ētahi whakawhitinga matua, nekehanga rānei, e toru:

- tahi: 4 tau ki te Tau 1
- rua: Tau 8 ki te Tau 9
- toru: Te kura tuarua, ki tua atu hoki.

I rongo kōrero mātou mai i ngā whānau i te whakawhitinga tuatahi: mō te awenga o ngā hoa i roto i te whiriwhiri whakatau, he pēhea rawa te rerekē o ngā huarahi whakawhiti mai i tētahi whakahaere/kura ki tētahi, ā, he aha ngā mahi a te whānau, me te kaiako hei takatū mō te whakawhitinga. I te whakawhitinga tuarua, i rongo mātou i ngā nekehanga i waenga, i roto hoki i ngā au reo Māori, au reo Pākehā hoki. I te tuatoru i kōrero ngā whānau mō ngā hononga i waenga i te kura me ao kei waho.

I mātai hoki mātou ki ētahi whakaaro matua e hāngai ana ki te tautoko i te whanaketanga reo o te whānau—i mua, i roto, i muri hoki i ngā whakawhitinga. Ko ētahi o ēnei whakaaro, ko te horopaki, te aronga whakaaro, ngā pūkenga me ngā whāinga wāhi, te whakaaro mō ngā mea tino hira, tae atu ki ngā waiaro o te tangata ki te reo Māori me te noho hei Māori, ngā herenga ki te reo, me te ahurea o te ako.

Ko tā mātou whāinga ia, he whakapiki i ngā whakaritenga whakawhiti hei tautoko i ngā moemoeā o te whānau me te rerenga rōnaki o te ako. Kua whakaurua atu hoki ngā rautaki me ngā rauemi kua oti te waitohu e ngā whānau he whai tikanga mō tā rātou ako i te reo.



Summary

Making decisions about which Māori-language educational pathway to take can often be difficult. Whānau have to make these decisions over and over again as they move through and beyond the education system.

These decisions are made at each **'transition'** or move to a new school or class. They are times of change, when whānau are more likely to reflect on their reo Māori aspirations. These aspirations are as diverse as whānau themselves.

However, whānau are making choices about Māori-language education within an education system that overall does not effectively support **reo learning continuity** between learning environments. Most are participating in English-medium education, where institutional racism often discourages reo Māori use.

We found that whānau were sometimes able to choose pathways likely to support their reo aspirations, but many were unable to access Māori-language education that contributed to their whānau aspirations. Whānau participation in Māori-language education is a key focus in this report, but we also spoke with whānau about their reo development at home and in their communities. All these environments are important and each have their own challenges.

We spoke with whānau as they approached three key transitions or moves:

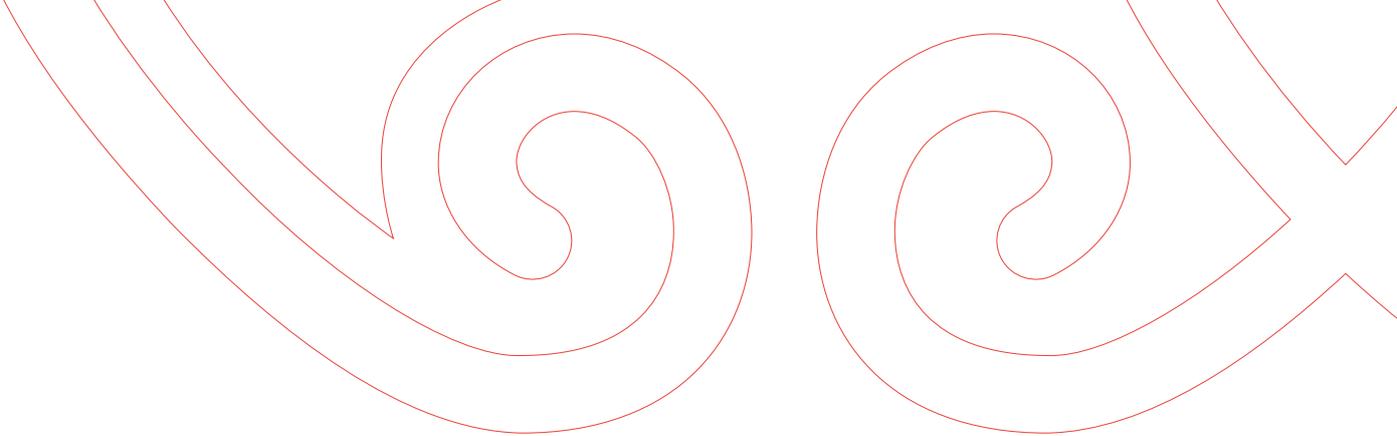
- tahi: four years old to Year 1
- rua: Year 8 to Year 9
- toru: secondary school and beyond.

From whānau involved in the first transition we heard about the influence of friends on decision making, how different the transition processes of each institution are, and what whānau and kaiako did to prepare for the move. In the second transition, we heard about the moves between and within Māori and English mediums. In the third, whānau talked about the links between school and life beyond.

We also looked at a number of important ideas that were relevant to supporting whānau reo development—before, during and after transitions. They included environment, disposition, skill and opportunity, necessity, attitudes to reo Māori and being Māori, language bonds and the culture of learning.

Our intent is to provide ideas to improve transitions processes so that they effectively support whānau reo Māori aspirations and learning continuity. We have also included the strategies and resources that whānau told us would be useful in supporting their reo learning.





Kupu arataki

Introduction

Reinstating te reo Māori as a living, normal, everyday language in the home and in other places remains essential to revitalising reo Māori. The reality is that whānau have varying levels of reo support within their own homes and communities. Some will speak Māori at home and/or have opportunities to kōrero regularly. However, the majority, most of whom are second-language learners or who have not yet begun to learn Māori, will need language support from other sources as well.

The Aotearoa New Zealand education system is the main source of reo learning for many whānau. In the context of language revitalisation the education system can be viewed as a transitional space for reo learning that has an important role now. However that role should diminish or change as the reo speaking population strengthens and grows. As whānau move through the education system they need information and options to help them choose the Māori-language educational pathways right for them. Transition processes that support the continuity of reo learning as whānau move along these pathways are essential. It is also important to understand and challenge the structural barriers within the education system created by institutional racism. If not, these barriers will continue to make it difficult for whānau to access information and resources, and to exercise decision-making power.

Key messages from the year one report

Most adult speakers of Māori have learned Māori as a second language.

Learning te reo Māori as a whānau at home is key to revitalising the language.

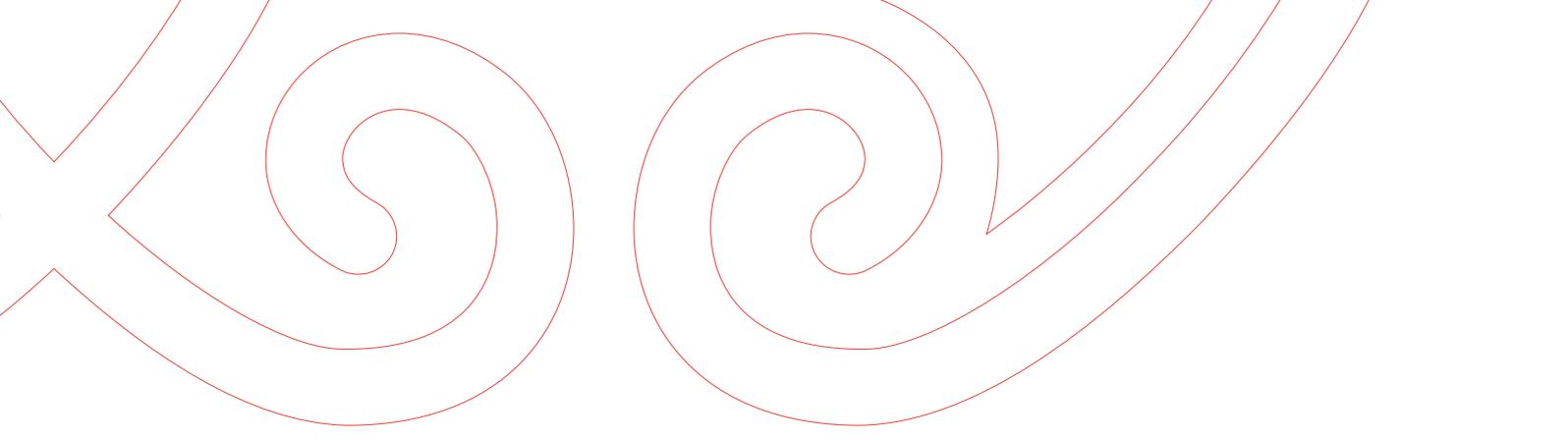
Whānau Māori-language development has to be supported at multiple levels—home, community and educational institutions.

There are many cognitive, educational, cultural and social benefits to being bilingual and biliterate.

Transitions are good times to think about reo Māori aspirations and educational pathways.

Good relationships between tamariki, parents, whānau and kaiako are important for successful transitions.

There is a wide variety of Māori-language educational options, but not all are equally effective or accessible.



Ka Whānau mai te Reo: Kia Rite! is the second report from the kaupapa Māori research project Ka Whānau mai te Reo. It is about supporting whānau reo Māori development during key educational transitions as whānau move through the compulsory education system and beyond. It also aims to provide whānau with useful information to inform their decisions about reo Māori learning.

Ka whānau mai te reo: Honouring Whānau, Upholding Reo Māori 2013

The first report, released in 2013, drew on kōrero from whānau and from existing research about Māori-language revitalisation and transitions. It outlined some of the issues that whānau face as they move between different learning environments from early childhood (in Māori and English mediums) onwards. This sets the scene for the next two reports.

Ka whānau mai te reo: Kia Rite! 2014

In this second report, *Ka Whānau mai te Reo: Kia Rite!*, we investigate the preparation stage of transitions, when whānau are getting ready to move on. In what ways are their reo Māori aspirations being supported by educational institutions? What are some of the challenges they face? What are the opportunities to support reo Māori learning continuity?

We begin with the diverse aspirations whānau have for their reo. We then look at three key transition points when whānau are making decisions about Māori-language education. This is followed by a discussion of some of the wider reo issues that are relevant for whānau at any time, but which come to the fore during transitions. Finally, we look at where to next and how we plan to share this research with our primary audience—whānau.

