# HE REO KA TIPU I NGA KURA

# GROWING TE REO MĀORI IN SCHOOLS

LITERATURE REVIEW

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# He reo ka tipu i ngā kura Growing te reo Māori in schools

Taking a strategic approach to learning and teaching te reo Māori

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## He kupu taka List of terms

**Additive bilingual education:** An approach to bilingual education that is premised on the value of adding another language to the learner's existing language repertoire (May et al., 2004).

Endangered language: A language that is likely to become extinct soon.

**English-medium schools:** "Schools where English is the primary but not necessarily the only language of instruction" (Ministry of Education, 2009, p. 6). Some English-medium schools also provide Māori-medium education.

**Heritage language:** A language, other than the dominant language, which people are connected to through their family and/or their ancestry (Bright et al., 2019).

**Indigenous language:** The language of the indigenous people of the country or region. In Aotearoa New Zealand, te reo Māori is the indigenous language.

**Language revitalisation:** "Bringing a language forward into common, normal use in modern life by increasing the number of speakers and the range of domains in which it is used" (Bright et al., 2019, p. 10).

**Māori-medium education:** Schooling in which students are taught the curriculum in te reo Māori for at least 51% of the time (Ministry of Education, 2020c).

**Minority language:** A language that is spoken by a minority of the population within a given country or territory.

**Normalisation of te reo Māori:** An approach within which the focus is on "strengthening and linking up domains where te reo Māori is normal" (Olsen-Reeder et al., 2017, p. 28).

**Primary schools:** Schools that cater for learners in Years 1–8. These include contributing primary schools (which cater for children in Years 0–6), full primary schools (which cater for children in Years 0–8), and intermediate schools (which cater for children in Years 7–8).

# 1. He kupu whakataki Introduction

Te Wāhanga—New Zealand Council for Educational Research (NZCER) has produced this literature review to support English-medium primary schools that are seeking to strengthen their reo Māori teaching and learning programmes.<sup>1</sup>

This report, which is part of a larger research project, is intended to provide teachers, school leaders, and boards of trustees with practical, evidence-based guidance to assist them with taking strategic, research-informed approaches to teaching and learning te reo Māori. Ultimately, this report supports schools to contribute to the revitalisation of te reo Māori for the benefit of the indigenous people of Aotearoa, and indeed for all New Zealanders.

The overarching research question this report addresses is: How can English-medium schools develop a strategic approach to Māori language learning and teaching?

The sub-research questions are:

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

Although the context of every school in Aotearoa New Zealand is unique, there are common issues or challenges that English-medium primary schools will face as they work towards strengthening their reo Māori teaching and learning provision. In this report, we draw upon recent literature to explain why and how schools should take a strategic approach to learning and teaching te reo Māori.

This report is strengths-based and solutions-oriented. It includes information about practices and approaches that research has shown have the potential to create a positive impact on indigenous and heritage language learning and teaching in schools. Although the report focuses largely on research conducted in Aotearoa New Zealand, it also draws on international literature about learning and teaching indigenous and heritage languages that might usefully be applied to efforts to revitalise te reo Māori.

The work builds on existing research about good practice in language revitalisation at the whānau and community level of language planning (Bright, et al., 2019), and recent research that has explored how education settings have supported whānau to achieve their reo Māori aspirations (Bright et al., 2015; Hunia et al., 2018).

<sup>1</sup> English-medium primary schools are schools catering for learners in Years 1–8 where English is the main but not necessarily the only language of instruction (Ministry of Education, 2009). A small proportion of children who attend English-medium primary schools have access to Māori-medium education, or schooling in which they are taught the curriculum in te reo Māori for at least 51% of the time (Ministry of Education, 2020c). Within this report, we use the term *primary school* to refer to contributing primary schools (which cater for children in Years 0–8), and intermediate schools (which cater for children in Years 7–8).

# 2. Ngā tikanga Methodology

In writing this report, our team has been guided by kaupapa Māori, which focus us on producing research that contributes to positive and transformational outcomes for Māori. This report is intended to support schools to take strategic approaches to reo Māori learning and teaching and, in the process, contribute to revitalising te reo Māori.

The work is guided by three kaupapa in particular: whakamārama, ako, and tino rangatiratanga. The following definitions explain how we have applied these kaupapa within this literature review.

#### Whakamārama—keep it complex but make it simple

Whakamārama refers to bringing together knowledge from many different sources to create a clear and understandable picture. It is about communicating deep wisdom simply.

#### Ako-co-construction

Ako is a guiding principle for our team in approaching the synthesis of data into a coherent whole. Our research and writing process allows for reciprocal learning, negotiating meaning and knowledge together, and collaborative sense making.

#### Tino rangatiratanga—self-determination

Māori knowledge and perspectives are valid and central to knowledge building, as are the perspectives of other indigenous peoples. This means that we prioritise Māori and indigenous literature in literature searches, while giving due acknowledgement to other useful sources of information.

#### **Methods**

The team, which includes NZCER's library team, has conducted an extensive search of literature within Aotearoa New Zealand and farther afield. The library team has conducted a systematic search for literature in the following databases:

- A+Education
- British Education Index
- ERIC
- INNZ (Index New Zealand)
- JSTOR
- MLA
- Te Puna Search
- Education Research Complete
- Project Muse

- PsychInfo
- NZresearch
- Gale Academic OneFile
- Google Scholar
- Thesis databases (National Library), ProQuest, TROVE, Ethos.

The team reviewed books, reports, journal articles, unpublished doctoral and master's theses, working papers, news articles, and conference proceedings. The team also reviewed Acts, ministerial proceedings, legislation, declarations and conventions, policy, strategy and curriculum documents, online resources, and StatsNZ and Education Counts datasets.

The search focused on literature published between 2000 and 2021 concerning teaching and learning te reo Māori and heritage languages, plus a few seminal works outside this date range.

The research team scanned and appraised a large number of studies, reports, book chapters, and other literature identified through the search to identify the most relevant material for this literature review.

### 3. He aha te take me whai ngā kura auraki tuatahi i te aronga rautaki ki te ako me te whakaako i te reo Māori? Why should English-medium primary schools take a strategic approach to learning and teaching te reo Māori?

English-medium primary schools in Aotearoa New Zealand have a vital role to play when it comes to supporting the revitalisation of te reo Māori (Ministry of Education, 2013b, 2020f). To assist these schools as they seek to position and equip themselves to undertake this important work, this section of the report identifies three reasons "why" English-medium schools should develop strategic approaches to teaching and learning te reo Māori.

Historically, the education system in Aotearoa New Zealand has served as a powerful instrument of colonisation, actively deterring the use of te reo Māori in schools and assimilating tamariki Māori into a monolingual and monocultural environment (Ka'ai-Mahuta, 2011; Ministry of Education, 2013b; Rewi & Rātima, 2018; Waitangi Tribunal, 1986). The detrimental effects of this approach on the intergenerational transmission of te reo Māori have been well documented in the literature (Benton, 1997; Rewi & Rātima, 2018; Waitangi Tribunal, 1986). Despite concerted efforts by Māori to revitalise te reo Māori (Ka'ai-Mahuta, 2011; Rewi & Rātima, 2018), and a turnaround in national education policy that now aims to support Māori to achieve success as Māori (Ministry of Education, 2013a, 2013b, 2020b, 2020f), the indigenous language of Aotearoa New Zealand is still considered an endangered or vulnerable minority language (Campbell & Belew, 2018; Moseley, 2010). In an ironic twist of fate, with most ākonga Māori now attending English-medium schools (Ministry of Education, 2020d, 2020e), to learn their own language many whānau now depend on support from the very education system that disrupted the intergenerational transmission of te reo Māori (Bright et al., 2013).

The central role that English-medium schools can play in language-revitalisation efforts has been acknowledged elsewhere (Harris, 2005, 2009). In Ireland, for example, the majority of primary schoolage children learn Irish at what Harris (2009) has termed "ordinary mainstream schools" rather than "all-Irish (immersion) schools" (p. 60). Because these schools provide such a high proportion of learners with opportunities to learn the Irish language, they have the "potential to affect large numbers of pupils and thus make a substantial contribution to language-revival" (p. 60). According to Harris (2005), exposure to the Irish language at the primary school level is not only more intense but also more focused on speech and conversation than it is at later levels. On this basis, Harris (2009) has argued that, for many students, the exposure they gain to the Irish language while attending mainstream primary schools is unparalleled. Building on this idea, Harris has concluded that such schools lay the groundwork for further language learning and therefore "can have a considerable influence, negative or positive, on long-term attitudes towards the language" (Harris, 2009, p. 60). Likewise, English-medium primary schools in Aotearoa New Zealand have the potential not only to enhance reo Māori teaching and learning for a large student population, but also to shape the current generation's attitudes towards this country's indigenous language.

#### **Three key reasons**

Three key reasons why English-medium primary schools should actively and strategically support te reo Māori through their approaches to teaching and learning have emerged through the literature. The first concerns upholding the linguistic rights of tamariki Māori, the second acknowledges the impact that such support can have on Māori and national identities, and the third concerns the responsibilities of schools that are set out in policy and legislation.

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

Having the opportunity to learn te reo Māori at school is an indigenous linguistic right for tamariki Māori (Lee-Hammond & Jackson-Barrett, 2019; United Nations, 1989, 2007). Here, we introduce the concept of indigenous linguistic rights and explain why English-medium primary schools should seek to uphold these rights. After examining whether such schools are currently providing reo Māori teaching and learning opportunities that recognise the indigenous linguistic rights of their ākonga Māori, we examine the extent to which English-medium primary schools are currently positioned and supported to undertake this important work.

