

**The Formation of Pākehā Identity in  
Relation to  
Te Reo Māori and Te Ao Māori**

QuickTime™ and a  
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A thesis  
submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements  
for the Degree  
of  
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in the  
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by  
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He mihi nui he mihi aroha hoki ki a koutou katoa. Kia ora rā mō øu koutou tautoko me øu koutou wairua aroha ki a au. Kāore āku kupu ki te whakawhāki ki a koutou te maiohatanga i roto i tōku ngākau ki a koutou katoa.

Haeretia tonutia i runga i te ara hirahira, arā, te ara o te reo Māori.

## Abstract

This thesis explores the experiences of European New Zealanders who have learnt te reo Māori and how through their learning they have gained a better understanding of what it means to be Pākehā in New Zealand. This thesis looks at the reasons why European New Zealanders want to learn te reo Māori (chapter 5); experiences from learning te reo Māori and being involved with Māori culture within both te ao Māori and te ao Pākehā are also discussed (chapter 6). The concept of a Pākehā identity, one that involves a relationship with te ao Māori is also examined (chapter 7).

The use of the term Pākehā by European New Zealanders is a rather recent phenomenon. The thesis endeavours to discover differences between those European New Zealanders who do and do not identify with the term 'Pākehā'. Which New Zealanders identify with the term 'Pākehā', and the examination of who finds the term derogatory is also discussed (chapter 4).

Since European contact with Māori, fluency in te reo Māori in New Zealand has dramatically declined. As a background to the research undertaken here, this study also reviews the history of te reo Māori since European contact and the revitalisation efforts made by Māori to maintain the language. The exploration of the idea that te reo Māori can be the basis of a new national identity that all New Zealanders can share is also discussed (Chapter 2). This

chapter also explores the origin and meaning of the term Pākehā, and the creation of popular usage of the term among European New Zealanders.

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## Glossary of Māori words

- Aroha - *Love, empathy*
- Hori - *A slang term for someone who is Māori, derived from the name 'George'*
- Hui - *A meeting*
- Kapa haka - *Māori performing arts*
- Kaupapa - *Topic/subject*
- Kōhūa - *Ghost*
- Kōhanga Reo - *Māori language immersion pre-school*
- Kōrero - *Speak/say/talk*
- Kuia - *Old woman*
- Mana - *A person's personal prestige*
- Manaakitanga - *Show respect or kindness to/look after*
- Marae - *Māori complex of courtyard, meeting house and ancillary buildings*  
*and grounds*
- Mihi - *To greet in Māori, also refers to a formal greeting that includes your*  
*whakapapa*
- Noho marae - *A stay at a marae*
- Poi - *A light ball with a string attached used in Māori song and dance.*
- Pounamu - *Greenstone*
- Reo Rumaki - *A Māori language immersion hui/ Wānanga Reo*
- Rōpū awhi - *Support group*
- Tangata whenua - *People of the land - Māori*
- Tangi - *To cry, or a Māori funeral*
- Te ao Māori - *The Māori world*

Te ao Pākehā - *The Pākehā world*  
Te reo Māori - *The Māori language*  
Tikanga - *Māori customs*

**X**

Tino Rangatiratanga - *Rights of the tangata whenua*  
Wahine - *Woman*  
Wāhine - *Women*  
Waiata - *Song*  
Wairua - *Spirit*  
Wānanga reo - *Maori language immersion hui*  
Whāikorero - *A Speech*  
Whakah°h° - *Skite/show off*  
Whakaiti - *Make small/put down*  
Whakamā - *Shy/embarrassed*  
Whakapapa - *Genealogy*  
Whānau - *Family*  
Whānaungatanga - *Be as a family*

# Chapter 1

## Introduction

The aim of this research is threefold. First, a review of the history of te reo Māori since contact with European, and the outcome for the language since colonisation. Since colonisation of Māori by the European, the Māori language has shifted from being a language of everyday parlance to a language in danger of dying out. Revitalisation efforts by Māori of the language will be outlined. The concept that te reo Māori could be the thread of unity of a national identity for all New Zealanders, is another area of discussion.

Second, this thesis also examines the origin of the term 'Pākehā', and the shift from Māori usage of the term for European New Zealanders to European New Zealanders themselves identifying with the term. In addition, the relationship between European New Zealanders and te ao Māori, and the use of the term by some European New Zealanders in reference to this relationship is explored.

The study will also examine New Zealanders' attitudes to the term 'Pākehā'. This component of the research was conducted by questionnaire, administered to a total of 226 university students. The results from the questionnaire sought to discover if there was a difference between those European New Zealanders who identify with the term Pākehā, and those European New Zealanders who do not, in relation to their attitudes towards te ao Māori. The research

endeavoured to discover which ethnic groups in New Zealand thought the term 'Pākehā' was derogatory or not, and their reasons why.

This research also focuses on European New Zealanders who have learnt te reo Māori. Questionnaire responses were the basis of an analysis of whether those European New Zealanders who have learnt te reo Māori identify more with the term Pākehā than those European New Zealanders who have not learnt te reo Māori. The research also analysed whether this same group of European New Zealanders who have learnt te reo Māori are more empathetic towards Māori language and culture, compared with those European New Zealanders who have not learnt te reo Māori.

Third, this study will examine the different experiences Pākehā encounter when they learn te reo Māori, and how those experiences shape their identity as a Pākehā. This section was researched by conducting in-depth interviews with twelve European New Zealanders who have learnt te reo Māori for a number of years. The study explores the reasons why these European New Zealanders wanted to learn Māori and their reasons why they continued. Another area of discussion are the positive and negative experiences these European New Zealanders who have learnt te reo Māori have encountered, within both te ao Māori and te ao Pākehā.

Finally, this study analyses the interviewee participants' identity as European New Zealanders; their experience of being a speaker of te reo Māori, and being involved with te ao Māori, and whether this had any influence on their identity as a European New Zealander. In particular I

wanted to discover whether this experience had developed their identity as a Pākehā, and what their understanding of being a Pākehā is.

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## Chapter 2

### Background

This chapter discusses briefly the history of te reo Māori within New Zealand since colonisation as well as the origin and meaning of the term Pakeha and how it has come into popular usage in the last 25 years.

#### **History of te reo Māori since European contact**

Māori migrated from South East Asia to across the Pacific and finally settled in New Zealand at about 1000 AD. Over the following thousand years several dialects of te reo Māori developed throughout the country, Rarotongan and Tahitian are the most closely related languages to te reo Māori (Biggs, 1994: 94). First contact with Europeans happened in 1642, when Abel Tasman visited New Zealand's shores and this was followed by several voyages by James Cook in the late 1700s. The Māori population at this time is estimated to have been around 100,000 (Rice, 1992: 11).

The first European traders, whalers and sealers in the late 1700s often became fluent in te reo Māori so that they could converse and trade with Māori, and this continued with the missionaries when they arrived in New Zealand from 1800 to spread the Christian message. The missionaries decided that it would be more effective to teach Māori about the word of God in their own tongue. To enable missionaries to do this they produced an orthography as well as grammars and dictionaries of the Māori language (Biggs, 1968: 66). This orthographical system was embraced

throughout New Zealand and has changed little since then. The missionaries' teaching of reading and writing in Māori, to Māori, at the mission schools reached a peak in the 1830s (Rice, 1992: 143-4).

The spread of literacy among Māori was also aided by many Māori lay-preachers taking religious message via religious texts written in Māori, throughout the country to the furthestmost regions. It is said that there was proportionately more Māori literate in Māori at this time in the 1830s, than there were British in England, in English (Schwimmer, 1969: 73).

After the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840 the first settlers arrived in New Zealand and many of them learnt the language so that they could trade with Māori for goods and supplies. As the numbers of European immigrants increased their need for communication with Māori to trade with decreased, and therefore their need to learn the language also diminished. Moreover, the Government implemented steps to ensure that Māori would also converse in English.

In 1847 the Education Ordinance offered government subsidies to church boarding schools for Māori children, where English would be the language of instruction. In addition to this, in 1867 the Native Schools Act was introduced which set up government schools in Māori villages. This act also ensured that English was to be the language of instruction. These acts started the onset of demise for the Māori language, because it was the beginning

of several generations becoming literate in English rather than Māori.

Other factors also contributed to the demise of the language, for instance, the Inspector of Native Schools in 1904 urged teachers to encourage children to speak only English in the playground. This led to the language being implicitly outlawed in schools and children being punished for speaking te reo Māori. Another deciding symptom in Māori language declining was the shift from Māori being spoken within the home, to English being spoken within the home. By the mid-70s only 18-20% of the Māori population was fluent in the language, and the majority of this group were aged 50 and over (Benton, 1981: 15).

This shift from Māori to English within the home has been linked to the two world wars, the 1930's depression, the urban drift in the 1960s and the introduction of television (Benton, 1991). Māori left the rural areas in droves after the Second World War in search for employment in the cities.

The marae is the heart of the Māori speaking community and they are predominantly rurally based. The urbanisation of Māori meant a generation of Māori brought up away from the marae and consequently away from a central learning point to learn Māori. This resulted in a generation of Māori and their offspring not using Māori as an everyday language. Furthermore there were also many Māori parents who believed that a good knowledge of English was paramount to their children obtaining work and status within the dominant European New Zealand community. Consequently some Māori

parents who had the language did not speak to their children in te reo Māori within the home, which further aided to the dissolution of the language.

In the 1970s the seeds of malcontent with the plight of te reo Māori were sown with activist groups like Ngā Tamatoa. This group presented a petition to Parliament and successfully campaigned for teacher training to enable the Māori language to be taught in primary and secondary schools (Jackson, 1993: 215-18). Also extensive research carried out by Richard Benton of the NZCER between 1973 and 1978 found there was just cause for this anxiety for the language. This research indicated that there were only a few small areas left in New Zealand where te reo Māori could still be described as a community language (Benton, 1979).

Results from Benton's research, and a growing urgency among the Māori community to revitalise te reo Māori, led to the beginnings of the Kōhanga Reo movement in 1981. This movement was initiated at the Hui Whakatauirā in Wellington attended by kaumātua from around New Zealand. During the hui kaumātua discussed Benton's research and decided that immediate action was essential. The knowledge that language acquisition was most easily acquired by young children, generated the idea of establishing language nests, Kōhanga Reo, where the children could be immersed in te reo Māori and thus acquire the language (Ka'ai, 1990: 6 and Government Review Team, 1988: 18).

The first Kōhanga Reo was established in 1981 at Wainuiomata. The Kōhanga Reo movement grew rapidly and by

1985 there were 450 Kōhanga Reo throughout the country, and in 1999 there were 650. Consequently with the abundance of Kōhanga Reo throughout the country, there was a perceived need from parents for a continuation in immersion education for their children into primary and secondary schools. This need led to the establishment of immersion units within state schools.

However parents often found the immersion units frustrating and time-consuming. The frustration developed because the parents discovered that the Māori language competence of the Kōhanga Reo graduates was often being diminished in immersion units, not enhanced. One of the reasons why the children's te reo Māori was being diminished was because in the playground they would speak English to the mainstream children and therefore they were not receiving total immersion in te reo Māori all the time while they were at school. Parental discontent focussed on the need for stand alone Māori immersion schools, and thus Kura Kaupapa were conceived.

In 1985 the first Kura Kaupapa Māori school was established at the Hoani Waititi Marae in West Auckland. Primarily the Kura Kaupapa Māori schools ran independently, however most are now funded by the state. Kura Kaupapa Māori schools cater for children from year one to year eight, and Whare Kura schools are the secondary extension of Kura Kaupapa Māori schools, and they cater for year nine to year thirteen children. In 2000 there were 59 state-funded Kura Kaupapa Māori schools and 14 Whare Kura within these Kura Kaupapa schools. In addition to the Kura Kaupapa schools there were 406 immersion units within mainstream schools

throughout New Zealand in 1995 (Ministry of Education yearly education stats).

The passing of the 1987 Māori Language Act has also assisted in the revitalisation of te reo Māori. The act recognised Māori as an official language of New Zealand and established rules for its limited use in courts. The act also established The Māori Language Commission (Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori), which advises on Māori language issues and also provides regular Wānanga Reo for advanced learners of te reo Māori and those involved in the teaching through the medium of Māori (Irwin 1991: 12). Wānanga Reo are total immersion language hui that people attend for a week long periods to immerse themselves in the language in order to improve competency in the language.

Other initiatives in broadcasting have also helped the revitalisation of the Māori language. In 1985 Ngā Kaiwhakapātau i te Reo put a Māori Language claim before the Waitangi Tribunal. This claim led to the Tribunal ruling that the Māori language was a taonga and protected by the Treaty of Waitangi and therefore the Crown had to take active steps to ensure that Māori retained the possession of their language and culture (Waitangi Tribunal, 1986). The Government set aside some radio frequencies for the development of iwi stations. The first station was launched in 1988 in Wellington and by 1999 there were 21 stations throughout the country broadcasting in varying amounts of English and Māori (Te Taura Whiri i Te Reo Māori, 1996). On television there have been several programmes broadcast in te reo Māori, such as Te Karere, Waka Huia, Marae, Pākana, Tikitiki and Tāmeke.

These initiatives have been aimed at the Māori people, however there is a growing realisation that for the Māori language to survive, non-Māori New Zealanders also have to learn the language. There is also a developing awareness among European New Zealanders that the main unique feature of New Zealand's national identity is Māori culture and part of that is te reo Māori. Stephanie Taylor (1996: 52) expressed this when she stated, "Firstly, New Zealanders want New Zealand to be unique, a nation distinct from other nations, and the obvious unique feature is the Maori culture: if you ask a New Zealander to perform some sort of action or song or thing that identifies themselves as New Zealanders, the only thing they really can do is Maori."

There have been calls from various parties for all New Zealanders to learn the language as a way to form that particular national identity that would make New Zealand unique from other Western countries such as Australia and the United States. Quinton Hita, a board member of Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori, (1996: 9) declared, "New Zealand is suffering an identity crisis, and New Zealanders need to look to the Maori language to find a national identity". Richard Benton (1984: 17) also advocated that all New Zealanders should learn te reo Māori when he maintained, "New Zealanders still have the chance to cooperate in recreating their national myth and thereby finding an identity compatible with their country's history and its Pacific environment. Maori language and a developing Maori culture have a central role to play in this process."

In 2000 the Māori Language Commission chairperson, Patu Hohepa was promoting a '20-30-40' vision for New Zealand in the 21st century. He would like to see 40 percent of all New Zealanders become bilingual in Māori and English by the year 2030 (McCarthy, 2000: 11). Hohepa believes that for New Zealanders to become bilingual they need to understand that Māori is not just for Māori. He stated, "We need this if bilingualism is to flourish in this country. We need to highlight Maori language is for everybody".

In 1982 the report *Race against Time*, published by the Human Rights Commission (Blackburn, 1982), also reflected this ideal, stating, "Things Maori should not just be seen as something for Maori people, but as something that is shared by and is relevant to all New Zealanders." This theme of sharing Maori language and culture by all New Zealanders underlies many of the statements made in the report. There is a broad vision in the report of a New Zealand national identity that is based on a firm foundation of biculturalism through which multiculturalism can emerge.

However the report also highlighted the concern that Māori culture is essentially for Māori and Māori should retain this cultural identity. The report stated, "As well as being the basis for a national culture and identity, Maori culture and identity also have a life of their own. At the symbolic level, Maori language and aspects of Maori culture form a unifying thread joining all New Zealanders. At the level of everyday life, however, the original bearers of this culture will continue to have some measure of separate

identity, as will other segments of the population which have settled here more recently.”

The call for all New Zealanders to learn te reo Māori has seen a rising number of European New Zealanders and other ethnic New Zealanders learning the language alongside their Māori compatriots. The more New Zealanders understand that te reo Māori is not just for Māori and is for all New Zealanders to share, the greater the chance of survival for the language. However for the language to retain its fundamental nature as a Māori language, it is vitally important that Māori retain the development and evolution of the language.

### **The origin of the term 'Pākehā'**

This thesis studies the experiences of European New Zealanders who have learnt te reo Māori and how this has shaped their identity as Pākehā New Zealanders, it also examines European New Zealanders who identify with the term. Therefore it is necessary to discuss the origin of the term Pākehā. In order to discuss the origin and meaning of the term 'Pākehā', it is important to define the antithesis of 'Pākehā', that is, 'Māori'. David Pearson states that, “New Zealand is witnessing a very interesting situation whereby some members of the majority group are seeking to 'name' themselves using a word that is taken from a minority group, whilst others resist the label because of its source” (1990: 215). He continues to write that the minority group, Māori, are fast approaching the

achievement of a collective ethnic awareness, by using an ethnic identification label, 'Māori', that has only become meaningful since the European arrived on their shores.

Prior to European arrival Māori identified themselves tribally, and only used the word Māori which means 'usual or ordinary' when in contact with the European who were 'different'. Over time the European settlers and Māori adopted the word Māori as a generic term for the tribal Polynesian people living in New Zealand. Māori kaumātua Ross Himona upholds this view in a paper discussing the origin of the word 'Pakeha' by stating, "We were, and are, a tribal peoples, we describe ourselves according to our tribal membership, rather than as Maori. I am Maori only in relation to Pakeha. Maori means 'normal', i.e. in relation to Pakeha, I am Maori" (Ranford, 1999). Therefore it can be stated that neither Māori nor Pākehā can define themselves without in some ways relating to each other. However what does the term Pākehā mean and how has it come into popular usage?

There is no specific original documentation on the meaning of the term Pākehā, which in turn has made it very difficult to give precise meaning to the word. It is the belief of many European New Zealanders that the word Pākehā is a derogative term, meaning 'white pig', 'long pig' or 'bugger ya' or some other offensive terminology. While the debate still continues today over its meaning, back in 1910 there was a similar debate amongst Māori over the origins of the term Māori. Angela Gregory writes, "In 1910 the question, "He aha tatou i kiia ai he Maori?" (Why are we called Maori?) posed in a Maori-language newspaper Te

Pipiwaharauroa similarly unleashed a flood of correspondence. Maori wrote to the editor espousing their views, which led to an even more vigorous debate on the origins of the word Pakeha" (2001b). This would suggest that there has never been agreement on the etymology of the term Pākehā, because even Māori at the start of the 20th century were unsure of its origin.

The earliest written recording of the term Pākehā is found in the preamble to the Māori version of the Treaty of Waitangi as a distinguishing congener of tangata maori: *ki te tangata maori ki te pakeha* 'the Māori people and the Europeans' (Orsman, 1997: 567). Considering this, it would be hard to fathom that Hobson who wrote the preamble of the Treaty of Waitangi, and who was fluent in Māori, would use a derogative term to describe his own people in an official treaty.

The most accepted explanation today, is that the term Pākehā is derived from the words pākehakeha, patupaiarehe, and pakepakehā, all of which mean imaginary beings resembling men, with fair skins (Williams, 1992: 252). J. George (1999) states the derivation is given credence because the first term Māori used to refer to Cook and his crew was 'tipua' or 'tupua'. These words translate as 'goblin' or a supernatural object of terror, and also as foreigner and strange (Williams, 1992: 458). Angela Gregory (2001b) also argued that Pākehā and Māori were originally adjectives, coming after the noun tangata (people) with Māori meaning normal or ordinary, while Pākehā meant the opposite. As stated previously, to define Pākehā you also

need to define Māori, and visa versa, one can neither define itself without in some ways relating to the other.

### **The creation of popular usage of the term 'Pākehā'**

The term Pākehā first become prevalent in the early 1800s. It is stated in the Oxford Dictionary of New Zealand English that J.S.C. Dumont, who had travelled to New Zealand in the 1820s was, "...surprised to find that it (*Pākehā*) had been adopted in widely separated New Zealand localities", and that it was a generic term for all whites in general (Orsman, 1997: 567). The Dictionary then quotes written references of usage of the term in publications; there are references to the term throughout New Zealand's history from 1814 until the present day.

However it is only in last thirty years or so that the term has generated extensive discussion amongst European New Zealanders as to what it means, and if one does label oneself as a Pākehā, then what is one identifying with. The politician Simon Upton says, "There is something a little immature in the habit of some New Zealanders trying to define themselves without reference to their European cultural roots" (Waring, 1996: 4). Marilyn Waring states in the same article, "There is something privileged and arrogant about refusing to embrace being pakeha, and a cowardice too." She thinks, "If you choose to call yourself European it is to deliberately and consciously choose to continue the process of colonisation." So how did this debate begin, and why does it create such different opinions from one end of the spectrum to the other?

There seems to be several reasons as to why this debate has become more prominent in the last thirty years. The first relates to when the United Kingdom joined the EEC in 1973, thus loosening the economic and political bonds between New Zealand and the United Kingdom. Since then New Zealand has slowly and gradually been looking toward the Pacific basin as its economic resource and also for its identity as a Pacific nation. This has been reflected in recent years by Government policy, in 1995, the then Prime Minister, Jim Bolger declared that the country, "...had to become more conscious of its place in the Pacific," and that, "...we're a unique society, distinctly and uniquely in the South Pacific" (The Dominion, 1995: 3). While generations before of European New Zealanders had looked steadfastly towards the United Kingdom for its identity, New Zealanders in this generation have started to look closer to home for their own unique identity.

However one of the biggest determinants of the onset of European New Zealanders' questioning of their own identity, was the rise in the 1960s of the Black civil rights movement in the United States. This movement had a trickle down effect to Māori here in New Zealand, which was taken up by the growing Māori urban population in New Zealand in the late 1960s concerning their own Treaty rights. The growing Māori urban voice was connected to a mammoth movement of Māori from rural into urban areas in the 1950s and 1960s, particularly between 1956 and 1961 with an increase to 65% of Māori living in urban areas (Department of Statistics, 1961: 14). This urban movement of Māori increased the visibility of Māori into New Zealand's

European world and gave Māori a bigger platform from which to be heard.

In the early 1970s Māori concerns for Treaty rights in regard to land and culture were voiced through protest groups. These groups were often urban based and included tertiary-educated Māori. Ngā Tamatoa, as an example, based their ideologies on the international civil rights groups for the rights of minorities. Protests continued through the 1970s with the land march of 1975 and also the occupation of Bastion Point in Auckland in 1977-9 for 507 days (Larner & Spoonley, 1995: 49).

In 1981 the Springbok rugby team from South Africa came to tour New Zealand, and this initiated large-scale protests against racism. Whereas the Land March and Bastion Point protests were mainly supported by Māori with only minor support from European New Zealanders, the Springbok tour protests were supported by both Māori and European New Zealanders. European New Zealanders became involved in the Springbok tour protests through protest groups like HART and Anti Racism Network who supported and organised protests against the tour (Te Kawariki, 1999: 21).

However it seemed ironic to many Māori that while many European New Zealanders were prepared to protest about injustices and racism in another country, they could not see the racism and injustices toward Māori in their own country. Larner and Spoonley wrote "...Māori issued strong challenges to Pakeha involved in anti-tour politics, and discussions about appropriate priorities served to focus attention on issues of 'race' and racism in New

Zealand" (1995: 49). From within the discussion and aftermath of the 1981 Springbok Tour, arose a political racial consciousness within some European New Zealanders and this in turn was reflected by the Government taking action in the mid-1980s by voicing concepts such as 'partnership' and 'biculturalism'.

The Government reflected their commitment to biculturalism by passing the Treaty of Waitangi Amendment Act 1985. The Act extended the powers of the Waitangi Tribunal, a quasi-judicial body formed in 1975, as a forum for the airing of concerns over Māori land, language and culture (Larner & Spoonley, 1995: 50). The passing of the act enabled Māori to pursue claims back to 1840, which in turn led to Māori grievances over land and other issues, into the mainstream public arena.

Consequently, European New Zealanders' world as they understood it was starting to change and this unsettled mainstream Pākehā society. "... It is doubly difficult for the members of the dominant groups to articulate their ethnicity in any distinctive fashion, because they usually live their lives in settings where the symbols are familiar, unthreatening, and taken for granted...it is only when a Pakeha is confronted with the unfamiliar that ethnic awareness becomes more manifest" David Pearson (1990: 221).

In 1986 Michael King told Paul Spoonley in an interview, that it was because Māori were so strong in their identity in the 1970s and 1980s that led Pākehā to reflect about their own identity in this country. "Māori have become far more visible and much more forcefully present in New

Zealand life, saying things like 'I know who I am, I'm Māori, and I have this whakapapa, and I feel good about it.' That has forced a lot of Pakeha to start asking the same sorts of questions" (Spoonley, 1986: 11).

The above interview took place after Michael King had launched his book titled, 'Being Pakeha'. This book was described as timely, published at a period at which many European New Zealanders were starting to question their identity, because unlike their parents they no longer looked towards Mother England as 'Home' (Jesson, 1986: 150). Christine Dann writes, "I discussed this with my friend and fellow writer Neville Peat - fifth generation Pakeha New Zealander...Like other Pakeha 'cultural workers' of working class descent (myself included), Neville's family lost contact with the 'Old Country' in the first or second generation of New Zealand born members. The New Zealand reality was the one we grew up with, the only one we really know...[W]e are both adamant that we are Pakeha" (1991: 58).

For these baby boomers home was New Zealand; when some of them went on their OE they discovered that England was no longer home and that New Zealand was. This change in national consciousness is reflected in the titles of two books that Alan Mulgan wrote. The first in 1927 was a description of a journey to the United Kingdom, entitled, *Home: A Colonial's Adventure*, followed later in 1958 by his autobiography, *The Making of a New Zealander* (Fleras & Spoonley, 1999: 85).

This gradual forming of national identity coupled with the Māori renaissance in the mid-80s led to a spate of books,

plays and articles that discussed the concept of a Pākehā identity. At the same time King's book came out, Paul Maunder's *Ngati Pakeha* was playing at Wellington's Depot theatre and articles about Pākehā identity were published in magazines like Auckland Metro and The Listener (Jesson, 1986: 150). In addition to this, the establishment of the Waitangi Tribunal in 1975 placed historical scholarship at the very centre of contemporary policy, which in turn led to books about Māori history becoming mainstream reading. Jock Phillips (1990: 19) wrote in an article about national identity, that, "At the end of the 1980s the sales of Claudia Orange's intellectually demanding book on the Treaty of Waitangi were on a scale previously only reached by rugby memoirs".

According to Paul Spoonley one of the most influential documents at this time in the 1980s was Donna Awatere's *Māori Sovereignty*. He stated that it was this document that made him reflect on his role and cultural identity, "...Awatere's book defined biculturalism as one of the key issues and created a sense of urgency. It made it clear that Māori were one of the negotiating partners, but left the question of who constituted the other hanging. It was in response to that vacuum that I (along with many others) saw the need to consider my role and cultural identity" (1991: 151).

It was this vacuum that led many European New Zealanders to reflect on being Pākehā, and to consider the role Māori had in that identity. Chris Knox wrote, "So we need to ask them to share with us a second time. Not land, it's a bit late for that, but what it is to be Māori in Aotearoa, so

we may fully discover what it is to be Pakeha in New Zealand...I know there has been a hell of a lot about Māoridom in this spiel about what it is to be Pakeha. But that is entirely the point"(1991: 197).

