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TE ORO ĀWHIOWHIO

TOA- A tool for Māori language learning?

By

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for the degree of Master of Arts in Education
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ABSTRACT

This thesis presents a reconstruction of some of the components of the ‘Hei awhiawhi tamariki ki te panui pukapuka’ (HPP) English oral language enhancement programme. The reconstruction into te reo Māori is named ‘Te Oro Āwhiowhio’ (TOA) meaning the circulating sound. The ‘One Hand Approach’ (Stock), coupled with phonological awareness activities comprise the programme. In a case study approach, the procedures are trialled with tamariki in a kura kaupapa Māori.

This thesis historically contextualises the advent of Kura Kaupapa Māori while discussing the economic, political and cultural climates that facilitated its emergence. The case study is located in one small kura, the interest is in the effectiveness of the procedures as a tool for use to enhance the language proficiency of beginning learners in Te Reo Māori. Issues of translated assessments are discussed while baseline and post intervention results of the case study are presented. TOA is a tool developed in cognisance of the exigencies of Kaupapa Māori theory and methodology.
HE MIHI

He mihi kau ana tēnei ki ngā maunga whakahīhī o te Hokianga Whakapau Karakia e whakaruruhau mai nei, e poipoi ana tenei iti, to uri. Ki a koe te maunga Ramaroa. Ka torongia to rama mai tawhiti, he ahi kā mo te hunga, he piringa mo te iwi, mo ngā morehu. pēnei ki tēnei. Ko te Ramaroa, tu te ao, tu te po.

Ko te Hokianga, toku oranga. Paiaka o te rīri, toku rongoa Te kawa o Rahiri, taku turanga I waiho ki a Whiria, ko toku manawa.
# Contents

ABSTRACT .............................................................................................................. 3  
HE MIHI.................................................................................................................... 4  
List of Tables and Figures ............................................................................................. 6  
Chapter One................................................................................................................... 7  
Te Reo Maori in educational settings ........................................................................... 7  
Introduction ................................................................................................................. 7  
Historical overview – Māori language and literacy ......................................................... 8  
Te Anga Whakamua- To face forward......................................................................... 14  
Conclusions .................................................................................................................. 24  
Chapter Two .................................................................................................................. 26  
Language learning and assessment .............................................................................. 26  
Introduction ................................................................................................................ 26  
Hei Awhiawhi Tamariki ki te Panui Pukapuka (HPP) ................................................... 28  
Assessing in Te Reo Maori – some of the issues ........................................................ 36  
Translating assessments ............................................................................................. 37  
Translation and parallel development ........................................................................ 45  
An Approach to Second Language Acquisition ......................................................... 50  
Conclusions .................................................................................................................. 52  
Chapter Three .............................................................................................................. 54  
Tikanga Rangahau ....................................................................................................... 54  
Introduction ................................................................................................................ 54  
Kaupapa Māori Research ............................................................................................ 54  
Te Oro Awhiowhio, (TOA) – the case studies .............................................................. 58  
Chapter Four ............................................................................................................... 81  
Results and Discussion ............................................................................................... 81  
Introduction ............................................................................................................... 81  
Baseline and Post Intervention Data .......................................................................... 81  
(1) Te Rarangi Tirotiro Whakahua Kupu .................................................................... 82  
(3) He Whakamātau Reo Kōrero (JOST) ................................................................. 84  
(3) Language Sample (He Tauira) .......................................................................... 87  
(4) Running Record: Pūkete Pānui Haere ................................................................. 94  
Te Tirohanga Whanui : Implications ......................................................................... 97
List of Tables and Figures

Table 1 'Te Rārangi Tirotiro Whakahua' page 83

Table 2 'Te Rārangi Tirotiro Whakahua:'
Specific Task Scores page 84

Table 3 'He Whakamātau Reo Kōrero'
Baseline & Post scores page 86

Graph 1 Language Sample Scores
Baseline & Post scores page 88
Chapter One

Te Reo Maori in educational settings

Introduction

This case study involves the reconstruction of aspects of the Hei Awhiawhi Tamariki ki te Panui Pukapuka (Atvars, Stock 1998) programme into Te Reo Māori. Hei Awhiawhi Tamariki ki te Panui Pukapuka (HPP) is an English language enhancement programme and is operated in a number of mainstream schools throughout New Zealand. HPP utilises adult volunteers who in a warm one to one activity initiate dialogue with a child using a storybook. This aspect of the programme is named ‘The One Hand Approach’ (Stock 1997) and constitutes, in addition to phonological activities, the HPP programme.

Te Oro Āwhiwhio (TOA)

The reconstruction procedures have been trialled with 3 children in a Kura Kaupapa Māori educational setting, and inform the observations and discussions presented in this study. The procedures I have reconstructed I have named ‘Te Oro Āwhiwhio’ or its acronym TOA. Te Oro Āwhiwhio I have translated to mean the circulating sound. The acronym ‘TOA’, meaning champion or winner, is poignant because it encapsulates my own aspirations for young Māori learners to be steadfast, to achieve;

‘kia manawanui, kia toa’. 
TOA is reminiscent that language is indeed comprised of sounds of varied timbres and cadence. Rich language experiences and exposure to rhythmic rhymes, ditties and chants enhance children’s oral language acquisition.

**Historical overview – Māori language and literacy**

In order to contextualise this study it is useful to outline some historical factors which contributed to the decline of the Māori language in the last century in Aotearoa/New Zealand. A brief overview of Education acts and policies is included as a backdrop in which to frame Māori language loss, the demise of which has led to serious endeavours to regenerate and revitalise the Māori language. One such serious endeavour has been the advent of Kura Kaupapa Māori. This study is located in one such context in Te Taitokerau.

