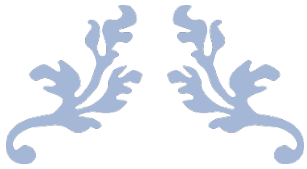

REO MĀORI, PĀKEHĀ VOICES

The Bilingual Land Our Hearts Know is Possible

WHIRINGA-Ā-RANGI/NOVEMBER 2018

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Prepared for Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori

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E kai ana mātou i ō waihotanga kāmehameha ki te reo, ōtirā ki te hunga e kaingākau ana ki te reo
Ko tō pōkai tēnei e tangi hotuhotu nei ki a koe, ki tō mātou kākā tarahae
Moe mai, moe mai, okioki mai rā.

He mihi maioha ki te reo Māori, ki te reo taketake o tēnei whenua, ki ngā iwi Māori nō koutou tēnei taonga, tēnei māpihi maurea. E kore e mimiti te puna aroha ki ōku tini kaiako nō roto i ngā tau. I tīmata mai i tōku kaiako tuatahi a Moeke Paaka i Te Kura Tuarua o Motueka, nāu te kākano o te reo i poipoi, i manaaki, i atawhai, ka tipu mai hei māhuri, ki waenganui i ngā iwi o Ngāti Rārua me Te Ātiawa. Ā, ka whitikina taua māhuri e te rā, ka uaina e te ua i Te Whare Wānanga o Te Ūpoko o te Ika a Māui, i Te Ātaarangi, i ngā Kura Reo o te motu, i ngā rekereke o ngā uri o Ngāi Tahu, o Te Kāhui Maunga anō hoki, ka tipu mai hei rākau. Ā, tae noa atu ki ōku kaiako nō Te Panekiretanga o te Reo Māori, ka ngana atu taua rākau ki te karamatamata o te wao, ka toro ōna pakiaka ki ngā rētōtanga o te whenua, ka whakarākeitia ia ki ngā tini manu o te wao. E Te Wharehuia Milroy, mōu i kite pū i tōku ngākau, mōu i whakapono mai; e Pou Tēmara, mōu i āta akiaki ki te taumata, ki te nuku o te whakaaro; e Tā Tīmoti Kāretu, mōu i wero mai, i ngākau tapatahi, i runga katoa i te aroha. Nō koutou katoa tōku reo.

Above I acknowledge all the teachers I have been fortunate to encounter during the first 25 years of my reo Māori learning journey, and all those who have carried and continue to carry te reo Māori. I especially thank Alex Hotere-Barnes, a long time friend and collaborator. We have shared life experiences and thought processes for many years, which have enabled this work. I am grateful to have had Alex as an adviser for this research. To others involved in Reo2NZ/Ngā Rauawa o te Waka Reo Māori,[1] your honesty, self-awareness and robust discussion, as well as the endless opportunities to laugh at ourselves, have provided much strength in recent years. Thank you to Cheryll McMorran and Rachael Selby for providing invaluable feedback on the draft report. And to Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori, thank you for making this research possible.

The subtitle of this paper was inspired by the title of a book by Charles Eisenstein, *The More Beautiful World our Hearts Know is Possible*.[2] It has been a privilege to work with the participants, he mihi matihere ki a koutou. Your candour, self-reflectiveness and love for te reo Māori were profound. I appreciate your willingness to delve deeply and articulate that which is difficult to put in words, especially in English. Above I have acknowledged the recent passing of one of the participants, Dr John Moorfield QSO, commonly known as Murumāra, and less commonly as Te Tūāhōanga Matarehu o te Mātauranga. This report is fortunate to include his experiences and perspectives. He was mentioned by several participants as a key role model whose very existence and work gave them permission to continue. Nō reira e te manukura, moe mai, moe mai, okioki mai rā.

[1] A group of Pākehā speakers of te reo Māori who are committed to working collectively to support Māori-led re-normalisation of te reo Māori in Aotearoa New Zealand.
[2] North Atlantic Books, 2013.

The participants who wished to be named are listed below:

The late Dr John Moorfield (QSO)

Dame Anne Salmond

Carrie Wainwright

Hamish Duncan

Dr John Birnie

Nigel Brooke

Alex Hotere-Barnes

Andrew Robb

Lisa Wilson

Mark Bradley

Rob McGowan

Executive summary

Te reo Māori, the indigenous language of Aotearoa New Zealand, is intricately connected to these islands and their peoples. Despite herculean efforts to reverse language decline, mainly by Māori, it continues to be an endangered language. Pākehā comprise a small proportion of speakers of te reo Māori, but have a significant effect on the language as they comprise the majority of the wider population.

This research aimed to understand in depth the experiences of fluent Pākehā speakers of te reo Māori. It found many commonalities across this group, despite its diverse composition. The findings were complex and may appear paradoxical. These people have found ways to carry our colonial past, our complicated present, and our aspirations for the future, through their words and their actions. Their experiences can help to inform us about the multitude of challenges and advantages involved in becoming bilingual Pākehā citizens of Aotearoa New Zealand.

Fourteen Pākehā who are fluent in te reo Māori were interviewed for this research and four key aspects of their experiences were explored and discussed in relation to te reo Māori revitalisation and re-normalisation: 1) motivations for learning te reo; 2) challenges on the path; 3) ways they navigated through these challenges; and 4) the value of te reo Māori for them.

The primary learning motivation identified was an inherent pull, and all other motivations, such as the encouragement of others, knowing about this place, and social justice, were secondary by a long way. As time progressed, learning and contributing to the language and the relationships that developed were compounding motivations, until the language became inseparable from the person.

The internal and external challenges that arose for the participants related predominantly to the context of colonisation, the dearth of education about our history, language loss, lack of societal support for the language, and personal identity, particularly in relationship to the language.

The participants had independently developed very analogous detailed internal processes for determining appropriate behaviour as manuhiri of te reo. These ethical practices guided them to navigate challenges and adapt to complex situations, while being cognisant of power dynamics and maintaining their own authenticity.

They accorded a high level of value to te reo. All previously defined values of te reo Māori were confirmed, namely that te reo holds intrinsic, social, cultural, educational, intellectual, spiritual, and monetary values. Additionally, two significant new value categories were proposed – well-being and nation-building.

A trilateral Tiriti o Waitangi-based approach to language revitalisation and re-normalisation is proposed in this report to honour the respective roles and relationships of Māori, the Crown, and other citizens to te reo, and ensure that they interweave synergistically for the benefit of Māori, the language, and the nation as a whole.

1. Introduction

Te reo Māori, the indigenous language of Aotearoa New Zealand, is intricately connected to these islands and their peoples. Its survival and revival has been the focus of much effort over the past quarter-century since the passing of the Māori Language Act in 1987. Despite herculean efforts to reverse language decline, largely by Māori, the discourse surrounding the Māori language continues to be that of a language under threat (Higgins & Rewi, 2014).

In 2011, a report by Te Paepae Motuhake on the state of te reo Māori assessed that the language falls in between the Definitely Endangered and Severely Endangered categories of threatened language. Once in the latter category, few languages make it back from the brink to a thriving state. However, te reo Māori still has life and vigour in some Māori homes and spaces. Te reo has survived until now, and continues to survive, because of Māori people. Most of those who speak te reo Māori fluently, and transmit it intergenerationally, are Māori. However, only 2% of Māori whānau speak te reo for half the time and only 0.4% speak te reo nearly all the time.[3] In the 2013 Census, 21.3% of all Māori reported that they could hold a conversation in te reo about everyday things (down from 23.7% in 2006 and 25.2% in 2001).[4] Clearly, te reo Māori is not yet flourishing, even among Māori.

The 2013 Census showed that of the 3.7% of New Zealanders who could hold a conversation in te reo Māori, 84.5% identified as Māori.[5] Pākehā, therefore, made up only a small proportion of speakers – and most Pākehā people do not speak te reo at all, with very few speaking to a high level of fluency.

In securing a future for te reo Māori, is there a role for Pākehā to support the survival and future flourishing of the language? If so, what is that role? Consideration of the relationship between Pākehā people and te reo Māori is no trifling matter. It touches on our very being as a nation. It reaches into the depths of our past, weaves through all aspects of our present, and stretches beyond distant horizons to where we might one day arrive.

Far from being just a language, te reo Māori is referred to as the soul of the Māori people. What does it mean for that linguistic manifestation of soul to enter Pākehā minds, to sit in our hearts, and to be expressed through our mouths? As a language that evolved out of this very land, how is it relevant to us, as more recently arrived peoples, and how might it connect us to these islands and their indigenous inhabitants?

Are Māori ready to share their language gradually, more and more, with Pākehā? Might it once again resound with vitality from the peaks and in the valleys throughout Aotearoa? Can Pākehā genuinely embody Te Tiriti o Waitangi/The Treaty of Waitangi[6] and become bilingual – in a way that gives

[3] Ruakere Hond, 2017, Presentation to Reo2NZ/Ngā Rauawa o te Waka Reo Māori, Whanganui.
[4] http://socialreport.msd.govt.nz/cultural-identity/maori-language-speakers.html
[5] http://socialreport.msd.govt.nz/cultural-identity/maori-language-speakers.html
[6] The Māori and English language versions of Te Tiriti o Waitangi and The Treaty of Waitangi say different things. Participants used these terms interchangeably while understanding the differences. This document is phrased consistently with that, however analysis focuses on the Māori version – Te Tiriti o Waitangi. For more discussion on the differences between the Māori and the English versions see *Te Tiriti o Waitangi in a Future Constitution: Removing the shackles of colonisation*, 2013 Robson Lecture by Margaret Mutu, available at www.converge.org.nz/pma/shackles-of-colonisation.pdf and *Treaty of Waitangi Questions and Answers* by Network Waitangi, available at https://nwwhangarei.wordpress.com/treaty-of-waitangi-questions-answers/

utmost importance to honouring the unique relationship that Māori have with te reo, and the tino rangatiratanga of Māori people for their taonga?[7] Are we, as a nation, mature enough to have that conversation and embark on that path? Or would that be too much, too soon?

This research reports on interviews with Pākehā who have been early movers into that space. Some of them suggested they inhabit the world that was envisaged by the Māori ancestors who signed Te Tiriti. Their experiences can help to inform us about the multitude of challenges and advantages of becoming bilingual Pākehā citizens of Aotearoa New Zealand. They are people who have found ways to carry our colonial past, our complicated present, and our aspirations for the future, through their words and their actions. It should be noted that this report does not propose that there are always appropriate opportunities for Pākehā to participate in, and contribute to, te reo Māori spaces.

This report presents four key aspects of the experiences of these Pākehā who are fluent in te reo and discusses them in relation to te reo Māori revitalisation and re-normalisation.[8] The aspects described are 1) the respondents' motivations for starting and continuing to learn te reo; 2) the challenges they encountered on this path; 3) the ways they found to navigate through these challenges; and 4) the value of te reo Māori to them and the values that have accrued for them from te reo.

[7] Andrew Robb, personal comment, 2017.

[8] The term re-normalisation is generally preferred in this report, to recognise the rightful place of te reo Māori as the original language of Aotearoa New Zealand and its previously normal state.

2. Methodology

This project aimed to understand in detail the experiences of a diverse range of fluent Pākehā speakers of te reo Māori. The research focused on:

1. Their motivations for starting and continuing to learn;
2. Their learning paths and processes;
3. The challenges they encountered and how they navigated these;
4. The benefits and insights gained from bilingualism.

Data collection

A qualitative research approach[9] was used to approach this topic. A total of 14 participants were interviewed either face-to-face or over Skype. Each interview was between three and six hours long, spread over one to three sessions. The interviews were primarily in English, although participants were free to switch between languages as needed, to express their thoughts.

All participants were fluent speakers of te reo Māori and their learning of te reo had spanned a number of years. Some had stopped and started, some had had long breaks in their learning, and others had learned relatively consistently. Fluency was defined as being able to share their thoughts on most topics readily and spontaneously in te reo, and this was ascertained prior to their inclusion in the research. Fluency was assessed by the researcher through inquiring through other known fluent speakers and through direct preliminary conversation in te reo with potential participants.

A purposive sample was used and was selected through a sampling grid for a maximum variation sample to achieve a spread of information and perspectives. Key demographic variables were age, gender, geographical origin, career, living in urban or provincial area, religion, and whether they had a Māori partner or children. Participants were self-defined as Pākehā or New Zealanders of European descent, and as having no Māori ancestors. Three had been born overseas and of those, two had grown up overseas. Interviewees were aged from their early 30s to their 70s, with an approximate spread across that range.

A semi-structured approach to the interviews was used. A topic guide was developed around the four key research focus areas:

1. Motivations for learning te reo;
2. Learning journey;
3. Challenges encountered along the way and how they navigated them;
4. Insights, benefits, and perspectives gained from becoming bilingual.[10]

In addition to the key questions, prompts were used to encourage discussion of particular aspects if they did not come up naturally, and to probe for greater depth of reflection.

[9] Patton, M. & Cochran, M. (2002). A guide to using qualitative research methodology. Retrieved from https://d1pbog36rugm0t.cloudfront.net/-/media/science/research-and-teaching/teaching/qualitative-research-methodology.pdf

[10] Although some participants were multilingual, the term bilingual has been used in this report as the focus was on bilingualism in English and te reo Māori.

Data analysis

Interviews were recorded digitally and transcribed. A thematic analysis of results was undertaken to identify key themes, variations, and deviations. These were coded using MAXQDA Software. The themes that emerged aligned closely with the topic structure above, but with two key variations. Therefore, the framework for analysis was adjusted as follows:

- *Topic 2: Learning journey* did not produce useful results and therefore, it was not included as a separate topic in this report.
- *Topic 3: Challenges* produced a vast array of results and therefore, it was divided into two separate topics for the analysis: challenges encountered; and how they navigated them.

While this research was not specifically framed around values, much of the resulting information could be classified as values. The seven value categories that have been identified by earlier research on the state of te reo (Olsen-Reeder, Hutchings, & Higgins, 2017; Te Paepae Motuhake, 2011) were useful receptacles for the values expressed by respondents. This report sought to support and contribute to the field of language values research by using those seven value categories to analyse the respondents' responses relating to insights, benefits, and perspectives gained from bilingualism.

Therefore, for analysis and presentation of the research results, the themes were grouped into the following framework:

1. The respondents' motivations for starting and continuing to learn te reo;
2. The challenges they encountered on this path;
3. The ways they found to navigate through these challenges;
4. The value of te reo Māori to them and the values that have accrued to them from te reo.

Key themes and sub-themes were identified within this structure. While the results in this document present the general themes and sub-themes, there was not always consensus on these topics among the interviewees. I have attempted to provide the nuance and diversity of perspectives within these general themes and sub-themes. In some areas of the investigation, the discussions became emotional for the participants. In this report, the overall meaning of the interviewee's discussion has been conveyed without the the varying emotions expressed.

Narrative analysis of the results was then undertaken. The topic of bilingual Pākehā is a relatively new area of research within the field of Māori language revitalisation and re-normalisation. Therefore, other than in the Values section, the findings have been allowed to stand on their own, rather than placing them entirely within an existing framework. Key pieces of literature on Māori language revitalisation and normalisation/re-normalisation were utilised to support the analysis.

It is recognised that many of the experiences described in this report are not unique to Pākehā, and may be relevant to Māori or Tauiwi. However, the report does not purport to speak for Māori or Tauiwi; it focuses only on the perspectives, perceptions, and experiences of these bilingual Pākehā.

The findings add to the existing literature on the topic of Māori language revitalisation and re-normalisation, as well as to the literature on specific topics of Pākehā involvement with te reo or in te ao Māori. This report provides in-depth insights and ideas that can help to shape the future inspiration and motivation of Pākehā New Zealanders to embark on their own rich journey of developing an intimate, respectful relationship with the language and culture of the indigenous people of this land. The findings can be used to inform policy and to support teachers and learners of te reo Māori.

Māori words or phrases used by participants have generally been used in the report. Translations are provided in Appendix: Glossary.

Confidentiality and informed consent

All participants were provided with an information sheet outlining the purpose and process for the research. They were given the opportunity to ask questions prior to agreeing to participate in the research. All participants completed a consent form. They were assured that their contributions to this report were confidential, unless they explicitly requested to be named in written reports. Anonymous quotation markers have been used in the report to differentiate between respondents.

Locating the researcher

My interest in fluent Pākehā speakers of te reo Māori has grown out of my own experience of being Pākehā and learning te reo Māori to a level of fluency over 25 years, and much involvement in te ao Māori. I learned te reo Māori from the start of high school in the early 1990s and have continued in various ways through to the present time. My learning path included Motueka High School, Victoria University, Te Ātaarangi, Kura Reo, and Te Panekiretanga o te Reo Māori: The Institute of Excellence in the Māori Language.

My position within the sector of the population that was being studied enabled me to ask questions that someone who did not have that experience may not have known to ask. In addition, it gave respondents a degree of confidence that the subtleties of their communications would be understood; this likely contributed to the high degree of honesty in their sharing.

3. Revitalisation or re-normalisation?

When discussing the best approaches and strategies to use to secure a vibrant future for te reo Māori, key fundamental questions include, 'What is being aimed for?' and 'How should this be achieved?' The answers to these questions can guide efforts and initiatives to support the restoration of the language, particularly when choosing the best approaches to ensuring te reo continues into the future as a thriving, living language.

While most of the government budget for te reo Māori is spent within the education system, the main focus for most Māori experts to date has been on kaupapa Māori initiatives that regenerate both culture and language. Increasingly, the term 'normalisation' has emerged and concerns have been raised about the impact of our wider society on the viability of te reo Māori. How do society's attitudes and values affect whether Māori learn and speak te reo within their own homes and spaces? What happens to te reo when it emerges from these spaces into the world at large? Can it hope to one day exist and thrive beyond those safe boundaries?

In 2011, following engagement around the country with predominantly Māori communities, Te Paepae Motuhake published a report, *Te Reo Mauriora: Review of the Māori Language Sector and the Māori Language Strategy*. Their principal recommendation was to focus on re-establishing te reo Māori in homes. They also made recommendations regarding the role of the Crown in supporting Māori communities to achieve their goals with respect to language revitalisation. Consequently, two strategies were developed to guide the next phase of language restoration: for iwi Māori, te Maihi Māori; and for the Crown, te Maihi Karauna. However, the bulk of the funding (approximately 97%) continues to sit with Crown initiatives, with approximately 80% of the funding focused within education.[11]

Te Paepae Motuhake touched on the value of te reo Māori to the wider society and to the country as a whole. They did allude to the importance of the wider environment, referring to the increase in non-Māori valuing and learning te reo as a positive phenomenon, but they did not focus significantly on the role of non-Māori citizens in supporting te reo revitalisation, nor to them as active participants in the process.

In general, Māori language revitalisation discourse focuses on two key approaches – revitalisation and normalisation/re-normalisation – but there is no clear agreement about which approach is preferred or most likely to succeed. These approaches can be pitted against each other as an either/or issue. This research suggests that an either/or dichotomy may not be necessary and in addition, an and/and stance is possible. These approaches can, and perhaps should, work together for the benefit of the language.

Two key pieces of research on the topics of revitalisation and normalisation are explored below, followed by a discussion of the relevance to this research of these approaches.

[11] Ruakere Hond, 2017, Presentation to Reo2NZ/Ngā Rauawa o te Waka Reo Māori, Whanganui.

Revitalisation within Māori communities

With regard to securing te reo Māori and increasing its use, the focus has been on use within Māori communities and domains, and particularly, in recent years, on intergenerational transmission within the home. In his thesis *Matua Te Reo, Matua te Tangata: Speaker Community, Visions, Approaches, Outcomes* (2013), Ruakere Hond studied the benefits of this approach and stated that language revitalisation could be conceptualised "as primarily a community-centred endeavour that supports [the] vitality and security of language, culture and identity" (p. 20). He explored various concepts of community, and particularly relevant descriptions in his research referred to a 'speaker community' and the 'indigenous community'. Language revitalisation activities focus on the speaker community that is assumed to be located within the indigenous community. Thus, strengthening the language is intricately connected to cultural regeneration.

This approach to language revitalisation could be seen as an Article 2 approach under Te Tiriti o Waitangi – recognising te reo as a taonga of Māori people, and the tino rangatiratanga of Māori over that taonga. In a society that is not conducive to wider use of te reo Māori, it also provides safe places for te reo to exist.

Re-normalisation across the motu

Another approach to enabling te reo Māori to survive and thrive is that of 'normalisation', or 're-normalisation'. As noted earlier this report uses the term re-normalisation, to acknowledge the rightful place of te reo Māori in this country as its original language, and that in a previous era it was the normal everyday language. The seminal work on this approach was by Rawinia Higgins and Poia Rewi, in their chapter in *The Value of the Māori Language: Te Hua o te reo Māori* (Higgins, Rewi, & Olsen-Reeder, 2014). They asserted that the Māori language would not thrive unless it was present and alive in all parts of New Zealand society, as Māori were located in all spheres of our society, irrespective of their geographic, social, economic, or political position.