Māori culture reflects our New Zealandness, we only have to look at some of our national symbols, like the koru that is painted on the tail fins of Air New Zealand aircraft, which take our identity into the wider world, to realise that. Francis Pound expressed this about the koru when she wrote, "We have seen that a *koru* border was used to announce 'New Zealandness' to New Zealand on the covers of *Art in NZ*, and to announce to the world on the cover of the international magazine, *The Studio*. Of all Māori forms, the *koru* is the one most often asserted as signature of place, and so as a national sign"(1994: 67).

Francis Pound writes, "We fall back on the Māori now for many of the artistic features that go to distinguish these islands from the outside world, just as we call on the Māori whenever it is desired to give the great ones who visit a true New Zealand welcome."(1994: 69). John Taylor also expresses similar thoughts in regards to using Māori culture to express New Zealand's national identity, and that New Zealand has been doing this since the beginning of last century. "From early this century, Māori culture was increasingly presented as an important aspect in the formation of a national identity. For example, Māori culture was strongly represented at events such as royal tours and exhibitions held in Christchurch (1906) and Dunedin (1925) and the centennial exhibition of 1940" (1998: 28).

As New Zealanders moved into the later final quarter of the 20th century, they had moved away from Great Britain as a source of their national heritage, and had started looking inward for their own sense of self, however little could be found that was precisely unique in their country apart from Māori heritage. With the rise of Māori culture within mainstream European New Zealand, European New Zealanders have started to reflect, 'Well, who are we, and how are we different?' As the world becomes more global and grows towards being one homogenous mass, people across the globe are thinking about their own unique identity and what this entails. European New Zealanders also want New Zealand to be unique from other countries in the world, and they no more want to be Australian than they want to be British (Taylor, 1996: 52).

European New Zealanders often discovered when they went overseas for a period of time, that it was often Māori cultural forms that they relied on to express their national identity like the haka, or a Māori song like 'Pokarekare ana.' Erik Olssen, wrote about his experience of being a New Zealander overseas, "It was in this period, however that I first realised that I, the son of immigrants from Britain and Sweden, often used Māori forms to express my sense of myself as a New Zealander. It was the haka especially that took on the most meaning, and from time to time, usually when alcohol had unshielded homesickness, I actually did my best to perform 'Ka mate, ka mate'!" (1996: 120).

Anne Salmond, a renowned New Zealand historian, also expressed this feeling, in a National Radio interview about 'Pākehā' where she said, "...it's not until [New Zealanders] are sitting in some place in England for example, and they are talking the same language and all of a sudden they find they're really missing things about New Zealand which when they are here they don't even notice, and I'm not talking about marmite either. I think that's the sort of impetus that makes people spring into trying to do a really hard-case version of the haka, or sing Pokarekare ana, or try and string a whole lot of Māori place names together and pretend they know the language or something" (Salmond, 2000).

In the last ten years or so, the wearing of bone and pounamu pendants has increased among non-Māori New Zealanders. This is also a symbol of European New Zealanders expressing their national identity through adorning themselves with a Māori cultural symbol. It has come so prevalent that often one can recognise a New Zealander overseas first, not by their accent, but by New Zealanders wearing these pendants. However not all European New Zealanders embrace the idea of Māori culture reflecting their identity, and neither do they all embrace the idea of calling themselves 'Pākehā'.

It is thought that the reason why some European New Zealanders do not embrace the idea of calling themselves 'Pākehā', is because they do not wish to live in a bicultural country and do not believe that the tangata whenua should have special rights. It is thought these European New Zealanders perceive that all New Zealanders

are just New Zealanders that they are all the same, and should be treated as such. This belief is reflected by Larner and Spoonley when they assert, " In the 1990s the self-labelling of Pakeha has become an important marker in anti-racist and nationalist politics. Many of those who could be defined as Pakeha reject the label on the grounds that it involves a commitment to biculturalism within the institutions of New Zealand society. They opt for labels such as New Zealander" (1995: 51-2).

The act of calling oneself a 'Pakeha' is said to have become in itself a political act, declaring a commitment to a bicultural country in which one is empathetic towards the needs of Māori. Paul Spoonley reflects this ideology, stating, "Those who have responded positively to these debates, in the sense that they accept the need to develop a partnership which recognises the rights (tino rangatiratanga) of the tangata whenua, have tended to employ the label 'Pakeha' as a way of expressing their commitments to such new arrangements. This self-claiming of Pakeha reflects a political commitment, either liberal or radical which has evolved from the debates about biculturalism" (1996: 166-7).

Some European New Zealanders are beginning to come to understand their identity through Māori culture, and During (1985: 370) states that as we reclaim an identity and recast it in terms of an indigenous agenda, we come to understand Aotearoa/New Zealand in Māori terms. There seems to be two types of New Zealanders of European descent - those who call themselves New Zealanders or Kiwis and those who call themselves Pākehā. There seems to be an

indication that those who embrace the word Pākehā are more likely to have or want involvement and interaction with Māori in a quest to discover what a bicultural nation is, and in doing so also reflect on who they are as European New Zealanders (Spoonley, 1996: 159).

One way in which some European New Zealanders have begun this journey into Māoritanga is to learn the indigenous language of New Zealand, te reo Māori. It is within this language that the term Pākehā originates, to describe European New Zealanders within the Māori world, and in turn gives them their identity as European New Zealanders. Whereas the term Māori has only become meaningful since the European arrived on New Zealand's shores, so has the term Pākehā only become meaningful since European New Zealanders have begun to learn about te ao Māori.

This research is an in-depth look at some of those European New Zealanders who have begun the journey into Māoritanga by learning te reo Māori. It is an investigation into how Pākehātanga emerges from this relationship with Māoritanga.

## Chapter 3

### Method

The current research is based on two different data sources, one qualitative and the other quantitative. These two data sources complement each other in this research framework and were chosen for that reason. I was able to collect qualitative data from in depth interviews and I was also able to collect responses to specific questions about the research within a quantitative data framework.

The qualitative analysis was based on my interviews of European New Zealanders who had made a commitment to te reo Māori and had been speaking and learning the Māori language for at least four years. I wanted to collect data on their experiences and feelings of being a European New Zealander and a speaker of te reo Māori. In addition to this I wanted to explore any impact their being a speaker of te reo Māori had on their New Zealand identity. In particular I wanted to examine if being a speaker of te reo Māori and being involved in te ao Māori had developed their identity as a Pākehā.

The quantitative analysis was based on my questionnaires of New Zealanders' understanding of the term Pākehā. In particular I wanted to examine if speakers of te reo Māori were more likely to identify as being a Pākehā. I also wanted to explore whether those who identified as being a Pākehā were more empathetic towards Māori issues.

## **1. Qualitative Data**

I chose to use a semi-structured interview technique to ensure that the participants' responses would be their own thoughts and feelings and not constrained to a limited set of questions in a structured interview. Research under any umbrella has its limitations and constraints to participants expressing their true feelings, however I felt that this would be the best method to ensure I received the information that I needed.

By using broad questions in a semi-structured interview, and not specific questions in a structured interview, I felt I would be able to develop a rapport with the participants easier than if I had specific questions. With specific questions the researcher can easily get focused on what the next question is and not what the participant is actually telling you. With a semi-structured interview you can also sidetrack as much as the participant wants, which leads the interview into a more conversational tone. In addition to this the participant is more likely to forget they are in an interview and they tend to open up more. It also allows participants to introduce and develop themes, thereby giving them some control over the shape of the interview, and thus helping to avoid some of the power balance between researcher and participant (Limerick, Burgess-Limerick, & Grace 1996: 133).

## **1 (a) Participants and settings**

The participants were selected from people known to my supervisor and I, and through word of mouth. Although I knew many of the participants, I did not know any as close acquaintances. Because there are so few Pākehā who do have a good grasp of the language, Pākehā who do speak te reo Māori generally know of other Pākehā who speak the language as well. Both my supervisor and myself are Pākehā who speak te reo Māori, and therefore it was through this personal knowledge that we were able to contact the participants.

All of the participants were telephoned by me, and asked if they would like to participate. All of those contacted agreed to the interview. Each interview lasted between one hour and two and a half-hours, with the average around one and a half hours. The settings were chosen by the participants; this was to ensure they felt as comfortable as possible and to give them some of the power in the interview situation. I conducted twelve interviews in total, six of the interviews were conducted in my own study room at university, four were conducted in the participants' own homes, one was conducted at my own home and one was conducted in the participant's office at their place of work. Ten of the participants reside in the city where I attend university and two of the participants live in another town.

Anonymity was assured to the participants and therefore the names of the interviewees, and placenames of reference have been changed. All signed consent forms and agreed to

having their interviews transcribed and used for research purposes for this thesis.

Because there are so few Pākehā who have learnt or spoken te reo Māori for longer than four years I did not select participants on the basis of gender or age. I selected them on their length of commitment to te reo Māori. However there was an even number of male and female participants but a disparity between the ages. The women were evenly ranged from 18 years to the 40 plus range, although the men generally fell into the forty plus range.

**Table 1: Gender and age makeup of interviewees**

	<b>Male</b>	<b>Female</b>
Under 20	Quinton	Hannah
20s		Charlotte Sarah Tess
30s		Susan
40+	James Samuel Michael Richard Carl	Sophie

- Participant one

Quinton is in his mid teens and decided to learn te reo Māori when he was six. His primary school had started up a whanau class and he asked his parents if he could enter the class, and they agreed. He stayed with the whanau class until he went to high school where he is still currently learning te reo Māori.

- Participant two

Hannah is in her late teens and first started learning te reo Māori at intermediate school. Her father had been learning the language through a night course and had been using te reo Maori around the home, and she become interested in the language as a result. Hannah continued to learn the language at high school through to her seventh form year and has also continued to learn te reo Māori during her first year at University.

- Participant three

Charlotte is in her twenties and started learning te reo Māori at intermediate school, continuing through high school until her seventh form year and at university. She just completed a degree in the language. She had not quite decided what she was going to do at the completion of her degree at the time of the interview.

- Participant four

Sarah is in her late twenties and started learning te reo Maori in third form at high school. She decided to take one European language and te reo Maori because she felt te reo Maori was more relevant to her than a second European language. After high school she went to university and carried on learning te reo Māori there until she finished her degree. She is still a student at university undertaking postgraduate study.

- Participant five

Tess is in her twenties and is a trained primary school teacher; she has two young children and is currently a fulltime mum. Tess first became interested in things Māori in third form when they had a Māori component in their music class and she learnt some waiata and poi. She just loved the sound of the language. In her fourth form year, her history teacher chose to teach New Zealand history and this also got her interested because she felt knowing about Māori was relevant to her being a New Zealander. She had wanted to take te reo Māori at high school, however it was not offered in her year. In her seventh form Tess went to night school and learnt te reo Māori and also joined a local kapa haka group. When she went to university she continued to learn the language in her first year and joined the university kapa haka group. While at university she met her husband who is Māori and speaks te reo Māori, they now have two children who are also speakers of the language. Tess also learnt te reo Māori at a Maori institution for two years after she had had her first child.

- Participant six

Susan is in her late thirties and first stated learning te reo Maori at night class in her twenties but she only did it for a term. She started learning te reo Māori again when she started her degree at university in Linguistics in her early thirties. She has continued to learn over the last five years. She is now considering doing postgraduate study at university.

- Participant seven

James is in his forties and is a high school teacher. He became interested in learning te reo Māori when he became involved in his late teens with his current wife who is Māori. James learnt out of his own interest in things Māori, and his father-in-law also encouraged him to learn for his wife and children's sake. He only ever learnt the language formally for one year at university, gaining most of his proficiency through listening and talking to other Māori in te reo Māori, and by also talking with his children who were all brought up with te reo Māori.

- Participant eight

Sophie is in her forties and works in the social services area. She first became interested in te reo when she started university at age 16 when she joined the kapa haka group and did a first year Māori paper. She ended up learning te reo at a night class in another city and then came back to her original home city and did te reo Māori at university for a year. The rest of her learning has been through ear by attending Kohanga Reo with her children. Her ex-husband is Māori, however he could not speak the

language although his parents could. Her children are speakers of te reo Māori.

- Participant nine

Samuel is in his fifties and is a principal of a high school. He became interested in te reo over twenty years ago when he went to a teacher hui at a marae. Something there just clicked for him and he decided to learn te reo Māori. He has never learnt it formally; picking it up by ear through listening and talking in te reo Māori to other Māori in the schools where he taught, and by also becoming involved in the local marae committee, and Māori community. His wife does not speak te reo however his children have all learnt.

- Participant ten

Michael is in his fifties and originally came to New Zealand at the age of two, when he emigrated from England. He went back to England for a decade in his forties and it was while over there he became interested in te reo Māori and started using it in his poetry. Previously he had done a year of te reo Māori by correspondence when his son decided to learn the language at high school in New Zealand. When he came back to New Zealand Michael attended university and learnt te reo Māori there and also joined the university kapa haka group. He has continued to learn the language and has been learning te reo Māori now for four years; he is currently studying at postgraduate level.

- Participant eleven

Richard was born in North America; he is in his fifties, and a retired teacher who has worked in the social services in New Zealand. He is now a full time student. While growing up he travelled and lived with his family in several different countries. He was brought up speaking German and learnt Portuguese when his family lived in Brazil. Richard first came to New Zealand in his early teens but only lived here for a short time. He returned to New Zealand with his wife in his twenties. He became interested in te reo Māori because it is his belief that as a New Zealander it is important to know te reo Māori. He has been learning the language over the past ten years at polytechnic and university.

- Participant twelve

Carl is in his seventies and is a retired musician but he still teaches music at a Kura Kaupapa school. Carl first became interested in te reo Māori when he was seven or eight and living in the Waikato when he would go into town and hide behind a telephone box so that he could listen to kuia who congregated and spoke te reo Māori on the Post Office steps. His grandfather was also a fluent speaker and he remembers him speaking te reo Māori to a chief of Ngati Haua. Carl said he just loved the sound of te reo Māori, it was like music to his ears. His mother also knew some te reo Māori and encouraged him by buying him a Māori dictionary when he was a child. Carl has never had any formal learning, learning by ear and from listening to the

Māori news, Te Karere, and by listening to other people with te reo Māori.

### **1 (b) Data collection and analysis procedure**

All the interviews were conducted over a five month period from June to November 2000. Each of the interviews was taped and then transcribed at a later date. Because of time constraints only four of the interviews were completely transcribed. The other eight were eighty percent transcribed and it was only the things that were really irrelevant to the research, where the participant and I had side-tracked, that were not transcribed from the tapes.

After the first four interviews were fully transcribed I went through each interview and sought common themes that were arising from within the data. From these four transcriptions I was able to sort the data into nine different themes. The themes were as follows:

- Reasons for learning
- Affinity toward te reo and Māori culture
- Attitude of family and friends
- Attitude to things Māori
- Aware of cultural difference
- Difficulties and kaitakawaenga
- Positive experiences
- Negative experiences
- Identity to Pākehā/New Zealand

I then transcribed the rest of the interviews and wrote the relevant information into each theme. I kept my mind open to any new emerging themes, however none arose while I

transcribed the interviews. From these themes the data was then collated, and analysis of the interviews is presented in chapters 5,6 and 7:

- Reasons for learning
- Experiences
- Identity

### **1 (c) Researcher positioning and reflections**

Because I am a Pākehā and all the participants were Pākehā there was not any difficulty with cross-cultural positioning. I felt being a Pākehā who spoke te reo Māori gave me a better chance of rapport with the participants, and I did indeed discover this. Many of the times I could empathise with participants because so many times their stories were my stories as well.

Even though I knew many of the participants, none of them were closely acquainted with me. However because of the shared bond of being a Pākehā who speaks te reo Māori, I felt as though I was able to quickly develop rapport. Many, if not all of the participants said after the interview, that it had been a really good experience for them because they did not know many people that they could share their thoughts of being a Pākehā learning te reo Māori with. Some of the participants even said that it was the first time that they had been able to discuss any of the issues of being a Pakeha who speaks te reo Māori, and through the interview they had gained deeper understanding of themselves.

I believe that it was because the participants knew I understood their position of being a Pākehā who speaks te reo, that we were able to gain a deeper insight together of what it meant to be Pākehā who speaks te reo Māori. In addition to this I found that not only were the interviews reflective for the participants, they were also reflective for myself. When many of the participants realised that I understood their position, that they were not the only ones out there experiencing what it was like to be a Pākehā who speaks te reo, the expression on their faces cannot be revealed through words on paper. Although being a Pākehā and learning te reo is a very enriching experience, it is also a difficult journey, and it was a revelation for the participants to know that there was somebody else who understood.

The only difficulty I did have was with two of the youngest participants, Quinton and Hannah. My supervisor had advised me that interviewing young participants is difficult because they are not very reflective and this was exactly what I discovered. Because both of these participants were still teenagers they found it difficult to express their thoughts and they often did not understand the reasons why they did things, or could not articulate their feelings. The older participants had already reflected on their journey of being a Pākehā learning te reo, and could divulge more than the younger participants. In addition to this, the younger participant's life experiences were a lot shorter and so they also had less to discuss.

I feel that the fact that I was a Pākehā and a speaker of te reo, overrode any other discourses like gender or class that may have been a problem within the interviews. Because I was like my participants, I feel that there also were not any power issues either, it felt like we were all working towards a similar goal and they were all very happy and eager to participate.

## **1 (d) Broad Research Questions in Interviews**

### Family background

- What were their parents like i.e liberal, conservative
- What do their family think about them learning te reo Maori
- Schooling (any influences there i.e teachers, friends)
- Family friends who were Maori, or school friends who were Maori

### Reasons for learning te reo

- Influences (friends, family)
- Development (may have started for one reason but reason different now)
- Major changes in life (going overseas, marrying someone who is Maori etc.)
- Political
- Religious

### Experiences in learning te reo

- Has learning te reo shaped their identity as a Pakeha
- Positive experiences from the Pakeha world and Maori world.

- Negative experiences from the Pakeha world and Maori world.
- What have they learnt from learning te reo and being involved in the Maori world
- Has their learning te reo influenced other people to learn te reo as well?

#### Future

- What are their aspirations for the future in learning te reo Māori
- What do they hope for New Zealand's future in regard to te reo Māori and te ao Maori

#### Views

- Tino rangatiratanga
- The Treaty

## **2. Quantitative**

The quantitative data was compiled from a questionnaire that I designed and implemented to selected classes at the University of Canterbury. I wanted to evaluate what New Zealanders of all ethnicities understood by the term 'Pākehā', and whether they identified with the term. In addition, I wanted to evaluate what proportion of European New Zealanders identified with the term 'Pākehā', and whether they more inclined to be empathetic towards te ao Māori than those who did not identify with the term. I also wanted to determine whether other ethnicities like New Zealand Asians identified with the term 'Pākehā'. I also wanted to examine what Māori understood the term to mean.

In addition to this I wanted to explore if those European New Zealanders who had learnt te reo Māori were more likely to identify as Pākehā than those European New Zealanders who had never learnt te reo Māori.

## **2 (a) Participants and settings**

The questionnaire was administered to students selected from the University of Canterbury. It was decided on this sample group because I only had time to use the most easily accessible participants. To obtain a wide range of responses to the questionnaire it was given out to all the Maori language students in the Maori Department (41 responded), to a first year History class (58 responded) and a first year Chemistry class (127 responded). In total I received 226 responses.

The main drawback to the findings is that the respondents are predominately young and educated, and other similar studies have indicated that the more educated someone is, and the younger someone is, the more likely they will be sympathetic towards Maori (Pearson and Sissons 1997). The Chemistry and History classes were picked because of the even gender make up of the students since another recent survey done on the term 'Pākehā' showed that women were more likely to think of themselves as Pākehā (Revington, 2001: 20). However the fact that the majority of the respondents are young and predominately middle class is still a drawback to the accuracy of my findings, and therefore it is duly noted here.

## **2 (b) Data collection and procedure**

The questionnaire was administered to the stage one History class on a Tuesday on the last week of term three. During that same week the questionnaire was distributed to two streams of the Maori language classes. After the term break I then administered the questionnaire to the stage one Chemistry classes on a Wednesday of the first week of term. The stage one Chemistry classes had two streams, one in the morning, and one straight after. I also administered the questionnaire to the other Maori language classes at various times during that same week.

The main difficulty I had with administering the questionnaire to the Māori language classes was that two of the classes were late at night, and because of other commitments I was not able to be there after class to collect the questionnaires. In addition to this another student within the department was administering their own questionnaire about a different topic and therefore some of the students were questionnaire weary.

## **2 (c) Data analysis**

There were two different questionnaires, one for the Māori language students and one for the History and Chemistry students. The reason there were two different questionnaires was that I needed to know if the History or Chemistry students had ever learnt the Māori language and if they had spent their school years in New Zealand. This information was needed so that I could group all the participants who had ever learnt the Māori language into one group no matter which class their response had come from. In addition to this I also needed an indication from the History and Chemistry students of how long they had

lived in New Zealand so as to analyse whether time spent in New Zealand was an indication of ethnic identity. Looking back now I should have asked this question of the Māori language students as well; however, it was overlooked.

Both questionnaires comprised of several background questions, several closed questions, several open questions and an attitude scale. The background questions consisted of the participants age, gender, if they had learnt te reo Māori apart from at primary school, and if they had spent their school years in New Zealand. Copies of the two questionnaires are included as Appendices I and II.

The closed questions were:

- What is your understanding of who a Pākehā is?

The participant could tick one of the following or express a more detailed answer under 'Other':

- A non Māori
  - A person of European ancestry born in New Zealand
  - Any person of European ancestry
  - Other
- 
- Do you ever use the term 'Pākehā' to describe your ethnicity?

The participant could tick either:

- Yes
  - No
- 
- If you do, please tick in which situation(s) you are most likely to describe yourself as a Pākehā

The participant could tick one of the following or express a more detailed answer under 'Other':

- When filling in official forms that ask for ethnic identification
- With non-Māori
- On a marae or in another Māori context
- When travelling overseas
- Other

These questions were easy to sort because they were already in categories ready for analysis.

I knew the open questions were more time consuming to analyse, however I felt they were necessary to gain an in depth insight into the participants' understanding of the term 'Pakeha'. I did not want to provide categories in the open questions lest the categories would sway the participants' responses.

The open questions are:

- Please state your ethnicity
- Please give your reasons for identifying yourself as a Pākehā
- Please state your reasons for never using the term Pākehā to describe yourself

An important aspect to the research was the open question on ethnicity. Most questionnaires list ethnic classifications and you only have to tick the box that you feel you identify with. I did not want classifications already in place because I wanted the participants to write

the ethnic group that they felt they identified with. This was important because I wanted to see how many of the participants would write Pākehā as their ethnicity and what other ethnic groups New Zealanders identified with. Even though these questions were open questions, it was not difficult to arrange the participants' responses into different categories because the answers were fairly consistent.

The attitude scale comprised of several statements aimed towards the participants' attitude toward Maori language and culture. The participant could either tick 'Agree', 'Disagree' or 'Don't know'. The statements were:

- All New Zealand citizens should learn the Māori language
- New Zealand's main priority should be multiculturalism not biculturalism
- You do not need to be bilingual to be bicultural
- Māori language should be a core subject in primary school
- If all New Zealand citizens could speak Māori there would be racial harmony in New Zealand
- You need to be able to speak Māori to be a real New Zealander
- Māori language/culture is what makes New Zealand unique
- The Treaty of Waitangi has no relevance within New Zealand's society today
- Pākehā is a derogatory term for white people

The responses to the scale were contrasted against the participants' answers to the term Pakeha, and also their ethnicity. Also contrasted with the participants'

responses to the attitude scale were the participants age, gender, and if they had learnt te reo Maori or not. Results are presented in chapter four, titled 'Results to Questionnaire'.

All the data was compiled and entered into a computer programme called StatView SE + Graphics. This programme is a statistical analysis and presentation graphics programme. From the StatView programme the findings were entered into an application called Cricket Graph, which created graphs for presentation.

## **Chapter Four**

### **Questionnaire - Attitudes to the term Pākehā**

The purpose of the questionnaires was to examine New Zealanders' attitudes towards the term 'Pākehā'. The research aimed to determine whether European New Zealanders who culturally identify with the term Pākehā have a different attitude towards Maori culture and language than those European New Zealanders who do not identify with the term. In addition to this the questionnaire research endeavoured to ascertain whether European New Zealanders who have learnt te reo Maori are more likely to culturally identify themselves as 'Pākehā', than those European New Zealanders who have not learnt te reo Maori. The research also analysed whether this same group of European New Zealanders who have learnt te reo Maori are more empathetic towards Maori language and culture, compared with those European New Zealanders who have not learnt te reo Maori. The questionnaire additionally investigated the use of the term 'Pākehā', who uses it, and in which contexts.

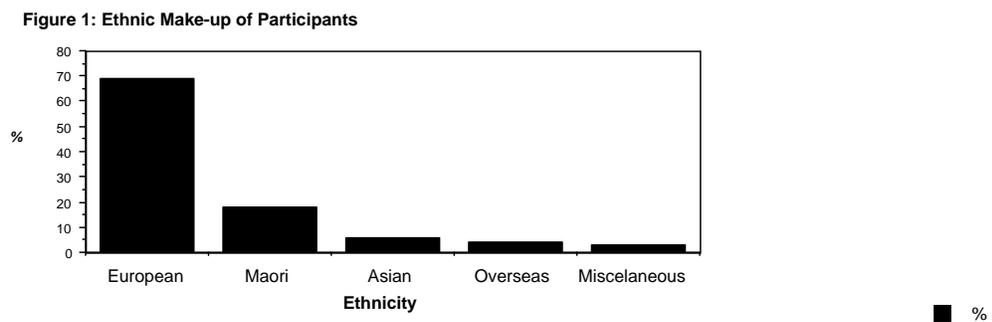
Complete copies of both questionnaires are located in Appendices I and II.

#### **• Demographics of the Participants**

The questionnaire was administered to all te reo Māori language classes, a first year History class and a first year Chemistry class. In total there were 226 responses to the questionnaire. The biggest response was from the Chemistry class, of 127 responses, followed by the History

class of 58 responses, and the smallest response was from the Māori classes of 41 responses.

The ethnicity of the participants appeared to be reasonably consistent with the present ethnic make-up of New Zealand's population, as shown in Figure 1 below. The only exception being there were no Pacific Island respondents.

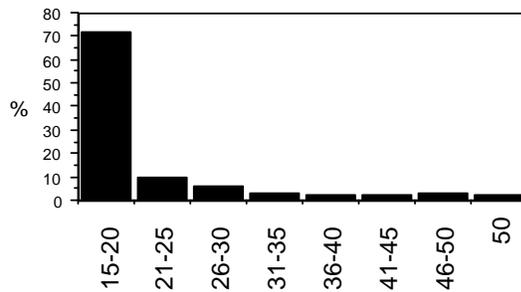


A more detailed analysis of these ethnic categories is given further on.

The response rate from the two genders reflected the gender proportion of the student population at the University of Canterbury in general; 39% of the participants being male, and 61% of the participants being female.

