

Whakamanahia Te Reo Māori

He Tirohanga Rangahau – A review of literature on the instructional and contextual factors likely to influence Te Reo Māori proficiency of graduates from Māori Medium ITE programmes

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He Tirohanga Rangahau was commissioned as the second stage of the Whakamanahia Te Reo Māori research project. The literature review identifies contextual and instructional factors that may be used to influence and enhance the reo Māori proficiency of graduates from Māori medium ITE programmes. The project originated from the Māori Medium Advisory Group of Te Pouherenga Kaiako o Aotearoa, the New Zealand Teachers Council. It follows on from the first project report He Tirohanga Hōtaka, an ‘environmental scan’ of ITE programmes.

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Foreword

**Ko koe ki tēnā, ko ahau ki tēnei kīwai o te kete.
You take that handle of the kete and I will take this one.**

In February 2007, the New Zealand Teachers Council acted on advice from its Māori Medium Advisory Group (MMAG) and approved the draft research plan to investigate te reo Māori proficiency in Māori medium initial teacher education (ITE) programmes. The decision recognised the paucity of research evidence available to the Council to inform the development of appropriate policies, processes and standards for Māori medium ITE.

Therefore, the overarching aim of the Whakamanahia te reo project is to build a body of research based knowledge and consensus amongst tertiary providers and other stakeholders on what constitutes te reo proficiency in Māori medium education and use that knowledge to develop and implement policies that will inform the proficiency levels required of graduate kaiako (teachers) in order for them to teach our tamariki/mokopuna well.

The first phase of the research, *He Tirohanga Hōtaka*, was conducted by Haemata Limited. Published at the end of 2008, it involved an ‘environmental scan’ of Māori medium ITE programmes that identified issues and influences that affected te reo Māori competence of graduates from those programmes. Although essentially a descriptive study, *He Tirohanga Hōtaka* recommended further research projects. This included the need to investigate the type and nature of support systems, structures and resources needed to strengthen the capacity of ITE graduates to meet the educational needs of all ākonga in the Māori medium sector.

This literature review, *He Tirohanga Rangahau*, is the second phase of the Whakamanahia te reo project. The research has investigated international and national literature relevant to the instructional and contextual factors most likely to influence te reo Māori proficiency levels of teachers graduating from ITE programmes. It has also identified issues related to defining and assessing te reo Māori proficiencies.

He Tirohanga Rangahau is a comprehensive review that recognises the growing body of work being produced locally by the likes of May, Hill, Tiakiwai and Skerrett. The report identifies that internationally, the combined research field of indigenous languages, second language acquisition and teacher education is very complex and relatively new. It explores dimensions of bilingualism, indigenous language education, the policy and practice interplay and the importance of both the socio-cultural and socio-political context.

He Tirohanga Rangahau identifies considerable overlap between contextual and instructional factors that can affect te reo proficiencies of graduate kaiako from Māori medium ITE programmes. It makes recommendations that include adopting a single institution approach, the required length of time for these ITE programmes, the status of credentials, and the development of appropriate evaluation and assessment material and procedures. It also highlights the importance of a comprehensive partnership from and between government agencies and whanau, hapu and iwi.

It is noted that the latter theme formed the basis of the recently published Ministerial review of the Maori language sector and the Maori language Strategy, *Te Reo Mauriora*.

A clear message emerges from both reports and is captured in the whakatauki that heads this foreword. For its part, the New Zealand Teachers Council is committed to take a firm grip of the handle of the kete of knowledge to give credence to our mission statement: *Ū ki te ako, tū tangata ai āpōpō*.

Dr Peter Lind

Director

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Abstract

This review provides a synthesis of the research literature on issues around proficiency in bilingual education and the influences on te reo Māori (the Māori language) proficiency of teachers graduating from initial teacher education (ITE) programmes for Māori medium education in Aotearoa/New Zealand.

The current state of research identifies contradictions in terms and inconsistencies in its usage, and gaps in the literature – as one commentator put it there is *almost zero* literature regarding indigenous ITE and *absolutely no publications* on proficiency levels of teachers graduating from ITE or on defining teacher language proficiencies. Be that as it may, this review provides further ideological clarification around the meanings and understandings ascribed to associated terms, for example bilingualism, immersion education, proficiency, competency, fluency, indigenous language curriculum, heritage languages, communicative approaches, subtractive and additive bilingual programmes.

It also overviews how the nature of reo Māori proficiency that ITE providers can expect of their graduating kaiako is affected by a very wide range of factors which spring from the general socio-historical, political and linguistic conditions of the context/s concerned. Some of the wider (organisational and pedagogical) Māori language education aims are amenable to direct management by ITE providers. Even so, the wider socio-historical and political pressures will often impinge upon the extent to which ITE providers can give effect to its aims through its programmes.

The literature strongly suggests that the new development of a full education system in a particular language in any country requires consistent and large resources focussed on it. In the case of Aotearoa/New Zealand, relevant and coherent policies need to be developed and updated, based on sound research and development praxis. Significantly increased resources need to go into te reo Māori advancement in ITE in order to produce sufficient numbers of graduating kaiako with reo Māori proficiencies that are appropriate for teaching in both the compulsory and non-compulsory education sectors. Kia mate rā anō a Tama-nui-te-rā!

Executive Summary

Te reo Māori has been legislatively designated an official language of Aotearoa New Zealand. With English as the default setting language of everyday life some contend that we are officially a Māori/English bilingual nation. Quality initial teacher education (ITE) programme developers and implementers need to consider what this really means. In effective bilingual programmes students become bilingual (able to move competently and confidently between Māori and English) and biliterate (able to read, write and learn in both Māori and English) with a strong sense of identity. The purpose of initial teacher education (ITE) is, through effective ITE programmes, to graduate teachers who are able to ensure those general aims are met. This literature review addresses the following two questions: What are the instructional and contextual factors that are most likely to influence the level/s of te reo Māori proficiency gained by teachers graduating from ITE programmes, and how can these factors best be addressed? What are the issues in defining and assessing the relevant te reo Māori proficiencies, and how can these issues best be addressed? This review provided an opportunity to engage broadly with the literature whilst providing some suggestions for ITE and some suggestions to explore further. The ongoing inquiries are critical. Suggestions are canvassed in the following recommended dimensions for further research.

Recommended Dimensions for Further Research

Socio-political Dimensions

The socio-political and historical relationships between te reo Māori and English means that despite the fact that te reo Māori is an official language, the state privileges English only as *the core* language of the curriculum. This anomaly causes all sorts of policy and practice irregularities particularly in relation to resource and curriculum development throughout the education sector; but brought into sharp relief in the secondary school sector where there is a perceived *crowding* of the curriculum. There, te reo Māori is timetabled as a *foreign language*. This causes much confusion and frustration among many students opting into Māori language education or those wanting a smooth transition from Māori medium primary schools into secondary schools where there is no Wharekura option. The privileging of English over Māori is to the detriment of te reo Māori revitalisation (through, for example, the inequities in resource allocation); the ongoing denial of the significance of te reo Māori for Aotearoa Nation (the consequence of which is lower proficiencies among its speakers); and the disadvantage to the participants of Māori medium education (because of the unfair competition and contestation). The overall effect has been referred to as *linguicism*. Skutnabb-Kangas, Phillipson, Mohanty and Panda (2009) argued,

The political rights or lack of rights of any language cannot be deduced from linguistic considerations. They are part of the societal conditions of the country concerned, and can only be understood in their historical context, by studying the forces which have led to the present sociopolitical division of power and resources in the societies concerned (p.41).

These factors have direct implications for student-teachers entering ITE programmes. Supporting a strong Māori language education sector sits at the centre of the ministry's ability to deliver on its responsibilities under the *Māori Language Strategy*, made evident in its policy document, *Ka Hikitia – Managing for Success*.

Indigenous Language Education

Indigenous language (mother tongue) education is supported on ideological and pedagogical grounds. Ideologically, it is an aspect of language rights, which are a component of human rights and a way of protection from discrimination by language. Pedagogically, it aims to make seamless the progression of children and young people through the education sector without disadvantage. It also aims to improve academic performance and to develop positive attitudes in speakers about their linguistic and cultural heritage. Intergenerational transmission of language motivated by the pride of minorities in their language by use in a public domain is critical for the maintenance of language and cultural diversity in the world.

The view gaining greater acceptance among linguists and language activists is that the rights and desires of the linguistic community regarding the introduction and duration of language/s in education must outweigh the concerns of the state. The apprehension about the cost of provision often entertained by governments does not count the social cost of *not* doing it, of which the educational failure of the minority students is only a part. The suggestion (and more often the practice) that, while governments have supportive policies, the actual costs of indigenous language/s revitalisation and maintenance should be borne by the minority community, is discriminatory and one which international declarations prohibit (Annamalai, 2006).

Whānau, Hapū and Iwi Engagement

Iwi and hapū are powerful structures in Māori society and provide focal points for Māori leadership and activities. All stakeholders should be involved in the decision-making regarding implementation of bilingual education as well as which languages will be used and how they will be developed. Egalitarian processes should enable implementation through legislation, policy development and allocation of resources; while grounded, localised processes provide flaxroots solutions, commitment and linguistic community support; and general structural processes facilitate educational implementation which considers both the policy and community environments. This implies authentic, respectful relationships of engagement, with decentralisation of educational decision-making, through genuine partnerships with whānau, hapū and iwi Māori, particularly those who have historically disengaged in education. Much needed research can assist at all levels of engagement.

Policy in Practice Dimensions

As with many countries under colonial rule the designated colonial language (in our country English) has been the sole official language for education and government. This has meant a string of colonial monocultural laws in the advancement of a single *monolingual* nation for approximately 160 years. They have become embedded in the discourses of our country and ingrained in the policies and practices. It has been argued that most democracies provide for

freedom of government interference in private language use, but many are reluctant to make legal provision for promotion of languages in the public sector other than the dominant language(s).

A reluctance to provide minority languages has created gaps between even well-intentioned policies and actual practice (Benson, 2004). In addition, weak linkages between policy and planning render many existing policies ineffective (Romaine, 2006). Further, it has been highlighted that unless physical conditions (for example access to resource) are improved for the most marginalised it is unlikely that a change in language policy will dramatically improve educational attainment. All of the above is relevant to the context in which this review is positioned. The legal provision for the promotion of te reo Māori in the public sector has yet to clarify the weaker link/s between policy, practices and planning in the education sector, rendering many existing policies of te reo Māori in the curriculum quite ineffective. In spite of government policy, the substantive breakthroughs (Kōhanga Reo, Kura Kaupapa Māori, Wharekura) have been made in Māori communities, largely by Māori parents who want te reo Māori me ōna tikanga for their children. It is timely, given the tenets of *Ka Hikitia*, for the system to *step up* and align itself to what it is that parents want for their children.

Best practice in bilingual models

Even though it arguably impossible to control for the entire gamut of social, cultural, logistic and linguistic variables, it is argued here that we have to move towards doing just that. As the selection of appropriate bilingual models is the key to educational quality and outcomes for children and young people, so too is research and development in ITE going to provide clarification around best ITE match to context and the modes of practice. A one-size fits all approach to ITE is inappropriate.

Transitional and maintenance models maximize L1 development and therefore have the greatest potential to improve L2 development and content learning. Student teachers in general ITE programmes struggle to meet the demands of the programme and profession in just three years. It goes without saying that these demands are exacerbated in bilingual ITE programmes, especially when they have been so indiscernibly defined and designed. There has been a national shift of late to reinstate four year ITE programmes.

Ongoing research can provide further clarification on what constitutes best ITE models, so that those models can be expanded to meet teacher supply issues.

Teacher Supply Issues

The research literature has highlighted that teacher supply in Māori medium has been of serious concern for many years. It has been argued that more appropriate models require more time, resources and commitment to research. Further, that Māori medium ITE needs to align the knowledge outcomes of graduate teachers to the bilingual education goals of the sector. Various models are proposed.

- i. A four or five year ITE programme that involved *at least* one year of full-time Māori language study (preferably via immersion) for all non-fluent Māori speakers at the start of

the programme, followed by a three or four-year bilingual ITE education. Serious consideration needs to be given to the provision of scholarship funding given the aims and length of the programme.

- ii. In order to *grow* the pool of Aotearoaphones (Māori speakers) as well as providing effective ITE, a *centre-based* model offered through a variety different operating structures, philosophies and affiliations would be an effective means of resolving the qualified teacher crisis whilst addressing proficiency issues.
- iii. A *single institution* concept, which would allow pooling and concentration of resources, teaching and learning materials and its domain specificity (particularly Māori language) would mean lecturers would be focused on the promotion of mātauranga Māori, pedagogy (and assessment) Māori, kaupapa Māori, tamariki Māori and whānau Māori. Student teachers will graduate with dual qualifications, one for the general stream and another for kaupapa Māori, with competence and fluency in te reo Māori.
- iv. The development and piloting of small boutique type programmes (with a view to their successive proliferation); with their own funding structures within existing institutions which would service demand and allow for the national coverage.

These models are not new and nor are the options provided exhaustive. A centre-based approach has been offered in the past, and the *Wānanga Takiura* in Auckland has offered a similar programme to that proposed in (i) for some time. However, the idea of a *single institution* has not been taken seriously and nor has there been sufficient resource allocation to research and develop this. Significant investment of time and resources is needed to grow and support these types of programmes and suggestions. New policies need to be formulated about:

- Length of ITE programmes (e.g., components of conjoint degrees, programme structures, content, monitoring and evaluation) and status of credentials (so that remuneration is commensurate with, and cognisant of, the credential and context/s of Māori medium education).
- Language use in education which language(s) to use as the medium of instruction at any given time.
- Programme and resource development (correspondent with bilingual educational aims).
- Evaluation and assessment procedures

Even though te reo Māori is an official language of the nation, the principal language of education is English. However, with support the general sector can assist with the growth of the pool of Aotearoaphones by removing barriers and fostering knowledge within the sector about Māori/English bilingualism. More young people moving through schools speaking te reo Māori will make a difference for Māori medium ITE.

Second Language Acquisition Dimensions

All teachers in Māori medium educational settings need to understand the features of second language acquisition, and the distinctions and dimensions of the term ‘bilingualism’. To be effective, teachers need to have both the social and academic language proficiencies in te reo Māori; and the social and academic language proficiencies of English. They also need to understand the pedagogical implications of having those proficiencies. If the object of Māori medium ITE is to graduate teachers who have these understandings, dispositions and skills, then the pedagogical content knowledge, policies and practices need some alignment in order to support the context of Māori/English ITE in Aotearoa. New policies need to be formulated about teacher standards which consider different bilingual education models (contextual and instructional factors) and second language acquisition issues.

Promoting Bilingual Education in Communities

The reservations around Māori language education and often the belief that te reo Māori may be a liability for children and young people to *progress* and get jobs is similar to reservations held in and about other indigenous communities and their languages. Such attitudes have often been ingrained subliminally in their minds by the negative articulation of the value of their language by the dominant language speakers (Annamalai, 2006). This reservation disappears when such fears and beliefs are shown to be unfounded empirically.

The realisation by the whole community that Māori medium education is not exclusive of acquiring knowledge and skills in English language education, but that they actually enhance language acquisition knowledge and skills beyond even bilingualism, will support Māori language awareness and regeneration. When these ideas become synchronised and realised we can walk secure pathways into the future. Secure because the pathways are aligned.

It cannot be overstated, what is good for Māori is good for the nation. Therefore ongoing research into changing beliefs, changing attitudes, changing language practices, and changing language planning is critically important for the growth of a bicultural Nation with Māori/English bilingualism as a platform to engage the world’s multiple languages and complexities from a position that is uniquely our own.

Key findings

The key findings of the literature review are:

1. Broad outlines of what leads to success in indigenous language education systems are already well known and only need to be supported at the structural level (by policy), programmed and implemented. In particular, it is critical to have consistency of support allowing for uninterrupted use of the language in education and work aiming for intergenerational transmission in homes, schools and communities.
2. Minority indigenous languages, such as Māori, also suffer from actual barriers to use and a lack of natural support mechanisms in the wider society. These restrictions often lead to a lack of prestige, which further limits the use of the language.
3. Minority-language education systems often suffer from a lack of consistent, long term resourcing in comparison with the majority language education systems. Internationally agreed human rights principles oppose such discriminatory practices.
4. Genuine participatory engagement through partnerships with whānau, hapū, and iwi Māori is also essential to a high quality Māori medium education system. Culture is integral to language and the Māori medium education system cannot be conceptualised as a “translation” of the English medium one.
5. Initial Teacher Education (ITE) programmes for kaiako in Māori medium education are in their infancy and require substantial research and development in the context of partnerships with whānau, hapū, and iwi Māori to ascertain what are the best structures, processes and content for them.
6. Although there is a strong demand for Māori medium education, there is also a high demand for skilled reo Māori users in a number of other fields besides education. This leads to a shortage of applicants for ITE, and a corresponding shortage of kaiako who are skilled users of te reo Māori in schools.
7. If we are to give credence to an official view of a bilingual Aotearoa/New Zealand, all teachers at every level should have both the social and academic language proficiencies of te reo Māori, and equivalent social and academic language proficiencies in English.
8. The nature of bilingualism, its benefits, and how it comes about and is maintained is not widely understood in Aotearoa New Zealand
9. ITE programmes need to incorporate good practices in bilingual teaching and learning and knowledge of second language acquisition methodologies into their organisation and teaching. Graduating kaiako need to be skilled in these areas.
10. It is important that ITE programmes explicitly identify, describe and foster the types of language and language use that are required in their programmes; they should ensure that

graduating teachers also know how to identify, describe and foster the types of language and language use that are required in any educational context they may work in.

11. Fostering specific language items and types of language use involves consideration of the entire context in which people operate using language, and not just the language use within lessons or class time.
12. Although it is often considered easy to specify language requirements, and test the level of language proficiency, this is not the case. Language proficiency measures take time to research, develop, trial, and to administer. They are also expensive.
13. The development of te reo Māori as a language of modern media and education in a global context has led to a huge and sudden expansion of the language into new areas and uses. This rapid expansion can also lead to a growing backlog of unmet needs, for example, specialised dictionaries, and other reference, teaching and learning resources, and for experts in various fields. This report confirms such a shortage in the Māori medium educational context/s.

Recommendations for the education sector

The Ministry of Education should:

1. Investigate the idea of a *single institution* which would facilitate the concentration of resources, teaching and learning materials.
2. In partnership with whānau, hapū, and iwi Māori should develop an agreed and prioritised strategic resourcing plan, as fully effective Māori medium education, whether in ITE, centres or schools, requires increased resourcing.
3. Support the use of reo Māori to a greater extent throughout all contexts, and specifically encourage further and more consistent reo Māori teaching and learning in all educational settings.
4. Develop strategies for reducing barriers and disincentives for Māori language teaching and learning.
5. Increase the attractiveness of choosing to qualify as a bilingual Māori/English speaking kaiako, and of remaining in the education system.
6. Investigate the length of ITE programmes and the status of credentials. It is important that remuneration is commensurate with, and cognisant of, the additional demands of qualifying for and operating bilingually in a young education system with a wide range of contexts.
7. Research and develop guidelines and resources for planning optimum language use in education. For example, how to use the languages and resources available, either

bilingually or monolingually, to create the best learning environment for language and content learning.

ITE providers, with support from the MOE, should:

8. Systematically develop programmes and resources so that they reflect and contribute to bilingual educational aims throughout the Māori medium education community. This includes a holistic integration of tikanga Māori into the learners' context.
9. Explicitly identify, describe and foster the types of language and language use that is required in ITE programmes; ensuring that graduating teachers also know how to identify, describe and foster the types of language and language use that is required in any educational context they may work in.
10. Develop evaluation and assessment procedures which relate directly and explicitly to teaching in bilingual educational contexts where language learning, cultural learning, and content learning are integrated. These procedures must take account of the language learning trajectories the ITE graduating kaiako are following.
11. Develop evaluation and assessment procedures that take into account their continuing development after graduation from ITE including through in-service professional development programmes and research.
12. Take steps to increase understanding and promotion of the different ways bilingual people use their two languages, how they achieve and maintain levels of bilingualism across various contexts and activities, and how their identities are integral to these processes. This understanding of how to develop and adapt in both languages is essential for teachers, students, whānau and families at all levels of the education system.

1. Introduction

This literature review is seen by the New Zealand Teachers Council as phase II of a research strategy undertaken to explore what was happening in the tertiary sector in terms of Māori medium teacher education programmes for the early years, primary and secondary sectors. Phase I, *Whakamanahia Te Reo Māori - He Tirohanga Hōtaka* (2008b), an environmental scan, included an exploration of the issues and influences that affect te reo Māori competence of graduates from Māori medium initial teacher education programmes. The purpose of that study was to identify the issues experienced by Māori medium Initial Teacher Education (ITE) programme providers in 2008. The findings identified that all ITE providers of Māori medium programmes were concerned about ensuring that their graduates have good Māori language skills and a thorough understanding of the Māori medium curriculum (the 'Marautanga') and of second language acquisition theory. It was also found that programme providers need a range of support mechanisms in order to successfully develop their students' Māori language proficiency knowledge, pedagogical knowledge and pedagogical content knowledge.

Background

~Ū ki te ako, tū tangata ai āpōpō

Excel in teaching so our learners will excel in the future

The New Zealand Teachers Council/Te Pouherenga Kaiako o Aotearoa, established in 2002 under the Education Standards Act (2001), is an autonomous crown entity funded by teachers to provide professional leadership in teaching, enhance the professional status of teachers in schools and early childhood education and to contribute to a safe and high quality teaching and learning environment for children and other learners. The Council purpose is encapsulated in the above mission statement (NZTC, 2009).

The New Zealand Teachers Council's overarching aims for this is to produce more competent teachers to teach tamariki/mokopuna well, and to build a degree of consensus amongst ITE providers and key communities of interest about what constitutes proficiency in Māori medium education. More specifically, the aim is to conduct a research programme that explores issues of te reo proficiency in ITE programmes which prepare graduates to teach in Māori medium education settings.

In 2006 the Teachers Council agreed to support a proposal from its Māori Medium Advisory Group (MMAG) to scope a research project on te reo Māori proficiency in Māori medium ITE.

This involved the bringing together of a scoping group operating on Kaupapa Māori research methodologies to scope a project which would provide urgently needed data on these issues. In 2008, under the guidance of a steering group, Te Rōpu Whakamanahia te Reo Māori, the first phase of the project, completed by Haemata Ltd, culminated in the report referred to above. That report was released in December 2008.

The aim of this literature review of both national and international literature is to inform the design and development of professional learning programmes in ITE so that graduates will be ready to teach effectively in Māori immersion and other settings. It will also provide a further evidence base for the development of policies and advice to Māori medium initial teacher education providers, and others in the education community.

The overarching goal of this research project is to enhance the competence of kaiako / teachers and ensure that tamariki/mokopuna receive the best education available by building a degree of consensus amongst providers and various stakeholders about what constitutes proficiency in Māori medium education.

Literature Review Questions

This literature review is guided by the following questions:

1. What are the instructional and contextual factors that are most likely to influence the level of te reo Maori proficiency gained by kaiako graduating from Initial Teacher Education programmes, and how can these factors best be addressed?
2. What are the issues in defining and assessing the relevant te reo Māori proficiencies, and how can these issues best be addressed?

Key Words

Initial teacher education (ITE), professional development (PD), Māori medium education, bilingual, bilingualism, immersion, proficiency, competency, fluency, teaching, learning, curriculum, heritage, additive, Ministry of Education (MOE), assessment, contextual, instructional, indigenous, whānau, hapū, iwi, programme, pedagogy Māori, cognitive academic language proficiency, social language, communicative, structural.

2. Methodology

The literature review brief (Request for Proposals Whakamanahia Te Reo Māori: He Tiroiro i ngā Rangahau – A Review of Research Literature), constituting the second phase of the overall project, called for proposals to conduct a literature review guided by the following:

Context

Māori medium early childhood centres and kura / schools need kaiako with te reo Māori proficiency which will enable them to:

- teach Te Marautanga o Aotearoa, the New Zealand Curriculum or Te Whāriki; and
- develop their learners' numeracy and literacy in te reo Māori in all curriculum areas.

ITE courses have a key role to play in enabling student teachers for Māori medium programmes to graduate with appropriate te reo Māori skills.

Method

A variety of approaches were taken to search for and select research literature for this review which included general Google searches with search terms: indigenous teachers, bilingual education, indigenous initial teacher education, bilingual, assessment, pre-service teachers, language revitalisation, indigenous languages, heritage languages, second language acquisition, Māori language education, Māori medium education. Many search terms were derivatives of the above.

Further key sources included in the review were identified at the meeting with Te Rōpū Whakamana Reo (the Reference/Steering Group), which met on the 21st September 2009 to guide the review. Those sources (and themes) are incorporated into the review.

Time constraints

As the process for completion of this literature review was guided by only two (albeit very broad) questions, a more detailed structure was required to focus the retrieval and synthesis of material. Therefore the process drew on the expertise from Te Rōpū Whakamana Reo (Reference/Steering group) who met to discuss the plan, which was finalised on 25th September 2009. The plan included a comprehensive overview of the policy context, engagement with bilingual theory and

practice, both nationally and internationally, as well as an overview of the national and international contexts, which included the contextual and instructional issues.

Paucity of literature

Given the dearth of research literature in ITE programmes for indigenous communities working with heritage languages, it was decided to include non-empirical material such as emails and other personal communications where relevant to provide further ideological clarification.

Structure of Literature Review

The proposed areas of focus have been divided into three parts, A, B and C.

- PART A – Addresses question one and provides an overview of definitions of bilingualism with reference to both the national and international literature. Part A is divided into three sections; Section I discusses some of the issues around bilinguals and bilingual education; Section II looks at the wider context of Māori education with specific reference to public policy and curriculum documents; and Section III provides some contrasting contexts of language regeneration programmes. Appendix One provides a list of other literature sources. Appendix Two overviews the wider contextual analysis of language and second language learning approaches. PART B – Addresses question two and looks at *contextual* issues – teacher education implications.
- PART C – Addresses question two and looks at *instructional* issues – teacher education implications.
- PART D – Addresses the second stage of question two – issues of reo Māori proficiency and implications for assessment.

3. Question 1

What are the instructional and contextual factors that are most likely to influence the level of te reo Maori proficiency gained by kaiako graduating from Initial Teacher Education programmes, and how can these factors best be addressed?

PART A- DEFINING THE BILINGUAL CONTEXT

Section I

Definitions of Bilingualism

The term ‘bilingualism’ has been a very difficult one to define, and highly controversial in pedagogical terms. There is much confusion in the *use* of the term bilingualism and *what* it means. The discussion statement below found on the Ministry of Education website, under the heading Māori Medium Education, states “Māori medium education programmes involve students being taught either all or some curriculum subjects in the Māori language, either in immersion (Māori language only) or bilingual programmes (Māori and English)...” (Ministry of Education, 2009b). This statement illustrates the problem of definition. Māori medium settings are bilingual settings, even though they may run 100% Māori immersion programmes for a large part of their programme. The aims of Māori medium education are to produce Māori/English bilingual, bicultural citizens. This notion of Māori immersion bilingualism will be expanded on throughout this review.

What does it mean to be bilingual?

Some commentators have argued that bilingualism is the native-like command of two languages, even to the extent that the bilingual speaker could be taken for a ‘native’ speaker by native speakers of both languages concerned. However, this is restrictive and represents the highest degree of bilingualism. Furthermore, it is argued that this is an ideal, very rarely attained, and better termed equilingual or ambilingual.

Baker (2006) concluded that defining exactly who is or is not bilingual is essentially elusive and ultimately impossible. Some categorisation and approximations, however, are often necessary and helpful to make sense of the word and the world. One approach may be to locate important distinctions and dimensions surrounding the term ‘bilingualism’ that refine thinking about bilingualism. The fundamental distinction is between *bilingual ability* and *bilingual usage*. Some

bilinguals may be fluent in two languages but rarely use both. Others may be less fluent but use their two languages regularly in different contexts. Many other patterns are possible.

It is important to consider domain and context in regard to a person's use of their two languages. As a bilingual moves from one situation to another, so may the language being used in terms of type (which language), content (e.g. vocabulary) and style. Over time and place, an individual's two languages are never static but ever-changing and evolving.

Key points

- There is a difference between bilingualism as an individual proficiency and two or more languages operating within a group, community, region or country.
- At an individual level, there is a distinction between a person's ability in two languages and their use of those languages.
- Bilinguals typically use their two languages with different people, in different contexts and for different purposes.
- Language abilities include listening, speaking, reading and writing. Thinking in a language is sometimes seen as fifth language ability.
- Balanced bilinguals with equal and strong competence in their two languages are rare.
- There is a difference between a monolingual or fractional view of bilinguals and a holistic view. The fractional view sees bilinguals as two monolinguals inside one person. The holistic view sees bilinguals as a complete linguistic entity, an integrated whole.
- The term 'semilingual' or 'double semilingualism' has been used to describe those whose languages are both under-developed. However the label has tended to take on negative political and personally pejorative connotations.
- A distinction is made between the kind of language required for conversational fluency and the type of language required for academic, classroom operations.
- Language competence includes not only linguistic competence (e.g. vocabulary, grammar) but also competence in different social and cultural situations with different people.

Thresholds Theory

It is argued that the further a child moves towards balanced bilingualism (i.e. high levels of bilingual proficiency in both languages), the greater the likelihood that certain cognitive advantages will accrue. However, when bilinguals are in subtractive bilingual contexts, these advantages may be attenuated and possibly even reversed. A key theory that addresses these countervailing patterns for bilingual students, at least partially, is the *thresholds theory*, first postulated by Cummins, (1976) and expanded on by Toukoma and Skutnabb-Kangas, (1977). The *thresholds theory* was created to address the observation that academic proficiency transfers across languages, such that students who have developed literacy in their first language (L1) will tend to make stronger progression in acquiring literacy in their second language (L2). Therefore, the use of the students' L1 as a medium of instruction will not detract from their learning an L2, in fact it is likely to *enhance* it.

The thresholds theory remains important for two reasons.

1. It sought to account for why minority students often fail to cope academically and linguistically when they are submerged in a school environment where their L2, or weaker language, is the language of instruction.
2. Contrary to the 'time on task' notion (that is, the greater the quantity of instruction in L2 the better the educational outcome), instruction through a minority L1 does not appear to exert any adverse consequences on the development in the majority language and may, in fact, have considerable positive effects (Cummins, 2000 cited in May, Hill, & Tiakiwai, 2004).

The thresholds theory helps to explain why many children from minority groups fail in school. It also helps to explain why early studies into bilingualism found largely negative effects of bilingualism, as minority language children in these studies often failed to develop a sufficiently high level of proficiency in the school language [L2] to benefit fully from their educational experience.

Baker's (1993) definition of bilingualism is of a child who is able to speak two languages *fluently*. However the concept of 'fluency' is similarly difficult to define. According to Waite (1992), bilingualism begins at the point where a speaker of one language can *produce* complete, meaningful utterances in the other language, whereas Diebold (cited in Saunders, 1988) suggested bilingualism commences when a person begins to *understand* utterances without necessarily being able to produce them. Saunders (1988) terms this a *receiving* bilingual, when a person is spoken to all the time by others in the language but never replies in that language.

The focal point of the controversy is the degree of fluency one should reach before claiming to be bilingual and when the benefits of being bilingual will therefore accrue. Saunders' (1988) notion that bilingualism simply means having access to two languages, and placing all bilinguals on a continuum from equilinguals to just beginning to acquire a second language, in a sense negates the fluency debate. These are conditions or differing states of development at different locations on a receptive/productive bilingualism continuum. Saunders' qualification however, is of relevance to this review in that those who have very little proficiency in more than one language are still essentially monolingual and that balanced bilinguals are roughly equally skilled in their two languages.

According to Saunders (1988), those children who become bilingual before four years of age have significantly increased chances of being able to make use of their two languages. They have an earlier awareness of the arbitrariness of language in that they can analyse it more intensively; they

can separate out meaning from sound earlier; they have a greater adeptness at divergent thinking; greater adeptness at creative thinking; greater linguistic and cognitive creativity and concept formation; and greater social sensitivity than their monolingual counterparts or children who become bilingual after four years of age.

Benefits of bilingualism

The May, Hill and Tiakiwai (2004) report to MOE provides an overview of international and national research literature on bilingualism and bilingual/immersion education. The aim of the overview is to situate Māori medium education in relation to attested research and practice on bilingual/immersion education worldwide and, from there, to highlight indicators of good practice for the further development of Māori medium education. The authors conclude that existing research points unequivocally to the cognitive, social and educational *advantages* of bilingualism when an *additive* approach to bilingualism is taken. An additive approach (see Appendix Two) to bilingualism presupposes that bilingualism is a benefit and resource, both for individuals and the wider society, which should be maintained and fostered.

Research overviewed in *Ka Hikitia: Key evidence* (Ministry of Education, 2009aa) shows there are many benefits to speaking more than one language, including the ability to think more creatively and laterally, an appreciation of differing world views, a stronger sense of self and cultural identity, and a capacity to participate in more than one culture.

Evidence shows it is important for students to get an early start in high quality immersion education and that they stay in a quality immersion setting for at least six years if they are to become fully bilingual and get the most advantage from being bilingual. Parents and whānau need to have good information about what is required for successful Māori language learning to help them make the best decisions on education options for their children (Ministry of Education, 2009a, p. 39).

Research shows that key factors for achieving good outcomes in immersion or bilingual education include:

- early language teaching (i.e. from ECE);
- participation in bilingual or immersion education provision for at least four years and ideally six to eight years;
- more intensive immersion education and a different type of pedagogy (second language acquisition) for those coming late to language learning;
- family use of te reo Māori in the home environment;

- productive partnerships between whānau, Māori communities, kura schools and government; and
- quality teaching and learning programmes involving at least 50% immersion in the target language (Māori) taught by teachers with a high level of competency in te reo Māori and in teaching a second language.

Once these conditions are in place, a variety of options can produce students fluent in Māori.

Research suggests that if bilingual children have a reasonable degree of balance between their two languages, their overall intellectual development is not hindered. On the contrary, it is enhanced (Arnberg, 1987; Bhatt & Martin-Jones, 1992; Fishman, 2001b; Hickey, 1997; Lindholm & Padilla, 1978; Saunders, 1988; Snow, 1992; Spolsky, 1989; Waite, 1992). There is much debate over the role of language in relation to the cognitive development of the individual child, namely whether language shapes the cognitive development of the child or whether cognitive processes shape language development. Suffice it to say that they are intricately and inextricably connected and intertwined. Much of the current literature on bilingualism asserts that the child in the process of developing two linguistic codes (language systems) has improved metalinguistic awareness and consequently improved metacognitive awareness (Bialystok & Codd, 1997; Lindholm & Padilla, 1978; Waite, 1992).

Metalinguistic awareness, an awareness of knowledge and skill of language as a formal system with meaning (Bialystok & Codd, 1997; Doherty & Perner, 1998; Mann, Shankweiler, & Smith, 1984), develops in the preschool years and facilitates later literacy skills (Garton & Pratt, 1998). Lee (1997) argued that metalinguistic awareness is believed to provide essential (but not sole) access to metacognitive awareness and its associated potential for cognitive self-direction and growth. At a simple level, metalinguistic awareness is an awareness of our own speech, and that of others. At a more developed level, it is an ability to attend to the stream of speech and break it up mentally into various parts, sounds, words, sentences (Bialystok & Codd, 1997; Bryant, 1998; Muter, Hulme, Snowling, & Taylor, 1998) and meanings.

Many applied linguists believe the simultaneous acquisition of two languages is linked to, and can accelerate, the development of metalinguistic/metacognitive processes. Lindholm and Padilla's (Lindholm & Padilla, 1978) finding that bilingual children are able, from an early age, to differentiate between their two linguistic systems, was significant. Bilingual children's ability to differentiate supposes a metalinguistic and metacognitive awareness that language is a symbol system that generates different meanings. For example, Māori speaking bilingual children recognise early that the word 'ngeru' is just a label, because it has other labels including 'tori', 'poti' or 'cat'. Therefore as bilingual children are increasingly accessing two linguistic codes, they are developing advanced metacognitive and metalinguistic abilities because they have a dual repertoire with which to label and organise reality in a flexible, symbolic way. In other words, bilingual children are not locked into seeing the world through one set of labels or symbols, but

have multiple perspectives or ways of viewing and constructing reality. Their construction of reality will be different from that of monolingual children.