**Pre European Māori**

Māori autonomy was intact in pre-European Aotearoa. Māori had control of land, resources, and language. Māori employed a sophisticated system of education which ensured the intergenerational passage of knowledge and skills such as those associated with weaving, whakapapa (patterns of genealogy), weaponry and tribal histories (Smith 1997). Upon arrival in Aotearoa, Māori adapted innovatively to challenges of climate and topography. The Whare Wananga or Houses of Learning were systemised regimes where rigorous forms of teaching and learning were employed. Apprentices were selected often as a result of having been observed having

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1 Kura Kaupapa Māori are Māori medium schooling contexts that are based on Māori philosophy and practice.
2 Māori cultural-political-geographical term for the northern region of the North Island of Aotearoa/New Zealand.
displaying a particular talent or ability in a specific field (Mead, 2003). Although learners were selected and nurtured to become experts in a particular pursuit, unlike the Western practice of individualism, where knowledge is sought, obtained and often cloistered, Māori knowledge was contained within human repositories for the benefit and retrieval of the entire community (Metge, 1984).

From the earliest arrivals of missionaries and the subsequent establishment of Mission schools, an agenda of civilising Māori was perpetrated. The missionary zeal to civilise Māori was synonymous with their desire to indoctrinate Christianity (Simon, Smith et al, 2001). The majority of missionaries were of British extraction and shared the colonist's belief that England was at the apex of all civilisations in the hierarchical race table.

The Development of Print Literacy

Thomas Kendall, an early missionary working under Reverend Samuel Marsden, established the first mission school in Rangihoua, Bay of Islands. Kendall, following the dictates of the time, attempted to teach reading and writing in English. Realising that this did not work, he continued to teach using the little Māori he knew, interspersing it with English. During his brief teaching sojourn Kendall learnt the rudimentaries of the Māori language, and experimented with developing a written form of the language (Jenkins, 1991).

Samuel Marsden realising early that the inability of the missionaries to communicate with Māori in Māori was thwarting the missionary effort to spread the word of the
Gospel, insisted that all his missionaries learn the Māori language. Māori were not required to learn English in order for them to be taught the Word. (Jenkins 1991). Surmising that the development of a Māori orthography would further enhance the potential for the growth of Christianity, a concerted effort was undertaken by early missionaries to develop a written form. Building on the initial work of Kendall, the Reverend Henry Williams pursued the adoption of a Māori orthography by sending two Northern Māori to London (Tuai and Titere) who worked with a Professor Lee, developing the rudiments of written Māori (Jenkins, 1991).

From 1840 onwards literacy became an important adjunct in the life of Māori. The fervour with which Māori learned reading and writing is captured in this account by Brown (cited in Simon et al 1998: p.4).

'If one native in a tribe can read and write, he will not be long in teaching the others. The desire to obtain this information engrosses their whole thoughts and they will continue for days with their slates in their hands.'

'The demands Māori made for books was eventually fulfilled by the missionaries who, having established their own printing presses, printed thousands of new testaments in Māori. It is estimated by 1845 that there was at least one Māori new testament for every two Māori people'. (Simon et al 1998: 5).

Thus literacy was another site where Māori was influenced by European values and belief systems. A consequence of the upsurge of literacy acquisition was the further erosion of Māori sources of knowledge.
The introduction of the written Māori word and its availability to all challenged the status and role of Māori traditional human repositories of knowledge. The intricacies of print and the messages it contained were readily available to any that learnt the secrets to unlock it. This was in direct opposition to a traditional structure, which endorsed knowledge transfer through selected experts. It constituted a further step towards the decline of Māori values and beliefs (Jenkins 1991).

**The rise of English in education of Māori**

The Land Wars of the 1860's were fundamental to the demise of the mission schools, which were largely abandoned by mid 1860's. The government established Native Schools, overt in the schools' design to domesticate and Europeanise Māori, the language of instruction was English.

Constituted by the Native Schools Act 1867, schools were set up in local villages. Māori communities were initially expected to contribute considerably to their establishment. In addition to the donation of the land, half payment of the buildings, and a quarter cost of the salary of the teacher were stipulated (Simon et al, 1998).

The curriculum of the time prepared Māori for manual and domestic work, with the access to any intellectual development curtailed. The concerns of 'Te Matenga' a Bay of Islands chief regarding the limitations of the curriculum are expressed in his 1873 statement.

'...we have been taught three things – reading, writing and arithmetic. What we want is that education should be progressive, and that schools should be established for
children of two years to twenty-one...We want more than these three things to enable our descendants to cope with the Europeans.' (cited in Simon et al 1998:12).

The 1880, Native Schools Code specified the conditions for the establishment of schools and stipulated employment terms for teachers. It outlined rules and regulations for the schools operation, and formulated curriculum requirements. English was the official language of instruction, with Māori usage permissible in junior classes only until English proficiency was achieved.

'In all cases English is to be used by the teacher when he is instructing the senior classes. In the junior classes the Māori language may be used for the purpose of making the children acquainted with the meanings of the English words and sentences. The aim of the teacher, however should be to dispense with the use of Māori as soon as possible' (The Native Schools Code 1880 cited in Simon et al 1998:12)

The Native Schools Act 1867 operated concurrently with the 'Board' schools. Board schools were mandated by the 1877 Education Act and were administered by a central Education Department, and ten Regional Boards. The Act provided free, secular primary education in New Zealand. The Native Schools, initially overseen by the Native Department, were gradually transferred to Board control, the premise being that as children in Native Schools became 'Europeanised' the schools would integrate into the Public System.
While the Native Schools Code initially permitted the limited use of Māori, by the early 1900's the use of the language in the schools was effectively banned. The Department was subscribing to a new method of teaching English. The 'Direct' or 'Natural' Method was employed. It advocated the sole use of the target language, English (Simon et al. 1998).

Although never an official policy, the practice of corporal punishment meted out to children in Native Schools for speaking Māori seems to have been widespread. Teachers nonetheless differed in their tolerance for Māori language use.

'Opinions differ regarding the language to be used by Native children in the playground. My own practice is to insist that only English shall be used within the school boundaries.' ...(Miss R. Clarke, Karioi Native School, 1918, cited in Simon et al. 1998: 75)

'Some teachers insist on English in the playground but this is cruelty to the little ones, who yet know a few words, and for that reason I am averse to the system.'


The premise of the Direct Method was endorsed by many Māori parents. Anxious for their children to learn English, some parents insisted on English use in the home. The underlying assumption was that in order to be successful as the Pakeha were, one had to be proficient with English. Evidence suggests that Māori were anxious for their children to be successful in a Pakeha-dominated society and schooling was perceived as a means to realising that success. It is not evident that parents ever intended the
Māori language to be placed at risk, but rather proficiency in both languages was the desired aim for their children.

