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The Indigenous Factor: Exploring Kapa Haka as a Culturally Responsive Learning Environment in Mainstream Secondary Schools

PAUL WHITINUI

Abstract

Recent research focusing on improving educational outcomes for Māori students in mainstream secondary schools in Aotearoa/New Zealand have asserted that building positive student-teacher relationships in the classroom are fundamental (c. f. Bishop, Berryman, & Richardson, 2003; Bishop & Tiakiwai, 2003; Ministry of Education, 2002, 2006). In contrast, attempts to investigate the educational benefits associated with Māori students participating in cultural learning activities, such as kapa haka, and the implications for improving levels of Māori student achievement, remains relatively unexplored. To embark on such an investigation, Māori kapa haka students and teachers from four mainstream secondary schools were invited to take part in an interview process informed by using a Kaupapa Māori theoretical approach. As a result, the study revealed quite emphatically that not only does kapa haka provide Māori students with an appropriate 'culturally responsive' learning experience, but that they also feel more confident and optimistic about school and their education. Moreover, kapa haka provides the opportunity for students to celebrate who they are as Māori and as 'culturally connected' learners in mainstream schooling contexts. In addition, Māori students through the kapa haka experience learn to 'protect'. 'problem-solve', 'provide', and 'heal' their inner self-worth, essence and wellbeing as Māori. Similarly, most teachers agreed that kapa haka provides Māori students with a creative, dynamic and powerful way to access their learning potential as cultural human beings. An overwhelming response by both students and teachers is that kapa haka should be timetabled as an academic subject to provide greater access to indigenous and cultural performing art that affirms their identity as Māori, and our uniqueness as New Zealanders. Finally, the research proposes a 'culturally responsive' learning strategy to assist what mainstream secondary schools and teachers provide as valid and purposeful learning opportunities for 'culturally connected' learners who are Māori.

Mihi

Whakarongo ake ai au
Ki te tangi ā te manu nei
A te Mā-tui, tui, tui, tui-tuia
Tui i runga, tuia i raro
Tuia i waho, tuia i roto
Tuia te here tangata

Ka rongo te ao, ka rongo te pō Tuia i te muka tangata I takea mai i Hawaiki-nui, Hawaiki-roa, Hawaiki-pamamao

Te hōno ki wairua, Ki te whai-ao, ki te ao marama Tihei Mauriora!

E ngā waka, e ngā mana, e ngā reo
Tēnā koutou, tēnā koutou,
Tēnā koutou i te ahuatanga ki o tātou aitua kua ngaro nei ki te pō
Kua mihia, kua tangihia, kua huri rātou ki tua o te pae
Oti ra, kua oti atu ki te pō
Kati ra, tēnā ano tātou kātoa

Ko Pohue, ko Emiemi, ko Tangitu ngā maunga Ko Pūhi te tangata Ko Taitimu te whare tūpuna Ko Maatātua te waka Ko Kaeo, ko Pupuke ngā awa Ko Whangaroa te moana Ko Tahawai, ko Te Huia ngā Marae

Ko Ngā Pūhi ki Whangaroa me Te Aupouri ngā iwi Ko Ngatiuru ko te whānau pani te hapū No Whakatane ahau engari kei Kirikiriroa e nōho ana

Ko Toe Toe Kainamu Whitinui rāwa ko Wai Pene ōku tūpuna
E te taha o tōku mātua
Ko Alex Roach rāwa ko Mildred Phillips ōku tūpuna
E te taha o tōku whaea
Ko Waenga Whitinui tōku pāpā
Ko Ruth Roach tōku whaea
Ko Paora Whitinui ahau

No reira, tēnā koutou, tēnā koutou, kia ora koutou kātoa.

Dedication

In the memory of John Braidwood (Head of Mathematics Department, Huntly College) who unexpectedly passed away in May 2006

and

To my wife and son who bring me much joy, happiness and aroha every day

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CHAPTER ONE: THE RESEARCH PROJECT

Introduction

This chapter introduces the research and outlines the importance of exploring kapa haka in mainstream (English-medium) secondary schools in Aotearoa/New Zealand. More generally, kapa haka consists of Māori performing art teams or groups working collectively in a range of different contexts including community, school, Marae, iwi (extended family) hapū (sub-tribe) and whānau (family) (Gardiner, 2001; Hindle, 2002; Kaiwai, 2001; Karetu, 1993; Mead, 1997). Currently, kapa haka provides Māori students with the opportunity to celebrate their language and culture by performing different waiata (songs), haka (dance of challenge and response) and mōteatea (traditional chants) in a group (Gardiner, 2001; Hindle, 2002, Karetu, 1993).

A key argument prefacing the research is that the dominant pedagogies in contemporary mainstream secondary schools often fall short of acknowledging or responding appropriately to the cultural identities, values, understandings and preferred practices of Māori students and their whānau (Glynn, Atvars & O'Brien, 1999). Exploring the experiences and perceptions of both students and teachers about kapa haka, it is hoped that the provision of mainstream schooling and education for Māori students can be further improved. Finally, researching kapa haka in these contexts attempts to consider the benefit of cultural learning environments that promote, enhance and enrich the learning potential of 'culturally connected' learners who are Māori.

1

Significance of Researching Kapa Haka

The increasing awareness by many schools and teachers that kapa haka is now officially recognised as an academic subject is encouraging (New Zealand Qualifications Authority, 2002). However, there remains a paucity of research determining whether or not kapa haka in mainstream secondary schools actually benefits Māori students in such settings. Discussing briefly how kapa haka evolved and emerged to become a contemporary cultural performance will not only signal kapa haka as a cultural taonga (treasure), but also as an important way for New Zealanders to celebrate and connect with their unique identity (c. f. Gardiner, 2001; Kaiwai, 2004; Karetu, 1993). This research not only seeks to explore the educational benefits associated with Māori students participating in kapa haka, it also attempts to consider the implications for improving how Māori students participate in mainstream secondary schooling contexts. In my professional view as a teacher, Māori students are highly motivated and achieve a great deal of success and pride in their culture by participating in kapa haka. In this regard, the study asks important questions concerning students' and teachers' understanding of what is learned in kapa haka, and whether these understandings might offer suggestions for improving the motivation and achievement of Māori students in such contexts.

The introduction of the 'Arts Curriculum' and 'Ngā Toi i te roto i Mātauranga o Aotearoa' in 2000 provides a unique opportunity for all secondary schools to include kapa haka as a valid academic subject. The idea of assisting Māori students to gain credits towards NCEA (National Certificate in Educational Achievement) in either te reo Māori and/or Māori performing arts is further enhanced by the ability of both documents to actively integrate other areas of the curriculum. Although, the addition

of the new arts curriculum (there are currently eight key learning areas) initially posed some administrational challenges for schools, in terms of competition for resources, funding and time, the inclusion of the arts has been considered a positive development towards enhancing opportunities for students to consider alternative learning pathways (Alton-Lee, 2003). In addition to including kapa haka in the curriculum, there have been a number of developments, initiatives and programmes aimed at heightening awareness of the needs and aspirations of Māori learners.

As a way of better informing schools and teachers about 'special' learners who are Māori, Jill Bevan-Brown's (2003) resource booklet entitled, 'The Cultural Self-Review: Providing Culturally Effective, Inclusive, Education for Māori Learners' outlined a 'culturally responsive' way of working with Māori learners. The report aimed to remove a number of stereotypical views about 'culture' by using a three-step process. The first step asked that educators increase their own knowledge about the cultural background of learners they teach and to actually know their students. Secondly, individuals need to gain a greater understanding of how Pākehā culture influences the educational system and its effect on ethnic minority groups. And finally, the process suggested educators need to increase their understanding about their own cultural identities and in particular, what influence this has on how they teach students in their classrooms (Bevan-Brown, 2003; Bishop, Berryman, & Richardson, 2003). Investigating the educational benefits associated with Māori students participating in kapa haka aims to consider these sorts of processes and to explore what counts as valid and successful cultural learning experiences.

Another research initiative conducted in 2003 called Te Kōtahitanga considered a host of strategies teachers could employ to improve the educational outcomes of year 9 and

10 Māori students in mainstream secondary schools. This research highlighted the fact that schools willing to develop positive student-teacher relationships in the classroom were more inclined to see overall improvement in levels of student engagement, participation and achievement (Bishop & Tiakiwai, 2003). Because schools and teachers often do not recognise the far-reaching implications that their own cultural identities, values, understandings and preferred practices have on Māori students and their whānau, developing positive relationships is considered critical to addressing levels of Māori student underachievement. These sorts of educational initiatives provide a context for examining the role of kapa haka in relation to further improving levels of Māori student achievement. The following section will now explain how haka, as a traditional Māori ritual of encounter, has over the last century emerged as a highly-valued contemporary cultural performing art more commonly referred to as kapa haka.

Kapa Haka: A Culturally Responsive Learning Phenomenon in Action

Traditionally, kapa haka was referred to as 'haka' and performed predominantly by men (Gardiner, 2001). Haka as a significant ritual of encounter between tangata whenua (host-people of the land) and an ope (group or party) was intended to challenge or act in response to a particular event or situation (Best, 1976; Gardiner, 2001). Alan Armstrong (1964) interpreted traditional haka as being,

A composition played by many instruments. Hands, feet, legs, voice, tongue and eyes all play their part in blending together to convey in their fullness the challenge, welcome, exultation, defiance or contempt of the words (cited in Gardiner, 2001, p. 21).

Mervyn McLean (1996) extended this notion by describing three types of different haka including haka peruperu, feet tucked up as they approached, usually performed

by the iwi Ngai te Rangi; haka puha, Te Arawa haka prior to battle; and tutungarahu, war dance with various styles depending on iwi affiliations and purpose (cited in Gardiner, 2001, pp. 26-34). These definitions have expanded over time to include various functions, manner of performances, groupings and compositions. Although, there is relatively little information about the role women and children played in performing haka, there are specific accounts depicting Māori women's fierce protrusion of the eyes called pūkana. In terms of the role of haka for Māori children, it was not uncommon to see them practising and performing haka alongside adults during every day activities, but primarily children took no part in haka prior or during official battle. As it is has been recorded, haka for children was predominantly used to improve their physical skills and prowess (including balance, hand and eye coordination, dexterity and poise under pressure) and was considered by children as a fun and enjoyable past time (Best, 1976). Traditional haka has been relatively well documented (Gardiner, 2001; Karetu, 1993) and will not be a key focus of this investigation.

Traditionally, Māori inter-tribally were very competitive for control over land or to use utu (exacting revenge) to maintain a sense or tribal equilibrium. However, the nature of competition, although an important aspect of a tribe's ability to earn respect and mana (prestige), usually did not surpass the needs of individuals to work cooperatively and to sustain their existence more collectively (Thomas, 1975). In other words, competition was not considered as a means of excluding others, rather it was intended to develop a sense of collective unity, loyalty and belonging within the group.

The forming of Māori haka groups at the beginning of the 20th Century actually revived an old kind of rivalry in a new kind of way. More literally, using haka to respond or challenge iwi on the battlefield was now being replaced by competing on the stage. In 1901, a large contingency of haka groups, from different iwi from around the country, gathered in Rotorua to host the royal visit of the Duke and Duchess of Cornwall and York (Gardiner, 2001). The occasion not only celebrated over 60 years of Māori's relationship with the Crown, it also signalled a strong commitment by Māori to work towards ways of strengthening their language and culture for the future. Similarly, Princess Te Kirihaehae Te Puea Herangi (of Tainui iwi) during the 1940s, in response to declining social and economic conditions of her people, decided to organise a kapa haka competition to raise funds. As a result, the idea of groups coming to together to perform kapa haka became synonymous with Māori groups competing and having opportunities to celebrate their culture through the art of performing (King, 1977).

Competition today has effectively promoted the value of kapa haka as a dynamic and powerful cultural experience audiences readily appreciate. Kapa haka has also helped to showcase Māori language and culture to the world in a way that promotes our uniqueness as New Zealanders. Although, the search for our own identity as New Zealanders has to some degree seen the haka (an element of performing kapa haka) increase levels of narcissism (inflated ego about our own importance), kapa haka continues to evolve and support Māori to maintain their language, culture and identity. Likewise, haka as a national cultural icon has been well supported by sport and performed by our top national athletes for many years. Although, there exists certain debates around what is kapa haka and its place, my research did not seek to

define what kapa haka is, or should be, nor to determine its place in society. Instead this research attempts to investigate kapa haka as a cultural learning phenomenon that schools and teachers need to understand in order to improve levels of Māori achievement. The following section will now identify the key research concepts used in the study, and in particular, the relevance of these concepts in determining ways for schools and teachers to plan and evaluate better how and what to provide for Māori students.

Key Research Concepts

Kapa haka is signalled in this research as a 'culturally responsive and appropriate' learning activity many Māori students choose to actively participate within (Hindle, 2002; New Zealand Qualifications Authority, 2002; Salter, 2000a). It is also for some Māori students the only time and place they are able to focus specifically on learning about their language, culture, values and preferred practices (Hindle, 2002). For more literal purposes, Māori kapa haka students in this study will at times be referred to as 'culturally connected' learners (c. f. Bevan-Brown, 2003; Durie, 2004; Salter, 2000a) in that, kapa haka nurtures, sustains and celebrates their cultural uniqueness as Māori. Based on this level of understanding, the research will at times also refer to kapa haka as a 'culturally responsive' learning environment that some Māori students, as 'culturally connected' learners actively seek in mainstream secondary schooling contexts. The following section will now introduce and discuss the key research question(s) considered for this investigation.

Key Research Questions

The key research questions emerged from conducting an extensive literature review. Firstly, a comprehensive review of Māori schooling and education, past and present, highlighted not only the many challenges and struggles in relation to Māori levels of underachievement that have contributed to such adversity. Secondly, the review explored the current role of kapa haka and its current status in schools today as a way of raising awareness about the time, effort and energy Māori students give to kapa haka on a regular basis. Thirdly, based on current research, the review highlighted that there continues to be lack of understanding by schools and teachers about the importance of 'culturally responsive' learning environments, such as kapa haka, especially in mainstream secondary schools. Finally, to address the current levels of Māori student underachievement in mainstream secondary schools today, the following research question(s) emerged:

What educational benefits are associated with mainstream Māori secondary school students participating in kapa haka; and what are the implications of such benefits for improving educational outcomes for Māori students in mainstream secondary schools?

A number of key focusing questions helped to support the direction of the investigation, and included:

- 1. What experiences do Māori students have in participating in kapa haka that may be considered as educationally beneficial?
- 2. What do teachers in mainstream secondary schools perceive to be the educational benefits associated with Māori students participating in kapa haka in these contexts?
- 3. If there are any educational benefits associated with Māori students participating in kapa haka, in what 'culturally responsive' ways can teachers and schools draw on (apply or transfer) these benefits to improve educational outcomes for Māori students in such contexts?

This research will explore these questions by inviting Māori kapa haka students and teachers to be part of a one-off semi-structured interview. The following section will now provide and review the key facets of each chapter.

Overview of the Research Chapters

The following section overviews the contents of each chapter of the study. Chapter 2 reviews the key schooling and educational initiatives affecting Māori education in Aotearoa/New Zealand over the past century. Although there have been a number of turbulent years for Māori in education, the development and inclusion of Māori immersion schools (Te Kōhanga Reo in early 1980s, Kura Kaupapa Māori schools in the late 80s and more recently Wananga) have been significant milestones in addressing past schooling and education 'failure' for Māori. This review also contends that the development of such schools established a wider concern for Māori in all areas of society and, in particular, improved the government's responsibility and responsiveness to upholding key principles outlined in the Treaty of Waitangi (Bishop & Glynn, 1992; Walker, 1990). In the past, research on Māori underachievement has tended to reinforce the dominant culture view that Māori continue to be the problem and therefore require on-going assistance (c. f. Bishop, Berryman, & Richardson, 2003; Bishop & Tiakiwai, 2003). Exploring kapa haka in mainstream schools and education is not only intended to widen the scope of current research addressing levels of Māori student underachievement, it also actively aims to highlight what Māori, and in this case Māori students do well. Currently, Te Kauhua and Te Kōtahitanga are the only educational initiatives cited as actively addressing levels of Māori underachievement in mainstream secondary schools (c. f. Bishop & Tiakiwai, 2003; Maxim Institute, 2006). Although extremely valuable developments aimed at providing teachers with valuable ways of working more effectively with Māori students, there continues to be a significant shortfall of research exploring culturally responsive performing art learning environments, and more specifically, the educational benefits associated with Māori students participating in kapa haka in such contexts.

Chapter 3 considers the value of Kaupapa Māori as a culturally preferred way of researching the educational benefits associated with Māori students participating in kapa haka. Smith (1997) has argued that Kaupapa Māori is regarded as a theory of social change because;

- it has the capacity to address Māori social, economic, and educational crises;
- it is derived, in part, from other intervention mechanisms but transcends them in its ability to identify particular structures and processes important for success;
- the notion of whānau is a core feature of Kaupapa Māori theory;
- Kaupapa Māori theory explains the social change or intervention elements that are common across many different sites of Māori cultural struggle including within the educational sites of Te Kōhanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Māori;
- the notion of whānau is central to Kaupapa Māori knowledge, pedagogy, discipline and curriculum;
- its rationale is derived from the Treaty of Waitangi (partnership, protection and participation).

In essence, Kaupapa Māori takes seriously the needs and aspirations Māori seek to determine within schooling and education (Smith, 1997). Kaupapa Māori as the key methodological framework underpinning this investigation is considered necessary for three main reasons. Firstly, Kaupapa Māori validates and legitimises Māori practices, values and beliefs. Secondly, a Kaupapa Māori framework enables questions to be

framed in a 'culturally responsive and appropriate' way. Finally, a Kaupapa Māori framework ensures that the research will be of benefit Māori in all areas of society (Bishop, 1997b; Smith, 1997).

Chapter 4 introduces and discusses the means by which the data was collected. It also introduces the participants (Māori kapa haka students and teachers) and provides a brief personal account of my own schooling and education as a Māori student in the context of my own struggles in mainstream schooling and education. To draw on appropriate participant responses, semi-structured interviews were considered the most appropriate method of inquiry for the following reasons. Firstly it allowed Māori kapa haka students and teachers to share their thoughts, attitudes, values, opinions and feelings about kapa haka more informally, and secondly, it gave the participants a greater sense of ownership about the study, and the outcomes thereof.

The interviews were designed to invite Māori kapa haka students to talk more about their experiences of participating and to make connections with the possible benefits of kapa haka for their education (c. f. Moustakas, 1994). The student interviews were conducted at school using focus groups of between four to six students. The teacher interviews were also conducted at school but were carried out one-to-one. The interviews drew on their perceptions (views and understandings) about kapa haka and prompted teachers to reflect on how kapa haka may improve educational outcomes for Māori students. Exploring the educational benefits associated with Māori students participating in kapa haka was considered an integral way of collecting the appropriate data for this research.

Chapter 5 and 6 discusses how the data was collected and analysed. For this research, a QSR N6 qualitative computer programme was the key method used to store, collate and manage all the data collected from the interviews. A variety of word searches, categorisation, coding as well as close reading further supported how the content was collected and then subsequently analysed. The Māori kapa haka students' responses revealed guite emphatically that mainstream secondary schools and teachers need to consider developing learning environments that enhance their ability to achieve academically as well as culturally. Some teachers found notions of culture responsiveness, as it reflects Māori needs and aspirations, difficult and challenging to implement into their subjects, and in certain cases, cultural aspects were not considered in what teachers believed they were expected to teach. Alternatively, teachers from within the arts, languages, health and physical education, technology and social sciences readily acknowledged the benefits and importance of Māori students participating in kapa haka, and were equally supportive and interested in how such learning environments support Māori students to achieve levels of success.

Chapter 7 identifies a number of educational benefits associated with Māori students participating in kapa haka. In particular, kapa haka provides the opportunity for Māori students to develop, nurture and enhance learning more about their language, culture and identity in a creative, dynamic and powerful manner. Māori kapa haka students also suggest that kapa haka develops a sense of self-worth and belonging that they attribute as feeling successful. In this regard, mainstream secondary schools and teachers should perhaps ensure that learning outcomes for Māori students focus more on developing the whole person and/or whole group, and not just what schools and teachers may seek with students academically. This will require mainstream

secondary schools and teachers, to not only continue to provide and uphold the relevance of kapa haka in their schools, but to also show a greater responsibility for creating 'culturally responsive' learning environments that support the social, cultural, emotional and spiritual wellbeing of Māori students in such contexts.

Chapter 8 highlights six key implications to emerge from the findings. implications provide a greater cultural understanding about how to provide learning environments that engage Māori students more successfully. The findings indicate quite emphatically that Māori student levels of participation in kapa haka are directly linked to a collective responsibility to co-operate, belong and survive. By interpreting further these sorts of implications it is apparent that Māori kapa haka students in mainstream secondary schools seek an inner ability to protect, problem-solve, provide and ultimately heal as Māori during the learning process. A 'culturally responsive' learning strategy is proposed as a means of informing how mainstream secondary schools and teachers can better plan and evaluate what they provide as valid learning opportunities, although what students say should also be vital to this process. A key conclusion drawn suggests that kapa haka, as a 'culturally responsive' learning environment is not only vital for sustaining the essence and life force of Māori students, but it also plays a significant role in supporting and validating our uniqueness as New Zealanders. The following chapter will review the provision of schooling and education for Māori and in particular, highlight the continual crisis and struggle facing many schools, teachers and educators to include, understand and value culture in the context of meeting the learning needs of Māori students

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

The following literature review will examine the changing nature of schooling and education for Māori in Aotearoa/New Zealand over the past 150 years. This is intended to contextualise the impact of schooling and education on Māori and to provide a more comprehensive review of what is being done to improve levels of Māori achievement. The review emphatically concludes that there is a paucity of research highlighting how Māori students perceive they achieve levels of success in education and even less research reported on how 'culturally responsive' learning environments improve educational outcomes for such students. This review prefaces that investigating the educational benefits associated with Māori students participating in kapa haka is not only necessary in supporting schools and teachers to overcome past levels of Māori student under-achievement, it is also advocates for a wider understanding about the importance of culture to assist Māori students to achieve greater levels of educational success. Reviewing the current position of kapa haka in mainstream secondary schools, the importance of 'culturally responsive' pedagogy, as well as critiquing the level of access Māori students currently experience participating in kapa haka will further define the scope and nature of the investigation.

Historical Review of Māori Schooling and Education

Prior to embarking on some of the more significant events and landmarks concerning the provision of schooling and education for Māori in Aotearoa/New Zealand, it is important to define for readers what the word 'Māori' actually means. 'Māori' has many meanings for many people, but its more common meaning usually refers to

someone who is 'ordinary, 'fresh', 'native' or 'plain' (Ryan, 2002). Ranginui Walker's (1990) book, *Ka Whawahi Tonu Mātou: Struggle Without End*, argued that the first official use of the word 'Māori' was canvassed in the Māori version of Article 3 of the Treaty of Waitangi of 1840, which when translated stated;

In consideration of the acknowledgement of the Queen's Governance. The Queen of England will protect all Māori people of New Zealand. They will be given all the rights equal to those of the people of England (p. 93).

Prior to the arrival of Pākehā, Māori people had no single term for themselves and were simply referred to by their tribal affiliations. The influence of Pākehā and the growing nature of capital deluge (reductionism) has meant that, 'Māori' as a more accepted generic term, has been readily incorporated within the notion of 'collectivism' and often in relation to the more 'dominant' culture (Walker, 1990).

The collective nature of the word 'Māori' signals some shortcomings, when we look at the philosophical underpinnings of the role and purpose of iwi, hapū and whānau, and how each operates to sustain each other. Each word ascribes to a number of specific protocols, practices and values, based on ancestral law, which are intended to resonate within the realms of the living, the dead, the spiritual and through out the universe (Mead, 2003). To analyse 'Māori' in the 'collective' can imply that they are unable to operate outside the constraints of the group (iwi, hapū and whānau) although to the contrary, it actually signals a deep respect for the ability of the group to work successfully to achieve specific needs and aspirations more co-operatively. Alternatively, and from a more inclusive approach, 'wholism' as it is referred to the whole person being able to function appropriately in different situations, suggests that the 'whole is greater than the sum of its parts' (Macfarlane, 2004; Penetito, 1996; Pere, 1994; Rangihau, 1977) and that an individual, who identifies as being Māori,

appreciates their 'collective' responsibility to support the wellbeing of the whole group. For example, Māori have been committed to preserving their unique identity and status as 'tangata whenua' for many years as a race of people determined to survive (Walker, 1990). Traditionally, proving oneself as Māori was never an issue, until the 'blood quantum' theory, introduced in the 1840s as an effective colonising tool, systematically defined Māori in ways that limited their effective exercise of 'tino rangatiratanga' (levels of self-determination) and rights to land (Jackson, 2003). Today, the ensuing 'neo-colonial' domination of the global world has continued to challenge how Māori adapt and live in Aotearoa/New Zealand (Bishop, 2005; Durie, 2004; L. T. Smith, 2005). To ensure Māori are not further assimilated, marginalised or under-served requires a greater collaborative and national focus around understanding the importance of culture, identity and difference, with regard to supporting Māori students to achieve educational success (Fitzsimons & Smith, 2000).

Historically the construction of the *Native Land Act of 1862*, *Native Land Court 1865* and *1867*, and the *Native Land Act 1867* were some of the most intrusive institutions and policies Māori would have to endure and would equally oppose (Walker, 1990). Amidst the colonial confusion, confiscation of land and the spread of Pākehā diseases such as, influenza and tuberculosis, Māori were faced with the threat of extinction towards the end of the 19th Century (King, 1992; Orange, 2004; Sorrenson, 1992; Walker, 1990). Fortunately, the work carried out by Sir Apirana Ngata, Peter Buck, James Carroll and Maui Pomare in Māori health and education, significantly supported Māori to look at ways to overcome such adversities and to grow the capacity to enhance their social, economic and political wellbeing (King, 1992;

Walker, 1990). The government hoped that their example, as Māori leaders, would also inspire more Māori to pursue similar aspirations and to work towards becoming valued citizens of the 'new settler' society (Graham, 1992; Walker, 1990).

The ideology of 'becoming one people', often at Māori's expense, was further reinforced when in 1879, the Native Schools were officially transferred back to the control of the Education Department and the speaking of Māori language in all schools was officially prohibited in 1905 (Simon, Smith, & Cram, 2001; Walker, 1990). More often than not, Māori learning in Pākehā schools categorically meant a reduction in practising Māori language and culture (King, 1992; Simon, Smith, & Cram, 2001). As a result, the provision of Pākehā schooling and education for Māori has been often culturally ignorant and at odds with the notion that valuing of culture can improve educational outcomes for Māori students.

In 1900, James Pope (Minister of Education from 1880-1903) reported that the education system had proven to be very successful in improving levels of literacy for Māori. He also reported that by implementing rigid time-tabling measures to allow for more consistent teaching time, stricter adherence to discipline, higher teacher expectations and providing subjects such as social studies, geography and manual instruction, which Māori children appeared more incline to excel within, had all contributed successfully to elevating Māori levels of literacy (Bird, 1930). Based on these results, it was therefore assumed, that many Māori children were now capable of achieving at the same level as European children. As an effective social strategy, government proposed to mix certain Māori children with Pākehā children to instil a greater level of educational competitiveness among Māori children, and in the hope

they would strive even harder to achieve in education (Timutimu, Simon, & Matthews, 1998). Pope's belief that if teachers were continually highlighting what all students needed to do to achieve certain levels of attainment in the class, Māori children would more 'naturally' gain the necessary confidence and self-esteem to pursue education with more purpose (Bird, 1930). Despite such enthusiasm, Māori levels of achievement by the 1920s were still well below that of most Pākehā. Simon (1995) argued that,

Widespread low achievement in education... was to a large extent the outcome of State policy of controlling the nature and amount of educational knowledge made available to Māori children...Added to this, was low teacher expectations of Māori children...It was inevitable that over time these low expectations would become expected and reproduced by the Māori children themselves (p. 20).

The total lack of understanding about what Māori students required to be successful and the increasing propagation of government polices of assimilation and integration to civilise Māori to 'fit in' also created barriers to Māori learning in such schools (Simon et al., 2001). The speed with which many of these policies were initiated not only displaced the collective wellbeing of Māori, it also effectively broke down many of their traditional infrastructures they had practiced for many generations (Sorrenson, 1992; Walker, 1990).

However, despite the ensuing colonial discourse of wanting to 'civilise the Natives', Māori remained relatively optimistic about the provision of Pākehā knowledge and education (Beaglehole, cited in Ewing and Shallcrass, 1970; Simon et al., 2001). Based on this level of acceptance by Māori, the government was able to successfully create and expand their educational and schooling policies unopposed (Barrington & Beaglehole, 1974; Bird, 1930; Ewing & Shallcrass, 1970; Jenkins, 2000; Simon,

1992). The government's rationale of educating Māori students in Pākehā schools, as a way to speed up the process of colonial mass settlement, also proved to be highly successful (Simon et al., 2001; Waitangi Consultancy, 1992; Walker, 1990).

At the turn of the century and leading up to the 1950s, removing Māori language from all life at school not only affected Māori children's learning capabilities, it also adversely denied Māori children access to social and cultural wellbeing (Titus, 2001). During this period, schooling and education for Māori was primarily based on the notion of 'civilising' Māori to often Eurocentric ideals, beliefs and values of the new settler society (Graham, 1992; Simon et al., 2001). This created a host of social and cultural disparities where Māori people emerged as a 'minority' group in their own homeland. As a result, Māori levels of resistance and self-determination emerged to have control over their land, language and culture fully restored.

Māori Self-Determination in Education

In the early 1950s, the *Māori Women's Welfare League* was created to improve Māori health, child-care and pre-school education (Sorrenson, cited in Rice, 1992). However it would not be until 1962, when the *Māori Council*, which was established to act as an advisory to Government monitoring Māori policy, that the *League* and *Council* together, would have the power to actively pursue Māori rights within the framework of the parliamentary system (Walker, 1983). These two forums, although pivotal in working within the legislation, still relied on Māori resistance on the ground to draw the government's attention to the more specific social grievances Māori faced in health, education and employment.

In the 1970s, radical groups such as *Te Hokioi*, *Ngā Tamatoa*, *Māori Organisation on Human Rights*, together with other groups (notably *te reo Māori* and *te Roopu o te Matakite*) launched a united effort to bring about levels of social and cultural change for the benefit of Māori people in Aotearoa/New Zealand (Dunstall, cited in Rice, 1992; Walker, 1983). The erosion of Māori land rights by a century of legislation under the *Māori Land Court* and the *Public Works Act* during the 1960s, had fuelled and elevated Māori discontent, frustration and resistance (Walker, 1990). The *Māori Council*, in support of Māori grievances, confirmed that the government was being discriminatory, and by cutting across their basic property rights, the government was basically breaching a number of British rules for land negotiation with Māori (Kawharu, 1989). Such was the nature of the government's resolve to take control of all land and establish a one race culture, that in 1975, the *Māori Land March*, led by Dame Whina Cooper advocating 'not one more acre of land' as well as the Māori protest stand for *Bastion Point* in 1977-78, illustrated quite emphatically the government's 'failure' to honour the Treaty on behalf of Māori (Walker, 1983).

Māori activism during the 1970s was not only about the struggle for self-determination it was also about gaining autonomy to rise above the adversities of past injustices, and for Māori to again assert their rightful status as tangata whenua (Dunstall, cited in Rice, 1992; Walker, 1992). Although the *Māori Affairs Amendment Act* of 1974 under the Labour government went some way towards addressing issues of inequality for Māori in the government and public sectors, many policies for Māori simply did not go far enough in enabling Māori to self-determine their own destinies in society (Walker, 1990). The post-colonial government agenda of domination, assimilation and integration, although extremely powerful, would not

overcome the ability of Māori to unite and launch their own schooling and learning environments in the 1980s.

In the early 1980s, the Labour government in response to growing social and political pressure eventually agreed to support the establishment of *Te Kōhanga Reo* and bilingual *Kura Kaupapa Māori* schools (Reedy, 1992). This not only supported the revival of Māori language and culture but also effectively gave Māori the right to determine how such educational frameworks would proceed (Hemara, 2000; Penetito, 2002; Simon, 1986; Tapine & Waiti, 1997). To the delight of many, especially Māori, these schools have become the 'benchmark' for identifying more clearly the educational needs and aspirations Māori actively seek to pursue for their future (Hohepa, McNaughton, & Jenkins, 1996; Reedy, 1992). Although experiencing certain levels of success in self-managing these schools, the government continued to play a major part in how they would be resourced and funded, often forcing Māori into positions of negotiation and accountability. Nevertheless, these schools were instrumental in providing culturally relevant and focused learning outcomes and significantly helped to revive Māori language and culture for all New Zealanders.

Amidst the lengthy and extensive period of Māori seeking retribution for past injustices, the Waitangi Tribunal established in 1975, was assigned to address Māori grievances concerning the dispossession of land, culture and language. In terms of education, it provided a formal and legal means of engaging schools and teachers in the process of understanding the principles underpinning the Treaty of Waitangi, especially in regard to the teaching of Māori students (Orange, 2004; Renwick, 1990). L. T. Smith (1999) stated,

The significance of the establishment of the Waitangi Tribunal in New Zealand in 1975, in relation to research, was that it gave a very concrete focus for recovering and/or representing Māori versions of colonial history, and for situating the impact of colonialism in Māori world views and value systems...a forum through which Māori could legitimately voice concerns was regarded positively (p. 168).

The Waitangi Tribunal effectively provided a wider framework for addressing Māori grievances. The Tribunal also sought to address issues concerning land confiscation and alienation, and to develop processes for Māori to move forward in all areas of society (health, education, employment). In terms of education, it was important for schools and teachers to uphold the principles of the Treaty, and to be able to plan accordingly (Bishop & Glynn, 1999). Bishop and Glynn (1999) referred to three key principles important in developing 'culturally responsive and appropriate' educational frameworks to support Māori students:

- **Article One** can be associated with a principle of partnership (the Treaty guarantees to Māori a share in power over decision making and status as tangata whenua).
- **Article Two** can be associated with a principle of protection (the Treaty guarantees to Māori the power to define and protect treasures).
- **Article Three** can be associated with a principle of participation (the Treaty guarantees to Māori equality of opportunity and outcomes).

A sense that schools and teachers needed to work more co-operatively with Māori was a realistic goal, but needed greater commitment and resourcing from the government (Durie, 2001a). In February 2001, the first national Hui Taumata Mātauranga provided a strategic framework for considering ways to support Māori aspirations in education. It resulted in 107 recommendations based around the family, Māori language and custom, quality in education, Māori participation in the education sector, and the purpose of education (Durie, 2004). The forum established three concurrent goals, to live as Māori, to participate as citizens of the world, and to enjoy

good health and a high standard of living. A more comprehensive framework helped to support these goals, and included three key principles focusing on best outcomes and 'zero tolerance' for failure, integrated action, and harnessing the principle of 'indigenity' (valuing being indigenous in all areas of society). In order to achieve the 'best' results for Māori, a number of Māori centred pathways were considered as a vital means of intersecting with such aspirations. The final component of the framework recognised the need to build the capacity to sustain these goals socially, culturally, economically and politically long term (Durie, 2001a).

As a follow on, a key facet of the 2004 Hui Taumata conference held in Taupo was to take into account that what Māori students say about their education is vitally important, and requires attention in addressing the current levels of Māori underachievement. It was also recognised that there continues to be a host of social and cultural barriers in the way mainstream schools and teachers plan, evaluate and promote the learning needs and aspirations of Māori students. It was discovered, by interviewing Māori students, that although teachers make the most significant contribution to their education, some Māori students continued to experience levels of cultural deprivation and isolation due to a lack of access to language and culture (Durie, 2004). As a result there continues to be 'pockets' of Māori students experiencing not only social and cultural frustration, but also a lack of interest in school and in their education.

Mainstream Schooling and Education for Māori

The government over the last century has had extensive input into all schooling and education developments concerning Māori students in Aotearoa/New Zealand. In

particular, funding and resources allocated for Māori students in education are predominantly determined by various reporting measures and the needs of all students. For example, the *Hunn Report* (1961) and the *Currie Commission* (1962), the basis of the National government's policy for education suggested greater centralisation as a cost saving measure (Dunstall, cited in Rice, 1992). The documents made a grave assumption that Māori students were now experiencing the same problems as Pākehā students and that by developing the same educational reforms would effectively resolve the problems each culture was experiencing. Moreover, both reports suggested that the urban drift of Māori to the cities, provided enough evidence to suggest that Māori were now accepting their place in New Zealand society and would in their words, 'blend in' (Dunstall, cited in Rice, 1992; Pool, 1977). Although urban areas have effectively provided many Māori with greater access to resources, work opportunities, and in some cases better living conditions (Walker, 1990), such initiatives have also re-defined and re-constructed the relationship between the coloniser (Pākehā) and the colonised (indigenous Māori people).

L. T. Smith (1999, p. 28) argued, that the 'imperial reach' of securing control and stigmatising Māori as a race of 'savages' has continued during the Māori post-colonial plight to reclaim their history. Furthermore, the institutional delay in resolving past Māori grievances, and the lack of government commitment towards remedying the marginalisation of Māori knowledge, language and culture in mainstream schooling has often been a consistent barrier to Māori students reaching their learning potential in schools. Such 'barriers' have meant Māori have often had to negotiate their educational needs and aspirations in the context of Eurocentric

frameworks, or alternatively to go outside of what mainstream schools currently provide.

Two later reports, the *Picot Report* (1988) and the *Sexton Report* (1990) raised issues around equity and inequality for Māori in education, and worked on the premise that schools should operate more like a business, adopting a more 'user-pays' system (Marshall, 2000). However for Māori, this was seen as another tactic for deploying ways to further 'assimilate' Māori towards levels of 'materialism' and 'consumerism'. The idea of government trying to immerse Māori into more 'global driven market' contexts has often been without proper regard for Māori values, traditions, beliefs and preferred practices (Marshall, 2000).

In 2000 the government earmarked 54 million dollars to help improve Māori education and levels of Māori achievement (Velde, 2000). Although it appeared reasonable, in that, the government was genuinely attempting to address various issues and disparities affecting Māori students in education, the question could be well asked, who would control the money and would those who held the money be better equipped to deliver a quality educational service for Māori? There was also evidence to suggest that the problem was not only localised to Māori, in that governments worldwide were being challenged to look more closely at education for their own indigenous learners as well as the growing number of culturally diverse learners entering the classroom (c. f. Airini, 1998; Gibson, 1988; Hohepa et al., 1996; Manu'atu, 2000; Merritt, 1996; Ogbu, 1974, 1978). G. H. Smith (2000) posed some critical questions regarding the nature of mainstream schooling for Māori,

Why are Māori not opting to stay in school? Why are Māori aspirations not catered for in the curriculum offerings? Whose interests do the present

schooling structures and processes serve? In general, official explanations that Māori levels of achievement or underachievement are inextricably linked to retention is not only misleading, it also has the self-preserving function of deflecting critical questions that challenge the legitimacy of existing practices and structures (p. 61).

Fortunately, a greater concern for the teaching and learning of Māori students in mainstream secondary schools has in more recent times significantly raised the expectation that developing student-teacher relationships can significantly improve levels of Māori student achievement (Bishop & Tiakiwai, 2003). Identifying what Māori students say supports their learning as well as how these experiences sustain their identity as Māori is critical to the investigation.

Current Barriers Impacting on Māori Achieving in Mainstream Schooling and Education

Many education reviews and reports have concluded that focusing on ways to improve Māori student participation levels (attendance, achievement and retention), especially in their senior years, increases the chances for students to gain access to higher education earlier in their lives (Education Review Office, 2003; Ministry of Education, 1998, 2000c, 2006b). Furthermore, implementing effective governance and accountability measures that monitor ethical and equity issues for such students is vital for ensuring schools and teachers are doing what they say they are doing for Māori students in such contexts (Education Review Office, 1995b, 1996; Marshall, 2000). In contrast, some educational reports, policy papers, reviews have suggested that at best the exercise of reviewing 'barriers' to learning and achieving for Māori students becomes more an administrational duty, than a process of quality assurance of what is working well for Māori students (Alton-Lee, 2003; Maxim Institute, 2006; Ministry of Education, 1990; Te Puni Kōkiri, 2001b). A report entitled *Assessing the*

Children's Curriculum Achievement (1998) argued that Māori parents would like teachers to be better able to highlight their children's achievements. For example, Māori parents believed that their children should be able to readily demonstrate or perform the skills teachers say they have achieved, in a variety of different 'real-life' situations (Education Review Office, 1998). Perhaps Māori parents would feel more confident about what schools and teachers offered their children if they had more say in how their children are being assessed and what they hope or expect to see as a result of their learning.

Today there exists a large number of students, and in particular Māori and Pacific Island students, working below the 20 percentile in literacy and numeracy (Hattie, 2003). Contributing to these figures are a host of ethnographic factors such as, various stigmas attached to 'winner' and 'loser' schools, socio-economic disparities, poor teacher-home-student relationships, intergenerational educational failure, or schools not being adequately resourced to cater for low-level achievers (Education Review Office, 1995b, 1996; Ministry of Education, 1998). Currently a third of all Māori students are enrolled in mainstream secondary schools (46 000) in Aotearoa/New Zealand (Ministry of Education, 2006b) and from previous reports the number of Māori students entering the school gates are continuing to increase. The Ngā Haeata Mātauranga: Annual Report of Māori Education 2005 highlighted that school attainment rates between Māori and non-Māori had narrowed in year 12, and that there had been an increase in the number of Māori students were leaving school achieving qualifications at, or equivalent to NCEA level 2, and in some cases higher. Of particular interest regarding this report, was that the total proportion or number of Māori students who did not enrol to do NCEA was not highlighted. In terms of truancy, suspensions and participation rates of Māori students, the report also suggested that Māori are still over-represented as the group of students most likely to disengage from the education system (Maxim Institute, 2006; Ministry of Education, 2006b). Moreover, given that learning experiences can be often diverse, dynamic and holistic, there is a greater need to perhaps investigate other alternative learning environments that may well motivate Māori students to be more like to participate in such contexts (Battiste, 2000; Bevan-Brown, 2003; Hindle, 2002; Ministry of Education, 2000c). The importance of having Māori teachers in front of Māori students has also been a guiding philosophy shared by many Māori communities over the years, however, this by no means guarantees educational success.

