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KAPA HAKA 'VOICES': EXPLORING THE EDUCATIONAL BENEFITS OF A CULTURALLY RESPONSIVE LEARNING ENVIRONMENT IN FOUR NEW ZEALAND MAINSTREAM SECONDARY SCHOOLS

Paul Whitinui

Abstract

Kapa (in rows) *haka* (dance) is considered a modern day performing art distinctive to what mainstream secondary schools (i.e., high schools Yrs 9-13) in Aotearoa New Zealand offer as way of fostering the social and cultural wellbeing of Māori students who attend. It is also considered a culturally responsive learning environment because it provides opportunities for Māori students to engage in learning more about their own language, culture and traditional ways of knowing and doing. With over 54 thousand Māori students (18%) attending mainstream secondary schools in Aotearoa New Zealand (Ministry of Education 2006), this paper, based on my doctoral research completed in 2007, explores the 'voices' of 20 Māori students and 27 secondary school teachers about the educational benefits associated with participating in *kapa haka* and the implications for improving educational outcomes for these students. The study concluded that the most effective way to improve levels of participation (i.e., interest, attendance, engagement, association and success) working with Māori secondary school students is to employ learning environments that are socially, culturally, emotionally and spiritually uplifting and in particular, to assign learning activities that are specifically linked to their unique identity as Māori. A number of key social and cultural considerations are included to assist mainstream secondary schools (i.e., public State-funded high schools) and teachers

to not only better evaluate their own levels of cultural responsiveness working with Maori students but to also improve their understanding of what constitutes effective ways of engaging indigenous and culturally-connected learners in these contexts.

Introduction: *Kapa haka* as an educational imperative

There were over 50 thousand children who participated in *kapa haka* in Aotearoa New Zealand over the past 12 months (Te Matatini, personal communication, 2009). Whether at a local, regional, national or international level the visibility of Māori children participating in *kapa haka* has become synonymous with who we are as a nation and the significant contribution, Māori, as *tangata whenua* (indigenous people of Aotearoa New Zealand), make to supporting our unique identity as New Zealanders. The growing interest in *kapa haka* is due in part, to a growing interest by Māori students to pursue 'alternative' learning environments that coincide with how they prefer to learn. It also supports their efforts to gain academic credits towards a National Certificate in Educational Achievement (NCEA) at various levels within a secondary schooling environment. For Māori communities and in particular, the *whānau* (immediate family), having *kapa haka* available in schools not only supports notions of creating culturally safe, caring and engaging learning environments, it also reinforces the idea of schools providing opportunities for families to support their child's learning (Macfarlane, Glynn, Cavanagh & Bateman 2007). *Kapa haka* continues to be supported from within the community and has a growing presence in the four secondary schools that took part in this study.

In 2002, the New Zealand Qualification Authority recognised *kapa haka* as an academic subject that schools could readily offer to all their students. For many Māori students, who have spent a considerable amount of time, effort and energy participating in *kapa haka*, the decision did not see *kapa haka* emerge in secondary schools as an 'exclusive' subject, nor did it change the schools' or teachers' perceptions about its educational value for the benefit of Māori students. However, the decision did mean that schools and teachers could include *kapa haka* as an effective learning medium to assist students to gain academic credits in Te Reo Māori, Māori Performing Arts, Ngā Toi Māori i roto i te Mātauranga (Hindle 2002), Health and Physical Education (i.e., *te ao kori*) and/or other arts-based subjects.

The consideration of *kapa haka* as an educational imperative for driving Māori student success (i.e., increased levels of participation, engagement, association, attendance, achievement and interest) in mainstream secondary schools is based on three key assertions. Firstly, schools and teachers are more likely to show a greater appreciation for Māori language, culture and traditions if *kapa haka* is included as an academic subject and not merely as a cultural 'add-on' (Whitinui 2007). Secondly, Māori students being able to participate in *kapa haka* at schools provides the place, time and space to connect with who they are in an environment that primarily delivers in English (mainstream).

And finally, Māori students' involvement in *kapa haka* engenders a greater sense of personal balance, joy, harmony, wellbeing and happiness about attending school. Secondary schools that are more committed to including *kapa haka*, or indeed, other culturally based activities, appear less likely to encounter the same sorts of learning and/or behavioural difficulties when working with Māori students (Ministry of Education 2000b). Despite an increasing concern for what works best for Māori students in secondary schools, there is less known about how the inclusion of culture actually improves the health and wellbeing of Māori students.