Language Decline

During the 1950's English became the dominant language for Māori in nearly all sectors of public society including commerce, education and the media. The influx of Māori from rural areas to the cities, further eroded the status and role of the language, as the domains for language use were few in the city (Benton 1987).

Most Māori children entering school in this decade spoke English. The forty years of Direct Method English tuition had permeated the Native Schools System, and successfully usurped Māori as the primary language for many. Māori were the victims of an assimilation policy, and active participants in the beginning stages of intergenerational language loss.

The 1970's and 1980's in particular saw Māori as active participants in language and cultural renaissance efforts. Arguably one of the most critical initiatives to come out of these efforts is Te Kohanga Reo.

Te Anga Whakamua- To face forward

Encapsulated in this Māori phrase is an English language dichotomy. Mua can mean forward, in front of and it can also mean before. The word embodies a sense of destiny while incorporating a vestige of times before. The terminology is used deliberately to further illustrate the interface of past and present in the Māori worldview (Smith 1997). In this next section Te Kohanga Reo movement is
introduced into a recent Western timeframe where its inception was a result of and continues to be an integral catalyst for Te Reo Māori regeneration (Hohepa 1999).

This chapter will outline the cultural, political and economic climate, which facilitated the rise and growth of Te Kohanga Reo and the subsequent Kura Kaupapa Māori movement. The power relations between State and Māori, in the context of schooling and education will also be explored. A major task of this chapter is to identify and examine Māori language learning challenges faced by Kura Kaupapa Māori today.

**The Beginning: Te Kore/Te Po**

In undertaking research for this project and tracing the origins of aspects of Māori renaissance and language regeneration I accessed an account of beginnings of Te Kohanga Reo. This account did not describe Te Kohanga Reo beginnings in terms of an arguably western timeline, but gave a description which firmly places its origins at the beginning of time according to Māori worldview. The description locates Te Kohanga Reo origins firmly within the realms of Mātauranga Māori, Māori knowledge (Black, Marshall & Irwin, 2003). That time and space when the ancient Māori world emerged is where the writers have located the beginnings of Te Kohanga Reo. Black et al have acknowledged that it is from the ancient world that kaumatua called to for the intergenerational transfer of knowledge and customs in the creation of Te Kohanga Reo (Tawhiwhirangi I, et al 1988). They state that

'It is the Māori language, the ancestral language of that world, the customs and culture associated with it, that are the core bodies of knowledge that Kohanga Reo reproduces' (Black, Marshall & Irwin 2003, p 2).
Te Kohanga Reo

The catalyst for the creation of Te Kohanga Reo emerged out of a gathering of elders in 1979 who identified Māori Language retention as pivotal in the quest for Rangatiratanga, Māori Self Determination. The hui was part of a new approach implemented by the Department of Māori Affairs. After the Department’s restructuring in the late 1970’s the new approach included a forum for kaumatua to determine policy for the Department of Māori Affairs. The initial forum or hui was followed by a subsequent ‘Wananga Whakatauira’ in 1980, where the language was again identified at the top of the policy agenda (Tawhiwhirangi, I, 1988 cited in Black et al 2003).

Here the proviso for Māori to lead the way in the struggle to regenerate the language was articulated. Kara Puketapu, the then Minister of Māori Affairs, harnessed the aspirations into a package named ‘Tu Tangata’ (Puketapu, 1982). The broad objectives of which were to improve educational attainment, to provide opportunities for self-fulfillment within the community, to raise the socio-economic status of the people and to ‘kokiri’, to advance. (Puketapu, 1982)

‘The Tu Tangata programmes were designed to enable Māori ‘to stand tall’ again, by reclaiming Māori knowledge as the theoretical framework which informed the Māori and by adopting te reo Māori, tikanga Māori and the rituals and protocols of the marae as the means of operationalising the Māori.’ (Black et al 2003 unpaged).

Te Kohanga Reo was instigated not only as a measure to assuage the decline of Māori language. It is not merely a site where Māori customs and protocols are practised and validated. The issues of language regeneration and the right to an education in a
heritage language are fundamental to and inform the philosophy of Te Kohanga Reo. At the macro level, as part of the bigger picture, Te Kohanga Reo is about Māori nation building. Significant contributions to the nation building notions by Te Kohanga Reo include the facility to exercise Rangatiratanga, Māori self-determination. The initiative was one of Māori development, spear-headed by Māori, for Māori and in Māori. Te Kohanga Reo is a world leader in an early childhood immersion language learning domain, within the context of whanau, hapu and iwi development (Black et al 2003).

At present Te Kohanga Reo has been in existence for just over twenty years. The movement has undergone much growth and restructuring. In 1990 the responsibility of Te Kohanga Reo was transferred from the Department of Māori Affairs to the then newly formed Ministry of Education. This transfer had major impact for many Te Kohanga Reo who struggled to meet the greater regulatory controls the transfer to the Ministry of Education enforced.

**Kura Kaupapa Māori**

Since the inception of Kohanga Reo in 1982 the kaupapa Māori theory and practice which drove the Kohanga Reo movement has led to the establishment of the alternative schooling option of Kura Kaupapa Māori (immersion primary school), Wharekura (immersion secondary schools) and Whare Wānanga (Māori tertiary institutions). Developing initially outside of the state system, Kura Kaupapa Māori whanau considered a reintegration into the state system as an inevitability as the limited financial and other resources of these schooling communities could not sustain the movement (Smith G 1997). Kura Kaupapa Māori is a relative fledgling
alternative educational initiative. Instigated by groups of concerned parents who witnessed the decline of the Māori language in their children graduating from Te Kohanga Reo, the Kura Kaupapa Māori movement was mandated legislatively in the 1989 Education Act. This was only after much political lobbying by parents and supporters of the movement who pressured politicians, while establishing the prototype kura in inadequate, under-resourced environs (Smith, G 1997).

