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Tō ‘Tātou’ Reo Rangatira:

National Treasure or Taonga Māori

An investigation into the motivations of Pākehā in learning the Māori language

A dissertation submitted for the partial fulfilment of the requirements for a Bachelor of Arts with Honours in Māori Studies at the University of Otago, Dunedin

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ABSTRACT

Shortly after the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi the English language became the dominant language of New Zealand society. It became the language of government and the medium of instruction in schools. Today we live in a society where English is not only a national language but an international language. With such importance that is placed on the English language why do non-Māori people, that are fluent in the English language, choose to learn the Māori language?

The Māori language is a stronghold for the Māori culture and its people, however, more recently the Māori language has become increasingly important to New Zealand society as a whole. A look at the importance of the Māori language to Māori, as well as to New Zealand society and its identity, will be undertaken. This aims to demonstrate the importance of Māori language revitalization and the benefits to all New Zealanders in its survival.

This research explores the motivations of modern-day Pākehā in learning the Māori language. This investigation would not be required if the Māori language was still a major tool for communication in New Zealand. Therefore this research examines the role of the Pākehā introduced education system in suppressing the Māori language. Kōhanga reo and Kura Kaupapa Māori are also considered as education initiatives that encouraged the revitalisation of the Māori language.

Furthermore, the motivations of early Pākehā settlers in learning the Māori language are examined. This provides a comparable difference to the motivations underlying today’s Pākehā for learning the Māori language. A look at Pākehā, at a national level, who have assisted in the revitalization of the Māori language, is also taken. Through these
investigations it is demonstrated that Pākehā learning the Māori language is not a recent development, nor is it an isolated occurrence.

Finally, the motivation of Pākehā, at a regional level, to learn the Māori language will be examined. Consideration will be made as to how they utilize their knowledge of the Māori language, as well as the attitudes of Māori and non-Māori toward the efforts of these people.
INTRODUCTION

Ko Maungapōhatu te maunga

Ko Ōhinemataroa te awa

Ko Mataatua te waka

Ko Ngāi Tūhoe te iwi

I te taha o tōku koroua

Ko Maungahaumia te maunga

Ko Mangatū te awa

Ko Horouta te waka

Ko Ngāti Porou te iwi

I te taha o tōku kuia

Growing up in Whakatāne I only had a limited access to the Māori language. While this is an area that has a high population of Māori speakers I was not one of them. My mother has Pākehā ancestry and as such she had limited knowledge of the Māori language. My little sister began learning at High School; however there are no members within my immediate family that have a high proficiency of the Māori language. Their knowledge is limited to basic sentences and vocabulary. My formal learning of the Māori language did not start until I came to University and during my journey of learning the language I had Pākehā people that travelled at my side. My intentions and desires for learning the Māori language were straightforward, I was a Māori. Well I had Māori whakapapa (genealogy) at least, but my understanding of the Māori language was restricted to greetings, basic vocabulary and
phrases. So the choice to learn the Māori language, for me, was part of my identity journey. It added a missing piece of the puzzle that is my identity. Learning alongside Pākehā students however initiated the questioning thought, ‘why would Pākehā want to learn the Māori language?’ It is the experience of learning the Māori language alongside Pākehā, being able to converse with them in my language, which has enticed this research topic. This research will investigate the motivations behind Pākehā learning the Māori language and the attitudes, from both Māori and Pākehā, which these people have had to face while doing so.

While the aim of this research is to demonstrate why some Pākehā feel a desire to learn the Māori language, it is not intended to make any judgments about whether Pākehā should or should not have the right of access to the Māori language.

Chapter One creates an understanding of the importance of the Māori language to the Māori culture and identity, as well as a national culture and identity. There exists an inherent relationship between the Māori language, its culture and the identity of Māori people. More recently there has been a growing association between aspects of the Māori culture and a New Zealand culture. Thus, this Chapter also considers the place of the Māori language within a national identity and culture.

Chapter Two, attempts to contextualise the current state of the Māori language. It investigates the role that the education system had in suppressing the Māori language and culture and looks at the noticeable impact on the Māori language today that such practices have had. It demonstrates the evolution from Māori being the language of instruction within Missionary schools, to the imposition of the English language within Native Schools.
it looks at the introduction of Māori-medium education that attempts to reintroduce the Māori language back into formal education as an educational option for Māori.

Chapter Three looks at those people that sit as intermediaries between the Māori and Pākehā cultures. Traditionally these people were termed Pākehā Māori. This Chapter demonstrates that Pākehā learning the Māori language and incorporating Māori values and practices into their lives is not a recent occurrence. To survive in traditional Māori society, Pākehā needed to adopt and adapt to the ways of the Māori. More contemporarily, some Pākehā have not only demonstrated an interest in the Māori language by learning it, but have also played an invaluable role in promoting the revitalisation of the language. This Chapter will also consider Pākehā such as these that have assisted in the revival of the Māori language.

Chapter Four will then consider Pākehā, at a local level, that have learnt the Māori language. Information for this Chapter is based on the experiences of five research participants that reside in the Dunedin area. The question is posed as to why Pākehā would want to learn the Māori language? Therefore this Chapter seeks to understand the motivations behind these Pākehā learning the Māori language. It also considers the attitudes that Pākehā people face while learning, working and interacting within Māori contexts.

Methodology

The research methodology does not clearly fit into Kaupapa Māori research theories as the interviews conducted were not with Māori or Indigenous peoples or communities. The underpinnings of some of the research methods are however based on a Māori world view and fit within the broad ideals of Kaupapa Māori research. This is due to the author being a Māori researcher. The importance of acknowledging the position of the researcher is that the
methods used while conducting this research project were heavily influenced by this particular Māori world view. Cultural concepts such as \textit{manaaki} (kindness), \textit{aroha} (love), \textit{utu} (reciprocity) and \textit{mana} (respect) were incorporated into the interview process. Te Tumu – School of Māori, Pacific and Indigenous Studies offers its staff and students a set of principles which can be used when researching with indigenous peoples. Such principles include the following:

1. The Indigenous community must be consulted about the nature of the research and it is important that they are in agreement that the research may be conducted;

2. All research on or about Indigenous Peoples must be mutually beneficial to that community and the researcher;

3. The researcher, in conducting research in an Indigenous field, has an obligation to regularly inform, consult and update that community throughout the course of the research including the research methodology to be employed and the outcomes of the research;

4. The researcher recognises the honour and privilege of accessing Indigenous knowledge. It should be recognised that some people who may contribute to the research may be chronologically young, but their wisdom is valuable. To adopt an attitude as a researcher that one is merely a vehicle for the expression of Indigenous knowledge in an academic context, provides a sound basis from which to work among Indigenous communities;

5. The researcher accepts unconditionally that there are reciprocal obligations to the Indigenous community in agreeing to their research to proceed. The obligation may well be in terms of unpaid time to undertake a task or several tasks requiring academic expertise for their community. This is based on the Māori notion:

\begin{verbatim}
Nō te kopu kotahi
i kai tahi, i moe tahi,
i mahi tahi
\end{verbatim}

6. The researcher observe Indigenous protocol at all times in the context of conducting research and allow for this in the preparation of their design. This includes the set timeframe not only to negotiate access to the sources of Indigenous knowledge and collect data, etc., but also to take into consideration those cultural events and practices which are mostly unplanned. In the Māori world, this may include \textit{te whānau mai o te tamariki}, \textit{hura kōhau}, \textit{tangihanga}, \textit{te rā o te tekau mā rua}, \textit{poukai}, \textit{kawe mate}, \textit{whakataetae}, \textit{pōhiri}, \textit{manuhiri}, \textit{hui}, and \textit{ngahau}. The researcher must be prepared to participate if that is the expectation of the Indigenous community;

7. The researcher must acknowledge and cite all sources of knowledge in the text of the research;

8. The researcher, on completion of the research with the Indigenous community, appropriately inform the Indigenous community of the completion of their work in the community and thank them appropriately through \textit{koha aroha} which may include \textit{kai}, \textit{taonga}, etc;
While it is acknowledged that these particular principles were constructed with an indigenous community in mind, this research, despite Pākehā being the research participants, followed many of these principles. The research participants were approached through previously established connections, and all of the interviews were conducted *kanohi ki te kanohi* (face to face) to foster and develop a good relationship between the researcher and the participant. The research participants were ensured that all power concerning their contribution to the research remained with them. There were continuous opportunities to contact the researcher to amend, add or delete any information that the participant did not want included, with no need to justify their decision to do so and with no repercussions to the participant.

The interview participants were selected based on their ancestry, geographical location and method of learning the language. All participants were required to be New Zealand born people with no Māori ancestry. Due to the researcher being located in the Otago region, research participants were also selected within this area. This increased the ability to meet face-to-face with the research participants to conduct the interviews and these were people the same or similar to those in my classes that had provided the original motivation for this study. As will be demonstrated, the education system has become a major vehicle for the revitalisation of the Māori language. Therefore, the research participants were also required to have learnt the Māori language via the education system, specifically mainstream tertiary.

During the interview process a semi-structured interview technique was used. This method of questioning enabled the researcher to begin the dialogue with set questions and then probe for further information based on the answers provided. This style of questioning gave
participants more freedom in regard to the information they provided and more control over the interview process, whilst still enabling me to guide the interview without being too prescriptive.

Prior to conducting interviews Ethical Consent was sought from the University of Otago Ethics Committee under Category A, which allows for the acknowledgment and naming of the research participants, with consent. All research participants were provided with information sheets (see Appendix A) outlining the nature of the research, the aim of the project and informing the participant that they could withdraw at any stage of the research period. The collection and use of the data was also outlined, and participants were given the opportunity of anonymity if they so wished. Upon agreement of participating in the research, participants signed consent forms (see Appendix B) to acknowledge their willingness to be interviewed.

Information related to the importance of the Māori language and culture to a New Zealand culture and identity was gathered from secondary sources. Hirini Moko Mead’s texts Tikanga Māori (2003) and Landmarks, Bridges and Visions – Aspects of Maori Culture (1997) was used heavily throughout this research as an authority on Māori culture. Content pertaining to the history of the education system in New Zealand and the emergence of Māori based education initiatives were also sourced from secondary sources. All ideas and information used that was not the researchers acknowledges the contributing source.
THE MĀORI LANGUAGE:
NATIONAL TREASURE OR TAONGA MĀORI

If you have language without the culture or vice versa, it is like looking at a painting and being colour blind. You can see the painting. You know what forms are in it but you are missing a wealth of messages implied by the colour. (Jones, Pers. Comm, 2008)

These words spoken by one of the research participants highlights the importance of language to a culture. Her analogy draws on the fact that the language and culture walk hand in hand, complementary to one another. Her words highlight the understanding not only by Māori, but by Pākehā also, as to the importance of the Māori language to the Māori culture and to a New Zealand culture. As Joshua Fishman (1997) reiterates “language is a very powerful symbol of cultural identity and often prevails over other cultural symbols as a dominant dimension of the identity” (25).

A notable factor here is that the Māori language not only holds significance within Māori culture, it is also seen as an integral part of a New Zealand culture also. This Chapter will examine the importance of the Māori language to both a Māori and a New Zealand cultural identity.

The Place of Māori Language in the Māori culture

One way to determine the importance of the Māori language and culture is to look at how the culture is expressed in the language. Māori metaphors demonstrate the importance of the language to the Māori culture.

Ko te reo te hā o te Māoritanga; Ko te reo te poutokomanawa o te Māoritanga – The language is the breath, the foundation, of Māori culture. (Karetu 1974, p. 168)
This whakataukī (proverb) demonstrates the importance of the language to the Māori culture. A language is seen to represent a culture and its associated symbols. Language contains knowledge pertaining to a group’s history values and beliefs that are transmitted from one generation to the next, knowledge that is required by a people to understand the world around them (O’Regan 2001:59-60). For the Māori, oral traditions were a prominent part of their culture. Tradition, values and societal mores were transmitted orally from generation to generation through waiata (song) and kōrero purākau (myth, legend and historical tales) (Moorfield & Johnston 2004:41). These fundamental elements of Māori culture are put at risk of being lost, without the Māori language as the vehicle for intergenerational transmission of cultural knowledge.