Higgins and Rewi (2014) developed the ZePA model, which expressed the fundamental attitudinal and psychological position of the individual towards engagement with the Māori language as either Zero, Passive, or Active, which they described as follows:

> **Zero** [emphasis added] is the state whereby there is zero use and zero receptivity towards the Māori language. Those in the Zero state are dismissive and resistant to any acknowledgement of, or advocacy for, the Māori language. **Passive** describes a position of receptivity to the Māori language. This refers to an inert cohort who may have no proficiency in the Māori language whatsoever; however, in terms of receptivity they are accommodating of the language and do not restrict the use of it in society, in the home, or in the workplace. The **Active** component refers to operationalisation of the language. Individuals in this cohort actively strive to advance the Māori language in all arenas. It may also include those who persevere with speaking Māori to their children, colleagues or friends as a matter of choice, as opposed to operation as part of their vocational core business (pp. 22–23).

Right-shifting from Zero to Passive, or from Passive to Active, by an individual is desirable, and continued right-shifts have the flow-on effect of supporting and encouraging others to right-shift.

Right-shifting within the Active zone is also needed, to continue building and strengthening te reo. Left-shifting is undesirable and each left-shift reduces the strength and viability of the language.

A recommendation from Higgins and Rewi that is relevant to this research was, “Rather than have Māori language revitalisation efforts continue to work in a rather ‘siloed’ manner, there needs to be an overarching strategy that is developed with Māori that is equally inclusive of non-Māori” (p. 29). Further, they said we need to “reconsider the language as an Article three issue, which promotes the language as part of the citizenship of this country” (p. 31).

Discussion and analysis: Relevance to this research of these approaches

This research focused on Pākehā who were fluent speakers of te reo Māori and therefore, it sits most clearly within the ZePA model of re-normalisation rather than within a revitalisation model. The interviewees could be described as being at various points within the Active zone, with many at the A+ end of the spectrum, which was suggested by Higgins and Rewi (2014) as being for those who are activists and go beyond what is generally socially acceptable.

However, the model of revitalisation within indigenous communities is also highly relevant to this research, for three key reasons. First, the language under discussion clearly belongs to the indigenous community, the Māori people. The considerations that are inherent in this are explored throughout this report. Second, achieving re-normalisation is presumably not intended to be at the expense of intergenerational transmission and the cultural integrity of the language. Therefore, these two approaches must work together to ensure that re-normalisation supports, rather than replaces, intergenerational transmission and the reconnecting of Māori to their cultural heritage and language. Third, several of the interviewees in this research were deeply involved in language revitalisation within Māori communities through connections developed via family, friends, or kaupapa. This report recognises their experiences and the invaluable contributions that Pākehā can make to revitalisation within the indigenous community, when certain conditions enabling their constructive presence are fulfilled.

The definition of the speaker community as existing within an indigenous community is an apt reflection of the current state of affairs. Very few Pākehā speak te reo Māori, and even fewer to a high level of fluency. Anecdotal evidence suggests that there is a handful of highly fluent Pākehā in most parts of the country. However, if one was to view the speaker community as existing only within the indigenous community it would risk ignoring that some Pākehā do speak te reo, and can (and do) play an active role in language revitalisation, either as speakers and/or as helpful contributors in other ways.

A further issue is the inevitable need for people within the speaker community to ‘go outside the fences’ and interact with the wider society. When the language is at a vulnerable stage, fences are important, and perhaps critical, to ensure that spaces remain for te reo Māori to exist safely in its full integrity. However, at some point, for te reo to truly thrive again in all corners of the country, it would need to emerge from behind those fences. Perhaps this eventuality is dreamed of, but is seen as such a distant possibility or so unattainable that some believe re-normalisation should not currently be a focus.

Higgins and Rewi (2014) said the vision of the speaker community existing within an indigenous community "is delimiting and does not promote a 'living language' because it is confined to the membership of one group, as if they live separately and autonomously from the rest of society. The vision also promotes the exclusion of the rest of New Zealand society from contributing to the life of the language through active participation, rendering them passive observers" (p. 12). They suggested, slightly provocatively, that the language has been revitalised, as it is alive in pockets across the country. They added, "Revitalisation, however, does not equate to normalisation and positions the language in a deficit mode and of little value. Normalisation promotes the relevance of the language, its use, and more importantly, its value" (p. 30). They suggested that intergenerational transmission of te reo is an outcome that we seek, not a strategy to achieve that outcome.

This research proposes that these approaches are not mutually exclusive but in fact, the existence and success of one is critical to the success of the other. In addition, the role of government to support te reo, as confirmed by Te Paepae Motuhake (2011), is important (although not the focus of this research). Further, these multiple approaches and roles are not only compatible but they are all part of the whole – they can and must work together, as do the articles of the Te Tiriti o Waitangi/The Treaty of Waitangi. Te Tiriti, then, continues to be a living document that can guide us as a nation to ensure that our indigenous language survives and thrives, with all its complexity and cultural integrity, for another 1,000 years and beyond.

This report proposes a Tiriti/Treaty approach to understanding these issues and having mature conversations, in good faith, about our respective roles. Article 1 of the Tiriti/Treaty guides the government to play an active role in supporting te reo Māori. Article 2 reconfirms that te reo Māori is a taonga of Māori people, and that Māori have tino rangatiratanga over te reo. Article 3 provides an opportunity for the role that citizens might play with the language.

As noted earlier, following the report of Te Paepae Motuhake (2011), two strategies were to be developed for language restoration between 2017 and 2040: te Maihi Karauna, to guide the government role; and te Maihi Māori, to guide iwi-led approaches. Absent from this bilateral approach was te Maihi ā-Motu, the role of citizens who could be considered an untapped potential for the language, or alternatively, an unmanaged risk.

This research focuses on a sample of Pākehā citizens who are already participating strongly with te reo. It was apparent throughout their interviews that they do this with the utmost desire to respect and honour that te reo is a taonga of Māori, and that Māori have tino rangatiratanga over it. What can their stories and experiences teach us about ways of doing this? What have they learned along the way that can enable us, as a nation, to support and embrace te reo in a way that strengthens Māori, rather than inadvertently perpetuating colonisation through the language? What might the future role of the citizens of Aotearoa New Zealand be in relation to te reo Māori?

In the words of the bilingual Pākehā respondents:

> *"When you think about Māori just being the normal language, the ordinary language of New Zealand, the living everyday language ... well, that's what the word [māori] means, so probably that tells you where it needs to go in the end."* $_{P11}$

"I think by now I've identified what that third world was. When I read the Treaty of Waitangi and Te Tiriti of Waitangi, I read those two documents and I thought, 'Holy crap, this third world that I've been living in is actually the world that Māori people wanted Pākehā to have, back when they signed Te Tiriti o Waitangi. I am what they wanted to happen in the world!' And I thought, 'No wonder I live in this third world!'" [P6]

4. Motivations: Why Pākehā right-shift

The motivations that Pākehā have for learning te reo Māori are highly relevant to language revitalisation and re-normalisation. To become fluent, you have to start learning. In this chapter, the respondents' predetermining factors, initial motivations, and motivations once learning are reported.

Predetermining factors

Some factors that could predetermine a disposition towards te reo Māori were identified. All these factors occurred for fewer than half of the respondents.

Ancestors' tendencies

Ancestors who were positively engaged with Māori or had been particularly open-minded for their times were noted by some respondents. This included ancestors who had experiences prior to migration to Aotearoa/New Zealand that might have predisposed them to a compassionate stance, such as persecution by colonisers in their homelands, and loss of land, resources, language, and identity.

"I've got several generations on both sides of my family who have already established that process, and transmitted it to me inherently. I'm a product of that. I didn't have to start from such a low place; I came with a bit of something already in me."[P5]

"I had a great-grandfather who had been very involved ... there was always this benevolent glow around that connection with tikanga Māori and the language."[P11]

Family values and attitudes

A range of attitudes towards Māori were held by respondents' parents, ranging from open-minded and liberal to racist. Their parents' responses to their desire to learn te reo Māori had ranged from active encouragement to active discouragement or denial. High regard for learning, education, and books was the most dominant family value identified. Religious values, a family love of music, and a value comparable to manaakitanga were additional themes.

Relevant outliers included te reo Māori words, phrases, and tikanga being present in the home because of intergenerational involvement in te reo and attending kōhanga reo and kura kaupapa.

"I definitely chose to start learning, against a lot of resistance from the adults in my environment – teachers and parents – and it wasn't allowed to go on for very long."[P1]

"My mother was always, rest her soul, reflexively racist. But not in a major way – in the low-key ways of expecting negative things of brown people. But my dad wasn't really – he was reflexively fair about everybody."[P8]

"I probably came from a very inquisitive family, that if something didn't make sense, you found ways to work it out and make sense of it."[P10]

Childhood attributes

A strong sense of rightness, dislike of bullying and defending the underdog were common childhood attributes. A love of reading, learning and/or language, and arts/music were prominent interests.

"I had a strong sense of justice and would stick up for those who were bullied."[P13]

"At school I was really studious. I was a geek, I loved to read. And I remember I would come home, I'd always have books from the library, I just read and read and read. So I was always hungry for knowledge, always very, very curious."[P5]

Childhood awareness of Māori

During childhood, many hardly perceived Māori people and language to exist, including low recognition of fellow students as being Māori. Exposure to te reo through short segments on television or brief encounters at primary school had some positive impact, as did having Māori friends. Despite the lack of family or societal awareness, some developed a curiosity about Māori and race relations at a young age.

Outliers included one respondent who mainly interacted with Māori and Pacific neighbours and friends, some who had several Māori friends, and one who was brought up in kōhanga reo and kura kaupapa.

"I would say that I was raised with zero understanding of [the] history of Aotearoa, New Zealand. Maybe the occasional mention of Māori, in past tense, in a really generic way."[P1]

"I was surrounded by a kind of colonial lens based around books like Elsdon Best's The Māori as He Was*. Māori were a distinct culture that [had] more or less disappeared and the people that I knew as Māori were, in my mind, sort of disconnected from that tattooed, tribal past. It never occurred to me to wonder what was the connection between those people and the kids at school. I just assumed there was not much connection."*[P9]

"I saw Bill Parker's programme [on] Wednesday evening – but it was something completely disconnected, there was no sense of Māori language anywhere in my environment. It left me, when I started university, with no idea that Māori was a spoken language. Isn't that incredible! So – that's how I started learning Māori, at university. It was a complete fluke! Almost."[P9]

Initial motivations

A deep calling

A deep calling or inherent interest or pull to learn te reo Māori was the primary motivation identified. This was not intellectual and often had no logical rationale, but was akin to an innate

desire or a spiritual pull. For many, this was sparked into life when they first encountered te reo/te ao Māori.

"I don't really remember ever thinking of any other option [at high school] or having any tussle with myself about … 'I really wanna do this instead of that'. It was just, 'I'm doing Māori'." P5

"I've always been attracted to difference and I was intrigued. I was really conscious in that little course that I was no more than scratching the surface, like seeing things from afar." P8

"There's a joie de vivre about Māori people, a kind of natural energy and spontaneity and exuberance that I like, and it calls to something in me." P8

Friends, family or societal models

The encouragement of friends and family encouragement was motivating when this existed, as was the visibility of role models or of te reo in society.

"When I went to high school, all my mates were Māori, so they took te reo Māori, so I learned with them. They were the guys in school, they had all the chicks. I wasn't really into that – not at that age anyway – but they were. They were cool, they were in the First XV, they were the sort of person that I thought I might like to be." P6

"Taking te reo Māori, I was getting to be with the people that I really liked being with. It was a cool place to hang out. They were mischief, a lot of them, but they were my kind of people. They weren't boring." P5

Knowing about this place

Knowing about this place was a key motivation for those who had been born in another country or who had grown up overseas. Travelling overseas and loving the adventure of different cultures, but recognising their ignorance about things Māori, was also identified.

"[Encountering te ao Māori] was a shock to the system and it made me realise I was seriously ignorant. There was this incredibly important part of my world that I knew nothing about and I had some serious learning to do. I really had to get on [to] start filling the vast, gaping hole in my knowledge." P9

"I saw three Pākehā speaking on each marae and thought, 'That's looks like an important thing to do'. I saw them modelling bilingual welcomes [at a non-Māori group] and just thought, 'That's really important'." P10

"Spending a year overseas was a big turning point, which is ironic but true. Every time I tried to talk about Māori stuff I realised I didn't know anything, I was really bone ignorant." P11

Other motivations

Other motivations were each noted by only one or two respondents but they were significant for them. They included the beauty of the language, the Treaty of Waitangi and social justice, a love of Māori music, professional expectations and opportunities, or te reo being coincidental to their path.

"I do remember generally wanting to honour the Treaty but I didn't really know what the Treaty said. I didn't know who'd signed it and who hadn't, or why or how. I think I just had this romantic idea that there was this thing called the Treaty and it was the founding document of our nation." P1

"You wouldn't ever think that being someone who was fine about singing would matter much. But I think, actually, in a weird way, it's led me along that path." P8

"Being the idealist I was, it was around saying, 'Actually, if I'm going to teach in a New Zealand school – actually, to do real service to that, I need to … be able to do that bilingually and biculturally. So I needed to work on my reo and knowledge of te ao Māori, so I could be flexible enough." P7

Compounding motivations once learning

Learning and contributing to te reo

After the first steps on the journey, te reo Māori itself became the primary motivator for continuing to learn. This included both the desire to continue learning and to contribute to te reo. These compounded further and became more complex as learning progressed. Drivers included a love of te reo and the learning journey, improving and perfecting one's language, building a network of speakers, a desire to contribute to the language's survival and revival, and learning about local people and places.

"From that first lecture, I was like, 'That's what I want – I want to be able to speak. I want to be truly bilingual if I can'." P7

"I did have a sense that as a Pākehā I was sort of entering into terra incognita and that it was incumbent on me to do it well. I had a sense of obligation and I'm not generally particularly studious, but I actually tried pretty hard to do it." P8

"I just loved it. I always have done, right from the beginning. It was like falling in love. It's the best thing I could say about it, it's really what it was like. It was like, 'Whoa, this is so awesome, what an adventure!' So I was in boots and all, loving it and having such a great time." P11

"Nothing's ever big-time changed, but you start to get a bigger view of it as you start to think, 'Maybe I could have a bit more of an influence here, or I could just be more actively involved in the whole te reo Māori revival project'." P12

Importance to relationships

Te reo became an integral part of many key relationships, which were fed by continuing learning and involvement. For those who used te reo with their children, the need to learn new language to support them, and the desire to pass the language on, become significant motivators.

"Now my motivation is to leave a legacy for my children too, like I said, to hold space but to leave a legacy that they can be proud of, that their mum did this, their mum was part of this. That's part of it, but it's not in a whakahīhī way. I'm always humble to be allowed into those spaces." P5

"Being able to give support to your friends and whānau at tangi in those times of difficulty in an appropriate way. I later translated what was said about his father to [a Māori friend] who does not speak Māori."[P7]

The language becomes inseparable from the speaker

For most, te reo became an inseparable part of who they were. Even if they wanted to walk away, they could not. It melded into their identity, their purpose in life, and their very being. Continuing to learn and use te reo was inextricably linked with continuing to exist.

"It's part of who I am. I won't lose it. Even though at times I want to run away, that part of me is so strong. So when I'm at hui, or at a pōwhiri, or listening to speakers, there's something in there that touches my inner core, that comes from a place of being very, very young. And for me, that's something that is beautiful. And it comes with a whole lot – a sense of beauty and a sense of commitment, and there has been a real sense of obligation for a long time. It's about me giving time and space to a part of me that is part of my identity."[P4]

Discussion and analysis: Motivations

The findings of this research around motivations for learning te reo were unexpected. Anecdotally, many Pākehā have said they chose to learn te reo to fulfil their sense of Treaty of Waitangi responsibilities, to support social justice, or for professional development. However, for this cohort, those motivations had been secondary – and by a very long way.

For respondents in this research, the primary (and for most, the only) motivation to right-shift from Zero or Passive to Active, and start to learn te reo Māori, was a deep calling – variously described as an innate desire or an inherent or spiritual pull. This calling seems to have been of such depth, and so inherent to the person, that potentially, it could have provided the necessary resilience and sense of purpose required during the inevitable vicissitudes of a language-learning and cross-cultural journey.

The predetermining factors that were identified were thought-provoking findings. A childhood love of learning and books, and an academic predisposition, were common features for many. This was in spite of the fact that the prevailing attitude in society at that time was that te reo had little academic or career value.

A notable proportion of the respondents had a parent who had inhabited the Passive zone on the ZePA spectrum, or an ancestor who had inhabited the Passive or Active zones. It makes sense that this tendency could quietly nurture an awareness and openness in a child, which eventually leads them to take action. Many also had at least one parent who had inhabited the Zero zone, but this was not prohibitive to their eventual learning. The implications of these predetermining factors are discussed in more depth in the Overall Discussion section at the end of this report.

5. Challenges on the path: Left-shifting factors for Pākehā

The adventure of becoming a fluent Pākehā speaker of te reo is imbued with challenges, which if met with presence and grace, lead to great rewards. Any journey off the beaten track is an adventure, at times risky and difficult. This is exacerbated when there is no map and compass, or perhaps there is but you do not know how to read them. It is likely you will make mistakes, get lost, go around in circles, and feel scared, lonely, and confused. You will probably encounter things you did not expect to find. It takes a certain degree of resourcefulness to work out a route, humility to ask for help and support, and resilience and determination to keep on keeping on.

An array of internal and external challenges arose for all these people on the learning journey. These challenges were often difficult to navigate at the time, but led to vast internal growth, strength, and skill. They were fortunate to be exploring not the far reaches of uninhabited bush, but the geographically close and culturally distant world of te ao Māori, alongside Māori people whom they found to be overwhelmingly generous, welcoming, and patient.

By definition of being fluent speakers, it is clear that these respondents had persevered. However, it is helpful to understand their challenges, as these are potential left-shifting factors for other Pākehā learners. Most Pākehā who start learning te reo Māori stop well before they become fluent and the reasons for this are not well researched nor understood. Anecdotally, however, the challenges below are known to play a significant role. Some of these challenges were continuing to have the effect of left-shifting some respondents (or reducing their degree of right-shifting), even though they remained within the Active zone.

The key challenges identified fell into two broad categories: walking this path in the context of colonisation; and the experience of finding oneself in an undefined place between two worlds.

First the land, now the language

The participants felt that openly acknowledging that Pākehā learning of te reo Māori takes place in the context of colonisation and its ongoing processes and impacts was important. This situation presented multiple layers of complexity for Pākehā learning te reo, as well as for Māori sharing their language with Pākehā. The subtle and less-subtle aspects of these dynamics, and the ways they played out internally and relationally in the space of te reo, were the foundation for many of the challenges that were mentioned by the participants in this study.

We haven't met before, but I'm your history …

Encountering the facts of our country's colonial past for the first time was a key challenge in the early years of learning te reo. People were completely unprepared for this meeting and did not know how to deal with it, as our history was not taught adequately in school, nor held as general knowledge. Learning te reo was a gateway to comprehending the profound effects that colonisation by Pākehā had, and continues to have, on Māori. These shocking insights were personally confronting and they conjured up feelings of shame and guilt.

"I always had known about some kind of general inequity in my society, but I hadn't ever thought about how that was the impact of colonisation, and hadn't actively confronted it."[P2]

"[Pākehā] are scared. And some of that is still – I don't think that we've fully dealt with the repercussions of the New Zealand Wars."[P7]

"There's a lot of fear and guilt out there, and it's akin to fear of fear. I'm like, 'Dude, but you don't use that as an excuse to stop you learning anything else do you?' No one says, 'I don't know if they should be teaching our kids maths at school because it's only going to make them feel guilty for not having known it before'. Even if you did end up feeling guilty, would that be a bad thing? Maybe it would be a healthy thing to work your way through and maybe you would survive."[P1]

"I'm here and I'm just a fact of life. I've found it's good to be a European New Zealander. I feel good about myself. I don't feel so good about the fact that I think Pākehā New Zealanders have buried in their subconscious how they got to run this country, how they got to have all the land. I don't think it's a coincidence that it doesn't get taught in schools much. That's one side of being us that I'm not so wild about, but I just feel comfortable in my own skin, being just who I am."[P12]

Ko te reo te mauri o te mana Māori

The relationships that Māori hold with their language are many and varied. Respondents' perceptions of these relationships included te reo being a powerful symbol and expression of identity, integral to culture and immensely fulfilling (see the section on Values). For Māori who did not have their language, or for those who have had to learn it, this could be a poignant reminder of loss, and trigger intergenerational trauma of disconnection. The depth and breadth of these perceived relationships that Māori hold with te reo was far-reaching. The ramifications of these dynamics were of critical importance for these Pākehā learners and speakers.

The trauma of loss

The respondents empathised with the mamae that many Māori feel around not speaking te reo, as well as the pain and difficulty that some Māori experience when learning their ancestral language. These issues could surface for their fellow Māori learners during te reo classes, including some 'coming out' as Māori for the first time.

"There's some people who acknowledge they missed out on te reo and that's just how it was, and there's other people that really hold a lot of trauma from it. I don't think there's a general answer to that, you've just gotta work it out individually because it's the same with returning soldiers, Jews in internment camps and concentration camps. Some people get through it, some people it's intergenerational trauma. It's just a huge range."[P10]

"[Some Māori feel they are] not progressing with te reo because, 'I'm Māori and it's really painful for me to think about the fact that nobody in my family can speak te reo any more, whereas just a few generations ago all of us could – that hurts'."[P2]

Your language, my voice

Māori were positive, encouraging, profoundly generous, and welcoming with regard to these people learning and speaking te reo. However, respondents had encountered a wide range of stances and

some attitudes at either end of the spectrum had been difficult to cope with. On one hand, they had been showered with more attention and praise than their Māori counterparts received. On the other hand, there had been strongly negative attitudes from some individual Māori who did not think Pākehā should learn te reo at all. Most respondents, over multiple decades of learning, had experienced direct hostility and attacks once or twice, or more frequently for some of those in teaching roles.