The largest age group were the 15-20 age bracket who accounted for 72% of the respondents. This was expected because the majority of the respondents were first year university students. The remainder of the distribution of the ages of the participants is shown in Figure 2.

Figure 2: Age of participants

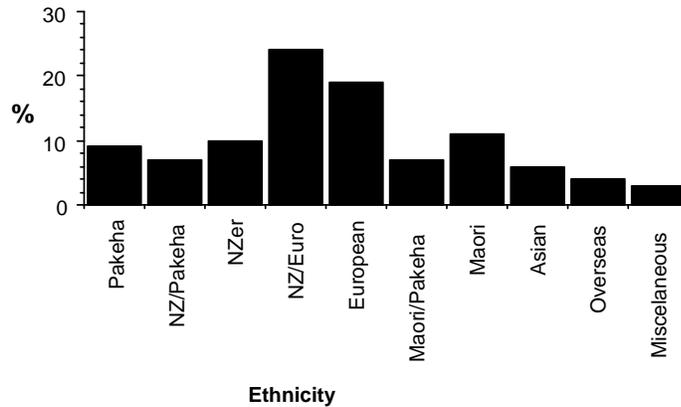


## 2. Ethnicity

The third question of the questionnaire asked participants to state their ethnicity. This question was left open so that the participant was not swayed by any ethnic classifications, and it was left to the participant to decide which ethnicity they identified with. I was interested to see if any of the participants would write that 'Pākehā' was their ethnicity. David Pearson found that the majority group's perception of the nation is an integral part of their ethnicity and that surveys of majority groups in Canada and Australia showed that when asked to state which ethnic group they belonged to, respondents answered Canadian and Australian respectively. Pearson says, "I would wager that most Pakeha would name themselves as New Zealanders. This is not because they do not have any semblance of an ethnic identity, nor that they are denuded of 'culture'; it is because their view of the world is constructed within a system of dominance" (1990: 217).

However the results from my questionnaire did not entirely support Pearson's statement.

**Figure 3: The percentage of ethnicities in the respondent group (detailed)**



The ten categories shown in Figure 3 were conflated as outlined below to produce the overall ethnicity statistics shown in Figure 1. The European New Zealander category in Figure 1 consisted of those who stated they were either:

- Pākehā (9% of respondents, 18 people)

*A combination of:*

- European/New Zealand/Pākehā (7% of respondents, 14 people)

*A combination of:*

- New Zealand/European (24% of respondents, 50 people)
- New Zealander (10% of respondents, 21 people)

- European (19% of respondents, 39 people)

The Māori category in Figure 1 consisted of those who stated they were either:

*A combination of:*

- European/Pākehā/Māori (7% of respondents, 15 people)
- Māori (10% of respondents, 20 people)
- Iwi (*respondent listed their iwi*) (1% of respondents, 3 people)

The Asian category in Figure 1 included all those people that stated they were from an Asian country, including India:

- Asian (6% of respondents, 13 people)

The Overseas category in Figure 1 included all those participants who stated that they were from non-Asian overseas countries:

- Overseas (4% of respondents, 9 people)

The Miscellaneous category in Figure 1 included all those people who provided ethnicity that could not be categorised, eg. human, honky, Jewish etc:

- Miscellaneous (3% of respondents, 7 people)

I decided to combine the ethnic groups further so as to make it easier for me to analyse the ethnic groups against the attitude scale. The three ethnic groups I was most interested in for analysis were Pākehā, New Zealand/European, and Māori in respect of the attitude questions.

Therefore Pākehā and Euro/NZ/Pākehā were combined into one group of:

- Pākehā (16% of respondents, 32 people)

NZer, NZ/Euro and European were combined into one group of:

- European/NZer (53% of respondents, 110 people)

Euro/Pākehā/Māori', 'Māori', and 'Iwi' were combined into one group of:

- Māori (18% of respondents, 38 people)

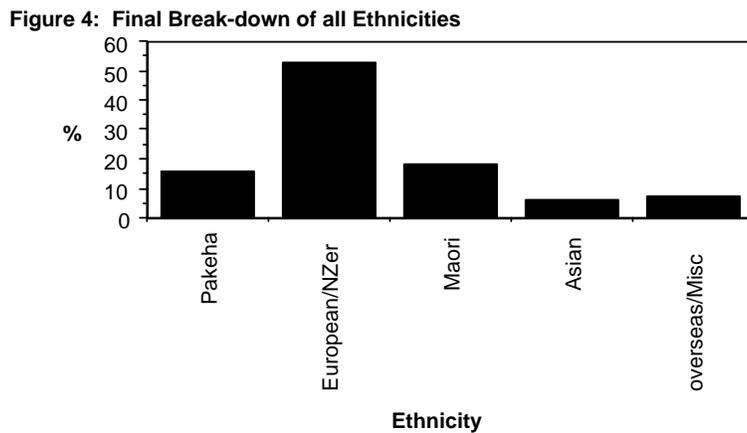
I left the 'Asian' category as it was:

- Asian (6% of respondents, 13 people)

I grouped, 'Overseas' and 'Miscellaneous' as:

- Overseas/Misc (7% of the respondents, 16 people)

Figure 4 is the final ethnicity divisions that I used to analyse in respects of the attitude questions attitude scale.



Of note is that 22.5% of the sample of European New Zealand participants identified ethnically as Pākehā without any probes of ethnic classification boxes that most official forms possess (this sample does not include the other participants who ticked further on in the questionnaire that they sometimes identify with Pākehā).

This is interesting because David Pearson's prediction the majority group would identify with the national identity of

New Zealander is not wholly supported by this data. Although the majority of European New Zealand respondents chose an ethnicity that related to their nationality (77.5%), there was still a significant proportion of European New Zealanders who chose not to (22.5 %). They instead chose an ethnic category that does not relate to their nationality, but chose one in reference to Māori, the tangata whenua.

An earlier study on Pākehā ethnicity by David Pearson and Jeffrey Sissons (1997: 66) showed that only a small percentage of New Zealanders (17%) 'Always' or 'Often' described themselves as Pākehā, and a large majority (83%) only 'Sometimes' used or 'Never' used the term. From this they argued that Pākehā is not a word that most European New Zealanders would use to name themselves within everyday parlance.

However if you combine the 'Always', 'Often' and 'Sometimes' categories together (48%) you would have a more even status of European New Zealanders who sometimes or always identify to the term Pākehā, with European New Zealanders who never identify to the term (52%). The result of this study are reinforced by results from a Herald-DigiPoll in January this year which showed those of European descent were evenly divided, 49% each way on the question: "Do you think of yourself as a Pākehā?" (Gregory, 2001a).

Identity is also contextual; someone who may identify as being a New Zealander overseas may identify as being a West Coaster when visiting Wellington, or a Catholic when

amongst people who are discussing religion. "Ascriptive identity is heavily contextual. It embraces multiple levels or tiers, and it changes with the environment. An African student in France will identify himself in one way; at home, in another. Under some circumstances, a Lebanese will content himself with his sectarian affiliation (Maronite or Orthodox, Sunnite or Shiite, for example); under other circumstances, he will be compelled to consider himself broadly as a Christian or Muslim. Notwithstanding the multiplicity of ascriptive identities, all levels do not remain equally significant, if only because all contexts do not remain so." (Horowitz, 1975: 118)

Therefore I believe Pearson and Sissons made a misjudgment to combine the 'Sometimes' category with the 'Never' category. Those who indicate 'Sometimes' are saying that they do identify with the term Pākehā from time to time. What is important is whether European New Zealanders ever identify with the term 'Pākehā', not if they sometimes identify with the term. Additionally what is important to this research is why people reject the term or why they embrace the term, and what differences there are between the groups that reject or embrace the term.

## • Responses to the attitude questions

### 3 (a) Results and analysis: all responses vs response by ethnicity

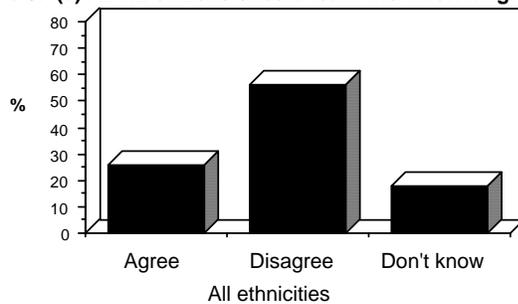
The following graphs are of the overall responses to the attitude questions, along with graphs distinguishing

results according to the respondent's ethnicity. There were nine questions on the attitude scale. The participant could only answer:

- Agree
- Disagree
- Don't know

The question the participants responded to is above each graph.

**Figure 5: (a) All NZ citizens should learn the Maori language**



**Figure 6: All NZ citizens should learn the Maori language**

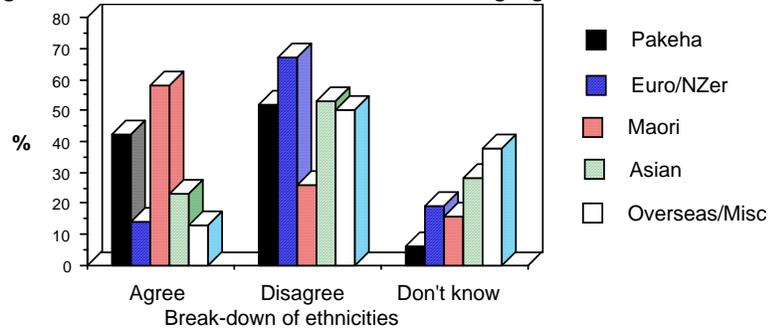


Figure 5 indicates that the majority of respondents are against all New Zealanders learning the Māori language with only 26% of respondents agreeing to the statement. However Figure 6 shows that 42% of Pākehā and 48% of Māori agree to this statement compared to only 14% of European New Zealanders. New Zealand European were also the group most likely to disagree with this statement (67%). These graphs would indicate that there is a large difference between those who call themselves Pākehā and those who call themselves European or New Zealanders, on this statement.

**Figure 7: (b) NZ's main priority should be multiculturalism not biculturalism**

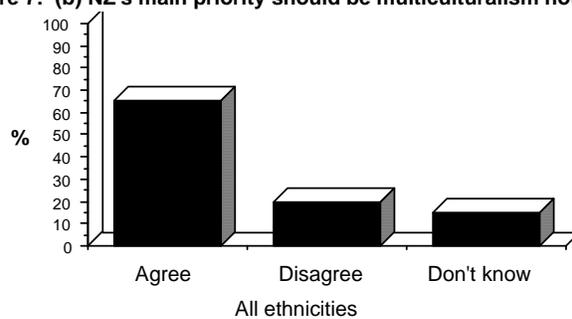


Figure 8: (b) NZ's main priority should be multiculturalism not biculturalism

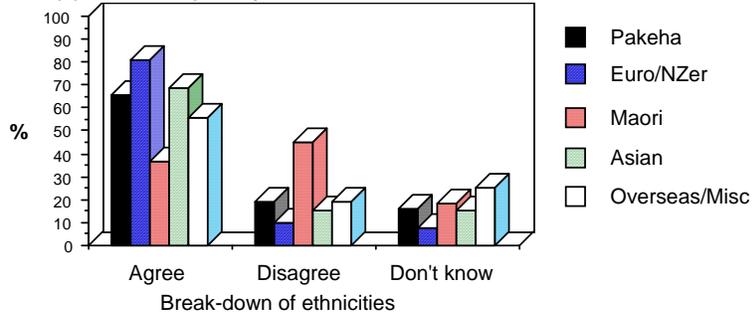
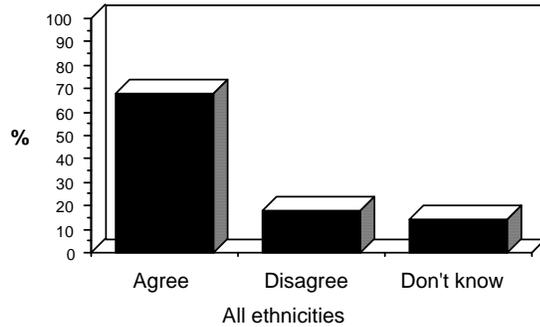


Figure 7 is interesting in light of the multiculturalism versus biculturalism debate of the late 80s, it indicates that a significant proportion (65%) of respondents believe multiculturalism should be New Zealand's first priority. Figure 8 shows that European New Zealanders agree the most with this statement (81%) and disagree least with this statement (10%). They are followed behind by the Asian category (69%) agreeing and (16%) disagreeing. This is interesting because you would think Asians would have more of an interest in the country being multicultural than European New Zealanders would. Pākehā still rate high up with European New Zealanders and Asians, with (66%) of Pākehā agreeing and (20%) of Pākehā disagreeing, however there is still a 15% difference of opinion on agreement with this statement between European New Zealanders and Pākehā.

Māori, however are the group most opposed to this statement with (46%) disagreeing. Although this is not a surprise because Māori tend to view New Zealand biculturally because of the Treaty of Waitangi, therefore they are one party to the Treaty as the tangata whenua, and the rest of the multicultural population of New Zealand is the other party in the Treaty.

**Figure 9: (c) You do not need to be bilingual to be bicultural**



**Figure 10: (c) You do not need to be bilingual to be bicultural**

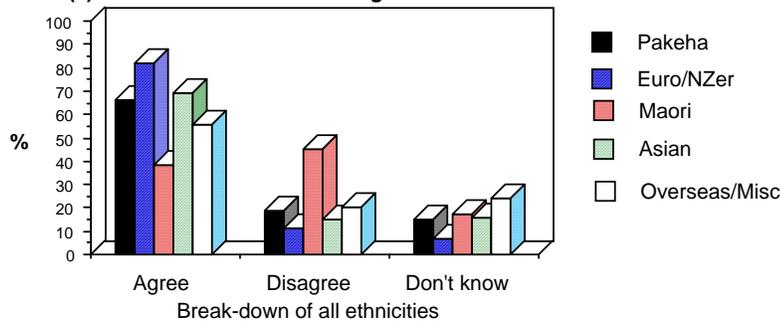
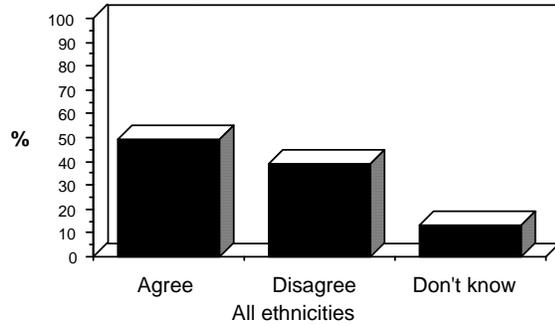


Figure 9 shows that the respondents believe that you do not need to be bilingual to be bicultural (69%). Figure 10 shows that European New Zealanders again lead the other ethnic categories with 83% agreeing to the statement and 11% disagreeing to it. This is in comparison to 66% of Pākehā agreeing to the statement and 20% disagreeing. Again these graphs show a difference of opinion between those European New Zealanders who identify with the term Pākehā as opposed to those European New Zealanders who do not. However once again Māori lead the other ethnic groups in disagreeing with the statement with 46%. This maybe because some Māori who have experienced a loss of te reo Maori have found that in doing so they have also lost aspects of being able to participate in Maori culture, such

as whaikorero (male speeches on the marae) and karanga (female welcoming on to the marae).

**Figure 11: (d) Maori language should be a core subject in primary school**



**Figure 12: (d) Maori language should be a core subject in primary school**

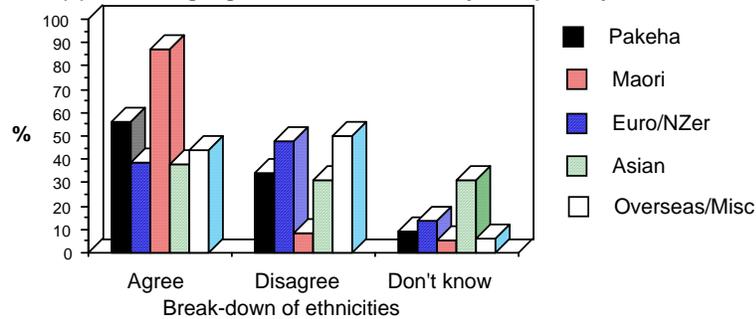
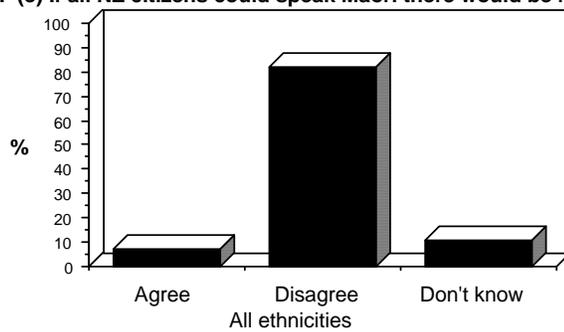


Figure 11 shows that the respondents are only just in favour of Maori language being a core subject in primary school with 50% agreeing and 40% disagreeing with this statement. The breakdown of the ethnicities in Figure 12 shows again that there is a difference of opinion between European New Zealanders and Pākehā with 56% of Pākehā agreeing with the statement in comparison of 38% of European New Zealanders agreeing. Again Maori appear with the largest difference of opinion from the other ethnic

groups with 86% of Maori agreeing with this statement. This maybe because some Māori see the teaching of te reo Māori in primary school as one way of retaining the language. Also most of the Maori students who responded to this questionnaire are learning te reo Māori at university, so this factor would indicate that they have an interest in the language.

**Figure 13: (e) If all NZ citizens could speak Maori there would be racial harmony in NZ**



**Figure 14: (e) If all NZ citizens could speak Maori there would be racial harmony in NZ**

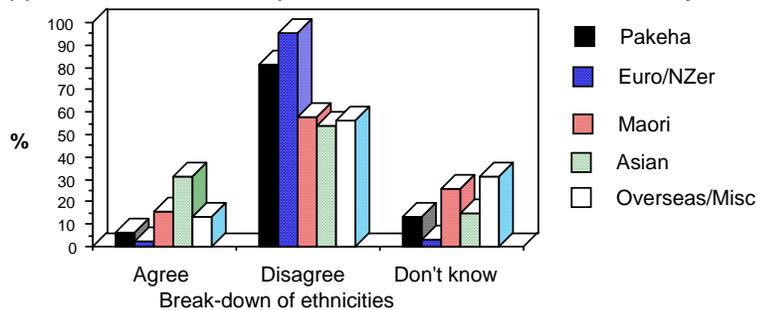
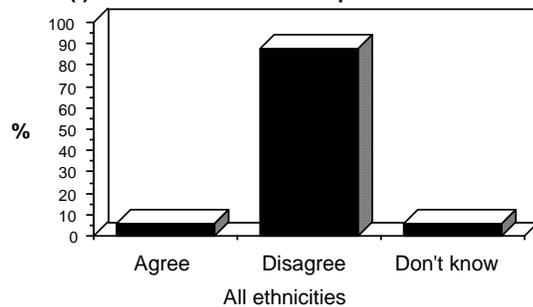


Figure 13 shows that a large majority of respondents (84%) believe that there would not be racial harmony in New Zealand if all New Zealand citizens could speak te reo Māori. Surprisingly in Figure 14 it was the Asian ethnic

group that agreed most with the statement (32%), followed by Māori (16%). This may reflect the Asian experience or knowledge of bilingual cultural situation in their own countries and culture, whereas the majority of New Zealanders live in the strongly monolingual country of New Zealand. However there is still a difference of opinion between European New Zealanders and Pākehā, even though with these two graphs it is slight. The biggest difference between these two groups is disagreement with the statement; 95% of European New Zealanders disagreed, compared to 82% of Pākehā disagreeing.

**Figure 15: (f) You need to be able to speak Maori to be a real NZer**



**Figure 16: (f) You need to be able to speak M to be a real NZer**

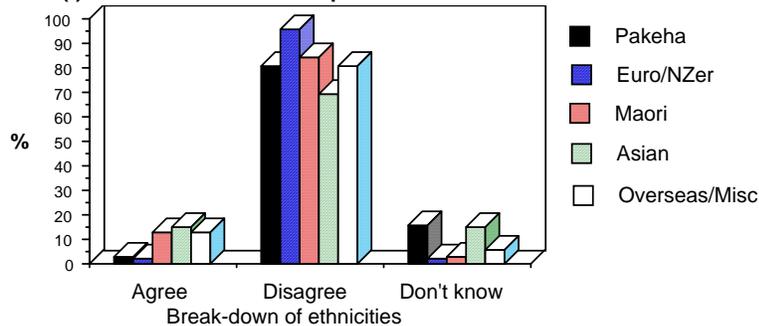
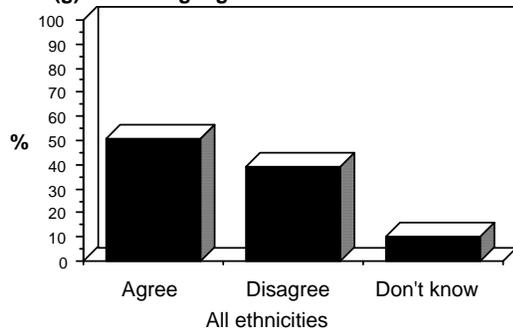


Figure 15 shows that a large proportion of the respondents (89%) does not believe that to be a real New Zealander you need to be able to speak te reo Māori.

Figure 16 is interesting though with the largest amount of 'Don't knows' amongst Pākehā and Asians, and the main support of the statement is from Asians, Māori and Overseas/Miscellaneous. This may reflect some of the Asian and overseas respondent's experience of how they view New Zealand as a Māori country. Also once again European New Zealanders lead the ethnic categories in disagreeing with the statement (95%) in comparison with Pākehā (82%).

**Figure 17: (g) Maori language/culture is what makes NZ unique**



**Figure 18: (g) Maori language/culture is what makes NZ unique**

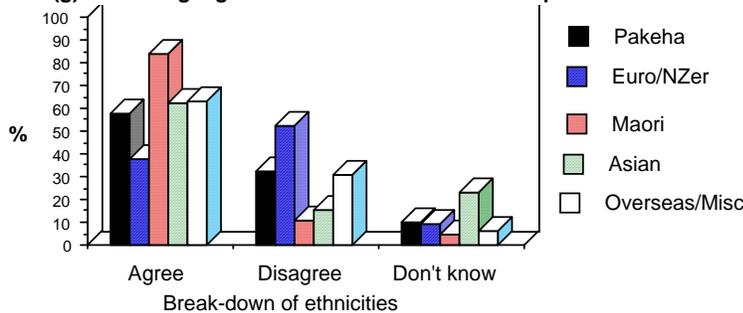
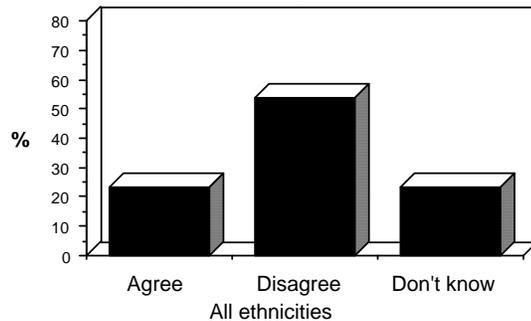


Figure 17 shows that a very slight majority of the respondents (52%) believe that Māori language/culture is what makes New Zealand unique. Figure 18 shows that Māori

(85%), Overseas/Miscellaneous (64%), Asian (63%) and Pākehā (58%) all agree with the statement significantly more than European New Zealanders do (38%). This result is not surprising that Māori are the ethnic group to mostly view their culture as the most unique aspect about New Zealand because it is their culture. The result that Overseas/Miscellaneous and Asian view Māori culture as the most unique aspect of New Zealand may reflect their view that they see New Zealand as a Māori country. Once again European New Zealanders lead the other ethnic categories in not being affirmative in relation to Māori language/culture.

**Figure 19: (h) The Treaty of Waitangi has no relevance within NZ's society today**



**Figure 20: (h) The Treaty of Waitangi has no relevance within NZ's society**

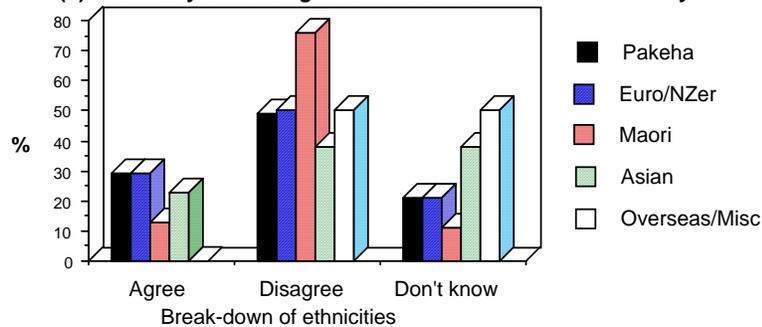
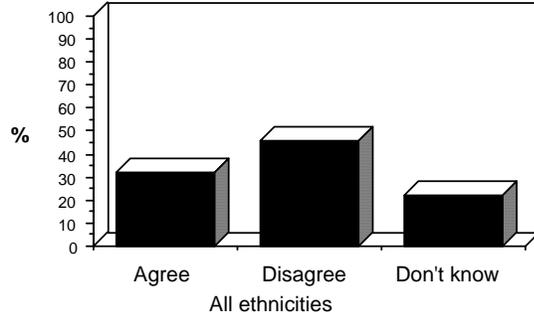


Figure 19 shows that the majority of respondents disagree that the Treaty of Waitangi has no relevance within New Zealand's society today (55%). Also to note is that there is a large proportion of 'Don't knows' (25%) which leaves a quarter of New Zealanders who agree with the statement (24%). The large proportion of 'Don't knows' may indicate that some New Zealanders are generally confused as to what the Treaty entails and it's meaning to New Zealand society. However Figure 20 shows that the main New Zealanders who are unsure about this statement are Asians and Overseas/Miscellaneous ethnic groups which would be understandable because they may be new to this country.

Figure 20 also shows that for the first time that European New Zealanders and Pākehā are in agreement with a statement (30%), with 21% not knowing, and around 50% disagreeing with the statement. This may indicate that European New Zealanders along with Pākehā are prepared to accept the Treaty as part of New Zealand Society. However the results from the rest of the questionnaire reflects that European New Zealanders are not will to implicate some of the Treaty's principles like the support of te reo Maori in New Zealand, unlike the Pākehā ethnic group who are. Therefore in theory European new Zealanders are willing to accept the

treaty but in practice they are not. Also to note is that there is a very high disagreement by Māori (76%) compared to the rest of the respondents. This indicates that Māori still view the Treaty as very relevant to New Zealand society.