Reinstating te reo Māori as a living, normal, everyday language in the home and in other places remains essential to revitalising reo Māori

Ngā nekehanga me te reo Māori: Transitions and Māori-language education

Transitions or moves within the education system are tricky times generally for whānau and become more so when reo Māori aspirations are added to the mix. Whānau make decisions about their reo within an educational environment that, on the whole, does not adequately support whānau reo Māori aspirations. The quality and availability of Māori-language education varies widely, both in English medium and in Māori medium. Transition processes that support good reo transitions are ad hoc. Transitions that support continuity of reo Māori learning are more likely to occur where kura/schools and whānau purposefully plan for them. However, transitions are made harder by the barriers caused by the racism inherent within many educational institutions.



The decisions whānau make about how they will participate in Māori-language education are not easy ones. We spoke with whānau as they prepared to transition or move somewhere new. We did so in order to pay attention to decisions being made at a point when reo Māori aspirations can come to the fore and influence choices. The three major transitions we look at in this report are:

TAHI: Four years old to Year 1

RUA: Year 8 to Year 9

TORU: Secondary school and beyond

Kaupapa Māori research approach

This research is guided by a whanaungatanga methodology that focuses on the reo Māori issues whānau experience.¹ Quotes from whānau have been used liberally throughout the report, though names have been changed so that people cannot be identified. In the past 2 years we have spoken with whānau involved in kōhanga reo, puna reo, early childhood learning centres, playcentres, kura kaupapa Māori, primary schools, intermediate schools, wharekura and secondary schools. Whānau came from a wide variety of backgrounds in terms of their reo Māori ability and experiences.

We spoke with whānau participating in high and low Māori-language immersion environments. Whānau with varied access to Māori-medium education and resourcing. Whānau who could speak Māori and whānau who couldn't. Whānau who were content with the existing system and whānau who wanted to see major change. We spoke with whānau from various iwi, and some who were of ethnicities other than Māori. Some had strong connections with their reo speaking communities and some did not. Many whānau had more than one child and were able to talk about how their previous experiences had influenced their current choices. The whānau who shared their experiences with us had a wide variety of aspirations for reo Māori proficiency, bilingualism and biliteracy. All were generous in sharing their thoughts.

We spoke with groups of ākongā, adult whānau members and kaiako. Each group brought their different and important perspectives. For example, it was important to hear the stories of ākongā who were participating in compulsory education as well as the stories of kaiako working within educational institutions. The lines between each of the groups were fluid. For example, 13 kaiako participated in the whānau groups and were also interviewed in their role as kaiako because they saw themselves in both roles. Together their stories create a holistic picture of transition experiences.

Other research provides important information about linguistics, language revitalisation, pedagogy and other aspects that contribute to reo Māori learning. This research shares the experiences of whānau who have chosen a range of pathways to the reo. We hope that whānau who are making similar decisions find this helpful. Educational institutions may also find the content useful in developing their relationships with whānau and with other institutions.

¹ See the appendix for more information about the methodology.

“It’s a part of who we are”

Whānau reo Māori aspirations

KEY POINTS

- Diverse whānau have diverse aspirations for their reo.
- Transitions are a time to reflect on reo aspirations and educational pathways.
- Whānau have created change in educational institutions.

NGĀ MOEMOEĀ O NGĀ WHĀNAU: WHĀNAU ASPIRATIONS

Whānau aspirations for their reo are as varied and diverse as whānau themselves. Some whānau want their tamariki to become highly fluent reo speakers who are knowledgeable about tikanga. Others are satisfied with whatever level of reo their tamariki obtain, the important thing is they feel confident in who they are and where they are from. Whānau may have different reo aspirations for each of their tamariki, and tamariki themselves may have different aspirations from their parents.

We asked whānau to look beyond the school years and share their visions for te reo Māori in their whānau. Some focused closely on their own whānau, while others were more wide reaching and ambitious.

We could create a closed community of mostly first-language/native speakers where reo Māori is the only language allowed. Kōrero Māori all the time, everywhere, not just at the marae and at kura. As first-language speakers we have an obligation to use it as much as possible. English already has a very strong influence in the community. There would also be an obligation on speakers from a closed reo community to then go outside and influence other communities. (Wānanga participant)



Te whānau Hotere.

For many whānau, future aspirations for supporting their reo included making sure that their children's connections with whānau, hapū, iwi and their home marae stayed strong. Some wanted their tamariki to be comfortable on their marae, whatever level of reo they attained. Some aspired for their tamariki to take on roles in te ao Māori that require fluency in Māori.

That's 40 kids that can kōrero Māori on our marae and mōteatea at our pōwhiri, who can all haka pōwhiri, who all know how to look after the wharekai, the kāuta and the urupā. (Kaiako/whānau in high immersion environment)

Yeah, like my boy when he went over [to the Gold Coast] the best thing anyone could do was teach him about pā and marae ... he did say to me, 'Mum I didn't really want this kura and what you guys had done, but it is awesome,' and I'm like, about bloody time. (Whānau in high immersion environment)

Still others felt that the reo was the means to re-instil pride in Māori culture back into their own whānau.

I'm hoping he'll get into kapa haka in college ... Well it's because it is who we are, it's a part of who we are. I haven't had it or been taught that it's alright to be Māori really ... I want Rawiri to know where he comes from and who he is. (Whānau in low immersion environment)

The only way for it [reo] to improve is to carry it on through the rest of the school system. (Whānau in low immersion environment)

Whānau spoke about the importance of creating a solid reo foundation through participating in Māori-medium environments. Whatever choices their tamariki might make after

leaving school, the door to their reo, tikanga and culture would always be open.

I'm hoping that as they have their own kids that's when they'll realise the power of te reo Māori and so they'll stick—because they've got the foundation and they've got the skills, hopefully they'll kind of impart a bit of that on their children. Their kids are maybe the ones that get them back into the kaupapa. (Whānau in high immersion environment)

They may not necessarily feel that they appreciate who they are when they're leaving the 7th Form, but you can guarantee that the year after, when they get into the big world—and it happens all the time, ka taka te kapa—"I was so lucky man," ... these kids have got the keys, they're bilingual, they know who they are. (Kaiako in high immersion environment)

Kei te whakarite mātou i a mātou tamariki kia noho, kia tū Māori i roto i te ao ... ahakoa rā te ao e tū ana. (Kaiako/whānau in high immersion environment) [*We are preparing our children to be, to stand as Māori in the world, no matter which world they find themselves in.*]

Many ākongā saw a clear role for themselves in transmitting the reo within their own whānau and/or eventually sending their own tamariki to kōhanga reo.

I want them to go to a kōhanga 'cause otherwise our language will fade, our culture will just go to waste. (Ākongā in low immersion environment)

It's not just an education system, it's an actual lifestyle

Some of the whānau we spoke with felt that they needed to make things happen themselves. Either through their choice of learning medium or through working with schools and kura.

No one's going to change that future except for the people who want to change it. I'm fully converted about needing to change it for my girls and my boy. (Whānau in high immersion environment within English medium)

I think what our whānau need to realise is that it's not just an education system, it's an actual lifestyle ... when you're going into kōhanga reo it's not just so your kids can learn in a Māori medium, it's for everyone ... that's when we'll get the biggest support system. (Kaiako/whānau in high immersion environment)

Aspirations to improve the current system included increasing the number of kura in every region to improve whānau access to Māori-medium education, including tertiary education. Whānau talked about the importance of being involved in transition plans and in their own whānau language plans.

The only way for it [reo] to improve is to carry it on through the rest of the school system. (Whānau in low immersion environment)

They also thought it important that whānau have opportunities to become biliterate (reading and writing in Māori and English) as well as bilingual. They suggested creating dual or multiple education systems that are well connected to each other, to facilitate successful transitions.

MĀ TE WHĀNAU KA TĪNI TE ĀHUA: WHĀNAU CREATING CHANGE

Te Reo Māori

A whānau moved to a primary school where there was little if any emphasis on reo and tikanga. This situation did not fit with the high aspirations this whānau had for their reo, so a parent decided to challenge the school.

We had no te reo Māori ... I wrote a letter to the school saying, 'What are you doing to provide te reo me tikanga Māori in your school? What are you guys doing, why should I keep my daughter here if it's not happening?'

This was only the beginning. She rallied together a group of like-minded whānau who challenged the school to meet their aspirations, and in doing so changed how that school viewed reo Māori education. By the end of the first year they had a kaiako teach te reo Māori in each class for an hour a week. The next challenge was to get the school to form a bilingual unit. It took persistence, good relationship building and hard work, but they finally achieved their goal for a bilingual unit within an English-medium school.

[We had to fight] to have a bilingual unit. We had to talk to other bilingual units around the rohe to find out how we were to go about it, how we were to put a proposal to the Board of Trustees. We had to go to the Ministry of Education and get ... well we didn't have to go to the Ministry, but we wanted to show them that we were serious so we went to the Ministry and said, 'What do we need to put into place?' and Maraea is 11 now so the unit's been going for 5 years.

Tikanga

A group of early childhood education (ECE) kaiako set up their transition processes to help tamariki move to their new school in a way that recognised their reo and tikanga. The kaiako felt that it was part of their tikanga to hand the child to the new teacher and school to continue on their learning journey. This process was not always received well by primary schools initially.

We had a lot of resistance from schools in the beginning, like 'What's that weird Māori thing you want to do?', you know? But every school, once they've done it, some schools we've had to ask three or four times before we've got to do it, and all of them, without exception, once we've done it once go, 'Oh yeah, that's great', and they're really happy to do it. I think it's unknown ... what are we expecting from them.

Since then the ECE kaiako had received positive feedback from the primary teachers who said that process made them feel the child was really precious, and that they had to take really good care of that child.

It's made them feel that we're giving them a responsibility for that child; to keep the tikanga things happening for that child, and we think that's a really good thing. (ECE low immersion kaiako)



Kia rite

Preparing to move

KEY POINTS

- The education system does not effectively support reo learning continuity during transitions.
- Most whānau participate in English medium, where institutional racism discourages reo Māori use.
- Māori-language education is occurring in three types of environments: high immersion, high immersion within English medium, and low immersion.