"At our [high school as a student] I would be a kaikōrero at different times. The first reaction that you'd get from Māori groups was total silence. The second thing would be the whispers. I tried to ignore it but it gives you a bit of a complex, especially when you're trying to deal with an identity crisis." P6

"All these greats of Māoridom encourage you to learn the language and see a role for you in promoting the language. Why bother about those people who are criticising you? That's been my attitude for a long time." P13

"Māori people can be a bit [protective] about their reo but we all understand why, when you've had everything taken off you by the very people that now want your reo; that's crazy." P6

"It always keeps me on the edge of my toes, making sure that I'm on my game. Because – don't ever be lax about it. Don't ever take your reo for granted. Because there's Māori out there who don't have any reo and yet they've struggled all their life to get it." P6

May I dance with you in te reo?

Pākehā are associated with language loss and its continued suppression, as the descendants of colonisers and members of the majority. Pākehā speakers of te reo can variously light up the eyes of kaumātua, rub salt into the wound, or act as a powerful catalyst and support for Māori learning their reo. The respondents were cautious about when to speak te reo Māori, with an acute awareness that it could trigger pain in the listeners. There was a pull to use te reo to increase its visibility and vitality, both in reo Māori communities and in wider society. However, there was also regular conscious and active suppression of their reo – the quantity, the quality, or both.

"One significant experience was the first time I spoke on a marae. The kaumātua on the other side spoke in Māori and I didn't understand a word of it. Then he spoke in English and acknowledged me. He said, 'To dignify us and our marae by speaking Māori …'. That word's always stuck with me. That if that's what it means, just that little bit of effort means that much, it's gotta be worth doing for that reason. Then, you realise it's much more complicated than that in the end. You've gotta be careful who you choose to dignify, to put it humorously." P10

"A lot of it's intuition, I guess; you weigh up the situation when you meet people and ascertain whether you should actually be speaking Māori to them or not. At the back of my mind, it's being careful. Because I know a lot of Māori are very conscious that they haven't got knowledge of the language, and don't like being shown up." P13

"If I kōrero Māori in a Māori setting to a high level of fluency, it can be off-putting for other Māori and make them feel worse about the situation – so I think that's a real key to it too, is knowing when to shut up." P5

"It probably means I speak Māori much less than I would otherwise. I wait for somebody else to speak Māori to me, probably. And then, that relies on them knowing you do speak Māori. But that's just the way it is. It's a constant negotiation on all sorts of fronts at once."[P11]

The challenge of standing upright

The challenge of dealing with society's attitudes towards Māori and te reo meant these people had to find ways to be steadfast, either personally or professionally. They had become much more aware of the subtle and overt racism in society, and the difficulties this caused for both Māori and the language itself. A puzzling (but common) scenario was described whereby individual Pākehā, on finding out that the person spoke te reo and was Pākehā , regarded them as worthy recipients of their diatribes against Māori. Because of their association with Māori and passion for te reo, they had been targets of the whole gamut of unpleasant reactions from Pākehā, from bewilderment through to deeply racist attitudes.

"It's a different response [than to foreign languages] when you speak Māori [in a café]. There's some cultural baggage that has to change first. If it doesn't change, then Māori are gonna keep their mouths shut in public. Pākehā think speaking Māori is okay, as long as it's over there, as long as it's on the marae or somewhere else and it's not in my backyard. I think that's a shocking state of affairs."[P10]

"For tomatoes to grow in a hot house, you need a hot house; if you don't have the walls of the hot house, the tomatoes will die in the frost. And I think that's exactly what it's like for kaupapa Māori in [place name] – it's getting better, but it's hard for kaupapa Māori to thrive in an environment that just doesn't give a shit."[P3]

"People feel really defensive when they're ignorant. And lots and lots of Pākehā people are really ignorant about te ao Māori and te reo Māori, and that creates a defensiveness."[P2]

Three in the bed

Not surprisingly, the attitudes of family and friends had an even more personal effect than those of society in general. Involvement with te reo had caused tensions with parents, relatives, and spouses. Conversely, positive attitudes from family and friends, and/or shared involvement, had enhanced their experiences.

"I can remember one time [my Dad and I] almost got into a punch-up in a restaurant over the Māori stuff. I realised at that time, 'This is a kaupapa that's going to ruin our relationship'. And I thought, 'No, I love my Dad and that's first'. So whenever we talk about this sort of thing, I just nod my head and go, 'Yep, yep, yep'."[P3]

"It's not brain science but those relationships all have an influence on whether you speak or not, or continue to learn. My partner at that time left me ... she didn't feel capable of supporting me in my commitment to kaupapa Māori and Māori advancement. She felt out of her depth with it and I was working quite a lot in that area. So it put a lot of strain on us."[P4]

"Mum made it okay to be me, in terms of being in the Māori world, whereas my father would always disagree with it. I always had this feeling that he hated me, or hated what I was doing in the Māori world."[P6]

Zen and the fine art of humility

The behaviours of other Pākehā engaging with te reo or te ao Māori were often experienced as inappropriate and unhelpful. Most respondents were highly aware that they needed to carry themselves with absolute integrity, because they knew their behaviours would affect the way other Pākehā were received in the future. Through their long involvement, the respondents had developed their own sets of behaviours and protocols for guiding themselves in te ao Māori [see the section Manuhiri of te reo].

"Māori have every right to be cautious of any Pākehā that comes along and wants to contribute, because we know in the past those contributions have not been for the betterment of Māori. I joke that the last Pākehā that came along that they trusted took their land. It's no laughing matter, but it's the truth. It's not something I do lightly, drag a whole lot of Pākehā into the kaupapa, because they often have their own agendas." P5

"There's lots of non-Māori, I believe, that go into it because they want something out of it. I didn't go into it because I wanted something out of it. I went in there with a genuine heart and a passion for te reo." P6

"In terms of te ao Māori, in terms of tikanga, you don't ever want to make a mistake. If you make a mistake, people are gonna look at you and go, 'Bloody Pākehās'. What does this do for every other Pākehā that's coming behind you generationally, and every other Pākehā that's in front of you generationally? It actually makes Māori people not want to share with you, and you can understand that." P6

"The biggest challenge for those of us who are involved in te ao Māori is maintaining authenticity, but also being very aware of the arrogance that can come from the Pākehā mentality ... It goes against the mainstream Pākehā vision of how Pākehā should be." P7

Discussion and analysis: First the land, now the language

All participants in this research acknowledged that the legacy of historic and current-day interactions of Pākehā with Māori had been devastating for Māori. Outrage on becoming aware was common, both at what had happened, and at how they could have been raised not knowing about it. A phase of guilt, shame, and paralysis ensued for some, while others moved more quickly to a point of internal conciliation and action.

Learning te reo was seen as an opportunity to partially address, in the present time, the burden of colonisation and the benefits that had accrued to their people from it. With an acute awareness of the role of colonial government and settlers in suppressing te reo, as well as of the ongoing power dynamics, the convolutions of trying to engage with te reo in ways that did not perpetuate colonisation became a key consideration.

These people had clearly found ways through the difficulties but they were also aware that many Pākehā fell off the reo wagon at this point. Some viewed avoidance of facing up to colonisation as a key reason that Pākehā evaded learning te reo, and drew a comparison with Tauiwi from other countries, who did not have the same cultural baggage as those who grew up here.

They believed the burden of these earlier interactions directly affected the way they were received, and found it understandable that Māori generally had very low expectations of Pākehā behaviour.

They needed to set themselves apart and chart a path through what was described as 'past crap'. An acute awareness that their own behaviours would affect the reception of current and future Pākehā shaped a vigilance to ensure that their own integrity was unquestionable, their actions were well thought out, and their motivations were pure. Some noted that the involvement of Pākehā in te reo Māori does not automatically create positive change for Māori; it can benefit Pākehā by adding to their knowledge, but this does not rebalance their power relations or privileges.

The ongoing willingness of Māori to share their reo was viewed as the utmost act of generosity, given how much has already been lost to Pākehā, and how often Māori have been betrayed. Most of them learned te reo in contexts in which Māori comprised the majority of learners and could experience trauma being triggered and/or resolved. There were challenges inherent in these undercurrents within a te reo class.

The above entanglement played out in the choices made by fluent Pākehā about when, or if, to use their Māori language with other individuals. All respondents had independently developed very similar approaches to constantly assessing the possible repercussions of them using their reo and minimising the risk that their abilities could have a negative effect on the mana of Māori individuals, thereby potentially causing a left-shift for Māori individuals from Active or Passive, to Zero. One respondent expressed this in terms of meeting someone for the first time and communicating wordlessly about how to greet each other. "You can shake hands and lean backwards, or you can shake hands and lean forwards. They will read your body language and won't hongi you unless there's a feeling that it's appropriate."$_{P10}$ This intricate dance process was delicate, and respondents tended to err on the side of caution and to 'lean out' – away from using te reo. It is important to note that none of the respondents suggested that this left-shifting was done at the request of Māori. Most respondents also had stories of having inspired individual Māori to learn te reo, provoking an 'if they can, I can' response.

The implication for language re-normalisation is that these fluent Pākehā individuals frequently left-shifted from Active to Passive, out of respect for Māori who did not have te reo, or were not as fluent. The loss to the language's visibility and vitality in that moment was weighed up against the perceived pain or whakamā that might be caused for an individual. While any left-shifting could be viewed as undesirable, the implied evaluation was whether the benefits for the language of speaking in te reo would outweigh the cost to the individual – or whether the benefits to the individual of not speaking in te reo would outweigh the cost to the language. The general outcomes of this instantaneous evaluation leaned heavily towards taking care of the individual rather than speaking the language.

There was a further layer of complexity for the respondents who were in reo teaching roles. They were comfortable to recognise that some Māori would be better off learning from a Māori teacher, and helped to facilitate this happening. Some occasionally experienced having the learners, or the parents of children (not the children themselves), seeing them as a threat. Some respondents perceived that Māori who were secure in their own identity did not see Pākehā speaking their language and being involved in their culture as a threat.

Although feeling empathetic to these varied reactions, most of the respondents experienced personal anguish when they encountered them. One described this as the wider politics of our time becoming localised and being played out between individuals. On an intellectual level, this was easy to understand; on a personal level, it could be incredibly difficult. Following direct confrontations, some were able to ignore it and not internalise it, while others had experienced significant paralysis. For some, the pain of personalised attacks had been held tightly inside for several decades and was

first expressed through their interview in this research. These experiences had caused some respondents to left-shift to Passive or Zero for extended periods.

New Zealand society was experienced being an unsafe place for te reo Māori, as a significant sector of our society sits at Zero on the ZePA model. The observed destructive societal attitudes towards te reo Māori and its speakers ranged from persistent mispronunciation through to overt racism and hostility. People witnessed the effect this had on Māori and the language itself. A Zero environment makes it difficult for te reo to flourish – societal attitudes and acts of hostility push te reo underground and cause moment-to-moment left-shifts, which were seen to have a cumulative left-shifting effect over time. Speakers needed to weigh up their personal resilience at a particular moment when deciding whether to use their language in public. Many did persist and speaking in public was seen as critical behaviour for te reo to become re-normalised, and an act of activism, often having even more impact if the speaker did not look Māori.

The dynamics around te reo clearly played out on various levels – nationally, within communities, classrooms, and families. Some who taught te reo or worked in cross-cultural environments were careful to keep the space safe for Māori who might be present. Non-Māori were observed to bring in subconscious beliefs and behaviours, which when unravelled in a shared space could be problematic. Despite these difficulties, it was generally assumed better for Pākehā to learn te reo through connection with Māori. People also had a role helping other Pākehā through the door and stimulating a move from Zero towards Passive or Active.

The findings showed that our nearest and dearest could be one of the biggest threats to the continued right-shifting of a person with te reo. Some people occasionally or regularly left-shifted into Passive when relating to loved ones in Zero. While this approach could help to retain these important relationships, suppressing a part of themselves came at a personal cost. Some reached a point of exhaustion because of the tension with family members who had negative or racist attitudes. Either the behaviour had subsided after decades, or the reo speaker had made the decision to leave their 'Māori side' outside, in order to preserve the relationship.

The involvement of some respondents in te reo had put significant strain on their relationship with their partner or spouse, and they said it was almost like having a third party in the relationship. Approximately half had partners who spoke some Māori, or were learning. The partners of some had struggled with learning te reo. Some relationships had ended over te reo. Some people's committed relationship with te reo had come close to ending because of their intimate relationship. When the monolingual partner was Māori, a range of dynamics could ensue. Some Māori partners were grateful to have a partner who could pass on te reo to their Māori children and they were involved in kaupapa Māori together as a family. The Māori partners of others had their own pain around language loss and internal blocks around learning. This could be triggered in painful ways within a relationship in which the Pākehā partner was a fluent speaker, but the Māori partner or child was not able or willing to participate fully in te ao Māori with them.

Most who were bilingual when their children were born spoke to their children (Pākehā and Māori) in te reo for the first few years of their lives. Some had continued beyond then, with te reo as the first language of their children. This finding has implications for language revitalisation, as anecdotally it is believed that Pākehā speakers generally do not transmit te reo intergenerationally to their children, a practice necessary for the long-term revitalisation of a living language.

As noted above, respondents had often witnessed other Pākehā using te reo Māori in ways that were actually harmful, rather than merely unhelpful. Recurring words used to describe these

behaviours were tokenism, arrogance, and ego. The reverse side of these were authenticity, humility, and integrity.

Persistent mispronunciation, with no attempt to try to pronounce words correctly, was perceived as an insult to the language. It was described as wilful ignorance, as there have been so many opportunities for people to learn over the period since European settlement. As one respondent said, "It's not half-pai. Half-pai is not ka pai. It's all or nothing."[P6] Pākehā leaders were often seen to use te reo in a highly tokenistic way, in misguided attempts to show respect. Predictably, this had the opposite effect and further entrenched disrespect for te reo.

People also recognised different ways that Pākehā speakers could potentially use their reo. The distinctions were subtle, but the consensus was that even 'good reo' could be used in ways that flaunted it, and the way it was spoken could equate to a put-down to Māori.

Another Pākehā behaviour frequently witnessed involved an inappropriate balance between ego and authenticity. Respondents said it was common for Pākehā to enter te ao Māori and 'not take their shoes off at the door' – that is, to unconsciously carry in their cultural ways of being. Unfortunately, the shoes usually bore the dust of arrogance from their own culture, which could manifest as power tripping, mana munching, and assertion of ego. However, Pākehā who were aware of the power dynamics and were cautious about their behaviour could sometimes go too far in the opposite direction. In addition to leaving their shoes at the door, they could also leave behind their authenticity and sense of self. Respondents noted that behaviours arising from this attitude were unhelpful, saying that abasement went down like a lead balloon with Māori. As one stated, "If you make a scene about being humble, it might not actually be all that humble".[P9] Take your cultural shoes off at the door but keep your clothes of authenticity on!

Inhabiting the liminal space

The term liminal space, or third space, refers to a space in which two cultures and worlds overlap. It has been explored in other areas of research (for example, Land, Rattray & Vivian, 2014; Burns, 2012) and has much relevance to bilingual Pākehā. People acknowledged that many Māori occupy the third space because they exist in te ao Māori and by necessity, also exist in te ao Pākehā. Therefore, Māori traverse these complex issues far more often than Pākehā do. These bilingual Pākehā said they, too, dwell in a third space and their experiences have some similarities and some differences to those of Māori, as described below.

Cultural chameleons

Inhabiting two worlds and often not feeling a full sense of belonging in either was challenging for these people. Some felt that they had two personalities or identities, and that most people in their lives did not know the full person. They had developed a significant new aspect of self that many of their family and previous friends could not understand. At the same time, some found it difficult to build or maintain relationships with Māori, experiencing warm relationships when present at shared kaupapa but then these becoming dormant in between. Others found Māori social situations difficult, and the predominant topics of conversation in them were culturally specific.

"[At university] I was doing political action around the Treaty and decolonisation but I wasn't living my life reality, so it became a political thing where I'd have engagement through politics. That was different because we would have very politicised ways of working. We'd have a Māori group and

we'd have the Pākehā group. An intellectual approach, as opposed to a felt experience. They're both useful, but I just remember feeling at that age, like man, I just wanted to hang out with my Māori mates." P4

"I have a problem with biculturalism as a term, because I think it generalises and moves away from the power relationships that go on between and amongst people. That power relationship is always changing. I have made a choice as an adult to pursue my commitment to Māori knowledge and well-being, and to work with Pākehā around how we engage with Māori. Some might call that bicultural. But for me, you don't just arrive at being bicultural and [then] it's static." P4

"I don't ever turn around and tell people, 'Look at me, I'm in the Māori world'. Who cares? There's heaps of people in the Māori world. They're just not white people like you and I." P6

When I grow up I just want to be me

The unearthing of their own identity was a significant component of the reo journey. Most of those who learned te reo from their childhood/early teenage years had difficult times reconciling their appearance and Pākehā heritage with the deep sense of connection they felt with te reo, te ao Māori, and their Māori friends. They noted that it was important to always remember they were Pākehā and to be clear about that in te ao Māori. Within that parameter, however, most people described te reo and te ao Māori as forming a critical and inextricable part of their identity.

"The better I got at te reo Māori, the more I didn't want to be like [my Māori friends]. I didn't wanna be them any more, I wanted to be me. I think te reo Māori does that; it makes you want to be you, not want to be anyone else." P6

"I've always insisted that I am a Pākehā. I am not a Māori. I don't want to be a Māori. I don't pretend to be a Māori. I don't try to be a Māori. I never will. At the end of the day, I am Pākehā. And actually, part of our task, my task, is redefining Pākehā, not to mean ignorant, stupid, blundering ... Pākehā might mean that in most cases, but not in every case." P9

"It's been decades and decades to move along from that. From being the person that you imagine yourself to be and trying to be the person that you want to be, to accepting the person that you are. And then, if you accept who you are, then you're free. Then you are free to actually really do something beautiful." P14

A path less travelled

Bilingual Pākehā mentors and role models were lacking. For some this was difficult, as they had to find their own way through the maze, while others felt this was not of importance. Most had a sense of being unique and treading an untrodden path. Several gained an inner strength and sense of connection from meeting with Reo2NZ/Ngā Rauawa o te Waka Reo Māori, a network of Pākehā speakers of te reo Māori who are committed to supporting re-normalisation of the language, sharing experiences as Pākehā and collectively engaging with Māori language leaders.

"I just kind of staggered my way through it. When I was a kid, I didn't have many people to talk to about it, because it was really uncommon." P11

"My journey has been a pretty amazing journey. For years I thought that John Moorfield and I were the only ones that spoke Māori in the whole country who were white." P6

"If there is an effort to be bicultural moving forward, and trying to create a pathway for non-Māori into the Māori world, then those symbols are important. Having a Pākehā person as a kaikomihana on Te Taura Whiri again. And I wonder how long it's going to be before they get one of us to be a teacher at Kura Reo. To absolutely acknowledge that there are more Pākehā coming through, but also endorsing a particular way that Pākehā need to be within that environment." P7

"Ngā Rauawa are preparing the ground for the future. We're having those conversations and testing the boundaries about what Māori are comfortable for Pākehā to be involved in." P7

Undercurrents and internal currents

The dynamics of existing in the third space as a bilingual Pākehā, and often being the only Pākehā there, could induce a multiplicity of emotions and behaviours. Most people had a high degree of self-awareness and self-reflection. Anxiety was a regular occurrence for a significant number, and some often felt inadequate, partially around not being Māori.

"We're like swans. You see the calmness floating across the surface of water, but you don't see all the paddling that's going on underneath." P7

"I don't ever wanna be in a position where my integrity is under question. If you start going down that dusty track, as soon as you have no integrity, you're buggered, you've had it, and you can't progress the things that you wanna progress or champion the things that you wanna champion, like te reo Māori, like tikanga Māori." P6

"My confidence has ebbed and flowed. I suppose it is that undercurrent, what is said and what isn't said. You'll get multiple messages. You've just got to trust your gut to some extent. The words that are said, and the wairua you feel – sometimes you've just got to go with what the wairua is telling you. And you've got to be aware what the undercurrents are as well, because it's about self-protection as well. You won't necessarily have other people there to help guard you against those other things that are going on." P7

Who will sing my waiata?

Loneliness and isolation occurred because of their experience of being different from both monolingual Pākehā and from Māori. As noted earlier, through their reo journey, people had grown a new layer of self that their pre-existing friends and family did not share. The sense of not quite belonging and not being a fully equal member of the te reo community as non-Māori was ever-present for some, despite regular deep involvement in te ao Māori.

"You're not the same any more, you're a different person. Most people don't get it. That's challenging. Although they've got an idea of it, they don't really understand, and are not really too worried about that [lack of understanding]." P3

"I was the focus of critique and discussion [by Māori]. That whole experience made me want to get the hell out of Māoridom. 'Cos I felt isolated, I felt vulnerable, yet I did what I thought I had to do. A large part of me was just like, 'This is too hard, I'm too vulnerable'. I had a slight depression afterwards." P4

"Te reo is an old friend who has always been there for me, even when I've felt like no one in the world has been there for me. It's a pretty lonely path that you and I choose."[P6]

Antennae out on stilts

Not surprisingly, when they were in te ao Māori, these people were hypervigilant and super-aware of subtle interactions, dynamics, and unspoken feelings. Their antennae were fully extended and functioning at all times, which for many was necessary but exhausting. A high degree of empathy was also evident.

