PLANNING FOR TOLERABILITY:

PROMOTING POSITIVE ATTITUDES AND
BEHAVIOURS TOWARDS THE MĀORI LANGUAGE
AMONG NON-MĀORI NEW ZEALANDERS

By

Julia de Bres

A thesis
submitted to Victoria University of Wellington
in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
in Linguistics

Victoria University of Wellington
2008

Abstract

This thesis investigates the effectiveness of promoting positive attitudes and behaviours towards the Māori language among non-Māori New Zealanders as a contributing factor in Māori language regeneration.

It begins by examining the theoretical rationale for focusing on the attitudes and behaviours of majority language speakers in minority language regeneration. Although the impact of majority language speakers on minority languages is clear, theoretical perspectives differ on whether majority language speakers should be a focus of language regeneration planning. Competing approaches are discussed, and a process model is introduced for 'planning for tolerability' - minority language planning targeting the attitudes and behaviours of majority language speakers. This model posits five essential components: recognising the problem; defining the target audience of majority language speakers; developing messages and desired behaviours; selecting policy techniques; and evaluating success.

After reviewing existing research on the attitudes of non-Māori New Zealanders towards the Māori language and introducing the participants to the current research, the New Zealand government's approach to planning for the tolerability of the Māori language is examined. The Government has recognised the importance of non-Māori in Māori language regeneration since the beginning of the development of the Māori Language Strategy in the mid 1990s. The extent to which the Government considers non-Māori as an important audience for Māori language planning in practice, however, appears to fluctuate. Possible reasons for this are discussed.

The main focus of Māori language policy towards non-Māori has been promotional campaigns. The discursive approach taken in a selection of these campaigns is analysed, showing that promotional materials aimed at non-Māori New Zealanders (including television ads, phrase booklets, and a website) transmit a wide range of messages about the Māori language, relating to both attitudes and 'desired behaviours'. Such messages are conveyed through a range of discursive techniques, using both a 'reason' and a 'tickle' approach.

An analysis is also presented of data collected from eighty non-Māori New Zealanders at nine white-collar workplaces in Wellington, using questionnaires and interviews. The analysis centres on the attitudes of the participants towards the Māori language, their responses to current and recent promotional materials, and the role they see for themselves in supporting Māori language regeneration.

Language policy approaches targeting majority language speakers in two international minority language situations, Wales and Catalonia, are then examined, and comparisons made to the New Zealand approach. The analysis concludes that the three approaches to planning for tolerability each exhibit some unique features, relating to all five components of planning for tolerability. Possible reasons for the distinct approaches are discussed.

Finally, the results of the analysis of New Zealand government policy, the data collection process and the international comparisons are drawn together in order to consider the future of planning for tolerability in New Zealand.

Acknowledgements

I thank my parents Angela and Joris de Bres, for their encouragement and support in everything I do, and my twin sister Helena de Bres, who was one step ahead of me with her own PhD research and gave great advice. I thank my linguistics friends Marianna, Agnes, Meredith, Laura, Tina, Stephie, Brian, Leilarna, Cherie, Kazu, Le, Sharon and Misty. Finally, I thank the wonderful Paul Thistoll, who has only ever known me while I was doing my PhD research, and who agreed to marry me anyway.

I dedicate this thesis to all those New Zealanders, both Māori and non-Māori, who are working to ensure the Māori language is part of New Zealand's best possible future.

Contents

List of Illustrations

Figures

Tables

Chapter One

Introduction:

Non-Māori New Zealanders and the Māori language

I have come through Māori Language Week without learning one single word or phrase. But my remote control will need an overhaul because [it was] used to great effect in shielding me from the indoctrination.

I find it ironic that a Māori Indoctrination Week should come at the expense of leaning to speak correct English, which most broadcasters seem to struggle with.

What will this lead to? Manufacturers have already been hit with additional costs in having to show ingredients on labelling, but soon they will be forced into writing them in English and Māori. All signage will have to be duplicated, following the current practice of printing forms in both languages.

Anyway, don't we have a Māori TV station? Wasn't that a more appropriate forum in which to satiate one's linguistic desires?

The cost of re-generating and socially engineering the use of an obscure language used by a microscopic percentage of the human race is unnecessary, objectionable and totally absurd.

Ken R Taylor, Hastings [abridged]
Dominion Post, 31 July 2007

That Ken R Taylor didn't learn a word from Te Wiki o te Reo Māori (Letters, July 31) indicates only his closed mind. Te Reo is an official language of Aotearoa.

Language is more than a means of communication and its value cannot be measured in mere numbers. Language is integral to the expression of one's culture, which is a human right and critical for a successful multicultural society.

Most of our society is based on the English language, so there are vastly more opportunities for it to be spoken correctly. This isn't the case for Māori. The survival of the language depends on a substantial increase in proficiency across society, not only in particular groups.

It seems absurd that the cost of preserving an entire culture could ever be too high. I wonder what distinction Mr Taylor draws between the week-long "indoctrination" that takes place in Te Wiki o te Reo Māori and the indoctrination of the Māori people in the English language that has taken place over the past 200 years.

Kate Stone, Kelburn
Dominion Post, 4 August 2007

Feelings on the Māori language run high in New Zealand, among both Māori and non-Māori. Māori have been at the forefront of efforts to regenerate this endangered language, and it is among Māori that it is currently strongest. But what of the impact of non-Māori, who currently make up 85% of New Zealand's

population? Existing research tells us much about their attitudes to the language and, as we shall see, they have been a specific target of Māori language planning for some time. There has been little research, however, on their responses to Māori language planning initiatives, and the role, if any, they see for themselves in supporting Māori language regeneration. This is unfortunate, as the future of the Māori language arguably depends not only on the attitudes and behaviours of Māori, but also - and not inconsequentially so - on those of non-Māori. This thesis aims to advance knowledge in this area, by investigating the effectiveness of promoting positive attitudes and behaviours towards the Māori language among non-Māori New Zealanders, as a contributing factor in Māori language regeneration. In doing so, it contributes to our understanding of a little discussed area of language regeneration planning: minority language planning targeting the attitudes and behaviours of majority language speakers.

Structure of thesis

The thesis has nine chapters.

Following this introductory chapter, chapter two examines the theoretical rationale for focusing on the attitudes and behaviours of majority language speakers in minority language regeneration. It discusses the impact of these attitudes and behaviours on minority languages, and competing theoretical perspectives on whether majority language speakers should be a target of language regeneration planning. It introduces a process model for 'planning for tolerability', that is, minority language planning targeting the attitudes and behaviours of majority language speakers.

Chapter three discusses evidence of the 'problem of tolerability' in New Zealand. It proposes non-Māori New Zealanders as the relevant target audience of majority language speakers for planning for tolerability in New Zealand, and reviews research to date on the attitudes of non-Māori towards the Māori language.

Chapter four introduces the majority language speaker participants in the current research. These are eighty non-Māori New Zealanders from nine white collar workplaces in Wellington, whose stated attitudes and behaviours towards the Māori language illuminate much of the subsequent discussion in the thesis.

Chapter five examines the New Zealand government's approach to date to planning for the tolerability of the Māori language, through an analysis of Māori language policy documents over the past ten years. It analyses the extent to which the Government recognises the problem of tolerability, the 'desired behaviours' the Government proposes for non-Māori, and identifies relevant policy initiatives undertaken to date, in particular Māori language promotion campaigns.

Chapter six analyses the messages and desired behaviours discernible in a selection of recent Māori language promotion materials aimed at non-Māori - including two television advertisements, phrase booklets and a website - and the discursive techniques by which these messages are conveyed. It also presents the responses of the eighty non-Māori questionnaire participants to these promotional materials, to assist in evaluating the effectiveness of the approach.

Chapter seven addresses the question of desired behaviours for non-Māori in relation to the Māori language. The first part presents the views of the questionnaire participants on the roles of Māori and non-Māori in relation to the Māori language. The second part presents the views of a subset of twenty-six participants interviewed on a range of selected behaviours towards the Māori language, such as pronunciation of Māori words, using Māori words and phrases, learning/speaking Māori to a fluent level, and responding to the use of Māori by others.

Chapter eight discusses current approaches to planning for tolerability in two other minority language situations, Wales and Catalonia. The analysis focuses on the five components of the process model for planning for tolerability introduced in chapter two: recognising the problem of tolerability; defining the target audience of majority language speakers; developing messages and desired behaviours; selecting policy techniques; and evaluating success, with comparisons to the New Zealand situation.

Chapter nine draws together the discussion in previous chapters to consider the future of planning for tolerability in New Zealand. It summarises the main findings, highlights key issues to be considered in the future development of planning for tolerability, and suggests directions for further research.

Research questions

The specific research questions underlying the discussion in the thesis are as follows:

1. What are the theoretical justifications for promoting positive attitudes and behaviours towards minority languages among majority language speakers?

2. What is the New Zealand government's current policy on promoting positive attitudes and behaviours towards the Māori language among non-Māori New Zealanders?

3. What discursive approach is taken in current government promotional campaigns relating to the Māori language aimed at non-Māori New Zealanders, and what attitudes and behaviours do these campaigns propose for non-Māori New Zealanders?

4. What are the responses of a non-Māori audience to the current promotional campaigns relating to the Māori language, and what role do they see for themselves in supporting Māori language regeneration?

5. What language policy approaches relating to majority language speakers are taken in comparable international minority language situations (specifically Wales and Catalonia)?

Definitions

The thesis is situated in three main research areas: language attitudes, language planning and language regeneration planning. These are briefly defined below.

Language attitudes

Following conventional contemporary definitions in social psychology, attitude is defined here as "a psychological tendency that is expressed by evaluating a particular entity with some degree of favor or disfavor" (Eagly and Chaiken 1993:

1). 'Negative' and 'positive' attitudes do not, therefore imply a value judgment on the attitudes themselves, but rather describe the evaluation of the attitude object exemplified by a given attitude. In this sense being opposed to, for example, military rule is as much a 'negative attitude' as being opposed to use of the Māori language. A 'language attitude' is an attitude towards language, whether this be towards a whole language, features of a language, use of a language, or a language as a marker of a particular group (Cooper and Fishman 1974: 6), among other possible language-related attitude objects.

This thesis investigates both attitudes and behaviours towards language. The link between attitudes and behaviour is highly controversial in attitudes research, with research proposing that attitudes influence behaviour but also suggesting no direct link between the two. Traditional accounts (e.g. Katz and Stotland 1959) separated attitudes into three components: the affective (feelings about an attitude object), the cognitive (beliefs about the object) and the conative (predispositions to act in a certain way towards the object). This classical or 'three component' model has been the theoretical basis for most language attitudes research. Recent analyses in attitude research more generally (e.g. Eagly and Chaiken 1993), however, have viewed beliefs, affect and behaviour as separate from but related to attitudes, in that attitudes can both be inferred from and influence them. Accordingly, the term 'attitudes' is reserved in this thesis for evaluative tendencies, and affect, beliefs and behaviours are seen as interacting with attitudes rather than being their parts (Albarracín et al. 2005: 5).

Language planning

Language planning, as defined by Cooper (1989: 45), refers to "deliberate efforts to influence the behaviour of others with respect to the acquisition, structure, or functional allocation of their language codes". This definition usefully draws together several concepts highlighted in other definitions, including that language planning is: an attempt to influence behaviour (Kaplan and Baldauf 1997: 3; Ager 2005a: 1039); an instance of deliberate language change (Kaplan and Baldauf 1997: 3, Rubin and Jernudd 1971: xvi); and involves the use, form and acquisition of language (Ager 2001: 5). Language planning is most often separated into three subcategories of status planning, corpus planning and acquisition planning. Although there is not complete agreement on this terminology, status planning

generally relates to the functional domains in which a language is used (Cooper 1989: 99), corpus planning to the language itself (e.g. standardisation), and acquisition planning to teaching and learning the language. In this thesis, following Kaplan and Baldauf (1997: xi), language planning refers to the overall activity of planning, and language policy refers to its formulation in a given context.

Although language planning has long occurred, its formal practice only emerged in the early 1960s, as a result of decolonisation after World War II and the consequent need to develop language solutions for newly emerging polities (Baldauf 2004: 376). The academic discipline of language planning began to cohere in the late 1960s and early 1970s, when theoretical models of language planning appeared in great numbers, e.g. Haugen (1966), Fishman et al. (1968), Rubin & Jernudd (1971) and Neustupny (1974). Despite this wave of research, Tollefson (1991: 26) notes that "attempts to synthesize language planning and language acquisition research into a comprehensive theoretical framework have proved inadequate", and there is to this day no generally accepted theory of language planning.

Despite the explosion of interest in language planning, Tollefson (2002: 416) observes that "in less than twenty years, by the mid-1980s, disillusionment […] was widespread". Several summary accounts detail criticisms of early approaches to language planning, including Baldauf (2004 and 2005), Tollefson (2002), Ricento (2000) and Blommaert (1996). Criticisms include that early language planning was marked by (Tollefson 2002: 419-420): the failure to adequately analyse the impact of local context on national policies and plans; lack of attention to the language practices and attitudes of communities affected by language planning; and its use by dominant groups to maintain their political and economic advantage, despite the hope it would bring benefits to minority populations. May (2005a: 1056-1057) discusses the negative impact of early language planning on minority languages in particular. Tollefson (2002: 416-417) points to a "modest revival" in academic interest in language planning since the 1990s, with this research characterised by important differences from the early period. In particular, critiques of early language planning have led to new approaches being adopted and the creation of new fields that address these concerns, e.g. Reversing Language Shift (Fishman 1991) and the field of Minority Language Rights (e.g. May 2005b).

Language regeneration planning

The form of language planning considered in this thesis is language regeneration planning[1]. Although this is often seen as an attempt to 'save' endangered languages, appropriate and achievable end goals will vary between language situations, and language regeneration planning is better defined more cautiously as attempting to "counter-[balance] the forces which have caused or are causing language shift" (Grenoble and Whaley 2006: 21). There has been an increasing number of programmes around the world in the past fifty years seeking to regenerate languages at risk of disappearing due to declining numbers of native speakers (Grenoble and Whaley 2006: 1) and this trend is likely to continue with the exponential decline and loss of many of the world's languages (see Crystal 2000 on the growing phenomenon of language death internationally). Language regeneration planning, being a more recent form of language planning, is still in the early stages of theoretical development. Some attempts at overarching theories have been made, particularly Fishman's (1991, 2000) Reversing Language Shift and, more recently, Grenoble and Whaley's (2006) general reference guide to language regeneration. The greatest body of published work on language regeneration, however, relates to issues and practices in specific parts of the world, and is more practically than theoretically focused (e.g. Hinton and Hale 2001, Bradley and Bradley 2002). Communities, governments and individuals use a wide variety of approaches and methods in language regeneration planning. This thesis looks in detail at one possible focus of such planning, the attitudes and behaviours of majority language speakers towards minority languages. The rationale for the focus on majority language speakers is discussed in chapter two.

Approach of thesis

Some further comments on the approach of the thesis should be made at the outset.

---

[1] Following Hohepa (1998: 46), I use the term regeneration in preference to 'revitalisation' or 'reversing language shift'. The former Chief Executive of the Māori Language Commission, Haami Piripi, has commented that this term is "reflective of the sense of regrowth in language communities […] and just like native vegetation the language is always trying to grow back in an environment of repression" (personal communication, 23 July 2005).

Ideological assumptions

The starting point of this thesis is that Māori language regeneration planning is a valid and worthwhile activity. Fishman (2000: 451-452) observes that even people engaged in language regeneration often have doubts and insecurities about the moral status and value of their work. This is not the case for everyone. When I asked a sociolinguistics class at my university to come up with reasons for regenerating the Māori language, a Māori speaking student later commented that her reaction had been one of stunned silence. It was obvious to her that "we just should". In some ways this may be similar to how linguists feel about languages in general. To those for whom the answer is less self-evident, reasons commonly given for regenerating the Māori language (most of which apply in a modified form to all endangered languages) include that the Māori language: is a core component of Māori culture and identity; contributes to the socio-economic well-being of Māori; is a link to ancestors, history and the land; encodes culturally specific knowledge; assists the maintenance of traditional Māori art forms and tikanga (cultural practices); is a vehicle for increased cross-cultural understanding; contributes to a unique New Zealand identity; is guaranteed to Māori under the Treaty of Waitangi; is an inalienable right under international law; and contributes to the linguistic diversity of the world[2].

For those unconvinced by the above arguments, I hope that this thesis is nevertheless of interest because differing attitudes towards the Māori language reveal differing points of view on a range of socially relevant topics in New Zealand. If anything has been obvious in the course of my research, it has been the validity of the familiar sociolinguistic claim that attitudes towards languages are inseparable from attitudes towards speakers of those languages (Lambert et al. 1960). Language rights are tied up in other rights more broadly understood, and language planning is always about more than language alone. In this regard, I hope that my research will contribute something to a better understanding of the part that language plays in the ongoing negotiation of our cross-cultural relationships in New Zealand.

---

[2] See also Fishman (2000: 451-457) and May (2005b) for persuasive responses to common criticisms leveled against language regeneration and minority language rights, e.g. the normality/inevitability of language death, the link between majority languages and progress/mobility, and the unquestioned link between language and ethnic identity, among others.

What this thesis is not about

This thesis is about one aspect of Māori language regeneration planning, targeting non-Māori New Zealanders. In focusing on this aspect, I do not in any way question the primary focus of Māori language planning on a Māori audience. Māori people will always be the core focus of Māori language regeneration planning, and rightly so, given the close connections between the Māori language and Māori culture and identity. Nor does the thesis discuss the history of the Māori language, Māori language education (e.g. kōhanga reo, kura kaupapa, Māori as a subject) or Māori language broadcasting (e.g. iwi radio, Te Māngai Paho, Māori Television). Some background on these important aspects of Māori language regeneration planning is provided in Appendix Three (provided on CD). This thesis simply focuses on a further aspect of Māori language planning that, it is argued, should be part of this broader picture.

Voices of non-Māori participants

As befits its focus on non-Māori New Zealanders, much of this thesis presents the views of non-Māori research participants towards the Māori language. A variety of attitudes towards the language are revealed, ranging from strongly negative to strongly positive. Some views expressed will be offensive to those who feel a close connection to the Māori language. I have chosen to present these views, as far as possible, in the participants' own terms, without them being coloured by my own (or others') attitudes. Some readers might look for a more critical approach, but in the context of the current study I considered it important to faithfully reflect how the participants responded in their own terms to current Māori language policy and the sociolinguistic environment. It is vital to understand where people are coming from on these issues and all voices must be equally heard. To those who find this approach unsatisfactory, I hope that the data presented will nevertheless be useful for other kinds of analyses.

Personal rationale

I am a first generation New Zealander, the daughter of English and Dutch migrants, I have no Māori ancestry, and in some ways my cultural roots are on the other side of the world. At school and university my interest in languages led me

to learn languages other than Māori. Most of my encounters with Māori culture growing up were of the basic variety experienced by an average Pākehā child living in the North Island, mediated largely through the state education system: learning Māori songs and words at primary school, being read Māori legends, going on school trips to marae, participating in a kapa haka group, having Māori school friends. I have had more contact with Māori culture than some non-Māori as a result of my father's work in race relations, and more recently my own work at the Office of Treaty Settlements - which negotiates the settlement of Māori land claims - but not as much as other non-Māori with closer personal Māori connections.

Even these basic forms of contact with Māori culture, however, have contributed to my sense of identity. Today it is when I go to a marae, attend a pōwhiri, listen to a waiata, see the 'kia ora' sign at Auckland airport, or, in particular, when I hear the Māori language, that I most strongly feel a New Zealander, that I feel at home. Although I am always aware of being non-Māori, my cultural identity is at least in part made up of this awareness, so that what I am not becomes part of what I am. At the same time, I recognise this is not the case for all non-Māori New Zealanders. Some of us feel a much closer connection to Māori culture than others and, in particular, while hearing the Māori language triggers many positive identity associations for me, it has no effect at all on others, and for others still it sets off alarm bells. It was my growing awareness of the complexity and sensitivity of this sociolinguistic situation in New Zealand, and my thoughts about its potential implications for the future of the Māori language, that led me to be especially interested in the contemporary relationship between non-Māori and the Māori language.

It is for these reasons that on the rare occasion that someone has challenged me why, as a non-Māori New Zealander who does not speak Māori, I even thought of researching this topic, I have been tempted to say…Who better to do it? Precisely because I am one.

Chapter Two
Planning for tolerability:

The case for targeting majority language speakers in language regeneration planning

It is often claimed that language attitudes play an important role in language maintenance and regeneration and that it is not only the attitudes of a minority language community themselves that count, but also those of the wider community of which they are part (Boyce 2005: 86, Grenoble and Whaley 2006: 11). Despite this, majority language speakers are seldom considered a target of language regeneration planning. This chapter considers the impact of majority language speakers on minority languages and competing theoretical perspectives on whether majority language speakers should be a target of language regeneration planning. It then introduces a process model for 'planning for tolerability', that is, minority language planning targeting the attitudes and behaviours of majority language speakers.

The impact of majority language speakers on minority languages

In what ways do majority language speakers impact on minority languages? To begin with, the attitudes and behaviours of a majority language speaking group often play a role in causing a language to become minoritised in the first place, through institutional measures such as banning the use of the language in schools or legislating in favour of the use of another language in government.

Such measures are usually accompanied by the direct expression of negative attitudes towards minority languages by majority language speakers in interactions with members of the minority language community (e.g. hostile reactions to the use of the minority language in public), which can have a direct impact on minority language use.

More subtly, negative majority attitudes, as expressed either through "overt external pressure on individuals" or through "the implicit pressure of societal norms" (Chrisp 2005: 157), can lead to members of a minority language

community internalising negative attitudes about their language at a conscious or subconscious level, with a flow-on effect for their language choice. If a minority language has low prestige in the eyes of a majority group and is subject to prejudice, ridicule and/or stigmatisation, usually as part of a wider oppression of the minority group, this group is likely to develop a negative view of their language and to become embarrassed or ashamed to speak it (Tsunoda 2005: 59).