In Aotearoa, most whānau do not have easy access to all reo Māori education options. To do so, there would have to be at least as many Māori-medium learning environments as there are English medium and this is certainly not the case. As of 1 July 2014, there were 282 schools (primary through to secondary) with students enrolled in Māori medium (Māori-language immersion levels 1-2). 1,045 schools offered Māori language in English medium (Māori-language immersion levels 3-5) (Education Counts, 2015). Whānau choice is limited to the options available in the areas they choose to live, and most are choosing English-medium schools.

Reo learning continuity (learning that continuously builds on existing knowledge and skills) can easily be disrupted during transitions or the move from one place to another. If there aren't good options for reo Māori education or links between existing reo programmes then reo learning can suffer. And this can happen again and again as whānau move through the compulsory education system.

For some whānau, learning Māori through the education system, and particularly through English medium, can be like playing a game of snakes and ladders. Success relies on the roll of a dice, or in this context, on the choice of a school or series of schools.

In the game, you win by rolling the dice and landing on ladders until you get to the top of the board. To get the most benefit out of reo Māori education, whānau need "ladders" that connect learning environments, build on existing language knowledge and skills and provide the Māori language options whānau want. Effective transitions processes that prioritise reo Māori can provide some of these ladders. But there is also a need for more Māori-medium education overall.

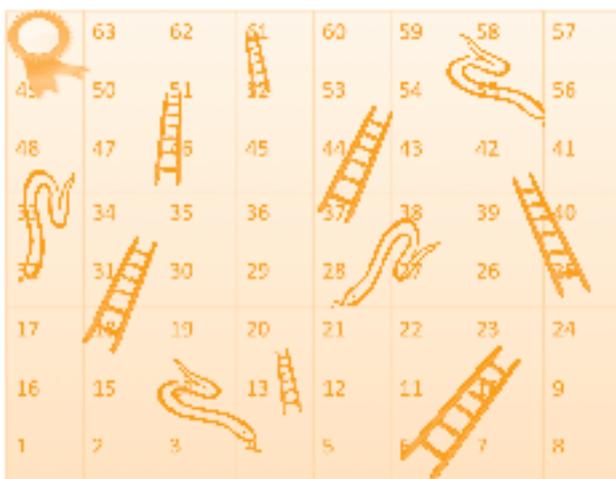


Figure 1: Learning Māori through the education system?

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)

Whānau we spoke with made their choices based on a range of factors: their aspirations for reo and other educational goals, their relationships and networks, and their local situation. A very small proportion of whānau found they had a wealth of good options for learning reo. However most struggled to access the Māori-language options they would have preferred.

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)

Some go to [a local primary school], which has a rumaki but, there's very little options to carry on the reo. Otherwise kids lose the reo, and it's not cool to be Māori at school. When this happens, they feel whakamā about being Māori and the reo—being whakamā shouldn't be part of being Māori. (Kaiako in high immersion environment)

Most ākongā are participating in English medium, where the barriers created through institutional racism are not always recognised or challenged. Institutional racism manifests itself through lack of choice or resourcing for Māori-language education, and environments that discourage the use of Māori (Bright, Barnes, & Hutchings, 2013).

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. (Ākongā in low immersion environment)

English language and the dominant culture are too often privileged in education and in wider society. This undermines the status of the indigenous culture of Aotearoa, the official status of reo Māori, and the aims of the Government's strategy *Ka Hikitia* (Ministry of Education 2013b).

To highlight some of the differences that environment has on whānau experiences of Māori-language education, we have used the terms **'high immersion environment'** or **'high immersion environment within English medium'** to describe environments where the curriculum is taught for more than 50 percent of the time in Māori. **'Low immersion environments'** refer to English-medium environments where the curriculum is taught for 50 percent or less of the time. High immersion is the option most likely to effectively support whānau aspirations for high reo Māori proficiency.

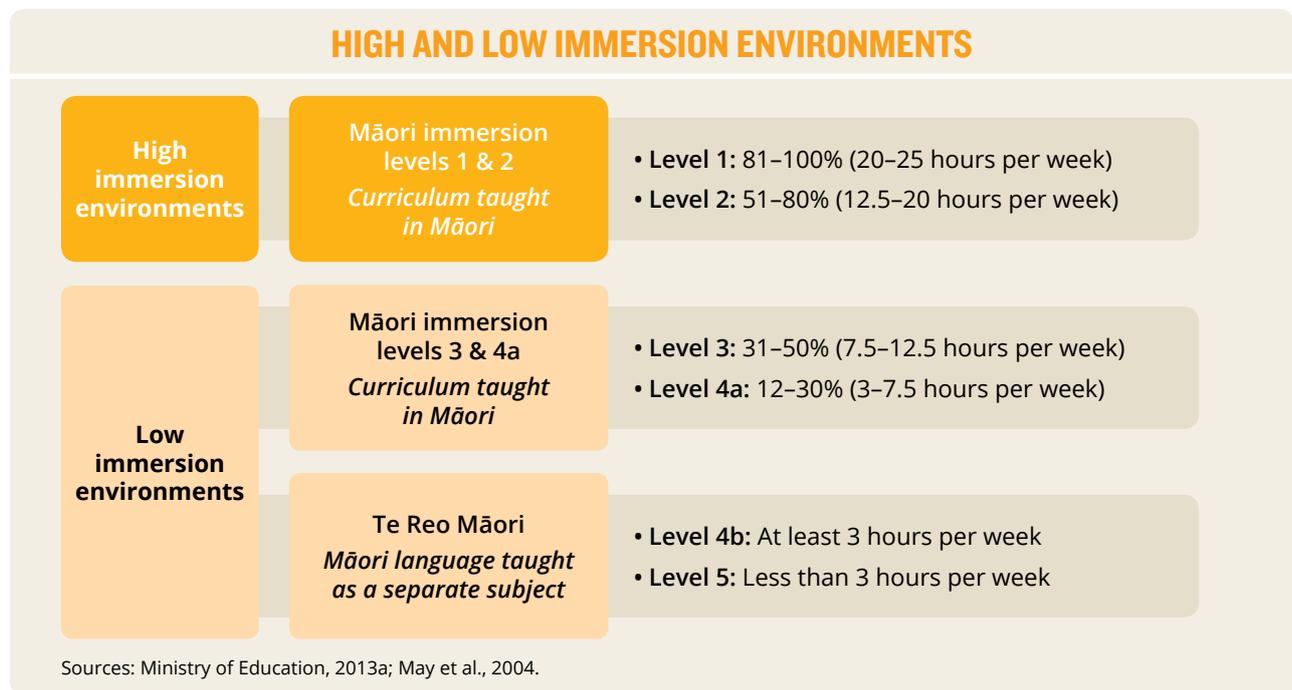


Figure 2: High and low immersion environments

Whānau make decisions about what is best for their own whānau, whatever their reo aspirations may be. The *Ka Whānau mai te Reo* reports focus on the pathways that are most likely to support aspirations for high reo proficiency or fluency, as well as the multiple pathways for all levels of reo proficiency.

The first report *Ka whānau mai te reo: Honouring Whānau, Upholding Reo Māori*, contains background information about transitions and reo Māori revitalisation based on existing research and kōrero from whānau. This report focuses on the experiences and key ideas of whānau learning Māori through the education system and at home.

TAHI: MOVING FROM ECE TO PRIMARY

Tahi: Four years old to Year 1

- Friends
- Everywhere is different
- Knowing your options
- Mihimihi
- Improving transitions

For this first transition we spoke with whānau who were planning to move from kōhanga reo, puna reo or early childhood education (ECE) to kura or primary schools. The key ideas were about the importance of friends in decision making and the wide range of transition processes in educational institutions.

Ngā hoa: Friends

We talked with whānau about the most important influences on their choices and how these fitted in with their reo aspirations. Te reo Māori was an important factor for most whānau we spoke with. Relationships with people who helped tamariki feel settled and happy also rated highly. Children's friends played a big part for many. In some instances, whānau aspirations for their reo took second place to their child's desire to stay with their friends.

He's determined that's the kura his mates are going to be ... I think this plays an important part as well—where their peers will be going. It just helps with the transition I think. (Whānau in high immersion environment)

It's hard. I'm going to see what her friends are doing. I'll talk to the mātua, see how they're finding certain places and decide based on that. What would be the best choice for her overall wellbeing? It won't be just for the reo. (Whānau in high immersion environment)

Decision making often involves compromise when options are limited or aspirations for the reo are not shared by all within a close community. For some whānau this meant having to weigh one priority against another—in this case, a supportive reo Māori environment versus strong relationships with friends. This weighing up of multiple priorities is not uncommon, and is one of the reasons transitions can be complicated for whānau.

He rerekē ngā wāhi katoa: Everywhere is different!

Every learning environment has its own transition processes. For the whānau we spoke with it was not uncommon for different children within one whānau to follow different educational pathways, all with different transition experiences.

I've had different experiences with all of my children. My eldest boy wasn't able to get into the kōhanga until he was four, so his reo was not



Te whānau Taumata-Nairn.

in the best place to go to kura, so I sent him to a rumaki for his first year. But what I did notice was that as soon as he went from rumaki to the kura his reo improved overnight, it was really drastic ... I think that had a lot to do with the reo in the whole wider environment again instead of just in the rumaki unit. He was ready to go into the rumaki unit because of the preparation at the kōhanga reo. And the same with my daughter. She just flew into kura no problem and she's one of the better reo speakers because she has been in the kōhanga since she was two. (Whānau in high immersion environment)

Kaiako typically guide the more formal part of the transitioning process for tamariki. They prepare them for what they can expect in their new environment and facilitate relationships with kura and schools.

We asked the kura teachers for advice on what the kids need to know, i.e. make sure they know what their written name looks like, sit on a mat, turn pages, count to 10, hang bags on hooks. When they're ready for school they start getting hōhā and need more challenging stuff. (Kaiako in high immersion environment)

Kia mōhio ki ngā whiringa: Knowing your options

Whānau prepared for the move by talking to their tamaiti, wider whānau and friends. They also accessed information about the options available to them directly from kura and schools. The whānau from a kōhanga reo received a prospectus from the local kura Māori and were invited to visit the kura and talk to the teachers and principal. At an ECE facility one person would go out to all the schools and gather information packs and pamphlets.