A Ministry working review document introduced in July 1999 entitled *Te Hiringa i te Mahara* collected 232 responses from Māori secondary school teachers outlining their concerns about schooling and education (Ministry of Education, 1999). The review concluded that longer hours, lower income and a higher concern for Māori students' language and culture, affected their levels of satisfaction, motivation and overall wellbeing to teach. Likewise as a result of the shortage of Māori teachers, and over 80 percent of Māori students choosing to conduct their education in the mainstream schooling, two key educational strategies were proposed in 2000. The first strategy intended to lift the level of 'responsiveness' and quality of schools; while the second strategy, proposed to assist Māori to be more involved in the design, decision-making and delivery of education (Ministry of Education, 2000c). The intention was genuine, but as Hattie (2003) suggested, "not only do we have a critical situation in retaining Māori teachers we also have a majority of teachers 'failing' to make effective learning connections with Māori students in the classroom" (p. 10).

The Education Review Office (ERO) developed in 1990 was essentially created to address such issues and concerns, and was aimed at improving educational outcomes for all students. As a result of their work, a number of National Administrational Guidelines (NAGs) and National Educational Guidelines (NEGs) were introduced to improve the standard of teaching and learning of all students, including Māori (Ministry of Education, 2000d). The guidelines focused on supporting schools and teachers to better prepare for their educational review, held every three years. In most cases, it usually the Board of Trustees and the school (principal and senior staff) who are responsible for implementing these guidelines, however, the governance of school and what they teach should not reside in the hands of a few.

Although, all schools and teachers are aware of these national guidelines, this does not necessarily mean that they have the resources or expertise to create learning environments that are culturally appropriate to meet the needs of Māori students, or will support Māori students to achieve more consistently in various areas of the curriculum (Else, 1999). Furthermore, the neo-liberal notions of 'inclusion', 'choice', 'collaboration', 'integration' 'equality', and 'increasing participation' for Māori in education may at times be simply seen as reinforcing 'ethnocentrism', by adhering to the cultural superiority of the 'dominant' culture (Fitzsimons & Smith, 2000). Exploring the educational benefits of cultural learning activities and/or environments, where Māori students are able to develop a sense of identity, culture and point of difference is urgently required in such contexts.

Teaching and Learning for Māori Students in Mainstream Schools

Over the past 10 years there has been extensive research supporting the notion that a teacher plays an emphatic role in how students, particularly Māori students, achieve in education (Barta, 2002; Bishop et al., 2003; Sarason, 1999; Wood, 1992), although what students find as interesting and motivating in their learning can be at times, less obvious. Indeed, the fact that groups of students in Aotearoa/New Zealand schools find particular aspects of school boring, uninteresting and seemingly irrelevant is cause for concern (Alton-Lee, 2003; Bishop et al., 2003; Bishop & Glynn, 1999; Bishop & Tiakiwai, 2003).

Currently there is an increasing respectability afforded to the examination of effective teaching and learning of Māori students in Aotearoa/New Zealand (Bishop & Tiakiwai, 2003; Eisner, 1991a; Glynn, Atvars, & O'Brien, 1999; Glynn, Berryman, & Glynn, 2000; Harker, 1979; Hastings, 1988; Macfarlane, 2004; Marshall, 2000). In particular, focusing on ways to transform the past years of Māori underachievement in mainstream schools has become a national priority (c. f. Bishop, 1998; Durie, 2003; Glynn et al., 1999; Macfarlane, 2004; Pihama, Cram, & Walker, 2002; Smith, 1997). Despite a plethora of material listing desirable strategies and solutions to improve educational outcomes for Māori students, there are concerns that such information is becoming increasingly 'generic', 'polarised' and 'defined' within the infrastructures of Western mainstream ideologies (Education Review Office, 2003; Else, 1999). Indeed, the notion of 'deficit' theorising comparing Māori with non-Māori students has usually resulted in intensifying the teaching of mainstream knowledge and skills. This process has further distanced Māori students from learning about their language and culture (Glynn, 1996). In contrast, Cross, Bazron, Dennis & Issacs (1989)

commented, that schools and teachers choosing to ignore indigenous ways of knowing and doing is actually choose to be 'culturally destructive and blind'. The idea that schools and teachers need to create and build safe and caring learning environments also incorporates the notion that cultural affirmation is important to Māori students feeling 'happier' about their schooling and education (c. f. Cavanagh, 2004).

A host of recent educational and career pathways reported that schools and teachers are expected to evaluate more often, not only what students need to learn, but also what students actively seek to achieve within their learning (Durie, 2003, 2004; Ministry Youth Affairs, 2002). To be able to construct effective learning environments and outcomes for Māori students requires that cultural experiences, values, beliefs and practices become an integral part of what schools and teachers provide as meaningful curriculum. This also means that schools and teachers will need to move past the notion of 'stigmatising' culture to initiatives, developments, programmes and interventions that significantly 'celebrate' culture. Although there are a number of specific guidelines assisting mainstream schools to evaluate their own level of cultural 'responsiveness' working with Māori, and/or special learners (Bevan-Brown, 2003; Ministry of Education, 2000a) there is little feedback about whether schools and teachers are achieving levels of cultural competency. A lack of standards underpinning and informing how mainstream secondary schools and teachers are able to plan and evaluate cultural appropriateness working with Māori students is apparent (Cross et al., 1989). Identifying and defining how schools and teachers achieve levels or even standards of cultural competency is a complex issue, especially if schools and people are not united or willing to work together. The lack of empirical research investigating the educational benefits associated with Māori students participating in

cultural learning activities may well be contributing to the on-going levels of Māori underachievement.

In terms of addressing inherent problems surrounding Māori student levels of underachievement, a greater amount of time afforded to improving the 'culture of teaching' moreso than the 'culture of learning' has been evident (Loper, 2006). Although, there can be no denying that teachers play a pivotal role in engaging Māori students in the classroom, proposing a wider indigenous epistemological concern about what counts as learning is equally important. Mead (2003) highlights the complexities that exist in the world of a Māori child stating that,

The child is heir to several spiritual attributes, which are fundamental to the spiritual, psychological, and social wellbeing of the individual. These attributes include personal tapu, mana, mauri, wairua and hau. They all relate to the importance of life, and to the relation of ira tangata, to the cosmos and the world of Gods, ira tangata (p. 60).

This view does not imply that schools and teachers need to consider defining what a Māori child is or isn't, on the contrary, it should be seen as an opportunity to nurture and celebrate the dynamic and innate potential a Māori child brings to the learning environment. To engage Māori students in a personal dialogue regarding what they have experienced as being educationally beneficial to them as 'cultural human beings' is vital in determining learning environments that can be sustained in the best interest of the learner (c. f. Eisner, 1991b; Meyer, 2005). The opportunity to involve and engage Māori students to reflect on learning experiences that are culturally specific, relevant and meaningful to improving educational outcomes for Māori students in mainstream secondary schools is considered critical to this investigation.

Māori Student Learning from an Indigenous Perspective

A number of educational reports have indicated the need for schools and teachers to become more acutely aware of how they are connecting, interacting and engaging with learners who are Māori (Bishop & Tiakiwai, 2003; Education Review Office, 2003; Glynn et al., 1999; Macfarlane, 2004; Ministry of Education, 2004). Additionally, despite an educational report stating that "culture on its own will have little affect on Māori levels of academic achievement" (Education Review Office, 2003, p. 3), indigenous knowledge networks world-wide have expanded significantly over the past 15 years (Alaska Native Knowledge Network, 1998, 1999; Bishop & Tiakiwai, 2003; Durie, 2004; Gay, 2000; Kawagley, 2001; Macfarlane, 2000, 2004; Pere, 1994). G. H. Smith (1992) suggested that the following 'intervention' guide what schools and teachers provide as valid curriculum and pedagogy working with Māori students:

- 1. **Tino rangatiratanga** (principle of relative autonomy). The principle relates to autonomy and self-determination in students' decision-making about content, participation and the construction of meaning from learning contexts.
- 2. **Taonga tuku iho** (principle of reciprocal learning). This principle assumes that to be Māori is to be 'normal'.
- 3. **Ako** (principle of reciprocal teaching). The Māori word 'ako' means both teaching and learning. An integrated process that makes extensive (though not exclusive) use of tuakana-teina (older/more experienced-younger/less experienced) relationships, and implies connectedness and reciprocity between students and the teacher.
- 4. **Kia piki aku ngā raruraru o te kainga** (principle of mediation). This principle refers to the way students' participation in school connects with families and reflects the cultural practices in the wider community.
- 5. **Whānau** (principle of relationships in groups). The word 'whānau' literally means family in its broad sense, though used metaphorically in reference groups or collectives of people working toward a common goal.

6. **Kaupapa** (principle of collective vision, shared philosophy). This principle relates to the Māori agenda in educational processes that articulates and connects with Māori aspirations, politically, socially, economically and spiritually.

Likewise, in terms of advocating for a bicultural approach to education, Schwartz (1992) stated that,

A truly bicultural education would embody educational pedagogy and practice that not only represents both Māori and non-Māori, but also plays a significant role in the construction and dissemination of knowledge (cited in Salter, 2000a, p. 50).

Highlighting a practical example, te reo kori (the language of movement), included in the health and physical education curriculum, uses the poi (ball on a string), rākau (wooden stick), and whai (string game) to develop basic hand-eye-body movement skills (Salter, 2000a). Adhering to some of the principles G. H. Smith (1992) outlines above, a university researcher working with a small number of primary schools negotiated ways of implementing te reo kori. The key approach was to match these cultural preferences (concepts) of teaching and learning alongside the implications of students participating in te reo kori. This involved the teacher employing co-operative learning principles, acknowledging the students' individual learning styles, and encouraging greater student participation in decision-making (Salter, 2000a).

Some of the literary barriers encountered teaching te reo kori were overcome by constructing ways for students to problem-solve and in particular, share and create ways of engaging in te reo kori in groups. Teachers during the process were asked to continually reflect, acknowledge and respond sensitively to students' needs, particularly in regard to gender, ethnicity, ability and social interaction. The ability for students and teachers to share and experience te reo kori was based on applying

effective teaching pedagogy that showed a genuine concern for the background of students and their preferred learning styles (Salter, 2000a). It also suggested that teachers might well consider 'culturally responsive' pedagogical approaches as an effective way of supporting the physical, social, mental/emotional and spiritual wellbeing of all students. Furthermore, te reo kori, through the use of effective cooperative teaching approaches, helped all students to embrace learning more about Māori language and culture. Although, including such cultural learning activities are often dependant upon teacher confidence and acceptance, mainstream schools usually acknowledge they have an obligation (duty) to build bicultural learning environments. Developing and expanding such notions requires input by Māori, and in particular, Māori students who are actively involved and experiencing these kinds of relationships.

A range of alternative learning environments have been developed globally in the recent years (USA Today, 2005). Indigenous schools (total immersion language schools) and other character schools have significantly grown in popularity in the past 20 years. An international report supporting charter schools argued that many of these kinds of schools are often being compared against the same criteria as public schools. However, not all charter schools are set up in the same way as public schools, so should be evaluated very differently (USA Today, 2005). Indeed, there are a host of different charter schools, ranging from those dedicated to rescuing high at-risk students to those catering for talented performing art students. In contrast, mainstream, total immersion and bilingual schools in Aotearoa/New Zealand have been focused on ensuring all students achieve at least eight literacy and numeracy credits by the time they leave school (Murray, 2005). As is relatively common, Māori

students are often disproportionately represented when compared with their non-Māori counterparts. The importance of improving Māori student levels of achievement has also raised the interest in developing 'culturally responsive and inclusive' pedagogy (Bishop et al., 2003; Durie, 2004; Ministry of Education, 2000c, 2001). Further to such notions, the lack of valuing the social and cultural dimensions that are central to individuals learning more about themselves can often be overlooked in such reporting processes.

Indeed, what schools and teachers perceive as being beneficial for all students to learn may not be what Māori students believe benefits their culture, identity or learning interests. The ability to investigate more comprehensively their learning needs and aspirations requires research that allows the time and space for Māori students to be heard. Furthermore, including kapa haka as central to the research inquiry aims to validate the importance of conducting research that is not only focused on making a difference for Māori students, but also improves levels of bicultural accountability in the learning environment.

Changing Māori Student Underachievement

The stigma of Māori student underachievement continues to be a complex and difficult challenge facing many schools and educators today (Bishop et al., 2003; Bishop & Tiakiwai, 2003; Education Review Office, 2003; Ministry of Education, 2000a, 2000c, 2004; Te Puni Kōkiri, 1998, 2001a, 2001b). Recent research has suggested that teachers establishing quality face-to-face in class interactions with Māori students can make a significant difference to improving educational outcomes for Māori students in mainstream secondary schools (Bishop et al., 2003). Indeed, the

Ministry's drive to improve Māori student achievement has meant that schools and teachers are required to evaluate more consistently, that what they are providing for Māori students is actually making a difference to how they achieve (Alton-Lee, 2003). Although, schools and teachers may well hold very good intentions working with Māori students, determining what is being measured as successful for Māori students to learn is often disputed amongst those who consistently ask, "what counts as knowledge and whose knowledge counts?"

Bishop, Berryman, Tiakiwai and Richardson (2003) research report entitled, *Te Kōtahitanga: The Experiences of Year 9 and 10 Māori Students in Mainstream Classrooms*, attempted to answer three broad questions around how a better understanding of Māori student experiences in the classroom might lead to improving policies to inform better teacher practice. The report also sought to identify the underlying teacher and school behaviours and attitudes that impact on why Māori students are not achieving their potential. A number of relevant responses emerged from the study suggesting that teachers ultimately need to take greater responsibility for the way that teachers work with Māori students who are consistently identified as under-achieving in such contexts (Bishop et al., 2003). The report indicated quite unanimously that teachers committed to developing positive student-teacher relationships where more inclined to experience greater levels of success working with Māori students.

For positive educational reform to emerge for Māori, adopting a Māori world view is considered critical and of paramount importance. Fitzsimons and Smith (2000) contend that,

Research be linked to praxis...where Kaupapa Māori is based on the intersection of whakapapa (genealogy) and whānau (family) in the reconstitution of Māori identity in the Māori world...and that identity formation is central to whānau (p. 38).

In this context, schools and teachers need to consider what value they place on including whānau and whakapapa as valid learning outcomes when working with Māori students. In essence, effective cultural pedagogy requires schools and teachers to consider the impact of creating learning opportunities, experiences and environments that enhance Māori student levels of participation, engagement and success.

In addition, considering how Māori students perceive they do achieve, learn or even excel in such environments needs to be pinpointed. Providing support and guidance for schools and teachers around how to deliver such learning environments, not only requires dialogue, it also requires a deep respect for what Māori students say about their education and more specifically, how they feel they learn best from a social and cultural perspective. This will require schools, teachers, students and the wider community to review what currently prevents these students from accessing or reaching their learning potential. Furthermore, Maxim Institute's (2000) policy paper stated that, "there is much research indicating that many benefits arise [for Māori students] when schools and teachers are given more freedom to specialise and offer alternative curriculum and examinations" (p. 16). From this perspective, it is clearly apparent that schools and teachers have significant power and control in determining what students will learn, and ultimately how successful they can be at school.

Although there are a number of Ministry of Education indicators (reviews, documents and reports) that highlight the fact that mainstream schools and teachers often tend to refrain from including specific cultural standards as a benchmark for achieving cultural success working with Māori students, there are a number of national educational forums (Hui Taumata, Te Hiringa i te Mahara, Te Kauhua, Te Mana and Te Kōtahitanga) that advocate for a greater cultural shift in how mainstream schools work and encourage Māori students to value their education (Bishop et al., 2003; Durie, 2001a; Education Review Office, 2002; Hattie, 2003a; Ministry of Education, 2003; Nuthall, 2005).

Assisting mainstream schools and teachers to plan and evaluate their own criteria for cultural change has been in many situations a difficult and challenging dilemma, and may well continue to be according to Alton-Lee (2003) who argues that,

Quality teaching for heterogeneous groups of students, whether by ethnicity, socio-economic status of the student's homes, special educational needs, language background, gender or other difficulties, is a fundamental challenge for New Zealand schooling. For each student the intersection of social class, ethnicity and gender can markedly influence cultural practices, and prior experiences (p. 5).

The ability for mainstream schools and teachers to consider learning opportunities to enhance how Māori students achieve can be significantly affected by the increasing diversity of needs all students bring to the learning environment. Hattie (2003, p. 13) contends that Aotearoa/New Zealand, as a whole, needs a major debate about the purpose of our education system. He also argues for a 're-definition of the purpose for schooling', where teachers, as 'change agents' become not only effective teachers, but also 'excellent' teachers. In contrast, Durie (2004) spoke about advancing Māori aspirations in education by preparing for the future and establishing goals that will be

of benefit to Māori in the long term. One scenario he suggested, is that instead of expecting schools to be 'experts' at everything, Māori could well expect to see schooling being offered by a wide range of 'experts' at a variety of different learning centres. The goal of such learning environments is to enable opportunities for Māori students to achieve greater levels of 'mastery' and 'excellence' within a particular field that includes ways to maintain their total wellbeing as Māori (Durie, 2004).

At present, the 'mainstreaming' approach to schooling and education in Aotearoa/New Zealand is hindered by an over-riding state system, which at times provides a number of knee-jerk lurches to various curriculum and/or assessment needs. The sporadic nature of such government-led processes can be very 'chaotic' for many schools and teachers, and extremely unsettling for students (Pountney, 2000). The importance of schools and teachers to regularly self-review (e.g. biannually) what they deliver for students, and in particular, to allow them both to seek their own solutions is vital to improving overall student achievement. Similarly, improving educational outcomes for Māori students requires schools and teachers to consider what students themselves believe helps their learning (Maxim Institute, 2006).

As a result, effective mainstream schooling and education for Māori requires a greater shift towards identifying the key determinants of success as it directly relates to how they learn (Ministry of Education, 1998, 2000c). Although the on-going levels of disproportionate assessing and reporting on Māori levels of achievement continues to be a psychological hindrance for many Māori, it is vital to conduct research that

reveals more coherently ways Māori students achieve both culturally and academically.

Culturally Connected Learning Pathways for Māori Students

Although, implementing and interpreting what constitutes the 'ideal' learning environment for Māori students in mainstream schools will continue to pose a number of social and cultural challenges, it can be made somewhat easier if schools and teachers commit to developing and improving 'better relationships for better learning' (Ministry of Education, 2000a). The Ministry document, 'Better Relationships for Better Learning: Guidelines for Boards of Trustees and Schools on Engaging with Māori Parents, Whānau and Communities (2000) provided a way for schools to evaluate their level of participation in relation to working with Māori. The document included a number of key areas to improve school governance, planning and policy. It also included strategies for developing human resources that would link the home, community and schools more effectively. Each strategy is accompanied by specific objectives and key questions asking schools if certain initiatives, strategies and developments have been put in place to support certain outcomes (Ministry of Education, 2000a). Similarly, shifts towards a more comprehensive understanding about 'culture' in such settings helped to provide far wider implications for how mainstream schools and teachers can be more effective working with their indigenous students (Alaska Native Knowledge Network, 1998, 1999; Gibson, 1988; Ogbu & Gibson, 1991; Pere, 1994; Rubie, 1999b). The ability to work 'with', rather than 'to', is a significant part of what this document aims to achieve, although schools and teachers need to be more inclusive of different cultural values, meanings and understandings (Bishop and Glynn, 1999). Therefore the basis of a strong educational

system for Māori perhaps depends on how well we as educators evaluate our own culture and identity as New Zealanders, and to what capacity Māori language and culture is included in such settings.

Adopting a 'values' based education system, which guides young people to appreciate individual differences and improves their social, cultural, emotional and spiritual wellbeing is a key to enhancing students sense of self-worth and identity (Lynch, 2002). Lynch (2002) contends,

...that the Māori renaissance with its upfront commitment to the wairua (spiritual elements) concept, has led the way for a number of teachers to overtly recognise the spiritual dimension, but to date many teachers continue to overlook this vital aspect, and in doing so deny a level connectedness of values Māori students need to develop the capacity to reach their potential in education (p. 1).

He suggested that 'values' based education should be an intrinsic aspect of every educational programme, and that having learning mediums to nurture such processes instils a greater level of student motivation to learn (Lynch, 2002). There is also research suggesting that the connections, relationships and interactions with culture, identity and self are critical features of being Māori, and that such factors are vital in developing a sense of 'wholeness' (Durie, 2004; Fitzsimons & Smith, 2000; Irwin, 1994; Macfarlane, 2004). It is perhaps pertinent to ask the question regarding, what kinds of learning environments support Māori students to value their learning? Or indeed, what value does mainstream schools and teachers place on the notion of learning that develops the total wellbeing of learners who are Māori?

In America many minority cultures, for example Sikhs, African Americans, Mexican-Americans, Asian Americans and others, are attempting to transfer the skills learnt in the home, such as discipline, authority, work and individual achievement into school and the learning environment. Gibson (1988) drew together two distinct theoretical perspectives to explain the school performance of minority students. The first assumes that educational problems arise due in a large part to the mis-match of language and culture of a school, and that of the students. The second perspective emphasised the status of a particular minority or social class group within the socioeconomic structure of the host society and the minority group's relationship with the dominant majority. The study argued that low achievement in schools is based primarily on an outgrowth of the social stratification (system) and that schools function primarily to maintain the 'status quo' of the dominant majority.

Similarly, Ogbu (1974) explained that the most influential reason why minority groups fail in schools is mainly because such groups are culturally 'deprived' or 'underserved'. Furthermore, he suggests that schools and teachers, as a result of the rate of achievement among minority groups, view themselves as 'victims' forced to take on the additional burden of removing the 'resistance to learning' that children from poor or culturally 'deprived' backgrounds bring with them. In this sense, schools and teachers continue to argue that parents and the home contribute significantly to the psychological and social development of how minority groups perceive school, education and achievement (c. f. Airini, 1998; Gibson, 1988; Hohepa et al., 1996; Manu'atu, 2000; Merritt, 1996; Ogbu, 1974, 1978). This investigation challenges notions of 'status quo' within education and advocates for a greater review of learning environments for those students who may well be culturally 'deprived', 'underserved' or 'marginalised' within such contexts.

Similarly, many other indigenous groups are actively seeking ways to shape their own destinies in education and in all areas of society (Alaska Native Knowledge Network, 1998, 1999; Cleary & Peacock, 1998; Dimitriadis, 2001; Durie, 2001a; Harrison, 1987; Kawagley, 2001; Ogbu, 1978; Ogbu & Gibson, 1991). Māori are actively seeking alternative learning prospects outside of the more conventional and traditional public schooling system. This is primarily because there has been a mind shift by parents and students around its purpose, and the role public education plays in developing the specific learning needs and aspirations students actively seek (Else, 1999).

To date, many mainstream schools in Aotearoa/New Zealand have focused more on the idea of learning reform as opposed to whole school reform. Probably one of the most notable examples of learning reform at the secondary school level has been the introduction of academies in 1992, and more notably sports (Aranui High School and Rotorua Boys' High) and performing arts (Lytton High School and Freyberg High School) academies for senior students contemplating a career pathway within these areas. Although, there are mixed teacher reactions to such initiatives, it is access to expert tutors, the diversity of choice provided and smaller student numbers that makes these learning environments highly attractive to prospective students (Pope, 2001). These kinds of learning environments have also ignited a wider debate about senior student learning and, in particular, what students actively seek in years 12 and 13.

Performing to Achieve, Achieving to Perform

With the inclusion of Ngā Toi i roto i te Mātauranga o Aotearoa (Māori visual and performing Arts) in 2000, the arts have become increasingly popular among many

Māori students because it provides access to visual art, and in particular, learning through performing (Hindle, 2002; Rubie, 1999b). The increasing representations of Māori film, media, radio, theatre and television have also provided a number of viable career pathways. Having a level of proficiency in Māori language and culture promotes opportunities to celebrate being indigenous and also what that actually means in the context of being a New Zealander (Beatson, 1994; Benton, 1985; Mead, 1984). The notion of developing imaginative and creative learning environments that enhance levels of academic as well as cultural success is not new, but it may well challenge what schools and teachers currently provide for Māori students. Despite the various challenges schools and teachers face working with such students, the advantage of accessing and including 'real life' experiences as part of a student's education programme has been well documented and considered vital in supporting students to make meaningful learning connections (c. f. Csikszentmihalyi, 2002; Education Review Office, 1995a, 2000, 2002; Education Review Report, 1996; Eisner, 1998, 2002; Farr, 1990; Kretchmar, 2000; J. Smith, 2000; Stranger, 1999).

Currently, there are many schools and teachers attempting to provide for the artistic and creative needs students bring to the learning environment. The inclusion of *Arts* and *Ngā Toi i roto i te Mātauranga Curriculum* in 2000, provides many students with the opportunity to experience music, dance, drama and the visual arts at a variety of different levels (Education Review Office, 1995a; Eisner, 1998). However, due to the ever changing curriculum, deciding what subjects a school chooses to offer students may not only vary remarkably, but may also adversely affect a student's ability to completely experience the full potential the arts are capable of providing (Education Review Office, 1995a). It may be plausible to suggest that it is actually the

responsibility of everyone involved to construct educational programmes that not only support the national curriculum, but also serves the wider needs of students and their communities.

Challenges for Māori Performing Arts in Mainstream Schooling

Identifying and providing for the creative and artistic needs Māori students bring to schools will require a major shift in what schools and teachers currently provide as valid and legitimate curriculum (Hindle, 2002; Peddie, 1974; Penetito, 2002), although, strengthening the credibility and status of the performing arts in schools continues to be a challenging task (Csikszentmihalyi, 2002). The development of performing arts schools have provided significant benefit to students by creating the opportunity for individuals to develop their unique personality, promote imagination and unlock their creative and artistic potential (Abbs, 1994; Csikszentmihalyi, 2002; Read, 1956). Countries such as Australia, England and the United States are examples where performing arts schools have become a valid way of supporting students seeking a more creative and artistic educational learning pathway (Beatson, 1994; Eisner, 1992). Perhaps if schools and teachers understood more about how to access the learning benefits inherent in the arts, not only would the quality of teaching become more dynamic, but also there may be far greater understanding about what constitutes learning with respect to the specific talents, strengths and skills students bring to the learning environment.

Culturally Responsive Pedagogy for Māori Students in Mainstream Schooling and Education

In the past 10-15 years the importance schools and teachers give to adapting learning environments using 'culturally responsive' pedagogy has increased (Alton-Lee,

2003). Furthermore, the number of projects, reports, frameworks and models emphasising the benefits associated with schools and teachers employing 'culturally responsive' pedagogy has been progressively expanding (c. f. Bishop et al., 2003; Bishop, 1999; Macfarlane, 2004). Take for example, Macfarlane's (2004) concept of the 'educultural wheel' which suggests that the key to improving teaching and learning for Māori students is based collectively on building relationships (whānaungātanga), developing an ethic of caring (manaakitanga) and bonding (kōtahitanga), effective teaching (rangatiratanga), and incorporated within the morale, tone and pulse (pūmanawatanga) of reaching out and breathing life into the first four concepts. A number of teaching strategies are listed under each concept illustrating ways for teachers to consider constructing learning that supports the cultural needs and aspirations Māori students actively seek in such contexts. Salter contends, that Pākehā education is seen more as a necessary system for young people to progress through in order to be employed, while education for Māori,

- is seen as ngā taonga tuku iho (tribal treasures passed down from the ancestors);
- is concerned with understanding te ira tangata (life principle) in holistic and cosmological ways;
- aims to unfold the pūmanawa (unique talents and abilities) of each individual;
- demonstrates commitment to the collective as well as the individual (2000b, p. 9).

The need to understand the dynamic nature of what it means to be Māori in a changing society requires a greater empathy and understanding of what Māori students connect with in the learning environment(s). Despite the importance culture adds to Māori students sense of learning purpose, wellbeing and success in education, the *Education Review Office* (2003) categorically states,

that while a wide range of initiatives are being implemented by schools, the majority of cultural programmes often did not have strong links with identified educational issues and achievement...and while cultural programmes enhance students self-esteem, it is unlikely that on their own they will provide an appropriate range of strategies to lead to the improved achievement for Māori students (p. 1).

I would argue that it is premature to make such assertions when there is little research or evidence exploring if there are educational benefits associated with Māori students participating in cultural activities and how such knowledge may inform better ways for Māori students to achieve. In terms of reflecting on effective teaching practices working with Māori students, Hattie (2003) argued, that teachers should be able to make better cultural connections with their Māori students; and whilst there are a number of schools and teachers adopting a host of professional development courses, based on rallying support for Māori language and culture, being aware does not necessarily mean schools or teachers will want to change. Investigating the educational benefits of cultural learning activities where Māori students have access to their culture, language and ways of knowing and doing during a school day and where Māori students through the art of performing are making a host of cultural learning connections is long overdue.

Prior to the introduction of the arts curriculum in 2000, G. H. Smith (1990a) argued that in many instances 'culturally responsive' learning environments, such as kapa haka, have been primarily used by many mainstream schools and teachers more as a controlling mechanism for encouraging Māori students to be better behaved, attend school more regularly and to develop a stronger desire to want to achieve in the core subjects (i.e. english, mathematics and the sciences). Furthermore, many mainstream schools and teachers had failed to comprehend that Māori language and culture has its

own identity, cultural learning contexts, essence and values, and that the learning potential within what 'culture' provides for such students often remains untapped in such contexts (Ritchie, 1992; Smith, 1990a). As a result, schools and teachers content with providing 'feel good' cultural activities or 'tokenistic' gestures of goodwill towards culture, will by no means resolve the on-going levels of Māori student underachievement.

Kapa Haka as a Culturally Responsive Learning Intervention in Mainstream Secondary Schools

One cultural learning environment that continues to gain momentum for Māori students in many mainstream secondary schools today is kapa haka (Education Review Office, 2002, 2003). Kapa haka, as a contemporary performing art, is a powerful and dynamic experience unique to Māori, and to the people of Aotearoa/New Zealand. To contemplate that kapa haka should become more or less a part of mainstream schooling and education is highly contestable among Māori, especially if it means defining, comparing and measuring kapa haka against other mainstream schooling curriculum and practices. In essence, kapa haka will be explored in the context of addressing levels of Māori student underachievement and to improve the current status of education for Māori students in mainstream secondary schools.

Māori people, past and present, have been very determined and adept at utilising their knowledge and creative energy to maintain the integrity of Māori art. Although, Māori art has become more a contemporary term, the aim is to ensure that Māori cultural traditions, values and practices become more visible and readily accessible to a host of different groups and societies (Mead, 1997). For example, Māori waiata

(e.g. war dance called haka), as well as depictions in the form of waka (canoe-travelled by water), tā moko (Māori tattoo or skin designs), whakairo (intricate Māori carvings), kōwhaiwhai (painted wooden panels), rāranga (weaving-flax) and tukutuku work (reed woven panels) are common forms of Māori art that can be expressed appropriately through kapa haka (Hindle, 2002; Karetu, 1993; Mead, 1997; Sharples, 1985). The educational importance is that through kapa haka a host of different cultural learning experiences, values and practices may well be present and occurring simultaneously (Hindle, 2002; Van Rooyen, 2002).

The *Ngā Toi* curriculum document incorporates three major disciplines; ngā mahi a te rēhia (dance and drama), toi pūoro (music) and toi ataata (the visual arts) and is a culturally viable way of engaging Māori children to learn more about their language and culture (Hindle, 2002; Leaf, 2004; Ministry of Education, 2000b; Smith, 2003). Furthermore, participating in kapa haka not only provides Māori students with the opportunity to achieve academic credits towards a formal qualification (New Zealand Qualifications Authority, 2002), but also provides a creative way of learning and achieving through the art of performing.

Kapa haka in the context of contemporary competitive learning performance has six major sections including, the entrance (whakaeke), waiata tawhito (traditional song chant), waiata-ā-ringa (action song), waiata-poi (dance performed with a tiny ball on the end of a string), haka (Māori war dance) and the whakawaatea (exit). Peter Sharples, himself a keen kapa haka exponent and keynote speaker at the *Dance and the Child International Conference* in 1985, talked in-depth about the advantages of

Māori dance and performance as being a life force for many Māori people (Sharples, 1985). The use of waiata, mōteatea, poi, haka, taiaha (long club) and choreographed body movements are features within Māori dance and performance that shares and celebrates being Māori (Sharples, 1985). Likewise, Royal (1998) doctoral thesis *Te Whare Tapere: Towards a Model for Māori Performance Art* considered the philosophy of 'Te Ao Marama' (world view helping Māori life to shine so that generations may rise) and Te Whare Tapere (the house of amusement) as a model for learning about how to maintain our essence as Māori. This model he suggests, is not only a way to retrace our steps back to the world of Māori, but it also helps to empower Māori to look more specifically at ones own 'tribal' history and to seek that which is uniquely Māori (Royal, 1998).

From this perspective, and often within the quintessential divines of stories, dance and song, Royal concluded that this 'house' is required to establish stronger links with today's Māori knowledge, culture, language, customs and traditions. As a result, Māori performing arts are considered vital to sustaining the wellbeing of Māori culture, language and identity in the present day. V. Smith's (2003) thesis entitled 'Colonising the Stage: The Socio-Cultural Impact of Colonisation on Kapa Haka', considered that despite European ears finding Māori music discordant at the best of times, there was no evidence to suggest that Māori intended to accommodate their ways of knowing music to the norms and ideals that governed Western music.

The provision of kapa haka, as Māori performing art form, is a culturally and academically accepted teaching and learning approach consistently used in Te Kōhanga Reo (Early Childhood Māori immersion schools), Whānau Rumaki (Total-

Immersion Māori Language classes in mainstream schools), Kura Kaupapa (Primary-level equivalent Māori schools age 5-12 years) and Whare Kura (Secondary Māori schools age 13-17 years) environments today. In 2002, *The New Zealand Qualifications Authority* approved kapa haka as valid way for students to achieve credits towards a formal qualification (New Zealand Qualifications Authority, 2002). As a result of Māori students performing at the 2002 National Kapa Haka Festival held in Christchurch, Māori students were for the very first time able to gain credits towards national qualifications, including the National Certificate in Māori Performing Arts, the National Certificate in Māori (Te Waharoa) and the National Certificate in Educational Achievement (NCEA). A national educational moderator was employed to help support the judges and to assess a student's on-stage performance in haka, whakaraka (action stances), waiata-ā-ringa, and haka wahine (woman war dance). In this regard, kapa haka does provide the 'academic' scope and rigor to be included (Hindle, 2002; New Zealand Qualifications Authority, 2002).

Kapa haka has not only helped many Māori students to develop language and cultural meanings more quickly, it has also instilled in them a sense of motivation and confidence to be involved in a wider range of learning activities and initiatives, including reading and writing (Rubie, 1999a). Rubie's (1999) thesis, 'The effect of a Māori culture group experience on children's self-esteem, locus of control and academic performance' concluded, that the children she observed in kapa haka not only increased in their levels of self-esteem and confidence, they also achieved better results in a number of standardised tests. There was also a marked improvement in their overall perception of school life and education. Her study indicated that student participation in kapa haka can improve levels of student achievement in other areas of

the curriculum. To be able to identify if there exists any educational benefits associated with Māori students participating in kapa haka, it will be necessary to invite Māori kapa haka students to share their experiences. Furthermore, it is hoped that by also inviting teachers to reflect on what they perceive as being educationally beneficial to Māori student participation in kapa haka will further encourage reflection regarding what culture entails and adds to the learning environment.

The challenge of enhancing learning environments for Māori in mainstream schooling may be best summarised by Patrick Lynch, the Chief Education Officer (2002) who argued that,

There is a lot of truth in the growing international mantra that generic skills are fundamental for successful working lives...More often than not, what is left out of the list are the fundamental values that reflect the civic, ethical and philosophical orientation of individuals. One can be a knowledge worker, but if the knowledge does not operate within positive values frameworks, one simply has an individual who can be dangerous, with pragmatism being put ahead of ethical and spiritual considerations...

He continues by contesting that,

...We cannot any longer hide behind the 1877 Education Act's secular clause and not actively recognise the fundamental spiritual dimension of young people. The Māori renaissance with its up front commitment to the wairua concept has led the way for a number of schools to overtly recognise this spiritual dimension. Young people are thirsting for dialogue about life's great questions: who am I, why am I here, where am I going? But they often do not get the opportunity to do so...we owe them to address those issues, rather than give them only a diet of skill and knowledge development (p. 1).

The nature of the performing arts may also help provide a vantage point for mainstream schools and teachers to better nurture Māori language, culture, identity and spirituality. However, incorporating the talents, strengths and aspirations of Māori children beyond the scope of what schools currently provide academically is difficult given the nature of what mainstream schools and education are intent on

adopting (Chunn, 2001). Comparably, Mike Chunn, (2001), the Director of New Zealand's Operations for APRA (Australian Performing Rights Association) after interviewing 250 secondary schools students all from the same school, commented,

Somewhere between the ages of 7 and 17 something goes dreadfully wrong. The culture of creativity, as opposed to culture of innovation, dies...it all starts with children. It's the only way...only when young people's creativity is nurtured at all levels of the school will creativity become an equal partner in the knowledge economy (p. 3).

Moreover, the search for self, uniqueness and success may actually evolve from an inner struggle to acquire 'sites of meaning' which the self, through human experiences, consistently looks to enhance, satisfy and learn from (Csikszentmihalyi, 2002; Kretchmar, 2000). It is therefore imperative to find and explore learning environments that motivate Māori students to learn, achieve and succeed. Investigating, kapa haka and its relationship with Māori students may well provide some vital insights into the way Māori students learn, achieve and engage in their learning.

Conclusion

This literature review has highlighted that mainstream schooling provision for Māori students has and continues to be inadequate. Indeed, if it had not been for the efforts of Māori self-determination in the 1970s, both socially and politically, many aspects of what identifies Māori today may well have disappeared. The definite shortfall of research exploring the educational benefits associated with 'culturally responsive and appropriate' learning environments in mainstream secondary schools is apparent, primarily because the notion of culture and identity as it pertains to being a New Zealander is often heavily contested across many sectors of our society. As a result

exploring the essence of culture as it relates to improving outcomes for Māori students in mainstream schools is often inferred, yet rarely considered in any depth.

Indeed, there are no known empirical studies until now, that have attempted to investigate the educational benefits associated with Māori students participating in kapa haka in mainstream secondary schools. Although there are areas in the curriculum (e.g. te reo kori/te ao kori, te reo Māori, ngā toi and Māori performing arts) that provide opportunities for Māori students to take subjects that are 'culturally responsive', the continual focus on the 'culture of teaching' more so than the 'culture of learning' has tended to stifle teacher education programmes (Loper, 2006). In this regard, such discussion should invite teachers to reflect more on developing a learning culture that engages Māori students to value learning that is inclusive of culture.

As a result, of conducting semi-structured interviews with both Māori students (using focus groups) and teachers (using one-to-one) a number of recommendations emerged to provide a sense of clarity, purpose and direction schools and teachers may well consider useful in supporting Māori students. Although many schools and *teachers* may appear obviously aware of some of the cultural needs and aspirations Māori students seek, this does not necessarily mean they will change what the currently do, unless they can clearly see how changing what they do in their subjects will improve the overall achievement of all students in their classes. In this regard, perhaps the initial step is to find out how and why Māori students choose to participate in kapa haka before any assumptions can be made about its educational benefit. I will now introduce and discuss Kaupapa Māori as the key theoretical framework considered for conducting the investigation.

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

Introduction: When the Researched become the Researchers

This study draws extensively on the theoretical underpinnings associated with Kaupapa Māori, a 'culturally responsive and appropriate' framework supporting Māori philosophies and practices (Battiste, 2005; Bishop, 1995, 1997b; Smith, 1997; Smith, 1992). The importance of Kaupapa Māori is to engage in discussion that seeks to determine educational outcomes for the benefit Māori (Smith, 1997). This approach suggests that 'whakawhānaungātanga' (building positive research relationships) is fundamental to any research provision for Māori (Bishop, 1996b). Based on this approach, relationships prior, during and after the investigation were seen as vitally necessary in ensuring all information was readily transparent and available. The intention being that any research conducted about Māori should not only be beneficial, is should also aim to be inclusive, reciprocal and mutually respectful of Māori values, beliefs and practices.

As 'tangata whenua', and operating within the guidelines and principles of the Treaty of Waitangi, Māori are actively seeking ways to self-determine educational frameworks that enhance Māori learning and achieving (Smith, 1990b, 1997; Smith, 1999). Moreover, L. T. Smith (1991) argued that research for Māori has seen,

...many research projects based on notions of deficit, or otherwise 'blaming the victim'. Such research entails the assumption that the solution to the problem lies within the research participants themselves. These kinds of models merely predetermine the nature of the research (that it is being defined by someone else and not those being researched) and indeed the eventual outcome (cited in Morss and Linzey, 1991, p. 54).

From this perspective, it is critical that researchers take the time to negotiate with Māori about how the research will proceed (Smith, 1997). L. T. Smith (1999) argued that,

Engaging in a discussion about research as an indigenous issue has been about finding a 'voice', or a way of finding a voice, or a way of voicing concerns, fears, desires, aspirations, needs and questions as they relate to research. When indigenous peoples become the researchers and not merely the researched, the activity of research is transformed. Questions are framed differently, people participate differently, and problems are defined differently, people participate on different terms (p. 193).

