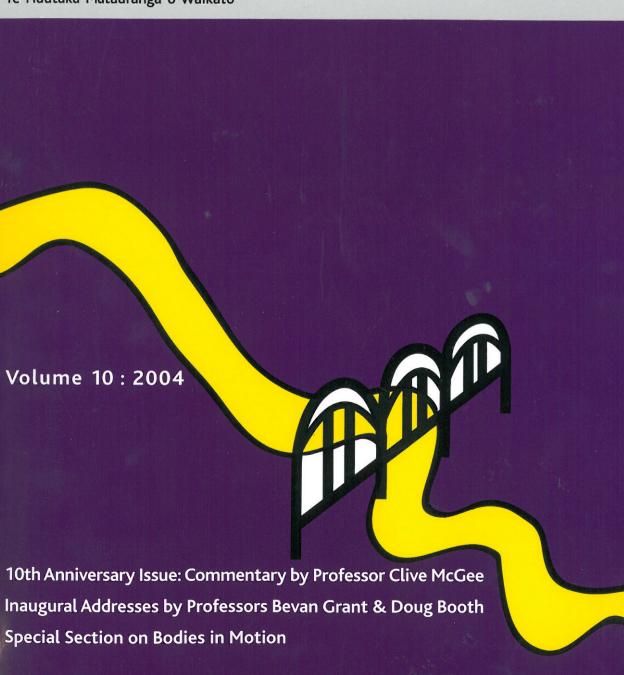


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THE INDIGENOUS FACTOR: THE ROLE OF KAPA HAKA AS A CULTURALLY RESPONSIVE LEARNING INTERVENTION

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ABSTRACT The development and implementation of Ngā toi i roto i te matauranga o Aotearoa ((Māori visual and performing arts) has seen Kapa Haka (a (Māori performing dance group) emerge as a dynamic and powerful way for many schools and teachers to engage student learning about (Māori culture, language, and traditions (New Zealand Qualifications Authority, 2002). The main aim of this paper is to focus on the importance Kapa Haka has for (Māori students, and to outline why many (Māori students are now actively choosing Kapa Haka as an integral part of their educational programmes. The first part highlights the dilemmas associated with (Māori underachievement and the move by educators to include more innovative and culturally appropriate learning programmes to support the (Māori learner. The second part highlights the importance of (Māori pedagogy as it reflects the cultural dimensions associated with the teaching and learning of (Māori students. A more innovative approach considers Ngā toi i roto i te matauranga o Aotearoa (Māori visual and performing arts) document launched in March 2001, and the implementation of NCEA (National Certificate in Educational Achievement) which has helped to raise the educational status of Kapa Haka, supporting many Māori students to obtain a formal qualification. Finally, the paper considers some of the challenges facing teachers in their attempts to access the benefits associated with the time, energy and effort Māori students give to Kapa Haka.

INTRODUCTION

Over the past 10-15 years there has been a plethora of educational reviews and reports focusing on ways to improve Māori underachievement (c.f. Education Review Office, 2002, 2003; Ministry of Education, 2001a, 2001b; New Zealand Council for Educational Research, 1996; New Zealand Ministry of Māori Development, 1997; Peddie, 1974; Titus, 2001). Factors such as inconsistent attendance, high numbers of truancy and suspensions appear frequently as the main factors impinging on their efforts to achieve (Durie, 2001; Ministry of Education, 1998, 2000d). For many schools and teachers, assisting Māori students to feel valued as learners remains a critical issue in ensuring they are able to build a positive learning relationship with their teachers (c.f. Bishop & Tiakiwai, 2003; Education Review Office, 2003; Hattie, 2003). Accordingly, such relationships continue to entrench Māori within Western Euro-centric frameworks, depriving Māori of accessing culturally innovative ways of enhancing their educational success.

Indeed, knowing what Māori value in education and implementing educational initiatives that consider the cultural needs of Māori is an important

part of reversing the cycle of Māori underachievement. The Ngā toi i roto te matauranga o Aotearoa document provides a wide range of innovative visual and artistic forms of learning, that engage many Māori students in culturally preferred ways of learning is proving successful. In many total immersion settings this document is vital way of teaching and learning of Māori culture, language and traditions, but ensuring such initiatives can be readily transferred to the 90 percent of Māori who reside in mainstream schools is a much more complex task, given the preoccupation on the traditional core subjects (Ministry of Education, 2000a, 2000c). However many anecdotal reports of Kapa Haka suggest, that it is a highly disciplined learning activity which embraces a multitude of skills and learning experiences improving confidence, self-expression, and the ability to build a sense of belonging creating the approval for learning (Hindle, 2002; Karetu, 1993; Mead, 1997; Merritt, 1996).