It's all there. If they're interested in schools that have got bilingual units, then we can provide information about what schools have bilingual units. If whānau want ones that have RTLBs¹, then we can tell them what schools have these. (Whānau in low immersion environment)

Another ECE facility held a school information evening, where they invited the new entrant teachers and the principals from the local primary schools. Whānau from the facility were able to attend and find about the learning options available in their area.

Schools come along and talk about their school. We can ask questions and they talk to us about what kind of stuff the child needs to know, or how you know they're ready. (Whānau in low immersion environment)

Mihimihi: Talking about who you are

In preparing for the transition to kura or school, the kaiako we spoke with focused on helping tamariki to learn their mihimihi. Kaiako in high immersion environments expected that mihimihi would be a normal and ongoing part of their

learning as they continued on to kura. In contrast, kaiako in low immersion environments felt uncertain whether this type of learning would continue in school.

As soon as he went from rumaki to the kura his reo improved overnight, it was really drastic ... I think that had a lot to do with the reo in the whole wider environment again.

Tamariki are familiar with tikanga and routines—they can name objects, know their pepeha and do mihimihi/karakia, can participate and know their role at pōwhiri. This is the main focus for Years 3–4. They learn mihi in stages. At 4½ we introduce the four sections of the mihi for when they start at [kura]. We go to the pōwhiri with them and talk to them about who the whaea will be, and which class mates they might know, and remind them of what they did on those visits. (Kaiako in high immersion environment)

The mihi the children learn here does go [words], and when they go they take the laminated copy with them. We encourage them to say it to their school even if they don't do it at school ... They will always have that with them because it's in their journal as well. (Kaiako in high immersion environment)

Mihimihi are about the whole whānau. When tamariki are learning to introduce themselves through mihimihi, it is an opportunity for whānau to learn together, especially if they are new to learning the reo. Whānau considered early childhood environments to be welcoming places for them to be with their tamariki

¹ Resource Teacher: Learning and Behaviour.



compared to primary schools, so is it possible to make more of these opportunities? Some of the kaiako we spoke with were already actively helping whānau by holding night classes and providing reo Māori resources. Perhaps it could also be helpful to include 'learning mihimihi as a whānau' in formal transition processes to encourage whānau learning. Of course this has to be feasible for whānau, who may or may not be able to participate in this way.

Kia pai ai ngā nekehanga: Improving transitions

Whānau suggestions (in their own words) for how transition processes could be improved mostly focused on improving relationships among those most involved in transitions.

Include the whole whānau

I would like to help out with something focused on te reo Māori, but I can't because I still have preschoolers who aren't able to attend with me. (Whānau in low immersion environment)

Get to know other whānau

It would be awesome if local kura and schools could set up a day where all the kōhanga reo within the area come, and we have a pānui or concert or whatever just to build those relationships ... with the other whānau that have tamariki starting at the same time because it's a huge thing when your baby goes to school. (Whānau in high immersion environment)

More interaction between kōhanga/ECE and kura/schools

Have regular hui with schools and whānau, focus on tamariki and the reo they bring. (Kaiako in high immersion environment)

Teachers from other primary schools with reo could come into the kōhanga reo and work with the transition class—or we could go there. (Kaiako in high immersion environment)

Bring down some of the new entrant class down to kōhanga and just have some kai or just a bit of a whanaungatanga. On teacher release days, kaiako could come down to kōhanga to strengthen the relationship. (Whānau in high immersion environment)

Get teachers from the bilingual schools to come in and have a talk to the parents and say, 'This is what we do and this is where we are'. (Whānau in low immersion environment)

RUA: MOVING FROM PRIMARY TO SECONDARY

Rua: Year 8 to Year 9

Moving between and within mediums (Māori and English)

A second major transition within the education system occurs when whānau are moving between primary or intermediate and secondary school. We talked with whānau in Year 8 (ākonga aged 11–12) who were preparing to transition to Year 9 from kura kaupapa Māori or primary school or intermediate, to kura kaupapa Māori/wharekura or secondary school. This is also the first time we spoke to ākonga as well as whānau and kaiako. The differences in reo learning and environment between Māori medium, English medium and high immersion classes within English medium became more apparent at this time.

Te noho ki te au reo Māori: Staying in Māori medium

Kura kaupapa Māori can cater for ākonga from Year 1 to Year 13. For whānau who stay in kura there is no physical move, so the transition process is relatively smooth. Relationships with friends, whānau and kaiako are more easily maintained, as is reo learning continuity.

Kāore i te tino kite i te nekehanga mai i ngā tau whitu ki ngā tau tekau, kāore he itinga, kāore he rerekētanga ... Ko ngā nekehanga nui i kitea e au ko ngā nekehanga o ngā tamariki hou, ngā whānau hou. (Kaiako in high immersion environment) [We don't really see much change between Year 7 and Year 10, no less, no difference... the main changes I have seen involve transitions with new children and new whānau coming into the school.]

Kaiako and whānau we spoke with considered the transition of new whānau into kura a much more significant move, particularly if whānau came from low immersion environments.

Te nuku atu i te au reo Pākehā ki te au reo Māori: Moving from English medium to Māori medium

The move from low immersion to high immersion is less common than the move from high to low. However, at least one wharekura has a transition programme specifically for whānau making this move. The transition programme has an intense focus on increasing reo Māori

There can be breaks in reo learning continuity even when moving between two high immersion environments

proficiency over a period of 3 months before ākonga fully join in with the rest of the kura. There is also a clear expectation that parents will 'upskill themselves' and speak Māori to their tamariki.

Tamariki with no reo at all come in and they spend a whole term just learning te reo, they don't learn maths or science or English, just te reo, and that's the understanding that we have with the parents. That is something that is pretty much unique to our kura. (Kaiako/whānau in high immersion environment)

Atu i te au reo Māori ki te rumaki i te au reo Pākehā: Māori medium to rumaki within English medium

There can be breaks in reo learning continuity even when moving between two high immersion environments. We spoke with one whānau who had moved from a high immersion kura to a rumaki unit in an English-medium school. They were disappointed to find there was a big difference in the quality of reo taught in both environments.

When [Ani] came here, it was mentioned by a couple of the teachers how much reo she knew, and they were like, 'Whoa! She's very advanced,' and then slowly slowly slowly she's come back down because it wasn't being fed here. Because she was far advanced from the others. (Whānau in high immersion environment within English medium)



Atu i te au reo Māori ki te au reo Pākehā: Māori medium to English medium

The transition from high immersion environments to low can be a huge culture shock. Kaiako who had seen this happen in their own schools suggested that it could be managed better by working with whānau to plan the best approach to support their child's learning. They also suggested connecting whānau with each other, especially if they came from the same iwi.

For me it would be about talking to the contributing kura to find out who is going to come and who is going to be interested in te reo. And then maybe we wānanga as a whānau—kids, whatever—before they come the following year we have a transition period built into Term 4. So they're ready Term 1, and we just talked about relationship being key, that establishes a relationship with the kaiako, with the whānau and a little bit of getting to know who these kids are before they come in. (Whānau in low immersion environment)

He āwangawanga mō te reo Pākehā: Concerns about English-language development

Te reo Māori development was a high priority for some whānau, particularly those who chose to participate in high immersion environments. However, many of these whānau were also concerned about their children's education in English language. This is one of the times that a drop in the number of whānau participating in Māori medium occurs (Campbell & Stewart, 2009, p. 123; McGee, Ward, Gibbons, & Harlow, 2004, pp. 38–39; May, Hill, & Tiakiwai, 2004, p. 123).¹ In one school, a lot of children had been leaving the rumaki unit to go into English-speaking classes because of parental concerns about English-language acquisition. In their case the school added English-language sessions once a week into the rumaki programme and did regular PAT reading and comprehension testing to reassure parents.

Kia pai ai ngā nekehanga: Improving transitions

Whānau suggestions for how transition processes could be improved included the following.

Communication and relationships

- Maintain good communication with parents.
- Forge better relationships between schools and nearby colleges.
- Organise school visits for small groups of whānau (rather than on mass visits) and regular pānui.
- Share models for transition processes among schools and colleges.
- Hold regular whānau hui to talk with whānau about what will be learnt.
- Provide opportunities for ākonga from the same school to come together again in Year 9.

Recognition of first and second language learner needs

- Create college qualifications that are appropriate for immersion learners as well as second-language learners.
- Provide bilingual resources.

Te reo Māori within English-medium schools

- Address the isolation of kaiako in English-medium schools by creating networks between Māori-medium and English-medium kaiako.
- Address the isolation of reo Māori and tikanga Māori within English-medium schools by taking a whole school approach to supporting reo Māori.
- Establish more rumaki in mainstream schools that are supported by the entire school.

¹ This 'drop off' also occurs at the first transition point.

TORU: MOVING FROM SECONDARY TO BEYOND

Toru: secondary school and beyond

Links between school and beyond

Opportunities to speak don't stop when you leave school. (Ākonga in high immersion environment within English medium)

The third transition begins with young adults in their final year of school who are preparing to move into the next phase of their lives. We spoke with ākonga in their 11th, 12th or 13th year at secondary school, and their whānau and kaiako.

In the first two transitions whānau are making decisions about which kura or school to go to next. In contrast, at this transition point ākonga may decide to go on to tertiary study but they may equally well go on to employment or on to parenthood themselves. The decisions here go beyond the world of compulsory schooling. Ākonga will have to manage the pressures of everyday adult life (economic and other) along with their aspirations for the reo.

Au reo Māori: Kura and wānanga

One group of ākonga talked about how links between their kura and the local wānanga provided opportunities to gain tertiary qualifications, new skills, more experience and opportunities while still at kura. The ākonga we spoke with viewed this relationship very positively. The benefits were that new connections were made while keeping existing ones, and ākonga experienced aspects of tertiary life in a supportive reo environment. Ākonga who chose to continue tertiary study at wānanga were prepared through a lengthy transition process, in which reo was an important component.