Another whakataukī that expresses the importance of the language to the Māori culture is;

Toi te kupu, toi te mana, toi te whenua – The permanence of the language, prestige and land (cited in Mead & Grove 2001, p. 405).

“Māori require the language to preserve their identity as Māori” (O’Regan 2001:116). This idea is supported by the aforementioned whakataukī in that the interpretation of such a proverb is that “without the Māori language, prestige and land, Māori culture will cease to exist” (Mead & Grove 2001:405).


Following that the Māori language is imperative to the Māori culture, the language is also a prominent part of a Māori identity. “Fluency in te reo is seen by some as an essential criterion of a Māori identity” (O’Regan 2001:62). Sir Apirana Ngata created a list of
components central to a Māori identity or Māoritanga (Māoriness). He explains that Māoritanga consists of those elements of traditional Māori expression that are considered to reveal the essential nature of Māori culture. His list included the Māori language, the sayings of the ancestors, and traditional chant-songs, all things that require a certain knowledge of the Māori language (cited in Ritchie 1963:37). This list demonstrates the importance of the language to Māori culture and identity through the requirement of the language in determining Māoritanga.

“It is inconceivable that Māori people can retain any measure of (their) identity without their language” (Waitangi Tribunal 1986). Similarly, aspects of the Māori culture can not be expected to be passed on to future generations without the Māori language. “The language expresses the values, beliefs and ideologies of the people and now has the added dimension of being a public declaration of pride and unity, a focus for identity” (Henare 1988:26). As has been demonstrated, the language is an integral part of the Māori culture and a Māori identity.

The Place of Māori Language in the Heritage of New Zealand

Māori culture is a significant part of New Zealand culture, the Māori language and aspects of the Māori culture create a thread that unifies all New Zealanders (Benton 1984:8).

As a nation we have always acknowledged Māori culture as part of our heritage. New Zealand’s Coat of Arms features a Māori warrior prominently as one of the two supporters. Our national airline sports a Māori symbol the koru in the tail of every one of its aircraft as they fly across the world. Prominent guests of State are accorded a Maori welcome. Even our national rugby team does a haka before it begins to play a test match. There has always been recognition that Māoritanga is part of New Zealand. (Waitangi Tribunal, 1986)
This idea of Māori language and culture being a part of a New Zealand identity is explored by Mead (1997:89-93). He makes the point that it is the Māori culture that provides the source for a distinctive New Zealand identity. If not for the Māori language and culture what would differentiate Pākehā living in New Zealand from their kinsman living in Australia, or Britain. Richard Benton (1981) discusses a similar point made by Turoa Royal, he comments that “the pervasive (and often unrecognised) Maori influence on New Zealand institutions, ideas, and behaviour was what contributed the uniquely New Zealand aspect to the national culture” (10). While at times there are attitudes that Māori traditions, beliefs and values are primitive and irrelevant to the betterment of society, it seems that aspects of Māori culture are readily accepted into a New Zealand identity as a point of distinction. As noted by Mead (1997:92), the Pākehā are adopting certain parts of Māori culture which they can identify with, and are attempting to amalgamate these features into a Pākehā cultural world view. Their claim is that they “feel they have a right of access to Maori culture because in their minds it is New Zealand culture” (Mead 1997:93). Whilst issues of access and rights are complex the important point is that parts of Māori culture are incorporated into New Zealand culture and identity. The language is undeniably the vehicle for ideas, histories and stories to be transmitted to future generations. If the language is lost how will these elements be passed on to future generations, what is a culture without a language? After all, if language is the heart of a culture and its people, what happens when it stops beating?

While the Māori language seems inextricably linked to Māori culture and aspects of New Zealand culture, historically this has not been the case. Through colonization, attempts have been made to rid New Zealand culture of its distinctiveness through the suppression of the Māori language and culture. The following Chapter will examine the impacts of colonization
on the Māori language and culture, taking a particular look at the use of education as a catalyst for this process.
COLONISATION, ASSIMILATION AND EDUCATION: WEAPONS OF LINGUICIDE

At 11 years old, I came home from school on my first day and I said ‘Dad where are all the Māoris’ (Johnston, Pers. Comm., 2008).

These words spoken by a research participant highlights the contemporary impact of the education system in its achievement of marginalising Māori within the education system. There have been many factors that have impacted negatively on Māori language and culture, historically the education system has been one of the major societal structures used to subvert Māori. It was used as a tool of assimilation, and has contributed to the fall and rise of the Māori language. This Chapter will contextualize the current state of the Māori language. There is a strong belief that the education system, introduced after the arrival of the Pākehā, was the major catalyst for the recession of the Māori language. However as Judith Simon (1998) explains, on one hand the education system could be viewed as “instruments of colonisation set up to aid cultural assimilation and economic exploitation” (2). On the other hand though, such education systems can be viewed as “sites of opportunity for the educational aspirations of Māori” (Simon 1998:2). Either way this Chapter will explore the schooling systems and their ruling documents from the arrival of the Pākehā.

Firstly this Chapter looks at the Missionary Schools, where Māori was still the dominant language within lessons will be taken. A discussion about the establishment and operation of the Native Schools will follow. With this system of education came a strong political influence in the form of various Acts of Parliament which inhibited the use of the Māori

1 Linguicide describes the intentional causing of the death of a language.
language in schools. To bring light back to this dark period of time, the resurgence of the Māori language through Kōhanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Māori will be examined.

Further, this Chapter will provide a ‘snapshot’ of the state of the Māori language. The level of Māori achievement in education will also be examined.

**Māori Education Timeline**

*Missionary Schools*

The first Missionary School was established in 1816 at Rangihoua in the Bay of Islands. Thomas Kendall of the Church Missionary Society was the man accredited with the establishment of this school, which was designed to introduce literacy in the Māori language (Simon 1998:3). This early form of education struck many obstacles upon its outset. One issue was the untrained teachers that not only had to learn the Māori language in order to conduct their lessons and communicate with their students, but also the lively nature of the Māori children made them somewhat difficult to teach (Barrington & Beaglehole 1974:12). Attendance became another issue for mission schools to address. To boost numbers, children were invited to live at the mission to enable them to receive regular education. The problem with this is that parents were able to collect their children whenever they liked (Barrington & Beaglehole 1974:17). Therefore generating Māori interest around this time was a dubious task and within two years this school was closed.

Māori interest in schooling began to pick up during the 1820s and by the early 1830s Māori enthusiasm for reading and writing was increasing (Simon & Massey 1994:51), and with the introduction of literacy the Missionary Schools became extremely popular (Barrington &
Beaglehole 1974:20). By this stage it was the idea of Pākehā knowledge that enticed Māori to turn to the missionaries and thus to the Missionary Schools (Simon & Massey 1994:52).

Through literacy, Missionary Schools were soon to have an irreversible affect on Māori culture and society. With the introduction of literacy into schools Māori developed an insatiable appetite for reading and writing material. “One missionary recorded that Māori were prepared to receive books as wages or in exchange for other goods” (Yate 1832; cited in Simon, 1998:3). Due to this increasing desire for reading material, in 1834 William Colenso, a missionary for the Church Missionary Society, established a printing press in Paihia. Shortly after establishment, Colenso began printing the New Testament in the Māori language. This not only satisfied the wants of the missionaries to civilise the Māori through religion but provided Māori with the opportunity to read and write in their own language (Barrington & Beaglehole 1974:27-28). Therefore by 1840, it seems that only a few iwi (tribe) had people who were unable to read and write (Barrington & Beaglehole 1974:28).

The introduction of literacy enabled Māori to maintain their language as well as learning the new skills, such as reading and writing, which the missionaries had to offer. During this time Māori demonstrated an enthusiasm for these Pākehā skills and Pākehā knowledge as a means of improving their own way of life. Simon & Massey (1994) writes, the “enthusiasm for gaining these new skills and knowledge arose from Maori themselves perceiving them to be of relevance and value to their lives” (53). This is where Missionary Schools affected Māori culture in a big way. The introduction of education significantly challenged Māori society. Status within Māoridom was able to be altered upon the acquisition of skills that Missionary Schools were offering. Upon gaining literacy skills as well as the knowledge of Christianity,
those in Māori society with lesser social status were able to play more significant roles than previously.

Slaves, commoners, and even young chiefs, acquired new status on bases which were assuredly not traditional. And since, by commanding the knowledge and religion of the European (which was valued highly as the answer and secret to European material success and welfare), they stood outside the traditional framework; the result was that the *tapu* and *mana* systems were directly changed (Jackson, cited in Barrington & Beaglehole 1974:31).

Basically the Māori language was a vehicle for instructing Māori on how to be better Pākehā. However, this new found love for Pākehā knowledge and skills was short lived as the needs of Māori surpassed what the current schooling system was offering. With a growing settler population leading into the 1840s, Māori required knowledge of the English language to increase interaction with this continuous wave of new arrivals, and enable them to trade with the new comers (Simon & Massey 1994:55). This type of knowledge however was not being offered in the current schools.

The 1860s was witness to the mounting tensions between Māori and Pākehā. Not only was this period host of the New Zealand Land Wars but it also saw the introduction of a new form of combat, one that Māori were not conditioned to, the Law. The New Zealand Land Wars marked the end of the missionary period in New Zealand and, through a loss of faith in the Pākehā, saw Māori abandon the Mission Schools (Openshaw, Lee & Lee 1993:39; Simon & Massey 1994:60). However this was not the end of education for Māori in New Zealand. The Missionary Schools seemed to merely wet the appetite of Māori in terms of education. The knowledge of reading and writing was by no means sufficient in providing Māori with the skills in which the Pākehā obtained their wealth, and Māori saw education as an important vehicle in delivering them the knowledge of the Pākehā. As such the eagerness of Māori to
obtain a Pākehā education was met by the colonisers with the introduction of the *Native Schools Act* in 1867 (Simon 1998:17).

*Native Schools Act 1867*

Searching for an improved method for its assimilation policy, the government adopted the task of establishing its own system of schooling for Māori (Simon 1998:11). Thus in 1867 Native Minister Donald McLean proposed the *Native Schools Act*. This Act would see that the government funded denominational boarding schools would be replaced by a national system of day schools that would be controlled and maintained by the Department of Native Affairs. Also, this Act imposed that English be the language of instruction within these schools (Barrington 1966:2). Under this Act Māori were expected to provide real estate and financial support if they wanted a school established in their communities. This followed the idea that Māori needed a vested interest in education to limit the resistance that would be felt if education was imposed upon them. Thus, Auckland inspector H. Carlton stated in 1862, “that any future plans for Maori education should require the Maoris to make equal contributions of money and land as a condition of their receiving government assistance” (Barrington 1966:2).

The parliamentary debates surrounding this proposed Act highlighted three principles that were to head native education policy.

First, that Europeanisation/assimilation was an appropriate policy for the government to pursue in order to ‘civilise’ Maori; second, that the schools could be used for the express purpose of social control; and finally, that education should be made available only to those communities where Maori had not only asked for schooling but also committed resources. (Openshaw, Lee & Lee 1993:40)
In adopting this Act the position was taken that its purpose was to improve the social status of the Maori race, and, in keeping with this objective, the English language should be taught to the Māori people (Openshaw, Lee & Lee 1993:40).

As stated in the Act English was to be the language of instruction within the Native Schools. This measure was seen as beneficial by both races. Inspecting officers of the Native Schools were forthcoming in their belief that mastery of the English language was the most important part of the Māori school teacher’s job and this was supported by many Māori. “A number of influential Maoris gave positive support to the emphasis placed on the teaching on English in the schools” (Barrington 1966:3).