Two reasons are most often cited by parents as the catalyst for the establishment of the alternative schooling system were:

1. To provide a education forum for Māori language maintenance, while simultaneously

2. Choosing to distance themselves from the colonising influence of schools and the State education system.

A significant factor of the first reason is parents were likely to be non-speakers of Māori and wanted their children to have Māori language opportunities they never had. The second point is significant as it highlights the complexities of the social, economic, political and cultural subordinate positioning of Māori within New Zealand society (Smith G 1999).

...schools, and the education system as a whole are seen as not just reproducing outcomes of social inequality for Māori, they are also perceived as agencies of colonisation and therefore as instruments for the promulgation of 'dominant Pakeha' cultural interests (Smith G 1999:108).
Despite increased levels of achievement by Māori in the mainstream the disparity between Māori and non-Māori achievements persist. Ngā Haeata Mātauranga the Annual Report of Māori achievement 2002/2003 cites,

‘In terms of achievement, national and international assessment results are showing a wide gap in achievement in New Zealand. Māori continue to perform on average less well than non-Māori. Raising Māori achievement is complex but research is showing it can be done’ (Ministry of Education 2004).

Graham Smith asserts that the Māori struggle within education and schooling is paralleled within the cultural, political, social, and economic positioning of Māori within the wider society. He cites the political climate of the New Right and free-market enterprise in the mid 1980’s as unwittingly aiding the development of an alternate education option for Māori. As State devolved responsibility for Health, Education and Justice to communities, it allowed for the ‘partial exporting of the schooling crisis posed by Māori within the state school system back on to Māori themselves’ (Smith G, 1999; 111).

The current situation

According to statistics presented on the website of Te Runanga nui o nga Kura Kaupapa Māori as of 2002 sixty-one Kura Kaupapa Māori existed throughout the country. Eight Kura Kaupapa Māori operate throughout Te Taitokerau (Te Puni Kokiri 2001). The numbers of Māori children enrolled in Kura are a small percentage of the entire Māori school age population, 3% of total Māori school age population in most regions, 5% in Te Taitokerau (KKM Runanga Nui member- personal
communication) are achieving the aim of educating through Te Reo Māori and are successfully producing bilingual students. This success has attracted families previously uncommitted to the kaupapa or philosophy of KKM to seek enrolment of their children who may have had no Te Kohanga Reo experience or who may have little or no reo Māori.

This phenomenon is encapsulated in this account of one Kura’ experience.

'Some students begin without Te Reo Māori, this stretches kura resources. Our school is inundated with requests from parents of children who have never been to Te Kohanga Reo, the kura is caught in a catch-22 situation because of pressure of resources. The Whanau of the kura make the decision based on parents’ plan to provide assistance, we have had no refusal to date, but it is coming’. (SES 1999 p125)

**Enrolment policies**

Many Kura have implemented enrolment policies to assist decision-making when considering such enrolments. Classroom teaching and learning dynamics are altered significantly with the introduction of even one monolingual English speaking student. There is little written research investigating the impact of English only speaking students into Kura Kaupapa Māori immersion domains although personal communications with three kura teachers across different kura indicate they struggle to implement inclusive classroom programmes with enrolments who have little or no Reo Māori. Teachers have also commented on the erosive impact an English only speaker has on the Māori language domain of the kura. As the phenomenon of children entering Kura Kaupapa Māori with little or no reo Māori continues, kura...
need to consider options for swiftly developing Māori language competency in newly enrolled students that may have relatively little to no communicative competence in te reo Māori. It was in one such environment that the impetus for this study was born.

**Te Ora o te Reo Māori i Te Taitokerau**

The Health of the Māori Language in Te Taitokerau is the title of a language survey conducted in Te Taitokerau by Te Puni Kokiri in 2002. The Language Survey highlights international research on language regeneration, which recognises the major role intergenerational language transmission plays in reversing language shift.

The language survey data cites 45% of Māori households (6,500) have at least one Māori speaker. This indicates that some children or young people may have the opportunity to acquire Te Reo Māori through intergenerational transmission from parents or adults (Te Puni Kokiri 2002:8). Data for whānau households comprising Māori speakers aged under eighteen, living with Māori speaking adults over eighteen years constitute only 16% of this total Māori household type (Te Puni Kokiri 2002:8).

The language survey provides an indication of intergenerational language transmission by the percentage of proficient Māori speakers who use Māori to speak to children. For most Māori speakers, te reo Māori is not the main language used to converse with children, and this 'suggests that intergenerational transmission is relatively weak at present' (Te Puni Kokiri 2002:9). The language survey identifies that for Māori speakers the use of English in everyday interactions is much more prevalent. This is inclusive of interactions with children and indicates that
intergenerational transmissions in normal family life is unlikely to flourish and will threaten current language levels in the future (Te Puni Kokiri 2002).

Hohepa (1999) discussing the exigencies of Māori language regeneration cites the concerns of people working at the flax roots who have made the observation that ‘Māori language seems to be a nine to three school day language for members of kura and kohanga whanau’ (Hohepa 1999:43). There is evidence that children are developing Māori language, however this language development is not being matched by parents and other whanau.

‘For initiatives aimed at regenerating Māori language through socialising and educating children as speakers of Māori to be effective, those who have intimate contact with these children, in the personal domains of home and whānau, also need to be learning and speaking the language’ (Hohepa 1999:42).

In the concluding paragraphs of the Māori Language Survey, five indicators of language health are identified. A question prefacing each indicator is used to form a judgement on the health of the Māori language. Under the fifth indicator, the key question posed is ‘whether the general Māori population understands the tasks necessary to ensure the retention of the language’ (Te Puni Kokiri 2002). The survey concludes that while the language is regarded positively by Māori, and there are evidences of initiatives to acquire and ‘grow’ the language, there is little cognisance in the Māori population of the ‘totality’ of measures necessary to redress language loss. There is little evidence of any regional language planning in place, and no apparent sense of urgency prevailing to address these issues (Te Puni Kokiri 2002:15).
‘When the process of language loss is identified and when commitment to intervene in the process is made, intervention is less about bringing something back from the dead and more about finding and tending whatever life has survived’ (Hohepa 1999; 44-5).