**Figure 21: (i) Pakeha is a derogatory term for white people**



**Figure 22: (i) Pakeha is a derogatory term for white people**

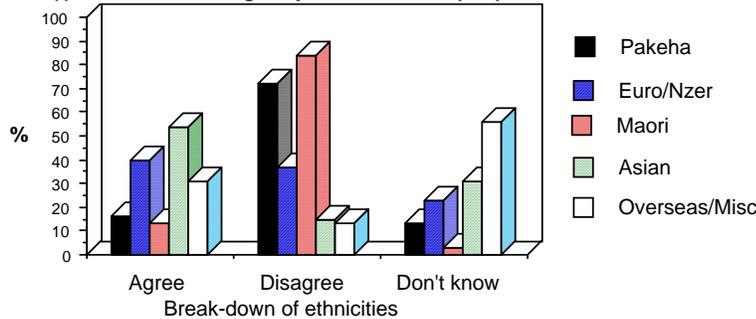


Figure 21 shows that the largest portion (47%) disagrees with the statement that the term Pākehā is derogatory. Significant proportions of the respondents (24%) were in the 'Don't know' category so that indicates that there is a lot of confusion over whether the term is derogatory or not. Figure 22 shows that the groups that were most unsure

about the term 'Pākehā', Overseas/Miscellaneous (57%), Asian (32%) and European/New Zealander (28%) were also the groups to most agree that the term Pākehā is derogatory, Asian (54%), New Zealand/European (40%) and Overseas/Miscellaneous (32%). This may indicate that it is the uncertainty of what the word actually means that influences people to think the term is derogatory. Also the fact the Asian New Zealanders perceive the word to be most derogatory would suggest that they have less experience with the debate within the country. Maori were the ethnic group least likely to believe that the term Pākehā is derogatory (84%), followed by Pākehā (73%).

Overall these graphs indicate that there is a difference between Pākehā New Zealanders and European New Zealanders. Apart from Figure 20, every graph indicates that Pākehā New Zealanders are more empathetic toward Māori issues than European New Zealanders. Sometimes the differences are small and other times they are great, but the graphs do indicate that point of difference. The other interesting result is that Māori are the least likely to consider the term Pākehā derogatory. This is significant because many European New Zealanders perceive Māori as using the term in a derogatory manner to label European New Zealanders and this is a common reason why many European New Zealanders say they do not identify with the term (as shown further on in this chapter), however as shown by these results there is no foundation to this.

### **3 (b) Results and analysis of European who identify as 'Pākehā' and those who**

**sometimes identify as 'Pākehā' vs European who never identify as Pākehā**

The following graphs show responses to the attitude questions from three different groups of European New Zealanders. The first group is those who wrote Pākehā on the ethnicity question (32 people). The second group are those European New Zealanders who did not write Pākehā as their ethnicity but who ticked they 'Sometimes' identified with the term Pākehā (30 people). The third group are those European New Zealanders who wrote they 'Never' identify to the term Pākehā (75 people). This was compared against their response to the attitude questions.

These graphs are included because the results from these graphs indicate that a European New Zealanders empathy towards Māori issues such as te reo Māori, is reflected by how strong their identity is as a Pākehā. These graphs show that European New Zealanders who identify as a Pākehā are more empathetic towards Māori issues than those European New Zealanders who only sometimes identify as Pākehā and those European New Zealanders who never identify as Pākehā.

The graphs that showed disparities between the 'Identify as Pakeha', 'Sometimes identify as Pākehā' and 'Never identify as a Pākehā' categories are Figures 23, 24, 25 and 26.

**Figure 23: (a) All NZ citizens should learn the Maori language**

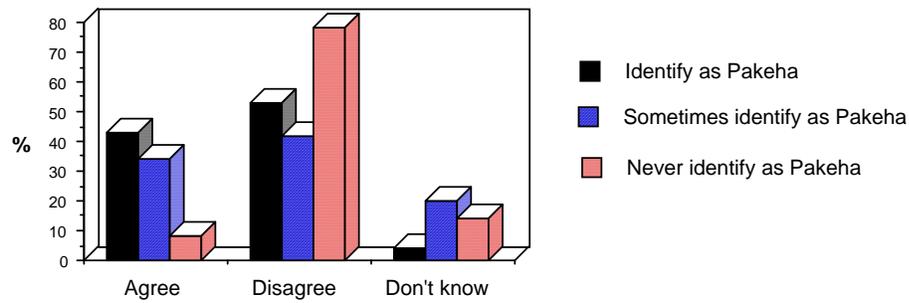


Figure 23 shows that those respondents who 'Identify as Pākehā' were most in favour that all New Zealanders should learn te reo Māori (42%). They were followed by 'Sometimes identify as Pākehā' (34%), whereas only 9% of respondents from 'Never identify as a Pākehā' category agreed to this statement.

**Figure 24: (d) Maori language should be a core subject in primary school**

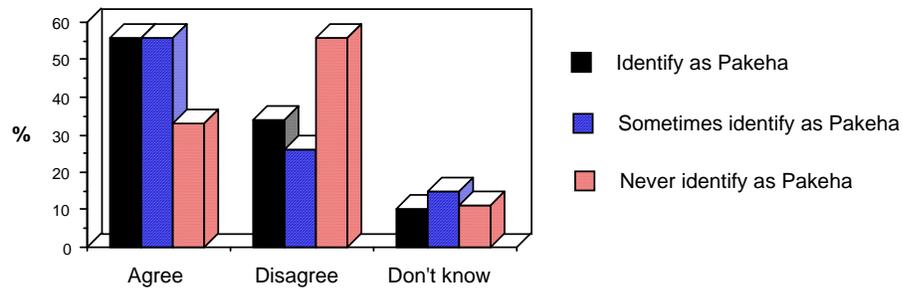


Figure 24 shows that those who 'Identify as Pākehā' and those who 'Sometimes identified as Pākehā' were much more in favour of Māori language being a core subject at primary school (57%) than those who 'Never identify as a Pākehā' (33%).

**Figure 25: (g) Maori language/culture is what makes NZ unique**

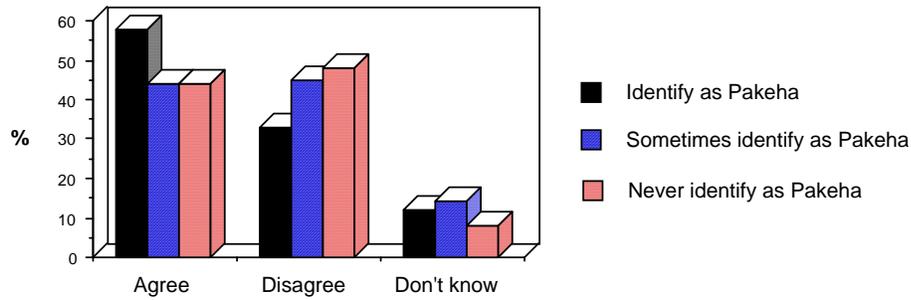


Figure 25 shows that those who 'Identify as Pākehā' were most in agreement that it is Māori language/culture that makes New Zealand unique (58%). Both 'Sometimes identify as Pākehā' and 'Never identify as Pākehā' were equal in their response to agreeing to this statement (44%). However the 'Never identify as Pākehā' group led the other two groups in disagreeing with this statement (48%), which indicates they were more negative against this statement than those who 'Sometimes identified as Pākehā'.

**Figure 26: (i) Pakeha is a derogatory term for white people**

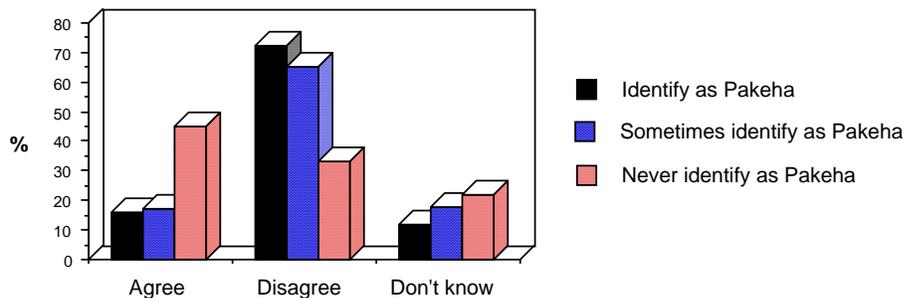


Figure 26 shows that those who 'Identify as Pākehā' (73%) and those who 'Sometimes identify as Pākehā' (64%) are much more likely than those who 'Never identify as Pākehā' (32%) to disagree that the term Pākehā is derogatory.

These graphs support the findings from 'All responses vs response by ethnicity' that indicate that people who identify as Pākehā are more empathetic towards Māori language and culture than those European New Zealanders who do not identify with the term. These graphs also show that those European New Zealanders who do not identify with the term are much more likely than those European New Zealanders who do identify with the term to perceive the term 'Pākehā' as derogatory.

### **3 (c) Results and analysis of European New Zealanders who have learnt te reo vs those European New Zealanders who have not**

This research also investigated whether there are differences between European New Zealanders who learn te reo Māori and European New Zealanders who do not learn the language.

The following graphs have been formulated by taking all the European New Zealanders who are Māori language students (10 people) and also all the other European New Zealand students who ticked that they had learnt te reo Māori (33 people), against those European New Zealand students who ticked that they had not learnt the language (108 people). This was then gauged against the attitude questions and also against the question, 'Do you ever use the term 'Pākehā' to describe your ethnicity', as shown below.

Figure 27: Do you ever use 'Pakeha' to describe your ethnicity?

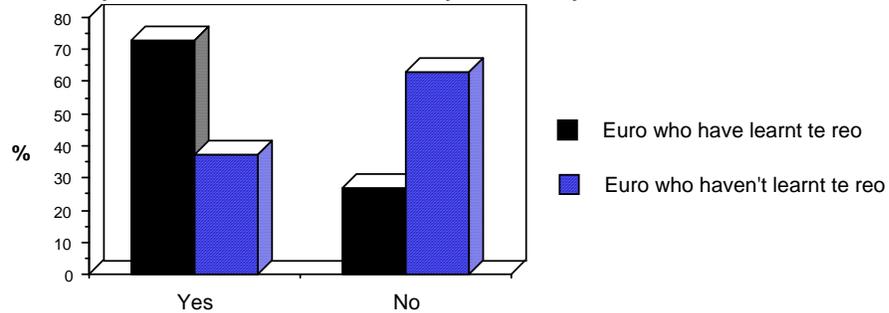


Figure 27 shows that those European New Zealanders who have learnt te reo Māori are much more likely to identify with the term Pākehā (74%) than those European New Zealanders who have not learnt te reo Māori (37%). However we do not know whether their use of the word 'Pākehā' to describe themselves increased after learning te reo Māori or not. This high correlation may also be because when one speaks Māori they may refer to themselves as Pākehā, although they may not when speaking English.

Figure 28: (a) All NZ citizens should learn the Maori language

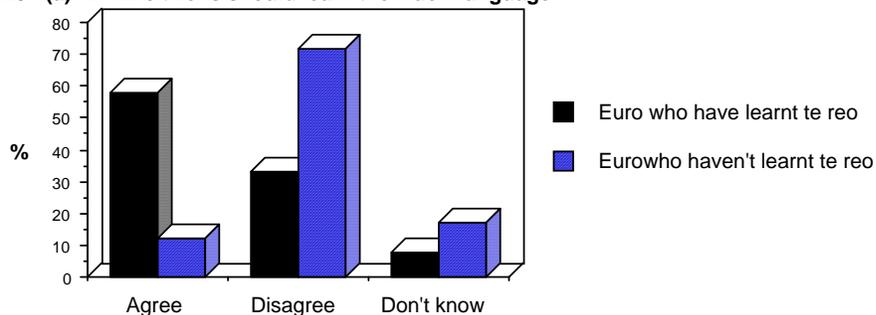


Figure 28 shows that European New Zealanders who have learnt te reo are a lot more likely to agree that all New

Zealand citizens should learn te reo Māori (58%), than those who have not learnt te reo Māori (12%). However this result is not unexpected because the fact that these students have learnt te reo Māori indicates their commitment to te reo Māori in the first place.

Figure 29: (b) NZ's main priority should be multiculturalism not biculturalism

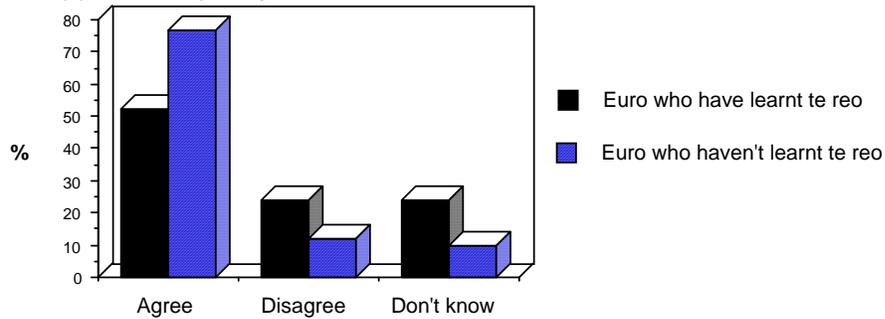


Figure 29 is an interesting graph because in Figure 8 on the same statement showed there is a 15% disparity between Pākehā and European New Zealanders. However in this graph there is a 25% disparity between those European New Zealanders who have learnt te reo and those European New Zealanders who have not learnt te reo. This would indicate that when one learns te reo Māori one starts to become more empathetic towards biculturalism.

**Figure 30: (c) You do not need to be bilingual to be bicultural**

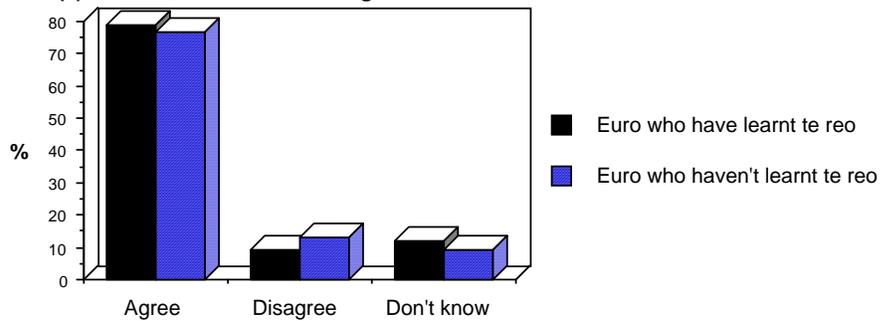


Figure 30 shows that there is little difference between those European New Zealanders who have learnt te reo Māori with those European New Zealanders who have not learnt te reo Māori on this statement. Although in Figure 10 with the same statement, there is a 25% disparity between Pākehā and European New Zealanders, European New Zealanders agreeing (82%) compared to Pākehā agreement with the statement (67%). This suggests that when European New Zealanders learn te reo Māori they do not believe that you need to be bilingual to be bicultural as much as those European New Zealanders who identify with the term Pākehā.

**Figure 31: (d) Maori language should be a core subject in primary school**

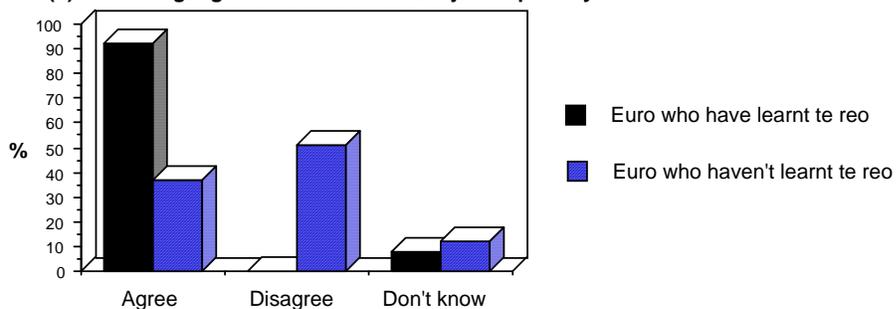


Figure 31 shows those European New Zealanders who have learnt te reo Māori are much more in favour (92%) of those European New Zealanders who have not learnt te reo Māori (36%) that Māori language should be a core subject in

primary school. Like Figure 28 this result is not unexpected because people who have learnt a language through choice are already more empathetic to that language than someone who is not learning that language is.

**Figure 32: (e) If all NZ citizens could speak Maori there would be racial harmony in NZ**

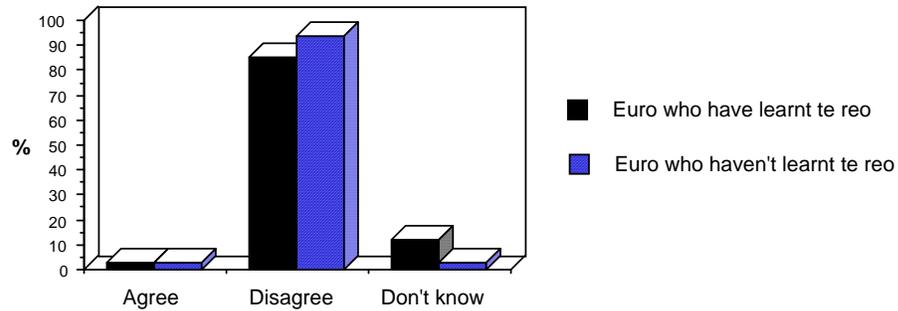


Figure 32 shows that there is very little disparity between these two groups. However there is a larger uncertainty about this statement by those European New Zealanders who have learnt te reo (14%) than those European New Zealanders who have not (3%), as shown in the 'Don't know' category. This may indicate that they have considered the idea but are still unsure if they agree with the concept. However learning te reo Māori may have assisted them in contemplating this notion, whereas before they may not have contemplated it.

Figure 33: (f) You need to be able to speak Maori to be a real NZer

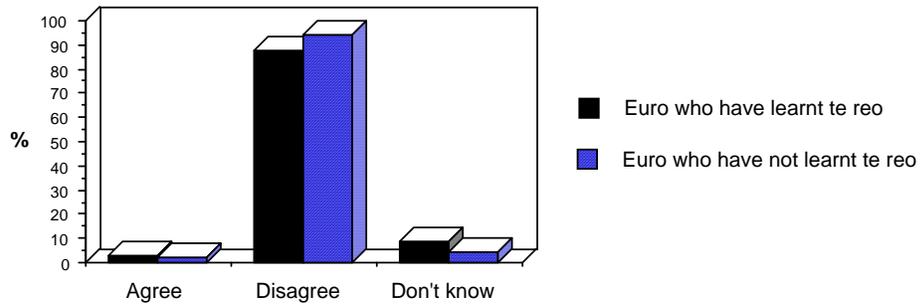


Figure 33 shows that again there is very little disparity between the two groups. The only disparity there is appears in the 'Disagree' category and the 'Don't know' category, however it is very small and not very significant. Therefore Figure 33 suggests all European New Zealanders believe that if a European New Zealander learns te reo Māori that does not make them more of a New Zealander than any one else.

Figure 34: (g) Maori language/culture is what makes NZ unique

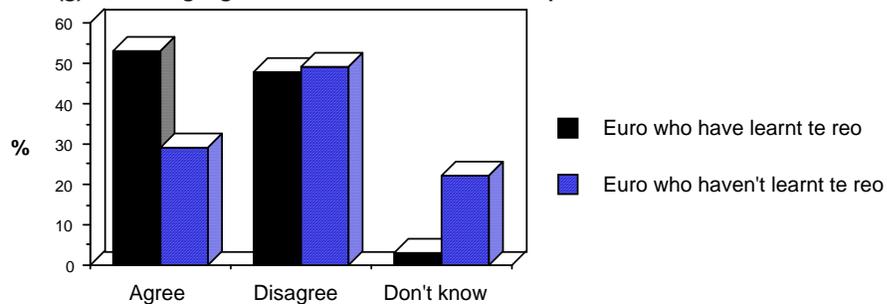


Figure 34 shows that European New Zealanders who have learnt te reo Māori are much more likely to agree with this statement (54%) than those European New Zealanders who have not learnt te reo Māori (29%). This conforms that when a

European New Zealander learns te reo Māori empathy forms for Māori language and the culture, which they understand to be unique to New Zealand. The other large disparity in this graph is the large 'Don't knows' by the European New Zealanders who have not learnt te reo (22%) compared with those European New Zealanders who have learnt te reo (3%). This may indicate because of a lack of knowledge on Māori culture and language, these people are unsure on how it contributes to New Zealand's uniqueness.

**Figure 35: (h) The Treaty of Waitangi has no relevance within NZ's society today**

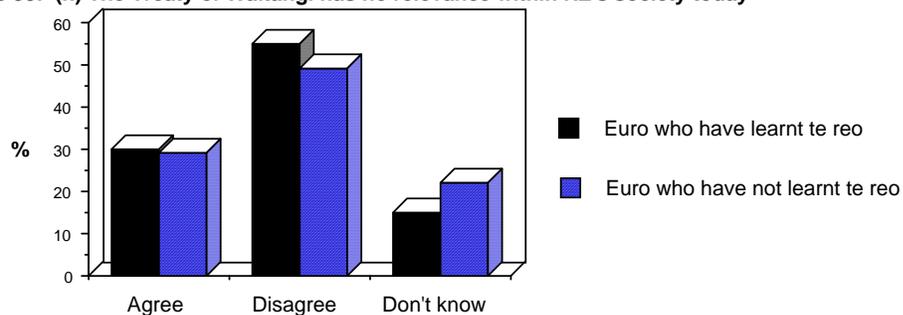


Figure 35 shows that there is a slight difference in disagreement with this statement between those European New Zealanders who have learnt te reo Māori (56%) and those European New Zealanders who have not learnt te reo Māori (49%). In Figure 20 this difference was even smaller so this may suggest that when a European New Zealander learns te reo Māori they start to become slightly more empathetic towards the Treaty of Waitangi. This might be because their understanding of the Māori version of the Treaty improves and therefore they can better understand the reasons for Māori grievances. In conjunction with this they

may have had more exposure to the debate surrounding the Treaty while learning the language.

**Figure 36: (i) Pakeha is a derogatory term for white people**

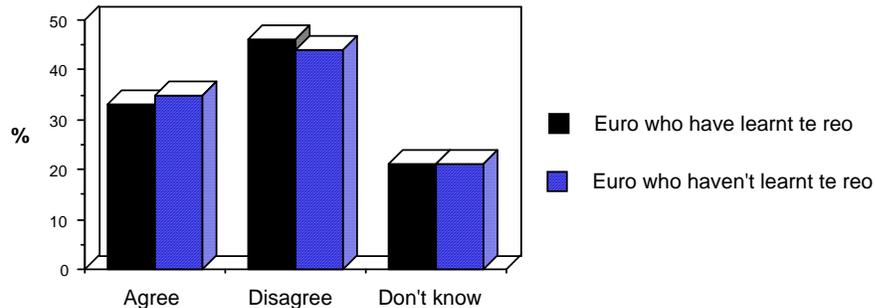


Figure 36 is very interesting because there is very little difference between those European New Zealanders who have learnt te reo and those who have not learnt te reo, in perceiving the term Pākehā to be derogatory. Whereas in Figure 22 concerning the same statement, there is a large disparity between Pākehā and European New Zealanders, 73% of Pākehā disagreed with the statement while only 36% of European New Zealanders disagreed with the statement. In Figure 36 of those European New Zealanders who have learnt te reo 47% disagreed, and of those European New Zealanders who have not learnt te reo 44% disagreed.

Figure 36 is also relevant to Figure 27 which shows that if you have learnt te reo Māori you are more likely to identify with the term Pākehā than those European New Zealanders who have not learnt te reo Māori. However the participants who have learnt te reo Māori are just as likely to think that the term is derogatory (33%) than

those participants who have never learnt te reo Māori (35%). Although the 33% who agree that the term 'Pākehā' is derogatory may be made up of the 26% of European New Zealanders who have learnt te reo Māori and do not identify with the term Pākehā.

I went back over my data to ascertain if this was true or not and I found of the 33 European New Zealanders who were not in the te reo Māori classes but who had learnt te reo Māori, 8 of these people never identified with the term Pākehā and also thought the term was derogatory. These results would therefore indicate that, regardless if you are a European New Zealander who has learnt te reo Māori or not, if you identify with the term Pākehā you are less likely to think the term is derogatory.

- **Who and What is a Pākehā**

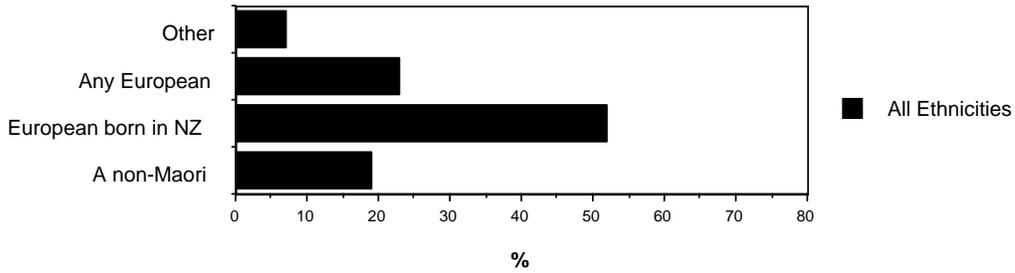
#### **4 (a) Results and analysis of 'Who is a Pākehā'**

The questionnaire asked the participants about their understanding of who a Pākehā is. They were given four choices:

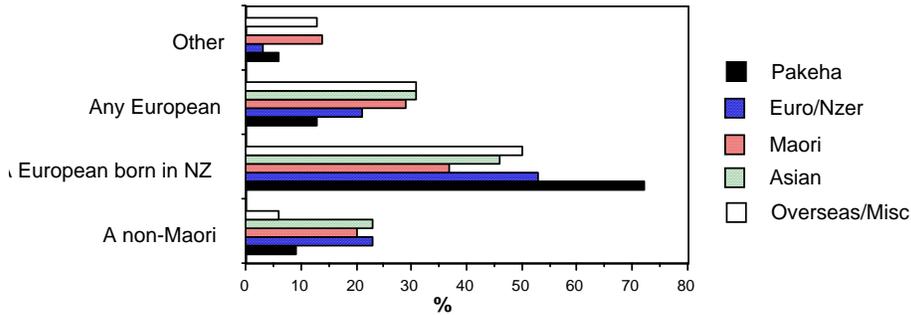
- A non-Māori
- A person of European ancestry born in New Zealand
- Any person of European ancestry
- Other

Figure 37 shows the overall results to this question and Figure 38 is broken into the response by ethnicity.

**Figure 37: What is your understanding of who is a Pakeha**



**Figure 38: What is your understanding of who is a Pakeha**



The most popular choice was 'A European born in New Zealand' (52%). Each ethnic category preferred this choice to other options and the group to select this option the most was the 'Pākehā' ethnic category, with 72% believing that a 'Pākehā' is a European born in New Zealand. This indicates that people who identify as Pākehā are more likely to believe that being Pākehā is an identity peculiar to a European born in New Zealand.

Also interesting to note is that Māori were the ethnic group least likely out of all the ethnic categories to think that 'Pākehā' were European born in New Zealand, however it was the most favoured option out of all the options for them at 37%. Furthermore the second option favoured to Māori followed close behind at 29% was 'Any European.' Another interesting result is that Pākehā were most likely (not counting Overseas/Miscellaneous) to reject the idea that 'Pākehā' meant non-Māori.