Bilingualism, then, facilitates and enhances metalinguistic and metacognitive awareness in young children because of their increased ability to decontextualise the language from the object, and their ability to grasp that a word is a code or symbol which represents an object (Ada, 1995; Bialystok & Codd, 1997; J. Cummins, 1995a, 1995b, 2000) and is not *the* object. Donaldson (1978) referred to this process of being able to decontextualise language as disembedded thought, a formal thinking operation of moving beyond the bounds of 'human sense' or context to reasoning or thinking without it.

Cummins (2004) argues that bilingual children have better academic development, cognitive skills and metalinguistic awareness than their monolingual peers. Bilingual children are more aware of an arbitrary link between the object and its name, and more proficient at breaking words into syllables and phonemes. He argued they had better concentration, and more developed skills in the synthesis and abstraction necessary for reading. Fishman (1991) also discussed the benefits of being bilingual, and to emphasise the genuinely creative, innovative and enriching gains of bilingualism. Bilingualism promotes a more analytic approach to language.

Artificial Bilingualism

The issue of 'artificial' bilingualism, where one of the languages being passed on is being passed on by a non-native speaker of the language constituting artificial bilingualism, was raised by Saunders (1988). Hohepa (1999) referred to this when she discussed the disparaging remarks made by a few who consider the language being passed on to be inauthentic because it was 'learnt from books'. There is much debate within the Māori medium sector surrounding the 'quality' of language being passed on or taught. However, the issue, in the Māori context, should not be one of artificiality or authenticity. To recontextualise the issue, the focus should be what underpins the politics of language shift and its reversal. Waite (1992) makes the point that second language learners play an important role in reversing language shift (RLS). They fill the gap for supporting the first language speakers when the latter are scarce as a resource. This is the case in the Aotearoa context. Future intergenerational transmission will resolve some of the current issues surrounding Māori language regeneration.

Submersion Programmes

Saunders (1988) raised the issue of the negative impact that can occur for children in a submersion situation. This has been referred to as a subtractive bilingual situation, where the child's home language is replaced by language of school. The school attempts to subtract the child's home

language in order to replace it with a school language. Cummins (2000) argued that this creates a situation of imbalance between the languages and puts the child at risk of educational failure. These programmes were contrasted with additive programs, in which properly understood, planned and implemented immersion programmes represented an appropriate form of enrichment bilingual education for students. Balanced bilingual children was the result, and there was no apparent cost to the child's personal or academic development (1984). Genesee (1987) argued that total immersion was better than partial immersion and that early immersion was better than late immersion if bilingualism is the aspiration of the language programme.

It seems most of the difficulties or problems associated with bilingual programmes, schooling for bilingual children, and bilingualism are really politically constructed problems, sociocultural not linguistic. Controversy exists where there is misinformation about the nature of languages and hidden political agenda. According to Sapir (1921):

The fundamental groundwork of language—the development of a clear-cut phonetic system, the specific association of speech elements with concepts, and the delicate provision for the formal expression of all manner of relations—all this meets us rigidly perfected and systematized in every language known to us. Many primitive languages have a formal richness, a latent luxuriance of expression that eclipses anything known to the languages of modern civilization. Even in the mere matter of the inventory of speech the layman must be prepared for strange surprises. Popular statements as to the extreme poverty of expression to which primitive languages are doomed are simply myths. (Sapir, 1921, p. 22)

Te reo Māori has such a richness and luxuriance of expression in its use of metaphor and structure, in its whakatauki and whakatauāki (proverbial sayings), kīwaha and kīrehu (colloquial sayings), mōteatea and hakirara (laments and poems), waiata and oriori (songs and chants), karakia and tauparapara (prayers and incantations), and so on. For generations of Māori, their experience of school was a subtractive form of bilingualism, with assimilatory aims. For many, it was an oppressive, alienating, experience. In some cases, it led to entrenched negative views as to the value of the heritage language and culture that was almost entirely subtracted. In other cases, it led to a fear of schools with valid concerns, even scepticism, about the educational processes in Aotearoa and outcomes for their children. And in some, it led to resistance and withdrawal (Skerrett White, 2003).

Aims of Bilingual Education

Māori immersion settings are bilingual settings, not because they use a dual Māori/English medium approach, but because they are supporting children's bilingual development as an outcome (Skerrett White, 2003). Depending on the context and the status of languages, there are many different types of bilingual settings, some using early or late immersion, total immersion across different time periods, dual medium and so on. There is an expectant result that the children will reach a cognitive academic language proficiency in te reo Māori (J. Cummins, 2000). However, a dual aim is that children will achieve English proficiency as well (Durie, 2001) and that at some stage they will be introduced formally in school to academic English. The major debate in Aotearoa is, when?

There are also settings in Aotearoa which are termed '*bilingual*'. However, they are thus termed because they use two languages as media of instruction, not because the aims of these programmes are aligned to the bilingual outcomes described above (i.e. cognitive academic Māori/English language proficiency) – May and Hill (Ministry of Education, 2004) state that bilingual education involves instruction *in* two languages, which therefore excludes programmes that include bilingual students but do not involve bilingual instruction, most notably English-only submersion programmes. Baker and Prys-Jones conclude that: "If there is a useful demarcation, then bilingual education may be said to start when more than one language is used to teach content (e.g. science, mathematics, social studies, or humanities) rather than just being taught as a subject by itself" (cited in Ministry of Education, 2004, p. 5).

Developing Bilinguals

According to Lee (1997, p. 462) "...speakers of different languages are encouraged from childhood to attend (unconsciously) to different features of experience by the naming patterns and grammatical demands of their languages". The role that grammar plays in generating meaning is important. The study of word invention by children in Kōhanga Reo, their talk – contrasting words and meanings, sentences, reading and writing letters and numbers, use of metaphor, and their awareness of two separate, distinct language codes by Skerrett White (2003) documented the development of metalinguistic awareness among young children in Kōhanga Reo.

Of particular interest in that study were the literacy behaviours, i.e. reading and writing, and how knowledge of these two functions involves knowing that written symbols represent oral language and thought, and thus meaning. Reading and writing is a metacognitive process. It involves a knowledge of, and thinking about, symbolism. Literacy may be narrowly defined as successful interaction with text, but according to Reeder, Shapiro, Watson and Goelman (1996) a broader definition takes in aspects of oral communication. It refers to a "...spectrum of competences related to the processing of text, its precursors, and its consequences" (Reeder, et al., 1996, p. 13).

They argue that, in early childhood, such things as book reading, dramatic play, painting and other activities, which involve symbolic play and oral language, are the precursors for literacy development. The relationship of oral communication to literacy development is critical. What was it about Māori oral communication that accelerated literacy skills in the 19th century?²

As Fishman (1991) pointed out, when carrying out revernacularisation research, it is preferable to look at different time frames. What are the differences in the literacy skills of Māori in the 18th century and Māori in the 21st century? Jones, Marshall, Matthews, G. Smith and L. Smith (1995) argued:

It used to be frequently stated that societies which did not have the ‘written word’ were somehow simple societies made up of people who had limited thinking skills and a limited language. More recent work...has largely disposed of that argument; instead, research indicates that members of oral societies rely upon a complex system of ‘literacy’ skills which enable them to ‘read’ and interpret meanings of their own symbols (Jones, et al., 1995, pp. 38-39).

Definitions

Definitions of Proficiency

According to Wikipedia (2009) language proficiency is the ability of an individual to speak or perform in an acquired language. However, there does not seem to be any universally agreed-upon definition/s of proficiency in literature because. When it comes to second language learning or bilingual education, the issues of definition are exacerbated.

Cummins (2004) argues that there are few areas in the social sciences that entail such far-reaching consequences as the conceptualisation and assessment of ‘language proficiency’. The vast majority of native speakers of any language come to school fluent in the language of their homes. Over twelve or so years in school the focus is largely on expanding students linguistic competence, particularly in literacy and the technical language of subject content areas. Whether students go to university, the kind of employment they qualify for depends on how successfully they acquire this specialised language which is required to gain academic qualifications and carry

²Research suggests Māori enthusiastically sought literacy skills in order to enhance their traditional way of life, with many accounts indicating an extensive spread of literacy during this period documented in Simon (2000).

out literacy-related tasks and activities. Students' expanding language proficiency is constantly assessed. However, Cummins adds that;

Schools rarely assess dimensions of students' native language such as conversational fluency or pronunciation that most children have already mastered by the time they arrived in school. Yet, we spend enormous amounts of time and money elaborating on this basic linguistic competence in order to prepare students for the complex linguistic realities of the worlds of employment and citizenship. The formidable nature of this linguistic challenge even for native speakers can be appreciated from the constant public, corporate, and media concern that schools are failing to develop sufficient language and literacy skills to enable students to handle the language demands of the workplace (p. 53).

Cummins (2004) suggests that we need to make a fundamental distinction between conversational and academic aspects of proficiency in a language (see BICS and CALP below). He elaborates on this distinction with a framework for examining the cognitive demands and contextual supports that underlie the relationship between language proficiency and academic advancement. He argues that, even though the distinction between conversational and academic aspects of proficiency is controversial, failure to distinguish between the two aspects has resulted in the creation of academic difficulties and power imbalances. His distinction is integrated within a broader framework which includes contexts, with the implication that language proficiency cannot be conceptualised outside of particular contexts of use. As argued, we can talk of different levels of accomplishment or expertise (or degrees of access) only with reference to specific contexts. Of importance to this review is the educational context.

Language proficiency in academic contexts

When discussing second language learning contexts, Cummins (2004) states that the extent and nature of support that second language learners require to succeed academically is a recurring issue for educational policy. Because students must learn the language of instruction at the same time as they are expected to learn academic content *through* the language of instruction, the question arises as to how much proficiency in a language is required to follow instruction through that language. Further, that the matter of students' language proficiency cannot be considered in isolation because it interacts with the instruction that students receive – that is, the language proficiency of the teachers. A framework for instruction to advance the proficiency of second language learners was developed, moving students along from using context-embedded language to context-reduced (abstract) language. This had implications for pedagogy and practice. The following example was given drawing on Gibbons research based on classroom discourse in science teaching.

According to Cummins this research distinguished three stages: small group work, teacher guided reporting and journal writing. Students initially participated in small group work learning experiences where the language used was clearly context-embedded, where the use of children's understandings of the curriculum topic and their use of familiar everyday language was seen as the basis for development of the unfamiliar registers of school. Small group discussion and exploration was followed by teacher-guided reporting sessions where the teacher interacted by clarifying, probing and so on. Since interactions between teacher and student did not involve concrete materials, it led to a mode shift towards more decontextualised language. In this way students and teachers co-constructed deeper understandings of the scientific phenomena being discussed and the formal language of scientific discourse was being learnt. The reporting phase provided a bridge into the writing phase which linguistically is the most context-reduced. The central implication of Cummins framework is that "...language and content will be acquired most successfully when students are challenged cognitively but provided with the contextual and linguistic supports or scaffolds required for successful task completion" (p.71).

Definitions of Competency

The term *communicative competence* was coined by sociolinguist Dell Hymes in 1967 who argued that communicative competence is "...that aspect of our competence that enables us to convey and interpret messages and to negotiate meanings interpersonally within specific contexts (Brown, 2000, p. 246). More recent research distinguished between *linguistic* and *communicative* competence, to highlight between knowledge "about" language forms and knowledge that enables a person to communicate functionally and interactively. Cummins (2004) proposed the distinction between cognitive/academic language proficiency (CALP) and basic interpersonal communicative skills (BICS). CALP is that dimension of proficiency in which the learner manipulates language outside the immediate interpersonal context. It is what learners use in classroom contexts – in exercises and tests. BICS is the communicative capacity that all children acquire in order to be able to function in daily interpersonal exchanges. Later modified by Cummins to include context (*context-reduced* and *context-embedded* communication), the classroom resembles CALP because a good share of the classroom and school-orientated language is context reduced; whereas face-to-face communication with people (outside of the classroom) is generally context embedded and resembles BICS.

Further work defining communicative competence "...now gives the reference point for virtually all discussions of communicative competence vis-à-vis second language teaching" (p. 246) with four different components or sub-categories. The first two (grammatical competence and discourse competence) reflect use. The second two (sociolinguistic competence and strategic competence) define the functional aspects of communication:

- i. Grammatical Competence – knowledge of lexical items and rules of morphology, syntax, sentence-grammar semantics and phonology or linguistic competence;

- ii. Discourse competence – the ability to connect sentences in stretches of discourse and to form a meaningful whole out of a series of utterances. This covers everything from simple spoken conversation to lengthy written texts;
- iii. Sociolinguistic competence – knowledge of the socio-cultural rules of language and discourse. This requires an understanding of the social context/s in which language is used;
- iv. Strategic competence – verbal and non-verbal communication strategies that may be called into action to compensate for breakdowns in communication due to performance variables (such as fatigue or inattention) or insufficient competence (imperfect knowledge of rules) or other factors to compensate for communication breakdown or which enhance the effectiveness of communication. It is argued that strategic competence is “...the way we manipulate language in order to meet communicative goals” (p. 248).

These sub-categories are continually being adapted for research and analytical purposes.

Section I – Summary and Analysis

The main points from the Section I overview of the issues and complexities around the term ‘bilingualism’ can be summarised as follows:

- *Bilingualism* has been a very difficult term to define.
- Rather than try and define *who* is bilingual (bilingual ability) a more helpful approach would be to clarify *what* it means to be bilingual (bilingual usage).
- The aims of Māori medium education are to produce Māori/English bilingual, bicultural citizens.
- Bilingual usage highlights the importance of considering domain or context.
- Over time and place, an individual’s two languages are never static but ever changing and evolving.
- In terms of ability in two languages, the four basic dimensions are listening, speaking, reading and writing.
- The *thresholds theory* addresses the observation that academic proficiency transfers across languages; such that students who have developed literacy in their first language will tend to make stronger progression in acquiring literacy in their second language.
- Although balanced bilinguals may not be perfect in both languages (one could be more dominant in one language), they are roughly equally skilled in their two languages. There is a balance between the two languages in terms of domain usage and the range of purposes for which they would use language in their daily lives.
- An *infant bilingual* is one who has a *simultaneous* acquisition of two languages from birth.
- A *child bilingual* is one who has *successive* acquisition of two languages.
- There is an arbitrary cut off point between *infant bilingualism* and *child bilingualism* of three years where one language has become relatively well established before exposure to the second occurs.
- Cognitive, social and educational *advantages* of bilingualism accrue when an *additive* approach to bilingualism is taken.
- Two linguistic codes (language systems) is better than one – i.e., metalinguistic awareness and consequently metacognitive awareness is improved.
- Bilingual children are able, from an early age, to differentiate between their two linguistic codes/systems.

- In the New Zealand context total immersion is more effective than partial immersion and quality early immersion more effective than late immersion at producing bilingual children.
- Parents and whānau need to have sufficient, accurate information about bilingual education programmes and aims in order to help them make the best decisions for their children.
- Participation in bilingual or immersion education provision should span at least four years and ideally six to eight years.
- Those coming late to language learning need more intensive immersion education informed by specific late immersion pedagogy.
- Family use of te reo Māori in the home environment is important.
- Partnerships between whānau, Māori communities, kura schools and government should be productive.
- Quality teaching and programmes involving at least 50% immersion in the target language (Māori) taught by teachers with a high level of competency in te reo Māori, English and in teaching a second language.
- Second language learners play an important role in RLS.
- Submersion programmes create situations of imbalance between the languages and puts the child at risk of educational failure.
- Māori immersion settings are bilingual settings.
- Aims of bilingual education must be aligned to bilingual outcomes – Māori/English proficiency.
- Bilingual education starts when one or more languages are used to teach content at some time in the programme.
- There is no universally agreed-upon definition of proficiency.
- The provision of support for second language learners to succeed academically is a recurring issue for educational policy.
- Language proficiency of the teachers affects language proficiency of students.
- Cummins' framework is threefold; firstly that language and content will be acquired most successfully when students engage in small group work where language used is clearly context-embedded; secondly where they are challenged cognitively but provided with the contextual and linguistic supports or scaffolds required for successful task completion; and finally the reporting phase where a bridge into writing is provided.
- More recent research distinguished between *linguistic* and *communicative* competence, to highlight between knowledge “about” language forms and knowledge that enables a person to communicate functionally and interactively.

- CALP (cognitive/academic language proficiency) is that dimension of proficiency in which the learner manipulates language outside the immediate interpersonal context - it is what learners use in classroom contexts.
- BICS (basic interpersonal communicative skills) is the communicative capacity that all children acquire in order to be able to function in daily interpersonal exchanges.

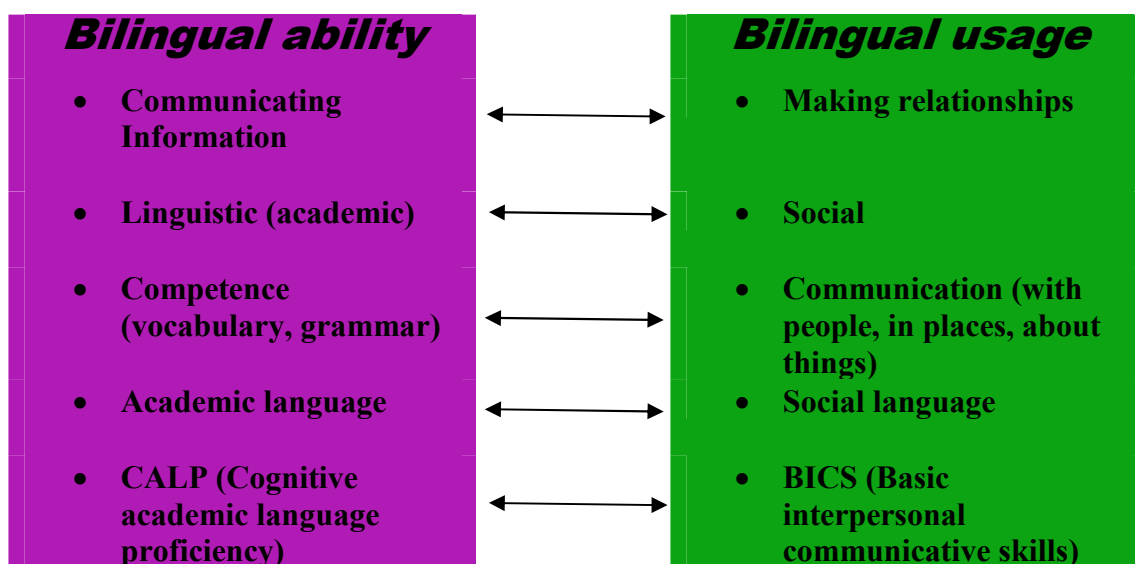
Implications for Māori medium education

Question 1 - Analysis (from section 1)

Effective teachers need both BICS and CALP. i.e., academic language and social language proficiency. The dualism could be helpful to explain why, in the New Zealand context, taking proficient speakers of te reo Māori and putting them into classrooms may not be an effective strategy in terms of building academic skills, because they will not have the CALP proficiency in te reo Māori. Conversely, taking a teacher who lacks Māori language proficiency and upskilling them in the Māori language to a CALP level, without the social language use and connection to community may not be an effective strategy either. All teachers in Māori medium educational settings need to understand the distinctions and dimensions of this dualism. Ideally they will have the social and academic language proficiencies in both te reo Māori and English, in order to assist their students to reap the benefits of academic transfer of knowledge and language skills between te reo Māori and English. The added metalinguistic and metacognitive advantages that would naturally accrue from an effective additive bilingual programme would also be enhanced.

The following diagram shows the distinction between bilingual ability and bilingual usage in terms of the linguistic context/s, purposes, functions and language proficiency.

Figure 1: Diagram outlining the distinctions between bilingual ability and bilingual usage



Making a distinction between *infant bilingualism* and *child bilingualism* is also useful, especially for Māori immersion education in the non-compulsory sector. Anecdotal evidence suggests it is a

common phenomenon that child bilinguals (that is the older ‘three years plus’ children) who are grounded in English only, significantly change the language dynamics of the kōhanga reo, centre or kura. The situation in the context of Aotearoa is that many children and young people in Māori medium educational settings are L2 learners/speakers of te reo Māori. This has important pedagogical implications and considerations for ITE programmes.

Further, children have to get over the threshold in order to capitalise on the metaognitive gains discussed. Submersion (subtractive) programmes should be a thing of the past. In today’s globalised world, the bilingual/bicultural person is the norm, with much of the world being multilingual. Aotearoa/New Zealand needs to shake off the cloak of the imperialistic dominion and rethink our linguistic competencies for the sake of the nation. Languages have a central role in this context because they mediate the interpretation and construction of meaning among people. It is interesting to note that the Cook Islands have a new languages policy.

The Cook Islands government says to be eligible for permanent residency, applicants must be able to speak conversational Māori.

The Immigration Minister, Sir Terepai Maoate, says the policy, which has been approved by cabinet, has been long overdue and is in line with the recommendations of the 2003 Immigration Advisory Committee.

Sir Terepai says this move also supports the aspiration as a nation to preserve Te Reo Kuki Airani. He says he is sure the people of the Cook Islands will support the initiative. The Committee said the requirement is consistent with policies in New Zealand and Australia where applicants need to meet a standard of English language before they can acquire permanent residency or citizenship.

News Content © Radio New Zealand International Posted at 23:48 on 04 November, 2009 UTC³

Further ideological clarification was provided by May et al. (2004) in terms of the unequivocal cognitive, social and educational advantages of bilingualism when an additive approach is taken. Bilingualism implies an increased control over and ability to manipulate language. Language awareness is enhanced through a greater capacity to think divergently due to an ability to compare and contrast languages and their associated cultures. Such cognitive advantage is another one of the aims of bilingual education, vis-à-vis the enabling of increased metacognitive/metalinguistic skills and enhancement of overall intellectual development. Another is the link to cultural identity formation. Heritage/majority language bilingualism provides an awareness of self (and thus a

³Available: <http://www.rnzi.com/pages/news.php?op=read&id=50112>

determination of self) and also of others, other culture/s, values, meta-ways of thinking, ways of knowing and lifestyles. Knowing two (or more) languages and particularly knowledge of one's own heritage language/s (te reo Māori in Aotearoa) is what underpins reversing language shift and the renaissance of te reo Māori and Māori/English bilingualism.

What is clear is that what appears to be crucial for the success of any program in reversing patterns of academic failure among minority students of bilingual/bicultural heritage is the extent to which the patterns of interaction between educators and students in the school actively challenge the historical and contemporary patterns of the relationship between dominant and subordinated communities in the wider society. It is at the interactional level between teacher and learner that academic success is nurtured.

How we conceptualise and assess second language proficiency also has important consequences. In view of the high stakes involved, there is still relatively little consensus on the theoretical nature of second (or first) language proficiency and its development in different contexts.

Section II

What are the influences (contextual and instructional) on te reo Māori proficiency levels of teachers graduating from initial teacher education programmes? In relation to initial teacher education programmes in Aotearoa/New Zealand, what does the national (and international) literature reveal about the contextual factors that are most likely to influence the level of te reo Māori proficiency gained by graduating teachers? The following section provides an overview of the context of Māori/English bilingualism in Aotearoa.

The Aotearoa context of Māori Education

Te Reo Māori as an Official Language

Huirangi Waikerepuru, representing Ngā Kaiwhakapūmau i te Reo to the Waitangi Tribunal, stated the case that the te reo Māori is a *taonga*, a ‘treasured possession’, in the terms of the second paragraph of the Māori-language text of the Treaty of Waitangi, and that the Crown was in breach, it had been negligent in guaranteeing the Māori people its continued possession. The Report stated,

It is, after all, the first language of the country, the language of the original inhabitants and the language in which the first signed copy of the Treaty was written. But educational policy over many years and the effect of the media in using almost nothing but English has swamped the Maori language and done it great harm (Waitangi Tribunal., 1989, p. 5).

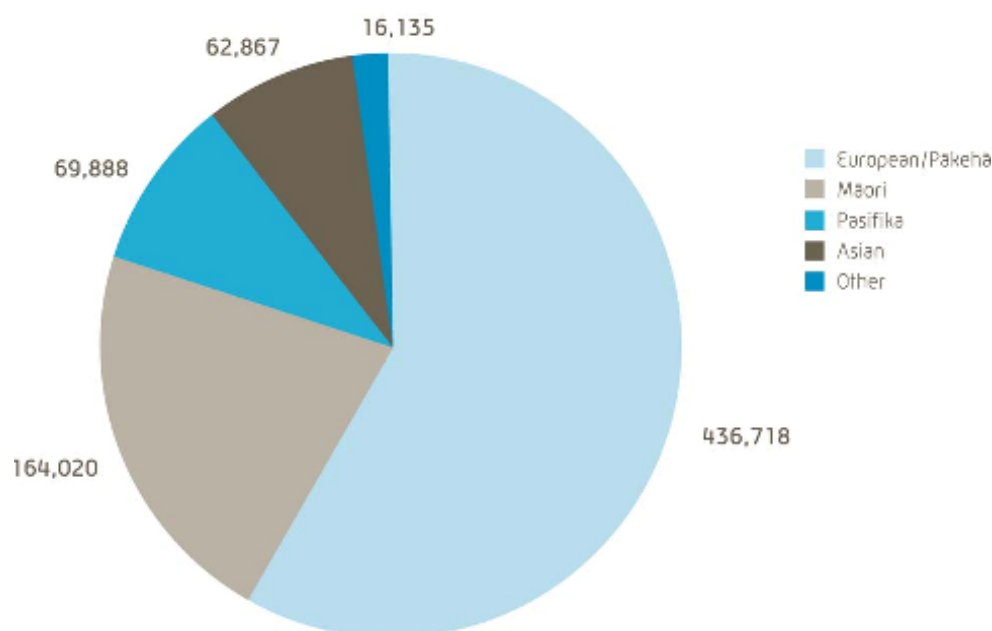
The Waitangi Tribunal accepted this argument and made some recommendations to the Government. Its response was the Māori Language Act, 1987. This Act made Māori ‘an official language of New Zealand’, allowed any party to most judicial and proceedings to speak Māori in those proceedings, allowed for the establishment of *Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori* (part of whose statutory function is to promote te reo Māori as a living means of communication) and set up a new method of certifying translators and interpreters (Harlow, 2003).

Both te reo Māori and English are the official spoken languages, with New Zealand sign being a third official language. Te reo Māori offers unique academic, cultural, educational, economic, social and linguistic benefits for all New Zealanders (Ministry of Education, 2009a). Te reo Māori as a vibrant language supports the development and celebration of our national identity and enhances the mana whenua of Māori as tāngata whenua (people of the land).

Statistics from the Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori Statement of Intent (2008) show the Māori population represents one in seven, or 14.6 % of the overall New Zealand population. Although an increasing proportion of the New Zealand population is older (with a median age of 35.9 years), in general, the Māori population is younger (with a median age of 22.7 years). In addition, the Māori population is growing at a faster rate than non-Māori. The Māori population is predominantly concentrated within urban areas (84 %) with 24 % of all Māori living in the Auckland region.

Figure 2: Domestic learners attending schools by ethnic group, 2007

(Ministry of Education, 2009c, p. 65)



The 2006 census (Statistics New Zealand, 2006) and *Survey on the health of the Māori language: final report* (Kalafatelis, Fink-Jensen, & Johnson, 2007) showed that, apart from English, Māori, at 4.1%, is the next most common language spoken by the total population in New Zealand. Other highlights of the 2006 census are listed below:

- a total of 131,613 (23.7%) Māori can hold a conversation about everyday things in te reo Māori, an increase of 1128 people from the 2001 census
- one-quarter of Māori aged 15 to 64 years can hold a conversation in te reo Māori (unchanged from 26.4% in 2001)
- just under half (47.7%) of Māori aged 65 years and over can hold a conversation in te reo Māori (compared to 53.1% in 2001)
- more than one in six Māori (35,148 people) (16.7%) aged under 15 years can hold a conversation in te reo Māori (compared to 19.7% in 2001)

- 23% of Māori speak more than one language. While most speak Māori and English languages, 204 Māori speak te reo Māori and a language other than English (Ministry of Education, 2009c)

Te Rautaki Reo Māori -The Māori Language Strategy

The government's *Māori Language Strategy* (Te Puni Kōkiri., 2003), sets out a 25-year vision for te reo Māori and clarifies the Ministry of Education's responsibility for strengthening education opportunities in te reo Māori. It provides a vision for the future and clear goals for generations of language growth. It also articulates the roles and functions of the two Treaty partners towards te reo Māori, to provide a platform for coordination. According to the Strategy, Māori language revitalisation and use is affected by the overall social environment in New Zealand. People who use te reo Māori interact with others on a regular basis and encounter the language attitudes of the non-Māori majority through these interactions. To revitalise the language it is necessary for wider New Zealand society to value the language and support a positive linguistic environment. Further, most people who speak Māori are bilingual and have a choice of languages to use. However many people may not be aware of their ability to determine and control patterns of Māori language use. To increase Māori language use, a greater awareness of language choice is required. It was noted that some learners of Māori may lack an understanding of the processes involved in second language learning. This means that they may not recognise their existing language skills and may create unrealistic expectations and pressures for themselves as learners. These learners may require a greater awareness of language-learning processes to further encourage them in acquiring the language. The strategy states Government commitment to supporting the revitalisation of te reo Māori and that the Government recognises;

- that the te reo Māori is a taonga guaranteed to Māori by the Treaty of Waitangi and is committed to supporting the revitalisation of the te reo Māori;
- Several government agencies have been involved in the development of the Māori Language Strategy and have responsibility for the delivery of specific functions to support te reo Māori; and
- The Māori Language Strategy is based on engagement with Māori.

The vision is that by 2028, the te reo Māori will be widely spoken by Māori. In particular, the te reo Māori will be in common use within Māori whānau, homes and communities. He reo e kōrerotia ana, he reo ka ora – a spoken language is a living language. All New Zealanders will appreciate the value of the te reo Māori to New Zealand society (Te Puni Kōkiri., 2003, p. 5). This vision reflects:

- that te reo Māori is a taonga guaranteed to Māori people by the Treaty of Waitangi and that Māori people will lead its revitalisation;

- the importance of Māori language use in a range of situations;
- the central role of whānau in transmitting te reo Māori to new generations within homes and communities;
- the importance of the goodwill and support of all New Zealanders for te reo Māori; and
- the importance of the generation of language growth over the next twenty-five years.

There are five goals to the strategy:

- **Goal 1** is about strengthening language skills and indicates that we must keep building the overall pool of Māori language speakers, and the quality of Māori language skills. Under this goal the majority of Māori will be able to speak Māori to some extent by 2028. There will be increases in proficiency levels of people in speaking Māori, listening to Māori, reading Māori and writing in Māori (Te Puni Kōkiri., 2003, p. 19).
- **Goal 2** concerns strengthening te reo Māori use and advocates the continued fostering of opportunities and outlets for people to use their Māori language skills. Under this goal Māori language use will be increased at marae, within Māori households, and other targeted domains. In these domains the te reo Māori will be in common use by 2028 (Te Puni Kōkiri., 2003, p. 21).
- **Goal 3** signals the importance in maintaining a focus on te reo Māori education provision, as the Māori population is relatively young and has high levels of participation in education that can support growing whānau use of te reo Māori. This also provides opportunities for the non-Māori population to actively engage in learning and using te reo Māori. Under this goal all Māori and other New Zealanders will have enhanced access to high-quality Māori language education by 2028 (Te Puni Kōkiri., 2003, p. 23).
- **Goal 4** is about strengthening community leadership for te reo Māori and indicates that it is necessary to plan language activities and initiatives at a local community level in order to promote sustainable and meaningful change. Under this goal iwi, hapū and local communities will be the leading parties in ensuring local-level language revitalisation, and iwi dialects of te reo Māori will be supported by 2028 (Te Puni Kōkiri., 2003, p. 25).
- **Goal 5** is about strengthening recognition of te reo Māori. It acknowledges that a positive and receptive environment is important to encourage people to use their Māori language skills, and the support of wider New Zealand society is required for this to occur. Under this goal te reo Māori will be valued by all New Zealanders and there will be a common awareness of the need to protect the language by 2028 (Te Puni Kōkiri., 2003, p. 27).

The Strategy states that because, in the 1970s, it was predicted that Māori would be a language without native speakers within one generation (once the contemporary generation of Māori

speaking adults had passed on), a range of initiatives were subsequently developed to revitalise te reo Māori. According to the Strategy, recent research shows the first fruits of these initiatives, which were focused mainly in the education sector to address the acquisition of the language by new generations and included Te Ātaarangi, Te Kōhanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Māori but more work is required to secure the position of te reo Māori as a living language.

Ka Hikitia – Managing for Success, 2008

Ka Hikitia – Managing for Success: The Māori Education Strategy 2008–2012 (Ministry of Education, 2008) is a five-year strategy aiming to transform the education sector, in order that Māori are able to enjoy education success as Māori. Ensuring young people are more engaged in learning (at school) is one of the strategy's four key focus areas. The three other focus areas emphasise the importance of the foundation years in education (early childhood education and first years at school), Māori-language education (in which students are able to strengthen their proficiency in te reo Māori) and the leadership role of the Ministry. It emphasises the need to improve reo Māori teaching across the entire education sector, and acknowledges the shortage of high-quality teaching and resources as a critical challenge to be addressed. There is a focus on all learners having access to quality Māori language education options. Any learners that access Māori language education must be assured that they have the necessary support structure and resources available to enjoy and achieve a quality education. A framework for achieving this outcome has been developed, now referred to as the Māori Language Education Framework which supports a strategic investment approach to:

- support kura to be viable and sustainable, with high-quality teaching and learning environments;
- ensure that the supply of kura and wharekura match demand over the long term;
- increase the number of high-quality, effective Māori teachers proficient in te reo Māori;
- increase effective teaching and learning of and through te reo Māori;
- increase visibility of te reo Māori in nationwide media and schools to promote the currency and relevance of te reo Māori; and
- to strengthen Māori language education research.

Ka Hikitia: Key evidence

In support of the above Māori Education Strategy, the MOE published a supplementary document *Ka Hikitia: key evidence and how we must use it to improve system performance for Māori* (Ministry of Education, 2009a). Moving away from 'blaming' attitude and an 'abdication of responsibility' prevalent in the education sector – Hattie concluded that it is not socio-economic

differences that have the greatest effect on Māori student achievement. Instead, he suggests that “the evidence is pointing more to the relationships between teachers and Māori students as the major issue – it is a matter of cultural relationships not socio-economic resources” (Ministry of Education, 2009a, p. 9).

An analysis across the best evidence syntheses also revealed that education system performance has been persistently inequitable for Māori learners with evidence showing,

...low inclusion of Māori themes and topics in English-medium education, fewer teacher-student interactions, less positive feedback, more negative comments targeted to Māori learners, under-assessment of capability, widespread targeting of Māori learners with ineffective or even counter productive teaching strategies (such as the ‘learning styles’ approach), failure to uphold mana Māori in education, inadvertent teacher racism, peer racism, mispronounced names, and so on (p. 9).

In 1990, after working with teachers in Aotearoa New Zealand, internationally renowned Harvard professor, Courtney Cazden, highlighted how deeply entrenched disadvantageous differential treatment is within the practice and beliefs of many of Aotearoa New Zealand teachers. In most cases, this is not conscious prejudice, but part of a pattern of well-intended but disadvantageous treatment of Māori students. She challenged the belief that all Māori are kinaesthetic (hands-on) learners – a belief that led well-meaning teachers to provide more ‘hands on’ learning opportunities for Māori students and thereby, inadvertently, limiting the opportunities of these students to develop the higher level cognitive and metacognitive skills that essential for educational success. The document restated the government’s priority is to have an education system that prepares everyone for active participation in a knowledge society. In order to lift the performance of the system overall, it is necessary to focus on those who are least served by that system. Such a focus on Māori students would thus bring benefits for all those served by the system.

The document also highlighted how transition to secondary school can be difficult for Māori students, and coincides with increased disengagement, poorer attitudes, increasing peer influence, and emerging adolescence. Effective engagement requires teachers and schools to identify and confront their own beliefs, put evidence into practice, and work to better respond to Māori students and work with whānau and iwi to achieve shared goals. Māori students are more likely to achieve when they see themselves and their culture reflected in the subject matter and in all learning contexts. In the light of that statement, the following are not surprising “Māori students in bilingual and immersion schools are more engaged with their learning and are achieving better than Māori students in English-medium schools” (Ministry of Education, 2009a, p. 36) and “Māori immersion and bilingual environments are particularly conducive to ensuring Māori educational success”(Ministry of Education, 2009a, p. 38).

With regard to quality provision, the document identifies that there is not a lot of research evidence showing what constitutes quality provision across the broad and varied range of Māori language education settings. Further, that while some assumptions can be drawn across settings, it is likely that indicators of quality provision and the factors that contribute to quality provision will differ in and across these settings (Ministry of Education, 2009a, p. 40).