#### Indigenous linguistic rights

The rights of indigenous children to experience an education in their own language and culture are enshrined in the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) (United Nations, 1989) and the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP) (United Nations, 2007).

In those States in which ethnic, religious or linguistic minorities or persons of indigenous origin exist, a child belonging to such a minority or who is indigenous shall not be denied the right, in community with other members of his or her group, to enjoy his or her own culture, to profess and practise his or her own religion, or to use his or her own language. (UNCRC, Article 30)

States shall, in conjunction with indigenous peoples, take effective measures, in order for indigenous individuals, particularly children, including those living outside their communities, to have access, when possible, to an education in their own culture and provided in their own language. (UNDRIP, Article 14)

The New Zealand Government ratified UNCRC in 1993 and endorsed UNDRIP in 2010 (Ministry of Justice, 2020; New Zealand Parliament, 2010).

In Aotearoa New Zealand, the rights of tamariki Māori to experience an education in their indigenous language were also specifically acknowledged within the *Report of the Waitangi Tribunal on the te reo Māori Claim* (Waitangi Tribunal, 1986). This report called for the Crown to:

ensure that all [Māori] children who wish to learn Maori . . . be able to do so from an early stage in the educational process in circumstances most beneficial to them and with financial support from the State. (p. 51)

In sum, having the opportunity to learn te reo Māori at school is an indigenous linguistic right for tamariki Māori.

English-medium primary schools should seek to prioritise the indigenous linguistic rights of their ākonga Māori because experiencing an education that reflects and values their identity, language, and culture is known to support the educational success of Māori (Ministry of Education, 2013a, 2020b). This understanding, about the importance of the connection between identity, language, culture, and educational success, is not new. Writing in the early 1970s, Dewes noted:

Māori who are well grounded in their own culture, including Māori language, are more likely to do well and find a full and satisfactory life-style than those who do not . . . It is well known that secondary schools teaching aspects of Māori culture, including Māori language, have provided a disproportionately high percentage of Māori university students. (Dewes, 1974, p. 2)

The interconnectedness of Māori language, culture, and identity has been emphasised by others. For example, Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori has explained:

Māori language is the foundation of Māori identity. Kapa haka, karakia, tauparapara, whakapapa, tikanga, waiata, karanga and of course whai kōrero are all made possible by the Māori language. Simply put, Māori language is the foundation of Māori culture and identity. Language carries with it information about who we are, how we express ourselves and culture, and how we define the world around us. (Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori, 2017, n.p.)

The intrinsic relationship between language and identity has also been highlighted by Taylor-Leech and Liddicoat (2014), who have noted that "languages are not only tools for communication but are also deeply connected with questions of individual and group identity" (p. 356). Echoing this sentiment, a recent study conducted by Matika et al. (2021) concluded that Māori participants who spoke te reo Māori were more likely to perceive "their ethnic identity as central" to how they saw themselves than those Māori participants who were either monolingual English speakers or bilingual speakers of English and other languages (p. 18).

There is clear evidence that having opportunities to learn te reo Māori at school is very important for ākonga Māori (Educational Assessment Research Unit & New Zealand Council for Educational Research, 2016). Specifically, the 2016 National Monitoring Study of Student Achievement (NMSSA) asked Year 4 and Year 8 students to rate how important they thought it was to learn te reo Māori. This research identified that "at both year levels, greater proportions of Maori students, compared with non-Māori thought it was 'very important' to learn te reo Māori" (p. 57). These students were also asked to provide a reason for their rating. Notably, nearly half of the ākonga Māori who rated learning te reo Maori as "very important" explained that they felt this way because te reo Maori was either part of their heritage or connected to their whānau. In contrast, just 6% of those non-Māori students who indicated that learning te reo Māori was "very important" linked this with either their heritage or a connection with their family or whanau. Instead, this group more commonly noted that they felt learning te reo Māori was very important because it was useful or because they valued the language. These data, which point to the deep connection that ākonga Māori feel with their language, suggest that te reo Māori is valued and prioritised differently by ākonga Māori and non-Māori learners. Closely linked with this idea, recent research (Barrett-Walker et al., 2020) has indicated that English-medium schools may in fact need to provide their ākonga Māori with priority access to reo Māori learning opportunities.

Specifically, Barrett-Walker et al. (2020) have suggested that the survival of te reo Māori may, at least in part, hinge upon ensuring that ākonga Māori are prioritised when it comes to accessing

opportunities to learn their indigenous language. Using a statistical model that they developed to predict "whether a given endangered language is on a long-term trajectory towards extinction or recovery", these researchers compared the long-term trajectories for both the Welsh language and te reo Māori (p. 1). In contrast with the Welsh language, which their model predicted will thrive, Barrett-Walker et al. concluded that current learning rates suggest that te reo Māori is destined for extinction.

According to these researchers, this dire prediction can—at least partially—be explained by the overuse of proficient reo Māori teachers within the non-Māori population. In this regard, Barrett-Walker et al. (2020) have argued that this practice is detrimental to the language's trajectory because "the limited pool of teachers is spread too thinly" (p. 9). This finding, which has implications for the ways in which English-medium primary schools conceptualise their reo Māori teaching and learning programmes, also reaffirms the importance of ensuring that these schools fulfil the indigenous linguistic rights of their ākonga Māori. Building on this idea, we now examine the contribution that English-medium primary schools are currently making to upholding these rights for their indigenous learners.

# Are English-medium primary schools currently upholding the indigenous linguistic rights of their ākonga Māori?

Today, the majority of tamariki Māori in Years 1–8 attend English-medium primary schools, where they make up, on average, around 25% of the roll (Ministry of Education, 2020d, 2020e, 2021c). Most children who attend English-medium primary schools spend very little time learning te reo Māori (Educational Assessment Research Unit & New Zealand Council for Educational Research, 2016). Likewise, few students at these schools are provided with the learning opportunities that they require to progress beyond level 1 of *Te Aho Arataki Marau mō te Ako i Te Reo Māori–Kura Auraki*, the curriculum guidelines for teaching and learning te reo Māori in Years 1–13 (Education Review Office, 2020b; Ministry of Education, 2009, 2020e; Murphy et al., 2019). This is in stark contrast to the progress that students are expected to make in other learning areas by Year 8 (or the end of their primary schooling), where there is an expectation that most students will be achieving level 4 of *The New Zealand Curriculum* (Ministry of Education, 2007).

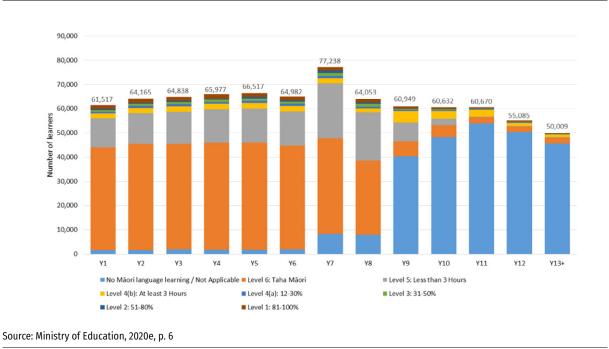
For many tamariki Māori, access to Māori-medium education, or schooling in which students are taught the curriculum in te reo Māori at least 51% of the time (Ministry of Education, 2020c), is not readily available (Hutchings et al., 2012). This is important because research has shown that "the minimum requirement for effective additive bilingual education is 50% in the target language" (May et al., 2004, p. 127). Although a small proportion of children who attend English-medium primary schools have access to Māori-medium education (Ministry of Education, 2020c), the vast majority of these children experience much lower levels of reo Māori (Ministry of Education, 2020e).

In Aotearoa New Zealand, Māori-language immersion levels are used to describe the extent to which children are taught in and/or have opportunities to learn te reo Māori (Ministry of Education, 2020c). These levels, which are explained below in Table 1, are defined according to the proportion of time that a student is taught using te reo Māori.

Māori language in education category	Māori-language immersion level	Time students are taught using te reo Māori	Definition of Māori- language immersion level
Māori medium	Level 1	81–100%	Curriculum is taught in Māori for between 20 and up to 25 hours a week
	Level 2	51-80%	Curriculum is taught in Māori for between 12.5 and up to 20 hours a week
Māori language in English medium	Level 3	31–50%	Curriculum is taught in Māori for between 7.5 and up to 12.5 hours a week
	Level 4a	12–30%	Curriculum is taught in Māori for between 3 and up to 7.5 hours a week
	Level 4b	At least 3 hours a week	Students are learning te reo Māori as a separate subject for at least 3 hours a week
	Level 5	Less than 3 hours a week	Students are learning te reo Māori as a separate subject for less than 3 hours a week
No Māori language in education	Taha Māori	-	Students learn Māori songs, greetings, and simple words
	No Māori language education	-	Students in school roll are not recorded at any level of Māori language learning

#### TABLE 1 Māori-language immersion levels

Schools that have students enrolled in Māori-language immersion levels 1–4 are eligible for Māori language programme (MLP) funding (Ministry of Education, 2021a). To generate MLP funding, students must be learning te reo Māori as a separate subject for at least 3 hours per week. As can be seen in Figure 1, however, most learners in Years 1–8 (both Māori and non-Māori) spend fewer than 3 hours a week learning te reo Māori, with the majority experiencing what is referred to as taha Māori. At this level, students do not learn te reo Māori as a separate subject and are only taught simple words, greetings, and songs in Māori (Ministry of Education, 2020c).



### FIGURE 1 Distribution of all learners in primary and secondary schooling by Māori-language immersion level and year level, 2019

NMSSA findings have also highlighted that most children in English-medium primary schools spend very limited time learning te reo Māori (Educational Assessment Research Unit & New Zealand Council for Educational Research, 2016). These findings, which are based on teachers' estimates of the number of hours that their students spent learning te reo Māori over the year, by year level, are reproduced in Figure 2.