The psychological effects of past institutional and interpersonal repression of a minority language (or minority language group) can continue to inhibit minority language use even when overt repression has ceased and language regeneration efforts are underway. Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer (1998: 63) observe in relation to the Alaskan Native American language Tlingit that the memory of being punished physically and psychologically for speaking the language at school has led to bitterness among parents about current regeneration initiatives, as evidenced in comments such as "they beat the language out of us in school, and now the schools want to teach it" (1998: 65). They explain that in such situations "the Native student is experiencing 'mixed messages' about the value of learning Tlingit: on the one hand, it is being taught, and people are saying that it is good to learn it; but on the other hand, the student is aware of the overwhelming anxiety and negative associations surrounding the language, whether spoken or unspoken" (1998: 67).

In addition to these ongoing historical effects, the attitudes and behaviours of majority language speakers often act as a direct impediment to language regeneration initiatives in the present. This is because the greatest opposition to minority language regeneration usually comes from majority language speakers. May (2000a: 123) claims as a general feature of minority language policy development that "no matter how cautiously and temperately promoted and implemented, such policies will invariably invoke opposition, particularly […] from majority language speakers". May (2001: 270) notes a "remarkable congruence" between the Welsh and Catalan language situations in this regard, with majority language speakers in both contexts: articulating a discourse of individual language rights as a means of opting out of bilingual policy requirements; expressing pejorative attitudes about minority languages more generally, particularly in relation to their 'adequacy' in and 'relevance' to the modern world; and claiming that bilingual requirements are themselves 'racist' and 'illiberal'. May (2003: 113)

terms such opposition from majority language speakers towards minority languages 'the problem of tolerability'[3].

Majority language speakers as a target of minority language planning

There is general agreement and ample evidence about the impact of the attitudes and behaviours of majority language speakers on minority languages. Theoretical perspectives differ, however, on whether majority language speakers should be a target of language regeneration planning. There is a wide divergence of views on this matter, ranging from those strongly opposed to those strongly in favour.

Fishman: atmosphere effects

Fishman (1991, 2000) is skeptical about focusing on majority language speakers or 'outsiders' in language regeneration. His theory of Reversing Language Shift (RLS) places the responsibility for most language regeneration action on those who advocate an 'Xian-via-Xish'[4] identity (2000: 465):

> It requires an enterprising and committed Xian community for its stability and does not take any comfort in the possible assistance of Yians-via-Xish (Germans who have learned to speak Yiddish as a means of penance for the Holocaust) or mainstream New Zealanders who have learned to speak Māori as an expression of sympathy for the Māori plight), who have a different community base and for whom pro-Xish efforts are normally situational, temporary, idiosyncratic and even reversible. RLS cannot be based on acts of charity by outsiders.

Fishman also questions the usefulness of focusing on attitudes more generally in language regeneration, given the difficulties of establishing a strong link between language attitudes and language use, distinguishing the impact of attitudes from other factors on endangered language use, measuring attitudes, and devising concrete measures to change attitudes (1991: 49, 2000: 464, 478-480).

---

[3] The concept of tolerability was first articulated by Grin (1995) but May has subsequently developed and extended it.

[4] In Fishman's shorthand, Xish and Yish refer to a minority language and a majority language coexisting within a community, respectively, and Xians and Yians refer to the ethnolinguistic groups associated with those languages.

He is, moreover, opposed to the use of 'atmosphere effects' (such as use of a language in the media or government services, or any language regeneration initiatives that serve to create a more positive external 'atmosphere' for language regeneration) when intergenerational language transmission has not been secured. This is the basis for his particularly strong criticism of atmosphere effects in relation to the Māori language. In his most extended criticism, he comments that (1991: 245):

> Māori is still dying year by year and effective first aid and major surgery are needed urgently, rather than stressing such elective non-essentials as token mass media programs, the token use of Māori in government offices, signs and letterheads, wildly luxuriant corpus planning for 'Māori in the modern sector', literary prizes for writers, and Māori-speaking telephone operators and clerks at government agencies. All of the above are merely symbolic flourishes, given the lack of substance with respect to the societal co-management which they imply, or even any substantially self-regulatory intergenerational Māori home-family-neighborhood life on which such efforts must be firmly based if they are to contribute to RLS *per se* (rather than merely to jobs for a few dozen disaffected intellectuals) [5].

Fishman's views have been enormously influential in language regeneration planning and particularly, as will be seen in subsequent chapters, in the New Zealand policy context. I disagree with him in a number of respects, however. It is true that the actions of a minority language group themselves are the most important factor in language regeneration, but the ongoing impact of the attitudes and behaviours of majority language speakers on the potential for minority language speakers to use and thereby regenerate their language, as discussed above, should lead us to question the effectiveness of leaving majority language speakers entirely out of the picture. Furthermore, there are inconsistencies in Fishman's approach towards majority language speakers. He reports that when Catalan language regeneration efforts began in earnest in 1979, a secondary target audience for Catalan language promotion was Spanish-speaking immigrants to Catalonia. Fishman describes the rationale for this as follows (1991: 305-306):

> It came to be recognised that the huge number of Spanish-speaking immigrants could legally exercise their constitutional rights to remain such

---

[5] Fishman's comments here were made seventeen years ago, but the chapter on Māori in his follow-up edited volume (Benton and Benton 2000) also comments that "the situation in 1999 [was] still marked mostly by 'symbolic flourishes'" (2000: 442), and warns against "those who think that the icing can substitute for the cake" (2000: 446). Fishman's own views may not have changed much since, with many of the themes discussed in the current chapter echoed in Fishman (2006).

permanently, utilizing little or no Catalan in their daily lives, thereby providing Catalan with a constant built-in rival, competitor and threat within the very heart of Catalonia, a threat that exerted a mighty influence on native Catalans themselves and their ability or inclination to pursue 'normalization of the first kind'. […] Accordingly, at the same time that 'normalization of the first kind' might persuade Catalans to use more Catalan with one another and with the immigrants and their children, special efforts were instituted to help more of these same immigrants to actively and affectively adopt Catalan as their own language.

Although this reasoning makes sense, it sits uneasily with Fishman's earlier comments against focusing on 'outsiders' in language regeneration. His different approach in relation to Catalan is evident in his comment that "slowly but surely, Catalan is ceasing to be merely a cliquish 'ingroup thing' and is competing more effectively as the preferred local language of intergroup communication" (1991: 321). It is hard to imagine Fishman referring to Māori language use among Māori as 'a cliquish ingroup thing'. Fishman's position here contrasts with his claim that 'Xians' alone should assume responsibility for language regeneration and suggests that majority language speakers may also have a role to play.

Secondly, although the idea that language attitudes do not directly relate to language use is amply supported in the attitudes literature, I disagree that language regeneration planning should therefore not focus on attitudes. It may not be possible to pinpoint the precise effect of attitudes on endangered language use, but attitudes have certainly had an impact on the use of endangered languages in the past and have probably been an important factor in their decline. As discussed above, it is also likely that they continue to influence the use of endangered languages. If attitudes are an important factor in language use, it follows that they must also play a role in language regeneration. It may not be possible to determine their exact importance, but this is so for almost every factor in language regeneration. Moreover, difficulty in knowing how to address attitudes effectively is not a reason not to try. The whole discipline of social marketing, for example, is based on the assumption that it is possible to effect change in people's attitudes and behaviours relating to social issues.

Finally, I am not convinced that a language promotion campaign could be so successful in Catalonia (see Fishman 1991: 306) and so unsuccessful in New Zealand simply because of the differing stage of language regeneration of these language situations. After his criticism of atmosphere effects in relation to Māori,

Fishman goes on to highlight as one of the complicating factors of the Māori language situation "the general atmosphere of antipathy and racism that [Māori] so often encounter in the mainstream" (1991: 246), which he views, in combination with other factors, as a "heavy [burden] indeed". In these circumstances, one might consider atmosphere effects to be of even greater importance in New Zealand.

May: the problem of tolerability

In contrast to Fishman, May (2000a, 2000b, 2001, 2002, 2003) places great emphasis on the importance of securing the 'tolerability' of minority language policy initiatives among majority language speakers.

May (2000a: 101) argues that what is needed for the long-term health of a minority language is for it to be both formally recognised by the state ('legitimated') and supported within civil society ('institutionalised') (see also Nelde et al. 1996: 11-12). May considers the process of legitimation an important step in raising the status of a minority language but acknowledges that this is not enough as "it is possible to legitimate a language without this having much effect on its use". He cites Irish as an example of legitimation without corresponding increase in use; Māori could arguably also fit into this category. May claims, therefore, that what is also needed is the institutionalisation of the minority language within civil society (2000a: 102):

> By this, the minority language comes to be accepted, or 'taken for granted' in a wide range of social, cultural and linguistic domains or contexts, both formal and informal. The degree to which a minority language comes to be institutionalised in this way will also have a significant bearing on the subsequent status attached to the language in question and, by extension, its speakers.

If a minority language is legitimated and institutionalised in this way, he argues, it can "break out of the private familial domain and 'invade' the public or civic realm" (2000a: 102). May considers such use of a minority language in the public realm to be crucial to its long-term survival, because in the modern context "any

language which is not widely used in the public realm becomes so marginalised as to be inconsequential" (2000a: 102)[6].

This is where the 'problem of tolerability' comes in, because majority language speaker opposition means that such institutionalisation of a minority language is not easily achieved. It is further complicated because, as always in language planning, there is more at stake than language. As May (2001: 195; 2000b: 381) emphasises, the promotion of minority language rights will always be contentious because it involves challenging existing power structures, so that greater recognition of minority language rights is closely related to greater recognition of minority group rights more generally. The term 'tolerability' is useful here, as it captures the notion of inherent opposition involved in majority-minority language relationships (in a way that 'tolerance', for example, does not). Fishman's RLS model has been criticised in this regard for not taking sufficient account of power relations in language regeneration (see Williams 2000: 14). Despite the difficulties inherent in any such power struggle between minority and majority groups (and to some extent because of these difficulties), addressing the problem of tolerability is arguably of vital importance for minority language regeneration. May (2000b: 379) goes so far as to claim that "the long-term success of [minority language policy] initiatives may only be achieved (or be achievable) if at least some degree of favourable majority opinion is secured".

Theoretical approach

Fishman and May present quite different positions on the attitudes and behaviours of majority language speakers in language regeneration planning[7]. Other theorists tend towards one direction or the other, Grenoble and Whaley (2006) being a recent example of those who, like May, place significant emphasis on majority language speakers[8]. The theoretical basis for this thesis is not Fishman's theory

---

[6] May (2000a: 12) does acknowledge Fishman's (1991) caveat that use of a minority language in the public realm cannot act as a substitute for its use in the home.

[7] As discussed below, May focuses on minority language rights in general rather than on language regeneration in particular, but the arguments apply to both.

[8] Grenoble and Whaley (2006: 30) state that "the attitudes of the larger, more dominant population are critical in language revitalization efforts" and that "if macro-level variables such as […] national beliefs and attitudes that promote monolingualism are aligned in such a way as to thwart local initiatives […] then planning a revitalization effort will necessarily include a strategy for overcoming the effect of these factors" (2006: 22).

of RLS but May's concept of the problem of tolerability. The problem of tolerability is a useful explanatory concept for analysing the dynamics of minority and majority language relationships and, in my view, it also provides a solid rationale for targeting the attitudes and behaviours of majority language speakers in language regeneration planning.

I do not suggest that majority language speakers should be the primary focus of such planning, but rather that it is important to focus *some* attention on them from an early stage. It is crucial to set priorities and guard against spreading scarce resources too thinly but, as Chrisp (1998: 107) has commented in relation to promotion of the Māori language in another 'non-core domain', the public sector:

> We are often encouraged to see such activities as 'either/or' situations, that is Māori language promotion in the public sector is played off against Māori language promotion somewhere else […]. Such activities can, in fact, be seen as 'both/and' situations, where the promotion of the Māori language in the public sector can complement and support the promotion of the language in the core domains, without distracting the key players in those domains.

I contend that multiple approaches are required for successful language regeneration, and that not least of these should be addressing the attitudes and behaviours of majority language speakers.

My theoretical approach thus draws strongly on May, but differs in two respects. Following Grin (1995), May generally uses the term 'the problem of tolerability' to refer to majority language speaker opposition towards specific minority language policy initiatives (2002: 8) or towards minority language rights (2003: 113). I use it more broadly to refer to the negative attitudes and behaviours of majority language speakers towards minority languages more generally[9]. This is because I view the problem of tolerability as encompassing not only majority language speaker opposition to minority language policy initiatives or rights but also all the other distinct ways in which majority language speakers impact on minority language use. This broader theoretical approach has methodological implications for my research with majority language speakers in the New Zealand context. Whereas an emphasis on minority language initiatives would lead to a focus on attitudes to

---

[9] This distinction is not entirely clear, however. May (2000b: 101) identifies the difficulty of "how can a *minority language* gain sufficient support from majority language speakers for it to be accepted (and spoken regularly) as a state language?" (emphasis mine).

these specifically (e.g. what do majority language speakers think about bilingual signage?), my broader approach entails investigating both the attitudes of majority language speakers towards minority language initiatives and their attitudes towards the minority language itself (e.g. how they feel about hearing the language at all), as well as their behaviours in relation to the language (e.g. how, if at all, they incorporate the language into their lives). In my view, this is necessary to get a full picture of the problem of tolerability in relation to a minority language.

If my approach is broader than May's in the above respect, it is more restricted in another. May's discussion of tolerability is not limited to indigenous or endangered languages, but rather relates to minority languages in general. The problem of tolerability in relation to non-indigenous minority languages is in many ways similar. Jorgensen (2003), for example, found that majority attitudes towards the languages of minority immigrant groups in Denmark were highly negative and that this might favour language shift towards Danish. Evans (1996) found similar results for Spanish in the USA. The context for addressing this problem is different than for indigenous minority languages, however. Firstly, different kinds of rights arguably apply to different kinds of minority languages. Drawing on Kloss's (1997) distinction between promotion-oriented and tolerance-oriented rights, May (2005a: 1065) argues that "only national minorities can demand *as of right* formal inclusion of their languages and cultures in the civic realm [but] this need not and should not preclude other ethnic minorities from being allowed *at the very least* to cultivate and pursue unhindered their own historic cultural and linguistic practices in the private domain". Furthermore, the attitudes of majority language speakers towards non-indigenous minority languages may be more negative than towards indigenous minority languages. Some non-indigenous minority languages may be more negatively viewed than others. Non-indigenous minority languages often have to compete for attention amongst a range of other minority languages, as opposed to a single indigenous language[10]. Institutional support may be less available for the maintenance of non-indigenous languages. The notion of 'desired behaviours' for majority language speakers (discussed below) is more complicated in this context. In many indigenous minority language situations language planning may involve promoting acquisition of the minority language among majority language speakers, but this is unlikely to be the case for

---

[10] This distinction is less applicable to nation states where a number of indigenous languages co-exist.

non-indigenous minority languages. When it comes to the further distinction between endangered minority languages and other minority languages another range of issues come into play, including the urgency associated with language planning relating to languages that may otherwise not survive. In practical terms, these distinctions have an important impact on the language planning approaches appropriate in relation to majority language speakers. These are interesting and important issues. They are for consideration elsewhere, however, as this thesis focuses on endangered indigenous minority languages alone.

Addressing the problem of tolerability

Once the problem of tolerability is recognised in a minority language situation, how do language planners address it? The literature tends to concentrate on the theoretical arguments that need to be conveyed to majority language speakers to improve the tolerability of minority languages. The broad message strategies proposed include: emphasising the general advantages of instituting minority language rights, on the basis of the economic and welfare benefits that will accrue not only to minority groups themselves but also to the wider nation-state (Grin 2005: 451, 457; May 2005b: 326-327); stressing moral obligations of justice on the basis of the historical disadvantages of minority groups and/or the rights of national minorities (May 2001: 195); encouraging empathy, by highlighting that in a globalising world maintaining linguistic diversity should be of increasing concern to speakers of all languages (May 2001: 194); encouraging greater linguistic awareness among majority language speakers, e.g. sensitising them to the idea that all languages have combined identity/instrumental dimensions (May 2003: 113); emphasising that recognising minority language rights need not impinge on majority language rights (May 2000b: 380); and pointing out key misconceptions and inconsistencies in arguments against the utility of minority languages (May 2005b: 335).

This theoretical focus is vital to establishing a rigorous foundation for promoting the tolerability of minority languages, and provides useful arguments to counteract majority language speaker opposition to minority language initiatives. As a practical strategy, however, it has its limits. Approaches that point out misconceptions and stress moral obligations are potentially problematic if the aim is to promote tolerability. Such arguments, if baldly stated, are more likely simply

to irritate majority language speakers who are already antagonistic to minority languages and cause them to entrench their positions. As Grin (2005: 457) remarks, such arguments are likely to "[cut] no ice among those who are not already convinced of [these] claims". Furthermore, some majority language speakers' objections to minority language rights are clearly emotionally rather than rationally based. May (2005b: 336) observes that the assertion of some majority language speakers that minority language initiatives amount to an infringement of their own linguistic rights "is not based on any perceived threat to the minority language, but rather upon the implicit, sometimes explicit, wish of majority language speakers to remain monolingual". The anti-minority language rights stance is often also overtly political, as May acknowledges elsewhere (2003: 115). Pointing out to majority language speakers that their claims are based on emotion and power plays is not likely to make them change their mind about minority languages.

There is a limited number of examples in the literature of practical language policy measures that could be used to promote the tolerability of minority languages. Those given by May and Grin include the following:

- Grin (1995) proposes a model for public service provision in which services are provided in a minority language according to the minority language community's numeric representation in each region of the state, but tolerability is achieved by guaranteeing that those who form the linguistic majority in the state will always get service in the majority language, regardless of whether they 'qualify' for it numerically in a certain area or not;

- Grin and Vaillancourt (1998: 236) recommend language promotion programmes in New Zealand to promote the 'normalcy' of the Māori language;

- May (2000a: 122-123) suggests a compromise position regarding bilingual language requirements at workplaces, whereby a dual responsibility is placed on employer and employee for the employee learning a minority language; and

- May (2000a: 124) suggests following the "policy of quiet coercion" apparent from the Welsh Language Act Guidelines and taking a "gradual and graduated approach" to minority language policy, so as not to antagonise majority opinion.

These suggestions are useful, but not numerous, and not well developed in the literature. Despite its theoretical value, therefore, the literature on tolerability provides little real-world guidance to policymakers and communities engaged in the day-to-day business of language regeneration planning. What practical language policy approaches can be used to improve the tolerability of a minority language among majority language speakers? How does one go about 'planning for tolerability'?

A process model for planning for tolerability

In this thesis, 'planning for tolerability' is defined as any form of language planning that targets the attitudes and behaviours of majority language speakers towards minority languages. Despite a relative lack of attention in the literature to practical methods, I will show in subsequent chapters that this form of language planning is currently occurring in several language situations worldwide. During the course of the research, I have developed a process model of planning for tolerability, which I will use to analyse the various approaches taken. This model, developed on the basis of both existing language planning concepts and observed practice, posits five components that I consider necessarily underlie any process of planning for tolerability:

- recognising the problem of tolerability;

- defining the target audience of majority language speakers;

- developing messages and desired behaviours;

- selecting policy techniques; and

- evaluating success.

Ideally these components would be addressed in the order above, but this may not always be the case, which is why I have termed them 'components' rather than 'stages' in the process (although the suggested order is indicated by dotted arrows in the pictorial depiction of the model below).

Figure 2.1: A process model for planning for tolerability
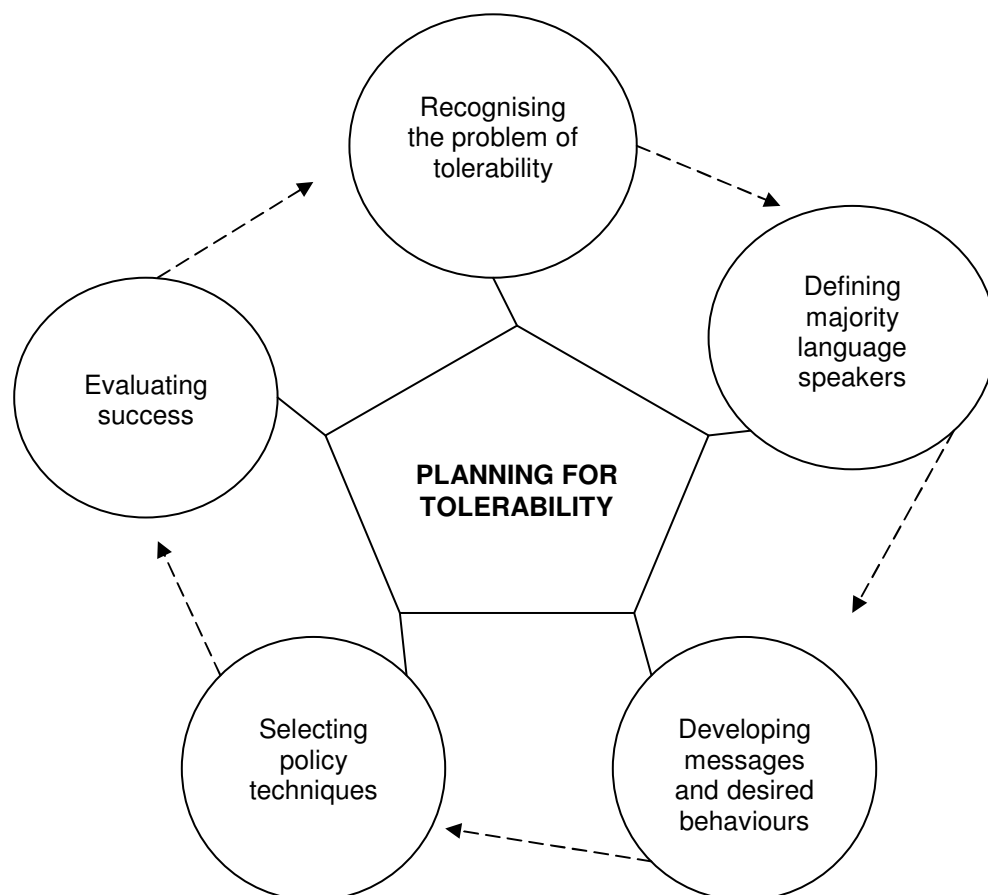
The components are introduced briefly below; they are considered in more depth in subsequent chapters in relation to particular language situations.