Tertiary Education Strategy

The *Tertiary Education Strategy 2007–2012* (Ministry of Education, 2007b) recognises that the key aspiration of Māori is that Māori knowledge, te reo Māori, Māori ways of doing and knowing things – in essence, Māori ways of being – are validated across the tertiary education sector, whilst also recognising the specific responsibility that tertiary education has to contribute to the achievement of Māori aspirations and development. It requires all tertiary education organisations to work with Māori to ensure that education and research supports the development of skills and knowledge that Māori require to manage cultural and economic assets. It also acknowledges the vital role of the tertiary education sector in the revitalisation of tikanga, mātauranga and te reo Māori through teaching and research, as well as through initial teacher education programmes and in-service professional development of teachers.

The Strategy identifies requirements for all tertiary providers to be accountable for their Māori students' achievement and for addressing the aspirations of the providers' communities, including iwi. For example, Māori organisations and iwi are developing and managing their assets to gain economic benefits for Māori, as well as for New Zealand. Tertiary education providers are contributing to this success through developing knowledge and technologies that make the most of Māori cultural assets (including te reo Māori as a taonga), Māori innovation and enterprise. The Strategy states;

Māori success is New Zealand's success. Māori education success today provides the platform for Māori and New Zealand's success tomorrow. In the first Tertiary Education Strategy, Strategy Two: Te Rautaki Mātauranga Māori - Contribute to the Achievement of Māori Development Aspirations set the direction for the development of a tertiary education system that supported Māori to live as Māori; to actively participate as citizens of the world; and to enjoy a high standard of living and good health. This direction has not changed.

And further:

To build on the gains of recent years, areas for development with Māori student participation and achievement are: increasing levels of Māori language literacy, information literacy, literacy, numeracy and other foundation skills; increasing participation and achievement – especially at bachelors level and above; increasing

participation in tertiary education from a younger age and strengthening the provision of kaupapa Māori tertiary education options (Ministry of Education, 2007b, p. 22).

The Strategy has prioritised the increasing of literacy and numeracy levels for Māori. “Building literacy, numeracy and language skills for Māori will enhance the development of Māori cultural and economic assets and strengthen whānau, hapū and iwi” (Ministry of Education, 2007b, p. 34). The framework that provided the direction for the abovementioned Tertiary Education Strategy 2007-2012 is more commonly known as the Māori Education Framework.

The Government released the draft Tertiary Education Strategy 2010-2015 in October of this year. The proposed priorities for the next 3-5 years are:

- increasing the number of young people (aged under 25) achieving qualifications at level four and above, particularly degrees;
- assisting Māori and Pasifika people to achieve at higher levels;
- increasing the number of young people moving successfully from school into tertiary education;
- continuing to assist adult learners to gain the literacy, language and numeracy skills for higher level study or skilled employment;
- improving the education and financial performance of providers; and
- strengthening research outcomes.

Māori Education Framework

In the opening address at the Hui Taumata Mātauranga, a national Māori education summit held in Taupo in March 2001, Mason Durie (2001) proposed the framework for considering Māori educational advancement referred to in the abovementioned Tertiary Education Strategy 2007-2012. This framework restates, in straightforward terms, the aspirations of our tūpuna or ancestors. The framework considers Māori educational advancement with the following goals:

- To live as Māori;
- To actively participate as citizens of the world; and
- To enjoy good health and a high standard of living.

Durie (2001) states,

It makes limited sense only to prepare students for a life in international commerce if living as a Māori must be sacrificed. Similarly, if fluency in te reo Māori has been achieved through education but there is no preparation for work or for participating in a wider society, then a disadvantage has occurred (Durie, 2001, p. 5).

The Māori Strategic and Implementation Plan

According to the *Māori Strategic and Implementation Plan for the New Zealand Qualifications Authority 2007-2012* (New Zealand Qualifications Authority, 2007), around a third of Māori school leavers still have no significant qualifications when they leave school even though Māori enrolments at the tertiary level have grown. More recent figures show an increase in bachelor degree enrolments of Māori women. Despite some of the gains in this area, retention rates are low. Less than 50 percent of all enrolled Māori learners completed bachelor degrees. Māori bachelors students are more likely to be employed, unemployed or not in the labour force prior to study than to enrol directly from school.

In terms of Māori demographic trends, the Strategic Plan discussed 2005 statistics; at which time 625,100 people identified as Māori. Although accounting for some 15 percent in 2001, by 2031, one third of all children in the country will be Māori and by 2051 a Māori population of 800,000 or 22 percent of the total New Zealand population is expected. In the general population, even greater growth, in excess of 300 per cent, is predicted in the over 65 age group; and there will be substantial increases over 75 year age group. The two trends, a higher proportion of Māori in the school age population and a rapidly increasing older general population cohort, means that a changing dependency ratio will impose additional burdens on the working age group, emphasising the need for a well qualified, high performing workforce. There is a close link between patterns of Māori employment and educational qualifications. Māori with post-school qualifications appear to experience difficulty translating their qualifications into employment in higher skilled occupations. In the short term, Māori labour force participation is expected to rise, but in the longer term participation rates could rise or fall depending on underlying social and economic conditions. However, it is well understood that a better qualified workforce will be more able to withstand economic downturns.

Education Review Office

Over the years there have been a number of reviews in the same vein as the following. These have been highlighted on the basis of their relevance for this literature review. The *Evaluation indicators for education reviews in early childhood service* (Education Review Office, 2004)

document contains a set of evaluation indicators for use in ERO's reviews of early childhood services. The evaluation indicators were designed to focus ERO's attention on what is happening for individual children. The benefits gained through involvement in high quality early education support young children's learning and development both at the time and in later life. Māori and Pacific children had lower rates of participation in early childhood education than other groups of children in New Zealand. It is likely that services' responsiveness to the diversity of families and children will have some influence on the participation of these groups.

In terms of Māori children, this report identifies that ERO expects services to have specific planning and records that reflect good quality provision for Māori children. There should be positive ways of involving Māori children, and their whānau, in the service, and opportunities for Māori to contribute to the programme. ERO expects services' own self review processes to examine the impact their practices have on young Māori children and their families. Reviewers should therefore be in a position to make evaluative statements about the opportunities Māori children have for learning, and the extent to which the service promotes positive outcomes for them. Adults working with Māori children should:

- demonstrate knowledge of *Mana Atua* and understand what the concept means for Māori children in early childhood education;
- provide Māori children with opportunities to experience and become familiar with Māori beliefs and values;
- demonstrate knowledge of *Mana Whenua* and understand what the concept means for Māori children in early childhood education;
- provide Māori children with opportunities to become familiar with ancestral connections, values and beliefs, and to develop a sense of belonging, environmental awareness and care;
- demonstrate knowledge of *Mana Tangata* and understand what the concept means for Māori children in early childhood education;
- provide Māori children with opportunities to develop knowledge, value and respect for and of themselves, whānau, hapū, iwi and others;
- demonstrate knowledge of *Mana Reo* and understand the significance of te reo Māori for Māori children in early childhood education;
- provide Māori children with opportunities to hear and use te reo Māori and to develop an understanding of the importance of te reo Māori for them as Māori;
- demonstrate knowledge of *Mana Aotūroa* and understand traditional and contemporary Māori views of the natural and physical worlds; and

- provide Māori children with opportunities to explore the physical and natural world within a traditional and contemporary Māori context.

A subsequent Education Review Office (2005) document stated that early methods of evaluating kōhanga reo often focused on compliance with the regulatory requirements, which many saw as important but not always supporting the full and rich achievement of the kaupapa. ERO has developed its evaluation indicators partly in response to the need to put the evaluative focus back on the child and the Māori language itself. The above indicators are designed to support what the kōhanga reo movement is achieving in terms of its language-in-culture kaupapa, by focusing on the quality of children's experiences *through* te reo Māori and the quality of the programme delivered *in* te reo Māori.

The ERO report *An evaluation of the quality of Māori language teaching in secondary schools: Te Tairāwhiti* (Education Review Office, 2006) under the heading 'subject and pedagogical knowledge of teachers', found a considerable range in teachers' subject and pedagogical knowledge, within and between schools. While there were a few highly knowledgeable teachers, the majority did not demonstrate the subject and pedagogical knowledge needed by a second language/te reo Māori teacher. A small number of teachers were found to be 'highly knowledgeable' in terms of their subject and pedagogical knowledge, although no schools could demonstrate this level of subject and pedagogical knowledge across all te reo Māori staff. ERO found that there was no relationship between the fluency of teachers and their subject and pedagogical knowledge.

The teachers, who displayed high levels of subject and pedagogical knowledge, used a range of effective classroom strategies. For example, they planned and implemented classroom programmes that included a variety of speaking, listening, reading and writing activities. These teachers also tended to use immersion techniques such as encouraging students to use te reo Māori for all classroom interactions. Most te reo Māori teachers, however, offered a limited variety of classroom activities for students. As discussed in the student engagement section of this report, written activities (especially) were over-used by many teachers to the detriment of student interest and achievement.

The *Māori children in early childhood: pilot study* (Education Review Office, 2008) report is based on the findings of a pilot study involving 16 early childhood services and one umbrella organisation undertaken as part of each service's regular education review during Term 4, 2007. The purpose of this evaluation was to investigate the extent to which early childhood services enabled Māori children to develop as competent and capable learners and the extent to which

services recognised and responded to the aspirations and expectations of Māori children and their whānau. The evaluation also investigated the factors that influence Māori parents and whānau in the choice of an early childhood service for their children. This pilot study gives preliminary information about the quality of early childhood services provision for Māori children and their families. It has also shown how provision may be reviewed in the future through a national evaluation.

The evaluation questions and key findings provide a useful frame of reference for self review in early childhood services. ERO found that some teachers lacked the confidence and competence to integrate te reo and tikanga Māori into their practice. This is an area for service managers to address through professional learning and development. Most teachers and managers indicated that they had not yet developed ways of finding out about the hopes and expectations of parents and whānau of Māori children. This could be a useful first step in forming a partnership to promote positive learning outcomes for Māori children.

ERO made several recommendations which included:

- taking a more proactive approach to working with parents and whānau of Māori children to identify the aspirations and expectations they have for their children; and
- providing support, encouragement and professional development for managers and teachers to build their capability in implementing policies and practices that include knowledge of Māori culture, te reo and tikanga.

ERO found that some teachers lacked the confidence and competence to integrate te reo Māori and tikanga Māori into their day-to-day practice. This is an area for service managers to address through professional learning and development. Teachers need encouragement and support to increase their bicultural awareness and knowledge.

Te Marautanga o Aotearoa

Karen Sewell, Secretary for Education (Ministry of Education, 2008, p. 5) states,

This year, we've seen a stronger emphasis on te reo Māori me ōna tikanga with the launch of the curriculum document for English-medium schools, *Te Aho Arataki Marau mō te Ako i Te Reo Māori / Curriculum Guidelines for Teaching and Learning Te Reo Māori*, and its partner for the Māori medium sector – *Te Marautanga o Aotearoa*. This historic document is New Zealand's first curriculum to be developed and written in te reo Māori, and is a major achievement for the Māori language education sector. In the coming months there will be an increased focus on setting Māori language education priorities, including further work to strengthen establishment processes for Māori medium schools, support effective teaching and learning of and through te reo Māori, improve the supply of high-

quality teachers and build the evidence base for mātauranga Māori (Ministry of Education, 2008, p. 5).

The new curriculum for Māori medium schools Te Marautanga o Aotearoa, was launched at Te Ara Whānui Kura Kaupapa in September 2008 (Ministry of Education, 2008). It was developed and written in te reo Māori in consultation with the Māori medium education sector and is not a translation of the English curriculum. *Te Marautanga o Aotearoa* and its partner document, *The New Zealand Curriculum* together emphasise the importance and value of te reo Māori and culture and acknowledge the vital role that all schools play in helping Māori learners to succeed and realise their potential as Māori. Their aims reflect an understanding of the contributions te reo Māori and Māori culture make to the country's national identity. It acknowledges that it is the birthright of young Māori to access te reo Māori and culture, and it reflects the importance of learning and using te reo Māori and associated cultural understandings and practices, as taonga under the Treaty of Waitangi.

The development of Te Marautanga o Aotearoa began with a stocktake report (in 2000/02) that recommended a revision of the existing Māori medium curriculum. Te Marautanga o Aotearoa was developed under the guidance of Te Ohu Matua (Reference Group) that included leading academic representatives from Māori organisations with an interest in Māori medium education.

Feedback during the consultation on the draft Te Marautanga o Aotearoa identified a high level of support for the draft document and considered it would inform the future direction of the school curriculum and provided sufficient flexibility to design their curriculum for learners.

Te Marautanga o Aotearoa is founded on the aspiration that learners will be competent, confident learners and communicators and have the skills and knowledge to participate in and contribute to Māori society and the wider world. The focus is on outcomes that allow the curriculum to be evaluated in terms of whether it is helping to meet the expectations that Māori have of education. It gives flexibility for schools to work closely with whānau and iwi to develop a marautanga-ā-kura (school-based curriculum) for their communities. There are nine learning areas. Kura must offer the following eight:

- Te Reo Māori (Māori Language and Literature)
- Pāngarau (Mathematics)
- Hauora (Health and Wellbeing)
- Tikanga-ā-iwi (Social Sciences)
- Ngā Toi (The Arts)

- Pūtaiao (Science)
- Hangarau (Technology)
- Te Reo (English Language).

Kura can also choose to offer Ngā Reo (Learning Languages). The implementation of Te Marautanga o Aotearoa will be a focus for Māori medium settings from now until December 2010.

The Māori language curriculum, *Te aho arataki marau mō te ako i te reo Māori – kura auraki: Curriculum guidelines for teaching and learning te reo Māori in English-medium schools - years 1–13* (Ministry of Education, 2009d), provides teachers with a basis for planning programmes for students learning te reo Māori in kura auraki (English-medium schools). It describes, in broad terms, the knowledge and understandings that students need to acquire and the levels of proficiency that they are expected to achieve as they progress through the eight levels of the curriculum.

Te Aho Matua

Māori/English bilingualism in Aotearoa, in accordance with the philosophies of Te Aho Matua (Education Review Office, 2003), provides a cultural context for linguistic enrichment. Bilingual children have access to two complete, distinct language codes and an awareness of the domains that those codes occupy. This context is what underpins Te Aho Matua. Indeed, this aspect of the relationship between te reo Māori and te reo Pakeha is reflected in Te Aho Matua as expressions of respect for all languages. First and foremost, te reo Māori is validated as the child’s heritage language and the language of teaching and learning in the Kōhanga Reo. But therein is also the notion of, as an outcome, balanced bilingualism. Clause 2 of Te Aho Matua states “Te eke o te whānau ki te matatautanga o te kōrero i te reo Māori me te reo Ingarihi — the whānau achieves full competency in Māori and English” (as cited in Education Review Office, 2003, p. 2). This is a notion expressed in Goal 2 of M. Durie’s (2001) framework for Māori educational advancement, to actively participate as citizens of the world.

Strategic Directions – Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori 2008-2013.

The Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori Strategic Directions document (Māori Language Commission, 2008) has a new focus brought about as a result of reviewing and assessing the current environment. It is timely, given the 20 year milestone the organisation recently reached since its inception in 1987. The key objective is the same – that “...the Māori language be heard in all contexts within Aotearoa and the world, as a living and continually developing language” (Māori Language Commission, 2008, p. 4).

The Commissioner stated that “we aim to increase our support of Māori language community initiatives and institutions. We believe community-level support is critical for the Māori language to become an ordinary, everyday language in Aotearoa. We are mindful of the need to support iwi to capture, preserve and further develop their specific dialects, and that this is pivotal to the ongoing development of the language of the marae for whānau and hapū” (Māori Language Commission, 2008, p. 6).

In the statement made by the Taura Whiri Chief Executive, the rights of Māori as an indigenous people and te reo Māori as the indigenous language of Aotearoa were firmly positioned “...to resonate loudly from the landscape and its people (Ka haruru a Aotearoa tangata i tōna reo taketake)...I see the future with a vibrant and active Māori language, and am confident that we will meet all aspirations and expectations for our language. To achieve anything less would be a tragedy” (Māori Language Commission, 2008, p. 7).

Broad Goals for Māori Language – Te Taura Whiri

- A range of active, self sustainable Māori language domains exist.
- Te reo Māori is an everyday language of interaction in homes and communities.
- Traditional and contemporary reo Māori is maintained in an authentic cultural and linguistic framework.
- The people of Aotearoa recognise the intrinsic value of te reo Māori.
- Te reo Māori acquisition is supported and fully promoted through national education, broadcasting, culture, heritage, creative and information technology industries and networks.

Non-compulsory Sector – Early Childhood Education - Kōhanga reo/Puna Reo

Ngā Haeata Mātauranga (Ministry of Education, 2009c) provides an overview of the early childhood education (ECE) sector. Over the past 15 years, the number of children attending ECE has increased, particularly the number of Māori children. In 2007, 91% of Māori year 1 (new entrant) learners at school were reported as having participated in ECE compared to 86% in 2002. Māori comprised 19% of total enrolments in ECE services (35,618 out of 190,907). However, data show Māori children are still less likely to attend ECE services for sustained periods of time than their non-Māori peers, and research shows that for parents of Māori children, the availability of culturally-appropriate services is an important factor in deciding whether to participate in ECE (44% of parents with a Māori child rated this as important or extremely important). In terms of quality, in 2007/08 the MOE continued to focus on this area, stating that high-quality ECE is marked by adults’ responsiveness to children and an intellectually stimulating, language-rich

environment where children have the opportunity for dialogue and complex language use. It provides activities that are suitable and engaging, and opportunities to problem-solve. The adult-child interactions involve sustained shared thinking and open-ended questions to extend thinking. These are important factors in Māori language learning.

In 2007/08, the MOE continued to work with Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust to provide national leadership to kōhanga reo. A key feature of this work was the discussion around the new regulations and curriculum framework for kōhanga reo, as well as the provision of professional development for kōhanga reo kaiako by the Trust.

In 2006, MOE published a report by New Zealand Council for Educational Research (NZCER) and Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust (TKR) that looked at quality for children and whānau involved in kōhanga reo. They found that the kōhanga reo that rated 'stronger' on the study's quality rating items were more likely to have:

- teachers fluent in te reo Māori
- one or more kaumātua present in the programme
- teachers with Tohu Whakapakari qualifications or in their final year of training
- whānau who attend wānanga about language and culture
- very good or satisfactory te reo Māori resources (cited in Ministry of Education, 2009).

Most Māori children attend ECE services where the main language of teaching and learning is English. While there is provision for access to Māori language for all Māori children attending general ECE centres in the bicultural/bilingual curriculum document, Te Whāriki, evaluation research paints a rather mixed picture of what that looks like in reality.

Teacher supply incentive grants for services to support staff undertaking early childhood teacher education qualifications were given by the Ministry of Education. A total of 2099 were awarded in 2007, and in 2008 a total of 2147 were awarded – a 2007/08 total of 4,246 incentive grants. In 2007/08, the ministry also continued to support teachers in Māori language ECE services to upgrade their qualifications to meet the recent teacher registration requirements. In 2007/08 a total of 59 early childhood scholarships were awarded to students studying towards an approved Māori language education qualification; 20 of the recipients were Māori.

According to *Ngā Haeata* (Ministry of Education, 2009c) the importance of incorporating and using Māori language within all early childhood education settings is acknowledged through the

early childhood curriculum, *Te Whāriki* (Ministry of Education, 1996), which says settings should promote Māori language and culture, making it visible and affirming its value for children from all cultural backgrounds. It also states that adults working with children should demonstrate an understanding of different iwi and the meaning of whānau and whānaungatanga. Early childhood education service employees should also respect the aspirations of whānau for their children.

Pathways to the Future: Ngā Huarahi Arataki (Ministry of Education, 2002) reported that of the 46 services evaluated, those services with over 12% Māori children attending (24 services) were more likely to be rated highly for implementing a bicultural curriculum and meeting cultural and language aspirations of parents.

An evaluation by the Education Review Office (2008) of a pilot study of English-medium services found that in just over half of the 16 services, Māori children had opportunities to develop as confident and competent learners through programmes that included aspects of Māori language or culture. There is clearly room for improvement, and the Ministry of Education’s ECE professional development will include this as a focus next year.

*Figure 3: Number of Licensed Early Childhood Services by Type of Service & Authority
at 1 July 2008*

Type of Service	Authority			TOTAL
	Privately Owned	Community Based	Correspondence School	
Casual Education & Care	11	25		36
Kindergarten		622		622
Playcentre		464		464
Education & Care Service	1,239	808		2,047
Homebased Service	159	85		244
Te Kōhanga Reo		467		467
Correspondence School			1	1
TOTAL	1,409	2,471	1	3,881

Source: Indicators & Reporting (Ministry of Education, 2009a)

Compulsory Sector – Kura Kaupapa Māori and Wharekura

In 2007, there were 25,986 Māori learners in New Zealand schools who were participating in some form of Māori language education, where Māori language made up at least 12% of teaching

and learning. At the same time, the number of these learners taking te reo as a subject for at least three hours per week at secondary school increased from 8000 in 2000 to 8550 in 2007 – representing a 7% increase.

Māori medium education programmes involve students being taught either all or some curriculum subjects in the Māori language, either in immersion (Māori language only) or bilingual (Māori and English) programmes. Four levels of immersion (and associated funding) are defined for planning and monitoring purposes (Ministry of Education, 2007a). These are:

1. Level 1: Maintenance Programmes (81-100 percent immersion)

- Te reo Māori is the principal language of communication and instruction.
- The principal curriculum is taught entirely in Māori.
- It is expected that all students in the programme will interact freely in Māori.

1. Level 2: Development Programmes (51-80 percent immersion)

- Te reo Māori is, for most of the time, the language of communication and instruction.
- English is accepted as a temporary language of instruction and communication.
- There is an agreement between the school and parents that the programme will achieve a particular level of immersion over a specified period of time.
- The level of fluency of the teacher will vary considerably, from not very fluent to native-like fluency.
- There is a reliance on Kaiarahi Reo to increase the amount of spoken Māori in the programme.
- It is expected that not all students in the programme will interact freely in Māori.

2. Level 3: Emerging Programmes (31-50 percent immersion)

- English is the main language of communication and instruction.
- The teacher can communicate at a basic level of Māori, but has difficulty instructing in Māori.
- Māori is used as the classroom management language.
- An increase in the level of immersion is restricted by the level of fluency of the teacher.
- A Kaiarahi Reo is usually the only fluent speaker in the programme.

Note: A school which is offering Māori as a subject only would not meet the level 3 Immersion criteria.

3. Level 4: less than 30% immersion but at least three hours per week.

Ngā Kura

Māori Medium immersion schools are schools where all students are recorded at Māori Medium Education Level 1 (81-100 per cent of class time in Māori). According to Ngā Haeata Mātauranga (Ministry of Education, 2009c) the total number of students involved in Māori Medium Education (level 1) increased between July 2007 and July 2008 by 0.8 per cent (238 students). The number of kura kaupapa Māori has grown from 13 in 1992 to 68 in 2007. In 2007, there were 6272 learners in kura kaupapa Māori and kura teina. This is an increase of 2.1% from 2006. Year 11 candidates at Māori medium schools were more likely to meet both the NCEA literacy and numeracy requirements than other Māori candidates.

*Figure 4: Total number of students involved in Māori Medium Education
by Highest Level of Learning*

	Total				Māori			
	2007	2008	Difference 2007-2008	% Difference 2007-2008	2007	2008	Difference 2007-2008	% Difference 2007-2008
Level 1: 81-100%	11,991	11,774	-217	-1.8%	11,878	11,664	-214	-1.8%
Level 2: 51-80%	5,424	5,157	-267	-4.9%	5,166	4,890	-276	-5.3%
Level 3: 31-50%	5,154	4,795	-359	-7.0%	4,600	4,338	-262	-5.7%
Level 4(a): up to 30%	5,926	7,007	1,081	18.2%	4,342	4,834	492	11.3%
All	28,495	28,733	238	0.8%	25,986	25,726	-260	-1.0%

Source: Indicators & Reporting, Ministry of Education (2009b)

Figures show that in July 2007 there were 28,490 school students involved in Māori medium education, where Māori language made up at least 12% of teaching and learning. This is a decrease of 2.9% since July 2006. This compares with an increase of 1.5% in the previous year. 8.1% of Māori learners in schools are learning te reo Māori for more than three hours per week; and 17.7% of Māori learners are learning te reo Māori for less than three hours per week (Ministry of Education, 2009c).

Although numbers in Māori language education across the system are decreasing, the number of learners at kura kaupapa Māori has been rising steadily since 2001. In 2007, 22% of learners in Māori medium education were in kura kaupapa Māori, compared to 18% in 2001. Overall, the number of kura kaupapa Māori has increased markedly in recent years from 13 in 1992 to 68 in 2007. Māori pedagogy and mātauranga Māori are integral to the delivery of Te Aho Matua in kura kaupapa Māori (and wharekura) and te reo Māori is the sole language of teaching and learning.

Both *Te Whāriki*, the curriculum document for the early childhood sector, and its primary school equivalent *The New Zealand Curriculum* emphasise the importance of the Māori language and culture for all learners. *The New Zealand Curriculum* states that learning te reo Māori enables learners to participate with understanding and confidence in situations where te reo Māori and tikanga Māori is predominant and to integrate language and cultural understandings into their lives. It also strengthens New Zealand's identity in the world.

Section II - Summary and Analysis

The main points from Section II, which provides an overview of some of the key public policy documents, can be summarised as follows:

- The Government recognises that te reo Māori is a taonga guaranteed to Māori by the Treaty of Waitangi and is committed to supporting the revitalisation of te reo Māori.
- Te reo Māori as an official language is a vibrant language which supports the development and celebration of our national identity and enhances the mana whenua of Māori as tāngata whenua (people of the land).
- The Māori population is growing at a faster rate than non-Māori and so too the Māori school-aged population (By 2031, one third of all children in the country will be Māori).
- Māori language revitalisation and use is affected by the overall social environment in New Zealand.
- To revitalise the language it is necessary for wider New Zealand society to value the language and support a positive linguistic environment.
- A positive and receptive environment is important to encourage people to use their Māori language skills.
- Goals have been set for 2028, that te reo Māori will be widely spoken by all New Zealanders; that Māori language domains will increase; and that iwi, hapū and local communities will be the leading parties in ensuring local-level language revitalisation.
- Whānau and schools have important roles in transmitting t te reo Māori to new generations within homes and communities.
- Ka Hikitia – Managing for Success: The Māori Education Strategy 2008–2012 (Ministry of Education, 2008) is a five-year strategy aiming to transform and change the education sector.
- The Māori Language Education Framework supports kura to be viable and sustainable, with high-quality teaching and learning environments; ensures that the supply of kura and wharekura match demand over the long term; increases the number of high-quality, effective Māori teachers proficient in te reo Māori; increases effective teaching and learning of and through te reo Māori; increases visibility of te reo Māori; and strengthens Māori language education research.
- The evidence points to the relationships between teachers and Māori students as having the greatest effect on Māori student achievement.
- In order to lift the performance of the system overall, it is necessary to focus on those who are least served by that system. Such a focus on Māori students would thus bring benefits for Māori students and for all those served by the wider education system.

- Māori students in immersion schools are more engaged with their learning and are achieving better than Māori students in English-medium schools.
- There is a lack of research on what constitutes quality provision across the broad and varied range of Māori language education settings.
- All tertiary education organisations to work with Māori to ensure that education and research supports the development of skills and knowledge that Māori require in order to manage cultural and economic assets.
- Proposed tertiary education priorities for the next 3-5 years include: increasing the number of young Māori people moving into degree programmes; improving transition from secondary school to tertiary; and strengthening research outcomes.
- Goal 1 of Māori Education Framework, to live as Māori means being able to access the Māori cultural world via te reo Māori – to speak te reo Maori. Te reo Māori is fundamental to Māori cultural practices and values, Māori realities and Māori lives. Goal 2 asserts that education is equally about preparing Māori people to actively participate as citizens of the world so they should be able to move from Māori cultural worlds to others with relative ease. Goal 3 is that of progressing Māori to enjoy good health and a high standard of living (Durie, 2003).
- Māori tertiary retention rates remain low.
- The two trends, a higher proportion of Māori in the school age population and a rapidly increasing older cohort, means that a changing dependency ratio will impose additional burdens on the working age group so a better qualified workforce is better for the nation.
- The benefits gained through involvement in high quality early education support young children’s learning and development both at the time and in later life. Māori participation rates are low.
- Early methods of evaluating kōhanga reo by ERO (2005) often focused on compliance and regulatory requirements, and not the full and rich achievement of the kaupapa. ERO has developed its evaluation indicators to put the evaluative focus back on the child and the Māori language itself.
- ERO (2006) found that many teachers of Māori language in secondary schools did not demonstrate the subject and pedagogical knowledge needed by a second language/te reo Māori teacher and offered a limited variety of classroom activities for students.
- ERO (2008) looking at Māori children in early childhood found that most teachers and managers indicated that they had not yet developed ways of finding out about the hopes and expectations of parents and whānau of Māori children. ERO found that some teachers lacked the confidence and competence to integrate te reo Māori and tikanga Māori into their day-to-day practice.

- *Te Marautanga o Aotearoa*, the new curriculum for Māori medium schools, was developed and written in te reo Māori in consultation with the Māori medium education sector (launched in 2008) and is not a translation of the English curriculum.
- The Māori language curriculum, *Te aho arataki marau mō te ako i te reo Māori – kura auraki* provides mainstream teachers with a basis for planning programmes for students learning te reo Māori in kura auraki.
- *Te Aho Matua* provides a cultural context for linguistic enrichment with expressions of respect for all languages.
- For parents of Māori children, the availability of culturally-appropriate services is an important factor in deciding whether to participate in ECE.
- Most Māori children attend ECE services where the main language of teaching and learning is English.
- The importance of incorporating and using Māori language within all early childhood education settings is acknowledged through the early childhood curriculum, *Te Whāriki*.
- The number of kura kaupapa Māori increased markedly from 13 in 1992 to 68 in 2007.

Implications for Māori medium sector

In order to understand educational policy, and the way it is played out in the field, it is important to understand the sociolinguistic and political situations within which languages operate. Revitalisation of any language, but in particular threatened indigenous languages, is as much a political struggle as any other. Language rights are a political issue, not a linguistic one (May, 2001). Skutnabb-Kangas Phillipson, Mohanty, and Panda (2009) argued

The political rights or lack of rights of any language cannot be deduced from linguistic considerations. They are part of the societal conditions of the country concerned, and can only be understood in their historical context, by studying the forces which have led to the present sociopolitical division of power and resources in the societies concerned (Skutnabb-Kangas, et al., 2009, p. 41).

At the outset, it was stated that Aotearoa/New Zealand is officially a bilingual nation. The Māori Language Strategy sets out the government's 25-year vision for te reo Māori. With a growing younger Māori population – the *Māori Language Strategy* clarifies the government's responsibility for strengthening Māori education opportunities in te reo Māori. Supporting a strong Māori language education sector sits at the centre of the MOE's ability to deliver on its responsibilities to this *Māori Language Strategy*, made evident in its policy document, *Ka Hikitia – Managing for Success*, (Ministry of Education, 2008).

Early years or early childhood education is critical and the focus of *Ka Hikitia*. As Annamalai (2006,) put it,

...mother tongue education stands on the two legs of linguistic human rights and pedagogical prudence. The two legs do not stand parallel when mother tongue stands as a symbol of identity without competence. When this is the case, teaching of the mother tongue (the right to language) and the medium of instruction (the right pedagogical tool) get separated. When the mother tongue is not the language of early childhood experience, i.e., the language learned competently at home and in the streets to relate oneself to the world, it is possible in the midst of this separation to teach the mother tongue as a new language and to use the language of early childhood experience for curricular instruction while the mother tongue gradually becomes the medium of life experience (p.344).

General education teachers need encouragement and support to increase their bicultural awareness and knowledge. The recent strategy aims to ensure that by 2028 most Māori, and indeed many other New Zealanders, will be able to speak te reo Māori to some extent and the proficiency of people speaking, listening, reading and writing in te reo Māori will have increased. These improved proficiencies and advances in curriculum development (both Māori medium and mainstream) have been made which is of benefit to teachers and teacher educators.

The Tertiary Education Strategy draws heavily on Mason Durie's (2001) *Māori Education Framework*. It acknowledges the role of the tertiary education sector in the revitalisation of te reo Māori and the implications for ITE and in-service professional development of teachers. It also acknowledges responsibilities to whānau and iwi Māori. Whānau have a critical role in the future of the Māori language. Evidence also supports the importance of te reo i te kainga (use of Māori language in the home) and the responsive/reciprocal relationships which must be strengthened between the education sectors and whānau. Strengthening stakeholder relationships here is important in order to move forward with language revitalisation in a vision that is shared, is sustainable long term, and ultimately beneficial to the nation.

Education is also a strong arm in language revitalisation and the education sector must maximise its efforts. It is clear from the evidence that Māori immersion works best for Māori children who identify as Māori. Therefore the ongoing commitment to increasing Māori language education supply to match demand means that energies are best channelled into areas of education which are working. Low teacher expectations have had debilitating effects on te iwi Māori historically. Improving teachers' pedagogical content knowledge of te reo Māori me ōna tikanga alongside tribal cultural knowledge is an important part of improving pedagogical practice across all sections of the education system. Indeed, strong, sound pedagogy includes better integration and understanding of cultural identity into teaching practice. Ad hoc co-ordination of language

revitalisation efforts hampers progress. Research also plays an important role. Up-to-date strategies to do with new technologies must inform policy and practice.

Section III

International Contexts and Issues

At the outset of this literature review, I embarked on an email escapade as far and wide as my international networks allowed in terms of the influences (contextual and instructional) on the language proficiency levels of teachers graduating from ITE programmes; and the issues in defining and assessing proficiency. I sought literature on language assessment tools (in indigenous heritage language contexts). The general response was that there is a dearth of research in these areas in ITE. In fact, Colin Baker, the co-author of the *Encyclopedia of Bilingualism and Bilingual Education* stated,

I'm afraid that there is almost zero on indigenous initial teacher education. I've come across absolutely no publications on proficiency levels of teachers graduating from initial teacher education or on defining teacher language proficiencies.

Even the United States literature, vast as it is, appears to have nothing on this area either. In Wales, the language qualification would normally be from the person was at school - either in Welsh as a second or first language. Sorry. You are probably into virgin territory here. Best wishes (*personal communication, September 22, 2009*).

However, some research literature was forthcoming which enables a measure of comparative analysis.

Welsh Teacher Education

According to Jo Read of the General Teaching Council for Wales GTCW, (personal communication, September 17, 2009), there does not appear to be any formal test for Welsh speaking teachers to be able to teach in a Welsh medium school. It is entirely the employer's decision (school) as to what level of Welsh language qualification they would expect the teacher to hold. As stated, "A Welsh medium school would clearly want to ensure that the teacher is fluent and so the employer would be likely to conduct the interview in Welsh". There is then a separate issue as to whether the fluent Welsh-speaking teacher has been trained to teach through the medium of Welsh.

According to Gary Brace, Chief Executive, (GTCW, Email Communication, October 28, 2009), the GTCW perception is that they do not have a systematic and uniform approach to the development of teachers who are able to teach through the medium of Welsh. To summarise, the situation in Wales is as follows: The majority of Welsh schools are English medium schools where Welsh as a second language is a curriculum subject. About 20% of their secondary schools (a larger proportion of primary schools) are designated as Welsh medium or bilingual schools.

At their last population census in 2001, the data showed that 22% of the population in Wales were able to speak Welsh. Given the importance and number of Welsh medium schools, it is vital that there is a good supply of fluent Welsh speakers to teach in these schools. The position is fairly positive with a higher percentage of Welsh speakers in teaching compared to the population as a whole. 32% of teachers are Welsh speakers with 26% claiming they are able to teach through the medium of Welsh.

Despite the above, it has been more or less left to individual ITE institutions to develop their courses and assessment materials and to define what constitutes a qualified teacher able to teach through the medium of Welsh. Not before time, according to the GTCW, there is now an effort in Wales to standardise what is the definition of Welsh medium Initial Teacher Training courses and Welsh medium competency certificates.

The three main institutions involved in the delivery of Welsh medium teacher education programmes are Aberystwyth University, Trinity University College Carmarthen and Bangor University.

Aberystwyth University, Wales

Dr Malcolm Thomas, Director, School of Education and Lifelong Learning (personal communication, October 28, 2009) mentioned the appointment of a coordinator of the Initial Teacher Training (ITT) Secondary Welsh-medium Improvement Scheme across institutions in Wales. A colleague, Sion Meredith (Email communication) discussed them taking part in a project funded by the Welsh Assembly Government starting in September 2010 which will look into the proficiency of teachers. They have a regional centre for Welsh for Adults as well as the Canolfan Astudiaethau Addysg which produces bilingual Welsh resources for teachers.