Research conducted by Moy, Scragg, McLean and Carr (2006) discovered that participants in a senior *kapa haka* group ranged between 4.3-7.1 METS (i.e., 3-6 METS indicating 'moderate' intensity and >6 METS indicating 'vigorous' intensity levels) (Moy, Scragg, McLean & Carr 2006). Prior to this study, explorations of the health benefits associated with *kapa haka* and in particular, how *kapa haka* improves the overall health and wellbeing of Māori children have been scarce. Although this paper did not relate specifically to Māori children's education *per sae*, students' cultural wellbeing, confidence and self-worth were consistently mentioned and may well be considered as the 'antecedents' of improving educational outcomes for Māori students in mainstream secondary schools in Aotearoa New Zealand (Bishop 2008; Bishop & Berryman 2006; Bishop, Berryman & Richardson 2003; Bishop & Tiakiwai 2003). The need to engage schools and teachers in becoming culturally 'competent' requires significant reflection on how our own cultural values can often suppress, oppress and limit culturally-connected learners from reaching their educational potential (Cross, Bazron, Dennis & Issacs 1989; Macfarlane 2004; Whitinui 2007). More importantly this paper aims to speak of the 'creative' learning potential and 'educational' value associated with Māori students participating in *kapa haka*; and how *kapa haka* as a culturally responsive activity can contribute to improving student participation with their learning. In addition, the paper aims to provide a '(w) holistic' and 'universal' premise that Māori students through *kapa haka* are enacting their basic human 'right' as indigenous and culturally-connected learners to be educated using their own ways of knowing and doing.

The educative value of *kapa haka* for Māori students

The inclusion of *kapa haka* in schools to enable Māori students to achieve academic credits, in either, Te Reo Māori, Māori Performing Arts, or NCEA more generally in mainstream secondary schools is to be applauded. Added to this is the potential for Māori students to attain a National Certificate in Māori (Te Waharoa) by achieving 40 credits at level 2 or above; 30 credits at either level 1 or 2 from the field of Māori, as well as 10 credits at level 1 across any field in the National Qualification framework, including the field of Māori. The choices Māori students have across the curriculum provide greater opportunities for schools to consider *kapa haka* in the context of student learning and achievement as opposed to considering it more as an extra-co-curricular activity (i.e., activities students usually participate within outside

of normal school hours). Presently, there are close to 600 unit standards within the field of Māori that schools can choose to include in their programmes. The focus of Te Reo and Māori Performing Arts as it relates to the framework of Te Waharoa is perhaps not well known and as a result, many teachers may not be fully aware of the implications of considering *kapa haka* as an academic subject or indeed the educative potential of *kapa haka* to enhance the learning outcomes of indigenous learners who are Māori.

In 2004, I had the privilege of interviewing 20 Māori *kapa haka* students as well as 27 teachers from across four mainstream secondary schools in the Central North Island of Aotearoa New Zealand about what they perceived as being the key educational benefits associated with participating in *kapa haka*. A key finding to emerge was that over two-thirds of all Māori students who participated in this study were unaware that participating in *kapa haka* could earn them academic credits towards Level 1 NCEA (Whitinui 2007). Perhaps more concerning was that certain Māori students were being told they could only earn credits if their *kapa haka* team qualified for the annual national secondary schools' *kapa haka* competition. It would appear that greater clarity, direction and guidance around what constitute ways for Māori students to earn academic credits through performing *kapa haka* is urgently required.

Including *kapa haka* as a culturally responsive curricula

Culturally *kapa haka* engages Māori students through movement to share their cultural past and to bring into close focus a host of cultural memories, stories, narratives, life-histories, values, beliefs and ways of knowing and doing. Performing *waiata* (song), *mōteatea* (lament) and *haka* (war dance) creates an awakening in students as well as a merging of all the senses (i.e., hear, smell, sight, feel and taste) into a truly dynamic and powerful group performance. In many ways such culturally tactile forms of learning are elevated by the level of pride and respect individuals give to the importance of coming together to perform and to celebrate their unique heritage. Macfarlane (2004) in his book, '*Kia Hiwa Ra: Listen to Culture - Students' Plea to Educators*' highlighted the importance of teachers listening to, and observing culture in the classroom working with Māori students. In addition, a culturally responsive framework (i.e., the educultural wheel) was considered as a way to further enhance the understandings, values and concepts about what it takes to become a culturally competent teacher, in often, very culturally diverse classrooms. Similarly, research by Bishop and Berryman (2006) has highlighted the importance of listening to the 'voices' of Māori students in mainstream secondary schools by providing an in-depth analysis about the nature of student-teacher relationships to improve the educational outcomes for Māori students in mainstream secondary schools. Socially and culturally, the need for Māori students to identify who they are, as well as, the need to belong were considered critical factors in engaging Māori students in the classroom. The idea of teachers being involved in on-going professional development to improve their relationships

with Māori students has been the focus of a government led initiative called Te Kotahitanga for the past nine years (Bishop 2008; Bishop & Berryman 2006; Bishop et al. 2003). Moreover, the growing interest in *mātauranga* Māori (Māori ways of learning, knowing and doing) has to some degree re-orientated schools and teachers thinking about the importance of including culturally relevant and appropriate curriculum although, culturally internalised ways of knowing (*māramatanga*-wisdom, *mōhiotanga*-instinctiveness, *wānanga*-learning consciousness and *tohungātanga*- original thoughts and ideas) are not yet well understood in the context of what mainstream secondary schools or teachers consider as culturally 'legitimate' ways of engaging 'inner' forms of knowing (Royal 2009).