	Teachers	
	Year 4 (%)	Year 8 (%)
Less than 5 hours	4	10
5-10 hours	12	13
11-20 hours	19	24
21-30 hours	29	20
31-40 hours	18	21
More than 40 hours	19	13

Note that rounding to whole number means that these percentages total 101 percent.

Source: Educational Assessment Research Unit & New Zealand Council for Educational Research, 2016, p. 75

Based on the understanding that primary school students attend school for approximately 40 weeks a year, the data in Figure 2 indicate that over 80% of Year 4 students in this nationally representative sample spent, on average, no more than 1 hour per week learning te reo Māori. The statistic is worse for Year 8 students, of whom over 85% were estimated to have spent, on average, no more than an hour per week learning te reo Māori. Considered alongside the Ministry of Education Māorilanguage immersion level data that were shown in Figure 1, these NMSSA findings indicate that few English-medium primary schools are currently providing tamariki Māori with the opportunity to learn their indigenous language to an extent that will support higher levels of proficiency (Educational Assessment Research Unit & New Zealand Council for Educational Research, 2016; Ministry of Education, 2020e).

# How are English-medium primary schools currently positioned and supported to uphold the indigenous linguistic rights of their ākonga Māori?

Here, it is important to consider the extent to which English-medium primary schools are currently positioned and supported to provide Māori language teaching and learning opportunities that recognise the indigenous linguistic rights of their ākonga Māori. In recent years, the government has acknowledged that tamariki Māori have priority rights when it comes to learning te reo Māori (Ministry of Education, 2020f; Te Puni Kōkiri et al., 2019). This acknowledgement is evident within both the *Maihi Karauna—The Crown's Strategy for Māori Language Revitalisation* (Te Puni Kōkiri et al., 2019), and *Tau Mai Te Reo*, the refreshed Māori language in education strategy (Ministry of Education, 2020f). Questions remain, however, about whether ākonga Māori who attend English-medium primary schools are likely to experience these priority rights, or, as we have termed them, their *indigenous linguistic rights*.

The Maihi Karauna, which is intended to support the revitalisation of te reo Māori, has specified three "audacious goals" (Te Puni Kōkiri et al., 2019, p. 9). The first two goals apply to all New Zealanders and concern valuing the language and being able to communicate about basic things in te reo Māori. These two goals, which are presented below, are examined more closely in the next section.

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

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

As can be seen below, the third goal, which is focused on the Māori population, is considerably more ambitious than the first two.

Audacious Goal 3: By 2040, 150,000 Māori aged 15 and over will use the Māori language at least as much as English. (Te Puni Kōkiri et al., 2019, p. 14)

To support the attainment of all three Maihi Karauna goals, the Ministry of Education has integrated them into the refreshed version of *Tau Mai Te Reo*, the Māori language in education strategy (Ministry of Education, 2020f). Here, the goals have been mapped onto the "Tau Mai Approach" (p. 3). This alignment of the Tau Mai Approach with the Maihi Karauna outcomes and goals (shown below in Figure 3) has clearly demonstrated the contribution that education services, including Englishmedium primary schools, are expected to make to the Crown's vision for revitalising te reo Māori.

### FIGURE 3 Ministry of Education diagram showing how the Maihi Karauna goals map onto the Tau Mai Approach

TAU MAI APPROACH			< KŌRERO MAI TE REO 〉	🦿 TAU MAI TE REO 🔵
		Our education services will support learners to value and acquire and use Māori language words, phrases and other forms (for example, waiata and haka) that are used on a regular basis in New Zealand society.	Our education services will provide Māori language to support learners to develop the ability and confidence to talk about a range of things in the Māori language.	Our education services will ensure learners can access Mäorl Medium education services in order to develop high levels of Mãori language proficiency and use.
MAIHI KARAUNA				
MAIHI KARAUNA OUTCOME	>	Aotearoatanga / Nationhood	Mātauranga / Knowledge & Skills	Hononga / Engagement
	>	Aotearoatanga / Nationhood By 2040, 85% (or more) of New Zealanders will value the Maori language as a key part of national identity.	Mātauranga / Knowledge & Skills By 2040, one million (or more) New Zealanders will have the ability and confidence to talk about at least basic things in the Morin language.	Hononga / Engagement By 2040, ISO,000 Maori aged IS years and over will use the Maori language at least as much as English.

It is apparent from this alignment that Māori-medium education services are expected to play a critical role in realising the third Maihi Karauna goal. Specifically, *Tau Mai Te Reo* states that, to support the realisation of this goal, "education services will ensure learners can access Māori Medium education services in order to develop high levels of Māori language proficiency and use" (Ministry of Education, 2020f, p. 3).

What remains unclear is how well ākonga Māori in Years 1–8, the majority of whom presently attend English-medium primary schools (Ministry of Education, 2020d, 2020e), will be served by this approach. We know, as described earlier, that few ākonga Māori in English-medium primary schools are currently having their indigenous linguistic rights met. If schools are committed to ensuring that the indigenous linguistic rights of their ākonga Māori are fulfilled, it is clear that they will need to begin taking a more strategic approach to their provision of reo Māori learning opportunities for this group of students.

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

We now broaden our focus to include all New Zealanders and examine why English-medium primary schools have an important role to play when it comes to providing all their students, both Māori and non-Māori, with opportunities to learn te reo Māori.

It is increasingly recognised that te reo Māori, the language of the indigenous people of Aotearoa New Zealand, has significance for all New Zealanders (Te Puni Kōkiri et al., 2019). Today, many New Zealanders, including non-Māori, view te reo Māori as part of their national identity (Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori, 2019b). Although te reo Māori is protected as a taonga by Article 2 of Te Tiriti o Waitangi (Waitangi Tribunal, 1986), the Crown has officially acknowledged that its past policies and practices have, "over the generations failed actively to protect and promote the Māori language and encourage its use by iwi and Māori" (Te Ture mō Te Reo Māori 2016 / Māori Language Act 2016, section 6). As noted earlier, te reo Māori is currently listed as one of the world's vulnerable languages (Moseley, 2010) and it is now recognised that all New Zealanders are responsible for contributing to its revitalisation (Te Puni Kōkiri et al., 2019).

*The Maihi Karauna—The Crown's Strategy for Māori Language Revitalisation 2019–2023* recognises that "te reo Māori is an inherent part of New Zealand's national identity, to be valued and used by wider

Aotearoa New Zealand" (Te Puni Kōkiri et al., 2019, p. 9). The Maihi Karauna complements the Maihi Māori—the Māori language strategy—which was "developed by and for iwi, Māori and Māori language communities/stakeholders" (Te Mātāwai, 2017, p. 1). As explained earlier, the Maihi Karauna identifies three goals, which are intended to support the revitalisation of te reo Māori. The first two goals apply to all New Zealanders and concern valuing te reo Māori as an important aspect of national identity (Goal 1) and being able to communicate about basic things in te reo Māori (Goal 2).

The Ministry of Education's integration of the Maihi Karauna goals into the refreshed version of *Tau Mai Te Reo*—the Māori language in education strategy—has clarified how education services, including English-medium primary schools, are expected to contribute to the Crown's vision for revitalising te reo Māori (Ministry of Education, 2020f). Earlier, we explored the role that education services are expected to play to advance the Maihi Karauna goal that has been specified for ākonga Māori (Goal 3). Here, we examine the part that English-medium primary schools are expected to play—and the contribution that they are currently making—when it comes to supporting the first two Maihi Karauna goals.

#### Goal 1

According to *Tau Mai Te Reo*, education services should contribute to progressing the first Maihi Karauna goal by supporting "learners to value and acquire and use Māori language words, phrases and other forms (for example, waiata and haka) that are used on a regular basis in New Zealand society" (Ministry of Education, 2020f, p. 3). There are indications that many English-medium primary schools are already doing a lot to support their learners in these ways (Education Review Office, 2020b; Educational Assessment Research Unit & New Zealand Council for Educational Research, 2016; Murphy et al., 2019). For example, a recent Education Review Office report examining te reo Māori in English-medium schooling concluded that even the current low-level integration of te reo Māori that occurs at most schools "would appear to have contributed to a greater familiarity with, and positive attitudes towards, te reo Māori among learners" (Education Review Office, 2020b, p. 21). Likewise, in their recent evaluation of te reo Māori in English-medium compulsory education, Murphy et al. (2019) identified that school-based reo Māori programmes were acting as a "key lever in helping to shape positive student attitudes towards Māori language and culture" (p. 44).

It is evident, however, that English-medium primary schools could be doing more to support the attainment of the first Maihi Karauna goal. According to the most recent NMSSA report on learning languages, approximately 70% of Year 4 students and approximately 60% of Year 8 students thought it was either "important" or "very important" to learn te reo Māori (Educational Assessment Research Unit & New Zealand Council for Educational Research, 2016, p. 57). Many of these students explained that they saw learning te reo Māori as important because it was "part of Aotearoa New Zealand's culture and identity" (p. 57). This suggests that those students in the sample who believed that learning te reo Māori as a key element of national identity" (Goal 1, Te Puni Kōkiri et al., 2019, p. 11). Based on the percentage of Year 4 and Year 8 students who reported that learning te reo Māori was either very important, it might be inferred that fewer than 85% of students at English-medium primary schools currently value te reo Māori as a key part of their national identity (Goal 1). This suggests that there is scope for some English-medium primary schools to do more to support the attainment of the first Maihi Karauna goal.