Recognising the problem of tolerability

A vital first component of planning for tolerability is recognising that there is a problem. Early definitions of language planning focused on language planning as solving language 'problems' (e.g. Rubin and Jernudd 1971: xvi). More recent definitions have highlighted other aspects, due in part to the issue of who decides what constitutes a 'problem' in language planning. Nevertheless, in order to be willing to address an issue, language planners must consider it worthy of being addressed. As will be seen in subsequent chapters, the extent to which language planners recognise tolerability as a problem varies between language situations.

Defining the target audience of majority language speakers

A second component is determining just who the majority language speakers are when it comes to planning for tolerability. 'Majority language speakers' is a useful umbrella term, but the precise definition of this audience is highly dependent on contextual factors particular to each language situation. As shown in chapter three, the New Zealand definition has tended to be non-Māori New Zealanders, rather than non-speakers of Māori more generally. Majority language speakers have been defined differently in other minority language situations. In Wales, as will be seen in chapter eight, non-Welsh people are not a particular focus of planning for tolerability. The relevant target audience there tends to be non-speakers of Welsh more generally, because people of Welsh ethnicity make up the large majority of people living in Wales. In Catalonia, the situation is different again, with three distinct groups of majority language speakers discernible at different stages of planning for tolerability.

The fundamental point here is that tolerability is at its heart about power relations between minority and majority groups (see May 2001: 195). Tolerability expresses itself in different ways in different places because of contextual factors specific to each situation, relating primarily to how the majority-minority power relationship is defined.

Developing messages and desired behaviours

A third component of planning for tolerability involves developing messages and 'desired behaviours' for majority language speakers. When majority language speakers are referred to in the context of minority languages, it is generally in relation to their 'attitudes'. Planning for tolerability involves developing messages targeted at majority language speakers to address their attitudes towards minority languages.

It is not just the attitudes of majority language speakers that impact on minority languages, however, but also their behaviours. All language planning involves influencing language behaviour (Kaplan and Baldauf 1997: 3), and this is no less so for majority language speakers. Accordingly, planning for tolerability targets the behaviours of majority language speakers as well as their attitudes. What desired

behaviours are appropriate for majority language speakers in relation to minority languages? As will be seen in chapter eight, this is another question that has been answered differently in different language situations. An important point is that the desired behaviour may not necessarily be learning or using the language. As Ager (2005a: 1039) observes, behaviours that are the subject of language planning may involve either using a language or behaving in some other way *towards* the language (see also Cooper and Fishman 1974: 6). What such behaviours might be in practice is a fundamental question in planning for tolerability.

Selecting policy techniques

A fourth component relates to what practical language planning methods can be used to plan for tolerability. Language planners have a range of policy techniques to draw on for any language planning goal, and planning for tolerability is no different. In this thesis, the policy techniques used for planning for tolerability in New Zealand are discussed in detail, before considering the techniques used in Wales and Catalonia. At this point, however, a further definitional matter should be clarified regarding what counts as a policy technique in planning for tolerability.

A distinction was made above between May's approach to the problem of tolerability being majority language speaker opposition to minority language policy initiatives, and my approach involving a broader range of ways the attitudes and behaviours of majority language speakers impact on minority languages. This distinction means I will be looking at different kinds of language planning techniques than if I was following May's definition. If the problem of tolerability is considered to consist of opposition to specific language policy initiatives, for example bilingual signage, techniques of planning for tolerability could be defined as language planning techniques aiming to counteract majority language speaker opposition to these initiatives. A media campaign, for example, could be undertaken to change the attitudes of majority language speakers towards bilingual signage, or the signs could be designed so as to limit majority language speaker resistance, e.g. by placing the majority language first on the signs, or using a smaller font for the minority language. Such examples do count as instances of planning for tolerability. Given the broader approach to the problem of tolerability adopted in this thesis, however, the definition of what counts as

planning for tolerability will also be broader. The focus is on language planning approaches targeting the attitudes and behaviours of majority language speakers towards minority languages more generally, rather than their attitudes towards particular language policy initiatives.

There is a danger that this approach will lead to considering an unmanageably broad range of policy initiatives as planning for tolerability. A wide range of minority language policy initiatives could potentially influence the attitudes and behaviours of majority language speakers towards a minority language, despite not being directly targeted at majority language speakers. In the bilingual signage example above, for example, the presence of the minority language on road signs could increase the familiarity of majority language speakers with the minority language, make them more comfortable with seeing the language in public, and even improve their knowledge of the language, even though the main target audience was actually intended to be speakers of the minority language. Considering all minority language policy initiatives from the point of view of their impact on majority language speakers would be extending the definition of planning for tolerability too far. For reasons of scope, therefore, the discussion of planning for tolerability in this thesis focuses only on those initiatives that have a primary explicit aim of addressing the attitudes and behaviours of majority language speakers towards minority languages.

Evaluating success

Finally, any language planning project should involve an evaluation of success in achieving the desired objectives, to assist in refining the existing approach and to feed into future planning. As will be seen, there has been little evaluation of initiatives relating to planning for tolerability in New Zealand. This thesis seeks in part to fill that gap in the New Zealand context. Evaluation initiatives undertaken in planning for tolerability in Wales and Catalonia will also be discussed.

Planning for tolerability and language planning theory

A question remains as to how planning for tolerability fits into the current field of language planning. Planning for tolerability as I have defined it above is not primarily about domains, corpus or acquisition, and does not fit easily into those

traditional language planning subcategories. There are, however, two further possibilities for locating planning for tolerability within existing language planning theory.

Language marketing

One possible candidate is the developing field of language marketing. Discussion of language marketing in the language planning literature can be separated into two broad categories, one approaching language marketing directly from a commercial marketing framework (e.g. Jackson 1998, Dominguez 1998, Jones 1995) and one through the intermediary of social marketing theory (e.g. Cooper 1989). Although I am doubtful that a marketing framework can be applied to language planning as a whole, as some theorists suggest, the literature on language marketing is especially useful for planning for tolerability in its focus on changing behaviour and its discussion of practical methods to effect attitude and behaviour change. Language planners in the three language situations discussed in this thesis often describe themselves as working within a 'marketing' or 'social marketing' framework when they engage in activities that involve planning for tolerability (WLB[11] 2003a; WLB 2004; meetings with the MLC[12] of 23 September 2005, 5 April 2006), although they do not tend to refer to the field of 'language marketing' in particular. As these planners generally have a reasonable awareness of language planning theory, this perhaps suggests the current field of language planning does not offer them the theoretical support they are seeking when it comes to planning for tolerability. A considerable disadvantage of locating planning for tolerability within language marketing theory, however, is that although language marketing may be starting to develop in its own right within language planning, it remains an off-shoot of the discipline of marketing, which has developed at a great distance from language planning theory. This means that language marketing does not draw on existing language planning theory in its theoretical foundations or practices.

---

[11] Welsh Language Board

[12] Māori Language Commission

Prestige planning

Another possibility is the emerging field of prestige planning (Ager 2005a, 2005b, Baldauf 2004)[13]. Prestige planning initially caught my attention in relation to planning for tolerability as it relates to attitudes towards language. When considered more closely, however, this is not so simple. Prestige planning, as formulated by Haarman (1990) and Baldauf (Kaplan and Baldauf 1997, Baldauf 2004, Baldauf 2005), relates to the prestige of specific language planning activities (e.g. the prestige of specific instances of corpus or status planning), rather than to the prestige of a language itself. It is thus conceived as related to but different in kind from corpus, status and acquisition planning. It is difficult to relate the initiatives aimed at planning for tolerability discussed in this thesis to such a formulation. Ager (2005a, 2005b, 2003) takes the concept of prestige planning further by identifying prestige as an object of language planning in itself. Ager (2003: 6) defines prestige planning as a fourth area of application, alongside the established subcategories of language planning, "concerned with what might be called symbolic or prestige policy, manipulating the image of a language its users, or others, have towards it". Ager (2005a) helpfully confronts the ambiguity in existing accounts of prestige planning, teases out different ways the term has been used by language planners, and works from real-life examples of prestige planning towards a theory. All existing accounts of prestige planning, however, lack clarity on the specific, concrete methods involved in prestige planning as opposed to other subcategories of language planning. Prestige planning could be a useful addition to language planning theory, if the current definitional problems are resolved to a point where it is viewed on an equal level with the other subcategories of language planning, and if its main feature is seen to be a focus on attitudes towards language. These definitional issues need to be resolved, however, before prestige planning can be seen as an established direction in the literature and, accordingly, before planning for tolerability can be considered as potentially one of its parts. For prestige planning to account for planning for tolerability, a link to language behaviour would also need to be made.

[13] Haarman first coined the phrase 'prestige planning' in the context of language planning theory in 1984 (Haarman 1984). It has received considerably more attention recently, however, including a special issue of *Current Issues in Language Planning* in 2005 (in which Ager 2005a appears) and chapters/sections on prestige planning in various recent language planning publications (e.g. Baldauf 2004, Liddicoat 2007). The majority of sources in the literature still refer only to status, corpus and acquisition planning, however (e.g. Gottlieb and Chen 2001: 4; Lo Bianco 2001: 168-169; Hornberger 2006: 29), and prestige planning is, at best, a possible new direction in the literature.

On the basis of the above, there is no clear-cut option for placing planning for tolerability within existing language planning theory. Both prestige planning and language marketing offer more promising connections to planning for tolerability than status, corpus and acquisition planning, but the fit is not exact. Furthermore, perhaps the most essential element of planning for tolerability is not explicitly accounted for in either prestige planning or language marketing, i.e. the focus of planning for tolerability on majority language speakers.

Summary: chapter two

In this chapter, I have argued that the attitudes and behaviours of majority language speakers are an appropriate target of language regeneration planning, and I have proposed the term 'planning for tolerability' for this form of language planning. Although we shall see that such language planning has in fact occurred for some time in several minority language situations, this is a new area in the language planning literature and does not fit easily into current models of language planning. While leaving open for the moment where planning for tolerability fits into existing language planning theory, I have proposed a process model for planning for tolerability that has five components: recognising the problem of tolerability; defining majority language speakers; developing messages and desired behaviours; selecting policy techniques; and evaluating success. Having presented, in outline, a rationale for planning for tolerability and a model for its application to a language situation, I will now apply this model to planning for the tolerability of the Māori language in New Zealand.

Chapter Three
Non-Māori New Zealanders as majority language speakers:

Evidence of the problem of tolerability in New Zealand

Chapter two discussed the problem of tolerability in relation to minority languages at a theoretical level. In this chapter, the problem of tolerability is discussed in relation to the specific context of New Zealand. The chapter proposes non-Māori New Zealanders as the relevant majority language speakers for planning for tolerability in New Zealand, and reviews research to date on their attitudes towards the Māori language. A general background on the Māori language situation is not provided in this chapter, but readers unfamiliar with this are referred to Appendix Three (provided on CD), which summarises the history of the Māori language, the Māori language policy context and current statistics on the health of the Māori language.

Defining majority language speakers in New Zealand: non-Māori New Zealanders

There are a number of possible candidates for a definition of majority language speakers in New Zealand. There are virtually no monolingual Māori speakers left, as almost all Māori speakers are bilingual in English. Majority language speakers could theoretically be defined as all New Zealanders who can speak English, thereby making up the overwhelming majority of people in the country. More sensibly in this context, a distinction could be made between speakers of Māori and non-speakers of Māori. According to the results of the 2006 census, only 4.1% of all New Zealanders can speak Māori (including 23.7% of Māori), so this would put almost all non-Māori into the category of 'majority language speakers', along with the great majority of Māori. This has not been the way academics or language policymakers have approached this matter, however. Instead, majority language speakers have overwhelmingly been defined in this context as non-Māori New Zealanders. Māori language policymakers sometimes refer to the 'general population' or 'all New Zealanders' instead of 'non-Māori', but it is almost always clear from context that they mean non-Māori New Zealanders. This makes practical sense in the New Zealand language situation for several reasons.

The first is the numerical majority status of non-Māori. In 2006 non-Māori made up 85.4% of the New Zealand population. Although the term 'non-Māori' includes many different ethnic groups resident in New Zealand, it is likely that policymakers and researchers most often have a particular segment of non-Māori in mind: the ethnic group of New Zealand European/Pākehā New Zealanders, who, at between 67.6 and 78.8% of the population[14], are the numerically dominant ethnic group in New Zealand. Although numerical dominance does not always equate to other kinds of dominance (see Strubell 1999: 16), it is certainly a relevant factor in defining majority language speakers.

A second reason for defining majority language speakers as non-Māori New Zealanders is that the Māori language is generally framed as just one of a range of inter-ethnic issues relating to the ongoing negotiation of the relationship between Māori and non-Māori since British colonisation of New Zealand in the nineteenth century. Language issues are inextricably linked to other inter-ethnic issues in New Zealand and there is evidence that attitudes towards the Māori language are strongly associated with attitudes towards Māori culture more generally (see e.g. TPK[15] 2002). For this reason, when the Māori language is at issue, analyses appear to naturally fall into familiar ethnic lines.

The third and most important reason for defining majority language speakers as non-Māori New Zealanders, however, is the growing body of research showing the most resistance to the Māori language comes from non-Māori. This research is the focus of the current chapter. In planning for tolerability we are interested in both the attitudes and behaviours of non-Māori, but this chapter focuses on attitudes only, as there has been little research to date on the behaviours of non-Māori towards the Māori language. Such behaviours are discussed in later chapters. In this chapter, and in the thesis as a whole, the term non-Māori is used to refer to New Zealanders of all ethnic groups other than Māori, and the term Pākehā is used to refer solely to those non-Māori of European descent.

---

[14] The 2006 census included the ethnic category of 'New Zealander' for the first time. Those 11.2% of respondents who selected this category are likely to have included many who would previously have identified as New Zealand European/Pākehā.

[15] Te Puni Kōkiri / the Ministry of Māori Development

Research on the attitudes of non-Māori towards the Māori language

To my knowledge, this is the first large-scale research focusing solely on the attitudes of non-Māori New Zealanders towards the Māori language[16]. There has however been a range of research in recent years by government and academic researchers on the attitudes of both Māori and non-Māori towards the language, which tells us much about the attitudes of non-Māori. This research is situated within the field of language attitudes research. Three main categories of methods for researching language attitudes can be identified: societal treatment, direct and indirect methods (Garrett et al. 2003: 15-16). These are described below, along with instances of their application to the attitudes of non-Māori towards the Māori language.

Societal treatment methods

Societal treatment methods involve a "content analysis of the 'treatment' given to languages and language varieties and to their speakers within society" by means of techniques such as observation, ethnographic studies and analysing sources in the public domain (Garrett et al. 2003: 15). Garrett et al. (2003: 15) note that although this method does not allow for assessing the extent to which attitudes towards a language variety are widely held, it is important for gaining insights into the relative status and stereotypical associations of language varieties, and can help to illuminate the range of views held. It can also be useful as a preliminary technique prior to data collection or as a source of convergent validity to other methods. An example of this approach in New Zealand is:

- Lane (2003): a discourse analysis of 63 letters to the editor of New Zealand newspapers expressing opposition to, or support of, the use of Māori[17].

Direct methods

Direct methods involve asking participants questions about their attitudes to a language variety, usually in the form of questionnaires and/or interviews. This

---

[16] A smaller-scale piece of research in this area is Thompson (1990), discussed below.

[17] See also Bayard (1998) for an analysis of New Zealand letters to the editor combining linguistic and non-linguistic themes.

approach arguably has higher validity than the societal treatment approach because "it is not the researcher who infers attitudes from the observed behaviours, but the respondents themselves who are asked to do so" (Garrett et al. 2003: 16). This method often also allows the researcher to access a large number of participants, potentially increasing the representativeness of the results. It has several weaknesses, however, including the unreliability of self-reported data (do participants' responses represent their genuine attitudes?); the social-desirability bias (tendency to give 'socially appropriate' responses); the acquiescence bias (tendency to agree with an item to gain the researcher's approval); and that characteristics of the researcher (e.g. age, gender, ethnicity) may influence the participants' responses (Garrett et al. 2003: 16, 28-29). Large-scale studies relating to attitudes towards the Māori language in this category have included:

- Nicholson and Garland (1991): a nationwide mail survey of 225 New Zealanders, randomly selected from the general and Māori electoral roll, undertaken for the Māori Language Commission (henceforth MLC). The aim of the survey was to examine "New Zealand adults' opinions and attitudes about the Māori language's role in contemporary society as well as the extent to which New Zealanders will commit themselves to fostering the Māori language" (1991: 397).

- AGB McNair (1992): a face-to-face survey for the Ministry of Education undertaken by AGB McNair to assess attitudes towards, and preferences for, Māori language education among parents of pre-school or primary school children. Interviews of around 40 minutes were carried out with 500 Māori and 500 non-Māori caregivers, the Māori participants concentrated in the North Island and the non-Māori participants nationwide.

- Te Puni Kōkiri (2002; 2003a; 2006): three nationwide telephone surveys undertaken for Te Puni Kōkiri (henceforth TPK) by BRC Marketing and Social Research. The participants in the 2000 survey were 1,340 New Zealanders, 615 Māori and 725 non-Māori, randomly selected from the electoral rolls and phone book, with the sample stratified by age, gender, ethnicity, and urban/rural location. Participants were asked questions about

their views on the Māori people and culture and attitudes towards the Māori language[18].

Other smaller-scale studies using direct methods have included:

- Benton (1981): a questionnaire survey of parents at St Peter Chanel school in Otaki undertaken to determine the demand for bilingual education at the school. The sample included all families who had children at the school or intended to enrol children in 1981. Of this sample, 17 described their children as Māori, 26 as Pākehā, and 13 as belonging to both or neither of these ethnic groups.

- Campbell (1988), Sherwood (1989), Leek (1990) and Campbell (1990): small-scale studies undertaken by university students in Auckland, Dunedin and Gisborne, surveying a non-random sample of Māori and Pākehā respondents.

- Thompson (1990): a small-scale questionnaire study involving 20 Pākehā respondents. The questionnaire included language attitude statements, questions on contact with Māori language and culture, and two cloze passages where participants were asked to fill in words that could be Māori or English[19].

- MLC (1996): a further AGB McNair survey of Māori and non-Māori undertaken in May 1995 is reported in the MLC policy document *Toitū te Reo*.

---

[18] The composition of the participants was changed for the 2003 survey, which had 1/3 Māori speakers of Māori, 1/3 Māori non-speakers of Māori, and 1/3 non-Māori. 1500 people took part in the 2006 survey, although the proportion of Māori and non-Māori is not noted in the survey report.

[19] The inclusion of this last aspect of the questionnaire means this study is a rare example of research testing behaviours towards the Māori language as well as attitudes, and attempting to find links between the two. It is also a good example of a research design combining direct and indirect methods.

Indirect methods

Indirect methods for investigating attitudes involve the use of more subtle techniques than direct questions. Garrett et al. (2003: 17) note that although several indirect strategies have been used in attitudes research more generally[20], the indirect approach in language attitudes research is "generally seen as synonymous with the matched-guise technique". This technique, first used by Lambert et al. (1960) in a study of French and English in Montreal, involves recording the same speaker saying the same content in at least two different language varieties, and asking listeners to rate each speaker on a series of characteristics, such as social class, intelligence and likeability. As the listeners are unaware the same speaker is involved, the argument goes that they are thereby evaluating the linguistic varieties rather than the individual speakers. Criticisms of this method include that, unless totally balanced bilinguals are used, a weaker proficiency in one language variety may influence the results; providing participants with the repeated content of a reading passage may exaggerate the language contrasts compared to ordinary discourse (Garrett et al. 2003: 58); the technique often only shows one style of a language variety, and is thus incapable of reflecting the multistylistic capacity of speakers in different contexts (Obiols 2002: 4); and (arguably) this technique "does not measure language attitudes so much as attitudes to representative speakers of languages and language varieties" (Garrett et al. 2003: 53).

Although no matched guise studies have been conducted of speakers speaking Māori (Boyce 2005: 96), in several studies listeners have been asked to identify whether speakers of recorded passages of English are Māori or Pākehā, and to note down their attitudes towards those speakers (e.g. Bayard 1990, Vaughan and Huygens 1990, Robertson 1994). A similar study (Holmes 1999) added speaker appearance, so listeners were in no doubt about ethnicity when making their judgments. The results showed speakers identified as Māori were rated "lower than other speakers on status variables such as education, occupation and socio-economic class, and rated higher for solidarity, in particular for sense of humour" (Boyce 2005: 96). Noting the stereotypes that such results reveal, Boyce (2005: 96) comments "it is not surprising […] to encounter negative attitudes towards

---

[20] The examples given are: observing participants without their awareness; observing aspects of participants' behaviour they can't control, e.g. physiological reactions; and fooling participants into believing that the researcher is asking them about something else.

Māori language in the wider community while negative stereotypes of Māori people remain strong".

A further example of indirect methods relating to attitudes towards the Māori language is the experimental approach taken in the cloze passages included in Thompson (1990), mentioned above.