In my interviews with mainstream secondary school teachers, *kapa haka* was not necessarily considered as a preferred teaching or learning pedagogy that teachers felt confident to include in their respective subjects. This was due in part, to a lack of confidence around using Māori language, culture and concepts. In many ways, barriers to teaching culture in the classroom often had less to do with denying Māori students opportunities to pursue their own language and culture, but more to do with how teachers perceive 'culture' in ways to better engage Māori students in the classroom (Glynn, Atvars & O'Brien 1999). Due often to the performative nature of *kapa haka* it is perhaps not so surprising that teachers within the arts (dance, music, drama and visual arts), physical education and health, outdoor education, as well as the social sciences and technology were in this study better able to relate to how *kapa haka* engages Māori students to achieve. Alternatively, the more 'resistant' teachers were more inclined to argue that, 'students need to come ready to learn, regardless of their culture or cultural backgrounds, as this teacher emphatically stated:

> Māori students need to develop a strong work ethic and attitude to want to learn and achieve, as opposed to relying on their language and culture to be the preferred 'lynch pins' as to how they believe they can succeed at school (HoD Maths, School 1).

For these particular teachers accepting culture as a possible 'strength' more so than barriers to teaching Māori students was a concept that had not been fully explored. Furthermore, levels of cultural 'blindness' (Cross et al. 1989) continue to reinforce the more dominant schooling hegemonic discourse (Smith 1997), increasing levels of teacher 'deficit' theorising (Bishop 2008) and dismissing the learning integrity associated with culture to enhance Māori student levels of participation (Whitinui 2007). Perhaps the greatest challenge, however, was the consistent lack of teacher understanding about Māori students as culturally-connected learners and the inability of schools to fully implement the Treaty of Waitangi (New Zealand's founding document signed between Māori and the Crown at Waitangi, in the Bay of Islands, on February 6th 1840) as valid and legitimate curriculum.

Bishop’s and Glynn’s (1999) book *Culture Counts: Changing Power Relations in Education* contends that:

> *Article One* of the Treaty guarantees to Māori a share in power over decision making in education as well as recognises their status as *tangata whenua*.
>
> *Article Two* of the Treaty guarantees to Māori the power to define and protect those treasures which are considered vital to sustaining their way of life.
>
> *Article Three* of the Treaty guarantees Māori equality of opportunity and outcomes in education.

Furthermore, promoting cultural inclusiveness in our schools today should not be at the expense of denying Māori their *tino rangatiratanga* (rights to self-determine) but instead should enhance or enrich the learning experience as being culturally appropriate, dynamic and inspiring (Bishop & Glynn 1999). In the early 1980s, and driven primarily by the desire of Māori parents and their communities to preserve te reo Māori (i.e., Māori language), the development of *Te Kōhanga Reo* (total immersion early childhood centres), *Te Kura Kaupapa Māori* (total immersion elementary schools), as well as *Te Whare Kura* (total immersion language high schools) were initiatives that not only revolutionised how schooling not proceeds for Māori students, but actually transformed the educational and learning landscape for the benefit of Māori. Although, considered relatively new forms of schooling, such initiatives have enabled Māori communities to seek greater control over their schooling aspirations by defining what schooling for Māori should look like, and why. As a result, there are now a number of secondary schools working on becoming culturally inclusive and developing bi-cultural educational frameworks (Macfarlane 2004; Macfarlane et al. 2007). Similarly, schools and teachers who are more receptive to engaging with culture as well as building better relationships with their Māori communities, *iwi* (extended family), *hapū* (a specific family sub-group), *whānau* (family) and *marae* (meeting house) are experiencing far greater levels of student participation (i.e., interest, engagement, interest, association, attendance and success) (Ministry of Education 2000a). Philosophically, ‘culture’, ‘difference’, ‘identity’ are very elusive terms that are often ambiguous, fluid and never fixed. For example, Fitzsimons and Smith (2000) contend that:

> If notions such as ‘difference’, ‘culture’, and ‘identity’ each have no unity, there is no point in looking for essential meanings in them. Diverse cultures compete for control of the system of norms and it is not clear if law can be defined as an order that is impersonal, universal or legitimate in this context of cultural division or diversity (p. 33).

Taken a step further, Māori often face various ‘sites of struggle’ within education, where these sorts of cultural consideration have become impregnated within the dominant schooling culture (Fitzsimons & Smith 2000). The adverse effects are ‘littered’ throughout our educational past and have often impinged on Māori being able to control their educational destinies. Responding to the problems, challenges and issues facing many Māori students in mainstream education is fraught with difficulties. Often ‘top-down’ government-led approaches to addressing levels of on-going Māori underachievement have focused more on what is happening within school than what is also happening outside the school gates (Ministry of Education 2008). In many instances the absence of culturally inclusive practices and in particular, what is prescribed as valid ways of knowing more about how Māori students engage in their learning requires further clarity. In 2004, 20 Māori students from across four mainstream secondary schools took part in an interview process regarding the educational benefits associated with participating in *kapa haka*. Their responses highlighted quite emphatically that *kapa haka* not only increases the time students engage in their learning but it is for some students, the most culturally appropriate and preferred way of learning. The following section will now focus on the key responses associated with Māori students participating in *kapa haka* and in particular, the ‘educative’ value of *kapa haka*.