#### Goal 2

English-medium primary schools will need to work strategically to support the achievement of the second Maihi Karauna goal of having at least one million New Zealanders who possess the confidence and ability to talk about at least basic things in the Māori language (Te Puni Kōkiri et al., 2019). Within Tau Mai Te Reo, it has been explained that education services should contribute to this goal by supporting "learners to develop the ability and confidence to talk about a range of things in the Māori language" (Ministry of Education, 2020f, p. 3). However, the research indicates that most English-medium primary schools are not currently equipping their students to do this. As previously noted, few children who attend English-medium primary schools presently have opportunities to progress beyond level 1 of *Te Aho Arataki Marau mō te Ako i Te Reo Māori–Kura Auraki* (Education Review Office, 2020b; Murphy et al., 2019). Te reo Māori instruction, at its current level of provision within most English-medium primary schools, is "unlikely to produce conversational speakers" of the language (Education Review Office, 2020b, p. 21).

Additionally, there are indications that children's experiences of learning te reo Māori within Englishmedium primary schools may deter them from continuing to learn te reo Māori at secondary school. Specifically, the limited progress that many students in English-medium schools make in te reo Māori during Years 1–8 has been linked with them not choosing to learn te reo Māori when it becomes an optional learning area at secondary school (Murphy et al., 2019).

Currently, it is at secondary school that those learning te reo Māori within the English-medium education system are the most likely to have opportunities to progress beyond level 2 of *Te Aho Arataki Marau mō te Ako i Te Reo Māori–Kura Auraki* (Education Review Office, 2020b; Murphy et al., 2019), and therefore to develop the confidence and ability to talk about at least basic things in the Māori language (Goal 2). Considered in tandem, the findings of both the Education Review Office (2020b) and Murphy et al. (2019) suggest that many English-medium primary schools will need to strengthen their provision of instruction in te reo Māori if they are genuinely committed to supporting the second Maihi Karauna goal.

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

Until recently, English-medium primary schools have been expected, but not compelled, to provide instruction in te reo Māori (Education Act 1989, section 61). This changed in 2020, with the repeal of the Education Act 1989 and the introduction of the Education and Training Act 2020 (section 127). Around this time, the New Zealand Government, in conjunction with the Ministry of Education and its partner agencies, made a number of other significant changes to the Māori language in education landscape. These changes included, but were not limited to, the Ministry of Education's release of the Statement of National Education and Learning Priorities (NELP) and the Teaching Council of Aotearoa New Zealand's release of a new set of requirements for initial teacher education providers (Ministry of Education, 2020i; Teaching Council of Aotearoa New Zealand, 2019). Here, we explore what these recent changes mean for English-medium primary schools. In doing so, we explain why these changes both compel and enable English-medium primary schools to take a strategic approach to learning and teaching te reo Māori.

#### The Education and Training Act 2020

The Education and Training Act 2020 came into effect on 1 August 2020. One of the purposes of the new Act is "to establish and regulate an education system that ... honours Te Tiriti o Waitangi and supports Māori–Crown relationships" (section 4). This stated commitment to honouring Te Tiriti o Waitangi has important implications for English-medium primary schools in terms of the contribution that they are expected to make to the revitalisation of te reo Māori. Both the Education Act 1989 (section 61) and the Education and Training Act 2020 (section 127) describe the responsibilities of boards of trustees in relation to ensuring that students are provided with instruction in te reo Māori and tikanga Māori.

In contrast with its predecessor, the Education and Training Act 2020 provides school boards with a much more boldly asserted articulation of these responsibilities (section 127). Unlike the Education Act 1989, which stated that school boards only had to "provide instruction in tikanga Maori (Maori culture) and te reo Maori (the Maori language) *for full-time students whose parents ask for it*" (section 61, emphasis added), the Education and Training Act 2020 has made it clear that all schools are expected to make instruction available in tikanga Māori and te reo Māori (section 127). Specifically, the Education and Training Act 2020 states that one of a board's primary objectives in governing a school is "to ensure that the school gives effect to Te Tiriti o Waitangi, including by … taking all reasonable steps to make instruction available in tikanga Māori and te reo Māori" (section 127).

The introduction of these new expectations affords all schools both the opportunity and the mandate to examine their provision of instruction in tikanga Māori and te reo Māori, and, where needed, to strengthen these programmes. To assist schools with fulfilling these new expectations, the Ministry of Education and its education sector agencies have put a number of supports in place. These supports include the recently issued NELP (Ministry of Education, 2020i), which is described next.

#### Statement of National Education and Learning Priorities

The NELP is a statutory document that was issued under the Education and Training Act (Ministry of Education, 2020i). Within the NELP, priority 5 focuses on the use and acquisition of te reo and tikanga Māori by school staff and students. Specifically, priority 5 states that schools and kura must "meaningfully incorporate te reo Māori and tikanga Māori into the everyday life of the place of learning" (Ministry of Education, 2020i, p. 3). According to the NELP, schools that are striving to fulfil this priority will provide their staff with the support required "to develop their te reo Māori and tikanga Māori skills and competencies" (Ministry of Education, 2020i, p. 6). Likewise, such schools will provide students with "opportunities to learn, and learn in, te reo Māori" (Ministry of Education, 2020i, p. 6). The government has taken a number of steps to support the implementation of the NELP. These include allocating significant funding to enable schools to "strengthen the integration of te reo Māori into all students' learning" (Ministry of Education, 2020i, p. 11). Further information about how this funding will be allocated has been detailed in two recently refreshed companion documents, *Ka Hikitia* and *Tau Mai Te Reo* (Ministry of Education, 2020b, 2020f). Beginning with *Tau Mai Te Reo*, each of these documents is now explored in further detail.

#### Tau Mai Te Reo

As explained earlier, the refreshed version of *Tau Mai Te Reo* specifies the Ministry of Education's current goals for Māori language in education. Additionally, this document explains how the sector will be supported to achieve these goals (Ministry of Education, 2020f). Within it, the Ministry of Education has stated that they will:

- Stimulate demand among learners and whānau for Māori Language in Education
- Give clear directions to education services about their roles in providing Māori Language in Education
- Grow the education workforce to support Māori Language in Education
- Provide high-quality resources to support teaching and learning in Māori Language in Education
- Ensure that learners can access Māori Language in Education
- Provide system stewardship that supports Māori Language in Education
- Support learners and whānau to build strong connections with Māori Language in Education services. (p. 4)

Each of these commitments is associated with a series of actions that the Ministry of Education has pledged to undertake. For example, to support the provision of "clear directions to education services about their roles in providing Māori Language in Education" the Ministry of Education has stated that they will "develop and promote models of Māori Language Plans that can be used by education services" (Ministry of Education, 2020f, p. 4). Likewise, as part of their commitment to "grow the education workforce to support Māori Language in Education", the Ministry of Education is implementing a professional learning programme called Te Ahu o te Reo Māori (p. 4). This programme, which was successfully piloted in 2020, is intended to develop teacher competency in te reo Māori and tikanga Māori (Ministry of Education, 2020g).

#### Ka Hikitia

The understanding that "Māori students do much better when education reflects and values their identity, language and culture" is a central focus within *Ka Hikitia*, the Māori education strategy (Ministry of Education, 2013a, p. 6). This focus is reflected in the refreshed version of this document, which presents five outcome domains that are intended to support excellent outcomes for ākonga Māori and whānau (Ministry of Education, 2020b). These outcome domains are: te whānau, te tangata, te kanorautanga, te tuakiritanga, and te rangatiratanga. Of these domains, te tuakiritanga is founded upon the understanding that "identity, language and culture matter for Māori learners" (p. 6). To support this domain, the Ministry of Education has committed to providing high-quality Māori language education. Likewise, they have pledged to implement an "updated teacher registration and certification policy which includes that all teachers must commit to develop and practice te reo me ngā tikanga Māori" (p. 7). Consistent with this, and as we explore next, the Teaching Council of Aotearoa New Zealand (previously the Education Council) has recently revised its registration and certification policy and released a new set of requirements for initial teacher education (ITE) providers (Teaching Council of Aotearoa New Zealand, 2019, 2020b).

#### **Teaching Council requirements**

The recently introduced *ITE Programme Approval, Monitoring and Review Requirements* are important because they clarify the role that English-medium ITE programmes are expected to play with regards to equipping their graduates to teach te reo Māori (Teaching Council of Aotearoa New Zealand, 2019). ITE providers are now obliged to assess the reo Māori competency of all candidates who are accepted into English-medium programmes "as close as reasonably practicable after entry" (p. 44). Additionally, English-medium ITE programmes must now "progressively monitor and support competency in te reo Māori during the programme, using sound practices in second language acquisition" (p. 44). These requirements, which came into effect on 1 July 2019, oblige those ITE providers that offer Englishmedium programmes to improve their reo Māori teaching and learning programmes. Ideally, this will strengthen the reo Maori capability of their graduates and provide English-medium schools with a growing pool of teachers who possess the skills and knowledge that are required to deliver effective reo Māori teaching and learning programmes. The introduction of these new requirements is important because many of the students who graduate from English-medium ITE programmes go on to work in English-medium primary schools.

Besides the new requirements that have been introduced for ITE providers, the Teaching Council also recently updated the reo Māori and tikanga Māori requirements within its own registration and certification policy (Teaching Council of Aotearoa New Zealand, 2020b). During the registration and certification process, teachers must now complete a specific declaration about their commitment to developing their skills and knowledge in "te reo me ngā tikanga Māori" (p. 2). Likewise, when endorsing applications, professional leaders are now required to answer a question about whether the applicant has "progressed in their knowledge and understanding of te reo me ngā tikanga Māori" (Teaching Council of Aotearoa New Zealand, 2020a). The expectation that teachers should practise and develop the use of te reo and tikanga Māori is not new. Indeed, it has been included in the code of professional responsibility and standards for the teaching profession—*Our Code Our Standards*—since this document was released in 2017. What is new, however, is that teachers and leaders are now required to state whether this important aspect of these standards is being met.