Further to the implementation of the English language, the curriculum that was to be taught would be based upon “the ordinary subjects of primary English education ... taught by a competent teacher” (Native Schools Act 1867). This was seen as beneficial for Māori and by Māori. They would finally be given the education they required to achieve the economic success of the Pākehā. However, Māori perceptions were “that complementing traditional culture and knowledge with that of the Pākehā was necessary for effective survival within a Pākehā-dominated society” (Simon 1998:12). What Māori did not account for was that it was not only the Māori language that was affected by the introduction of things Pākehā. “Native Schools contributed to the building of a different sense of community from that of the close whānau-based kāinga which had been such a significant part of Māori social organisation” (Simon 1998:22).
The control of the Native Schools rested in the hands of the Department of Native Affairs until the establishment of the Department of Education, under the *Education Act 1877*, assumed control.

*Education Act 1877*

The system of provincial government, introduced in 1854, seemed a practical measure during the early settlement period (Mackey 1967:265). As it became evident that the Churches could no longer provide the resources required for schooling, education became the responsibility of the Provinces. However, the abolishment of the Provinces in 1876 increased the necessity for a national form of education, and the *Education Act 1877* met this need (Mackey 1967:265; Simon & Massey 1994:40). Under the provincial system, schools developed at an uneven rate and produced many inequalities. Some areas developed an excellent education structure where costs were kept low and most children were eligible to attend, while other areas saw thousands of children miss out on opportunities to receive education (Simon & Massey 1994:40-42). Thus the public became unsatisfied with the type of education services on offer and as such began demanding a national system of education (McKenzie 1969:26). “A major reason, therefore, for demands for universal education and, eventually the 1877 Act, was concern to bring about equal access to schooling for all children” (McKenzie 1975, cited in Simon & Massey 1994:43).

“The 1877 Education Act laid foundation of the New Zealand education system as we know it today. It provided for the first time in New Zealand a national system of education at the primary school level that was funded by the state and controlled by the state” (Simon & Massey 1994:39) and was the first step towards developing a national curriculum that would enable all students’ access to the same knowledge (McKenzie 1975:94). The *Education Act*
1877 set out to, firstly, provide free primary level schooling to all children between the ages of five and fifteen and create compulsory schooling for children between the ages of seven and thirteen. Secondly, state control was perceived to be without bias. The state would distribute funds and resources without privileging one region over another and was thus seen as a neutral body (Simon & Massey 1994:45). There were now effectively two education systems, one for Māori and one for Pākehā.

Native Schools Code 1880

In 1879, due to the high number of Native schools, it was decided to remove control of these schools from Native Affairs to the Education Department. James Pope, the Organising Inspector of Native Schools, headed the development of principles for the Native Schools system through the publishing of the Native Schools Code 1880 (Butchers 1932:86). The code was designed to “provide for the establishment of native schools, the conduct of these schools, the selection of teachers, and the school curriculum” (Openshaw, Lee & Lee 1993:46). In drafting the Native Schools Code, Pope’s concern about the need for native education which focused on providing skills that would assist in the survival of the Māori villages was prominent. According to Pope, education could be afforded the responsibility of educating the Māori on personal and community hygiene in an attempt to improve the health and living standards of many Māori (Openshaw, Lee & Lee 1993:46). Consequently, Pope’s vision was not confined to the academic progress of the Māori, he was also concerned with “extending the schools activities to bring the whole life of the Maori community within its sphere of influence” (Barrington 1966:4), and this was expressed within the Native Schools Code. Therefore, under the Native Schools Code the responsibilities of teachers extended beyond the classroom to include community role model. Teachers were expected to
portray all the qualities of Pākehā culture to children within the classroom and to older generations through their conduct in the community (Butchers 1932:87).

Through this Code, Pope’s objective was to align the Māori with European civilisation. However, this included much more than teaching hygiene in schools. The Code not only attempted to rid Māori of disease but also their language. The Native Schools Code made a provision that the English language was to be the medium of instruction allowing the Māori language to only be used in cases where it was needed to develop a competency in the English language (Simon 1998:16). The justification for using English, as the sole means of communication in the Native Schools, was that without the English language Māori could not be expected to learn other aspects of the English curriculum. “It was found that once a good working knowledge of English was acquired, the Maori children could learn arithmetic, geography and so forth just as well as European children” (Butchers 1932:87). It was also believed that a second language would be grasped more easily and effectively if the use of the first language was extinguished (Simon 1998:16-17).

A strongly Eurocentric view of the place of the Maori language prevailed in the Code: its use was limited to enabling Maori children to become better ‘acquainted with the meanings of English words and sentences’. In the senior classes, teachers, were directed to ‘dispense with the use of Maori as soon as possible’ and to instruct children only in the English language. (Openshaw, Lee & Lee 1993:48)

Secondary Schooling for Māori

It is no secret that educational policy was aimed at ‘Europeanising’ Māori, however throughout the Native Schools System Māori were advocates for Pākehā-based education, with demands coming for higher schooling opportunities after primary school. The demand for further education was confronted by the Department of Education towards the late nineteenth century, as it became a reality that the children of a new rising Māori elite were
becoming less content with a basic primary school education (Openshaw, Lee & Lee 1993:51). Although Māori denominational boarding schools were available many Māori communities were isolated from the few areas that housed such schools and as such many Māori missed opportunities to attend these schools. Therefore in 1941 the first Māori District High School was established which offered secondary education situated closer to rural communities (Barrington 1988:55). These rural schools were, however, “expected to devote greater attention to practical and agricultural subjects rather than literary/academic ones” (AJHR 1902, cited in Openshaw, Lee & Lee 1993:52). This view reflected the seemingly general view of New Zealand society at that time.

There also existed an undisguised stereotype of Māori which was reflected throughout educational policy. Official education policy often reflected a narrow and limited view of Māori, the potential they possessed and their role in New Zealand Society (Barrington 1988:45). Māori, as evidenced by the school curriculum, were only conditioned to manual labour. They were destined to work with their hands, not their minds, and as such would remain within their rural communities (Openshaw, Lee & Lee 1993:52-53). Due to such perceptions, not only were the Native Schools expected to adopt a predominantly practical curriculum, already functioning Māori denominational boarding schools were coerced into adapting their curriculum to include courses in agriculture and woodwork, even if this meant a decline in the emphasis placed on English curriculum subjects. The justification for such views were that because Māori owned a considerable amount of agricultural and pastoral land, emphasis should be placed on offering an education in manual and technical instruction (Openshaw, Lee & Lee 1993:53).
Unsurprisingly, the Department of Education faced resistance as Māori were unsatisfied with the practically based curriculum. Senior Inspector of the Native Schools at the time later commented that “the (native district high) schools did not meet the Maoris’ anticipated requirements and so they didn’t appeal to the Maori” (Ball 1973, cited in Openshaw, Lee & Lee 1993:67).

Maori parents were increasingly unwilling to see their children being ‘fobbed off’ with what they saw as being a second-best, ‘soft option’ curriculum at the same time as their counterparts in the Maori denominational secondary schools and urban secondary schools received instruction in academic, examinable, and university-orientated subjects. (NZPD 1941, cited in Openshaw, Lee & Lee 1993:67-68)

Integration

The 1930s saw a change in the approach in educating Māori pupils. Guidelines were developed to direct the education of Māori. Educational policy was targeted at encouraging Māori pupils to attend the Native Schools to increase their understanding of their own culture. While health, cleanliness, initiative, self-sufficiency and co-operation remained an integral part of Māori education, further emphasis was placed on practical education that would allow Māori access to vocations within the wider community. Such guidelines formed the core of Māori educational policy during the 1930s and 1940s. This new approach to Māori education was the beginning of the move away from assimilation and later became known as integration (Openshaw, Lee & Lee 1993: 60-61).

In 1960 the Department of Māori Affairs commissioned J.K. Hunn to write a report on the state of Māori within New Zealand society. After determining that Māori were a “depressed ethnic minority” (Openshaw, Lee & Lee 1994:72), Hunn concluded that education provided the best opportunity for Māori betterment. His recommendation followed that Māori be integrated into the Public Schools system. He acknowledged that urbanisation would result
in more Māori attending the Public Schools anyway. As such this would cause the number of Māori enrolled in the Native Schools to drop (Hunn 1961:25). By the end of the 1960’s, Hunn’s recommendation for integration was being realised. 1969 saw the end of Native Schools and thus the public school system became the vehicle of education for Māori (Openshaw, Lee & Lee 1993:77). All New Zealand children were now to be educated in the same system.

Resistance to integrated schooling was coming from both Māori and Pākehā. Pākehā resistance came from racial attitudes that Māori were second rate citizens with bad hygiene and a low standard of behaviour. Many Pākehā parents did not want their own children being educated next to such beings in fear that the attendance of Māori children would in some way reduce the reputation of their school (Openshaw, Lee & Lee 1993:56). Māori resistance came from a sense of loss of tino rangatiratanga (self-determination). Māori had developed a sense of pride in the Native Schools. For over a century they had cleaned, maintained and provided land for these schools, they saw them as their own. A schooling system that catered specifically for Māori needs, within and outside the classroom (Barrington & Beaglehole 1974:251-252). Support for their continuation was also due to the belief that such schools had succeeded in an uplifting of the Māori race (Openshaw, Lee & Lee 1993:57). Despite such reservations with integration, the gradual and often slow transfer of Māori schools to Board control began in 1956 (Barrington & Beaglehole 1974:253).

Integration was viewed by many as detrimental to Māori students. There were fears that Māori culture would not be offered in Board schools, and others suggested that integration would mean teachers who were less sympathetic to Māori children would be appointed (Barrington & Beaglehole 1974:257-258). However, there were benefits expressed for Māori
to be educated under the public system. Such benefits included access to a greater calibre of teachers, access to a more academically orientated curriculum, which offered greater chances for higher education and the improvement of “Māori educational, economic, social and vocational prospects” (Openshaw, Lee & Lee 1993:57).

The transference of Māori schools to Board control was achieved by multiple means. The majority of schools were transferred as a result of urbanization. Demographic changes often meant that less Māori were staying in their rural communities and as such the population of Māori students attending Native schools fell below that of the Pākehā students and thus such schools were automatically transferred to board control. A smaller number of Native schools were transferred upon agreement between Māori and Pākehā (Openshaw, Lee & Lee 1993:76).

**Taha Māori**

Within the public education system there existed an imbalance in academic success. In order to restore some form of balance a shift in policy occurred during the 1970s. The increase in numbers of Māori pupils in Public Schools led to a need for some form of Māori language and culture to be integrated into the current school curriculum. Such a process began in 1975 with the introduction of the Taha Māori initiative into selected schools (Jenkins & Ka’ai, 1994:155). Taha Māori was a state run policy that was to cater for Māori who wanted their children to participate in Māori language and cultural programs in schools (Jenkins & Ka’ai 1994:154). The official definition of Taha Māori is that;

In education process, Taha Maori is the inclusion of aspects of Maori language and culture in the philosophy, the organization and the content of the school … Aspects of Maori language and culture should be incorporated into the total life of the schools – into its curriculum, buildings, grounds, attitudes, organizations. It should be a normal part of
the school climate with which all pupils and staff should feel comfortable and at ease.
(cited in Smith 1990:186)

With Taha Māori being a very limited form of bilingual education, its integration seems to be a very tokenistic approach. Much of the programme was able to be taught in English and as long as the lessons were based on ‘things Māori’ this was considered Taha Māori (Jenkins & Ka’ai 1994:155). The introduction of Taha Māori in Public Schools posed some problems in who would teach such an element. Māori language and culture was the essence of this initiative but most teachers were Pākehā and therefore were ill-equipped to teach a Māori based initiative (Smith 1990:191).