Today, Kapa Haka continues to shape Māori students in a creative, respectful and disciplined manner (Hindle, 2002; Karetu, 1993; Mead, 1997; Merritt, 1996). Whilst there is very limited research or evidence to support how Kapa Haka works to support academic success there are a number of indicators to suggest, that due to the increased levels of self-esteem and confidence, Māori students are acquiring a stronger sense of urgency to want to achieve, and what it actually means to achieve (Rubie, 1999). Salter (2000) suggests that by interpreting and describing the experiences Māori students acquire could be a useful way of identifying and addressing their cultural and learning aspirations. Eisner (1988, p. 15) in support of this argues that;

Experience is more than a simple given of life. It is not only an event; it is also an achievement. The qualities of the world are there for those who have the skills to take them. It is one of our culture's most significant tasks, one for which our schools have a special responsibility, to provide the tools and to develop the skills through which the child can create his or her own experience (p. 15).

Bevan-Brown (2003, p. 1) also argues, 'that she has met many people who do not understand the role 'culture' plays in a child's learning, and therefore the influence of culture, as it pertains to meeting the needs of children with culture, is often compromised within how the curriculum is accessed to meet their needs'. Māori researchers (Bishop, 1998; Hemara, 2000; Jenkins, 2000; Macfarlane, 2004; Smith, 1987, 2000) state emphatically that there is an inherent lack of integrating Māori knowledge, culture, language and traditions within the broader context of what the educational curriculum provides. Indeed, the problem may well lie in what Te Puni Kokiri (2001, p. 29) describes as a lack of educational quality assurance, and that teacher training programmes should work more rigorously to assist teachers to appreciate the context of Māori experiences in ways that connects education to their very essence, experience and being as Māori. The inherent problem for many mainstream (English-medium) schools and teachers is actually identifying from a student perspective, the benefits associated with the time, energy and effort Māori students give to Kapa Haka and how this can be readily identified to support how teachers teach Māori students with greater success. Alternatively, in many instances traditional Māori knowledge has become increasingly appropriated and reshaped for purposes beyond those which Māori may well support (Durie, 1997; Salter, 2000; Smith, 2000). Indeed, the growing diversity of knowledge in education, the different belief systems associated with rural and urban Māori communities, and the lack of schools and teachers finding innovative ways to access the curriculum for Māori students have all contributed to the educational crises Māori face in education today. A strategy of engaging Māori students as successful learners was raised at the Hui Taumata Conference in Taupo in 2004, that Māori students are looking for teachers who are passionate about their subjects, committed to teaching and learning and are enthusiastic about connecting Māori to who they are in the widest possible sense (Durie, 2004). A teacher may not necessarily need to know all there is about what it means to be Māori, but their energy and passion for their subjects is vital in imparting the confidence to support wider learning opportunities that may well support the Māori learner.

As a preface to this paper I will raise the importance of culture as a prerequisite for Māori students to achieve more successfully. Hence, there are some important questions to consider:

- What kinds of educational programmes do Māori students feel they do achieve within more consistently?
- How does Kapa Haka work to support the cultural learning aspirations and needs of the Māori learner?
- How can Kapa Haka, as a learning intervention, support schools and teachers to be more culturally responsive in being able meet the benefits associated with the time, effort and energy Māori students given to Kapa Haka?

The importance of focusing on the cultural dimensions associated with Māori pedagogy, the implementation of the Ngā toi i roto te matauranga o Aotearoa document, and the importance of Kapa Haka as a culturally responsive learning intervention are all positive measures contributing to the success of the Māori learner.