Inherent in removing the 'discursive' layers of language, that can adversely affect Māori from reaching their potential in education, is to ensure that researchers who are researching Māori actually spend quality time building levels of trust and empathy with potential research participants.

In this research, cognisance of semi-structured interviews allowed participants to share their real life experiences and to feel they were able to make a valid contribution to the research. The interviews focused exclusively on the educational benefits associated with the time, effort and energy Māori secondary school students give to kapa haka, and revealed a host of 'culturally responsive' possibilities for improving educational outcomes for Māori students in mainstream secondary schools. Comparing and contrasting the responses of Māori kapa haka students and teachers was informed using a Kaupapa Māori theoretical approach.

Positioning the Researcher and the Research

The positioning of the research and the researcher is a 'delicate', 'contradictory' and 'complex' issue, that, G. H. Smith (1997) contends relates to,

...a set of potentially contradictory oppositions, between 'academic' and community interests, Māori and Pākehā interests, 'organic' and traditional 'intellectual' interests, and the subordinate and dominant class interests...that the tensions arising out of these dual expectations and responsibilities places enormous pressures on the writer and the research, ...and that aspects of conscientization, resistance and praxis need to be identified and understood with intent of allowing the research to develop, evolve and create meaning from wider community perspective (p. 71).

Historically, Kaupapa Māori theory emerged as a direct result of Māori dissatisfaction with the mainstream (English-based) education system (Pihama et al., 2002). The need for Māori to have methodologies, theories and knowledge acknowledged and incorporated within education are necessary steps in establishing political, economic, social and cultural research autonomy. G. H. Smith (1997) argued that,

Kaupapa Māori formations of resistance have as a central concern the need to find 'alternative' pathways which allow Māori to reach their full potential as Māori as well as 'free citizens of the world'...Māori parents have made it clear in many submissions, surveys, conferences and overt protest actions, that they want for their children an education and schooling that delivers excellent outcomes within both these aims (p. 74).

It is therefore very important that Māori are fully informed about how such processes work and that they are collectively part of all aspects of the research process (Smith, 1997, 2002). As a Māori researcher, my position has been significantly influenced by the following experiences:

- 1. I attended a state mainstream and Catholic primary school, as well as a co-educational state mainstream secondary school.
- 2. I was expelled (term used in 1979) from a mainstream state funded Catholic school and failed the national School Certificate external examinations.
- 3. I had minimal exposure to learning te reo Māori growing up.
- 4. My father belonged to a generation when speaking Māori at school was punishable. He also left school at the age of fifteen years without any kind of formal educational qualification (intergenerational failure in education).

- 5. I attended the University of Waikato for nine years (five years full time as an under-graduate student, and four years part-time as a post-graduate student).
- 6. I have been enrolled at the University of Auckland for the past four years as a full time post-graduate student.
- 7. I have taught in a mainstream urban secondary state boys' school for five years, and was a Dean of Māori and Pacific Island students.
- 8. I worked as a Resource Teacher of Learning and Behaviour working in both the primary and secondary school sectors supporting teachers with students who have moderate-to-high learning and/or behavioural difficulties (for the past six years).
- 9. I participated in working alongside Māori Resource Teachers of Learning and Behaviour in the Ngā Pouwhirinakitanga caucus for the past six years.
- 10. I participated in a wide variety of conferences, workshops, professional development days and seminars pertaining to Māori education as a registered teacher.
- 11. I was an inaugural national Māori academic award recipient in 2002.
- 12. I consistently share in meaningful discussion about education and its benefits within my own whānau.

Although passionately concerned for the current position of Māori students in secondary school contexts, it is important to remove any tendency to align my own educational experiences with what others (students and teachers) may choose to share. To rectify this level of bias, Richardson (1994, p. 522) highlights a process of 'crystallization', and is described as being the 'multi-dimensional growing and changing nature of human experience that can be validated without reference to one single point'. Whilst the investigation attempts to identify ways to improve educational outcomes for Māori in these settings, the research is by no means intended to be conclusive, rather it should encourage further dialogue and debate around the implications of culture, identity and difference in education.

Being Māori during the Research Process

Prior to the arrival of Pākehā, and soon after colonisation, Māori lived in a tribal and kinship society that was often described as 'communal' (Walker, 1990). Primarily founded on the basis of 'humanism', Māori manifested the art of ancient lore, proverbs and customary ways of living based on years of culture and tradition, and in particular, the obligatory 'reciprocity' entwined in the art of 'gift-giving' was considered of paramount importance in determining the level of 'mana' (prestige) and respect (Mead, 2003). Traditionally, Māori society was built on the 'economy of affection' as opposed to the colonial idea of using an economy to exploit wealth and power. Henry (2000) suggests a more traditional view of Kaupapa Māori as being, "the term often used to describe traditional ways of doing, being and thinking, encapsulated in the Māori world view or cosmology" (p. 8). Henare's (1998) framework for describing and analysing traditional Māori cosmology, attempted to validate the essence of being Māori by stating that,

Māori religion is not found in a set of sacred books or dogma. It can be observed when experiencing and living life as Māori in the culture, the culture is the religion. History points to Māori people and their religion being constantly open to evaluation and questioning in order to seek that which is tika, the right way. Maintaining tika is the means whereby ethics and values can be defined (p. 3).

Māori 'cosmology' and 'cosmogony' serve as 'baskets of knowledge' from which Māori ethics, values, self-determination' and 'sovereignty' have all evolved (Henare, 1998). Henare's framework is founded on one of the most prevalent forms in traditional Māori art, the 'spiral', known in Māori as the 'koru', a fern frond representing new life (Henry, 2000). At the centre of the koru (spiral pattern) are the four predominant beliefs:

Io: The Supreme Being or origin of all life, from which came Papatuanuku, the earth mother, and Ranginui, the sky father. Their

offspring, or atua, are guardians of every aspect of life, the sea, forests, winds, and other aspects of the human environment.

Tapu: Tapu is that which is sacred or sacrosanct in all things, the intrinsic power imbued in the moment of a thing or person's creation.

Mana: Tapu is closely linked to mana, the spiritual power and authority that can be applied to people, their words, and acts.

Hau: The spirit power and vital essence embodied in a person and transmitted to their gifts or anything they consider valuable.

These beliefs increases one's level of cultural and spiritual awareness, and in particular, reinforces the link we all have between the physical world and spiritual realm (Mead, 1984, 2003). Contrary to what many may say is 'good' about conducting research about Māori, the idea of researching Māori, is often viewed by many with suspicion. As a researcher, working in the Māori world, the responsibility of conducting research is two-fold. Firstly, I needed to consult with various Māori in the community about the purpose of the research project, and secondly, the aims of the study needed to be clearly articulated to all prospective participants. Although a number of Māori beliefs about schooling and education have evolved over time, my responsibility as a researcher is to consider all the alternatives, and to ensure a 'culture of care, respect and goodwill' exists prior, during and after the research has been completed. In other words, research about Māori should not be considered as a means to an end, rather it should continue to evolve and serve the needs and aspirations of those it was initially designed to support.

My desire to research Māori kapa haka students in mainstream secondary schools is primarily driven by the current shortfall of empirical research on cultural and successful learning environments Māori students actively participate within. Despite a limited number of government-driven projects attempting to improve educational outcomes for Māori in mainstream secondary schools, it is the schools and teachers who have been the primary beneficiaries of what unfolds for Māori students in such contexts. Often this has resulted in a lack of cultural accountability and a continual proliferation of Western educational discursive philosophies, ideologies and practices in schools and the learning environment.

Valuing the Indigenous Perspective: Kaupapa Māori Theory Revisited

The evolution, development and implementation of Kaupapa Māori research seeks to ensure Māori communities are able to self-determine their own educational frameworks, interventions, strategies and aspirations in all areas of society (Bishop, 1995; Smith, 1997; Smith, 1999). In the early 1980s, Te Kōhanga Reo and Te Kura Kaupapa Māori schools emerged as a significant way forward in shaping, developing and implementing educational and schooling initiatives for the benefit of Māori (Kawharu, 1989; Tapine & Waiti, 1997; Walker, 1990). As a result, Māori were able to re-establish and re-define culturally preferred ways of learning within educational frameworks that are specifically 'culturally responsive'.

Māori have continued to challenge various other sites and tensions that institutions pose (hegemonic modes of practice) aided by and through a process of 'transformative praxis' (Smith, 1997). Inherent in this world-view, Kaupapa Māori seeks to liberate education for Māori by focusing on resistance, struggle and emancipation within which the 'praxis' (changing the power dynamics associated with the theory and practice impinging on Māori values, language, culture and ways

of knowing) emerges. These elements are often invoked to create the processes whereby critical reflection, within an ethic of care and moral responsibility, evolves to address the specific issues adversely affecting Māori from accessing and achieving their potential in education.

The Growth of Kaupapa Māori Theoretical Practices

Although Kaupapa Māori theory reflects certain Marxist ideals by deconstructing various economic and political barriers, its primary goal asks that we address the oppressive nature of society on Māori ways of life. Various interpretations of Kaupapa Māori research can be readily witnessed from one researcher to the next. G. H. Smith (1997) stipulated that, "Kaupapa Māori research attempts to respond to the 'failure' of state schooling for Māori by providing a framework that analyses and seeks to transform the power relations of the dominant society" (p. 96). Likewise, Bishop's (1995) model of 'critical and cultural consciousness' inferred that, Māori need to be key stakeholders in the research process and remove the adverse affects of neo-colonial dominated research on Māori. This implies that researchers need to design a more collaborative and co-operative research process that enlightens, educates and empowers Māori to take greater control of their lives. The analogy that 'the master's tools will never dismantle the master's house' suggests, that Kaupapa Māori as a valid and legitimate response to such measures, is one of the most significant and appropriate 'tools' for conducting research about Māori (Lorde, 1981).

Determining the Value of Theorising from a Māori Perspective

- G. H. Smith suggested that Kaupapa Māori research aims to,
 - 1. Accommodate an appropriate framework for analysing differential power relations between dominant and subordinate interests.

- 2. Provide some 'hope' for change and transformative action in the face of the somewhat 'pessimistic' outlook (from the point of view of those who are subordinated and marginalised) of an emphasis on structural determinism; in this sense critical theory also supports the 'human agency' position, that individuals and groups are able to mount resistances and to wield some influence over the structuralist imperative.
- 3. Access the criticism of the 'utopian' vision as a motivating and unifying force underpinning emancipatory endeavours (1997, p. 116).

In essence, this approach is about coming to know and understand Māori values, beliefs and preferred practices that are often learnt as a result of living or spending time with Māori. This approach mirrors some of the philosophical work done by Karl Marx (resisting the ideologies associated with capitalism), Paulo Freire (liberating education for those who have been consistently oppressed by political, cultural, social and economic institutions) and more recently, Jurgen Habermas (an advocate for preserving the 'good' in human beings and the world by opposing the institutional hierarchies), who critically reject the scientific notions of 'naturalness' or 'given-ness' that are often embedded in many positivistic analyses (Gribble, 1970; Lather, 1991). Roberts (1997, p. 305) suggested that Freire's notion of liberating education should not merely be defined by the skills; methods and techniques certain individuals appear to possess. Instead, this notion should also rely on how human beings and the world relate, interact, connect, engage or even struggle in, or through, specific contexts. It is by looking within, and not above, that a greater sense of knowing and understanding what individuals seek to determine, share, change, or resist can be determined.

The view of preserving the moral 'good' of human beings suggests that facilitating a level of mutual dialogue between students and teachers about kapa haka will provide greater clarity about Māori learning preferences, needs and aspirations (Bishop, 2005;

Smith, 1997). Dialogue of this nature encapsulates vital information about what value students place on such learning activities and indeed, how they look to participate in the learning environment. Based on a prolific history of struggle, hardship and constant challenge, it is not surprising, that Māori continue to be at the forefront of determining what needs to change either socially and/or culturally in Aotearoa/New Zealand society (King, 1992). The continual plight of 'deficit theorising' (where margins or benchmarks are pre-determined by the dominant culture) as well as low teacher expectations have often been the primary precursors of Māori student underachievement in many mainstream schools today (Bishop et al., 2003). The current investigation invites participants (students and teachers) to be open, honest and even critical about kapa haka in mainstream secondary schooling contexts. This is to allow participants a place to talk more liberally about kapa haka and to discuss more openly their points of view.

The notion of Freire's philosophy of 'liberating' education illustrates a particular point in the way we engage with teaching and learning. The philosophy asks that as educators we begin to look at the inaccuracies, distortions and even falsehoods that limit individuals' freedom to achieve their potential in education (Burbules & Berk, 2000; Roberts, 1996). Roberts (1996) argued that,

The collapsing of sophisticated philosophical positions...and often misguided, methodological 'packages' have been joined in recent years by wider shifts in educational policy-making moving towards technocratic systems of setting, managing and assessing student work (p. 305).

This is not to suggest that performing certain tasks, methods and skills are not required, or that they are less important in any given field of study. On the contrary, the study proposes that our education processes should be ethically and politically

concerned for the wellbeing of all people and the world, and not just in what constitutes often preferred levels of educational attainment. It is anticipated that by demonstrating levels of critical engagement, engaging in effective dialogue and self-reflective action, schools and teachers may well begin to characterise the essence of what 'liberating' education should imply for groups who are not free (Roberts, 1996). Freire (1972), in his distinction between praxis and dialogue contended that,

...praxis and dialogue are closely related: genuine dialogue represents a form of humanizing praxis. Dialogue is "the encounter between men, mediated by the world, in order to name the world". "Naming the world" is the process of change itself: the human quest to understand and transform the world, through the communication with others...It is in speaking a "true word" that human beings name the world and thereby change it. A true word is an authentic, dialogical synthesis of reflection and action...to speak a true word is to enter the historical process as a Subject, changing (objective and subjective) reality through consciously directed action, informed by critical discussion with others (cited in Roberts, 1998, p. 106).

Freeing Ourselves (Māori) from a Neo-Colonial Posturing in Research

As Māori indigenous researchers, we may well ask, whether determining our own educational frameworks is simply about gaining back power and control, or whether it is more about convincing educators, researchers and schools that Māori knowledge, culture, skills and language are valid to all New Zealanders. Any research where knowledge is being written into text has the potential to define the future of others, and hence define the kind of schooling that is provided for our children (Bishop, 2005; Smith, 1992, 1999). Freire's notion of 'freeing' ourselves from the oppressive nature of education alludes us to an important point that,

Whether in formal or informal settings, learning always occurs within social context, under particular political conditions. The socio-political context sets limits on what can be achieved by educators, but also leaves spaces for resistance (cited in Roberts, 1996, p. 299).

The issue of determining cultural parity and socio-political autonomy for Māori today is an on-going perplexing struggle. The very nature of the research questions stated in Chapter 1 not only seeks to legitimate culturally preferred ways of conducting research for Māori, it also opposes often mono-cultural and neo-liberal educational frameworks that adversely affect Māori from being able to self-determine effective ways to achieve in education. It is argued in this study, that mainstream schools and educational policies and frameworks need to move towards understanding and valuing the essence of Māori language and culture, and further, to adapting teaching and learning environments that balance the 'cultural' needs and aspirations of Māori students with their 'academic' goals.

Kaupapa Māori theory, as a tool for addressing various cultural ideologies and inequities, attempts to deconstruct the paradigms within social science as a means of gaining indigenous control of the written word. For example, researchers need to avoid trying to draw conclusions about Māori society by examining settings that are traditionally constructed by Pākehā. It is no wonder that many Māori often remain suspicious of how research about Māori is written into text (Smith, 1992). Unfortunately the 'flip-side' of this lack of trust in the research process is that many Māori individuals or groups who choose to adopt a more 'reactionary' approach to society's inequalities, often tend to fail to access, engage or reach the level of 'dialogue', 'pedagogy' or 'praxis' required to benefit their potential as Māori (G. H. Smith, 2000). Theory, with its growing concern for extending knowledge, usually defines how society operates and therefore what people can and will do. A significant implication has been that many Māori are not always open to being researched unless they can control the research design and that research will be of benefit to Māori

(Bishop, 1997b, 2005). The ability to work with participants on their terms in this research project was a vital consideration and required mutual trust, respect and humility at all times.

The Changing Nature of Theory

The politics of liberation in education must always begin with the desires, and dreams of those individuals and groups who are, or have been consistently oppressed, underserved, marginalised, alienated and excluded by the larger ideological, economic, and political forces within society (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000; Freire, 1972). For example, the development of cultural studies has on the whole been defined through its analysis of culture and power, and by expanding its 'critical' reading to interpret how power informs issues of race, gender, class, ethnicity and other social formations. As a result, questions may be well posed in attempts to identify who produces, regulates or engages in the social struggle, but one of the downfalls in this approach is that it may not necessarily create change. Giroux (1999) concluded that,

The intersection of cultural studies and critical pedagogy offers the possibilities for educators to confront history as more than simulacrum and ethics, and as something other than casualty of incommensurable language games. Educators need to assert politics that makes the relationship among authority ethics, and power central to a pedagogy that expands rather than closes down the possibilities of a radical democratic society. Within this discourse, images do not dissolve reality into simply another text; on the contrary, representations become central to revealing the structures of power relations at work in public, schools, society, and the larger global order... critical pedagogy engages cultural studies as part of an ongoing movement towards a shared conception of justice and radicalisation of the social order. This task not only recognizes the multiple relationships between cultural and power, but also makes critical pedagogy one of its defining principles (p. 160).

This research acknowledges the correlation between each position, in that, whilst the study attempted to investigate the essence of kapa haka as a 'culturally 'responsive', 'inclusive' and 'appropriate' pedagogy, it also sort to engage mainstream secondary

schools and teachers to consider their own levels of cultural competency. What makes this research unique is that it allowed Māori students, who actively participate in Māori learning mediums, to voice their opinions, feelings, experiences and thoughts as they are currently experiencing them when participating in kapa haka (Bishop, 2005). The current research process also provided a level playing field, where Māori kapa haka students were able to speak freely about the essence, energy and dynamic nature of kapa haka while attending a mainstream secondary school. In this regard, removing the bias of the researcher is based on giving credence to the voices of Māori students and teachers.

Removing the Bias while Maintaining the 'Praxis'

Kaupapa Māori is not that it should contain any one specific agenda or process, or that we should simplistically assume that Kaupapa Māori is any better than any other theoretical perspective, rather, it is an approach that should be seen as validating knowledge of how to understand others (in this case Māori) more appropriately. G. H. Smith expands the Kaupapa Māori theory by identifying six key principles as a way for 'praxis' to emerge more successfully:

- 1. The principle of self-determination or relative autonomy.
- 2. The principle of validating and legitimating cultural aspirations and identity.
- 3. The principle of incorporating '*culturally responsive*' pedagogy.
- 4. The principle of mediating socio-economic and home difficulties.
- 5. The principle of incorporating cultural structures, which emphasise the 'collective', rather than the 'individual', such as the notion of extended family.
- 6. The principle of a shared and collective vision/philosophy (2002, pp. 8-9).

These principles provide a wider and an in-depth way of firstly, conducting indigenous research from a Māori perspective, and secondly, ensuring that Kaupapa Māori maintains the integrity of Māori values, beliefs and practices. Although not all principles will be clearly visible or referred to in this research, such theoretical underpinnings will be implied. The challenge as a researcher is to adopt these principles in a mutually respectful way that considers the essence, experience and wellbeing of those most affected.

Conducting research for Māori should invariably include the following:

- A more interpretative (looking to uncover the complexities within theory) and 'organic' (human) approach to indigenous Māori educational research (Smith, 1997)
- Time spent building the relationship, both formally and informally, with Māori individuals, groups and communities (Bishop, 1994, 1995, 1996a, 1997b).
- Dialogue, that is intended to improve the future aspirations and wellbeing of Māori and their families providing methodological space, self-determination, empowerment and autonomy (Pihama et al., 2002; C. W. Smith, 2000; Smith, 1999).
- 4 That the process of researching is a 'means' rather than an 'end' to building knowledge- spiral discourse which collectively shares vision and evolves (Bishop, 1995, 1997a; Heshusius, 1994).
- 5 That research should consider the importance of story, narrative and the voices of those being researched using a process of legitimation and validation (Polkinghorne, 1988).
- An emancipatory aim to assist individuals and groups to take greater responsibility and control of their lives (Freire, 1998).
- A genuine concern for the relationship between individuals and society and to challenge, using a critical approach, the nature and purpose of education for Māori (Bishop, 1997b)
- 8 Consider the lived experiences of others as a counter-hegemonic (site for addressing the struggle between dominant Pākehā and subordinate Māori interests) process for developing change (Smith, 1997).

- 9 Ensure the spiritual and cultural contexts are fully respected and the integrity of the people, iwi, hapū and whānau are upheld, protected and maintained at all costs (Mead, 2003).
- That the 'praxis' of Kaupapa Māori is intended to contain key strategies of transforming the present social, economic, political and cultural circumstances affecting Māori (Bishop, 1997b; Smith, 1997).

Based on the possible limits of knowledge and experiences of some participants about kapa haka it will be necessary to ensure the scope of questioning is broad enough to reveal a host of responses. Using semi-structured questioning techniques also helped to engage the participants (Māori kapa haka students and teachers) and reduced the researcher's imposition.

Ethical Considerations

The University of Auckland Human Participants Ethics Applications and Guidelines works to support research participants by securing informed consent, including confidentiality and anonymity, and avoiding deception by ensuring any and all adverse effects will be taken into account (Bogdan & Biklen, 1992). The key components of this process include:

- 1. Researchers' procedures of contacting the participants (attach introductory letters and information sheets).
- 2. Informed consent and participants' right to decline (attach consent form, if applicable).
- 3. Avoiding potential harm to the participants at all costs.
- 4. Attaching all relevant questions.
- 5. Translating the necessary consent and participation forms in respect of those who may speak te reo Māori.
- 6. Arrangements for participants to receive information of the results of the research project.

- 7. Arrangement for the disposal of information after completion of the project.
- 8. Obtaining parents consent to interview students, as well as, consent from the Boards of Trustees and principals to interview teachers and students within their schools.
- 9. Approval from supervisors and the University of Auckland Ethics Committee.

Conclusion

This chapter has attempted to highlight Kaupapa Māori as being the most appropriate theoretical framework to explore kapa haka in mainstream secondary school contexts. Kaupapa Māori as a preferred methodological approach provides a culturally appropriate way of validating and legitimising research specific to meeting the needs of Māori, and in particular, will benefit Māori students in mainstream secondary schools. This approach is intended to also help Māori students to communicate what they value about kapa haka, and why. This framework is not considered to be a means to end, on the contrary, it is an evolving discourse that attempts to inform positively the learning needs and aspirations of Māori students in mainstream secondary schools contexts (c. f. Bishop, 2005; Heshusius, 1994). Finally, adopting a Kaupapa Māori approach is intended to allow Māori to interact, connect and build relationships alongside the principles, values, beliefs and traditions of tikanga Māori, ways of knowing and doing things Māori (Mead, 2003). The following chapter will now outline and discuss the key methods used for collecting and analysing the data.

CHAPTER 4: METHOD OF INQUIRY: COLLECTING AND ANALYSING THE DATA

Introduction: Valuing a Qualitative Approach

Qualitative research provides a deeper and closer way of coming to know and understand what we as humans describe as 'lived' experience (Moustakas, 1994). This is intertwined within the basic belief systems (paradigms) that espouse and validate knowledge for the 'good' of others, and their lives (Gray, 2004). It is important to establish a meaning for the term 'lived experience'. Van Manen (1997, p. 35) suggested, 'that in its most basic form, lived experience involves our immediate, pre-reflective consciousness of life- a reflective of self-given awareness'. An important realisation is that lived experiences cannot be reduced to simply text, and whilst interpretation seeks to acquire deeper meanings, it must not be at the peril of denying the true sense of 'voice' of the 'other', or 'others'. Lather (1991, p. 59) cautioned, 'that in the name of emancipation, researchers impose meanings on situations rather than constructing meaning through negotiation with research participants'. A point of difference in this inquiry approach is that building trusting relationships with the potential participants, becoming familiar with the environment and being well informed about the area of interest should begin well in advance of conducting the actual research (Bishop, 2005). Qualitative inquiry, as an effective approach to collecting data, requires the researcher(s) to be involved 'within', and not 'above' those being investigated.

Rationale for Using Qualitative Inquiry

Elliot Eisner argued that a strong level of qualitative inquiry should enable the research to represent and explore the following:

- 1. There are multiple ways in which the world can be known. Artists, writers, and dancers, as well as scientists, have important things to tell the world.
- 2. Human knowledge is a constructed form of experience and therefore reflection of mind as well as nature: Knowledge is made not simply discovered.
- 3. The forms through which humans represent their conception of the world have a major influence on what they are able to say about it.
- 4. The effective use of any form through which the world is known and represented requires the use of intelligence.
- 5. The selection of a form through which the world is to be represented not only influences what we can say, it also influences what we are likely to experience.
- 6. Educational inquiry will be more complete and informative as we increase the range of ways we describe, interpret, and evaluate the educational world.
- 7. Which particular forms of representations become acceptable in the educational research community, is as much a political matter, as it is an epistemological one. New forms of representation, which are acceptable, will require new competencies (1988, pp. 7-8).

In comparison, Denzin and Lincoln (2000) use a more 'multi-disciplinary' description of qualitative research by suggesting that,

Qualitative research is an inter-disciplinary, trans-disciplinary, and sometimes counter-disciplinary field. It crosscuts the humanities, the social sciences, and the physical sciences. Qualitative research is many things at the same time. It is a multi-paradigmatic in focus. Its practitioners are sensitive to the value of the multi-method approach. They are committed to the naturalistic perspective and to the interpretative understanding of human experience. At the same time, the field is inherently political and shaped by multiple ethical and political allegiances (p. 1048).

Furthermore, Bogdan & Biklen (1992) in terms of determining levels of reliability in such an inquiry, states that,

Qualitative researchers tend to view reliability as a fit between what the records as data contends and what actually occurs in the setting under study, rather than the literal consistency across different observations. Both studies

can be reliable. One would only question the reliability of one or both studies if they yielded contradictory results (p. 48).

In summary, qualitative researchers do not see themselves as collecting 'the facts' of human behaviour, rather one of the goals of qualitative researchers is to better understand the human experience in a variety of different settings and contexts (Bogdan & Biklen, 1992; Hooley, 2002). In this regard, it is the ability of the researcher to interact with the human experience, within a specific time and space, that enriches the inquiry (Van Manen, 1997). I will now introduce and describe the participants who took part in the study as well as, briefly outline my own personal schooling experience as a Māori student in a Pākehā dominated schooling environment.

Participant Descriptions

Four Central North Island mainstream secondary schools were involved in exploring the educational benefits associated with Māori students participating in kapa haka. Three of the four secondary schools were rurally based while the other school was based in an urban area. Of particular interest, was that this study considered 'purposive sampling' (Gray, 2006; Patton, 1990) as opposed to other forms of sampling, in that, all four mainstream secondary schools needed to have an active kapa haka group. Secondly, all students needed to be of Māori decent, be enrolled at one the four secondary schools, actively participate in the school's kapa haka group and be 15-18 years of age. Finally, all teachers needed to work in one of the four secondary schools, be in charge of a subject area(s) (i.e. head of department or faculty) and/or hold whole-school level responsibilities (i.e. dean, assistant principal, deputy principal or principal).

Initially, a meeting was conducted with each of four mainstream secondary school principals well in advance of any interviews with teachers or students. The meeting was necessary to outline the key aspects of the research and to gain consent from the school. Once all four schools had consented, another meeting was organised with the Māori teachers to organise a time to meet and observe each kapa haka group. An initial meeting was then organised with the students to share information about the research and to invite Māori students to consider taking part in an interview process. Information outlining the purpose of the study along with a consent form was provided to all interested Māori kapa haka students to read. Information and consent forms were also provided for students to take home to their parent(s) and caregiver(s) to read and sign prior to taking part in the interview process.

A total of 20 kapa haka students from across the four mainstream secondary schools were eligible to take part in the interview process. Interviews were then scheduled to take place outside of normal class time and were conducted using focus groups. The interviews were designed to last around an hour however, if the interviews happened to go longer than an hour, participants were not inadvertently prevented from continuing in the discussion. The students came from a variety of different schooling backgrounds. Some students had attended Te Kōhanga Reo and/or Kura Kaupapa Māori schooling prior to attending a mainstream secondary school, although the majority of students who took part in the study had conducted all of their schooling in mainstream. Reviewing the transcripts, two Māori students had been born overseas; and despite the research information asking specifically for Māori kapa haka students, two of the students chose to identify themselves as New Zealanders.

The teachers who chose to participate in the interview process covered the eight key essential learning areas (arts, english, health and physical education, learning languages, mathematics and statistics, science, social sciences, technology) and held titles of responsibility including head of department, head of faculty, dean, teacher in charge of a special learning areas (e.g. literacy or numeracy), deputy principal and assistant principal. In some cases certain teachers held more than one of these particular roles (e.g. head of department as well as deputy principal). The decision to interview these teachers was primarily because they were actively involved in overseeing the delivery of various curriculum areas and also influential in reviewing and evaluating teaching and learning. A total of 27 teachers chose to participate in a one to one interview lasting around an hour. As with the students, if interviews happened to go longer than hour, participants were not inadvertently prevented from giving their closing remarks.

The teacher interviews all took place in their respective schools and were specifically carried out during times they were not involved in teaching (predominantly noncontact teaching periods, lunchtime or after school). Seven of the teachers were Māori, four of whom actively taught both te reo Māori and kapa haka. The general consensus by most teachers was that kapa haka is a 'specialist' learning area that requires a level of experience and/or expertise in Māori language, culture and performing arts. In general the feedback from teachers about kapa haka and how it impacts on Māori students' education was relatively positive, constructive and useful.

Interviewing was the key method of data gathering because it provided adequate time and space to allow Māori kapa haka students and teachers to think more clearly about

the value of kapa haka in such contexts. Exploring the lived experiences of Māori kapa haka students and the perceptions of teachers about kapa haka also helped to clarify certain aspects of teaching and learning within the context of effective 'culturally responsive' pedagogy. Although, the outcomes from this study are not intended to directly influence what other mainstream secondary schools or teachers do with regards to working with Māori students, it may ignite a wider debate about how such cultural learning activities motivate students to want to participate fully in their learning. Perhaps sharing a brief account of my schooling experience will further validate the importance and purpose of conducting this research investigation.

Personal Schooling Reflections

My very first two years at primary school focused primarily on getting to know the school routines, teacher(s) and other children in my class. Although my memories about what I actually did in class during that time are somewhat vague, I do recall receiving a silver star in my writing book and on the other hand, feeling traumatised about losing a face mask I had spent considerable time making. Although I have no doubt there were other experiences that had an impact on my schooling life, these two memories left a sense of knowing that if I worked hard at school I could be rewarded, and that it was equally important to look after things I have worked hard to achieve. Over time these values would become synonymous with my own level of perseverance and desire to succeed at school, despite a considerable lack of confidence in my ability to do so.

The very first primary school I attended was in the same street as where I lived. It was also one of the very few places my parents allowed me to play unsupervised. The

school had a relatively large playground with a couple of tyre swings, an old redundant red tractor, a huge wooden adventure play area, large grass playing fields and a fenced swimming pool. Lots of other children my age usually came from nearby to play before the street lights came on indicating that it was time to return home. During this time, learning was more about whether activities were fun or involved interacting with others in my class, which in the classroom was usually rare. Informal play, interacting with my peers, creating our own games and opportunities to have fun brought more meaning and purpose to my life growing up.

These experiences also supported my social skills and confidence to try different activities as a I got older including junior soccer, long ball, bull-rush, kapa haka and lunch time rugby, to name a few. These activities were physically challenging, competitive, highly visual and interactive, and usually involved working with others as a team for common purpose. In addition, being able to move freely throughout the experience heightened my sense of fun, enjoyment and overall happiness about school and indeed I valued this kind of learning experience. As a result, I actually enjoyed attending school at this time because there appeared to be an emphasis on students moving and being physical active during the school day.

However, changing primary schools after only two years was a particularly stressful transition to make, in terms, of having to fit into a new school culture and make new friends. In the first three months I actually felt rather isolated and found the whole school culture extremely regimental and restricting. This school and its teachers did not share with students as much free time as my last school. My new teacher, a Sister in the Church, was exceptionally vigilant about students demonstrating good Christian

manners and values, and being respectful at all times. Religious instruction was compulsory at all levels in this school, in that, it was mandatory for all students to learn prayers, sing Christian songs and to understand the relevant meanings or messages associated with various biblical readings. I can still remember quite vividly, how our teacher used to move around the room, stopping inadvertently to check each student's tone and expression when saying prayers, while at the same time looking for any student who had forgot their words or not eagerly participating. At the time, teaching was very didactic in nature and rote-learning methods were regularly employed as the main lionising strategy. Students who chose not to focus, or who perhaps failed to remember their words for prayers, timetables or learn their spelling lists, could usually expect to spend extra time one to one with the teacher during the breaks.

Although, it was my parent's decision not to have us baptised at birth, mainly because they believed it was a ritual to be carried out in the first two years of ones life, it did have negative social implications. Indeed, learning about the Catholic Church and its key messages, were not only new, it was also relatively foreign to what I experienced in the home. During one of the religious instruction class times I was taught about the importance of being baptised, in that, being baptised gave people a far better chance of being able to 'enter the kingdom of heaven' than those who were not baptised. I was often led to believe that I was living a life of sin, and by not being baptised my fate would be to live in the 'fiery depths of hell with the devil'. In addition to experiencing this form of religious indoctrination, being unable to participate in various rituals conducted within the Church, such as Holy Communion (holy bread consumed symbolising the acceptance of the body of Christ into ones life) and Holy

Confession (where one is able to confess ones sins and be forgiven) indicated quite clearly to other students that I was non-Catholic.

Fortunately, the opportunity to participate in the school's soccer team at the age of eight significantly helped to break down some of the social stigmas associated with being a non-Catholic. Based on my level of natural all-round talent and flair, as well as the kudos the school gave students for playing soccer, I found a positive way to shift how people perceived me being a non-Catholic. The fact that we were also a winning team, literally transformed me from villain to hero in a single year. Although sport did very little to improve my cultural understandings about things Māori in this school, it did help to reduce feelings of isolation and inadequacy improving my level of self-worth, confidence and sense of belonging.

Growing up close to home, my mother (of European descent) indicated to me on numerous occasions that I was a 'half-caste' Māori (half Māori and half Pākehā). Similarly, I knew very little about what Māori people actually did and why, other than the fact that many Māori were renowned for cooking their food in the ground (hāngi), spent a lot of time at their Marae, spoke Māori, and were generally very good at singing and having parties. In those early years, this was the extent of my knowledge and understanding about Māori culture, and because it was rarely encouraged at the schools I attended, it was far easier to relinquish any commitment to learning about it because it was often undervalued in such schools.

The importance of the Māori language and culture were very distant in my early years at school, and as a family we dared not risk asking my father to explain things about

Māori culture for fear that he would become easily agitated and abrupt. Once I had left school and continued to discuss such matters, it became clearer that my father felt it was far more important to learn English because it would guarantee us a job. As a result, my brothers and sisters were totally immersed in mainstream (Englishmedium) schooling, and despite how we may have felt being Māori, any connection to things Māori at school were only through our association with other Māori students, or the odd Māori teacher. Finding ways to bridge or navigate some of the social and cultural gaps in my life as Māori did not really eventuate until I had finished school and as an adult I began asking questions such as; "Who am I?" "What is a Māori?" "Who are my ancestors?" and "What did they do and how?" In this way seeking clarity about my very existence as a Māori effectively began my search for identity.

At the time, my parents' motivation to send us to a mainstream Catholic school was based primarily on what they had observed at the local intermediate school. From their perspective the school lacked discipline and the students who attended were renowned for being often rude and unruly. A Catholic school appealed to my parents because it included both primary and intermediate levels (new entrant to form 2 or year 8), practised 'good' values and the teachers were considered 'strict' and were able to control the students. However, my experience as a student was different, in that I found the classroom environment to teacher-directed, individualistic, highly competitive and lacked meaning. For example, in my form 2 year, my insistence on asking the teacher to clarify different aspects of the lesson or turning to a peer to discuss what the teacher had talked about often got me into trouble, lots of trouble. As a result, the teacher would revert to punishing me by either asking me to leave the classroom, stay in during class breaks or to visit the principal's office. Over time, the

frequency of being removed from the class subsequently led to my expulsion half way through my Form 2 (year 8) year. Although, I would admit to being rather immature and cheeky as a youngster, I do not recall ever having a positive relationship with my teacher in that she knew very little about my personal, social and cultural background. At a family meeting, the school highlighted the frequency of my 'consistent disruptions in the class' and levels of 'teacher non-compliance' warranting my expulsion. Fortunately, at the end of the same year, my parents received a letter from the school stating that I needed to return to sit a series of tests to help locate the appropriate Form 3 (year 9) class. The opportunity to be included back into school was fully supported by my parents who believed that school was the best place for me given my age. To my surprise, I actually found the experience of attending a high school completely different, in that, not only were there lots more students to interact with, but I also had totally different teachers for each subject.

Having the opportunity to return to back to the school I was excluded from in 1997, and to have the unique opportunity look over the class register of the year I was expelled, was an eye-opener. The register clearly showed that up to the time I was expelled, I was not only coping with the work, I was achieving well above the class average in all areas of the curriculum. Underpinning the need to expel me, were a number of teacher comments stating that I was a 'consistent troublemaker', 'often off -task', 'a know-it-all', 'distracts others', 'non-compliant' and 'needs to be removed to prevent other students becoming off-task'. The school, as a result of these comments, perhaps felt justified in my expulsion, believing that it was in the best interest of everyone.

During my six years working as a Resource Teacher of Learning and Behaviour, in a variety of different educational settings, I have had some interesting experiences working alongside a number of Māori students referred to the service. As part of the screening process for new referrals, I was amazed by how interactive, energetic and happy these students were when they played, yet on their return to the classroom, that energy simply disappeared in seconds. I quickly realised if that if I hoped to make difference with these students I needed to find positive ways to channel the energy observed in the playground back into the classroom. One strategy, I found particularly useful for gaining initial insights into the wellbeing of the child has been to conduct an informal student interview focusing on what they like about school and how they believe they could do better in their education. This also allowed the student(s) the opportunity to state their personal view about school and/or their teacher(s) and to actively promote and support ways for students to problem-solve.

The strategy has also helped to negotiate a common understanding about what is currently taking place in their lives and in particular, what they think they are doing well in at school. In contrast, many teachers and schools can often be guilty of overstating problems and difficulties concerning a particular student(s), and in doing so undermine the positive characteristics a student(s) may inherently possess or bring to the learning environment. Indeed, by exploring what Māori students say about their experiences participating in kapa haka may well provide schools and teachers better insights into how to improve student participation (attendance, interest, engagement and success). In addition, sharing some of my schooling experiences was to raise levels of critical and cultural consciousness about why conducting research of this nature is important. The idea of conducting informal kapa haka group observations,

prior to the conducting the interviews, was also intended to build positive relationships (whakawhānaungātanga) with potential participants (c. f. Bishop, 1996b).

Informal Observations

Having no previous experience or expertise in kapa haka, I found conducting three informal observations a valuable way of increasing my own awareness and understanding about kapa haka and how students interact in this environment. The observations also provided a unique opportunity to appreciate the time, effort and energy students were giving to kapa haka and helped to inform some of the questions used for the interview. Given my limitations it was very important to also attempt to connect with these students which was achieved by being genuinely interested in coming to know more about this cultural taonga (treasure) from their perspective.

The observation process involved gaining consent from the school, teacher/tutor, students and parents, and organising a time to be present when the kapa haka group was actually performing or practising. The observations focused on observing one practice, one assessed task and one performance (school or competition). As it eventuated, I was only able to carry out all of the designated observations in two of the four schools, because two of the four schools did not compete or assess their students using kapa haka. Furthermore, based on the rationale for conducting the observations, no official data or information was collected at any time. The unique privilege of being able to observe the students participating in kapa haka provided immediate feedback about the level of respect students held about their teacher, peers, kapa haka and themselves as cultural human beings.

Kapa Haka as the Art of Inquiry

A number of key qualitative features were considered when evaluating the importance of kapa haka for Māori students in such contexts. This investigation consistently reflected on the needs of the individual as a portal for better understanding more comprehensively what students actively seek at school and in their education (c. f. Eisner, 1992). Examining specific rituals, images, behaviours, attitudes, values, perceptions, feelings, thoughts, and opinions as evidence of human 'encounter' within the experience helped to identify a number of social and cultural interactions (Patton, 1987, 1990). The importance of revealing the participants' 'voices' were achieved by employing levels of 'empathy' to encourage individuals to speak more freely about various aspects of school, their education and kapa haka. Empathy, as it was employed in this investigation, focused on attempting to genuinely understand what participants had experienced in kapa haka and in particular, how kapa haka makes them 'feel' about their learning in mainstream secondary school contexts. Eisner (1991, p. 1) describes this position more discriminately as the art of 'connoisseurship', which identifies the distinct features of what people say using a critical lens of how people's feelings often impact on how they perceive the world they live and participate within. This inquiry method supports Kaupapa Māori, in that, dialogue should not only be 'reflexive', it should also aim to 'critically' engage in ways that change the more 'dominant' held views suppressing Māori from achieving their potential in education (Smith, 1997).

As a way of revealing the needs and aspirations of learners who are Māori, the research aims to explore, consider and express their experiences from their point of view (c. f. Eisner, 1991a). In this regard, the nature of the research inquiry is more

than a perspective, it is a belief in the natural 'good' that can be readily valued and represented by those who actively participate and strive for meaning, success and personal value within and during the learning experience.