The Language Survey reiterates the tenuous health of Te Reo Māori, and states emphatically that strategic planning precede language regeneration successes. The survey stipulates language regeneration will not occur spontaneously. Education and schooling initiatives are not sufficient surrogates for intergenerational transmission of Te Reo Māori (Te Puni Kokiri 2002).

**Te Hoki Whakamua / Returning Back**

This chapter outlined the emergence of Te Kohanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Māori within the social, political and economic climates of Aotearoa/New Zealand society in the 1980’s. The emergence of those revolutionary education models, have been upheld internationally as sites of cultural renaissance and emulated as models for language regeneration. Smith (1997) has mooted some negative effects the positioning of Kura Kaupapa Māori within the ‘structural’ constraints of the system may facilitate. The Kaupapa Māori movement was spear-headed by whanau, Māori parents and extended support people. Whānau were and theoretically are the change agents, the protagonists within Kaupapa Māori movements. Kura Kaupapa Māori is subsumed in the mechanisms and machinations of a system. A system historically responsible for the schooling disenfranchisement of a myriad of Māori children. Might Kura Kaupapa albeit unwittingly, be assisting the erosion of whanau, as it struggles to comply with the structures and bureaucracies being part of a system.
affords? Are the potentialities of a culturally preferred model of operation being undermined in a system that validates an antagonist modus operandi? The conscientisation of whanau would assist in the repositioning of whanau at the forefront (flax roots) of ongoing Māori education initiatives. The Health of the Māori language in Te Taitokerau (Te Puni Kokiri 2002:3) has identified the lack of critical awareness of the totality of language retention issues as a barrier to improved language health. The survey also advocates the identification of groups of people who could be targeted for language regeneration. For kura whanau entrenched within Kaupapa Māori education sites, commitment to the kaupapa is assumed. How that commitment is expressed within Kura frameworks is many and varied. The implementation of kura whanau wananga designed specifically to conscientise kura whanau and reiterate the fundamental and pivotal position the language and the regeneration exigencies it affords, has the potential to begin to meet the needs of intergenerational language transmission concerns, and assuage the incidences of Te Reo Māori becoming a nine to three language of schooling. As the antecedents of the Kura movement, whānau have illustrated solidarity, power and commitment to the Cause. The whānau as an intervention model is enshrined in latent potentiality.

Conclusions

Kura Kaupapa Māori is a relative fledgling alternative educational initiative, which was instigated by groups of concerned parents who witnessed the decline of the Māori language in their children graduating from Te Kohanga Reo. The movement was mandated in the 1989 Education Act only after much protesting by parents and
supporters of the movement who pressured politicians while establishing the prototype kura in inadequate, under-resourced environs (Smith G 1997).

According to statistics presented on the website of Te Runanga nui o ngā Kura Kaupapa Māori in 2002 sixty-one Kura Kaupapa Māori exist throughout the country, with several additional satellite kura teina awaiting autonomy from their kura tuakana. The numbers of Māori children enrolled in Kura while a small percentage of the entire Māori school age population, are achieving the aim of educating through Te Reo Māori and are successfully producing bilingual students. This success has attracted families previously uncommitted to the kaupapa or philosophy of KKM to seek enrolment of their children who may have little or no reo Māori. Many Kura have implemented enrolment policies to assist decision-making when considering such enrolments.

While there is little written research investigating the impact of English only speaking students into Kura Kaupapa Māori immersion domains, there are indications that kaiako struggle to implement inclusive classroom programmes with such enrolments. Classroom teaching and learning dynamics are altered significantly with the introduction of even one monolingual English only speaking student.

As the phenomena of children entering Kura Kaupapa Māori with little or no reo Māori occurs, kura find themselves needing to consider options for swiftly developing Māori language competency in newly enrolled students. It was in one such environment that the impetus for this study was born.
Chapter Two

Language learning and assessment

Introduction

During 2003 a Ministry of Education literacy programme was initiated in one area of Te Taitokerau. This initiative was a direct consequence of the Education Review Office (ERO) findings in the document ‘Schooling in the Far North’ (1998). This document highlighted areas of concern particularly in the underachievement of students and the under performance of a disproportionate number of schools to meet learning, governance and management challenges within this geographic area.

The literacy initiative focussed on lifting the literacy achievement levels of 'slow progress' students. A set of reading procedures entitled ‘Pause, Prompt, Praise’ (Glyn, McNaughton, Robinson & Quinn, 1979) was one of three components of the initiative. The two others were the Maori language ‘Tatari,Tautoko,Tauawhi’ reading programme for use in Maori medium classes, and an English oral language programme named ‘Hei Awhiawhi Tamariki ki te Panui Pukapuka’ (HPP). The HPP programme involved training adult volunteers to work with children identified by their teacher as having less than optimum language levels (Atvars 2000). A technique named ‘The One Hand Approach’(OHA) (Stock 1998) is a major component of the HPP programme. My involvement with this initiative introduced me to the HPP programme and the potentialities for the development of a te reo Māori HPP
reconstruction for use in Māori medium educational settings. The Ministry literacy contract involved 13 schools, within one major tribal area of Te Tai Tokerau.

Several of the 13 schools offered Māori medium education. The opportunity to introduce a tool which could be effective in te reo Maori language development was presented in one of the schools, a Kura Kaupapa Māori, when children were enrolled having little Maori language ability. Dialogue between myself and the teaching staff discussing the framework of the TOA reconstruction, and its potential benefits as a tool for te reo Maori development, ensued. The necessary consents were sought from University of Auckland Ethics committee, the school’s Board of Trustees, teachers parents, and tamariki involved in the case study, after which the case study involving a Maori reconstruction of the HPP programme ‘TOA’ commenced.

The HPP programme employs several assessment tasks, which are administered prior to HPP implementation. The Māori equivalents of these tasks have been used to establish baseline data in this case study. The propensity of assessments translated from English to Maori and issues associated with their use is discussed later in this chapter. Theories that have influenced the development of HPP are stated, while second language acquisition theory is considered.