Moving Past Māori Underachievement

Māori underachievement continues to be a complex and difficult challenge for most educators to overcome (c.f. Education Review Office, 2002; Education Review Office, 2003; Ministry of Education, 2000d; New Zealand Ministry of Māori Development, 1997; Te Puni Kökiri, 1998, 2001; Te Puni Kökiri Ministry of Māori Development, 1998). Furthermore, there are a number of Ministry documents, reports, reviews and research suggesting that schools and teachers need to make stronger relationships with their students based around making a 'cultural connection' (Macfarlane, 2004). Moreover, the educational statistics continuing to show poor levels of literacy, and high levels of absenteeism and suspensions among Māori students, influencing high levels of Māori leaving school without any kind of formal qualification is a major concern for Aotearoa New Zealand (Hattie, 2003; Ministry of Education, 2001a, 2003a; Watkin, 2004). Historically, Simon (1995) states 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 education... Added to this, were 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).

Research on the ways Māori achieve in education needs a greater philosophical shift towards identifying what constitutes knowledge, and how such knowledge validates, benefits and legitimates what Māori actively seek within education today (Ministry of Education, 1990, 1998, 2000b, 2000d; Penetito, 1996). However, removing the stigma attached to how statistics so often disproportionately represent Māori levels of achievement remains a consistent barrier to Māori succeeding in education (Watkin, 2004).

Furthermore, many Māori researchers (Bevan-Brown, 2003; Bishop & Tiakiwai, 2003; Macfarlane, 2004) insist that many teachers are in positions where they being expected to just cope with the increasing diversity of cultures and experiences students bring to school, negating the ability for teachers to cater for the needs of Māori students. Moreover, defining culture, within the context of teaching and learning is a difficult task to achieve in light of what can a make a difference for Māori students, let alone the increasing demands of many cultures. The variations and different learning levels of Maori students, coupled with different backgrounds and experiences, suggests that schools and teachers need to know in some capacity ways they work towards becoming more culturally responsive (c.f. Alaska Native Knowledge Network, 1998; Alaska Native Knowledge Network, 1999)

Adopting a more values based education system, which coaches a sense of character in young people to not only appreciate individual differences, but also develops trust and mutual respect for each other, may actually support the decisions students choose to make in education (Lynch, 2002). Lynch (2002, p. 1) suggests;

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.

He continues by suggesting 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 motivation in students to want to learn (Lynch, 2002). Critical to advancing Māori educational aspirations should be the ability to, not only embrace te ao Māori (the world of Māori), but to embrace te ao whānui (the global world) (Durie, 2003). It may be plausible to suggest that Māori students need to know more about who they are first, in order to build the levels of confidence, pride and self-esteem necessary to seek the wider learning experiences many educators wish students to explore.

Dimensions of a Culturally Responsive Pedagogy for Māori

The plea by Māori students for schools and teachers to include more culturally appropriate and preferred teaching and learning mediums are growing (Bishop, 1998; Durie, 2003; Hemara, 2000; Macfarlane, 2004; Penetito, 2002). Indeed, such growth has seen a greater commitment to transform educational initiatives that are fundamentally more inclusive, integrated and meaningful for Māori (Bishop & Glynn, 1999; Bishop & Tiakiwai, 2003; Macfarlane, 2004) and is also an example of what other indigenous nations are committed to self-determining for their own communities (Alaska Native Knowledge Network, 1998, 1999).

For example, Macfarlane's (2004) innovative 'educultural wheel' suggests, that the key to improving teaching and learning for Māori students should contain the following concepts:

Building relationships (whanaungatanga),

Develop an ethic of caring (manaakitanga) and bonding (kotahitanga)

Establish effective teaching practices (rangatiratanga),

Incorporate within the morale, tone and pulse (pumanawatanga) of reaching out, effectively breathing life into the first four concepts.

The approach suggests that education and culture are inextricably linked to embracing, enhancing and enriching a deeper sense of Māori culture, self and identity.

Metge (1987) argues that Māori educational initiatives should enable students to own the knowledge, and that relationships developed between the teacher and the learner should be central to learning. Traditionally, Māori learners have expectations and are encouraged to look at, listen and remember skills for use in later tasks, as often these skills pertain to vital tribal information such as whakapapa (geneaology), tauparapara (chants), waiata (song), purakau, and karakia (prayer). In a way the knowledge base of an entire tribal group can remain a living and growing entity, with members passing through various stages of apprenticeship, continually serving to keep knowledge alive, and vital for ensuing generations.