In recent years, the New Zealand government—in conjunction with the Ministry of Education and its partner agencies—has streamlined its efforts to strengthen the provision of instruction in te reo Māori in English-medium primary schools. Considered collectively, these efforts, which are evident not only in the recently introduced Education and Training Act 2020, but also the NELP, the Teaching Council's new set of requirements for ITE providers, and the refreshed versions of *Tau Mai Te Reo* and *Ka Hikitia*, deliver a clear message to English-medium primary schools about the importance of providing learners with high-quality reo Māori learning opportunities (Ministry of Education, 2020b, 2020f, 2020h; Teaching Council of Aotearoa New Zealand, 2019). Within the upcoming section, we identify a series of key issues that English-medium primary schools will need to consider as they respond to these calls to strengthen their provision of instruction in te reo Māori and begin to develop a more strategic approach to Māori language teaching and learning.

### 4. Me pēhea ngā kura auraki tuatahi e whakawhanake i tētahi aronga rautaki ki te ako me te whakaako i te reo Māori? How can English-medium primary schools develop a strategic approach to Māori language learning and teaching?

Recent changes in Aotearoa New Zealand's Māori language in education landscape compel Englishmedium primary schools to embrace their responsibilities when it comes to providing reo Māori teaching and learning opportunities (Ministry of Education, 2020a). Much has been written about the challenges that English-medium primary schools can encounter when they seek to provide students with opportunities to learn te reo Māori (Gardiner & Parata Ltd, 2004; McPherson, 1994; Murrow et al., 2006; Ohia, 1993; Wylie & MacDonald, 2020). There is, however, a growing body of knowledge about those practices and approaches that have been shown to assist schools with strengthening their provision of reo Māori teaching and learning opportunities (Barr & Seals, 2018; Education Review Office, 2020b; Hunia et al., 2018; Murphy et al., 2019; Smith et al., 2020).

Within this section of the report, we identify five key issues or kaupapa that English-medium primary schools should consider as they seek to develop a strategic approach to Māori language teaching and learning. Specifically, we draw attention to the importance of: developing a Māori language plan; involving whānau in the development and implementation of reo Māori programmes; elevating the profile and status of te reo Māori; raising critical awareness about how teachers position themselves; and seeking to increase teachers' reo Māori proficiency. Where possible, practical evidence-based advice is provided to assist schools as they engage with and respond to each of these important kaupapa.

#### Issue 1: Māori language planning

Māori language planning provides schools with a powerful mechanism for strengthening their provision of reo Māori teaching and learning opportunities (Hunia et al., 2018; Ministry of Education, 2020f). There are indications, however, that few English-medium primary schools have engaged in a comprehensive Māori language planning process (Hunia et al., 2018). Here, we introduce the concept of language planning and explore what Māori language planning might look like, involve, and enable for English-medium primary schools.

#### What is language planning?

In recent years there has been an increased focus on Māori language planning in Aotearoa New Zealand (Hunia et al., 2018; Trinick et al., 2020). This increased focus, which reflects the important role that language planning can play in supporting efforts to revitalise te reo Māori, has led to the development of Māori language plans in a range of sectors, organisations, and iwi domains. In simple terms, language planning is a deliberate attempt to influence or change the use, acquisition, and promotion of a language or languages (Baldauf, 2012; Trinick et al., 2020). Historically, language-planning efforts have tended to be undertaken at a government level, where they have led to the development of language-planning policies. More recently, however, community organisations and groups have started to play an important role in leading language-planning initiatives (Baldauf, 2012; Hunia et al., 2018).

For any given language, language planning efforts must take the particular historical and social context that surrounds that language into consideration (Taylor-Leech & Liddicoat, 2014). An understanding of these contexts affords language planners a broader understanding of the conditions under which that language operates. In Aotearoa New Zealand, the detrimental impacts of colonisation on Māori language transmission must, therefore, be considered during language planning. Today, it is generally understood that indigenous and heritage language groups must have meaningful opportunities to contribute to language-planning endeavours (May, 2005; McCarty, 2018; Trinick et al., 2020). Such opportunities help to ensure that the resulting language plan prioritises their interests, rather than those of dominant cultural groups.

Within the education system, language planning occurs at multiple levels (Liddicoat, 2014). For example, macro-level language planning typically takes place at a national level and is enacted as policy and strategy. In Aotearoa New Zealand, the various iterations of *Tau Mai Te Reo*, the Ministry of Education's Māori language in education strategy, are examples of macro-level language plans (Ministry of Education, 2013b, 2020f). In contrast, micro-level language planning is undertaken by individuals and groups to address the language needs of their own local speech community (Baldauf, 2006; Seals & Peyton, 2017). Within an educational context, language planning of this type typically occurs at the school level and is often undertaken by school leaders and teachers (Baldauf, 2006; Barr & Seals, 2018; Jones, 2014).

Although the importance of school-level Māori language planning is increasingly recognised, the education sector is only just beginning to develop the resources that schools need to undertake this work (Hunia et al., 2018; Ministry of Education, 2020f). The refreshed version of *Tau Mai Te Reo*, for example, includes the statement "Key Action—All Education Services have a Māori language plan" (Ministry of Education, 2020f, p. 4). At present, however, the Ministry of Education is still developing the models, tools, and templates that are required to support this action.

To better understand what school-level language planning means in Aotearoa New Zealand, it is therefore helpful to turn to the description of community-level Māori language planning that Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori has provided. Specifically, this organisation has described community-level Māori language planning as:

a process to help whānau, hapū, iwi and other organisations identify the Māori language needs of their community, set goals for what they want to do for the language and plan out in manageable steps how to go about achieving those goals. (Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori, 2017, n.p.)

On this basis, it is understood that school-level Māori language planning involves a school community identifying their language needs, setting goals related to what their community wants to do for te reo Māori, and planning out in manageable steps how to go about achieving these goals. Conceptualised in this way, Māori language planning offers English-medium primary schools a mechanism for identifying how they will work towards providing their students with opportunities to access and achieve at levels 2, 3, and 4 of *Te Aho Arataki Marau mō te Ako i Te Reo Māori–Kura Auraki* (Ministry of Education, 2009).

Here it is important to note that school-level Māori language planning includes, but is by no means limited to, the development and implementation of reo Māori learning programmes. Although it is evident that most English-medium primary schools have developed a school-wide plan for teaching te reo Māori (Educational Assessment Research Unit & New Zealand Council for Educational Research, 2016; Murphy et al., 2019), there are indications that it is less common for schools to have engaged in a more thorough Māori language planning process (Hunia et al., 2018). The 2016 NMSSA learning languages report, for example, concluded that most primary school principals believed that it was at least "moderately" like their school to "have a coordinated plan for teaching te reo Māori across the year levels" (Educational Assessment Research Unit & New Zealand Council for Educational Research, 2016, p. 79). Likewise, Murphy et al. (2019) reported that all the schools in their sample (*n* = 11) had planned and developed a Māori language programme. Notably, neither of these studies looked specifically at whether schools were engaging in Māori language planning.

In contrast, Māori language planning was an aspect of school-level practice that Hunia et al. (2018) investigated in their study examining the wellbeing of te reo Māori in kura and schools. They concluded that, although all the kura and schools in their sample "had reo Māori goals, domains, practices, policies, and pedagogical knowledge, none had developed a comprehensive Māori-language plan" (p. 31). If, as Hunia et al. found, few schools are engaging in Māori language planning, this may—in part—be because there are currently very few education-specific Māori language planning models or templates available for schools to utilise. To assist schools with undertaking this work, the following section provides information about a range of resources that can be used to support school-level Māori language planning. Although not all these resources were developed specifically for schools, they can easily be modified to make them appropriate for this context.

#### Māori language planning resources

In Aotearoa New Zealand, existing Māori language plans and templates commonly include the language-revitalisation elements of status, critical awareness, acquisition, use, and corpus. A description of how each of these elements can be applied is provided below within the micro-level language planning template that is replicated in Figure 4. Developed by Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori (2019a), this language-planning template was designed for use in the public sector and is intended to be adjusted to meet the needs of different public-sector organisations.

Long-term aspiration/s:					
Why we do this	Goal	Achieved by (date)	Responsibility	Indicator	Measure
<b>Status</b> —to increase the visibility of te reo, enhance	[Short Term]				
its recognition and create a positive image	[Medium Term]				
<b>Critical Awareness</b> —to understand the government, our organisation, and the	[Short Term]				
individual can make a difference	[Medium Term]				
Acquisition—to secure effective opportunities for learning and build the	[Short Term]				
capability of staff and our organisation	[Medium Term]				
<b>Use</b> —to provide opportunities to speak, listen	[Short Term]				
to, read and write te reo internally and externally	[Medium Term]				
<b>Corpus</b> —to strengthen the relevance and consistency	[Short Term]				
of te reo, making it popular, used and useful	[Medium Term]				

FIGURF 4	E Tipu te Waerenga Language Planning template by Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori
I DOULE I	E ripu te muerengu zanguager tanning temptate by re raura minir r te neo muor

Source: Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori, 2019a, pp. 6–7

Free online resources are available that provide information and tools to assist with the development and implementation of school-wide language plans. A selection of these resources is included in Table 2.