**Contemporary Context**

Te Taitokerau schools population comprises a large proportion of Māori students, whose underachievement, as stated previously, was specifically emphasised in the aforementioned findings of ERO. In response to those findings, the government established the educational body ‘Te Putahitanga Matauranga’ (TPM), and entered
into partnerships with ‘Te Reo o Te Taitokerau’, (a pre existing body initially set-up as a forum for teachers’ of te reo Maori in Northland secondary schools) in an attempt to address underachievement in Far North schools. As part of the Ministry’s internal review process, an independent audit of TPM’s performance was undertaken. In that document the rationale for its establishment is specified.

‘As a result of serious reports and reviews on the quality and standard of education in the Te Taitokerau region, the Ministry of Education was prompted to set-up an intervention mechanism in the region that would deal with the widespread problems documented’ (Hohepa and Jenkins 2004 p 5)

TPM spearheaded several education initiatives in Te Taitokerau including a programme focusing on improving whole school assessment; a scheme to improve the delivery of Maori language in the classroom; and the ‘Pause, Prompt, Praise’ literacy project that included HPP.

_Hei Awhiawhi Tamariki ki te Panui Pukapuka (HPP)_

HPP is an oral language based programme designed to enhance the English oral language competency of children with a reading age of under seven years. There are several components to this programme. HPP involves one to one exchanges with a trained adult volunteer who engages in a storybook reading experience with one child. The compatible pairing of child and adult volunteer is an essential aspect for successful implementation of HPP. A number of assessments are administered prior to the implementation of the programme. They are used to gauge the oral language competency of the tamaiti pre- and post-HPP intervention, and help to determine the
complexity of the language used in the One Hand Approach (OHA) (Stock 1999). During tutoring sessions the tutor generates language from illustrations in a storybook. Four statements are generated, with one question being asked at the conclusion of the four statements. The use of full descriptive sentences is encouraged with the response giving an opportunity for the learner to repeat the language heard during the previous statements made by the tutor. The statements and questions generated by the tutor and the responses made by the tamaiti constitute one aspect of HPP, the One Hand Approach (OHA). HPP also incorporates specific phonological awareness activities using poetry and rhyming. The recommended duration of each tutoring time is thirty minutes; the recommended number of tutoring sessions is 3 per week. The length of time each child remains on the HPP programme is dependent on the child’s post assessment progress.

**HPP Research**

The pragmatic notions of adult volunteers engaging with and developing secure attachments to learners during HPP sessions is underpinned by William Glasser's (1999) theory. His motivational theory contends that humans are born with innate needs, such as ‘survival, love, power, fun and freedom’. (Glasser, 1990 cited in Atvars, 2002). The studies of Johnson (1979, cited in Atvars 2002), and Pressley (1998, cited in Atvars 2002) make a correlation between positive student-teacher interactions and student achievements and are part of the research literature that informs HPP.
The One Hand Approach (OHA)

The major component of the HPP programme I have used in TOA is the One Hand Approach. The One Hand Approach is a technique developed by speech language therapist, Annette Stock, (1999) who devised a procedure in the context of storybook reading with a child. A parent or adult volunteer using illustrations from a storybook, generates four language statements, per page. The statements include information about the name, size, colour, shape and function of things depicted in the illustrations. After the four statements an open-ended question is posed. The child is supported to respond to these questions in full sentences. The procedure gives the student an opportunity to listen to effective language modelling, while being given many opportunities to improve their expressive language. The text is then read to the child, with interaction, questions and responses encouraged, before a re-telling of the book by the child, is requested (Atvars K, 2000).

Phonological Awareness Activities

Another component of the HPP programme is the inclusion of activities designed to enhance students’ listening to sounds in words. HPP incorporates specific phonological awareness activities using poetry and rhyming. The activities include opportunities to recognise rhyme, create rhyme and identify word onsets and rime. A description of the phonological awareness component follows.

HPP Baseline Data

The pre-test process for children entering the HPP programme comprise of a Running Record, Junior Oral Screening Test, (JOST) (Special Education Service (SES), 1998) and Phonological Test (SES 1998). The Running Record is a diagnostic assessment
that determines the instructional reading level of a child, while giving insight as to
sources of information children are using to problem solve in reading (Clay 1993). The JOST and Phonological Awareness Test are sourced from the SES ‘Communicate to Participate’ resource. This teacher’s resource ‘Communicate to Participate’ includes checklists, assessments and general information to assist in classroom planning for oral language activities. It provides information about language development, and offers guidelines for recognising potential language delays and speech impediments in children. JOST is a screening tool that provides useful knowledge about students’ vocabulary, pragmatic language ability and grammar usage. A language sample is administered as part of the JOST assessment where a picture is provided and the child is asked to describe what is happening in it. This language sample is then rated on a scale of 1-6, dependent on the language structures and vocabulary used. A score of 1 denotes low language ability where the child merely names objects. A language sample rating score of 3, is characterised by a simple sentence which is grammatically correct and typically includes the overuse of the word ‘and’. The Phonological Awareness assessment tests the child’s ability to recognise, and recreate sounds in language. The analysis of these three assessments gives an indication of the oral competency of the child, while the language sample rating also indicates the type of language to be used for the OHA statement and question format.

The aforementioned assessments all exist in Māori. ‘Communicate to Participate’ is the English oral language resource, ‘Kawea te Rongo’ is its Māori equivalent.
‘He Whakamātau Reo Kōrero’ (JOST) is inclusive of ‘Hei Tauira’ a Language Sample component. ‘Te Rārangi Tirotiro Whakahua Kupu’, (Phonological Awareness Assessment) has been adapted from ‘Kawea te Rongo’.