The ‘voices’ of Māori *kapa haka* students

Over 80 percent of the students (n=17) interviewed considered *kapa haka* as an environment where they felt they were given more responsibility for their learning. In particular, at least two students from each group felt more responsible for their learning because everyone had a role to play. For example, it was not unusual for the more competent *kapa haka* students to help others to perform *poi*, *waiata* or *haka*. Conversely, when students were prompted to compare the learning that occurs in *kapa haka* with in-class learning, students immediately focused on whether or not particular teachers were kind, considerate and/or caring. As a way forward, students were particularly eager to comment on what 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 it’s a completely different world (Pare, School 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, School 2);

> I reckon you [the 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, School 2);

> They are quite good with us and our Māori culture…like when I was doing my *Manu Kōrero* [Māori speech-making competition] they gave me heaps of time to prepare my speech, and they are quite good cause they understand *Manu Kōrero*…(Hera, School 3).

In terms of student engagement, *kapa haka* increased their level of knowledge and understanding of *te reo* (Māori language), *tikanga* (correct way of doing something) Māori, *kawa* (processes and practices), *whanaungatanga* (building better relationships), *mahi tahi* (group work), *manaakitanga* (support for others) and *aroha* (love, care and concern for all). The emphasis on whether such cultural values can be successfully transferred into other subject areas really comes down to schools and teachers actively promoting learning experiences that are not only emotionally and culturally safe but also emotionally and culturally uplifting and which are likely to reflect the unique cultural backgrounds students bring to the classroom.

In the same vein students considered sport, physical education, outdoor education and the arts (music, dance, drama or visual arts) as curriculum areas that are more closely aligned to teaching and learning that occurs in *kapa haka*. At least two students from each group, however, suggested that perhaps teachers, in their attempts to create better social cohesiveness in the classroom, could achieve this by valuing more the students' 'voices' in what counts as effective learning in the classroom. However, a consistent challenge facing many Māori students in secondary schooling contexts is finding ways to balance their own personal and cultural needs alongside the teachers' expectations as these students contend:

> For me, *kapa haka* is usually during periods and doesn't affect my PE [Physical Education] and stuff and we don't usually have it after school…although we do so sometimes (Kane School 4);

> I believe if I can take the time to do stuff like English…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, School 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…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 (Ripeka, School 2).

On average students could be expected to spend anywhere between three to five hours a week practising *kapa haka*. However if there was an upcoming *kapa haka* competition, students could well be expected to spend up to 15 hours a week practising for a least a month, which included practices during lunchtime, after school, and/or on the weekends. Despite the varying frequency and intensity of these practices students appeared to be employing a host of different strategies for keeping up-to-date with their class work. The most common strategies included asking teachers for extra time to complete their work or having their work done prior to when the competition was being held. When asked about the relevance of *kapa haka* to achieving academically, at least half of the students were aware they could achieve academic credits for participating in *kapa haka*, yet despite the large percentage of Māori students (i.e., average > 45%) enrolled in at least three of the four secondary schools, not one of these schools offered *kapa haka* as an academic subject. Perhaps managing greater levels of student success may well include schools and teachers considering the competitive nature and value of Māori students performing *kapa haka*:

> I don't think there's any use being in there, if you're not going to go away and win (Ripeka, School 2);
>
> *Kapa haka* is straight up [it's all about competing] aye…if you don't know the words you're not standing, so that forces us to learn the words and the choreography…(Maata, School 3).

In contrast, however, at least two-thirds of all students stated that their primary reason for participating in *kapa haka* was because they enjoyed the cultural learning experience and that it provided an alternative outlet to in-class learning. As these two students commented:

> 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 and relates to who they are as Māori…(Wikitoria, School 3);
>
> With *kapa haka* it's always something new…for one thing it's much more fun than school work or in being in the classroom all the time…(Hera, School 3).

A key finding to emerge was that *kapa haka* was not considered by students as a way to detract from what they do in other subjects. Rather, *kapa haka* was considered a vital link to respecting oneself as Māori that students believe warrants equal status and recognition in schools. Similarly, teachers' perceptions about the educative value of *kapa haka*, outlined below, provide other significant insights, reflections and possibilities about how secondary schools and teachers can manage more effectively the participation levels of Māori students in these settings.

Teachers' responses to *kapa haka* in mainstream secondary schools

Despite over 80 percent of teachers recognising to some degree that *kapa haka* was now an 'academic' subject and more likely to contribute Māori student achievement, none of the secondary schools in this study offered *kapa haka* as an academic subject. Although Māori teachers were well aware that students could earn academic credits towards NCEA Te Reo Māori or Māori Performing Arts, there appeared to be a lack of clarity across different subject areas as to how Māori students actually earn these credits. From the teachers' perspective, Māori students committed to performing *kapa haka* not only became valued student leaders in their respective schools but also more focused on their educational endeavours. 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 Pākehā…if there were 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 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. His comment was based on the following assumption:

> …that someone who's been in the Pākehā group is less likely to get into drugs, and less likely to be involved in temporary trouble with the law (Jim, HoD Music, School 1).