"Even though I was a chameleon and I could change, there was always a point where I was still feeling a bit out of place, because Pākehā would talk to me about their stuff. I'd see racism there. Then Māori would talk to me about their stuff, so I'd pass for both. So I'd get to see the inner workings of both groups, which created a tension in me, and created an unsettledness and an anxiety, an insecurity, a vigilance, on edge. So, in some ways I wasn't as relaxed, and I think that comes with the work. But it's tiring and it's not particularly comfortable."[P4]

"The wheels never fell off. But I always proceeded quite cautiously. I was always aware when I was in these situations, talking in the house – I always felt like I was in a state of hyper-awareness, like all my antennae were out on stilts watching body language, and seeing who was feeling what about it, and who they were talking to about it. It was testing, because it's not my space. I was conscious of needing to employ my instincts very fully. You do have a lot of balls in play. I think it does make it exhausting."[P8]

"It wouldn't be easy for me to walk away, but I do need a continual mandate. If I ever do something that offends or puts me in that negative area of not being able to continue in a type of mahi because of my actions, then I'd wear the consequences of that. Sometimes you can do a hundred good things but you do that one dumb thing. I'm always mindful that I might have to work a bit harder than the guy next to me because of that."[P5]

Discussion and analysis: Inhabiting the liminal space

These people had needed to explore and understand their own identity on their reo journey. This had occurred in a variety of ways and at a range of levels, fuelled both by encountering 'the other' turning a mirror on themselves, and for most, by their uncommon deep connection with, and love for, te reo and te ao Māori, as Pākehā. Several went through a period of thinking they must really be Māori, which evolved into wishing that they were Māori. Some had searched their ancestry and, more recently, had tested their genetic heritage. Several experienced many years or decades of confusion, trying to understand why they felt such a deep connection to te reo and te ao Māori without having whakapapa, and how they could relate to this world when they could never own it as Māori do.

Traversing identity issues alone over a long period featured for most people. Family members generally had not understood what they were going through. Other Pākehā in a similar situation had generally not been present. Māori friends were going through 'their own stuff' and people hesitated to burden them further. Some who had eventually shared openly with a trusted Māori mentor or friend found that stimulated a stronger connection and was met with unwavering compassion and strengthened public backing from that person.

When young, recognition of the differences created a feeling of going between the two worlds and wanting to fit in. For some, this split in worlds and ways of being led to internal suppression and dividedness, experiencing society as largely segregated, with a foot in each part. This diminished over time, but for many, it had continued to some degree. Several felt that for a significant part of their life, they had had two identities. Over time, those two identities had grown closer and closer together, until they were almost the same person.

Resistance to becoming too inauthentically 'Māori-fied' was identified by some people who discussed their need to hold firmly to their Pākehā identity. One spoke about being told in a reo class that he should stop thinking in his Pākehā ways. Another said he endeavoured to use the language in a way that was authentic for Māori culture, but challenged the expectation to think and be like a Māori.

A common compliment given by Māori to Pākehā who reveal a particular type of presence in te ao Māori is to tell them they have a ngākau Māori or a wairua Māori, or that they are Māori. Most respondents had been told this, and warmly accepted it as a compliment, and were careful to accept the essence of this term, but not to internalise or project any belief that they were Māori.

For most, te reo and te ao Māori had become an inherent part of their identity. Something was missing from their life and being when they were not actively involved in it. One said it would be impossible to give it up, as it would be like cutting herself into bits. Another was an outlier in this regard, feeling that while te reo Māori was important, it was off to the side and he did not deeply identify with it.

All spoke with a high degree of emotional honesty, itself a notable trait. Self-reflection and self-honesty were probably attributes that enabled each person to explore, survive, and ultimately to thrive in this unmapped territory. Several respondents shared that the interview for this research was the first time they had spoken so honestly about their inner experiences, and that while it had stirred up suppressed emotion and experience, it had been deeply healing. Several spoke about not wanting to take up space in te ao Māori talking about their own internal struggles, as they already had so many privileges as Pākehā. While this was an empathetic approach, it possibly left their Māori friends and counterparts without a clear understanding of what it was like being Pākehā in that space and therefore, less equipped to support them.

In addition, these people exhibited a high degree of self-compassion and empathy, which is a powerful combination in spaces of uncertainty. Many could feel other people's feelings and were highly perceptive of even a small change in another person's demeanour. They tended to take responsibility for such a change, think it through, and consider how they could approach something differently another time. Some spoke about having needed to learn to relate to other people's stuff in ways that enabled them to keep it more at arms' length.

Anxiety and hypervigilance were common among the respondents. It was unclear whether this was exacerbated by the amount of time spent outside their comfort zone, or whether those tendencies were pre-existing and had enhanced their ability and willingness to be in te ao Māori. After all, if you are comfortable in what you do, there is often no reason to shift beyond your comfort zone. These people had clearly gone well beyond their comfort zones and had continued to be present even in highly uncomfortable situations.

Most were hypervigilant, hanging back to observe and read a situation, constantly considering the best movements for them as Pākehā. They regularly played devil's advocate with themselves, as if mentally preparing for any challenges. They were extremely careful about what they said and did,

paying special attention to ensuring their integrity was intact. Anxiety was seen as both a helpful trait and a hindrance. While the internal dialogue and consideration of all the possibilities could be exhausting and paralysing, working through possible scenarios could ensure preparedness and generally, they found that situations were not as bad as what they had imagined. Being self-aware, empathetic, and vigilant is likely to help in any cross-cultural engagement.

At an advanced stage on the learning path, these people had found a way to see themselves as Pākehā in a Māori world, operating in that world because Māori allowed them to. They had found a way to know themselves, to take their authentic being into that space and allow that world to enter and shape them. One person shared some advice given by Māori to a Pākehā elder, “Never forget you’re Pākehā, because the minute you do that, you’ll be no further use to us”.P11

6. Manuhiri of te reo: Staying in the Active zone

While these fluent Pākehā had encountered many internal and relational challenges on their reo journey, they had found ways to navigate them. Largely, these strategies had worked both for them and for the Māori with whom they had relationships. They spoke in considerable detail about keeping safe – not because they viewed te ao Māori as an unsafe place, but because it was unfamiliar territory with an array of dynamics in play, which they needed to navigate.

People used metaphors to describe their roles and behaviours in te ao Māori. Notably, the respondents had developed what might be termed a whakaaro Māori approach to interpreting situations and guiding their behaviour. It is not surprising that after decades of immersion in another language and culture, that its ways of thinking and being had become absorbed, and were inherent to the way they thought and behaved. In addition, they had been influenced by Māori feedback and reactions to their behaviours. Therefore, it is understandable that despite the respondents not having shared with each other during that process, their metaphors and thought processes about appropriate behaviours were in a high degree of alignment.

Pōwhiri rituals of encounter

These people viewed their place as that of manuhiri and repeatedly, the key aspects of the pōwhiri process were used as a metaphor for appropriate interaction with te ao Māori. The pōwhiri, as a formal process for rituals of encounter between two groups, is an apt symbol to guide the involvement of Pākehā in te reo and in te ao Māori. It is frequently used in training on cross-cultural behaviour as an allegory of how Pākehā, as manuhiri in te ao Māori, might engage appropriately on Māori terms. Its extension and use by these respondents as a reference point in the realm of te reo was natural and fitting, and in this section of the report, it has been used as a framework for recording their experiences.

Waerea: Spiritual protection

The respondents had developed a range of ways to keep themselves spiritually safe. For most, formal or informal practices of self-reflection, meditation, mindfulness, or spiritual beliefs gave them strength, guidance, and wisdom, as did trusting the wairua or their gut feelings to guide them. People demonstrated a high level of willingness to sit with discomfort or in wrongness, and to explore that. Several spoke about the need for self-compassion, doing the best they could with pure intent, and acknowledging that a great deal was out of their control.

Being mentally prepared and reading as much as possible, acknowledging the unseen forces at play, and following kawa and tikanga also featured. Several of the older respondents said it had been important to trust they would be taught what they needed to know, to accept boundaries that were put in place to keep them safe, and to be willing to step away from tapu kōrero or activities when they felt unsafe or when asked to.

"Meditation has helped me come out of my head and back into my body. Being as present as I can with the moment, noticing what's going on, noticing my reactions. And then making a choice. Do I want to go down the pathway of paralysis and feeling like crap or beating myself up? Do I want a bit of that, but actually, [do] I want to do something different? Or do I not need to go down that path because it doesn't serve me or the people I'm with?" P4

"One time I was in a situation where I was actually really scared ... he was very impatient with me ... it was like I'd flunked a test. I think for him, where he forgot I was Pākehā, I never did really. He was taking me off into areas where some of the stuff was very tapu and felt quite dangerous at times. I said, 'I can't do that, koro. I'm a young woman with children, I'm Pākehā'." P11

"At times I've known that I'm getting in too deep and to back off. I've been in that situation many a time. It's almost as if a voice tells you, 'Not your game, brother'. No matter how well you are taught, [it] doesn't mean that you know. The knowledge will be given to you. And I know very clearly there are some areas that are not for me. But I don't feel deprived because of that. I know what my part is and that's what I do." P14

Wero: Being honoured by a challenge

Receiving wero, or a strategic challenge, from Māori was understood to be an investment in them as a person considered worthy of receiving it. Sometimes it tested their merit for further investment. Being mentally and spiritually prepared for wero was important – the experience of not meeting a wero adequately had taken a severe toll on the well-being of some for an extended period. Some spoke about ensuring they never put themselves in a position where they would be challenged without having sufficient support or confidence in their right to be there.

People were generally unable to anticipate when a wero was coming, but perceived it as having occurred when there was a risk that they become whakahīhī, or if there was an opportunity to make a positive point about the person's skills or role publicly. Some experienced Pākehā had been given a wero in the early stages of being a group, to demonstrate that their inclusion as Pākehā was recognised and supported. For some, wero had led to a deepened awareness of what they were doing and why, and strengthened their resolve to further upskill and continue with their involvement.

"I think lots of Pākehā do run away when they are given a wero. If you don't know anything about it, you'd be like, this is really intense. But when you have an idea of them, then you can understand better what the purpose of it is. When you know what it's for and what a mihi it is actually to challenge someone, then you think about it differently, you might want to make different choices." P2

"It's a cliché, but the heart and mind need to be integrated. For those Pākehā that have had a difficult time or have been challenged and they've stepped right back, what I see is ngākau mamae. They carry that with them. And that's a shame." P4

"The key is never putting myself in a position where I would be challenged. The first defence is not to have an offence. Even when I am challenged, be humble in front of people; take it as what it is, 'cos you're in their world. Generally, it's got nothing to do with a bit of angst about you. It's to do with fear, misunderstanding – they don't know why you're in the Māori world. They have a perceived notion of why until you get up and explain it." P6

"Everybody was waiting for our side to speak. And he just grabbed me by my belt. No one saw it! He grabbed the belt right in the small of my back where my pants were and he just lifted me straight out of the seat. And once I'd stood, you couldn't sit back down again. And I thought, 'Oh crap!' So I cleared my throat. Well, that didn't help, because then everybody went silent – hey, what's this white dude doing? I walked out some distance, turned and faced the manuhiri and just launched into my whaikōrero. I had that Dutch courage because I was so pissed off with him. The whaikōrero could not have gone better. And my Māori teacher just grinned at me. That was my first-ever whaikōrero. It was really hell of a scary." [P6]

Karanga: Responding to an invitation

Invitation from Māori, either explicit or implicit, before moving into certain spaces or roles was imperative to these fluent Pākehā, moving in only with the support of people or the kaupapa. Connecting in with their gut feelings or wairua in responding to the invitation was also key. At times, there could be a confusing plethora of voices, and being able to find their way forward confidently and calmly was important. Being invited to take on particular roles helped ensure there was appropriate support for them once in the role.

"When you're moving into a kaupapa, only move in there when you have the support of the people, or the support of the people who own the kaupapa. Otherwise don't move into it, because if the people don't want you in there, get out, you shouldn't be there. That's how I navigate the sometimes turbulent waters." [P6]

"She said, 'Come on, I want to tell you the whakapapa'. I would sit with her and gather what she could remember. It's something that she blessed me to do and explained to me. She told me why she wouldn't give it to others – it would make them sick. She observed in me over the years that I couldn't [get mate Māori], so she said, 'I want to give it to you and I want you to give it to others'. I can filter out whatever heaviness was in there. That was a role I've taken." [P5]

"The hidden world – you don't get that through learning. It gives itself to you when it's required. And that's a different process. They put very tight boundaries around me, not to kaiponu the knowledge, but to keep me safe. That's why the traditional thing is, you don't ask to be taught, you get asked. And for some people it's best that they don't, because it's going to be more than they can manage." [P14]

Whaikōrero: Locating oneself within connections

Developing the skill to identify themselves in a Māori way that held true to their own background was of fundamental importance to the respondents. In any Māori context, being clear from the start about being Pākehā, and knowing their connections and reasons for being there, were important – that is, their whakapapa and purpose.

They generally felt that the form of pepeha used by Māori to acknowledge their whakapapa connections to place and people was inappropriate for Pākehā in rote-learned form. To use them would constitute either appropriation of a particular iwi's expression of identity or lack of authentic connect points to which the listeners could attach. They had found their own ways to identify themselves in ways that were meaningful in a Māori context and led to the critical outcome of

building connections. The specifics of their pepeha or mihimihi varied according to the context. They generally included clearly articulating that they were Pākehā; their ancestral background and connections to places in Aotearoa; their key connections to te ao Māori; the whakapapa of their reo; and other areas of their personal or professional life to which the particular audience was likely find a connection.

"During the whaikōrero I talked about the kaupapa of the wānanga that we were doing. And also, I talked about being Pākehā, where I learnt the reo and why I was there. So I located myself, very openly. And I'm six foot four and a half and I'm a honky, so it wasn't hard to locate who I was. But I located my relationships to the people there, to the wānanga itself, to the kaupapa, and also back to [the place where I learned]. And I always mihi to [the body of water at the place where I learned], and I mihi to those maunga. I don't claim those maunga or awa as mine. People should be aware of the risk of saying that, if they don't have a wider understanding of being on land that has been confiscated, where people have been killed and murdered. And now you're claiming it as yours? Kia tūpato! But I acknowledge those places, and I affirm them, because they're living entities. And I always claim my Pākehātanga. I always claim that." [P4]

"They take you on a journey. You can't take your eyes off them. You're following them around a paddock and that is the true essence of pepeha, so when you stand to speak you're supposed to take people on a journey with you. You're supposed to connect them to things that they can make connections with you on. He took me on a journey where I could almost close my eyes and see those places. I realised that I was missing that, I was really missing that, but that there were ways that I could do it." [P5]

"I'm one of your servants, I've married into you – that type of kōrero can lighten it. I'm Pākehā but I'm here to serve you, I've raised children of yours, so that can claim a bit of a mandate in a way. The whole point of introducing yourself is to help others make connections to your similarities." [P5]

Koha: Relationship with language

People spoke of their immense gratitude for the gift that had been generously shared with them, using the terms 'koha' or 'tuku'. While neither word translates readily to the English meaning of gift, the subtleties of meaning were of great consequence. Inherent in both koha and tuku is the notion of reciprocity, and the recipients of te reo felt a reciprocal obligation to care for te reo and to give back (explored further in the section on Reciprocity). While te reo had become an integral part of these people's identity and being, they were acutely aware that the language was not theirs. It had been gifted to them as a thing of great beauty and richness that they could share in, and that could live through them.

"I don't expect any favours. I expect to have to earn anything. When people share knowledge with me, I'm always feeling so humbled by that. You have to take the time to be with people in their tough times and their good times, to have those shared experiences where the learning comes from. A lot of that transcends race anyway." [P5]

"I've always seen te reo Māori as the most incredibly valuable gift that I've been given by Māori people. And it's a gift that you have to use wisely. I mean, there's no point in being given the language and then not speaking it. You've gotta be able to speak it, you've gotta be able to use it, you've gotta be able to do what you can for the benefit of te reo. What makes it valuable is the fact

that it's a gift, that it hasn't been taken. I haven't helped myself to the language, it's been gifted to me. And I totally appreciate that."[P9]

"I would never say I owned it. It's more like a gift. And then, what would happen if it wasn't given? If it was something that people started taking rather than it being offered ... and didn't give anything back, then what? So tuku is actually about relationships, completely. It's about keeping them alive. So [Pākehā] speakers [of te reo Māori] would have to think really carefully about all of that."[P11]

Harirū: Weaving relationships

Relationships with Māori teachers, mentors, supporters, and sponsors were of utmost importance to these people and their mandate to advance on their reo journey. Having someone behind their back and being able to check in with trusted advisers was of huge significance. They expressed their gratitude for the time and energy invested in teaching and supporting them by Māori who already carried large loads.

These relationships were imbued with trust, which had been critical for people continuing through the difficulties that could arise. In addition, the relationships were infused with reciprocity and a sense of never-ending debt to those who had shared their reo and sheltered them with their mana (see the section on Reciprocity). The importance of renewing the pae of supporters was discussed. If it consisted of only one or two key people, a death or other change could be devastating and isolating. Some respondents had married Māori and this had been another layer of weaving supportive relationships.

"At the end of the day, we will be in situations that are sometimes going to be uncomfortable, and we're going to be challenged as Pākehā in our roles. But generally, we will have supporters who do have our best interests at heart. They're not going to be there all the time, but often when they are, they will see what's going on and deal with it in different ways … it's just about surviving until those people … deal with those things."[P7]

"Knowing they're the right people to korowai me if I do something wrong or make a hapa, and they know how to fix it, or will guide me or talk to me. Usually, after I've stood up to do something there are people that will have a little word to me later ... 'that was really good and maybe next time you could ...' so I've grown from that."[P5]

"I've always had mentors that have taken me under their wing. I've been very fortunate in having access to that world and having … tremendous support from a whole range of people. In fact, I would never have done [significant work for te reo] if they hadn't encouraged me."[P13]

Manaakitanga: Welcome and care

Being welcomed warmly into te ao Māori, cared for and respected was the overwhelming experience of these people. Māori had been exceedingly generous in countless ways, and very honest and open. In addition, many had felt embraced and given manaakitanga by the kaupapa in which they were involved. Several voiced their feelings of being deeply accepted for who they were, and that Māori could see their heart.

"These people, their definitions – of manaaki, and tiaki, and whai koha, aroha tētehi ki tētehi – were around no matter what race you were. It was the kaupapa that was important, not the colour of your

skin. So I was embraced by the kaupapa. I never felt I didn't have a place there. I was absolutely valued. I knew my place in terms of the pecking order – I was the baby, I would kind of sit at the feet of the other [older] ones. I've been nothing but embraced and loved and valued, and that's been quite key to my journey. Others would probably have different experiences, but I've been very warmly welcomed and my contribution [has] been allowed."[P5]

"[When I did my pepeha] there was an intake of breath. Then when we started the class, [the teacher] looked at me and said, 'It doesn't matter where you're from'. Instant support, even though I'd never met her before. The people I've hung around mainly in the Māori world will say, 'It doesn't matter. It's about what we do now for the future.' I've been surrounded by a lot of very generous Māori."[P10]

"Just the fact that I was making the effort got me onside with Māori people. And they used to make a big fuss of me. I probably didn't think about it too much, but the fact that they were encouraging, encouraged me to continue."[P13]

Behaviour as manuhiri

Participating as manuhiri

Awareness of being manuhiri and ensuring the appropriate behaviours was critical to guiding these people in te ao Māori. Most had initially experienced discomfort and not belonging, which lessened over time (although never disappeared), because they could never become Māori. They were aware of the power dynamics inherent in them being there as the descendants of colonisers and generally tried to take up less space in discussions and asking or answering questions.

"You get this feeling as a Pākehā, when you enter this world initially, that you don't belong. I was at the marae the other day and one of the iwi leaders said to me, 'Oh it's great how you Pākehā are coming along to tautoko these different things'. There's something about that statement that irks a little bit."[P3]

"I'll engage in debate with Māori about kaupapa if I'm invited to. But if I'm not invited, that's alright. Sometimes when Māori want to gather by themselves and have hui, Pākehā feel excluded and get worried ... why aren't I invited to the marae? Because you're not invited, that's why! So don't worry about it. We get anxious, we get like we're missing out. That's part of feeling like we're entitled and we need to know. Actually, you don't need to know. If they invite you, you've obviously got something to add. But it's this need to have control, to have surveillance, because we feel like we're missing out or they're going to take control back."[P4]

"He said, 'I go on a lot of boards, I'm the token Māori. We've got to have a token Pākehā on our board.' It was a bit of a joke, but I was really humbled to be in the room and to contribute. I'm still an outsider. I'm not of the iwi, AND I'm the only Pākehā. That's a double reason to work a bit harder, so sometimes I do feel like I've gotta do twice as much."[P5]

Inside the whare of te reo

Once participating inside the whare of te reo Māori as developing and fluent speakers, the respondents continued to be guided by mentors and/or by various internal guidelines that they had developed about what they could do and how to do it. The guidelines that people had independently arrived at were quite similar, although they could manifest in different decisions.