Main findings of research to date on non-Māori attitudes

The findings of the above research reveal some general themes, which are summarised below particularly as they relate to the problem of tolerability. As Boyce (2005: 89) notes, although this research has been undertaken in a range of different ways, "the overall pattern of results has been remarkably similar" over time. The themes are interrelated and the evidence could in several cases be provided for a number of them; nevertheless it is useful to draw out the distinct threads.

Non-Māori less positive than Māori

The research consistently shows that the attitudes of non-Māori towards the Māori language, while not entirely negative, are considerably less positive than those of Māori (Leek 1990, Sherwood 1989, Campbell 1988 and 1990, Nicholson and Garland 1991, TPK 2002, 2003a, 2006, AGB McNair 1992). For example, AGB McNair (1992: 29) found that only 29% of their non-Māori respondents agreed with the statement 'I would like my children to speak Māori', compared to 92% of their Māori sample. This consistent result of weaker support for the Māori language among non-Māori provides initial suggestive evidence of the problem of tolerability.

The general and the specific of it

The research also shows that while non-Māori express positive attitudes towards the Māori language in response to questions phrased at a general level, they express less positive attitudes in response to questions about specific language regeneration initiatives. For example, although two thirds of Nicholson and Garland's (1991) overall sample agreed that the Māori language had a place in

contemporary New Zealand society, only 20% of non-Māori were in favour of bilingual public services, compared to 61% of Māori; only 22% of non-Māori were in favour of bilingual information signs, compared to 73% of Māori; and only 20% of non-Māori were in favour of more Māori language television programmes, compared to 72% of Māori. These results indicate where the problem of tolerability starts to have bite, by indicating areas where less positive attitudes of non-Māori convert to resistance to policy initiatives aimed at regenerating the Māori language. Nicholson and Garland (1991: 405) allude to this issue in noting that "without the explicit support of the wider, European dominated community, the revitalisation of the Māori language will be even more difficult due to the lack of support from majority group policymakers, who control most of the financial resources".

'Not in my backyard'

There is some evidence among non-Māori of what might be termed 'not in my backyard' attitudes towards the Māori language. TPK (2002), for example, found that while 90% of non-Māori agreed that 'it is a good thing that Māori people speak Māori on the marae and at home', only 40% agreed that 'it is a good thing that Māori people speak Māori in public places or at work'. Christensen (2001: 209) discusses the potential impact of such attitudes in referring to 'external negativity' as a barrier to increased Māori language use in contexts not specific to Māori, and notes that "there is enough anecdotal evidence to confirm that [this] continues to be an inhibiting factor to Māori language use." It is a point of debate whether language regeneration requires a minority language to be used in a wide range of domains. Fishman's focus on the initial attainment of diglossia (see e.g. Fishman 2006) casts doubt on whether this is a necessary condition of language regeneration, particularly at the crucial early stages, and, as will be seen in chapter five, the New Zealand government's Māori Language Strategy has tended to focus most strongly on promoting Māori language use in Māori domains. In contrast, as noted in chapter two, May considers such use of a minority language in the public realm to be essential for its long-term survival (2000a: 102). Whichever side one takes on this debate, it seems uncontroversial that for the use of the Māori language to be 'normalised' in a wider range of domains, including those currently dominated by the use of English, its presence in those domains must be accepted by the non-Māori majority.

Māori is for Māori

Research undertaken by AGB McNair in 1995 showed that whereas 84% of Māori interviewees thought the Māori language was important for New Zealand as a whole, only 40% of non-Māori interviewees thought so (MLC 1996: 10). Benton (1981: 13) found that Māori families rated the Māori language as most important for New Zealand in general (at 77%), followed by for Māori in particular (71%), whereas non-Māori families rated the language as most important for Māori (85% Pākehā, 100% other ethnicities) and much less important for New Zealand in general (54% Pākehā, 62% other ethnicities). These results could in part reflect awareness among non-Māori of the connection between Māori language and Māori culture, but it could also be that the lack of personal connection felt by non-Māori towards the Māori language translates into a feeling that responsibility for its regeneration rests solely with Māori, resulting in a lower level of support for government involvement in language regeneration. There is some suggestion of this in the AGB McNair (1992) results showing that Māori participants were most likely to believe that the Government or the Ministry of Education should fund Māori language education (61% and 38% respectively), whereas non-Māori were most likely to believe that parents or whānau should pay (44%). More controversially, such results could also reflect a view that the Māori language is for Māori only and should not be imposed on non-Māori (see e.g. TPK 2002).

Retaining the status quo

Nicholson and Garland (1991) found that despite two thirds of all respondents believing the Māori language had a place in New Zealand society, only one quarter thought it should be used to a greater extent than currently. Lane (2003: 245) noted that the letters to the editor he analysed were mainly triggered by issues concerning domains of use of Māori, and that "it [was] particularly the use of Māori in domains which [had] previously been the preserve of English which [raised] the ire of anti-Māori letter writers". TPK (2002) found that non-Māori support for government involvement in Māori language regeneration was strongest in those areas where the Government had a longstanding presence, e.g. official welcomes and education, but there was resistance to government involvement in future potential language regeneration activities, including the provision of bilingual services and support for Māori language transmission in the home. Such results

echo May's (2000b: 366) discussion of the interest of majority language speakers in maintaining the linguistic status quo.

Less is more

Research also reflects a preference among non-Māori for minimal use of the Māori language. When asked in the AGB McNair survey what forms of Māori language education they would most likely choose for their children at primary school, with six options ranging from English only to Māori only, Māori participants were most likely to choose a form of bilingual education using both Māori and English (57%), whereas non-Māori were most likely to want their child to attend a school where Māori songs, greetings and phrases were taught (47%) (1992: 67). As well as demonstrating a preference for minimal Māori language use, these results again reflect a preference among non-Māori for the status quo. Whereas the Māori participants continued to prefer a form of bilingual education for their children at secondary school (61%), non-Māori participants switched their preference to Māori being provided as a subject at secondary school (51%), reflecting the existing model at most schools (1992: 69).

Don't force it on me

Research suggests some resistance among non-Māori to compulsory forms of Māori language planning. 'Learning Māori should not be compulsory' was a recurrent reason stated by AGB McNair's non-Māori participants for their preference for minimal Māori language education (1992: 72-77). When Benton's (1981) survey participants were asked how they thought Māori should be taught at school, the 9% of participants who thought it should be confined to a club or after-school activity were all non-Māori, one such participant commenting that "we feel Māori should be available to those who are interested but taught in voluntary classes *outside school hours*" (emphasis in original). There is some evidence of non-Māori resistance to compulsory measures even when the compulsion is not directed at non-Māori, for example agreement to TPK's (2002) attitude statement 'Māori should be a compulsory school subject for Māori children' was lower among non-Māori (21%) than among Māori (41%). These results echo May's interviews with majority and minority language speakers in Wales, where majority language speakers invoked a 'discourse of choice' as a means of opting out of Welsh

language requirements, and asserted the rights of monolingual English speakers to remain monolingual if they so chose (2000a: 119).

As long as I don't have to do anything

Nicholson and Garland (1991) found that non-Māori were considerably less committed than Māori to participating personally in Māori language regeneration, with only 25% saying they would be willing to make a personal effort to ensure the survival of the Māori language, compared to 84% of Māori. Nicholson and Garland (1991) found parallels to their findings in a study by Edwards and Chisholm (1987) relating to French-English bilingualism in Nova Scotia, which found that "most Canadians seemed to support the idea of multiculturalism and minority group efforts as long as personal effort and real change are not involved" (1991: 405), whereas "if some form of personal cost is involved (in terms of effort or money) then attitudes switch to neutrality or even rejection" (1991: 396-397). TPK (2002) classified 39% of their non-Māori respondents as 'uninterested', these people being "tolerant of the Māori language and culture as long as it does not impinge on their lives". Boyce (1992: 108-109) comments on the basis of previous research that "while a large proportion of people may have 'warm-fuzzy' feelings about the [Māori] language, their support dwindles dramatically at the suggestion of any measures which may affect them directly: the possibility of their passively seeing or hearing Māori more frequently in the community, or more extremely, any active requirement for them to gain (or increase) their own competence in the language". According to Boyce, such results highlight the "limitations of positive attitude" as a sufficient condition for language regeneration.

Passive not active support

Research suggests that even those non-Māori who have positive attitudes towards the Māori language tend to show passive rather than active support. TPK (2002) classified 49% of non-Māori respondents as 'passive supporters', these people reporting a positive disposition towards the Māori language and culture but not being actively engaged in these matters. Such non-Māori may not have a directly negative impact on the Māori language, but it can be questioned whether their 'passive support' will contribute positively to language regeneration.

Highly negative attitudes

Based on the above results, it would be an exaggeration to say that research to date has shown uniformly negative attitudes towards the Māori language among non-Māori. There is, however, evidence that the attitudes of some non-Māori towards the Māori language are very negative indeed. Illustrative examples of highly negative attitudes are found in Lane's (2003) analysis of letters to the editor and in the first TPK attitudes survey (TPK 2002), which placed 12% of non-Māori respondents in the attitude category 'English only', these people tending to believe the English language should be the only language used in New Zealand public life and demonstrating a particularly negative outlook towards the Māori culture and people in general (TPK 2002: 15). Noting that support for bilingual education programmes in Otaki was generally high among all respondents, including non-Māori, Benton (1981: 39) commented that "the only unqualified opposition to the idea has come from a minority of those parents who regard their children as 'Pākehā' [and] although this group comprises less than one-tenth of all parents, they have expressed their views quite forcefully in public and in private, and could be a highly disruptive element if their support for the project is not obtained prior to its implementation". Although the number of non-Māori who hold highly negative attitudes towards the Māori language is generally estimated to be quite low, these people are certainly those from whom the greatest resistance to Māori language regeneration is likely to come.

Taken as a whole, therefore, research to date provides a range of evidence that the problem of tolerability exists in relation to the Māori language.

Attitude categories for non-Māori

The most extensive research to date on the attitudes of non-Māori towards the Māori language are the TPK attitude surveys (2002, 2003a, 2006). These are of most interest for the attitude categories they construct, indicating the range of attitudes towards the Māori language among non-Māori. The 2000 survey results indicated that (2002: 59):

> Māori and non-Māori have different values, attitudes and beliefs about the Māori language. Furthermore, there are distinct groups within each

population that hold fundamentally different values towards the Māori language.

This is a significant advance on previous research, which tended to group non-Māori into a single category for the presentation of results[21]. TPK's attitude categories are described in further detail below, as they have a strong bearing on the current research.

Three attitude categories for non-Māori participants were developed through an initial pre-research phase of the 2000 survey, involving face-to-face individual interviews with twenty participants. A series of attitude statements were then used to place participants into these attitude categories in the national survey. The categories are described as follows in the survey report (TPK 2002: 14-15)[22]:

- *Passive supporters*: The survey identified 49% of non-Māori in this group. People in this group are receptive to greater use of the Māori language; they see this as a link to their own self-development and greater understanding between different cultures. They typically *agreed* or *strongly agreed* with statements about the value inherent in learning about other cultures (99%), and about the importance of the Māori culture in particular as part of New Zealand's heritage (89%). These people are Passive Supporters primarily because they are not 'engaged' with the Māori language or culture, in terms of their actions and behaviour, despite their reported positive disposition towards these things[23].

- *Uninterested non-Māori*: The survey identified that 39% of non-Māori have no real interest in cultures other than their own. In general, they are tolerant of the Māori language and culture, as long as it does not impinge on their lives. People in this group were less likely than Passive Supporters to agree or *strongly agree* with statements about learning about other cultures (85%) and particularly about the importance of the place of Māori language and culture in New Zealand (34%). However, they were not overtly negative in their views with regard to Māori issues.

---

[21] A notable exception here is Thompson (1990), whose research design is constructed around hypothesised differences in attitudes between groups of Pākehā, and who usefully draws out distinctions between individual participants in the presentation of her results.

[22] The Māori respondents were similarly divided into three attitude categories. These were: 'Cultural developers', who were motivated to learn Māori language, participate in Māori culture and share their knowledge of Māori language and culture with others of all ethnicities (68% in 2000), 'Uninterested Māori', who placed little importance on learning the Māori language and participating in Māori culture (12% in 2000), and 'Māori Only', who were highly motivated to learn Māori and participate in Māori culture, but thought that Māori language and culture belonged exclusively to Māori (20% in 2000) (TPK 2002: 13).

[23] As Smith (2004: 47) notes, none of TPK's attitude categories contemplates the possibility of proactive support among non-Māori. This will be further considered later in the thesis.

- *English Only*: The survey identified that 12% of non-Māori tended to believe that English should be the only language used in New Zealand public life. They feared that their own culture will be swamped by Māori language and culture, leading to cultural domination by Māori. Members of the English Only group were the least likely of all non-Māori groups to *agree* or *strongly agree* with statements about learning about other cultures (67%). They were particularly negative in their outlook about Māori culture and people in general. For example, they associated little importance with the Māori culture and people for the future good of New Zealand and New Zealanders (3%).

As might be predicted, the TPK survey results showed a strong correlation between participants' attitude category and their attitudes towards the Māori language, as represented by their responses to the further attitude statements included in the survey. For example in the 2000 survey:

- 72% of passive supporters agreed with the statement "the Government should encourage teaching of Māori in school", compared to 40% of uninterested participants and 25% of English only participants;

- 82% of passive supporters agreed that the Government should encourage the use of Māori on ceremonial occasions, such as public welcomes to dignitaries, compared to 62% of uninterested participants and 45% of English only participants; and

- 83% of English Only participants agreed with the statement "it is okay for Māori to greet others in Māori, but they can take it too far", compared to 68% of uninterested participants and 51% of passive supporters.

Are the attitudes of non-Māori changing?

The later TPK attitude surveys (2003a, 2006) have shown an increase in positive attitudes towards the Māori language among non-Māori, the percentage of participants in each attitude category changing over time as follows[24]:

- passive supporters rose from 49% in the 2000 survey to 60% in 2003 and 66% in 2006;

---

[24] 2006 figures obtained on request from TPK, 8 May 2008

- uninterested participants fell from 39% in the 2000 survey to 28% in 2003 and 27% in 2006; and

- English Only participants remained stable at 12% in the 2000 and 2003 surveys, and fell to 8% in 2006.

Particularly salient changes noted by TPK over the surveys include (TPK 2006):

- a marked increase in support for the public use of the Māori language, the percentage of non-Māori agreeing with the statement "it is a good thing that Māori people speak Māori in public places or at work " increasing from 40% in 2000 to 73% in 2003 and 80% in 2006;

- an increase in support for government involvement in Māori language regeneration, the percentage of non-Māori agreeing with the statement "the Government should encourage the use of Māori in everyday situations" increasing from 25% in 2000 to 61% in 2003 and 59% in 2006; and

- an increase in support for specific language regeneration initiatives, the percentage of non-Māori agreeing with the statement "the Government's decision to establish a Māori Television Service is a good thing" increasing from 51% in 2003 to 70% in 2006.

These results suggest improvement in a number of the themes of previous research discussed above, and TPK (2006) claims the results demonstrate an "identifiable attitudinal shift amongst non-Māori in the results of the three surveys".

How far the results actually reflect a change in attitudes is, however, uncertain. One important issue is the low response rate for the surveys. The 2000 survey had a somewhat low response rate of 35% from total telephone contacts with 3,776 potential participants. The 2003 survey had an extremely low response rate of 16%, with 9,258 households contacted to obtain the final 1,534 participants[25]. The 2006 survey again had a low response rate of 24.3% for Māori and 22.5% for

---

[25] The report notes that this was mainly due to only 8% of proficient Māori speakers contacted agreeing to take part, so the response rate may have been somewhat higher for non-Māori participants.

non-Māori. Response rates are often low for such surveys[26], but these rates are especially low, as TPK (2006) acknowledges. Along with the usual caveats associated with direct methods for investigating language attitudes, this should give us pause in generalising the results of the surveys to the non-Māori population as a whole.

Anecdotally, there may be a general perception that attitudes towards the Māori language are becoming more positive, and the noticeable increase in use of the language in high profile domains like the mainstream media may reflect such a change, but we do not have hard evidence. In any case, the results of the later TPK surveys still show less positive attitudes towards the Māori language among non-Māori than Māori, and TPK (2006) highlights a continued need for those non-Māori who have positive attitudes towards the Māori language to convert these attitudes into behaviours to support the language.

Summary: chapter three

This chapter has proposed non-Māori New Zealanders as the relevant majority language speakers for planning for tolerability in New Zealand, and has shown that past research provides evidence of the problem of tolerability in relation to the Māori language among this group of majority language speakers. The next chapter brings us to the present, introducing the non-Māori majority language speakers who participated in the current research.

---

[26] Nicholson and Garland (1991) report a response rate of 59% for their postal survey, for example, although the response rate for the AGB McNair (1992) survey was somewhat higher, at 76% for non-Māori participants.

Chapter Four
Majority language speakers in the current research:

Introducing the non-Māori participants

Having reviewed previous research on the attitudes of non-Māori towards the Māori language, this chapter introduces the eighty non-Māori participants in the current research, whose attitudes and behaviours towards the Māori language will illuminate much of the following discussion on planning for tolerability in New Zealand.

The aims of the data collection process were three-fold:

- to determine participants' attitudes towards the Māori language;

- to elicit their responses to the current approach to planning for tolerability; and

- to enquire into their behaviours towards the Māori language and the role they see for themselves in supporting Māori language regeneration.

Only the results for the first of these aims are discussed in the present chapter; the others follow in subsequent chapters. First I discuss methodological matters relating to the data collection process, followed by a profile of the participants and their attitudes towards the Māori language.

Direct methods: issues and rationale for choice

The data collection design involved two rounds, using two different instruments:

- a questionnaire taking around 45 minutes to complete with 80 participants (see Appendix One); and

- semi-structured interviews of about 20 minutes with 26 of these participants.

The approach sits within the category of direct methods in language attitudes research, and calls into play the disadvantages associated with these methods mentioned in chapter three, including the unreliability of self-reported data, the social-desirability bias, the acquiescence bias, and interviewer effects. I viewed the main methodological challenge as being the social-desirability bias. Baker (1992: 12) refers to this bias in noting that:

> Doubt has to be expressed whether deep-seated, private feelings, especially when incongruent with preferred public statements, are truly elicited in attitude measurement.

The social-desirability bias is commonly recognised in attitudes research (see e.g. Krosnick et al. 2005: 50-52) and has been considered in previous research on attitudes towards the Māori language in particular. Noting that their research "involved the examination of quite controversial and culturally sensitive issues", AGB McNair (1992: 21) commented that this form of bias is particularly likely to appear in face-to-face interview research because "factors not apparent in telephone interviewing such as the interviewer's appearance, body language, facial expression and demeanour can sensitise respondents (who normally wish to appear socially acceptable) to a particular way of responding which is at variance with their personal opinions". To offset this, AGB McNair chose to use only Māori interviewers for their interviews with Māori participants, and only non-Māori interviewers with non-Māori participants, trained their interviewers in 'interviewer bias', and structured the questionnaire in such a way as to attempt to prevent opportunities for bias. In line with AGB McNair's cautions, TPK's pre-research exercise for their 2000 survey showed that some participants, particularly those with negative attitudes towards the Māori language, "clearly felt extremely uneasy discussing the topics covered in the interview when the person interviewing them was Māori, or even when a note-taker with a limited role in the interaction was Māori" (2002: 28). TPK signal this as a reason for using telephone interviewing for the attitude surveys[27]. Interviewers with 'bland' New Zealand accents were also selected so participants could not easily infer their ethnicity (2002: 32).

I took several steps to minimise the social-desirability bias in my own research, for both the questionnaire and interviews. The written questionnaire approach, with

---

[27] Document entitled 'Questions and Answers', publications section of TPK website www.tpk.govt.nz/publications/subject/default.asp#language

its relative anonymity and absence of the researcher, may have itself reduced the likelihood of responses being affected by social-desirability (Krosnick et al. 2005: 52). I also tried to phrase the questionnaire so as to further minimise the potential for bias. Many of the attitude statements in the questionnaire were based on those used in the TPK surveys, for comparability with those surveys. I could not significantly change some of these statements without reducing comparability, so some statements I might have removed entirely on the basis of the social-desirability bias were retained (e.g. 'New Zealand would be a better place if there weren't so many races of people', which initial feedback suggested would be hard for some respondents to respond to honestly). In some instances, however, I did make alterations to the statements, for example expressing statements negatively to avoid an impression of too many positive statements, adjusting the order in which statements appeared so negative statements were dispersed throughout positive statements, and adding extra statements to shift the balance of attitude statements to those expressing negative rather than positive attitudes towards the Māori language[28]. I also invited participants to make their own comments next to the attitude statements if they wished, which were then taken into account in analysing the data. I introduced a pick-a-path question, enabling participants with negative attitudes towards the Māori language to opt out of answering subsequent questions that would be likely to activate the social-desirability bias (see question 3.1). Ways I attempted to minimise the social-desirability bias in the interviews are discussed in chapter seven. Despite these efforts, the social-desirability bias will inevitably have operated to some extent in both the questionnaires and interviews.

Given the difficult issues above, one might ask why I chose to use direct methods at all. One reason is that indirect and societal treatment methods would not have enabled me to achieve the specific aims of my data collection. Another is that, despite their inherent disadvantages, I remain convinced of the value of direct methods. Questionnaires enable focused, uniform and comparable results from a large number of people (Garrett et al. 2003: 33-34), with the opportunity for collecting both quantitative and qualitative data. Interviews provide a complementary opportunity to collect rich, in-depth qualitative data in an

---

[28] A number of the statements were also changed to improve clarity, following the principles that attitude statements should be as simple and unambiguous as possible and should not: contain several different ideas; be complex sentences where a positive answer can refer to more than one component of the statement; include adjectival modifiers such as "really" and "very" (or underlining for emphasis); or involve ambiguous terms such as "fired up" and "special rights", which might mean different things to different people.

interactive setting (Garrett et al. 2003: 35). Furthermore, if an interview is well-conducted, it can resemble a conversation, which is the setting in which we usually express our attitudes day-to-day. We may not always say exactly what we believe with everyone, but this is the closest we can get to imitating 'real life' in investigating each others' attitudes. Despite the issues relating to the social-desirability bias discussed above, therefore, I continue to see value in the use of direct questions, even in contexts where this bias may apply.