If attempting to counteract the loss of the Māori language was a drive for such an initiative, Taha Māori failed. The Māori language taught within this program was so restricted that it was difficult to initiate an everyday conversation with the students (Jenkins & Ka’ai 1994:155). Part of the inefficiency of this program was that it was a Pākehā driven initiative, and as such catered predominantly for Pākehā interests (Smith 1990:183). Graham Smith writes that Taha Māori should be centred around and respond to the needs of Māori, and as such reassert the legitimacy of the Māori language and culture (Smith 1990:186-187). Not only did Taha Māori fail to meet the needs of Māori in their desire for a revival of their language and culture but it also threatened Māori knowledge through acculturation. Pākehā were allowed uncontrolled access to Māori knowledge and charged with disseminating this knowledge, in any means that they saw fit, to an often large body of impressionable students (Smith 1990:191). As can be concluded such an initiative had many shortcomings and as such Māori took matters into their own hands with the establishment of Māori language preschools and schools based on Māori cultural wants and needs.
Māori Education Initiatives

As a result of the short-comings that the state education system offered Māori and the desire to revitalise the Māori language, Māori chose to establish their own autonomous education structure in attempt to offer Māori what the state had failed to. Thus, the establishment of Kōhanga Reo emerged and was later followed by Kura Kaupapa Māori (Openshaw, Lee & Lee 1993:79). It has been claimed that “Māori underachievement can be explained by the fact that historically the education system has served to alienate the Maori from their Maoritanga” (Simon 1986, cited in Openshaw, Lee & Lee 1993:79). This is, in fact, part of what Kōhanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Māori are trying to rectify.

Kōhanga Reo

The Kōhanga Reo movement was aimed at reviving traditional Māori knowledge, cultural practices and the Māori language (May 1999:58). It can be concluded that the establishment of Kōhanga Reo was in response to the so-called “crisis in Māori education”, and “a desperate drive to save the Maori language” (Jenkins & Ka’ai 1994:163). Older Māori generations had been scarred by the suppression of their language and culture within the education system and as a result many Māori held reservations about education for their children. However, the Kōhanga Reo Movement was a turning point for Māori attitudes and perceptions towards education (May 1999:59-60).

The establishment of Kōhanga Reo was very popular among Māori. For the first time since the introduction of European based education, Māori were provided with a system that addressed their needs as a people. “The teaching and learning programme of Kōhanga served to benefit Maori needs. The language and culture of the Kōhanga emphasised and served Maori interests” (Jenkins & Ka’ai 1994:169).
A majority of Māori that were exposed to the impacts of the state education system lost their language. This was bound to impact on future generations as there was a fire break in the transmission of language. Many of the fluent Māori speakers were over 40 and it was these people that were sought to disseminate the Māori language to the new generations (Jenkins & Ka’ai 1994:168). Older generations with an ability to speak Māori were sought to teach the children, while parents, who were often part of the generation that had lost their language, were encouraged to participate in Kōhanga Reo by caring for and supervising the children while passively absorbing the Māori language (Jenkins & Ka’ai 1994:170).

Kōhanga Reo, however, was merely the first step to language revitalisation. Many programs within and outside of the state system were required in order to maintain the language that Kōhanga Reo children had received. Therefore there became a need to establish an initiative that would carry on the work of Kōhanga Reo and so Kura Kaupapa Māori Schools were born (Jenkins & Ka’ai, 1994:172).

*Kura Kaupapa Māori*

Kura Kaupapa Māori are total immersion, Māori language, schooling options. These schools offer primary level schooling that is concerned with the survival and revival of the Māori language (Smith 1990:192). A combination of factors can be attributed with the development of Māori immersion schools. Firstly, Māori language promotion as well as quality primary school education led to the establishment of Kura Kaupapa Māori schools (Durie 1998:65). Secondly, they began as a response to the need to find appropriate schooling for the children emerging from Kōhanga Reo (Jenkins & Ka’ai 1994:172). Thirdly, the success of Kōhanga Reo can also be accredited for the development of Kura Kaupapa Māori due to the demand it created for Māori medium education at the primary level (May 1999:60). Upon completion
Kōhanga Reo, Māori parents recognised a need for a similar initiative to be developed at a Primary school level and as such Kura Kaupapa Māori arose.

A primary concern of Kōhanga parents was to maintain the language gains made by their children. Kura Kaupapa Māori, in adopting the same language and organisational principles as Te Kōhanga Reo, could continue to reinforce these language gains within a Māori cultural and language-medium environment (May 1999:60).

Kura Kaupapa Māori offers a similar curriculum to that of state schools, teaching maths, science, health and other such subjects. The difference lies within the culture and language of the schools, this being Māori. The curriculum, therefore, is based on Māori beliefs, needs and culture (Jenkins & Ka’ai 1994:172). Kura also emphasise the normalisation of Māori language, culture and values, where general schooling is incorporated into cultural pedagogies where appropriate. The aim of such Kura is to provide “a distinctly Māori educational environment that is able to promote effectively bilingualism and biculturalism” (May 1999:61). Smith (1990) states that “Kura Kaupapa Maori are successful in producing competent and fluent speakers of Maori and English; the outcome of total immersion Maori language schooling is bilingualism and biculturalism” (194).

**State of the Māori language**

As we have seen, the suppression of the Māori language was apparent throughout educational history in New Zealand. The results of these actions have disabled the Māori language and have had a rippling affect through many generations. A brief look at the state of the Māori language follows and demonstrates how the suppression of the Māori language, primarily through the education system, has weakened its use within society today.

Unfortunately proficiency in the Māori language is limited. From the Māori language survey conducted in 2006 only 27 percent of respondents acknowledge that they had a reasonable
level of proficiency in the Māori language (Te Puni Kōkiri 2007:28-29). It was determined that there is a correlation between language proficiency and the age and community in which Māori speakers were living (Te Puni Kōkiri 2007:5).

The majority of proficient speakers come from opposite ends of the spectrum, the younger age group, ranging between 15 to 24 years and the 55+ age group (Te Puni Kōkiri 2007:30). This leaves a gaping hole in the transmission of the language. The emergence of Kōhanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Māori in the 1970s can be attributed with the growth in proficient Māori speakers within the 15-24 year age range. This demonstrates the success of Māori immersion schooling in revitalising the Māori language. It is likely that Māori is the first language of those within the 55+ age range. While they would have attended school during the Native Schools period, where English was the preferred language, the Māori language was possibly their home language. Therefore their proficiency in the Māori language is associated with it being their native tongue.

It is also evident that areas with a strong Māori population have a higher percentage of proficient Māori speakers. In the Northland, Auckland and Bay of Plenty regions the proportion of proficient Māori speakers is higher than any other regions and in fact proficient speakers out-number the proportion of limited speakers of the Māori language (Te Puni Kōkiri 2007:30).

Within communities, the use of the Māori language is more common in areas where there is a higher concentration of Māori. Survey respondents indicated that Māori was mostly spoken and heard during hui (meetings or gatherings), marae (meeting place) activities, and religious activities. It seems that the areas where Māori was heard being used correlated with the areas
where Māori was spoken by the respondents. On the other hand, areas with a weaker Māori population saw Māori being utilised less. This included shopping areas, work and pubs. Not surprisingly if English was the language heard by respondents then English was the language used to communicate with others (Te Puni Kōkiri 2007:43-48). From these results it seems that Māori populated areas and events foster the use of the Māori language, yet communal areas, where both Māori and Pākehā reside, can often discourage the use of the Māori language.

Despite the conclusions drawn from the Māori language survey, many people are attempting to increase their knowledge of the Māori language. The most common method of learning the Māori language was through the education system. 55 percent of Māori language speakers gained proficiency in the Māori language through their schooling. 31 percent of people took Māori at Secondary School and 16 percent studied the Māori language at a University or Polytechnic (Te Puni Kōkiri 2007:100). It seems that through these courses learners gain increased reading and writing skills in the Māori language. 64 percent of Secondary School learners and 72 percent of University and Polytechnic learners indicated that they could write better in the Māori language, while 67 percent and 77 percent, respectively, gained a better reading comprehension. It is demonstrated, however, that through these courses Māori language learners are not gaining as much skill in speaking the Māori language. 57 percent of Secondary School learners and 68 percent of University and Polytechnic learners indicated that they gained a better ability to converse in the Māori language (Te Puni Kōkiri 2007:106). This is a concern as traditionally the Māori language was completely oral, however nowadays; it seems that most skills are being gained through reading and writing mediums. This has the ability to change the future of Māori language transmission. If proficient Māori speakers are not being developed, the language is further
threatened as a tool for social communication. However, it was shown that learning the language through an educational institution or course was not the sole means of learning. Watching television, listening to the radio, singing Māori songs and having conversations with other Māori were also represented as means of learning the Māori language (Te Puni Kōkiri 2007:7).

Despite the acknowledged weakness of the education system it remains a widely used tool for learning the Māori language. Over half of the people learning the Māori language are utilising the opportunities that Primary, Secondary and Tertiary institutes offer. As such, a greater population of society is targeted with the possibility of learning the Māori language.

Māori Educational Achievement.

Since the introduction of Māori Medium education such as Kōhanga Reo, full immersion schools, bilingual schools and classes and Wānanga, these options have been popular choices for Māori parents. In terms of Early Childhood Education (ECE) the most popular services for Māori children were Kōhanga Reo with 31 percent of all Māori preschoolers enrolled (Ministry of Education 2004:48). Increases (30.8 percent) in the number of Māori students that are enrolled at Māori immersion schooling have been apparent as well as a noticeable increase in the number of Māori students attending public Wānanga (Ministry of Education 2004:54-63).

However education, in general, still seems to be a less attractive option for many Māori. Despite an increase in the number of Māori students remaining at school over the past 18 years, the retention rate of Māori students is significantly less than non-Māori students (Ministry of Education 2004:49). In 2003, 62.7 percent of 16 year old, 36.7 percent of 17
year old, and 8.6 percent of 18 year old Māori students remained in school (Ministry of Education 2004:64). In comparison, non-Māori equated to 86.9 percent of 16 year olds, 63.2 percent of 17 year olds, and 14.8 percent of 18 year olds (Ministry of Education 2004:49). In addition, 35 percent of Māori school leavers left school with no qualifications, compared to only 15 percent of non-Māori (Ministry of Education 2004:51). This is important because, as demonstrated, schools and Universities are major places where people have the opportunity to learn the Māori language. If Māori are not participating in the education system their opportunity to learn the Māori language is severely weakened.

**Conclusion**

Historically the education of Māori has been through various phases. First was assimilation. It is undeniable that the main function of schooling Māori was not to educate them but rather to turn them into Pākehā. While Missionary Schools used the word of God and the Māori language to achieve this goal, the Native Schools took a more direct approach. Not only were these schools seen as a means for assimilation but also for social control, teaching Māori how to be good Englishman, starting with a mastery of the English language.

With the end of the Native Schools and the establishment of a Public School system, the assimilation agenda of Pākehā education gave way to integration. While the process of integration was slow, the idea of integrating was not accepted favourably by Māori or Pākehā. Māori saw it as an attack of their tino rangatiratanga and Pākehā saw it as a degradation of the schools that their children attended.

There were also fears that Public Schools would not offer Māori culture within its curriculum and that Māori pupils would receive teachers that were less sympathetic to their needs. These
fears did not go unwarranted, as a growing imbalance became noticeable between the academic success of Māori and Pākehā, and since an increasing number of Māori pupils were entering the public schools system it was decided that Māori language and culture needed to be incorporated into the curriculum. This led to the Taha Māori initiative, a tokenistic approach to offering students a minute piece of Māori culture and language within pre-existing curriculum subjects.

With all the shortcomings that resulted from the Taha Māori initiative, Māori decided to take matters into their own hands and established Māori immersion education that catered to the needs of Māori first and foremost. This saw the introduction of Kōhanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Māori. The introduction of such initiatives has offered new generations the chance to learn about their language and culture and have offered Māori an education system that works for them. Not surprisingly, the highest number of proficient Māori speakers is between the ages of 15 and 24, correlating with the introduction of Māori immersion education.

While this Chapter has focused on the implications that the education system has had on the decline of the Māori language, the following Chapter will look at people who have attempted to revitalise the Māori language with a particular focus on Pākehā people that have contributed to this field.
I sort of thought I should keep going with it and struggling with it coz I thought it was important. (Reilly, Pers. Comm., 2008)

These words uttered from a research participant highlight the importance of the Māori language to him. While it is acknowledged that learning a new language is no easy feat, various reasons contribute to the perseverance and commitment of many Pākehā to learning the Māori language. In an attempt to demonstrate that Pākehā have interacted with the Māori language and culture since first settlement, this Chapter will begin with a historical look at Pākehā that assimilated to Māori culture during the early contact period. Such settlers were termed Pākehā Māori. Then some prominent Pākehā people who have contributed to the revitalization of the Māori language historically and in contemporary society will also be considered.