Their own role with te reo, and which (if any) formal roles to which they would contribute, was a huge consideration for most, and was fraught with the complex dynamics that have been explored earlier in this report. Having parameters and/or rules to guide themselves greatly reduced their anxiety and uncertainty, and aimed to ensure that as manuhiri, their behaviour was deeply respectful of tangata whenua. Many had found ways to contribute in areas in which they could be effective because of being Pākehā, such as teaching/training Pākehā, or in some situations helping Māori to reconnect with their iwi, culture, and language.

"Moumou te mā – the notion that we can use our Pākehātanga in a really constructive way, and if we don't, then he moumou. I've often wondered, 'What is the role? What is my role here?' I know it intellectually, being an honourable Treaty partner and using my privilege, my resource, my networks, and my Pākehā capital to work with Māori in a way that works well for them. Intellectually, it's great, but … it takes time for the heart to catch up. And that's hard work." [P4]

"Some people wouldn't want a Pākehā to be the one to reconnect them – they'd feel even more whakamā. But others feel quite safe, or safer. They see in me that there's a hope for them to still reclaim some of their own traditional knowledge. Sometimes it's hard to ask your own family for help, so if they feel safe coming to someone that's technically an outsider, perhaps that's a role I can play." [P5]

"Those [Māori] people have the pūkenga that I don't have. That's the reality. Why are they not inherent in me? I'm not Māori. I can't do these things, I know that. If I do them, they'll be a Pākehā version, so I find people who have the skills and collaborate with them." [P5]

For Māori, by Māori (and a few Pākehā)

Personal ethical practices to guide their decisions around using their language and cross-cultural skills professionally had been consciously developed by most respondents (through observation, self-reflection, or consultation). These practices helped them to consider which professional roles they would apply for, accept, or undertake. Most were supportive of the strengthening 'For Māori, by Māori' approach. Within this, however, they recognised a shortage of reo speakers compared with the demand and need, and that withholding their skills and knowledge was ultimately not helpful to te reo or to Māori.

Refraining from taking roles that Māori could fill and/or would be better suited to because of inherent attributes derived from whakapapa Māori was a key deliberation for some. Most people worked with te reo or te ao Māori in roles ranging from those embedded within kaupapa Māori, to those interfacing between the cultures, to those focusing primarily on Pākehā.

"I always do check that there's not someone else more qualified or more able, more willing, 'cos I don't like that feeling of pūhaehae, that maybe someone behind you wanted that role and you got it. I'm very cautious about making sure my back's covered, but I can't recall ever saying no. I know I've

hesitated, no doubt about that. I have sought people out that I'm comfortable talking to, to ask for guidance." P5

"I don't want to fall into the trap of being someone who has white privilege and makes a living out of someone else's taonga without being in a context in which I'd have the understanding or opportunities to make that work for the people whose thing it actually is. I'm really cautious about taking jobs from Māori. I feel like I've taken just about everything they've got away from them and the last thing I want to do is take more." P1

"It's sometimes a dangerous road to walk when you're teaching te reo if you're non-Māori. You're in a leadership position, but I do think it's very complicated being in leadership positions in Māori spaces when you're non-Māori. I have been in spaces before where people treated me like an expert on Māori things when there are Māori people around. It makes me feel really uncomfortable. For me, my main rule is that I don't want the buck to stop with me – I don't want to only be answerable to myself, ever." P2

"He was very clear that mana and money don't mix. You can't sell this stuff, it's not for sale. In those years, there were people who were very cautious about any exploitation, so I never took the royalties for my [work]. Even in the work I focused on, for a long time I was stepping back and ... sort of effacing myself, I think." P11

When in Rome (or te ao Māori) …

Upholding tikanga and kawa was fundamentally important to these people, whether or not they held the same beliefs. Tikanga and te reo went hand in hand – as one person said, "They are the oldest married couple in te ao Māori. One doesn't survive without the other". P6 Some did not trust their instincts or judgement around tikanga, while others could flexibly apply and interpret tikanga in a wide range of situations.

Many felt that the knowledge and skills around tikanga had been taught to them to use and to support these aspects of the culture flourishing in the world, rather than holding onto them privately. Difficulty arose for some when tikanga were not being upheld by Māori in Māori spaces – they were uncomfortable with that, but also wary of advising Māori on tikanga. For some, when they found themselves to be one of the more skilled people present, there was an internal tension between holding back and contributing.

"It actually is the same rules as in Pākehā society. It's not that hard. When you're in someone's house, it's their rules, you know. If you go around to your mate's place and they say, 'Make yourself at home', it doesn't mean to rearrange the furniture. And it's the same in Māori communities. Each whare has its own tikanga – each people, each marae have their own. You don't argue and you don't go, 'Oh, so and so down the road does it differently'. You just go with the flow, stay alert, listen, watch, and follow along." P1

"If you don't know what to do, don't be whakahīhī about it, don't trample on toes. Just ask gently, and Māori are always too willing to help you. Even after all these years – one hundred and something years since they signed the Treaty of Nothing But Being Trampled On and Their Mana Downtrodden – yet they're still willing to help Pākehā out." P6

"I'm always conscious [that] to some extent you're a fish out of water, and you don't want to offend anybody. So I feel more comfortable just slipping in the back and watching things, and trying to get a

sense of the āhuatanga. In some ways I think you can take more in when you're not in the spotlight yourself."[P8]

Te reo ōkawa

Te reo ōkawa, the formal varieties of language that have a deep spiritual aspect, are generally differentiated from te reo ōpaki, the informal everyday language. Many questions arose for these people when learning and using te reo ōkawa and taking on formal roles.

To tū or not to tū?

Most of the women interviewed said they chose, when possible, not to karanga. Others had been asked to karanga, directed into this role by Māori, and they did so willingly. All of the men interviewed participated in whaikōrero – some only when they could not avoid it and others on a regular and willing basis when it was requested or needed. Some people were carriers of te reo ōkawa, from Māori and back to Māori, through their roles in whānau, hapū, or kaupapa Māori education settings, and they took this responsibility very seriously.

"With karanga, if anyone challenges me ... I can say, 'She gave me that right', and no one's gonna argue with her – she was the matriarch. If there's no one else, it's better that the tikanga be upheld than it not be upheld. I would feel bad to remain silent when I could have upheld that tikanga. I don't seek it out, I don't put myself forward. If our nanas tell me to do something, then I would do my best to do it. You earn those roles – you don't just go, 'I can speak Māori, I can do that'."[P5]

"What [name] has said to me, is I'm not a challenge to him. Even if he put me on the paepae at his marae, I can't take over, I'm not from there. I don't have the whakapapa. It's not mana heke, it's mana tuku. So you know where the mana comes from and there's no dispute about that. There's no opportunity to usurp the mana of that place. You're fulfilling a function. You're adding to that community, not taking something away. Where people feel their identity is being challenged or their role is being usurped, that does cause issues and challenges for those communities."[P7]

"It became very clear to me from then on that whenever I went to a pōhiri, no matter when or where, I just had to be prepared that I might have to speak. It wasn't that I wanted to speak. It was the number of times I'd turn up [to] places and there was nobody else who could."[P7]

Karakia and mōteatea: The mauri within the words

Other forms of reo ōkawa also gave rise to a range of considerations. Some respondents avoided being the kaikarakia, or leading mōteatea and waiata, as much as possible, while others were prepared to when needed. Some aspired to learn more and needed to consciously find the limits.

"I asked, 'Should I be using the old karakia'? He said, 'Did she give them to you? She had those karakia, and if she thought you needed them, she would have given them to you. Remember karakia isn't words. You can say all the words in the world and it doesn't amount to anything. It's the mauri within those words that really counts'."[P14]

"It's finding along that spectrum what I'm comfortable with, because mōteatea language is poetry. Mōteatea was probably scary for me, in that I know if I learn them, I'm now accountable to them."[P5]

"You see people getting ready for a blessing or something, and they roll out all these ornate karakia from mai rā anō, and then they go and just carry on like anyone else. I used to see those karakia, see the people fasting, how they prepared themselves to do those karakia because of the mana that was within them. If they didn't take great care, if they weren't clear in their mind, those karakia were dangerous ... they have their own energy, and they can actually cause trouble if not properly respected." P14

Reciprocity

Reciprocity is a key value in te ao Māori and entails aspiring towards an ever-balancing equilibrium between giving and receiving. People expressed their desire to give back to te reo and te ao Māori in reciprocation for the vast learnings they had been gifted. They identified the two sides of ako, learning, and sharing that knowledge, and acknowledged that the knowledge was not theirs, but they carried it for the sake of other people.

Many expressed their doubts that they would ever be able to give back enough to reciprocate fully what they had received. For many, this manifested as a strong sense of obligation to take up roles and give back whenever this was asked of them. This was identified as an explicit or inherent expectation from Māori, including teachers and mentors. This expectation could be both empowering and a pleasure, and at times, a burden that pushed them to make decisions they might otherwise not have made.

"I'm in there doing the job because I want to see te reo Māori continue to grow and be looked after, much in the same way that te reo Māori has looked after me." P6

"Kia tika te reo, kia Māori te reo, kia pai te reo. You take that on board as a Pākehā person because the responsibility on your shoulders is massive. And you'd better be good. Let's not be mediocre about this. You would be doing a disservice if you just stood up there and did a lame job." P6

"The other thing that was told to me, right back, that when you are given knowledge, it doesn't belong to you, you only carry it for the sake of other people. So you are just a vehicle, a servant, you're not a chief. And that sort of feels a bit hard because I suppose everyone wants to feel important. But it's a nuisance if you're important – it's much easier if you're not. Then you can get on and do things. My job is to do what I can do, to help where I can, and to not pretend to be more than that. That's how it is." P14

"Teachers that I've had have really pushed me to teach. 'You have te reo and lots of Māori don't, so part of your job is to help empower Māori people to have their reo back and you need to do that. It's really important that you are part of a movement that is giving te reo back into the mouths of Māori people.' And I feel really strongly that that's true." P2

"I'm front and centre with tikanga in the school. It's a privilege. It's also a responsibility. With that privilege comes other things. It's not something you can pick up one moment and drop the next." P3

The ultimate coloniser

A conflict between their personal sense of fidelity to te ao Māori because of their experiences and knowledge, and the requirements or expectations of a professional role, had occurred for several

people. Their integrity in te ao Māori came first – for some, this had meant resigning from their professional role; others had been able to adjust how they worked within their role.

"The challenge is, how do you connect two different ways of looking at the world? Because I was getting involved in that, I was seen to be on the way out, so I got transferred. They were getting highly suspicious of me. To make matters worse, the [local] people were very sad about that and they organised a petition and sent it to the [top manager]."[P14]

"I realised that in actual fact, I was the ultimate coloniser, that I could get through to people, whereas they were immune to [being convinced by] most of my colleagues. And that's when I decided that I was doing more harm than good, I'd better pull out of the [profession]. I realised that I could not, in conscience, carry on how I was."[P14]

"I came up with a tikanga-based argument, a clever argument that used tikanga against itself. He felt instinctively that what I was saying must be wrong, but he couldn't argue against it. The argument sort of defeated him. He had tears in his eyes as he [tried] ... he called me over to talk to him and he told me in this conversation that I was Māori. I said, 'I really don't think I am Māori.' He said, 'You might not think you are Māori, but I'm telling you that you have a whakapapa. You can only make that argument you made because you understand us. And you should never use that understanding against us.' And he looked at me and said, 'You know that, don't you'. And I felt really ashamed. I'd used my cleverness to exploit a kind of insight. He said, 'Don't do that again'. And I went away and just felt terrible. And I just decided I never would do it again. And I didn't."[P8]

Discussion and analysis: Manuhiri of te reo

A constantly evolving ethical practice, developed through self-reflection and wide consultation with Māori around how to work with their knowledge, was highlighted by the respondents. Learning not to be grabby, and being prepared to do their part when it was required, was a basic reality that was expressed and accepted.

The power dynamics of being a member of the colonising group in a Māori space meant that people often sat back rather than led, recognising that te ao Māori was the only space in which Māori could be dominant. When they did have something to add or contribute, they tended to do that towards the end. Several mentioned that it took a while to prove to Māori that they were committed.

Generally, older people were more comfortable, confident, and relaxed. The 'not belonging' aspect became easier for all over time, but for most, the feeling did not go away. While they could never become Māori, they were connected to the group in other ways, such as through marriage or through the kaupapa.

The beauty of the flexibility of tikanga being applied in different ways in different situations was recognised by several. As one person noted, the old people were practical and when a person was uncertain, this intelligence should always provide direction.

Once they had been trained in te reo ōkawa, accountability was important. Most respondents recognised mixed views within te ao Māori about when, or whether, it was appropriate for Pākehā to fill formal tikanga roles. For many, it was an expectation of their learning and participation. They had encountered reactions ranging from delighted surprise that Pākehā could engage so fully on Māori terms, through to criticism for filling this role even when requested.

Most spoke about needing to be themselves, but always to bear in mind that they were manuhiri, saying for example, “I’m a Pākehā in a Māori world who needs to remember their place in that world.”[P6] Some had found a niche to occupy as Pākehā, such as addressing Pākehā discrimination and subconscious cultural beliefs and behaviours.

Their sense of obligation to te ao Māori was acute and some had left jobs to uphold that integrity. This sense of reciprocity appeared to become stronger with time spent in te ao Māori and length of time learning te reo. It increasingly influenced key life decisions, to the extent that many filled their personal and professional lives with engagement in te ao Māori, and with te reo in particular, as part of giving back. Most expressed that their learning, and their giving back, was a cycle that would not end.

7. Values of te reo Māori: The fruit of right-shifting

Te reo had enriched and enhanced the respondent's lives in countless ways, and the fruits of learning were vast and profound. They shared deeply about the insights, benefits, and perspectives gained from their reo journey and bilingualism. Some of these have already been woven into other sections of this report.

As Higgins and Rewi (2014) outlined, the members of a speech community assign values and prestige to the language types used within it – and also, one would suggest, to the language itself. As members of the te reo Māori speech community, the respondents in this research were likely to have a different understanding of the values of te reo Māori than that of monolingual Pākehā.

In addition, the nature of the values held by Pākehā for te reo may differ in some (or many) ways from those held by Māori, as it is not their ancestral language. The results of this research showed significant overlaps of values between Pākehā and Māori speakers of te reo.

Te Paepae Motuhake values

Te Paepae Motuhake (2011) noted that while the lives of all New Zealanders are enriched by the Māori language in many ways, we have yet to fully understand and articulate that enrichment. They identified seven key values that are attributable to te reo Māori and these values were further extrapolated and explored by Olsen-Reeder et al. (2017) in *Te Ahu o te Reo Māori*. The focus of both these publications was primarily Māori communities. In this report, those seven values have been further explored with reference to the responses from the study participants, and two further strands have been proposed: 'well-being' and 'nation-building value'.

In the results presented below, each value category is introduced with the explanation of that value provided by Te Paepae Motuhake (2011), and further elucidated for the purposes of this report by drawing on the most relevant aspects of the research and discussion provided by Olsen-Reeder et al. (2017). Those interested in these values should refer back to these sources for a fuller description and discussion.

Intrinsic value

Te Paepae Motuhake (2011) described intrinsic value as "the essence and the foundation to the identity of the Māori people" (p. 63). According to Olsen-Reeder et al. (2017), aspects of this value include Māori recognising the Māori language as being theirs, as well as the language being their custodian and keeper. Should te reo Māori experience language death, the fate of mana Māori would be the same. The intrinsic connection among te reo, the land, and the Māori people is entrenched. The language should just be 'in its own right' (pp. 41–46).

In this research, the intrinsic value of te reo Māori was recognised by all respondents and in all of the facets described above. The key areas of intrinsic value that arose are outlined below.

Te reo Māori as belonging to Māori

The respondents all recognised that te reo Māori belongs to Māori people and is fundamental to Māori identity.

"The thing that makes [te reo Māori] significantly different from other kaupapa – it's not a subject, is it. It's not a subject. It's people's lives." P3

"They were just talking about where the eels had been caught and how the hāngi had been cooked. And I got completely overwhelmed with emotion, just listening to them. It was just such simple, basic talk and I just remember thinking, 'My god, I hope my grandchildren can have this privilege of just listening to this [te reo] Māori being used in a very ordinary, day-to-day context. It's just totally and utterly part of this whole life'. And I got up from the table and went next door and I just cried and cried. I was lying in the meeting house just sobbing, just thinking what an amazing experience to have, just to be sitting with this whānau. You know, where [te reo] Māori was just a completely integral part of their life." P9

Connection to the land

The innate connection between the land and te reo was recognised. For many this value manifested in them feeling a deeper understanding of, and connection to, the land. Some focused on the need to sustain the land in order for te reo to continue in its fullness.

"[You are more] able to reflect on and recognise your own culture because Māori is such a strong, vibrant, integrated culture. And one that belongs in this landscape. So that helps me as a Pākehā to define my relationship with the landscape." P9

"It means you have all these relationships with places, with people, with stories, with ancestors, plants, animals. And I suppose when you've got those relationships, of course you feel much more at home, because you feel rooted and you feel responsible in part. It makes you feel really incredibly miserable when you see a river that's been destroyed, that you've known as a kid and loved." P11

"[I was told], 'If you want to learn to speak Māori, what you need to do is go out into the bush and listen to the birds. And when you stand to speak, your speaking should be as beautiful as the birds singing in the forest, and that's why they call you he manu kōrero'. And that really resonated with me. Much, much later on – how are modern people going to learn to speak the reo when the forests are silent? How are we going to get manu kōrero when kua ngaro ngā manu?" P14

It's not gonna fall under my watch

The right of te reo to continue in its own right, and the crucial importance of its very existence, was expressed strongly, as was personal commitment to ensuring this occurs.

"The scariest kōrero I ever heard was actually by [name] when I was at university. He gave us some data and he started talking to it. He said, 'By this time, if we don't do something about te reo, it will become Latinised.' Then he talked about a professor who had said that Māori's gonna be Latinised, it'll be a dead language. We probably need to thank professors like that because it certainly lit a fire under me. I just thought to myself, 'Over my dead body! There's no way te reo is gonna fall under my watch. It will live forever in me and in the children that I have contact with'." P6

"I'm actually not in there for a pecuniary advantage for myself or anybody else. I'm in there because I want to see te reo Māori survive. Not only survive – you know, we have to stop saying that. I don't want it just to survive. I want it to flourish; I want it to fly. I want it to be the beautiful language that it is! I'm not ok to just settle for it surviving. I'm not here to settle for that any more. Our job is not just to save te reo. It's to do everything in our power to ensure it's a real reo. Not a watered-down version of what once was." P6

"Well, [te reo] is not gonna survive just because of Māori people alone. That's why we have a real responsibility, not only because of Te Tiriti o Waitangi. We have a real responsibility to te reo Māori. It needs to survive because in my eyes, what's good for Māori is good for all of us." P6

Social value

Te Paepae Motuhake (2011) described social value as being "when people feel important and their status is raised because their abilities in te reo are recognised ..." (p. 63). This value includes the economic, political, and linguistic prestige of a language group, which contributes to language status. Perceptions of social value and language can lead to individual speakers gaining some form of status within the group identity. Ethnicity, religion, and language are powerful symbols of belonging to a group, differentiating certain people from 'others' (Olsen-Reeder et al., 2017). In addition, Olsen-Reeder et al. noted that language is sometimes a deciding factor in one's likelihood of being accepted in Māori social networks, and that this raises the controversial consideration of whether people can claim to be Māori if they do not have the language.

The social value of te reo Māori was recognised by all respondents in this research, in all of the facets described above. Having te reo but not the ethnicity has been explored earlier (see the Challenges on the path section). Other aspects of social value are described in the next sections.

The privilege I've gained

These interviewees found that social status was awarded based on their ability in te reo. Their speaking ability influenced their reception by Māori and their ability to participate in various ways was described as a privilege, mana, and honour. Simply being taught te reo and receiving time, knowledge, and attention from Māori were seen as recognition of status. In addition, some experienced receiving elevated social status from Pākehā.

"That's the start and the finish for me. A journey that I've been on, the privilege that I've gained. The privilege of sitting alongside people who have shared freely with me their knowledge. Those are things – they're a little bit intangible. And carrying on with that line of intangibility, I guess I've gained stature as well, my personal mana, and grown as a result of my standing in the community." P3

"When you're speaking te reo Māori, you're joining in with that cohort, you're connecting with a different type of mana. I'm one of the few people in this town who carried te reo Māori beyond the tikanga – there's mana that goes with that too. So that's a privilege as well." P3

"I've been to tangi and I was privileged to stand to speak to those people in te reo Māori at the marae. That's a real privilege, and I feel honoured; I'm sitting there with the iwi and they say, 'You speak, you speak'." P3

Increased social value of te reo Māori

Increasing the status of the language in the wider New Zealand society was viewed as a challenge, but this was felt to be improving as te reo Māori becomes more visible in society. Some respondents consciously tried to increase the social value of te reo, such as through speaking te reo in public. Some noted that their ability to speak te reo as a Pākehā affected the social status of te reo for both Māori and Pākehā. Others spoke about the challenges of doing this in a society in which te reo is not valued sufficiently.