Au reo Pākehā: Schools, tertiary institutes and trades

Ākonga and kaiako in secondary schools talked about receiving visitors from different tertiary institutions promoting their study programmes. Ākonga also had opportunities to visit tertiary institutions, take courses through local polytechnics and try out trades. Some of the courses naturally had a reo component (e.g., in whakairo), but otherwise te reo Māori did not seem to feature highly.

Ākonga will have to manage the pressures of everyday adult life (economic and other) along with their aspirations for the reo.

Ākonga had a wide range of aspirations for life after school—from attaining arts, business or law degrees, to learning reo at university, to joining the army or becoming a chef. Many did not think they would have opportunities to kōrero in their careers, although not all felt this way.

When I ask her, 'What do you wanna do when you grow up, like, what would it be?' 'There's lots of things, you know, there's all sorts, mum, that you can do with te reo Māori, and even if I don't, I still just want to know—it's still what is me.' (Whānau in high immersion environment within English medium)

Many ākonga, particularly from high immersion, did not expect to speak Māori in their careers, though they enthusiastically agreed that they would like to if they could.

He kōrero: Commentary

This section has focused on the connections between kura and schools with tertiary institutions and trades as these are the areas that transition processes tend to address. However, the chances of te reo Māori



being a component of those processes were not high unless ākongā were moving to environments where Te reo Māori was purposefully included; for example, in wānanga, of which there are only three in Aotearoa, or in courses related to te ao Māori.

As noted previously in *Ka whānau mai te reo: Honouring Whānau, Upholding Reo Māori*, little research has been found that directly addresses this transition in terms of reo development. It is important that research into this area continues. Another report related to Ka Whānau mai te Reo is soon to be released by Te Wānanga o Raukawa and Te Wāhanga NZCER that takes a more in-depth look at tertiary institutions' transition processes for ākongā.

We now look further into ideas about learning reo as adults to provide a fuller picture about opportunities for reo development during and after transitions.

Kōrero Māori

Supporting whānau to kōrero Māori

KEY CONCEPTS

- Environment
- Disposition, skills and opportunity
- Necessity
- Attitudes to reo Māori and being Māori
- Language bonds
- Culture of learning

Transitions are important times to reflect on reo aspirations and make decisions about Māori-language pathways. At the same time, there are wider issues that occur before, during and after transitions that create ongoing challenges and opportunities for whānau to kōrero Māori.

NGĀ WĀHI ME NGĀ TĀNGATA: ENVIRONMENT

In countries where bilingualism or multilingualism is the norm, speakers easily switch between languages according to context. Māori is one of the official languages of Aotearoa New Zealand. However, we live in a primarily monolingual society where English takes precedence over other languages in education, commerce and legislation. If te reo Māori is to flourish, it is important to continue challenging society's language beliefs and boundaries to create environments that support reo use. The understanding of bilingualism in Māori and English and how these languages can practically coexist is still developing, and more research into this area is required.

It is particularly important for whānau with high aspirations for their reo to have good information about active bilingualism. Whānau participating in high immersion environments told us that once outside of reo speaking environments, tamariki and ākonga may just as often switch to English. This is not necessarily bad, as ideally tamariki should be able to use both languages fluidly, but it can be worrying for whānau who are doing their best to maintain reo environments:



... whenever we're in a Māori-speaking environment they're pretty comfortable to speak te reo, like a hui or a wānanga ... or kura or kōhanga ... but most often they lapse into English when they're just playing. (Whānau in high immersion environment)



Te whānau Hotere.

The composition of whānau in terms of reo Māori speakers and their range of fluency is diverse. Whānau make many different choices, for many different reasons, about who will speak Māori in the home, how often and when. For example, if neither parent speaks Māori and they

want their tamariki to, they may choose to learn Māori themselves and/or enrol their tamariki in Māori-medium environments. If one parent is a Māori speaker and the other speaks only English, there may be a negotiation over how Māori will be used in the household. Other whānau members may also act as reo role models. Some whānau are very aware and engaged in encouraging their tamariki to speak Māori at home. Others rely more heavily on the wider whānau or on kaiako to provide reo support.

For Māori speakers there are environments where people are naturally more predisposed to kōrero Māori. This includes educational environments where reo is taught or is the medium for teaching. Ākonga we spoke to tended to be most comfortable speaking Māori in kura or school, but also at kapa haka, tangi and pōwhiri, and during sports.

Digital forums are also becoming a place to meet and kōrero; on social media, for example. Digital technology continues to advance and is becoming more available in households. It will be important to investigate the potential for such media to support reo Māori revitalisation; for example, through virtual learning networks, games and apps.

I speak Māori mostly around people who speak Māori but I have some friends who we speak little bits when we're together because they only know little bits. Lots of times we write te reo Māori on Facebook. (Ākonga in high immersion environment within English medium)

Te noho mokemoke: Isolation in English medium

There are other environments where it may take a conscious effort to kōrero, or where reo use is actively discouraged. One of the major issues for ākonga learning Māori in English-medium secondary schools was the isolation they experienced as Māori-language speakers. The overall environment of the school discouraged reo Māori use outside of reo class or kapa haka. One ākonga spoke about how uncomfortable it could be to be 'Māori' around some of the Pākehā students because 'they start mocking what we're saying', which he perceived as racism.

That's what I reckon is kinda bad, 'cause there's the Māori class, but outside of the class no one speaks it, 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)

They're like, 'Why are you speaking Māori? Just speak English.' Like I'll be out there speaking Māori with my sister and you'll just have all these eyes looking at you. Sometimes it's in a good way, but other times it's just the evils. (Ākonga in low immersion environment)

Some whānau talked about their disappointment at finding that reo Māori and tikanga Māori were not recognised or respected in the primary school they chose, particularly when there was an expectation that both reo and tikanga were a prime reason for that choice.

When Tiaki started in bilingual this year, I was expecting that they would have a pōwhiri, that it would be a big welcoming thing ... Nothing. Not at all. (Whānau in low immersion environment)

My son goes to a mainstream local primary school and I was really surprised when he went there at how little te reo was used. What I've learnt is it seems to depend on the teacher and whether they're passionate about it or not. (Whānau in low immersion environment)

[This area] is Māori but we don't support it at this college. It's dumb that Māori were here first but Māori can't learn their own language properly. (Ākonga in low immersion environment)

A small group of ākonga we spoke with took reo Māori through correspondence because their school was not able to provide a Māori teacher for seniors. Both the learners and the onsite kaiako who supervised them acknowledged how difficult it was to learn Māori that way. These ākonga had no one else to kōrero with at a level that would extend their reo learning.

It's a lot harder doing correspondence ... Sometimes when we try to access correspondence, it doesn't work. We don't get a lot of communication with the teacher ... It's quite hard over the computer and over the phone to listen to him. (Ākonga in low immersion environment)

Both ākonga and kaiako were keen on exploring the potential to create relationships with high immersion kura to support their reo development. Ākonga suggested visiting a kura kaupapa Māori or wharekura, or having a kura kaiako come in to teach in English-medium classes.

As soon as we go out of class we aren't immersed and we can't use it. Class trips would be useful—going somewhere really Māori where they only speak Māori, like kura kaupapa. It would be cool if they came to our class or we went to theirs. Like an exchange/relationship with the kura kaupapa or wharekura. (Ākonga in low immersion environment)

Kura kaupapa and the mainstream English-medium schools ... We could do a lot to support each other. So we could have expertise and assessment, and in some of the subject content that might help with academic achievement. They'd have amazing stuff they could teach us about whānau, approaches to learning. What we need to do is get into each other's schools. (Kaiako/whānau in low immersion environment)

Ngā whiringa pai: Good options

It can be difficult to access Māori-language education or supportive environments. However, there are rare communities where whānau have good levels of support for their reo education, from early childhood right through to tertiary. These wider

reo Māori environments tend to attract whānau who have decided to prioritise their reo aspirations. Resources such as Māori television and iwi

radio, which are accessible as long as there is computer and internet access, are a bonus where these strong language communities already exist.

As soon as we go out of class we aren't immersed and we can't use it.

We've got Māori radio, Māori television, there are all sorts of courses through the wānanga. Whether it be the internet, the radio, daily classes, weekly classes, even if it's just jumping in on a rumaki reo once or twice a year, like kura reo. We have got lots of opportunities and it's a matter of being organised enough to take up those opportunities. (Whānau in high immersion environment)

TE ARONGA WHAKAARO, NGĀ PŪKENGA ME NGĀ WHĀINGA WĀHI: DISPOSITION, SKILLS AND OPPORTUNITY

For whānau, a child's personality and confidence, their skills and knowledge, and access to other speakers (who are themselves disposed to kōrero) contribute to either encouraging or discouraging kōrero. Here we talk about disposition, skills and opportunity as a way to try to better understand what makes it easier to choose to speak Māori.

Disposition or inclination, in the context of active language use, is not an isolated concept. You may be inclined to speak Māori, but you also need the reo skills and opportunities to talk with other reo speakers. Likewise with skills and opportunities, you also need to be disposed to kōrero to make the most of the other



two. Therefore, when talking about encouraging people to *kōrero*, *disposition* goes hand in hand with *skills* and *opportunity*. While having all three in place encourages *kōrero*, we heard stories about how the lack of even just one of these factors resulted in not speaking Māori.

Skills and opportunity—without disposition

We spoke with *ākonga* who, despite having both reo skills and opportunities to use them, would still choose English in certain situations and with certain people. *Whānau* who were actively trying to privilege Māori over English found this confusing and frustrating.

I'll talk to my kids in te reo and they won't answer back. But when [a cousin] comes around that's all they do. I'm like, 'Why not do that with Mum?' (*Whānau* in high immersion environment)

The reasons why *ākonga* choose to speak one language over another were not always clear, even to themselves.

I don't speak Māori to my mum and dad. They speak Māori to me though ... It's awkward ... Aua. It's just weird. (*Ākonga* in high immersion environment)

Conversely, sometimes it was the adults who chose to speak English when they could have chosen Māori. According to the *kaiako* from a *kōhanga reo*, most of their parents were Māori speakers yet chose not to speak Māori to their *tamariki* at home. They cited instances of having to 're-transition' *tamariki*, who would regularly arrive at *kōhanga* speaking English, back into speaking reo Māori. Despite being enrolled in a high immersion environment, the continuity of their language learning was constantly being disrupted at home. So the disconnection between disposition and skill and opportunity is also an issue for adult learners and speakers of Māori.