Today, the Treaty of Waitangi underpins many of the learning principles and practices schools and teachers are expected to know and be aware of, and in particular, Article Two highlights the implications for educators (Ministry of Education, 1993). This article fundamentally implies that the Crown, and its agencies, must recognise the right of Māori to define, protect, promote and control all of their treasures (taonga) and resources (Bishop & Glynn, 1999). Included in these treasures are the epistemological and pedagogical questions as to what counts as knowledge, and how that knowledge is preserved, transmitted and evaluated. Article Two, therefore, addresses issues of curriculum validity, teaching and learning methodology, suggesting emphatically, that education for Māori should not come at the expense of ones language or cultural aspirations, but rather should enhance further the relationship between culture and education.

Eisner's (1998, p. 15) focus on the experience of teaching the arts to improve academic achievement develops the capacity to view education from a wider and more innovative perspective. He suggests that teachers need to lose the paternal nature of always feeling they have to give students what they want, rather teachers should focus more on helping students to understand more about what they ought to, and learn to interpret art education in ways that contribute to the overall wellbeing of an individual (Eisner, 1998). The balance between culture and education perhaps suggests that schools and teachers need to be better informed about what Māori value in education, and why, and to work towards a more educationally cultured pathway.

Accordingly, Salter (2000) argues that 'Pākehā education' (mainstream) is more 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.

Although, conceptualising better ways of adopting the curriculum for the benefit of the Māori learner requires a clearer definition of the relationship between culture and education, there is a general consensus among many Māori students, that a teacher with passion and enthusiasm for their subject is a major advantage for any learner (Durie, 2004; Ministry of Education, 2000d, 2002, 2003b). The key to balancing culture and education remains a challenge for many teachers who usually train to teach their specific subjects, yet the contribution the visual and performing arts has to 'boost academic achievement', is something many indigenous cultures have demonstrated as being an integral part of developing a holistic sense of well-being while learning the skills and information needed for the future (Eisner, 1999).

The Advancement of Nga Toi (Performing Arts) in the Curriculum

The Ngā toi i roto i te matauranga o Aotearoa document launched in March 2001 aims to;

- instil a Māori essence through the language and resources of the Māori art-
- construct pathways so that all New Zealanders can pursue the different Māori art-forms
- nurture and strengthen the Māori art forms of Aotearoa and foster learning of the contemporary arts
- raise awareness for all people, regarding the fruits and benefits of the Māori
- strengthen the Māori language and customs through the arts
- support planning and implementation processes in Māori immersion schools.

Fundamental to ensuring that traditional cultural practices and concepts, such as, mauri (ones essence or life-force), tikanga (understanding implicitly the meanings, customs, criteria, obligations, conditions and provisions of being Māori), whakapapa (Māori views of existence and connection to ancestors), karakia (Māori prayer), waiata (songs of emotion, past, present, future, spirit and life) and moteatea (ancient chants linking the past with the present) are an integral part of Māori learner's

education is to find ways to embrace these elements in wider and more natural learning contexts (Durie, 2001; Hemara, 2000; Henry, 2000; Patterson, 1992)

Furthermore, a set of national educational and administrational goals (NEGs and NAGs) aimed at improving student outcomes, advise that teaching and learning should embrace and deliver in some way aspects of Māori language, culture and heritage to assist students to understand their national heritage as New Zealanders (Education Review Office, 1995b). Likewise, due to the resurgence of Māori educational frameworks in the 1980s and 1990s, Māori learning aspirations have significantly advanced ways for Māori to self-determine their own educational goals and strategies, providing a greater sense of direction for Māori education. The inclusion of Te Kōhanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Māori schools have significantly led the way towards implementing the curriculum in respect of their culture, language and traditions (Smith, 2000, 2002; Walker, 1990). The scope of such schools are seen as critical measures in raising culturally viable learning mediums, such as Kapa Haka, to improve the overall success of Māori students in education (Education Review Office, 1995a; Hindle, 2002; Kaiwai, 2001). For Māori, Kapa Haka is an integral part of supporting pöwhiri (welcoming visitors), kaitautoko (supporters) for the kaikōrero (speaker), entertaining guests during a hakari (feast), tangihanga (to grieve for those who have past) and signifies that learning within a tradition establishes a deep respect for knowledge, and supports significantly ones unique individual identity (Kaiwai, 2001).