"Now there's probably not a single national representative team that doesn't have a Māori speaker in it. It's absolutely incredible because there are now graduates of kura kaupapa Māori and so on who have excelled in sport and got into national teams. It's absolutely amazing. The thought that you could ring up and speak to an All Black in Māori or speak to a Warrior in Māori, or one of the Kiwis or netballers …" P9

"Some say it's actually non-Māori that are making the changes out there now. And I love it because sooner or later, it will set the platform for compulsory Māori to come in and nobody will even blink an eye, they'll just accept it straight away. Because the groundwork has been done already. I think that's really important." P6

Social connection value

An additional strand of the social value of te reo, 'social connection value', was identified by all of the respondents. This focused on the friendships and relationships that had grown out of involvement with te reo and te ao Māori, which had enrichened the participants' lives immeasurably. Many had developed a whole community of social connection that they would not otherwise have had. For some, adding te reo to their life had added a new dimension to existing relationships, such as using te reo as the language of choice with their children. As seen in the earlier section on Motivations, these social connections could be a key driver for continuing to learn and use te reo.

"One of the biggest benefits of learning te reo Māori is having those friendships with people where Māori is the language that we use. I've got this large network of friends who share the same passion and … we're able to share our thoughts, hopes, dreams, aspirations in te reo Māori." P7

"I've had these added experiences of having been able to be in a lot of people's homes due to the mahi that I've been doing, which regardless of whether I keep doing that mahi, I've now got those relationships. Those relationships are intergenerational, so I've [got] a relationship with the parents, [and] my children have a relationship with their children." P5

"When I got to te reo Māori as a class, it would be great. These people, I can just hang out with [them] and these are my kind of people. I loved the people. You'll hear me talk about doing things for the kaupapa and the people and I think that's always been me." P5

Cultural value

Te Paepae Motuhake (2011) described cultural value as being "when people feel they have fulfilled Māori cultural demands ..." (p. 63). Olsen-Reeder et al. (2017) framed this value as being seen most

effectively through a lens of cultural regeneration, of which the language forms a significant part. They explained that cultural conquest could lead to the cultural inauthenticity of those who were invaded, and that language and cultural revival were inextricably linked; for example, kōhanga reo and kura kaupapa were avenues for both. The disappearance of te reo would constitute a crushing blow to the ongoing battle against cultural extinction. Furthermore, having no knowledge of the language would make it difficult to fulfil the cultural needs of Māori.

The cultural value of te reo Māori was recognised by all respondents, in all of the facets described above.

"The reo that a community speaks has enormous cultural value to them and they, in turn, invest it with enormous cultural value and the distinct dialects of reo become very important markers of personal identity and tribal identity. The moment a person opens their mouth and starts to speak, you know their identity because their reo carries their identity. It's a sort of circular, reciprocal relationship."[P9]

"One of the things I say to Pākehā people who were thinking of learning about te reo Māori and te ao Māori, is you learn more about yourself. Because once you learn about another language and another culture, you get to see how much of what you take for granted, and what you do naturally or normally every day is actually a choice. That the cultural norms that we have are choices."[P7]

Building a more comfortable world

Several people said they were often a safe first point of contact for Māori who wanted to reconnect with their language, culture, and people but held a lot of fear about doing this. Additionally, all felt empowered and inspired to help shape a world in which Māori could more readily be Māori.

"It cemented for me that … to be a bilingual teacher was important. It was part of something I could make a difference on, and it was the right thing to do. This language is so pivotal to the identity of Māori, it's so important to the cultural practices, and there is a burden [on us all]."[P7]

"She wasn't going to stand up with her mad Dad in front of 200 people and sing this waiata. But it would be nice to – that's part of her identity, in a sense, that she should feel comfortable to do that. But how do I build a world where they can feel comfortable taking on their Māori identity and doing that?"[P7]

One of us who can do 'that other thing'

All had found ways to live authentically within the two cultural frameworks and to weave between them, or blend them together. They derived immense value from having the pleasures and richness of Māori culture available to them, in addition to their existing Pākehā cultural capital, and gaining more awareness of their own culture in the process.

Being able to engage with Māori on Māori cultural terms was seen to have a profound impact on Māori. The methods ranged from the very informal (such as incorporating tikanga Māori into their way of living to ensure places were safe for Māori, or greeting people in a way that was culturally comfortable for them) through to the very formal (such as being able to participate fully in a pōwhiri process).

"Sometimes people are thrilled to find 'one of us' who can do 'that other thing'."[P8]

"There's just a broader range of contexts now in which I can function as a half-decent, halfway polite person that knows what to do ... a broader range of places I can be safely without causing havoc ... we can be useful and respectful and less dangerous here and now; and that's awesome, right? Everyone wants to be useful, and not be a dick." $_{P1}$

"I can traverse into the Pākehā world and I can come back into the Māori world. I can move across both worlds but never lose who I am. That's the key. You have other people who tend to try and traverse into both worlds and they lose totally who they are. You can't afford to do that." $_{P6}$

"I decided early on [working with Māori] that I was missing the point time and time again, and I just couldn't predict anything, because I was out of touch. The only way was to so immerse myself in the Māori world that when something happened, I would actually react in a similar way and therefore, I would be more on hand to do what I was meant to do." $_{P14}$

Educational value

Te Paepae Motuhake (2011) defined educational value as being "when people feel they have achieved academically in te reo and are recognised for their bilingual and bicultural competence" (p. 63). Olsen-Reeder et al. (2017) further suggested that educational value means not only valuing the knowledge of both English and Māori, but also knowledge of English *through* Māori.

Educational value was raised by most of the respondents in this research. For several, learning te reo was the primary or only reason they had gone to university. Nine of the 14 respondents had pursued te reo Māori as one of their main academic pursuits (often in conjunction with another degree or subsequent to a first degree). Others had learned te reo through Māori communities, or through professional or social exposure. Several had combined a variety of approaches.

Educational value was recognised as not only achieving in te reo Māori but also as intellectual and cultural learning and benefits, and the wisdom gained about self and life. In addition, the educational value of *unlearning* the traits of the dominant culture, through the learning of te reo, was highlighted.

"I found out that I had been accepted into Teachers College. I was ecstatic and all that. My whānau were just blown away. I was the first one to ever go that way and get a degree." $_{P6}$

"Some of that unlearning is unlearning incorrect pronunciation of Māori words, or whether it's unlearning a whole bunch of racist stuff that's been fed to us through our whole lives about what it means to be Māori. Or whether it's just unlearning the idea that Pākehā equals 'true' and that everything else is 'other'." $_{P2}$

Intellectual value

Te Paepae Motuhake (2011) described intellectual value as being "when people feel that their view of the world is enhanced and enriched through ... Māori culture rather than through a mono-cultural view" (p. 63). Olsen-Reeder et al. (2017) outlined the cognitive impact of experiencing language and culture, which has profound effects on one's perspective and world view. It is now widely considered an academic advantage to be competent in more than one language. Moreover, monolinguals have a limited scope with which to decode the way the universe operates, and as one becomes bilingual or multilingual, one's scope of understanding is widened.

The intellectual value of te reo Māori was recognised by all respondents in this research, in all of the facets described above.

"It's talking about te reo being like the window, the portal to the whole culture, which definitely it is ... it's also about having not just te reo Māori, it's having mātauranga Māori, it's having tikanga Māori, it's having tamariki Māori. It's so much more than just having te reo."[P5]

Strengthened thinking and learning

The respondents said that learning te reo had a positive impact on the way their brains worked, in addition to the inherent mental advantages of being bilingual. They felt their brains had been reshaped and a vast array of different thought processes and approaches were available to them. For those who had pursued other languages as well, te reo had enhanced their ability to learn them.

"Te reo makes a big difference. Because it transforms the world. It doesn't just reshape you; it reshapes your experience of how things are."[P11]

"I see the ways that te reo shapes the whole way that you look at the world, right fundamentally down to the grammar. I think that's really interesting and [it] can be really valuable for Pākehā to see that as well. I think you need to learn te reo to understand properly, for example, what mana is."[P2]

"Learning Māori actually has the effect of giving you a very different way of thought, a habit of mind, a cast of mind. It means you can think in ways that are informed by English and other European languages, and then you can also think in Māori. The structure of Māori is very different; the way the world works in Māori is not the same. And so you have a kind of flexibility and a kind of philosophical resilience. And more resources available to you for problem solving, for example, or understanding what's going on around you. And that's invaluable. It stops you being siloed and it stops you having a one-track mentality about how to understand what matters in the world and how to tackle difficult problems and how to work with other people."[P11]

Becoming bicognitive

People described how their valuable bicognitive abilities had developed – the ability to think from two perspectives or through the lens of two world views. Some noted that not only could they now think from two different perspectives but also their ability to think through a Māori world view had strengthened their ability to think through their own Pākehā world view.

"For me, learning Māori was like, until then, I had the sight of one eye. And you can still see, you can look around and you can discern things. But when you have a second point of view, it gives you stereoscopic vision and you're much better able to judge distances and relative placement of things, and where you stand in relation to everything else. You can negotiate and manoeuvre and navigate much better when you've got two eyes open. You've got two points of view. It's not that you're completely blind with one eye, but two eyes is a lot better."[P9]

"This idea of being able to think in complex networks, that's the way whakapapa structures the world, so everything is linked up. You're always attentive, not so much to the entities in the world, but [to] the way they interrelate and the dynamics between them. So it's very much like complex network theory or something like that, in cutting-edge science. It's a habit of mind which is very

attentive to the complexity of reality and realities, because there's multiple dimensions. And you can shift from one to another in a blink."[P11]

"Also just that ability to think of things and see things from a different way – … knowing there's not one right answer. It just creates openness in terms of your thinking."[P7]

Spiritual value

Te Paepae Motuhake (2011) described spiritual value as being "when we feel fulfilled through our connection to the essence of our ancestral heritage" (p. 63). Olsen-Reeder et al. (2017) further explained that the Māori language is tapu, sacred, or special, and provides an inherent connection to ancestors passed. They said that spiritual value lies at the very core of the language, which is embodied as part of the soul, or as part of the ancestral connection. Spiritual value is especially present in the formal varieties of the language (reo ōkawa), such as whaikōrero and karanga (as part of formal speech-making processes in which states of tapu are present); and in metaphorical expressions, pepeha, and the like. Whaikōrero and karanga can be traced back to Ranginui and Papatūānuku and their children, fully connecting Māori people to their cosmogonies. The special connection of Māori to their land provides another complexity in the spiritual link between the language and Māori cosmology. Describing spiritual value in English is both difficult and awkward, but the spiritual value of te reo underpins the use of the language and undoubtedly, speakers of the language possess such values and activate them daily.

The spiritual value of te reo Māori was described by all but one respondent in this research, and in all of the facets described above.

Spiritual value for Māori connecting to their tūpuna

The spiritual value of te reo to Māori was recognised as being of primary importance, owing to the whakapapa connection of Māori to the ancestors, which Pākehā do not have. Several respondents who had roles in teaching or parenting in te reo Māori to Māori, or who had tikanga roles such as carrying whānau whakapapa knowledge, acknowledged their valued but unusual position in being a link in the chain of ancestral knowledge and language that steps it outside the whakapapa line and then returns it to Māori.

"When you're in a whakapapa mode, you're always thinking about ancestors and their past relationships, and the natural thing to do is to follow the lines back. And the past is very present in te ao Māori. It's like these are real, present people, they're not just kind of historical figures. It's like getting to know everybody, except you can't talk to them directly."[P11]

"How can you really be close to god unless you use your own language? The pathway to god for Māori isn't through English, because spirituality is something that reaches into the depths of a person. The pathway for Māori to find god is through his own language and culture."[P14]

Spiritual experience of reo ōkawa

The spiritual aspects of the world were seen to be given expression through types of reo ōkawa, with this reo providing a thread of connection to wairua and atua. This included acknowledgement of the knowledge and connections inherent in whakataukī, metaphorical language, whaikōrero, karanga,

and karakia. Some had experienced and carried the spiritual aspects of these types of reo. Others had avoided some or all of these types of language, feeling either that it was inappropriate for them as Pākehā to partake, or that they were unable to do so to the spiritual depth that was required. The guidance or transmitted wisdom that is conveyed through whakataukī and other metaphorical language was noted by several respondents.

"I feel engaged in all levels. For some reason, when I get up to speak [whaikōrero], I'm not thinking about what I'm saying, … yet words are coming out my mouth. That sounds a bit weird and wishy-washy I guess, but that's my experience. And that connection, that moment, that you're doing it, there's some sort of deep connection going on with the place you're in and the people you're with." P3

"It's not just the substance of the reo. It's a mauri, the gift that's within it – that's what we need to focus on, that's what we need to try and retain really, otherwise it's going to become like Latin. You listen to some of the karakia and tauparapara. Words that belong to a world that people using them have never known. And that's a danger really. The reo is something that grew out of people's connection to their whenua. Unless you retain that connection – sort of like a balloon, you puff it up with hydrogen so it floats, but you let go of the string, and it just floats up into the heavens – it becomes more and more out of reach, because it's become just a tool for entertainment, for proclaiming yourself, but not a way of actually giving depth and meaning to your life." P14

Personal spiritual strength from te reo

Te reo had brought personal spiritual strength to many. Aspects of this included a greater personal sense of connection to the spiritual realms inside and outside themselves; emotional expression and connection; and a sense of spiritual guidance in their activities in te ao Māori.

"I feel deeply connected to te kauae runga and te kauae raro, the earthly realm and the spiritual realm. And I think my journey into te reo Māori, in my mind and the way I feel … helped me with that. I feel more like a human than I did before. The thing I discovered in Māoridom – that the spirit isn't about being this pure person. There's something deeply human about the spirit – the wairua is all facets of our human nature. You stripped away whatever layers you had, and what was left was what the spirit was, so that was incredibly liberating for me." P3

"I get quite emotional in te ao Māori, more so than I do in any other forum. When I talk and write about the wairua, it's just that knowing that you've got to do something. But sometimes I'll still sit back and go, 'For real?!' But it sort of builds up in me, and I just know that I'm going to be doing something, and I'm maybe not sure how I'm going to do it or who I'm going to be doing it with, but I'll often feel moved towards different situations." P5

"Particularly if I was a little bit upset or emotional, te reo was my safe haven. It was my place to go. It was what looked after me and I looked after it." P6

"I get a lot of comfort from karakia, from waiata, because I get a sense that I'm talking at a different level. That's not to say that English doesn't have that power, but I find it far easier to talk about some things in Māori than I would in English." P7

Monetary value

Te Paepae Motuhake (2011) stated, "the monetary value of the language can be measured in many ways: mechanically, by such blunt instruments as $-cost per word for translations, books and publications, payment for services ... [and] time of te reo on air. The economic value of the language against GDP should be measured. For example, the promotion of the language as a key emblem and an icon of New Zealand identity as evidenced in our tourism and sporting industries" (p. 63). Olsen-Reeder et al. (2017) discussed further implications of monetary value for the Māori community and individual active speakers through employment that uses te reo, or added advantages in certain sectors of the market. They stated that there seemed to be a growing demand for the Māori language product that currently could not be met by the existing supply of language speakers.

While the monetary value of te reo Māori was not raised directly by most respondents, the individual monetary value of te reo Māori clearly did have implications. Most worked in a professional capacity either directly with te reo Māori, or in a bilingual or kaupapa Māori context, or interfacing with te ao Māori, of which te reo was an integral or extremely helpful part. However, some felt uncomfortable benefiting from the monetary value of te reo. As noted earlier, the question about whether, and how, to seek and accept positions of employment had been difficult terrain to navigate, particularly for those with the least time learning te reo and engaging in te ao Māori. However, many expressed the personal satisfaction they had derived from being able to do daily work that was fulfilling and 'doing good' in the world by contributing to the continuation of a language they loved, or giving back to Māori as the people who had given them so much.

Monetary gain did not feature as a motivating factor for learning te reo. It should be noted that most respondents had started learning te reo before the language was valued in the workforce.

"As it turned out, nearly every job I've ever had has been directly due to Māori language, one way or another. The opportunities just started appearing at the right time for me."$_{P9}$

"It also has been an influence when I have been interviewed for other unrelated jobs. The fact that I've got a knowledge of te reo Maori, a lot of those things just help you get in the door because people think, 'This person is a thinking person. That means he's on board with what's happening in … Aotearoa'."$_{P12}$

"I'm looking after number one to some extent as well. I'd like to get some funding that would give me some money too, rather than just be philanthropic about it."$_{P12}$

Proposed new values

Well-being

A recurring theme was the great sense and manifestation of health and well-being that the respondents had derived from te reo. They said their overall physical, mental, and spiritual well-being were all supported and strengthened by te reo. Personal and spiritual growth and fulfilment were seen as key fruit of their learning journey. Several mentioned having greater access to, and expression of, the full range of their emotions, and that this had had a positive effect on their personal, professional, and family life. Several had been facilitators of, or witnesses to, the immense healing power of te reo for Māori reconnecting with their culture and people.

"I think for me, this is what keeps me well. It's what gives me joy. I couldn't [walk away] myself, I would long for this ... [It is] a framework of well-being in general ... when we're away from that type of activity, we actually could become quite unbalanced and unwell because we're not engaging in the things that keep us balanced and well." P5

"That was massive, that was like a church for me, like a whānau. I journeyed with those people. And those were the ones – and Pākehā too, even though some of them didn't get there – they journeyed, you know, they made the journey and their hearts were changed by it." P3

"[I have found] a place for me to exist. Not just survive – exist, on all levels. And a feeling of '… it's ok for me to be me'. And also … acceptance amongst Māori people. That's an important thing for me, I think. Because I feel accepted amongst Māori people and I think because at the end of the day, they cut through the bullshit and can actually see your heart, … who you are." P6

"There are so many awesome things about te ao Māori that I really want to see people have access to – Māori and Pākehā, but particularly Māori. When I see the burdens and self-doubt that some people carry, I'm going, 'If you can just connect to some of this, it's just gonna change your life, it really will'. There's something special about this that is so powerful, [that] you just want to be able to log into, to touch into. That is so powerful." P7

"The reo is a rongoā. Because you take a person who's Māori and I've heard it, seen it so often. What sort of a Māori are you, can't even speak your own language? And you feel stink. And when you feel stink, well you compensate, you know. So how do you heal a person who's lost his sense of themselves? Give them back their reo, and then they start to rediscover a real reason to be somebody. A real sense of pride. It's just part of a journey." P14

Nation-building value

The benefits to society of bilingualism in te reo Māori was identified by all respondents. This covered several key areas: the societal benefit of understanding our history from multiple perspectives and through different lenses, and addressing that history in positive and empowering ways in present time; constructive insights to aid in understanding social inequalities; and the benefits for race relations in Aotearoa New Zealand. As one person said, "My journey's been a personal journey, but it's been more than that, it's been about being a New Zealander." P3

Understanding our history: A whole archipelago of it

A richer understanding of the history of this country was gained by respondents, along with the realisation that history did not start with the arrival of Europeans. The different perspective on our past enhanced their understanding of the present.

"I'm steadily gaining a broader AND richer understanding of all sorts of aspects of the world and our place in it. Like, I grew up hearing that I lived in a super young nation – 1840, right? Hah. And then later on, I somehow got sliiightly less clueless and realised that folks had been living here for more like a millennium. But then, once I could listen to stories in te reo, I swiftly realised that Māori stories go back way beyond these islands, and out to the other islands of the Pacific, and that whakapapa seamlessly reach out to those times." P1

"[It] wasn't until then that I realised, 'Shit! That is just completely around the wrong way! Māori people didn't need a bloody treaty! It was the Crown that needed the Treaty! Māori people had all

the rights and resources and political autonomy that they wanted. They didn't need a bloody treaty. And actually, it's the Treaty that gives Pākehā people the right to be here. On condition that the Treaty is honoured. If the Treaty IS honoured, then Pākehā people have the right to be here."[P9]

"I think what's absolutely essential, too, is understanding history, having a historical context so that you can look at that timeline and that chronology and see where you fit in that big scheme of things. It's not about just language revitalisation here; it's about a restoration of all things, so playing my part in that area too."[P5]

"It all depends on your particular perspective. And it's not that anybody's wrong – you're all right – but what you have to do is integrate the perspectives, and then you can get an overall view and you can see how the land lies, including where people are coming from. And when you put it that way, it makes a lot of sense that what you see all depends on your point of view. And the fact that your point of view is different from somebody else's point of view doesn't make you right and them wrong. It just means that you've got a different point of view."[P9]

Understanding social inequalities: How did this happen?

Respondents spoke about their insights into the origin and perpetuation of social inequalities, and culturally appropriate ways in which they could be tackled. The national-building value of improved understanding alone is significant, let alone a greater number of people being culturally equipped to address the inequalities.

"It gives you another perspective on socio-economic status, where you're living and how people are surviving, your own privileged position, even though you know you've come from a fairly lowly background to start off and you've worked for what you've got. You do realise there's a whole other world out there."[P10]

"The school was putting the naughty kids into the bilingual unit. Not all of them, but that's where they would put them – it was like a dumping ground. So it was a structural problem that I knew straight away – third form, I could see that happening. Even though I say I was in with the naughty kids, they 1, weren't particularly naughty, and 2, were really smart, and 3, were products of a system that was streaming kids or labelling kids at a very early age."[P4]

"Doing work experience and holding a bucket for a solvent abuser to vomit into and thinking, 'How did this happen to this beautiful race of people? What happened?' ... Because here I was [in te reo class] at school learning all these wonderful stories about Māori history, and it was really hard to correlate with what you see in front of you in a situation like that. How did Māori end up like this, what happened, why does New Zealand not care that most of our street kids are Māori? So I started to try and understand that ... and had huge empathy for the marginalised and the discriminated against."[P5]

"I think that helping open other people's eyes to it ... it's acknowledging that systemic racism is still a real thing on a daily basis, that when you're dealing with institutions and government departments you have to have a level of confidence to even get what you're in there for."[P5]

Enhancing race relations: I just want peace!