Disposition and skills—no opportunities

We spoke with a group of *ākonga* in high immersion who had reo Māori skills and used them at *kura* where there were always opportunities to *kōrero*. However, some of the *ākonga* did not have other reo speakers in their homes. Also, when thinking about their future careers, most in the group did not expect to be able to use Māori in work environments. Although they had disposition and skill, some lacked opportunities, or expected to have no opportunities to *kōrero* Māori in important contexts.

Disposition and opportunity—no reo skills

There were also situations where *whānau* simply did not have reo skills to *kōrero* Māori at home, despite their desire to support their *tamariki* to learn Māori, and the opportunities available to speak Māori with others. Acquiring reo Māori skills as adults is one of the challenges faced by reo speakers who have learnt Māori as their second language, and potential reo speakers. This challenge is particularly difficult if adults aspire to support their own *tamariki* to learn te reo through speaking Māori at home.

The three factors: disposition, skills and opportunity are important to consider together because their positive interaction can encourage *kōrero*.



Figure 3: Disposition, skills and opportunity

It is also important to remember that while lack of one or more of these factors can create challenges, these are not insurmountable. Some *whānau* were actively addressing their lack of reo through learning Māori through night classes. Some created opportunities to *kōrero* by inviting other reo speakers to their homes or by participating in Māori medium. Some *whānau* overcame their initial disposition not to *kōrero* by finding

something important enough (like having tamariki themselves) that would force them to commit to making the effort, or by putting themselves in environments where speaking Māori was a necessity, not an option.

NGĀ MEA TINO HIRA: NECESSITY

One of the critical factors in ensuring a child grows up bilingual and uses both Māori and English languages is 'necessity'. It can be in different contexts and with different people, but the key is that the child has to feel that they really *need* a particular language, and that they are in environments that reinforce this (Grosjean, 2010, p. 171).

The challenge for whānau (who have varying levels of reo ability) is to create environments where tamariki and their caregivers have to speak Māori to each other to be understood and responded to. We are by no means proposing an 'easy solution' here, or one that has not already been thought of. However, this is why it is so important for whānau to learn Māori together. It creates 'a need' within the home for everyone to kōrero: adults with tamariki, and adults with other adults. In this way the language shifts from being 'optional' to being a valued and prioritised way of expressing oneself:

we have whānau come over and some of them only speak te reo Māori to her, they refuse to speak English to her. And she, just because of that, when they walk in and they are only speaking te reo Māori to her, she'll speak back to them. She'll talk English to me, but she'll be speaking to them, because they won't actually accept her communicating any other way to them. And I love that. (Whānau in high immersion environment within English medium)

NGĀ WAIARO MŌ TE REO MĀORI, ME TE NOHO HEI MĀORI I TĒNEI AO: ATTITUDES TO REO MĀORI AND BEING MĀORI

Learning that is enjoyable and fun supports tamariki to kōrero Māori. The joy that tamariki find in learning Māori was a strong theme throughout all the learning environments that whānau were participating in. Regardless of whether tamariki were in high or low immersion Māori-language environments, tamariki who were enjoying the process of learning to speak Māori were happy, positive, enthusiastic, interested, focused, excited, and full of ideas and curiosity.

Ngā tamariki me ngā ākonga: Children and students

When tamariki were enjoying learning Māori, their whānau and kaiako noticed that they asked questions, repeated what they had learned, and shared their learning with their friends and whānau. They sang waiata, played games, volunteered to do things, were comfortable in routines that involved reo Māori, and used Māori words or phrases independently.

Learning that is enjoyable and fun supports tamariki to kōrero Māori.

They're living it, they're enthused about speaking the reo. They're not being shy about it. They're singing songs in the reo. Correcting what you're saying. If you say something that's not right, they'll correct you, and they're enthused about it. (Whānau in high immersion environment)

Tamariki and ākonga enjoyed kōrero about who they were and that connected them to their whakapapa through pepeha, history and stories. Their motivation to learn Māori was that it was fun and interesting and helped them connect with the important people in their lives. Ākonga from high immersion environments also showed a raised consciousness about Māori language and revitalisation and their role in it.

It is good to learn Māori so that [as] we grow older we can teach the younger generation ... Throughout the years the reo is starting to die, so it is good to know that you know the reo. (Ākonga in high immersion environment)

I understand my history and culture. I feel confident around Māori people because I know what's happening. I feel proud and want to do better. It makes me feel like [I'm part of] a big family and I can relate to Māori. I enjoy most kapa haka because I learn history through kapa haka like mōteatea. (Ākonga in high immersion environment within English medium)



They enjoy learning te reo because it's their identity. I've noticed since I've been teaching in Māori immersion they actually have a respect for all languages. They seem to think it's strange when they meet other Māori that don't speak Māori. For them they think all Māori speak Māori. (Kaiako in high immersion environment)

Older ākonga we spoke with associated enjoying learning with feeling capable in the classroom and knowing how to do things, regardless of what was being learnt.

When there's a good buzz. Like when they [kaiako and friends] get into it, you get into it too. Yeah makes you want to learn more. (Ākonga in high immersion environment)

For whānau, the biggest indicator that showed them their tamariki were enjoying learning Māori was when they spoke Māori.

Ngā pakeke: Adults

When whānau talked about their tamariki learning Māori, they easily made connections between learning and enjoyment. However, when talking about their own learning as adults, the words 'fun' or 'enjoyment' did not feature. Instead, whānau most often talked about their motivation to learn as coming from a deeply felt responsibility to support the learning of their tamariki, and as an ongoing challenge.

I'm consciously thinking about development for my reo—ongoing support for my reo—because I feel like my son's pretty much overtaken me now and he's only in his second year at school. And that's been my slack because after I finished 7th form Māori that was it until I had a baby and brought him to kōhanga and that sort of reignited it all again. So having that gap from when I left school to becoming a mum—which was a big gap—I did nothing in between there in terms of the reo. (Whānau in high immersion environment)

If they can really get nurtured in the reo at this age, at a young age, rather than having to—like me—trying to have to learn it as an adult, I'd be happy. So that reo component is huge for me. (Whānau in high immersion environment)

The kaiako we spoke to felt, both personally and professionally, that they had a responsibility to continue developing their reo. They had high expectations for themselves. Many saw themselves as role models for

their communities, for whānau as well as tamariki. Whānau also talked about their sense of responsibility, which was focused within their own whānau.

If they can really get nurtured in the reo at this age, at a young age, rather than having to—like me—trying to have to learn it as an adult, I'd be happy. So that reo component is huge for me.

(Whānau in high immersion environment)

Because my husband and I are both Māori we would like our children to have some kind of base, you know, because that's who we are and that's what our roots are. (Whānau in low immersion environment)

I don't want her to lose it ... I know how valuable it is, an asset, it is a taonga, especially here, to be able to speak it. Not only to be able to speak, but to have that whole way of thinking. It's not just a job asset. I think as she gets older, reo Māori will be a core part of who she is ... I'm trying to give her what I don't have. That security of knowing where she comes from, to be able to stand up and speak to waiata, just to know that that's how things are done. I've never had anyone to show me that. And that's what I want instilled in her. This is the start of a lifelong journey of learning and knowing who she is. (Whānau in high immersion environment within English medium)

For these whānau, the desire to enable their tamariki to live their language and culture was their source of motivation for language learning. It was a source of satisfaction when successful. Enjoying learning for adults may well be about the satisfaction of fulfilling responsibilities to future generations, but there is also merit in looking at how the joy in learning the reo that tamariki and ākonga experience can be made more a part of adult learning.

NGĀ HERENGA REO, TE WHANAUNGATANGA Ā-REO: LANGUAGE BONDS, REO RELATIONSHIPS

Tamariki were more likely to speak Māori with those they knew would always speak Māori to them.

My dad's a native speaker ... Mikaere will sit down and talk with my dad. And that's pretty awesome to see, to hear ... he'll speak English to Katia [his sister]. (Whānau in high immersion environment)

My boys don't speak Māori to people they don't know. They'll speak it here and they'll speak it at home and around our family. (Whānau in high immersion environment)

Younger ākongā we spoke with would speak Māori where expectations had been set and were consistently upheld, or where they felt they had a responsibility to kōrero.

Ohhhh, they [kaiako] *always* speak Māori so we *always* speak Māori back! (Ākongā in high immersion environment; emphasis by ākongā)

I have to speak Māori in my house because my sisters don't know how to speak English. (Ākongā in high immersion environment)

Mēnā ka kōrero Māori rātou ki a mātou, ka whakahoki i te reo. (Ākongā in high immersion environment) [*If they speak Māori to us, we answer in te reo.*]

Some ākongā in low immersion environments had people to speak Māori with, but the language expectations and 'rules' seemed less defined than in high immersion.

Support that would help me would be my whānau speaking more reo Māori!

My granddad sometimes just talks Māori, we talk in Māori to each other. My granddad and my mum. (Ākongā in low immersion environment)

The ākongā in both high and low immersion environments were very clear that they needed more people to speak Māori to them. Particularly people from within their own whānau, although this was not always possible.

He āhua ngāwari i te kura me te mea ka kōrero mātou, he orite, engari ētahi wahi uaua ki ētahi atu iwi nō te mea ka kī ngā kupu rerekē. Nō reira, he uaua i te kāinga hoki nō te mea he uaua mō te whānau ki te kōrero. (Ākongā in high immersion environment) [*It is relatively easy at school because there the language spoken is one we all understand, but in other places it is quite difficult because different words are used. In the same way, it's hard to speak at home because it's difficult for them to join in.*]

Support that would help me would be my whānau speaking more te reo Māori! ... Having someone I could rely on to speak with about day-to-day stuff. (Ākongā in low immersion environment)



Te whānau Hotere.



HE TIKANGA AKO: CULTURE OF LEARNING

He mahi ā-whānau te ako: Learning is a whānau activity

When whānau and kaiako were passionate, enthusiastic and having fun with the reo, tamariki were too. This is important: enjoying learning is a whānau activity. This is quite different from an individual focus on the learner. The attitudes to learning of everyone involved are an important aspect of what enables tamariki to develop their reo capability.