Meaning is constructed by describing examples of what the participants experienced positively about kapa haka and being able conceptualise these key attributes in ways that improve the current educational status of Māori students. As a result kapa haka provided the relevant context to make sense of Māori students' experiences, as 'cultural human beings', more 'universally' (c. f. Meyer, 2005; Penetito, 1996; Smith, 1997; Smith, 1999; Stokes, 1992). The suggestion that such an inquiry is a case of 'qualitative intelligence' in action (Eisner, 1991a) is valid, in that, the researcher is often required to synthesise and interpret all responses in a way that improves the current status of those who may well feel underserved. Adopting a more 'naturalistic' approach (Guba & Lincoln, 1994) to this investigation also helped to enhance the potential to explore, and to be more open and receptive to information that perhaps I may not fully understand. In this sense, the ability to 'know' also depends upon the ability to expose oneself to new knowledge and to allow others to examine and see more discriminately the qualities an art form, such as kapa haka inherently possesses (Eisner, 1991a).

Interviews as Collaborative Conversations

Feldman (1999) stated that,

Conversations occur among people, are cooperative, have direction, result in meaning, and are not governed by the clock. Each of these characteristics is apparent when teachers engage in oral inquiry processes, collaborative conversations, and long and serious conversations (p. 133).

There is an accepted agreement among qualitative researchers that an ethically respectful and open relationship between participants should allow for changes in direction that may inevitably occur during the conversation process (Hooley, 2002). Heshusius (1994, p. 19) considered that establishing a level of 'participatory consciousness' is the recognition of kinship, and therefore of ethics, which requires one to dissolve their own values and emotional agendas during the process. This helps to develop ways for the conversation to extend issues beyond what initially may have been of primary concern (Gadotti, 1996; Mishler, 1986; Seidman, 1991; Shotter, 1993). Gadamer (1992) illustrates this point by stating,

We say that we conduct a conversation, but the more genuine a conversation is, the less its conduct lies within the will of either partner. Thus a genuine conversation is never the one that we wanted to conduct. Rather, it is generally more correct to say that we fall into conversation, or even that we become involved in it. The way one word follows another, with the conversation taking its own twists and reaching its own conclusions, may well be conducted in some way, but the partners conversing are far less the leaders of it, than the led. No one knows in advance what will come out of a conversation. Understanding or its failure is like an event that happens to us. Thus we can say that something was a good conversation or that it was ill fated. All this shows is that a conversation has a spirit of its own, and that the language in which it is conducted bears its own truth within it- i.e., that it allows something to emerge, which henceforth exists (p. 383).

Conversations can arise in a number of ways and through a variety of collaborative strategies (Feldman, 1999; Mishler, 1986). Conversational action based research for example depends on the ability to engage with others who are committed to change, willing to exchange information, share specific understandings. This process supports researchers to go beyond just mere talk and to work towards a new generation of knowledge and understanding that can be positively transferred to other educational domains. Interviews as collaborative conversations are a co-operative venture that rely on an exchange of words between two or more people (Feldman, 1999). When interviews allow others to engage in living, telling, retelling, and reliving stories, it is

more probable that a collaborative relationship between researcher and interviewee exists. The interviews in this investigation were intended to enable the interviewer and the interviewee(s) to develop a mutual and trusting relationship, as well as to collaboratively create new meanings and understandings. In this regard, knowledge is built from developing story lines, which can then be described, analysed, and re-told.

The initiation of this research project was not only based on the review of literature and various statistics highlighting Māori underachievement it was also communicated by the community, whānau, schools, teachers and students, where I work, that Māori students are still not reaching their learning potential in these schooling contexts. In order for the interviewing process to be effective, time was given to shaping the questions to ensure that they would provide opportunities for participants to discuss their views, experiences and beliefs more openly. In essence, the interview process was designed to have open, flexible and considerate dialogue. The aim being that new knowledge emerges from within mutually agreed upon conversation(s). Bishop (1997) suggested that significant time should be taken to introduce and talk with participants about the nature of the research. This he suggests reduces the imposition of the researcher, allowing the participants to be fully informed in what the research hopes to achieve, and how. The following will introduce the different forms of interviewing and introduce semi-structured interviewing as the main means of collecting data for this investigation.

Viewing the Interview

There are three main approaches to conducting qualitative interviewing: (1) the formal or informal conversational interview, (2) the general interview guide approach, and

(3) the standardized open-ended interview (Bryman, 2001; Patton, 1987; Wengraf, 2002). The main reason for conducting interviews in this investigation was that there were enough willing participants to be interviewed and a level of trust had been developed prior to initiating the interview process that enabled participants to feel their responses would genuinely support the nature of the investigation. Inherently the researcher decided what questions should be asked, and in particular, how to word and sequence the questions, how much detail to solicit, and how long each interview should take to complete, but the participants could choose what information they wanted to include in the research. It was therefore, an informed decision to design a semi-structured interview process based on giving greater autonomy to this approach. Additionally, the research was prevented from dominating the interview process and gave the participants the right to clarify, edit, delete or add what they had initially shared during each interview. Patton's semi-structured in-depth interviewing typology was considered as a valid way of allowing participants to determine the research outcomes, and included:

- 1. Experience/Behaviour questions- these questions are about what a person does or has done. These questions are also aimed at eliciting descriptions or experiences, behaviours, actions, and activities that would have been observable had the observer been present. 'If I had been in the programme with you, what would I have seen you doing?'
- 2. Opinion and belief questions- these questions tell us about the world or setting people are involved with. They tell us about people's goals, intentions, desires, and values. "What to you believe?" "What do you think?" 'What would you like to see happen?" "What is your opinion of or, on ______?"
- 3. Feeling questions- these questions are aimed at understanding the emotional responses of people to their experiences and thoughts. More specifically they should focus on ways to understand what they think about certain opinions, beliefs, and considered judgement- and not about feelings as these responses often confuse ones opinions and affect judgement.

- 4. Knowledge questions- aimed at finding out factual information the respondent has. Aspects of knowing, facts about the known, and what do those people really know about the programme, event, experience or situation they are have or are involved with.
- 5. Sensory questions- are about what has been seen, heard, touched, tasted, and smelled. The purpose of these questions is to allow the interviewer to enter into the sensory apparatus of the respondent. Questions may include some of the following: When you do this what do you feel, hear, or see? Describe to me what I would see, hear, feel, and smell if I was to walk in that space? The questions are related to the stimuli to which the he or she is the subject.
- 6. Background/Demographic questions- these questions identify the characteristics of the person being interviewed and help to locate the person in relation to other people. Age, education, occupation, residence, income, time in the programme, and the like are the standard topics for background questions (1986, pp. 116-118).

This typology was very effective, in that it provided participants with the time and space to describe their own personal experiences. Furthermore, Patton (1987) suggested that,

Interviews add an inner perspective to outward behaviours...we also interview to learn about things we cannot directly observe. We cannot observe everything. We cannot observe feelings, thoughts and intentions. We cannot observe how people have organized the world and meanings they attach to what goes on in the world. We have to ask people questions about those things. The purpose of interviewing, then, is to allow us to enter the other person's perspective (p. 109).

As an example, Olsen (1986) used a number of selected anecdotes with various literary sources to reflect the experiences of an ill patient and compared that data, which was recorded using a diary, with how others engaged and reflected on what they experienced as a doctor, nurse, minister and parents dealing with this patient. The strength of recording a patient's experiences in this fashion assumed a more pedagogic self-reflectivity process of working with the data and provides the patient with a sense of autonomy within this research method (Van Manen, 1997; Van Maanen, 1988; Olsen, 1986; Richardson, 1994). Comparing the interactions,

experiences, struggles and events with the other peoples' experiences enriched the investigation process in terms of understanding more about the patient's needs. Choosing to implement a semi-structured interview process considered this process and in particular, the needs of Māori students in mainstream secondary schools. The following focus group and one-to-one interview methods were considered in this research.

Conducting Focus Group Interviews

Ideally focus groups should comprise of anywhere between 6-10 participants, and smaller, rather than larger groups are more likely to provide better information for topics considered relatively controversial, complex and personal (Krueger, 1988; Morgan, 1998). I attempted to select more senior Māori kapa haka students, between the ages of 15-18 years, to take part in a focus group interview for four main reasons:

- 1. Senior students were more likely to have more experiences regarding informal or semi-structured discussions, based on their level of maturity, confidence and time at school.
- 2. Senior students' experiences about school, teachers and kapa haka were much wider than junior secondary students.
- 3. Senior students may be able to perceive how kapa haka supports their education, and based on being involved with completing various assessed tasks they may be able to provide wider inferences associated with comparing learning to who they are as Māori.
- 4. Senior students would have experienced a number of successes and failures in their schooling careers and to make comparative evaluations about what works for them in education.

The main purpose of the focus group interviews was to glean participants' personal accounts, experiences, struggles, hardships, challenges or successes as a collective. I was particularly interested in the way individuals, as members of this group discussed a certain issue, or even argued particular issues because it helped to reveal what Māori

students really valued or owned as being important about kapa haka. A key consideration as a researcher was to carefully mediate the interview sessions, and to ensure all participants felt that they were able to contribute to the discussion equally. This was achieved by inviting others to give their thoughts and opinions about the various points raised in the discussion.

Conducting semi-structured interviews helped to allow meaningful talk between speakers to extend beyond just getting the answers and develop a deeper sense of understanding. They also provided an active way of producing rich data first hand, while at the same time ensuring the relationships and interactions with all participants were being respected (Mishler, 1986). The interview, as Mishler (1986, p. 52) suggested,

...is jointly constructed by the interviewer and the respondent...both questions and responses are formulated in, developed through, and shaped by the discourse between interviewers and respondents. Respondents' acceptance of the interviewer's framework of meanings is a key factor in a successful interview where repeated reformulations of the questions and responses strive to arrive together at meanings they can both understand. Furthermore, it may require that the interviewer look at reformulating the questions until there is an acceptable level of shared agreement (p. 52).

This level of 'shared agreement' is able to be determined as long as the participants or respondents are invited to speak in their own voices and are not interrupted by interviewers trying to keep them to the point (Mishler, 1986). Providing a semi-structured interview process helped the participants to provide an elaborate and rich source of first-person descriptions.

Conducting Focus Group Interviews with Students

An introductory meeting was held at schools with students to discuss the research aims of the project and to invite Māori kapa haka students to participate in a focus group interview process. The actual interview allowed time for Māori students to focus on their experiences and to share in a co-operative group discussion. Denzin and Lincoln (1994) argued that,

There is no clear window into the inner life of an individual. Any gaze is always filtered through the lenses of language, gender, social class, race and ethnicity. There are no objective observations, only observations and socially situated worlds of the observer and the observed. Subjects or individuals, are seldom able to give full explanations of their actions or intentions; all they can offer are accounts, or stories, about what they did and why. No single method can grasp the subtle variations of on-going human experience (p. 12).

It was therefore important that the interview protocols remained flexible and allowed participants time to reflect on certain comments made in the group. Establishing a trusting relationship with the students was determined by ensuring the framework, methods and questions were of genuine interest and participants were given the space and time to share their experiences (Bishop, 2005). The main purpose of focus groups, as opposed to conducting individual interviews, was that there was a higher probability of student interaction given that the participants were able to draw strength from each other (Morgan, 1998). The interviews were all audio taped using a standard dictaphone and transcribed using pseudonyms.

Conducting One-to-One Interviews with Teachers

One-to-one interviews were carried out with teachers because it helped to provide a more personal relationship for discovering their realities. It also allowed more time for individuals to think clearly and provided a better space from which to assert their opinions, thoughts and feelings about kapa haka. The format of the interviews

allowed time for teachers to give their perceptions about the benefit of kapa haka for Māori students and without pressure from their colleagues. Interviewing teachers with subject or school-wide responsibilities was very important because they play a critical role in managing, facilitating, and promoting what takes place in the classroom.

The interview process with teachers began by asking more general questions, as a means of putting the interviewees' minds at ease. The next part attempted to secure their level of interest in the investigation, and the last part provided more specific questioning to engage teachers to think about what they considered as being the main educational benefits associated with Māori students participating in kapa haka. All questions were systematically grouped to allow for greater interview continuity, but the participants were also encouraged to clarify or elaborate on their initial responses of the so wished. The data collected also provided a better understanding of the different kinds of learning relationships, connections and interactions that were formed between Māori students, teachers and kapa haka. Real life experiences were vital to this study based on the premise that all knowledge is founded on the experience of others, their interactions, meanings and perceptions (Patton, 1990).

As mentioned previously all interviews did not go any longer than an hour, however, if participants happened to speak for longer than hour, there was provision to do so. Having a time frame to conduct the interviews was intended to prevent lengthy transcribing and transcripts, which in turn, ensured there would be sufficient time to group the key ideas for further analysis. Once all the interviews had been transcribed, participants were provided with a copy of their transcript to review and a follow-up

meeting was organised to allow the participants to the opportunity to give feedback. If participants were unable to attend the meeting the option of either submitting their comments via email or by letter was also provided to support this process.

Collecting and Representing the Data using QSR N6 (Qualitative Data Analysis Software Programme)

QSR N6, a data based programme was primarily used to store all the interview transcripts as raw data files (Fielding & Lee, 1994; Richards, 2005; Tesch, 1990). The main purpose for using this particular programme was to manage and be able to retrieve large quantities of text when required (Fielding & Lee, 1994). The key word description utility in the programme also helped to identify, locate and report text as full-length conversations in sentences or paragraph form.

The QSR N6 programme was also chosen because of its effectiveness and efficiency to store, handle and organize text electronically (Richards, 2005). The opportunity to cross-reference the interview transcripts also helped to generate a number of themes (coding trees) prior to the analysis. The unique feature of the QSR N6 programme is its ability to scan and merge the key ideas identified quickly and as required (Tesch, 1990). Close reading of the transcripts, as well as the information the computer programme had sorted, provided another approach for fully exploring the data collected.

Close Reading

Close reading was considered a valid process and conducted after the interviews had been transcribed. Although the QSR N6 programme was very effective in searching and organising the data from the transcripts, close reading was still required to ascertain other examples or points of view the computer programme may have missed or overlooked in its search. This analysis was included in the categorisation of data prior to interpreting the text into specific codes (themes pertinent to addressing the research questions). The need to consistently read and re-read the text was a necessary step in selecting the most relevant ideas and experiences for the investigation. Close reading also provided a sense of validity in that quality time had been spent reading and screening the transcripts for relevant information. The transcripts provided a number of key words and phrases that when categorised and coded were used as descriptive data to address the research questions (Bogdan & Biklen, 1992).

Categories and Coding

Categorisation and coding were the key research methods used to consolidate the copious amount of text available after the interviews had been transcribed (c. f. Bogdan & Biklen, 1992; Gray, 2004; Lofland & Lofland, 1995). The benefits of using categories and coding were two-fold. Firstly, after screening the transcripts for common words, phrases and/or sentences a number of very broad categories emerged which were systematically stored using the QSR N6 software computer programme. Secondly, based on the size of the data collected for each category, a refining process was necessary to highlight the most significant information. This involved close reading all the categories to identify the most common and relevant responses in relation to the addressing the key research questions. Once these themes were identified they were subsequently number coded and stored again using the QSR N6 computer software programme prior to analysis.

Analysis of the Information

The interpretation and analysis of the categories were completely my own work, although every attempt was made to consider the data, themes and categories with respect to addressing the research questions and in the best interest of students, schools and teachers who participated in the research. Due to the limited research on kapa haka in mainstream secondary schools, I found that aggregating the data from across all four secondary schools provided a more comprehensive review of information. Furthermore, aggregating data in this manner provided not only an effective means of determining which areas were more heavily contested or discussed, but also helped to develop deeper levels of understanding about kapa haka (c. f. Creswell, 1998). Consequently, this study did not seek to analyse any one secondary school as a separate case study, because as only four secondary schools all from one region participated in the study, anonymity of the students, teachers and schools could not be guaranteed.

As a means of developing a number of emerging themes, content analysis was considered as an effective way of validating and legitimising the lived experiences of participants (Gray, 2004; Guba & Lincoln, 1994). This involved making inferences about the data (text) by systematically and objectively identifying, describing, summarising and paraphrasing the special characteristics (as categories) that emerged from what was shared by the participants. As a means of strengthening this approach and removing the researcher's imposition, Guba & Lincoln suggest that the following questions be considered when using such an approach:

- 1. What is the aim or purpose of inquiry?
- 2. What is the nature of knowledge?
- 3. How does knowledge accumulate?

- 4. What criteria are appropriate for judging the goodness or quality of the inquiry?
- 5. What is the role of values in inquiry?
- 6. What is the place of ethics in inquiry?
- 7. What voice is mirrored in the inquirer's activities, especially those directed at change?
- 8. Is it possible to accommodate for what we wish to know given the paradigms we wish to use (1994, pp. 113-117)?

As a teacher working across these schools, these questions were pivotal in providing a more effective and objective level of investigation. The importance of helping students to explore their own experiences, feelings, opinions, values, beliefs and emotions also created the opportunity for the participants to become more the 'participants of change' as opposed to being merely recipients of knowledge (Patton, 1990). As the sole researcher it was equally important to translate the key ideas in ways that could enable schools and teachers to evaluate more effectively what and how they provide for Māori students in such contexts.

As mentioned previously, this research did not specifically address issues of causality; rather it suggested that the findings might be generalized using 'multiple accounts of social reality' and developing empathy consistent with improving the educational needs and aspirations of Māori kapa haka students, the teachers and schools. Issues of trustworthiness and authenticity were considered the important criteria in achieving such outcomes. Lincoln suggests that the following questions help to successfully navigate and inform this process:

- 1. Credibility, which parallels internal validity- that is, how believable are the findings?
- 2. Transferability, which parallels external validity- that is, does the findings apply to other contexts?

- 3. Dependability, which parallels reliability- that is, are the findings likely to apply at other times?
- 4. Confirmability, which parallels objectivity- that is, has the investigator allowed his or her values to intrude to a high degree?

In addition to these four criteria, a wider set of issues concerning the social, cultural and political implications of the research investigation included:

- 1. Fairness- does the research fairly represent different viewpoints among members of the social setting?
- 2. Ontological authenticity- does the research help members to arrive at a better understanding of their social milieu?
- 3. Educative authenticity- does the research help members to appreciate better the perspectives of other members in their social setting?
- 4. Catalytic authenticity- has the research acted as an impetus to members to engage in action to change their circumstances?
- 5. Tactical authenticity- has the research, empowered members to take the steps necessary for engaging in action (1995, pp. 275-289)?

Although defining and interpreting the categories were conducted by myself, the above criteria helped to guide and consider the interview responses as one of a number of possible representations, rather than as definitive versions of social reality. Selecting and using descriptive examples from across all the transcripts also significantly strengthened my interpretation allowing a number of relevant key themes to emerge (Bryman, 2001; Gray, 2004; Guba & Lincoln, 1994).

Informing the Writing Process

Darder (1981) stated that,

Within this view of human beings, all human activity consists of action and reflection, or praxis. And as praxis, all human activity requires theory to illuminate it. This interface between theory and practice occurs, for example, at the point where oppressed groups come together and raise fundamental

questions of how they might assist each other, and how-through such an exchange of views- action might emerge in which all groups may benefit (p. (cited in Smith, 1997, p. 149).

This perspective helped to inform relationship between the research and those about to be researched and was reciprocal, proactive, respectful and mutually '*inclusive*' of the education issues and interests concerning Māori students and their teachers. This also required a level of cultural sensitivity and support for all participants during the process. Heshusius (1994) suggested that,

... if we want to free ourselves from the objectivity we need to fundamentally reorder our understanding of the relation between self and other (and therefore, of reality) and turn toward a participatory mode of consciousness.... Participatory consciousness is the deeper level of kinship between the knower and the known. An inner desire to let go of perceived boundaries that constitute 'self'- and that construct the perception of distance between self and other- must be present before a participatory mode of consciousness can be present (pp. 15-16).

The validity of communicating 'self' and 'other' asks that the writer to restrain from engaging in the subjectivity of one's emotions and values by remaining ethically and mutually personal in ways that enhances the relationship, and encourages 'critical' and 'reflective' dialogue to occur more 'naturally' (Heshusius, 1994). An important step in this process was to foster a mutually 'inclusive' and respectful research relationship with all participants.

Conclusion

This chapter has been about coming to know and understand the importance of conducting effective qualitative research. Kaupapa Māori as the key theoretical framework for this investigation provided a level of cultural safety by recognising that research about Māori should inherently be of benefit to Māori students, in all areas of their schooling and education. An important consideration was to ensure that the data

gathered and analysed actually represents the needs and aspirations of both students and teachers across the four secondary schools. Interviewing students who participate in kapa haka as well as mainstream secondary school teachers in charge of various curriculum areas was intended to generate a much wider understanding about kapa haka and its cultural importance for 'culturally connected' learners who are Māori. In this regard, it is also important to acknowledge that what others (i.e. Māori kapa haka students and teachers) say matters.

The research method of inquiry has attempted to capture the value and importance of 'human responses' as they reflect the needs and aspirations of Māori kapa haka students in four Central North Island mainstream secondary schools. Although there will always exist certain levels of bias in the way information is collected and interpreted, the intent is to be able to present the findings in a ways that will be mutually beneficial to all (students, teachers and schools) involved. This inquiry process aimed to engage mainstream secondary schools and teachers to be better informed about the importance of kapa haka and in particular, the educational importance of 'culturally responsive' learning aspirations Māori students seek in such contexts. The following chapter will now analyse the responses of the Māori kapa haka students.

CHAPTER FIVE: ANALYSIS OF MĀORI KAPA HAKA STUDENTS' EXPERIENCES

Introduction

Twenty senior Māori kapa haka students (aged between 15-18 years old) took part in a series of semi-structured focus group interviews, conducted in groups of four to six students, from four different secondary schools. All interviews were subsequently transcribed and stored using a software package called QSR N6 (a qualitative computer data analysis programme). A method of content analysis, using categorisation (identifying key words), coding (merging key words to identify key ideas) and close reading helped to synthesise the key responses. A variety of tables were also constructed to visually present, organise and manage the data.

Content analysis was important for two key reasons. Firstly, the analysis sought to identify the key educational benefits associated with kapa haka; and secondly, to compare and contrast the responses of students and teachers in ways that ultimately improve educational outcomes for Māori students attending mainstream secondary schools (c. f. Bishop et al., 2003; Durie, 2004; Macfarlane, 2004). Positioning kapa haka as central to the inquiry was also intended to reveal the learning importance and potential of kapa haka for Māori students more specifically. Kaupapa Māori as the main theoretical framework underpinning this investigation significantly helped to inform and consider the responses in ways that would be mutually beneficial to all involved in supporting Māori students to achieve more consistently.

This analysis attempts to highlight Māori kapa haka students' personal reflections about their experiences participating in kapa haka. From this position, what

individuals say is significantly important, not only in how we come to know and understand kapa haka, but how kapa haka connects, interacts and supports Māori students in mainstream schooling contexts (c. f. Polkinghorne, 1988; Van Maanen, 1988). In many ways the analysis also seeks to explore more objectively a current learning phenomenon (kapa haka) in action. The following section describes the demographics of the Māori kapa haka student participants.

Demographics of Māori Kapa Haka Students

The initial interview process invited Māori students to introduce themselves, including their age, years of participating in kapa haka and their main interests at school. Although two students from Group 4 elected to give a brief mihi (welcome with tribal affiliations), which is considered standard customary Māori practice, the majority of students introduced themselves using the English language.

Ensuring that Māori kapa haka students felt comfortable about the interview process was ethically, culturally and morally important to supporting the cultural framework (Kaupapa Māori). The inclusion of food as well as conducting the interviews at school with their peers significantly reduced levels of student anxiety, and provided the opportunity for students to become better acquainted and familiar with the researcher's aims and objectives. The primary goal was to make the interview context non-threatening, welcoming and 'inclusive' (c. f. Bishop, 1997b; Bishop & Tiakiwai, 2003).

Table 1 (see below) was constructed to help identify a student's gender, age, years participating in kapa haka, class level, ethnic background, school decile rating

(schools are ranked using a decile ranking system between 1 and 10 and is based on the socio-economic demographics of the area), location (rural or urban), school type (co-educational) and which school (schools were given a number one to four). The decile rating of schools, although not a key consideration in interpreting the data collected, did signal as a result of this research, that the lower the school decile rating the higher the number of Māori students likely to be enrolled at these schools.

Initially, the participant forms to students, indicated that the study was seeking between six to eight senior Māori kapa haka students, between 15-18 years of age, to take part in an interview process lasting no longer than an hour. However, the majority of students who chose to participate were between 15-16 years of age, most of who were year 10 students. Māori kapa haka students between 17-18 years of age had either left school (c. f. Ministry of Education, 2001, 2006b) or chose not to participate (no specific reasoning was given). The development of categories (see Appendices: Table 3) and codes (identified themes) (see Appendices: Table 5) emerged as a result of scanning and locating corresponding responses and selecting the most significant responses to support the investigation. Not all the coded responses were included in the analysis because they did not serve to address the key concerns of the research. As per Chapter 3, to protect the identity of individual students and their schools, pseudonyms were used.

TABLE 1: MĀORI KAPA HAKA STUDENT DEMOGRAPHICS

				Years in Kapa					School
Student Names	Gender	Group	Age	Haka	Year Level	Ethnicity	Decile	Location	Type
Henare	M	1	15	1	10	Māori	1	Rural	Co-ed
Lara	F	1	15	1	10	Māori	1	Rural	Co-ed
Tama	M	1	15	3	10	Māori	1	Rural	Co-ed
Kereti	M	1	15	3	10	Māori	1	Rural	Co-ed
Ngairo	M	1	15	3	10	Māori	1	Rural	Co-ed
Whitu	M	2	15	3	10	Māori	3	Rural	Co-ed
Kane	M	2	15	7	10	Māori	3	Rural	Co-ed
Tahi	M	2	15	1	10	Māori	3	Rural	Co-ed
Tarati	F	2	16	8	12	Māori	3	Rural	Co-ed
Terehia	F	2	16	1	12	European	3	Rural	Co-ed
Hera	F	3	15	6	10	Māori	2	Rural	Co-ed
Wikitoria	F	3	16	7	11	Māori	2	Rural	Co-ed
Ani	F	3	16	8	11	Māori	2	Rural	Co-ed
Maata	F	3	15	7	10	Māori	2	Rural	Co-ed
Fa	M	4	16	2	12	Pacific Is.	9	Urban	Co-ed
Piripi	M	4	16	4	12	Māori	9	Urban	Co-ed
Nikora	M	4	16	4	12	Māori	9	Urban	Co-ed
Huhana	F	4	16	7	12	Māori	9	Urban	Co-ed
Pare	F	4	16	10	12	Māori	9	Urban	Co-ed
Ripeka	F	4	16	4	12	Māori	9	Urban	Co-ed

Analysis of Māori Kapa Haka Students' Focus Group Data

The five key interview headings below helped to guide the analysis of student responses (see Appendices: Section 4) and develop the analysis relative to addressing the key research question(s):

- 1. Kapa haka experiences.
- 2. Participation in kapa haka.
- 3. Meanings attributed to kapa haka.
- 4. Teaching and learning in kapa haka.
- 5. Education and kapa haka in mainstream secondary schooling contexts.

The following 12 themes emerged from reviewing the students' responses and supported the analysis:

- 1. Social Interactions (T 1)
- 2. Motivation (T 2)

- 3. Affective Learning Domain (T 3)
- 4. Achieving (T 4)
- 5. Identity (T 5)
- 6. Student as a Learner (T 6)
- 7. Skills Acquired (T 7)
- 8. Teaching (T 8)
- 9. Problems (T 9)
- 10. Resistance (T 10)
- 11. Mainstream Schooling and Education (T 11)
- 12. Experiences (T 12)

The themes are not intended to define kapa haka, nor do they prescribe a 'set of truths' about what kapa haka is, or isn't. Rather these themes emerge as the key educational benefits students share about participating in kapa haka in mainstream secondary schools.

Kapa Haka Experiences

Māori students from across the four secondary schools acknowledged that kapa haka supported them to learn more about their language and culture, as well as, provided opportunities to travel, meet different people and make new friendships. Other memorable experiences included students having fun, being able to nurture a close sense of whānau (before, during and after the performance) and as a group being able to share an emotional and dynamic cultural learning experience. These two students' comments highlight some of these points more appropriately.

I just loved it, I don't know why. Last year when we went to the celebrations [tribal festival], I didn't want to do it cause I didn't know anyone but when I did, I like practically loved doing kapa haka cause it was so much fun, meeting new people, and having new experiences...cause Ngāti Raukawa is different to Ngāti Haua, Ngāti Kahungungu... yeah it was just a lot of fun (Huhana, Group 2).

One of my fondest memories [referring to kapa haka] I liked when I was little was hanging around my cousins all the time, and cause I don't see many Māoris around us anyway, there used to be heaps around...[laughs]... is being close to family (Piripi, Group 2).

Identity Formation (T5)

An important aspiration of kapa haka students identified in the interviews was the ability to have access to ways of nurturing their identity as Māori. Students considered kapa haka as a vital means of connecting with the world of Māori. Likewise, Pare (Group 4) commented that kapa haka made it easier to cope with the everyday struggle of learning in the classroom because it provided an avenue to nurture her identity in a mainstream secondary school. Terehia (Group 2) identified that it was important to know what one was singing about (in kapa haka), because it helped individuals to give meaning to the performance, and the confidence to stand with purpose and conviction as a means of, developing a closer affiliation and connection with her identity as Māori. Tarati (Group 2) commented that kapa haka enabled this student to become more readily recognised as being Māori, despite being of fair complexion.

Well people wouldn't recognise me as a Māori [due to her fair complexion], so if I do kapa haka and I'm really good they will recognise me as a Māori, and not just as a girl (Tarati, Group 2).

Māori kapa haka students operating from a whānau-based classroom (a special character class to support Māori students in mainstream secondary schools) stated that participating in kapa haka affirmed their essence and wellbeing as Māori during the course of a school day. One such student commented that the advantage of doing kapa haka in class not only supports their identity as Māori, but also improves their

self-esteem and confidence to persevere more successfully with learning in their other subject areas. As this student suggests,

Personally it will teach me more about who I am... like the confidence and stuff... kapa haka will also be good for everything else [at school]... (Pare, Group 2).

By Māori students having the opportunity to perform in kapa haka they felt more able to achieve a sense of identity and to learn more about the world of Māori, and its significance today. These two students commented that,

My first school was a Pākehā school...then I started going to a Māori primary school, which is a Māori bilingual school but also focused on Pākehā as well... and then in Form 1, I went to a Normal Middle School... I didn't do Māori language there but I did do kapa haka and after that I went to Māori Girls' College...and I did Māori and kapa haka there as well. This year I am doing kapa haka and Māori so my Māori has been on and off, but its still there (Pare, Group 2).

It's [kapa haka] part of my Māori heritage (Henare, Group 1).

In addition, Lara (Group 1) commented that kapa haka provided a means of supporting her own whānau to learn more about Māori language and culture.

My Dad is part Māori and he doesn't know anything about it so I thought I'd find out about it (Lara, Group 1).

Trips (T1 5)

All Māori kapa haka students commented that they looked forward to trips away to participate in kapa haka. Over two thirds of the students often felt excited about travelling to participate in kapa haka competitions. Henare (Group 1) felt that trips were a reward for all the hard work he had put into practising kapa haka. However, other students actually felt that just being part of the group and performing in kapa haka was reward enough.

The Kawhia trip was primo...sometimes all your hard work is rewarded with a trip away (Henare, Group 1).

It's not so much about going to Hawai'i or performing for the Lions or the Māori [British Lions versus Māori rugby game) it's just doing kapa haka (Maata, Group 3).

Students commented that kapa haka was more meaningful and enjoyable because often learning in kapa haka occurred outside the classroom. This perhaps suggests that there will be students who feel better about engaging in learning outside of a traditional classroom.

Participation in Kapa Haka

Māori kapa haka students chose to participate in kapa haka for a number of social and cultural reasons. The opportunity to interact positively and with friends, learn about their language and culture, experience performing and have fun (mentioned earlier) were the primary reasons for participating in kapa haka. On the other side of the discussion, at least half of all students in this study felt they would drop out of kapa haka if they felt they were getting behind in their schoolwork. Furthermore, at least one student from each group commented that they could not see themselves continuing to do kapa haka on a regular basis because it did not guarantee them future employment or financial security. In contrast, some students commented that being able to find a group after finishing school, or being able to perform for a living could be an option if it was feasible.

Social Interactions (T 1)

The key social interactions that Māori students commented on as a result of participating in kapa haka included, being able to learning in a group, developing friendships, engaging in frequent and informal discussions, going on trips (discussed

also as a key experience) as well as having the opportunity to participate and compete alongside other Māori performers.

Developing Friends and Peer Groups (T1 1)

Māori kapa haka students across the four focus groups identified that being able to build friendships was one of the most important reasons for participating in kapa haka. Often many of the social interactions in kapa haka created the opportunity to build peer groups within and outside of kapa haka, and consequently provided the potential to develop long-term meaningful friendships. Students often stated that the friendships established in kapa haka also helped them to cope with their learning in the classroom, especially when they knew that their peers may also be experiencing similar learning challenges. Nikora (Group 2) felt that belonging to a whānau class was an advantage because the environment valued kapa haka and spending time with other Māori students.

When I participate in kapa haka, I move the other stuff around...and being in the whānau class I have more friends (Nikora, Group 2).

The greatest sense of satisfaction students reported about participating in kapa haka was not only that friends and family recognized them for their individual efforts, but that kapa haka also helped them to feel they belonged to something culturally appropriate and unique.

Bonding (T1 3)

Being able to achieve a sense of bonding was considered an important a vital aspect of participating in kapa haka. This student experienced kapa haka as an environment where working together as a group helps everyone to learn.

Everyone gets along, some people may be fast learners, some people are slow learners, and some people get hōhā, but everyone helps everyone (Ngairo, School 1).

Working as a group in kapa haka provided an effective way to support each other's strengths and weaknesses. Individual students identified that teachers and schools can play a significant part in developing ways for Māori students to bond together to learn. These two student examples show how schools and teachers can play a significant role to assist Māori students to bond in the classroom and in their learning.

One thing I liked when I was over in Whakatane, the teachers over there, they were Pākehā they thought they were Māori, they acted Māori and everything, and say a few words like kei te pai or kia ora and all those things, those things are really good because even though they are Pākehā and think they are Māori, all those things help (Hera, School 3).

Us doing it now, and knowing that we could make it a subject [kapa haka] and you know have it more in schools, there would be more Māori teachers because you know, they would do it do for the kids (Terehia, School 2).

Māori students would like to see the school and teachers create the space and time for students as a class to bond more effectively in the learning environment.

Informal Discussions (T1 4)

Māori kapa haka students described that being able to regularly engage in discussions informally about kapa haka was beneficial in that it helped students to think more positively about what they needed to learn. Whether after school or during lunch time practices, Māori kapa haka students spent considerable time conversing about various aspects of the performance and were consistently encouraged by their teacher(s)/tutor(s) to communicate with the group.

Māori kapa haka students commented that the verbal or non-verbal interactions in kapa haka often differed to those in the classroom. Students commented that teachers appeared more concerned with 'managing' their learning as opposed to allowing students to 'experience' learning more physically, verbally or visually. In kapa haka, students still relied on the teacher(s)/tutor(s) giving instructions, but the learning environment focused more on allowing students to physically practise what they needed to learn. As a result of students experiencing 'group cohesion', 'unity', 'joy' and 'levels of participation' students felt more included and responsible to the group. Students' own words such as, 'awesome', 'wow', 'too much', 'everyone', 'us horis', 'us Māoris', or 'the whānau' illustrated quite clearly that the language used by students was common to all and intended to invoke a sense of belonging, togetherness and inclusiveness.

Participation in Kapa Haka (Competition T1 6 versus Participation T1 7)

There were mixed feelings from students about the importance competition and participation plays in kapa haka. Some students (very few) valued the competitive nature of kapa haka, and indeed, individuals who appeared more confident about performing kapa haka saw competition as the only reason to participate. Some students suggested that,

I don't think there's any use being in there, if you're not going to go away and win (Ripeka, Group 2).

Kapa haka is straight up aye...if you don't know the words you're not standing, so that forces us to learn the words and the choreography... (Maata, Group 3).

Although at least two-thirds of all students commented that they valued kapa haka more as an enjoyable cultural learning experience, than as a means of nurturing ones competitive prowess. As these two students suggested,

I think kapa haka gives those ones who are not as strong in the academic side of school stuff...it gives them an idea to participate in something they enjoy... (Wikitoria, Group 3).

And if you have been up there a long time it's usually quite easy to pick it up. If you are in the class you know you have to...but with kapa haka it's always something new...for one thing its much more fun than school work or in the classroom... (Hera, Group 3).

The importance students placed on being able to compete and participate in kapa haka equally affected the overall time, effort and energy students were prepared to give to the group. It appeared that the value of competition and participation in kapa haka not only provides a host of positive challenges for Māori students it also empowers them take greater collective responsibility for their learning.

Motivation (T 2)

Kapa haka as a dynamic and powerful performing art requires individuals to be highly motivated and focused. The key ideas to emerge under this theme related to students showing an interest, valuing the essence of kapa haka, developing the confidence to perform, as well as developing levels of self-efficacy (feeling that they can accomplish set tasks successfully). Students commented about their relationship between kapa haka, learning and schooling, and suggested that,

For some students I know they only come to school to do kapa haka (Wikitoria, Group 3).

One thing about kapa haka you have to be committed. Like you know... it's like the number one thing to be committed... If you're not there for at least one practice your probably miss out on the whole thing (Hera, Group 3).

It's a mental thing; it's just how they think about things, because they incorporate school as something dumb, something boring, whereas kapa haka is exciting, it's just how they think...that kind of thing (Ripeka, Group 2).

Freedom aye... instead of been locked down in the classroom and in the desk (Kane, Group 4).

The importance of students considering kapa haka more as an interest/hobby also helped to develop positive attitudes about other learning opportunities, as this student suggested

You need money... but it's never been about the money at school, you will end up getting a job and get money from that...but kapa haka could be like a hobby [having the time to do something you enjoy], like you can take an interest [time to do something interesting] in art or music (Terehia, Group 4).

All students acknowledged that being able to participate in kapa haka not only strengthened themselves as Māori, but it also helped to build the confidence to participate in other activities at school, such as sport. The responses below quite clearly indicated that by participating and performing in kapa haka students felt a strong sense that they were achieving success, especially socially and culturally.

Getting to know who I really am [through performing kapa haka]... builds confidence (Ani, Group 3).

Personally it will teach me more about who I am...like the confidence and stuff, kapa haka will be good for everything else... (Pare, Group 2).

I remember... I wasn't as good as the Māoris in Kura Kaupapa and that, but I got moved out of Primary and I went to a Pākehā school and I went there and they had a kapa haka group and they put me as leader even though I was the youngest in the kapa haka group, I was about the 4th Māori in that school and there was about fifty Islanders so there was a big group (Nikora, Group 2).

Just um... like sometimes Māoris don't get to do much stuff, this is one thing they can do (Kane, Group 4).

In summary, Māori kapa haka students felt that if they are consistently supported by their peers, whānau, and tutors, experience levels of success and continue to feel part of the group there exists a high probability that they will stay longer at school as well as continue to participate in kapa haka once they have finished school. Māori students also shared that by experiencing levels of achievement (i.e. actually seeing the result of what they were supposed to learn come to fruition) actually motivated them to want to be more involved in the group. Although, over half of all Māori kapa haka students in this study commented, that they were able to see the results of what they had learnt almost immediately, such learning immediacy or feedback was not always forthcoming by teacher in the classroom.

Meanings Attributed to Kapa Haka

Māori kapa haka students were given the opportunity to think of the three most significant words to describe their experience of participating in kapa haka. As a result students provided some valid and meaningful insights about the contribution of kapa haka to their lives in mainstream secondary schools. Some of the key words students used directly related to their attitude, values and beliefs about kapa haka and its importance to them personally. Students from across the four secondary schools identified that participating in kapa haka helped them to feel proud about being Māori in Aotearoa/New Zealand.

Māori students also felt that performing in kapa haka for a specific purpose such as pōwhiri (expressing welcoming), poroporoaki (expressing farewell), aroha (expressing love), whakanui (expressing acknowledgement), karakia (expressing prayer), tangi (expressing sorrow, grief, loss or death), whakatoi (expressing fun),

ngahau (to entertain) or whakapapa (being able to recite genealogy) developed the ability to express one's inner emotions with greater purpose and conviction.

A list of words used by students show quite categorically the tremendous impact of kapa haka on their development and wellbeing. Words such as, 'entertainment', 'letting go of aggression', 'mana' (the power generated by the group performance), 'experience', 'impression', 'awesome', 'fun', 'learning', 'expression', 'enjoyment', 'power', 'wow factor', 'energy given', 'focused' and 'exciting' all emerged as the most significant ways in which Māori students experience kapa haka. Individual students also commented that,

The haka is another way of showing your expression, and maybe they don't like it because maybe what they are seeing isn't very pleasant... but haka and kapa haka is like drama, acting and stuff like that, if you can go and watch horror films and stuff like that... this is giving my point view... and when you do the haka you know what the words are and your face is going to give an impression of the meaning of the haka. Okay...you know...I reckon people like being pretty and lovely...okay this is coming from the media studies. Like you know control...the people who control the world today, they want things to go their way, like authority... like the government... like the higher people in society... like you know the Prime Minister and all the people who control things... and kapa haka and maybe they say it's a way not to follow their rules and it showing aggressive and what people can be like, and its going against the pretty lovely people... yeah...but its just people doing what they want to do (Pare, Group 2).

It's got the wow factor (Kane, Group 4).

More focused... (Lara, Group 1).

I had a great experience...it was fun (Ani, Group 3).

Learning together... yeah its fun (Whitu, Group 4).

Individual students indicated that certain aspects of kapa haka, such as the haka, which at times is performed aggressively, should not be a reason to criticise or question its validity. In many ways these students joined kapa haka for the sheer

pleasure and experience of being involved in a culturally dynamic and powerful learning activity. However, for the more serious participants (i.e. those who seeking a more competitive experience), being able to showcase kapa haka in its full glory requires a higher level of skill, commitment and discipline.