It is also important to acknowledge that, whatever method one chooses, it is very difficult to measure attitudes. This is due in part to the inherent complexity of attitudes, and in part to the fact that, as an inner mental state, they can never be directly observed, but only inferred from various overt responses, verbal or non-verbal (Krosnick et al. 2005: 22). On this basis, Garrett et al. (2003: 66) recommend using a range of approaches together. A varied methodological design may also allow for the strengths of one approach to compensate for the weaknesses of another (Obiols 2002: 3). Although the present data collection involved exclusively direct methods, I introduced as much variety as possible, by including both written questionnaires and face-to-face interviews in the design, as well as a mix of closed- and open-ended questions, enabling both quantitative and qualitative analyses.

Characteristics of participants and recruitment

The selection criteria for the data collection were that participants were:

- non-Māori;

- aged between between 20 and 50;

- born in New Zealand (or resident in New Zealand for at least the past ten years); and

- employed at one of nine white-collar workplaces in Wellington.

Participants between the age range of 25 and 45 were initially sought, to limit age-based variation, but this range was subsequently relaxed at both ends in a limited

number of cases, to enable recruitment of a sufficient number of participants. The reason for participants being born or resident for some time in New Zealand was the hypothesis that people's attitudes towards languages are learnt through experience over time during socialisation into a group (Garret et al. 2003: 4) and more recent arrivals might not have fully developed their attitudes towards the Māori language. It was also intended that the proportion of participants born overseas should not exceed the proportion of immigrants in New Zealand as a whole (22.9% in the 2006 census).

The reason for choosing a workplace recruitment approach was to attempt to access participants holding a wide range of attitudes towards the Māori language. It is very difficult to predict the attitudes of people one has not met, and research to date tells us little about which groups of New Zealanders hold particular attitudes towards the Māori language[29]. It seemed reasonable to assume, however, that the nature of some workplace environments would suggest a prevalence of more positive attitudes towards the Māori language than others. The assumption guiding my selection of workplaces was that the more directly an organisation's work related to Māori issues, the more likely that employees would have positive attitudes towards the Māori language and, conversely, the less directly an organisation's work related to Māori issues, the less likely that employees would have these attitudes. This led me to target the following 'types' of workplaces for recruiting participants:

- New Zealand public sector organisations with a focus specifically on issues relating to Māori, where the nature of the organisation's work specifically predisposed it to fostering positive attitudes towards the Māori language ("public sector Māori organisations");

- New Zealand public sector organisations without a focus specifically on issues relating to Māori, where the nature of the organisation's work did not specifically predispose it to fostering positive attitudes towards the Māori

---

[29] TPK (2002) found their 'passive supporters' were more likely to be women, be younger and have a higher level of education than the other attitude categories. Nicholson and Garland (1991) found that women, younger people and people in the upper North Island were more likely to hold favourable attitudes towards the Māori language. AGB McNair (1992) found a link between attitudes to Māori language education and the education level of the participant (although this operated in the opposite direction to the TPK research), but found no link between attitudes and other variables, including gender, regional origin and income. These results are not conclusive.

language, but the organisation operated within a public sector context in which the Government has assumed responsibilities for Māori language regeneration ("public sector general organisations");

- New Zealand based private sector organisations without a specific focus on issues relating to Māori, where the nature of the organisation's work did not predispose it to fostering positive attitudes towards the Māori language, but the organisation operated solely within a New Zealand context ("private sector New Zealand organisations"); and

- International private sector organisations with a division in New Zealand, where the nature of the organisation's work did not predispose it to fostering positive attitudes towards the Māori language, and the organisation's focus was primarily external to New Zealand ("private sector international organisations").

It was initially intended that two workplaces be recruited for each of the categories above, but the eventual numbers were two public sector Māori organisations, two public sector general organisations, two private sector New Zealand organisations and three private sector international organisations, one further organisation having been added to this last category at a later date to achieve the desired total of participants[30].

The reason for limiting participants to white-collar workplaces, and to the Wellington region only, was to restrict the variables to enable meaningful conclusions to be drawn. These choices, along with the inclusion of only 80 participants in the research (compared, for example, to TPK's approximately 1,500 participants per attitude survey) and the non-random method of participant selection, place an immediate and significant constraint on generalising the results of the data collection to the non-Māori population as a whole. These methodological factors mean the current research can only be considered exploratory.

---

[30] For reasons noted further below, there were a smaller number of participants from one of the private sector New Zealand organizations, and this number was made up by the addition of a private sector international organisation, so there was an imbalance in the final number of participants from the private sector New Zealand and private sector international categories, with 14 in the former and 26 in the latter.

Data collection process

I thought my best chance of encouraging workplaces to participate in the research was to know someone at each workplace who could vouch for me if necessary (see Holmes and Stubbe 2003: 21). After making an initial selection of potential workplaces, therefore, I approached a contact person at each workplace (in all cases a friend or friend-of-a-friend) to seek approval for workplace participation. Although the friend-of-a-friend method could be seen to bias the results, I think this concern is minimised in the current case, given that the contact people were selected primarily on the basis of their working in an appropriate workplace type, and none participated in the research themselves. In some cases contact people were able to give approval for workplace participation themselves (depending on their level of authority in the organisation); in others they sought approval from an authoritative source.

There was a high level of agreement to participate, with ten out of eleven workplaces initially approached agreeing to participate. The eleventh workplace was initially open to participating, but subsequently withdrew due to concerns about how to approach participants. One of the workplaces was later excluded from participation, due to a procedural error resulting in the participants knowing more about the purpose of the research than was intended.

As with the approval process for workplace participation, how individual participants were contacted varied between workplaces, depending on what each workplace considered appropriate. Although ideally the participant recruitment process would have been the same for each workplace, I also needed to be sensitive to the local workplace context, so this was negotiated on a case by case basis, the only strict specification being that participants be recruited on a voluntary basis. The approach taken in most workplaces was for all employees to be sent an email describing the basic topic of the questionnaire ("people's opinions about the Māori language in New Zealand") and inviting them to participate if they met the selection criteria (see Appendix Two for a sample email). This email either came directly from me, or (more usually) was sent by someone else at the workplace. For a limited number of workplaces, a subsection of employees (e.g. within a single team) were instead contacted and asked if they wished to participate. In two workplaces, potential participants were contacted in person by

the contact person and provided with an introductory letter (similar to the sample email) and a questionnaire pack if they wished to participate. Potential participants then either contacted me directly or were put in contact with me by the person who had approached them on my behalf. The first ten participants from each workplace who volunteered and met the selection criteria were selected for participation. From this point on, I generally dealt with the participants directly, making contact by email, posting them a questionnaire pack, reminding those who were slow in returning the questionnaire, and contacting participants selected for the second round of the data collection to arrange an interview.

The participant recruitment process resulted in ten potential participants from seven of the eight initial workplaces, and four potential participants from the eighth (much smaller) workplace. The eventual response rate for the questionnaires was 100% for seven of the initial eight workplaces, including the smaller workplace. This is a very high response rate for questionnaires, and could be attributable to my direct email contact with each participant, which in some cases involved a number of reminders. The final workplace resulted in only a 60% response rate. I attribute this to not having direct access to these participants, who at the workplace's preference were instead contactable solely through their manager. This, along with the lower number of potential participants at the smaller workplace referred to above, was the reason for subsequently approaching a ninth workplace (where the eventual response rate was again 100%). Twenty-six of the sixty-three participants who signaled their willingness to take part in an interview in the questionnaire were randomly selected to participate in the second round, and all those approached took part.

Participants were provided with incentives for completing the questionnaire (a movie voucher) and participating in the interviews (a twenty dollar book voucher). These incentives are more generous than those usually provided (for questionnaire completion in particular) and may have contributed to the high response rate.

A formal pilot of the questionnaires was undertaken at one workplace in March 2007. This followed two informal piloting processes involving six people each, one using the original draft of the questionnaire, one using an amended draft. As no major amendments to the process were considered necessary on the basis of the

formal pilot (the only change being to give the participants their incentive at the time of posting the questionnaire rather than afterwards), the questionnaires collected at this workplace were used for the data analysis. The questionnaires were completed over a period of five months, from March to August 2007. The interviews took place over a period of three months, from June to August 2007. The questionnaire data was then analysed using the statistics programme SPSS 14.0 for Windows, and the interview data was transcribed and analysed manually.

Profile of participants

The overall sample of participants who took part in the data collection is described below, based on the demographic questions included in the questionnaire.

Gender

The sample consisted of 35 men (43.8%) and 45 women (56.3%). I had attempted to recruit an equal number of each gender, but this did not turn out to be possible, given that I was constrained by the people who volunteered to take part.

Age

The most common age group was 30-35 (30%), followed by 25-30 (25%), 40-45 (18.8%) and 35-40 (11.3%). There was a small number of participants aged 20-25 and 45-50 (7.5% each).

Education

The participants generally had a very high level of education. 91.2% had post-secondary education, and 73.8% had a university degree, with 43.8% holding a postgraduate degree. This is unrepresentative of the New Zealand population as a whole, and is likely to reflect my choice of white-collar workplaces for the data collection. It provides a further significant reason to be cautious in interpreting the results.

Ethnicity

The participants overwhelmingly identified as New Zealand European/Pākehā (82.5%). If those who also identified with another ethnic group are included, this figure rises to 91.3%. Two participants identified as 'Kiwi'. One participant identified as both New Zealand European/Pākehā and Māori. I considered excluding this participant but chose to include him as he had volunteered for a questionnaire that asked for non-Māori participants, and I therefore considered his non-Māori identity must be salient to him.

Country of birth

As might be expected from the results for ethnicity, a high proportion of the participants (90%) were born in New Zealand. Of the eight born overseas, one had been in New Zealand for 11-15 years, three for 16-20 years, and four for over 20 years.

Regional and rural/urban origin

Of those born in New Zealand, 73.5% grew up (i.e. spent most of the first 20 years of their life) in the North Island. 44.4% grew up in the lower North Island, followed by 19.4% in the central North Island, and 13.9% in the central South Island. Other regions were less represented (upper North Island 9.7%, lower South Island 8.3%, and upper South Island 4.2%). A total of 52.8% grew up in a 'big city' (stated by the questionnaire as being Auckland, Hamilton, Wellington, Christchurch or Dunedin), 41.7% in a small town, and only 5.6% in a rural area.

Years outside New Zealand

The vast majority of participants born in New Zealand had spent fewer than five years overseas (90.3%), with this group almost equally split between those who had spent fewer than one year overseas, and those who had spent between one and five years overseas. Only one participant had spent more than ten years overseas.

Years living in Wellington

51.3% of the participants had been living in Wellington for more than ten years, followed by 23.8% who had been there for 5-10 years and 22.5% for 1-5 years. Only two participants had been living in Wellington for less than a year.

Languages spoken

It was most common for participants to be monolingual in English (60%). Six participants could speak English and Māori (7.5%), five of these able to speak English, Māori and one or more other languages. 32.5% of the participants could speak English and a language/languages other than Māori. Following the language question in the New Zealand census, however, the precise level of language proficiency was not asked. The proportion of monolingual participants is lower than that of the New Zealand population as a whole (80.5% in the 2006 census). The proportion of speakers of Māori is also somewhat higher than the national proportion of non-Māori speakers of Māori (1% of non-Māori in 2001 according to TPK 2003b: 15). This is probably because speakers of Māori would be more likely to volunteer for a survey about the Māori language than non-speakers of Māori.

Experience of learning Māori

More surprising than the proportion of speakers of Māori was the proportion of participants who had some experience of learning Māori. Only 21 participants (26.3%) had never learnt Māori, meaning 59 participants (73.8%) had learnt some Māori. What participants meant by this is of course another matter. Nevertheless, the 48.8% of participants who claimed to have "learnt Māori formally in the past" is a very high figure, and should be kept in mind when interpreting the results.

Summary: composition of overall sample

Summarising the above, the most common characteristics for the participants as a whole were for them to be New Zealand-born Pākehā New Zealanders aged between 25 and 35, with a university education, who had grown up in the North Island in either an urban or small town setting, had been living in Wellington for

some time, had spent a limited number of years overseas, and were monolingual in English but with some experience of learning Māori. For the most part this describes well the participants I was expecting. The only results that surprised me were the high number of postgraduate degrees amongst the participants, and the high proportion of participants who had experience of learning Māori.

Assignment of participants to attitude categories

Participants were placed into attitude categories in a similar manner to the TPK surveys. It was intended that in this way the research, albeit smaller-scale, could provide suggestive insights into how these wider groups of non-Māori might be responding to policy initiatives to date. As in the TPK attitude survey reports, I treat the attitude categories as the main analytical variable in analysing the data. The composition of the attitude categories is thus described in more detail below, after an initial description of how participants were assigned to each category.

The assignment of participants to attitude categories was intended to emulate that of TPK, but the method of classification used was different. Both classifications were based on the 'values statements' used in the TPK (2002) survey, but there were some differences in how these were used. My statements were placed in a different order, to balance out the statements expressing positive and negative attitudes towards the Māori language. My classification was based on nine values statements rather than the eight used in the TPK (2002) survey, because I wanted to add one statement expressing negative attitudes towards the Māori language ('There is too much emphasis on Māori issues in New Zealand'), to reduce any appearance of positive bias in the statements. Some of the values statements in my questionnaire were rephrased slightly to improve clarity. I do not think these changes will have strongly affected comparability with the TPK surveys.

A more important difference is how I used these statements to allocate participants to categories. TPK's method of classification in the surveys was not easily transferable to the present research, as insufficient information was available in the survey reports to allow me to replicate the classification[31]. In the current study

---

[31] Some information on the classification method is provided in TPK (2002: 33) and more detailed information is provided in TPK (2003a: 20). When I attempted to use the 2003 description, however, it was common for participants to not fit the classification schema exactly. It was not

participants were instead placed into the three attitude categories based on their numerical score for the nine values statements. This involved assigning a numerical value to each choice, following a procedure used by Lasagabaster and Huguet (2007: 4). For those statements intended to elicit positive attitudes towards the Māori language and culture, *strongly agree* was coded as 100, *agree* as 75, *unsure/don't know* as 50[32], *disagree* as 25 and *strongly disagree* as 0. This system was inverted for the attitude statements intended to elicit negative attitudes. The total for the nine statements was then obtained. Participants were allocated to the *English only* category if they scored between 0 and 300 out of 900, the *uninterested* category if they scored between 325 and 600, and the *supporter* category if they scored between 625 and 900[33]. Although this system is likely to have resulted in some participants being placed in different categories than if the TPK approach had been used, I consider the classification method close enough to allow meaningful comparison with the TPK categories.

The classification resulted in 45 participants being placed in the supporter category[34], 31 in the uninterested category, and 4 in the English only category. This amounts to 56.3% supporters, 38.8% uninterested, and 5% English only participants. At first glance the proportion of supporters appears quite high, and I initially attributed this to deliberately having targeted two workplaces where I could expect there to be a high proportion of participants from this attitude category. On closer inspection, however, the proportion of participants in the supporter and uninterested categories compares well to the results of the TPK attitude surveys, as shown in Table 4.1 over the page.

---

possible to know how TPK dealt with these problems in their own data, as I did not have access to their full methodological framework. No such information is provided in TPK (2006).

[32] Lasagabaster and Huguet used 'neither agree nor disagree' for this option.

[33] Lasagabaster and Huguet used the average score for the attitude statements, i.e. a percentage score. The current approach was preferred because of the lower number of attitude statements considered in the present study. Given the fewer statements, the percentage approach would mean the upper limit of the uninterested category total would be 63.9%, which is somewhat lower than Lasagabaster and Huguet's 66.666% cut-off for the uninterested category.

[34] My reasons for using the term 'supporter' rather than TPK's 'passive supporter' are discussed later.

Table 4.1: Comparison of proportions of participants in attitude categories with TPK attitude surveys

Survey	Attitude category (%)		
	Supporters	Uninterested	English only
TPK (2000)	49	39	12
TPK (2003)	60	28	12
TPK (2006)	66	27	8
My survey	**56**	**39**	**5**

The low number of English Only participants does mean I am unable to draw firm conclusions about this group. A mitigating factor is that I was able to interview all four English Only participants, so their views are well represented in the interview data discussed in chapter seven.

Cross-tabulation of attitude categories and demographic variables

The demographic variables discussed earlier were cross-tabulated with the attitude categories to determine relationships between the two. Given the low number of participants, a Chi-Square test was applied using Fisher's Exact Test. The resulting descriptions below focus mainly on the uninterested and supporter categories, given the low number of participants in the English Only category.

Gender

Women were slightly more likely than men to be in the supporter category (60% to 51.4%), and men were very slightly more likely than women to be in the uninterested category (40% to 37.8%). The Fisher's Exact Test showed no evidence of an association between gender and attitude category.

Age

Participants aged between 30 and 45 were somewhat more likely to be in the supporter category than in the uninterested category (60.4% compared to 33.3%), but the other age categories (both younger and older) were almost evenly split between the supporter and uninterested categories. As with the results for gender, there was no evident association between age and attitude category.

Education

Participants with a postgraduate degree were much more likely to be in the supporter category than the uninterested category (68.6% to 28.6%). Participants with lower levels of education were more evenly balanced between the uninterested and supporter categories, although in general as a participant's education level rose, their likelihood of being in the supporter category also rose. The Fisher's Exact Test showed weak evidence of an association between attitude category and education level (p= 0.076).

Table 4.2: Cross-tabulation of attitude categories and education level

Attitude category	Education level (count and % within)			
	Secondary Education	Technical or professional qualification	Undergraduate degree	Postgraduate degree
Supporters	3 42.9%	5 35.7%	13 54.2%	24 68.6%
Uninterested	4 57.1%	6 42.9%	11 45.8%	10 28.6%
English Only	0 .0%	3 21.4%	0 .0%	1 2.9%

Ethnicity and country of birth

The number of participants from ethnicities other than New Zealand European/Pākehā was too small to suggest whether participants from some ethnic groups were more likely to be in one attitude category than another. This also applied to the country of birth variable.

Regional and rural/urban origin

There was no apparent association between regional origin and attitude category, with participants from the various regions present in roughly similar proportions in all the attitude categories. There was an exception for the upper North Island, where participants were considerably more likely to be in the supporter category than the uninterested category (71.4% to 28.6%), but this was based on a small number of participants (N = 7). There were similarly inconclusive results for rural/urban origin.

Years living in Wellington

Those participants who had been living in the Wellington region for 5-10 years were considerably more likely to be in the supporter category than the uninterested category (78.9% to 15.8%), but the proportions in each attitude category were almost equal for those who had been in Wellington for 1-5 or over 10 years, and the small number of participants who had been in Wellington for less than one year (N = 2) prevents drawing conclusions about that group. Overall there was no apparent association between how long participants had been in Wellington and their attitude category.

Languages spoken

Those participants who spoke Māori were more likely to be in the supporter category than the uninterested category (66.6% to 33.3%), but this was based on a small number of participants (N = 6). Those who spoke languages other than English (but not Māori) were slightly more likely to be in the supporter than the uninterested category (53.8% to 46.2%). All participants in the English only category spoke English only. The differences between the groups were not statistically significant.

Experience of learning Māori

All those currently learning Māori formally were in the supporter category, and most of those currently learning Māori informally were also in the supporter category (71.4%). Those who had learnt Māori either formally or informally in the

past were somewhat more likely to be in the supporter category than the uninterested category (56.4% to 75%). Those who had never learnt Māori were considerably more likely to be in the uninterested than the supporter category (71.4% to 28.6%)[35]. This may suggest one of two things: experience of learning Māori may result in people being more likely to be in the supporter category, or alternatively people in the supporter category may be more likely to learn Māori. It seems likely that a combination of these two effects applies. Notable here, however, is that all four of the English Only participants had learnt Māori formally in the past.

Workplace and workplace type

The Fisher's Exact Test showed strong evidence of an association between workplace type and attitude category (p=0.002). The pattern, as predicted, showed that participants in public sector Māori organisations were overwhelmingly likely to be in the supporter category (90%), followed at some distance by participants from public sector general organisations (60%), participants from private sector New Zealand organisations (42.9%), and finally participants from private sector international organisations (34.6%).

Table 4.3: Cross-tabulation of attitude categories and workplace type

Attitude category	Workplace type (count and % within)			
	Public sector Māori	Public sector general	Private sector New Zealand	Private sector international
Supporters	18 90.0%	12 60.0%	6 42.9%	9 34.6%
Uninterested	2 10.0%	6 30.0%	7 50.0%	16 61.5%
English Only	0 .0%	2 10.0%	1 7.1%	1 3.8%

This pattern was also present in relation to the individual workplaces (p=0.016). The only workplace that did not entirely fit the pattern was one of the private sector international organisations ('PSI1' in Table 4.4 over the page), which was closer percentage-wise to the private sector New Zealand organisations. These results

---

[35] These results could not be tested for statistical significance as they are from a multiple response set.

appear to strongly validate my choice of workplace types to recruit participants from a range of attitude categories.

Table 4.4: Cross-tabulation of attitude categories and workplace

Attitude category	Workplace (count and % within)								
	PSM1	PSM2	PSG1	PSG2	PSNZ 1	PSNZ 2	PSI1	PSI2	PSI3
Supporters	9 90.0%	9 90.0%	6 60.0%	6 60.0%	2 50.0%	4 40.0%	5 50.0%	2 33.3%	2 20.0%
Uninterested	1 10.0%	1 10.0%	4 40.0%	2 20.0%	2 50.0%	5 50.0%	5 50.0%	3 50.0%	8 80.0%
English Only	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	2 20.0%	0 0%	1 10.0%	0 0%	1 16.7%	0 0%

Summary: composition of attitude categories

Summarising the above, the only statistically significant associations between the demographic variables and the attitude categories were those between workplace/workplace type and attitude category (very strong associations) and level of education and attitude category (a weak association). A relationship also appeared to exist between learning Māori and being in the supporter category. For some of the remaining demographic variables (e.g. ethnicity and country of origin) the lack of any apparent association with attitude category may reflect the low number of participants in each category, but for others (e.g. gender, age and regional origin) an association may simply not be present.