Derek (HoD Languages, School 1) emphasised that many Māori students participating in *kapa haka* immediately see a purpose in what they are doing, and as a result felt more included and eager to learn. Te Ara (HoD Māori/DP, School 3) had also observed that students in *kapa haka* were able to develop other important roles and responsibilities, which extended outside the school gates and into the community. For example, when various cultural celebrations or events were being held at the local *marae* (Māori meeting house), students from the school are expected to be active participants in making the *manuhiri* (visitors) feel welcomed and recognising that their key role is to work alongside the community to support the event and to uphold the *mana* (prestige) of the local people (*tangata whenua)*. Teachers interviewed from this particular school were of the opinion that, Māori students should be able to transfer the skills or experiences learnt in *kapa haka* not only back into the classroom, but into the wider world once

they leave school. In this way, promoting the opportunity for students to strengthen school-community relationships as well as to engage students in considering their own contributions to society now and in the near future was considered a positive outcome.

A significant number (i.e., >75 percent) of teachers acknowledged that adopting different learning approaches is often necessary to harness and grow the learning potential of students who are often coming very culturally diverse backgrounds. Furthermore, teachers agreed that understand different learning approaches depends a lot on how well you know your students' learning needs, talents and backgrounds. For example, Whitu (HoD Māori, School 1) observed that one of his *kapa haka* students needed specialist help over and above what he believed he and the school could provide. Through the teacher making a number of enquiries the student was able to leave school two years early than anticipated to enrol in Māori Performing Arts programme. Although, a relatively rare situation, it does pose an interesting question regarding how prepared mainstream secondary schools are in being able to identify and accommodate for Māori students who possess specific skills, talents and gifts.

In School 1, the teachers of Māori language and English were convinced that one way of improving educational outcomes for Māori students was to amalgamate the two languages and to create a learning environment that not only enhance student movement and performance, but include instructions bilingually. Notwithstanding 'good' teacher intentions, it was decided that the teaching of the Māori and English should remain in their respective departments. The compromise was that if Māori students were experiencing language difficulties both teachers were willing and prepared to work together to resolve such issues. Presently, both teachers continue to discuss ways to improve the use of Māori and English language in their school and to reduce the 'silo' nature of secondary schools by integrating various areas of the curriculum. In terms of *kapa haka*, the learning environment is usually bilingual and bicultural, in that, although students practice and perform *haka, waiata* and *mōteatea* in Māori, many of the instructions are given in English.

Similarly, Māori and food technology teachers in this study have worked together to provide students with the experience of preparing a *hāngi* (i.e., a traditional Māori cooking practice using hot stones to cook a meal under the ground). In the preparing of the *hāngi* both teachers asked students to observe and respect a number of social and cultural practices. This included asking students particular questions around its purpose, including the choosing and preparing of particular food, as well as the use of specific *karakia* (prayer) and *waiata* (specific songs used in preparing the food). The inclusion of the school's *kapa haka* group before, during and after the event provided all students with a unique opportunity to learn across the curriculum. Despite both teachers agreeing that teaching across the curriculum is a very 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 this school.

Teachers expressed that there could be a number of benefits and advantages of integrating different aspects of *kapa haka* into their subjects or across the curriculum as experienced above. Tom (HoD Visual Arts/Dean, School 2) suggested that due to Māori students consistently underachieving in their school, there is a genuine need to draw on local Māori knowledge to develop learning approaches that best support the learning needs of Māori students. In addition, understanding more about how to engage students in whole class learning approaches may actually encourage subject teachers to consider becoming interdisciplinary practitioners and to explore other ways of engaging students to learn. However, despite these good intentions, it would appear that many of the teachers in this study were not convinced or willing to consider culture in the context of what all students need to know or understand. A major problem exists, in that, many teachers lack the confidence regarding the use of Māori language and culture in their subject areas and that within their teaching training programmes many had not been exposed to learning about culturally inclusive pedagogies. Conversely, Māori language teachers, already integrating *kapa haka* as a key focus in students learning of Te Reo Māori and/or Māori Performing Arts, generally found Māori students to be more engaged and respectful of others, including their peers and teachers. The possible implications of such findings suggest that the acceptance and inclusion of *kapa haka* across the curriculum requires greater cultural understanding about the importance of knowing who we are as New Zealanders in a society that has become increasingly diverse.