I would love this school to have a night class, where you can bring your baby along and all of the parents of your students can come along to that class and learn at the same level as them. Because our kids are busy—we're busy. We can't do it after school because we've all got our own things to do. (Whānau in low immersion environment)

Some of them [nanas] are more passionate about te reo than the parent[s] and it's really important that we keep the whole whānau in the picture, not just the parents. (Kaiako in low immersion environment)

Whānau (in its widest sense) can provide the collective knowledge and support for language acquisition that is not always possible within individual households. This is important given that most adult speakers of Māori have learnt Māori as their second language or do not speak Māori at all.

I'm not fluent and so it stops kind of when she gets home and we try to have a kōrero together and it kind of, just sort of deteriorates a little bit cause she's like, 'Aw you can't do it, you can't speak,' and I don't know enough to carry on a conversation. (Whānau in high immersion environment within English medium)

A culture of learning Māori where everyone sees themselves as learners in a supportive environment.

Even if they do not have close relatives who can speak Māori, there are still opportunities to form supportive language networks through whānau groups, marae or reo classes.

If you've got some key people that can just have that reo Māori relationship with them, that's awesome. They don't have to deal with all of that hard stuff that you as a parent deal with. It's a different relationship. And if you haven't got the fluency or the capacity to stay in the reo no matter what with your children, then that's quite a challenge. (Whānau in high immersion environment)

The composition of whānau can also change, so having other relationships—at kura or within the wider whānau and community—can be even more important.

When my parents split up I lost all that language and now when my dad asks me questions I won't know what he's saying and he's like, 'You used to know when you were little'. (Ākongā in low immersion environment)

Kaiako in kōhanga reo talked about the need to include kaumātua in learning environments to support their own reo development as well as that of mokopuna. Kaumātua participation in kōhanga reo was seen as a precious opportunity to support intergenerational language transmission that was no longer being fully utilised.

He ākongā tātou katoa: Everyone is a learner

Whānau talked about needing a culture of learning Māori where everyone sees themselves as learners in a supportive environment. This reinforces the benefits that learning as a whānau can have, especially if you create a positive learning culture within your home.

I think the main thing for us, our whole whānau, is creating that learning culture in our community. I've been learning te reo formally through high school and most of my adult life. But the main improvement in my reo happened when I worked at the kōhanga with the children. There was a vast improvement speaking te reo with other speakers. I think broadening that out into the community would have a really good effect for everyone, because that's how I learnt to be comfortable speaking more reo. (Whānau in high immersion environment)

Whānau also talked about the usefulness of contextual learning—learning that is related to real life. This was seen by many whānau as being preferable to learning ‘classroom’ reo, which can be very different from the reo used at home on a daily basis.

I've done weaving, because I want to know more about the language ... I learnt so much from that, with karakia and process and how you do things and language and whakapapa and everything to do with harakeke. It was another way to get to know the language in a different aspect rather than just going to a class and learning greetings and stuff like that. (Whānau in low immersion environment)

Mā te māia ka puta he kōrero: It takes courage to kōrero

Some ākonga felt that it took courage to kōrero, and talked about how feeling whakamā made it harder to want to kōrero, especially when they felt ridiculed or inadequate.

Over here, people laugh at you if you get it wrong. The teacher last year laughed at me for getting it wrong. (Ākonga in low immersion environment)

Sometimes around other Māoris too, like you feel like, for us, being a mainstream school, you feel like you shouldn't do it around kura kaupapa [kids] because they're too good for you. Like they're supreme Māoris, they're better than us. (Ākonga in low immersion environment)

Concerns about ‘getting it wrong’ were shared by ākonga and whānau, particularly those in low immersion, or those whānau who had chosen high immersion without having the reo themselves.

Mā te hē ka ako: Learning through mistakes

The idea that you learn by making mistakes came through very strongly among whānau participating in high immersion environments. So did the idea that learning goes both ways. These ways of thinking about learning were embedded in the culture of the kura. They helped ākonga, whānau and kaiako to kōrero Māori and overcome fears of being wrong if such fears existed. Most ākonga in high immersion were confident speaking Māori, and those who were more fluent than their classmates felt an obligation to help others with their reo.

Give everything a try and it's OK to fail—there are days where you won't get through it and days when you fall, but kia kaha, tū tonu, haere tonu, whai i tō hiahia. (Whānau in high immersion environment)

Me tōnā ataahua, he rauemi hoki a tātou mātua, a tātou tamariki me te mōhio pai ka whakatikangia mātou, ngā kaiako e ngā tamariki mēnā ka hē te whiu o te reo. Kāore he raru mō te whakatika. Ēhara i te mea he mea pūhaehae, he mea whakahīhī noa iho tērā, engari anō i runga i te tika. Ko tērā tā mātou ki a rātou, ka pērā hoki rātou ki a mātou. I te wā kua hē, kei te pai—mā te hē ka ako. (Kaiako in high immersion environment) *[It's a really beautiful thing, our parents are a resource, our children are a resource, and they know that sometimes it's okay if the teachers are corrected by them if the teacher's language structures are wrong. There is no problem with offering correction. There is no competitiveness between us all, it's not felt as arrogance, but only as a proper response. That's what we always do with them, and they to us. If we get it wrong, it's actually good—error gives the opportunity to learn]*

I'm the parent who is always being corrected, but we keep trying, like we have our game in our house when we're at the dining table we only speak reo and they sit there cracking up, but I still do it. (Whānau in high immersion environment)



HE RAUTAKI, HE RAUEMI HEI TAUTOKO I TE AKORANGA REO O TE WHĀNAU: STRATEGIES AND RESOURCES TO SUPPORT WHĀNAU REO LEARNING

Ākonga, whānau and kaiako identified a range of practical resources in Māori or in Māori and English that they thought would support their reo learning. However, there was consensus across the board that ‘people’ resources are the main thing needed to support reo development.

Ākonga

Suggestions from ākonga to support reo learning included:

- attending marae stays
- festivals
- sports
- Māori television, movies, iwi radio
- reading books in Māori
- night reo classes, kura reo
- adult kapa haka
- keeping in contact with Māori-speaking friends
- speaking Māori with younger tamariki in the whānau
- using fun reo Māori teaching and learning pedagogies (i.e., the kura reo model and the rākau method)
- ‘high’ ‘medium’ and ‘low’ language groups in reo classes, where there is a wide range of skill among the class.

Whānau

Suggestions from whānau to support reo learning included:

- parent education programmes about reo and tikanga
- weekly night classes at wānanga, or in their homes and community
- reo courses with a focus on contextual learning
- bilingual books
- dictionaries
- online resources
- basic phrases for everyday things
- explanations of tikanga.

Kaiako

Suggestions from kaiako to support reo learning included:

- professional development courses
- kura reo (one-week-long Māori-language immersion live-ins, usually on a marae, with structured daily language classes)
- reo rumaki immersion classes
- opportunities to kōrero Māori with other adults
- mentors/tutors to visit kaiako in class to identify and correct their reo mistakes and provide language role models
- kaumātua involvement.

Kupu whakatepe

Conclusion

This research project aims to share information between whānau to make difficult decisions during transitions more manageable. It also encourages whānau to choose the Māori-language education pathways that are more likely to support their reo aspirations; or, if those pathways do not exist, to consider what could be done to change that.

Whānau found it challenging to develop their own reo and support that of their tamariki while also caring for the wellbeing of the whānau. They had difficulties prioritising the reo above work and other commitments essential to the wellbeing of the whānau, although the reo was clearly important to them. This tension between economic and reo needs has an impact on the ability of whānau to fully participate in reo learning.

When looking to a time beyond their involvement in the education system, whānau aspirations were firmly focused on their own whānau and communities, which are the areas that are important for intergenerational transmission. It is important to look further into ideas that help whānau to develop their reo, such as collective whānau learning and creating supportive cultures of learning, both within and outside the education system. It is also important to continue having conversations about bilingualism and reo Māori language revitalisation in this country, because the strategies used to support reo use will need to change, along with the aspirations and learning needs of the Māori-speaking population.

Educational institutions have a significant impact on reo Māori acquisition for young learners; they need to perform better for whānau and ākonga who aspire to learn Māori with support from the education system. Whānau told us it was critical to examine where power lies in institutions, to challenge assumptions, and to change the systems that compromise Māori world views. Educational institutions need to recognise the inequitable power division and racism in the system and address the barriers that are manifested in lack of choice and environments that are hostile to reo learning. This is particularly important in English medium, where the majority of ākonga are attempting to learn Māori despite the barriers inherent in the system.

We know from existing research that good transitions do make a positive difference for learners' ongoing learning experiences (Bright, Barnes & Hutchings, 2013, pp. 19–20). Involving whānau in managing transitions is therefore one way educational institutions can support whānau aspirations for their reo, and at the very least build the relationships that support reo learning continuity. Transition processes must be tailored to the local community because, as we said earlier, whānau have diverse aspirations for their reo, and each community will be different. Involving whānau will also help institutions better understand exactly what is needed within their own communities.



Ki hea ināianeī?

Where to next?

In this report we have shared the stories of whānau at the start of their transition as they prepared to move into a new environment. In the third report for Ka Whānau mai te Reo, due later in 2015, we will return to kōrero with some of these whānau and find out what choices they made and whether they think their reo aspirations are being fulfilled.

We plan to continue working with whānau and to produce resources that help with decision making about te reo Māori during transitions. All the Ka Whānau Mai te Reo reports will be freely available as downloadable documents from the NZCER website, as will each of the summaries from the reports. We will also hold hui to report back to the whānau who have participated in this research project.

Te Wānanga o Raukawa and Te Wāhanga NZCER have also partnered in a project (co-funded by Ako Aotearoa and the New Zealand Council for Educational Research) that takes an in-depth look at transition processes in tertiary institutions that support whānau reo development. This report will be released in 2015.