Prifysgol y Drindod/Trinity University College, Wales

M. Thomas (personal communication, October 28, 2009) gave the following brief summary of the situation at Trinity University College, Carmarthen, with regards to assessing Welsh language proficiency.

In Wales there are two distinct courses for initial primary teacher training - Welsh medium and English medium – leading to a BA *Addysg Gynradd* or a BA in Primary Education. The Welsh medium course prepares trainees to work in Welsh medium settings. The teaching of this course is mainly through the medium of Welsh, as is the assessment. They also follow a language module each year, which is outside the degree but trainees are required to succeed in the module to

progress from year to year and to achieve the QTS standards at the end of the three years. Marks are deducted for grammatical errors across all assignments and the evaluation of school based studies includes a grade for standard of oral and written language. At present there is no national assessment for language proficiency.

The issues are probably similar to the Māori medium situation. The standard of trainees' Welsh varies greatly and this is of great concern. As stated, if high standards are to be maintained in Welsh medium schools – where the majority of pupils now come from English speaking homes – they need to ensure high quality immersion instruction.

Those following the English medium course are required to follow a module each year on the teaching of Welsh as a second language – which is compulsory in all English medium schools. To meet the standards, trainees are required to demonstrate an ability to deliver Welsh in the primary classroom. This course enables trainees to achieve the Welsh Learners/ Developers Certificate recognised by the University Colleges across Wales.

This course has recently been reviewed by Trinity University College. The assessment criteria are available on this website in Welsh and English as well as the guidance material. The standards across institutions are moderated annually by an external moderator. Trinity University College has applied for funding to create teaching materials and also to consider assessment criteria for Welsh, similar to that which is available for Welsh as a second language.

Prifysgol Bangor University

Dr W Gwyn Lewis, Deputy Head of College: Director of Teaching and Learning (personal communication, October 28, 2009) pointed out that a review of this nature is very timely as HEFCW are currently exploring the possibility of issuing Welsh-medium language competency certificates on completion of ITT courses in Wales. Bangor University website revealed further information about their courses. “As our classes will be fairly small, we will be able to keep in mind the challenges that face our second language courses, when assessing their work”.

Australian Council for Educational Research

Purdie, Frigo, Ozolins, Noblett, Thieberger and Sharp (2008) provide a snapshot of the national project directed towards strengthening the quality of indigenous languages programmes in Australian schools. One of the target groups to benefit from the project was teachers. A major issue highlighted in the research was that of having sufficient trained staff and that, wherever possible, it was desirable to have indigenous language teachers delivering programmes in schools.

Other issues were the need for practical national support, resourcing for school language programmes, greater coordination of indigenous languages programmes at the national level and networking amongst all those involved.

In terms of teacher preparation and ongoing professional development, the research identified that those involved in the development and teaching of indigenous languages programmes were diverse in terms of their language proficiency and teaching experience. School language programmes varied considerably from first language maintenance programmes to general language awareness programmes. However, overall, the professional learning opportunities for people wishing to teach an indigenous language in a school were limited. Only one university has a dedicated course on indigenous languages teaching. A small number of universities provided a linguistics course in indigenous languages, but these did not prepare people for teaching in schools. Some teaching degrees included a component (either compulsory or elective) that dealt with indigenous cultural awareness, including issues related to language and a number of Technical and Further Education (TAFE) institutions offered courses to teachers and potential teachers of indigenous languages. As a result, many recommendations were made which included:

- That teacher education departments in universities be encouraged and funded to develop indigenous language units within undergraduate, post-graduate, and/or professional programmes.
- That universities and TAFEs offer scholarships for the training of indigenous language teachers as part of their scholarships programmes.
- That pre-service indigenous teachers, and in particular pre-service early childhood and primary school indigenous teachers, be provided with an opportunity to train in the teaching of their language of heritage.
- That State and Territory education departments provide incentives (e.g., scholarships, fee support, and time for study) to in-service teachers to retrain as indigenous language teachers.
- That each State and Territory education department develops a strategy for training Indigenous language teachers.
- That career pathways for indigenous languages teachers be established within State and Territory education jurisdictions.
- That a dedicated percentage of the School Languages Programme funds be targeted for indigenous languages. A system of accountability should be developed that requires States and Territories to report on how funds have been used for indigenous languages programmes.
- That there be funding from the Digital Education Revolution to support school indigenous languages programmes.

- That funding is allocated for a national coordinator of indigenous languages programmes in schools; and so on.

Researchers contend that vernacular language education programmes for Aborigines have as many passionate opponents and staunch defenders as the Aboriginal land rights movements. They are important because they contribute to the nurturance of Aboriginal cultural and linguistic heritage.

Belgium and Canadian Teacher Education

An investigation by McEachern (2002) of bilingual education in Belgium and Canada revealed some interesting similarities and differences between them. The teaching of French as a second language is common to both, since French is one of the official languages of both Belgium and Canada. Therefore both are officially bilingual countries. In Canada, the other language is English. In Belgium, it is Dutch. McEachern stated that in both countries it seemed there existed the same lack of cohesion and the same stresses between the two linguistic groups. He investigated some of the similarities and some of the differences in language instruction between the two countries, that is, the teaching of French to Dutch speakers in Belgium and the teaching of French to English speakers in Canada. This research looked at the policies for student learning and for teacher education in both countries. In order to understand educational policy, McEachern argued, it is important to understand the linguistic and political situations in both Belgium and Canada.

Belgium

Modern Belgium is divided into two regions with the Dutch speakers living in the northern part called Flanders, and the French speakers living in the southern part called Wallonia. It is a small country geographically, but with a population of 10 million. Each region is responsible for its own educational system. Belgian law on language use in primary and secondary education was based in principle on the concept of region *unilingualism*, whereby only Dutch would be used in the North (Flanders) and only French in the south (Wallonia). There has been friction between the groups, each vying for prominence both politically and economically, but, as stated, the presence of Dutch in Wallonia and Brussels has grown and in Flanders, French is much less felt to be a threat to Flemish culture (Goethals, 1993, cited in McEachern, 2002). As in Canada, French speakers are the minority; however, official bilingualism makes it imperative that French be taught as a second language.

Canada

Canada, conversely, is an immense country geographically with a relatively sparse population of approximately 25 million. The country, officially a bilingual nation, is divided into ten provinces each with its own linguistic policy. French is the only official language in one, Quebec. Education is a provincial concern, so each province has its own jurisdiction over policies and practices of teaching French. McEachern's (2002) overview included Ontario as the Canadian example. The policies regarding the teaching of French in Ontario were similar to those in the other provinces.

Teacher Education and Professional Development

In both Belgium and Canada, preparation for teaching French is taken seriously. In Belgium schools, the same teacher who teaches French also teaches other subjects in Dutch. In that these teachers are native Dutch speakers, they are not all as proficient in French as would be desired. All pre-service teachers (PSTs), however, must take French classes in their teacher preparation program. In Canada, on the other hand, the French teacher is generally a specialist teacher and thus not all pre-service teachers follow a program of French in their preparation. A special qualification certificate in French as a second language (FSL) is a requirement for all FSL teachers, whether they teach in core or immersion programs. A large number of Ontario teacher-education institutions provide courses on teaching FSL but, as in Belgium, the proficiency in French of these graduate teachers is variable.

Generally, in Belgium pre-service teachers study either for three years at a College of Education or in a post-degree program in the university with French as subject content courses. As stated, "This role of the teaching of French and hence the preparation of French teachers is an important distinction between the two countries. In Canada, French is a specialty subject, whereas in Belgium it is a subject for all teachers" (McEachern, 2002, p. 105).

Continuing education and professional development for French teachers is emphasised in both countries. In Belgium, there are workgroups for the teaching of language and literature organised by the University of Leuven which have enhanced the teaching of French through communicative French language teaching methods. In Canada, in-service teacher professional development is mainly provided by local school districts. There is no provincial mandatory in-service professional development and there does not seem to be any standard requirement for professional development nationally.

It was noted that more hours of French were required for the Canadian students than for the Belgian ones; but, in spite of that, McEachern's informal assessment was that the Canadian was a less capable French speaker than the Belgian counterpart. It was argued that perhaps in the smaller

geographic territory of Belgium the Dutch speaker is much more likely to hear French spoken in the more immediate environment than is the English speaker in the much larger geographic territory of Canada.

Of significance in the discussion was the comparison of the specialist French teacher (the situation in Canada) to that of the regular classroom teacher being responsible for teaching French as part of the curriculum (the situation in Belgium). The Belgium teacher had access to much more in-service professional development, spreading the idea of communicative FL teaching, the enjoyment in language classes, games, role play and the use of authentic media, the promotion of functional reading strategies and cultural authenticity (Goethals, 1993, p. 19 as cited in McEachern, 2002). There seemed, consequently, to be more success in the French language programme in Belgium.

Hebrew Revitalisation in Israel

Fishman (1996), whilst documenting the Hebrew revival movement, noted that when Hebrew was being revived it had not been spoken in 2000 years, and those who knew the language were opposed to its vernacular use. He stated that it was revived through working out terminologies; first by working out terminologies for carpentry and for kindergarten, and terminologies very close to what was needed for everyday communication between teachers and children. Parents were not included because they could not speak Hebrew. Rather, the few teachers who had learnt to speak Hebrew, not naturally, but fluently were the ones to whom the children were entrusted. Children did not live with their parents. They lived in a children's home in a Kibbutz with those teachers. Their policy was to start exactly where the mother tongue starts and try to aim at that. They were advised not to concentrate their efforts along institutional lines. As stated, "Most languages are not institutional but informal and spontaneous. That is where language lives. Children live; they play; they laugh; they fall; they argue; they jump; they want; they scream" (Fishman, 1996, p. 89).

As a result of this movement, Baker (2006) documents, from 1950's Israeli census data, that it is possible to examine whether older or younger adults become functional in Hebrew. The extent of the everyday use of Hebrew varies with age of in-migration. The younger the child, the more likely he or she will be to use Hebrew. Between 30 and 40 years of age, a notable drop occurs. Is this due to a loss of learning ability, less exposure to Hebrew, less motivation or decreasing social pressure. From age 40 onwards, the likelihood of being functional in Hebrew falls further.

Hawaiian Immersion ITE

University of Hawai'i has two branches which have developed ITE programmes for Hawaiian language immersion education (Yamauchi, 2001). One of the Hawaiian immersion ITE programmes, *Kahuawaiola*, is offered on the island of Hawaii via the Hawaiian Language College, *Ka Haka 'Ula Ke'elikolani* (Hawaiian Language College, 2009). This programme develops teachers who have strong Hawaiian language and cultural foundations and who can:

- Demonstrate proficiency in the Hawaiian language and culture while nurturing the whole learner within a healthy and responsive learning environment.
- Integrate into classroom practices understandings of the principles of learning and teaching, and application of culturally effective learner strategies, processes, practices and contexts throughout the subject areas.

The areas of focus are:

- Language, Culture and Values;
- Professional Dispositions;
- Pedagogical Skills and Content Knowledge;
- Pili 'Uhane (Spiritual);
- Kino (Physical);
- No'ono'o (Mental);
- Na'au (Emotional); and
- Launa Kanaka (Social).

Entrance requirements to the course include:

- B.A. or B.S. degree, approved major.
- GPA 2.75 for major and cumulative.
- Four years Hawaiian language - 2.75 GPA.
- Required Hawaiian Studies courses at University level.
- 50 hours teaching in Hawaiian language environment, or 75 hours in Hawaiian medium curriculum development.
- Successful interview.

Summer intensives in a variety of foundation courses are provided in the language college including education studies; Hawaiian medium education and language arts; mathematics and science; social studies; technology; arts and physical education; and base level fluency for Hawaiian medium education. Among a number of noticeable features and accomplishments was the State legitimization of the programme, *Kahuawaiola* being developed in direct response to the Hawai'i State Mandate Act 315; Hawaiian language fluency being assessed in six areas (utilising the ACTFL proficiency standards); and teacher recruitment, retention and development strategies being a reflection of a community-based approach to initial teacher education which has *state-wide* accessibility. Other features were: well-developed technology systems to support student communication and instruction; participation of local, national and internationally renowned indigenous educators and language revitalisation experts, a teacher education faculty which included Hawaiian language and culture specialists renowned for their work in the development of language nests and indigenous language survival schools; and on-going collaboration and networking to maximise resources available to its teacher candidates.

The *Hawai'inuiakea*, School of Hawaiian Knowledge, based at the University of Hawaii, Manoa, has the Centre for Hawaiian Language, *Kawaihuelani*. Whilst not focused on ITE specifically, the Centre features a variety of foundation and other university courses which provide considerable contextual and structural supports for their immersion ITE programmes.

Aotearoa Context and Issues

Iwi and hapū planning for the Māori language

According to *Te Rautaki Reo Māori: Māori Language Strategy* (Te Puni Kōkiri., 2003) the Government supports the growth of the Māori language through the provision of funding and advice about language planning for whānau, hapū, and iwi Māori. The iwi partnerships facilitate opportunities for iwi to be full participants in the education system alongside learners, parents, education providers including early childhood settings, and the MOE. When all these parties work together much more can be achieved for and with Māori. The relationships allow iwi to proactively develop and implement local solutions to meet the specific education needs of learners in their communities. The focus is on learning contexts that are meaningful and relevant for learners and their whānau, and developing excellent practice to support Māori educational achievement.

Te Taura Whiri's publication, *A guide for iwi and hapū to the preparation of long-term Māori language development plans* (Māori Language Commission, 2000) stresses that language revitalisation is a long-term process. Some experts have suggested that language revitalisation can take up to 60 years in favourable conditions. It will take time to increase knowledge of te reo, and to change the way that people perceive Māori, that is, to 'resocialise' people to see Māori as an ordinary medium of communication. In recent surveys, Māori people have indicated overwhelming support for the revitalisation of the Māori language. The Māori language activities undertaken in a range of fields indicate the large degree of goodwill towards the language that exists in the Māori community and wider society. However, the Māori language needs more than goodwill and positive attitudes if it is to survive as an ordinary medium of communication. People must choose to speak Māori on a regular basis, as a normal feature of their everyday lives. Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori believes that iwi and hapū are in a unique position to transform the determination of people for the Māori language into positive results. Long-term planning and action will support this process.

Iwi and hapū are powerful structures in Māori society and provide focal points for Māori leadership and activities. Many important community institutions are directly controlled by iwi and hapū including marae, church groups and land trusts. Many iwi have reclaimed the control of significant communal assets. Iwi and hapū can be motivating forces in encouraging Māori people to think about the place of the Māori language in their lives, and to increase their use of Māori on an everyday basis. Each iwi and hapū has a unique heritage and each exists in unique circumstances.

Iwi Partnerships

Iwi have a key role to play in informing, designing, developing, implementing and evaluating initiatives to advance Māori educational outcomes. This will happen through the contribution they make to strengthening identity, language and culture of Māori learners throughout the education system. According to *Ngā Haeata Mātauranga* (Ministry of Education, 2009a), iwi and Māori are the repositories of expertise and excellence in Māori language. Evidence clearly identifies that language is the essence of culture. Te reo Māori is the vehicle through which Māori culture, spirituality and thought are expressed. It is through this vehicle that speakers can access and journey into te Ao Māori. It is on this basis that iwi (hapū, whānau) should have the kaitiakitanga roles of mātauranga Māori. Put simply, iwi has the right to definition over knowledge and knowledge generation through its own processes. The important role of whānau in teaching and learning te reo Māori is included as a key role for whānau in the government's Māori Language Strategy and this can be further supported by the sector-wide implementation of *Ka Hikitia – Managing for Success* (Ministry of Education, 2009a).

Māori Aspirations for the Māori Language

In an unpublished report *Māori Aspirations for the Māori Language*, prepared from iwi Māori language and education plans it was clearly stated that “Māori want Māori to speak te reo Māori” (Te Puni Kōkiri., 2008, p. 1). The bibliography listed nine iwi plans (although Ngāi Tahu and Tūhoe were cited in the body of the document making reference to 11 iwi plans).

- Hauraki
- Te Tai Tokerau
- Whanganui
- Ngāti Whātua
- Ngāti Kahungunu
- Te Tau Ihu o Te Waka a Maui
- Taranaki
- Te Hiku o te Ika - Te Rarawa
- Tauranga Moana
- Raukawa
- Ngāi Tahu
- Tūhoe

The two Hui Taumata Reo Māori of 1995 were also overviewed. The following are some of the major themes arising from analysis of documents and consultation with iwi.

Increasing effective iwi and whānau relationships

The MOE has relationships with 20 iwi that assist whānau and iwi to participate in and determine effective education provision for their children. The MOE's relationships with iwi aim for a shared approach to achieving high-quality outcomes in Māori language education. In addition to these 20 iwi relationships, the MOE has agreements with four national Māori education organisations. These partnership relationships are now focused specifically on supporting iwi and whānau to support Māori learner achievement (Ministry of Education, 2009a).

The partnerships facilitate opportunities for iwi to be full participants in the education system alongside learners and the MOE. When all these parties work together in a reciprocal responsive relationship much more can be achieved. Examples of the work done through iwi partnership relationships include the development of curriculum content that supports and reflects the unique language and customs of each iwi. This type of support enables schools and teachers over time to better reflect their local communities and develop programmes that are culturally responsive. They build on, and realise, the potential of their Māori learners.

Iwi and whānau, in tandem with schools and teachers, carry the responsibility for creating, protecting and transmitting Māori language and culture. Therefore, having whānau who reinforce and speak Māori language and being taught by teachers who use high-quality, effective teaching practices and who also understand second language acquisition is also important.

Programmes supported by Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori (Mā Te Reo), Te Puni Kōkiri and the MOE (through initiatives like the Community-based Language Initiatives programme) demonstrates how iwi and whānau can foster Māori language, customs and knowledge in partnership with the formal education system. Community-based Language Initiatives include:

- developing iwi-specific Māori language strategies;
- raising the awareness and status of te reo Māori;
- collecting iwi-specific oral histories for school and iwi-based resources;
- clubs for speakers and developing speakers of te reo Māori; and
- whānau, marae and kura language plans to help transmit language between generations.

Some of those initiatives are overviewed in the following section.

Ngā Iwi o Te Waka a Maui

A recent scope of te reo Māori in the Southern Region (Te Aika, Skerrett, & Fortune, 2009) provides an overview of the various Māori language strategies in Te Waipounamu. *The Te Rautaki Reo Māori o Te Tau Ihu o Te Waka ā Maui: Tōku reo tōku ohooho - My language, my awakening* (Te Kāhui Mātauranga O Te Tau Ihu, 2006) is an iwi based initiative developed in 2006 by the eight iwi who hold mana whenua status in Te Tau Ihu, namely: Te Ātiawa, Ngāti Apa, Ngāti Rārua, Ngāti Tama, Ngāti Koata, Ngāti Kuia and Ngāti Toa. Its development is reflective of the strong desire of communities across the rohe to have access to quality Māori language education to revive te reo Māori amongst iwi.

Ngāi Tahu Education Strategy, 2006

Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu Education Strategy (Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu., 2006). , outlines four broad goals and proposes to “cultivate, nurture, perpetuate and practice all things Ngāi Tahu including culture, values, history, language, oral traditions, and literature”. In June 2007, *Te Mahere Mātauraka* (Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu., 2007) was developed as an update and operational response to the *Ngāi Tahu Education Strategy* of the previous year and the draft *Ka Hikitia*. This marked a new phase in the six-year formalised relationship between Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu and MOE to achieve long-term shared outcomes. It aims to see Ngāi Tahutanga embedded and integrated in education settings across the takiwā (beginning with early childhood and primary schools) through relationships and connectivity with local rūnanga and at a macro level improving educational outcomes for Ngāi Tahu across Aotearoa, and Māori within Ngāi Tahu takiwā. The process of engagement is seen as pivotal to the partnership and the work moving forward

The MOE and Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu developed four long-term shared outcomes which are the basis for the outputs identified in the proposal. The outcomes are;

1. To improve the provision of, and student’s access to, quality te reo programmes in immersion, bilingual and mainstream education.
2. To increase and support the presence, engagement and achievement of Māori students in the Ngāi Tahu takiwā.
3. To ensure curricula, teaching practices and environments in early childhood contexts and schools, within the Ngāi Tahu takiwā, are increasingly responsive to and reflective of Ngāi Tahutanga.

4. To establish and maintain a central, regional and district engagement programme to enable Ngāi Tahu and the Ministry to progress towards shared outcomes and co-production work.

Ngā Iwi o te Ika a Māui

Ngā Haeata Mātauranga (Ministry of Education, 2009c) provides further coverage of some of the very comprehensive iwi education plans. As documented, a stock take of the Community-based Language Initiatives, published in 2008, looked at the broad range of initiatives by iwi.

Ngāi Tūhoe

Ngāi Tūhoe, overviewed in *Ngā Haeata Mātauranga* (Ministry of Education, 2009c), is an iwi with an estimated population of between 33,000 and 45,000, of whom some 40% speak Māori language. There are six key language goals to their strategy. They are to:

- strengthen Tūhoetanga;
- strengthen organisation efficiency and effectiveness in schools;
- strengthen school governance and management;
- strengthen the professional capability of boards and staff;
- implement assessment systems for learners; and
- strengthen curriculum development and delivery.

Ngāti Raukawa

The Raukawa Trust Board (established in 1987 to manage the social, cultural and economic affairs of the whānau, marae and hapū of the Raukawa iwi) has had several key initiatives to promote Māori language. For example, the board has developed the *Whakareia te Kakara o te Hinu Raukawa* language strategy, as well as several resources including the Raukawa language website. *Whakareia te Kakara o te Hinu Raukawa* likens the aromatic essence of the Raukawa plant, to te reo - "...the mauri of Raukawa culture and our continued existence and identity as ngā uri o Raukawa" (Te Wānanga o Raukawa., 2009, p. 1).

Wahaia e koe te iti kahurangi, ki te tuohu koe me he maunga teitei

Seek that which is most precious. If you bow down, let it be before a lofty mountain.
Set your aspirations high and surrender them to no one!

The above whakatauki is cited at p. 3 of *Whakareia te Kakara o te Hinu Raukawa* and aptly portrays the ardent desire of Raukawa to revitalise te reo. Developed to support the achievement

of the vision that was established by kaumātua of Raukawa in 1987, the strategy confirms the commitment of the Raukawa Trust Board toward strengthening the use of te reo, and its recognition as a key component of Raukawa tikanga and development. This, in turn, supports Raukawa social, environmental and economic development (Te Wānanga o Raukawa., 2009). Their vision is multi-tiered, short, medium and long term with three timeframes. By 2010 they will have built strong foundations for te reo of the future; by 2030 te reo use will be significantly more common, particularly in the home and wider community with significant growth of te reo users; and by 2170 “...everyone in the Raukawa rohe will be able to speak te reo in all domains. Visitors to the rohe will be encouraged to converse in te reo Māori” (p. 8).

Te Iwi o Taranaki

Te iwi o Taranaki also has a language website⁴, with the four essential areas of community language revitalisation. Over and above these four areas of community language function, Te Reo o Taranaki recognises the central role of kaumātua in sharing their reo ability with younger generations. As stated, a primary goal is to support Taranaki reo being spoken in the homes of whānau, where tamariki are not reliant on a government funded system of Māori language teaching. They encourage taking personal responsibility for the passing on of te reo Māori to future generations.

Initiatives such as these and the role of parents, whānau, hapū, iwi and Māori organisations more generally are central to maintaining the integrity and evolution of Māori language and cultural practices and to the modelling and transmission of Māori identity.

Māori Culture and Identity

Language was seen as central to culture. Simply put, if language erodes, so too does culture. Cultural wellbeing underpins success as Māori and a secure identity. Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu poignantly stated

Our language is the cornerstone of our identity. Without it we lose the ability to express our unique culture, to compose a waiata for the birth of a child, to welcome our guests and to farewell our loved ones. The future health and vibrancy of our culture is inextricably tied to the fate of our language (cited in Te Puni Kōkiri, 2008, p. 1).

⁴ <http://www.taranakireo.co.nz/index.php?page=about>

The four inter-linked triangles (Awareness, Application, Acquisition, Archive)

Awareness, Attitudes and Status

Māori want te reo Māori to be valued by both Māori and non-Māori alike. To raise the status of te reo Māori so that it has equal status as an official language with English, it was acknowledged that raising awareness and improving attitudes are important factors. Some of these include broadening use in a range of settings and protecting those spaces so that it becomes *normalised*.

Role of Whānau

The whānau is central to playing a leadership role and the importance of intergenerational transmission in the home was stated. It was recognised that whānau support to speak te reo Māori in the home, and particularly to engage children in meaningful conversation, was key to its revitalisation as a living language.

Succession Planning

The formal language and culture of the marae is under threat. Many iwi noted that if action is not taken their marae will be bereft of kaikōrero, kaikaranga and all the other important people who fulfil the traditional functions of the marae. The means by which formal language is passed on will dissipate. Therefore the ceremonial reo of the marae plays a pivotal role in the revitalisation of te reo Māori and must be protected at all costs.

Education

In education Māori want easy access to Māori language education and resources. Therefore educational settings are central to Māori language revitalisation. Many iwi are interlocking their language planning with educational planning because of the centrality of kōhanga, kura, wharekura and whare wānanga to language revitalisation.

Archiving and New Technologies

To ensure local language material is not lost, archiving is a vital element to language planning. Archiving relates to preservation of regional dialects and also how new technologies (specifically easy access to material) play important roles in language revitalisation. New technologies allow for those living outside their tribal areas (nationally and internationally) to connect with whānau, educational settings and resources, and language materials in their regional dialect/s.

Iwi Dialects

All the iwi plans note the importance of revitalising the Māori language belonging to their area and this was also an issue raised at most hui. Related to culture and identity, each iwi feel it is vital to retain their unique culture through oral language revitalisation, recording local stories and archiving specific local historical materials. This is important for hapū and iwi specifically and the Māori culture generally and is seen as an important aspect of language planning.

The Māori Language Strategy (Te Puni Kōkiri., 2003) supports iwi leadership in terms of them ensuring local-level language revitalisation and dialects. Likewise, Priority Area 2 (Te Reo Hapori — Māori language) of the strategic directions of Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori advocates for the development and sustainable funding of community-led Māori language hubs to co-ordinate and enhance Māori language programmes and services at the community level and to promote the use of tribal dialects. This in turn strengthens the paepae and supports whānau and community language.

Iwi Dialect and Identity

As is the case with languages which have been distributed over quite an area for some time, Māori has regional variation. The differences between Māori dialects are not great and are largely lexical. In general, mutual intelligibility from Cape to Bluff is not impaired but, according to Harlow (2003), people tend to be particularly sensitive to any initiative which may attempt to standardise through the imposition of a single word for any idea, and the elimination of dialect variation. Harlow argues that dialect loyalty is motivated by the same attitudes as the wish to preserve Māori as a whole. Further, that at least part of both of these phenomena is the attachment Māori have to their own dialect as '*flags of identity*'. Any move which seems to threaten the distinctiveness of Māori (*vis-à-vis* English) or a dialect (*vis-à-vis* other forms of Māori) is strongly resisted. Moreover, some of the motivation for the considerable duplication of effort in vocabulary development comes from the need to maintain dialect distinctiveness.

In the recent South Island language scope (Te Aika, et al., 2009) it was apparent that dialect was important for the identity of iwi.

The only way to promote it (mita) is to use it, the only way we use it is to be exposed to it, it's about learning, using it, normalised." ...Mita is identity...Dialect is a mark of respect to the area you are working in. ...Dialects need to be valued and encouraged. Knowing and speaking Māori is important. Tikanga, respecting mana whenua in the Ngāi Tahu rohe dialect is an important part of identity and knowing where people are from. ...The iwi should be responsible for ensuring dialect is maintained. ...Best Practice is to promote the language, the dialect, need to study kīwaha and whakatauki to promote Māori values, attitudes and views of the world (Te Aika, et al., 2009, p. 66).

However, in that case there was also strong feedback for focusing on the language first and dialect second. It was believed that once people become proficient in te reo Māori then learning iwi specific reo and dialect will be easier.

Focusing on a more standardised language first is also tied to the current state of te reo Māori in Te Waipounamu where there are low numbers of fluent speakers overall (less than 1 percent). Growing the number of speakers is vital. There is still a lot to learn about dialect through research and language use. Very few participants in that research had an in-depth knowledge of Ngāi Tahu reo and Ngāi Tahu dialect and so the need for further research in this area was highlighted. The invention and use of fabricated or ‘fictitious’ dialect was also a concern. Although there has been some promotion of dialect within Ngāi Tahu itself, not much is known by the wider Māori community resident in the South Island. A recommendation of the research (which also was aligned to the Māori Language Strategy) was: “That Ngāi Tahu and Te Tau Ihu iwi will be assisted (through research) to take leadership roles in promoting their dialects with appropriate resources” (Te Aika, et al., 2009, p. 67).

Role of Media

This year the MOE began scoping work on an action point from *Ka Hikitia – Managing for Success*. The MOE will investigate stronger ties with Te Taura Whiri i Te Reo Māori to strengthen the use and profile of Māori language and culture in children’s television programmes. The MOE also began scoping work to identify other education agencies and their outputs and goals related to Māori language education.

In Nga Haeata (2009c) it states that the role of the media generally to promote te reo Māori, and in particular its use as a living dynamic language and as a vernacular, is titanic. According to the Māori Language Strategy (Te Puni Kōkiri., 2003) in the area of Māori language broadcasting it states the Government has an established function in supporting the growth of the Māori language through funding radio and television broadcasting in the Māori language. This function was expanded through the establishment of the Māori Television Service, which supports the increased use of the Māori language and the value accorded to the Māori language by all New Zealanders. The responsibility for Māori language broadcasting policy and planning has been allocated to Te Puni Kōkiri and the implementation of this work has been allocated to Te Māngai Pāho and the Māori Television Service through various pieces of legislation over the last ten years.

The recent *Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori Statement of Intent* (2008, p. 16) documents developments in Māori language broadcasting. These include New Zealand’s first ever 100% Māori language

television channel “Te Reo”, launched in March 2008. The new channel initially broadcasts three hours a day, seven days a week, during the prime time hours of 8.00 p.m. to 11.00 p.m.; and in May 2008, iwi radio and television broadcasting sectors celebrated over 500,000 hours of programming in the Māori language.

Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori Strategic Directions (2008) states that the Māori language education sector is also supported through institutions and organisations including over 20 Māori language radio stations; and The Māori Television Service. Likewise, the Assembly of Alaska Native Educators (2001) *Guidelines for Strengthening Indigenous Languages and Guidelines for Nurturing Culturally Sensitive Youth* states that the producers of mass media should assume responsibility for providing culturally-balanced materials and programming that reinforce the use of heritage languages.

Media producers can help strengthen indigenous languages through the utilisation of panels of local experts (rather than a single source) to corroborate translation and interpretation of language materials as well as to construct words for new terms; and through encouraging the use of the local languages in multimedia materials in ways that provide appropriate context for conveying accurate meaning and interpretation, including an appreciation for the subtleties of story construction, use of metaphor and oratorical skills.

According to Popp (2006), Nickelodeon’s *Dora the Explorer* purportedly introduces children to bilingualism. This bilingual element is what distinguishes *Dora* from other children’s programs. Drawing on Bourdieu’s theories of language serving as a symbolic representation and means of maintaining social power, Popp (2006) argues that mass media (in *Dora*’s case, television) are key sites in which this phenomenon is manifested and further perpetuated. The ways of speaking featured in media texts act as symbols that tie into prevalent ideas about what language and their ideologies can and should do in society. Different ways of speaking assume prestige and distinction in relation to one another. Media institutions can utilise language in texts to tap into audiences’ implicit ideas about the social functions of language. Furthermore, mass media outlets and texts play a pivotal role in the political economy of language by giving value and exposure to certain language codes, linguistic varieties, and discourse styles. Nickelodeon touts that each episode of *Dora* features seven intelligence lessons, one of which is bilingualism (Mason as cited in Popp, 2006) It is this bilingualism that has received the most attention and “distinguishes *Dora the Explorer* from other children’s programs” (Oppegaard as cited in Popp, 2006). Popp (2006) concludes the article by stating that “The extraordinary attention lavished upon language in *Dora* and *the Passion* also reveals the way language is all too easily overlooked in less extraordinary instances. This lack of attention sharpens language’s aptitude for naturalizing social structures (Bourdieu as cited in Popp, 2006). When language is given attention, the discourse that ensues speaks volumes about how and why language is valued in a society. Regarding *Dora*, it points to

the nexus of language mastery and social mobility. Language becomes a means of advancing into the upper echelons of education, work, and even taste groups (Popp, 2006, p. 17)

Motivation Issues

Baker (2006) argues that a popular explanation for success or failure to learn a second language is attitude and motivation and suggests:

Motivation provides the primary impetus to initiate learning in the L2 and later the driving force to sustain the long and often tedious learning process... Without sufficient motivation even individuals with the most remarkable abilities cannot accomplish long-term goals, and neither are appropriate curricula and good teaching enough on their own to ensure student achievement (Baker, 2006, p. 131).

What are the motives for learning a second language? Are they economic, social, vocational, integrative or for self-esteem and self-actualization? According to Baker, the reasons for learning a second (minority or majority) language tend to fall into two main groups:

Group 1: A wish to identify with or join another language group

Learners sometimes wish to affiliate with a different language community. Such learners wish to join in and identify with the minority or majority language's cultural activities, and consequently find their roots or form friendships. This is termed integrative motivation.

Group 2: Learning a language for useful purposes

The second reason is utilitarian in nature. Learners may acquire a second language to find a job and earn money, further career prospects, pass exams, help fulfil the demands of their job, or assist their children in bilingual schooling. This is termed instrumental motivation.

There has been considerable research in this area. Much of this research, but not all, links integrative motivation rather than instrumental motivation with the greater likelihood of achieving proficiency in the second language. Some commentators have argued that the integrative and instrumental attitudes are independent of 'intelligence' and aptitude. Integrative motivation may be particularly strong in an additive bilingual environment.

(Gardner & Lambert, 1972) originally considered that integrative motivation concerns personal relationships that may be long lasting. On the other hand, instrumental motivation may be purely

self-orientated and short term. When employment has been obtained or financial gain has accrued, instrumental motivation may wane. An integrative motive was thought to be a more sustained motive than an instrumental motive due to the relative endurance of personal relationships. Research has subsequently suggested that there may be occasions when the instrumental motive is stronger than the integrative motive in learning a language.

Lukmani (1972) found that Bombay female schools students gave instrumental rather than integrative reasons for learning English. In the research by Yatim (1988), the language motivations of student teachers in Malaysia appeared to combine instrumental and integrative motives into an integrated entity. A person's motives may be a subtle mix of instrumental and integrative motives, without clear discrimination between the two. Such research relates motivation not only to the desire to learn a language but also predicting language retention and language loss in individuals over time. Teachers are still left with the question: 'How can I motivate learners?' What interventions and strategies are possible to motivate language learners: From a small number of research studies Dornyei (1998 cited in Baker, 2006) offers the following motivational advice to teachers.

1. Set a personal example with your own language behaviour.
2. Create a pleasant, relaxed atmosphere in the classroom, reduce anxiety.
3. Present language tasks thoughtfully and carefully.
4. Develop a friendly relationship with learners.
5. Increase the second language confidence of the learner.
6. Make language classes lively and interesting.
7. Promote learner autonomy.
8. Personalize the learning process.
9. Increase each learner's goal-orientation.
10. Familiarize learners with the culture attached to the language being learnt.

Te Kanawa and Whaanga (2005) contend that promoting self-motivation is at the centre of their approach, an approach which emphasises the importance of participants becoming self-directed in their efforts. They state that learners should, after completing their professional development programme, have the attitudes and skills required to continue to improve their own proficiency in te reo Māori, their teaching of te reo Māori, and their teaching through the medium of te reo Māori. They add that whilst *kaupapa mātauranga Māori* sees *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi* as playing a very significant role in the revitalisation of te reo Māori, the teacher's role is also currently a very

important one and, ultimately, it is a teacher's own motivation that will make the difference. Teachers, however, need to be supported in their efforts by *whānau*, *hapū iwi* and other educators.