The ability of te reo Māori to support and enhance race relations in Aotearoa New Zealand was identified by all. They shared their experiences of the incongruities of their lived experience interacting with Māori compared with the stereotypes portrayed by media. They experienced learning te reo as a strong connector across cultures, rather than a divider.

"I have developed the capacity to understand who I am in this place. Who I am, where … I fit in to this thing we call New Zealand and its bicultural nature. And I think that's been a massive shift in my thinking. And then, when you look at the world that way, understanding how a whole lot of other groups feel and experience the world isn't much of a step. If you remain steadfast in your culture, and you only ever identify other cultures as 'other', you're only ever going to have ignorance, and the dangerous outcomes of ignorance." $_{P3}$

"Daily I would have experiences of te ao Māori [at work] and I'd go, 'That's just amazing'. And then I'd come home and I'd watch the News and this Māori fella had done this and this Māori fella [had] done that, and in the newspaper there's these statistics about Māori – the message that I got strongly from the media and the community that Māori were frickin' just shitbags. I often struggled with that, the incongruity that frequently I would feel. This is my experience of Māori, te ao Māori over here, and this is the message I'm getting fed over here, and they are not the same." $_{P3}$

"I wish every New Zealand child could go to kōhanga. What would it do for race relations if we could raise a wholly bicultural people because we were all bilingual, bi-everything, bi-cognisant ... if we could share that world view and open people's eyes. It's the norm in other countries, in Europe, to be multilingual. I can't understand why New Zealand has a problem with being bilingual." $_{P5}$

"So the language is … right at the heart of how we run the country. So it's not just a nice-to-have. But I think we'd run it better if people did know, did have access to the reo as well. Because then they would be so much more attentive to the quality of relationships amongst people and trying to get those working well, with plants and animals and rivers, and with the wider world. Our kids would grow up very adventurous and confident, I think, and know exactly who they were and where they came from. And it's inclusive, it's not exclusive. Whakapapa's actually really inclusive as a framework." $_{P11}$

"I often think, 'What would New Zealand have been like if we'd had a bilingual education system from the start, where everybody learned to speak Māori and English, and everybody was treated equally and there wasn't this racism and bigotry that goes on. What would it be like?' It would be an amazing place to live in, wouldn't it! ... I think people would have a really good attitude, and the social problems we have with Māori in terms of crime statistics and so on, I don't think we'd have those. I think if people were treated for the abilities they have fairly, Māori would have boomed and everybody would have boomed. It would have been a great place. It still is a pretty good place but it would have been so much better, wouldn't it." $_{P13}$

Discussion and analysis: Values of te reo Māori

"It's about freeing people from the things that divide them so that they can really celebrate. And that's the key to sustainability. It's about being free to actually be who you are, for the richness and the beauty that that brings."[P14]

These people clearly saw te reo Māori as having a wide range of significant and meaningful values, to them and to Māori. It helped them to feel connected to themselves, to the land, and to other people. There was significant alignment of the values that they held for te reo to those held by Māori. Some differences occurred, particularly around the personal experience of some values, owing to lack of Māori ancestry.

The third or liminal space described earlier was relevant and people expressed their appreciation for Māori culture, their enhanced understanding of their own culture, and their ability to draw on both in different ways. They recognised that the values of te reo are very bound up in culture, and some mentioned the risks inherent in Pākehā learning te reo without this cultural context and engagement with Māori.

Cultural regeneration was occurring within families in which a Pākehā parent was the key driver or main carrier of skills and knowledge, in te reo, tikanga, and in other aspects. As recognised earlier, some were key connectors for Māori reconnecting with their Māoritanga or reo. Others were teachers who actively supported cultural regeneration for Māori within their classes.

The respondents were able to participate across cultures and 'fulfil Māori cultural needs', and were nurturing this capacity in their children. Many said they often saw fellow Pākehā expecting to find a Māori person to do the 'Māori stuff'. As one said, "That's just not going to happen. Change won't happen when all [roles] feel like they need someone else to do that."[P3]

The two proposed new values of 'well-being' and 'nation-building' did not fit within the pre-existing values, although they are all interrelated. This research suggests these two new values of te reo deserve recognition in their own right. Potentially, they could both be quantified in monetary value.

The value of 'well-being' is likely to be particularly strong for Māori and there has already been some important research on this undertaken by Ruakere Hond (2013). It is clearly also prominent for Pākehā speakers. Although te reo can be very healing and nurturing for Pākehā, complications were seen to sometimes arise for Māori through the presence of Pākehā in the space of te reo, and this is also related to well-being.

The 'nation-building' value category is very significant and it is perhaps apt that it is raised by Pākehā. It is the Pākehā inability to traverse cultures, to understand our history, and to engage effectively with Māori, that is at the core of many of our societal issues. This state of affairs is largely invisible to Pākehā. The nation-building value of te reo Māori is primarily in upskilling Pākehā to bridge the gaps, so that communication between Māori and Pākehā is more effective.

8. Overall Discussion: Weaving the threads together

"A language will live when it travels, when it's expansive, and the relationships it's part of. And if you narrow those relationships down it could die because it doesn't get used enough. So probably the future of Māori is dependent on it being part of the living texture of relationships, the fabric of relationships in the country."$_{P11}$

A kaumātua who was later to become one of my key teachers once said to me as a Pākehā speaker of te reo, "Ko koe te whakatinanatanga o te Tiriti o Waitangi", which approximates to, 'You are the embodiment of the Treaty of Waitangi.'[12] This allusion sits at the heart of the Pākehā relationship with te reo Māori. Whether or not this relationship is viewed through a Treaty framework, central to its essence is the respectful, authentic, honourable, and heartful weaving together of the best of both worlds. One of the interviewees expressed it this way:

"People like us are exactly what those tīpuna signed the Treaty for. I'm sure that they had us, who we are today, in their minds and hearts when they signed that document, because they wanted to have non-Māori who were able to traverse the two worlds."$_{P6}$

According to Higgins and Rewi (2014), it is time for us to re-orientate our minds regarding the approach to Māori language revitalisation and to unpack some of the layers that are causing stagnation. They suggested that erecting boundaries between ethnic groups inhibits language revival, as does targeting domains that are specific to Māori communities, which reinforces and promotes the notion that te reo Māori is only of value to Māori, and is only for Māori. They suggested that we should deprioritise the language being an Article 2 issue, which narrows the focus to predominantly Māori. Maybe, however, we need to escalate te reo as a priority for the entire nation, while also being highly cognisant of the implications of Article 2 for the critical relationship between Māori and te reo.

A summary of the research findings for each section (motivations, challenges, navigating challenges, and values) of the experiences of these Pākehā who are fluent in te reo are presented in the following sections, with discussion of their implications.

Motivations

A deep calling or a spiritual pull was the primary motivation for these people when they started to learn te reo. As these were Pākehā who had persisted with this journey and had become fluent, it is likely that their motivations were different from those of people who go only a short way towards fluency. Was this inherent drive the reason that these individuals DID persist with their reo journey, even when confronted with challenges that might have provoked left-shifting?

As their ability and experience in the language increased, the values they placed on te reo increased, as did the personal relevance and importance of te reo to them. These motivations combined to form an intricate web of reasons to be in te reo and te ao Māori, and reduced the likelihood that

[12] Te Wharehuia Milroy, personal communication 2007.

they would abandon this journey. While further research would be needed to ascertain whether the finding of a 'calling' is true for Pākehā generally, or only for Pākehā who continue to a stage of fluency, it is likely that the secondary motivations would apply to other Pākehā learners.

The findings regarding the 'predetermining factors' in their lives that had helped them on their reo path were also thought provoking. A childhood love of learning and books, and an academic predisposition, were particularly interesting. This finding of an academic predisposition is significant, as most of these fluent Pākehā started to learn te reo at a time when it was not perceived as having academic or career value and many had embarked on this path against the advice of parents and teachers. Clearly, times have now changed, but those Zero attitudes are still present in New Zealand society. These findings have contradicted this negative stance towards the value of learning te reo and the experiences of these respondents have made it clear that learning te reo Māori is a worthy, challenging, and satisfying path for intelligent and academic Pākehā New Zealanders.

Many of these people had a parent who inhabited the Passive zone on the ZePA spectrum, or an ancestor who inhabited the Passive or Active zones. This tendency could quietly nurture an awareness or openness in a child, which would eventually lead them to take action. It appears that the ancestral connection led to openness in the parental generation. It is also possible that these experiences are embedded in the genetic inheritance of an individual and could be passed on regardless of environment, or in an epigenetic sense, switched on or off by the environment. This finding has relevance to the targeting of society's values in language revitalisation and re-normalisation approaches. The basis for attempting to change societal values to become more positive towards te reo Māori is usually rationalised as creating an environment more conducive for Māori to turn to their language, and to be safe when speaking it in public. A long view might also find that this strategy can lead to a critical intergenerational shift, whereby this generation of monolingual Pākehā may not learn themselves, but may encourage their children to learn, or pass down positive attitudes that lead to their descendants actively learning.

This finding is also relevant to the discourse around compulsory te reo Māori in schools. It is often said that while te reo resources (i.e., fluent speakers and funding) continue to be scarce, it is critical to make the best use of those resources. One of the fundamentals of 'best use' is ensuring, as far as possible, that the recipients of those resources are those most likely to further the language's existence – as a fluent speaker, in their family, in their community, by teaching, or in wider society. It can be assumed that these fluent Pākehā were not unique in having an inherent pull to learn te reo Māori. There are undoubtedly other Pākehā who have an internal desire to learn – they may have reached fluency, or developed some language capacity, or not yet started learning. If an inherent desire and interest is present, perhaps those individuals should be the first larger cohort of Pākehā to be taught te reo, as they would have a greater chance of attaining a level of fluency that supports the language's future.

Most of the respondents strongly believed that any teaching of te reo to Pākehā should not be at the expense of Māori, or in ways that might be detrimental to Māori. Additionally, it should not be at the cost of the cultural and linguistic integrity of the language. These aspects are explored later in this discussion.

Challenges: First the land, now the language

The dynamics around colonisation are about so much more than te reo. However, they are also all about te reo. On one hand, it is so straightforward – te reo needs speakers and an environment in which it can thrive. On the other hand, it is rife with complexities, subtle and not-so-subtle undercurrents and power dynamics.

Learning about colonisation can be challenging, confronting, and ground shifting, and acts as both a motivator and a demotivator. Our nation is built predominantly on Pākehā structures, narratives and values, and wider Pākehā society has predominantly dealt with unspeakable things by not thinking about them. There is a form of collective dissociation and denial at play, through pushing these issues away and not looking at the bigger historical picture. Our choice as Pākehā is around how we hold what we inherit and what we do in the present time. When we step into the space of te reo and te ao Māori, we cease to be the ones choosing when and how history is talked about – we lose some control. As Barnes (2013) stipulated, to arrive, we must also depart, and to receive new things, we must leave some things behind. When we depart from the Pākehā world and arrive in Māori-controlled spaces, some of the things we leave behind are power and control.

Te reo can be a practical way for Pākehā to do something positive to address colonisation. Can the discomfort from a keen awareness of colonisation motivate Pākehā to learn te reo, or is it too much to engage with te reo without first coming to terms with our history? For Māori, does the reminder of the pain of loss that can be created by Pākehā speakers serve as a stimulus to take up their language, or does it generate resentment and entrenchment? Does Pākehā engagement with te reo Māori indicate that wider society acknowledges and values the importance of the language, thus supporting and encouraging more Māori to learn and speak it?

Where a challenge or difficulty sits on the spectrum of helpful to traumatising can depend on a combination of the way the challenge occurs, the nature of the challenge, and how it interacts with the way personal traits and history are manifesting in an individual at that point in time. Unless one is very skilled, one is unlikely to know where the balance lies in a given situation.

Higgins and Rewi (2014) explained, “left-shifting occurs in many forms and is often the reason why there is no active use. Additionally we can consciously and subconsciously be left-shifted, or left-shift others” (p. 25). As te reo needs all its speakers to be using it as much as possible, and to feel proud and confident in doing so, any left-shifting could be viewed as undesirable. However, when deciding whether to use their language with Māori who may not speak (or may not speak as fluently), the evaluation for the respondents was whether the benefits for the language of speaking in te reo outweighed the possible cost to the individual listener – or whether the benefits to the individual of not speaking in te reo outweighed the cost to the language. This is a big question that this report does not profess to answer. It is possible that each situation is unique and needs to be assessed on a case-by-case basis.

In the absence of guidance on this issue, these people self-regulated and often chose to make their reo less prominent. They were well equipped to assess the likely impact in a given situation. Many said that despite this, they did not always make the ‘right’ decision – describing their embarrassment at realising, a moment too late, that they had blundered and had inadvertently ‘shamed’ a Māori person for not having te reo. However, in the field of language revitalisation and re-normalisation, there remains a question about whether we understand the cumulative effect on the language of those individual decisions by Pākehā speakers to be Passive rather than Active at times, and whether

this reduced use is detrimental or desirable for the language overall. To say it is detrimental for the language may seem heartless. To say it is desirable may seem ingenuous. Is the decision that is best for individual Māori also best for te reo?

With the ongoing awareness of loss, and possible permanent loss, of te reo, the stakes are high. Māori are worried. The Pākehā who care and are invested in te reo are worried. How does re-normalisation work in the context of colonisation, intergenerational trauma of language loss and cultural regeneration? Is re-normalisation desirable? Would te reo be viable *without* going down the path of re-normalisation? If having large numbers of Pākehā speaking fluently is too much too soon for Māori, what does that mean for the future of the language?

Māori come to learning te reo with their own aspirations, history, motivations, and reactions, and Pākehā come with theirs. They are potentially quite different from each other. There is also much in common, and scope for building more shared understanding through te reo. This research highlights that bilingual Pākehā aspire to continue supporting te reo, but in a ways that uphold mana Māori and avoid recolonising through the language. Several of these people noted that if Pākehā do not become bilingual, Māori will always be forced to speak English on a regular basis and colonisation will have ultimately won through the ongoing colonisation of the linguistic and cognitive frameworks.

Some interviewees articulated that early Europeans only learned the language because they wanted it for practical reasons – to be able to communicate with people, to trade, and to steal land, all of which could be achieved better if they spoke te reo Māori. The interviewees were acutely aware of not wanting to repeat that situation and regularly reflected on whether their own intentions were to take something or to benefit not only themselves but also Māori and ultimately, te reo. They believed that their underlying motivations were a key influence on how they were received, and that Māori could easily identify hidden agendas. Letting go of the desire to engage with Māori on Pākehā terms was important. The respondents would ask themselves, 'Are you trying to make a splash or to genuinely connect?'.

We can only do our best to work with what we have inherited, what we have been given, and our capacity to interact with these. It is easy to be overwhelmed by what we have not learned from the past, and continue to perpetuate it in the present. Keeping the story personalised and working with our own experiences and responses, cognisant of the past, can make it easier to carry it with us into the future. We can choose how we respond, and transform our legacies into something more wholesome.

Challenges: Inhabiting the liminal space

For Pākehā on this path, encountering one's self appeared to be more challenging than getting to know te ao Māori, as such. Many questions arose for participants: Who am I, and how did I get here? Why am I here? Should I be here? How should I be here? Oh yes, and who are you?! Learning about Māori seemed to be almost secondary to learning about themselves and their own culture. They found that their personal reality was thrown into sharp relief through interaction and mirroring.

Barnes (2013) found that with regard to Pākehā involvement in kaupapa Māori research, the "processes of departing and arriving, of reorientation and asking outstanding questions ... create dialectical energy"(p. 25). Arrival and departure was not static, but changed constantly. This was also found in this study, with people consciously departing from a Eurocentric understanding of the

world through their diverse experiences, to enter the portal that te reo provided. They arrived in te ao Māori, where they needed to renegotiate their identity and roles.

The 'third space', or liminal space, in which the two cultures and worlds overlap, is a colourful place in which an array of complex dynamics occurs. What can the third space that these people found themselves in teach us? What insights do these bilingual Pākehā, the early adopters leaping off into the future, have to offer? Being original is not necessarily easy, but it is an effective way to improve the world around us. These respondents were modern-day trailblazers in that space and their experiences can be useful to teach others what is possible.

Learning a language can be a threat to one's personality or identity. Higgins and Rewi (2014) astutely recognised that for the Māori language-speaking population, the imposed linguistic struggle resides internally. This was true, at least at times, for the Pākehā in this study. Some spoke about the dangers that arose from having a confused identity as they moved between worlds, such as forgetting, in the heat of the moment, who they were in that particular space, what their role was, and how they should behave. For some, these lapses had serious consequences.

The phase of wishing to be Māori can be a sign that Pākehā do not yet have a clear cultural identity, let alone one that includes being fluent in te reo and interacting on a deeper level with Māori. One person described it this way: "I just think Pākehā overall, speaking very generally, just aren't culturally and politically capable at this point [in our own culture]. We don't see it enough, and then when we're taken aback or it becomes questioned, we're very insecure. We're very insecure about our identity."$_{P4}$

Pākehā are confused! The term 'Pākehā paralysis' was used by one person to describe the freeze response that Pākehā can have when wanting to 'do the right thing', leading to them doing nothing at all. He went on to say, "This idea of Pākehā paralysis, it's really important we work through that, so we can just be more at ease in our own skin – know what we are capable of, what we just aren't capable of, what we need to develop further, and what we are."$_{P4}$

These fluent Pākehā have walked unconventional paths for their times and all expressed a sense of uniqueness. They have needed to work out their own rules and ethical practices. Many had mixed feelings about connecting with other Pākehā speakers of te reo because they had often experienced the inappropriate behaviour of Pākehā in relation to te reo and te ao Māori. Most felt that their primary relationships around te reo would, and should, always be with Māori.

However, many mentioned the benefits of meeting other Pākehā who were fluent speakers and sharing experiences and approaches. Several felt that it was important and powerful for Pākehā to have a space in which they could work collectively through their own issues and bring a shared approach to supporting Māori with te reo. Some had connected with Reo2NZ/Ngā Rauawa o te Waka Reo Māori to explore this. For several, the simple act of talking with another bilingual Pākehā in their interview, or through Ngā Rauawa, had helped to build knowledge about themselves and had been therapeutic. Some respondents had a great deal of pain tied up in their experiences in learning te reo. How can Pākehā develop their own sense of awareness and honesty about their experiences and issues, without competing with, or diminishing, the experience of Māori? While each experience is unique, could careful truthfulness help us to bond with each other? Could our shared love of te reo transform pain into something generative and positive?

One person shared some advice he was given, "Māori want to see someone standing strong in their own culture, engaging with us, not just trying to be like us".$_{P10}$ Maintaining a sense of self had been important to people. It could take considerable time to get there. Several who had been involved in

te reo for decades had only recently become at ease in knowing who they were and understanding their place in the scheme of things. One described it as having a strong back and a soft heart: "Knowing who you are and why you're there. Having clarity or an openness around your position on things and finding your own voice, AND being humble and not stepping on toes. And keeping on showing up, even if it's hard."$_{P4}$

This can be confusing, as it can seem paradoxical to give away our cultural power and engage on Māori terms, but not give away our own personal power. It is complex, but important – no wonder there is anxiety! Anxiety and hypervigilance, however, can travel hand in hand with resiliency and an immense ability to adapt.

Some people noted that they had recently begun to left-shift in their active learning and in their desire to continue because they perceived the spaces for higher levels of learning were for Māori only, or for members of a particular iwi. Some felt that this put limitations on their own learning and participation, as well as on their ability to give back to te reo. They sensed te reo as having become increasingly politicised in recent years, and there now being a strong focus on iwitanga and hapūtanga. The implications of this change for non-Māori speakers were yet to play out totally in any coherent sense.

Some had lost some of their drive and purpose because of not having somewhere to focus it, or a clear mandate for the role of Pākehā. Some had become involved with Reo2NZ/Ngā Rauawa o te Waka Reo Māori and were enjoying engaging with the ao Māori and exploring ways that Pākehā might collectively support te reo through this forum. Several felt that they would be contributing significantly more to language revival if they were Māori. One person explained that he liked to talk about being claimed by a place, rather than claiming it; it could also be said that these respondents had been claimed by te reo Māori and te ao Māori, but they did not claim it as theirs or generally feel comfortable to show leadership in the language revitalisation space.