TPK (2002: 48-49) also describe the demographic profile of their attitude categories in their 2000 survey. Although TPK considered some demographic variables not considered in this research (including income level, children, and employment status), there are some connections with the present study. TPK found, for example, that 'passive supporters' were slightly more likely to be female than male, and were most likely to have a tertiary qualification. A difference between the present results and TPK's results is that they found that younger participants were more likely to be in the passive supporter category than older participants, whereas no such relationship was found here.

Attitude statements about the Māori language

The 'attitudes towards the Māori language' section of the questionnaire included three sets of attitude statements, each with a five point scale with the response options *strongly disagree*, *disagree*, *unsure/don't know*, *agree*, and *strongly agree*. The first set of attitude statements in the questionnaire related to attitudes towards the Māori language in general (henceforth 'language statements'), the second set to attitudes towards Māori language use in different domains (henceforth 'domain statements'), and the third set to attitudes towards race relations, Māori culture and the Māori language in New Zealand (henceforth 'values statements').

The results for all three sets of statements are shown in table form below. The results for each set are separated into two tables, the first showing the level of agreement with statements intended to elicit positive attitudes towards the Māori language and the second showing the level of disagreement with statements intended to elicit negative attitudes towards the Māori language.

Language statements

Table 4.5: Percentage of participants *agreeing* with language statements

Statement	Response	All participants	Supporters	Uninterested	English Only
I have respect for people who can speak Māori fluently	Strongly Agree Agree Total	53.8 35.0 **88.8**	73.3 20.0 **93.3**	32.3 51.6 **83.9**	0 75.0 **75**
It is good when Māori people speak Māori in public places, such as in the street or supermarket	Strongly Agree Agree Total	30.0 40.0 **70**	48.9 44.4 **93.3**	6.5 35.5 **42**	0 25.0 **25**
It is good that Māori people speak Māori on the marae	Strongly Agree Agree Total	58.8 30.0 **88.8**	77.8 17.8 **95.6**	38.7 41.9 **80.6**	0 75.0 **75**
Māori children in New Zealand should have the opportunity to learn some Māori language in school	Strongly Agree Agree Total	62.5 33.8 **96.3**	82.2 15.6 **97.8**	41.9 51.6 **93.5**	0 100 **100**

Statement	Response	All participants	Supporters	Uninterested	English Only
All children in New Zealand should have the opportunity to learn some Māori language at school	Strongly Agree Agree Total	60.0 33.8 **93.8**	80.0 17.8 **97.8**	38.7 48.4 **87.1**	0 100 **100**

Table 4.6: Percentage of participants *disagreeing* with language statements

Statement	Response	All participants	Supporters	Uninterested	English Only
People greeting each other in Māori gets on my nerves	Strongly Disagree Disagree Total	53.8 32.5 **86.3**	73.3 24.4 **97.7**	32.3 45.2 **77.5**	0 25.0 **25**
Some ideas cannot be expressed in the Māori language	Strongly Disagree Disagree Total	11.3 15.0 **26.3**	15.6 26.7 **42.3**	6.5 0 **6.5**	0 0 **0**
Māori people should speak English at home	Strongly Disagree Disagree Total	76.3 21.3 **97.6**	91.1 8.9 **100**	64.5 29.0 **93.5**	0 100 **100**
It is pointless for Māori people to learn the Māori language	Strongly Disagree Disagree Total	73.8 23.8 **97.6**	93.3 6.7 **100**	54.8 41.9 **96.7**	0 75.0 **75**
The Māori language is unpleasant to listen to	Strongly Disagree Disagree Total	51.3 33.8 **85.1**	75.6 20.0 **95.6**	22.6 48.4 **71**	0 75.0 **75**
Māori people shouldn't speak Māori in front of people who might not understand what they are saying	Strongly Disagree Disagree Total	17.5 38.8 **56.3**	28.9 53.3 **82.2**	3.2 22.6 **25.8**	0 0 **0**

Domain statements

Table 4.7: Percentage of participants *agreeing* with domain statements

Statement	Response	All participants	Supporters	Uninterested	English Only
The use of Māori at public events such as sports events	Strongly Agree Agree Total	17.5 56.3 **73.8**	31.1 66.7 **97.8**	0 48.4 **48.4**	0 0 **0**

Statement	Response	All participants	Supporters	Uninterested	English Only
and musical festivals should be encouraged					
It would be good if Government departments could conduct some business in Māori if requested	Strongly Agree Agree Total	16.3 41.3 **57.6**	24.4 60 **84.4**	6.5 16.1 **22.6**	0 25 **25**
The use of Māori in everyday situations such as community settings should be encouraged	Strongly Agree Agree Total	20 53.8 **73.8**	31.1 66.7 **97.8**	6.5 38.7 **45.2**	0 25 **25**
I support the Government's decision to establish a Māori TV service	Strongly Agree Agree Total	38.8 37.5 **76.3**	57.8 42.2 **100**	16.1 32.3 **48.4**	0 25 **25**
It is important to keep track of how many people can speak Māori	Strongly Agree Agree Total	21.3 51.3 **72.6**	28.9 55.6 **84.5**	12.9 48.4 **61.3**	0 25 **25**

Table 4.8: Percentage of participants *disagreeing* with domain statements

Statement	Response	All participants	Supporters	Uninterested	English Only
The use of Māori should be limited to the home or the marae	Strongly Disagree Disagree Total	61.3 36.3 **97.6**	84.4 15.6 **100**	35.5 61.3 **96.8**	0 75 **75**
English should be the only language used on ceremonial occasions such as public welcomes for dignitaries	Strongly Disagree Disagree Total	42.5 48.8 **91.3**	62.2 33.3 **95.5**	19.4 64.5 **83.9**	0 100 **100**
The Government shouldn't bother promoting Māori language	Strongly Disagree Disagree Total	55 38.8 **93.8**	82.2 17.8 **100**	22.6 67.7 **90.3**	0 50 **50**

Public signage should be in English only	Strongly Disagree Disagree Total	22.5 41.3 **63.8**	35.6 51.1 **86.7**	6.5 32.3 **38.8**	0 0 **0**
Māori language at government functions is just bureaucrats being PC	Strongly Disagree Disagree Total	10 40 **50**	15.6 55.6 **71.2**	3.2 22.6 **25.8**	0 0 **0**

Values statements

Table 4.9: Percentage of participants *agreeing* with values statements

Statement	Response	All participants	Supporters	Uninterested	English Only
Māori culture is a part of every New Zealander's heritage	Strongly Agree Agree Total	27.5 43.8 **71.3**	42.2 42.2 **84.4**	9.7 51.6 **61.3**	0 0 **0**
Māori should have some rights as indigenous people	Strongly Agree Agree Total	21.3 46.3 **67.6**	31.1 62.2 **93.3**	9.7 25.8 **35.5**	0 25 **25**
I feel I can learn from other races in New Zealand	Strongly Agree Agree Total	50 45 **95**	66.7 33.3 **100**	29 61.3 **90.3**	25 50 **75**
I want to be involved in things to do with Māori culture	Strongly Agree Agree Total	5 52.5 **57.5**	8.9 68.9 **77.8**	0 35.5 **35.5**	0 0 **0**
The more New Zealanders who understand Māori culture the less racial tension we would have	Strongly Agree Agree Total	26.3 45.0 **71.3**	40 55.6 **95.6**	9.7 35.5 **45.2**	0 0 **0**
I am interested in learning the Māori language	Strongly Agree Agree Total	15 53.8 **68.8**	24.4 64.4 **88.8**	3.2 41.9 **45.1**	0 25 **25**

Table 4.10: Percentage of participants *disagreeing* with values statements

Statement	Response	All participants	Supporters	Uninterested	English Only
New Zealand would be a better place if there weren't so many races of people	Strongly Disagree Disagree Total	75 22.5 **97.5**	86.7 11.1 **97.8**	61.3 35.5 **96.8**	50 50 **100**
I get sick of people talking about Māori rights	Strongly Disagree Disagree Total	15 32.5 **47.5**	24.4 51.1 **75.5**	3.2 9.7 **12.9**	0 0 **0**
There is too much emphasis on Māori issues in New Zealand	Strongly Disagree Disagree Total	13.8 32.5 **46.3**	24.4 46.7 **71.1**	0 16.1 **16.1**	0 0 **0**

The results show strong patterned differences between the supporter and uninterested categories across the attitude statements. In all cases supporters were more likely than uninterested participants to strongly agree/agree with the statements intended to elicit positive attitudes towards the Māori language, and more likely than uninterested participants to strongly disagree/disagree with the statements intended to elicit negative attitudes towards the Māori language. In the language statements this pattern was particularly evident in the strength of agreement or disagreement, with a striking pattern of supporters tending to express strong agreement or disagreement, where the uninterested participants were more likely to express simple agreement or disagreement[36]. For the values and domain statements, this pattern was not as strong, although uninterested participants were almost always more likely to simply agree or disagree than to strongly agree or disagree. For all categories of statements, the English Only participants tended to score much lower than the uninterested participants, providing some support for placing the English Only participants in a separate attitude category despite their low numbers. Taken together, the results for the attitude statements provide both support for the allocation of participants to attitude categories based on the values statements, and evidence of patterned differences in attitudes towards the Māori language among the supporters and uninterested participants.

---

[36] This could relate to an order effect, as this was the first set of statements to which participants were asked to respond.

Despite this overall pattern of results, the results for some of the statements should be treated with caution. In particular:

- The statement that 'some ideas cannot be expressed in the Māori language' received a response of 'unsure/don't know' from 50% of the participants (not shown in the tables above). This suggests the statement was not well understood. All English Only respondents agreed with this statement, however.

- The statement 'Māori should have some rights as indigenous people' attracted much comment from participants, in response to the invitation to comment on the attitude statements if they wished. The comments mostly related to definitional matters, including what definition of indigenous was intended ("I admit I have a niggling doubt over what we really mean by indigenous. They were here first?"), the nature of the rights referred to ("of course it depends exactly what rights you're talking about") and general confusion ("This comment is not clear to me, but it may be that the statement is self-evident to me"). A number of comments mainly from uninterested participants did, however, refer to what was intended by the statement – to elicit participants' views on rights specifically relating to Māori ("we should all have the same rights"; "I don't support special treatment based solely on race").

- The statement 'Māori people shouldn't speak Māori in front of people who might not understand what they are saying' also seems to have been interpreted in a range of ways. Some responses expressed the 'monolingual' views the statement was intended to elicit ("I think it's rude to speak any language in front of people who don't speak it if a common language can be used"), but others interpreted the statement in the unintended sense of Māori speakers talking in Māori to a non-Māori-speaking addressee ("this is problematic as most people in NZ would not understand!"). One person made an explicit distinction between these two situations ("dependent on situation – it is always rude to exclude someone no matter what the language – but if the non-speaker is not involved or part of the group it should not be an issue"). For the majority who did not make

a comment, it is not possible to know which interpretation of the statement they were using.

- For two statements, the proportion of agreement/disagreement was very similar for the supporters and uninterested participants, that is: disagreement with 'New Zealand would be a better place if there weren't so many races of people' and agreement with 'I feel I can learn from other races in New Zealand'. The social-desirability bias may have affected the results for these statements, or perhaps the statements are so strongly phrased that few people would feel able to disagree with them.

Closed-ended questions about the Māori language

The attitudes section of the questionnaire also included three closed-ended questions relating to participants' attitudes towards the Māori language. The responses to these questions are summarised below by attitude category.

Current level of the Māori language

Firstly, participants were asked whether they thought the current level of Māori language use in New Zealand was not enough, enough, or more than enough. The Fisher's Exact Test showed a very strong association between attitude category and view on the current level of Māori language in New Zealand (p=0.000). The vast majority of supporters (86.7%) felt the current level of Māori language was not enough, compared to 12.9% of uninterested participants and no English Only participants. Uninterested participants were most likely to think the current level of Māori was enough (at 61.3%), and English Only participants were evenly split between those who thought there was enough Māori and those who thought there was 'more than enough' Māori. A significant proportion of uninterested participants (19.4%) ticked the further option 'unsure/don't know', which may reflect the social-desirability bias, as no participants from the supporter or English Only categories ticked this box.

Level of concern about health of the Māori language

Secondly, participants were told that statistics suggested the future of the Māori language was uncertain, due to a rapid decline in the number of fluent speakers of Māori since the 1970s, and were asked whether their level of concern about this situation was no concern, some concern or great concern. The Fisher's Exact Test showed a very strong association between attitude category and level of concern about the health of the Māori language (p=0.000). Although the highest proportion of both supporters and uninterested participants expressed 'some concern' (in similar proportions of 55.6% and 48.4%), 40% of supporters expressed 'great concern' compared to 9.7% of uninterested participants, and 41.9% of uninterested participants expressed 'no concern' compared to 2.2% of supporters. 75% of the English Only participants expressed 'no concern' about the situation.

The broad patterns represented in the results for the questions above are summarised in Table 4.11 below:

Table 4.11: Attitude category trends in responses to questions about current level of Māori language and concern about its future

Question	Supporters	Uninterested	English Only
Current level of Māori language	Not enough	Enough	More than enough
Concern about future of Māori language	Some concern to great concern	No concern to some concern	No concern

Future of the Māori language

Thirdly, participants were asked whether they thought the Māori language had a future as a living language in New Zealand, with the response options yes, no and unsure/don't know. The Fisher's Exact Test showed a further strong association between attitude category and view on the future of the Māori language (p=0.009). 72.5% of all participants thought Māori had a future as a living language. Supporters were by far most likely to have this view (at 86.7%), although the

percentage of uninterested and English Only participants who agreed was also quite high (at 54.8% and 50% respectively), with the remainder of participants in these categories tending to be unsure (at 32.3% and 50% respectively) rather than to disagree. Only 6.3% of all participants thought the Māori language did not have a future as a living language. This may be cause for concern for policymakers, reflecting a lack of awareness among all participants of how vulnerable the Māori language currently is.

Open-ended questions about the Māori language

Finally, the attitudes section of the questionnaire included two open-ended questions relating to attitudes towards the Māori language. The responses to these questions provide qualitative data to complement the quantitative data described above. The two questions, associated with the closed-ended questions described above, were:

- What are your reasons for thinking that there is enough/more than enough/not enough Māori language spoken in New Zealand?

- What are your reasons for thinking the Māori language does/does not have a future as a living language in New Zealand?

Rather than presenting the results to these questions directly, the responses are discussed below in terms of the attitudinal themes that emerged through the participants' responses.

A notation system is used throughout the thesis where quotes appear to summarise participant characteristics[37].

There was evidence in the responses of the uninterested participants of what May (2005b:321) refers to as 'the problem of historical inevitability', i.e. the claimed 'naturalness' of the minoritisation of languages. One participant commented for example that:

---

[37] Gender is indicated by M or F; attitude category by S, U or EO; age by tranche; workplace by PbM, PbG, PrNZ, or PrI; all are linked by hyphens. For example F-U-25/30-PbG indicates the participant is a female uninterested participant aged 25 to 30 working in a public sector general organisation.

I think that the world <u>is</u> the world, and that such things as whether a language is spoken or not is just a natural phenomenon and not something we necessarily need to adjust (M-U-30/35-PrI)

Others, both uninterested and English Only, expressed a preference for the linguistic status quo in terms of the perceived advantages of English:

As much as I like the Māori language […] English is the no # 1 language in NZ and more people understand it than understand Māori (F-U-25/30-PrI)

English is universal, common and most useful (M-EO-40/45-PrI)

The responses of several uninterested participants echoed May's (2000a) discussion of the discourse of choice, participants focusing here on individual choice as a means of dismissing personal responsibility for the survival of the Māori language:

Choice should not be legislated […] If it is a language to keep alive those who choose to use it will see its success (M-U/40/45-PrI)

Others either felt the Māori language was being unreasonably imposed on them already, or warned against the implications of this in the future:

It's everywhere – mainstream TV, Māori TV, all government names, etc (M-EO-25/30-PbG)

If you put too much Māori in public I believe it will make many non-Māoris resent Māoris and their culture (F-U-25/30-PbG)

Unsurprisingly, given the responses above, uninterested and English Only participants showed a preference for minimal use of the Māori language in non-Māori domains:

It would be a shame to lose it completely, but kept to a minimum, i.e. special occasions or on marae (F-EO-30/35-PrNZ)

As long as Māori is continued to be used on maraes and small amounts in general everyday use, then it can have a future. I don't know if Māori will ever be used more fluently than it is now though. (F-U-25/30-PrI)

One uninterested participant expressed concern about the perceived limiting effects of the Māori language even when used by Māori alone, distinguishing in

particular between the instrumental and identity-related value of the Māori language:

> I am unsure what is best for Māori. There are advantages to prioritising English for young Māori at school, mainly for their economic benefit, but there is a strong advantage to building a sense of strong identity with Māori language. (M-U-20/25-PrI)

This comment echoes May's (2005b: 333-337) discussion of the 'problem of immobility'. This criticism of minority language rights holds that proponents of minority language rights consign minority language communities within the confines of a language that has no wider use, thereby limiting their potential, whereas individual mobility is best served by access to dominant languages that are instrumentally useful[38].

Another uninterested participant argued that Māori themselves might not wish the Māori language to be more widely used:

> Most people I know of a different culture to me embrace their difference and like to keep something sacred to their homes – personal. How does the average Joe Bloggs feel about his language being used? (F-U-30/35-PbG)

The English Only participants' responses reflected more straightforwardly monolingual views, including a lack of interest in language diversity and a perception of the use of languages other than English as 'rude':

> What's the point of promoting 2 languages? (M-EO-40/45-PrI)

> Māori have their own TV and radio stations they can choose to watch if they want. They are also speaking korero [sic] on TV programmes such as Shortland St with no translation. I find this a little rude (F-EO-30/35-PrNZ)

The link between the attitudes described above and the participants' views on other aspects of Māori culture were also evident in the responses of some participants:

---

[38] This view recurred in the interviews, one participant commenting "oh I think [the language is] very important to the Māori, whether it helps them a lot…(laughs) you know I guess it could help them …define themselves a little bit but…as society and helping them towards achieving in society I don't believe it has a lot of practical use" (M-EO-40/45-PrI)

> I'd like to think there is a future [for the Māori language], but the issue perhaps needs to be removed from all the other political arguments surrounding Māori culture (F-U-30/35-PrI)

The themes in the results described above strongly echo the results of previous research on the attitudes of non-Māori towards the Māori language, as discussed in chapter three, and provide suggestive evidence of the problem of tolerability among the participants.

The responses of supporters, however, contrasted markedly with those of the uninterested and English Only participants. Supporters strongly emphasised the value of the Māori language, some expressing this in terms of its importance to contemporary national identity:

> Māori is part of NZ and should be encouraged as it is only spoken here. It sets us apart from others and we should be proud of the culture (M-S-40/45-PrI)

Others saw connections between the Māori language and the history or heritage of New Zealand:

> Lot of heritage in the Māori language and history. It's what defines NZ, because of the Māori people. Losing the language would be of grave concern to New Zealanders because it's what defines our culture and heritage (F-S-30/35-PrI)

Some supporters linked the survival of the Māori language to improved social outcomes for Māori:

> Ability to speak Māori seems strongly correlated with pride in Māori culture and this in turn seems to correlate with improved social and economic outcomes for Māori. Reviving Māori pride and dignity are crucial to their success, so conserving the language is a matter of survival (F-S-40/45-PbM)

Others instead saw links between the survival of the Māori language and improved relationships between Māori and non-Māori:

> To understand culture, you need to understand the language (Māori). Increased cross-cultural understanding is something NZ would benefit from, e.g. this would perhaps reduce racism by Pākehā towards Māori (and other cultures) and vice versa. It's a snowball of good stuff (F-S-30/35-PbG)

Some supporters stated their aspirations for the Māori language in emphatic terms, demonstrating a striking strength of attachment to the language:

> It MUST have a future. It is as valuable as an endangered species if not more. Our Māori culture is the essence of New Zealand, and more people are starting to realise that. It is our personality, or part of the national personality (M-S-30/35-PrNZ)

> Because it is part of our HERITAGE!! (M-S-35/40-PrI)

> Māori language is EXTREMELY important to our national identity (M-S-30/35-PrNZ)

Accompanying the greater importance they placed on the Māori language, supporters had in mind a considerably more extensive role for the Māori language in New Zealand:

> As generations die we lose our knowledge, creating challenges in maintaining it, but we also lose the ignorance and prejudice, creating opportunities to develop Te Reo until every NZer knows it (M-S-30/35-PrNZ)

Moreover, unlike the uninterested and English Only participants, some supporters expressed a sense of personal duty to support the Māori language:

> As the only place where Māori is spoken, I believe we all have an obligation to ensure its use continues. […] I believe there is enough goodwill in this country to ensure that happens (F-S-40/45-PbG)

Taken together, these responses suggest compellingly different attitudes towards the Māori language between supporters on the one hand and uninterested and English Only participants on the other. The responses of the supporters described above indicate a level of commitment to the Māori language among some non-Māori that has rarely been discussed in previous research on attitudes towards the Māori language (although this has started to come through in the TPK attitude surveys). The responses to the open-ended questions thus reinforce the findings of the closed-ended questions and attitude statements, providing further evidence of strong patterned differences between attitude categories in participants' attitudes towards the Māori language.