King (2009), in a paper examining the worldview of second language adult speakers of Māori in New Zealand in a contrastive study, asked the questions - what motivates people to become fluent second language speakers of their heritage language? Are they motivated by the idea of saving their language? Or is their motivation more personal? King argues that cultural identity is an important motivator but that for language planners the message is that it is important to research in-depth locally to accurately determine the parameters of each local situation. Māori are not homogenous. Therefore, after Karan (cited in King, 2009) viewing language shift from individual motivation perspectives (*whānau*, *hapū*, *iwi*) is crucial to the understanding of language shift. This factor is important when trying to determine the most effective promotion strategies to promote and encourage te reo Māori use in Aotearoa.

According to P. Hohepa (2000), Māori adults were learning to speak te reo Māori as a second language in a variety of ways, motivated by a range of forces. For some, the motivation and the learning were philosophically and physically located within *hapū* or *iwi* epistemologies, values and forms of Māori language. For many *kura kaupapa* Māori parents who lived out of their *hapū* and *iwi* areas, their motivation and experiences in gaining Māori linguistic and cultural knowledge were additionally complex and often included the desire for one's children to be Māori language speakers. Having their children becoming literate and communicatively competent in te reo Māori can support and provide strong motivation for parents' Māori language learning. Hohepa further argues that this makes it even more imperative for formal or school-based programmes to concentrate on the Māori literacy/biliteracy development, for their own benefit and for that of their *whānau*.

M. Hohepa (2000) makes the important point that while children in Māori medium schooling may experience relatively restricted language domains for using te reo Māori as the means of communication, parents who are trying to learn te reo Māori as a second language often face even greater restrictions. Her research participants described going to great lengths to learn to speak Māori that included leaving secure, well-paid employment, relocating *whānau*, and entering into long-term programmes of study. At least three types of motivation have been proposed by commentators for language learning and use; economic advancement, social prestige and cultural gratification. Parents in Hohepa's study described overlapping motivations, from reinforcing a sense of belonging and cultural identification through to associated practical advantages seen to be gained from being able to speak Māori, such as enhanced employment prospects.

Yamauchi (2001) documents how curriculum content can provide both a motivational and a cognitive foundation for language learning. Learning the language can become important and valuable to students when it provides them access to learning about content. Yamauchi gives the example, when Kaiapuni students in Hawaii were studying social studies and learning about the history of their community, they were motivated to learn the vocabulary associated with that content and the language functions needed to complete their assignments. In this case, the content curriculum provided a meaningful context in which to learn a second language.

Lauren and Buss (2002) looked at language immersion in Finland where everyone studied the second official language of the country at school: the Swedish speaking Finns study Finnish and the Finnish speakers study Swedish. Additionally everyone studied one or more foreign languages. The Finnish pupils were aware that they have to be proficient in foreign languages in order to get jobs, which provided the motivation to learn. In this study each immersion child proceeded at their own pace, thus their linguistic insights appeared individually. When a child is motivated to focus on form, his/her immersion teacher had to be prepared to provide relevant individual study material.

In a study into language and literacy in marae-based programmes, Mlcek et al. (2009) found that of significance on admission into the programme that having just any education was not enough for Māori, but having mātauranga (knowledge past, present or future which has its roots in the language and culture of the Māori people) was an important factor. Acquiring 'Māori knowledge' was the ultimate motivation force behind education participation.

Murrow, Kalafatelis, Fryer, Hammond and Edwards (2006) study into te reo Māori in mainstream professional development pilot programmes for primary school teachers looked at issues of motivation. They found that teachers generally enrolled in the programme because of personal interests in learning and/or teaching te reo Māori. Many had also been encouraged by senior staff at the school. Schools were motivated by the perceived quality of the programme, the fact that it was fully funded, the expectation that the school would benefit, and the enthusiasm and commitment of the individual teacher(s). As discussed, there was a strong desire on the part of the teachers in this study to support the children in their schools – particularly the Māori children – through using te reo Māori in their interactions with the children and through teaching them te reo. For some of the teachers, their heartfelt passion for te reo and/or for the children they taught was evident. Another strong motivator was the teachers' feeling that their own reo Māori skills needed further development. The potential to learn about the new reo Māori curriculum for mainstream schools was also an incentive for one of the teachers.

Timutimu and Ormsby-Teki (2009) found in their research that motivation, commitment and consistency, related directly to the success and participation of whānau learning Māori language on the whole. Te Puni Kōkiri (2001, cited in Timutimu & Ormsby-Teki) reports, “motivation to learn and use Māori language is critical to Māori intergenerational transmission; Māori adults must want to speak Māori and transmit it for future generations” (p.4). Most evident from their participant responses was the sheer effort required to remain motivated with the added dynamic of family relationships contributing to the difficulties.

Translation

According to M. Hohepa (2000) aspects of written Māori language resources produced for Māori language educational settings were identified as potentially problematic. Three of these aspects were to do with: pictorial representation, values and beliefs underlying stories, and stories translated from English into Māori. She talked about translating the *worlds* and not just the *words*, as translation can lose the *wairua* of the language. Simply translating original stories into Māori without considering the values and beliefs reflected in the story could potentially undermine the Māori knowledge and understandings Māori immersion and other schools are trying to support and instil in children. Some participants felt that there was pressure to simply translate up to 50% of all Learning Media publications into te reo Māori. The view, as a consequence, that te reo Māori was becoming a vehicle for promoting beliefs and values was *not a desirable* one.

Likewise, McInnes (2008) argued that language taught in classrooms should reflect traditional beliefs and communication styles as opposed to merely translating English norms. For example, simply because Ojibwe had an equivalent to the English word “hello” (*boozhoo*) that did not mean that these outwardly similar words were *used* in the same way. Moreover, how the Ojibwe Anishinaabe people talked about concepts and expressions relating to love, life, sickness, and death, to note a few examples, was very different from the way English speakers do, even though parallel sets of terms existed in each language. Instead of translation, the modernisation of language should represent an extension of traditional ideologies and communication structures. McInnes stated that this will be increasingly important as a generation of second language learner teachers worked to create future generations of first language speakers. It is imperative that future first language speakers share the same key values and cultural understandings as did preceding generations of first language speakers. If this objective is not achieved, the consequence is not only a changed language, but a changed sense of Ojibwe Anishinaabe identity.

The reintroduction of local, community-based knowledge and specific indigenous words for local realities into the curriculum is important according to Fettes (1997). Furthermore, it is argued that translating textbooks unchanged from English to Inuktitut is inadequate for language renewal, and, in the long run, it probably will ease the shift to English. The local language has to be used to meet its speakers' need for concepts and stories that make sense of the world *in their terms*.

Interpretation in the eyes of the beholder

Jacobs (1997) documented a science research project which included teachers from the public schools in the Navajo Nation. An interpreted Navajo version of activities was used alongside the English version in order to learn about the translated version in terms of:

- consistency in use of terminology
- the interpretation remaining science oriented
- the mystery of the story being preserved
- whether the interpretation could correct wrong information e.g., map and knowledge of the Navajo Nation
- whether any misconceptions of culture could be corrected.

The project generated wide debate among the translation team members. The debate revealed points of contention across all areas - from culture to education, and presented ways to be creative in order to overcome some of the barriers they faced in interpretations. One of those barriers was the diverse ways in which the team members were educated, and therefore, how they interpreted some terms and concepts.

McCarty, Watahomigie, Yamamoto, and Zepeda (1997) argued that language is not taught by mere word lists and grammatical drills. Native literature is not fully appreciated by pupils if it is presented in translation. Language and literature can be taught most effectively by teachers who are native speakers of the language and are trained to teach in elementary and secondary schools with language materials and literature produced by native speakers.

Section III - Summary and Analysis

The main points from Section III, which provides an overview of some international and local contexts and issues, can be summarised as follows:

International Contexts

- In Wales there are English medium schools and Welsh medium schools. It has been left to individual ITT institutions to develop their courses and assessment materials and to define the attributes of a qualified teacher for Welsh medium schools. There are no national assessments for language proficiency. The standard of Welsh trainees varies greatly and this is of great concern to them at present. There is a need to ensure high quality Welsh immersion instruction in schools. Welsh, as a second language, is compulsory in all English medium schools. To meet the standards, trainees are required to demonstrate an ability to deliver Welsh in the primary classroom. The standards across institutions are moderated annually by an external moderator. The Welsh are currently exploring the possibility of issuing Welsh-medium language competency certificates on completion of ITT courses in Wales.
- In Australia a major issue highlighted was that of having sufficient trained staff and the desirability to have indigenous language teachers delivering programmes in schools. Other issues were the need for practical national support, resourcing for school language programmes, greater coordination of indigenous languages programmes at the national level and networking amongst all those involved. Those involved in the development and teaching of indigenous languages programmes were diverse in terms of their language proficiency and teaching experience. Professional learning opportunities for those wishing to teach an indigenous language in a school were limited. Teacher education programmes in indigenous languages teaching were practically non-existent in universities. A number of recommendations were made as a result.
- Belgium and Canada are officially bilingual countries. (French is the language common to both countries. In Canada, the other language is English. In Belgium, it is Dutch). Official bilingualism makes it imperative that French be taught as a second language and preparation for teaching French is taken seriously. In Belgium, all pre-service teachers must take French classes in their teacher preparation program. However, in Canada the French teacher is generally a specialist teacher and thus not all pre-service teachers follow a program of French in their preparation. In both countries the proficiency in French of graduate teachers is often questioned. The role of the teaching of French (and hence the preparation of French teachers) is an important distinction between the two countries. In Canada, French is a specialty subject, whereas in Belgium it is a subject for all teachers. Therefore in Belgium the regular classroom teacher is responsible for teaching French as part of the curriculum. The Belgium teacher had access to much more in-service professional development and so on. Consequently, there seemed to be more success in the French language programme in Belgium.

- Hebrew was revived through working out terminologies needed for everyday communication. Children did not live with their parents but in a kibbutz with their teachers who had learnt how to speak Hebrew, not naturally but fluently. Parents were not included because they could not speak Hebrew. The focus was on the informal and spontaneous language of children rather than academic content.

Aotearoa Iwi Contexts

- Government supports the growth of the Māori language through the provision of funding and advice about language planning for whānau, hapū, and iwi Māori.
- Iwi and hapū are powerful structures in Māori society and provide focal points for Māori leadership and activities.
- Iwi have a key role to play in informing, designing, developing, implementing and evaluating initiatives to advance Māori educational outcomes.
- Māori have indicated overwhelming support for the revitalisation of the Māori language. Māori want Māori to speak te reo Māori as evidenced in the various iwi education plans that were overviewed.
- In education Māori want access to Māori language education and resources. Therefore educational settings are central to Māori language revitalisation.
- Māori culture and identity are inextricably linked.
- Related to culture and identity, each iwi feel it is vital to retain their unique culture through oral language revitalisation, recording local stories and archiving specific local historical materials.
- To ensure local language material is not lost, archiving is a vital element to language planning.
- Māori want te reo Māori to be valued by both Māori and non-Māori alike.
- The formal language and culture of the marae is under threat. The ceremonial reo of the marae plays a pivotal role in the revitalisation of te reo Māori and must be protected.

Role of Media

- The role of the media generally to promote te reo Māori, and in particular its use as a living dynamic language and as a vernacular is tenuous.
- Government function in supporting the growth of the Māori language through funding radio and television broadcasting in the Māori language is thus important.

- The MOE will investigate stronger ties with Te Taura Whiri i Te Reo Māori to strengthen the use and profile of Māori language and culture in children's television programmes.
- Language serves as a symbolic representation and means of maintaining social power. Mass media (television) are one of the key sites in which this phenomenon is manifested and further perpetuated.
- Mass media outlets and texts play a pivotal role in the political economy of language by giving value and exposure to certain language codes, linguistic varieties, and discourse styles.

Motivation Issues

- The reasons for learning a second (minority or majority) language tends to fall into two main groups (integrative and instrumental): Group 1: A wish to identify with or join another language group e.g. To find ones roots or form friendships (*integrative*): Group 2: Learning a language for useful purposes e.g. work (*instrumental*).
- Much of the research, but not all, links integrative motivation, rather than instrumental motivation, with the greater likelihood of achieving proficiency in the second language.
- Regarding the impetus to learn te reo Māori some of the key motivators referred to were: cultural identity; iwi epistemologies; values and forms of Māori language; desire for one's children to be Māori language speakers; whakamā or being embarrassed when unable to speak te reo Māori; education and employment opportunities; lack of reo Māori speakers; negative implications of language loss for Māori as a people; be a role model; economic advancement, social prestige, cultural gratification; reinforcing a sense of belonging and cultural identification, being able to access curriculum content; being able to acquire Māori knowledge; personal interests in learning and/or teaching; quality of programme; programme being fully funded; school would benefit; enthusiasm and commitment of teachers; heartfelt passion for te reo; becoming upskilled; and potential to learn about new reo Māori curriculum.
- It is important to research in-depth locally to accurately determine the parameters of each local situation.

Translation

- Translate the *worlds* and not just the *words* is important. Simply translating English language stories into Māori without considering the values and beliefs reflected in the story potentially undermines Māori knowledge and understandings, thus te reo Māori could become a vehicle for promoting other beliefs and values.
- Translating textbooks unchanged from English is inadequate for language revitalisation, and, in the long run, it probably will ease the shift to English.
- Native literature is not fully appreciable by pupils if it is presented in translation.

- Instead of translation, the modernisation of language should represent an extension of traditional ideologies and communication structures.
- Language and literature can be taught most effectively by teachers who are native speakers of the language and are trained to teach in elementary and secondary schools with language materials and literature produced by native speakers.

Implications for Māori medium sector

The international contexts face similar issues to Aotearoa. There is generally a dearth internationally (and nationally) of research in bilingual ITE. Even though the Welsh have both Welsh medium schools and English medium schools, *all* teacher graduates are required to demonstrate an ability to deliver Welsh in schools because Welsh as a second language, is compulsory.

Belgium and Canada are officially bilingual countries. However, the Belgium context was more successful in its FSL programme because French, as a second language was part of the core curriculum. Therefore it is the responsibility of all classroom teachers to teach French (as distinct to the specialist teachers in Canada). The Hawaiian situation is very similar to ours. Historically, Hawaiians also faced educational policies that promoted English over their indigenous language with educational prohibitions in speaking Hawaiian in schools. Similarly, there have been concerns over teacher qualifications, teaching through the medium of Hawaiian and quality. Even though the establishment of their Pūnana Leo came in the wake of Kōhanga Reo, language centres and colleges and meant that their contextual and structural supports have surpassed ours.

Aotearoa is officially a bilingual nation. In order to maximise language learning/teaching efficiencies, as in the international contexts, and bearing in mind that our government and iwi Māori support the growth of the Māori language, Aotearoa could do well with learning from the lessons of the international contexts, with te reo Māori becoming a part of the core curriculum, the establishment of Māori language Centres/Institutes.

Research indicates that Māori succeed with the opportunity to develop a sense of ‘self’ and ‘place in the world’. Where identity, language and culture count in education, in community, with whānau, hapū and iwi, life choices and opportunities are maximised and personal responsibility and economic independence achieved. The engagement of whānau and communities in the child’s learning is a powerful influence over that child’s education success. Whānau, hapū, iwi and Māori organisations play significant roles in Māori language education, influencing children’s educational pathways and their learning, advancement and success.

Māori are highly motivated to learn and revitalise te reo Māori for an array of reasons, both integratively and instrumentally. The desire to use Māori language laden with its unique spirit, distinct values, beliefs, knowledge and understandings, and to avoid the traps (and trappings) of translation, is strong within Māori communities. Mass media, principally television or similar media, can play a huge part in enhancing, validating and legitimating national bilingualism. Te reo Māori is a national treasure, and with its enlivenment, the nation is enriched.

4. Question 1 continued

What are the instructional and contextual factors that are most likely to influence the level of te reo Maori proficiency gained by kaiako graduating from Initial Teacher Education programmes, and how can these factors best be addressed?

PART B- CONTEXTUAL ISSUES

The Aotearoa context of ITE

Graduating Teacher Standards: Aotearoa

Context for the new Graduating Teacher Standards (NZTC., 2007a)

The Education Standards Act (2001) included three functions for the Council which required it:

- to provide professional leadership to teachers and others involved in schools and early childhood education;
- to establish and maintain standards for qualifications that lead to teacher registration; and
- to conduct, in conjunction with quality assurance agencies, approvals of teacher education programmes on the basis of the standards.

The standards address the Treaty of Waitangi and the bicultural nature of Aotearoa. As the GTS are applied, the partnership responsibilities inherent in the Treaty of Waitangi must be recognised.

Overall Purpose

Developed for graduating teachers, they describe what a teacher at the point of graduation from an ITE programme: will know; will understand; will be able to do; and the dispositions they will have that are likely to make them effective teachers.

All ITE programmes will have graduate profiles for each programme that will be aligned with the GTS. They impact upon the guidelines for approval, reapproval and monitoring processes of ITE, and will also inform teacher registration processes.

Whilst all the GTS have implications for Māori medium provisionally registered teachers (PRTs) entering Māori medium ECE centres, kura or wharekura, those that have particular significance to Māori medium ITE are included in Appendix three.

Language requirements for teaching in Aotearoa

Teachers must satisfy NZTC that they are able to communicate effectively with: the children and young people they teach; parents, whānau and caregivers; and their colleagues. Evidence of a high level of written and oral proficiency is required in at least one of New Zealand's official languages, English and/or Māori (NZTC., 2006). The NZTC must also be satisfied that teachers making their initial application hold a sufficient level of English or Māori proficiency, if:

- They have completed initial teacher education in New Zealand, **or**
- Any overseas applicants have completed teacher education in the medium of English **and** in a country where English is an official language, **or**
- English or Māori is their first language **and** it has been the medium of instruction in their primary and secondary schooling, **and** all schooling qualifications have been completed in English or Māori (p.3).

If those requirements are not met, teachers must undertake and pass an approved language proficiency test to a required level. For Māori medium teachers that is the Taura Whiri i te reo Māori test, *Whakamātauria Tō Reo*, level 4.

The report by Kane, Burke, Cullen, Davey, Jordan and McMurchy-Pilkington (2005) documented aspects of the 14 identified Māori medium ITE qualifications offered by 10 providers, including three wānanga, three universities, one college of education, two private training establishments and one polytechnic. The qualifications included three-year undergraduate degrees and diplomas for both early childhood and primary teachers. The following commentary focuses on features of ITE that are particular to these qualifications and their programmes of study. In addition, the specific challenges faced by those providers offering Māori medium ITE qualifications are highlighted.

Special Features of Māori medium Qualifications

According to Kane et al. (2005) Māori medium qualifications are more likely to have special characteristics that are additional to the more traditional (English-medium) ITE qualifications. In addition to other entry requirements, they argue that about half the programmes expect or recommend iwi attestation for student entry for either te reo Māori competency, or suitability for teaching, or both. Graduate profiles documented that:

- Māori-centred or Māori medium qualifications expect their graduates to be bilingual and to teach in a range of language contexts (English medium through to Māori medium);
- Two providers expect their graduates to demonstrate language acquisition methodologies and techniques;
- Some of the providers had an expectation that their graduates would become a resource in the wider community for te reo and tikanga, and contribute to the development of whānau, hapū, iwi;
- Working in partnership with families and whānau to support their children's learning is an important feature of some of the graduate profiles; and
- Māori providers tend to ensure the Treaty is integral to all/most of the programme of study.

Kane et al. (2005) state further that as the pool of Māori speakers wishing to enter the teaching profession is relatively small, a number of the providers have bridging or full time te reo Māori programmes to grow their own applicants. In addition to meeting the learning objectives of their mainstream colleagues, student teachers are expected to devote some of their own time to their continued Māori language learning. Because of this expectation to upskill in te reo and tikanga Māori (which is on-going for staff and students alike) extra burdens are placed on them that mainstream teacher educators (and students) do not have. This increased the workloads and time factors considerably for staff and students. For example, not only do they spend time and energy becoming familiar with Te Whāriki and/or the compulsory sector curriculum documents for planning, they are required to learn the language of those curriculum documents, old and new.

Some Challenges for Māori medium Staff and Students

Kane et al. (2005) stated that all programmes have some expectation of bilingualism and expect a level of competency in te reo Māori, for staff and students. Some providers wanted staff with appropriate academic qualifications, teaching experience and also expertise in te reo and tikanga Māori. The requirement to commit to increasing their own reo Māori proficiency, qualification upgrades, establishing and maintaining research activity as well as establishing and maintaining community/iwi/hapū links considerably increases workload. At least three of the providers indicate that students can submit their assignments in te reo Māori, which is an added challenge for staff, especially if students write in a dialect different from their own.

Kane et al. (2005) concluded that the qualifications offered in Māori medium ITE are few in number and present both cause for celebration and concern. The former because of their culturally-based approach to ITE, their commitment to addressing the achievement of Māori students and the opportunities they offer to prospective teachers who do not wish to enrol in larger institutions. The latter because of the additional burdens placed on students and staff of Māori

medium ITE programmes. Questions also remain as to the impact of extra language burdens on issues like staff burnout and student retention.

These challenges and more are detailed in a study reported by McMurchy-Pilkington, Tamati, Martin, Martin and Dale (cited in Kane et al, 2005). One dilemma that students face when they go home and talk to their kaumātua is that at times they are ‘talking past’ each other. Kaumātua are often unfamiliar with new education jargon and thus are unable to support students in their learning, at times even telling them off for bringing home a language that is not that of their own marae or hapū.

Another issue raised was that while Māori providers report that they are committed to ensuring that their qualifications are informed by research, they note that there is limited research related to Māori medium ITE. If we are to meet our goals of preparing effective teachers who will make a difference for Māori students in schools, these issues must be addressed by the whole ITE community.

Language Acquisition Research

Papers presented at a MOE forum held in 2003 were published by the MOE in 2004 (Ministry of Education, 2004a). It was identified that language acquisition was one of the key areas in need of further comprehensive research – particularly in the context of Aotearoa/New Zealand. May and Hill (Ministry of Education, 2004a) provided an overview of research literature into current issues and future prospects of Māori medium education. The 2001 study by Bishop, Richardson, Tiakiwai and Berryman (Ministry of Education, 2004, p. 14-15) sought to identify effective teaching and learning strategies, effective teaching and learning materials, and the ways in which teachers assess and monitor the effectiveness of their teaching in Māori medium reading and writing programmes for Year 1–5 students. This research found that effective teachers in Māori medium contexts created culturally appropriate and responsive contexts for learning by;

- creating caring relationships
- creating structured, positive and cooperative environments
- using, recognising, and building on prior learning and experiences which promotes the tino rangatiratanga of the students
- using feedback
- using power-sharing practices.

Bishop et al. (2001) observed that “Māori medium education is still in its infancy and that knowledge about effective resources and strategies to be implemented in this setting are still being developed” (Ministry of Education, 2004, p.15). However, in spite of its infancy, they concluded

that there are Māori medium teachers who provide exemplary practice and who were found in a range of Māori medium settings throughout the country. These teachers demonstrate effective teaching and learning strategies for improving reading and writing strategies, make good use of the resources available, and could well be called upon to help others improve their practice.

Indicators of Good Practice

In the light of both the international and national research, May, Hill and Tiakiwai (Ministry of Education, 2004b) extrapolated key indicators of good practice that were consistently identified as being effective across a range of different bilingual programmes. In terms of *programme approach* they identified that additive bilingual programmes were the most effective; longer-term bilingual programmes were significantly more effective than shorter term programmes; and that higher levels of immersion do tend to result in higher levels of fluency among students. The implication is that, given that Māori medium education is identified as an additive model of bilingual education, its development *must* be further encouraged and resourced.

According to May et al. another key feature of any bilingual programme is that of the *language relationships* – i.e., the relationship between the students' language(s) and those of the programme and whether all the students have the same language base (L1 *or* L2), or a combination of both L1 and L2 speakers. In Aotearoa, it is asserted, most students currently in Māori medium education can be designated as L1 speakers of English and L2 speakers of Māori, although anecdotal evidence suggests that this is not the case for many infant bilinguals in Kōhanga Reo. However, specific pedagogical issues arise in relation to teaching a minority L2 language. According to May et al. (Ministry of Education, 2004b, p.121) they include the following:

“The target (L2) language must be used extensively as the language of instruction...Teachers must be fluent speakers, readers and writers in both languages...Teaching a minority target language as L2 also requires an understanding of issues concerning second language acquisition. In particular, teachers need to recognize, and teach to, the 2nd language learning delay inevitably experienced by L2 learners in the acquisition of academic language proficiency in that language (as opposed to conversational language proficiency which is more quickly acquired). In this way, teachers will be able to build more specifically upon the metalinguistic advantages associated with additive bilingualism. This, in turn, requires specialist training in second language acquisition and learning. wider understanding of issues concerning second language acquisition and learning...There is also a need to teach the academic language characteristics of the L1 in order to ensure that the literacy skills acquired in the target language are able to be fully transferable...Separating languages of instruction with respect to particular learning/instructional episodes is deemed to be more effective than intermixing them (Dulay & Burt, 1978)... strict separation of languages, or sustained periods of monolingual instruction, is the most effective pedagogical means of promoting bilingual language development (p. 121).

In a doctoral study focused on reversing language shift (RLS) efforts in Kōhanga Reo, Skerrett White (2003) identified how children's learning dispositions for shared reference with adults (who are active listeners and thoughtful speakers in meaningful activities) are part of the deep structure successfully supporting language revernacularisation. She found;

- That an additive Māori/English bilingualism/biliteracy approach is endorsed.
- That promotion of critical language awareness to capitalise on Māori/English bilingualism is an imperative.
- That Māori communities can be and are being transformed through advancement in Kōhanga Reo.
- That a tino rangatiratanga model is about thinking critically, and responding collectively, in order to mediate external influences and the rate of change.
- That those teachers able to make the links between language, identity, pedagogy and power are requisite.
- That Māori medium settings are the manifestation of tino rangatiratanga through their efforts to reverse language shift – the linguistic component of 'tino rangatiratanga' and Māori self-determination.

Language Implications for Aotearoa/New Zealand

After Lindholm-Leary (cited in Ministry of Education, 2004b), the Māori language background of many of the teachers in Māori medium programmes, along with their students, is of considerable concern, since language fluency is a central prerequisite for successful bilingual programmes. Good models of the language are essential, particularly when the target language is an L2 for students. It is argued that given the significant dearth of fluent Māori-speaking teachers/kaiako, serious and urgent consideration needs to be given to developing pre-service and in-service programmes that combine the specific development of Māori language proficiency with the specific requirements of teaching in bilingual/immersion contexts.

May et al. (Ministry of Education, 2004b), state

Consistent use of other fluent speakers in the classroom should also be encouraged wherever possible, perhaps via the reinstatement of kaiarahi reo (language assistants)... allowing the teacher, as well as the students, to access fluent models of te reo Māori. Again, however, it would be important to ensure that Māori was consistently used as an instructional language in the classroom. Such an approach would also clearly require a commitment to significant additional funding. (*p. 122*).

Moreover, May et al. argue that students need to remain in bilingual/immersion programmes for at least of six years, ideally eight years. They state that as shorter programmes do not allow for the

full development of literacy in the target Māori language these should thus be actively discouraged. The particular concern is the misplaced assumption that two or three years of kōhanga, where some conversational Māori has been acquired, is 'sufficient', and that students' English language learning needs are then best served by transferring to English-medium contexts. Similarly, some parents of kura students may withdraw their children after only one or two years for much the same reason. The students concerned will almost certainly have had insufficient time in Māori medium contexts to have acquired literacy in te reo Māori to an appropriate level. Their academic language proficiency is compromised and they will not achieve a sufficient bilingual threshold to be able to transfer literacy skills effectively from one language to the other, the principal advantage of additive bilingual education (Ministry of Education, 2004b, p. 123-4).

Furthermore, it is argued by Cummins (2000) that formal explicit instruction in order to teach specific aspects of academic language in both Māori and English is important. Language awareness promotion focusing on similarities and differences between the two languages is also important (Ministry of Education, 2004b). There is little consensus on when to introduce English, and a wide variety of approaches to the introduction of English instruction currently utilised by Māori medium programmes. Berryman and Glynn (2003) suggest that Māori medium programmes continue to research, develop and manage the teaching of English language instruction as they best see fit.

Finally, May et al. asserted that how effectively teachers understand and address the complex issues that attend teaching *in* Māori, and the teaching of academic literacy in both Māori and English, is pivotal to the success of Māori medium (bilingual) programmes (Ministry of Education, 2004b, p. 125). An important point is that teaching in a bilingual programme requires *specialist* ITE in immersion pedagogy and ongoing professional development in;

- bilingual theory and research;
- bilingual programme models;
- second language acquisition and development;
- instructional strategies in second language development;
- issues of equity; and
- co-operative learning strategies.

May and Hill (2004, p.26) posit that professional development for Māori medium teachers in Aotearoa/New Zealand remains disparate and inadequate. Pre-service ITE is of particular concern since, given the constraints of a three-year Bachelor of Teaching programme, almost no meaningful instruction can be provided in second language acquisition and/or bilingual education.

Furthermore, they argue, all ITE teachers would benefit immensely from such instruction to cater for the changing landscape of New Zealand classrooms.

In terms of levels of immersion, May and Hill (2004) state that the wider research literature highlights a number of key issues:

1. Higher levels of Māori immersion result generally in higher levels of Māori language proficiency.
2. Levels of immersion may vary but the most effective additive bilingual programmes in the literature range from 50% to 90% immersion in te reo Māori.
3. The minimum requirement for effective additive bilingual education is 50% in the target language. Programmes with less than 50% have *consistently* been found to be less effective in establishing bilingualism and biliteracy for students. They may have other benefits but they cannot be regarded as effective bilingual programmes (p.27).

In terms of levels of immersion implications for Aotearoa/New Zealand, May and Hill (2004) state that Level 1 immersion programmes are most often (but not exclusively) associated with kura kaupapa Māori; the schools most often associated with the success of Māori medium education. The international research literature on bilingual/immersion education clearly indicates that a high level of immersion is entirely appropriate for the wider goal of revitalising language. The international research literature also clearly highlights that effective additive bilingual programmes may also be *partial immersion* programmes, as long as the minimum level of instruction in the language is at least 50%, equating to Level 2 Māori-immersion (see p. 28-29). Further development of Māori medium education should concentrate on quality or depth, not coverage or breadth – consolidating focus and resources on those programmes that have been identified as the most effective in achieving bilingualism and biliteracy for their students. Alongside this, schools, parents and the wider whānau would need to be ‘on board’ or knowledgeable about the significant benefits of higher levels of immersion, not least because of the ongoing misconceptions among many that ‘too much’ concentration on the target language will detrimentally affect the acquisition of English.

School Context

School context is important in terms of the pedagogical leadership provided. May and Hill (2004) state that the principal of the school has a particularly important role in a bilingual/immersion context and add “In order to be able to support a bilingual/immersion programme effectively, the principal also has first to be *committed* to the bilingual programme, *understand* and *support* its underlying philosophy and particular programme approach, *impart* this understanding and support to the wider staff and community, and be able to *articulate* and, where necessary, *defend* the

programme in a wide variety of forums” (p.31). This is important if the programme’s aims are to be understood and supported and in effectively addressing any related misconceptions about bilingual/immersion education.

The following key indicators of good practice relevant to ITE as summarised by May and Hill (2004) are listed below.

Wider school environment

Indicators of good practice include:

- additive approaches to bilingualism;
- effective and informed leadership and appropriate administrative support;
- an active commitment to equality;
- positive teacher–student and student–student (L1/L2) relationships; and
- co-operative learning and teaching approaches (May & Hill, 2004, p. 31).

Teachers

Teachers need to:

- be fluent in both English and Māori;
- understand the research and theory underpinning bilingual education generally, and their approach or model specifically;
- understand second language development (e.g. the distinction between conversational competence and academic proficiency);
- have appropriate teaching and learning strategies for ākonga (learners);
- receive ongoing professional development support in bilingual education and second language theories;
- have access to appropriate language assessment resources, and consistent and regular professional development and support in them;
- have professional development in, awareness of and commitment to bicultural, multicultural and educational equity; and
- receive training in cooperative learning and teaching approaches

(May & Hill, 2004, p. 32).

Instructional factors

The following factors are important.

- The duration of the bilingual/immersion programme needs to be *at least six years* at primary school level in order for students to reach a sufficient bilingual threshold level for the cognitive and educational benefits of bilingualism and biliteracy to ensue;
- A 50% minimum of target/minority language use as the language of instruction is essential;
- There needs to be a high use of the target/minority language, particularly in the early grades, as the higher the use, the more fluent students will eventually be in the target language;
- Literacy should begin in the target/minority language, although timing will vary;
- Students need to be introduced to the target language initially via context embedded/scaffolded approaches to teaching and learning;
- More cognitively extending/demanding language input also needs to be introduced over time in order to develop academic language proficiency in the L2;
- Some explicit language teaching instruction is required for both the target language and the students' L1 in order to achieve academic language proficiency in both languages.
- Separation of languages of instruction for particular learning episodes is crucial (May & Hill, 2004, p. 32).

Wider language education policy

The wider language education policy should ensure:

- a research-informed approach to bilingual/immersion education;
- a consistent approach to bilingual/immersion education across sectors;
- significant additional funding for the development and extension of appropriate Māori language resources, particularly appropriate language assessment resources, to *at least* senior primary levels;
- additional funding for team teaching approaches in bilingual/immersion contexts, particularly where the teacher's level of fluency in te reo Māori needs extension and support;

- the establishment and funding of specialist pre-service bilingual/immersion ITE programmes which incorporate initial Māori language learning, and additional teacher education in bilingual education methodology and second language development;
- further funding support for existing in-service teacher professional development in Māori language proficiency and specialist bilingual and second language teaching and learning;
- assessment of educational outcomes for students in bilingual/immersion contexts to be cognisant of, and appropriate to, such language learning contexts (bilingual learners must always account for the second language learning delay in the early years of the programme);
- funding directed towards those bilingual/immersion programmes with features that research has highlighted are most effective;
- the potential profiling of schools and programmes in relation to such indicators of good practice, as a means of ensuring the greatest possibility of success for such programmes. Funding allocation of bilingual/immersion programmes could be made dependent on the ‘readiness’ of schools to implement and sustain effective bilingual/immersion programmes;
- a wider information strategy to be developed and made available to all interested parties – teachers, students, parents, policy-makers and politicians – based on the best available research on the attributes of effective bilingual programmes and on the merits of bilingualism;
- any further development of bilingual/immersion education to be situated within a wider, coordinated, and consistent language education policy, including a critical reappraisal of the efficacy (or lack thereof) of existing English-submersion educational approaches for minority language students and related ESL withdrawal support. Such a review of these latter programmes is long overdue; and
- further research evidence on effective bilingual/immersion practices to be gathered via ethnographic/case study research in schools that are already known to be exemplars of good practice (May & Hill, 2004, p. 33).

May and Hill (Ministry of Education, 2004) conclude with identifying a major challenge for Māori medium education being a combination of its longstanding focus on the wider language revitalisation of te reo Māori, which inevitably focuses on speaking te reo Māori, with the goal of achieving high-level *biliteracy* for students in Māori medium programmes. They highlight that if the characteristics of good practice are to become consistently evident in all programmes, then significantly more funding, research, ITE and in-service professional development and resource development, need to be made available and the sense of urgency. And finally, “...that given the significant successes accomplished by Māori medium education thus far, often against great odds

and with relatively few resources when compared with English-medium contexts, this does not seem too much to ask” (p.34).

Teacher Education Programmes

Teacher education programmes should cover educational pedagogy, standards-based teaching, literacy/biliteracy instruction, high expectations for all students, and parental and community involvement (Howard, Sugarman, Christian, Lindholm-Leary, & Rogers, 2007). Teachers must be knowledgeable about second language and biliteracy development so they understand and incorporate into their teaching knowledge of how languages are learned. Howard et al. reiterate that if teachers are not trained and do not understand the philosophy behind dual language education, the programmes they teach in cannot succeed.

Howard et al. (2007) discussed the notion of internships for pre-service students, enabling new teachers to enter dual language programmes with a much better understanding of the theories and philosophies underlying these language programmes. Schools took on interns who learned about the model during their internship and were later employed by the school as new teachers. For in-service training, one proposal was to create teacher study groups for teachers working at the same levels to develop language and content objectives. Some experienced teachers added that an effective method is to go on a retreat together and collaborate to formulate curricula and make decisions regarding implementation of a model. This affords opportunities to recommit to and maintain the integrity of the programme and set the direction of the school. Another suggestion for in-service training was to assign more advanced teachers as teacher trainers, that is, in-house experts who teach about, for example, the writing process and reading strategies. Veteran teachers mentoring novice teachers is very effective in helping new teachers with model implementation.

Training of non-teaching staff is another important component of a successful programme. Staff must understand the model so that they can answer parents’ and other community members’ questions accurately.