Teaching and Learning in Kapa Haka

From the students' perspectives the teaching and learning that occurs in kapa haka is often different to what actually occurs in the classroom, in that, tikanga Māori was an integral part of the teaching and learning of kapa haka. The key difference many students reported was that the teaching and learning in kapa haka highlighted the importance of the cultural and emotional wellbeing of the individual, whereas classroom teaching and learning they suggested relies more extensively on one's ability to read, write and think quickly using often one's mental ability (thinking, analysing and other meta-cognitive skills). In this sense, kapa haka provided for students a co-operative, integrated and collectively learning environment supporting their total wellbeing physically, mentally, socially, culturally, emotionally and spiritually.

The Student as a Learner (T6 1)

Māori kapa haka students all commented about the ability of a teacher to be caring and respectful of their learning needs. However, how a learner learns is heavily contested terrain, especially when considering the culturally diverse needs of individual students (Bevan-Brown, 2003; Gay, 2000; Glynn et al., 1999). Māori kapa haka students from across the four groups suggested that they were more likely to engage in their learning if they could learn alongside their peers and if the activities

were fun, exciting and enjoyable. Kapa haka, they suggested, provided the ideal learning environment to achieve such outcomes successfully.

Learning preferences associated with seeing, doing, feeling, hearing, listening and touching were also important aspects to emerge from the student interviews. Examining these factors more closely, one can see the potential of students to learn and achieve through performing. Teachers who are passionate and enthusiastic, as well as concerned for accessing students' senses (touch, smell, hearing, sight and taste) throughout the learning experience are more likely to see students engaging in learning for longer periods of time. The following comments provide a snapshot of what they are inherently looking forward to as students in mainstream secondary schools.

Kapa haka is always in Māori and stuff... and that basically the school just like says, "Learn this for English... right do English"... they are trying to improve how we write essays and how we speak and everything and learn about scientific stuff and learn Maths and all that... whereas with Māori and kapa haka it teaches us how to perform this way, I'll teach you how to do this and you learn the words... All our songs... like we got them explained to us. When you do kapa haka its important to know what you are talking about, you know, all our whakaeke, mōteatea, every single item we did before we started it, our tutors explained it to us so we know what we are on about (Hera, Group 3).

I'd probably say it depends on the teacher you know if the teacher wants to teach you or he or she wants to explain it to you. Our kapa haka tutors get up and show us, with our teachers some of them will say do exercise point something, something and write. With kapa haka the tutors say okay everyone get up and I will show what to do... (Hera, Group 3).

Like in kapa haka how we all work together, help each other to learn, and in the class by putting our minds together we can learn a lot easier (Terehia, Group 4).

Well I try to put as much emphasis as I can... like I try and balance every thing out. Ok... there are things about kapa haka that I don't like and there are things about class that I don't like and I've learnt so much in kapa haka when I went to all those live-ins I learnt that I can be committed, and so I try to be

committed to that like with school. I've learnt so much about kapa haka over the 3 years (Pare, Group 2).

Skills Acquired (T 7)

For Māori students to perform kapa haka competently, a number of skill processes must be learnt and performed simultaneously. For example, kapa haka requires that the words and actions be choreographed and memorised and as a group. The learning of haka, waiata, mōteatea, poi, taiaha or mere (wood or green stone club) provided a way for students to preserve memories, create belonging and show respect for the language, culture and their ancestors. Individual students can also expect to gain specific leadership roles in kapa haka, but such roles are usually carefully selected and bestowed upon students who are recognised as competent at performing kapa haka. Tama (School 1) commented that although sport supports and develops similar experiences and skills, kapa haka is very different, in that individuals are expected to memorise and perform words and actions in the context of the whole group performance. Furthermore, many students agreed that they could not think of any other learning environment that provided such a unique, dynamic and creative learning experience.

A key essence of a kapa haka performance is having the opportunity to capture and move the audience's attention. Often achieving such an impact is dependant upon the cohesive and dynamic nature of the group. Indeed, the preparation of costumes (e.g. piupiu, korowai), painting of faces, the making of poi balls, head bands or other props, and at times organising travel and accommodation for whānau and friends when performing away from home, as well as carrying out specific tikanga practices (karakia) prior and after performing, all contribute to this unique cultural experience.

Learning as a group helped individuals to learn skills in a fun and enjoyable manner.

Māori kapa haka students expressed that,

It's hard on your own, a group helps...some classes treat you as an individual, in kapa haka you are treated as a group, and as a family (Henare, Group 1).

Because it's a group effort, and you are actually going through the whole process together as opposed to individually like a class (Nikora, Group 4). Learning together...yeah its fun (Kane, Group 2).

Because sometimes learning in a group, one person may not know how to do things so the whole group has to stop and teach that one person (Whitu, Group 2).

Like in kapa haka how we all work together, help each other learn, and in class by putting our minds together we can learn a lot easier (Kane, Group 4).

If you are competing, it kind of like with a group... in kapa haka it's a group, you know how you have different formations and stuff and your like you're kind of seen as being out there, been there (Ripeka, Group 2).

Ngairo (Group 1) commented that although kapa haka was more difficult to learn than sport, kapa haka helped him to feel more confident about his sporting endeavours, especially playing rugby in that,

You need to learn more words in kapa haka than what you do in your sport, as there are words, actions and choreography to learn (Ngairo, Group 1).

Teaching Kapa Haka in Mainstream Secondary Schools (T 8 1)

The majority of students viewed the teaching of kapa haka in mainstream secondary schools as a vitally important way of learning more about Māori language and culture. Individual students also reported that they felt more included in kapa haka because everyone had a role to play. Likewise, it was not unusual for the more competent and experienced kapa haka students to help other students to perform and practise poi, waiata or haka. The language used in kapa haka by both students and teachers was

often encouraging, supportive and affirming. When students were prompted to compare the learning that occurs in kapa haka with the learning that occurs in the classroom, students immediately focused on the teacher and whether he/she was kind, considerate, understanding, fair and caring. Māori kapa haka students offered some valuable suggestions, insights and comments about what other teachers can do to improve their relationships working with Māori students, and suggested that,

Maybe the teachers could get ideas from kapa haka, Pākehā teachers who do not get along with Māori students, go to kapa haka see how they get along and put that into the classroom because man... check out all the Māori kids who are hard out doing kapa haka and they go to class and its completely different world (Pare, Group 2).

Our kapa haka tutor, she was also our Māori teacher and she uses her teaching in kapa haka in our class, which is really good, because we know what she is about and she has fun (Ripeka, Group 2).

I reckon you [researcher] should try and find an interest that people have in kapa haka and then the teacher should find an interest in why they get more interested in kapa haka and then incorporate it into the class... like I was saying about group effort thing so the whole group is involved (Huhana, Group 2).

I don't have a problem... I just make it easy for my teachers really, honestly I just go along with it, because they know how you can pass and they are teaching you... My grandfather has always told me to always respect your teacher they're the ones that know everything about your subject. If the teacher does something you just smile and get along with it, but for some teachers I reckon they need to get to know a bit more about the students (Pare, Group 2).

I understand what the teachers are like, because the kids go hard out in kapa haka and when they go to class they don't wanna know, there's no connection between the two (Ripeka, Group 2).

They are quite good with us and our Māori culture... like when I was doing my Manu Korero they gave me heaps of time to prepare my speech, and they are quite good cause they understand Manu Kōrero... (Hera, Group 3).

Value of Experience (T 12)

Māori kapa haka students expressed that having the ability to actually perform and to see all their hard work come to fruition was a joyous experience. Māori students also commented that by having the opportunity to engage in creatively working things out (problem-solving) within the performance significantly helped them to take a leadership role within the group. In this context, students were more respectful and appreciative about what they were learning and how. They also believed that there was more positive 'learning' time because students were consistently involved in learning how to master specific routines and skills. In this regard, students felt more determined to try harder and persevere when faced with new challenges because individuals felt genuinely supported. As a result, Māori students all considered kapa haka one of the very few learning environments, where as a whole group, they felt in control of their learning and the outcomes thereof.

Kapa Haka in Mainstream Secondary Schooling Contexts

Māori kapa haka students all believed that it was possible to cross-transfer the skills, knowledge and understandings learnt in kapa haka to other curriculum areas. Students also identified that sport, physical education, and the arts (music, dance, drama or visual or performing arts) would generally support greater cross-transfer of the learning that occurs in kapa haka. However, students pinpointed that schools and teachers need to provide greater equity in the curriculum, and in particular were adamant that their schools need to consider providing kapa haka as an academic subject in its own right. Māori students believe they are often trying to balance their own personal and cultural needs with the expectations of school as these comments suggested,

For me, kapa haka is usually during periods and doesn't affect my PE and stuff and we don't usually have it after school, we do so sometimes (Kane Group 4).

I believe if I can take the time to do stuff like English and those stuff and all the things I have to do, then surely I can take the time to do kapa haka... So if I can do something Pākehā, then surely I can do something Māori, I kind of do it in respect (Pare, Group 2).

Maybe they should give like people who are doing kapa haka and their subjects, maybe they should teach them how to balance it all out, cause all these other subjects like Jazz and stuff, they don't do it full time, so if they can do it with different extra-curriculum activities why can't they do it with kapa haka and keep the balance, or instead of one overriding the other (Ripeka, Group 2).

The amount of time, effort and energy Māori students expressed they gave to kapa haka varied between students. On average students suggested they were giving three to five hours a week to kapa haka, but if there was an upcoming kapa haka competition, students could be expected to practise up to fifteen hours a week. Practices for kapa haka usually took place during lunchtimes, after school or on the weekends. Students reported a host of different strategies for keeping up to date with their schoolwork while doing kapa haka. Strategies often varied for each student, depending on their level of interest, commitment and how much they valued the teacher. Some students found that they were often able to negotiate extra time with their various subject teachers if they were going to be absent from school for any length of time.

In terms of students acknowledging the importance of achieving academically, at least half of all the students knew that educational credits could be gained for participating in kapa haka. Students also commented that kapa haka as a an academic subject was still relatively new, in that schools and teachers tended to see kapa haka more as an outlet for students to have a cultural learning experience.

Mainstream Schooling and Education (T 11)

Mainstream secondary schools often deliver a nationally directed and moderated curriculum using the English language as the main form of instruction. Whether, or not, schools should offer Māori and English as compulsory languages in all schools is perhaps debated as much as New Zealanders question their own identity. Although Māori kapa haka students felt that the mainstream secondary schools and certain teachers tended to undervalue the educational importance of Māori language and culture. For most Māori students in this study, kapa haka has the ability to celebrate more often who we are as New Zealanders. The interviews with Māori students highlighted quite unequivocally that they are seeking greater access to learning environments that includes Māori language and culture. The following two sections will now focus on how Māori students through kapa haka are attempting to take greater control of their destinies in mainstream schooling and education.

Pākehātanga (T 11 1)

One student commented that not only do mainstream secondary schools and teachers need to change their attitude towards kapa haka and how it can benefit Māori students in such settings, Māori in general also need to work harder to change the negative images, stigmas or stereotypes society creates about them in education. This student suggested that,

The views towards Māori has to change in order...for mainstream to like what we do... the views they have towards us has to change...we have to change also... If I thought someone was scary and went around bashing everyone I

wouldn't want to go and check out what they do... come on its pretty straight forward (Pare, Group 2).

Another student commented that moving between different types of schooling provisions meant a lack of learning transfer because different schools and teachers have different structures, resources and expertise. Ripeka (Group 2) explained that,

I went to kindergarten and then I went to a Pākehā primary school and then I went to a Pākehā Intermediate School and they had a bilingual unit, and then I went there at Form 1 and 2 cause my grandfather wanted me to and then I started doing 5th Form Māori at Form 2, for 6 months and then I came to this school and did Māori 6th Form in 3rd and 4th Form, and stopped in the 5th Form, and went back to it in 6th Form... yeah and I started kapa haka in Form 3 (Ripeka, Group 2).

Pare (Group 2) commented that kapa haka is more like a hobby and would not be part of her future as such, in that, she wanted to be better prepared for what the world has to offer.

Like...you have priorities... there are some things more important than kapa haka like I find English, Media Studies and all my subjects are more important than kapa haka because I have more knowledge, I think I have more knowledge, well like how the world runs or our country runs by the Pākehā ways and stuff like that, and like I want to know the future in my subjects, I don't really look at kapa haka as being part of my future, it will be a normal part of my life but not actual hard out thing (Pare, Group 2).

Nature of a Mainstream Secondary Schooling (T11 2)

In this investigation, kapa haka for Māori students was one way of learning about their language, culture and identity as Māori. Despite the majority of Māori kapa haka students acknowledging that academic achievement is more important than kapa haka, Ani (Group 3) believed the status of kapa haka would increase in mainstream secondary schools if it was offered as a compulsory subject. In contrast, because kapa

haka was an option it did not present Wikitoria (Group 2) with enough long-term learning or career opportunities to pursue it further.

Well that [kapa haka] was an option for me when I was in third form, but I just decided that I'd put those to the side and focus on the Pākehā ones as well, Pākehā and Māori [being able to do Māori and Pākehā].

Hera (Group 3) suggested that if her kapa haka group had made the nationals they would have been still practising, and because such competitions only come around once a year, she believed catching up in class would not pose her any problems. Indeed, having kapa haka competitions once a year was exciting enough for this student to ensure she would have had all her schoolwork up-to-date and completed prior to travelling with the group. Hera (Group 3) explained that,

...because class is always going to be there, and you can always catch up, it [kapa haka] only comes around once a year. For us, especially we came third at the regionals, if we made nationals we would have been like hard out still, you see with class it will always be there you can always catch up on work, you could make us miss out two-three days and its easy to catch up, but not so easy in kapa haka... And like if you have been in it for a long time it's usually quite easy to pick up. If you are in the class you know you have to... but with kapa haka it's always something new... but how do you put it? I've got it in my head but I don't know how to put it... for one thing its much more fun than schoolwork or in the classroom... (Hera, Group 3).

Achieving in the Present (T 4)

Kapa haka students often relied on their peers and the tutor(s) for feedback about how they were progressing and believed quite emphatically that the teacher/tutor played a critical role in supporting them to achieve and reach their learning potential in kapa haka. In terms of acquiring credits towards NCEA, te reo Māori or Māori performing arts, most students were unsure about how to earn such credits. Likewise, Hera (Group 2) expressed that the intrinsic value of sharing in a cultural learning

experience such as kapa haka helped to improve her general sense of wellbeing and confidence to achieve. Other students felt that performing kapa haka also enabled them to see and feel they were achieving more immediately.

Creating such learning environments may well lie in mainstream secondary schools and teachers adopting a wider 'culturally responsive' curriculum that understands more explicitly the potential of students achieving through the art of performing. One student suggested that,

I think that kapa haka gives those ones who are not strong in the academic side of school stuff... it gives them an idea to participate in something they enjoy, and that's an incentive. My cultural success has been that I've achieved the Level 1 Te Waharoa performing arts certificate when I was in 3rd Form at the nationals in Christchurch... (Wikioria, Group 3).

However, there are a number of possible concerns and drawbacks Māori kapa haka students reveal as a result of participating in kapa haka. For example,

I was like really good, I was a goody good girl until I got to 5th Form, and when I went to one school everything changed. I'd rather go to school for kapa haka and not go to school for any work, I didn't want to do no work last year, I just wanted to go school for kapa haka and for all the Māori students there, that is their strength at school... because the teachers were running you down, no matter what we do. Only the Māori teachers there help you a lot, but that's why most of the Māori students at this school left, cause the teachers were running them down and the only thing they had to hold onto was kapa haka (Huhana, Group 2).

One thing I'd like to see in the school, we have a kapa haka group that is full of Māori students, but we also got other Māori students that don't take part in kapa haka and we also have Pākehās in our school, and when we go away on trips of field trips. The other day we went to Te Ao Hou, it's a careers day, and we had to do an item, there was only 2 kapa haka people and that was me and my friend, and the rest didn't know, and when mātua, he asked us "What song should we sing?" and they thought of 'e toru ngä mea', and half of them didn't know the song. When I was at Whakatane we had... a Māori class for Māori students at each level, you know, but one thing we did... we always had waiata practice in the mornings but it wasn't only for us it was also for the

school, so when we go on a field trip with other people... that aren't in kapa haka... we all know a song (Hera, Group 3).

I think where they are coming from is because they don't get it... they don't see why it [kapa haka] is important (Ripeka, Group 2).

It's up to the individual to get it you can't change kapa haka. Maybe we can make it bit more positive, so the people who are doing kapa haka have to change themselves as well. Cause if you are naughty kid and you do kapa haka they're gonna say aw... naughty kids does kapa haka and they kind of get a picture of what kapa haka is like cause all these bad kids are doing it they really don't wanna... for ourselves we need to change ourselves to be better in order for people to want to be part of kapa haka, like the outsiders (Pare, Group 2).

We need to prove to them that we are not horis or Māoris that just get wasted... The views towards Māori have to change... in order for mainstream to like what we do, their views towards us have to change... (Pare, Group 2).

My Dad doesn't want me to claim anything at all he just wants me to get work. He tells me to go to school and not to miss any subject at all and I don't know why I go to school... but as soon as I can get a job (wants to leave)... (Nikora, Group 2).

Conclusion

Māori kapa haka students expressed a wide variety of views, issues and concerns about the value of participating in kapa haka. Indeed, there are a number of mixed responses given by students for why they had chosen to participate in kapa haka, and equally there were a number of positive responses suggesting that kapa haka has the potential to improve one's confidence, self-esteem and motivation to learn and participate at school. Māori students indicated that kapa haka is one of the very few activities where they have access to their language and culture during a school day. The majority of students interviewed agreed that having kapa haka as an academic subject would ultimately improve the status of kapa haka and in particular, how it is perceived in mainstream secondary schooling contexts. In contrast, there were a number of students across all four schools who felt, that mainstream secondary

schools and teachers tended to undervalue kapa haka and its importance to Māori students. These students also agreed that certain teachers considered kapa haka to be more a place (as opposed to a learning environment) where Māori students should go to experience their language and culture. Alternatively, students suggested, that schools and teachers need to change their attitude to kapa haka and provide greater access to learning opportunities that support Māori students to achieve culturally as well as academically.

Māori students participating in kapa haka agreed that being able to control ones emotions and bodily movements during the performance helped them to develop rhythm, discipline, awareness and timing. Based on the responses there was a strong indication that Māori students participating in kapa haka seek the 'inner' ability to maintain, preserve, nurture and enrich their wellbeing as Māori. From a culturally critical perspective, the responses reflect the importance of developing an indigenous epistemology (ways we share what we know and what actually counts as knowledge) that is uniquely Māori. It is also an important means of synthesising a host of complex reactions, feelings, thoughts, experiences and opinions about kapa haka, as it pertains to 'culturally connected' learners who are Māori, in mainstream secondary schools. The following chapter will now analyse the teachers' perceptions of kapa haka for Māori students in mainstream secondary schools.

CHAPTER 6: ANALYSIS OF TEACHERS' RESPONSES TO KAPA HAKA

Introduction

A total of 27 teachers, holding various curriculum management roles across four Central North Island mainstream secondary schools took part in a series of one-to-one semi-structured interviews. All interviews were subsequently transcribed and stored using a software package called QSR N6 (a qualitative computer data analysis programme). As per Chapter 5, content analysis using close reading, categorisation and coding helped to collate and synthesise the teachers' responses. At least half of all teachers who participated in this study had little or no experience, knowledge and understanding about kapa haka. As a result, these teachers found it rather difficult to provide valid examples or connections regarding how kapa haka specifically benefits Māori students and their education. However, based on their experiences working with Māori students in such settings, their attempts to reflect on the probably learning outcomes associated with Māori students participating in kapa haka proved to be both constructive and insightful.

Demographics of Mainstream Secondary School Teachers

Teachers involved in the study covered all the key curriculum areas, were mainly men (i.e. 17 male teachers and 10 female teachers), had taught in excess of five years, and were predominantly of European descent (i.e. 20 European teachers and seven Māori teachers). Despite the wide range of teachers involved in this study, it soon became clear from their responses (see Appendices B) that Māori students continue to underachieve across these four secondary schools.

Table 2 (below) highlights the background of each individual teacher including their gender, school case number, school management roles, years teaching, ethnicity, decile and location. The advantage of this table is primarily visual, in that it gives an overview of the participants' backgrounds and roles as teachers in their respective schools. Pseudonyms were again used to protect the identity of individual teachers, and their schools.

TABLE 2: SECONDARY SCHOOL TEACHER DEMOGRAPHICS

Teachers Names	Gender	School	Responsibilities	Years Teaching	Ethnicity	Decile	Location
Debs	F	1	Literacy Co-ordinator	6-7	European	1	Rural
Jim	M	1	HOD Music	30	European	1	Rural
Whitu	M	1	HOD Māori/TIC Rugby	5-6	Māori	1	Rural
Steve	M	1	HOD Computers	20	European	1	Rural
Don	M	1	HOD English	25	European	1	Rural
Sarah	F	1	TIC Food Technology	15	European	1	Rural
Bill	M	1	HOD Technology	14	European	1	Rural
Mike	M	1	HOD Maths	15	European	1	Rural
Derek	M	2	HOF Languages	15	European	3	Rural
Rima	M	2	HOD Māori	13	Māori	3	Rural
Frank	M	2	Arts/academic/Dean	15	European	3	Rural
Ian	M	2	HOD PE/Health	35	European	3	Rural
Fred	M	2	HOD Science	30	European	3	Rural
Tania	F	2	HOD Information Tech	30	European	3	Rural
May	F	2	HOD Social Sciences	15-16	Māori/PI	3	Rural
Tom	M	2	HOD Visual Arts/Dean	15	European	3	Rural
Wally	M	3	HOD PE/Health	5-6	Māori	2	Rural
Steph	F	3	HOD Science/Dean	29	European	2	Rural
Tim	M	3	HOD Maths	21	European	2	Rural
Te Ara	F	3	HOD Māori/DP	27	Māori	2	Rural
Sam	M	3	HOD Info Tech/PD	40	European	2	Rural
Tonya	F	3	HOD Arts	4	Māori	2	Rural

Kim	F	3	HOD English	8	European	2	Rural
Hare	M	4	HOD Māori	27	Māori	9	Urban
Terri	F	4	AP/Curriculum	20	European	9	Urban
Karl	M	4	Yr 13 Dean/Physics	16	European	9	Urban
Ellen	F	4	DP/PD/Māori achievement	27-28	European	9	Urban

Locating and accessing the key teacher ideas about kapa haka used two key strategies. The first strategy loaded all the teacher transcripts into the QSR N6 computer programme. This helped to organise and manage the large quantity of data more effectively. The second strategy involved conducting a number of key word searches to identify a host of corresponding responses (based on commonalities within the transcripts) and then to group the responses under specific and relevant headings. As a result, using close reading a number of key themes (organised as codes) emerged (see Appendices B). However, as was the case in Chapter 5, not all themes were considered necessary for this investigation.

Analysis of Mainstream Secondary School Teachers' Responses

A total of thirteen key themes (see Appendices B) emerged from reviewing the twenty-five categories. However for the purposes of this investigation, only the information pertaining to sub-headings 4 to 7 below were considered relevant to addressing the key research question(s):

- 1. Teacher background and experiences working with Māori.
- Teacher reflections on school changes and recent developments for Māori.
- 3. Teacher perceptions to improve Māori student achievement.
- 4. Teacher perceptions about the educational benefits associated with kapa haka.
- 5. Integrating kapa haka across the curriculum and in their subjects.

- 6. Concerns, problems or resistance factors relating to kapa haka in mainstream secondary schools.
- 7. Future prospects regarding kapa haka in mainstream secondary schooling.

Teacher Perceptions about the Educational Benefits Associated with Kapa Haka

Despite the varying responses by teachers regarding kapa haka, most teachers could identify at least one educational benefit associated with Māori students participating in kapa haka. However, despite over 80 percent of teachers recognising that kapa haka was now an 'academic' subject, none of the secondary schools in this study offered kapa haka as a subject choice. Although, Māori teachers were well aware of how students could earn or transfer credits gained in kapa haka towards te reo Māori or Māori performing arts, or even NCEA, teachers were less aware about whether students knew that by taking kapa haka they could earn credits towards a formal qualification.

However, from a social standpoint, teachers had observed on a number occasions that Māori students committed and dedicated to performing kapa haka had also become not only worthy student leaders, but also strong academic students. One teacher suggested that it is important for schools from day one to keep track of how well their Māori students are doing at school so that when they enter year 11, they have a learning profile to help students to make the right subject choices.

I also track all of my senior kids to see what subjects they are in... are they in subjects they are going to achieve in, and I certainly feel that potentially kapa haka... if there was components within um...that's where I am kind of angling in from. You show me subjects that will get credits for kids, and at the end of the day they can hold their certificate and say, "I've got performing arts", and I can do this and this, and I have got my Level 1 NCEA, and I'm like, big thumbs up good on you (Tonya HoD Arts, School 3).

Another teacher also suggested that greater involvement in kapa haka could possibly prevent Māori students from choosing to drop out of school before the age of 16 years, when they are legally able to leave school.

...that is success, that someone whose been in kapa haka group is less likely to get into drugs, least likely to be involved in temporary trouble with the law, it may be so... (Jim, HoD Music, School 1).

Derek (HoD Languages, School 1) commented that many Māori students participating in kapa haka immediately see a purpose in what they are doing, and as a result feel more included within what they are expected to learn. Te Ara (HoD Māori/DP, School 3) had also observed that students in kapa haka also had other roles, which extended outside the schools gates, and into the community. For example, when specific celebrations or events are being held at the local Marae, kapa haka students from the school are expected to help support the occasion in every way possible. In particular, this school acknowledges its key role in the community and actively works with the community. This school also expects that Māori kapa haka students should be able to transfer their learning to other settings outside of the school. In this way, students not only have opportunities to apply their learning in different contexts, it also provides an effective way to strengthened community-school relationships.

The majority of teachers acknowledged that adopting different learning approaches are often necessary to access their learning potential of Māori students. They also agreed that understanding different learning approaches depends a lot on how well you know your students' talents, strengths and weaknesses. For example, Whitu (HoD Māori, School 1) observed that one of his kapa haka students had real talent and that the student needed specialist help over and above what he believed the school could actually provide. By making a number of enquiries, that particular student is

now attending a Māori performing arts tertiary institution. The student, who had only just turned 16 years, was now able to pursue their passion. Although, this was a relatively rare situation, it does pose an interesting situation regarding how prepared mainstream secondary schools are to support such talented students.

In School 1, the teachers of Māori and English were convinced that one way of improving educational outcomes for Māori students was to amalgamate the two languages. Notwithstanding 'good' teacher intentions, it was decided that the teaching of the Māori language should stay in the Māori department, but if Māori students were experiencing language difficulties both teachers were prepared to work together to resolve such issues. As a result, both teachers continue to discuss ways to improve the use of Māori and English language. In terms of kapa haka, both teachers agreed that it provides a bilingual and bicultural learning experience, in that, although students practice and perform haka, waiata and mōteatea in Māori, many of the instructions are given using the English language.

In a similar example, teachers of Māori and food technology worked together to provide students from both classes to prepare a hāngi (cooking food using hot stones under the ground). In the preparation of the hāngi both teachers asked students to observe and respect a number of social and cultural practices. The inclusion of kapa haka before, during and after the event provided Māori students with a unique opportunity to apply their skills and knowledge across the curriculum. Although both teachers suggested that teaching across the curriculum is an effective way of integrating a wide range of skills, ideas, understandings and experiences in a shorter space of time, it was not considered common practice in such contexts.

Integrating Aspects of Kapa Haka across other Curriculum Areas

Teachers felt that there could be a number of possible advantages to integrating aspects of kapa haka into their subjects and across the curriculum for Māori students. Tom (HoD Visual Arts/Dean, School 2) suggested that there is a genuine need to draw on local Māori knowledge and to develop learning approaches that best support the learning needs of Māori students. Looking at the different aspects or dimensions within kapa haka, may well vitalise and invigorate teachers' curiosity to consider local Māori knowledge in what they provide as valid learning experiences working across the curriculum.

Likewise, teachers acknowledged that understanding more about how kapa haka supports whole class learning and in particular, how whole class learning helps teachers to integrate other aspects of the curriculum outside of what they are also expected to teach, could be valuable. However, it would appear that not all teachers are convinced or willing to consider culture in the context of what all students need to know or understand. A major issue appears to be, that many teachers lack the confidence regarding the use of Māori language and culture in the classroom. These teachers also reported that considering such approaches required greater resources, time and support. Conversely, Māori language teachers, currently integrating kapa haka as a key focus in students learning te reo or Māori performing arts generally found Māori students to be more receptive and respectful in the classroom. The implication is that the acceptance and inclusion of kapa haka across the curriculum requires greater cultural understanding about the importance of who we as New Zealanders (c. f. Bevan-Brown, 2003).

Teacher support for including cultural learning activities for the benefit of Māori students varied. Teachers from the arts, languages, physical education, social sciences and technology areas generally were more supportive and receptive to including kapa haka, and in particular, acknowledged how it may well support Māori students to achieve in their subject areas. Other teachers could not see the relevance to what they were currently expected to teach in their subjects and therefore were more resistant to seeing culture included at any level. At least one teacher from across all four secondary schools preferred not to think about the importance of a student's cultural background because they believe that students need to come to class ready to learn, regardless of their culture. Furthermore, these teachers also believed that all students need to develop a strong work ethic and attitude to want to achieve, rather than relying on their language and culture as being significant lynch pins to their success in education. Nevertheless, despite such cultural ignorance, over two-thirds of all teachers in this study were extremely willing to consider what kapa haka had to offer, in terms of supporting Māori students to be more engaged in their learning.

Concerns, Problems or Resistance Factors Relating to Kapa Haka in Mainstream Secondary Schools

Non-Māori teachers signalled some strong concerns about the level of commitment Māori students were often found giving to kapa haka. In particular, teachers reported that the time Māori students spent doing kapa haka meant that often students were not completing their class work or preparing assessed work adequately enough. Some teachers were also concerned about lack communication from students and teachers informing them about when students could be expected to be away and for how long.

For example, Tania (HoD Information Technology, School 2) expressed that during class time, it appeared that some Māori students were going to kapa haka because their friends went, and not because they genuinely valued kapa haka. In terms of social behaviour problems, Mike (HoD Maths, School 1) commented that the kapa haka students tended to be very arrogant and boisterous when they returned and were not willing to settle to the tasks set. Similarly, some students tended 'to act out kapa haka' in the classroom, causing in-class distractions, disruptions and preventing other students from learning. At least two teachers from across all four secondary schools had over time become increasingly frustrated by Māori students being able to leave their class almost at will to attend kapa haka practices, returning either at the end of the class, or in some cases not at all. These teachers were also very disappointed in that they did not see the same effort Māori students gave to performing kapa haka being applied in their subjects.

Resistance to Kapa Haka (T 10)

Given the above teacher reactions to kapa haka, teacher resistance to such cultural learning environments continues to be problematic. Although, most of the resistance around kapa haka focuses on a lack of communication, understanding what kapa haka is and does for Māori student and how it supports Māori students to achieve academic success. Hare (HoD Māori, School 4) observed that a key reason why students are not choosing to do te reo Māori in his school is because they place te reo Māori in direct competition with other languages as an option effectively devaluing the language and its cultural importance. The following teacher comment illustrates the growing problem for Māori students in mainstream secondary schools.

For many many years in this school as a teacher, I have always asked, "Why isn't Māori a compulsory subject?" It's our native language... it's never ever

been recognised... so it starts in the school on that kaupapa as non-existence, and I believe that the school is very very bad...funny this school only needs Māori things, we are there all the time, but they only need things when they need it, or when they need to look good, or when they need special people coming in, and they need a kai, or when they need a powhiri... they always fall back on mātua... and say, "Is it alright if you do this, this..." and we always put a kai on for them and put a pōwhiri on for them...and then perform to them while they have their kai... so that there is a continuing saga that we have always tried to push and say, "Why isn't Māori a compulsory subject?"... Now if you have a look at all our languages, French, German, Spanish and Japanese, those 3rd Form options classes are packed...I walk into a Spanish class and there is like 28 kids... and I go, "What are we not doing... why can we not get that cliental or that many students doing Māori?" In our 3rd Form class we have about 12-15 students doing Māori... I just don't know... they are maybe doing things differently... I just don't understand... (Hare, HoD Māori, School 4).

The following teacher recalls his experiences working with Māori students and as an ex-Board of Trustees chairperson. The key view he held while on the Board was to ensure that aspects of 'tokenism' to Māori language and culture in the school were replaced by protocols, reflecting the partnership between non-Māori and Māori in the community. His personal account illustrates the commitment required to develop and nurture a bicultural learning partnership in such schools.

When I became a chairman nine years ago or something... Our initial meeting was to say why are you here? What do you want to see this school doing? I said the Treaty of Waitangi says, "That the Māori people of New Zealand and the non-Māori people are partners and this school must reflect this partnership." Māori involvement in this school is not going to be just tokenism. Everything in our protocols and the way we do things will reflect that we are half Māori (Jim, HoD Music, School 1).

In contrast, these two teachers highlighted their concerns about having Māori language and culture in mainstream secondary schools.

No, it's like the Marae thing... I don't think it belongs at school. It can be refined at school, like English. We all speak English at home, but the English can be refined so that you can put it in an orderly fashion at school, but I don't think, its like Māori, I don't think the kids in school should be taught Māori, they should be refining their Māori and then move into the Māori community. The best move that could ever be done, I don't know how to do it... one answer perhaps would be a renaissance of Māori parents, saying as a

family we are going to learn Māori, to speak Māori again and here we go, and the results would be pushing in the same direction for a common goal and the effects would be dramatic (Fred, HoD Science, School 2).

Yeah... I don't like teaching in mainstream... and a lot of our kids that have come here, have come from Kura Kaupapa, have come here because of us...they know that we've got strong Māori backgrounds, and therefore we try and teach it...I'm totally against teaching Māori in a mainstream school... the faster I get out of here the better, really... (Hare, HoD Māori, School 4).

Similarly, the values of teachers and schools are actually at odds with what they understand about Māori language and culture and who should take responsibility. As these two teachers reported,

Not sure what you mean by Māori achievement as opposed to how it differs to Pākehā achievement. I tend to regard all kids, and I have had this discussion with another colleague who stated that all kids are green. That's the approach we have in that they are all (students) same colour and that we treat them in the same way. And if you don't treat them in the same way you get accused of racism. So to avoid criticism is to make sure they are treated in the same way, culture etc (Mike, HoD Maths, School 1).

Because ERO can come in and can take you to task because you haven't addressed certain things... but I think the school itself has to decide what is the culture of the school... and that it is something in conversation with the Porirua principal and DP... they have been very strong on establishing their school culture... and they have done things with the curriculum... and I was looking at their curriculum and there are certain things they have just left out... too bad... this is our school and this is what we want to do... so in terms of... they are largely...they've got a huge proportion of Pacific Island students... so their curriculum revolves around what is best for those students in particular... they have shown some courage... and I think often you need to have a leader who is not worried about criticism from the community on certain things and is able to do both... but is not scared of something that is not focused on because there is something else of higher priority... I mean our school is always focused on academic achievement... to me school culture is very important and I said it in a meeting the other day... at a management meeting... and I said, "You come into our lobby what do you see... pictures of staff and past principals...is that what we are all about... (Terri, AP/Curriculum, School 4)?

Non-Māori teachers across all four secondary schools commented that Māori language and culture appear to be driven more by the teacher in charge of Māori language, than the staff as a whole supporting Māori initiatives. However, one Māori

teacher spoke about how a principal is attempting to change the staff's perceptions about things Māori in the school.

Another good thing I see he's [the principal] not driving me to drive these things he's driving staff to drive it, which for me is a big shift. Just cause its Māori doesn't mean it belongs to HoD Māori, rather people should be coming and asking for advice on what I think for staff to drive it. For me that's the biggest mind shift (Whitu, HoD Māori, School 1).

However, another teacher concerned for how his school treats Māori students commented that.

It interests me that they [Board and Management] particularly run around at ERO time worried that they don't have a Māori Board representative, and they get someone on there and its almost like tokenism to me just because they have suddenly realized they haven't tick the box or have been told that that the box hasn't been ticked. I mean kapa haka if you want to target, or you are targeting kapa haka, I would challenge Senior Management to actually cite policy and what they actively do to encourage it within the school and what PD or professional development there is to encourage it... I mean the old school, or reflecting on the days of old when an ex-principal was here and how marvellous the kapa haka was, and why isn't it like that now... (Tom, HoD Visual Arts/Dean Yr. 10, School 2).

Similarly, this teacher suggested that there is an inherent level of fear within this school that is adversely affecting how much Māori language and culture is included,

My speculation would be... or one of things that... and its not from me, I'm only speaking from what people may be thinking. One... there is an inherent disregard or fear that, oh no we can't have this kind of thing taking over our schools, and I think the disregard one, is that its not that important so why do I have to take that on board as well as everything else I have to do. If for example, teachers looked at ways of improving their relationships with students, any students, let alone Māori students, and if they were able to take on board the way that tutors can relate to their kids in a different way and have them respond in a different way... all I could think of really is that people really don't think that it is that important... (Te Ara, HoD Māori/DP, School 3).

Fred (HoD Science, School 2) and Tania (HoD Information Technology, School 2) believed that Māori language and culture in mainstream secondary schools should be made available as a choice.

Ideological Arguments (T 12)

The responses by teachers across the four secondary schools presented a number of ideological arguments supporting why kapa haka and other cultural learning environments should be avoided. Responses included the need to cater for the increasing cultural diversity of students (bilingual, bicultural, multilingual and multicultural), strive for equity for all students, and to allow students the flexibility to choose their own educational programmes freely. The ability for Māori language and culture in mainstream secondary schools to prosper would appear to be significantly challenged by such 'ideological' notions. Indeed, teachers believe that although schools acknowledge the importance of Māori language and culture as an integral part of what all New Zealanders need to know and learn, it not compulsory. As a result, there has been a progressive reduction in developing learning experiences that allow students to value, understand and celebrate our unique culture as New Zealanders (Pountney, 2000).

Furthermore, it was evident during the interviews that many teachers tended not to focus on the importance of kapa haka and more on what Māori students need to do to be successful at school and in their education. Likewise, certain teachers tended to avoid issues of culture by indicating that kapa haka is something individuals should do in their spare time or outside of normal school hours. In essence, the majority of mainstream secondary school teachers in this study had not considered or contemplated the educational benefits associated with Māori students participating in kapa haka.

Relevance of Kapa Haka in Mainstream Secondary Schooling and Education for the Future for Māori Students

Teacher Levels of Cultural Responsiveness (T 11)

Teachers understood that being 'culturally responsive' is an important aspect of building effective student-teacher relationships with Māori students, however, over half the teachers also believed that Māori students needed to come to class 'better prepared' to learn. In particular, these teachers referred to specific Māori students coming to class with a poor work ethic and attitude to learning in certain subjects. What is apparent is that teachers believe that Māori students need to have specific information and skills prior to entering their subjects. These set teacher beliefs about what Māori students need to learn often obscure the potential for teachers to consider alternatives to what the currently teach. As a result, such teachers tend to reflect more on what they believe Māori students need to achieve in their subject, and are at times totally oblivious to the social and cultural needs that may enhance Māori students' ability to achieve more successfully. The following two teachers highlighted the challenges they face teaching Māori students in such contexts.

Yeah... not a lot but yeah [preparation for teaching Māori students]... In my first year here we did quite a bit... and gathering different ideas for teaching Māori students and um... we watched videos and they advised us on ways to get through to Māori students etc., but I've actually found that... as I said before, a lot of it is the attitude coming from the home and also some Māori students here are really hands on and want to do things, but others aren't. And although they say this is the best way for Māori students it's a generalisation. Māori kids are just like any other kids, they all learn differently. I would just be weary of putting too much emphasis on one style for all Māori students. I think you will be doing a dis-service to a lot of our children when you put that sort of emphasis on learning (Tania, HoD Information Technology, School 2).

From the Ministry's point of view it's looking at standards, and it doesn't really list the whole purpose... it's the same as one of the other key directives which is improving achievement for all students and then specifically Māori and Pacific Island students... they are looking at how many have passed literacy and numeracy at Level 1, 2 and... it's a very narrow perspective...

and its one that is general, when we are talking about Māori and Pacific Island students or any other groups of students that annoys me immensely... and also target goals are looked at by the Ministry purely so that they can be proved statistically.... so everything is quantitative, and the qualitative side is totally ignored.... I think... what I would like to see for the school... I feel that the teachers and the school need huge exposure to what is important for Māori students, and I believe there are lot of staff that are very good and a lot aren't... and I think just having been prepared to what works for some students, and... looking at other learning styles regardless... I mean honestly many times what is good practice for teaching Māori students is actually good practice for teaching most students (Terri, AP/Curriculum, School 4).

Although certain teacher responses tended to negate the essence of cultural learning practices there was a genuine interest by some teachers to find better ways to improve the teaching and learning of Māori students. In contrast, Te Ara (DP/Māori, School 3), and Whitu (HoD Māori, School 1) found that separating their teaching practice from who they are as Māori was relatively impossible.

We [husband included] have always had the culture and tikanga, we could do the Marae back to front, inside out, upside down type thing just because we were in the country, we came from the country so you had to go and do those kind of things, you learnt the back before you learnt the front, we learnt that way not the other way around, as kids you know tend to do now. And we had made a conscious decision my husband and I, when we had our first two children, our children would speak Māori because that's his job, he teaches Māori, he lectures, that's his kaupapa so we decided, even though I didn't speak a lot I always knew it, so along with my daughters I would get my Reo up to speed too (Te Ara DP/Māori, School 3).