Summary: chapter four

This chapter has shown that the attitudes of some of the non-Māori participants in the current research present a similar picture to that of previous research, providing suggestive evidence of the problem of tolerability among the participants. The current research also shows evidence, however, of a group of non-Māori who have considerably more positive attitudes towards the Māori language. This is a timely early reminder that, when talking of non-Māori in relation to the Māori language, we are dealing with a highly diverse group, and if we consider them only as a whole we are in danger of getting only part of the picture.

Having considered what we know about the attitudes of non-Māori towards the Māori language in general, and those of the current participants in particular, the next chapter will examine what the New Zealand government has done to date to address this target audience of planning for tolerability in New Zealand.

Chapter Five

Recognising the problem and selecting policy techniques:

The New Zealand government's approach to planning for tolerability

Based on the preceding chapters, a case can be made for focusing on majority language speakers in language regeneration planning, and this case can be made in the New Zealand context in particular, given evidence of the problem of tolerability of the Māori language among non-Māori New Zealanders. This chapter examines the New Zealand government's approach to planning for tolerability in relation to the Māori language. Specifically, to what extent does the Government recognise the problem of tolerability, and what is it doing about it? The analysis in this chapter provides a broad overview of the Government's approach, with further elements discussed in more depth in subsequent chapters.

Scope of analysis

Language planning is not the sole preserve of government, but rather occurs at all levels of society (see Ager 2003: 7). There are non-government groups working in Māori language regeneration planning in New Zealand, and many iwi (Māori tribal group) organisations in particular have highly active Māori language planning programmes, for example Ngāi Tahu, Ngāti Raukawa, Tūhoe and Ngāti Porou (see Spolsky 2003: 568). Such local level language planning is actively encouraged by government Māori language policymakers (see e.g. TPK 2003b), and in some cases funded, e.g through the Mā Te Reo programme administered by the MLC, which provides grants to support home and community language initiatives. For reasons of scope and ease of comparison with other language situations, however, this chapter focuses on government activity alone, and in particular the policies of the two main Māori language planning organisations in New Zealand: Te Puni Kōkiri / the Ministry of Māori Development (TPK) and the Māori Language Commission (MLC) (see Appendix Three, provided on CD, for further information on these organisations). Nonetheless, I hope that much of the data collected in the current research will be of use to anyone working in Māori language regeneration planning, including iwi organisations.

The analysis below is based on:

- publicly available policy documents relating to the development of the Government's Māori Language Strategy (see Appendix Three for a summary of these);

- further publicly available government policy documents produced by TPK and the MLC;

- documents in the MLC's hard copy files relating to promotional activities (obtained through a file search in November 2005);

- internal policy documents obtained from TPK on request;

- Cabinet papers relating to the development of the Māori Language Strategy obtained from TPK under the Official Information Act (OIA)[39]; and

- OIA requests for further information to TPK and the MLC in 2008.

The documents reviewed span a period from 1995 to the present. This period was chosen both because 1995 represented the first sustained promotional campaign undertaken by the MLC, in the form of 'Māori Language Year' (discussed below), and because 1995 was the year the Government began to develop its comprehensive Māori Language Strategy.

Analysis of these documents was supplemented by several meetings between 2005 and 2008 with:

- TPK officials;

- MLC officials; and

---

[39] These documents were obtained in response to a March 2006 request for "all relevant Cabinet papers leading up to the release of the first Māori Language Strategy in 1998; all relevant Cabinet papers leading up to the release of the revised Māori Language Strategy in 2003; and any TPK policy papers relating specifically to government promotion of positive attitudes towards the Māori language among non-Māori or 'all New Zealanders'".

- former officials involved in the development of the Māori Language Strategy and subsequent Māori language policy work.

Although an overtly critical approach is not taken here, it is important to keep in mind when interpreting the official comments of TPK and the MLC that they are agents of government language policy, and are therefore not impartial sources.

Government recognition of the problem of tolerability

The New Zealand government has recognised the importance of the attitudes and behaviours of non-Māori New Zealanders towards the Māori language since the development of the first government-wide strategy for the Māori language in the mid 1990s (see Appendix Three for information on the development of the strategy). TPK and the MLC's approaches on this matter are discussed in turn below.

TPK policy

TPK policy documents recognise the historical impact of the attitudes and behaviours of non-Māori towards the Māori language. For example, several documents make reference to institutional repression of the Māori language as one of the factors that led to its decline:

> One consequence [of the arrival of more English-speaking settlers] was that many Māori had to use more and more English in their dealings with Pākehā. This development was reinforced by the assimilationist orientations of most of those in the colonial governments (TPK 1999a: 6).

> Over the years, pressure was exerted on Māori to abandon the Māori language. A major influence was the assimilationist policy of the period from about 1850 to 1970 which held that to be 'modern' meant to be monolingual in English, rather than bilingual in English and Māori (TPK 1999b: 15).

The institutional factors most frequently cited in this regard are the suppression of the Māori language in schools (e.g. Native Schools Act 1867) and the Māori Affairs Department's policy of placing Māori families in predominantly non-Māori suburbs during the rapid urbanisation of the Māori population following World War II. TPK (2004a: 14) strongly makes the point that what lay behind these policies were

overtly negative attitudes towards the Māori language among the non-Māori authorities:

> The sudden presence of a significant Māori population in urban areas caused immediate problems for state agencies, who responded by developing a range of integrative policies whereby Māori urban dwellers were to be effectively 'Europeanised' culturally and linguistically. The Māori language was perceived as one of the principal obstacles to this process.

TPK policy documents also suggest recognition that these assimilationist institutional attitudes were widely held within non-Māori society, and impacted on interpersonal interactions between Māori and non-Māori (TPK 2004a: 14-15):

> English was firmly established as the language of the urban workplace among the numerically dominant non-Māori population, and the minority Māori employees were required to adapt to the linguistic norms of their new workplaces and colleagues […] To undertake daily social interactions, they were forced to use English.

TPK policy documents also note that Māori internalised the attitudes of the wider sociolinguistic environment in their own attitudes towards Māori and English (TPK 2004a: 15):

> Attitudes towards the Māori language appear to have been unfavourable among the urban Māori population throughout the 1950s and 1960s. […] There was a widespread adoption of English Christian names and surnames, or the English equivalent of Māori names. Many urban Māori adopted anglicised pronunciations of Māori personal, group and place names.

In general, the attitudes of both Māori and non-Māori towards the Māori language are frequently noted in the TPK documents as causes of language shift from Māori to English. Almost all the factors cited below can be attributed to a combination of the attitudes of Māori and non-Māori (TPK 2003b: 11):

> Faced with this situation [of education and media being conducted almost solely in English and urbanisation], many Māori adults stopped speaking Māori to their children at home. This collective action, together with the attitudes of other New Zealanders and policies which favoured English as the dominant language in society, resulted in a massive language shift from Māori to English.

As well as noting that the attitudes and behaviours of non-Māori were a significant factor in language shift from Māori to English in the first place, most TPK policy documents also make explicit reference to the continued impact of the attitudes and behaviours of majority language speakers on Māori language use in the present. The first document in the development of the Māori Language Strategy refers to the importance of the attitudes of both speakers of a minority language and majority language speakers (MLC 1996: 14)[40]:

> In seeking to revitalise a language, attention is usually focused on increasing the number of people that can speak the language, increasing the opportunities for the use of the language, and increasing the actual use of the language. It has also been argued that attitudes to the language, among the speakers of the language and the general population are an important factor in revitalisation.

In relation to the Māori language in particular, the current Māori Language Strategy states that (TPK 2003b: 27):

> Māori language use is affected by the overall social environment in New Zealand. People who use the Māori language interact with others on a regular basis and encounter the language attitudes of the non-Māori majority through these interactions. To revitalise the language it is necessary for wider New Zealand society to value the language and support a positive linguistic environment.

It is significant that the attitudes of 'all New Zealanders' towards the Māori language are considered sufficiently important to be included in the vision statement for the current Māori Language Strategy, which states that "All New Zealanders will appreciate the value of the Māori language to New Zealand society" (TPK 2003b: 5).

There is also some discussion in the TPK policy documents of the perceived benefits of more positive attitudes towards the Māori language among non-Māori, usually relating to two areas. The first is improved attitudes among Māori towards using the Māori language, i.e. the reversal of internalised negative external attitudes (MLC 1996: 17):

> If the majority of New Zealanders and New Zealand institutions have generally positive attitudes to the Māori language and its use in public

---

[40] (MLC 1996) is discussed here as a TPK policy document as it was the first document in the development of the Māori Language Strategy, which was subsequently taken over by TPK.

activities, it is likely that this will reinforce positive attitudes among Māori people and encourage them to make greater use of the language.

The second is the increased use of the Māori language in wider domains (MLC 1996: 17):

> The greater use of Māori in non-Māori domains will lay the foundations for ongoing increases in the range of domains where Māori is spoken, and will contribute to the establishment of the Māori language as an ordinary feature of New Zealand life.

The current Māori Language Strategy includes implicit reference to the influence of non-Māori attitudes on the domains in which the Māori language can be used. Goal Two of the Strategy focuses on increasing Māori language use in key domains of Māori life, such as marae, Māori households and other Māori-focused domains. The Strategy states that "the focus on key domains will create a strong basis for growth that will support language development in other areas of New Zealand society" (TPK 2003b: 21). This recalls Christensen's (2001: 215) comparison of Māori language regeneration to a koru (fern frond), with regeneration beginning in the household domain and gradually unfurling towards other potentially less welcoming domains.

TPK has also collected data on the attitudes of non-Māori as part of its surveys on attitudes towards the Māori language. Ever since the first such survey, conducted by AGB McNair as part of Māori Language Year in 1995 (see MLC 1996), government policy documents have reported on non-Māori attitudes alongside those of Māori. This alone is evidence of the Government's recognition that majority attitudes play a part in the health of the Māori language, and a 1998 Cabinet Paper explicitly states the importance of monitoring these attitudes (Cabinet Strategy Committee 1998: 8):

> The Māori language is a subordinate minority language continually under pressure form the dominant majority language, English. Therefore it is very important that the attitudes, values and beliefs of non-Māori about the Māori language be regularly measured.

MLC policy

Until recently, the policy of the MLC has mostly been developed internally rather than publicly released, so there is a less obvious paper trail to follow in tracing the

development of the MLC's policy relating to non-Māori. In 2004, however, the MLC released its first annual Statement of Intent, outlining its strategic direction for the subsequent three to five years (MLC 2004a). This process resulted in the adoption of a single major outcome and four intermediate outcomes that the MLC intended to pursue over the subsequent three to five years. The single major outcome was:

> Ka ora te reo Māori hei reo matua hei reo kōrero mo Aotearoa
> Māori Language is a living national taonga for all New Zealanders

Four 'intermediate outcomes' were also identified to support the major outcome, namely: whānau, hapū and iwi strengthen and maintain their reo; when people speak Māori they use the appropriate language in all environments; all New Zealanders value reo Māori and have the opportunity to become bilingual; and the Government provides for the equitable treatment of reo Māori. The third intermediate outcome relates to promotion of the Māori language to non-Māori. In its 2005 Statement of Intent, the MLC noted that (MLC 2005a: 13):

> For us, being bilingual in Māori and English ranges from someone who is able to use and understand short phrases (such as kei te pēhea koe?) through to those who are fluent native speakers. This intermediate outcome – perhaps more than any of the others – reflects our belief that reo Māori can be a taonga, a source of pride and a means of communication for all New Zealanders.

The MLC's goals under this outcome are to (MLC 2005a: 14): provide opportunities for speakers of Māori to use their Māori language skills in established and new domains; create an increased desire in various communities to learn, use and support Māori language; and "increase New Zealanders' awareness, positive attitudes and acceptance of reo Māori in our society".

The MLC (2005a: 13) has explicitly acknowledged the limitations placed upon achieving this outcome by its limited budget:

> [The MLC] has a budget of just over $2.3 million per annum – and every year we have to make tough choices about what we do and what we don't do. This outcome makes our job even tougher because it places an onus on us to balance our support between native speakers, those who want to learn reo Māori and everyone else in between.

The MLC nevertheless acknowledged that the extra funding provided to it under the Māori Language Information Programme (discussed further below) would allow it to focus specifically on this outcome.

In its 2004 and 2005 Statements of Intent, the MLC identified a number of capabilities it needed to strengthen in order to pursue the outcomes in its Statement of Intent. Notably, one of these was "strengthening [its] ability to promote Māori language to all New Zealanders". In both years, the MLC stated that over the next three to five years it planned to progressively strengthen its capability by "developing a reo Māori promotions strategy for all New Zealanders" (MLC 2004a: 15, 2005a: 19). In the 2006 and 2007 Statements of Intent, however, this aspect of capability development was no longer listed (MLC 2006a, 2007a).

Desired behaviours for non-Māori

A distinctive feature of the New Zealand government's approach to planning for tolerability is the nature of the 'desired behaviours' policymakers propose for non-Māori. The main point to note here is that learning and using the Māori language is not a primary behaviour proposed by the Government for non-Māori. When asked what non-Māori could do to support the Māori language in the 2003 TPK attitudes survey, the most common response from Māori participants was "have positive attitudes towards the language" (TPK 2003a: 10). This focus on attitudes rather than language learning and use is also reflected in government policy documents, which, although emphasising that non-Māori should have the opportunity to learn Māori, do not strongly promote this behaviour.

Goal Three of the current Māori Language Strategy, 'Strengthening Education Opportunities in the Māori Language', refers to the importance of ensuring the provision of "opportunities for the non-Māori population to actively engage in learning and using the Māori language" (TPK 2003b: 7), noting that "non-Māori enrolments in […] Māori language education [are] currently very low" (TPK 2003b: 23). Promoting learning and using Māori to non-Māori does not have the status of a strong focus of attention in the Māori Language Strategy, however. Instead, policy documents emphasise that learning Māori is not expected of non-Māori. This focus away from learning and using Māori for non-Māori has the status of a

longstanding theme, being stated in the first Māori Language Strategy document (MLC 1996: 18):

> To create a positive environment for the Māori language, it is necessary to promote positive attitudes to the language and its place in public activities among the general public. This *does not* mean that all New Zealanders will be expected to learn and use the Māori language. Many do not want to learn and use it, and there is no merit in forcing these people to participate in activities where they have no real interest.

The reasoning above appears to be based on the Government's view that not many non-Māori will wish to learn and use Māori. This is not stated so explicitly in later policy documents, where the idea seems to be rather that non-Māori can support the Māori language in other ways than by learning it. The consultation document for the current Māori Language Strategy, for example, notes that "New Zealanders can express their support and goodwill towards the Māori language without necessarily having to learn or use Māori" (TPK 2003c: 11). This is also a common theme in the MLC policy materials, many of which distinguish between the behaviours proposed for Māori and non-Māori, with Māori language learning and use targeted strongly at the former group.

If non-Māori are not expected to learn and use Māori, what behaviours does the Government wish to promote among non-Māori? The most sustained treatment of desired behaviours for non-Māori is found in the TPK attitude surveys. In the 2000 survey, TPK (2002: 12) states that the analysis in the report is based on twin assumptions that, in the immediate future: for Māori people, the objective is to learn and use Māori; and for non-Māori people, the objective is to create a positive disposition towards Māori people learning and using Māori. It goes on to make the following comments (2002: 12):

> These assumptions are based on theoretical and practical considerations. Māori is the heritage language of the Māori people, and has been recognised by government as a taonga that was guaranteed to Māori. For Māori to survive, Māori must regularly and systematically choose to speak Māori in their everyday interactions and conversations.
>
> For non-Māori the role is different. It is unlikely, in the immediate future, that non-Māori will contribute greatly to the actual use of Māori. Currently, less than 1% of non-Māori speak Māori, and as subsequent results show, some 90% of non-Māori have no desire to learn it. However, the disposition of non-Māori towards te reo does impact on Māori language use by Māori because of its powerful influence on the overall linguistic environment. If

the majority of non-Māori have generally positive attitudes towards the Māori language, it is likely that this will reinforce positive attitudes among Māori and encourage greater use of Māori.

The focus here is clearly on attitudes towards the Māori language, rather than behaviours. Exactly what behaviours non-Māori might engage in to support Māori language is less clear from the policy documents or from meetings with Māori language policy officials (e.g. meeting with TPK 19 December 2005). This is an under-developed area in planning for tolerability in New Zealand. Desired behaviours for non-Māori will thus be further considered in this thesis, particularly in the next chapter on promotional materials, and then in chapter seven, where the views of the non-Māori participants on this topic will be explored in detail.

Policy initiatives aimed at planning for tolerability

In addition to its recognition, in theory, of the problem of tolerability, the Government has undertaken practical policy initiatives to plan for tolerability among non-Māori.

Returning to a point made in chapter two, it must be acknowledged that a range of government policy initiatives can be seen as contributing to positive attitudes towards the Māori language among majority language speakers. In response to my request to TPK for policy papers relating specifically to government promotion of positive attitudes towards the Māori language among non-Māori or 'all New Zealanders', TPK noted that all functions identified in the Māori Language Strategy related to improving the attitudes of non-Māori (TPK, personal communication, 9 March 2006)[41]. Similarly, a diagram of key areas of Māori language policy activity in a 1997 Cabinet paper (Cabinet Committee on Strategy and Priorities 1997: 7) shows the goal of improved attitudes towards the Māori language encircling all other goals. Some policy documents note the potential impact of a range of Māori language policy initiatives on non-Māori attitudes, for example the consultation document for the current Māori Language Strategy notes that (TPK 2003c: 11):

> The use of the Māori language in mainstream media, Taha Māori programmes in schools, the status of Māori as an official language, and its

---

[41] "Goal 5 – Strengthening Recognition of the Māori language – has a particular focus on promoting positive attitudes, and all of the goals and functions are intended to work together to foster a supportive and receptive environment to the Māori language."

use in public and private sector activities can all contribute to the development of positive attitudes to the Māori language among the broader New Zealand population.

I agree that these and other policy initiatives are likely to have an impact on the attitudes of non-Māori towards the Māori language. One likely candidate is the recent advent of Māori Television, which, despite an (anecdotally) cool initial reception from some non-Māori now has a strong non-Māori audience. In 2007, two thirds of the average monthly Māori Television audience of 695,000 were non-Māori (Māori Television Service 2007a), and since its launch 70% of all Māori, 73% of all Pacific Islanders, 43% of all Pākehā and 32% of all Asians in New Zealand had watched Māori Television (Māori Television Service 2007b). Chief Executive Jim Mather has commented that (Drinnan 2006: 33):

> Māori TV has an obligation to make the language accessible to all New Zealanders, not just preach to the converted. Even among Māori, there is not a high fluency. It just makes sense to be widely accessible.

Most such initiatives, however, serve primary goals other than planning for tolerability. For instance, although the Māori Television Service has a legislated role to promote the Māori language, its focus, while not excluding non-Māori, is not aimed at non-Māori in particular. This is reflected in the broader goal expressed in the service's mission statement: "To make a significant contribution to the revitalisation of tikanga Māori and reo Māori by being an independent, secure and successful Māori Television broadcaster"[42]. As noted in chapter two, of particular interest here are those initiatives that have an explicit primary aim of addressing the attitudes and behaviours of non-Māori towards the Māori language. When viewed through this more restricted lens, it is clear that the main focus of Māori language policy directed at non-Māori has been promotional campaigns relating to the Māori language[43].

---

[42] Māori Television Service website http://corporate.Māoritelevision.com/about.htm, accessed August 2006

[43] Tipene Chrisp of TPK confirmed this in a meeting on 19 December 2005, where he noted that the main policy initiatives relating to non-Māori attitudes had been the Māori Language Information Programme since 2004 (discussed below) and an increasing focus on non-Māori in Māori Language Week in recent years. He also commented, however, that a number of other government activities involved a focus on non-Māori attitudes almost "by accident", including: Māori Television; Māori radio; and Taha Māori programmes at school.

Promoting Māori as a living language and a natural means of communication was one of the core functions assigned to the MLC at its creation. There were no statutory guidelines in the Māori Language Act 1987 about the format or content of the MLC's promotions and while the MLC initially undertook a number of ad hoc promotional activities, such as posters and radio campaigns, sustained promotional activity was difficult to maintain because of budgetary constraints (Chrisp 1997a: 101, Nicholson 1997: 210). The main promotional campaigns of the MLC targeting non-Māori (usually in addition to Māori) are described below.

Māori Language Year (1995)

The first large-scale promotional campaign undertaken by the MLC was Māori Language Year in 1995, a 'theme year' intended to "raise the status of the Māori language among the Māori population, and throughout New Zealand society" (Chrisp 1997a: 100). Branded 'He Taonga Te Reo' (Māori language is a treasure), the year had three main goals: to encourage Māori people to learn and use the Māori language in daily activities; celebrate the place of the Māori language in New Zealand history and modern society; and generate and actively employ goodwill towards the Māori language within the wider New Zealand population (Chrisp 1997a: 101-102).

The MLC oversaw a large number of projects during the year, both long-term, to "provide information about the Māori language throughout the year", and one-off 'signature events' to "ensure that *He Taonga Te Reo* and the Māori language retained a high profile" (Chrisp 1997a: 103). Events targeted at the 'general population' included a series of television vignettes, poster, library display, archives display, open day at the Waitangi Tribunal, Māori exposition, eleven performing arts festivals, five pop songs, and Māori programming on the television soap 'Shortland Street'[44]. Other target audiences and associated events included: Māori families (e.g. a 'family festival'), Māori children (e.g. Māori language readers and a puppet show in Māori), Māori youth (e.g. a debate tour and speech competitions), Māori adults (e.g. Māori art exhibitions and Māori sports tournaments), Māori writers (e.g. short story awards) and Māori academics and

---

[44] Summary of events taken from an earlier draft of Chrisp (1997), consulted during file search at the MLC in November 2005.

community leaders (e.g. a lecture series and Māori language conference), among others.