1. Running Record (Pukete, Panui, Haere)

Dame Marie Clay is known worldwide for her work in the development of diagnostic tools for use in the early detection of reading difficulties in children. One procedure which she piloted, which is used worldwide, is the running record, which records children’s reading behaviours. It assists in assigning an instructional reading level to the reader that is neither too easy nor difficult, but is at a level from which the reader can steadily progress. The procedures have been available for use in Te Reo Māori for several years, and are named ‘Pukete Panui Haere’. There are subtle differences apparent in their administration. Syllabification is a technique used readily by many early Māori readers, its overuse, and the failure of readers to rejoin words after syllabification, can be an indication of reading without meaning. Once a learner is adept in the phonology of Te Reo Māori, it is an easy task for the reader to decode. The phonemic regularity of Maori lends itself to that relatively simple task. So while it may appear some children are reading in Māori, they may in fact have little cognisance of the meaning behind what they are ‘reading’. In such a situation the question could be asked is reading merely verbalising that which is written on the page, or is the expectation for the reader to derive meaning from that which is read? Teachers teaching in any language would insist that both are necessary. Accuracy of reading coupled with understanding of that which has been read, are positive indicators of reading ability. Teachers teaching in Te Reo need to be very diligent in their attention of the comprehension levels of students when administering these tests.
A comprehension task needs to accompany the Running Record in Māori so that the teacher is assured the student is not merely decoding but also reading for meaning.

2. JOST (Te Whakamātau Reo Kōrero)

This assesses student's vocabulary knowledge and covers the following language structures. Body parts, verb and tense knowledge, plurals, preposition, pronouns, negatives, opposites, associations and pragmatic skills. In both the ‘Whakamātau Reo Kōrero’ and the ‘Junior Oral Screening Test’ there is an oral language assessment where the student is shown a picture of a group of children at a park, doing various things. It includes a bird flying skyward with a worm in its mouth, a dog looking upward at the sky, barking. The student is asked to describe all the activities going on in the picture. When the student has completed the task, the administrator is then free to analyse the language sample. Neither the Maori nor the English language sample has a reference guide for its analysis. In the course of administering the tasks in English for the Ministry of Education HPP literacy contract, a benchmark indicator was provided. This had been designed previously by speech language therapists and had been used on previous HPP contracts elsewhere. I decided for my own assessment purposes that I would employ the mean length utterance assessment when analysing the language sample of the three children who worked on this TOA case study project. A description of mean length utterance assessment will accompany my descriptions of the research undertaken in a subsequent chapter.

3. Phonological Awareness (Te Rārangi Tirotiro Whakahua Kōrero)

‘t(T)he child’s level of phonemic awareness on entering school is widely held to be the strongest single predicator of the success she or he will experience in learning to
Research has identified the crucial role phonological awareness plays in the development of literacy skills (Clay 1993). This is reiterated in the above quote from Adams and Bruck (1993). The developers of HPP have included rhyme recognition, rhyme creation and onset and rime in a sequential learning scheme incorporated into an HPP session. The inclusion of rhyming activities, manipulating segments of speech while enhancing phonological and phonemic awareness, is a solid precursor to the acquisition of reading skills. The rhyming activity involves the recognition of rhyming words within the context of a storybook or poem. When the child is able to recognise rhyming words, rhyme recreation is introduced where the child is asked to reproduce words that rhyme. The final stage in these 3 sequential tasks is the introduction of onset and rime recognition. Here the child is taught to segment words into 2 parts. An initial sound or onset, and the rear cluster of sounds, or rime. The onset of the word back, is ‘b’ the rime is ‘ack’. The inclusion of these specific phonological awareness activities is recognised by the HPP writers as an important adjunct to the One Hand Approach (Atvars 2000). The recognition of the writers of HPP of the deficient phonological awareness indicated in slow progress readers, has contributed to the rhyming inclusion in the HPP framework.

The phonological awareness test that is administered in English has used some of the phonology examples given in ‘Communicate to Participate’. I have examined and piloted some phonological exercises in the Maori version of ‘Communicate to Participate,’ ‘Kawea te Rongo,’ to determine their inclusion in the TOA baseline.
assessment. The tasks in these phonology assessments include being able to recognise beginning sounds in words. I structured the Maori phonology baseline assessment in a format resembling the existing one in English. In the English assessment the first question asked is what sound does your name begin with? Children are also asked questions such as: ‘Can you give me three other words, which begin with the same sound?’ They are then asked to generate words from an initial sound. ‘Can you give me a word that begins with k?, t?’ etc. This task identifies their ability to recognise and isolate sounds at the beginning of words. The ability to recognise words that sound the same (rhyming) is a task recognised as an aid in English spelling, useful in later years. (Adams and Bruck 1993, cited in Atvars 2000). The rhyming component of HPP has interested me as I consider its relevancy for students learning in te reo Maori. Is the ability to recognise and recreate rhyme in Maori beneficial for the language development of learners in Maori? What constitutes rhyme in Maori? The recreation of rhyme for one syllable words or sounds is straightforward enough, ku, tu, ru, mu. Ha, ka, ma, are examples. When the initial word is two syllables or more, do both vowel sounds have to be the same in the recreation, to constitute a rhyme? Could you say that haka and huka rhymed words because the latter syllable ‘ka’ was consistent. Or are huka and puka rhyming words because both vowel sounds in the two syllable words are consistent? I decided that for the purposes of this research, when the word to be rhymed was a two-syllable word, then both vowel sounds needed to be rhyming.

The Ministry of Education Report from the Literacy Task Force (Ministry of Education 2000) states that phonological awareness is one major determinant of early literacy success. Could this also be the case for learners in Te Reo Maori? Could a
good grounding in the sounds of Te Reo Maori, also precipitate an early success in literacy for learners in Maori immersion?

**Assessing in Te Reo Maori – some of the issues**

Special Education Services (SES) now known as Group Education, a Ministry of Education support agency, as stated previously, has developed a resource kit for teachers named 'Communicate to Participate'. The idea for its development was a result of the speech-language initiative in Special Education 2000, a guiding mandate formulated by SES (SES 1998).

The introduction to the resource outlines the development of the English language kit ‘Communicate to Participate’ as the first stage in a two-stage process. The introduction acknowledges requests by teachers for:

‘Practical and useful material to help them identify students who have communication delays and disorders. This Kit is the result of consultation and collaboration between teachers and SES speech-language therapists. We believe that it will be both practical and useful.’ (SES, 1998; unpaged)

The next stage was mooted as being the development of material to be used in Maori language settings. The timeframe given for completion of the Maori resource and its introduction to schools was 1999. An invitation was extended for comments or suggestions to be considered in the development of the Maori resource. These were to
be sent to SES’s Education, Research and Development Team, Poutama Pounamu (SES 1998).