Kapa Haka as a Culturally Responsive Learning Intervention

Today, Kapa Haka (a Māori dance performance) draws from both Māori and European/Western societies (Kaiwai, 2001). It is an artistic tradition that integrates aspects of ngā mahi a te rēhia (dance and drama), toi puoro (music) and toi ataata (the visual arts) (Hindle, 2002). Kapa Haka in its competition format is made up of five main genres:

- Mōteatea (traditional chants) waiata koroua or waiata tawhito
- Poi (string ball)
- Haka (war dance or posture dance)
- Waiata ā ringa (action song)
- Waiata tira or himene (choral pieces)

Kapa Haka has been developing since the turn of the 20th century and composers such as Apirana Ngata, Princess Te Puea, Paraire Tomoana, Tuini Ngawai, and others have contributed significantly to reviving and preserving the art form as a modern day treasure (Kaiwai, 2001). Hindle (2002, p. 5) reveals the importance of learning through Kapa Haka:

Through art traditions, Māori give expression to all forces within the total environment. Their art, whether it be dance, drama, the visual arts or music, invokes the aesthetic dimensions of wairua (spirit), mauri (lifeforce), mana (respect), ihi (power), wehi (fear) and wana (authority)...They draw their inspiration from their connection and relatedness to their environment. For example, the trembling of the air as seen on hot days of summer is demonstrated in the wiri (quivering of the hands). Kōkirikiri (a type of foot movement) comes from the movements of a pukeko (swamp bird) testing the ground as it transfers its weight from one leg to the other. The violent shaking of the earth and lightening flashing across the sky, are expressed by the chanting and performing in traditional haka (dance... as Māori prepare and present art forms, they are ever-mindful of the wairua (spirit) and respectful of their part in the cycle of life. They represent their tūpuna (ancestors), they are their faces, and they have been gifted with the many traditions passed down from them. It is our job as educators to nurture and develop these traditions in Māori students... Kapa Haka is a more conducive, relevant and enjoyable way to integrate the curriculum while learning about being Māori.

Indeed, the primary and secondary national schools Kapa Haka competitions have all grown significantly since its conception in 1972 (Gardiner, 2001). Accordingly, the fundamental purpose of Kapa Haka has always been to assist Māori students to strengthen their links with iwi, hapu and whānau, while growing in the knowledge of Māoritanga (Kaiwai, 2001). Kapa Haka allows Māori students to reveal the potential of self, culture and identity through the art of performing. It also possesses the ability to link the performance to appreciating individual uniqueness (difference) while helping students to come to know the value of human potential (Hindle, 2002). Kapa Haka instils levels of creativity through the expression of body movements and actions, the expression of words, the connections between the living and those who have past, principles reflecting life and knowing, as well as, how Māori now live today. It is in every dimension of the life itself and in how Māori as a people connect their destiny, philosophies and purpose for being.

Every facet of the Kapa Haka performance can be readily linked, in some way to the various strands included in the national curriculum (c.f. Education Review Office, 2003; Ministry of Education, 1999, 2000a; Ministry of Education, 2000c, 2001a). For example, health and physical well-being supports te reo kori (the language of movement), the nga toi (creative and performing arts) curriculum supports and integrates language, music, dance, drama, and the visual arts, which can be readily transferred into other curriculum areas including social studies, the sciences, mathematics and the languages (Hindle, 2002; Ministry of Education, 2000a, 2000c). Salter (2000, p. 55) explains the role Kapa Haka serves in Te Reo Kori (the language of movement) within the health and physical education curriculum. These include,

- linking kapa haka performances with the te reo kori so that particular skills and interests can advance;
- creating a school kawa (atmosphere, protocol) where Māori performing arts can be fore grounded (for example, powhiri (formal greetings), hui (gatherings), tangi (funeral) and whaikorero (speech-making);
- sharing ideas and skills with other groups at appropriate festivals and
- supporting school representatives in sports teams and other endeavours.

Rubie's (1998) thesis, The effect of a Maori culture group experience on children's selfesteem, locus of control and academic performance highlighted that the experience of performing in Kapa Haka locally and abroad, not only improved individual levels of self-esteem and discipline, but it also helped to improve class attendance, work ethic and school assessment results. Although these examples clearly suggest there are benefits associated with Māori students participating in Kapa Haka, the Education Review Office (2003, p. 1), in their review of Māori students in mainstream schools 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.