Pākehā Māori

As has been demonstrated the Māori language is not only an important part of Māori culture, but it is also an important part of New Zealand culture. Contemporarily the Māori language is used by non-Māori as a defining symbol of Aotearoa/New Zealand, however historically the Māori language was adopted by Pākehā as a means of communication with the indigenous people to ensure survival and prevent misunderstandings between the two cultures.

All Europeans living in New Zealand before 1840 were dependant on Māori for protection to some degree and were compelled to adopt some customs if they hoped to survive or remain. (Bentley 1999:10)
It is these reasons that many of the initial settlers incorporated themselves into Māori culture, learning the language and adopting cultural values and practices. These people were known as Pākehā Māori. They were foreigners who became part of tribal life and were treated by Māori as Māori (Bentley 1999:9). Pākehā Māori occupied a different class of European from other types of settlers. They were differentiated by the “extent to which they integrated with and depended upon Māori for their livelihoods” (Bentley, 1999:10).

There were different classes of Pākehā Māori, some were trading intermediaries, others were given more traditional roles as slaves, soldiers and some were even awarded the status of chief or tohunga (priest or expert) (Bentley 1999:9). Pākehā Māori that were awarded higher status within a Māori tribe were those who became fluent in the Māori language, who dressed as Māori and who fought as Māori. Some went as far as disregarding their Pākehā culture and adopting a Māori identity. These types of Pākehā Māori were known as rangatira Pākehā (Pākehā chiefs or leaders) (Bentley 1999:164-168). One notable rangatira Pākehā was Barnet Burns, more commonly known as George White, who resided in Poverty Bay. His assimilation of Māori customs lead him to identify as a Māori, to the extent that he participated fully in the haka (war dance), battles and sieges that were part of the ruthless intertribal warfare (Bentley 1999:168).

 Alone among Maori for periods up to eleven months, Burns became Maori in all but outlook. He dressed, spoke and behaved as an indigenous chief but psychologically he remained European. (Bentley, 1999:168)

While many Pākehā Māori immersed themselves into Māori culture, living among Māori on Māori terms, it was often difficult to discard all westernised ideas. The dependance on and the protection of Māori iwi and hapū (sub-tribe), was a great incentive to conform to Māori
values and practices, despite the possible conflict that may have with western culture (Bentley 1999:149).

Some Trader Pākehā Māori were able to incorporate only the values and practices that would provide them with protection by Māori, while still maintaining aspects of western culture.

Unlike early rangatira Pakeha and tohunga Pakeha, who fully assimilated as Maori, the traders occupied a middle ground between the cultures. They were entitled to live in European style houses and wear European style clothing without sacrificing their acceptance by Maori as a member of the hapu. (Bentley 1999:149)

These Pākehā Māori offered an increased understanding between the Māori and European cultures. They occupied a place between Māori and Pākehā, and were able to act as intermediaries between these two races (Bentley 1999:10-11). They demonstrated a willingness, as well as a need, to assimilate into the Māori culture, learning the language and practising Māori values and customs. It is possible however that these Pākehā Māori are not just historical characters. Despite obvious differences in the societal context and motivations, there are Pākehā today who have made and often continue to make invaluable contributions to the revitalisation of the Māori language and culture.

**Contemporary Contributions by Pākehā**

Since the arrival of British settlers to New Zealand, some Pākehā have endeavoured to learn the Māori language. As has been noted in the previous Chapter, the Māori language has endured many attempts of suppression. The Māori language is now in a period of revitalisation. While Māori have been charged with the responsibility of reviving their own language and culture, many Pākehā have made invaluable contributions to this task. Some of these people and several of their significant actions and publications will now be highlighted.
Dr Winifred Bauer

Dr Winifred Bauer is one such contributor. Dr Bauer currently holds a Teaching Fellow position at Victoria University. She graduated from the University of Auckland with a Masters Degree in English Language and Literature. After taking up a Junior Lectureship at the English Language Institute at Victoria University, she pursued her post-graduate study in Linguistics at Edinburgh University. Upon returning to New Zealand she began to learn the Māori language which provided inspiration for her PhD thesis entitled *Aspects of the Grammar of Māori*. After the completion of her PhD, Dr Bauer continued her research into the Māori language (*Staff Profile on Dr Winifred Bauer, 2007*).

Two of Dr. Bauer’s most significant publications relating to the Māori language are:


Professor Ray Harlow

Professor Harlow is currently working at the University of Waikato in the Department of General and Applied Linguistics. He was educated at the University of Otago where he received his Masters Degree. He completed his Doctorate at the University of Zurich in Switzerland looking at Greek, Latin and Indo-European Linguistics. While teaching in Munich, Professor Harlow taught himself the Māori language. His research interests now lie in the area of Māori and Polynesian languages and structural linguistics. Professor Harlow was also one of the founding members of the Māori Language Commission. This work inspired his interest in the preservation of *te reo* Māori (the Māori language) and has lead to his involvement in many language preservation initiatives in New Zealand (*Faculty Staff Profiles, 2006*).
Some of Professor Harlow’s publications include;


*Professor John Moorfield*

Professor John Moorfield is currently working at the Auckland University of Technology as a professor in Māori Innovation and Development. Prior to this he was a professor at Te Tumu- School of Māori, Pacific and Indigenous Studies at the University of Otago. His work experience spans over forty years, including eight years Secondary School teaching and 21 years working at the University of Waikato. He received his Bachelor of Arts from Auckland University, his Masters in Education from Wales and his Doctorate of Literature from the University of Otago. During his career he has published the *Te Whanake* series, a collection of narratives and associated resources that have been developed to support Māori language teaching to adults (Moorfield 2006:109-116). The books included in this series are;

John Foster

John Foster is an Englishman who moved to New Zealand in 1953. He bought William’s *First Lessons in Māori* in 1951 as his first introduction to learning the Māori language. While living in New Zealand he has taught Māori through Night Classes at Rotorua Lakes High School for eight years and has published various books relating to the learning of the Māori Language (Foster 1987:9-12). Some of these titles include;


All of the people mentioned here have been active in not only learning the Māori language but also in promoting the Māori language. The books written by these people have created opportunities for Māori and other Pākehā to learn the Māori language. Their contributions have assisted in the revitalisation of the Māori language at a time when Māori, due to societal and educational inequities, were unable to provide such resources themselves.

This Chapter demonstrates that Pākehā learning the Māori language and assisting in its revitalisation is not an isolated situation. Through the assimilation of early settlers into Māori culture a bridge between the two cultures was created. Early Pākehā Māori acted as intermediaries between Māori and Pākehā, increasing an understanding between the two cultures. More contemporarily, through the publication of books that aim to teach second language learners how to speak the Māori language, various Pākehā Māori’ have helped to increase people’s knowledge of the Māori language and have expressed an immeasurable contribution towards the revival and continuing health of the Māori language. While this
personal research has been conducted within the Otago region there are in fact Pākehā nationwide that have expressed an interest in the Māori Language and its revitalisation. The following Chapter will discuss the motivations of some Pākehā, within the Otago region, who are learning the Māori language and some of the attitudes that these people face within modern society.
CORRECTING THE PAST,
AMENDING THE FUTURE

I can’t make other people right, I can’t make the past right especially. Like one of the things studying history is that I think it did make me feel quite powerless and despairing because there wasn’t actually anything that I could really do about it. And I didn’t want to be apart of the problem, I wanted to be part of the solution. (Day, Pers. Comm., 2008)

These words identify a desire to want to correct the injustices of the past, not by inventing time travel and going back in history and making changes, but rather by doing all that is possible now to bring the Māori language back into society as a tool of everyday communication. This Chapter will introduce five people that have endeavoured to learn the Māori language and attempts to find out why they did so, and their drive to work within a Māori context upon acquiring the Māori language. An in-depth look at the attitudes that surround these people learning and working in the Māori language will also be included.

There are many attitudes surrounding Pākehā learning the Māori language, some positive and others negative.

The issue of sharing Maori culture with the population of New Zealand is a sensitive one for members of the Maori minority. There is a bitterness on the Maori side when it is remembered that many governments of New Zealand actively undermined the culture by enacting some anti-Maori legislation … The language was suppressed and cultural development was either underfunded or completely ignored. (Mead 1997, p. 89)

Despite these attitudes there are an increasing number of Pākehā learning the Māori language. Statistics have shown that the number of non-Māori who have never learnt the Māori language has decreased from 63 percent in 2000 to 54 percent in 2006 (Te Puni Kōkiri 2006:7). This raises the question, why do Pākehā learn the Māori language? What drives them to learn a language that seemingly has no benefit to them?
Biographies

Lorraine Johnston

Lorraine Johnston is a Pākehā woman and is currently the Māori resources librarian at the University of Otago Central Library. She was born in Te Kopuru, near Dargaville, and raised in various places throughout the Northland and Auckland areas. Lorraine grew up as the daughter of a Railway ganger and as such moved around the country a lot. At the age of 11, Lorraine and her family moved to the ‘big city’. She attended Glen Innes Intermediate School and spent a year at Selwyn College before attending Penrose High School. During her time at High School Lorraine studied French and Latin and then went on to study English, French and Japanese at University. After leaving Auckland University part way through her degree, Lorraine found work and began studying Māori during night classes.

I started doing night classes in Māori at one of the local schools … And so when I went back to varsity I enrolled in Māori Studies …I ended up, not only majoring in Māori but doing a Masters degree as well in Māori studies. (Johnston, Pers. Comm., 2008)

Since graduation Lorraine has worked within a Māori context. She has been a lecturer of the Māori language and does not envisage herself ever working outside a Māori context.

I don’t think I’ll ever take up a job again that doesn’t involve something to do with Māori. (Johnston, Pers. Comm., 2008)

Lynette Jones

Lynette spent 11 years abroad before returning to New Zealand to begin working here. Recently she has been working as a Production editor for the Educational Assessment Research Unit at the University of Otago. This role has required her to publish reports relating to primary and intermediate education within mainstream and Māori medium schools. Lynette grew up in Otahuhu in South Auckland. During her upbringing Otahuhu
had a fairly stable Māori community; however the Māori language was not a language that Lynette witnessed being spoken in the community. In fact it was not until she was in her teens and attended a Māori wedding that she heard the language being used for purposes other than kapa haka competitions.

The first time I heard te reo spoken in an everyday context was at a wedding in Ngāruawāhia when I was about 17. I was with my Māori/Dutch boyfriend and his family and it was on a marae so lots of tāngata whenua. I was absolutely amazed because I guess it was placed in my mind as a ‘relic’, something not ‘alive’ (Jones, Pers. Comm., 2008).

Lynette attended Primary and Secondary School in Otahuhu, and then graduated from Auckland University with a Masters in English.

**Michael Reilly**

Professor Michael Reilly is currently working as the acting Dean of Te Tumu – School of Māori, Pacific and Indigenous Studies at the University of Otago. He was born in Henderson on the West side of Auckland and grew up in Te Atatu North. During his upbringing, Professor Reilly’s exposure to Māori was fairly limited.

There were significant numbers of Māori in the general suburb of Te Atatu … [but] we were from [a] sort of Irish catholic world view and there weren’t Māori in that particular world that I was moving in at that time. (Reilly, Pers. Comm., 2008)

He attended St Francis primary school which was a convent school in Point Chevalier as well as a Catholic Intermediate school in Ponsonby. He then attended Rutherford High School which was a non-Catholic State School. Upon completing High School, Professor Reilly enrolled in a Bachelor of Arts, double majoring in Māori Studies and History at Victoria University, in Wellington, and carried on to do a Masters of Arts in Māori Studies. Professor Reilly also received his PhD from the Australian National University.
**Lachy Paterson**

Dr Lachy Paterson is currently lecturing the Māori language in Te Tumu – School of Māori, Pacific and Indigenous studies at the University of Otago. He was born in Dannevirke but spent the majority of his childhood in Whakatāne. During his upbringing there was a moderate Māori population in Whakatāne and so Lachy always had Māori students at his school. He attended Apanui Primary School, Whakatāne Intermediate and Whakatāne High School. After leaving school Lachy began a career in the New Zealand Railways but returned to University during his thirties to complete a degree in Māori Studies. He graduated with a doctorate in Māori Studies and began teaching Māori language while completing his PhD. Since his graduation he has worked in many Māori contexts.