Teacher professional development and/or learning support for including cultural activities in their classroom varied. As mentioned earlier, teachers of the arts, languages, physical education, outdoor education, social sciences and technology areas were generally more receptive to mirroring teaching approaches that complemented the teaching of *kapa haka*. However, other teachers were less convinced about using movement or performative based learning approaches in their classrooms because many felt students needed to be able to work more independently in order to grasp specific concepts in subjects such as Mathematics and the Sciences. These teachers also believed that all students need to come to class ready to learn and be able to develop a strong work ethic, regardless of their cultural backgrounds. Certain teachers had also signalled some strong concerns about the level of time and commitment Māori students were giving to *kapa haka* and how it was adversely affecting students' ability to complete assessed work to a satisfactory standard.

Some teachers for were particularly concerned about the lack of communication from certain teachers about when students were expected to be away from class, 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 to class and were not willing to settle to work on the various tasks set. Similarly, some students tended to act out in the classroom what they had been learning in *kapa haka*, causing in-class distractions, disruptions and preventing other students from learning or completing their work. 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 also expressed disappointment in that they did not see the same time, effort and energy Māori students were giving to *kapa haka* back into other subject areas. Despite these experiences, however, the level of teacher resistance to cultural inclusive pedagogies continues to pose barriers to Māori student achievement as well as a growing cultural apathy by schools to change.

Hare (HoD Māori, School 4) during his time in the school commented that a key reason why students were not choosing to do Te Reo Māori is because the school offers it as an option and tends to place it in direct competition with other languages students can choose. The following teacher highlights the continual barriers to Māori students accessing their language in mainstream secondary schooling contexts:

> 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 [Māori] 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 *pōwhiri*…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 clientele or that many students doing Māori?' In our 3rd Form class we have about 12-15 students doing Māori…I just don't know…I just don't understand…(Hare, HoD Māori, School 4).

The following teacher recalled his experiences of working with Māori students and as an ex-Board of Trustee's chairperson. He explained that the key part of his role was to ensure that aspects of 'tokenism' to Māori language and culture in the school were replaced by protocols, reflecting the partnership between Māori and non-Māori. His personal account illustrates the commitment required to develop and nurture such a bicultural partnership in schools today:

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 expressed 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, it's 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 schools and teachers hold can often be at odds with what they understand about Māori language and culture and more importantly, who should take responsibility for this apparent lack of accountability. 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 [Education Review Office] 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 [Deputy Principal]…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 than the staff as a whole. 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 because it's 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 expressed that:

> It interests me that they [Board of Trustees and Senior Management] particularly run around at ERO time worried that they don't have a Māori Board representative, and they get someone on there and it's almost like tokenism to me just because they have suddenly realized they haven't ticked the box or have been told that that the box hasn't been ticked. I mean Pākehā if you want to target, or you are targeting Pākehā, 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 Pākehā 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 her school that is adversely affecting how much Māori language and culture is included:

> My speculation would be…or one of things that…and it's 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 it's 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).

Teachers understood that being '*culturally responsive*' is an important aspect of building better student-teacher relationships with Māori students in the classroom, however, over half the teachers also believed that Māori students need to come to class 'better prepared' to learn. In particular, these teachers referred to a number of Māori students continually coming to class with a poor attitude and work ethic to learn. More apparent is that teachers have an expectation that Māori students need to have certain skills prior to entering their class or otherwise they are already disadvantaged in their learning capabilities. Unfortunately, these set teacher beliefs and attitudes can create barriers to how teachers perceive their role in working with Māori students. And as a result, such teachers' focus more on what they believe Māori students need to do to achieve in their subject, as opposed to considering how accommodating for their social and cultural needs may actually enhance Māori students' ability to achieve. The following two teachers highlighted their own personal challenges working with Māori students:

> 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 wary 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 it's 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).

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 not possible:

> 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 Pākehā] 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).

Similarly, these Māori teachers felt very comfortable about including *tikanga* (knowing Māori protocol and processes), *manaakitanga* (care and respect), *aroha* (unconditional love), *wairuatanga* (spiritual connectedness), *whakawhānaungatanga* (getting to know the students),

whānau (inclusion of family), *hinengaro* (mental and emotional wellbeing), and *hauora* (health and wellbeing) despite the various schooling constraints placed on them to conform also to the wider schools needs and priorities. Fundamentally, over 75 percent of teachers in this study generally agreed that incorporating cultural activities and practices into their subject areas would ultimately improve educational outcomes for Māori students, although most felt ill-equipped to do so. Teachers across all four schools also commented that most professional development days focusing on improving Māori achievement were often a 'hit or miss' affair due to information over-load with inadequate follow-up. At least two out four Māori language teachers in this study commented that *Kura Kaupapa Māori* (total immersion primary schooling) and *Whare Kura* (total immersion secondary schooling) schooling would probably provide a better educational service for Māori students because of their consistent use of Māori language and culture.