To me I totally identify with the language [Māori language], with the things that are being transferred either consciously or unconsciously. I think that's one reason and my classroom is the same place... um... I try to unconsciously transfer to the kids that you talk correctly, you apply yourself in a certain way and that's the things that get transferred, I think it's passion, I'm passionate about it [Māori language and culture, teaching, as well as kapa haka] and students pick up on that vibe and can't help being sucked into it too and it helps, and they in my opinion are on the outskirts of their culture looking in... um... for a lot of them (Whitu, HoD, School 1).

Likewise, Māori teachers from across the four secondary schools felt very comfortable about including tikanga (knowing Māori protocol and processes), manaakitanga (care and respect), aroha (unconditional love), wairuatanga (spiritual

connectedness), whakawhānaungātanga (getting to know the students), whānau (inclusion of family), hinengaro (mental and emotional wellbeing), and hauora (health and wellbeing) despite the various schooling constraints associated with a lack of time and resources. However, most teachers generally agreed, that incorporating cultural activities and practices into their subject areas would ultimately improve educational outcomes for Māori students, although, many teachers felt ill-equipped to teach in such areas.

Teachers across all four groups commented that most professional development days focusing on improving Māori achievement were often a 'hit or miss' affair because most professional development days often involved too much information and lacked adequate follow-up. At least two out four Māori language teachers in this study commented that Kura Kaupapa Māori (primary schooling) and Whare Kura (secondary schooling) total immersion schools would probably provide a better educational service for Māori students because of the consistent use Māori language and culture in various learning contexts.

Future Career Pathways (T 13)

Teachers suggested a wide range of possible future career pathways that Māori kapa haka students could possibly choose to pursue, these included, visual and performing arts, Māori performing arts, Māori teacher education (Te Kōhanga Reo, Te Kura Kaupapa, Te Whare Kura, Te Wānanga), dance and music careers, Māori television, journalism, theatre, tourism and a variety of community promotional careers. Teachers had also observed that students, who exude confidence and enthusiasm performing kapa haka, generally appeared happier about being at school and wanted

to do well academically. Fred (HoD Science, School 2) suggested that the combination of all three factors could well support students to make healthier decisions about their futures. In this regard, schools and teachers need to provide greater access to such cultural learning experiences.

Summary: Teachers' Perceptions

This analysis identified the following educational benefits associated with Māori students participating in kapa haka.

- 1. Improves individual confidence, self-esteem and identity.
- 2. Improves the work ethic and attitude of some students.
- 3. Improves individual self-awareness, discipline, respect and commitment.
- 4. Identifies the specific learning talents and strengths of students who perform.
- 5. Performing kapa haka provides a visible means of viewing how students learn and achieve
- 6. Improves attendance levels for some students.
- 7. Supports students to achieve academic credits (credits can be gained for NCEA te reo Māori and Māori performing arts).
- 8. Supports students to use, and strengthen their memory.
- 9. Provides the opportunity for students to learn and achieve by performing what they know.
- 10. Supports some Māori students to make good choices, be responsible, participate and contribute positively to life at school.

These educational benefits associated with Māori students performing kapa haka are by no means intended to define kapa haka in ways that better fit Māori students into mainstream secondary schooling and education. Rather they provide greater cultural insight, awareness and understanding for schools and teachers to consider the

relevance and importance of including kapa haka as a 'culturally responsive' learning environment.

Conclusion

The majority of teachers interviewed agreed that kapa haka does provide educational benefits for Māori students. These teachers also appeared to understand that kapa haka, as a 'culturally responsive' learning provision for Māori students actually enhances the emotional, cultural and spiritual wellbeing of the individual. The implications for Māori students in terms of developing levels of confidence, determination, self-esteem and success in education suggests that at present kapa haka is seen more on the periphery of what mainstream secondary schools offer as valid curriculum. Traditionally secondary school teaching and learning has relied extensively on teachers working to a nationally directed educational framework and a chronologically (i.e. specific age level learning) structured syllabus (i.e. New Zealand Curriculum Framework).

Teacher responses indicated that kapa haka provides a host of social and cultural benefits for Māori students to achieve. Despite the many challenges facing mainstream secondary schools and teachers, there are indications that teachers want to know more about kapa haka and how it can benefit all students not just Māori. However, based on a number of teacher responses, the continual marginalising and under-serving of Māori students, is highlighted as a major concern. In many cases, the majority of teachers preferred to teach their subjects in isolation and had not investigated other ways to integrate learning across the curriculum. Likewise, the integration of the curriculum can only be achieved if mainstream secondary schools

and teachers are willing to work with each other and to share ideas. For example, Māori students in this study believed that kapa haka provided the opportunity to integrate the learning of language and culture, with the ability to be creative, perform, sing and dance.

The teaching and learning occurring in kapa haka was considered somewhat different to a traditional classroom, in that teacher(s), tutors, students, and family members all worked together to achieve a common outcome (i.e. to perform kapa haka to their best as a cohesive group). This 'whānau' driven approach is not unique to Māori society and in fact, is encouraged as an effective way of overcoming particular learning difficulties and challenges. The challenge teachers in mainstream secondary schools have indicated is that all students must acquire specific skills to be able to cope with each progressive year level at school. Kapa haka is an example where the opportunity for mainstream secondary schools and teachers to understand and work towards achieving levels of cultural proficiency and competency can be positively realised (c. f. Cross et al., 1989).

The ability of the teachers or tutors instructing kapa haka to give immediate feedback to Māori students was seen as an advantage. The fact that teachers or tutors can consistently see how Māori students are performing specific skills or movements means that change can occur almost immediately. Likewise, students often receive immediate feedback to validate how successful they are and/or what adjustments are necessary. This suggests that in-class teachers should consulting more regularly with students about their work, or alternatively teachers should develop situations where students' work is made more 'visible' (performance orientated learning and assessing)

(Bishop et al., 2003). Currently, the arts (e.g. dance, music, art and visual and performing arts), sports (e.g. physical movement requiring co-ordination, balance, power, speed, aerobic fitness, agility, skill and knowledge), te reo Māori (e.g. kapa haka is often used to improve students' level of Māori language and cultural understandings), and physical education (e.g. te reo kori- language of movement using Māori games, skills, activities, and language) are subjects Māori students relate better to because learning is achieved through movement.

Māori teachers' perceptions about kapa haka differed to the views and understandings of non-Māori teachers. For example, Māori teachers considered that kapa haka was about developing the whole person and in particular, promoting the essence, value and importance of being Māori in Aotearoa/New Zealand. Māori teachers in this study commented they that do feel an added expectation as well as an innate responsibility to support Māori students. The expectations can grow exponentially if there are limited Māori teachers working in a particular school, and even more so in schools where there are a higher number of Māori students enrolled.

Māori teachers across the four secondary schools suggested that the challenge for many teachers is to consider their own cultural affiliations or responsibilities as a New Zealander, and what this actually means in relation to teaching students who are Māori. If willing, schools and teachers may be more prepared to look at innovative ways of integrating the curriculum, network with other indigenous groups or schools more globally, or consider adapting alternative 'culturally responsive' learning environments that support 'culturally connected' learners who are Māori.

Although the majority of teachers in the study were genuinely interested in ways to improve educational outcomes for Māori students, kapa haka was problematic to teachers who argued why being Māori should having anything to do with what they are required to learn in their subject(s), or how having kapa haka or any other cultural learning activities improve their performance in subjects such as English, maths and the sciences. As a result, these teachers appeared to be less concerned for the cultural wellbeing of Māori students and more concerned about how Māori students achieve will achieve academically. Likewise, it was apparent across all four mainstream secondary schools that there were no 'culturally responsive' teaching standards working with Māori students in such contexts.

Furthermore the difficulties and challenges facing teachers in this study were being compounded by the growing cultural diversity of students, widening of the school curriculum and an increase in student assessment. As result, over two thirds of non-Māori teachers in this study expressed that to only focus on the needs of Māori students in the class would actually be discriminating against the needs of other students. The problem became more apparent when teachers began to ask questions about what a Māori is and who was Māori in their class. And questioned why they should be expected to focus on improving educational outcomes of Māori students, when they were required to meet the needs of all students. These sorts of questions indicate very clearly that there continues to be barriers to teaching Māori students and in particular, that there are a number of teachers who struggle to understand that learning should be inclusive of culture in all aspects of schooling and education. No doubt, such teachers may also be rejecting how they receive and accept cultural

differences in their own classrooms further denying Māori students the opportunity to access their learning potential (c. f. Woods, 1992).

The need for greater clarity about what teachers perceive about culture was evident in this analysis, and in particular, mainstream secondary schools and teachers knowing how to cater for the cultural and emotional needs of Māori students. This may require the provision of alternative learning environments that are very different to what currently exists in our schools today. Kapa haka as one alternative provides for schools, teachers and students the opportunity of making learning connections with all New Zealanders. From this position, it is important to understand that culture is not stagnant, nor does it reside only in kapa haka for the sole benefit of Māori, it is a 'universal' concept that seeks to connect ways of knowing and doing to one's physical, mental, emotional, cultural and spiritual wellbeing.

Kapa haka has been reported through out this study as a dynamic 'culturally responsive' learning experience connecting Māori students to their culture, language and identity as Māori. Manu'lani Myer (2005) suggests that this form of expression from an indigenous perspective is 'an opportunity to transform chaos into coherence, justice into healing, and individuation into interdependence'. Developing 'culturally responsive' learning environments for 'culturally connected' learners who are Māori is also a significant way of coming to know and remember our own futures as 'cultural human beings' (Meyer, 2005).

A way of addressing the lack of understanding about kapa haka is for schools and teachers to develop ways for students to also perform who they are as' cultural human

beings'. The need to celebrate and validate the essence of such cultural preferred learning contexts, should also be about working towards affirming our identity as New Zealanders and the relationship between Māori and Pākehā. The acknowledgement by teachers that there are educational benefits associated with Māori students participating in kapa haka is a significant step forward in validating why it is necessary to include 'culturally responsive and appropriate' learning environments for Māori students. The following chapter will highlight the key findings to emerge from the analysis with students and teachers.

CHAPTER SEVEN: THE KAPA HAKA EXPERIENCE REVEALED

Introduction

The data revealed a number of emerging educational benefits associated with Māori students participating in kapa haka. In particular, kapa haka supported a number of social and cultural educational benefits that help Māori students to engage more successfully with their learning. From the students' perspectives, kapa haka develops the opportunity to achieve a sense of belonging, be able to express themselves as Māori and have fun and enjoyment as well as maintain ones identity as Māori. Every one of these benefits can be readily expanded and transferred to how mainstream secondary schools and teachers work with Māori students.

From the teachers' perspectives some Māori students participating in kapa haka improved their attitude and work ethic to learning and school more generally, while other teachers commented that they were able to observe the various strengths and talents of Māori students performing. The more specific educational benefits relate to the ability of some Māori students to improve their memory, rhythm, attendance to school, self-awareness of learning expectations, respect for others, and improved their ability to perform what they had learnt. I will now discuss the educational benefits associated with kapa haka from a 'culturally responsive' perspective.

Key Findings Part A: Māori Kapa Haka Students

The educational benefits associated with Māori students participating in kapa haka require that mainstream secondary schools and teachers continue to seek greater understandings about the social, cultural and emotional wellbeing of Māori students before, during and after the kapa haka experience. As Meyer (2005) stated, 'we are

all cultural people' and so learning in schools needs to take into account, and identify the cultural 'connections' or 'reference points' that engage indigenous learners in culturally preferred learning environments more universally (Meyer, 2005). Māori students expressed that kapa haka helped them to learn how to get along better with others in a group, provided time to learn and connect with their language and culture, supported them to feel 'content' and 'happy', as well as placed them in a better position emotionally to determine what they valued about school and their education.

Māori kapa haka students consistently advocated that learning should be 'fun', 'enjoyable', 'meaningful', 'interactive' and 'exciting'. However, such descriptions should not be seen as merely definitive or literal, rather each attribute should also be considered more figuratively, in terms of how kapa haka moves Māori students within and throughout the learning experience (c. f. Kretchmar, 2000). For example, Māori kapa haka students believed that practising the necessary kapa haka movements, skills, words, and patterns actually helped them to become fully immersed in the cultural experience. Commitment, dedication, and discipline were some of the most significant words Māori students used to describe their association with kapa haka. These meanings indicated quite clearly that not only do some Māori students have high expectations about participating in kapa haka they also have high expectations for success. The students reported that participating in kapa haka was not only just a 'one off' experience rather every practice builds on the next, and supports them to feel more competent about their ability to perform.

A pertinent question mainstream secondary schools and teachers may well ask about their programmes is how can Māori students ascribe the meanings that they say they attain in kapa haka to other learning environments. Similarly, a key question is whether Māori students have opportunities to use the art of performing to learn and achieve in other learning environments? The growing concern among many Māori parents is not only that their children are able to achieve well in various written assessments and tests, but rather that they can readily observe their child demonstrating the knowledge, understandings, values and skills teachers say their child has acquired (Ministry of Education, 2003, 2006a). Māori kapa haka students suggested that not all students excel academically and that often there is little discussion about the potential 'culturally responsive' learning environments have for supporting Māori students to achieve. A consistent problem teachers often grapple with, is that the notion of what is 'academic' is being challenged by a greater number of students actively seeking alternative learning opportunities and environments (c. f. Simanek, 1996).

Conceptually, the responses by Māori students about kapa haka reflect a strong desire to develop an inner ability to 'protect' their culture, language and identity as Māori, develop 'problem-solving' skills to cope or overcome daily challenges, struggles and adversities during a school day, and to 'provide' a clear sense of purpose and direction with regard to learning about who they are as Māori. Ultimately as a result of nurturing all three abilities Māori students also seek the ability to 'heal', by engaging and participating in learning opportunities and experiences that provide balance, joy, harmony, success and wellbeing.

Achieving a Sense of Belonging

In this study, Māori kapa haka students consistently reported that achieving a sense of belonging increased their confidence and self-esteem. The notion of students feeling that they belong (mana whenua) is highlighted as one of the key learning strands of Te Whāriki (Early Childhood Curriculum) and also suggested within the 2006 National Draft Curriculum (c.f. Ministry of Education, 1996). These documents acknowledge that feeling a sense of belonging is vital to students learning more about themselves and others. Māori kapa haka students commented that being able to participate and contribute as a team (i.e. kapa haka team) significantly helped to nurture their sense of belonging and purpose in their learning.

Māori kapa haka students agreed that having whānau and peer involvement in their learning also provided a greater level of emotional support (inner wellbeing) to be better prepared to cope with new learning challenges and/or difficulties. Kapa haka in essence helped Māori students to develop a sense of emotional stability (described as the ability of individuals to feel secure, safe and happy) and greater sense of selfbelief about their learning. For example, it was noticeable when Māori kapa haka students felt they had achieved such attributes, when in the interviews, they began to use possessive pronouns such as, our school, our team-haka-group, or our tutor. The benefit of mainstream secondary schools and teachers working towards providing different kinds of learning environments that assist Māori students to feel they belong and own what they are learning would seem to be critical in addressing ways to improve educational outcomes for these students. Indeed, Māori kapa haka students believed that by gaining a sense of acceptance and approval from parents, teachers

and peers increased their feeling of belonging (i.e. parents, peers and teachers) and increased their motivation to learn, participate and engage.

Achieving a sense of belonging was more than Māori students simply saying, 'we want a place to belong so we joined kapa haka'. Rather it was about Māori students having opportunities to be completely focused on what they were doing for long periods of time and to ultimately feel that they were in charge of their own learning. Although, individual teachers reported that being able to work successfully with Māori students in mainstream secondary schools relied extensively on understanding how Māori students feel, think and relate to various learning situations. This study has consistently advocated for a greater focus on understanding the 'culture of learning' and in particular, learning opportunities that support the total wellbeing of Māori students in mainstream secondary school environments.

Māori kapa haka students commented that by having teachers/tutors who consistently build positive student-teacher relationships were invaluable because in doing so they actively remove learning anxiety (c. f. Bishop et al., 2003). The teachers' responses about kapa haka also confirmed, that despite an inherent lack of understanding about Māori teaching and cultural pedagogy, there is a genuine willingness and interest by all teachers to improve how they work with Māori students in their classes. Similarly, Māori students believed that kapa haka as a cultural learning activity is the ideal environment for teachers to learn how Māori students are so effective at performing what they know. Furthermore, students also felt that within kapa haka no student was being left behind because everyone plays an integral part in supporting the whole group to achieve success. In this regard, inclusive learning is not only about everyone

working together, it is also about individuals making positive learning decisions, reaching common understandings, and achieving specific learning outcomes collectively. Ultimately Māori students believed that being able to work in groups and have fun were more constructive means of engaging Māori students to want to learn.

Fun/Enjoyment

Kapa haka as a dynamic form of self-expression provides Māori kapa haka students with a host of social, cultural, spiritual and emotional learning experiences. Māori kapa haka students expressed that the reason why they were able to experience fun and enjoyment more readily was because kapa haka provides a more dynamic feeling of success based on learning that is innovative, creative and powerful. This level of success was also directly proportional to the growing confidence of individuals to perform while also learning about the social and cultural implications of what kapa haka means to them as Māori. These factors also suggest that developing 'positive emotions' (Marzano, 2003) are inextricably linked to fostering a sense of wellbeing and greater belief about their learning potential.

There were a number of factors that contributed to Māori kapa haka students having fun. In particular, fun related to a number of external and internal characteristics that teachers have used previously to engage Māori students to engage in their classrooms (c. f. Wood, 1992). In this study it was apparent that Māori students believed that travelling to perform kapa haka as a group, spending time on the Marae learning (wānanga) and practicing various waiata and haka as well as having family involvement and support were highly regarded as what made kapa haka so enjoyable

and fun. Māori students valued kapa haka because it also provided a direct way of validating their traditional culture, language and heritage in the present day. Being able to experience success within kapa haka depended more individuals to master and combine a number of specific learning movements (i.e. learn the actions and words while also using taiaha, mere, patu or poi). Greater teacher reflection about how Māori students feel they do succeed, engage and seek to participate is vital to improving educational outcomes for these students. In this regard, schooling and education for Māori students requires a greater provision of innovative and 'culturally appropriate' learning programmes.

Self-Expression

Māori kapa haka students considered the ability to express oneself as fundamental to nurturing individual creativity, character and confidence. Māori kapa haka students commented that performing kapa haka provides for audiences an exhilarating and dynamically powerful experience. From a more 'holistic' standpoint Māori kapa haka students agreed that participating in kapa haka helped to 'boost' an individual's sense of satisfaction and happiness. More specifically, Māori students felt a greater sense of personal wellbeing, self, satisfaction, joy and accomplishment through kapa haka. Involvement in this creative form of self-expression requires students to be disciplined, show self-control and be focused. These factors are vital in supporting students to master specific movements, expressions and lyrics. They also support Māori students to develop better rhythm, spacing, and cohesiveness as well as improve levels of motivation to work more collectively. The implications for teaching suggests, that 'culturally responsive' learning environments should consist of

opportunities for Māori students to earn academic credit by being able to perform what they have learnt in an interactive, dynamic and self-expressive manner.

Creating Cultural Learning Shifts about Māori Students in Mainstream Secondary Schools

All students in this study agreed that kapa haka promoted and nurtured a host of positive images, connections and emotions about being Māori. Furthermore, Māori kapa haka students commented that teachers need to observe and understand more closely what is happening in kapa haka, and in particular, how Māori students participate, connect and interact. After kapa haka practices and on returning to class, some Māori students found the emphasis on working independently tended to suppress any over exuberance as a result of participating in kapa haka. The inability of teachers to relinquish levels of cultural domination and to be more reflective on what works well for Māori students continues to be barriers to achieving levels of success across the curriculum. Conversely, Māori kapa haka students felt more capable, positive and confident about their learning when given the opportunity to perform collectively what they know in a variety of different settings.

The growing diversity of cultures in the classroom suggests that schools and teachers will need to understand more comprehensively the complexities inherent within culture as it relates to the teaching and learning of Māori students in mainstream secondary schools. This perhaps poses a number of challenges for secondary school teachers solely focused on subject specialisation and the more prescriptive nature of the curriculum (Middleton, 2006). Although, due to the very nature of how teachers are conditioned to teach in such schools, a more prescriptive means of evaluating levels of cultural competency maybe also be required. For example, designing a set

of 'culturally responsive' guidelines could perhaps assist teachers to achieve specific standards which include ways to include culture within various aspects of teaching and learning (c. f. Alaska Native Knowledge Network, 1998, 1999; Bevan-Brown, 2003; Cross et al., 1989). Alternatively, national whole school change awards could be given to schools who have demonstrated effective and/or significant cultural change in a number of different areas (L. Smith, 2005). In this initiative schools will need to measure themselves against a number of criteria prior to being selected. If selected, the school will not only be recognised nationally, but will also have the opportunity to be involved in a fully funded national research project focusing on developing or expanding whole-school reform in this area.

However, for such initiatives to be effective, Broughton (1993, p. 507) suggested that 'being Māori' entails more than simply schools and teachers recognising when to use ancestral or self-identification processes, rather it involves a level of 'cultural commitment and participation' for sustained periods of time. In this instance, Māori kapa haka students expressed that they needed to show their level of 'commitment' to the language and culture by either speaking te reo Māori, working on the Marae or practising various rituals, customs or traditions for the benefit of their whānau, hapū or iwi (Broughton, 1993). Entwined in these commitments are a host of cultural rituals and traditions that allow 'culturally connected' learners to evolve within a tapestry of cultural knowledge, skills and understandings that are indigenous.

Symbolic Learning Interactions

Kapa haka signifies a role where Māori students are able to transmit and enhance traditional knowledge by performing to audiences who may well understand its

significance more figuratively. In comparison, Metge (1998) explained that different storytellers may highlight different episodes, actors, or symbols within each story, but ultimately it remains each individual's prerogative as to what they may perceive or interpret as being significant to them personally. Kapa haka also assisted Māori students to express their uniqueness, talents and creativity as Māori to different audiences. It also supported Māori students to learn a host of different social and cultural values, virtues and stories specific to time, place and space. Furthermore, Māori students were consistently looking to connect their Māoritanga (values, beliefs and attitudes) and the world of Māori (heritage, customs and traditions) to a wide range of learning possibilities and opportunities in mainstream secondary contexts.

Kapa haka actions, meanings, expressions, movements are an integral part of sharing representations and images about the world of Māori (past, present and future). Indeed, many of our national sporting teams frequently use 'haka' as a respectful challenge prior to competition (Leaf, 2004). To further understand the time, effort, and energy Māori students give to kapa haka requires that teachers observe more closely the interactions, connections and relationships taking place where students are engaged in a number of skills simultaneously, often in different situations for long periods of time. Kapa haka as a dynamic and creative art form relies on understanding such moments. Māori students' responses suggested that kapa haka, as a nationally recognised subject requires greater understanding both culturally and academically.

Māori students' responses reflected that the visual and affective (connecting feelings and emotions during the learning experience) learning domains in kapa haka helped

them to identify and connect with their past ancestry, traditions and values of the Māori world. Students found it very important to have teachers or tutors explain the meaning of the words and actions to support their understanding about what they were performing, and why. As a result, Māori students felt more motivated to participate, and indicated that they were able to believe more in what they were performing.

The increasing changes in mainstream secondary schools, in terms of adopting a new curriculum or modifying various national assessments indicates that teaching and learning is evolving in ways that are recognising different forms of excellence and diversity (Ministry of Education, 2006a). Perhaps, mainstream secondary schools will be more willing to consider adopting alternative cultural 'responsive' learning pathways where identity, culture and difference become key philosophical values shaping how teachers approach and adapt specific learning outcomes for the benefit of Māori students (Fitzsimons & Smith, 2000). The National 2006 Draft Curriculum provides the possible scope for kapa haka in mainstream secondary schools to gain further educational status by assisting Māori students to achieve a number of key competencies, including managing self, relating to others, participating and contributing, thinking, using language, symbols and texts. For Māori kapa haka students achieving such competencies are more than merely acquiring a variety of skills and information, rather they provide the capabilities (knowledge, skills, attitudes and values) Māori students need in order to live, learn, work and contribute as active members of society (Ministry of Education, 2006).

Culturally Responsive Learning Pathways for Culturally Connected Learners who are Māori

There was an overwhelming consensus by Māori students in this study that kapa haka provides an emotional and cultural 'responsive' learning experience. Furthermore, Māori students suggested that such cultural learning experiences were left to the discretion of individual schools and teachers to determine. The notion of having 'culturally responsive' guidelines or standards are timely, given the importance Māori students place on being able to participate and have access to kapa haka in such settings. A key rationale for having 'culturally responsive' standards is to guide teachers' understanding about how to best meet the needs of 'culturally connected' learners who are Māori (Alaska Native Knowledge Network, 1998, 1999; Bevan-Brown, 2003; Cross et al., 1989; Salter, 2000a). At present, Māori kapa haka students expressed that participating in kapa haka provided opportunity to gain credits for NCEA, te reo Māori or Māori performing arts.

Kapa haka provided Māori students with the space to feel safe, happy and connected about being Māori. Over time, some Māori kapa haka students felt they were able to develop a sense of loyalty and pride in the group. In general, most Māori students chose to join a kapa group to participate, more than to compete. The majority of students suggested that 'culturally responsive' learning environments, such as kapa haka, tend to be more successful if there is less emphasis on competition and more emphasis on whānau, peers, school and teachers/tutors supporting the learning experience.

Six 'culturally responsive' recommendations summarise the key responses of what Māori students involved in this research are looking for in mainstream secondary schools. The students suggested that mainstream secondary teachers should:

- 1. Be more present or visible during their kapa haka practices and/or performances.
- 2. Promote Māori culture, language, ways of knowing and doing, teaching and learning in mainstream secondary schooling and education across the curriculum more consistently (focus on recognising and delivering on what makes our identity unique as New Zealanders).
- 3. Be genuinely supportive and appreciative of the time, effort and energy Māori students give to learning, participating and achieving in kapa haka.
- 4. Actively develop and engage Māori students in a variety of 'culturally responsive' and 'connected' learning pathways that are equally challenging and rewarding academically (attempt to balance cultural and academic learning outcomes).
- 5. Learn to develop or adapt learning approaches and strategies that include Māori students working, sharing, or achieving together as a whole class across the curriculum (reflect on effective Māori teaching and learning pedagogy across the curriculum and not just in one particular subject area).
- 6. Construct learning that is fun, enjoyable and relevant to students socially, culturally, emotionally and spiritually ('wholistic' and 'holistic' learning approaches that support Māori students to engage and participate fully).

For these recommendations to be successfully implemented, mainstream secondary schools and teachers perhaps need to consider what constitutes a 'culturally responsive' learning environment for 'culturally connected' learners who are Māori (c. f. Durie, 2003, 2004). The following sections will now reveal how kapa haka as a 'culturally responsive' learning experience can support and improve educational outcomes for Māori students in mainstream secondary schools.

Māori Students Achieving in Mainstream Secondary Schools

Māori kapa haka students commented on how kapa haka can improve Māori student achievement. The key suggestions made refer to students having access to shared group learning outcomes (group learning responsibility is shared and achieved as a collective), positive social interactions (where specific learning outcomes are achieved by positive social interactions and engagement) and ensuring that learning activities are based on achieving specific outcomes that have purpose, structure and meaning (individuals recognise its value, more than its form, because it is relevant). At present, the key issues impacting on Māori achievement in mainstream secondary schools relate to student attendance, stand-downs, suspensions and low retention levels of Māori students (Ministry of Education, 2006b). This study does not propose to resolve these specific issues affecting Māori students in education; however the study does highlight that a number of Māori students feel that real life experiences contribute to increasing their motivation to want to learn. Māori students also commented that kapa haka provided a sense of responsibility and autonomy, in that including poi, haka, mōteatea, Māori instruments (e.g. kōauau, nguru) and peruperu (men displaying weapon manipulation) all have a place and purpose within the performance.

Māori kapa haka students suggested that group cohesion was achieved mainly by listening to the instructions and by practising a number of skills together as a group. Māori kapa haka students suggested the very nature of attending kapa haka practices required students to be disciplined, follow instructions, watch and listen. In kapa haka, teacher(s)/tutor(s) often used a variety of teaching approaches to help students learn specific skills, routines and actions. The difference students noticed about

working in groups in kapa haka compared to working in groups in the class, is that everyone appeared to have more fun. Factors such as building friendships, peer groups, a sense of belonging, engaging in informal discussion and feeling confident also supported the experience. Māori kapa haka students agreed that if teachers were more open about showing their support for kapa haka, then perhaps teachers would experience greater levels of co-operation and effort in the classroom.

Māori students commented that they valued kapa haka, not only because it is an organised and structured learning environment, but also because it provides creative and innovative challenges nurturing individual talent, flair and self-expression. It was relatively common to see Māori kapa haka students acting out, or using a variety of body stances, gestures and movements imitating what they had learnt in kapa haka. This should not be considered unusual, in that, Māori students are often encouraged to practise what they have learnt in any given spare moment as long as it carried out in a respectful and unintrusive manner.

Summary: Māori Kapa Haka Students' Experiences

Māori kapa haka students have suggested that there is a wide range of educational benefits associated with participating in kapa haka. The ability of Māori students to access a host of social and cultural skills during the experience was considered an effective learning strategy. In this way, kapa haka as a dynamic and cultural learning experience in action provided a sense of clarity and purpose. Individual Māori kapa haka students from across the four groups reported that learning is more enjoyable when there is less teacher intervention, and more successful when students are given greater responsibility for achieving the desired outcome. Furthermore, kapa haka

provided the opportunity for Māori students to connect with their learning on a number of different levels socially, culturally, emotionally and spiritually.

Collectively, Māori kapa haka students seek the ability to:

- 1. **Protect their dignity and integrity as Māori.** Māori kapa haka students seek the ability to maintain their Māori culture, language, customs, heritage, identity and ways of knowing and doing as Māori in mainstream secondary school contexts.
- 2. Problem-solve using Māori learning methods, values, practices and principles (Māori teaching and learning pedagogies) in mainstream secondary schooling environments. Māori kapa haka students are consistently making a number of social and cultural adjustments whilst attempting to learn and achieve in such contexts.
- 3. Provide greater access to a wide range of cultural learning experiences that develops, sustains and/or advances their learning potential and authenticity as Māori in all areas of schooling and education. Māori kapa haka students seek greater access to 'culturally responsive' learning environments/experiences that connects their culture, language, customs, heritage, identity and ways of knowing and doing with their essence and wellbeing as Māori.
- 4. **Heal by achieving balance, harmony, success and joy in all areas of their lives.** Māori students, through the art of performing kapa haka, are actively making a host of social and cultural connections that supports their learning, inner essence and wellbeing as Māori.

Conceptually, a 'culturally responsive' strategy emerges as a positive way of synthesising the responses shared. The first three abilities are significant to ensuring Māori students are able to achieve the final ability, which focuses on the ability of the individual to heal during the learning process. Furthermore, the absence or lack of nurturing any one of these abilities can seriously affect how Māori students effectively learn and achieve. These abilities also inform how mainstream secondary schools and teachers can evaluate what they provide as valid learning environments for Māori students. Each of the four abilities not only enhances the inner wellbeing of Māori students, they also increase the possibility of individuals becoming positive,

engaged and successful cultural human beings. The following section addresses key teacher findings.

Key Findings Part B: Mainstream Secondary School Teachers' Perceptions

Although the majority of mainstream secondary school teachers in this study acknowledged that kapa haka had gained significant 'academic' status compared with five years ago (c. f. New Zealand Qualifications Authority, 2002), it was not offered as a subject in these mainstream secondary schools. At least two-thirds of teachers agreed that timetabling kapa haka as a subject would raise the 'academic' status of kapa haka and possibly promote other 'culturally responsive' learning subjects, to emerge, although this investigation did not fully explore these options.

All teachers acknowledged a need to improve their own level of cultural knowledge and understanding of Māori language and culture. Applying a 'culturally responsive' learning strategy for Māori students in such settings should also consider ways for individuals to express, connect and learn about Māori culture, language and heritage more regularly and consistently. For certain teachers the notion of teaching elements of culture in their subjects was simply not an option because they believed their subjects relied exclusively on the more abstract (ability to synthesise, reason and work out difficult problems) thinking processes and the ability of students to work independently. Teachers in these subjects also commented that themes or topics often change quickly so students need to ensure they are able to keep up to date with their work and ensure they practise the necessary skills.

In relation to how learning in kapa haka compares to other subjects, a few teachers reported that kapa haka is not 'academic' enough and that skills such as reasoning, synthesising and analysis are not being accessed in kapa haka (c. f. Simanek, 1996). Furthermore, some teachers also found it difficult to converse about the cultural, emotional and spiritual learning connections associated with kapa haka because they simply did not have the knowledge, understanding or experiences about such facets of learning. In this study, many of the teachers' reflections about kapa haka focused primarily on what they wanted Māori students to do better in their subjects (complete assignments, pass tests or show better work ethic). As a result, such teachers did not see the relevance of building aspects of Māori language and culture into their subjects.

The findings highlighted that many teachers not only require a comprehensive set of 'culturally responsive' teaching and learning guidelines to support how they work with Māori students, they also need standards to achieve levels of cultural competency. This study indicated quite clearly that teachers are concerned about Māori student achievement, but equally admit they lack a 'culturally responsive' learning strategy to evaluate whether their teaching or what they are teaching for these students, is acceptable.

Educational Benefits Associated with Māori Students Participating in Kapa Haka

The responses from teachers in the study highlighted that there are a number of educational benefits associated with Māori students participating in kapa haka. The ability for Māori students to be able to work and learn as a group, be committed to learning new skills, acquire credits towards NCEA, have the opportunity to perform

what they have learnt, and engage in positive behaviour were the key educational benefits to emerge from the interviews with teachers. The need for Māori students to have access to their culture, language, tikanga, and the wider Māori community also provided emotional support during the learning experience. Although there is a general acceptance by most teachers that kapa haka benefits Māori students socially and culturally, understanding how to motivate and connect with the 'inner' ability of 'culturally connected' learners, who are Māori, was a more difficult teaching challenge.

Teachers who struggled to understand the relationship culture plays in the learning success of Māori students were more convinced that these students needed to be able to cope more with working independently. In contrast, teachers who taught kapa haka, spoke Māori or another language, or identified as being Māori, not only totally supported kapa haka as a 'culturally responsive' learning environment, but welcomed any initiative that would expose the potential of Māori students to achieve more consistently. Finally, over two-thirds of all the teachers in this study supported the idea that having kapa haka as a timetabled 'academic' subject to support te reo Māori and Māori performing arts would recognise learning environments that are specific and unique to New Zealand culture and identity.

Supporting 'Culturally Connected' Learners who are Māori

The responses by teachers indicated that Māori learners, as 'culturally connected' learners value kapa haka because it allows them to move and perform. The educational benefit associated with Māori students moving and performing is that it increases the acquisition of language and culture, affirms ones identity as Māori, and

supports the emotional and spiritual wellbeing of the learner. In this regard, teachers acknowledged that they needed to understand how their subjects relate to 'culturally connected' learners and how to access 'culturally responsive' learning approaches that support Māori students who are 'culturally connected' learners to achieve.

Teachers integrating learning across the curriculum (e.g. Food Technology working with te reo Māori classes to prepare a hāngi) also supported kapa haka students to apply kapa haka into learning in other areas. However, such teaching and learning was not the norm, with many secondary school teachers preferring to teach their subjects independently. Māori teachers who taught kapa haka as well as Māori language reported that Māori students who aspired to do well at school usually did so if they had a connection with a teacher, or if they had developed a level of confidence in their ability to do well. In this regard mainstream secondary school teachers were aware of how important it is to remain flexible, open-minded, sensitive and adaptable to the learning needs of Māori learners, as well as all students. Some teachers reported that Māori students participating in kapa haka improved their levels of attendance, reduced the possibility of being suspended and retained students in their senior years (Ministry of Education, 2006b). In the same vein, including a wider learning support network of family, peers and experts also increased the chances of Māori students valuing school and their education.

Simanek (1996) argued that the arts (performance skills) and athletics (physical skills) should not be considered as being academic (mental ability) mainly because sheer skill is not enough to warrant academic credit. He also defined such skills as merely the ability to memorize facts and procedures, and where students are expected to

complete a number of skills satisfactorily. Alternatively, academic ability suggests that students are able to reason, synthesize or analyse mentally difficult problems in an intellectual manner. Conversely, mainstream secondary school teachers who are Māori and teach kapa haka highlight that many Māori kapa haka students are often expected to apply their skills in different situations at different times, and in a manner that perhaps one may suggests promotes levels of 'emotional' intelligence. For example, kapa haka performed on the Marae significantly guides Māori children to remember and retain their oral history, traditions and ancestry (Mead, 2003). It also provides the forum for developing a host of social and cultural expectations, endeavours and experiences that enhance learning in a broader sense which may or may not include 'academic' outcomes. Moreover, kapa haka becomes an effective means of practising, learning and affirming Māori values, world-views, pedagogies, ways of thinking and doing. Given this position, kapa haka moves past the notion of merely being a performative skill or talent, rather it becomes a living life force of authenticating how Māori students seek to sustain their essence as 'tangata whenua' or the indigenous people of Aotearoa/New Zealand (Durie, 2001b; Hemara, 2000; Mead, 2003; Patterson, 1992).

A number of mainstream secondary school teachers in this study have been actively involved in trying to use different aspects of the Māori language and culture within their teaching. However, at least a third of teachers in the study maintained that they are trained to teach their subjects to all students, not just Māori students. These teachers argued that to be expected to plan quality lessons, assess and address student proficiency in literacy and/or numeracy in their subjects, and/or be responsible for coaching or managing extra co-curricular activities often negates the time teachers

feel they have to explore other alternatives or even to reflect sometimes on how lessons could be changed to be more effective. Alternatively, kapa haka can provide an environment where Māori students and teachers can repair if necessary, broken relationships (that may have occurred in the classroom) in a fun and non-threatening manner. Teachers can achieve this by simply attending various practices or performances, as well as by acknowledging Māori students for the time, effort and energy they give to kapa haka. It is by teachers taking an active interest in what Māori students do outside of their own subjects that can make a real difference to what happens in their own subjects. Indeed, building better student-teacher relationships are vital to building better learning outcomes for Māori students in mainstream secondary schools (Bishop et al., 2003).

Developing a Culture of Teaching and Learning working with Māori Students

Teachers indicated that developing a culture of teaching and learning that benefits Māori students in mainstream secondary schools should include activities that are interesting, 'holistic' and contemporary. Although the general consensus by teachers in the study is that Māori students are not reaching their learning potential in the classroom, kapa haka provides a 'culturally responsive' way of connecting the visual with the cultural and the cultural with levels of success. Teacher's levels of cultural 'responsiveness' to Māori included teaching of the Treaty of Waitangi, acknowledging Māori as 'tangata whenua', respecting the work of Kura Kaupapa Māori schools and trying to balance the cultural aspects of the curriculum with the academic needs and abilities of students who are Māori. Teachers had observed on numerous occasions that Māori students were extremely motivated about performing in kapa haka but at times this was not being transferred back into the classroom.

In the classroom, teachers agreed that there is greater teacher direction and expectation about what they want students to achieve, whereas in kapa haka, they observed that there appears to be a greater learning flexibility and focus on whole group, and not just individuals. Generally, teachers were surprised at the level of discipline, creativity and flair Māori students gave to performing kapa haka, and even more surprised at how some Māori students, who often struggled to learn in the classroom, were able to learn, memorise and perform words to a host of waiata and haka, with relative ease. Similarly, a technology teacher believed that providing Māori kapa haka students with greater access to 'large visually' interactive and stimulating learning materials, such as large computer whiteboards, actually increased their level of participation and engagement in the classroom.

Teachers from ethnically diverse backgrounds (Welsh, South African, and Pacific Islander) were genuinely interested, empathetic and supportive of Māori students participating in kapa haka because they believed that it is an important part of learning about their national responsibility as New Zealanders. These teachers were often bemused about why secondary schools with large numbers of Māori students did not offer Māori language as a compulsory subject for all students. These teachers also noted that some Māori students enjoyed their learning when they knew teachers genuinely cared about them and provided greater levels of student interaction. Bishop, Berryman and Richardson (2003, p. 198) argued that 'the major influence on Māori students' educational achievement lies in the minds and actions of their teachers, and their ability to relate'. The ability to relate also depends on the learning environment provided and what students are expected to do and how.

Establishing levels of cultural 'responsiveness' in the classroom requires that teachers become more reflective on how students learn, and why. In this approach, the student is central to teaching and learning. Although, teachers acknowledged the ability of Māori students to perform kapa haka, some teachers were bemused that such flair, talent and effort were not being transferred back into their particular subjects. Individual teachers argued that Māori parents need to be better informed about their children's strengths and talents so that they can support them to choose the right learning pathways to enable students to experience a greater probability of success. Similarly teachers of the arts, social sciences, health and physical education, technology and languages suggested that although their subject(s) at times do not receive the same 'academic' status as many of the traditional core subjects, there is a growing interest by students, especially students with strong ethnic backgrounds, to engage in more dynamic, creative and alternative learning environments.

Developing Culturally Responsive Secondary Schools and Teachers for the Future

The 2006 New Zealand Curriculum Draft for Consultation stated that schools might well be given greater responsibility for shaping how the curriculum best meets the needs of their students. The focus on developing specific values and competencies in all students is eagerly anticipated and may provide greater opportunities for teachers to have greater flexibility to integrate the curriculum (Ministry of Education, 2006a). For example, Māori kapa haka students may well be able to achieve the competency 'focusing on participating and contributing', if they are consistently connecting with a variety of audiences in the wider community, can respond appropriately as a group and/or are able to create opportunities to include people in various group activities. (Ministry of Education, 2006a).

Although teachers acknowledged the potential of kapa haka to support Māori students to actively participate and contribute positively to society, evaluating kapa haka as a learning environment that supports teachers to work with Māori students more successfully had not been considered. Teachers reported that at times working with Māori students in mainstream secondary schools was a matter of anticipating or trying to understand how Māori students think, act, and feel. A common response by these teachers was they wanted to spend less time managing various behavioural issues and more time on assisting students to achieve their learning potential.