**Delyn Day**

Delyn Day is a first generation New Zealander. Her parents are both Welsh but were raised in England. Delyn, herself was born and raised in the Nelson area, in a small town called Richmond. She attended Primary and Secondary School in Richmond. She then moved to Wellington for her tertiary education, studying a Bachelor of Arts in history and later completing her Masters Degree which was focused around rural history. Many of Delyn’s experiences brought her to learn the Māori language. Not having any kinship ties within New Zealand, besides her immediate family, Delyn did not feel much connection with this country at all, however the Māori language helped her feel more at home in New Zealand.

I mean I don’t look at this country and say its mine, because it’s not the way I look at things but I feel much more comfortable about being here. (Day, Pers. Comm., 2008)
Education

As presented in previous Chapters of this dissertation, education has had a significant impact on the Māori language and culture. As such many of the research participants were asked about the type of exposure that they had to the Māori language and culture during their time within the mainstream education system. The following outlines the responses of the research participants to this question.

Primary School

Many of the research participants began attending school during the 1960s and 1970s. This was during the time that the Native Schools system was on the way out and a new approach to education that incorporated Māori language and culture was being implemented. Many of the efforts to incorporate Māori into the curriculum have been deemed tokenistic.

The attitudes at Ōtāhuhu Primary and Intermediate schools was positive but probably tokenistic in the way anything Māori was delivered - singing songs with no real requirement to understand the meaning; Māori life studied in a very rudimentary, historical way with no understanding of Māori life in the present. (Jones, Pers. Comm., 2008)

It seems in fact that many of the attempts to incorporate Māori into school life was a means of ‘ticking the Māori box’. It was a way to demonstrate that the schools were sensitive to the needs of Māori. However this tokenistic approach had many shortcomings.

We did a little bit at Primary School, not so much language but I remember doing stick games, and I think there might have been the odd waiata, but I mean it wasn’t a big thing at all, I don’t remember really anything happening at Intermediate School. (Paterson, Pers. Comm. 2008)

While many of the research participants acknowledged that string games and stick games were taught, there seemed to be no real reference to the language or culture of Māori.
There were little modules, if you like, on Māori culture at Primary school but it was all about singing and dancing and stick games and I don’t remember that there was any attempt to explain to us the meaning of the words of the songs that we learnt or anything. (Johnston, Pers. Comm. 2008)

I do not believe that this experience was necessarily a product of its time. A tokenistic approach to things Māori seemed to ripple through education for many years to come. In fact, even while I was at primary school during the 1990’s we were taught waiata, rākau (stick games), and performed kapa haka (Māori performing art). However there was no attempt to offer any cultural underpinnings of such teachings. I remember being in Year 6 at primary school and every morning our class would say a karakia (prayer) and then sing a waiata. I do not remember ever being taught the translation of the karakia or the meaning of the waiata, and in fact remained oblivious to the significance and understanding of these two things until I under took formal study at university.

Such an approach to teaching aspects of Māori language and culture shadows the attempts of the Taha Māori initiative implemented in State Schools and the opinion of Hunn in the 1960s. The non-threatening and easy to teach approach to this initiative made it the most favoured option within mainstream education. Because many of the teachers implementing this Māori focused initiative into the curriculum were Pākehā, they were not equipped to offer any cultural understandings for anything taught. In fact the amount of Māori language and culture that was incorporated into the curriculum was so controlled that many students could barely hold a basic conversation in the Māori language (Jenkins & Ka’ai 1994:155-156). This demonstrates how little impact this initiative had on introducing things Māori into mainstream society.
Secondary School

The approach of including easy and non-threatening parts of Māori culture was very popular within Primary Schools. However, when it came to Secondary School there seemed to be a lot more variation in the approach adopted by each school. Some of the research participants indicated that while many languages were part of the school curriculum, Māori was not offered as a language choice. This fact was also noted by Richard Benton (1981:12) in his observation within the teaching profession, particularly in Secondary Schools. He indicated that there was a greater importance placed on the acquisition of international languages spoken in countries which are important trading partners for New Zealand than on the cultural or intellectual value of Māori. Lorraine Johnston experiences at High School support this view.

We had all sorts of languages at school, Māori language was never an option, it was never offered. (Johnston, Pers. Comm., 2008)

While a justification for this could have been the reduced number of Māori at these schools, many schools with a Māori population made no attempt to incorporate Māori into the school curriculum.

Waimea College [was] a rural intake school so more Māori came in as a result. But there was no kapa haka, there was no Māori as a subject, nothing like that. (Day, Pers. Comm., 2008)

Other Secondary schools made an effort to offer the Māori language as a subject. One research participant remembers the inception of Māori as a subject.

… in my first year [at Rutherford High School] I was in a class and we had our courses and there were no Māori [as a subject]… But at the end of my third form year, that would have been 1972 the school must have been making decisions at that time about introducing Māori as a language, an option alongside French and German. (Reilly, Pers. Comm., 2008)
As demonstrated, different schools took different approaches to the use of the Māori language as a subject. While some schools opted to offer it as an academic subject, other schools choose to exclude it all together. One research participant comments on how some schools struggled with maintaining the academic precedence of English education and the demand for the incorporation of Māori based subjects.

Ōtāhuhu College was a curious mix of a school trying to hang onto English formalities in a reasonably strong Māori community. (Jones, Pers. Comm., 2008)

It was further noted that *kapa haka* competitions were a regular activity within this school; however this was threatened by the fact that it was often performed incorrectly.

We had fierce inter-house *kapa haka* contests but I remember there being a great rumbling when a Māori teacher insisted that the contest could not continue unless things were done properly. (Jones, Pers. Comm., 2008)

After the integration of Māori into the public education system, it was recognised that there was a need to also integrate Māori language and culture into the curriculum. As stated in previous Chapters this saw the emergence of the Taha Māori initiative. However, many of these schools seemed to incorporate Māori into the school curriculum prior to the introduction of this initiative in 1975 (Jenkins & Ka’ai 1994:155). Many of the research participants acknowledged that Māori was offered as early as 1972. Therefore many of these schools were before their time in terms of offering Māori as a subject.

Despite the incorporation of Māori into the school curriculum, when faced with the opportunity to learn the Māori language at secondary school many of the research participants did not take up this opportunity. There were many attitudes that surrounded the impression of Māori people and, as extension of that, the impression of Māori as a subject.
This view is supported by Hana O’Regan (2001), who states that the perceptions of people as “inferior, uncivilised and lacking ‘culture’ by another dominant group” (60), impact on their view of the language which they perceive as “representing, promoting or fostering all in that culture that is considered to be bad, backward and degenerating” (60). Many of the participants commented on these attitudes that caused them to shy away from learning Māori.

Although Māori was taught at the school, it tended to be seen as something for Māori. In fact in my year I think there was only one guy, one Pākehā guy that I’m aware of, that did Māori in my year. (Paterson, Pers. Comm., 2008)

Another research participant also added that Māori was not considered acceptable as an academic subject. The underlying reasoning for this being the perception that Māori would not offer you a future but French, Latin or German would.

I had a real interest in taking Māori but I was in the top academic stream and we [were] given a very clear impression that anything other than Latin, French or German was entirely unacceptable - a ‘waste of time’ etc - and particularly so if you were non-Māori - no relevance to society, etc. The suggestion was that the language was almost ‘extinct’ so why bother. I didn’t know anyone else taking Māori either and I was far too shy and unconfident to fight for it. (Jones, Pers. Comm., 2008)

As Professor Reilly states;

[There] was this idea that somehow because it’s not a complicated language, or it’s easy to learn, like some idea that … because [Māori are] not white or European somehow their whole being is kind of simplistic, sort of primitive. It wasn’t articulated like that but you sort of wonder if that was somewhere lying behind their thinking. (Reilly, Pers. Comm., 2008)

Through the educational experiences of the research participants a clear cut attitude towards Māori and things Māori can be identified. Much of society held the attitude that the Māori language and culture were simplistic and held no future for mainstream society. This often created difficulties in the need to incorporate Māori topics into the school curriculum. Many
Primary Schools dealt with this by offering a tokenistic approach that provided no real competency in or knowledge of Māori language and culture. Throughout Secondary Schools many opted not to learn Māori as it was not viewed as a highly academic subject. These attitudes and approaches to incorporating Māori language and culture into the curriculum provided an avenue for Public Schools to demonstrate a perceived sensitivity towards Māori without threatening the move to assimilate Māori.

Motivations for learning the Māori language

Despite the attitudes that surrounded Māori people, language and culture, a number of Pākehā have endeavoured to learn the Māori language. The inspiration and motivation to do this varied between each research participant. While many left it until much later in life to learn the Māori language, one research participant started learning the Māori language in High School, due to the influence of his parents.

I’d indicated as my options I’d do language coz I was useless with commercial subjects or technical subjects or anything requiring manual dexterity, I thought that only really leaves language so it was a default option for me and I thought French and German coz they were the only languages I understood that they were going to offer. (Reilly, Pers. Comm., 2008)

However, Rutherford High School was intending to introduce Māori language as an option for students, provided there was enough interest in the subject. The parents of this research participant decided that if Māori language was going to be offered then they wanted their son to participate in this class and so signed him up to take Māori rather than German. This attitude had stemmed from his fathers belief that the Māori language was an integral part of being a New Zealander.

[My father] believed that as a New Zealander you should learn Māori coz that was part of being in New Zealand and I think that perhaps the reason for him thinking like that, is
because he himself is a first generation Kiwi, his parents were immigrants, in the post World War One period, and I think he had a real consciousness about being a Kiwi … And I think he thought Māori was a very important part of being a New Zealander. (Reilly, Pers. Comm., 2008)

In relation to this, Hirini Moko Mead (1997:92) comments on Māori identity being a part of a New Zealand identity. He explains that if a New Zealand identity excludes aspects of Māori culture then what distinguishes Pākehā people from other countries like Australia or Britain.

When Hinewehi Mohi sang the national anthem in the Māori language at the 1999 Rugby world cup, people were outraged. However, nowadays the national anthem is sung in both the Māori and English language, making New Zealand’s national anthem “authentic, more unique and more recognisably Kiwi” (Panoho 2007:44). As indicated earlier the Māori culture is becoming part of a national identity and as such more Pākehā are seeking access to the Māori culture in an attempt to form a New Zealand identity. There is a belief that Pākehā have the right to access Māori culture because to them it is New Zealand culture (Mead 1997:93). This perception was acknowledged by one of the research participants.

Some people think that learning Māori is a passport to a place in the community and I think a very strong message is that’s not true, that shouldn’t be the reason that you’re learning Māori. (Day, Pers. Comm., 2008)

Another motivator was guilt. A couple of research participants had indicated that they had experience with other cultures and languages but had neglected to look at the option within their own country. One research participant stated that;

The only reason that I did it really was because it just suddenly occurred to me one day over night more or less, I think that I’ve spent half my life learning other languages and here is this beautiful language right on the door step and why wasn’t I learning that. So it was as much guilt as anything else (Laughs). (Johnston, Pers. Comm., 2008)
This was acknowledged within the motivations of another research participant. During the late 1970s this research participant was protesting for the injustices occurring in South Africa and the imprisonment of Nelson Mandela. However, she remained somewhat oblivious to the injustices that were occurring in this very country.

Engari, i tērā wā hoki, he kaīwhakahē (protester) ahau mō ngā mea e pa ana ki te mamae o te tangata whenua o Te Awherika ki te Tonga me te mauheretanga o Nelson Mandela. Nō reira, i tērā wā, he tino whakamā ahau i tōku tautoko o te nonoke i tāwahi, ara, te struggle i Awherika, engari he tino kuare ahau mō ngā mea pērā i Aotearoa nei ... So I was driven by shame but also humbled and inspired by the people who I have met along the way, forever tolerant of my ignorance, totally committed to their own kaupapa and lit from within by a light that was very warming and giving. That is my enduring impression of Māori. (Jones, Pers. Comm., 2008).