Teacher Supply

Recruitment and retention of teachers in the Māori medium sector has been identified as a serious problem facing kura for a number of years. In 2006 the New Zealand Educational Institute (NZEI) contended that teachers with te reo Māori fluency were at a premium for Kaupapa Māori and general stream education facilities. Further, that addressing the problem of Māori teacher supply was one section of the work being progressed by NZEI to raise achievement levels of all tamariki Māori (NZEI., 2009b).

That same year at an NZEI hui the government view on the issue was “So we need to identify all the issues around Māori teacher supply and then see what we do.” (NZEI., 2009ab); with Māori Party co-leader Dr Pita Sharples responding that he had been submitting papers to the Education Ministry for the last 14 years, stating that the main thing kura kaupapa and wharekura need is more Māori speaking teachers. Moreover, he stated “So to hear that there are still not enough trained teachers, after all these years, is very disappointing [and the hope is that government would make it] a major project to produce conditions where Māori who speak Māori can train as teachers, and be able to carry their mortgage while they’re doing it” (p.1).

NZEI (2009b) also contends that previous progress reports had stated that Māori medium teachers fluent in te reo Māori and with the requisite academic qualifications were in high demand across all sectors, which contributed to the problem of recruitment and retention. Māori medium education has to compete with other public sector divisions who have the resources to recruit vigorously for fluent speakers of Māori. Statistical, experiential and anecdotal evidence show this as a problem that was likely to get worse, even with targeted funding and the staffing review.

Positive developments such as targeted funding in Māori education continue to be overshadowed by the inadequate provision of appropriate staffing along with the lack of research. Successive Māori education strategies have made it clear that the supply problem has been the result of limited resources available to support quality Māori medium learning options, the small pool of qualified Māori teachers who can speak te reo Māori fluently, and the limited teaching and learning materials available across all areas of the curriculum. On-site solutions emerging to cover immediate situations, referred to as ‘band-aid’ solutions, often become the ‘norm’ and “...processes and policies have become blurred, open to interpretation and difficult to decipher” (p.2).

Strategies for Change

Some strategies for change in ITE were suggested:

- that core components of ITE programmes include the ability to increase the fluency levels and competence of student teachers in their use of te reo Māori;
- that specific time be allocated for student teachers to become knowledgeable and skilled in the content (including language) and application of the curriculum using indigenous frameworks;
- that Māori pedagogy umbrella all ITE;
- that various innovative models be used for their practicum; and finally, perhaps most important of all;

- that there be a single institution, with lecturers focused on the promotion of mātauranga Māori, tamariki Māori and whānau Māori. Student teachers will graduate with a dual qualification for the general stream and kaupapa Māori, with competence and fluency in te reo Māori.

The ITE programmes should be generic with opportunities for individuals to specialise in early childhood/Kōhanga Reo, primary/Kura Kaupapa Māori, and/or secondary/ wharekura. Other specialisations could include principalship and resource teachers and could clearly establish a career pathway from ITE.

Another strategy was suggested with regards to registered teachers who are interested in becoming Māori medium teacher but have limited competency with te reo Māori, to facilitate their participation in an immersion te reo Māori programme that would develop their fluency level and competency to such an extent that they could confidently teach in Māori medium. Resourcing would be necessary to cover the release, but study awards would be a possible avenue.

Other suggested strategies included schools or ECE centres providing incentives for ancillary staff (e.g., kaiarahi reo) with the financial support to complete their ITE with a system whereby the staff member is 'bonded' to the kura/centre; or the provision of a mobile group of trained teachers with te reo Māori fluency to provide innovative options for Kura and centres. The report recommended that the matters above be investigated further and concluded with the statement

Well trained, knowledgeable teachers with te reo Māori fluency who understand the needs of tamariki Māori and are able to impart accurate information about Māori and things Māori to all students to enhance mutual respect and understanding between cultures are crucial to our survival as a nation. Having these people available in sufficient numbers to cover all situations and to provide options and choice is the assurance needed to put the future of educating tamariki Māori in kaupapa Māori on a firm foundation.

Ngā Haeata Mātauranga: the annual report on Māori education (Ministry of Education, 2009c) identified that increasing teacher supply, recruitment, retention and progression were still key issues in Māori language education. Teacher supply was also noted as an ongoing issue across the education sector, but particularly acute for Māori medium kura which face challenges in attracting and retaining qualified, skilled teachers. An internal MOE Māori language education stocktake identified teacher supply as an issue that arises, in part, due to the skills and knowledge required when teaching within Māori language settings. Such skills and knowledge are often additional to those required for teaching in mainstream. Those specialist skills include fluency and proficiency in two languages, knowledge of second language teaching and learning, and an understanding of appropriate teaching and learning strategies.

There is much research to suggest that the main driver of variation in learning at school is the quality of teachers. Strengthening the supply of quality Māori medium teachers is essential for all learners to have access to quality Māori language education options. As stated, teachers need to be fluent Māori speakers, understand second language pedagogy, and be effective teachers of the Māori and the English curricula. The Māori language proficiency of Māori medium teachers is of concern. A recent review of Resource Teachers: Māori by the Education Review Office found that Resource Teachers: Māori were spending a large amount of their time compensating for a lack of Māori language proficiency among Māori medium teachers.

A key challenge in the area of teacher supply is the relatively small pool of approximately 29,000 proficient Māori speakers, from which the sector can recruit Māori language education teachers. The sole source of Māori language education teachers is the Māori language education network itself, located in and supported by iwi, whānau and Māori communities. Therefore, the inter-relationships between teacher supply, recruitment, retention and progression are crucial. In 2007, TeachNZ allocated 438 scholarships for primary or secondary teaching of which 149 (34%) were allocated to Māori. Given the expected growth in the Māori population, developing specialist workforces to work with Māori children is also becoming increasingly important.

Professional Development (ITE staff and teachers)

Howard et al. (2007) state that effective programmes must align the professional development needs of teachers to the goals and strategies of the instructional programme. Researchers and educators have discussed the importance of specialised training in language education pedagogy and curriculum, materials and resources and assessment. Educational equity is an important point on which to provide professional development, given the large amount of literature showing the correlation between teacher expectations and practices and student achievement. Howard et al. argue that this is especially important because students who are from ethnic or cultural minorities, language minorities, immigrants, or of lower socioeconomic backgrounds are more likely to suffer because their teachers have lower expectations for their achievement and because even young children are able to distinguish between *perceived* “smart” and “dumb” kids in the classroom by noting how the teacher responds to various children.

Howard et al. (2007) also argue that to teach effectively in bilingual education programmes administrators (as well as teachers) also need professional development related to the definition of the bilingual education model, to the theories and philosophies underpinning the model, and to the strategies that fit with the goals and needs of the students. When asked to rank the needs for professional development, a panel of experts stated that programme participants must first understand the bilingual education, immersion, and bilingualism theories underlying dual

language programmes. In adhering to these beliefs, they can develop appropriate instructional strategies that meet the diverse needs of the students in their classrooms. Each teacher's own beliefs and goals need to be examined and unified with the school vision of dual language programmes. It was stressed that professional development should also include critical thinking and reflective practice. Teachers must work as teacher-researchers in their classrooms to analyse data collected during lessons and to reflect on their successes and shortcomings. Teachers must understand how to develop a repertoire of strategies and recognise that certain strategies may work in certain contexts but not in others. The role of the leadership to make professional development manageable and to support both new and experienced teachers is important. This must be carried out with a dual language education focus.

Ngā Haeata Mātauranga (Ministry of Education, 2009c) reported that teachers increase their effectiveness when they are involved in strong learning and professional communities and take part in ongoing high-quality professional development. Commentators identified the valuable contribution professional development makes to teaching practice leading to better outcomes for children. According to the report, in 2007/08, the MOE continued to offer a wide range of professional development to teachers working in the ECE sector to improve the quality of ECE. Approximately one-third of all services access fully funded general professional development annually. Services with high numbers of Māori children continue to be prioritised for professional development. For example, the MOE's Kei Tua o te Pae / Assessment for Learning: Early Childhood Exemplars project aims to improve the quality of early childhood educators' teaching practice with an assessment resource and associated professional development. The aim is to provide in-depth professional development for all 3500 ECE services, together with a small number of schools, over the five-year contract period. Exemplars are specific examples of teaching and learning used to assess and better understand teaching and learning generally as well as for Māori children specifically. Five kaupapa Māori services took part in the project and examples from their services are used in the Kaupapa Māori Assessment Exemplars.

Further, the report states that services generally are not prioritising professional development focused on bicultural practices, with survey respondents ranking it seventh out of ten priority areas. Yet, the report notes, services that did undertake programmes focusing on bicultural understandings and practices rated the effectiveness of their professional development highly. Overall, the evaluation recommends professional development programmes continue to help services to develop bicultural teaching and organisational practices to effectively work within a socio-cultural paradigm and deliver on *Te Whāriki*, the bicultural curriculum. This requires a dual approach, integrating bicultural perspectives within professional development that has a wider focus, together with professional development that specifically focuses on bicultural understandings.

There is also evidence that professional development had strengthened the focus of teachers on the people in and contexts of children's lives. Services had taken significant steps in building a community of practice that included whānau. Despite this, the parent voice and children's learning experiences and opportunities outside the ECE centre were not strongly evidenced in assessment documentation. Further work is also needed to support services to consider how assessment practices might reflect Māori world views.

To support quality improvement in Māori language ECE, the MOE provided a range of programmes in 2007/08. These programmes included the *Te Whāriki* professional development programme for kōhanga reo to implement the early childhood curriculum and Me Whakapūmau, designed to increase the quality of te reo Māori used in kōhanga reo.

Developing exemplars of what quality looks like in Māori language ECE services to support teaching and learning quality remained a focus in the 2007/08 year.

In order to address teacher capability the following issues were discussed:

- providing more flexible professional development models that ensure teachers have access to appropriate programmes that meet their needs, when they need it;
- tailoring professional development programmes (particularly in assessment and curriculum design and delivery) to the needs of Māori language education settings to ensure they are effective, timely, and relevant; and
- aligning curriculum design, assessment, professional development, and teaching and learning resources to better support effective teaching practice.

Murphy, Bright, McKinley and Collins (2009) researched in-service support and professional development provision available to teachers teaching in immersion levels 1-4 in order to better understand how teachers value or perceive incentives and professional support. Māori medium teachers like their English-medium counterparts, require access to professional development in all areas relevant to their positions. In particular, it was found that many teachers required ongoing support in their own personal Māori language development. This is one of the most popular types of professional development that Māori medium teachers participated in. Literacy is the next most common area of professional development. The majority of research participants identified a preference for professional development that is delivered bilingually, in Māori and English, as appropriate to the abilities of the participants and the lecturer, the nature and context of the content, and the aims of the programme.

Most professional development programmes are not specifically targeted for Māori medium. Consequently, teachers are often participating in mainstream professional development through

the lack of a Māori medium equivalent. Resource teachers of Māori (RTM) have an important role in providing in-service support to teachers. The service is well known, and often utilised by schools. However, informants commonly remarked that it can be difficult to access RTM support because of the demands for their time. It was argued that since the role of RTMs appears to be an essential one, it may be worthwhile investigating ways of extending the RTM service in schools.

The principals in this study recognised and supported their teachers' need for ongoing professional development, and these principals have a key role in deciding which professional development programmes their teachers participate in. Proactive promotion of Māori medium professional development, including strategies targeting principals, is essential for raising awareness of appropriate professional development.

The majority of current professional development programmes are not targeted for Māori medium settings. Certain areas of professional development support are needed specifically by Māori medium teachers, and many informants expressed a need for professional development support on the new curriculum, Te Marautanga o Aotearoa.

The MOE is rolling out a professional development programme to support schools and teachers to implement the new curriculum. Concern from teachers about accessing professional development in this area may yet be resolved. Measuring the effectiveness of the support provision would help to identify any gaps and the full range of support required in order for schools to work with the curriculum effectively.

Factors that typically limit Māori medium teachers' access to professional development or that are likely to discourage their involvement, need to be recognised and addressed early by schools and providers. Issues such as organising suitable relievers can often be effectively managed by schools if there is sufficient time. Scheduling professional workshops for times such as after school, holidays, or towards the end of the year (for secondary schools) may be another way to overcome the issues of finding relievers. Principals, particularly in mainstream schools, require a better understanding of the professional development needs of their Māori medium teachers. This would facilitate more focused selection of and enrolment in courses aligned to teachers' needs.

In-service support and professional development plans need to be developed in consultation with the teacher the year prior to the professional development plan being implemented. This will allow teachers and principals, or professional development coordinators, time to explore more Māori medium relevant professional development opportunities. Ensuring access by all teachers to in-

service support and professional development information would also be included in the planning phase.

There is a clear demand from teachers for targeted professional development, aimed specifically at teachers working in Māori medium settings. If the provision of professional learning support for Māori medium teachers is to be improved, future planning around that provision needs to be cognisant of these findings. It was argued that only three (professional development; professional knowledge; te reo Māori me ōna tikanga) out of nine categories of professional development are targeted to Māori medium teachers or teachers delivering Māori as a subject in English medium schools.

Based on the findings the following recommendations were made:

- That professional development for Māori medium teachers focus on the teachers' needs, as well as their student needs and the needs of their schools;
- That professional development support in the areas of reo Māori, literacy, Māori medium assessment, and pedagogy be increased;
- That consideration be given to ways that support can better be provided to teachers via professional development that accommodate the different language demands and contexts evident across levels 1- 4 immersion settings (with a particular focus on levels 1-3);
- That consideration be given to undertaking a review of in-service support for Māori medium teachers with the aim of clarifying roles, improving coordination and increasing accessibility;
- That professional development for Māori medium teachers be promoted to principals; and
- That the development of regional strategies to address issues of relief staff for Māori medium teachers to participate in professional development is explored.

Number of graduates from primary Māori immersion initial teacher education

There are only 29,000 proficient Māori speakers from which Māori medium or Māori language education teachers can be recruited. Inter-relationships between teacher supply, recruitment, retention and progression are crucial. Low numbers of graduates contribute to the supply and retention issues (Ministry of Education, 2009c).

Figure 5: Numbers of graduates from Māori medium programmes

Year	No. of graduates
2000	19
2001	52
2002	33
2003	58
2004	22

As the Māori population continues to grow, there will be increases in the level of participation in Māori language programmes. Teachers in their 4th/5th year are mostly dependent on the MOE for professional learning, they are not active in professional teaching/learning network associations unless required as part of in-school professional development. Not many teachers were engaged in professional reading related to teaching. Few had attended conferences and cited lack of time as the reason.

There is a need to identify the role of in-service support and professional development opportunities in teacher retention and assess professional development opportunities to measure how well teachers are supported and encouraged to stay teaching *Ngā Haeata Mātauranga* (Ministry of Education, 2009c). According to *Ngā Haeata* over the next few years the MOE wants to engage more teachers in professional development to establish effective teaching and learning relationships with Māori learners for improved learner engagement and achievement. The plan includes:

- Working with the NZ Teachers' Council to ensure that initial teacher education also factors in such findings;
- Building the knowledge base within the secondary sector of what works to improve outcomes for and with Māori learners;
- Extending professional learning programmes that work into a greater number of schools with high numbers of Māori learners; and
- Enhancing the system conditions that will enable the goal of improving teacher and learning outcomes for and with Māori learners to be embedded and sustained across the system.

Whakapiki i te Reo Māori

In the 2006-2008 funding round, six Whakapiki i te Reo programmes were offered. The aim was to: improve teacher capability through increased proficiency, confidence and application of te reo Māori in Māori medium contexts; increase teacher knowledge and skills in aspects specific to Māori medium teaching; and to improve collaboration and sharing of experiences and learning within kaupapa mātauranga Māori. The programmes are designed to play a role in the Māori language revitalisation agenda as it relates to the teaching and learning of te reo Māori in school contexts (Te Kanawa & Whaanga, 2005) and target teachers working in level 1 and 2 Māori medium settings (Ministry of Education, 2009c). Funding is received for 10-14 teachers to attend and programmes run for 10, 20 or 40 weeks. They include both away-from-school components and school-based components.

Te Kanawa and Whaanga (2005) provide a comprehensive overview of the beginnings of the Whakapiki i te Reo programme and its history at the University of Waikato. In 1991 the Ministry of Education developed a 10 point plan to improve Māori education and support the revitalisation efforts of te reo Māori. As part of that plan the development of Māori curriculum documents began. The overarching aim of the programme was to improve the quality of teaching and learning. Fundamentally, fluency development and the acquisition of the skills required for analysing language and putting that ability to use in teaching te reo Māori through a communicative approach underpinned the programme. Teaching practice is central to the programme, as is second language learning theory and pedagogy. The interpretation of relevant New Zealand curriculum documents and resources, as well as the creation of new resources forms part of the programme. More recently they have found that the relevance of developing skills in classroom-based action research has been given greater emphasis. They state that the overall aims of the programme have been to:

- increase participants' overall proficiency in te reo Māori and their proficiency in each of the four skill areas: pānui (reading), tuhituhi (writing), whakarongo (listening) and kōrero (speaking);
- increase participants' capacity to teach through the medium of te reo Māori in a range of discourse contexts, including increasing the range of their vocabulary in curriculum areas and their knowledge and understanding of reo ōkawa (formal language) and reo ōpaki (informal language), including the use of whakataukī (proverbial sayings), kīwaha (idioms) and kupu whakarite (metaphoric language);
- increase participants' language awareness through activities designed to sensitise them to the structure and functioning of te reo Māori;
- increase participants' knowledge and understanding of second language learning and teaching methodologies and strategies (including error correction strategies) appropriate for immersion and bilingual contexts;

- increase participants' awareness of, and ability to adapt to their own context, existing teaching resources and assessment tools, including the web-based resource Te Kete Ipurangi;
- increase participants' capacity to create communicative tasks to support language learning and assessment;
- improve participants' own literacy skills and their ability to foster literacy development in their students; and
- increase participants' ability to reflect productively on their own practice (p. 32).

Te Kanawa and Whaanga (2005) found that a large number of the teachers were second language learners and that there have been fewer participants with high levels of proficiency in te reo Māori in recent years. In spite of that, they continue to deliver their programmes through the medium of te reo Māori. They believe that in doing so they model the techniques to participant teachers that can be used by them to assist their learners to understand discourse conducted in a language in which they do not yet have high levels of proficiency, thus building proficiency and contributing to the overall aim of revitalising te reo Māori.

Schools where participants teach (mainstream *Rumaki*, *Kura Kaupapa Māori* and, occasionally, *Kōhanga Reo*) and, wherever possible, with *iwi* and *hapū* with which participants associate are included. In this way, the needs and aspirations of communities as well as those of individual teachers are kept in sight.

Murdoch (cited in Te Kanawa & Whaanga, 2005, p.33) reports that what second language learners value most in any pre- or in-service training programme is the opportunity to improve their own language proficiency – the fundamental aim of the Whakapiki programme. However, Te Kanawa and Whaanga assert that they have also aimed to address a range of issues involved in *teaching* te reo Māori and in teaching *through the medium* of te reo Māori. This includes planning, design, delivery, assessment and evaluation of lessons as well as the previously mentioned work around curriculum documents, educational materials and resource development. Moreover, because the teacher's role is a very important one, that participants must continue to improve their own proficiency in te reo Māori, their teaching of te reo Māori, and their teaching through the medium of te reo Māori. They argue that ultimately, it is a teacher's own motivation that will make the difference but that they need to be supported in their efforts by whānau, hapū, iwi and other educators.

Communicative Approach to Language Learning and Teaching

Concern about the levels of proficiency of speakers is a serious issue for proponents of threatened languages. As Reedy (cited in Te Kanawa and Whaanga, 2005, p. 36) observes, “an impaired language environment in which children develop their language may give rise to forms of language change, some of which may not enhance the language”.

Te Kanawa and Whaanga (2005) highlight that it is crucial that teachers not only develop effective teaching strategies, but also develop effective strategies for improving their own proficiency since that plays an important part in advancing the proficiency of their students. Further, to reach higher levels of competency in te reo Māori, participants must be actively engaged in the language by taking part in activities that involve listening, speaking, reading and writing about subjects that they find genuinely interesting and relevant – a communicative approach to teaching and learning. They subscribe to task-supported language learning and teaching as described in a Ministry of Education curriculum document (cited at p. 35).

Communicative language teaching is teaching that encourages learners to engage in meaningful communication in the target language – communication that has a function over and above that of language learning itself. Any approach that encourages learners to communicate real information for authentic reasons is, therefore, a communicative approach. This includes various types of information gap activities, which require students to seek information that they genuinely need in order to complete some task. Classroom-based language tuition will inevitably be artificial in some respects. However, those who subscribe to the ideals of communicative language teaching aim to keep such artificiality to a minimum and avoid language exercises that are out of context and essentially meaning-free.

Further, it is stated that the encouragement of learners to communicate real information for meaningful purposes is not sufficient. Teachers must have an understanding, “...not only of the language itself – its vocabulary, its structure, the relationship between structure and meaning, and its discourse processes – but also an understanding of how best to ensure that this understanding is communicated to learners in ways that assist them to achieve high level proficiency” (p.35). Teachers therefore need to have strategies for:

- improving their own proficiency in te reo Māori;
- analysing Māori language in ways that clarify and extend their own understanding; and
- communicating that deepening understanding to learners in ways that will be effective in increasing their ability to use the language correctly and appropriately in a wide range of contexts.

Programme evaluation and participant assessment

The greatest proficiency gains of te Whakapiki i te Reo participants have been in the productive skills (i.e., speaking and writing) rather than the receptive skills (i.e., reading and listening). This impacted on their programme in terms of specifically focusing on improving participant literacy in te reo Māori, as well as the teaching of literacy skills. Using both formative and summative assessment, a pre-programme entry te reo Māori proficiency test provided a point of comparison with a post-programme proficiency test whilst also providing diagnostic information relating to the four skills of pānui, tuhituhi, whakarongo, and kōrero. Lesson plans, lesson materials and lesson delivery are assessed by tutors and participants during and at the end of each teaching practice session. The participants are also required to assess their own performance. There is a range of other assessment activities, including activities that involve research-based presentations. However, they did question the validity of their tests because among their findings participants who claimed to be first language speakers of te reo Māori made significantly less improvement overall (some actually appearing to regress) than did second language learners. They also stated that it would be interesting in future to have participants sit the Level Finder proficiency test developed by the *Taura Whiri* as well as the proficiency test developed by University of Waikato staff which would provide useful insight into the validity of the tests. A sample of their proficiency descriptors follows.

Figure 6: Sample Proficiency Descriptors - Pānui (Reading)

Novice-Low	Novice-Mid	Novice-High
Able to identify isolated words and/or major phrases	Can identify an increasing number of highly contextualised words and/or phrases. Material understood rarely exceeds a single phrase and rereading may be required.	Sufficient control of the writing system to interpret written language in areas of practical need. Can read for instructional and directional purposes. May be able to derive meaning from material at a higher level.
Intermediate-Low	Intermediate-Mid	Intermediate-High
Able to understand main ideas and/or some facts linguistically non-complex texts. Some misunderstandings will occur.	Able to read consistently with increased understanding simple, connected texts dealing with a variety of basic and social needs.	Able to read consistently with full understanding simple connected texts. Structural complexity may interfere with comprehension. May have to read material several times for understanding.

Advanced	Advanced Plus	Superior
<p>Able to read longer prose and get main ideas and facts but misses some detail.</p> <p>Comprehension gained from situational and subject matter knowledge as well as increasing control of text.</p>	<p>Able to comprehend abstract and linguistically complex parts of text.</p> <p>Also able to comprehend the facts to make appropriate inferences.</p> <p>Comprehension of a wider range of texts but misunderstandings may occur.</p>	<p>Able to read with almost complete comprehension and at normal speed expository prose on unfamiliar subjects and a variety of literary texts.</p> <p>Occasional misunderstandings may occur. Rereading is rarely necessary and misreading is rare.</p>

In personal correspondence (personal communication, June 10, 2009) Hine Kahukura Te Kanawa added;

As an addition – since 2007 Whakapiki has undergone yet another evolution. We discovered that many of our teachers after returning to their respective schools keen and rejuvenated quickly succumbed to their old styles of teaching. Many managed to incorporate a few of the strategies in their teaching but because of workloads and school obligations they found it easier to revert to their old styles. In 2006, there was a reduction in funding so in 2007 we decided to adapt and instead of running two 20 week courses per year we would run one 20 week course on campus and then provide follow up visits and support to the teacher participants in their schools. The programme ran for two years and was very successful. The participating teachers had time and support to become very familiar with the strategies that they had learned. The creative teachers transferred the methodologies to subjects other than te reo. We continue to support those teachers who request our help, and many still do. Most of the support is in terms of resource development specific to their needs. At the beginning of this year we trialled a 10 week te reo only programme for teachers who had already undertaken Whakapiki but who had still not reached a high level of proficiency – some were still at a lower-intermediate level. In terms of reo development for these teachers it was highly successful. However, we are not able to provide this type of programme any longer.

This year, the funding for Whakapiki has been slashed and we can no longer run intensive reo programmes, therefore, our course has evolved yet again and we will be taking Whakapiki into classrooms. At this stage we have no idea how successful it will be in terms of proficiency development but do know that teachers will benefit from the teaching practice and resource development, simply because we will be providing a one on one service as well as whole staff development. It will be challenge but we will rise to it.

However, the state of our reo is still a worrying factor and our experience tells us that the only way to have any great impact on teachers' reo is for them to be released from their classes so that they can concentrate solely on their language and personal development. Our kids will only reach the levels that their teachers are at so it is imperative that teachers model good reo and that parents are encouraged to learn as well so that the schools and institutions do not become the sole domain of our reo.

According to Ministry of Education sources (Ministry of Education, 2009c) there have been other initiatives which coincide with the Whakapiki i te Reo programmes.

Ngā Taumatua

Ngā Taumatua are 40 week-long full-time Māori medium literacy professional development programmes funded as one of the six Whakapiki i te Reo programmes with up to 12 places including Resource Teachers of Māori (RTMs). There were 11 participants in 2007 focussing on Māori medium early literacy assessment tools, specialist literacy and second language acquisition pedagogies.

Te Hiringa i te Mahara

This programme began in 2008 and was replaced by Ako Panuku in 2009. Designed to address Māori secondary teachers workload issues it provides courses to link professional development and classroom learning e.g. second language acquisition pedagogy programme, Te Ara Aromatawai, ICT in the classroom, Whakawhitithiti whakaaro, He Aratohu. Ako Panuku is a new programme delivered by Haemata Ltd for Māori teachers working in English-medium and Māori Medium settings.

Te Poutama Tau

Available for teachers in Māori medium settings since 2002, Te Poutama Tau is based on the English-medium Early Numeracy Project.

Poutama Pounamu

Provides programmes in relation to school-whānau literacy context e.g. assisting whānau and tutors to help children and with literacy and address learning difficulties for teachers in Māori medium settings.

Te Reo Itinerant Teacher of Māori (Te RITO)

Teachers and learners in 13 schools in the Far North are involved in this programme which aims to improve Māori language speaking and writing of those involved.

Section IV - Summary and Analysis

- Māori medium qualifications are more likely to have special characteristics that are additional to the more traditional (English-medium) ITE qualifications.
- The requirement to commit to increasing their own reo Māori proficiency, qualification upgrades, and knowledge of both Māori *and* English curriculum documents, establishing and maintaining research activity plus the added expectation of having established community/iwi/hapū links considerably increases the staff (and student) workloads.
- Language acquisition in the context of Aotearoa/New Zealand is one of the key areas in need of further comprehensive research..
- A commitment to significant additional funding for the reinstatement of kaiarahi reo enabling access to fluent models of te reo Māori should be considered.
- Professional development for Māori medium teachers in Aotearoa/New Zealand remains inadequate. ITE is of particular concern here since, given the constraints of a three-year Bachelor of Teaching, almost no meaningful instruction can be provided – even for general teachers – in second language acquisition and/or bilingual education. *All* ITE teachers would benefit immensely from such instruction.
- Level 3-4 programmes should be encouraged to meet higher immersion levels if possible, perhaps within a specified period of time. If they cannot, these programmes should be redesignated as Māori language support programmes and funded on a different basis.
- Further development of Māori medium education should concentrate on quality, consolidating focus and resources on those programmes that have been identified as the most effective in achieving bilingualism and biliteracy for their students.
- Alongside this, schools, parents and the wider whānau would need to be advised accurately on the significant benefits of higher levels of immersion, not least because of the ongoing misconceptions among many that ‘too much’ concentration on the target language will detrimentally affect the acquisition of English.
- Māori medium education has to compete with other public sector divisions who have the resources to recruit vigorously for skilled personnel fluent in te reo Māori.
- Positive developments in Māori education continue to be overshadowed by the inadequate provision of appropriate staffing along with the lack of research.
- Successive Māori education strategies have made it clear that the supply problem has been the result of limited resources available to support quality Māori medium learning options.

Implications for Māori medium ITE

One of the major key challenges of the Māori language education sector is ensuring there is a sufficient supply of high-quality teachers to meet the growing demands for Māori language education in the future. The primary, if not sole, source of Māori language teachers is now the Māori language education system itself. Unlike the English-medium system, the Māori language education workforce cannot be supplemented with overseas-trained teachers.

The GTS support the bicultural context of Māori/English bilingualism in Aotearoa. Restated, Māori language is to be valued and normalised within the education sector. All graduating teachers must have knowledge of the bicultural/bilingual context – not just for Māori children but for all children. The ‘either/or’ clauses in terms of reo Māori proficiency and practice are not helpful for teachers intending to teach in Aotearoa, particularly those of Māori children. Research has shown that there are many L2 students of te reo Māori. A GTS that supports them should be included, reading thus ‘have the content and pedagogical content knowledge for supporting Māori as an Additional Language (MAL) learners to succeed in the curriculum’. The language requirement for overseas applicants to become teachers in Aotearoa having completed their ITE in the medium of “English *and* in a country where English is an official language” (NZTC, 2006, p.3, emphasis added) could be problematic for Māori children and community if there is no requirement to know more about te reo Māori (as an official language of Aotearoa) and and Māori cultural mores.

The research revealed that of the ten providers included in the Kane et al. research (2005) only two providers expected their graduates to demonstrate language acquisition methodologies and techniques. Clearly more needs to be done in the field of Māori medium ITE to align the knowledge outcomes of graduate teachers to the goals of the programmes they will be teaching in. Teacher knowledge about second language acquisition and biliteracy development is a recurring theme in the literature. Suffice to say, and reiterate, that if ITE does not include these fields of knowledge, the programmes they teach in cannot succeed. The importance of ITE and teaching continuing to be informed by a strong research evidence base is also crucial to the long-term effectiveness of programmes. It was found that the professional development had a positive impact on the assessment practices in the case study services, which reported substantial and sustained shifts in the quality of the assessment practices.

It was noted that if teachers are not fluent they will not be able to teach students the academic proficiencies required for long term academic success. Thus, if teaching te reo Māori and teaching through the medium of te reo Māori are to be effective, teachers should have a high level of

proficiency in all four skills: pānui (reading), tuhituhi (writing), whakarongo (listening) and kōrero (speaking).

A shortage of Māori medium teachers overall results also in a shortage of relievers which can prevent engagement in professional development. These professional development opportunities are essential to maintaining and improving educational outcomes (NZEI, 2009).

The challenges that arise from additional burdens placed on students and staff of Māori medium qualifications, have been ongoing for as long as those qualifications have been extant. At the risk of sounding repetitive, researchers, teachers and community have been highlighting the issues for many years – ad nauseam, hopefully not ad infinitum. They need to be addressed in order to meet the needs of community.

Models

It is the proposition here is that urgent interim measures be piloted by one or two providers who have successful Māori language programmes in place to effectively concentrate resources and expertise and to fine tune policy and process. Several models are also suggested:

1. May and Hill (2004) recommended a four or five year ITE programme that involved *at least* one year of full-time Māori language study (preferably via immersion) for all non-fluent Māori speakers at the start of the programme, followed by a three or four-year bilingual ITE education. Given the longer ITE period required, such a programme would need to be funded by scholarships.
2. Aotearoa provides a variety of sites and modes of study, including multi-site delivery through main and satellite campuses; face-to-face, distance-based and web-based learning; flexible, part-time courses and full-time courses. Another suggestion, in order to *grow* the pool of Aotearoaphones (Māori speakers) as well as providing effective ITE, is the *centre based* model offered through a variety different operating structures, philosophies and affiliations. This could be an effective measure to resolving the qualified teacher crisis in Māori medium education, whilst addressing proficiency issues. Centre-based qualifications already exist in Aotearoa, where students are either employed or work voluntarily part-time or full-time as part of their studies (Kane, et al., 2005). The centre-based model also produces the conditions where Māori who either speak Māori (or are learning to speak Māori) can train as teachers “...and be able to carry their mortgage while they’re doing it” as suggested by Maori Affairs Minister Pita Sharples.
3. Another solution to alleviate some of the added pressures placed on staff and students of Māori medium ITE programmes is the *single institution* idea. Pooling and concentration of resources, teaching and learning materials and domain specificity (particularly Māori

language), would mean lecturers could focus on the promotion of mātauranga Māori, pedagogy Māori, kaupapa Māori, tamariki Māori and whānau Māori. Student teachers will graduate with a dual qualification for the general stream and kaupapa Māori, with competence and fluency in te reo Māori. The generic ITE programmes would allow opportunities specialisms in sector of choice. Other specialisations could include principalships or various leadership fields, biliteracy advancement, speech language therapy, subject specialisms and so on. These would clearly establish career pathways from ITE and into the future.

5. Question 1 continued

PART C - INSTRUCTIONAL ISSUES

Research on instructional factors explores how the nature of texts (spoken and written), interactions and tasks in which a student teacher engages aids development of their language proficiency which, in turn, also extends the learning of the tamariki/mokopuna in Māori medium contexts. In relation to ITE courses, what does the New Zealand and international literature reveal about the instructional factors that are most likely to influence the level of te reo Māori proficiency gained by kaiako graduating from ITE programmes? Some of the major influencing factors are herewith overviewed.

Code Switching

The phenomenon of code switching, is often misunderstood which impacts on how it is treated in educational contexts, Māori medium included (Skerrett White, 2003). In most bilingual/multilingual contexts (communities) it is largely goes accepted (Wei & Martin, 2009). Wei and Martin add that it would probably go unnoticed and unmentioned in classroom contexts also if was not for the language policies being "...imbued with and influenced by pervasive and persistent monolingual ideologies" (p.117). The clash between what happens in the classroom and top-down policy has led to conflict in the way codeswitching is perceived. Whereas codeswitching in many communities is regarded as acceptable bilingual behaviour, in many classrooms it is deemed inappropriate or unacceptable – a deficit or dysfunctional mode of interaction, so much so that it is often prohibited.

Skerrett White (2003) found that there was still a negative view towards codeswitching, which was perceived as interference or error and subsequently treated as such. She argued that this is perhaps an overreaction to the tyranny of English symbolising a colonial, colonising language. Encroachment of English (with lexical transfers and grammatical violations) has led some teachers in Māori immersion programmes to take a deficit view towards codeswitching in both the policy and practice. She cites the example in Kōhanga Reo where codeswitching to English may be perceived as perhaps getting in the way of revernacularisation efforts. However, Arnberg's (cited in Skerrett White, 2003) assertion that codeswitching, as a rule-governed behaviour in a communication strategy between people, must be taken into consideration by teachers because it is a naturally occurring speech act and can be used as a socio-linguistic tool to supplement language learning rather than stifle it (and as a consequence children's learning) by viewing it as error or interference.

Ferguson (cited in Wei & Martin, 2009, p.118) reviews classroom codeswitching in postcolonial contexts and makes reference to how codeswitching can be used more effectively as a pedagogic and communicative resource in the classroom. Of significance, Ferguson notes the importance of going beyond the functions of codeswitching to considering the influences on "...learning and classroom behaviour, on the affective climate of the classroom, and on the processes of identity formation and negotiation" (p.118). This is a critical issue, because all too often the affective and social significance of codeswitching in educational contexts does not get sufficiently recognised.

Other aspects raised in recent codeswitching literature are linked to teacher language competency. Raschka, Sercombe and Huanga (cited in Wei & Martin, 2009, p.120) discuss the issue of teacher use of codeswitching as a *strategic* tool to facilitate learning and teaching and state the examples cited indicated high levels of general communicative competence among the teachers. They concluded that although teachers appear to have an intuitive knowledge of how codeswitching best serves the needs of students, actual research in this area lags behind classroom practice. Wei and Martin (2009) discuss how pupils can manipulate their language use in the classroom to undermine teacher authority and gain control of classroom interactions when teacher competency is an issue.