Appendix

Kaupapa Māori research approach

Whanaungatanga

Whanaungatanga as a methodology focuses our research on whānau engagement in education and is whānau driven. Methodologically, whanaungatanga acts as a deliberate counter-narrative to the way that colonisation has had a negative impact on the concept of whānau and its subsequent role and contribution to Aotearoa New Zealand society. The dominance of colonial categories has incorrectly equated the diverse realities of whānau as being similar to a 'nuclear family' (Mikaere, 1994, p. 5). Whānau, in the context of this project, are people connected by whakapapa and/or kaupapa, which create links well beyond the immediate grouping of parents and children. These extended relationships are essential to revitalise our reo because they provide the network of relationships that support reo use and acquisition.

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 and moves away from the limited construct of the nuclear family. Education is a collective whānau learning experience, particularly as it relates to Māori language development.

Our research approach, as illustrated in Figure 4, is based on the concept of whanaungatanga, which locates whānau at the centre of the research, addresses the concerns of whānau, brings whānau voices to

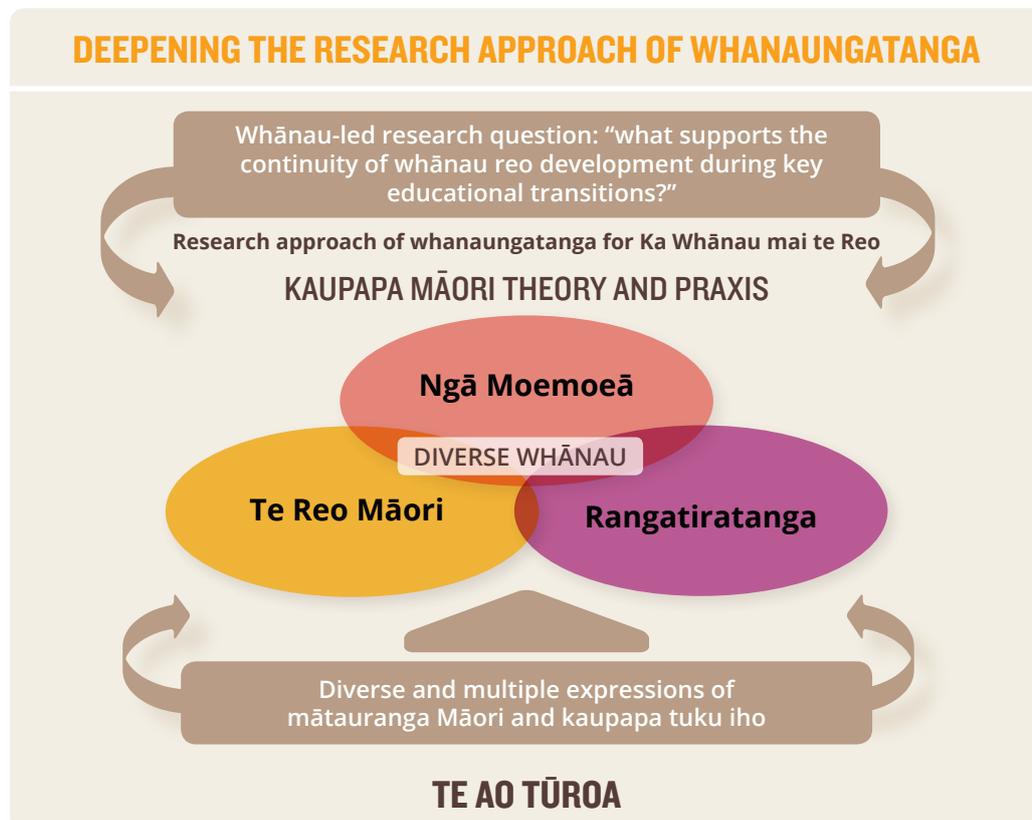


Figure 4: Deepening the research approach of whanaungatanga

Table 1: Whānau who had participated in this project by November 2014

	WHĀNAU			Total
	Ākonga	Whānau	Kaiako	
High immersion environments	28	9	11 (5 of these kaiako also participated in whānau hui)	48
Low immersion environments	23	24	21 (8 of these kaiako also participated in whānau hui)	68
High immersion environments within English medium	3	5	2	10
Totals	(54)	(38)	(34)	126
	LEARNERS			

Note that 13 kaiako also participated in whānau group interviews but have only been counted once under 'kaiako' in this table.

the forefront, and grounds our work in te ao Māori. Our whanaungatanga approach is further refined by focusing on three central kaupapa: ngā moemoeā, rangatiratanga and te reo Māori. These kaupapa form the lens through which we understand and learn from diverse whānau experiences.

Throughout this 3-year project, Ka Whānau mai te Reo, we focus 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.

Te wetekanga tāhuhu whakaaro: Thematic analysis

Our kaupapa Māori theory relies on the three kaupapa of ngā moemoeā, reo Māori and rangatiratanga. These inter-related kaupapa are used as the lens to critically analyse and identify themes that arise through kōrero ā-whānau:

- how aspirations for whānau reo Māori development are being supported (through the education system and by whānau themselves)
- whether the Māori-language education pathways whānau are choosing are meeting their reo Māori aspirations
- actions that could lead to transformation within whānau and the education system to strengthen whānau reo Māori development.

Te raranga i ngā kōrero katoa: Weaving the kōrero together

Throughout Ka Whānau mai te Reo we have spoken with whānau at wānanga and at small gatherings. The kōrero they shared with us has helped us to develop and shape the Ka Whānau mai te Reo project.

Wānanga with whānau have kept us in touch with broadly shared concerns that whānau have about the purpose, value and role of reo in our education system. Through wānanga with whānau we created a 5-year research agenda for Te Wāhanga¹ and the focus for Ka Whānau mai te Reo, along with its guiding kaupapa: ngā moemoeā, te reo Māori and rangatiratanga.² These kaupapa guided the development of questions we asked whānau, and the way the kōrero was organised and woven together in order to share whānau experiences with others.

¹ Wānanga in March 2012 at Tapu te Ranga marae, Wellington.

² Wānanga in November 2012 at Education House, Wellington; and wānanga on 9 October 2013 at Tapu te Ranga marae, Wellington.

Kōrero ā-whānau with small groups of whānau enabled us to delve deeper into the personal stories of those who were approaching a transition and thinking about developing whānau reo capabilities. We share whānau stories as told to us by whānau through the use of quotes. This is intended to ground the concepts and themes of this report in practical examples of whānau experiences.

During kōrero ā-whānau we most often spoke with whānau, kaiako and ākonga in groups. We spoke with people individually if they wished, and people were also able to write to us about their views if they preferred. We spoke with whānau who were connected with kōhanga reo, puna reo, ECE centres, kura kaupapa Māori, primary and intermediate schools, wharekura and secondary schools. Whānau were located in Wellington and Manawatu, and in Hamilton and Auckland.

We went to schools, homes and cafes depending on where whānau wanted to meet, and we visited at times that suited them, including during evenings. We talked with whānau and kaiako of young tamariki aged 4, and with ākonga in Year 8 or in their last years of secondary school, along with their whānau and kaiako.



Kuputaka

Glossary

Ākonga	Māori students
Aua	To not know
Haka	To dance, perform the haka, perform
Hapū	Kinship group, clan, tribe, subtribe
Harakeke	New Zealand flax
Hōhā	Be boring, tiresome
Hui	Gathering, meeting
Iwi	Extended kinship group, tribe, nation, people
Kaiako	Teacher, instructor
Kapa haka	Concert party, haka group, Māori cultural group
Kaupapa	Theme, matter for discussion
Kāuta	House, kitchen
Kaumātua	Adult, elder, elderly man, elderly woman
Kaupapa tuku iho	Ancestral philosophies and practices handed down through the generations
Karakia	Prayer, grace, blessing
Kōhanga reo	Māori-language preschool; 'language nest'
Kōrero	Story, account, discussion, discourse
Kōrero ā-whānau	Discussions with whānau—usually in groups
Kura	School
Kura kaupapa Māori	Primary school run on kaupapa Māori principles
Mātua	Parents
Mātauranga Māori	Māori knowledge
Mihi, mihihihi	Acknowledge; pay tribute to; greet
Moemoeā	Aspirations, vision
Mōteatea	Lament, traditional chant, sung poetry
Pā	Fortified village
Pākehā	New Zealander of European descent
Pānui	Public notice, announcement

Pepeha	Tribal saying, tribal motto, proverb (especially about a tribe)
Pōwhiri	Māori formal/customary welcome ceremony
Puna reo	Bilingual early childhood centres
Rākau	Cuisenaire rods used to teach Māori
Rangahau	Research
Rangatiratanga	Right to exercise authority, autonomy,
Reo	Language
Rohe	Boundary, district, region
Rua	Two
Rumaki	To immerse
Tahi	One
Tamaiti	Child
Tamariki and mokopuna	Children and grandchildren
Tangi	Funeral—shortened form of <i>tangihanga</i>
Te ao Māori	Māori conceptions of the world
Taonga	Treasure, anything prized
Te ao tūroa	The natural world
Te reo Māori	The Māori language
Tikanga	Correct procedure, custom
Toru	Three
Urupā	Burial ground, cemetery
Waiata	Song(s)
Wānanga	1. To meet and discuss, deliberate, consider. 2. Tertiary institution that caters for Māori learning needs
Whaea	Often used to refer to a female teacher
Whakaairo	Carving
Whakamā	Shame, embarrassment
Whakapapa	Genealogies; lineage; descent
Wharekai	Dining hall
Whānau	A collective of people related through lineage (family or families) or through support of a particular philosophy or particular philosophies
Whanaungatanga	Relationship, kinship, sense of family connection—a relationship through shared experiences and working together which provides people with a sense of belonging.
Wharekura	Secondary school run on kaupapa Māori principles



Rārangi pukapuka

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Rauemi

Resources

- Kupu o te Rā: <http://kupu.maori.nz/>. A register to receive Kupu o te Rā and Kupu o te Wiki by email.
- Learn Māori: <http://www.maorilanguage.net/>. Online video lessons.
- Pūkenga tīmatanga: <http://www.korero.maori.nz/forlearners/basics>. Pronunciation, interactive conversations, interactive quizzes.
- Ngata Dictionary: <http://www.learningmedia.co.nz/ngata>
- Māori Dictionary: Te Aka Māori-English, English-Māori dictionary <http://www.maoridictionary.co.nz/>
- Te Wāhanga NZCER. (2015). <http://www.nzcer.org.nz/te-wahanga>



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