My experience with the English resource included the use of the Junior Oral Screening Tool (JOST) (a component of the ‘Communicate to Participate Kit’) as an assessment tool in English medium classrooms. Further experience with this resource included its use as a pre- and post-intervention assessment tool with HPP during the operation of a Ministry of Education literacy initiative.

SES translated the Junior Oral Screening Test (JOST) into Maori and named it ‘He Whakamātau Reo Kōrero’ (SES 1998). ‘He Whakamātau reo Kōrero’, is a component of the larger assessment package ‘Kaweа te Rongo’. My familiarisation with the HPP programme led me to question whether a Māori reconstruction of aspects of it could be beneficial for children’s Māori language development. This interest has subsequently developed into the topic of this case study.

Translating assessments

The existence of an equivalent Māori language assessment resource raises many issues regarding the validity of translated assessments. Pereira (2001) in her analysis of difficulties encountered during the translation of National Education Monitoring Tasks (NEMP) for children in Māori–medium education notes that problematic nature of;
'inherent bias that occurs with translated tasks, to the disadvantage of those using the translated assessment task' (cited in Cooper et al 2004 p 119).

The Government's Green Paper, 'Assessment for Success in Primary Schools' (Ministry of Education 1998) proposes the introduction of externally referenced tests for all students in primary schools at various stages in their education. The paper states externally referenced tests will also be available in te reo Māori, and these assessments will be translated (Ministry of Education 1998).


'Tests that are directly translated from one language to another cannot however provide a valid basis for comparison of groups of learners. Test translation is not only unhelpful, but can be seen in some contexts as constituting malpractice'.

Kura Kaupapa Māori and Te Kohanga Reo are young educational institutions. Assessment tasks are only beginning to be developed for such educational initiatives. The New Zealand Council for Educational Research Project, in their Phase 1 report of an ongoing longitudinal study monitoring three age specific cohorts of children in Te Kohanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Māori, have developed their own set of assessments for that research project. The assessment tasks for the project named 'Te Rere o te Pīrere' were developed with three distinct criteria [media].
• They are appropriate for students in a kaupapa Māori education environment, learning in different contexts.
• Where possible, the same tasks are used for different age groups, to chart progress over time.
• They (the assessments) are suitable for research purposes, that is, they are reasonably quick to administer, they cover a range of performance levels, and they can be scored to allow analysis. (Cooper et al 2004, p119)

Discussing issues around the appropriateness of assessments for kaupapa Māori education students, Cooper et al state that

‘there are fundamental differences between the understanding of what is involved and important in Māori student development in kaupapa Māori education, and in mainstream education’ (Cooper et al 2004, p119).

The above extract goes on to outline the discussions involved with the assessment development and how there was a strong emphasis on the importance of local and particular knowledge and language in framing tasks, with a desire to frame questions in terms of that knowledge wherever possible. The discussion continues with reference to the difficulties associated with using common standardised assessment instruments such as the Progressive Achievement Tests (PATS), which have been designed for use in English medium education in relation to existing student performance at particular ages or curriculum stages.
The real and deep differences in expectations and patterns of development between kaupapa Māori education and English-medium education means that these tests would not easily fit, and that analysing the results in the same way that they are analysed for students in English-medium education would be misleading.

(Cooper, et al 2004 p.119)

The SES resource 'Kawea te Rongo', is described on the Group Special Education website as;

'a resource that was based on the English resource 'Communicate to Participate'.

'Kawea te Rongo' however was developed for children in Māori medium or bilingual junior classroom settings, who need to develop their oral Māori language in order to participate more successfully in Māori immersion language programmes. 'Kawea te Rongo' provides screening tools and learning strategies that will assist the teachers and families of these students to identify the child's learning needs, then assist them with their learning programmes.'

The propensity of translating a task into another language and having an expectation that an acquisition of a skill in one language equates with a skill in another seems to be an assumption lying behind the JOST- He Whakamātau Reo Kōrero reproduction.

Rau (2001) discussing the increased demands for quantitative and qualitative evidence of student achievement within Kura Kaupapa Māori, notes compensatory measures to meet this demand include;
'Applying or adapting benchmarks for success developed for English medium education and using these inappropriately to interpret and describe the achievement of students in Maori medium' (Rau 2001; 4).

This view is further supported by the Education Review Office (1998), which states:

'There will be no advantage in attempting to equate a skill in English with a skill in Māori. The tests in Māori will show the level of achievement and the progress made by students along a continuum of Māori language skills' (ERO 1998 p.17).

In its list of objectives Kawea te Rongo purports to assist Maori medium teachers:

- *With the identification of language strengths and needs.*
- *With the early identification of factors affecting the development of language and literacy.*
- *With the establishment of effective collaborative practices between teachers, whānau and SES communication team members* (SES 2000, unpaged).

Listed as one outcome of this resource Kawea te Rongo will:

- *Enable teachers in Māori medium settings to make effective use of checklists and observations to identify children requiring additional language support* (SES 2000, unpaged).
The JOST Māori equivalent, ‘Whakamātau Reo Kōrero’ does not provide an analysis for its checklists, but rather purports to provide guidance to the teacher when results indicate areas of language requiring development. The checklists have been designed for use with English speaking children from year 0 to year 3. The same age band is recommended for its application in Maori. The guidance given to teachers by SES upon the completion of this test falls into a three-fold suggestion format.

If the child has a few correct responses in each section, then advice should be sought from SES Communication Team. If there are some correct responses, the child should be monitored in an oral language group, if most responses are correct, then a language enriched classroom programme is sufficient (SES 2000, unpaged).

Guidance is given in the Kawea te Rongo kit that teachers should be cognisant of the different language development contexts within which students are situated.

- Monolingual (English speaking) parents who have their children taught in Māori medium classrooms
- Bilingual parents who have their children taught in Māori medium classrooms yet seldom speak to their children at home
- Bilingual parents who have their children taught in Māori medium classrooms and consistently speak Māori to their children at home
- Monolingual (English speaking) parents who have their children taught in English medium classrooms
- Bilingual parents who have their children taught in English medium classrooms