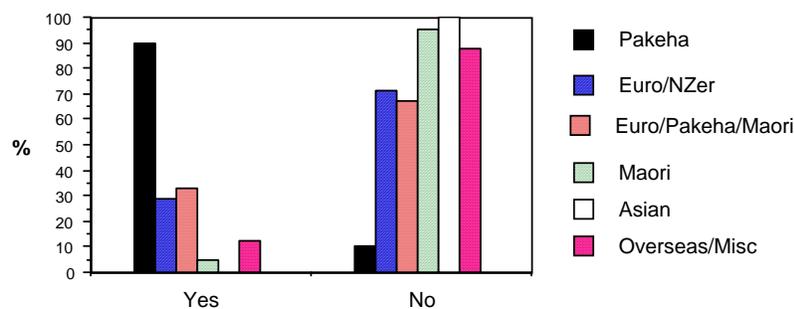
These results indicate that it is those European New Zealanders that identify as Pākehā, and not Māori, who are developing the term 'Pākehā' to mean something particular and characteristic to European New Zealanders. Augie Fleras and Paul Spoonley suggest that ethnogenesis may be occurring among Pākehā within New Zealand, they define ethnogenesis as, "...the development of a new sense of group identity. The nature of ethnicity can alter, often dramatically, for existing groups. It is also possible for a completely new ethnic group to evolve. For instance, the Boers developed a very clear sense of ethnicity and peoplehood as the result of their experiences in South Africa and their commitment to a particular religious and racial view of the world" (1999: 83).

Spoonley and Fleras infer that like the Boers, European New Zealanders who identify with the term Pākehā are defining a new ethnicity for themselves in their new country. Like the Boers Pākehā have a commitment to a particular view within their country, however unlike the Boers who believed in separatism for the races and racial superiority, Pākehā seem to have a commitment toward biculturalism and equality

within their country. The results from Figure 38 and from the ethnicity responses to the attitude questions seem to support Spoonley and Fleras. Those who identify with the term Pākehā are more empathetic toward Māori issues and those who do identify as Pākehā are more likely than other ethnic categories to think Pākehā are European New Zealanders.

Figure 39 illustrates who out of the ethnic categories ever use the term 'Pākehā' to describe their ethnicity.

**Figure 39: Do you ever use the term 'Pakeha' to describe your ethnicity**



The most interesting point to note here is that no Asians ever use the term 'Pākehā' to describe their ethnicity, and also only a very small proportion (14%) of the Overseas/Misc ever use the term to describe their ethnicity. I went back over the data and discovered the 14% were made up of two of the 16 respondents from the Overseas/Miscellaneous category, one was in the Miscellaneous category because they listed 'Jewish' as

their ethnicity, however they had grown up in New Zealand. The other respondent was British but had spent their secondary school years in New Zealand and therefore their cultural identity would not have been fully formed when they immigrated to New Zealand, and this could explain how they would sometimes identify with the term Pākehā. The few respondents that wrote Māori as their ethnicity but also sometimes use the term Pākehā to describe their ethnicity, did so because they were fair skinned and looked Pākehā, so others perceived them as Pākehā, however they identified as Māori.

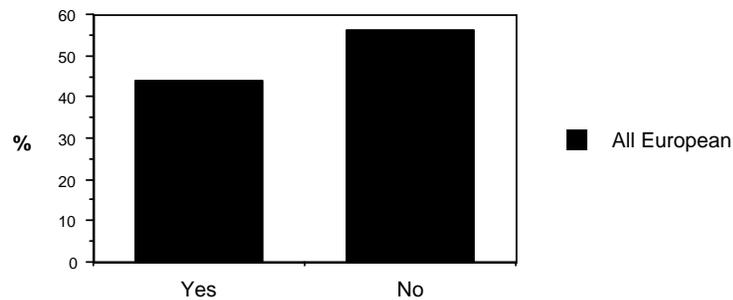
This data backs up once again that it is mainly European New Zealanders who use the term to describe their ethnicity. In addition to this it is also interesting to note that more of those who describe themselves as being Māori/Pākehā/European use the term to describe their ethnicity than do those who describe themselves as being European/New Zealander. This may indicate and support the claim that people are more likely to use the term if they have an affinity towards Māori culture, if they feel that Māori have had an influence in shaping their identity. However the difference is small and may not be statistically significant.

Another note of interest is participants who had never been schooled in New Zealand also never used the term 'Pākehā' to describe their ethnicity. One could conclude that it is upbringing or conditioning in New Zealand that makes one more likely to identify as 'Pākehā'. I would suggest that one of the conditioning aspects would be working and living alongside Māori. One would be more likely to use a Māori

term to describe ones ethnicity, than someone who had not had this influence in his or her life.

Figure 40 shows that 44% of all the European New Zealand participants at some stage have used the term 'Pākehā' to describe their ethnicity, against 56% that have never.

**Figure 40: Do you ever use 'Pakeha' to describe your ethnicity**



This indicates that a large proportion of European New Zealanders relate to the term Pākehā, but that a larger amount do not. Additionally Figure 40 shows that most of these participants had only used the term when ticking official forms. This confirms the same findings of Pearson and Sissons in their study (1997: 66-71). This might be because many official government forms often put European New Zealander and Pākehā together into one ethnic category, thus this cancels out any choice of not identifying with the term 'Pākehā'.

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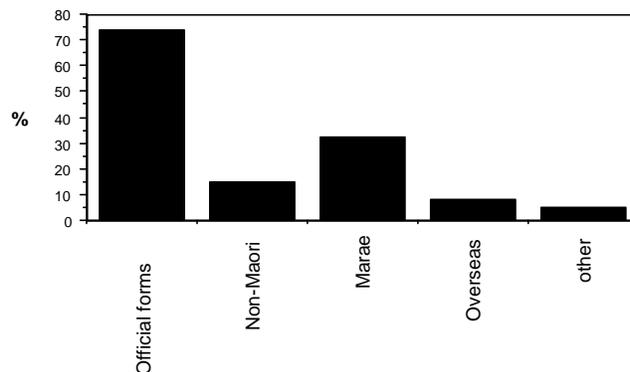
My questionnaire asked the participants, 'Do you ever use the term 'Pākehā' to describe your ethnicity?' And if they ticked yes then the questionnaire asked,

'If you do, please circle in which situation(s) you are most likely to describe yourself as a Pākehā.' They were allowed to tick as many options as they wanted. The options given were nearly exactly the same as the options given in the Pearson and Sissons's study. Respondents were given five choices:

- When filling in official forms that ask for ethnic identification
- With non-Māori
- On a marae or in another Māori context
- When travelling overseas
- Other

Figure 41 illustrates which situations the participants were most likely to use the term 'Pākehā' to describe their ethnicity.

Figure 41: Situations most likely to describe yourself as Pakeha

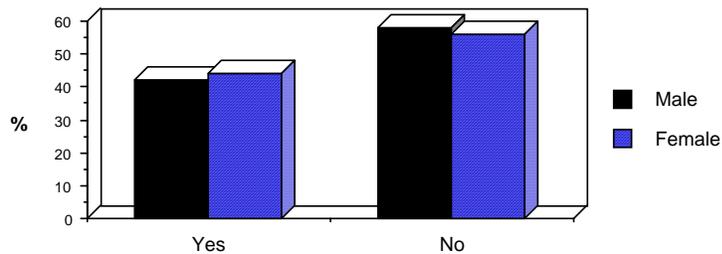


Like the Pearson and Sissons study 'Official forms' was the most popular category (74%), followed by 'On a marae or in another Māori context' (49%),

'With non-Māori' (15%), 'Overseas' (10%) and 'Other' (6%). The sequence outcome of the categories for my questionnaire went in the same order as the Pearson and Sissons study, however the Pearson and Sissons study percentages were a lot higher for each category than this study.

Vince Marotta (2000: 184) wrote that some scholars comment that the word 'Pākehā' is class and gender-specific because it refers specifically to the male middle-class experience. However the recent Herald-DigiPoll showed that women were more likely to think of themselves as Pākehā than their male counter-parts (Revington, 2001: 20). In addition to this finding, my research also showed that there was little difference between male and female in identifying as a 'Pākehā' as shown by Figure 42.

Figure 42: Do you ever use the term 'Pakeha' to describe your ethnicity



**(b) Reasons for identifying as a 'Pākehā'**

Below are samples of some of the most popular and interesting statements that people wrote about why they identify themselves as Pākehā.

- The most standard reason seemed to be because they were born in New Zealand (30% of the reasons given).

*"I see myself as a Pākehā - In New Zealand, if you are a European I see that as Pākehā. It is my ethnicity."*

*"I was born in New Zealand but my ancestors were European. I am not Māori."*

*"I am a white New Zealander and I understand it as an acceptable term to describe myself with. I have very close Māori friends who use this term, sometimes jokingly, so I believe that this word which may have originally been a derogatory term that has been mainstreamed to a certain extent."*

*"Identifies me as being a second generation New Zealander."*

*"Something I am proud of. European has slightly derogative connotations, to say you're Pākehā means you're more NZer than European. Not just white or European, you're a NZer, a Pākehā New Zealander."*

- People also felt it was a handy term that defined where they were from (19% of the reasons given).

*"It is a New Zealand term to define where I am from. I don't have an affinity to another European country."*

*"It is a good general word to describe a non-Māori New Zealand born Pākehā."*

*"People know exactly who you are - i.e., a European from NZ."*

*"Because it is a common term used in New Zealand and everyone knows what it means."*

- Other people felt it was conditioning from growing up in New Zealand (also 19% of reasons given).

*"It is a term I have been brought up knowing in a NZ context, like all the other Māori words that have become interjected into NZ English language."*

- Others stated they identified with the word because they had no affinity toward Europe (15% of reasons given).

*"I like the word because it identifies me as a New Zealander. I don't like the word European as I find more connection to New Zealand as a background and heritage than Europe."*

*"I am a NZer first and then deeper I am a Pākehā. I am not a European, I have however as much a connection with Europe as a Fijian Indian. I see myself more fitting with in a title of this nature than a European one."*

*"I'm more kiwi than European."*

- People also stated it was because it acknowledged te ao Māori (15% of reasons given).

*"Proud to be part of a culture/society that has Māori culture. It is very traditional and interesting."*

*"The word Pākehā is contrasted with the word Māori."*

*"I'm a NZer and Māori is a language of NZ. I identify with it."*

*"I consider myself to be Caucasian/NZ European/Pākehā. I live in New Zealand, which has an important Māori aspect to it. Calling myself 'Pākehā' (a Māori term) in my opinion acknowledges the importance of Māori culture, language and "values" in New Zealand society, and the integral part it plays in NZ society. Caucasian is too much a biological term, NZ European acceptable, and Pākehā the best."*

- Other people stated it was because it was on official forms (4% of reasons given).

*"It's on official forms, no other options."*

*"Only relevant choice on forms."*

*"When filling out forms if the option of Pākehā is given I will choose that option, because I think of myself as Pākehā."*

The Pearson and Sissons (1997) study classified this question of 'Why do you describe yourself as a Pākehā' into three categories. Their categories and percentages for each category were 'Best describes a non-Māori New Zealander' (62%), 'New Zealand-European doesn't fit me' (36%), and 'Related to the Treaty of Waitangi, and Partnership' (43%). Because the Pearson and Sisson categories were set and my question was an open question, it is difficult to compare the results because people may have been influenced by the set options in the Pearson and Sissons' study. However the most popular reason from the Pearson and Sissons' study was also similar to the most popular reason given in my study, that being that the term Pākehā identifies you from being from New Zealand.

Thus one could conclude that according to these statements the most prevalent reason why European New Zealanders decide to identify as Pākehā is that they feel that the term Pākehā identifies them as being from New Zealand and not Europeans from Europe. One might argue that 'European New Zealander' would also identify them as being from European ancestry and from New Zealand. You would have to ask then, why do they choose the term 'Pākehā' to identify with instead of European New Zealander?

As others have stated Pākehā is a handy term, it is certainly shorter to say than European New Zealander, however I would argue that it is because it is a Māori

word, and Māori only come from New Zealand, and therefore it identifies you with New Zealand.

#### **4 (c) Reasons for not identifying as 'Pākehā'**

The following are some of the statements written as to why the participants never identify as being 'Pākehā.'

- The most popular statement was that the term is derogatory (37% of the reasons given).

*"I find it a negative term. I don't like being called it because it makes me feel like they are saying, "You're not Māori, you're not good enough."*

*"I think it is not a nice term, I'm a kiwi not a white pig!!! It's degrading, I didn't do anything to be labelled that."*

*"I think it is degrading - especially when used by non-'PĀKEHĀ'"*

*"I see it as equivalent to "nigger" which literally means, "black person" from Negro. Pākehā to my knowledge means "funny person".*

*"I have been brought up to think it is a ' racist' word and shouldn't be used."*

*"There would be about as much chance of me calling myself a Pākehā as a Māori calling themselves a nigger, it means about the same to me."*

*"I don't believe that this is what I am because to my understanding it means a derogatory term for foreigner."*

*"Because I am not entirely sure of it's meaning and it seems to be derogatory because Māori use it in such a sneering voice."*

One only has to search through the 'letters to Editor' page in most newspapers or listen to talk-back radio to hear or read why some European New Zealanders find the term derogatory. The main reason seems to be is that people ascertain their own assumptions as to what the word means, or have been told by others what it means. Here are a few samples from 'The letter to editor' page from some newspapers on what some people think of the term 'Pākehā'.

"As a fourth or fifth generation New Zealander of European descent I am very proud of what others of my nationality have achieved...If I was an insensitive chap, and took to using derogatory terms such as "nigger", "boonga", or sambo" to refer to my Maori friends, I would cause an outrage and that would be totally justified. Why, then, do you insist on using such offensive terms as "pakeha" or "tauiwi" in referring to those of us who are of non-Maori descent? Most of my non-Maori associates consider such labels to be insulting and so do I. It appears that the only people who welcome such putdowns are those who are so afflicted by the political correctness disease that they

feel some kind of guilt for even existing in this land. The names that are applied to any ethnic group can only be justified if they are names that have been created by that ethnic group. "Pakeha" is not a European word, just like "nigger" is not a Maori word. If you persist in using racist terminology for one sector of our population you should at least be fair and use pejorative labels for everybody" (The Dominion, 25 April 1997: 8).

" I must take you to task for persisting in referring to any person not of the Maori race as Pakeha, regardless of their origin. Not only is the epithet insulting, it cannot possibly be used to cover all others in their country. European or Caucasian would surely be more tolerable for the white majority, not forgetting that we also have many other races apparently left out when lumping everyone in the "Pakeha" basket. The word Pakeha is not of the English language, and I have a strong objection to its adoption in the media"(The Dominion, 21 Feb 1998: 20).

"Your Opinion "Loony legislation" (December 28) alluded to the controversy the word "pakeha" evokes. Curious, I bought a Maori dictionary from the local bookstore. We all know the Maori word "pa" means house or village, but interestingly the word "keha" is Maori for flea. Hence does pakeha mean village flea?" (Sunday Star Times, 4 Jan 1998: 6).

"Formally I am a New Zealand European and informally a white. To no extreme do I consider myself a pakeha and find this a civil and morally offensive terminology...it seems today's society is being overwhelmed with the Maori

language with Government organisations and many large companies stating the Maori name as the English name for their enterprise. This is rather pointless, to say the least, as in the case of libraries - having the Maori name for the library on the outside presumably for a non-English speaker, when on the inside the books are written in English" (The Evening Post, 3 Oct 1998: 4).

- Amongst my respondents the second most common reason for not identifying as a Pākehā was the opinion that everyone is a New Zealander (33% of the reasons given)

*"I believe everybody born in New Zealand, those who call New Zealand their home should all be called New Zealanders. There should be no racial separation, as we all should be treated as equals. Racial discrimination or separation is how many conflicts begin."*

*"I find it derogatory. We are all New Zealanders. There should not be a distinction between Māori and "others". I think that non-Māori should be described as European New Zealanders or just New Zealanders. I do not think of myself as "European" as my family have lived in this country for generations."*

*"Because of the racial disharmony in this country I refuse to describe myself the same as Māori radicals probably see me. I am born and bred in NZ and I am a New Zealander, the same as the next born and bred New Zealander who may have, Māori, Asian etc ancestry."*

*"I prefer to be merely a New Zealander, after all that's where I live, just as someone from America is "American"."*

*"I am not Māori therefore I do not describe myself in a Māori fashion - it is not a racist thing - I consider myself as a New Zealander - that is my ethnic group as it unique to us only. There shouldn't be a difference."*

It is said that many European New Zealanders want to be acknowledged just as New Zealanders because they are the majority group and the nation is an integral part of their ethnicity. David Pearson stated that the majority groups world view is within a system of dominance, and "It is doubly difficult for members of dominant groups to articulate their ethnicity in any distinctive fashion, because they usually live their lives in settings where the symbols are familiar, unthreatening, and taken for granted" (1990: 221).

There are also some European New Zealanders who reject the term Pākehā because they are in favour of multiculturalism, of everyone being New Zealanders with equal rights. However this side steps the issue of biculturalism and redress to Māori for past wrongs.

Wendy Larner and Paul Spoonley write, "Many of those who could be defined as Pakeha reject the label on the grounds that it involves a commitment to biculturalism within the institutions of New Zealand society. They opt instead for labels such as New Zealander. For some, multiculturalism is advocated as an option which bypasses the sensitive, and often difficult, issues of an effective biculturalism that

privileges Maori/Pakeha relations and assumes the obligations of partnership. In this context multiculturalism is a soft option whose advocates might pay homage to diversity and tolerance, but do not seek any substantive redistribution of resources, nor an effective anti-racist, anti-colonist politics. Biculturalism, in comparison, is identified with the issues of social justice, cultural integrity and the redistribution of resources" (1995: 52).

- Other people stated the reason they did not use the word Pākehā was because they were from a different ethnic group or they were not born in New Zealand (30% of the reasons given).

*"Because I am Chinese Malaysian I don't feel that the term is relevant to my ethnicity. The word has controversial origins - some people regard it as offensive. The term is often misunderstood if it describes something not clearly at all."*

*"I see the term 'Pākehā' as referring to the first Europeans who arrived in NZ, not other ethnic races."*

*"I was born in Australia."*

*"Because I am from England and only moved here 2 years ago I generally still think of myself as English and do not feel that I should use Māori terms to describe my ancestry."*

*"Because I was born in Switzerland not NZ."*

*"Because I was born in England and I am from European descent. Not all people would understand or have the same interpretation of Pākehā as I would."*

*"Because I am Asian, I was born in Asia."*

- Other people felt the word Pākehā was offensive because it was a Māori word (19% of the reasons given), or they didn't like to use it because they did not know the meaning of the word (7% of the reasons given).

*"Because I don't think or use Māori words in my vocabulary."*

*"I feel it is more a Māori term to describe others."*

*"I do not want my cultural identity to be decided arbitrarily by an external cultural force."*

*"It is a Māori word, I am not Māori and find that if a language should be taught in New Zealand, an Asian or Dutch language would probably be more useful because a large population of people in New Zealand are either Asian or Dutch or even Afrikaans."*

*"I believe it is not the correct term to be used as it is not English and the actual meaning of the term is not known."*

As reflected in the above statements by the participants the main reason they do not want to identify with or be labelled as Pākehā is because they believe Pākehā is a derogatory word that they do not want to associate themselves with. The Pearson and Sissons study also came up with similar results, they found that 77% of their respondents rejected the label because they felt it, 'was often used in a negative way'. However they found only a small percentage 10% never described themselves as a Pākehā because they prefer to be called a New Zealander, which is in direct contrast with this study since that was a prevalent reason at 33%.

In this study some respondents have outrightly stated that it is because it is a Māori word and they do want to identify with a Māori word. It would then stand to reason that if they find the word Pākehā offensive because it is a Māori word and not an English word, then they are less likely to have empathy toward Māori issues than those who identify with the Māori word, 'Pākehā'. Furthermore the results from the graphs seem to support this.

Another note of interest are the people who were not born in New Zealand but who are European, stating they do not identify with the term because they still identify with the place of their birth. This indicates that these people view the word Pākehā not as a generic term for all white people but as a term peculiar to those white people born in New Zealand. Asians also wrote that they do not identify with the word because they are 'Asian'. This indicates that the term 'Pākehā' is only relevant to those people who are white.

Pearson and Sissons (1997) write that, "It is tempting to argue that European/British New Zealanders and Pākehā New Zealanders reflect two contradictory sub-ethnic tendencies; the former defining their ethnicity through positive associations with European and British ancestry and the later doing so through a denial or de-emphasising of these historical and cultural associations in favour of links with Māori in a New Zealand context." However I would debate that while I agree with Pearson and Sission's argument that those European New Zealanders who identify with the term Pākehā do so as a way to move away from European/British roots, it is not because of a denial of those roots, but so as to form an identity based on a contemporary experience, and that experience includes New Zealand's Māori identity.

## Chapter 5

### Reason for Learning Te Reo Māori

There were many reasons why the participants decided to learn te reo Māori and each and everyone has had their own unique journey. The participants discovered the experience of learning te reo Māori is also a journey of learning about te ao Māori and all that it encompasses. The quotations below reflect why the participants wanted to learn te reo Māori, and also why they wanted to learn about te ao Māori. It is difficult to learn te reo Māori without becoming absorbed in the culture; they can not be separated.

The researcher has classified certain features of what triggered the participants' journey and why once they had started they continued. The features are grouped in three different areas for discussion. However often these areas crossover and interrelate with each other and each participant describes a combination of each of these features for their reasons for learning te reo Māori. The three areas are as such:

- An affinity to te reo Māori and the culture
- Awareness of social injustice
- Influence and support of family and friends

The quotations from the interviews include square brackets, which enclose added information that clarifies the speaker's meaning. Quotations from the interviews also include a series of full stops that have been used to indicate the omission of short portions of dialogue. In

all cases, care has been taken to ensure that deleted material does not alter the context of the quote.

### **An Affinity to Te Reo Māori and the Culture**

Many of the participants, especially the ones that started to learn the reo at a young age, did so because they felt they had an affinity toward Māori culture. For most of this group their first introduction to the reo had been at school and they felt that they were instantly drawn to the reo. One of the participants, Quinton, was only six when he asked his parents if he could join the whānau class at his primary school. Quinton felt that something just 'clicked' with him and things Māori and he has loved it ever since. This sentiment was echoed by two other participants, Hannah and Charlotte, who were also first introduced to te reo Māori at primary school. These participants are also the youngest of the interview participants, this reflects recent changes in society that offers more availability of te reo Māori and Māori culture in schools so that people can participate whatever their ethnicity.

*Charlotte* When I was about 10 we were given the option [to do Māori culture] ...So I did, I don't remember why, my friends didn't do it, I was the only one apart from when I got to form two, Jasmine who did Māori as well. I must have right back

from then had an interest in it and felt an affinity.

Two of the participants who got interested in things Māori at high school said they felt it was because it felt relevant to them. Sarah decided to take languages for her option classes at high school and decided to take Māori as one option because she felt Māori language was more relevant to her than taking two European languages. Another participant, Tess, had her first experience of Māori culture through her third form music class at high school and instantly felt an affinity toward Māori waiata. Then in the fourth form her history teacher chose to do New Zealand history and they learnt about Apirana Ngata and once again it 'struck a chord' in her and she felt it was relevant and exciting.

*Interviewer* So what made it relevant to you?

*Tess* Because it was from here, it was something to do with where I lived basically, you know it was from this country, you know it was from where I call home. And yeah it was like, wow! This can tell me so much about what it means to live here, it can tell me my history, the history of this country. You know that sort of thing and it just struck a chord in me, and waiata Māori I have always loved, and the sound of the language.

Another participant who had an affinity toward te reo and loved the sound of it at a young age was Carl. When he was nine, he and his father would go to the sale yards, and when he got bored he would walk into town. There in town in the late 1930s, old kuia and wāhine Māori would congregate on the Post Office steps and talk Māori and smoke their pipes. Carl was entranced with the sound of the language. He would hide behind a telephone box so that they could not see him, because he knew that if they saw him they would speak English.

*Carl*            It was a pretty sound [te reo Māori],  
to me it was pretty, musical sounds, te  
rere o nga kupu,<sup>1</sup> much more beautiful  
than my own language...I can remember  
asking him [his Grandfather who could  
speak te reo Māori] what do you call a  
corpse in Māori, and he said, "A  
tΔpāpaku son." And a tΔpāpaku is the  
prettiest word I can remember, I  
remember thinking, 'What a marvellous  
word', and I went around saying it to  
myself.

For many of the participants, the affinity toward te reo was also encompassed in an affinity for the culture. The culture gave the participants a reason, or further reasons, to learn te reo and to also learn more about the culture. One aspect was kapa haka and the other aspect was tikanga of te ao Māori.

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<sup>1</sup> Te rere o ngā kupu - *The flow of the words.*

Of the twelve participants, nine had been involved in kapa haka and they had all declared their love of it. Through the expression of kapa haka another dimension to their learning of te ao Māori was established, it expressed a side to themselves that they could not express in te ao Pākehā.

*Quinton*                      Like when a haka is performed,  
when someone wins something and the  
rōpū awahi and gets up and haka, it  
really gets me, it really does  
something to me, yeah.

*Sophie*                      I loved kapa haka I always just really  
enjoyed that, it just did something for  
me emotionally.

For the participants who joined kapa haka groups in their late teens or early twenties there was a social scene that accompanied kapa haka. By becoming a member of the kapa haka group their social life was often Māori dominated and their world became more of a Māori one than a Pākehā one. By being immersed amongst Māori it was natural for their interest in te ao Māori to grow, and for the participants to learn more about the language and culture.

*James*                      There was no te reo Māori at  
varsity until the last year [I was  
there], and so there was the kapa haka  
group, which I use to go along at night  
and do that and go along to parties.  
So then again the crowd that I hung

around with was the Māori crowd.

*Tess* Kapa haka was a big part of my three years down there [at university]...and we also met a social scene down there, the whole local Māori community down there through kapa haka...and so a lot of our social things we did were with Māori people.

Tikanga in te ao Māori was the other affinity feature for the participants. The aspects of aroha, manaakitanga, whānau, wairua, were all aspects of the culture that the participants could relate to, value and take on board as a value system for themselves. Samuel went to a hui as a teacher and he said it was the tikanga in te ao Māori that drew him to learning te reo.

*Samuel* I just loved it, I thought, if these things are the essence of these people then I really, really agree with it, you know, that I have got to find out more. This is something that I really like...and anyway what ever happened over that weekend because of all this, I just said I am going to learn Māori, you know, it was just clear as a bell.

Whereas for Samuel it was the tikanga side of te ao Māori that drew him to learn the language, for some of the other participants, it was while learning te reo, that they discovered tikanga aspect of te ao Māori. It was this

tikanga aspect in the culture that they felt brought wholeness to the culture. For these participants it was not just about learning a language, it was about learning a culture that they felt they could relate to and empathise with. This strengthened their desire to continue to learn.

*Sarah* I sort of see it as a religion sometimes, like I wear my pounamu like a crucifix around my neck, I do! And I think there is a lot more in regards to how you treat people, the way you operate as a person, the concepts of sharing, being open, that come along with the language. There are a lot of other things that I feel are fantastic, you know, there are no down sides to it, the more I learn the more I fall in love.