While many Māori learn the Māori language later in life as part of an identity journey, the acquisition of the Māori language was also part of a journey for Delyn.

Being a first generation New Zealander it didn’t feel like my roots here were particularly strong. I felt like I had no whānau here, there was only my parents and my family. (Day, Pers. Comm., 2008).

Delyn’s desire to learn the language came from her experience overseas and her knowledge of New Zealand history. While living overseas in London, Delyn often travelled via bus and enjoyed listening to the many foreign language conversations that occurred. She often wondered to herself why she had never heard Māori being spoken in such an open forum in New Zealand. So when she decided to move back to New Zealand she made a promise to herself to embark on learning the Māori language since, to her, that was the language that had the mana (prestige) of this country.

I made a deal with myself, if you go back to New Zealand, because you don’t feel that this is your country, you have no ties here and you’re a thin stalk in the ground, I thought that would be one way that I could show respect that this wasn’t the country of my ancestors. (Day, Pers. Comm., 2008)
But why do these research participants feel guilty for the actions of the past? As Mead (1997) points out, there is an argument that “the descendants were not the ones responsible for damaging Maori culture” (89). Perhaps through their increased interaction with the Māori language and culture, these Pākehā have also adopted some of the cultural concepts inherent in the Māori culture, such as that of collective responsibility. Collective responsibility centres on the understanding that a group bears the consequences of one member’s actions (Patterson 1992:15). This idea of collective responsibility could explain the feelings of guilt that lead some Pākehā to learn the Māori language. They feel responsible for the actions of their ancestors in suppressing the Māori language and culture, and no longer wish to contribute to the cycle of oppression.

I can’t make other people right, I can’t make the past right ... I didn’t want to be a part of the problem; I wanted to be part of the solution. (Day, Pers. Comm., 2008)

They may have also been influenced by the understanding that this generation is simply the legacy of the last and that our actions now will influence those of the next generation. As such the aim should then be to make things better, for the next generation (Mead 1997, p. 90), by learning the Māori language they are achieving that.

While guilt seemed to be a strong motivator for some of the research participants, opportunity was also another. As noted previously, Professor Reilly began learning the language through his parents’ actions. Dr Paterson began his study of the language through a presented opportunity as well. It was his wife that bought him a Māori language book for him to work through at nights while he was away on work.

I was working for the Railways at the time. I had finished my training in the Railways and I was sort of just looking for something coz a lot of my work was actually spent away from home and I was looking for just something to do in the evenings, rather than go to
the pub or watch TV. And so my wife bought me a book called *He Whakamarama* by John Foster, which I worked through twice . . . so I thought I had a reasonable sort of grasp of grammar from having worked through that book, but I realized that in terms of speaking I didn’t have anything at all, so I went to a night class that was being held at Logan Park [High School] and that was for School C. So I did the School C and got quite a good mark I think. (Paterson, Pers. Comm., 2008)

Despite how these research participants came to learn the Māori language, many of them faced varying attitudes towards their attempted acquisition of the language, the most difficult to deal with being that Māori should not be given access to the Māori language.

I have to say I was completely bowled by the attitudes that Pākehā shouldn’t learn Māori. I really found that quite difficult to deal with . . . I think if people come to have that attitude towards Pākehā learning Te Reo it’s because some Pākehā have been out there and have been really offensive and *whakahīhī*, arrogant and pushy and trying to push into things that they don’t [have] any place in. (Day, Pers. Comm., 2008)

This resistance to Pākehā learning the Māori language was noted as being due to the arrogant nature of past learners of the language. It was further noted that some Pākehā have imposed themselves on the Māori culture because they have a reasonable understanding of the language, as if a knowledge of the language made a person an expert on Māori cultural practices.

It was not so long ago that Pākehā attempted to rid New Zealand society of the Māori language, therefore it comes as no surprise that some people hold an opinion as to whether Pākehā should have access to the Māori culture and language. Mead (1997:89) discussed this issue acknowledging that Māori felt bitter as they remembered the action’s of past governments of New Zealand in enacting laws which undermined the Māori culture and language. It is perhaps this bitterness that was the underlying reasons for the bad attitudes that the research participants faced while learning the Māori language. One participant states that;
When you’re sitting there and you’re the one of few Pākehā (2), it’s like your immediately feeling the thought ‘err, that birds got the wrong coloured wings’ (LOL) … I have to say that it’s probably people who are less secure about their identity that you get more hassle from. (Day, Pers. Comm., 2008)

It has been a common theme that there are more ill feelings from the younger generation than older ones. Perhaps this does have something to do with the fact that their parents loosing the language meant that they also lost a part of themselves. Mason Durie (1998) states that “the development of a cultural identity also depends on access to key cultural institutions and resources such as land, whānau, language and marae” (58). Therefore without an understanding of the Māori language it is not surprising that many younger Māori feel insecure about their identity. Another participant discusses the difference in attitudes between older Māori people and the younger ones.

Even up in Waikato it wasn’t coming from the community and it wasn’t coming from the older Māori it was the young Māori that were anti … I mean the older people were really supportive and you’d go to a marae and they’d just think it was absolutely fantastic to see a white person speaking Māori. (Johnston, Pers. Comm., 2008)

There does seem to be a difference in opinion between Māori as to who should share in Māori language, culture and knowledge. Despite the open-mindedness of some Māori, there are some underlying anxieties that still exist. While, on the one hand, some Māori encourage the efforts of Pākehā learning the Māori language, on the other hand they are wary that eventually the Pākehā may assume control over the Māori culture (Mead 1997:91).

However it is not only Māori that have issues with Pākehā learning the Māori language. There are attitudes that the research participants have had to face from other Pākehā as well. Lynette comments on the types of attitudes that she has had to face.
A lot of encouragement from older Māori people I have met; some suspicion from some younger Māori people - and those two attitudes in reverse in the Pākehā world. Suspicion from the older, encouragement from the younger. (Jones, Pers. Comm., 2008)

**Working with the Māori language**

Traditionally one differentiating idea between Māori and Pākehā was their view of who bears responsibility for their actions. Within a Pākehā world view the concept of individual responsibility is predominant. This is where Pākehā believe that the actor and the actor alone is responsible for his actions. However Māori are of the view that actions of an individual reflect on their whānau (family) and other groups in which they may be associated with (Patterson 1992:15). This idea of collective responsibility relates to the Māori concept of *utu*. The core idea of *utu* is that of reciprocity; acquiring equivalent value for services or gifts and correcting injustices for the balancing of social relationships (Marsden 2005:69). Perhaps through the acquisition of the Māori language, the research participants received an understanding of the Māori culture as well. While this is explained in more detail later, it is important to mention it here as many of the research participants are currently working or have aspirations for working within a Māori context. This work may have in fact been influenced by their understanding of this concept.

When searching for a job after graduating with her Masters, Lorraine found an opportunity to lecture in the Māori language at the University of Otago. She approached Wharehuia Milroy, one of her lecturers to ask for his advice as to whether she should apply for the position.

I went to see Wharehuia and I said “oh, I really want to apply for this job” but I was full of the Pākehā angst, “is it right for me to apply for a job lecturing” and I was really worried about that ... So he said “you think about it, you’ve had a real break, you’ve learnt all this stuff, you’ve been given our language, and our culture, what are you going to do with it?” basically [he] said “you owe us” (Laughs) and so I said “well perhaps I should apply for that job”. (Johnston, Pers. Comm., 2008)
This response perhaps had something to do with this concept of *utu*. Upon the acquisition of the Māori language, there existed an expectation that this knowledge would not be wasted. That it would be used for the betterment of Māori and the Māori language.

Similarly, upon the completion of his Masters Degree, Professor Reilly was offered a position as a lecturer at Victoria University. His initial impressions were that of disbelief in his ability to adequately convey the Māori language, yet he felt a need to help those that had expended resources in his own learning. So he accepted the position and began teaching the Māori language.

> I think I was pretty terrified about that but I thought well they have given me a lot over the years and I always thought one should pay something back, so I took it on. (Reilly, Pers. Comm., 2008)

While there existed a feeling of reciprocal obligation, some research participants expressed their desire to work within a Māori context but acknowledged they were not required.

> Professionally, I think the real opportunities are very limited for Pākehā with *te reo* but that is hopefully just a sign that key positions are being taken up by *tāngata whenua*. I would like to take my publishing skills into an environment where I could use *te reo* on a daily basis, as opposed to being ‘forced’. My aim is to work within projects that contribute to and support a vision of Aotearoa as a truly bilingual, bi-cultural society. (Jones, Pers. Comm., 2008)

There also existed a feeling that working within certain Māori contexts was not the place for Pākehā, despite their knowledge of the language.

> I won’t teach, unless I was teaching in the *reo* at a basic level but I still think that even to teach at a basic level you really need to know the whole, the bigger picture ... [and] I’d want to be far more fluent, far more knowledgeable. I don’t want to translate for the same reason. So I guess for me its writing and research. (Day, Pers. Comm., 2008)
Attitudes while working with the Māori language

Just like when learning the language, some research participants also faced unfavourable reactions to their involvement in working with the language. While Professor Reilly was teaching the Māori language he did feel the impact of attitudes from both Māori and Pākehā students.

I know I had a lot of grief with students in the early years, and actually funnily enough Pākehā and Māori students, Māori students, had this thing about ‘oh he’s a Pākehā person, why is he teaching me stuff’… And Pākehā students didn’t like me teaching them because I wasn’t authentic. (Reilly, Pers. Comm., 2008)

This idea of not being ‘authentic’ enough affected other research participants as well. When seeking information about the Māori language and culture, there seems to be a belief that Māori are the only people with an ability to provide such information. Learning about the language and culture is not enough if you are not Māori.

In dealing with Pākehā, it is a lot more ‘odd’. On the one hand, people at work will come to me with questions about things Māori or language queries that may come up in a task, for example, but when I give them an answer, there is an underlying implication that my knowledge can’t be validated because I am not Māori. (Jones, Pers. Comm., 2008)

While Pākehā people can be sceptical at the validity of the information about Māori that is provided by other Pākehā, Māori also expect to be taught by someone that has come from the same world view as them. This expectation often leads to issues that Māori students have when learning the Māori language from a Pākehā person. One particular occasion that Dr Paterson recalls was when a student made a complaint against him that he “didn’t have a ‘ngākau Māori’” (Paterson, Pers. Comm., 2008).

While a language can be acquired by any person that is willing to take the time to learn it, there are some things that cannot be taught. Within the Māori language there is so much
reference made to the Māori culture. Often one cannot be taught without acquiring the knowledge of the other. This is evident through the *whakataukī, ko te reo te hā o te ahurea* (the language is the breath of the culture) (Rewi, Pers. Comm., 2008). This carries the meaning that the culture cannot survive without the language. Ngōi Pēwhairangi (cited in Ka’ai & Higgins, 2004:19) comments that even though Pākehā may learn the language they may never be able to understand the deeper aspects of the Māori culture.

I know there are a lot of Pakehas who would love to learn, not only the language, but the Maori heart. And it’s a thing one can never teach. (cited in Ka’ai & Higgins, 2004:19)

In regards to the issues that some people have, two research participants stated that a good personality helped to minimise negative attitudes towards their being Pākehā and working within a Māori environment.

I think a lot of it is to do with your personality, and if you’ve got a sort of personality where you’re reasonably sort of gregarious and friendly then normally barriers would break down. (Paterson, Pers. Comm., 2008)

Professor Reilly further supports this:

I think it’s got a lot to do with how you behave as an individual human being … what sort of *wairua* have you got and that’s as good a way as describing it I think, I think if you’ve got a good *wairua* … that people sense that and it’s not an issue. (Reilly, Pers. Comm., 2008)

Through the concept of *utu* it would follow that the acquisition of knowledge would be accompanied by the responsibility to pass that knowledge on. It is perhaps through this thought process that the research participants have assumed roles within a Māori context. During their work they have experienced both positive and negative attitudes towards their involvement in and knowledge of the Māori language. While these attitudes have tested
these research participants, many of them have found tools for coping with such perceptions and continue to work within a Māori environment.