Several respondents noted feeling that they would like to see more public support from Māori language leaders for fluent Pākehā speakers who have 'done the hard yards'. They felt that the thoughts and feelings of Māori language leaders generally about their presence and role were ambiguous and unclear. They seemed to need the guidance of such leaders, and without it, they were more hesitant to contribute. The scarcity of Pākehā in positions that could publicly affirm the role of Pākehā in te reo (e.g., as teachers at kura reo or as commissioners on Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori) was referred to as providing a clear signal about the beliefs that Māori hold about the limitations that are currently appropriate for Pākehā. Some cited the example of an Irish woman who had been brought to New Zealand to promote te reo, having learned it in Ireland to a level of proficiency. They were highly admiring of her, but also envious of the support she received. One respondent said, "I don't want a knighthood or anything, but where's the acknowledgement and support of the Pākehā who have struggled for years, against all odds, to become fluent and give back tirelessly to te reo?"$_{P6}$

Generally, older respondents were more comfortable and confident with their roles, and more relaxed. They had grown to recognise their own strength, contribution, and purpose, or had evolved a broad perspective that enabled them to pursue what they saw as the 'greater good' over more localised dynamics and troubles. As one respondent so eloquently said:

"Identity doesn't come only from your whakapapa, that my mother this and my father that. Identity comes from connection to the whenua. Because we are just temporary things anyway. We're not here for long. But the land will be here for a long time. They say to me, 'What's your whakapapa?' I

said, 'My whakapapa doesn't count for anything. What is important is the whakapapa of what I know, and this is what that whakapapa is'." P14

Behaviour as manuhiri

As noted earlier, to arrive somewhere else implies that we have left something behind, and to receive the gifts and richness offered by te reo Māori, we have also shed layers (Barnes, 2013). A phrase that has been shared with me regarding Pākehā is, "Me uru ka tika, engari kia tika te uru" – by all means enter and participate, but do so appropriately. People in this study preferred to defer to what Māori say, because that is what you should do, if you are a Pākehā in this game. The main deviations from this approach were by the older males.

As Higgins and Rewi (2014) outlined, the members of a speech community share a general set of beliefs about appropriate language practices, sometimes forming a consensual ideology. As a subset of the Māori language community, these bilingual Pākehā clearly had much in common with each other. However, they did not form a functional subset, as they participated predominantly as dispersed individuals in the speech communities that exist within Māori communities. Reo2NZ/Ngā Rauawa o te Waka Reo Māori has provided a forum for a Pākehā subset of the te reo Māori speech community to share their beliefs and experiences about appropriate practices, including ways of supporting Māori to sustain and revitalise te reo, and to engage collectively with Māori on these issues. While this has been an invaluable process for those involved in the group, it has certainly not yet led to the development of a consensual ideology for all bilingual Pākehā, even if this was to be a future goal or outcome.

There was an implication, implicit or explicit, from most of the interviewees that their own guidelines and ethics would be applicable to other Pākehā as the correct way of doing things. They noted that other Pākehā did not follow exactly the same guidelines, or were less deferential to Māori, or in some cases, too deferential. In addition, many spoke about having felt judged by other Pākehā and needing to prove themselves at times. For some, the sense of being on trial from other Pākehā could help keep them sharper but for others, it got in the way. Most aspects of the ethical practices and guidelines that the respondents had developed were remarkably similar. There were distinctive majority views within this cohort, as well as contrasting views – this is part of the dynamism of the third space.

Psychological constructs can create a safe distance between a person and their natural anxiety about an issue or situation. In the case of te reo Māori and te ao Māori, such constructs or personal guidelines helped these speakers – they knew they could not take all the credit for their success and if they failed, it was not entirely their fault. Rules and guidelines often serve to tighten the boundaries between one's inner and the outer worlds, and the guidelines that these people had developed supported them on their unusual path.

There was unanimous agreement that te reo Māori belongs to Māori, and that te reo 'lives through' a Pākehā person, rather than 'being' that person. As one respondent explained, Māori can be reo Māori with or without being speakers of te reo, whereas Pākehā can never *be* reo Māori – they can only *speak* te reo Māori. It is a language on loan for Pākehā to cherish. These people demonstrated a high level of awareness that they carried privilege as Pākehā, and that their very choice to learn te reo and be involved in te ao Māori represented a form of Pākehā privilege – they could theoretically opt out at any point (although most felt that this would be impossible for them). The risk was that

they might use their Māori knowledge and skills, in combination with their existing Pākehā cultural capital and privilege, in ways that did not benefit Māori, or further marginalised them (Barnes, 2013).

The word tuku includes the notion that the gift is conditional, to be enjoyed and held in reciprocal relationship with the givers of that gift – in this instance, the individual teachers, or Māori people in general. Most of the respondents constantly held this value at the forefront of their minds. So much of their giving back was because of personal approaches or tono by Māori, or obvious support, encouragement, and backing. Those who were uncertain of how to give back sufficiently found this troubling.

Many of these people had given up a great deal to maintain their place as manuhiri of the people whose reo it is, and to hold fast to their personal integrity in a complex space. It was important to them to be contributing, and knowing they were making a positive difference both to te reo and to Māori. It was not always straightforward for them to be sure, or to know if there was yet more they could do, and would be endorsed to do.

Some highlighted the risk that if te reo was to become compulsory in schools, with Māori students at school receiving te reo on the same basis as Pākehā, then in future generations, Māori would not be in any stronger position than Pākehā to give it as a gift to anybody else.

Values

Most Pākehā New Zealanders sit in the Zero or Passive zones of the ZePA model. Examples of left-shifting can be relative to the values we assign to the language (Higgins & Rewi, 2014). For many Pākehā, te reo is not naturally or obviously personalised; therefore, without that personal sense of connection, the values they assign to it can be low. As described earlier, as the ability and experience of a person learning te reo increases, the values they place on te reo increase as well. This creates an exponential increase in motivation.

The issues of depersonalisation and identity that are encountered on the path of learning can be terminal if the relevance of te reo to Pākehā is not clear. If it is indeed desirable to re-normalise te reo Māori, how do we make te reo personal and relevant to all New Zealanders? “Ki te kore te reo e uru ki tō tuakiri, e kore e ū”,[13] meaning if the language does not penetrate your identity, it won’t stick. Learning te reo can challenge your sense of belonging, but if you stay with it, it strengthens your sense of belonging. As one interviewee noted:

“[Te reo] is something to treasure, and it’s the language that belongs to here. This is not England. This is not Australia. This is Aotearoa. This is the language that belongs here. Even our English is reflecting it more and more. It’s important to us; it’s part of our identity as people who belong to this land – rather than the land belongs to us, it’s us who belongs to this land.” *P14*

Higgins and Rewi (2014) suggested that te reo should be a symbol of identity for all New Zealanders – if you are from here, te reo is a connector to the land. An ultimate result of learning te reo for respondents was a sense of belonging, rather than not belonging. How could it *not* serve to connect all people to this land? After all, it evolved out of people’s interactions with this place, from the Pacific language brought here by the ancestors of Māori.

[13] Ruakere Hond, presentation to Reo2NZ/Ngā Rauawa o te Waka Reo Māori, 2017, Whanganui.

This research also shows that te reo can support New Zealanders connecting to each other in better understanding. If Pākehā were bilingual and bicognitive in te reo Māori, Māori would be better enabled to have their communications received and understood, regardless of whether they were speaking in English or Māori. What would our country be like if we could all meet each other on each other's terms, understand each other's perspectives and histories, and hold our authenticity while supporting each other to be our own selves? If quantifying the monetary value of this were important, the value of this aspect of re-normalising te reo would be quite staggering.

The goal of language revitalisation is not only about numbers of speakers. The language revitalisation and re-normalisation discourse is suggesting a move away from this type of measure as the sole reference point for the state of the language. The quality of the language and its cultural integrity are also critical issues. These people were emphatic that te reo should not be taught to Pākehā without the cultural context and understandings in which it is embedded, as that would dilute its value.

Some voiced concern that a sudden increase in the proportion of Pākehā learning and teaching te reo could reduce the overall quality and cultural integrity of the language. One respondent had a different stance, believing that a requirement to have te reo taught only within its cultural context would be an impediment to more Pākehā, and also to some Māori, learning te reo. Furthermore, the historical, sociological, and political aspects of te ao Māori are important parts of the context of te reo and Pākehā learning te reo, as are relationships with Māori people themselves. Clearly, there are risks for Māori cultural regeneration with Pākehā accelerating into the space of te reo. Learning te reo can be a healing process for Māori, and some interviewees were concerned that the upsurge in Pākehā interest might take the resource away from Māori, who need the language most.

The bilingual Pākehā in this study were positioned towards the far right end (Active) of the ZePA spectrum, which as noted earlier, is for activists and people who go beyond what is generally socially acceptable (Higgins & Rewi, 2014). However, what is socially acceptable to Pākehā in wider society may be different from what is socially acceptable to Māori. In addition, the values and perceptions of te reo are different for those who are not speakers, or those who are not inherently connected to te reo through whakapapa. Most respondents were resistant to thinking that they were anything special – they assessed themselves as being fairly normal, perhaps even a bit deficient, within the Māori language speech community. It is common for Pākehā with very little knowledge to overestimate their abilities and appear whakahīhī, which may be due to feeling unusual among Pākehā, who are often obstinately monolingual. A little bit of knowledge can inflate the ego in unhelpful ways. As one respondent said, "Don't think you're anything special! … There are lots of people in te ao Māori, and many of them speak Māori. They're just not white!"$_{P6}$

Some respondents had experienced te reo coming through them from a source that they could not identify. The spiritual wisdom and guidance found within te reo itself had been critical to them relating to it in a way that enabled the powerful learning and transformation that is the potential of this space.

"It's a never-ending source of learning – a language is a thing of infinite size, let alone how much there is to learn about a whole archipelago's worth of cultures."$_{P1}$

9. Conclusion

The findings of this research are complex and may seem paradoxical. Fortunately, as these people have explained, te reo Māori enables multi-dimensional thinking and allows manifold realities to co-exist without creating insurmountable contradictions. It all depends on the perspective from which something is viewed. In digesting the contents of this report, it may help to consider from which perspective(s) one perceives and interprets it, and to experiment with stepping a little to one side or the other, or turning upside down. The change in viewpoint may give rise to unexpected insights.

The participants in this research would be the first to say that they wished all Pākehā would learn te reo. Most would quickly follow this by expressing an element of doubt that the time is right, and whether it would ultimately be beneficial to Māori, or to te reo. In addition, there are questions regarding whether those two particular beneficiaries of the bilingual aspiration – the Māori language and the Māori people – are one and the same and whether they are always in alignment, or if they are at times divergent.

Clearly there are other beneficiaries of bilingualism – in addition to the incalculable value that te reo has for Māori, it has vast, largely untapped value for Pākehā and New Zealand society as a whole. One respondent declared that it boils down to one thing: "I basically want peace, that's basically what I want. It's about peace work – that's what drives me."$_{P4}$ However, language and cultural regeneration are at a sensitive point at which it might be undesirable for a massive sea change to upset the waka. Equally, the waka could be carried along by a surge to reach its destination more surely and swiftly.

It is vital that Pākehā people come alongside and support te reo Māori, whether that is passively or actively. Public attitudes have changed significantly in recent times and many more people now want their children to learn te reo at school. It is timely to consider how to ensure that Māori maintain their ownership of te reo, and that the cultural integrity of the language is upheld. How do we, as Pākehā, acknowledge the mana of both te reo and the people? Before Pākehā turn en masse to learning te reo, it is important that the individual and collective challenges for them that are concealed within the gift of te reo Māori are brought into the light and addressed with honesty and integrity. This would pave the way and ensure that the growing interest in people's hearts and minds is fed to support right-shifting, and does not founder and cause left-shifting.

Higgins and Rewi (2014) stated, "A concerted discussion by Māori and the nation as to the place of the language still needs to be conducted so as to ensure that those who are already committed and those who are in opposition, or inert, take responsibility for supporting intergenerational language shift" (p. 18). As one interviewee said, "It's a much bigger kaupapa than you or I or some dude that wants to throw racist comments at it. At the end of the day, Māori people will put them in their place."$_{P6}$ Higgins and Rewi quoted Bernard Spolsky's comment, "No man is an island, nor is a family a closed sociolinguistic unit" (p. 31), and said, "normalising the language, therefore, will require much more than the efforts of Māori alone. It needs to be adopted by the nation" (p. 31). They recommend "an overarching strategy that is developed with Māori that is equally inclusive of non-Māori" (p. 29).

The paradoxical appearance of the findings of this report suitably reflects the complex layers of reality present in the language re-normalisation field. It will take many minds, hearts, perspectives and voices to enable te reo Māori to return to its rightful place as a widely living and thriving

language in Aotearoa New Zealand. Whether this is achieved through initially committing resources to return te reo to Māori with increased Pākehā support, or through teaching many more non-Māori, the nature of our society dictates that Pākehā attitudes and engagement in te reo will influence the outcomes. Te reo is a scarce and valuable resource – how would a wise person treat any such resource in an environment that does not accord it appropriate value?

This research began with wanting to understand in depth the varied experiences of fluent Pākehā speakers of te reo Māori. It found many commonalities across this group, despite its diverse composition. These people have found ways to carry our colonial past, our complicated present, and our aspirations for the future, through their words and their actions. Their experiences can help to inform us about the multitude of challenges and advantages of becoming bilingual Pākehā citizens of Aotearoa New Zealand.

A Tiriti o Waitangi-based approach to language revitalisation and re-normalisation would honour the respective roles of Māori, the Crown and citizens, and ensure that their roles interweave synergistically. Such a trilateral approach would require having open and mature conversations, in good faith, about our respective roles. Article 1 of te Tiriti o Waitangi thus guides the government to play an active role in supporting te reo Māori. Article 2 reconfirms that te reo Māori is a taonga of Māori people, and that Māori have tino rangatiratanga over te reo. Article 3 provides an opportunity for the relationship that all citizens might have with the language.

This report has focused on Article 3, the involvement of Pākehā citizens with te reo, particularly in relation to Article 2, the relationship of Māori with te reo. Bilingual Pākehā have perspectives and skills to contribute, and they are already doing so with great care and passion. All of the participants in this research were contributing to language re-normalisation in some way, whether that was as a speaker, using it with their family or friends, teaching, contributing through their profession, having everyday conversations to break down barriers and misunderstandings in wider society, researching, or speaking up loudly.

Doubting the default setting and looking for alternatives was a key characteristic of all the participants in this study. They had a sheer love for te reo, the determination and commitment to follow their calling, and the stubbornness to keep showing up. They were deeply committed to 'the work of standing upright here' with integrity. In their own unique way they were each thought-leaders in their families, classes, communities, or nation.

The implications of these findings are valuable for individuals (Pākehā, Māori, and Tauiwi), groups, teachers and organisations, and government policy makers. When the focus of teaching te reo reaches the stage of being broadened, an understanding of the motivations and predetermining factors described in this report could be used to guide the gradation of that process, to ensure resources are directed to those who are most likely to continue with te reo to a point where they actually contribute to the health of the language.

The challenges of the context in which te reo is being revitalised, re-normalised and shared with non-Māori are significant, complex, and deep. Powerful learning opportunities exist within them that are key to te reo, and to so much more than te reo. They are fundamental to our history, our present, and our future; they touch the heart of our very being as a nation. These topics deserve the time, effort, and commitment required to explore them intentionally, in order to benefit from the transformative potential they hold.

Consciously considering what it means to be respectful manuhiri of te reo and in te ao Māori, and ensuring that the cultural integrity of the language is supported, will enable Pākehā learners to

continue to ensure that the way they uphold their Article 3 responsibilities as citizens supports Article 2 responsibilities to protect the tino rangatiratanga of Māori for te reo and the protection of that taonga.

The nation as a whole does not value te reo Māori highly, nor understand why it should. This study confirms earlier research on the language's values, and further expands the range of them. These values are highly relevant not only to Māori but also to Pākehā and the country as a whole. Building on these and promoting them to the nation as reasons to support te reo, and when appropriate, as reasons to learn te reo, is likely to encourage more awareness of the importance of te reo to our country.

Ultimately those of all backgrounds who speak te reo Māori, and understand its value, want to see it flourish once more and return to its rightful place as a living, thriving language to support our connection to, and future in, this land. Each one of us can contribute to this goal being realised.

Kia māori anō te reo Māori ki Aotearoa

May te reo Māori become normal once again in New Zealand

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Appendix: Glossary

Māori Dictionary. (n.d.). Relevant definitions retrieved from http://maoridictionary.co.nz/

āhuatanga	circumstances, ways
ako	learn, teach
Aotearoa	New Zealand
aroha tētehi ki tētehi	showing love to one another
atua	god, supernatural being, ancestor with continuing influence
awa	river
hāngī	earth oven
hapa	error, omission
hapū	kinship group, subtribe
hapūtanga	subtribalism
harirū	to shake hands
he manu kōrero	metaphor for an orator (literally speaking bird)
he mihi	acknowledgements
he mihi maioha ki a koutou	appreciative acknowledgements to you
he moumou	it's a waste
hongi	to press noses in greeting
hui	gathering
iwi	tribe
iwi Māori	Māori tribes
iwitanga	tribalism
ka pai	good
kaikomihana	commissioner
kaikōrero	speaker
kaiponu	withhold – especially of things which should be shared
karakia	incantation, ritual chant
karanga	ceremonial welcome call at the start of a *pōhiri*
kaumātua	elders, person of status within the *whānau*
kaupapa	initiative, topic
kaupapa Māori	Māori approach (for example to research)
kawa	*marae* protocol
kia tika te reo, kia Māori te reo, kia pai te reo	the language should be correct, Māori and good
kia tūpato	be careful
ko te reo te mauri o te mana Māori	the language is the life essence of the Māori identity
koha	gift – especially one maintaining social relationships and has connotations of reciprocity
kōhanga (reo)	Māori language preschool

kōrero	speak
koro	elderly man – term of address to an older man
korowai	cloak (protect)
kua ngaro ngā manu	the birds have disappeared
kura kaupapa	primary school operating under Māori custom and using Māori as the medium of instruction
Kura Reo	language-learning gathering, language school
mahi	work
mai rā anō	from long ago
mākutu	witchcraft, magic
mamae	pain
mana	prestige, status, spiritual power
mana heke	authorisation through descent
mana tuku	authorisation through transfer
manaakitanga	hospitality, kindness, generosity – the process of showing respect, generosity and care for others
manuhiri	visitors, guests
māori	normal
marae	courtyard – the area in front of the *wharenui* where formal greetings and discussions take place. Often also used to include the complex of buildings around the *marae*
mātauranga Māori	Māori knowledge – the body of knowledge originating from Māori ancestors, including the Māori world view and perspectives, Māori creativity and cultural practices
mate Māori	Māori sickness – psychosomatic illnesses attributed to transgressions of *tapu* or to *mākutu*
maunga	mountain
mauri	life principle, life force, vital essence
mihi	acknowledge, thank, acknowledgement
mihimihi	speech of greeting, tribute – introductory speeches at the beginning of a gathering after the more formal *pōhiri*. The focus of *mihimihi* is on the living and peaceful interrelationships
mōteatea	lament, traditional chant, sung poetry
motu	country
moumou te mā	you're a copout – an idiom to suggest that a person's Pākehā identity is not being put to full use (a play on the idiom *moumou te pango)*
ngākau mamae	pained heart
ngākau Māori	Māori heart
ope	group
pae	benchful
pai	good
Pākehā	New Zealander of European descent
Pākehātanga	Pākehā-ness, Pākehā identity, features of being Pākehā
Papatūānuku	Earth mother and wife of Ranginui – all living things originate from them
pepeha	tribal saying, proverb, formulaic expression

pōhiri/pōwhiri	ritual of encounter, welcome ceremony on a marae
pūhaehae	jealousy, envy
pūkenga	skill
Ranginui	*atua* of the sky and husband of Papatūānuku – from which union originate all living things
reo	language – usually referring to the Māori language
reo Māori	Māori language (or in the context of *be* a reo Māori, a Māori voice)
reo ōkawa	formal language
reo ōpaki	informal language
rongoā	remedy, medicine, treatment, solution, cure
tamariki Māori	Māori children
tangata whenua	local people, hosts, indigenous people
tangi	rites for the dead, funeral – shortened form of *tangihanga*
taonga	treasure, anything prized – applied to anything considered to be of value, including socially or culturally valuable objects, ideas and techniques
tapu	be sacred, prohibited, restricted, set apart, forbidden, under *atua* protection
Tauiwi	foreigner, more recently arrived New Zealander not of Māori or Pākehā descent
tauparapara	incantation to begin a speech
tautoko	support
te ao Māori	the Māori world
te kauae raro	terrestrial knowledge, earthly knowledge
te kauae runga	celestial knowledge, knowledge of the heavens
te reo (Māori)	the Māori language
te reo ōkawa	the formal language
te reo ōpaki	the informal language
Te Tiriti o Waitangi (Te Tiriti)	The Treaty of Waitangi (The Treaty)
tiaki	to guard, keep
tikanga	correct procedure, custom, method, protocol – the customary system of values and practices that have developed over time and are deeply embedded in the social context
tino rangatiratanga	self-determination, sovereignty, autonomy, control
tīpuna	ancestors
tono	invitation, request
tū	stand
tūpuna	ancestors
tuku	to grant, gift – reflects the notion of transfer
waerea	protective incantation – used as an *ope* is approaching the *marae* of another kinship group
waiata	song
wairua	spirit, soul – spirit of a person which exists beyond death, attitude, quintessence, feel, mood, feeling, nature, essence, atmosphere
wairua Māori	Māori spirit or soul
wānanga	conference, forum

wero	challenge at a *pōhiri*
whai koha	each having a contribution
whaikōrero	to make a formal speech, oratory, oration; formal speeches usually made by men during a *pōhiri* and other gatherings
whakaaro Māori	Māori way of thinking
whakahīhī	to be conceited, arrogant, smug
whakamā	to be ashamed, embarrassed
whakapapa	genealogy, lineage, descent
whakataukī	proverb, significant saying
whānau	extended family, family group
whānau whakapapa	family genealogy
whare	house
wharenui	meeting house
whenua	land