*Richard* I think you can get things out of every culture. And it just so happens that Māori culture is a really interesting one and a really beautiful one, and so I am really lucky...but I see a real wholeness in Māori culture, that I can kind of take on board.

*Carl* I learned about aroha and wairua manaaki among my coppers...[his father was frugal and didn't give him any money after rugby] I learnt about aroha, they shouted for me as if I was one of them and nobody ever expected anything back and I used to feel embarrassed, but I noticed it. I

thought 'Gee now isn't that beautiful, what a beautiful way to be', instead of trying to match one shout with another sort of thing.

Noho marae were another facet in the participants obtaining empathy for Māori culture. A marae visit is a unique one for many Pākehā because the communal feeling they gain from staying on a marae is something that you do not always experience in te ao Pākehā. Pākehā families are generally nuclear in form and so some of the Pākehā participants felt the Pākehā culture had lost that feeling of fellowship, of belonging to a large group that one gets when one stays on a marae. By staying on the marae the participants enjoyed the aspects of belonging and working together. These aspects strengthened their empathy toward te ao Māori and in doing so it also strengthened their resolve to continue to learn te reo and to learn more about te ao Māori.

*Charlotte* We used to take trips over to [the] marae when we had the speech competitions coming up or the cultural festival and that sort of thing. We used to go there and have a couple of nights over and I used to love it, eh. Like just staying on the marae and everyone helping everyone else out.

*Tess* Like the noho marae, and staying on a marae and then all the things that come along with that, the whānau, the whānaungatanga, basically I really

enjoy it. Being together with people in a group over a number of days living together and learning something and moving towards a goal.

Therefore for some participants the affinity they felt for the culture was a deciding factor in their aspiration to learn te reo and learn more about the culture. Some participants liked the sound of the language and the also the sound of the music affected them and that made them want to learn more. For others it was the tikanga aspects of the culture that drew them closer and gave them reasons to continue learning.

### **Awareness of Social Injustice**

For some of the participants it was an awareness of social injustice within New Zealand that drew them towards learning about Māori culture and also te reo Māori. For Richard and Susan it was their own personal experiences of social injustice in other countries that made them aware of racial differences. Richard was born in America and as a child he witnessed a racial attack on a black family in Chicago which made him sensitive to social injustice.

*Richard*            A black family moved into an apartment house and they moved up to the third floor of this apartment and a crowd of people got there and they went up and broke into the apartment.

[They] threw all their furniture outside and made a big bonfire of it and I remember vividly at the time thinking, 'Jeez this can't be right to do this', because I remember seeing the family standing there crying. And so I was very much aware of cultural problems.

Susan had lived in Malaysia when she was a young girl with her family, from this experience she became aware of the racial inequalities in society.

*Susan* Because we had just come back from Malaysia and I realised there was a much more integration of the groups of people who live in Malaysia than you can see, well that you ever saw in my childhood. That [living in Malaysia] made me very aware of how you have racial inequalities in a society that are accepted by that society.

*Interviewer* And so when you came back from Malaysia, were Māori more prominent in your mind then because you realised there was an indigenous people here?

*Susan* Yep, yep, that would be it. I hadn't thought very much I must admit [about Māori in New Zealand]. I hadn't thought

very much at all, you don't notice, and life is what life is.

The Springbok rugby tours are another feature that highlighted injustices within New Zealand society to some of the participants. Michael said that it was a tour in the 1960s of South Africa by the All Black team that made him aware of racism and social injustice in New Zealand.

*Michael* I suppose one of my first things that I became aware of was this whole issue, was rugby and racism in the 60s, when there was the tour to South Africa and they didn't select any Māori and there was a bit of a hoocha about it. And Howard Morrison came out with a song called 'My Old Man's an All Black', which is based on a Lonnie Donegan skiffle song called, 'My Old Man's a Dustman', and what it was, was an early protest song...It was really, really mild but it was a protest, even though it was disguised as a comedy. You know they had things like, 'fe fi fo fum there is no horis in that scrum'. And people would laugh at it, but underneath it all there was a real serious comment, and quite an angry protest.

The situation in South Africa was also turning point for Susan to think about injustices in New Zealand. She talked

about a project she did at high school on South Africa, and how that made her think about New Zealand's situation.

*Susan*           And I remember putting the statistics together and saying, 'how come 80% of the population have 13% of the land in their own country?' And that got me thinking about what is happening here, so yeah. So that was something I got interested in and therefore made parallels I think, at that point I'm going, 'Why the hell are we jumping up and down about racist tours from South Africans when we have got our own problems here?'

It was through these experiences of social injustice that these particular participants made a correlation to Māori and the social injustices that Māori face in New Zealand. Unlike the others who felt an affinity towards Māori culture, these participants had an affinity towards social injustice, and then related it to Māori who were treated unjustly in New Zealand. These participants acknowledged social injustice in New Zealand and they wanted to balance the injustice out for themselves by learning about te ao Māori, and to do this learning te reo Māori was a first step for them.

For Richard learning te reo Māori was about becoming a good citizen, it was important to him to know both cultures in his newly adopted country and this meant learning te reo Māori.

*Richard* As a New Zealander I felt that it was really important that I know some Māori, and I know Māori. As time goes on, I realise it is really important that I know more. I believe in the Treaty and I believe in the obligations of citizens to know about both cultures, so there is a responsibility. So I didn't pick the Māori culture, it kind of said, 'Well here I am, this is what you are obliged to know to be a New Zealander', and I got kind of interested in it that way.

Michael had been born in Britain but had arrived in New Zealand when he was two. In 1987 he went back to Britain for 10 years and it was while he was over there he become very conscious of his New Zealand identity. He felt he belonged in New Zealand and that he would never fit comfortably in Britain as an individual. While he was in Britain he also read Dick Scott's book, 'Ask That Mountain' about Parihaka, and he said this book was a real eye opener. It was from then that he started to consciously get out his Māori dictionary and put some Māori vocabulary into his poetry. This action was one way that he said he felt he could connect back to New Zealand. Inserting Māori words into his poetry was a subconscious way of saying Michael felt empathetic towards Māori and he wanted Pākehā to get alongside Māori. It was a political statement.

Michael, like Richard, felt that he should learn Māori to understand and to know his full New Zealand identity. He felt that Māori was one half to the New Zealand identity and because he only knew about the Pākehā half then he should learn te reo Māori to understand the other half, as a way to become a full New Zealander.

*Michael* But it wasn't until I came back here [to New Zealand] and came back to varsity that I actually, in a sense tried to do anything about learning te reo, going to kapa haka, and that was all very deliberate. It was something I knew that I had to do, that I wanted to do...I think it is certainly important that I respect who they [Māori] are and I think it is two things really, I think it is respecting my own inheritance, in a sense that I have come into this society and I have been given all these unconscious gifts you know, by living here. So I need to try and respect and understand where Māori are coming from, so maybe I will be a better citizen. A more positive citizen.

The reason why these participants learnt te reo Māori was because they were aware of social injustice and equality among human kind, they then made parallels to injustice toward Māori within New Zealand. These participants felt that to learn te reo Māori was a start to right this

injustice and in turn become better New Zealand citizens, therefore learning te reo Māori was a political statement for them. Although for Michael and Richard learning te reo Māori was also an identity issue for them as New Zealanders.

### **Influence and Support of Family and Friends**

The influence of the participant's family and friends were also a factor in the participant's decision to learn te reo Māori. All of the participants had support from their family and friends to learn te reo Māori; universally all the families all thought it was good. Therefore it is hard to know whether it was because the participants had been brought up in liberal families that this led to them being more open to learning te reo, or if it was a mixture of factors. However all the participants had siblings and most of their siblings had not learnt Māori, apart from one participant, Hannah, whose father and brothers had learnt. Therefore it would have to be a mixture of factors, otherwise all the siblings would have been likely to learn Māori. However it seems the support of family members did make it easier for the participants to learn the language and the culture. It could surely not just be a coincidence that every single participant had parental or family support in his or her decision to learn te reo Māori.

Many of the participants talked of how they had been brought up in liberal households and that their parents were very open minded about things, and this included things to do toward Māori.

*Sarah*            They are both very open minded and both  
Mum and Dad taught...I guess situations

where teachers have not wanted to include Māori language in the teaching curriculum or have been anti Māori culture, and they have always pushed for it, and I have always been brought up feeling that it is a good thing as opposed to a bad thing.

*Charlotte* Definitely liberal yeah...really liberal thinkers, they are both teachers. My Dad is a history teacher and in the 7th form you either do a Māori option or an English option for the majority of the year, and he chooses [to teach] the Māori option, and they are both really into the culture.

*Quinton* Well Dad's had the view that if you learn one language then you learn all the rest and then Mum had the reason well 'We are all New Zealanders and it is a part of our culture.'

*Tess* There was never any negativity towards things Māori, no racism at home, I can never recall a racist remark in our house. So while there was nothing, but very ignorant, there was nothing negative as well...they are open minded..Mum and Dad they went and actually did it [Māori language] at night school.

Many of the participants also talked about how they were brought up in households where social justice issues were discussed and were important. As reflected in 'Awareness of Social Justice', these views may have had an impact on the participants and therefore they were more open to learning about Māori, because Māori is a social justice issue.

*Richard* And so I was very much aware there were cultural problems and my father was aware of it and he used to be very much involved in this sort of thing, he was very, very strongly in favour of multiculturalism... [My father] was branded as a communist, although in fact he probably wasn't, but it made a huge impression on me at the time.

*Hannah* My parents are quite religious, well they are Christian, they are not even religious. So they hold those values quite dear. My Mum was English and she used to get picked on quite a bit because she was from a poor family so they [other children] have never liked her, like if they [her parents] hear us belittling people for something they can't help it, we always get told off. So that was a big thing, I guess that might be why I decided to do this.

*Michael*

My Father had a number of glaring faults, like most people. But he was actually quite a, he was the sort of person who always stuck up for the underdog. He nearly got into a fight in a pub in Whitebat by standing up for, in fact it was a Māori guy..and one of the local red-necks made this racist comment, and my Father had stood up to him and the guy threatened to take him outside, and in fact they didn't, they didn't actually have a fight. But I remember that being discussed in the family that Dad had stood up against this guy and I talked to my aunt a few years ago and asked what he was like when he was a kid. And she said he was like that, he was the sort of kid who would stand up for the underdog.

*Sophie*

I probably wouldn't have until quite recently thought about that [being Catholic] as having been an influence. But I think our family was quite verbal, vocal, articulate, a lot of stand up for injustice, that is a real Catholic thing. And I have been involved in so many community groups and boards and whatever and they are full of bloody Catholics so there is something in the Catholic order that does it, that breeds that sort of, that

you can't sit back and say this is ok. And I know the real pull for me, for Māori, of course it was initially was 'oh pretty looking boys', but really and truly I got fairly quickly on to the injustice side of things and that being quite strong for me ...and that is all my Catholic social injustice upbringing really.

Samuel on the other hand found that it was his open and liberal upbringing gave him an affinity towards te ao Māori because it was so like his own home life. Therefore when he was presented with te ao Māori it was something he was instantly drawn to because he had that connection.

*Samuel* I just can't help thinking, I often think, how in many ways how my sort of upbringing it is very alike in many ways, of the way a lot Māori people have been brought up. I have a hell of a lot in common you know with the whole family concept of family and family feeling is so similar, that you are not in judgement of people, that you are looking at the person, you are not looking at the trappings, that sort of easy connection.

Support from outsiders like friends or teachers have also been an important factor in encouraging some of the participants to continue to learn te reo Māori.

Charlotte was about to drop out of doing te reo Māori at high school because there was no one else doing it in her 7th form year but encouragement from her teacher gave her the extra inspiration to carry on. Tess also found support in the Heads of the Māori Department at the university that she attended and she said that their help was invaluable. Samuel found that a little encouragement from someone who was attending the same hui where he had done his first whaikōrero, was all the encouragement he needed to cement his desire to learn te reo.

*Samuel* Tilly Reedy was at that hui, her husband was the Secretary for Māori Affairs...and afterwards we were just sort of going for a walk up the road after tea or something and she said to me, 'Your accent is really good, you pronounce Māori really well.' And yeah you know a little encouragement, things like that make you think, 'Yeah', and I also thought, 'Oh well I'm just going to do this.'

James was the only participant that became involved learning te reo Māori through his partner who was Māori. He had come from an isolated immigrant family (he also came over from Britain when he was two) and he found being involved in a large Māori whānau something very exciting and fulfilling.

*James* I started going out with my wife and she came from a strong Māori family, and I just got interested in things

Māori ...it was exciting. And for me, as I was saying before, there was just me and my little brothers and sisters and Mum, and suddenly you have got this huge whānau and it was a big whānau.

*Interviewer* And a good sense of belonging?

*James* Yeah a good sense of belonging and people really looked after me and made me feel special. Yeah, and so suddenly my world changed and I had this new exciting, different, you know culturally different world, and I was interested and I wanted to learn more.

Because James married a Māori woman, he also found that there were responsibilities being a father of Māori children. His father-in-law said to him that he wanted James to learn Māori so that he could speak for his Māori wife and children on the marae if they went to a tangi.

*James* My father-in-law always said to me, he said he wanted me to learn Māori and he helped me a lot. And he said because if you can't speak Māori, you have got a Māori wife and Māori children, and you are going to go to a tangi. You know if you are whakamā about how to go in and you know that is your job, you are the father, you get up and you take your family on to that tangi and that

is your job, ahakoa he Pākehā<sup>2</sup> you are the father. And that was quite nice what he said to me. And I still do that.

James, Sophie and Tess are all married to Māori partners and all of them also expressed their desire to continue to learn Māori for their Māori children. Once their children were born they felt it was the utmost importance for their children to learn te reo Māori and they felt it was more important for their children to learn than for themselves to learn.

*James* I suppose in those early days when I was trying to learn te reo Māori and then I realised, what was important was not me being able to speak Māori but it was my kids. And I wasn't doing it for me I was doing it for my kids, so my kids would feel complete people with good self-esteem.

*Sophie* I have never had the aspiration to be a fluent speaker, I am not a languages person, it was not what I went in hoping to achieve...It is not that I have been half hearted about learning, but I feel quite a moderate expectation of myself. For me it is not my original culture, I don't have the passion for

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<sup>2</sup> Ahakoa he Pākehā - *It doesn't matter if you are a Pākehā*

myself to develop my language. I could go and develop my language more if that was my top priority, but I have that expectation I suppose for my kids... Because that is their culture, and because they have had the opportunity to get that under their belt young, so it will never be like it was for me.

However these participants could see that it was important for them to continue on learning te reo so that they could speak to their kids and encourage them in the language. In addition to this James was already beginning to think about his grandchildren and what role he could play in their language development.

*Tess*            And then I had Hohua and that was a big incentive to really speed up my learning of my reo because I was still learning...Because Tawhai and I decided that we would both like him to speak Māori and [we would] try and speak Māori as much as possible [to him].

*James*            My kids all have varying degrees of fluency, and I can speak te reo to them and I'm going to have grandchildren soon probably, and maybe one function I can play in life is to babysit my grandkids and kōrero Māori to them. And

I think that would be a very valuable role.

As stated at the start of this chapter there are varying reasons why the participants decided to learn te reo Māori. There was no one particular reason why each participant decided to learn, but a host of different reasons. These reasons developed, inter-linked and overlapped over a period of time. Some participants had a strong affinity towards te ao Māori and for others there was a strong affinity towards social injustice which they then transposed on to Māori injustice and decided to learn te reo Māori for political reasons.

Whatever the reasons, there was something about the language and the culture that made the participants continue to learn. All the participants who had started to learn te reo Māori at school had learned another language as well, but none carried on with that language once they had left school.

The researcher believes that there is a common thread amongst all the participants for their reasons for learning. This common thread is reflected in why the participants who had learnt another language at school did not carry on with the other language once they left school. This thread is that Māori is relevant to them and learning te reo Māori is about them being New Zealanders. This concept will be further discussed in Chapter 7.

## Chapter 6

### Experiences of Being Pākehā and Learning Te Reo Māori

The participants in this study have all had a range of different and similar experiences in both te ao Māori and te ao Pākehā, during the time they have been learning, and continue to learn about te reo Māori and te ao Māori. Some of these experiences have been positive and some of these have been negative. The participants have also experienced personal dilemmas in being Pākehā and learning te reo Māori, in both te ao Māori and te ao Pākehā.

This chapter has been divided into three different sections:

- Positive experiences
- Negative experiences
- In between two worlds

As with the previous chapter these inter-relationships will be discussed.

#### **Positive Experiences**

All of the participants found learning te reo Māori and about te ao Māori, an enriching experience. They often saw it as a privilege that as Pākehā that they have had access to the culture, and they saw that other Pākehā who did not learn about te ao Māori were missing out on something remarkable.

*Michael*            I just think wow, isn't this amazing, that I am here, that I have got an entry into this world. And I feel sorry for lots of other people, other Pākehā people that I know that are living in their little cultural boundaries. They are missing out on so much.

The present study only looks at Pākehā that have made a commitment to te reo, it does not encompass those Pākehā who may have learnt and then have given it up. Therefore you could expect that response from Pākehā who have continued to learn, because if they had not found it enriching they would not have continued. However the reasons why the participants have found learning te reo an enriching experience are varied, and each participant gives many reasons why it enriches them as a person and as a Pākehā.

Some of the participants felt that the feeling of inclusion, of belonging to a group, was an enriching experience for them. These feelings were often more pronounced because they were included in te ao Māori even though they were a Pākehā. As a Pākehā they initially felt like an outsider, and because of this, when they were accepted the valuable feeling of belonging was more momentous.

*Sarah*            I think once I felt that I was accepted, it was one of the most wonderful feelings I had ever felt, to

be included or invited over, or to feel you were part of something.

*Michael*        The Māori Students Association invited me as an involved Pākehā to come along [to Māori graduation]. I mean that blew me away, it had far more meaning for me than the graduation ceremony in town...I felt a real pride of inclusion.

For Quinton, he liked the feeling of belonging, not just to his immediate family, but also to a much larger group, who all cared about him.

*Quinton*        And probably one of the positives of te ao Māori is whānau, the word whānau, it is like, in Pākehā, a family is just Mum, Dad, and the kids; a nuclear family. In Māori I have got a big family, I have got a massive family.

For two of the participants who were teachers, they found knowing te reo Māori helped them make a connection with Māori children that they would not have had if they were teachers with no understanding. This aspect was important to them because they both worked in schools where a large percentage of the students were Māori. In addition to this they thought that this connection was essential in them maintaining a good rapport with the Māori students.

*James*        There is always individual Māori kids who I just know I have got to say 'Kia

ora' back to them or something in Māori, back to them. Because they are doing it in front of all their Pākehā mates and they just want to feel special, and that is a lovely little bond. Even though I don't know them very well, it is just a nice bond and I am aware of it. I make sure I make eye contact with them and say something back in Māori and acknowledge them as Māori, but it is just wonderful to see that spark.

As a juxtaposition, both James and Tess found that by being a Pākehā and teaching te reo Māori, that it was Pākehā students in their classes who could relate to them, and that made them realise that things Māori were not just for Māori. They felt that they made good liaison person between both te ao Māori and te ao Pākehā. An apt word for this in te reo Māori is kaitakawaenga.

*Tess* I actually found it quite useful being Pākehā in that circumstance [teaching te reo Māori] because the vast majority of my students were Pākehā, and they actually felt a lot more comfortable wise. And number two they actually saw that it was a Pākehā teacher teaching them, who was passionate about things Māori as opposed to a Māori, and them thinking, 'Oh yeah, that is for Māori.' It became quite contagious for

the number of them, they came up to me after the course and say you know, 'That is awesome and you know I really want to start learning.'

*James* I think I can do a good job teaching Pākehā kids to have an interest to further their interest in Māori things... I can do it in such a way that they are interested in things Māori and they get interested in things Māori and they'll carry that.

Other participants stated that by knowing things Māori they discovered they were also a kaitakawaenga for other Pākehā who knew little of te ao Māori but wanted to know more. The participants were a 'good first port of call' to go to when other Pākehā wanted to know something about te ao Māori. The participant's felt that other Pākehā were often wary of asking Māori because they were afraid of causing offence and it was easier for them to go and ask another Pākehā.

*Sarah* I felt it was good being a Pākehā and having other Pākehā who you could see were really confused [during te reo Māori class at university] but afraid to ask questions and stuff. You could quite often explain things or stuff that in a way was easier for them to understand.

*James*            People say to me at school they find it handy having me in the whānau, that I am a good first port of call to find things out.

*Samuel*           I feel that I have a duty in some ways to be a bit of a conduit to people who don't understand about the Māori way of looking at things and ways of doing things. And I found that I can sort of be a bridge builder if you like in that sense, yeah definitely.

In addition to the participants being kaitakawaenga between Māori culture and Pākehā culture they also liked that sometimes they gained admiration from other Pākehā or Māori for knowing about te ao Māori. They liked that they could be good role models to other Pākehā and that they had influenced other Pākehā around them.

*Hannah*           A lot of the kids from school especially the ones that were in third form when I was in seventh form they were like going, 'You are going to University what are you going to do there?' And I'd go, 'I'm going to do Māori,' and they were like, 'Really?!' and I was like, 'Yeah'. And it was kind of good being a role model, I enjoyed that.

*Michael* You also get a begrudging respect, that you are doing a good thing, or that people might not know necessarily why.

Another aspect for some of the participants was that through learning te reo Māori and learning about te ao Māori it brought the history of the country alive to them. In particular it was the history of the local areas that intrigued these participants. In a sense it is another way for the participants to feel that they belonged, that by knowing the early Māori history of the area it is another way that they can participate and belong to the country, and it also made it relevant to them.

*Richard* I enjoy the Māori history of the area, I like New Zealand history. I think it is very exciting and I like climbing around looking for things, climbing over ruins, and I have done this over much of the local ranges, and the history for me begins to live.

*Michael* I think learning te reo has opened up a whole new area of South Island history to me...And then there is the local history, like I didn't know anything about that Treestown had a Māori name, that there were pa here, and all around the ranges...There are some really significant Māori sites that most Pākehā wouldn't even know exist, so there is a kind of a different historical history.

*James*            When I look at the hills I see all the stories, I see a lot of the stories, I feel like I've got a reasonably good knowledge of the history, of our area. Each time I have shifted to a different part of New Zealand the first thing I do, I learn the history and the legends, you know that side of it.

Learning te reo Māori has opened up these three participants' minds to the history of the local area that they live in. Learning te reo Māori has given them an understanding that there is another world out there, besides their Pākehā world.

Many of the participants said that it was this other insight into another world where they live, that has been one of the most positive aspects of learning te reo Māori. They said they feel that they are enriched people because it has broadened their minds, by being able to look at one aspect dually instead of singularly.

*Michael*            It is almost like you get a binocular vision. You can see that there is another world out there and another way of seeing things, and you get both, and I think that is quite exciting actually.

*Susan*              I think I can understand things better that are going on. I can probably make a better informed judgement about some things, and I can probably stand back and make no judgement about things which previously I would have thought I knew something about.

*Samuel* I know that it is probably one of the best things I have done in my life is to learn te reo because it opens the door to a new world, to a different way of doing things, another way of looking at life.

*Sophie* [Talking about understanding the Māori point of view] And so, when I am confronted with the fact there is a completely rational reason for the opposing view, I am thinking, 'Wow, we can't both win, but you can!' It is just understanding that the views are different, but right. Yeah that would be my greatest gift really.

*Tess* I remember her [the leader of her kapa haka group] saying to me, 'You will be rich, not money wise, but because you can walk in two worlds, because you have an understanding'. And I think it does make you rich, like it enriches your life, it gives you so many more perspectives of things and more experiences.

Another intensely positive aspect for the participants is that they found that learning te reo Māori has made them feel more whole as a New Zealander. It has made them feel better citizens and it has also made them feel more comfortable being a New Zealander. By learning about the Māori world in this country they felt they could feel comfortable being a Pākehā within New Zealand.

*Michael* I guess I probably feel more comfortable in being a Pākehā New Zealander since I have made this kind of effort.

*James* I think by actually getting into the Māori world I think I have actually become comfortable as a Pākehā, I feel really comfortable as a Pākehā. And often we joke about it, kids call me 'honky' at school. So with the older classes you have a good relationship, they call me 'baldy', and 'bald bastard', and everything else and I throw it back to them and I say, 'Man, you want to be a Pākehā, being Pākehā is choice!' and we just laugh about these things. And I am really proud of my kids, and my world is really a Māori world in many ways, but I feel Pākehā. I am a Pākehā New Zealander, and I think that is a really comfortable place to be.

Overall the participants believe that learning te reo Māori has helped them as individuals to become better understanding people and better equipped citizens to live within New Zealand, and this has been the most positive outcome from learning te reo Māori.

### **Negative Experiences**

All the participants apart from Richard have had some negative experiences from learning te reo Māori. These negative experiences have occurred in both te ao Pākehā and te ao Māori.

Two of the three participants who had learned te reo Māori at high school had experienced negativity from their Māori classmates. However both had said they were not sure if the negativity they received was because of their personality, or the fact that they were Pākehā. The third participant said she got negativity from her classmates because she was white, however she then continued to say it was also because she was often very outspoken, and this often landed her in trouble.

*Sarah*           The first sort of two or three years I got quite a hard time for being white and learning Māori.

*Interviewer* By both Māori and Pākehā?

*Sarah*           No not Pākehā, like in fourth form I think I was the only one in there [the only Pākehā in the te reo Māori class] and they um, I used to be called kōhua and I never knew what it meant for ages and it was because I was white. But that kind of becomes fair joke after a while. But yeah, I got beaten up [physically assaulted] maybe twice.

*Interviewer* For learning Māori?

*Sarah* Just for being cheeky though. Just for not keeping quiet, you know like if they said, "What are you looking at?" [said sarcastically] And I would say the same back to them, and I just wouldn't sit down and shut up.

Charlotte thought that she experienced negativity amongst her Māori high school peers because she was a high achiever. She said she felt that because she wanted to work and not play around, that the other Māori students gave her negativity. She does not believe it was because she was Pākehā.

*Charlotte* I had such a hard time learning Māori at high school from the other Māori students. I look back on it now and I am surprised that I carried on with it because I was quite a good achiever at school, and I was involved in heaps of stuff, and I think I got flak because of that...I guess I was kind of one of those people that wanted to learn the language and stuff. And if you wanted to learn it was like, 'What are you doing, you are such a geek.' Whatever, yeah, just little things that happen when you are in high school. I mean it probably wasn't so much the fact that I was Pākehā and they were Māori it was

more of the fact that I was wanting to learn.

Another aspect for students learning te reo Māori, whether at high school or at tertiary institutions, is that that when a Pākehā New Zealander asks them what they are studying, it is a conversation stopper when the participant replies, 'te reo Māori' or 'Māori language'. It would seem from the comments of the participants that a lot of Pākehā New Zealanders are uncomfortable with other Pākehā learning the language, and this puts an end to any conversation that might develop about their study.