However, whilst there are a great deal of educational programmes working to improve educational outcomes for Māori, a review on the quality of teacher education programmes contend that there are a number of discrepancies associated with how training teachers view their roles, and how prepared and confident they feel about teaching and working with Maori students (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2001). It may be plausible to suggest that these differences, although what makes us who we are, usually refers to lack of understanding between culture and education, and in particular, individuals valuing their indigenous as New Zealanders and what that actually means in what we provide as valid, legitimate and connected curriculum.

At the National Secondary Schools Kapa Haka 2002 festival held in Christchurch, students were not just performing for the judges or the receptive crowds, most of them were also performing for their tutors who were assessing them against elements in the Māori Performing Arts unit standards (New Zealand Qualifications Authority, 2002). Likewise, any credits gained at the festival were being counted towards the National Certificate in Māori Performing Arts, the National Certificate in Māori (Te Waharoa) and the National Certificate in Educational Achievement (NCEA). For many of these students, particularly the younger ones, the festival provided, for the first time, the opportunity to achieve according to their level of proficiency, and not their age (New Zealand Qualifications Authority, 2002).

The argument whether Kapa Haka should be given equal academic status holds varying viewpoints from a number of educational critics suggesting, that units given for Kapa Haka may actually be easier to acquire than units for English (Van Rooyen, 2002). Although such comments would seem unfounded, based on the lack of moderation across units, the credibility of Kapa Haka will depend entirely on the importance schools and teachers give to building their own levels of cultural capacity, passion and enthusiasm for Māori students to achieve using such innovative initiatives. The need to investigate the experiences Māori students have in Kapa Haka should include a greater concern for observing what students do in Kapa Haka, and to compare those relationships with what exists in the classroom, between teacher and student, and what how learning through performing may actually improve a host of other more traditional academic learning spheres. The challenge for many schools and teachers perhaps lies in appreciating the energy, time and effort Māori students give to Kapa Haka, and to seek ways of transferring the same energy back into they way they teach Māori students. It is for some teachers, a moral dilemma between teaching the curriculum to meet the needs of the Māori learner, or teachers learning to adjust and adapt their practice to apply the knowledge and understandings culturally artistic forms of expression, such as Kapa Haka, provides in schools.

CONCLUSION

Kapa Haka is a traditional taonga (treasure) enhancing the understanding of Māori language, culture and heritage. Many schools and teachers are choosing to include Kapa Haka as a critical way for Māori students to gain credits towards a national qualification, while enjoying the level of proficiency Māori students demonstrate during the performance. It is for many Māori students a real life journey of knowing more about oneself, developing connections between culture and education, and celebrating the time of coming together with family and friends to perform.

To date there is little, or no, empirical research on how Kapa Haka supports Māori student to achieve academically in education, and even less research on how schools and teachers feel about integrating such culturally accessible learning mediums. Although, the continuing saga of Māori underachievement suggests that schools and teachers are looking for more innovative ways to integrate culture and education, Kapa Haka, as a recognised means of acquiring a national qualification is providing for Māori students a culturally preferred way of The implementation of Ngā toi i roto i te matauranga o Aotearoa document instils a sense of confidence that the arts for Maori, under Te Kete Uruuru Tau Aronui (one of three baskets of Māori knowledge) is pivotal to ensuring the philosophy behind Kapa Haka remains a vital source of energy in the learning expectations of Māori students.

Kapa Haka provides the environment where students feel proud of being Māori, it is also a place that focuses on 'indigenity' (ways of preserving indigenous ways of doing things) success, promotes positive outcomes through a sense of disciplined performance, reflects Māori cultural practices, supports learning with family, and helps Maori students to appreciate their own sense of cultural connectedness. Improving the successes of Māori students, within the consensus of mainstream schooling practices, requires a willingness, commitment and drive by schools and teachers to embrace the many layers of function and purpose Kapa Haka purports. The level of awareness and understanding continues to challenge many teachers' perspectives of what it actually means to more culturally responsive, and indeed, what it means for teachers in search of best teacher practice.

In conclusion, the ultimate challenge for many schools and teachers is to consider how to transfer the benefits associated with the time, energy and efforts Māori students give to Kapa Haka in ways that support teachers who teach Māori students. This will require a further review of our own identity as New Zealanders, and in particular, how schools and teachers implement, embrace and validate the purpose of Māori language, culture and traditions in ones own unique environment. Finally, the art of Kapa Haka is challenging the very nature and scope of what schools and teachers currently provide for Māori students.

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