#### TABLE 2 Māori language planning resources

TABLE 2 Maori language planning resources	
Resource	Information/tools
Tautokona te reo: The wellbeing of te reo Māori in kura and schools (Hunia et al., 2018)	Four tools developed from the research findings. The tools are designed to enable teachers, school leaders, boards of trustees, and whānau to consider the current state of te reo Māori within their school, and to strengthen the wellbeing and learning of te reo Māori.
Mahere Reo Language Planning (Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori, n.d.)	Essential elements and steps within language planning. Examples of language plans.
Tukua ki te ao: Progressing the normalisation of te reo Māori in organisations (Lee-Morgan et al., 2019)	Case studies of secondary schools' approaches to the learning and teaching of te reo Māori.
He rau ora: Good practice in Māori language revitalisation—literature review (Bright et al., 2019)	Language-planning guidance for whānau and communities.
Aronuitia te reo: Te reo Māori resource deck (Smaill & Maguire, 2021)	Drawing on NMSSA findings, this card-based resource is designed to assist English-medium with strengthening their provision of te reo Māori learning opportunities. The resource foregrounds the government's three Māori language revitalisation goals and enables schools to explore what they are doing to fulfil these.

#### Issue 2: Whānau involvement in the development and implementation of reo Māori programmes

The benefits of involving whānau in school-based Māori language planning processes are increasingly understood (Education Review Office, 2020a, 2020b; Murphy et al., 2019; Taani, 2019). To date, however, the research in this area has tended to focus on just one aspect of Māori language planning: the development and implementation of reo Māori teaching and learning programmes. Here, we examine the benefits that have been linked with involving whānau in this important work and identify how schools might harness these exciting opportunities.

Recent research (Murphy et al., 2019) has indicated that the development and implementation of effective reo Māori teaching and learning programmes in English-medium schools depends, at least in part, on the involvement of whānau. Echoing this sentiment, Taani (2019) has argued that establishing ongoing relationships with whānau, where whānau with language proficiency share their knowledge and expertise, is essential for te reo Māori to flourish within school communities. Partnerships with whānau have been shown to afford schools access to much-needed reo Māori knowledge and expertise (Education Review Office, 2020b; McKinley, 2000; Murphy et al., 2019). Likewise, such partnerships are known to provide schools with opportunities to establish important reciprocal relationships. Although the benefits of forming partnerships with whānau are well understood, it is evident that there is considerable scope for English-medium primary schools to do a better job of partnering with whānau when it comes to the development and implementation of reo Māori teaching and learning programmes (Education Review Office, 2020b; Murphy et al., 2019).

In their recent evaluation of te reo Māori in English-medium compulsory education, Murphy et al. (2019) found that just under half of the schools in their study (*n* = 11) had involved whānau in the planning stages of their school's reo Māori teaching and learning programme. Likewise, a recent Education Review Office report (2020b) found that only a few English-medium schools had used their engagement with whānau to focus on the provision of reo Māori. This research noted that "whānau engagement tended to pertain more to learner achievement, or just making connections in general" (p. 11).

A similar conclusion was drawn by Horne (2020), who noted that English-medium primary schools need to get better at inviting, enabling, and supporting whānau to make a genuine contribution to their children's learning experiences. Horne's findings echo those of Murphy et al. (2019) who emphasised the importance of enabling whānau to contribute to the development of reo Māori learning programmes. Murphy et al. concluded that those whānau who had the capacity to assist, and "were enabled to", made contributions to the reo Māori teaching programmes in their children's schools (p. 58). How, then, might English-medium primary schools do a better job of enabling whānau to contribute in these ways?

According to Hunia et al. (2018), school leaders have a critical role to play when it comes to enabling whānau to make a contribution to school-based reo Māori programmes. Hunia et al. noted that school leaders who genuinely support te reo Māori actively "welcome whānau input, advice, support, and guidance" (p. 44). This aligns with the findings of Robinson et al. (2009) who acknowledged the important role that school leaders have to play—more generally—in establishing what they have described as "educationally powerful connections with families, whānau and communities" (p. 45).

Although there are practical challenges associated with establishing such relationships in ways that are appropriate, reciprocal, and fruitful, these challenges can be overcome (Education Review Office, 2020a; Taani, 2019). For example, a recent Education Review Office report (2020a, p. 9) noted that "effective and frequent whānau, iwi and hapū engagement" was often evident at schools in which the

leaders prioritised the provision of instruction in te reo Māori and tikanga Māori. The same report described how a school adjusted a teacher's job description and provided them with an additional allowance to acknowledge and formalise the role that they played—as mana whenua—overseeing all iwi and whānau engagement.

#### Issue 3: The profile and status of te reo Māori

English-medium primary schools have an important role to play when it comes to raising the status of te reo Māori and shaping student and community attitudes towards the language (Education Review Office, 2020b; Murphy et al., 2019). Here we examine what is known about current attitudes towards the teaching and learning of te reo Māori. We then explore how English-medium primary schools, and in particular their leaders, can contribute to both raising the profile of and strengthening attitudes towards Aotearoa New Zealand's indigenous language.

Attitudes towards the teaching and learning of te reo Māori appear to be becoming increasingly positive (Matika et al., 2019; Murphy et al., 2019). According to news reports, reo Māori classes for adult learners are now commonly oversubscribed (Coster, 2018; Hawkes, 2020). Likewise, among the general population, attitudes towards the teaching of te reo Māori in English-medium primary schools have been shown to be improving (Matika et al., 2019). Specifically, based on their re-analysis of 2009–2015 national probability data from the New Zealand Attitudes and Values Study (NZAVS), Matika et al. observed "a gradual and steady increase in support for teaching the Māori language in primary schools" (p. 182). The news, however, is not all positive. Research conducted in the early 2000s indicated that, for some English-medium primary schools, the negative attitudes of school communities and students presented a significant barrier for those teachers who were seeking to strengthen their reo Māori learning programmes (Gardiner & Parata Ltd, 2004; Murrow et al., 2006).

More recently, Matika et al. (2019) found that New Zealanders have "varied attitudes" towards the teaching of te reo Māori in schools (p. 182). Within their analysis of NZAVS data, they examined participant responses to a question about how strongly they supported the teaching of te reo Māori in schools. Here the options ranged from 1 (strongly oppose) to 7 (strongly agree). Among their findings, Matika et al. reported that "Māori women (M = 5.95, SD = 1.23) were significantly more supportive of te reo Māori being taught in schools than New Zealand European women (M = 4.95, SD = 1.53, p < .001)" (p. 177). Similarly, varied attitudes towards the teaching of te reo Māori were reported in a recent Education Review Office (2020b) publication. This report noted that leaders in approximately a fifth of the schools surveyed were aware that members of their communities questioned the value of learning te reo Māori appeared to be becoming more positive, it is important not to dismiss either the existence of racism or its potential to impact negatively upon classroom practices.

In this regard, Alansari et al. (2020) have stressed the importance of being able to have discussions about racial inequality and institutional racism in order to challenge them. Such discussions have important implications for language learning, because, as Norton (2013) has noted, "a learner may be a highly motivated language learner but may nevertheless have little investment in the language practices of a classroom or community, which may, for example, be racist" (p. 6). Recent research has emphasised the crucial role that school leaders play when it comes to contesting negative attitudes towards te reo Māori and creating the conditions that are needed for school-based reo Māori programmes to flourish (Bishop et al., 2007; Education Review Office, 2020b; Hunia et al., 2018; Murphy et al., 2019). In this regard, the Education Review Office concluded:

For both staff and communities, it was important to have leadership that challenged negative or ignorant attitudes, and positively articulated a clear sense of moral purpose for the teaching and learning of te reo Māori, both for Māori students as their birthright, and for non-Māori students as a component of a bicultural New Zealand identity. (2020b, p. 9)

As noted earlier, school leaders also play an important role when it comes to enabling whānau to contribute to school-based reo Māori programmes. Moreover, as we explain in an upcoming section, school leaders also play a critical role when it comes to providing teachers with opportunities to access reo Māori-focused professional learning opportunities:

It is no surprise then, that the reo Māori programme is a key lever in helping to shape positive student attitudes towards Māori language and culture. In turn, this impacts on students' motivation to want to learn, or continue to learn the language, particularly beyond primary school. (Murphy et al., 2019, p. 44)

School leaders play a crucial role in prioritising te reo Māori in the school community, and supporting the development of successful programmes for the teaching and learning of te reo Māori (Education Review Office, 2020b). Schools that have developed successful reo Māori programmes are led by leaders who actively value and promote te reo Māori, role model being active learners themselves, and recognise the positive contributions such programmes make within schools and the broader community (Education Review Office, 2020a; Murphy et al., 2019). The literature shows that increasing the positive image of a language can act as a motivating factor for the language to be learnt and used (Ager, 2005).

#### **Issue 4: Teacher identity and positioning**

The identity of an individual is known to influence the attitudes that they have towards a language (Ager, 2005). Likewise, the language teaching practices of classroom teachers—who are ultimately responsible for enacting macro-level language policies—are heavily influenced by their attitudes towards and beliefs about language (Barr & Seals, 2018; Jones, 2014).

To date, however, there have only been a few attempts to examine whether—and if so, how identifying as Māori or non-Māori shapes teachers' attitudes towards and experiences of providing their students with instruction in te reo Māori (Barr & Seals, 2018; Coffin, 2013; Hunia et al., 2018). The unique context of Aotearoa New Zealand means that English-medium primary schools must carefully consider the role of both Māori and non-Māori teachers when it comes to providing their students with reo Māori learning opportunities. Here, we examine what is known about the ways in which these two groups of teachers experience delivering instruction in te reo Māori and tikanga Māori

#### Kaiako Māori

When considering the attitudes and experiences of kaiako Māori who are teaching te reo Māori and tikanga Māori in mainstream schools, it is important to remember that they do this work against an historical backdrop of colonisation, urbanisation, and language loss (Bright et al., 2019; Te Huia et al., 2019). To this day, te reo Māori is still considered to be an endangered or vulnerable language (Campbell & Belew, 2018; Moseley, 2010).