*Michael* A lot of people actually don't say anything. And by not saying anything they reveal their discomfort. Like if I said I was doing Chemistry and I was going to be a rocket scientist I think you might get a pro-longed conversation. But it can tend to be a bit of a conversation stopper, as if people don't know where to go next. And I think that says a lot more about them than it does about me.

*Charlotte* I work in a shoe shop and sometimes people say you know, 'What are you doing?' And I'll say, 'I'm at varsity doing a BA,' and they will say, 'What in?' And I will say, 'I'm doing a double major in English and Māori', and they sort of say 'What?' Like they

don't even understand when I'm saying Māori, and they just go 'Oh...' and you just think 'What! What is wrong with that?' It is a real conversation stopper.

*Susan* They say well what are you doing, and I'll go, 'Māori', 'Oh why Māori?' It's a real conversation stopper. And like if I had said, 'Oh I am doing German', 'Oh how interesting blah, blah!' And it is like so what is the difference?

Prejudice by Pākehā toward other Pākehā who learn te reo Māori is often very understated and subtle. Sarah said, '[It's] Never very blatant, but a quiet sort of prejudice, a downward look, or a sly comment.' However Samuel encountered overt prejudice for knowing te reo Māori.

Samuel is a high school Principal and he has implemented many Māori initiatives into the school, and as a consequence has received prejudice from his colleagues and from the townspeople. His first encounter with face to face prejudice came from an incident in the town where he came to the rescue of some of his Māori students being harassed by some older Pākehā teenagers.

*Samuel* I suppose because they [the older Pākehā teenagers] were now sort of outnumbered or something, it wasn't sort of going according to plan, and they walked off down the road. The

young guys had walked maybe 20 metres down to the corner, and then one of them turned around and said, called out, 'Fucken nigger lover!' And I was really angry, I was really angry at that, and I went racing down the road after them and I said, 'You cut that bloody racist crap out right now!' And they just took off! And anyway I went back and these Māori kids said, 'Thanks Mr Jones', and I said, 'Are you alright?' And they were OK and went off. And it really upset me, and I was shaken by it, and that was the first really sort of blatant in your face racism that I had had...it had all been behind my back beforehand, people had never said actually straight up. I knew it was going around, but no one had ever said to me directly.

Samuel was also encountering prejudice amongst his colleagues because he spoke te reo Māori within the staff room to a Māori teacher colleague and he was also implementing Māori initiatives within the school. This next extract is a sample of the negativity he encountered being a principal when he called for a hui for his staff to get the negativity out in the open.

*Samuel* I said to my staff, 'We are not going to have this just circulating around underground and poisoning things'. And

I said, 'We are going to have a meeting about this and we are going to have a hui. We are going to do it the Māori way, you stand up and you say what you like, let's get it bloody well out in the open.' So I didn't say much at all. People stood up and spoke, and at one stage there, a woman got up and she said, 'I hate it when Samuel and Ranui [the Māori language teacher] speak Māori in the staff room. This is our room, and they shouldn't be allowed to, and who knows they could even be talking about us you know!' Then another person got up and said, 'I don't give a hell, I don't give a shit whether Samuel and Ranui are speaking in Māori so what? It doesn't worry me and what would they want to be talking about you anyway?' You know that sort of thing, and people generally said, 'Yeah I don't care'. So there was actually a minority. Well anyway, for whatever reason, it sort of lanced the boil you know, and Ranui and I got a hell of a lot of affirmation from the staff from that meeting. And once again I think that people sort of realised that my style was to get things out in the open. It tends to make people who want to scurry around under rock and spread rumours, it tends

to make them shut up you know, because they possibly end up being embarrassed by it. And I don't know what some still really think, but whatever they really think is not a problem because it is not out there.

The above extract is a good example of how a negative experience can also be a positive one for the participant. Even though the participant received a lot of negativity, in the end he turned it into a positive experience, with the affirmation that he received from the majority of his colleagues.

When Sophie married her Māori partner she took his Māori surname. She said that after she took his name she encountered racism from Pākehā. In this instance her experience of racism has been because she encountered things from a Māori perspective because of her Māori surname, not because she knew te reo Māori.

*Sophie* Having a Māori name has an impact. It definitely does in New Zealand..We have been 20 odd years in this neighbourhood we are really long term people in the shops and that sort of thing. If I would go to cash a cheque I wouldn't need any ID, he [her husband] would need a passport right until very recently. We have got a whānau bank account and I am one of the signatories and if I am with any of the whānau when

they go to do any of the transactions  
it is fine. I have been really amazed  
how alive the active racism is in ways  
I couldn't really, I wouldn't believe  
if I didn't see with my own eyes.

Further on in the interview Sophie described the prejudice she had experienced from Māori because she was a Pākehā within a Māori world. She was the only participant to acknowledge this prejudice from Māori.

*Sophie* I can't believe some of the racism that I have encountered, shocking racism, I have had more racism from Māori than I have had from Pākehā, really if that would be true. I have had really strong racism. It all just kind of goes over there, I just sort of think yeah, but the truth is it has been incredibly racist.

I asked Sophie in a telephone conversation after our interview, to be more specific on the prejudice she had experienced from Māori towards her. She said that being a parent of Māori children she is often involved in forums for the development of Māori education. She said she has experienced prejudice from Māori not wanting her to take a role in this because she is a Pākehā, and she said she understands this because she accepts that Māori should have Māori leadership. However she also feels if there is a gap and no Māori want to take up any of the roles then Pākehā should be able to fill these gaps until someone suitable

that is Māori can take over. The biggest frustration she has is that often nothing gets done because there isn't anyone Māori that will take on the role, and she feels Māori would rather have no one do it than have a Pākehā do it.

As a parent of Māori children she has found this very frustrating because it is not for the good of her children. However she also believes it is good for Pākehā to be challenged on issues like these, because it keeps you on your toes, and makes you question the reasons why you are doing it. In addition to this it ensures that Pākehā will not take over Māori kaupapa and she does understand there is a real threat that Pākehā can easily take over things Māori and that is not what she wants.

Steven Chrisp in a National Radio interview (Chrisp, 2000) also expressed how he was often challenged by Māori. Like Sophie, he also saw this as a good thing because it gave him a chance to question his motives. He also feels that Pākehā should be able to step into any gaps if there aren't any Māori available to fill them.

*Interviewer* Have you been challenged in the Māori world?

*Steven* Yeah certainly there have been people that have questioned my involvement and I think that's good, I think its healthy, I think I need to be questioned on a regular basis.

*Interviewer* What is your response when you are?

*Steven*

It depends on the circumstances to a great deal, I think. And sometimes I don't have a good response, and I will go away and think, 'Well I don't have a good response and there's no real reason why I should be the person doing this. I should stop'. And if that's the case then I really have to stick up to my own principles and stop. One area I was asked to teach Māori language class, and I thought long and hard before accepting. When I did accept some Māori students felt unhappy about being taught Māori by a non-Māori, and I appreciate their point of view. The way I see it though, and I did think long and hard about it, 'Well there is a shortage of Māori language teachers, and if I'm able to step into the breach and fill the gap in the interim then I really feel an obligation to do so rather than to leave the thing floundering.' So that's one of the criteria that I apply, 'Are there any other people that could do the job?' and if there are, then why the hell am I doing it? If there's not, then I think there's a reasonably good case for me being involved.



language, but just in regards to social issues or in general. And it is really hard because those people, I've learnt that you are never going to change them, and that is just really annoying. You know, like if you get like, a smack bang big racist comment like, whether it be in a pub or whatever, it is not usually aimed at me, and I just think you are a poor ignorant fool, and there is nothing I can say. And I could try and engage in some sort of debate, but it would just run me out of breath before I ever changed anything in their head.

Some of the participants like James felt that the reason Pākehā are often negative toward other Pākehā learning te reo is because they feel threatened. He spoke about how a friend of his went to a pub one night and was speaking Māori and what happened to her.

*James* She was telling me she went to an immersion hui [a hui where you gather to speak Māori all the time] in Ranginui and they all went down to the pub and she went up to the bar and was speaking to someone in Māori and the bar lady abused hell out of her. She assumed Hera was Pākehā, she is quite fair, and she abused hell out of her, you know, 'Take your bloody Māori crap

out of here!' Or something like that,  
and Hera was just gob-smacked.

James related this to an experience that he had at the school where he teaches.

*James*

This isn't so much to do with the reo, but our school newspaper did a big story ten years ago about the whānau [the children that attend the whānau classes] bullying, and in actual fact we were full of wimps at that stage, and so we tried to analyse why they did this story about bullying. And there was lots of anecdotal stories about kids being bullied as they walked past the whānau. And what had happened was there had been a fire, and so we had fire rooms, and we had these four rooms, two on each side that formed a bit of a corridor. And all the kids coming through had to go between this corridor. And of course there would be the whānau classes lined up on both sides waiting to go into the class rooms so for the first time in their life they [the Pākehā students] actually felt like a minority as they walked through, almost like a walking gauntlet. Now they weren't getting any flak, but because they felt like a minority they felt threatened, and then

they changed that from feeling threatened to being bullied and intimidated. And maybe that is why people react a bit to te reo Māori, they suddenly feel threatened in their own country. If it was Japanese coming and talking Japanese they say that's OK, but their countrymen talking a language and suddenly they feel threatened, they feel like a minority in their country.

Tess expressed the sadness she and many of the other participants felt for other Pākehā who were not involved in te ao Māori. Again this participant felt other Pākehā were not involved because they felt threatened by the unknown, and this therefore created negative feelings within them toward te ao Māori.

*Tess*           And the unknown, I think when you don't know something, you are fearful, and then that causes negative feelings etc, whereas if you knew there is nothing to fear and there is everything to gain basically.

The researcher also believes that that negative experiences the participants have encountered in their journey of learning te reo Māori, could be put down to the fear of the unknown and fear of the dominant group. When one people do not understand or know of another people it is very easy to quickly judge and put down another group, through a lack of

understanding and ignorance. In addition to this when you are outnumbered and a minority it is easy to feel insecure and feel put down upon by the dominant group.

This lack of understanding and ignorance is within both te ao Pākehā and te ao Māori, however Māori by and large, have to function and live within te ao Pākehā and therefore there is less ignorance about te ao Pākehā, within te ao Māori. However within te ao Pākehā, there is an immense lack of understanding and ignorance about te ao Māori because Pākehā are able to conduct their lives only within te ao Pākehā if they so choose and therefore stay ignorant of te ao Māori. Māori have also had to deal with being the minority for over a hundred years now so are more experienced at dealing with issues with being a minority. Whereas for most Pākehā it is their first experience of dealing with issues of being a minority within a dominant group that is not of their own, and some find it an uncomfortable place to be and perceive it as a negative experience.

However these Pākehā participants have made the journey over to te ao Māori and in doing so have gained another language and culture. In some ways more importantly, they have also gained an insight and understanding into another world that runs parallel alongside their own culture within New Zealand, and in doing so they have expelled some of their ignorance and lack of understanding of te ao Māori. This understanding can only be a good thing for both cultures as it leads to a fuller understanding and appreciation of the other.

Even though learning about te ao Māori has universally been a positive one for the participants, with their negative experiences mainly being the negative reactions of people within their own culture, the journey is not often an easy one.

In addition, what can be a positive experience can also be a negative experience. All those endowments one receives through learning, can also be a burden because you understand and know so much more, creating a weight of responsibility that wasn't there before. Michael expressed this in his interview.

*Michael*        One of my favourite literary quotes, I'm going to share it with you, it is from Mark Twain's, 'Huckleberry Finn'. Huck says right at the very start of the novel, 'The problems was interesting but tough'. And that is about it really, I think it has made things a whole lot more interesting and it has made things a whole lot more difficult. Because you realise that it doesn't get any easier, because the more you know, the more you are responsible for.

### **In Between Two Worlds**

Another complexity for the participants is that they find it difficult possessing this insight into another world that they cannot share with the Pākehā world, because te ao

Pākehā does not understand. This can be a dilemma for them where they feel they are in between two worlds.

*Sarah* It is just like another camera angle from, you just see things or understand them in a different way...The glimpses I have caught of them have been pretty cool, and I am fully aware that they are glimpses in regards to what other [Māori] people can understand and see, and I think it is important to remember that. But all the while I really appreciate those glimpses and I wish other people could share them too.

Because the participants have this double insight it is often hard for them to go from one world te ao Māori back into another world te ao Pākehā, where the presence of understanding of te ao Māori is absent. Susan experienced this when she had gone on a wānanga reo and had stayed at the marae for three days and then she travelled back home into te ao Pākehā.

*Susan* Um, coming back from the wānanga reo I was really tired, and I was really snottily behaved to my boyfriend. And I had come home and he'd say, 'What have they done to you up there? You always come home and you are always grumpy'. But it is like one world to another world and it was very hard to explain to someone who couldn't see it

that way. It wasn't a trip away to speak the language, it was one world to another whole world. And yeah, I didn't want to come out of that world, there were times when I didn't want to. Like we would come home from the trip and you would get as far Peaktown and you didn't want to stop speaking Māori just because you walked into the Peaktown store to buy a cup of tea, you know. It is difficult to cope with.

Another difficult aspect for these participants was that they found that after a while te reo and te ao Māori became part of them, it became part of their identity. However, although it was now part of them, they also knew they were not Māori and they will never be Māori. Part of the journey for these Pākehā is to come to their own acceptance of being Pākehā and what this means to them. This will be further discussed in the chapter on identity.

For Sarah this realisation is perceived negatively by her.

*Sarah* It is sort of part of me now, I mean it is over ten years that I have been learning Māori...The more I fall in love, and I think it is hard thing being Pākehā. In a sense that, no matter how much you learn, or how much you learn to love it, you are never ever going to be sort of, you know you are not Māori. You can hitch up with a

Māori bloke and pop out a couple dozen Māori kids but you are still not going to be on the wagon. So that can kind of be frustrating but in the same sense it is kind of like, I don't know, I have learnt to cope with it in that sort of way.

But positively by Michael:

*Michael* And to realise more and more that I am not Māori, and they don't want me to be, or to pretend to be Māori. They don't need me to help them, but I think it is certainly important that I respect who they are and I think it is two things really. I think it is respecting my own inheritance, in a sense that I have come into this society and I have been given all these unconscious gifts you know, by living here.

*Sophie* I can't ever be totally Pākehā ever again, you know I honestly couldn't, I would find it very strange to be in a totally Pākehā relationship. But I guess I sort of think, well my kids are Māori, I will always have a connection...So I kind of think I will never lose my Māori world, I will be, I mean it would be a terrible reality if

I did, I couldn't imagine that. You know, like I see my funeral at the marae, and that has got nothing to do with anyone else, that is what I would want, so yeah, and yet I don't pretend or aspire to be Māori.

*Tess*

Actually I can remember when I did go to the Nationals [kapa haka] I can remember thinking, 'Should I be standing up on stage as a Pākehā performing?' I remember thinking that you know. And thinking, 'Where is my place on stage how do I fit on here?' And I can remember the night before we went on stage we had a big tangi, tangi session where people stood up and I can remember saying, 'I don't know where my place is on stage, I am not too sure if I should be'. And the best thing was a lot of the people in the group stood up and said, 'You know you represent a part of us you know blah, blah, a lot of us have Pākehā ancestry, you represent our whakapapa', dah de dah de dah. And there was an overwhelming support for where my place was there I suppose. But it was just still struggling within me especially because those Nationals are really full on and intense when you perform you know. And it does get very intense, and of course

the kaupapa you are singing about are Māori kaupapa, what it is to be Māori, and so you are trying to find your place within that. And I suppose for me it is just celebrating that you know, for me it is celebrating being Māori, for those who are Māori I suppose, and yeah, so it is finding your place within that, so that you feel comfortable.

This aspect of understanding the points of view of the two different worlds can also be a frustrating one for many of the participants. Sophie discussed in the 'Positive Experience' section that understanding both viewpoints is a positive aspect because it has broadened her mind. However, she also discussed how it was also a dilemma for her in being able to understand both points of view.

*Sophie* It is absolutely true, it is so hard. And I read the shit in the paper, you know, with one point of view and the other point of view, and I can honestly see why they are saying that, and why they are saying that, and I think the truth is in the middle or whatever.

Another difficult aspect for Sarah and Sophie was that they are both outspoken people and they have discovered that you cannot be as outspoken in another person's culture as you would be in your own. Sarah discovered this early on in her

high school years and came to accept it as she matured and got older.

*Sarah*            I think it is important to remember, whether you are going on to a marae you have never been on to before, whether you are talking to someone who's got strong feelings about something, to remember that it is not your culture, that you are a guest and that you do sometimes just have to take second, third, or fourth best and be prepared for that. And the rewards are many and plentiful, but you can't be as loud and as outspoken as you are in your own culture, because it just doesn't wash, and I have learnt that, the hard way!

Sophie discovered this aspect when she enrolled her children into a Kōhanga Reo. Sophie is a trained pre-schoolteacher and she found it difficult to not correct the pre-school workers in their handling of the children. Kōhanga Reo was in its early days and there were not a lot of trained teachers in the Kōhanga. It distressed Sophie to see them not doing things in the way that she had been taught at Teachers' College. However, she found that she did not want to speak up because she was a Pākehā.

*Sophie*                            We adored the place  
   [Kōhanga]. We made such good  
   relationships, but god they were hard  
   years. They were really hard work. It

was a struggle. And I guess the never-ending internal battle for me was, 'Well you're Pākehā so you wouldn't know', and you know. I wear that to a large extent and I would always want to be back seating a lot, but at the end of the day I saw things that were just unsafe or unsound or whatever, and I, you to just think, well somebody needs to speak up. I can remember my first couple of days at Kōhanga and just coming home howling my eyes out and my husband was saying to me, 'Just don't go back, just don't go back.' And I said, 'I can't,' it was because, it was they just don't know ...And if you spoke up about it you were really an 'out of it girl' to do that, and 'You are white, and what would you know anyway?'

James has found it difficult in his career being a Pākehā within a Māori institution because it is not politically correct for him to move on up in his chosen career. Therefore he has had to be satisfied with being an assistant teacher within the institution because he is Pākehā. No matter how much he loves his job and his commitment to te reo Māori, this factor still hurts his mana as a person.

*James*            If I was Māori in the area that I work in I would have had rapid promotion really easily, and it is not

politically correct for me to go anywhere. So here I am, I have specialised in Māori education and I cannot go anywhere and I am stuck as an assistant teacher... Like if I stay in the Māori world work-wise you know I have to carry on and do this and be the foot soldier, and I can't do anything else. Do I just accept that and carry on? Do I soldier on for the cause, te reo Māori is the cause. I am committed to it and that is what I am going to dedicate my life to, but if I do that, then what about me, as the individual?

Being a Pākehā and a speaker of te reo Māori, has its dilemmas. Many of the participants talked about in their interviews that they had difficulty having places where they could speak te reo, or knowing other people who knew the reo, and therefore their reo development was limited, and it was hard to keep their level of fluency up.

*Susan* I have no environment to speak in, and the temptation is to carry on here [at university] because this for me is my only contact, otherwise I will lose it. And I don't want to lose it, so whether I will make it part of my research is the other way to keep it.

*Charlotte* I really want to keep it up, I think I will start going to kapa haka again, so



I am out and about and there is a Māori person around and I don't know them. And I am probably more cautious of speaking Māori then, yeah because I am worried that I will offend them, that they will think, 'Yeah she is showing off', or, 'What is this Pākehā lady speaking Māori for?'

Sarah and Carl talked about how they often hid the fact that they could speak Māori when with their Pākehā friends so they would not upset anyone.

*Carl* I still find difficulty. I went to a Reo Rumaki [Wānanga Reo] ki Onuku marae. Ka hoki mai ahau ki konei ka kōrerorero māua ko øku hoa Pākehā<sup>1</sup>, 'Where have you been?' 'I've been at Onuku marae doing a Reo Rumaki [Wānanga Reo]'. 'Doing a what?!' And you think, 'Oh shit', you know!

*Interviewer* And that is hard.

*Carl* Yeah, I just don't want to mention it, so you start to  
hide it and I don't  
want to fucken hide anything.

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<sup>1</sup> I went to a Reo Rumaki ki Onuku marae. Ka hoki mai ahau ki konei ka kōreroreo māua ko øku hoa Pākehā - I went to an immersion hui at Onuku marae. I got back here and my Pākehā friend and I were talking.

*Interviewer*            So you find you have got Pākehā friends, that there is a whole side of you that they don't know.

*Carl*                    Yeah there is a whole side that they don't know, it is difficult.

In Sarah's case she is worried about appearing too politically correct. She does not want to appear to be that 'trendy whitey chick' and therefore she too hides the fact that she can speak te reo Māori.

*Sarah*                    I remember there was a character on a comedy show, it was like, 'ki ooo ra'. And he was like this sort of, and I think there are some people like that, and I am worried that I don't want to come across as false, because it is quite important to me. Or [come across as] condescending, or preaching or anything like that. So I am always very humble in my, I never just come out and tell anyone, that I can speak Māori, you know what I mean, or anything along those lines.

The experiences the participants have had are varied but in many cases there were common elements that the participants had all experienced. All the participants were universally agreed that their decision to learn te reo Māori was one of the best decisions they had made in their life. However

they all also expressed how difficult it was to be Pākehā and to be a learner of te reo Māori. The fact that all the participants are still on their journey in discovering more about te reo Māori and te ao Māori indicates that no matter how difficult that road is, the rewards one gains far outweigh the difficulties.

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## Chapter 7

### Pākehā Identity

In the 1980s European New Zealanders began to question their identity as New Zealanders in response to the rising voice of Māoridom within New Zealand society in relation to Treaty rights. The challenges made by non-whites within the western world to whites at this time made white society reflect on their own identity. “‘White studies’ has emerged in the wake of the political and intellectual challenges offered by anti-racism (in Britain and Canada) and radical versions of multiculturalism (in the United States)...Although not necessarily lending itself directly to the historization of Whiteness, this process has made White identity considerably more opaque, bringing it into focus as an object of concern and reflection” (Bonnett 1996: 146-7).

Challenges made by Māori to European New Zealanders about their commitment to New Zealand and to biculturalism also induced this response among European New Zealanders by making European New Zealand society more ‘opaque’; this led to questions about the European New Zealand identity. The term most frequently used at this time for European New Zealanders in the discussion surrounding the relationship of Māori and European New Zealanders was Pākehā, and there was a growing interest in what the label meant. Michael King’s *Being Pakeha* (1985) was published during this time when interest in the term from main stream European New Zealand was great, and this was reflected in that it was

one of the best selling books of the decade (Spoonley et. al., 1996: 157-8).

As well as an interest in a European New Zealand identity there was also interest in New Zealand history, in particular the historical redress of writers such as James Belich, Jock Phillips, and Claudia Orange. The interest in these books was also reflected in high sales at the bookstores. Although as Paul Spoonley (*New Zealand Books*, 1996: 15) points out Geoff MacDonald's *Shadows over New Zealand* (1985) and Stuart Scott's *The Travesty of Waitangi* (1995), books that were negative towards a redress of New Zealand's history, also did well on the Whitcoulls bestseller counter. In addition to the popularity of such literature surrounding New Zealand's history, matters of equality and social policy within New Zealand politics were being debated in a bifurcatory way, a comparison between Māori and Pākehā. All this brought to the forefront for many Pākehā New Zealanders to determine who they were and what was their commitment to a bicultural New Zealand.

Other books like Donna Awatere's *Māori Sovereignty* (1984) added to European New Zealanders exploration of Pākehā identity and their place within New Zealand. Spoonley wrote, "The contemporary use of the term Pakeha has grown out of a specific political tradition. It is part of a response initiated by such statements as Donna Awatere's *Maori Sovereignty* which challenged Pakeha to consider their commitment to Aotearoa/New Zealand. It is a tradition which has responded to this challenge by trying to develop an understanding of what it means to be a New Zealand Pakeha,

as opposed to a transplanted European" (Spoonley et. al., 1996: 159).

For some of the older interviewees in the present study, like Michael and Richard, who decided to learn te reo Māori at an older age, their decision was founded along the same sentiment of Paul Spoonley; the sentiment that European New Zealanders had to consider their commitment to New Zealand in response to the challenge from Māoridom. These two participants considered their commitment to New Zealand and in doing so felt they should learn about their Pākehā New Zealand identity through the medium of learning te reo Māori.

*Michael* I think what I have been involved in really is what a lot of Pākehā New Zealanders have been involved in either consciously or unconsciously. And people adopt symbols for this journey. I think since Britain joined the EEC in 1973, and we were cut off from good old Mother England, a lot of people never got over that, but since then this country has had to turn much to its Pacific reality. And I think part of the identity search that has been going on amongst people like me has been a process that has carried on from that. Where we have had to say, 'Hey this is where we live, and since this is where we live, and since we live with Māori, what are we going to do about it?'... But

it wasn't until I came back here [from England] and came back to varsity that I actually, in a sense tried to do anything about learning te reo, going to kapa haka, and that was all very deliberate. It was something I knew I had to do, that I wanted to do.

Pat Shannon also discusses how his commitment to New Zealand and his understanding of his Pākehā identity through te reo Māori changed over the years. He said when he first learned te reo Māori in the 1960s it was for a completely different agenda than when he learned te reo Māori again in the 1980s. He discusses how in the 1960s he was learning te reo Māori to gain respect amongst the large Māori community in Porirua in which he was working. However in the 1980s he learnt te reo Māori more for himself than for anyone else: he wrote, "I am not seeking to regain my roots - Maori culture is not part of them. What I am however attempting to do is establish my identity as a citizen of New Zealand/Aotearoa. What is unique to that identity is Maoritanga and I am convinced that we have to officially represent that in our national way of life with two official languages, Maori and English. If I wish to claim and espouse my national identity I have to know both languages in at least some form" (1986: 24). Richard expressed similar feelings in his interview.

*Richard* As a New Zealander I felt that it was really important that I know some Māori, and I know more Māori as time goes on, I realise it is really

important that I know more. I believe in the Treaty and I believe in the obligations of citizens to know about both cultures... So I didn't pick the Māori culture, it kind of said, 'Well here I am, this is what you are obliged to know to be a New Zealander, and I got kind of interested in it, in that way.'

For other people it was not the consideration of their commitment to New Zealand and to biculturalism, but their experiences overseas, which made them reflect on their Pākehā New Zealand identity and what that entails. For many Pākehā New Zealanders being overseas is the first time they recognise the influence te ao Māori has had on their identity as New Zealanders.

This topic was discussed in a National radio interview with Anne Salmond. She was asked if the two cultures (Māori and Pākehā) really realise the extent of the influence there has been between the two cultures. She replied, "I don't think most Pākehā New Zealanders ever think about it at all unless they leave the country. And it's not until they are sitting in some place in England for example, and they are talking the same language and all of a sudden they find they're really missing things about New Zealand, which when they're here they don't even notice, and I'm not talking about marmite either... it's not until they leave the country that they begin to actually realise that they not Europeans. People call themselves Europeans, but actually

you get to Europe and you realise that's strictly a historical description" (Salmond, 2000).