Cook (also cited in Skerrett White, 2003) puts the extent of code switching in normal conversations amongst bilinguals into perspective by outlining that code switching consists of 84% single word switches, 10% phrase switches and 6% clause switching. A number of possible reasons for the switching are cited. One is that a speaker may not be able to express him/herself in one language so switches to the other to compensate for the deficiency. This may *trigger* the speaker into code switching to the other language for a while. Where code switching is used due to an inability of expression, it provides a continuity of speech. It may be that there is a lack of opportunity to use and develop language that forms part of the children's local community repertoire and hence certain words are introduced to fill that gap.

Skerrett and Hunia (2009) argue that there is room for the development of resources reflecting the authentic code switching behaviours of a real life bilingual community. This would benefit all learners in Māori immersion education programmes but particularly learners working in lower levels of Māori medium (less than 50%). Code switching performs a number of functions for bilinguals, and is increasingly evident in mainstream media. Authentically bilingual resources could support the Māori language strategy (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2003) and the national curriculum documents by giving exposure to te reo Māori and by providing language scaffolding to learners of te reo Māori, in Levels 3 and 4 Māori immersion, and also in English medium classrooms. There is also a social significance to code switching, which could be exploited to deliver some clever plays on language to challenge and entertain readers, and also to provide biliterate ākonga with models of code-switching as a literary feature.

Frontloading

Dutro and Moran (2009) called the teaching of language prior to content instruction *frontloading*. They found that teachers need to use strategies that give students access to curriculum content in order to help them learn the sophisticated vocabulary and language structures required in academic settings. Murphy et al. (2008) note that many, if not most, students in Māori medium ITE programmes are second language learners of Māori. Therefore, in recognition of this situation, two of the immersion ITE programmes in their research introduced new concepts in English and then discussed the new learning in tutorials in Māori. In this way, students learn new and complex concepts in English in lectures, and then discuss the new concepts in their tutorials and how to express those concepts in the Māori language. Both programmes taught core education papers using this method of teaching. One programme referred to the approach as ‘front loading’, while the other programme recognised it as an accelerated learning technique.

Mistakes and Errors

We learn from our mistakes. According to Brown (2000) mistakes, misjudgements, miscalculations and erroneous assumptions form an important aspect of learning any skill. Language learning is no different. Children learning language make countless mistakes from the point of view of adult grammatical language. Many of them are logical in the limited linguistic system within which children operate, but by processing feedback from others, children learn to produce what is acceptable speech in their native language. Second language learning is no different in this respect. Children (and adults) will make mistakes in the process of acquisition. That process will be impeded if they do not commit errors and then benefit from forms of feedback on those errors. Researchers and teachers of second languages need to analyse mistakes carefully because they hold some of the keys to understanding the process of second language acquisition. They provide evidence of what strategies or procedures the learner is employing in language learning.

Brown argues that it is important to distinguish between *mistakes* and *errors*, technically two very different phenomena. A mistake is a performance error that is either a random guess or a *slip* in that it is a failure to utilise a known system correctly. All people make mistakes in both native and second language situations. Native speakers normally recognise and correct such lapses or mistakes, which are not the result of deficiency or competence but rather the result of an imperfection in the process of producing speech. Mistakes can be self-corrected. An error is a noticeable deviation from the adult grammar of a native speaker. This reflects the competence of the learner. An error cannot be self-corrected. It is not always possible to tell the difference between an error and a mistake. Determining the difference is a highly subjective process and bears with it the chance of faulty assumption on the part of the listener, teacher or researcher. Brown points out that there is a danger in too much attention to learners’ errors. He states “While

errors indeed reveal a system at work, the classroom language teacher can become so preoccupied with noticing errors that the correct utterances in the second language go unnoticed” (p. 218). Further, that while diminishing errors is an important part of increasing language proficiency; the ultimate is the attainment of communicative fluency. Language comprises speaking and listening, reading and writing. Comprehension data is as important as production data in understanding the process of second language acquisition. Focus on error analysis can also overlook avoidance strategies that may be employed among second language learners. The absence of error therefore does not necessarily reflect native-like competence.

National Māori language proficiency examinations

This handbook outlined aspects of the work of Te Taura Whiri i te reo Māori (Māori Language Commission, 2006), which included promoting and raising awareness of the Māori language and Māori language issues; promoting quality standards of written and spoken Māori; administering examinations for candidates seeking formal recognition of their ability to use Māori language in the workplace or certification as translators and interpreters; researching and formulating policy related to the promotion, maintenance and progression of the Māori language and lexical expansion work including the production of glossaries. The Māori Language Proficiency Examination System is the suite of Māori language proficiency tests administered by Te Taura Whiri since October 2002.

Whakamātauria Tō Reo Māori (Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori, 2009) evolved out of the Government Māori Language Allowance Scheme – an incentive scheme for the public sector set up in 1987 – and is an examination system designed to assess the language proficiency of adult speakers of Māori. In 2000 Te Taura Whiri undertook to revamp the Māori language test administered as part of the scheme. An interim test was developed for the public sector and administered during the following two years.

Five-level Proficiency Framework - Whakamātauria Tō Reo Māori

Underpinning the Whakamātauria Tō Reo Māori examination system is a proficiency framework that identifies and describes five levels of Māori language ability.

Figure 7: Whakamātauria Tō Reo Māori levels of Māori language ability

LEVEL 1	Basic routine language
LEVEL 2	Basic conversational proficiency
LEVEL 3	Moderate proficiency
LEVEL 4	Higher proficiency

LEVEL 5	Complete proficiency
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Each level is further defined by a full description of the characteristics displayed by a Māori language user at that level. In 2006, three examinations were available – the Level Finder Examination (LFE); the Public Sector Māori Language Proficiency Examination (PSM); and the Teaching Sector Māori Language Proficiency Examination (TSM). The LFE gives the candidates a general indication of their overall language knowledge. The PSM is designed specifically for candidates who use Māori language in the public sector workplace. The TSM is designed to assess the language ability of candidates who use Māori in the teaching sector.

Sector Related Examinations

As part of the Whakamātauria Tō Reo Māori examination system, Te TauraWhiri developed workplace- and sector-related examinations each of which sits on the proficiency framework at a relevant level. Sector related examinations are specific purpose tests and assess the four skills of reading, writing, listening and speaking. The aim of the sector-related tests is to assess these language skills through a range of tasks typical of those that employees of the sector might be expected to undertake. Before sitting a sector related examination, most candidates complete the level finder examination (LFE).

Background to Teacher Sector Māori

The TSM was developed by Te Taura Whiri with the assistance of Haemata Limited and an advisory group comprising internal sector professionals, Māori language specialists and local and international language testing experts. The development of the examination has followed a robust process involving many Māori speakers and sector professionals over an extended period of time. The TSM is designed to assess the language ability of candidates who use Māori in the teaching sector including: teachers; teacher aides; kaiārahi reo; lecturers; and principals at all levels of the education system. The exam tests the ability of a candidate to use Māori language for the classroom environment. The TSM examination fits onto the Māori Language Proficiency Test Framework at Level 4.

Level 4 - Higher proficiency

The person should be able to communicate easily, confidently and spontaneously in almost all everyday situations. A good command of grammar, vocabulary and idiomatic language will enable the person to interact in a sustained manner, rarely having to switch to English or use English terms. The user usually has some specialised Māori language skills, which enables them to participate appropriately in a range of social and professional settings and discuss a range of specialist topics including some that they are less familiar with. Their Māori language ability enables

the person to discuss quite complex issues, particularly related to things they know a lot about. At this level a Māori language user makes very few errors.

Candidates use the TSM for both work and personal reasons. Candidates who change their employment position, or improve their Māori language ability, could benefit from sitting the examination more than once.

Reporting Results

Results are normally available three weeks after the examination. The TSM is a level 4 examination in the five-level system. Results are reported in terms of the candidate's ability to meet the requirements of level 4 and their demonstrated ability in the use of teaching sector language.

Candidate results for the TSM are reported as grades. There are three pass grades and one fail grade. Pass grades are awarded for test performances which adequately meet the required level 4 standard.

TSM grades are as follows:

- i. Full Working Proficiency - Has exceeded the requirements of level 4.
- ii. Advanced Working Proficiency - Has met all requirements of level 4.
- iii. General Working Proficiency -Has met minimum requirements of level 4.
- iv. TSM fail grade - Limited Working Proficiency. Has not met minimum requirements of level 4.

The TSM is different to any other type of Māori language or teaching examination to date. It is a specific purpose test as it focuses on the specific language of teachers, learners, schools and the teaching sector. The vocabulary, technical terms and how to carry out some typical tasks of the teaching sector in Māori are the types of things assessed in the TSM. The TSM does not assess native proficiency of Māori speakers.

It is critical that teachers of Māori language and in Māori medium classrooms have excellent Māori language skills. Ongoing development is important to keep abreast of the new world of language that has grown out of Māori medium education and to ensure that language skills are consistently at a high level. The test will help you to identify how well your language can cope

both inside and outside the classroom. The TSM is a useful professional and personal language development tool.

The TSM has many potential uses. The examination is offered as a tool for schools and teachers to identify training and capability needs. It is useful as professional development tool and for personal language development. It can be used in recruiting staff and in monitoring the ongoing language development of individual teachers or teaching staff as a whole. To date there has been no common language assessment between schools and between teachers. The TSM is being used to fill this gap.

Māori Literacy/Biliteracy Skills

As stated in the Key Evidence document, the question often arises as to why *Ka Hikitia* places such emphasis on literacy in the first years. The answer, very simply, is because literacy is the key to all formal learning at school (Ministry of Education, 2009a, p. 23). The important role of print literacy (a metalinguistic function) is not to be overlooked – neither is the nature of the relationship between biliteracy and revernacularisation.

According to Skerrett White (2003) just *speaking* a minority language in the educational setting or at home is not enough to ensure its maintenance. It is important that children also learn to read and write in that language in order that they come to appreciate that the minority language, like the majority language, is a ‘fully-fledged’ medium of communication with status. Children learn early on that books are important. Books are a major way of getting worldly knowledge, increasing vocabulary and learning increasingly complex language structures. Reading introduces children to new concepts and times, facts and fantasies and can help children to gain a deeper understanding of their own feelings and experiences.

Low levels of literacy very quickly limit children’s ability to understand and achieve well in other areas of the curriculum. Early literacy difficulties often persist and lead to further issues such as attitudinal and behavioural challenges (Ministry of Education, 2009a, p. 23). The Literacy Professional Development Project shows classroom teachers can be far more effective in their literacy instruction, particularly with Māori children (Ministry of Education, 2009a, p. 24).

Harlow (2003) argued that te reo Māori is in a fortunate position because, with few exceptions regional variation is largely lexical, and dialects in general have at least the same segmental phonology and phonotactics. Thus in large part the establishment of a single spelling system, as opposed to standardisation of vocabulary, should be a simple matter. Most of the writing system has been standardised since the 1840s, the last feature to have been fixed being the writing of /f/ as

<wh>. However, there are three points at which dialects differ sufficiently phonologically that the question arises as to how these should be spelt. They are the dialects of the South Island, parts of the Bay of Plenty and the Taranaki/Wanganui area. The matter of the phonemically long vowels and short vowels in Māori presents exactly the same questions and shows up two of the important matters in the whole area of planning: that of authority, and that of the extent of standardisation. These matters occur again with respect to the ‘modernisation’ and ‘standardisation’ sides of planning. In terms of authority, local and traditional authority structures are still very strong.

Key findings

- There is a demand for quality and qualified Māori literacy tutors who are knowledgeable in tikanga and te reo Māori. This highlights the need for more skilled Māori bilingual literacy tutors.
- Competent literacy and language teaching practice is critical to developing student engagement with their course-related content. This needs to be considered from an indigenous pedagogical approach to literacy.
- A holistic approach to upskilling all staff in Māori pedagogical languages and practices can close the cultural gap and provide understanding that comes with teaching Māori learners.
- Māori habitus (inherent cultural being) needs to be understood and valued as being distinct from the generic term ‘student centredness’.
- Student difficulties in engaging with learning are a product of their prior education experiences, rather than individual deficits.

Marae-based learning

Mlcek, et al. (2009) research looked at marae-based tertiary institutions and bridging and foundation courses, some of which may be transferable to initial teacher education. Whilst a lot of the article is tangential, there are several points worth noting including the importance of marae-based tertiary education.

Key findings included

- The significance of the system;
- The significance of tīpuna and kaumātua (elders);
- The significance of deep emotion and wairua;

- The significance of the marae base;
- The significance of the ability to kōrero in te reo Māori;
- The significance of marae-based education to foster achievement;
- The significance of the teacher being expert and confident in te reo Māori and tikanga;
- The significance of improving access to foundation learning opportunities through fielding new opportunities;
- The significance of pedagogical impacts of different ideologies, for influencing the phenomenon of language shift to create ‘safety’; and
- The significance of the admission that having just any education was not enough for Māori.

The above findings were to be aligned and linked to current education, literacy, and language learning strategy documents, then considered by the New Zealand Government. It was found that marae-based education opportunities are fundamental to promoting success in learning for Māori learners of all ages in both te reo Māori and English. Marae-based programmes need to be resourced accordingly, particularly in the areas of: iwi and hapū liaison; upskilling teacher capacity and capability; and funding to promote access to and equity in such opportunities.

White, Oxenham, Tahana, Williams and Matthews (2009) reinforced the notion that marae-based learning nurtured Māori identity. The marae is not merely the venue for education but the place where those with the wairua and knowledge are already engaged. Marae-based learning contexts reinforce adult learners’ identity as Māori and reflect a wairua Māori. For many participants: it works to ‘embody identity’ as well as to ‘reaffirm who we are’. As one student in the study observed, going to a marae-based programme is where “the wairua is different...when you are in the wharenuī (sleeping house/meeting house), they are giving back your mana...giving back your kōrero” (p. 22). This was seen as particularly important for many learners, as “the foundation to build a strong base, of identity, and of learning in a safe environment” (p. 23).

Part C - Summary and Analysis

- Māori medium teachers have less access to resources and teaching/learning materials. Teachers need to be aware of these sorts of equity issues.
- Teacher education and wider language policy developers need to take into account the phenomenon of codeswitching and the contextual realities within which Māori medium schooling is situated. Further research is required in these areas.
- Error analysis plays an important part in the understanding of language acquisition, teaching and learning.
- Teachers in bilingual programmes require knowledge of linguistics in order to understand the sorts of regular patterns of language development that occur among bilingual children.
- When languages are used in educational settings to affirm the experiences and cultures of the students and communities who speak those languages, this in itself challenges the discourse of superiority and devaluation that characterizes social relations between these communities in the wider society. The same applies when these languages are promoted in mass media.
- Focus on the Māori language/s, not just as a means of instruction, should cut across all content areas and should be at the forefront of teachers' thinking when planning the programme content e.g., when to frontload.
- If the structure of programmes, the proficiency of the teachers and students, and the goals of the programme are taken into consideration, ITE and language proficiency requirements can be effectively planned for with specified outcomes.
- Some insights into the instructional and contextual factors that are most likely to influence the level of te reo Maori proficiency gained by kaiako graduating from ITE programmes and how they can be addressed have been overviewed in the literature and summarised in Figure 5 (p. 190)

6. Question 2

What are the issues in defining and assessing the relevant reo Māori proficiencies and how those issues can be addressed?

PART D - ISSUES - REO MĀORI PROFICIENCY

Competency issues and influences - Māori medium ITE graduates

Phase I of this series *Whakamanahia Te Reo Māori - He Tirohanga Hōtaka* (Murphy, et al., 2008), included an exploration of the issues and influences that affect te reo Māori competence of graduates from Māori medium ITE programmes. The purpose of that study was to identify the issues experienced by Māori medium ITE programme providers in 2008 with participants from twelve of the thirteen eligible ITE programmes offered by 10 providers in Aotearoa. The focus was on proficiency issues.

Some of the key findings of this study suggest that:

- Professional conversations between ITE programme providers and teachers need to be encouraged;
- Providers must strive to ensure that graduates have the knowledge and skills required to understand and teach the curriculum particularly in relation to Māori language and second language acquisition theory;
- Teacher educators identified difficulties with teaching some aspects (both pedagogy and subject areas) of programmes to student teachers through the medium of Māori because of the associated technical language;
- There is an apparent relationship between the amount of Māori used to deliver the programme and the extent of the focus on curriculum language; and
- Providers would benefit from a range of support systems and tools to develop, assess and monitor the Māori language proficiency of their graduates.

Teaching the Curriculum

Of concern was that some participants lacked knowledge and understanding of how to pass Māori language and curriculum knowledge and skills on to their students. While some participants said

that their students understand the curriculum documents, they noted problems with teaching it to their students *through* the medium of Māori.

Reo Māori Proficiency through Initial Teacher Education

This study focussed on identifying how each provider assesses or monitors their students' Māori language development. While most programmes required students to have a sufficient level of Māori language proficiency to cope with the added Māori language demands of the programme, many stated that there was no formal entry requirement. However, students entering the programmes were expected to be able to cope in a total immersion environment. It was found that providers used a mix of written, oral and observational tools for monitoring the Māori language development of their students, though methods are inconsistent. In some cases the assessments used were unique to the programme and therefore expectations, criteria, standards, and benchmarks vary across programmes.

Reo Māori Content of Programmes

A number of factors impacted on the language of instruction in ITE Māori medium programmes. The findings show that the deciding factors in all programmes as to whether they teach components through *Māori* or *English* are:

- the language ability of the teacher (lectuer);
- the language ability of the students;
- the nature of the course content; and
- the structure of the course i.e. bilingual courses which have papers in English and Māori.

Issues

As with previous studies, the issues remain the same. There is an ongoing expectation that staff continue to further their academic qualifications, teaching experience and develop their own Māori language ability on top of already demanding workloads. There was also the expectation that students in Māori medium ITE programmes would have a grasp of both English-medium and Māori medium curriculum documents. This increased the workload and pressure on staff and students. The exception to this was those bilingual programmes which spent little time on Māori curriculum documents due to student language proficiency and their consequent lack ability to understand the documents.

Marautanga and Language Ability

Technical language of the various subject areas within the marautanga is identified as a barrier to delivering curriculum papers fully in the Māori language, even when both the tutor and student are proficient Māori speakers, because of the huge number of newly coined words and phrases. The findings suggest that teachers and students lack sufficient knowledge about the marautanga and marautanga-specific language. This is compounded by a lack of time within programmes to give more than a basic grounding in each subject area.

The findings identified that all ITE providers of Māori medium programmes were concerned about ensuring that their graduates have good Māori language skills and a thorough understanding of the Māori medium curriculum and of second language acquisition theory. It was found that programme providers need a range of support mechanisms in order to successfully develop both Māori language proficiency knowledge, pedagogical knowledge and pedagogical content knowledge in their graduates. Eight recommendations were made around the development of these supports, including resource development, professional development, networking, and specific language research around curriculum areas. Future research into graduate preparedness for Māori medium education settings in schools and early childhood services; and the best approaches to simultaneously learning new content knowledge and developing Māori language proficiency in ITE was signalled.

Proficiency issues from the Māori Language Strategy

Te Rautaki Reo Māori, the Māori Language Strategy (Te Puni Kōkiri., 2003), drew on national research undertaken between 1999 and 2001, which provided a comprehensive account of the health of the Māori language. Numbers of Māori speakers had then stabilised at around 130,000 people (25% of the Māori population); there was a range of proficiency among Māori speakers, from very high to very low. Most people, especially young adults and second language learners, were clustered at the lower end of the range. Only 9% of Māori adults had high spoken proficiency in the Māori language. The passive language skills of listening and reading were stronger than the active skills of speaking and writing. Māori valued the Māori language and were optimistic in their outlook for the future of the language. 68% of Māori believed more Māori being spoken in public domains was a good thing. There was a growing awareness of the importance of whānau Māori language transmission and Māori speakers were most likely to speak Māori with children, especially infants. Māori language use was limited in most domestic and community settings.

Whakamā was identified as a major barrier to Māori language use for second language learners. Among many people, the sense of whakamā was increased by the intimate link between language and identity and the resultant fear of failure. Among non-Māori, less than 1% could speak Māori in 2001 and only 10% indicated that learning Māori was a high priority for them. Most non-Māori

held positive or neutral attitudes towards Māori people learning and speaking Māori in Māori settings. However, only 40% supported the use of Māori in wider society. The health of the Māori language was stabilised and people were optimistic in their outlook for the language. However, more work is required to secure its health over the next twenty five years.

More recent national research undertaken by Te Puni Kōkiri (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2008) indicate that there has been significant growth in the numbers of Māori adults who can speak and understand the Māori language to varying degrees of proficiency. In 2006, 51% of Māori adults had some degree of speaking proficiency, up 9 percentage points from 2001. There were increases at all proficiency levels, and within all age bands. In 2006, 66% of Māori adults had some degree of listening proficiency, up 8 percentage points from 2001. According to the report this highlights the reservoir of latent ability that exists among the Māori population. In domestic settings, 30% of Māori adults used the Māori language as a significant language of communication with their pre-school children. This is an increase from 18% in 2001. A further 48% made some use of the Māori language in their interaction with their infants. Māori adults reported high levels of uptake of Māori radio and television. Some 85% tuned into Māori radio, while 56% watched Māori language programmes on television.

There were also key findings in attitudes towards the Māori language among both Māori and non-Māori people who have become more positive. Accordingly, this creates a supportive environment for various initiatives to support the health of the Māori language. Some 94% of Māori and 80% of non-Māori agreed that Māori people speaking Māori in public places or at work was a good thing.

There was general agreement that the Government's decision to establish a Māori Television Service was a good thing but the report suggests that even though attitudes towards Māori language across New Zealand have significantly matured (reflected through increases in Māori language content in broadcasting, education, corporate documentation and Māori language based events), Māori language is still a language at risk. It remains a minority language. It is spoken almost exclusively by Māori people (23% having conversational Māori language abilities), with only a total of 4% of New Zealanders able to speak the language. Added to this, the Māori language is used in a minority of communications by people that can speak the language. Finally, although there is evidence of the re-emergence of intergenerational Māori language transmission, this is only at the initial stages and is not the norm in Māori society. Accordingly, if the Māori language is to flourish, conscious effort at all levels – individual, whānau, community, and state, remains a necessary requirement.

Formal Knowledge versus Linguistic Competence

Commentators have criticised linguistic theory for focusing on the analytic mode of knowing, leading to the emphasis on the grammar–lexicon model. Grace (1981) argues that the most important thing we can study about a language is its relationship with thought and with culture – that is, with the external world – and viewing language as a form that partitions into the grammar and the lexicon has led to the current focus of linguistic theory on the grammatical apparatus, and distances it from the study of the relationship of language with the external world, ‘Yet, grammar and lexicon are terms referring to parts of linguistic descriptions, not to parts of languages’ (Grace, 1981, p. 14). Such assumptions, relating to the understanding or view of ‘language’ as predominantly form and structure, have led to the pervasive belief in the use of prescriptive grammars and dictionaries as instruments for bringing about linguistic competence and/or language maintenance. Thus, basically, the direction in which Grace’s theory moves is that the learning of form leads to knowledge of form, not knowledge of languages. Linguistic theory has gone the way of the analytic mode and neglected the more fundamental mode of holistic knowing. Linguistic theory as it is presently constituted does not account for the native speaker’s competence, in which, Grace believes, the holistic mode of knowing is fundamental and should therefore be a focus of theoretical linguistic research. Grace’s view is thus parallel to Krashen’s in that formal learning is a different system from the acquired system and that formal learning leads to formal knowledge, not to linguistic competence.

National Proficiency Framework

A National Proficiency Framework and sector specific proficiency examinations, developed and administered by Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori, support high standards of Māori language use in specific areas. Of significance, these areas include the public, teaching, and broadcasting sectors. Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori certifies translators and interpreters, and provides a nationally acknowledged quality assurance service. As stated, over the next five years, Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori will:

1. Work with relevant sector agencies and Māori to identify key issues and solutions for Māori language professions;
2. Review existing training, resources and qualification processes for Māori translators and interpreters;
3. Discuss the development of a National Entity for Translators and Interpreters;
4. Recommend the development of a National Māori Language Professions Workforce Development Plan; and
5. Continue to administer and improve sector specific proficiency examinations.

In the statement from the Commissioner, Erima Henare (Te Taura Whiri i Te Reo Māori., 2008) it was noted that to achieve the next stage of revitalisation, that of developing sustainability, that will require the focussed efforts and support of the wider community – te ao whānui. He also noted that recent research showed that the decline of te reo Māori had been halted, and, more importantly, that levels of proficiency, acquisition and usage had increased. However, as with the many and varied definitions of bilingualism, so too have the terms *proficiency* and *competency* been difficult to define, and highly controversial in pedagogical terms.

Proficiency factors influencing programme success

It is argued that teachers in centres or immersion classrooms ought to have native or native-like proficiency in the languages of the school. This is not necessarily the case in Aotearoa. Teachers are important language models through their status and power (Baker, 2006). They can identify te reo Māori as something of value and importance. Baker (2006) asserts they have to wear two hats: promoting achievement throughout the curriculum and ensuring second language proficiency. Such a dual task requires *specialist* immersion teacher education. This has tended to be a weakness in some countries (and also in Aotearoa) using the immersion approach or a version of it. Both at the pre-service and professional development levels of education of teachers, the special needs of immersion teachers should be addressed. Methods in immersion classroom require induction into skills and techniques beyond those required in ordinary mainstream classrooms. Immersion teaching (and teacher education) methods are still evolving.

Howard, et al. (2007) also argue that teachers in dual language education programmes need native or native-like ability in the language(s) in which they teach in order to provide cognitively stimulating instruction and to promote high levels of bilingual proficiency in students. Research on language use in classrooms demonstrates that many children do not receive cognitively stimulating instruction from their teacher. In contrast, it was also reported that successful bilingual programmes used screening measures to select staff with full written and oral proficiency in both programme languages. Teachers who do not have cognitively academic language proficiency cannot respond appropriately to the children's utterances in classrooms. In this case, comprehensible input, as well as linguistic equity in the classroom, may be severely impaired.

In Finland, general teacher-training includes an introduction to the societal and individual features of bilingualism and bilingual education and centres such as the University of Vaasa have evolved a continuing education programme for immersion teachers (Bjorkland cited in Baker, 2006). In the United States the expertise is often found among teacher training consultants rather than in colleges, with mentoring programmes and videotapes also aiding professional development (Met & Lorenz cited in Baker, 2006).

With untrained or poor quality staff, the best bilingual model programme will fail. Teacher education and developing teacher effectiveness is a foundation to the sustainability of any bilingual programme. Thus a foundational ingredient for a bilingual school is the knowledge and language proficiency of the teachers and other support staff, their own biculturalism or multiculturalism, attitudes to minority languages and minority students, and their professional and personal identity. General professional development can be designed to help all staff effectively serve language minority students. For example, staff development programmes can sensitize teachers to students' language and cultural backgrounds, increase their knowledge of second language acquisition and help develop curriculum approaches in teaching minority-language students. All teachers can be educated to recognise themselves as teachers of language irrespective of their subject area. Such initial and in-service staff development may include individual, community and wider societal awareness programme, models and curriculum approaches to bilingual education, cultural diversity, and the politics that surround local and regional implementation of educations for bilinguals (Schwartz cited in Baker, 2006).

Wong, Fillmore and Snow (2000), indicate particular teacher competencies that bilingual teachers need, based on their multiple roles as classroom communicators, educators, evaluators, citizens and socialisers. They suggest that such teachers need to know the basics of language form (e.g. phonemes, morphemes, regularity, lexicon, structure, dialects, academic English, spelling) and not just language functions and uses.

Garcia and Baker (1995), based their research on reflections of bilingual teachers in schools in the United States. They analysed the nature of the teacher education process and proposed elements of an empowering process for ITE for bilingual teachers. It was argued that high degree of success programmes (HDS) have teachers who are both bilingual and well-trained. The low degree of success (LDS) programmes have either well trained monolingual teachers who do not understand their pupils' mother tongues (submersion) or else the training of the teachers is inadequate, even if they are to some extent bilingual. Of interest, it was generally considered that a bilingual (mostly meaning minority group) teacher without any training is usually a better choice than a well trained monolingual teacher. They went on to say that, in relation to small children, it is close to criminal or real psychological torture, to use monolingual teachers who do not understand what the child has to say in her mother tongue. Lack of good teacher education in the area of minority/majority second language acquisition theory is one of the reflections of institutional racism in Western countries. At the same time it protects the employment prospects of the majority teachers, and makes minority children's failures in schools look like the children's fault, instead of the deficiency of the school system.

It is also interesting to note that Garcia and Baker argued that most bilingual teachers were not educated in bilingual programmes, nor have they had the experience of teaching in bilingual

schools that receive full societal support. In many instances they themselves have been victims of language oppression and racism; thus, in order to empower their students to overcome conditions of domination and oppression, they must first be empowered themselves in order to be effective innovative bilingual teachers. Unfortunately, it is argued, many teacher education programmes seem designed to train teachers to accept social realities rather than to question them. Teachers are trained to conform to a mechanistic definition of their role and a domesticating curriculum rather than to recognize teaching as liberatory praxis.

According to Howard, et al. (2007) teachers in language education programmes, like those in mainstream classrooms, should possess high levels of knowledge relating to curriculum and technology, instructional strategies, and assessment. Teachers must also have the ability to reflect on their own teaching. It was argued that the proportion of well-qualified teachers was by far the most important determinant of student achievement at all grade levels. Fully credentialed bilingual teachers continually acquired knowledge regarding best practices in bilingual education and best practices in curriculum and instruction. Similarly, research found that teachers with bilingual credentials had more positive self-assessment ratings of their language instruction, classroom environment, and teaching efficacy. In addition, teachers with a bilingual qualification were more likely to perceive that the model at their site was equitable, effective, valued the participation of whānau, and provided an integrated approach to multicultural education. These aspects of staff quality are important in developing a successful programme because they demonstrate the significance of teachers understanding bilingual theory, second language development, and strategies establishing a positive classroom environment, including appropriate language strategies. Concomitantly, when teachers do not have a background in bilingual theory or bilingual education, they risk making poor choices in programme structure, curriculum, and instructional strategy, which can lead to low student performance and the perception that bilingual (immersion) education does not work.

Aitken, Bruce Ferguson, Piggot-Irvine, and Ritchie (2008), recently conducted case study research of five Māori medium provisionally registered teachers (PRTs). This research showed that there were several overlaps in the features of effective teacher induction in Māori medium settings with that of non-Māori. Those overlaps included: support for and valuing PRTs through, for example, having PRTs in close proximity with mentor teachers in terms of office space and teaching rooms; allowing for the provision of constructive feedback and regular checking of documentation. The wider concept of whānau was a distinctive induction feature in the Māori settings in that the “mentoring” relationship did not centre on individuals or a dual relationship between mentor and PRT. However, it was argued that there needs to be further clarification in terms of what constitutes “success” or “best practice” in Māori medium settings. This research highlighted the lack of Māori teachers and PRTs and the need for greater choice in selecting mentor teachers that shared their own cultural background and values. There was a lack of understanding of the Ministry of Education pouwhakataki positions as support positions. A benefit across schools of the

specially organised PRT days seemed to be the opportunity to fraternise with other PRTs and share resources and ideas. A recommendation of this research was to conduct further research into the supports available specifically for Māori staff; that research to be widely disseminated and, if possible, supports expanded.

Barnard and Harlow's (2001), research argues that discriminatory requirements for language certification for teachers has resulted in discriminatory practices in schools. A thorough knowledge of, and competency in, vernacular language and local customs is an imperative for teacher education.

Day and Shapson (1996), stated that developing high levels of language proficiency in students and helping them gain an appreciation and understanding of cultures are among the major goals of French immersion. Qualifications for immersion teaching should reflect these goals. Less than one-half of respondents who had pre-service preparation for teaching French immersion indicated a course in the culture as part of the specialised preparation.

Fortune and Tedick (2008), argued that aboriginal immersion programmes dependant on the presence of fluent speakers, who may not be trained teachers and who may not be familiar with the grammatical structures of the language, are seldom prepared to develop lessons that will guide students in successful language learning. An exception to this was the Mohawk immersion programme at Kahnawake, where five trained teachers who knew the language, spent a year preparing a programme and preparing themselves to teach it. They carefully studied aspects of the formal usages still known among the elders, for example, using full pronunciations instead of the elisions and contractions of ordinary 'kitchen' Mohawk. When the school was opened, a curriculum and many resources were in place.

Factors that appeared to have contributed to problems encountered in Education Review Office (ERO) reviews were overviewed by Bishop, Berryman and Richardson (2001). These included poor quality of the pre- and in-service training in all aspects of literacy and oral language, limiting the ability of kura to provide effective literacy programmes. Most teachers in kura kaupapa Māori considered that their pre-service teacher training had not equipped them for the teaching of literacy including oral language. None of the training providers attended by the teachers in kura included second language acquisition or bi-literacy training in their programmes. Bishop et al. argue that this has created difficulties for teachers planning and implementing literacy programmes specifically designed to meet the needs of students in immersion settings. They too recommended that further consideration be given to combining the resources of existing Māori medium pre-service training providers into a single institution and providing principals and

teachers in kura with in-service professional development in planning, implementing and assessing literacy programmes.

According to Kane, et al. (2005), applicants to some Māori medium, Māori-centred qualifications had to satisfy added criteria related to fluency in te reo Māori and experience in Māori contexts such as Kura Kaupapa. Generally speaking, little information was given in definitions of fluency or competency, with simple statements like “meet standards of fluency in the Māori language necessary for total immersion teaching”.

Many providers of Māori programmes use interviews as one means of checking fluency in Te Reo. An example of the demanding nature of the criteria for entry into such qualifications is exemplified below. Along with the requirements for entry to a university or other tertiary education provider teacher education programmes, there are further entry requirements at that time, as in some of the following examples;

BEd (Tchg) Huarahi Māori offered by The University of Auckland - Applicants must demonstrate a level of proficiency in te reo Māori sufficient for the language demands of the programme.

Anamata Private Training Establishment - Grade of A, B or C in 4 Bursary subjects with one Te Reo Māori NCEA equivalents level 2 or 3 Evidence of academic capability or successful completion of Te Matanui.

Undergraduate Diploma – Applicants must be fluent in Te Reo Māori.

BEd (Tchg) Primary Te Pokai Matauranga o te Ao Rua - Basic level of Te Reo Māori required.

BEd (Tchg) Te Aho Tatai-Rangi - Fluency in Te Reo Māori is required

DipTch Kura Kaupapa Māori, Te Tohu Paetahi (Primary) - No formal academic requirements for entry. However, knowledge of and ability to communicate fluently in Te Reo Māori are a pre-requisite.

BMāoriEd (Primary) TeTohu Paetahi Mātauranga Māori - Māori language competency needed for some papers. A range of criteria must be met including commitment to Māori language and tikanga.

Lambert’s (1998), comparative research into Welsh language teachers and Māori language teachers articulated a particular bias towards Welsh teachers who were excellent at what they do, were appropriately trained, able to take criticism, were willing to be monitored, took every opportunity for professional development to up-skill themselves and confidently delivered the

finished product (the children) to high levels of oral fluency. These were the attributes displaying a commitment to teaching and revival of the Welsh language. However, it was stated that little had been done to monitor the kind of reo (Māori) children were learning or the level of competency of teachers coming out of training institutions in Aotearoa. The national guidelines were to ensure that 'kākano' (seeds) sown in the very young at Te Kōhanga Reo by the very best teachers with the highest levels of fluency, but that lack of training did not allow this to happen.

Baker (1993), argues that entry into the many areas of bilingualism and bilingual education is helped by understanding often used terms and distinctions. There exists a range of terms in this area: language ability, language achievement, language competence, language performance, language proficiency and language skills. Do they all refer to the same entity, or are there subtle distinctions between the terms? To add to the problem, different authors and researchers sometimes tend to adopt their own specific meanings and distinctions. *Language skills* tend to refer to highly specific, observable, clearly defined components such as writing. In contrast, *language competence* is a broad and general term, used particularly to describe an inner, mental representation of language rather than an overt representation. For some, *language ability* is a general, latent disposition, a determinant of eventual language success. For others, it tends to be used as an outcome, similar but less specific than language skills, providing an indication of current language level. Similarly, *language proficiency* is sometimes used synonymously with *language competence*, but at other times as a specific, measurable outcome from language testing. However both language proficiency and language ability are distinct from language achievement (attainment). Language achievement is normally seen as the outcome of formal instruction. Language proficiency and language ability are in contrast, viewed as the product of a variety of mechanisms: formal learning, informal language acquisition and of individual characteristics such as 'intelligence'.