In primary schools, kaiako Māori are the teachers who are the most likely to confidently use te reo Māori in their teaching (Wylie & MacDonald, 2020). However, the number of kaiako Māori in primary schools is low, with this group making up only 11.3% (4,695 teachers) of the total primary teaching workforce in 2020 (Ministry of Education, 2021b). If we assume that the proportion of kaiako Māori who speak Māori well or very well is similar to that of the entire Māori adult population, we can estimate that only around 8% or 376 of the 4,695 kaiako Māori in primary schools speak Māori well or very well, and that the rest are likely to have low levels of Māori language proficiency (Stats NZ Tatauranga Aotearoa, 2020).

Māori adults who are not proficient speakers of te reo Māori and who may be language learners themselves have reported feelings of whakamā, self-blame, or pressure to meet the expectations of others about te reo Māori (Hunia et al., 2018; Gardiner & Parata Ltd, 2004; Te Huia et al, 2019). Also, the discomfort associated with a lack of reo can be intensified by the fact that kaiako Māori are often expected to be the resident reo Māori expert in their school (Coffin, 2013; Gardiner & Parata Ltd, 2004). Kaiako Māori have an essential role in the revitalisation of te reo Māori, but careful consideration must be given to how to best place these precious living language resources.

As noted earlier, Barrett-Walker et al. (2020) have developed a statistical model to predict "whether a given endangered language is on a long-term trajectory towards extinction or recovery" (p. 1). According to their modelling, te reo Māori is currently "on a pathway to extinction" (p. 1). They have warned that the "overuse of Māori teachers in the non-Māori population could have a detrimental effect on long-term language revitalization" (p. 8). To improve the trajectory for te reo Māori, Barrett-Walker et al. have argued that reo Māori learning among Māori should be prioritised initially. Within English-medium primary schools, this might involve ensuring ākonga Māori receive priority access to teachers who are proficient in te reo Māori.

If and when the language is determined to be on a healthy trajectory towards revitalization among the Māori population, resources and teachers can be distributed more broadly to promote learning across the whole population. (Barrett-Walker et al., 2020, p. 9)

Their conclusions about the long-term survival of te reo Māori have important implications for kaiako Māori, and for schools' strategic approaches to teaching and learning te reo Māori. Te reo Māori is also important for non-Māori, though this must be a secondary priority if the language is to survive.

#### Non-Māori teachers

In Aotearoa New Zealand, all teachers in English-medium primary schools who seek to provide students with instruction in te reo Māori do so against the backdrop of colonisation. Because the majority of teachers in this country identify as European | Pākehā (Ministry of Education, 2021b), many teachers in English-medium primary schools have links to those who contributed to the colonisation of Aotearoa New Zealand and, therefore, to the disruption of the intergenerational transmission of te reo Māori. Here, we explore what is known about how the experience of being non-Māori—and in particular, being Pākehā—shapes the ways in which teachers in English-medium primary schools integrate te reo Māori into their classroom programmes. We conclude by identifying how schools can support non-Māori teachers to position themselves so that they are able to provide all of their students with instruction in te reo Māori.

In recent years, the term "Pākehā paralysis" has emerged as a way of describing the challenges that Pākehā researchers can experience when they consider undertaking research involving Māori (Tolich, 2002, p. 164). As the term implies, Pākehā paralysis can result in researchers choosing not to engage in research that involves or concerns Māori. The concept of Pākehā paralysis is explored here because it provides a useful lens through which to examine and understand the experiences that some Pākehā teachers in English-medium primary schools encounter when they seek to provide their students with instruction in te reo Māori. Building on the work of Tolich, Hotere-Barnes (2015) has defined Pākehā paralysis as:

Emotional and intellectual difficulties that Pākehā can experience when engaging in social, cultural, economic and political relations with Māori because of: a fear of getting it wrong; concern about perpetuating Māori cultural tokenism; negative previous experiences with Māori; a confusion about what the 'right' course of action may be. (p. 41)

There are indications that some teachers in English-medium primary schools encounter an experience similar to Pākehā paralysis when they attempt to incorporate te reo Māori into their programmes. Research conducted by Gardiner & Parata Ltd (2004), for example, has indicated that fears associated with getting things wrong sometimes limited the extent to which Pākehā primary school teachers provided their students with instruction in te reo Māori.

A similar conclusion was reached by Barr and Seals (2018), who examined the experiences of three Pākehā primary school teachers as they sought to incorporate te reo Māori into their classroom programmes. Specifically, Barr and Seals found that the teachers in their study "were often concerned about their pronunciation and not wanting to use te reo in 'token' ways" (p. 443). For at least one of the teachers in this study, the experience of having ākonga Māori in their class exacerbated these feelings. These researchers concluded that this teacher felt uneasy being "a gatekeeper of te reo" and noted that she experienced this particularly keenly when working with students who identified as Māori (p. 442).

In contrast, Barr and Seals (2018) identified that the two teachers in their study who routinely integrated te reo Māori into their classroom programmes achieved this by positioning themselves as what they have referred to variously as "facilitators" or "access providers" (pp. 443–444). They noted that:

these two teachers were mindful of their position of not being Māori; that is, of not feeling like legitimate owners of the language or culture, but as facilitators for others to gain knowledge and to contribute to the vitality of the language. (p. 443)

Patrick (2020) observed a similar phenomenon in her doctoral study, within which she examined non-Māori teachers teaching Māori in English-medium primary schools. Patrick noted that "embracing the concept of ako" enabled some teachers to position themselves as learners, which helped them to integrate te reo Māori into their classrooms (p. 284).

The importance of teacher positioning has been acknowledged elsewhere in the literature. For example, referring specifically to the way in which secondary school teachers positioned themselves in relation to their ākonga Māori, Bishop et al. (2007) concluded:

Teacher positioning that acknowledged and affirmed a cultural identity that in most cases was different to their own, provided the platform for the development of mutual respect and caring relationships. The students were certain that teachers being responsive to them as Māori, and the way they were treated as Māori, were an essential precursor to the quality of in-class relationships with teachers and to their participation in classrooms. (p. 167)

How then, might English-medium primary schools utilise these understandings to assist their non-Māori teachers with strengthening their provision of instruction in te reo Māori? Here, it is helpful to return to the notion of Pākehā paralysis and to reflect upon the ideas of both Tolich (2002) and Hotere-Barnes (2015). Referring to educational researchers, Hotere-Barnes has asserted that, at its worst, Pākehā paralysis can result in "Pākehā choosing to opt out of improving our educational system because 'it's too difficult'" (p. 42). Likewise, Tolich (2002) has warned that Pākehā paralysis can result in researchers failing to fulfil their Treaty of Waitangi responsibilities. To reduce the likelihood of Pākehā teachers succumbing to Pākehā paralysis and opting out of teaching te reo Māori (and thereby failing to fulfil their responsibilities to Te Tiriti o Waitangi), English-medium schools are encouraged to support their teachers to position themselves as access providers.

According to Barr and Seals (2018), access providers acknowledge and understand that they are not owners of te reo Māori, and yet are able to position themselves to both nurture and provide others with access to that language. While emphasising the critical role that Pākehā teachers have to play when it comes to supporting the normalisation of te reo Māori within English-medium primary schools, Barr and Seals have also noted that access providers "must maintain respect for the owners of the language and the critical role they play in language maintenance" (p. 445). This suggests that Pākehā teachers need to ensure that their efforts to nurture and provide access to te reo Māori are undertaken in ways that uphold the mana of their Māori colleagues, whānau, and ākonga. Barr and Seals concluded that those teachers who understand that it is their responsibility to provide students with access to te reo Māori, and who work within schools that value and prioritise the indigenous language of Aotearoa New Zealand, are well placed to become successful access providers.

## Issue 5: Teacher reo Māori proficiency and confidence

As previously explained, few children in English-medium primary schools are currently provided with the learning opportunities that they require to progress beyond level 1 of *Te Aho Arataki Marau mō te Ako i Te Reo Māori–Kura Auraki* (Education Review Office, 2020b; Ministry of Education, 2009; Murphy et al., 2019). In part, this is because most English-medium primary schools do not presently have the capacity to deliver effective reo Māori programmes (Education Review Office, 2020b; Murphy et al., 2019; Wylie & MacDonald, 2020). Here we examine current levels of teacher proficiency and teacher confidence about teaching te reo Māori and identify how English-medium primary schools might seek to build capacity in each of these areas.

In Aotearoa New Zealand, teachers and principals in English-medium primary schools overwhelmingly agree about the importance of their students having opportunities to learn te reo Māori (Educational Assessment Research Unit & New Zealand Council for Educational Research, 2016). At present, however, few teachers in these schools possess the linguistic fluency required to deliver effective reo Māori programmes (Education Review Office, 2020b; Murphy et al., 2019). According to the most recent NMSSA "Learning Languages" report, just 12% of Year 4 teachers and 28% of Year 8 teachers believed it was "very true" that they could hold a simple conversation in te reo Māori (Educational Assessment Research Unit & New Zealand Council for Educational Research, 2016, p. 74). Likewise, a recent study examining te reo Māori in English-medium schooling found that "forty percent of primary schools had no teachers who were fluent in te reo Māori, and a further 29 percent had only one fluent teacher" (Education Review Office, 2020b, p. 12). A similar conclusion has been drawn by Murphy et al. (2019) who identified that the provision of reo Māori language programmes in most English-medium schools was typically reliant on a single teacher. As Hunia et al. (2018) have noted, reliance on a sole reo Māori expert, or pou reo, means that a school's reo Māori programme often flounders if their pou reo leaves.