Māori Language Perceptions

Attitudes towards Māori people, language and culture have fluctuated throughout history. Negative attitudes have led to the suppression of the Māori language within education and have rippled throughout society. Positive attitudes have led to the revitalisation of the Māori language. It seems that attitudes towards a language have a corresponding affect on the health of that language (Te Puni Kōkiri 2006:1). A recent survey on the attitudes towards, and beliefs and values about, the Māori language have concluded that people can be segmented into four groups; self developers, cultural peacemakers, isolates and intolerants (Te Puni Kōkiri 2003).

![Māori language use](image)

(Te Puni Kōkiri 2003)
Further to these segments, non-Māori can be categorised into another three segments; passive supporters, disinterested and extremists (Te Puni Kōkiri 2003). Passive supporters are those that believe Māori language and culture have a value within society but are not greatly engaged with the Māori language or culture despite these beliefs. People that fit into the disinterested group are those that have no interest in other cultures. These people are often tolerant of the Māori language and culture provided that it does not affect them personally. The group of extremists are those who have a fear of losing their own culture or self-identity, and also fear the prospect of cultural assimilation (Te Puni Kōkiri 2003). In comparison to this research, it seems that none of the participants within this research fit the mould of these segments. With learning the language and working with the language the research participants have demonstrated an active approach to acquiring knowledge of the Māori language and culture. So perhaps there exists a new segment of people, those that believe Māori language and culture has a place in society and who are actively involved in assisting its revival as a commonly spoken language. This research demonstrates that there are people that would fit within this type of category. Mead (1997) acknowledges that there is some scepticism to the involvement of Pākehā. He states that “some of us are not too sure where Pākehā enthusiasm will lead us. Yet we know that without their help and resources our language will eventually die” (92). Freire (1972:26) also notes that the oppressed (Māori) should be weary of the oppressor (Pākehā) in their fight to break the shackles of oppression.

The oppressor shows solidarity with the oppressed only when he stops regarding the oppressed as an abstract category and sees them as persons who have been unjustly dealt with, deprived of their voice, cheated in the sale of their labour – when he stops making pious, sentimental, and individualistic gestures and risks an act of love. (Freire 1972:26)

Could learning the Māori language and culture be that ‘act of love’ that is required to make this country a truly bilingual society?
**Transmission of the language**

Intergenerational transmission is the key to the survival and revitalisation of an endangered language such as Māori (Fishman 1997:194). For a language to remain a tool of communication in the future it must be passed on to the next generation. With Māori not being a language that ‘belongs’ to Pākehā, is there any requirement or desire to pass the language on to their children. This question was posed to the research participants. Those with teenage and adult children acknowledge that many of them were disinterested and as such the acquisition of the Māori language was not forced upon their children.

Well [my son] did Māori for 3 years but I mean, at high school, not really to any great extent. And the others haven’t been interested at all. (Paterson, Pers. Comm., 2008)

Those research participants with younger children spoke about their attempts to offer the language to their children and their hope that their children continue to learn the language.

Yeah I do speak to [my son] in Māori. Sometimes he gets very annoyed with me. But he has actually picked up quite a bit. Now when he’s trying to sweet talk me into something he talks to me in Māori (LOL) not much though, but he is learning at school. (Day, Pers. Comm., 2008)

It was also acknowledged, however, that while they encouraged their children to learn the Māori language, they did not want to force the issue. They wanted their children to find a passion for the language like they had, and want to learn it.

The last thing I wanted to do really was to force him to learn Māori if he didn’t want to. And when he was really little I used to speak to him in Māori when there was just him and me. So hopefully, I’m keeping my fingers and everything crossed that he does carry on with it. (Johnston, Pers. Comm., 2008)
Conclusion

This Chapter has looked at the motivations of Pākehā for learning the Māori language. It has also looked at the various attitudes that these Pākehā have faced while not only learning the language, but while working within Māori contexts as well. While these five research participants have gone against the tide of oppression that their ancestors encouraged, they have been opposed by many negative attitudes, from both Māori and Pākehā, towards their desire to learn the Māori language. However, despite these attitudes many of the research participants are currently working within Māori contexts. With more Pākehā learning the Māori language perhaps New Zealand can become a bilingual society and the attitudes that have defined Māori as a ‘simplistic, sort of primitive’ language and culture can be nullified.

Learning the language can change people; it can change who they think they are, and how they view the world, and what world they think they were living in. (Day, Pers. Comm., 2008)
CONCLUSION

There exists an inherent connection between Māori language and culture. While the importance of the language to Māori has been acknowledged by Māori for some time, more recent times has seen the Māori language and culture grow in importance to New Zealand as a whole. It was demonstrated that the Māori language held an important position within Māori society traditionally and in Māori and New Zealand society today. The acceptance of the Māori language and culture within New Zealand society is a positive move away from colonial suppression, and a positive move towards a truly bi-cultural society. This was expressed to demonstrate that neither Māori society nor New Zealand society could maintain its unique nature without the maintenance of the Māori language.

Historically the education of Māori has been through various phases. First was assimilation. It is undeniable that the main function of schooling Māori was not to educate but rather to turn Māori into Pākehā. Missionary Schools used the word of God and the Māori language to achieve some form of assimilation. Native Schools took a more direct approach, through the banning of the Māori language. Importance was placed on the acquisition of Pākehā skills, including the English language and as such the Māori language and culture were suppressed.

After assimilation, Pākehā turned to integration. Integration was not accepted favourably by Māori or Pākehā. Māori saw it as an attack on their tino rangatiratanga and Pākehā saw it as a degradation of the schools that their children attended. Integration saw a rise in the number of Māori students within the public schools system. Due to this it was decided that Māori language and culture needed to be incorporated into the curriculum. This led to the Taha Māori initiative, a tokenistic approach to offering students a minute piece of Māori culture.
and language. This inadequate initiative caused Māori to establish Māori immersion education that catered to the needs of Māori first and foremost.

The introduction of Kōhanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Māori has offered new generations the chance to learn about their language and culture. These Māori based initiatives were seen as a vehicle to revitalise the Māori language and culture. The importance of Kōhanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Māori stemmed from the fact that the Māori language holds great importance within Māori society. The education system has been valuable in offering the opportunity to learn the Māori language. While there are some weaknesses associated with the Māori language offered within Primary, Secondary and Tertiary institutions, these areas are easily accessible to New Zealand’s population and thus have the ability to target a wider audience. However, the value of this tool for language revitalisation can only be realised if people are taking advantage of the education system. Without such initiatives the Māori language weakens and as a result Māori people and the New Zealand nation lose a part of their identity.

Through the assimilation of early settlers into Māori culture a bridge between the two cultures was created. These people, known as Pākehā Māori, acted as intermediaries between Māori and Pākehā, increasing an understanding between the two cultures. In more recent times, there has been an emergence of Pākehā that have learnt the Māori language and have traversed cultural boundaries in assisting with the revitalisation of the Māori language. Such people have been invaluable to the survival of the Māori language and have epitomised the importance of the Māori language to an identity as a New Zealander. This demonstrates that the involvement of Pākehā within Māori society is not new. It is important to highlight this to acknowledge that not all Pākehā have actively sought to suppress the Māori language, culture and people.
The motivations of such Pākehā to learn the Māori language has been questioned. In a society where English is the dominant language, what could entice Pākehā to learn the Māori language. The motivations for learning the Māori language of five research participants from within the Otago region included guilt for the past actions of various groups of Pākehā, seizing an opportunity, and acknowledgement that the Māori language was part of a New Zealand identity.

There was also an expression of the attitudes that these Pākehā people experienced. Attitudes ranged from resentment to acceptance, from issues with authenticity to bewilderment. Such attitudes came from Māori and Pākehā. Despite these attitudes many of the research participants are currently working within Māori contexts. This demonstrates their commitment to the Māori language and its revitalisation. It also demonstrates a change in mind-set from colonial suppression to the integration of the Māori language and culture into the lives of Pākehā people and into a national identity.

Emerging from this research are three distinct groups, which can be illustrated by this Māori proverb:

*Kotahi te kōhao o te ngira e kuhuna ai te miro mā, te miro pango, te miro whero.* (Pōtatau Te Wherowhero, cited in Mead & Grove, 2001, p. 246)

This Māori proverb was spoken by Pōtatau Te Wherowhero upon his coronation as the first Māori King. These words were used to express the desire that Pākehā (*te miro mā*), Māori (*te miro pango*), and Māori leaders (*te miro whero*) unite under a common cause [translated] (Milroy 2004, p. 42).
Within this research, the eye of the needle is the Māori language. New Zealand society is, at the very least, a bi-cultural society. Its identity is built upon a sordid history of race relations between the Māori and Pākehā peoples. The actions of each of these peoples have impacted on the state of the Māori language at present. The actions of mainstream Pākehā, Māori and those Pākehā that demonstrate partial integration of Māori culture with their own identity are considered in relation to their impact on the Māori language.

The impact that Pākehā have had on the Māori language is depicted by ‘te miro mā’. This thread is concerned with the suppression of the Māori language. Historically, the implementation of the Native Schools Act 1867, the Education Act 1877 and the Native Schools Code 1880, meant education for Māori students not only became mandatory but it also supported the instruction of Māori in the English language and prohibited the use of the Māori language within schools. This had a detrimental effect on the Māori language. Future generations of Māori have been less proficient in their use and understanding of the Māori language as a result.

The influence that Māori have had on the Māori language is likened to ‘te miro pango’. The Māori language is an important taonga (treasure) to the Māori culture and its people. It is referred to as the heart of the culture and offers an important aspect to an identity as a Māori person. The suppression of the Māori language in early education initiatives gave birth to Kōhanga Reo. These Māori immersion early childhood centres used the Māori language as its medium of instruction. Teachings within this educational paradigm were based on a Māori world view, and as such, Kōhanga Reo not only raised Māori speaking children but also Māori thinking children. From this initiative sprang Kura Kaupapa Māori Schools. These Māori immersion Primary Schools were seen as a natural progression for graduates
from Kōhanga Reo, as mainstream education did not meet Māori needs. Such initiatives raised the profile of the Māori language and brought it back into Māori society as a common means of communication. This has shown the beginning of the revitalisation of the Māori language.

‘Te miro whero’ represents the Pākehā people who have become culturally aware of the Māori language and culture. They have attempted to learn the Māori language and are making a contribution to the revitalisation of the language and culture. To these people, the Māori language is an important part of a national identity for New Zealand. This is evident in their choice to pursue the Māori language through the mainstream education system.

Pākehā that understand the importance of the Māori language and culture are spread nationwide. Traditionally, with Pākehā-Māori, motivations for learning the Māori language were based on survival, protection and acceptance by Māori communities. More recently there has been a growing number of Pākehā learning the Māori language at a national as well as a regional level. These peoples contribution to the Māori language have been wide-spread, through the publication of books that assist second-language learners of the Māori language, to the normalisation of the language through its increased used within the wider community. While these people are a minority within New Zealand society they embody what it means to be truly bi-cultural. They have taken aspects of their own Pākehā heritage and amalgamated aspects of Māori culture to form their own identity as New Zealanders. These are the type of non-indigenous people that we need within New Zealand society as a majority. This would require minimising the number of ‘te miro mā’, as the suppressors of Māori language and culture and encourage the pursuit of ‘te miro whero’ in their acquisition of the Māori language and culture, acknowledging that this is a means of achieving true bi-culturalism.
Without this support for the Māori language and despite the many positive developments, the language is still threatened with extinction. There can be no winners in this situation. Māori would lose an integral part of their culture and identity. New Zealand would lose its element of distinction and part of its national identity.

_Ka ngaro te reo, ka ngaro taua, pera i te ngaro o te Moa_ (Waitangi Tribunal, 1986)
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