Teachers in this study often suggested that there now exists a wider range of career or educational opportunities for students who have participated in *kapa haka* including visual and performing arts, Māori performing arts, Māori teacher education (*Te Kōhanga Reo*, *Te Kura Kaupapa*, *Te Whare Kura, Te Wānanga*) programmes, Māori television, journalism, theatre, tourism and various community social services. Teachers had also observed that Māori students, who were very confident and enthusiastic about performing *kapa haka*, generally appeared happier about being at school and tended to do better academically. In this regard, schools and teachers need greater access and understanding about the potential cultural learning experiences, such as *kapa haka*, has for improving educational outcomes for Māori students in these settings. The following teachers' responses 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 individual students' attendance levels;
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 processes by moving and performing, and why;

9. Provides the opportunity for Māori students to learn and achieve by performing what they know as a unified group and/or team;

10. Supports certain Māori students to make good choices, be responsible, participate and contribute positively to life at school and in their communities.

Final words

The educational benefits associated with Māori students performing *kapa haka* are not intended to resolve all the problems or challenges facing Māori students and their learning nor did the study attempt to define *kapa haka* in ways that would better 'fit' Māori students into mainstream secondary schooling contexts. Alternatively, the study does provide greater cultural insight, awareness and understanding about the creative learning potential of *kapa haka* to improve the current levels of Māori under-achievement. Schools and teachers have often been encouraged to integrate community and cultural knowledge alongside the subjects they teach, however, and in many cases such cultural engagement has relied on teacher professional development opportunities that do not necessarily guarantee change. In many ways, getting schools and teachers to become 'cultural workers' relies a lot on working towards developing culturally responsive schools whereby schools are actively working as partners alongside their indigenous schooling community. Shaping school policy, curriculum, teaching and learning not only needs to meet the needs of all students, it also to meet the cultural needs of students who are indigenous. *Kapa haka* supports the idea that greater learning success can be achieved by building better community relationships with Māori as a collective. A step in the right direction is to perhaps look at ways of integrating culturally inclusive learning activities in the classroom and to involve the Māori community in various aspects of curriculum and assessment planning.

This paper has attempted to position *kapa haka* as an on-going learning relationship with the community and Māori and not simply a feel-good activity that schools feel obligated to clip-on to existing learning structures. In many ways *kapa haka* is a culturally preferred learning pedagogy that is inclusive of cultural practices specific to meeting the learning needs and aspirations of culturally-connected learners who are Māori. Both students and teachers agree that *kapa haka* provides a number of educational benefits for Māori students. And in particular, the experience of participating in *kapa haka* enhances the social, cultural, mental/emotional and spiritual wellbeing of what it means for Māori students to learn as culturally-connected human beings. Indeed, developing the success of Māori students in these settings continues to be a constant challenge, made even more challenging by schools positioning of *kapa haka* on the periphery of what is offered as 'valid' curriculum. More explicitly, secondary schools depend on teachers delivering a nationally-led curriculum that is often considered 'age' appropriate and suited to meeting the needs of all learners, regardless of students' own cultural learning

preferences or indeed cultural backgrounds. Despite teachers generally agreeing that *kapa haka* provides a host of educational benefits for Māori students to achieve, many are uncertain about how to include movement and/or performance based learning activities within what they already teach, and even less certain about integrating culture within and across the existing curriculum. Furthermore, the idea of integrating curriculum that takes in to consideration cultural ways of knowing can only be achieved if mainstream secondary schools and teachers are consistently engaging in ways to develop cultural inclusive curriculum for the benefit of Māori students (Glynn et al. 1999; Macfarlane 2004; Macfarlane et al. 2007). Despite the many challenges facing mainstream secondary schools and teachers, there are strong indicators to suggest that the teachers involved in this study want to know more about how *kapa haka* actually benefits all students' learning. For example, outdoor education based programmes have provided many opportunities for all students to connect with the *whenua* (land) by adopting learning approaches that engage students to think, move, share and perform in the outdoors. In addition, physical education programmes in these setting have also been instrumental in implementing *Te Ao Kori* (the world of movement) activities that enable students to learn and engage with cultural activities, terminology and practices unique to the world of Māori (Salter 1999, 2000a, 2000b, 2002).

The general consensus is that *kapa haka* is somewhat different to the experiences Māori students have in a classroom, in that teacher(s), tutors, students/peers and family (whānau) members are often involved in supporting their learning as opposed to relying solely on the efforts of the in-class teacher. A '*whānau*' driven approach is not unique to Māori society and is often encouraged as an effective way of overcoming particular learning difficulties and challenges students may well face (Ministry of Education 2000a). In various educational reports, the barriers affecting Māori student achievement has often referred to the lack of *whānau* support and in particular, many Māori parents being simply unaware of what their children need to do to achieve success in these settings (Ministry of Education 2000a). In this regard, *kapa haka* provides the opportunity for mainstream secondary schools and teachers to actually work towards becoming cultural competent (c.f. Cross et al. 1989) as well as ensuring *whānau* are clearly visible in ways to negotiate and navigate successful learning for Māori students in these contexts.

The ability of the teachers or tutors instructing *kapa haka* to give immediate feedback to Māori students was seen as a definite advantage. The fact that teachers and/or tutors of *kapa haka* are able to see first-hand how students are performing specific skills means there are greater opportunities for teachers to interact and communicate with students more regularly. Alternatively, teachers may well consider providing learning situations where students' work is made more 'visible' and can be assessed using performance based measures involving the whole class. 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), outdoor education (e.g. connection and experiences with the greater outdoors) and physical education (e.g. te reo/ao kori- language of movement using Māori games, skills, activities, and language) are all subjects that engage Māori students to move and perform.