As the Ministry's new draft curriculum document suggests, mainstream secondary schools and teachers will need to develop the capacity to cater for the growing number of culturally diverse students (Ministry of Education, 2006a). The document suggests that this can be achieved by ensuring all students have access to a host of relevant learning contexts that are specific to meeting their learning needs. A current challenge for many mainstream secondary schools and teachers is to change some of their pre-existing teaching beliefs and to become better equipped at identifying the talents, strengths and aspirations Māori students inherently bring to the learning environment. Many of the teachers' responses suggested that adapting the curriculum in ways that benefit Māori students still relies on teachers being innovative and creative. However, the overriding emphasis that all students must acquire a minimum of least eight credits in literacy and numeracy before leaving schools has meant certain academic standards must be reached (Alison, 2005). As a result, prioritising for the cultural needs and aspirations of Māori students in such environments relies exclusively on individual teachers making the effort to include culturally meaningful and relevant learning experiences.

In many cases, mainstream secondary schools provide a variety of entry-level assessments as well as higher-level entry examinations (scholarship or the Cambridge examinations) for students to progress though their secondary school education. However, this perhaps achieves little for students who may be seeking alternative learning pathways much earlier in their secondary schools education and who perhaps do not progress or achieve to such academic standards.

Summary: Key Teacher Findings

The majority of mainstream secondary school teachers agreed that it is essential for Māori students to have access to 'culturally responsive' learning environments, such as kapa haka, because it elevates levels of happiness and students generally believe they feel more optimistic about school and their education. Teachers in the arts, health and physical education, Māori and technology all reported that kapa haka is definitely not being given the educational 'status' it deserves. The positive and overwhelming evidence is that there are educational benefits associated with Māori students participating in kapa haka and introducing kapa haka as a stand alone academic subject in each of these four secondary schools would be of significant benefit to the schools, students and the Māori community. The acceptance of kapa haka in mainstream secondary schools, although positive, requires greater understanding about the importance this learning environment has for 'culturally connected' learners who are Māori.

The emphasis on adapting and applying bi-cultural practices, principles and strategies to improve Māori achievement in mainstream secondary schools is extremely valid and 'culturally appropriate' (Bishop et al., 2003; Hemara, 2000; Hohepa et al., 1996;

Macfarlane, 1997, 2004). The fact that over two thirds of teachers recognised kapa haka as an 'academic' subject, and stated that they would like to see kapa haka timetabled as an academic subject is not only encouraging, it also suggests that there is now a growing appreciation that learning about Māori culture, language and the arts is valid and important. Kapa haka, as a 'culturally responsive' learning intervention, can extend that level of understanding but it also requires a greater awareness of how to engage 'culturally connected' learners who are Māori more successfully.

Teachers who argued that kapa haka should be included as a timetabled academic subject in mainstreams secondary believed that Māori communities should be involved in its initial implementation and delivery. Including kapa haka as a timetabled academic subject could widen the scope of education 'choice' for Māori students as well as help Māori students to look at subjects where achieving through performing may further be explored for their benefit. In this regard, Māori kapa haka students and teachers agreed with each other. Although there have been progressive improvements in Māori achievement overall (Ministry of Education, 2006b) there is still much to do in ensuring Māori students in mainstream secondary schools are able to be fully involved in learning experiences that are both culturally and academically relevant (c. f. Bishop et al., 2003; Loper, 2006; Nuthall, 2005). The responses by teachers and students suggest that kapa haka as a valid 'culturally responsive' learning environment can contribute to improving educational outcomes for Māori students in such contexts. Teachers and students also agreed that kapa haka enhances their sense of purpose about learning in school. In this regard, providing learning environments that allow Māori students to express themselves with energy, pride and passion were viewed positively.

Verdon (2006) argued "that effective education must contribute to young people's social, culturally and emotional wellbeing" (p. 10). Catering for the wellbeing of Māori students in mainstream secondary schools resides not only in determining one's sense of achievement but in what Māori students say they can actually do and achieve (Verdon, 2006). Māori students commented that by performing in kapa haka, they believed they were able to make a significant impact on the character of the school socially, culturally, emotionally and spiritually. The final chapter will now consider the implications these findings have for improving educational outcomes for Māori students in mainstream secondary schools.

CHAPTER 8: IMPLICATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

Introduction

This study aimed to investigate the educational benefits associated with Māori students participating in kapa haka in four Central North Island mainstream secondary schools. Prior to this study, very little was known about the educational benefits associated with Māori students participating in kapa haka in such contexts. Having interpreted the participants' responses it is now clear that kapa haka does benefit Māori students educationally. However, what is not clear is how schools and teachers attempt to understand culture in the context of what they provide as valid learning outcomes when working with Māori students.

In this study, Māori students participating in kapa haka provided valuable insights into what constitutes a 'culturally responsive' learning environment and how such environments maintain, enhance and enrich the lives of students who are Māori. In response to these insights, a 'culturally responsive' learning strategy has been provided to assist mainstream secondary schools and teachers to better plan and evaluate their own levels of 'cultural responsiveness' working with Māori students. In considering the total wellbeing of Māori students in mainstream secondary schools, this study draws on a holistic framework to conceptualise the responses shared and promotes culture as vital to improving educational outcomes for Māori students in mainstream secondary schooling contexts.

Creating Indigenous Learning Opportunities in Mainstream Secondary Schools

In this study, Māori kapa haka students confirmed that they valued learning opportunities to perform what they had learnt. Although, many teachers could readily identify a host of educational benefits associated with Māori students participating in kapa haka, adopting a 'culturally responsive' strategy to improve educational outcomes for Māori students poses a number of schooling and educational challenges. In particular, a number of teachers shared that they felt under prepared to deliver various dimensions of the world of Māori, and would feel more inclined to invite someone with the appropriate expertise to share such knowledge.

Perhaps schools and teachers could work towards building a network of cultural 'experts' to create learning opportunities to work specifically with 'culturally connected' learners who are Māori (c. f. Bevan-Brown, 2003; Bishop et al., 2003; Glynn et al., 1999; Macfarlane, 2004). Presently, the Ministry's NAG (National Administration Guideline) 1(v) expect schools, in consultation with the Māori community, to develop and make known to the school's community policies, plans and targets for improving the achievement levels of Māori students (Ministry of Education, 2000c). The research findings also suggest that mainstream secondary schools and teachers need to continue to find innovative, creative and alternative ways to address the prevailing and on-going levels of Māori student underachievement. The responses highlighted quite emphatically that Māori kapa haka students learn best when the activities are culturally and visually dynamic, interactive and exciting, and when schools and teachers actively work together to provide the space and time for students to become fully engaged in all aspects of the learning process.

Of serious concern, is that there are a number of teachers who refute any notion that culture should play a part in improving educational outcomes for Māori students. Such teachers often use a host of neo-liberal arguments such as, 'schools today are multi-cultural', 'there is so many different cultures in this school, not just Māori', 'students have a far greater level of choice', or 'we try to make education that is fair and equitable for all our students, not just Māori' to validate why culture should not be a factor. Despite at least two-thirds of teachers acknowledging that they were aware that kapa haka had gained 'academic' status nationally (New Zealand Qualifications Authority, 2002) not one secondary school involved in this study had offered kapa haka as an 'academic' subject.

The increasing student interest in Māori performing arts, te reo Māori, Māori television, music, dance, drama and other visual arts suggests that schools and teachers will need to look more specifically at how what they provide supports the personal, social and cultural well-being students who identify as Māori. Furthermore, mainstream secondary schools and teachers will also need a practical way to identify the talents, strengths and aspirations Māori students bring to the learning environment. Despite, a couple of teachers believing that 'kapa haka should be taught more in the home', or 'in Māori total immersion settings', the majority of teachers and students would like to see kapa haka offered as an academic subject in their schools.

From a socio-cultural standpoint, kapa haka directly supports Māori language, culture and identity. Furthermore, all participants agreed that kapa haka helps Māori students to improve levels of confidence and self-esteem in who they are and what they can become. Furthermore, the ever-increasing number of Māori students entering

mainstream secondary schools (Statistics New Zealand, 2004; Ministry of Education, 2006) suggests that mainstream secondary schools and teachers need to develop curricula that are culturally relevant, specific and appropriate for students from culturally diverse and indigenous backgrounds (Bevan-Brown, 2003; Ministry of Education, 2006a).

The students' responses indicated that kapa haka engages Māori students to think, feel and act more positively about who they are as Māori, their school and education. It also supports their ability to 'protect' who they are as Māori, and to seek ways to 'provide' what is important to them socially, culturally, emotionally, and spiritually. Some of the possible barriers to achieving such educational outcomes for Māori students in mainstream secondary schools included lack of teacher knowledge and understanding about things Māori, cultural ignorance, protection of the 'status quo', and an overriding apathy by schools and teachers about catering for the cultural needs and aspirations Māori students in such contexts.

Kapa haka as a powerful and dynamic cultural learning experience promotes a level of 'emotional intelligence' which refers to an innate ability for individuals to feel connected with the world around them (Grewal & Salovey, 2005). Māori students who perhaps struggle with the challenges and expectations of a predominantly academic programme voiced their willingness to be involved in learning activities where they are able to proficiently perform or share what they know. As I have alluded to through out the study, kapa haka significantly supports Māori students to learn and achieve in this environment, and in doing so students feel more confident in

their ability to participate and contribute to other learning environments at school, home and/or in the community.

As a result, six key implications emerged for schools and teachers to consider in how and what they provide for Māori students in such settings. These implications should not be seen as a means of solving all the concerns affecting Māori students, but rather, as a fair and just attempt to improve the quality and focus of learning for 'culturally connected' learners who are Māori in such contexts.

As a means of conceptualising the key themes to emerge from the study a conceptual model has been designed as a 'culturally responsive' strategy to support how secondary schools plan and evaluate teaching and learning practices working with Māori students. The strategy proposes that Māori students seek the ability to 'protect', 'provide', 'problem-solve', and 'heal' as 'culturally connected' learners in mainstream secondary schools. It is hoped that engaging with these abilities will not only enhance better Māori student success, it will also create greater cultural tolerance, understanding and co-operation. Furthermore, improving the educational outcomes for Māori students in mainstream secondary schools resides not only in teachers adapting to meet the cultural differences of students in their classroom, but also understanding more implicitly what intrinsically motivates 'culturally connected' learners who are Māori to engage in their learning more consistently (Wood, 1992).

Reviewing the findings a number of 'educationally-based outcomes' (outcomes that recognise the educational value associated with kapa haka for Māori students) and 'educationally-related outcomes' (outcomes that highlight the aesthetic features of

kapa haka that make a significant difference to how Māori students learn) emerge as possible learning insights for improving educational outcomes for Māori students in mainstream secondary schools (c. f. Eisner, 1999). These distinct comparisons suggest that the educational benefits associated with kapa haka are not merely about defining kapa haka in its general form; rather it is about continuing to observe and reflect on the learning complexities associated with Māori students participating in kapa haka. In this regard, schools and teachers will be able to understand more comprehensively the time, effort and energy Māori students give to such cultural learning activities and to adapt what the currently provide for such students.

Educational-Based Outcomes of Māori Students Participating in Kapa Haka

From a Māori perspective, 'educationally-based outcomes' suggest that kapa haka as a cultural learning experience provides the knowledge for Māori students to identify with who they are, socially and culturally. This is achieved by participating in the collective wellbeing of the group, and at times, over and above an individual's sole need to succeed. This understanding provides for Māori students a common reference point to learning about the physical, mental/emotional, spiritual elements inherent in the Māori world, and appears to be enhanced when Māori students perform in kapa haka. In this way, kapa haka brings forth not only a way for Māori students to be more creative and unified, it also constitutes a way of sharing different aspects of their heritage, traditions and customs in a more creative, expressive and dynamic manner.

Implementing 'educationally-based outcomes' in mainstream secondary schools should ensure Māori students have access to:

- 'Culturally responsive' learning environments that are educationally purposeful and meaningful;

- real life learning experiences that enables Māori students to develop their culture, identity and self socially, culturally, emotionally and spiritually;
- time to be totally consumed in 'culturally responsive' learning environments that focus on developing the individual strengths, talents and aspirations of 'culturally connected' learners who are Māori;
- expert tutors/teachers who have a passion and enthusiasm for their art/craft and who are willing to adopt 'culturally responsive' learning approaches and activities;
- shared-grouped learning activities where individuals as a whole are able to achieve in a host of different learning areas together.

These 'educationally-based outcomes' are intended to complement, rather than negate the current essential learning areas within the national curriculum. They also provide a wider educational perspective of considering other 'culturally responsive' learning environments in ways that may well help inform the curriculum indigenously. The common cultural links (as it relates to kapa haka) between 'educational-based outcomes' and 'educational-related outcomes' is that they both work together to heighten the learning experience providing greater cultural awareness, participation and interconnectedness.

Educational-Related Outcomes of Māori Students Participating in Kapa Haka

Māori students have described kapa haka as being a 'dynamic', 'creative' and 'totally awesome' cultural learning experience. The values underpinning these feelings or how these feelings are generated through kapa haka are significant considerations when identifying what constitutes quality 'educational-related outcomes' for Māori students. For example, Māori performing the haka is often used to challenge, welcome guests (haka pōwhiri), support planting and/or harvesting, or to unite on various occasions are examples of 'culturally appropriate' ways of expressing Māori culture. Although kapa haka predominantly makes a host of cultural connections with

the world of Māori, kapa haka also enables Māori students to learn how to move, perform and act (Hindle, 2002). Kapa haka also helped Māori students to express certain positive emotions including pride, joy, dignity and unity. Based on these responses, creating learning experiences that provide students with the opportunity to be emotive or emotional may well provide greater levels of student fun, participation and engagement.

Teachers commented that they often observed Māori kapa haka students role-playing, or spending time interacting with their peers during class time. Some teachers suggested that after kapa haka practice some Māori students found it more difficult to focus independently and tended to be more vocal and seek attention. In contrast, being able to communicate and to interact are skills highly encouraged in kapa haka because it allows students to become more familiar with the various dimensions required within the performance. This kind of learning in kapa haka also provided the opportunity for students to move beyond the more traditional learning infrastructures held within the classroom, and to feel they were able to learn at their own pace and in their own time.

Implementing 'educationally-related outcomes' in mainstream secondary schools needs to ensure Māori students have access to:

- opportunities to generate positive emotions such as fun, excitement, joy, confidence, happiness, belonging, pride and unity in the learning environment;
- audiences (whānau, community, schools, teachers and peers) to demonstrate or perform what they have learnt and in which they can also be assessed academically;
- time for Māori students to become completely lost in what they are learning (caught in the moment or the flow of learning);

- visually stimulating learning environments that enhances opportunities for students to be culturally interactive, connected, build levels of self-efficacy and improves relationships;
- role-playing that engages Māori students to work with the skills and information in culturally creative and dynamic ways.

Six Key Implications for Improving Educational Outcomes for Māori Students in Mainstream Secondary Schools in the 21st Century

The implications of the findings (i.e. educational benefits associated with kapa haka) for improving educational outcomes for Māori students suggests that mainstream secondary schools and teachers need to develop a culture of learning that builds the capacity to:

1. Identify, develop and facilitate the cultural talents, strengths and aspirations Māori students bring to the learning environment.

Kapa haka provides a number of learning opportunities, possibilities and alternatives for Māori students to access their cultural talents, strengths and aspirations. The findings revealed that students are required more consistently to remember and perform words, actions, and various group movements together. Kapa haka also draws on the inner essence of the person to perform and express themselves in ways that leave a lasting impression on audiences who have come to watch. In this regard, student discipline, commitment and dedication were considered essential ingredients to achieving levels of success performing kapa haka. Furthermore, Māori kapa haka students consistently spoke about how important it is to have a passionate, caring and enthusiastic teacher/tutor who intimately understands that through kapa haka a sense of cultural autonomy, integrity and wellbeing can be successfully realised. As a result, students were more inclined to view life and schooling more optimistically and strive more consistently to do their best.

Teachers commented that accommodating the cultural strengths, talents and aspirations of Māori students was difficult if they had no formal 'strategy', 'criteria' or 'standard' to follow. Currently, students are predominantly being assessed using formal assessment procedures (tests, assignments and examinations). In contrast, Māori students in kapa haka learn that there is no such thing as individual 'failure' or 'underachievement' simply because as a group, individuals are encouraged and supported to do their best together. In this regard, the responsibility for achieving success is shared and embraced as a positive way to encouraging participation, inclusion and unity. Achieving is more about establishing group goals by consensus, recognising the potential of each individual in the group, and considering realistic standards or goals for everyone to achieve as a group. The need for mainstream secondary schools and teachers to consider these kinds of learning approaches may also support how a whole class or school functions to achieve such outcomes.

2. Accommodate the social, cultural, emotional and spiritual wellbeing of Māori learners by providing greater access to a host of 'culturally responsive' learning environments, experiences and approaches.

Māori students considered the experience of kapa haka as a dynamic cultural learning experience nurturing their social, cultural, emotional and spiritual wellbeing. A number of 'positive' emotions (socially and culturally) also emerged which were significant in understanding how Māori students are motivated to engage and participate in such learning environments. In particular, Māori students valued kapa haka because they perceive learning is fun, enjoyable, exciting, builds self-confidence, self-esteem and feelings of success. The ability to nurture an inner sense of wellbeing (based on acquiring such positive emotions) requires not only a consideration of a 'holistic' and integrated learning approach (mind, body and soul), it also requires secondary schools and teachers to develop an understanding of how to

achieve levels of 'cultural competency' (c. f. Cross et al., 1989) working with Māori students. As a result of choosing to participate and perform in kapa haka, some Māori students were helped by including Māori performing arts and te reo Māori as an integral part of their educational programme.

3. Develop and implement '*culturally responsive*' learning approaches that enhance Māori language, culture, ways of knowing and doing in all areas of their education.

For mainstream secondary schools and teachers to implement 'culturally responsive' learning approaches successfully, requires a level of acceptance that including aspects of 'culture' can improve the desire of some Māori students to want to participate, engage and achieve. The widening of the national curriculum also suggests that alternative and 'culturally responsive' learning approaches will become more readily available and accepted as what schools and teachers will need to include in what they provide for all students. Similarly, Māori teachers and teachers from other ethnic or indigenous backgrounds appeared more appreciative of the significance of embracing and integrating the positive aspects 'culture' adds to what they provide in their individual subjects.

Not only were these teachers more sympathetic to the social and cultural needs of Māori students, they also understood the significance of supporting Māori students in kapa haka as way of improving their relationship with Māori students in their class. Although, the respondents all acknowledge kapa haka as a successful and 'culturally responsive' learning environment benefiting Māori students in mainstream secondary schools, schools and teachers are very interested in finding more practical solutions or strategies to be able to work with Māori students more effectively. Although, providing such solutions is a noble response, it is perhaps their ability to evaluate

what they intend to provide for Māori students that may make the most significant difference. Developing a 'culturally responsive' conceptual framework as a self-reviewing tool that focuses on the social, cultural, emotional, spiritual wellbeing of Māori students requires a collective effort to achieve such outcomes successfully.

4. Discuss the possibility of timetabling kapa haka as an academic subject.

The most significant educational opportunity to emerge from the student-teacher responses is the discussion regarding the timetabling of kapa haka as an academic subject. The suggestion by Māori students and various teachers is that having kapa haka as a timetabled subject would immediately raise the 'academic' status of kapa haka and its importance for students considered as 'culturally connected' learners. It will also provide a wider educational focus to explore and engage in education that is fundamentally bi-cultural and bilingual (kapa haka is performed in Māori, but often a lot of instruction is in English). To be effective, mainstream secondary schools and teachers will need to seek and negotiate approval from all key Māori stakeholders.

5. Anticipate and develop a greater variety of 'culturally responsive' learning environments, approaches and pathways that supports Māori students to achieve excellence within and across all areas of the curriculum.

Kapa haka as a national cultural treasure and icon specific to Aotearoa/New Zealand society is a valued performing art. Māori kapa haka students believed that they are able to perform kapa haka successfully because it enables and sustains their essence, life force and wellbeing as cultural human beings. They also indicated that being able to perform kapa haka to achieve academic credits has validated a way to achieve outside of traditional testing procedures. Although many Māori kapa haka students stated they were totally unaware of how they were achieving academic credits, Māori teachers openly admitted that kapa haka was one way of informally and formally

testing a student's level of proficiency in te reo Māori. In addition subjects, such as dance, drama, music, visual arts, Māori performing arts, Māori health and physical education provided similar opportunities for Māori students to achieve via a variety of performance based assessed criteria. The curriculum timetable in these four mainstream secondary schools have tended to allocate more time to the teaching of English, Mathematics and Science, especially in the first two years, and as a result, the development of 'culturally connected' learners who are Māori has been negligible.

6. Develop cultural 'responsive' standards for assisting mainstream secondary schools and teachers to achieve levels of cultural competency working with Māori students.

Developing and implementing 'culturally responsive' standards (c. f. Alaska Native Knowledge Network, 1998; Alaska Native Knowledge Network, 1999) are necessary for schools and teachers working not only students with 'special needs' but for 'culturally diverse' learners who are indigenous (c. f. Bevan-Brown, 2003). Teachers in this study agreed that mainstream secondary schools and teachers across the curriculum are often not prepared to cater or integrate the cultural values, practices and identities Māori students bring to the learning environment. Teachers considered that perhaps the new curriculum, ready to be implemented by 2008, has the potential for schools and teachers to be more culturally innovative and creative working with such students. Although, the omission of the Treaty of Waitangi, its values and principles, clearly suggests that the government continues to play a major role in what schools and teachers provide to all students (Ministry of Education, 2006a). From this perspective, knowing and understanding how to support, cater and provide for 'culturally connected' learners, who are Māori in mainstream secondary schools, is a major implication for improving educational outcomes for Māori students in such contexts.

Kapa haka increases the awareness of Māori language, culture and the arts where Māori students in mainstream secondary schools can uniquely participate in learning environments that are culturally uplifting. To successfully achieve these kinds of learning environments requires mainstream secondary schools and teachers to develop a willingness to work towards becoming 'culturally responsive' (Cross et al., 1989). To provide and promote this level of learning care is to also to reinforce that 'studentteacher relationships' are fundamental to establishing effective learning outcomes (Bishop et al., 2003). This study supports the belief in the importance of the relationship between students and teachers but has argued that providing 'culturally responsive and appropriate' learning environments where Māori students can excel in all areas of the curriculum is equally important. Indeed further investigation is required to determine if learning programmes in mainstream secondary schools are actually supporting 'culturally connected' learners, who are Māori, to achieve culturally as well as academically. Based on the student-teacher responses about kapa haka, a 'culturally responsive' learning strategy is proposed to help how schools and teachers develop and evaluate curriculum, assessment, teaching and learning for Māori students in mainstream secondary schooling contexts.

Promoting a 'Cultural Responsive' Learning Strategy for Improving Educational Outcomes for Māori Students in Mainstream Secondary Schools

The majority of Māori kapa haka students and teachers agreed that kapa haka can play a significant part in nurturing 'positive' learning experiences that can improve educational outcomes for Māori students in mainstream secondary schools. One of the keys to achieving such outcomes is for mainstream secondary schools and teachers to recognise the importance of being able to deliver 'culturally responsive' learning programmes, activities and initiatives for 'culturally connected' learners who

are Māori. Based on the varied responses, analysis and findings associated with the educational benefits of Māori students participating in kapa haka, a 'culturally responsive' learning strategy emerges as positive way of supporting mainstream secondary schools and teachers to provide valid curriculum, teaching and learning for such students.

In this study, Māori students and teachers considered kapa haka as an integral and unique cultural learning experience. On closer examination the responses by both teachers and students about kapa haka collectively reflect four key abilities (the ability to protect, provide, problem-solve and heal) critical to improving educational outcomes for Māori students in mainstream secondary schools. The heart, as an essential organ of every human being, helps to conceptualise these four abilities in a collective, inclusive and mutually respectful manner. The model also proposes a 'culturally responsive' strategy mainstream secondary schools and teachers can effectively use to evaluate their teaching and learning practices working with Māori students. Kaupapa Māori as the key theoretical framework underpinning this research considers a 'holistic' approach to addressing the on-going disparities, issues and concerns affecting Māori student levels of underachievement (Smith, 1997). Smith (1997) argued that such an approach,

Continually speaks to the people and in ways which the people understand; it must keep meaning alive; it must have meaning to the people in terms of their lived reality; praxis must involve the people reflecting on their reality. For Māori, this has been interpreted so far as integration of Māori language, knowledge and culture concerns on the one hand with economic, political and social (e.g. education, health and justice) concerns on the other (p. 164).

By critically addressing the cultural imbalances, constraints or barriers affecting Māori students from achieving their learning potential in mainstream secondary schools is an effective way of developing 'transformative' educational change.

Three key aims were contemplated prior to considering the heart as a conceptual model for providing a 'culturally responsive' learning strategy. Firstly, the heart as a significant living organ also recognises Māori students as cultural human beings requiring opportunities to be nurtured culturally. Secondly, the heart acknowledges the need for Māori kapa haka students to actively engage in learning environments or experiences that contribute positively to their essence and wellbeing as Māori. Finally, the model suggests that people and the environment are the most significant means of 'nourishing' and accommodating for this 'culturally responsive' learning strategy. In addition, kapa haka provided Māori students with a greater sense of learning accomplishment. The notion of 'replenishment' further suggests that by Māori students being able to perform kapa haka in front of their peers, whānau and various other audiences, their ability to give of themselves actually enhances their total wellbeing socially, culturally, emotionally and spiritually.

Conceptually, the 'heart' also represents the time, effort and energy Māori students give to kapa haka; and how they are motivated to learn in such contexts. From a medical perspective, the heart can be viewed as an efficient four-chambered pump positioned in a space between the lungs and protected by the sternum (breastbone) and ribs (Australian Sports Medicine Federation, 1994). However, in this context it is considered more as a 'holistic' model supporting the cognitive, physical, cultural, interpersonal (social) and intrapersonal (emotional, moral, aesthetic, and spiritual)

wellbeing of 'culturally connected' learners who are Māori (c. f. Bevan-Brown, 2003). It is hoped that the proposed 'culturally responsive' learning strategy will further support mainstream secondary schools and teachers to better evaluate their own level of 'cultural responsiveness' working with these students.

The first ability relates to enabling Māori students to 'protect' their culture, language, traditions, customs, heritage, identity and ways of knowing and doing as Māori. Having the ability to 'protect' also refers to ensuring Māori students are able to 'maintain' their essence as Māori in the learning environment. The provision of kapa haka for Māori students in mainstream secondary schools moves beyond the physical performance to one that validates and celebrates their inner essence and wellbeing as Māori socially, culturally, emotionally and spiritually.

The second ability relates to Māori students being able to 'problem-solve' and to make a number of cultural 'adjustments' while attempting to learn and achieve academically in mainstream secondary schools. The majority of Māori kapa haka students often found they were trying to balance the time spent participating in kapa haka while also trying to meet the expectations held by other individual subject teachers. A consistent point of difference, benefiting Māori students' ability to be successful, is that kapa haka provides learning opportunities that enhance an individual's level of cultural and emotional wellbeing. As a result, students participating in kapa haka found learning to be more relevant, satisfying and enjoyable.

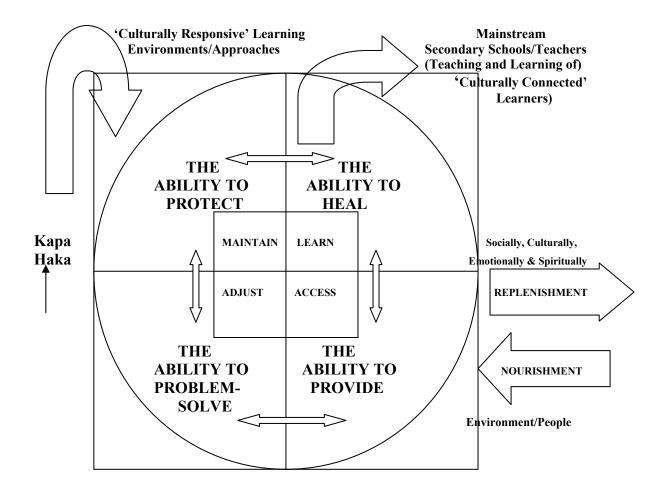
The third ability relates to Māori students being able to 'provide' greater 'access' to a wide range of 'culturally responsive' learning environments or experiences that not only supports their cultural and emotional wellbeing as Māori, but also supports students to achieve academically. Kapa haka helps Māori students to develop, sustain and advance the learning potential of Māori students in mainstream secondary schools. How this relies solely on mainstream secondary schools and teachers providing 'culturally responsive' learning environments that support 'culturally connected' learners who are Māori.

The fourth ability relates to Māori students being able to 'heal' during the learning process. The ability to 'heal' in this instance is achieved when Māori students feel they are in full control of the learning environment and are able to participate and engage outside of what a teacher may often expect as being the desired outcome. Kapa haka, in this instance, provides Māori students with a culturally dynamic, creative and powerful learning point of difference where learning is often not constrained within specific processes. Moreover, such learning experiences strengthen the capacity and capability of students to 'heal'. As a result, the four abilities work interdependently and rely on the environment (school and the community) and people (Māori students and teachers) to sustain, nurture and enhance their inner essence, wellbeing and potential as cultural human beings.

These four abilities become an integral part of assisting mainstream secondary schools and teachers to plan and evaluate more closely the learning needs and aspirations of 'culturally connected' learners who are Māori. However, the strategy by no means attempts to resolve all the current problems, issues or concerns affecting Māori

students in mainstream secondary schools, nor does it espouse that it is the 'only way' of addressing all the needs and aspirations Māori students seek in schools and education. Rather, the strategy aims to encourage an on going self-review of what mainstream secondary schools and teachers provide as 'culturally responsive' learning for Māori students in such contexts. More specifically, kapa haka is considered more than merely a 'feel good' cultural activity rather it promotes a highly dynamic and interactive way for Māori students to excel. The strategy below proposes a valid and practical way for schools and teachers to access the learning potential 'culturally connected' learners who are Māori, bring to the learning environment.

Figure 1: A 'Culturally Responsive' Learning Strategy Working with 'Culturally Connected' Learners who are Māori in Mainstream Secondary Schools



Conclusion

Prior to this study the educational benefits associated with Māori students participating in kapa haka mainstream secondary schools had been relatively unexplored. However, the responses by both students and teachers in this study revealed quite emphatically that providing the time and space for Māori students to participate in kapa haka, not only helps to support their personal, social and cultural development, but also plays a pivotal role in developing 'positive' emotions so that learning is experienced as fun, exciting and enjoyable. Moreover, these benefits suggest that Māori students consider kapa haka as a vital link to increase their motivation to want to participate, engage and achieve levels of success at school, and in their education. Although many teachers' perceptions about kapa haka tended to focus more on what they would like to see Māori students do and achieve at school, kapa haka was generally accepted as being fundamental to the development of their language and culture. There was also a general consensus among many teachers, that as a school, understanding more about how kapa haka motivates Māori students to participate in their learning would provide valuable insights into possible wholeschool reform, including developing learning environments that specifically meet the needs, strengths, talents and aspirations of these students more collectively. Moreover, timetabling kapa haka as an academic subject would also provide greater choice for all students to consider learning pathways that elevate the educational status and importance of language, identity and difference more comprehensively.

Kapa haka as a cultural performing art, not only involves Māori students being able to fully participate physically and mentally, it also requires students to express their inner essence and wellbeing as Māori in a dynamic, powerful and expressive manner.

Some possible implications for mainstream secondary schools and teachers to consider when working with Māori students could well include implementing the following educational initiatives:

- 'culturally responsive' standards to assist mainstream secondary schools and teachers working with 'culturally connected' learners who are Māori;
- increasing bicultural and bilingual education by making Māori language compulsory in every school in Aotearoa/New Zealand (Māori and English language learning);
- developing 'culturally responsive and appropriate' learning experiences that enhance memory and movement skills, self-expression, creativity and performance;
- timetabling kapa haka as an 'academic' subject in these four mainstream secondary schools;
- sustained time participating in 'culturally responsive and appropriate' learning environments that support their essence and wellbeing as Māori.

Ensuring Māori students have a 'voice' in evaluating their own level of educational success remains critical to what schools and teachers provide as valid learning opportunities. Likewise, also involving Māori communities to discuss what is valid for their children's future will further enhance the quality of learning provided for Māori students (Ministry of Education, 2000a). Indeed, Māori students participating in kapa haka, not only supports schools' obligations to uphold the values and principles underpinning the Treaty of Waitangi, it also affirms and sustains our unique identity as New Zealanders (c. f. Bishop & Glynn, 1999). At present, kapa haka is not included as an academic subject in any one of these four secondary schools, rather it is included either as an extra-curricular activity, or as an activity used by teachers to support students learning te reo Māori and/or Māori performing arts. As a result the capacity to extend the learning potential kapa haka provides for Māori students, has yet to be fully realised in these four schools. In comparison, schools and teachers

continue to struggle with the relevance of including culturally enriching learning environments; as a result achieving the balance between what Māori students seek culturally, and what schools and teachers believe Māori students need to achieve academically, is still to be attained.

Future research prospects may well focus on how kapa haka or other 'culturally responsive' learning environments perhaps 'boosts' the academic performance of Māori students in mainstream secondary schools. This will require designing innovative research studies that examine more comprehensively the impact of cultural preferred and specific learning environments on the academic performance of 'culturally connected' learners who are indigenous (c. f. Eisner, 1999). Similarly, it is hoped that this investigation will not only encourage wider debate and discussion about the importance of 'culturally responsive' learning environments for Māori students, it should also actively encourage secondary schools and teachers to reflect, plan and evaluate their own levels of cultural responsiveness using the strategy proposed.

It was clearly evident in this study that the majority of teachers found it very challenging and even difficult to consider culture as an effective teaching strategy working with Māori students. In this regard, the 'culturally responsive' learning strategy proposed should be introduced gradually where teacher confidence in adapting such skills, knowledge and understandings happens over time and with practice. As a guide to developing valid educational outcomes working with Māori students, the strategy is intended to 'assist'; more than 'assess' what secondary schools and teachers currently provide for Māori students.

The New Zealand Curriculum Draft for Consultation 2006 suggested that schools and teachers will have a greater levels of autonomy for developing and delivering a more innovative, integrated and creative curriculum (Ministry of Education, 2006a). The four key abilities proposed in response to improving educational outcomes for Māori students in mainstream secondary schools, not only supports the wider interests expressed in the draft curriculum, it also reflects the importance of enhancing the social and cultural needs of all students. It is therefore not only vital that secondary schools and teachers include the time and space for students to be socially and culturally engaged, but also that such learning activities enhance the opportunity for students to achieve academically in such endeavours. This will require all interested parties (teachers, principals, boards of trustees, advisers, academics, policy makers, communities, parents and students) to understand the value and essence of culture in the context of how it supports the whole person (socially, culturally, emotionally and spiritually). Finally, this study has revealed quite emphatically that kapa haka is not only a culturally innovative, creative and dynamic way of unlocking the learning potential Māori students may well possess, it also provides appropriate learning opportunities to perform what they know as 'culturally connected' human beings.

APPENDICES A:

FOCUS GROUP SEMI-STRUCTURED MĀORI KAPA HAKA STUDENTS INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Department: School of Education (University of Auckland)

Researcher: Paul Whitinui Supervisor: Dr. Margie Hohepa Co-Supervisor: Dr. Clive Aspin

First Interview Session: General discussion about their level of participation in kapa haka

Introduction

Today we are going to discuss an activity (Kapa haka) that affects all of you. Before we get into our discussion, let me make a few requests of you. First, you should know that we are recording the session so that I can refer back to the discussion when I write my report. If anyone is uncomfortable with being recorded, please say so and, of course, you are free to leave.

Do speak up and let's try to have just one person speak at a time. I will play traffic cop and try to assure everyone gets a turn. Finally, please say exactly what you think. Don't worry about what I think or what your neighbour thinks. We're here to exchange opinions and have fun while we do it.

Before we begin our discussion, it will be helpful for us to get acquainted with one another. Let's begin with some introductory comments about ourselves. If we go around the table and give our names, age, where you are from, your interests, what you feel you are good at in school, and what you want to be when you finish school will help me to get to know you all a bit better prior to conducting the interview.

Interview Questions:

Kapa Haka Experiences

- 1. Can you tell me why you chose to do kapa haka?
- 2. What are some of the fondest memories you have had during your time in kapa haka?
- 3. Do you ever do kapa haka at other times or in other places?
- 4. Are there, any other activities at school that are similar to the experiences you have in kapa haka, or where you give the same amount of time, effort and energy? Any reasons why?
- 5. What differences do you notice about doing things on your own versus doing things in a group or in an organized programme?

Meanings Attributed to kapa haka

- 6. If I were to say kapa haka to you- what three words would you choose to give the word kapa haka meaning?
- 7. Have those words/meanings changed since you started kapa haka?

Participation in kapa haka

- 8. What would you say are the benefits for you of participating in kapa haka?
- 9. Can you share any aspects about what to be aware or careful of when participating in kapa haka?
- 10. What are some of the reasons or things that have kept you participating in kapa haka?
- 11. Did you ever think of dropping out of kapa haka -what prompted those thoughts?
- 12. Do you think you will remain in kapa haka after you leave school? How will you do that?
- 13. What are the main attractions of participating in kapa haka? What are the main attractions for you?
- 14. What did you hope to get out of you participating in kapa haka when you began participating? How were those expectations different from what you actually received from participating?

Teaching and learning in kapa haka

15. In what ways could teachers begin thinking about the experiences you have had in kapa haka and be able to use those teaching and learning methods in the way they teach you in the class? Is this possible, and in what ways?

At this stage we have come to end of our first interview session and I would like to thank you all very much for your participation and contribution.

Is there anything else you want to share with me that I may not have asked you about or do you have any questions for me?

Second Interview Session: Educational benefits associated with the experience of participating in kapa haka

Introduction:

Firstly, I like to thank you all, once again, for you contribution to the first interview session and to say how much I enjoyed your honesty during that time.

The first interview session provided a background of your experiences and reasons for participating in kapa haka, which will be of benefit to teachers and educators who are working to improve educational outcomes for Māori students in secondary school contexts.

This next session focuses on the educational benefits you believe kapa haka has provided for you during your time participating and based on the strengths of responses it is hoped that such feedback will then work towards developing teaching and learning themes to improve how teachers teach Māori students. Lets begin.

Questionnaire:

Time given to kapa haka

- 1. How many dress rehearsals or competitions does your group participate in during the year (approximately)?
- 2. How many hours per week would you give to kapa haka (approximately)?

Education and kapa haka

- 3. Do you feel or behave differently when you participate in kapa haka, compared with other aspects of your life? Can you share some examples?
- 4. Do you think that kapa haka has assisted your level of participation, attitude and work ethic in the classroom? In what ways?
- 5. Does participating in kapa haka help you to build better relationships with your teachers? Can you give examples?
- 6. Do your teachers know that you are in the kapa haka group? Would you like your teachers to know that you are involved with kapa haka? Why or why not?
- 7. Do you feel that teachers support or encourage you to pursue learning more about your culture, language and heritage as Māori? In what ways? Do you think this is helpful?
- 8. Are there any learning connections you can see between kapa haka and other subject areas? Do you have any opinions you wish to share?
- 9. Who do you feel supports you the most with you kapa haka? School/Principal, teachers, parents or the community? Would you like to see more support from any other group mentioned, why or why not?

- 10. Are there differences in what and how you learn in kapa haka compared with learning that occurs in the classroom? Benefits/Disadvantagespositive or negative? Any reasons why you think this is so?
- 11. What suggestions can you make to teachers about how you prefer to learn, based on your experiences in kapa haka?
- 12. Did you know that kapa haka is an academic subject where you can gain a formal qualification? How do you feel about this, any reasons you can share?
- 13. Looking at the future, how do you think kapa haka will continue to provide you with other opportunities in education? Or what other educational aspirations or needs do you wish to pursue for the future?

Thanks you for participating in this discussion and answering my questions. Is there anything else you want me to share with me that I may not have asked you about?

Finally, do you have any questions for me? I look forward to our third and final meeting and being able talk your responses and how they may be grouped for further interpretation.

Third and Final Meeting:

A summary or list of major points from transcribing the tapes will be given to the students well in advance of the final meeting to review.

The hope is for all students to look over the data prior to the meeting, and to bring along their feelings, thoughts and ideas about the interview data and process. There will also be an opportunity for students to add, discuss, change or edit to the data already collected.

ONE-TO-ONE SEMI-STRUCTURED TEACHER INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

First meeting

Introductions:

General Questions

- 1. Can you briefly tell me about your teaching background and experiences leading up to where you are today?
- 2. What are your responsibilities in this school and how challenging or rewarding has that been?
- 3. Has there been or have you seen many changes during your time here?
- 4. What do you perceive to be your major contribution to the school and the students during your time here?
- 5. Are there areas in education or in the school that you would like to see improved in regards to teaching and learning; the curriculum or the way the school operates for students?
- 6. Do you know what the percentage of Māori students is in this school?
- 7. What percentage (as an average) of Māori students do you teach over all your classes approximately?
- 8. What recent developments have you seen in your school that is working to address successful educational outcomes for Māori students?
- 9. In what ways does your department specifically work to support Māori achievement?
- 10. What are your views about the relationship between culture and education, and in particular having cultural activities that contribute to Māori student achievement? Do you know any subjects or activities that support Māori knowledge, skills, values and understandings in this school?
- 11. Do you know that kapa haka is a recognised academic subject that contributes to Māori students being able to gain a formal qualification? What do you think about the fact that kapa haka is a recognised subject?

Specific questions

- 12. What are your views and understandings about kapa haka? In particular, what role do you think kapa haka can play to improve levels of achieving for Māori students at school?
- 13. What do you think about Māori students participating in kapa haka? Any concerns?