Michael experienced this when he went to live in England for a decade in his forties. Even though he had been born there and migrated out to New Zealand when he was two, he did not feel like he belonged in England.

*Michael* Put it this way, I didn't fit. Not that I was trying to fit, but the longer I stayed there the less comfortable I felt. You can't find a place to fit. I couldn't find a place to fit, I didn't really want to...But having lived here, even though I wasn't born here, having my identity shaped by living here, all the influences that have made me who I am really are based here. I didn't realise how much Māori culture had shaped Pākehā society, until I got out and lived in an English society and saw how different we were. And a lot of it is just attitudes to things. There are subtle things that you can't pin down, but it is just that you don't feel comfortable a lot of the time. You feel like you are wearing the wrong set of clothes.

Whilst Michael was over in England he made an effort to discover his New Zealand Pākehā identity. He decided that he would start using te reo Māori in his poetry to regain

some sort of connection to New Zealand even though he was not of Māori descent. Therefore for Michael the unique aspect about his Pākehā identity was the Māori influence, and that is what made him different from the British.

*Michael* I did start trying more consciously then to get my Māori dictionary out and sort of put some Māori stuff into poetry that I was writing, because I had been writing for 20-25 years.

*Interviewer* And why did you want to do that for?

*Michael* Well, again I think it was the whole question of identity, because I wanted to identify with being back here, and I was out of it, and that was a way of me differentiating myself from the British.

Another aspect which makes some Pākehā New Zealanders realise they are not European New Zealanders is that they feel no connection toward Europe. They want to reflect the fact that they belong to New Zealand, and therefore they choose to use the Māori term 'Pākehā' to identify with to reflect this identity. Paul Spoonley says, "More New Zealanders of European origin are seeing themselves as not being European and they are ready to define for themselves some other kind of role and identity. There was a whole era of literary people, Charles Brasch, Allen Curnow, and so on, who wrote as if they were living in exile and had all these

images of exile in New Zealand. Well, to my generation, that doesn't make much sense. The centre for us is here" (Spoonley, 1986: 11).

Steven Chrisp also spoke in a similar vein in another National Radio interview for Tohu Pākehā. He said, "Pākehā belong to New Zealand, I don't think we are any longer English or Scottish, we do belong to New Zealand and we have to realise that...I mean it's a contradiction in terms I think almost, a European New Zealander. I'm happy with the word Pākehā. I think it is specific to New Zealand, it belongs to New Zealand, and it describes a group of people, so I'm quite relaxed about that" (Chrisp, 2000). This aspect of cultural identity not stemming from Europe but from New Zealand was also expressed in the interviews.

*Sarah* I identify as being Pākehā.

*Interviewer* Do you see it different to New Zealand European?

*Sarah* I resent 'European' I think.

*Interviewer* So you don't feel an affinity towards Europe?

*Sarah* No, no it is a long way away, it has been for quite a while. I resent the union jack on our flag immensely.

*Interviewer* So when you went back to England it wasn't like any sort of homecoming?

*Michael* No nothing. It was like going to a foreign country. And that was really interesting because I would go and visit my Dad's family, my aunts and uncles and we would have a cup of tea and we would talk for a while, and after a couple of visits you would run out of things to talk about. Because there was no shared experience, there was no shared culture, you know. All the links were way back forty years or more, and I couldn't remember them, and all they could remember was that I was a baby.

*Samuel* Yeah I really see myself as a different person from other Europeans, because I am a Pākehā, I am a New Zealander, New Zealand is different, it is a different place, we are not like [the Europeans].

For some European New Zealanders a way to learn about ones Pākehā New Zealand identity is to learn about te reo Māori and te ao Māori. For some interviewees learning about te reo Māori and te ao Māori has made them feel more comfortable as a Pākehā New Zealander and more at ease with Māoridom.

*James* I think by actually getting into the Māori world I think I have actually become comfortable as a Pākehā, I feel really comfortable as a

Pākehā. And often we joke about it, kids call me 'honky' at school. So with the older classes you have a good relationship, they call me 'baldy', and 'bald bastard', and everything else and I throw it back to them and I say, 'Man, you want to be a Pākehā, being Pākehā is choice!' and we just laugh about these things. And I am really proud of my kids, and my world is really a Māori world in many ways, but I feel Pākehā. I am a Pākehā New Zealander, and I think that is a really comfortable place to be.

*Sarah*

Just feeling part of New Zealand in a way, that I think, I couldn't imagine me feeling like this was my country, and I was part of it, if I didn't have any knowledge of Māori stuff. It sort of goes, it is sort of a seamless thing in terms of the country and what it is, and trying to feel like you are part of it, I guess.

Other participants have found that by learning te reo Māori they are now able to participate in both cultures, Māori and Pākehā, whereas before they had been limited to te ao Pākehā. It is something they now take for granted and they forget that other Pākehā do not have this insight and can feel alienated from te ao Māori. Susan and Sophie both gave examples of how learning te reo Māori has enabled them to

feel comfortable in Māori settings and how it enables them to participate in te ao Māori.

*Sophie* I am really comfortable in a Māori setting and I don't notice that, I just take that for granted and I think that is what it is like for everybody else. It is only in just very odd little settings that I will think, that I will realise that is something different. And a sister of mine quite close in age, and we grew up with exactly the same experiences, and we were at a setting of a farewell for a Māori person. And they were all taking afterwards about how uncomfortable they were with it and all that, and I was thinking, 'Oh what was there to be uncomfortable about?', you know! And they just said, 'You are lucky. You know what to do in these settings'. Oh well I suppose that is true, and you just imagine that's because that's a lot of my friends and peer group, that is what New Zealand has moved to, but you know I am reminded frequently that that is absolutely not the case.

*Susan* Yeah, I feel a lot more comfortable, and it is exciting because it had been going on and I hadn't noticed it [te ao Māori] and it is my country too and

this is part of my country, and it had been going here and I didn't know. Little things happen, like I was at the ANZAC parade with my aunt and all the ceremony was over, and a Māori warrior down from the army camp [who] was wearing a uniform walked up and addressed the cenotaph. He was addressing the dead, it was a mihi to those gone and my aunt said, 'Why do they have to spoil it?' And I said, 'Do you not know what he is saying?' And then I thought, 'No she doesn't know what he is saying', and I thought, 'Hey this is great I can be part of this!'... And in February I went over to Spencer Bay because my sons were participating over there [for Waitangi Day]. And we were sitting there and all the addresses were in Māori and they were simple, so they were easy to understand and I thought, 'I am not sitting here bored, I don't have to say switch the television to another channel'. And so in a way I have an advocacy role now I can say, 'Hang on a minute this is interesting stuff, this isn't threatening stuff'.

Identity in a sense is an act of belonging, and what is interesting for two of the interviewees who learnt te reo

Māori as teenagers, is that at some stage during their teenage years they were uneasy about their identity and were unsure where they fitted into the cultural picture. They understood Māori identity, however they were unsure about their own cultural identity. Steven Chrisp went through a similar dilemma about his identity. "When I first kind of came interested in Maori things at high school I read some of the tribal ethnographies that were around that had extensive whakapapa and that made me really think, 'Oh ok what's my own genealogy?'...I was really pushed into finding out about my own cultural heritage and background through a bit of exposure through the Maori world. And that helped me establish my own identity too. I think I went through something of an identity crisis as a teenager, having been involved in the Maori world, and trying to find my feet and find where I was in the whole thing" (Chrisp, 2000).

Sarah said she went through an identity dilemma when she was in her teens, and went through an 'Irish' phase of reclaiming her Irish ancestry by listening to Irish music and identifying with Ireland. However when she went to Ireland on her OE she discovered that her connection was more to New Zealand than Ireland.

*Sarah*            And I only thought about this recently, that I went through this big Irish culture phase. And I was going to Irish pubs all the time and I got right into Irish music and I listened to The Pogues, and all this traditional stuff. And I'd go up to the Loft [An Irish

bar] and get really drunk twice a week, and I was totally into it. And when I think about it now, I was trying to find some sort of roots and looking for some sort of feeling of belonging, because I felt so jealous of the other people in my [Māori] class that could go home for the holidays and go to their marae and see where they were from and stuff, and I couldn't do that. I went to Ireland and I lived in Dublin for about 8 or 9 months, about a year and a half ago, but it was still quite important in my mind that I definitely wanted to go to Ireland, and definitely just wanted to just to see the land and stuff like that. And find out where my ancestors had come from.

*Interviewer*            Did you go there thinking, 'Am I going to have a connection like Māori do to the land here?'

*Sarah*                        Yeah! I did.

*Interviewer*            And did you?

*Sarah*                        Ah no, I didn't. I thought I want to go home! New Zealand is where I am from, this place is cold and wet!

Tess also had similar feelings of jealousy towards Māori.

*Tess* I was probably about 17. I used to think sometimes when I went to kapa haka I wished I was Māori, because I was still quite insecure, I suppose in terms of who I was as a teenager. So that was probably not the healthiest, but as I grew and matured, that went away. But at the time I can remember thinking sometimes, 'I wish I was Māori' ... It was only brief, and it was really only during that year and kapa haka in particular. I used to think, that some of the Māori girls in our group were so beautiful and watching them perform and I used to always think, 'God I wish I looked like that, I wish I could perform like that.'

*Interviewer* And how did you grow out of that?

*Tess* I think it was just maturity I think, and I just became more mature and aware of who I was. I didn't actually do any research into my own whakapapa or anything. But I just felt more secure in who I was, and I realised I was proud to be Pākehā, and I can learn Māori and be passionate about things Māori and be involved with things Māori without having to be Māori, and still feeling secure in who

I am. It can enrich me as a Pākehā person.

Quinton has been learning te reo Māori since the age of six and he finds it very hard to distinguish between his Pākehā cultural side and his Māori cultural side. He talked about his Pākehā side and his Māori side as if he was Māori, and he could not imagine not having that Māori dynamic in his life because he had known it for most of his life from a young age.

*Quinton* See, I started learning Māori at a very young life, very young, and I can't remember when I didn't have Māori in my life. So it is pretty hard for me to compare, but when you get other people who start at Form Two, they have got all the start of their life when they didn't have Māori. For me I have sort of known to have Māori in my life, Māori there all my life, yeah.

*Interviewer* Could you imagine what it would have been like if you hadn't had learnt Māori?

*Quinton* Horrible. No, I couldn't imagine it. It is like my legs without my top body, it is such a part of me now, yeah, no.

Barbara Ewing asserts that one must be strong in ones own culture to be able to interact and take on another culture.

She states, "I think that cultural mixing is extremely difficult. What I'm saying is, in my opinion if you are very secure in your own culture you are much more likely to be able to give and take and say yes that is acceptable to me, and no that is not" (Ewing, 2000). The quotes from Sarah, Tess and Quinton suggest that when Pākehā get involved in learning te reo Māori at a young age there is a chance that they will have some sort of cultural identity dilemma over their identity. This is because their cultural identity is still forming during the teenage years.

Further research on Pākehā who have learnt te reo Māori and Māori culture from a young age, and their concept on their cultural identity when they are adults would be of benefit. In 1999 there were 310 Pākehā children attending Kōhanga Reo and 3941 non-Māori (Pākehā and Pacific Islanders) attending Māori-medium programmes in Kura Kaupapa Māori and other schools (Ministry of Education, 2000). There are obviously a significant number of Pākehā children having this Māori language experience and that research would give insight into how cultural identity is formed.

Vince Marotta discusses the concept of identity transformation, and how a bicultural self can fuse and construct an in-between hybrid perspective. "There is a particular self in New Zealand which can embrace the different elements of two cultures and synthesise them to form a new identity...This bicultural self is reminiscent of Gadamer's notion of 'fusion of horizons'. According to Gadamer, commensurability is always possible because cultures are not hermeneutically sealed and they can always adopt more inclusive viewpoints. Cultural horizons are

always able to incorporate different horizons to achieve a wider, more unifying 'fusion of horizons'. Thus, a bicultural self fuses the cultures of Maori and Pakeha to construct an in-between hybrid perspective" (2000:181).

This in-between hybrid identity was revealed during the interviews with Michael and Sophie. Both these participants have a Māori name in their name, and they employ their Māori names for similar reasons of a new hybrid identity. Michael inserted a Māori middle name into his name and Sophie kept her married Māori name when her and her husband divorced. They both felt that it was a reflection of their new identity as Pākehā New Zealanders, and it reflected the Māori influence in their life.

*Michael* While in London about 1993, I decided to change my name, and include Maungaroa as a middle name...I had thought about this for some time, and I came to the conclusion I wanted to identify more strongly with this country, and the part of it I felt I belonged to. I had lived for twenty years of my life on either side of the Maungaroa ranges, ten years in Whitebat and ten years in Kapuarere. It was those mountains I felt were inside me, shaping my horizons, and colouring my thinking. They above all else told me I could never belong in England, in spite of having been born there. I think they spoke to me in silence. It

was important to choose a Māori name as well, because that I felt, was somehow central to my sense of New Zealand identity, which I would now call Pākehā identity. I don't know if I saw myself as Pākehā then, in the way I openly identify as Pākehā now...I now publish in Aotearoa under that name, and feel that this is my new identity, something I chose, not my parents. I am still that 'old person', but a new person as well...I know I am not Māori, I am Pākehā, a European living in Aotearoa; but this is home to me. I believe the Treaty entitles me to live alongside Māori, but it also obliges me to ensure Pākehā keep their side of the bargain in the future.

*Sophie*

When you split up you go back to your maiden name, all those sorts of things, and I thought about that and I thought, 'Hell no, that's me!' I actually, I am not that maiden name person either, this is, I have made this name my own. It is a name I am perfectly happy and proud of and I can't ever imagining ever changing it even if I went with someone else. I have had a longer time having it than not, but this feels like my adopted identity, and the name is just a picture of that.

Part of the academic debate about the term 'Pākehā' is that it is not an ethnicity and therefore one cannot identify with the term. Janet Bedggood states that 'Pākehā' cannot be an ethnic group because most European New Zealanders do not identify with the term. "Key criteria that mark the distinctiveness of an ethnic community, are a common name and sense of solidarity among most members of the community. 'Pakeha' cannot constitute an ethnic group on the basis of a common name as 'Pakeha' is not accepted as a common name by most descendants of European settlers whose home is New Zealand" (1997: 83).

However as the latest Herald-DigiPoll shows on the question: 'Do you think of yourself as a Pākehā?', those of European descent were evenly divided, 49% each way (Gregory, 2001a). This indicates that the consensus for identifying with the term is growing.

Spoonley says a new ethnicity can develop over a certain commitment to a particular view by a collective group. "Indigenous and migrant ethnic groups forcefully argued the case for political, cultural and economic rights and new ethnic identities were established. For instance, Afro-American asserted a new black consciousness and created a sense of unity where little had existed before" (Spoonley et. al., 1996: 155).

I would claim that a similar ethnogenesis amongst certain European New Zealanders is also starting to occur in New Zealand. If the key criteria of an ethnic community are a common name and a sense of solidarity among most of the

members of the community, then I believe this research supports the criteria for Pākehā to be an ethnicity. The results presented in Chapter Four pertaining to the questionnaire show that European New Zealanders who identify with the term Pākehā are more likely to be empathic towards things Māori, than those European New Zealanders who do not identify with the term. This ethnicity has a common name, 'Pākehā' and they have a sense of solidarity, empathy towards te ao Māori.

The reason why those who identify as Pākehā do empathise more with Māori issues than those who do not identify as Pākehā can be explained in the word Pākehā itself. Stephanie Taylor argues that the adoption of the term Pākehā by some European New Zealanders shows a reflection on their part to want equality for Māori and to throw off their privileged white status. She wrote, "The adoption of the Maori word for white New Zealanders - 'pakeha' - to designate an indigenous form of white identity has been an important aspect of a contemporary 'primitivist turn' which seeks to avoid the connotations of supremacy 'white' has acquired" (1996: 62).

Paul Spoonley also argues that, "The idea of a bicultural society, one that centres on the two dominant cultural groups, inevitably raises political and other questions about the nature of Pakeha ethnicity. Those who have responded positively to these debates, in the sense that they accept the need to develop a partnership which recognises the rights (tino rangatiratanga) of the tangata whenua, have tended to employ the label 'Pakeha' as a way of

expressing their commitments to such new arrangements”  
(Spoonley et. al., 1996: 166-67).

This would suggest then that European New Zealanders who do employ the term Pākehā to identify with do have a collective viewpoint that they share on biculturalism. However just as all Māori who identify with the term 'Māori' do not all share the same viewpoint, not all Pākehā who identify with the term 'Pākehā' would all believe in the same viewpoint. However I would argue that if someone did identify with the term 'Pākehā' they would more likely than not to empathise with Māori issues, more so than those European New Zealanders who do not identify with the term.

I propose that the use of a Māori word to label oneself is the very crux of the point. I say that European New Zealanders who do label themselves 'Pākehā' do so because it is a Māori term and therefore to them the term reflects and acknowledges the Māori influence in their identity by being brought up in New Zealand. Chris Knox expressed similar feelings when he wrote, “So we need to ask them to share with us a second time. Not land, it's a bit late for that, but what it is to be Maori in Aotearoa, so we may fully discover what it is to be Pakeha in New Zealand...I know there's been a hell of a lot about Maoridom in this spiel about what it is to be Pakeha. But that's entirely the point” (1991:196-97).

In contrast many of the European New Zealand participants in the questionnaire who did not identify with the term Pākehā said it was because it was a Māori term and they did not want their cultural identity decided by Māori (19% of

responses given why they do not like the term 'Pākehā'). Therefore these European New Zealanders are saying that they do not want to reflect or acknowledge the Māori influence in their identity, unlike their fellow European New Zealanders who identify with the term Pākehā.

It should be noted though that when one is speaking in te reo Māori, the term Pākehā can be used as a generic term for all white people, not specifically European New Zealanders. However when speaking in English it brings on different connotations. This is because it is only Pākehā New Zealanders who have a relationship with te ao Māori and therefore identify with the word and understand the word. For instance if suddenly on CNN or BBC the newsreader described all white people in the world as Pākehā it would not make sense, because the majority of white people who live in the world do not have a relationship with Māori.

In New Zealand the term 'Pākehā' makes sense because Pākehā is talked about in relation to Māori. That is what identifying with Pākehā is about. It is the acceptance of a relationship with Māori and this acceptance is exhibited by identifying with the term. As it was important for Michael to have a Māori name in his name to identify more toward New Zealand than toward England. It is as important for some European New Zealanders to identify with a Māori term for themselves to identify more to New Zealand.

Just as most Pākehā see their identity encompassing Māori, many European New Zealanders do not see their New Zealand identity encompassing Māori. To them the cultural aspects that make New Zealanders different from England are things

like New Zealanders' passion for rugby, barbecues, beach outings, the outdoors, 'give it a go' mentality, rural lifestyle and a society based on egalitarianism, to name but a few. Yet all those cultural aspects you could relate to the European Australian culture as well. I would argue that the difference between the European New Zealand identity and the European Australia identity is the influence of the indigenous cultures. What the sound of the didgeridoo does for a European Australian, the haka may do for a European New Zealander.

Furthermore part of what makes New Zealand's culture different from Australia is te reo Māori. George Seddon an Australian, discusses how te reo Māori gives New Zealand a linguistic edge to reconciliation between the indigenous people (Māori) and the settlers (Pākehā) that Australia does not possess. This is because in Australia there are over 250 Aboriginal languages in contrast to New Zealand where there is only one. Seddon wrote, "My own limited conclusion is that both Australia and New Zealand will continue to have problems in achieving adequate reconciliation with their indigenous people, but that New Zealand is much further down the track than we are. It has a linguistic option that we are denied, and that is at least partly why it is easier to see the way ahead in New Zealand than it is in Australia" (1999: 152). Angela McCarthy quoted the Language Commission chairperson, Patu Hohepa with similar views, "Yet New Zealand as a nation needed the Māori language...It was what identified us apart from other nations, such as Australia" (2000: 11).

For the interviewees, learning te reo Māori has helped form their identity as Pākehā New Zealanders. They felt they were able to walk in both worlds, in ao Pākehā and te ao Māori, and this made them feel complete as New Zealanders. For many European New Zealanders being a New Zealander encompasses just the European New Zealand culture, and you often here the catch cry, 'Why can't we all get along, why can't we all be New Zealanders?' However as George Seddon stated, New Zealand has the linguistic option to achieve reconciliation with Māori, and for young 15 year old Quinton who has been learning te reo Māori since he was six, his idea of all being New Zealanders encompasses this.

*Quinton* Why can't we all be New Zealanders?

*Interviewer* But what is New Zealand?

*Quinton* New Zealand is both, being  
bicultural...lets all be in between,  
there is nothing wrong in being  
bicultural.

Moreover, Richard Benton contends that te reo Māori is the essence to the New Zealand identity. "Maori is to New Zealand as *te rito* -the heart-is to the flaxbush. A New Zealand identity which ignores Maori language and culture - in which Maori language and culture does not have pride of place - would be a counterfeit identity, utterly unworthy of a nation which proclaims to be 'Pacific's triple star'" (1984: 69).



## Chapter 8

### Findings

Unsurprisingly this research found that there is a difference between those European New Zealanders who identify with the term 'Pākehā', and those European New Zealanders who do not identify with the term. The results from chapter four indicate that those European New Zealanders who identify with the term 'Pākehā' are more likely to be empathetic towards te ao Māori, than those European New Zealanders who do not identify with the term. Those who identify with the term 'Pākehā' have an appreciation that te reo Māori and Māori culture are what makes New Zealand unique.

The results from this chapter shows evidence that those European New Zealanders who have learnt te reo Māori also show more support for the Māori language and culture in New Zealand. If you were a European New Zealander who had learnt te reo Māori you were also much more likely to identify with the term Pākehā; suggesting that formulation of Pākehā identity can be linked with learning te reo Māori. This interrelationship is an aspect that needs further research.

It was found in chapter four that Māori are the least likely to think the term 'Pākehā' is derogatory, followed by those European New Zealanders who identify with the term 'Pākehā'. Asians and then European New Zealanders were most likely to think that the term 'Pākehā' was derogatory. It

is therefore concluded that part of the reason these two groups may think the term is derogatory is that they are unsure of its meaning.

Reasons why people identify with the term 'Pākehā' and why they do not were also presented in chapter four. It was discovered the main reason why some European New Zealanders identify with the term 'Pākehā' is because they perceive that it distinguishes them as being a European from New Zealand and not Europeans from Europe. The word 'Pākehā' defined where they were from. Others said it was because it acknowledged te ao Māori.

The main reasons people do not identify with the term 'Pākehā' is because they think it is a derogatory term. Another common reason given is that 'We are all New Zealanders' and therefore we should not have different ethnic terms, but only identify as New Zealanders. Others stated it was because they were from another country or ethnicity, and some found the term 'Pākehā' was offensive because it was a Māori term.

Chapter 4 found that those who identified with the term 'Pākehā' overwhelmingly believed the definition of the term was a European born in New Zealand. This definition was also the most popular with the other groups of respondents. In addition to this there were not many who believed that the term referred to any non-Māori or any European, whereas in the 1800s this may have been the original meaning of the term when it was first coined. The clear result on the meaning of the word indicates a Pākehā led defining of the

term, to be a description of identity peculiar to New Zealand.

In Chapter 7 the question was asked why the term 'Pākehā' and not a term from the English language is used by some European New Zealanders to express their identity. It was concluded that it was because Pākehā is a Māori term and people who identify with the term 'Pākehā' want to be able to identify with New Zealand and for them the unique aspect of New Zealand is Māori. Hence they use a Māori term to identify with so that they can identify with this country.

Chapter 5 investigated the reasons why some European New Zealanders learn te reo Māori. There were many reasons why they wanted to learn te reo Māori, but the reason why they continue is the same. Some learnt because they had an instant affinity with the language and culture, and others fell in love with it after beginning learning. Some learnt because they felt it was part of their identity of being a New Zealander, or that it was interesting because it was relevant to them because they lived in New Zealand. The reason why they all continued to learn was because they loved aspects of the culture, which they felt they could take on board into their own identity as New Zealanders.

Chapter 6 examined the experiences these European New Zealanders encountered from learning te reo Māori. They all overwhelmingly said their positive experiences far outweighed their negative experiences, even though being Pākehā and learning te reo Māori was not an easy path to follow. They felt that by learning te reo Māori they had become better individuals, and they felt better equipped to

be a full participating member of New Zealand's society because they could walk in both te ao Māori and te ao Pākehā.

Although being able to walk in both worlds was a positive aspect for these participants, they also said that a lot of the time they felt they were between two worlds, and felt that they now did not fit totally into one world or the other. They sometimes felt frustrated that they could not express their Māori side in te ao Pākehā by being able to speak Māori when they wanted and they resented the negativity they felt from other Pākehā when they did, or when they supported Māori issues. They also sometimes felt frustrated in te ao Māori because they were Pākehā and therefore they could never totally identify with or be totally accepted by that world either.

In Chapter 7 Pākehā identity was discussed. It was discovered that learning te reo Māori had developed these European New Zealanders' identity as Pākehā New Zealanders. Being Pākehā to these participants was about the relationship between European New Zealander and Māori and part of that relationship was the respect for the other culture. Learning te reo Māori was an aspect of showing that respect. Even though this may have not been the main reason why they learnt the language, it did develop into the reason why participants said they continued. Many of these participants said how comfortable they felt as Pākehā New Zealanders because they understood both cultures. Knowing te reo Māori was a major aspect to this understanding, and a fulfilment of their identity of being a Pākehā within New Zealand.

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**Appendix I - History and Chemistry Student Questionnaire**

*Please tick the box that applies to you.*

1. Gender  Male  
 Female

2. Age  15-20  
 21-25  
 26-30  
 31-35  
 36-40  
 41-45  
 46-50  
 50+

3. Please state your ethnicity:-

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4. Did you spend your school years in New Zealand?

Yes   
No

5. Have you learned, or are you learning the Māori language? (*Apart from at primary school*)

Yes   
No

6. What is your understanding of who a Pākehā is?

A non-Māori   
A person of European ancestry born in New Zealand   
Any person of European ancestry

Other (*Please explain...*)

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10. Please state your reasons for never using the term Pākehā to describe yourself.

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For the following questions please tick the box that best represents your opinion to the following statements.

*Agree*                      *Disagree*      *Don't know*

- (a) All New Zealand citizens should learn the Māori language.
- (b) New Zealand's main priority should be multiculturalism not biculturalism.
- (c) You do not need to be bilingual to be bicultural.
- (d) Māori language should be a core subject in primary school.
- (e) If all New Zealand citizens could speak Māori there would be racial harmony in New Zealand.
- (f) You need to be able to speak Māori to be a real New Zealander.
- (g) Māori language/culture is what makes New Zealand unique.

(h) The Treaty of Waitangi has no relevance  within New Zealand's society today.

(i) Pākehā is a derogatory term for  white people.







- (g) Māori language/culture is what makes New Zealand unique.
- (h) The Treaty of Waitangi has no relevance within New Zealand's society today.
- (i) Pākehā is a derogatory term for white people.

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