In part, this staffing challenge reflects the fact that schools often struggle to recruit teachers with reo Māori skills (Education Review Office, 2020b; Hunia et al., 2018; Murphy et al., 2019). Results from the 2019 National Survey of Primary Schools, for example, indicated that principals were experiencing increasing difficulty finding teachers of te reo Māori (Wylie & MacDonald, 2020). There is, however, some evidence that many schools could be more proactive about seeking to employ teachers who possess reo Māori skills. Recent NMSSA findings revealed that the majority of primary school principals did not rate the ability to teach te reo Māori as an important consideration when

appointing a classroom teacher (Educational Assessment Research Unit & New Zealand Council for Educational Research, 2016). Specifically, when asked to indicate their level of agreement with the statement "when appointing a classroom teacher, their ability to teach te reo Māori is an important consideration", the majority of principals indicated this was either "not at all like" or only "a little like" their school (p. 79). This suggests that there is scope for English-medium primary schools to afford a higher priority to Māori language skills when appointing classroom teachers.

Effective second-language teaching requires more, however, than just knowledge of the language being taught. It also requires an understanding of the principles and practices of second-language teaching (Brown, 2007). In Aotearoa New Zealand, most teachers in English-medium primary schools have limited knowledge of effective second-language teaching pedagogy (Education Review Office, 2020b; Murphy et al., 2019). During their recent examination of te reo Māori in English-medium schooling, the Education Review Office (2020b) found that half of the primary schools in their sample had either one teacher, or no teachers with some knowledge or experience in teaching second languages. They concluded that this was "likely to limit the effectiveness of ... te reo Māori provision" (p. 13). To strengthen teachers' understandings of the principles of effective second-language teaching, the Ministry of Education has provided primary schools with some written resources (Ministry of Education, 2006, 2009). To date, however, few of the Ministry of Education's reo Māori professional learning initiatives have included a focus on second-language learning pedagogy (Education Review Office, 2020b).

Teacher confidence also has an impact on the extent to which Māori language programmes are delivered in English-medium schools. Historically, teachers in English-medium primary schools have tended to report low levels of confidence about their ability to deliver reo Māori programmes (Barr & Seals, 2018; Gardiner & Parata Ltd, 2004; Murrow et al., 2006). More recent research has, however, indicated "an increased level of confidence in English-medium primary teachers, many of whom now report that they are prepared to 'give it a go'" (Murphy et al., 2019, p. 62). This growing preparedness to give te reo Māori "a go" may, in part, reflect the fact that schools are increasingly choosing te reo Māori and tikanga Māori as a professional learning focus (Wylie & MacDonald, 2020). Building upon this idea, the next section identifies how schools can strengthen their capacity to provide effective reo Māori learning programmes by providing their teachers with opportunities to participate in reo Māori-focused professional learning initiatives.

## Use professional learning and development opportunities to strengthen the provision of reo Māori teaching and learning programmes

Teachers who participate in reo Māori-focused professional learning and development initiatives typically go on to make positive contributions to their school's reo Māori teaching and learning programmes (Barr & Seals, 2018; Murphy et al., 2019; Murrow et al., 2006; Smith et al., 2020). These positive contributions include, but are not limited to, an increased use of te reo Māori within classroom programmes, greater integration of te reo Māori across the curriculum, and strengthened relationships with ākonga Māori (Smith et al., 2020). Here, we examine the full suite of benefits that have been associated with teacher participation in reo Māori-focused professional learning programmes and identify how school leaders can best support their staff to participate in these important learning opportunities.

In Aotearoa New Zealand, teachers participate in a variety of types of reo Māori-focused professional development initiatives (Murphy et al., 2019; Murrow et al., 2006; Smith et al., 2020). These include Ministry of Education funded reo Māori programmes, such as Te Ahu o Te Reo Māori; reo Māori

courses that are offered through tertiary institutions, such as Te Wānanga o Aotearoa; and schoolbased reo Māori learning opportunities that are led by external specialists or expert colleagues. There are indications that participating in each of these types of professional learning opportunity can assist primary school teachers with strengthening their provision of reo Māori teaching and learning programmes (Barr & Seals, 2018; Murphy et al., 2019; Murrow et al., 2006; Smith et al., 2020). For example, according to Murphy et al. (2019), teachers who had attended reo Māori courses at tertiary institutions reported making a greater contribution to their school's Māori language programmes than their other colleagues. Likewise, the same authors noted that a group of teachers who had access to ongoing, school-based, expert-facilitated reo Māori sessions reported experiencing a range of benefits. These benefits included having greater confidence in their reo Māori ability and making increased use of te reo Māori within their classroom programmes.

Evaluations of Ministry of Education-funded pilots of reo Māori professional learning programmes provide a wealth of insights into the benefits associated with having teachers participate in these learning opportunities (Murrow et al., 2006; Smith et al., 2020). Notably, these evaluations draw heavily on teachers' reports of their experiences of and responses to these professional learning opportunities. In general, teachers who have participated in Ministry of Education-funded reo Māori professional learning programmes report that these opportunities have had a positive impact on their ability to deliver reo Māori programmes (Murrow et al., 2006; Smith et al., 2020). The positive outcomes that participating teachers have reported include, but are not limited to:

- increased confidence in their ability to use te reo Māori in their classrooms (Murrow et al., 2006; Smith et al., 2020)
- an increase in their motivation to use te reo Māori in the classroom (Smith et al., 2020)
- an increase in their use of te reo Māori within their classroom programmes (Murrow et al., 2006; Smith et al., 2020)
- an improvement in their ability to pronounce Māori words correctly (Smith et al., 2020)
- an increase in their awareness of second-language learning strategies (Murrow et al., 2006)
- greater integration of te reo Māori across the curriculum (Murrow et al., 2006)
- strengthened relationships with ākonga Māori (Smith et al., 2020).

Murrow et al. (2006) also found that participation in a reo Māori professional learning programme often had a positive "flow-on effect to the school" (p. 67). Examples of these positive flow-on effects included an increase in the percentage of schools that reported (post-professional development) that they had a whānau support group and/or that Māori words and signs were displayed around their school. Likewise, these researchers noted that some teachers had created opportunities to share what they had learnt during the programme with their colleagues. A similar conclusion was reached by Smith et al. (2020) within their evaluation of the four Te Ahu o te Reo Māori pilots. They noted that the majority of those who participated in these pilots reported drawing upon what they had learnt during the programme to assist with revitalising and normalising te reo Māori within their school or centre context. Specifically, 95% of participants reported that they supported other teachers in their school to use te reo Māori. Similarly, 93% of participants indicated that they had collaborated with other teachers to share reo Māori practices and resources, and 85% of participants reported that they contributed to reo Māori strategies within their school.

Consistent with these findings about the positive flow-on effects that schools can experience when teachers take part in reo Māori-focused professional development, Murphy et al. (2019) concluded that such opportunities often "instil in teachers a moral obligation to ensure that all students have an opportunity to learn Māori language as the indigenous and official language of Aotearoa"

(p. 56). Likewise, Murrow et al. (2006) noted that the opportunity to take part in reo Māori-focused professional learning led many participants to become "passionate about the teaching of te reo Māori in their school" (p. 60). These comments indicate that the experience of participating in reo Māori professional learning opportunities often inspired participants to become advocates for te reo Māori within their schools.

Here, it is also important to note the additional benefits that can be gleaned when teachers have the opportunity to participate in reo Māori-focused professional learning programmes alongside a colleague or colleagues (Smith et al., 2020). Specifically, a number of the teachers who took part in the pilots associated with Te Ahu o te Reo Māori reported that the experience of attending this programme with their colleague(s) had strengthened their ability to effect positive changes within their schools. School leaders, however, noted that creating opportunities for multiple teachers to simultaneously participate in this programme sometimes presented a challenge. Some school leaders noted, for example, that they struggled to find relievers when multiple staff attended the programme, while others referred to the challenges associated with "balancing the benefits of having multiple staff attend the programme against the impact on school systems and student learning" (Smith et al., 2020, p. 66).

The crucial role that school leaders play when it comes to enabling teachers to participate in reo Māori-focused professional learning opportunities points—once again—to the importance of supportive school leadership when it comes to strengthening reo Māori teaching and learning programmes. As Murphy et al. (2019) have concluded, "the success, growth and sustainability of Māori language learning in a school is largely dependent on the value and support accorded to it by the school's leaders" (p. 39). This is consistent with evidence-based research on effective teacher professional learning and development (Timperley et al., 2007), which has emphasised the importance of school leaders actively supporting their staff to engage in professional learning opportunities.

## 5. He kupu whakakapi Conclusion

At the macro level of language planning, education policies, strategies, and guidance documents give clear direction to schools that te reo Māori must now be a priority. At the micro level of language planning, there are resources available to assist schools to work through a process to develop a strategic approach to implementing reo Māori teaching and learning. Many schools and ākonga value te reo Māori, and there is a will to support te reo Māori.

When planning for te reo Māori, it is important to understand that the language still needs active and significant support to survive. Te reo Māori is important first and foremost to Māori, but also to all New Zealanders. Both groups have important roles to play in revitalising the language. A challenge for non-Māori who want to contribute to revitalising te reo is to first understand how they position themselves as non-Māori in this space, so that in their efforts to help, they do not in fact hinder.

The challenge for schools is to find a balance that ensures that day-to-day decisions and practices related to the learning and teaching of te reo Māori benefit ākonga Māori first—because the language needs Māori to survive—while also being of benefit to all learners.

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