- 14. Have you received any training in developing educational programmes to teach Māori students in secondary schools?
- 15. What importance do you think Māori culture; skills, values, language and traditions play in the mainstream curriculum? Would you like to see more Māori culture, language, or knowledge within your curriculum or subject area and how do you feel this can be accomplished?
- 16. Do you see any educational cross-transfer of a student's level of involvement in kapa haka with their level of participation and achievement in your subject?
- 17. Do you have any knowledge or experience about integrating kapa haka into your subject or the way you teach Māori students?
- 18. As a result, of a Māori student's level of participation in kapa haka, have you found ways to access any educational benefits associated with the time, effort, energy Māori students give to kapa haka, back into you own subject areas?
- 19. Do you think it is possible integrate the teaching and learning that occurs in kapa haka into Maths, English and Science? Any examples of why, or why not?
- 20. Do you think there is any resistance to include or integrate Māori cultural activities or Māori cultural teaching and learning mediums in your school or in education? Why or why not?
- 21. If in the future we are to continue to improve educational outcomes for Māori students in secondary mainstream schooling contexts, how important do you think it is for Māori students to learn about who they are while achieving academic success? If not why not and if so how is this currently occurring?

Thank you for participating in this discussion and answering my questions. Is there anything else you want me to share with me that I may not have asked you about? I would like to set a time and date for one further meeting where all information will be available to you for feedback.

Finally, do you have any questions for me? I look forward to our next meeting and being able to organize the data for further interpretation and analysis. Kia ora!

MĀORI KAPA HAKA STUDENTS' FOCUS GROUP INTERVIEW PROCESS CHECKLIST

STUDENTS	STUDENT CONSENT	SCHOOL CONSENT	PARENTS CONSENT	INTERVIEW 1 COMPLETED	INTERVIEW 2 COMPLETED	FEEDBACK/ FOLLOW-UP COMPLETED
Henare	V	V	V	V	V	√
Lara		$\sqrt{}$	$\sqrt{}$	V		V
Tama	V			V		V
Kereti	V			V		V
Ngairo	V		$\sqrt{}$	V		V
Whitu	V			V	V	V
Kane	V					
Tahi	V					
Tarati						
Terehia	V			V	V	V
Hera	V			V	V	V
Wikitoria	V					
Ani	V					
Maata						
Fa						
Piripi	V	$\sqrt{}$	$\sqrt{}$			√
Nikora	V			V	V	
Huhana	V		√	V	√	V
Pare	V			V		V
Ripeka	V		√	V		V

MĀORI KAPA HAKA STUDENT OBSERVATIONS

	OBSERVATION 1 PRACTICE 1	OBSERVATION 2 ASSESSED TASK	OBSERVATION 3 PERFORMANCE/ COMPETITION
SCHOOL 1	\checkmark	\checkmark	√
SCHOOL 2	$\sqrt{}$	X	X
SCHOOL 3	√	√	√
SCHOOL 4	√	X	X

MAINSTREAM SECONDARY SCHOOL TEACHERS' ONE TO ONE INTERVIEW PROCESS CHECKLIST

STUDENTS	TEACHER CONSENT	SCHOOL CONSENT	INTERVIEW COMPLETED	TRANSCRIPTS RETURNED	FEEDBACK/ FOLLOW-UP CONFIRMED
A1 Debs	√	\ \ \	√	√	√
A2 Jim	1	1	V	√ V	V
A3 Whitu		$\sqrt{}$	V	V	
A4 Steve	√	√	V	V	V
A5 Don	V	$\sqrt{}$	V	V	$\sqrt{}$
A6 Sarah	√	$\sqrt{}$	V	V	$\sqrt{}$
A7 Bill	√	$\sqrt{}$	V	V	$\sqrt{}$
A8 Mike	$\sqrt{}$	$\sqrt{}$	$\sqrt{}$	$\sqrt{}$	V
B1 Derek	V		V	V	V
B2 Rima	V		V	V	V
B3 Frank	V		V	V	V
B4 Ian		$\sqrt{}$		$\sqrt{}$	
B5 Fred					
B6 Tania					
B7 May					
B8 Tom					
C1 Wally		$\sqrt{}$			
C2 Steph		$\sqrt{}$			
C3 Tim		$\sqrt{}$		$\sqrt{}$	$\sqrt{}$
C4 Te Ara		$\sqrt{}$		$\sqrt{}$	
C5 Sam		$\sqrt{}$		$\sqrt{}$	
C6 Tonya	√ √	√	$\sqrt{}$		$\sqrt{}$
C7 Kim	√	√			$\sqrt{}$
D1 Hare	√	$\sqrt{}$	V	V	V
D2 Terri		$\sqrt{}$	$\sqrt{}$		$\sqrt{}$
D3 Karl		$\sqrt{}$			
D4 Ellen					

APPENDICES B:

<u>CATEGORIES IDENTIFIED FROM SENIOR MĀORI KAPA HAKA FOCUS</u> <u>GROUP TRANSCRIPTS</u>

Categories	Key Word Descriptions
Benefits	(Learn, learning, culture, friends, belong, belonging, whānau, family, culture, language, enjoyment, fun, heritage, Māoritanga, traditions, customs, attractive or identity).
Family	(Family, whānau, together, support).
Performance	(Impressions, power, haka, ihi, wehi, waiata, aggression, express, expression, mana, perform, performance, attractive).
Group	(Group, together, all of us).
Kapa haka Being Māori Teaching Learning	(Kapa haka, when, how long, effort, time, energy, differences). (Being, allowing to be, Māori, Māoriness, needs, hopes, aspirations, future). (Teaching, teach, teacher, taught). (Experience, experiences, group, exciting, more explainable, interesting, enjoyable, reading in Māori, respect, break it down, how I learn).
Skills	(Skills, teach, perform, words, actions, weaponry, responsibility, discipline, commitment, leadership, to lead, build relationships).
Issues/Problems	(Problem, problems, issue, issues, negatives, put downs, don't, won't, could of, should of, missing, resistance, barriers, trouble, missing, wish I could of, dropout, wouldn't).
Teacher Relationships	(Teacher, teachers, school, teach, tell us, show us, want us to, let us, helpful). (Who I like, what I like, where I like, why I like, when I like, parents, teachers, whānau, and friends).
Stigmas/Stereotypes Mainstream Achievements	(Negative, only bad kids, think this way about us, Māori, dumb, idiot, trouble) (Pākehā, mainstream, subjects, crossover, credits, learn both, bilingual). (Achieve, achievement, achieving, achieved, credits, units, NCEA, level).
Cultural Success Difference Understandings	(Culture, cultural, success, recognition, proud, tikanga, language). (Different, differences). (Understand, know, knowledge, aware of, see, learn, taught, and need to know).
Time Why kapa haka	(Time, effort, energy, space, time in class, time in kapa haka, time away). (Choice, choose, chose, culture, identity, heritage, fun, respect, meeting new people, I did it, learn, compulsory).
- Competition	(Compete and competition).
- Choice - Culture	(Choice and choose). (Culture and cultural).
- Identity	(Who am I, identity).
- Fun - Family	(Fun, enjoyment, excitement, joy). (Family, whānau, brothers, sisters, mum, dad, grandparents).
- Rewards	(rewards, trips)
Feelings/Emotions Subjects School	(Wow, power, attractive, good, recognised, three words, awesome, exciting, fun, meanings, feelings, emotion, emotions). (Class, classes, teachers). (School, schooling).

$\frac{\text{CATEGORIES IDENTIFIED FROM MAINSTREAM SECONDARY SCHOOL}}{\text{TEACHER TRANSCRIPTS}}$

Categories	Key Word Descriptions
Challenges in Mainstream	(Work ethic, priority, swearing, learning Te Reo, tall poppy, primary to
Secondary School for	secondary, harness parent involvement, learning to relate, target achievement and
Teachers	not being Māori, having Māori initiatives, time, resources, adapting my culture, curriculum changes, NCEA, understand PE to be sport, institution, institutional inertia, increased responsibilities, lots of different hats, traditional subjects, schools are so set in their departments, Board lack direction, tokenism, lack of policies for Māori education, getting community on side, teachers working in only their own subject areas, age, different values, families who have a poor experience of education, isolation, conservative, academic outcomes, helping teachers to feel free, having time to learn Māori language, tikanga, empathy for all students including Māori, shortage of teachers, culture is dumped onto the school, being an HOD in the 1 st year, teachers in larger departments have more of say, kid in the wrong class, timetabling, top teachers aren't choosing to teach here, poorly prepared to teach in this environment, kids drop off, large number of different ethnic group, drop out rate, teach one size fits all, being a higher decile school we don't get additional funding, cost of funding the arts, resources to do performing arts, spread too thin, competition for top students, zoning, shortage of Māori teachers, Māori teachers overworked, teachers come from different backgrounds to the students they teach, communities need to drive schools more, large cultural differences, refugees, literacy is poor with different ethnic groups, language variations, smaller numbers, teaching across levels, learning disparities between Māori who come from rural areas versus urban areas, greater focus with strategic planning).
Rewards about Teaching	(Working with the child, seeing children say they can do it, students achieving, motivated, increased attendance, less likely to do drugs, less likely to get pregnant, retention of Māori students, higher grades, pass rates, credits, building relationships, getting to know them better, pay, I can teach practical things, can upgrade degree, learn different roles, extra co-curricular, personal life runs around this school, teaching kids to sing and perform).
Changes impacting on the School	(Māori students getting more involved, co-operative, building relationships, increase number of Māori staff, turn-over of staff, changes in principals, Māori students are a lot more settled, acceptance of Māori students, believing students can do it, new principal, emphasis on academic abilities, becoming more student based, more rigorous, more Māori teachers, weekly quizzes in Māori, topics in Social Studies focus on Māori society, Māori and Pākehā kids joke around more, leadership, discipline, resources in our department, having ERO help us, re-wrote policies and programme, identifying which kids are doing well, having a kura across the road, fading out of corporal punishment, policies, having a good admin, putting kids in classes where they going to get something, information gathering on all kids, Te Mana, Māori teachers, whānau class, objectives, school wide goals, meetings, committees, property developments).
Improvements you would like to see	(Introduce technologies, central database, better teachers teaching Māori students, teachers with passion, more Māori teachers, greater talking between teachers and students, Māori advisor, learn Te Reo, more funding, training, pronounce children's names, remove tokenism, acceptance of Māori culture and language, hide literacy and numeracy into interesting activities, need more creative, modern, smarter ways, building, leadership camps, practical activities, multi-media, large presentations, themes for learning, more physical, looking at more holistic approaches, personal relationships, be more experimental, mixed programme,

meet on a regular basis, co-ordinator for different programmes, welfare, network with schools, Heads meeting together, new topics introduced, contemporary subjects, more hands on, co-ordinator for Māori students, multi-level teaching, more parent involvement, developing a culture to learn, pushing values more, involving parents more, kids being successful, community culture of success, make it safe to learn, strong numerical skills, basic need to put some hard work in, holistic, teachers need to be open, community of caring people, better relationship between culture and education when one teaches, same standing, give them something before they leave school, move from working with kids to engagement, change teacher perceptions, making teachers creative and to explore, helping kids to gain a sense of belonging,

Major Contributions Teachers report

(Developing a special class for boys, homerooms, tutoring kapa haka, coaching sports, computer rooms, introducing NCEA, technology, PPTA, policies, disciplinary issues, ICT, Dean, HOD, working with children, learning Te Reo, get the best out of them and enjoy English, have skills, being structured and disciplined, developing discipline and respect, target culture, bringing their culture, provide opportunities to learn culture, profile of the Arts, working together, Head of Social Science, valuing the kids, using examples from their culture, using their experiences, being a role model, work with young teachers, empathy with kids, making education accessible on the weekends, peer support for girls, peer support programme, I'm an ideas person, sharing responsibility, SCAP leads others, we eat together).

Recent Developments in the school supporting Māori students to be successful

(Incorporate Marae protocols, freedom to move, cultural awareness, words, Te Mana, professional development, developing relationships, Tu Tangata, home rooms, more Māori staff, PEN, co-operative learning, Treaty of Waitangi, equity that cuts across gender and racial barriers, small games, activities, Marae trips, mixing the physical with the social, learn social skills, equity, becoming more flexible, merging vocational aspects of the subject, examples of Māori writers, text, alternative cultural texts, be more inclusive, WACKO classes, kapa haka, brief workshops on Māori students, targeting students who weren't passing, identifying kids, coaching, statistical work on kids passing or not passing, NCEA, revival of te reo and tikanga, inculcated, families enhancing both culture and education, set classroom up in a U shape, peer support, love performing, acknowledgement of how they learn best, expert tutors, creative teachers).

Issues impacting on Māori students in education in this school

(English, first language, girls, boys, boy, lose face, ethnicity, live in community, statistics, cultural issues, texts, relevant, confidence, work ethic, peer teaching, group work, impart knowledge through reading and writing, hard to define Māori culture, spiritual people, watch, experience both Māori and non-Māori culture, laws, rules, traditional structure, Unit standard versus NCEA, not preparing students for serious assessment, teachers see no difference between Māori students and Pākehā students, treat all in the same way, target achievement not being Māori, learning abstract, can be disrespectful, racist, racism, give Māori teachers more respect than white teachers, turn over in staff, younger staff, lack of knowledge about Māori culture and language, isolation of subject areas, they appear more practical, too few students know their culture, too much looking back, focus is on academic success, limited numbers or restrictions on Māori students attending Kura Kaupapa schools, drop off of Māori students in the senior years, parents being fearful of coming in, teachers don't live in the community, Māori teachers, fear, accepting kapa haka, ability to link information, credits for kapa haka, have to go to a nationals to be assessed, components of kapa haka should support other areas of assessment, culture gets in the road of their schooling, Māori students are separated when they return to class from kapa haka, whānau class says karakia, trips, academic driven schools, highly competitive academic community, schools competing for the best students, many Māori

students go to Kura Kaupapa Māori schools, not enough Māori students and teachers to authenticate culture, language, lack performing artists to help these students who thrive in kapa haka, red neck, Māori is not compulsory, institutional racism, Māori student appear scattered in mainstream, need to develop a school culture for the importance of Māori culture, language and ways of doing and knowing).

Kapa haka as an Academic subject

(Academic subject, assessed subject, credits, work to their skills, need to show what kapa haka has to offer, more motivated, spill over, its good, skills, depends on timetable, tutors, key adult, reveals character, only assessed at Nationals, some would rather do kapa haka in their own time not school time, can learn and achieve outside the classroom, every Wednesday, credits for Level 1, 2, and 3).

Benefits of kapa haka in this school

(Pride, self-esteem, togetherness, unity, proud, friendships, academic status, leadership, better behaved, attend school, interested, motivated, keen, positive, feel they are achieving, see advantages, nurtures being Māori, access to Māori language, culture and ways, only time they can be Māori, close relationship with the community, family, gain responsibility, respect the knowledge, respect the activity, group, performance orientated, mahi, discipline, speak Māori, standing tall as Māori, brings out rare personalities, blossoms, pōwhiri, haka, integral part of the school, national qualification, Māori Performing Arts, Te Reo Māori, NZQA accredited, everyone knows about it, turn-up, shine).

Instructional

(Instructions, e tu, command, English as the language of instruction, you learn alone not in a group in subjects, different teaching style in kapa haka, use language of students in your classroom, teachers are central)

Concerns about kapa haka

(Misses class, out of class, forming language, catch up, time away, define it, put it into a box, isn't kapa haka like sport, give up a lot of their own time, don't transfer, compartmentalised, why does kapa haka operate on a blank cheque, kapa haka takes preference, less time to cover academic subjects, takes kids out of class, teachers not knowing when it is on, disrupts the whole class, affects progress of students, do they do well outside of school, become a teacher's pet, backlash, can be friends but still steal from each other, the arrogance, impacts of school grades, develops arrogance, compulsion, burn-out, winning is everything, that Pākehā views about kapa haka are seen as racist, doesn't transfer to other subjects, can't plan for it, unpredictability, not formalised part of the school timetable, on a high, kick back, negative affect, how serious are schools about kapa haka, tensions, Māori students make comments to other Māori students who are not in kapa haka, its not as obvious as it should be, scepticism, the school is rural and White, no cross-transfer, kids are perceived as being behavioural problems, teachers who teach kapa haka are expected to do so much more than others, kids spend weekends practising and are not assessed, only the Kura Kaupapa Māori schools seem to always go to the Nationals).

Teacher Experiences

(Two languages, immigration, sensitive, aware, Māori background, South African, SA, working with Māori students, pastor, Christian, principal, HOD, chairman, have to re-learn, white middle class, told to look out for, use tables, academic council, new degree, new learning curves, teaching Māori, watched videos, learn differently, strong Māori background, personal experiences relate to teaching now, religious background, overseeing cultural groups, Pacific Islander, trying different things, learnt Māori language, no University learning about Māori students, provide humour, taught in Cambodia, isolation, lived in the area, some teachers talk is inappropriate, students say, being Māori they do this for us but not for other teachers, Māori teachers feed the kids, teachers have prior knowledge about kapa

haka , know its an academic subject, support Kura Kaupapa, integrate Māori students).

Resistance

(Ignorance, can cause damage, kapa haka not considered as an academic subject, 3Rs, debate about what is academic, crucial part of the whole school not just kapa haka, learning Tainui history, refuses to acknowledge, non-spiritual, non-Māori, not aware of culture, trouble adopting ideas, students expect too much, not talking between groups, no feedback, being Pākehā, Pākehā apathy, teaching to the exemplars, apathy for students, lack of understanding, Haka, not good at singing, think its religious. Christian thing is disturbing, some teachers stop students from going to kapa haka, people don't like to hug, don't want to acknowledge culture, some teachers don't like to give hugs, generation gap, its always been like that, treat them all the same, still comes back to the individual, fear, disregard, accept kapa haka, government focus, subject is cut and dry, grasp culture when it suits them, look at individual achievement, family making sure the child is educated, I cant speak the language, people judge, some students just turn up, tokenism, teachers don't play with their kids, relationships there is nothing, lots of teachers are not taking extra-co-curricular, I don't know syndrome, kapa haka is not timetabled, wharenui is used as an auditorium, recognising the wharenui, Māori community is not a strong group, I haven't been to a meeting, Ministry standards about Māori achievement is not clear, primary focus is on literacy and numeracy, peer group pressure).

Accommodating Māori Culture in education

(Accommodating, move towards, integrate, use kapa haka, Zulu culture, glean, culture as a conduit, accept status as tangata whenua, special boys school, Tainui protocols, feel affirmed, sharing and belonging, do things together, greet each other, partnership, consulting, feel included, get to know them, teachers need to talk to each other, allow time for Māori students to grow, every kid should learn it, its really important to know who you are, being proud, can't take a back step back, see more Māori on TV, see more Māori in official ceremonies, gradual process, Drama, should involve non-Māori, use the Welsh example, know the students, know their language, need more parents, parents succeeding, adult involvement, its up to the individual, Māori for me, common assumptions, inferred, collective identity, Visual Arts is inclusive of Māori culture, not the place to do so, difficult in a white rural school, kai, sleepovers, awhi each other, support each other, major events, acknowledge successes of culture, offering a balance of culture and academic subjects, Kōhanga and Kura Kaupapa, posters, performance, timetabling is difficult, parents may complain, finding positive things, need to be open to change, find out about their backgrounds, whānau unit, greater exposure to Māori language and culture is needed, culture of a school, takes an interest in them).

Teachers perceptions about teaching and learning of Māori students

(How educated, teaching experience, background, passion, can't imagine doing anything else, advocate, move heaven and earth, identify with the language and culture, transfer, immersed, get students striving to be excellent, genuinely like these kids, passionate, touch one child, love for Māori students, studied Māori language and culture, taught in, live in the community, live in the district, know the families, personal, engender, get to know them, create the culture, change current mind-set, more flexible, Māori students need balance, re-learn, takes time, Māori students respect Māori teachers more than Pākehā teachers, Māori students don't know what knowledge is, religion first, culture will get you nowhere, associate religion with culture. Marae not at school, fear it, God forbid if you strike, real risk, its not just about teachers every kid is different, culture impacts on academic success, its valid, vital people know here they are from, don't know their culture, comes from home not school, need to market it, wasn't warm, wouldn't say Kia ora, you awhi each other, you support each other, sleepovers, positive, access the success from kapa haka, NCEA is a good start, whole system needs to change, some don't want it, it's democratic, can have a

talent but teaching is different, teachers help talent to work, difficult to teach without experience, no parameters, students have confident attitudes, vocabulary keep simple, use of narratives, peer group pressure impacts on learning, working hard is seen as uncool, culture is equally as important as academic success, being interested in them, being a life coach).

Choice

(Not a choice, chose, choices, choice, choice being Māori, top teachers aren't choosing to teach here).

Cultural Responsiveness

(Visual, culturally orientated, greetings, TOW, Treaty of Waitangi, policies, New Zealanders, partnership, get to know them, response, guidelines, BOT do things in a vacuum, student and teacher partnerships, affirmation, provide meals, haven't seen any culturally responsive guidelines, in service training, pronounce names, Marae, professional standards, easier in PE because kids are able to draw on experiences more, allowing kids to be proud of being Māori, pronounce words properly, form a relationship, encourage, reward, talk about we and not me, respect is the key, make it compulsory).

Māori Learner

(Attention, contact, safe, accepted, bend over backwards, whānau, auditory and rote, reduce the can't read or write, I can, feel the rhyme of words, greet them in Māori, traditions, stories, telling our stories, tikanga Māori, sharing truths, mastery, master, discipline, study, apply, analysis, identify background, will challenge more, ask students, need to know who they are, every kid should learn it, stick in groups, more physical and outspoken, courageous, tell you what they think, don't perceive higher learning, parents learning Māori as a family, strongly associate with, work together, learn from each other, need mentors, need the community, role-models, holistic development, academic is not the only measure of success, being on the outside, being like Pākehā, sit and talk, language is a living thing, being who I am, has the Reo and tikanga, from home, avoidance, get put of learning, need to be reminded, senior Māori students are more motivated, visual rather than reading, heaps of group work, co-operative learning, repour, meeting individual needs, NCEA provides standards to achieve mastery, strong whānau support, rote learning, games they can play, make it a whole subject, nothing unique, some expect to be taught, students in the whānau class take Māori).

Curriculum development in support of elements pertaining to kapa haka

(Incorporate Māori names, customs, traditions, beliefs, values, time slots in the curriculum, cross-transferring skills, curriculum, cross-over, integrate, kapa haka as a subject, positive attitude to the curriculum, incorporate Māori in computing, Marae protocol, integrate Science, Māori and Food Tech, adapt to teach more like kapa haka, learn the language, nurture identity in that learning context, comes under the Performing Arts, needs to be more formalised, participate in wider learning contexts, spoken aspects, limited amount, creativity, boost self-confidence, explore themselves, creativity works, graphics in Māori, Art, Drama, focus on individuality, structure, group, life-skills, Māori art, inclusive, Kura Kaupapa education, Drama, sport, Drama production, kapa haka is timetabled in here, slide it into Visual Arts or performing arts, wider choice for senior students, greater opportunity to perform, activity based, performance based, kapa haka to English, transfer it well, real feelings, readers theatre, allowing kids to feel proud, field trips, bio-trips, community, Kingitanga, perform, make it a subject, tutors, opportunity to perform).

Teaching Problems/Issues

(Paperwork, lack of community involvement, extra responsibilities, lack of work ethic, attitude, lack of Māori teachers, lack of Māori parents, Māori teacher aides, lack of really good teachers, teachers who can teach, ability, difficulties trying to teach culture to Māori students in mainstream, they don't see it spill over, real

reluctance to learning, having a Marae at school, don't know Māori, try to, it doesn't belong at school, negative attitudes to topics such as the Treaty, TOW, teachers being here too long, shame we don't include kapa haka in the arts, takes precedence over other subjects, don't value, English language, many Māori students are not involved with their culture and language, many Māori kids want to leave school as soon as possible, many Māori students don't take Māori language or culture, peer group pressure, haven't promoted the academic side in sport and kapa haka enough, parents feeling fearful, peer group pressure, some teachers are not suited to particular schools, kids don't have big view of the world, allowing time to investigate real experiences, funding, school organization, culture of a school, expectations, traditions, community expectations, learned helplessness, students don't take learning seriously enough, families dependent on social welfare).

Indicators of Māori students achieving

(Observe and compare the differences in learning in a Māori class versus a mainstream classroom, performance criteria, outstanding performers, performance strands, composing, got up and performed, succeed, success, loved themselves, enjoyed the whole experience, proud, compulsory, every kid should learn it, you can have both, speaking Māori at home, family goal, parent involvement, internal assessment suits Māori learners, reaching goals, kids profile, whole school profile).

Ideological arguments

(Multi-culturalism, bi-cultural, mono-cultural, policies, give them balance, balance, special, choice, cultural responsiveness, difference, identity, culture, democratic, individual, getting a career, academic success, different cultures).

Leadership

(Principal, supportive, behind tikanga and customs, seeks advice, visible in the community, there are leaders and they there are leaders, everyone sees the kids performing, strategic planning, Board, community).

Teacher views and understandings about kapa haka

(Wananga, concentration, commitment, discipline, attitude, only as strong as your weakest performers, feel Māori, be accepted as Māori, reduce stereotypes regarding Māori being dumb or lazy, to be happy, instil pride for being Māori, pōwhiriō, reciprocity for learning, passionate kids, Excel, performing arts, sacrifice, more confident, skills, strong sense of rhythm, singing in tune, it exists, very good, see themselves as being very good, its fine, I can't do what they do in kapa haka in Maths, hearing and watching, they have place, enthusiastic, smiling, enjoying themselves, they need balance, very limiting, brutal, it should only be a way of showing and doing the culture, image, heritage, isolate themselves, supports the language and culture, need Euro-centric ways, no problem, many subjects have a strong cultural basis, it's a skill, it's a presentation, co-operative activity, not different to other activities, gives status in the school, they are learning, it has been ineffective in this school, innately physical, co-ordination, inspires, it could lift the whole school, simpatico, divisive, needs more recognition, not formalised, lack of feedback about kapa haka, major change, size of the school, won't succeed on it's own, not into competition, slots into Visual Arts, its great, develops passion, haven't tapped into the academic side of kapa haka, creates a different environment, different rules, different expectations).

Stigmas/Stereotypes regarding kapa haka

(Naughty little brats, dumb, lazy, expecting them not to achieve, stigmas, can't expect me to do that, Māori students are more practical especially ones who are illiterate, less academic, mask learning in other subjects, its easy, just have to swing a poi, throw a taiaha, those Māori get everything, seen as a easy credit, its only for Māoris, more acceptance in the cities than here, it has to be introduced in the cities, like sport, similar to Stage Challenge, in kapa haka you are in a group, you are whānau).

CODING OF CATEGORIES FOR MĀORI HAKA STUDENTS USING QSR N6 QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS PROGRAMME

Coding Themes	Key Ideas to E	merge	Key Word Descriptions
Social Interactions (T 1)	Peers	(1 1)	(Friends, peers, friendships).
	Group	(1 2)	(Together, all of us, group, team, teamwork).
	Bonding	(13)	(Belong, belonging, bond, together).
	Informal Discussion	ons (1 4)	(Discuss, discussions, talk).
	Trips	(1 5)	(Travel, trips, trip).
	Competition	(16)	(Compete, competition, competing).
	Participation	(17)	(Participate, participation, participating).
Motivation (T 2)	Interest	(2 1)	(Interest, interesting, attractive).
	Value	(2 2)	(Continue to do it, like it, its me, value).
	Confidence	(2 3)	(Confidence, confident).
	Self-Efficacy	(24)	(I know, I can do it, natural talent, when I was young/younger).
Affective (T 3)	Feelings	(3 1)	(Feel, feelings, how I feel, recognised, awesome, excited, joy).
	Emotional	(3 2)	(Power, wow, powerful, ihi, wehi, wairua, mana, awe, energy, aggression, aggressive, emotions, emotion).
	Meanings	(3 3)	(Three words, meaning, meanings).
Achieving (T 4)	Benefits	(4 1)	(Fun, enjoyment, friendships, experience, experiences).
	Success	(42)	(Success, recognition, language, culture, tikanga).
	Achievements	(4 3)	(Achieved, achievements, achievement, credits, units, NCEA, level, levels).
Identity (T 5)	Being Māori	(5 1)	(Being, Māori, iwi, hapū, I am from, who I am, proud).
	Whānau	(5 2)	(Family, whānau, brothers, sisters, uncles, aunties, parents, grandparents, koro, kuia, kaumatua, rangatira).
Student (T 6)	Learner	(61)	(Student, learner, in class, in school, learns both, being allowed to).

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	Learning Preferences	(62)	(Visual, see, hear, listen, touch, feel, impression, expression, creative, innovative, dynamic, choice, choose, how I learn).
	Learning	(6 3)	(Break it down, explain, interesting, exciting, explainable, reading in Māori, writing).
Skills (T 7)	Performing	(7 1)	(Perform, performance, performing, words, actions, choreograph).
	Cultural	(7 2)	(Haka, waiata, moteateaō, poi, te reo, kapa haka, protocols, Marae, whānau, kawa, dialect, pronunciation, respect).
	Discipline	(7 3)	(Discipline).
	Responsibility	(7 4)	(Responsibility, responsible, be responsible).
	Leadership	(7 5)	(To lead, leader, leadership).
	Commitment	(7 6)	(Committed, commitment, commit).
Teaching (T 8)	Teacher	(8 1)	(Taught, teacher, tell us, show us, let us, want us, helpful, teachers, matua, whaea, class room, in class).
Problems (T 9)	Stigmas/Stereotype	s (91)	(Only bad kids, think this way about us, dumb, idiot, trouble, time out, use it for, them, us).
	Problem	(92)	(One problem I see, problem with, problems).
	Issues	(93)	(Negative, issue, issues, one issue).
Resistance (T 10)	Barriers	(10 1)	(Barrier, barriers).
	Resistive Factors	(10 2)	(Resistance, missing, put downs, don't could of, should of, drop-out, wouldn't).
	Difference	(10 3)	(Difference, differences).
Mainstream (T 11)	Pākehātanga	(11 1)	(Pākehā, beliefs, ways of doing, ways of knowing, crossover).
	Nature of a School	(11 2)	(Mainstream, periods, timetable, classes, catch up, school).
	Hopes	(11 3)	(Like to see, wish, hope, don't know why, wonder why, aspirations, I wish, bilingual, career, job, money).

	Academic	(11 4)	(Subject, academic subject, qualification).
Experiences (T 12)	Fondest Memories	(12 1)	(Memories, going to, doing).
	Knowledge and Understandings	(12 2)	(Know, understand, aware of, need to know, knowledge).
	Time	(12 3)	(How much time, not enough time, time to do, time, time away, how long, when).
	Effort	(12 4)	(Effort, organise, balance, try harder, put the time in)
	Energy	(12 5)	(Energy, give more)

CODING OF CATEGORIES FOR TEACHERS USING N6 QUALITATVE ANALYSIS PROGRAMME

Coding Themes		Key Ideas to Emerge		Key Word Descriptions
Teacher Responsibilities	(T 1)	Senior Middle Managemen	nt (1 1)	(HOD DP AP Dean Curriculum responsible my job Head of Department Deputy Principal Assistant principal in charge of).
Teacher Experiences	(T 2)	Overseas Teaching Experi	ience (2 1)	(South Africa overseas).
		Working with Māori Stud	ents (2 2)	(Māoriexperiences teaching Māori students).
Teaching Training	(T 3)	Primary Trained	(3 1)	(Primary trained Primary School).
		Secondary Trained ((3 2)	(Secondary trained Secondary School).
Challenges in Teaching	(T 4)	Māori Students ((4 1)	(Work ethic families have failed poor self-image swearing tall poppy parent involvement learning to relate different values adapting my culture literacy language variations shortage of Māori teachers).
		School Infrastructure ((4 2)	(Timetabling timetable subject choices steaming administration tradtional conservative White mainstream zoning).
		Community	(4 3)	(Community parent involvement parent education).
		Curriculum	(4 4)	(Māori tikanga whānau Te reo kaupapa Māori performing arts the arts).
		Ethnic Diversity ((4 5)	(Different cultures ethnic groups refugees teacher from different backgrounds language problems learning disparities).
		In the Classroom	(4 6)	(Class numbers rural verus urban Māori students learning dispaities teach one size fits all kids in the wrong class class environment).
		Competition	(4 7)	(Competition for top students academic success academic driven competition for time in the school timetable).
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		Departments	(4 8)	(Larger departments have more say traditional subjects)
		Staffing	(4 9)	(Shortage of teachers Māori teachers overworked poorly prepared to teach top teachers aren't choosing).
		Teaching in Mainstread Schools	m (4 10)	(Teaching across levels Board decile).
Rewards in Teaching	(T 5)	The Child	(5 1)	Working with the child student achieving motivated children).
		Reduce at Risk Social Behaviours	(5 2)	(Drugs alcohol pregnant truancy improve attendance).
		Academic Achievement	(5 3)	(Credits pass rates higher grades perform better).
		Relationships	(5 4)	(Getting to know building relationships).
		Personally	(5 5)	(Up grade degree personally).
Changes in the School Benefiting Māori Student		Whānau Class	(6 1)	(Teachers/whānau group/class).
	(1 0)	Leadership	(6 2)	,
		Ministry Support	(63)	(Education review ERO Ministry).
		Teacher Attitudes	(6 4)	(Identify kids doing well putting kids in classes attitudes).
		Professional Developme	ent (6 5)	(Te Mana PEN).
		Homerooms	(6 6)	(Home rooms).
		Māori Teaching Staff	(67)	(Increase in Māori staff).
		Inclusive School	(6 8)	(Inclusive include).
Improvements Teachers Seek	(T 7)	Technology	(7 1)	(Technologies database)
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	Better Teachers Practical Activities Programmes	(72) (73) (74)	(Passion advisor Te Reo acceptance creative modern s marter tokenism caring genuine Multi-level change explore helping belong). (Multi-media practical camps). (Mixed experimental topics co-ordinator).
	Develop a Culture of Lea	arning (7 5)	,
	Different Learning Approaches	(7 6)	(Relationships holistic contemproary interesting).
Benefits of kapa haka in Mainstream Schools (T 8)	Academic	(8 1)	(Gain NCEA standards qualification).
	Tikanga	(8 2)	(Protocols tikanga).
	Te Reo	(8 3)	(Te Reo NCEA).
	Whānau	(8 4)	(Whānau family parents siblings grandparents brorthers and sisters).
	Community	(8 5)	(Community Kingitanga).
	Character	(8 6)	(Character).
	Learning outside the Classroom	(8 7)	(Nationals Regionals assessed).
	Being Māori	(8 8)	(Being).
	Behaviour	(8 9)	(Confident keen motivated positvie behaved).
Concerns about kapa haka (T 9)	Miss Normal Class Tim	e (9 1)	(Miss out away).
	Lack of Communication	1 (9 2)	(When communicate let us know).
	Workload Peer Group Pressure		(Weekend double workload harder) (Peers friends group belonging).

	Competitive vs Partic	cipation (9 5)	(Competitive participation).
Resistance to kapa haka (T 10)	Stigmas/Stereotypes	(10 1)	(Refuse lacks tokenism unsure bad pressure stigma).
Teacher Cultural Responsiveness (T 11)	Accommodating	(11 1)	(Glean accommodate).
	Treaty of Waitangi	(11 2)	(TOW Treaty Treaty of).
	Tangata Whenua	(11 3)	(Land Tangata Whenua).
	The Visual	(11 4)	(Visual visually visual arts).
	Kura Kaupapa	(11 5)	(Kura Kura Kaupapa kohanga whare kura).
	Balance	(11 6)	(Balance balanced curriculum balanced).
Ideological Arguments (T 12)	Multi-culturalism	(12 1)	(Multi-cultural multi-culturalism).
	Choice	(12 2)	(Choice chooses choosing).
	Bi-cultural	(12 3)	(Bi-cultural bi-culturalism).
	Democratic	(12 4)	(Democracy democratic majority minority).
	Individual	(12 5)	(Individual is m individual).
	Difference	(12 6)	(Difference unique).
	Identity	(12 7)	(Identity).
	Culture	(12 8)	(Culture cultural culturally cultures cultured).
	Success	(12 9)	(Winners losers successful successes success successfully).
Future with kapa haka (T 13)	Future	(13 1)	(Future).
	Career	(13 2)	(Career careers jobs educational arts television).

APPLICATION OF TEACHER PRACTICE FOR MĀORI STUDENTS ACROSS THE FOUR MAINSTREAM SECONDARY SCHOOLS- ANALYSIS **USING TEACHER TRANSCRIPTS**

Community- Based Mainstream Secondary Schools	Culturally Responsive Standards for Teachers and Schools to Achieve levels of Cultural Competency	Collaborative Consultation with Māori- Inclusive Educational Leadership	Reflective Practitioners focusing on Māori Learning Needs, Styles, Motivation and Aspirations	Design and Implement Curriculum that aligns Culture in its Widest sense with Education	Seek Personal and Professional Growth about Māori culture, language, ways of doing and knowing	Employ Teaching Strategies that Improve the likelihood of Māori Students Achieving	Building Learning Relationships with Māori Communities (Home- school- student- teacher)	Holistic/ Integrated/ Alternative Learning Experiences that support Maori Student Identity and Culture	Main- stream Secondary School Teachers
School 1	X	P	P	X	P	+	P	P	A1 Debs
	X	+	+	P	+	+	+	+	A2 Jim
	X	P	+	+	+	+	+	+	A3 Whitu
	X	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	A4 Steve
	X	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	A5 Don
	X	X	P	P	+	+	P	P	A6 Sarah
	X	P	P	P	P	X	P	X	A7 Bill
	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	A8 Mike
School 2	X	P	P	P	X	P	P	P	B1 Derek
	X	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	B2 Rima
	X	P	X	X	P	P	X	X	B3 Frank
	X	X	P	P	X	P	P	P	B4 Ian
	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	B5 Fred
	X	X	X	X	P	X	P	P	B6 Tania
	X	X	P	P	X	P	P	X	B7 May
	X	P	+	+	P	+	+	+	B8 Tom
School 3	X	X	P	X	P	X	+	P	C1 Wally
	X	P	P	P	P	P	+	P	C2 Steph
	X	X	+	X	P	X	P	X	C3 Tim
	X	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	C4 Te Ara
	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	C5 Sam
	X	+	+	+	P	+	+	+	C6 Tonya
	X	X	P	P	P	P	P	P	C7 Kim
School 4	X	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	D1 Hare
	X	X	P	X	X	X	P	X	D2 Terri
	X	X	X	X	X	P	P	X	D3 Karl
	X	X	P	P	P	P	+	P	D4 Ellen

^{+ =} Practice Exists (58)

P = Partially Exists (72)

X = Practice does not Exist (85)
* Teachers (27)

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GLOSSARY

A

ako learn and teach aroha unconditional love

H

haka peruperu war dance with feet being tucked up as they approach

haka pōwhiri challenge to welcome guests haka puha war dance prior to battle

haka wahine woman war dance

hāngi earth oven hapū sub-tribe hau wind

hauora health and well being

hinengaro mental and emotional well-being

hōhā bored, monotony hou bind together

Ι

ira tangata human life

iwi tribe

K

kai food

kapa haka Māori dance group performance

karakia prayer kaupapa strategy

Kaupapa Māori Māori theoretical framework

kei te pai it is good

kia ora Māori greeting for Hello

koru spiral pattern

kia piki aku raruraru o te kainga principle of mediation

koauau flute

kōwhaiwhai painted wooden panels

M

mana integrity, charisma, prestige

mana whenua sense of belonging

manaakitanga care and respect of people

manu kōrero speeches

Māori ordinary - fresh, native or plain

Marae Māori meeting house

matua parent
mauri life force
Māoritanga Māori culture
mere short flat club
mihi greeting

mōteatea traditional chant

N

ngā mahi a te rēhia dance and drama

Ngā Toi roto i te Mātauranga o

Aotearoa The Arts in the New Zealand curriculum

ngahou games, entertainment

nguru nose flute

 $\mathbf{0}$

ope group or party

P

Pākehā European, non- Māori, Caucasian

Pākehātanga European ways Papatuanuku Mother Earth

peruperu men displaying weapon manipulation

poi ball on string poroporoaki farewell

pōwhiri welcoming ceremony

pūkana stare wildly

 \mathbf{R}

rākau wooden stick rāranga flax weaving

T

ta moko Māori body decoration- tattoo

taiaha long club

tangata whenua people of this land

tangi mourning taonga treasure

taonga tuku iho principle of reciprocal learning

tapu sacred

te ao mararama the world of enlightenment

Te Kauhua the foundation

Te Kōhanga Reo Māori language learning nests (early childhood)

Te Kōtahitanga Project developing teachers who work with Māori students
Te Kura Kaupapa Māori Māori language immersion schools (primary and intermediate)

Te Hiringa i te Mahara

The power of the mind- Māori teachers unite

Te Mana Ministry strategy encouraging Māori of all ages into education

Te Reo Māori language

Te Reo Kori the language of movement
Te Waharoa National certificate in Māori
Te Whare Tapere The House of Amusement

tika correct

tikanga Māori protocol and processes – ways of knowing and doing

tino rangatiratanga self determination

toi ataata visual arts toi pūoro music

tukutuku decorative reed panel

tutungarahu war dance

U

utu exacting revenge

W

waiata -ā- ringa action song waiata poi poi song

waiata tawhito traditional song

wairua spirit

wairuatanga spiritual connectedness waka spiritual connectedness canoe travelled by water

wānangahigher learningwhaistring gamewhakaekeentrance

whakairo intricate Māori carvings

whakamana empower

whakanui expressing acknowledgement

whakapapa genealogy
whakaraka action stances
whakatoi expressing fun
whakawaatea exit performance
whakawhānaungātanga building relationships

whānau family

Whānau Rumaki Family Unit/Room

Whare Kura Māori immersion language secondary school