Assessment Issues

Baoill (2007), argues that there has been much debate, many aspects of it unresolved or not properly researched, about the suitability of some of the assessment procedures for those studying through the medium of Irish. This applies, in particular, to the Transfer Test (11 Plus), taken at the end of the primary school cycle. All pupils who want to be considered for places in grammar schools must take this test and be examined in three subjects. Pupils from all-Irish-medium schools are examined in Irish, science and technology and mathematics. Assessment provision in the latter two subjects has been subject to much criticism by teachers, parents and educationists. Problems of terminology, phraseology and syntax arise primarily because the Irish version of the Transfer Test is a translation of the English version, and must therefore correspond to it in every detail. Curiously also, the English competence of children from Irish-medium schools is not assessed. There is a great need to research this whole area in order that children may benefit from the extra skills they may have acquired during their educational and bilingual linguistic experience. The 'Transfer Test' itself has been heavily criticised more generally in recent years

also because of its selectivity and the consequential exclusion of many pupils from grammar school education. It was abolished in Northern Ireland in 2006.

Similarly, we in Aotearoa encounter problems around assessment and its definition. Rau (Ministry of Education, 2004) contends Māori medium programmes are still subject to, and regulated by, the same student performance compliances that apply to general education programmes, despite the fact that they have far fewer resources at their disposal, both human and material, to assist them to fulfil these obligations. Increased emphasis on accountability forces many schools to seek solutions that are "...compensatory at best, and often less than satisfactory" (p.25). This includes translating into Māori standardised assessments developed by expert test constructors in English despite early cautioning about such practices by people such as Bernard Spolsky who, in 1989, cautioned against the danger of attempting to translate existing instruments into Māori and assume any equivalence between translations. Rau adds;

For Māori medium, this task is often carried out by teachers in individual schools or within small clusters of schools who are less expert and less experienced at (standardised) test construction. Wide variations in teacher fluency levels in the Māori language and knowledge of second language acquisition theory further complicates the situation. Completed translated assessments and even copies of the work in progress tend to quickly circulate around other schools, where often further changes and adaptations are made. Critical factors such as reliability and validity are often compromised or sacrificed in the process, rendering such measures less effective in capturing student achievement for comparison. (Ministry of Education, 2004, p. 64)

The testing of bilinguals has developed from the practice of testing monolinguals (Baker 2006). However, bilinguals are not the simple sum of two monolinguals but are a unique combination and integration of languages. The language configuration of bilinguals means that, for example, a bilingual's English language performance should not be compared with a monolingual's English language competence. Monolingual norms are simply inappropriate for bilinguals. One example helps illustrate this point. Bilinguals use their languages in different contexts. Thus they may have linguistic competence in varying curriculum areas, on different curriculum topics and in different language functions. Equal language facility in both languages is rare. Comparison on monolingual norms assumes such equal language facility across all domains, language functions and curriculum areas. This is unfair and inequitable.

Norm referenced tests are often written by white, middle-class Anglo test producers. The test items often reflect their language style and culture. For example, the words used may be unfamiliar to some students. Assessment items that reflect the unique learning experiences of language minority children are often excluded from assessments designed for majority language or mainstream children. Norm referenced tests are often 'pencil and paper' tests, sometimes

involving multiple choice answers and do not measure all aspects of language. Spoken conversational language, for example, cannot be adequately measured by a simple pencil and paper test. Communicative language testing attempts to measure a person's use of language in authentic situations. Criterion referenced language tests seek to provide a profile of language sub-skills whereas norm referenced tests compare a person with other people. 'Critical language' testing examines whose knowledge the tests are based on, and for what political purposes the tests will be used. It regards test-takers as political subjects in a political context. Language censuses are used in many countries to measure the extent and density of speakers of different languages. There are problems with terms used, validity of the questions and reliability of the answers.

In conclusion, Baker added that just as dimensions and categorisations can never capture the full nature of bilingualism, so measurement usually fails to capture fully various conceptual dimensions and categorisations. To illustrate, just as the statistics of a football game do not convey the richness of the event, so language tests and measurements are unlikely to fully represent an idea or theoretical concept. Complex and rich descriptions are the indispensable partner of measurement and testing. The stark statistics of the football game and the colourful commentary are complementary, not incompatible.

The MOE focus is on better supporting ECE services to promote and reinforce Māori cultural distinctiveness in the context of their teaching and learning environments (Ministry of Education, 2009c, p. 57). An evaluation of the professional development supporting the implementation of the *Kei Tua o te Pae: Assessment for Learning* resource found evidence of strengthened socio-cultural assessment practice. However, bicultural assessment practices were rare in assessment documentation. This was acknowledged as a low focus area of assessment practice development in the sample services. Many services reflected New Zealand's bicultural society in their day-to-day curriculum and teaching practices but this was not often reflected in individual assessments. This is an area for further focus and development.

Part D - Summary and Analysis

- Professional conversations between ITE programme providers and teachers need to be encouraged.
- Having no formal entry requirement into Māori medium ITE programmes poses a dilemma when students entering the programmes were expected to be able to cope in a total immersion environment.
- Attitudes towards the Māori language among both Māori and non-Māori people who have become more positive, creates a supportive environment for various initiatives to support the health of the Māori language.
- In spite of Māori TV and increased media domains for te reo Māori, and the fact that decline of te reo Māori has been halted, Māori language is still a minority language at risk.
- To achieve next stage of revitalisation, developing sustainability, will require the focussed efforts and support of the wider community.
- The terms ‘proficiency’ and ‘competency’ are difficult to define, and are highly controversial in pedagogical terms.
- Learning of form leads to knowledge of form, not knowledge of language.
- Methods in immersion classroom require induction into skills and techniques beyond those required in ordinary mainstream classrooms.
- Teachers who do not have cognitively academic language proficiency cannot respond appropriately to the children's utterances in classrooms.
- Lack of good teacher education in the area of minority/majority second language acquisition theory is one of the reflections of the institutional racism in Western countries.
- Equity issues are important. Unfortunately many teacher education programmes are designed to *train* teachers to accept social realities rather than to question them; to conform to a mechanistic definition of their role and a domesticating curriculum rather than to recognize teaching as liberatory praxis.
- Further clarification as to what constitutes “success” or “best practice” in Māori medium settings is required.
- Further research into the supports available specifically for Māori staff should be conducted, and the results of that research should be widely disseminated and, if possible, supports expanded.
- The national guidelines were to ensure that the ‘kākano’(seeds) are sown in the very young at kōhanga reo, by the very best teachers with the highest levels of fluency, however, lack of training did not allow this to happen.

- There has been much debate, many aspects of it unresolved or not properly researched, about the suitability of some L1 assessment procedures for those studying through L2 medium.
- The language configuration of bilinguals means that, for example, a bilingual's English language performance should not be compared with a monolingual's English language competence.
- Assessment items that reflect the unique learning experiences of language minority children are often excluded from assessments designed for majority language or mainstream children.

Implications for Assessment in Māori medium

Shifts in Language Learning Approaches

There has been a shift in the language learning/teaching paradigm and ensuing techniques – from (structural approach) ‘book’ language learning to learning language in meaningful contexts. This shift has impacted on the way we assess language learning and teaching. The scientific structural approach to teaching language may have led to scientific structural forms of assessment of classroom interactions (quantification, tabulating frequencies) whereas the communicative approach has led to communicative forms of assessment (qualitative assessments of what is happening at the interactional level, meaning-making, interactional behaviours) in sociocultural contexts. In a structuralist programme, the language can become automated, for use only in those restricted domains (mainly for ceremonial purposes or tokenistic functions) with which it was associated or automatically linked to. The child's language learning is structured and controlled externally (often by the teacher). An oppositional approach to language learning, developed in the 1970s, is known as the ‘communicative’ approach. This approach is functional and is about using language to convey meaning, in purposeful communication. Language is a means, where the language user's competence to communicate *meaning* effectively for a real purpose is centralised in the language learning process, rather than a structural/grammatical end.

Issues around Proficiency

In ITE, without formal measures of language proficiency on entry into programmes, it is difficult to monitor proficiency over the course of the programme and difficult to ascertain where teachers are at on exiting the programme. This lack of appropriate assessment tools also made it difficult to monitor proficiency development. The area of language proficiency on exiting a programme is important. It highlights the need for closer links to match the expectations of schools, the language demands of teaching and the language outcomes of ITE programmes. Results help guide professional development planning and can be especially useful to the teaching sector, which has a significant role in the language acquisition of children. Therefore, assessment research needs to be conducted and co-ordinated with the programme approach, aims and goals. Māori aspirations for

te reo Māori also need to be considered. The tools developed should come out of programme approaches, and linked to ongoing further language planning for effective learning. The dilemmas experienced by teachers will then begin to be resolved.

Effective leadership is essential to helping improve student achievement by focusing on achievement. Māori medium teachers are spread thin. The research has shown that, no matter what percentage of Māori children there are in a centre or kura, one person cannot be a role model; a guide for tikanga and te reo Māori; foster whānau, hapū, iwi links; and be an effective classroom teacher. In addition, the opportunities to up-skill, update and enrich programmes are limited to the point of impossible. The research unequivocally argues that teachers in dual language education programmes need native or native-like ability in the languages they speak. Staff professional development in Māori medium can be designed to help all staff who are serving increasingly more language minority students as we become more of a cosmopolitan nation. All teachers can be educated to recognise themselves as teachers of language irrespective of their subject area.

7. Conclusions

The intentions of this comprehensive literature review were to firstly overview and synthesise the literature including key findings and implications for Māori medium initial teacher education. Further theoretical and ideological clarification has been provided for those who are involved in the development and implementation of initial teacher education programmes in Aotearoa/New Zealand. Implications have been drawn for the Māori medium sector, ITE programmes, the ongoing professional development for teachers in the Māori medium early childhood sector and schools. Implications have been drawn for our language, and its survival. Implications have also been drawn for general (mainstream) ITE teacher educators and student teachers and policy.

Whānau, hapū and iwi Māori have made major contributions to the education system as a whole, through the Māori medium education sector. The birth of the Kōhanga Reo movement, and its progressions, was a monumental move as iwi Māori became increasingly concerned about language loss, cultural disruption, political marginalisation and the impact on our unique identity as tāngata whenua in Aotearoa. Those who forged the pathways into Māori medium education in this country did so by stepping outside the general mainstream. Now considered a legitimate stream of education, the positive advancements made in Māori medium educational settings continue to be overshadowed by a mismatch between policy and practice, inadequate provision, the scarcity of resource and the paucity of research. Contextual and instructional factors, and issues in defining and assessing te reo Māori proficiency can best be addressed by a comprehensive programme of research which aligns programmes to people, and their aspirations. It is up to the whole education community to make a difference for all the tamariki/mokopuna in our bicultural/bilingual nation state.

There is considerable overlap between *contextual* factors and *instructional* factors likely to influence the level of te reo Māori proficiency. Some factors are clearly one or the other, but they are all inter-related. Delineation as in Figure 5 (p.190) is an arbitrary one.

Figure 7: Table of contextual and instructional factors

Contextual factors	Instructional factors
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Wider whānau, hapū and iwi knowledge to promote informed choice e.g., knowledge of time needed to remain in immersion programmes (minimum of six years, ideally eight years); • Information strategy to be developed and made available to all interested parties – teachers, students, parents, policy-makers and politicians; • Marae-based learning; • Community education; • Cultural contexts within which programme positioned taken into consideration; • Structure of the ITE course; • ITE programmes that combine the specific development of Māori language proficiency with the specific requirements of teaching in Māori bilingual contexts; • Increased number of Māori language papers; • Profiles of the students entering the course; • Availability and access to language resources; • Support networks; • Validation of Māori systems of knowledge; • Increased Māori language domains; • Culturally appropriate and responsive contexts; • Additive bilingual programmes; • Longer-term bilingual programmes; (significantly more effective than shorter term programmes); • Higher levels of Māori immersion (result in higher levels of fluency); • A research-informed approach to immersion education across sectors; • Consistent approach to immersion education across sectors; • Correct funding for the development and extension of Māori language teaching/learning/assessment resources; • Team teaching approaches in immersion contexts to mentor internships; • Correct funding support for existing in-service professional development; • Profiling of schools, networking; • Effective evaluation and appraisal systems. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Māori language role models (fluent speakers, readers and writers in both Māori and English); • Relationship between student language and programme and whether all the students have the same language base (L1 and/or L2); • Teacher knowledge about effective resources; • Teacher knowledge of second language acquisition and attendant complexities e.g. the distinction between conversational competence and academic literacy; • Teacher Māori language proficiency; • Teacher ability to specifically teach the features of Māori academic language which are transferable across languages; • Teachers who are fluent speakers, readers and writers in both languages; • Teacher ability to teach in Māori as an instructional language; • Teacher curriculum knowledge; • Teacher assessment knowledge; • Teacher knowledge of, and commitment to addressing, issues of equity; • Teacher knowledge of research and theory underpinning bilingual education generally; • Teacher knowledge of their of approach or model in particular; • Teaching accelerated language learning techniques; • Effective assessment techniques with exemplars; • Effective and informed leadership at school level and appropriate administrative support; • Effective professional development and wider societal supports with alignment to socio-cultural paradigm, needs of teachers and goals of programme; • Front loading (in both ITE and PD programmes); • Specific language learning outcomes for curriculum papers;; • Duration of the bilingual/immersion programme.

8. References

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Available from <http://crede.ucsc.edu/reports/1.6doc1.html>.

Appendix One

List of other literature sources:

- Various handbooks e.g., Handbook of critical and indigenous methodologies; Indigenous language revitalisation teacher education programmes,
- Canterbury University Education Library staff – national and international journals, and other electronic data
- McMillan Brown Library staff
- Library databases:
- Education Research Complete
- ERIC
- PsycInfo
- Web of Science
- Index New Zealand
- Follow-up interloans
- Sites visited: Ministry of Education and other professional organisations
- Best Evidence Synthesis
- Education Review Office
- Waikato University – Te Pua Wānanga ki te Ao (The School of Māori and Pacific Development)
- Anamata
- Alter/Native – An International Journal of Indigenous Peoples
- The New Zealand Teachers Council
- Ako Aotearoa
- Te Kete Ipurangi (TKI) <http://www.tki.org.nz/>
- rangahau.co.nz
- Education counts <http://www.educationcounts.govt.nz/>
- NZCER (has two sites) SET and Mahi rangahau
- Research and Statistics

- <http://www.minedu.govt.nz/theMinistry/ResearchAndStatistics.aspx>
- Sealaska Heritage Institute
- Welsh language sites
- Hawaiian language sites
- The World Indigenous Nations Higher Education Consortium (Winhec) Journal
- Theses

National emails: To all key tertiary education providers

International emails: To Wales, Alaska, Hawaii, Israel (All responded).

Appendix Two

Wider Contextual Analysis of Language - Language Shift in Aotearoa and its Reversal

Māori language has declined as an everyday language (Benton & Benton, 2001). Until about 60 years ago, Māori was very much the first language of the Māori community, which was largely rural (Harlow, 2003). There are fewer native speakers of te reo Māori than there were in previous generations, even fewer Māori language domains outside of educational institutions and marae in which te reo Māori can be spoken, a dearth of printed material available in te reo Māori in the education sector (Skerrett & Hunia, 2009) and a need to extend the vocabulary base of the language to meet the demands of the, albeit all too few, Māori language domains. This language shift away from te reo Māori being an everyday vernacular in Aotearoa has been facilitated by, and is a consequence of: colonisation; unequal rates of social change, and imbalances in political and economic power. Fishman (1991) argued that the combination of social, cultural, economic, physical (medical) and demographic onslaught of conquest, culture contact, modernisation, urbanisation and discrimination on the initially rural Māori was not only dislocative but bordered on the genocidal.

Reversing that language shift is an ongoing struggle in order to not only contain further linguistic and cultural decline and loss, but to overcoming some of the widespread socio-cultural dislocation of modernity and contribute to a socially-culturally rejuvenated iwi Māori.

As revernacularisation is fostered and attained through the settings of home, family, neighbourhood, community, it must also be supported and maintained through those settings. A useful tool for such analysis is that proposed initially by Joshua Fishman (1991) in his pivotal text *Reversing Language Shift* called the Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS) and revisited ten years later in his publication *Can threatened languages be saved? Reversing language shift, revisited: a 21st century perspective* (Fishman, 2001b).

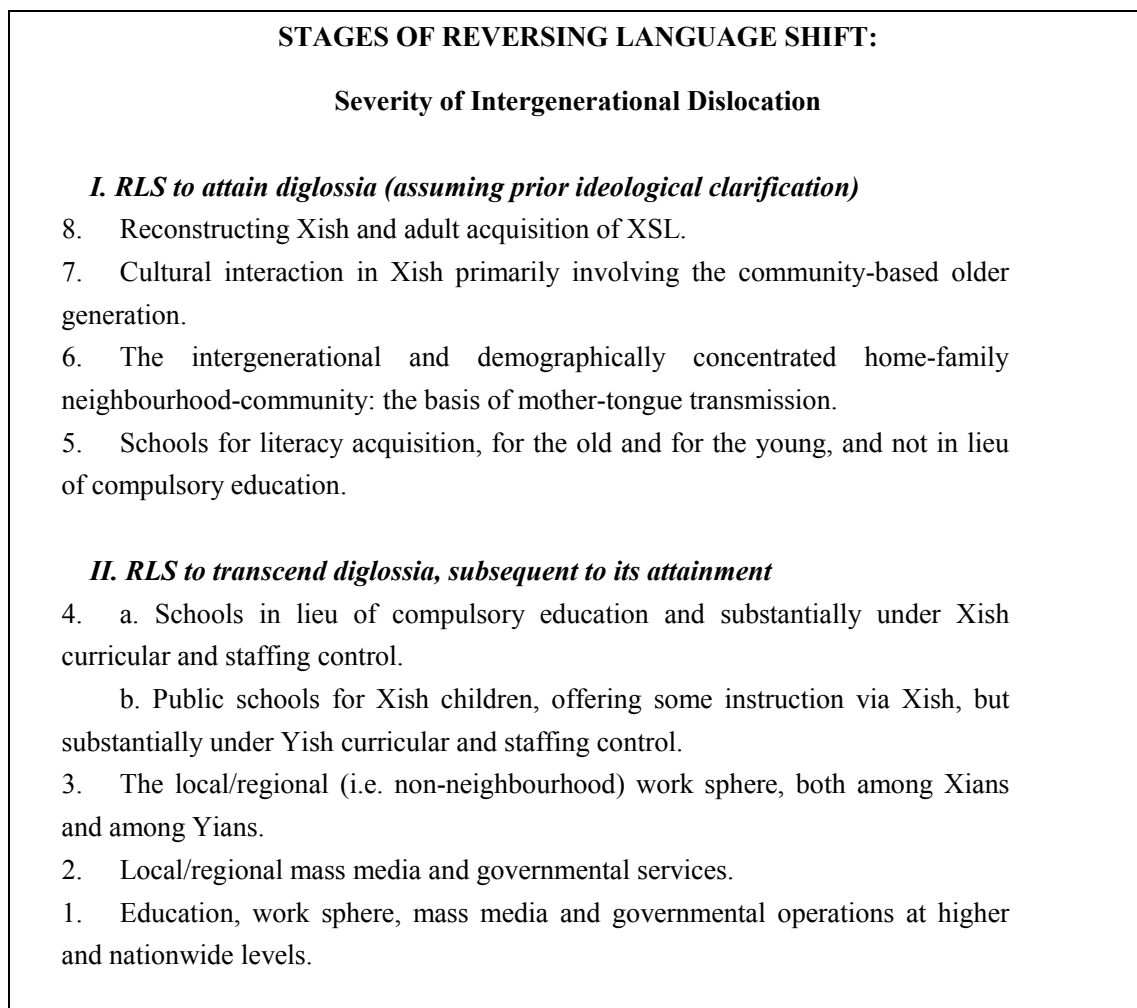
The GID Scale is set out in Figure 1. It outlines the severity of intergenerational dislocation in the shift of a language from the vernacular to a threatened minority language (ML). Stage 8 is the most severely dislocated stage, or least secure ML stage, whilst stage 1 is the most secure ML stage.

According to Fishman (2001a), the notational conventions of designating the *threatened* language as Xish or X and *its speakers* as Xians, while its *threatening* and stronger competitor is referred to as Y or Yish are used. The RLS Scale is designed to champion the unique role of languages in

their own traditionally related populations and functions, hence the use of the shorthand designations Xish and Yish.

The first theme was the reversal of language shift through the restoration of vernacular functions. The introduction of Fishman's (1991, 2001a) GIDS as an assessment tool is useful as a guide to locate where to target RLS efforts. The focus for te reo Māori RLS efforts on consolidating and securing the intergenerational transmission within the home among the whānau and anchored in the community is located at stage 6 on the GIDS scale.

Figure 8: GIDS Scale



Source: (Fishman, 2001a, p. 466)

Stage 8, the most severely dislocated stage, is where the minority language (ML) is least secure and possibly in a state of being reconstructed among adult second language learners. According to Baker (1993) this stage corresponds to the 'worst case' for a ML where there will be a few older generation speakers of the ML but ML interaction is rarely possible due to the demographic spread of the elders. It is therefore important that, if there is to be any chance of reconstructing the language, permanent records of the language be collected on tape and paper.

At stage 7, whilst the ML continues to be spoken, there is an absence of speakers of childbearing age or younger which, in terms of any self-maintaining intergenerational link is detrimental to the ML (Fishman, 1996). The ML is likely to die in the absence of a younger generation of speakers (Baker, 1993).

Stage 6 is where there is intergenerational transmission of the ML in the settings of home, family, neighbourhood and community. This is the pivotal stage for survival of the ML. However, according to Fishman (2001a) stages 8, 7 and 6 all represent serious circumstances for any RLS movement aimed at revernacularisation.

Stage 5 occurs when the ML is in the home and also involves literacy education as well as oracy. Efforts at this stage are still located within, and under the control of, the ML community itself rather than under the control of the central majority language environment (Baker, 1993).

Stage 4 includes ML medium education which, according to Baker (1993) may be partly under the control of the local ML community and partly under the control of central government.

Stage 3 occurs when the local/regional work sphere includes the ML being informally spoken among Xians and among Yians. According to Baker (1993) an important focus at this stage is to create a wider base for the ML.

Stage 2, the penultimate stage, is where the ML is used in local and regional media and governmental spheres.

Stage 1, according to Fishman (2001a) is the least dislocated stage or the most secure for a ML, providing Stage 6 has been met. The ML will be used throughout educational institutions, in the work sphere, mass media and governmental operations at higher and nationwide levels.

One of the purposes of the GIDS scale is to use it as a guide to locate the functional disruption of a particular threatened language in social space. Such location would help to establish the focus and priorities for RLS efforts. Another purpose is to cause the viewer to consider linkages between the stages and its potential for strengthening the selected stage where RLS efforts are to be located. Stage 6 is critical and is the basis of mother-tongue transmission

Fishman further argued that language maintenance is particularly difficult for speech communities which are undergoing language shift, especially when the shift is so advanced that the speech community cannot even control its informal intergenerational usage within the confines of the home, family, neighbourhood and face-to-face community. Therefore, in the RLS struggle priorities have to be made. Fishman added that if this stage 6 is not satisfied, then all else that happens at the other stages amounts to little more than biding time. However, pre-schools and schools can play an important supportive role, with regard to RLS efforts, so long as linkages are made to, or are located within, the crucial stage (Stage 6).

Reversing Language Shift Priorities and Planning

In terms of the mechanics of RLS, Fishman (2001a) noted that the above stages need not be worked on through a stage-by-stage progression, as long as the crucial stage was targeted consensually and with a clear understanding of what false priorities would ‘cost’. The stage 6 focus meant that prioritising of higher stages (stages 1-5), at the expense of, or without linkages to stage 6, posed a potential danger for RLS. Even higher education could pose a risk unless refocused for RLS purposes, as it rarely linked back to intergenerational transmission or to the stage 6 link in which such transmission took place. M. Durie (2001) made a similar point when he said “It makes limited sense only to prepare students for a life in international commerce if living as a Māori must be sacrificed” (Durie, 2001, p. 5). Te reo Māori is fundamental to Māori cultural practices and values, Māori realities and Māori lives. If, in spite of all the rewards offered by gaining knowledge of the wider world, one fails to live and speak as Māori, then there has been a failure that results in contributing towards language shift and cultural disruption.

Fishman (2001a) argued that it is important to understand which sociocultural functions are fundamental to intergenerational continuity and which are peripheral. Priorities include functions which are culturally *crucial* to intergenerational language use and continuity (home language), and those functions which give a *reasonable chance of success* (school language). However, he further argued that when these two sets of functions do not coincide, then a compromise must be reached between the two.

Moreover, Fishman contended that, in the promotion of a threatened language, RLS efforts seek to conscientise people about all that is lost, individually and collectively, when a language is lost. RLS theory also acknowledges that multiculturalism is weak in its ideological and practical focus and usually ignorant as to the consequences of the far greater compartmentalisation, minimalisation and subsequent disappearance of indigenous languages. As May (2001) asserts, multiculturalism causes fragmentation among minority groups as they compete with one another for limited resources. In Aotearoa, relegating Māori to the status of a single ethnic minority group among many is in breach of Te Tiriti o Waitangi as it is a denial of the rights guaranteed under Te Tiriti. It also denies the divisions within Māoridom their separate status whilst exaggerating the status of other immigrant groups so that Māori interests become peripheral.

RLS theory is concerned with the development and reinforcement of intergenerational speech-communities. “Just as nationalism is ethnicity rendered conscious and mobilised, so RLS is language maintenance rendered conscious and mobilised” (Fishman, 2001a, p. 455). In Aotearoa, although English is the dominant language, te reo Māori is an official language. Therefore, RLS is concerned with the endorsement of Māori/English bilingualism and biculturalism, because invariably RLSers (those people committed to RLS) are bilingual and, in tandem with their bilingualism, they are bicultural.

Structural Approach

Drawing on current research, Skerrett White (2003) contrasts two major approaches to language learning/teaching - structural –v- communicative. In a structural (behaviourist) approach to language learning, the language learning comprises linking a particular response to a particular stimulus, to be either reinforced or corrected. The teacher would see second language learning as occurring in a distinct set of speech habits, where the child would be able to say a word or grammatically correct sentences in an automatic fashion. The teacher provides the stimulus, the child responds. Through repetition and drill it is hoped the child would be able to use the second language correctly and automatically—not naturally. Children coming through this approach do not become functionally conversant in te reo Māori. The language has become automated, for use only in those restricted domains (mainly for ceremonial purposes or tokenistic functions) with which it was associated or automatically linked to. The child’s language learning is structured and controlled externally (by the teacher and programme).

Communicative Approach

An oppositional approach to structural language learning/teaching, developed in the 1960s and 1970s, is known as the ‘communicative’ approach. In his summary of the key principles of communicative language teaching (CLT) Kumaravadivelu (2006, p. 118 cited in Fernandez, 2008) provides the following list:

- Language is a system for expressing meaning.
- The linguistic structures of language reflect its functional as well as communicative import.
- Basic units of language are not merely grammatical and structural, but also notional and functional.
- The central purpose of language is communication.
- Communication is based on sociocultural norms of interpretation shared by a speech community.

Integral to these developments, according to Fernandez (2008), was the recognition of the failure of grammar-based approaches: the traditional grammar-translation method focused chiefly on the analysis and practice of grammatical rules, translation, and the memorisation of vocabulary. This produced students who could construct grammatically correct sentences and perform well on discrete point grammar exercises, but who lacked even basic verbal communication skills. It is suggested that this approach is functional and is about using language to convey meaning, in purposeful communication. Language is a means, where the language user's competence to communicate *meaning* effectively for a real purpose is centralised in the language learning process, rather than a structural/grammatical end. According to Baker (1993) modifications to the communicative approach have focused the language learning process on the interactions between *people* in social communications or meaningful cultural contexts. This is known as an 'interactional approach', being one where the aim is to encourage children to be competent, confident conversers and to engage in real meaningful conversations with others.

An Additive Approach

According to Cummins (2000) strong and uncompromising promotion of first language and literacy (in this case Te Reo Māori) is a crucial component of the total immersion approach, but that a *both/and* rather than an *either/or* orientation to both first and second language acquisition should be adopted. In Māori immersion programmes they are promoted together, not through a dual immersion approach (two languages occupying the same space), but generally through the informal exposure to English and its formal introduction at different times. There has been inadequate or very little research done in this area, in Aotearoa, as to when to formally introduce English as an academic subject. This area is hotly debated by parents, practitioners, policy makers and researchers in both Kōhanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Māori, and, certainly, in the wider field of bilingual education.

Subtractive Approach

According to May et al. (2004) when a subtractive view of bilingualism is taken – one that presupposes that bilingualism is a problem and/or an obstacle to be overcome - negative cognitive,

social, and educational consequences invariably ensue. This latter context occurs most often when bilingual students are required to learn an additional language, such as English, at the specific expense of their first language. This is still the most common experience for bilingual students in the world today and helps to explain why bilingual students, particularly those from minority language communities, are disproportionately represented in the lowest levels of English literacy achievement and wider school success.

Arnberg (1987) argued that the implication is that if bilingualism is considered important, discussing and contrasting the differences between languages helps the child/ren become aware of this importance. Moreover, she asserts that a growing awareness of their bilingualism needs to be developed among the children. Promoting critical language awareness means, as a matter of course, allowing the children to discuss, argue, debate – to communicate freely as they interact with others and make meaning of their situation. Any attempt to subtract or actively suppress the English language of a bilingual child would be viewed by many sociolinguists as a subtractive approach to bilingualism.

English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL)

The resource English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL): Effective Provision for International Students: A Resource for Schools (Ministry of Education, n.d.) is designed to assist schools to provide quality English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) support for international students. It provides guidance for the development of ESOL policies and business plans to ensure that English language programmes are adequately and appropriately resourced. It also provides good practice advice for programme planning and teaching practice much of which can be transferred to Māori medium education with implications for ITE. For example, the notion that general staff should be encouraged to take qualifications in ESOL or that there is access to specialist education services or additional teacher aide time available; that there be a budget for professional development at whole school, faculty and individual teacher level; that there is sufficient funding allocated to the programme to provide appropriate print materials, hardware and software for all levels of students and so on. There are associated policy implications. Schools should develop a Framework for a Business Plan which includes, among other things, staff qualification goals and staff development objectives, marketing and promotion strategies and strategies for monitoring provision. The budget should include, among other things, specialist support; marketing and promotional materials; learning resources including bilingual materials; teaching resources (e.g., curriculum and assessment materials; capital items (e.g., computers) and development programmes such as learning through language.

According to the report, students with low levels of English, who need intensive English for both general and specialist purposes, may need to remain in reception or immersion classes for long periods of time. In primary schools, early phase students are likely to be in the mainstream for

most of the time, but will need small group intensive English language provision in the early stages. The report states that mainstreaming immediately with no support is not acceptable, as mainstreaming should ideally be considered as a gradual process. However, there should be some points, even at the early stages of English language learning, when international students do interact with mainstream peers. It is important to provide opportunities for these learners to have ongoing contact with the most linguistically competent students to assist them with their English language development. Moreover, international students want to be accepted as members of the school community, so value opportunities to interact socially with peers in the mainstream.

The International English language Testing System (IELTS)

IELTS is the International English Language Testing System which tests English proficiency across the globe. Conducting one million tests globally, IELTS is the world's most popular English testing system.

IELTS is accepted by more than 6000 organisations worldwide. These include universities, immigration departments, government agencies, professional bodies and multinational companies. International teams of writers contribute to IELTS test materials. Ongoing research ensures that IELTS remains fair and unbiased. Test writers from different English-speaking countries develop IELTS content so it reflects real-life situations.

IELTS has two versions of the test – Academic and General Training. The Academic test is for those who want to study at a tertiary level in an English-speaking country. The General Training test is for those who want to do work experience or training programs, secondary school or migrate to an English-speaking country. All candidates take the same listening and speaking tests but different reading and writing tests.

Test format and length

IELTS has four parts – Listening (30 minutes), Reading (60 minutes), Writing (60 minutes) and Speaking (11–14 minutes). The total test time is 2 hours and 45 minutes. The Listening, Reading and Writing tests are done in one sitting. The Speaking test may be on the same day or up to seven days before or after the other tests.

The IELTS Official Practice Materials 2007 explains the test format in detail and provides practice tests and answers.

IELTS band scores

There is no pass or fail in IELTS. Candidates are graded on their performance, using scores from 1 to 9 for each part of the test – listening, reading, writing and speaking. The results from the four parts then produce an overall band score. This unique 9-band system measures scores in a consistent manner – wherever and whenever the test is taken. It is internationally recognised and understood, giving you a reliable international currency. IELTS scores are valid for two years.

The IELTS 9-band scale

Each band corresponds to a level of English competence. All parts of the test and the overall band score can be reported in whole and half bands, eg 6.5, 7.0, 7.5, 8.0.

Band 9: Expert user: has fully operational command of the language: appropriate, accurate and fluent with complete understanding.

Band 8: Very good user: has fully operational command of the language with only occasional unsystematic inaccuracies and inappropriacies. Misunderstandings may occur in unfamiliar situations. Handles complex detailed argumentation well.

Band 7: Good user: has operational command of the language, though with occasional inaccuracies, inappropriacies and misunderstandings in some situations. Generally handles complex language well and understands detailed reasoning.

Band 6: Competent user: has generally effective command of the language despite some inaccuracies, inappropriacies and misunderstandings. Can use and understand fairly complex language, particularly in familiar situations.

Band 5: Modest user: has partial command of the language, coping with overall meaning in most situations, though is likely to make many mistakes. Should be able to handle basic communication in own field.

Band 4: Limited user: basic competence is limited to familiar situations. Has frequent problems in understanding and expression. Is not able to use complex language.

Band 3: Extremely limited user: conveys and understands only general meaning in very familiar situations. Frequent breakdowns in communication occur.

Band 2: Intermittent user: no real communication is possible except for the most basic information using isolated words or short formulae in familiar situations and to meet immediate needs. Has great difficulty understanding spoken and written English.

Band 1: Non-user: essentially has no ability to use the language beyond possibly a few isolated words.

Band 0: Did not attempt the test: No assessable information provided.

Teacher education in Aotearoa and IELTS requirements for universities

Students need an IELTS score of 7.0 to enter into a teacher education programme in Aotearoa.

The following chart shows the requirements for universities in Aotearoa.

Organisation	Course Type	Min Academic
Massey University	General	6.50
Auckland University of Technology	U/G	6.00
Auckland University of Technology	P/G	7.00
Auckland University of Technology	Foundation certificate - 8 mths	5.50
Auckland University of Technology	Pre-Foundation - 1 trimester	5.00
Auckland University of Technology	Pre-Foundation - 2 trimester	4.50
Lincoln University New Zealand	General	6.50
Massey University	General	6.50
University of Auckland	U/G	6.00
University of Auckland	P/G	6.50
University of Auckland	Foundation	5.00
University of Auckland	Education	7.00
University of Auckland	P/G Commerce, Law	7.00
University of Auckland	Engineering, U/G Law, Planning	6.50
University of Auckland	Medicine	7.50
University of Canterbury	U/G	6.00
University of Canterbury	P/G	6.50
University of Canterbury	Foundation	5.50
University of Otago	General	6.50
University of Waikato	U/G	6.00
University of Waikato	P/G	6.50
University of Waikato	General	6.50
Victoria University of Wellington	General	6.50
University of Otago - MBA		6.50

Appendix three

Graduating Teacher Standards with particular significance to Māori medium ITE (NZTC, 2007b).

PROFESSIONAL KNOWLEDGE

Standard One: Graduating Teachers know what to teach [and:]

- have knowledge of the relevant curriculum documents of Aotearoa New Zealand.
- have content and pedagogical content knowledge for supporting English as an Additional Language (EAL) learners to succeed in the curriculum.

Standard 3: Graduating Teachers understand how contextual factors influence teaching and learning [and:]

- have knowledge of tikanga and te reo Māori to work effectively within the bicultural contexts of Aotearoa New Zealand;
- have an understanding of education within the bicultural, multicultural, social, political, economic and historical contexts of Aotearoa New Zealand.

PROFESSIONAL PRACTICE

Standard 4: Graduating Teachers use professional knowledge to plan for a safe, high quality teaching and learning environment [and:]

- demonstrate proficiency in oral and written language (Māori and/or English), in numeracy and in ICT relevant to their professional role.
- use te reo Māori me ngā tikanga-a-iwi appropriately in their practice.

PROFESSIONAL VALUES & RELATIONSHIPS

Standard 6: Graduating Teachers develop positive relationships with learners and the members of learning communities [and:]

- e) demonstrate respect for te reo Māori me ngā tikanga-a-iwi in their practice.