Māori teachers' perceptions about *kapa haka* differed somewhat 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 importance of being Māori in Aotearoa/New Zealand. Māori teachers in this study also commented they that do feel an added expectation as well as an innate responsibility to support Māori students. However, the development of teachers as 'cultural workers' is often interpreted from within the dominant schooling culture and driven by a national curriculum that is often at odds with the cultural aspirations of Māori students and their community. Such problems become even more apparent if there are limited Māori teachers working in mainstream secondary schools where there exists large numbers of Māori students enrolled.

Teacher resistance to integrating aspects of *kapa haka* appeared based more on the need to cater for the increasing cultural diversity of students and to allow students the flexibility to choose their own educational pathways without any one culture given more importance over another. As a result, the inclusion of Māori language and culture in mainstream secondary schools as a fundamental part of securing our identity as New Zealanders is not only challenging, it is also competing for time and space to be included. In the same vein, teachers have often experienced 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 is not compulsory, but rather an obligation. Finally, the greatest challenge facing many schools and teachers today is to consider how our own cultural values are likely to impact on the students we teach and what this actually means in relation to teaching students who are Māori. Perhaps observing where indigenous students are achieving, both culturally and academically may further help to inform schools and teachers of ways to improve on what they are currently doing for and with Māori students.

Although the majority of teachers in the study were genuinely interested in ways to improve educational outcomes for Māori students, *kapa haka* was considered problematic to some teachers who questioned, '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 could improve their performance academically'. As a result, these teachers appeared less concerned for the cultural wellbeing of Māori students and more concerned about how Māori students need to improve academically. The lack of reference to any form of '*culturally responsive*' teaching standards further highlights the challenges facing many Māori students in

these settings. Similarly, many of the difficulties and challenges facing teachers in this study appeared compounded by the growing cultural diversity of students, the changing nature of school curriculum and the ever-increasing emphasis on developing student based assessment. Over two thirds of non-Māori teachers in this study expressed that to focus only on the needs of Māori students in the class would in some way, be discriminating against the needs of other students and lead to privileging some students over others. The scope of the problem became more apparent when teachers began to ask questions about what is a 'Māori', and 'how do we determine who are the Māori students in our classroom' and more importantly, 'why would we as teachers be singling Māori students out as being different?' These sorts of questions indicate very clearly that there will continue to be barriers to teaching Māori students until recognition of Māori students as *tangata whenua* (indigenous people of this land) is prioritised and revered in all areas of schooling policy and the curriculum. No doubt certain teachers will continue to reject or resist how they accept and/or engage with cultural differences in their own classrooms further denying Māori students the opportunity to access their learning potential. However by teachers adapting their teaching styles to the cultural and class differences may offer some solution to this problem (Wood 1992) as long as teachers are willing to improve their practice.

Of course, there is a much greater need to delve into what underpins teachers' perceptions about culture, and more importantly to engage teachers in ways they can include culture in secondary schooling contexts. This may well require the provision of learning environments that are remarkably different to those that currently exist in our schools today. As it stands, *kapa haka* as an alternative learning environment provides for schools, teachers and students the opportunity to celebrate our unique identity and heritage as New Zealanders and to uphold the values underpinning the Treaty of Waitangi. From this position, it is important to understand that culture is not stagnant, nor does it reside only in *kapa haka*, it is a 'universal' concept based on engaging in a set of principles, traditions, values, and beliefs with/in a world that has always been global by nature.

Kapa haka has been reported as a dynamic '*culturally responsive*' learning experience that enhances a level of self-belief, confidence and self-worth in being Māori. Manu'lani Myer (2005) suggested that this form of cultural 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 is a significant way of coming to know and remember our own futures as 'cultural human beings' (Meyer 2005) and not as individuals who need constant topping up with skills and information (Roberts 1996).

A key way of addressing the lack of understanding about Māori values, beliefs and principles is for mainstream secondary schools and teachers to implement cultural standards that take

into consideration the three key principles of the Treaty of Waitangi aforementioned (i.e., partnership, protection and participation). Establishing culturally preferred learning contexts should also be about working towards affirming the unique relationship that exists between Māori and Pākehā and valuing our own knowledge systems, traditions and approaches. The next step is for secondary schools in partnership with their Māori communities to work towards establishing culturally responsive standards that will enable teachers to manage or evaluate more consistently Māori student levels of learning success, both culturally as well as academically. As this paper has suggested, there is still much work to be done in re-orientating teachers' beliefs, values and attitudes towards what Māori students are actively seeking as culturally-connected learners whereby culture in education is valued just as much as the drive for academic levels of achievement. Indeed, Pākehā society provides a window where culture is celebrated and where the learning potential of Māori students can be fully realised beyond the 'status quo'.

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