In a meeting in January 2006, the MLC noted potential risks in how majority language speakers might respond to the Year, including that: people might state that the Māori language had no use and was not economically viable; people who were not speakers or competent speakers of Māori might feel threatened; and most environments did not support, encourage or require te reo (MLC 1995a). The minutes indicate the MLC's view that:

> Most of the community's objections are based on lack of factual information. Having an informed public would lead to and provide latent goodwill.

In the end, Chrisp notes that (1997a: 103):

> One potential problem that did *not* emerge [throughout Māori Language Year] was active resistance to *He Taonga Te Reo* from the 'redneck' element. Although sporadic negative comments were made in newspaper letters, it was possible to simply ignore these.

Official comments from the commercial sponsors of the year focused on the appeal of Māori Language Year to all New Zealanders, not just Māori, e.g. "we do not see this as a celebration confined to Māori - all New Zealanders will want to share in the language"; "it reflects […] the value we believe Māori language and culture has for all New Zealanders" (MLC 1994). The MLC claimed that commercial sponsorship contributed to Māori Language Year above and beyond purely financial considerations, in that "it encouraged sponsors to review their own internal use of the Māori language in a professional and personal capacity, and it contributed to the growing awareness that the Māori language was valuable to both Māori and non-Māori New Zealanders" (MLC 1995b: 6).

Available accounts suggest that Māori Language Year constituted a productive and sustained promotion of the Māori language. The outcomes in terms of the goals of Māori Language Year are not easily measurable, however. In relation to the first goal (encouraging greater Māori language learning and use), Chrisp (1997a: 104) comments that "it is very difficult to measure the success of *He Taonga Te Reo* […] because no precise evaluation tools were developed". Two surveys relating to the third goal (generation and employment of goodwill towards

the Māori language) were undertaken by AGB McNair to establish levels of awareness of Māori Language Year and attitudes to the Māori language in the first six months of the year. Chrisp (1997a: 104) notes that the two surveys showed a slight increase in positive attitudes towards the Māori language. Māori Language Year may also have had an effect on the development of government Māori language policy more generally. It was at this time that the Government began to develop its first Māori language strategic plan, and Chrisp (1997a: 104) comments that "the Minister [of Māori Affairs] indicated that *He Taonga Te Reo* was part of the momentum that led to the development of the plan".

He Taonga Te Reo (1998-1999)

The MLC had intended Māori Language Year to have a longer reach than a single year and generally referred to it as 'He Taonga Te Reo - A Celebration of Māori Language', to avoid branding it as a one year exercise (Chrisp 1997a: 102). In 1996 TPK and the MLC commissioned the Māori Language Year project managers to develop an extended 'He Taonga Te Reo' project for 1997-1998, although this was not re-launched until August 1998. The He Taonga Te Reo brand was retained with a changing strap line for the following two years. 'A Celebration of Learning' (1998) focused on the benefits of a lifelong commitment to learning, education, and understanding one's own culture and language. 'A Celebration of the Arts' (1999) focused on the value of the traditional and contemporary arts, with the Māori language underpinning all activities (Agenda Marketing Agency 1997).

The target audience for He Taonga Te Reo 1998-1999 was "competent speakers, kura kaupapa/kōhanga reo, Māori language learners, young parents, youth, non-Māori/general public and the media" (MLC 1998). Preliminary planning, however, separated the target audience into two groups: Māori and non-Māori. A planning report suggested that the education-themed year should as a priority promote Māori language to Māori, although "[t]he celebration will not be confined to Māori [as] all New Zealanders will want to share in a celebration of learning", and the arts-themed year should emphasise the value of the arts among Māori, non-Māori and international audiences (Agenda Marketing Agency 1997).

Promotional activities for He Taonga Te Reo 1998-1999 included: a Māori language scholarship; a radio series called *He Muka*; 'programmettes' for iwi radio concentrating on new words and idioms; a series of English language radio documentaries educating and informing people about the Māori language; pamphlets about He Taonga Te Reo and the MLC; *Ko te Whānau*, a newsletter for families of children in Māori immersion education and others interested in the Māori language; booklets about using the Māori language in the home; a publication commemorating the passage of the Māori Language Act; a booklet listing the Māori titles for government departments and other organisations; a calendar of events, information kit and media coverage; merchandise including a poster, badges, keyrings and clothing; and *He Taonga Te Reo*, an album of Māori music (MLC 1998).

Into Te Reo (2000-2002)

During Māori Language Week 2000, the MLC launched 'Into Te Reo' (Into the Māori language), a new promotional campaign framed as a five year programme to gather goodwill around the Māori language and "establish Te Reo Māori in the hearts and minds of the entire nation" (MLC 2000). At the Bilingualism at the Ends of the Earth Conference in November 2000, the then Māori Language Commissioner outlined the MLC's approach to promoting the Māori language under the Into Te Reo brand (Hohepa 2000). He proposed a paradigm shift from existing attitudes about the Māori language as "old, not useful, divisive, too serious, no point, too hard, too scary, elitist, dying, ritualistic" to "young, useful, fun, valuable, easy, inclusive, everyday, alive, sophisticated, unique, sexy". He envisaged a progressive campaign, focusing initially on "awareness" (seeing the campaign), then "interest" (relating to the campaign), "desire" (being motivated by the message), and finally "action" (changing behaviour). He suggested that the first three years should take the form of a "cooperative multi-organisational" endeavour based on "goodwill" and that the subsequent years involve a "specific government funded Te Reo Campaign". He also provided the rationale behind the campaign brand:

> 'Into Te Reo' provides a strong call to action, a call to learn more than you currently know. It also offers an attitudinal position, for those who are unlikely to ever achieve fluency, but may still wish to feel a part of the culture, and want to support the language.

Boyce (2005) suggests that the MLC shifted its focus away from the He Taonga Te Reo brand because the term 'taonga' had been "scaring off the young, and perhaps marketing the language as unattainable', whereas the Into Te Reo brand was designed to make the language "attractive to the young, to make it something they want to be 'into'". In the press release launching the Into Te Reo campaign, the MLC commented that "[t]he heart of Te Reo Māori remains 'He Taonga' however we are also extending the hand of welcome to call everyone 'Into Te Reo'" (MLC 2000).

At the launch of Into Te Reo, the only promotional activities specifically mentioned were a poster and two television advertisements (the 'Koro' and 'Roma' ads, discussed in chapter six). The general public were also encouraged to establish their own initiatives, which the MLC would share with its networks.

Ka Rawe te Reo (2002)

By 2002, a subsequent promotional brand, 'Ka Rawe Te Reo' (Māori language is awesome) appears to have overtaken the Into te Reo brand. The MLC's 2002 annual report notes that the Into Te Reo poster produced during the previous year was developed into a Ka Rawe Te Reo version and distributed to schools (2002a: 30), and the subsequent annual report also refers to the 'continuation' of a Ka Rawe Te Reo campaign aimed at young people and school-aged children (2003a: 27). As with the Into Te Reo brand, it is unclear from MLC documents when the Ka Rawe Te Reo brand ended. The 2003 annual report notes that a new 'NZ Reo, NZ Pride' brand was being developed for Māori Language Week 2003 and that "it [was] envisaged that the NZ Reo, NZ Pride brand [would] be used as a foundation brand for future mainstream targeted language promotions" (MLC 2003a: 27). This is discussed further below.

Matariki promotions (2001-present)

Since 2001 the MLC has been involved in a movement to reintroduce the celebration of Matariki, the Māori New Year. This ancient Māori celebration, also celebrated by other indigenous peoples around the Pacific, heralds the appearance of a distinctive star cluster in the pre-dawn north eastern sky in late May or early June each year. The celebrations occur on the sighting of the

subsequent new moon, which is seen as marking a new phase of life (MLC 2005b: 2). The MLC sees potential for linking the celebration of Matariki with the Māori language, and in particular promoting Matariki as an opportunity for both Māori and non-Māori to learn more about Māori language and culture. For these reasons, Matariki has become a significant event on the MLC's annual promotional calendar.

Māori Language Week (2002)

Māori Language Week has been celebrated in July since 1975 and is viewed by the MLC as an important opportunity to promote the Māori language to all New Zealanders. According to a website established in 2003, the goals of the Week are to: encourage non-speakers of Māori to use the Māori language; encourage speakers of Māori to support others who are starting out; encourage community, business, government and media organisations to participate; create a positive environment for the use of the Māori language; promote resources to make the Māori language more accessible; promote Māori language initiatives and events; and (more recently) contribute to the Māori Language Strategy[45]. Although Māori Language Week occurs annually, it is worth noting the 2002 week as an example of the thematic variation of the week. In 2002 the theme was Māori language music, with "the over-riding priority [being] to generate as much media interest as possible in the Māori language music campaign and in the promotion of te reo Māori" (MLC 2002b). Activities included: a web page listing events around the country and suggested activities; information packs; launching and distributing a song called 'Tō Reo Māori e'; two concerts; enlisting support from non-Māori musicians for more Māori language music on commercial radio; and record store promotions.

NZ Reo, NZ Pride (2003-2004)

Māori Language Week 2003 featured the launch of a new promotional brand, 'NZ Reo, NZ Pride', resulting from a partnership between the MLC, TPK and the Human Rights Commission. The goal of NZ Reo, NZ Pride was to encourage a broad range of New Zealanders to have a greater sense of pride in the Māori

---

[45] NZ Reo, NZ Pride website www.nzreo.org.nz, accessed March 2006 (since subsumed into Kōrero Māori website www.koreroMāori.co.nz)

language and its contribution to a unique New Zealand identity, and the approach involved strengthening the association between the Māori language and "traditional Kiwi icons" such as the haka and national anthem (MLC 2004b: 5). A focus on sports was developed to align with these aims, and the media launch for the campaign was held at Wellington airport, where staff of the coordinating agencies distributed cards with the national anthem in both English and Māori to people travelling to the Bledisloe Cup test in Sydney between the All Blacks and the Wallabies.

Promotional activities and materials for NZ Reo, NZ Pride included: a media pack and media launch; media coverage on television and radio; speeches and presentations; a 'Kōrero Māori' phrase booklet (discussed in chapter six); bumper stickers; national anthem cards; a CD launch; bilingual place name posters; CDs for use as telephone hold music; T shirts; and banners (MLC 2004b: 7-12). A website was also established, including background information about Māori Language Week and the NZ Reo, NZ Pride brand as well as word lists and phrases, frequently asked questions, media releases, and activity suggestions for schools and organisations, beginners, learners and fluent speakers. Approximately 125,000 hits were recorded on the site during Māori Language Week that year (MLC 2004b: 9).

The target audience for the NZ Reo, NZ Pride campaign was variously stated as 'all New Zealanders' or 'mainstream New Zealanders'. Although the term 'all New Zealanders' was clearly intended to include both Māori and non-Māori, this campaign may have had the strongest emphasis on majority language speakers of all MLC promotions to this point. This focus was apparent in the media release launching the campaign (MLC 2003b), where the Race Relations Commissioner Joris de Bres stated:

> Non-speakers of Māori have an important role to play by simply encouraging, or at the least not being negative, when Māori is used. I am particularly hopeful that Māori Language Week 2003 will strengthen positive attitudes to the use of te reo amongst non Māori speakers.

The evaluation report for the campaign recommended that: a 'mainstream approach' continue as the focus of Māori Language Week; the NZ Reo, NZ Pride theme be retained for 2004; the connection with major sporting events and other

activities of interest to a broad range of New Zealanders be continued; and a mainstream radio campaign be developed (MLC 2004b: 15). Of the twenty-four recommendations in this report, none focuses specifically on Māori.

Māori Language Week Awards (2004)

A further initiative that developed through the NZ Reo, NZ Pride campaign was the Māori Language Week Awards, held for the first time in 2004. The awards were created to "celebrate and recognise the creative ways organisations, schools, community groups, local bodies, libraries, businesses and media promoted te reo Māori […] during Māori Language Week" (MLC 2005c). The awards are now held annually on 14 September, Māori Language Day, which commemorates the Māori language petition presented to Parliament in 1972. The aims are to: raise awareness of the value of the Māori language; encourage and increase confidence to use the language; support and maintain opportunities for second language speakers to become bilingual; and acknowledge outstanding achievement in the promotion of the Māori language. The awards do appear to have acted as an incentive for non-government groups to make their own contributions to Māori language promotion, with mainstream media organisations particularly notable for continuing their Māori Language Week innovations throughout the year (see Human Rights Commission 2008: 47).

Māori Language Information Programme (2004-present)

In 2003, Cabinet agreed to the inclusion of two new functions in the Māori Language Strategy: support for whānau (family) language development, and a Māori Language Information Programme (henceforth MLIP). According to the relevant budget bid, these two initiatives would "broaden opportunities for Māori speakers and language learners to apply their Māori language skills in their home and social environments" (TPK 2004b). Whereas the whānau language development initiative would focus on strengthening the use of the Māori language by Māori whānau in domestic situations, the public information programme would focus on both Māori and non-Māori, "provid[ing] accurate information at a broad societal level, to Māori and non-Māori, about the use and value of the Māori language, in order to create a more receptive socio-linguistic environment". As stated in the bid:

> The public information programme will […] strengthen national identity by assisting non-Māori New Zealanders to understand and appreciate the place of the Māori language in modern New Zealand society. Research by Te Puni Kōkiri has indicated that non-Māori typically have limited interaction with the Māori language and culture. This may give rise to misconceptions relating to Māori language initiatives, such as the value and purpose of Māori language education and broadcasting. […] A public information programme will assist in rectifying false perceptions about the Māori language.

The impetus for the MLIP is likely to have arisen partly from policy initiatives in Wales and Catalonia at the time, the consultation document for the current Māori Language Strategy noting that "there are international examples of sustained information and promotion campaigns to raise the status of minority languages (for example in Wales and Spain) [and] these approaches provide good models for similar developments in New Zealand" (TPK 2003b: 11).

The budget bid was successful in securing an allocation of $1 million per annum in total for new Māori language activities. This was considered insufficient to start both initiatives and a decision was made to proceed initially with the MLIP. One of the reasons given for this was that "it may be necessary to build a more receptive linguistic environment, and greater community usage, before working more specifically at the individual whānau level" (TPK 2004c: 1). The MLC was initially contracted by TPK to administer the MLIP under a yearly service agreement, but funding for the programme was subsequently included in the MLC's baseline funding.

The broad objective of the MLIP was "to support the regeneration of the Māori language through the provision of information" (MLC 2004c: 6). The short term outcome was "an effective information campaign that distributes audience tailored messages, information and resources encouraging Māori language usage and understanding about reo Māori issues" and the long term outcome was "positive gains including increased usage and a more receptive socio-linguistic environment for the Māori language" (MLC 2005d: 1). By using the term 'information', the MLIP aligned itself with the goal of imparting information rather than changing behaviour. A draft paper to the Minister of Māori Affairs expressly referred to the need to avoid the impression of a 'marketing' campaign, highlighting possible resistance to the initiative if it was viewed as a "propaganda or a marketing exercise" (TPK 2004c: 3). The paper suggested that "this matter will be addressed through clear

project design, to ensure the focus is on the provision of high quality, accurate information that allows New Zealanders to (a) gain a greater knowledge of Māori language issues [and] (b) make informed choices of language issues". As we shall see in chapter six, however, the initiatives of the programme do involve behavioural messages. A behavioural focus is also suggested by the programme brand, 'Kōrero Māori' (speak Māori), which appears in two different forms: 'Kōrero Māori – Kia kaha ake!' (targeting Māori speakers) and 'Kōrero Māori – Give it a go!' (targeting all New Zealanders).

The first year of the MLIP (2004-2005) focused on several distinct projects, including (MLC 2005d):

- 'Kupuhuna', a Māori language television gameshow in which a contestant communicates the kupuhuna (password) to their partner using clues;

- a radio serial in Māori based on the novel 'Makorea';

- 'Brown Street', a series of 30 second bilingual 'radio-sodes' on mainstream and iwi radio, each teaching a Māori word in context;

- development of the 'Kōrero Māori' interactive website (discussed in chapter six);

- 'Raising Tamariki with Reo Māori', a resource information kit for parents encouraging intergenerational transmission of the language;

- a second Kōrero Māori phrase booklet; and

- Māori language events, including the Matariki celebrations, Māori Language Week, and the Māori Language Awards.

In the 2005-2006 year, many of the above projects were completed (including launching the website and information kit for parents) and other projects continued (including ongoing funding of Kupuhuna, Makorea and Brown Street). The MLC also supported 'Waka Reo', a television reality show on the theme of learning Māori, and released a third Kōrero Māori phrase booklet. In the 2006-2007 year,

projects included further development of the Kōrero Māori website and Māori Language Club, development of resources for Māori Language Week 2007, sponsorship of the Māori Language Week Awards 2007, merging of the Matariki (www.matariki.net.nz) and Māori Language Week (www.nzreo.org.nz) websites into the Kōrero Māori website, and continued sponsorship of Kupuhuna. The projects for the 2008 year mostly replicated the 2007 projects (information from MLC response to OIA request, 5 June 2008).

The implementation plan for the MLIP for 2004-2005 identified two target audiences "with a distinct focus and set of goals" (MLC 2004c: 7). These were: Māori (to use the Māori language); and all New Zealanders (to value the language). The allocation of promotional activities to these target groups is not clear in the material produced in the 2004-2005 year, however, with a number of different target audiences referred to at different points of the year in different documents. In the 2005-2006 year, based on the attitude categories developed in TPK's attitude surveys, the MLC chose to focus on a dual primary target audience of 'passive supporters' among non-Māori and 'cultural developers' among Māori, with a secondary audience of 'Māori Only' (MLC 2005d: 5-8). Target audiences of the MLIP appear to vary, but in most of my communications with the MLC during the early years of the programme, non-Māori were referred to as a secondary audience of the MLIP, in contrast to Māori as the primary audience. This aligns with the approach of earlier MLC campaigns (see e.g. Chrisp 1997a: 101).

An ambivalent approach to planning for tolerability?

It is clear from the above that both TPK and the MLC have recognised the impact of the attitudes and behaviours of non-Māori on the Māori language since the very beginning of their role in Māori language policy development, and that the MLC has undertaken a range of policy initiatives that address this issue. This would appear to indicate a strong commitment on the part of the Government to planning for tolerability. In contrast to statements made in the public policy documents, however, my meetings with the MLC and TPK have indicated a degree of ambivalence towards targeting majority language speakers in Māori language planning. Although perhaps mostly covert (see Baldauf 2005: 958 for the distinction between overt and covert language policy), evidence of this

ambivalence is also found in the implementation of official policy, of which two examples are given here, one relating to the MLC and one to TPK.

Reduced focus on non-Māori in implementation

The current Māori Language Strategy (TPK 2003b) is the first to have a function that directly relates to the attitudes of non-Māori, i.e. the MLIP. The original rationale for the MLIP, as described above, was closely aligned with planning for tolerability. The focus on non-Māori within this programme has however lessened over time. The tenor of the Cabinet paper that approved the inclusion of the MLIP as one of the government functions under the Strategy would suggest that the MLIP's focus was to be principally on the attitudes of non-Māori. The paper referred to both Māori and non-Māori, noting that "mechanisms are required to convert the positive orientation of Māori towards the Māori language into positive action, and that it is important to disseminate to the non-Māori population accurate basic information about Māori language and culture". The discussion of the "intervention logic" behind the initiative, however, related solely (and at some length) to the attitudes of non-Māori, the arguments revolving around the by now familiar point that (Cabinet Policy Committee 2003: 6):

> The 'linguistic environment' within a society is an important determinant of language growth and development. Māori speakers interact with other New Zealanders on a regular basis and their Māori language behaviours are influenced by the attitudes of other New Zealanders; positive attitudes towards Māori tend to support Māori language use, while negative attitudes tend to inhibit Māori language use.

The Cabinet paper also noted that there was "strong support for this approach during consultation about the development of the [Māori Language Strategy]" (Cabinet Policy Committee 2003: 6). By the time of the budget bid for the MLIP (TPK 2004b), however, the emphasis had changed somewhat. The focus was more evenly spread between non-Māori and Māori, with the aim for non-Māori being improved attitudes and the aim for Māori being increased critical awareness of language learning processes and language choice. The implementation of the MLIP by the MLC took this one step further. Māori were stated as the primary audience for the MLIP and non-Māori a "secondary audience" (MLC 2005e: 3), it arguably being difficult to identify any promotional activities directed solely at non-Māori rather than at both Māori and non-Māori.

The shift away from focusing on non-Māori in the MLIP is most explicit in the change in the overall outcome of the programme in its second year. In the 2005-2006 year, the MLC undertook a planning exercise within a social marketing framework to refine the programme's overall goal and objectives. As a result of this process, the overall outcome for the MLIP was revised to be "to increase use of reo Māori as a normal means of everyday communication", with a focus on "increasing the proportion of Māori with Māori as a first language." The MLC stated that it would use information, promotions and stakeholder relationships to increase the use of Māori in families, in public settings frequented by Māori and key social institutions (MLC 2006b: 28-29). This new overall outcome no longer has any specific focus on non-Māori.

Recommendation to place less focus on non-Māori

Ambivalence towards planning for tolerability is also identifiable in TPK's approach towards desired behaviours for non-Māori in relation to the Māori language. The TPK attitude surveys demonstrate a methodological peculiarity in that while TPK states that non-Māori and Māori have different roles to play in supporting the Māori language (as discussed above), the measure used to investigate their current behaviours towards the Māori language is identical. The surveys collected information from participants about their participation in the following Māori language and culture related activities: reading/browsing Māori magazines; listening to iwi radio; watching or listening to Māori news; going to a tangi (funeral) on a marae; attending ceremonies or events with Māori welcomes and speeches; visiting Māori art, culture or historical exhibits; going to kapa haka or Māori culture group concerts; and visiting marae. On finding that non-Māori engaged in these behaviours to a much lesser extent than Māori, the 2003 survey report observes as follows (2003a: 30):

> Non-Māori have limited interaction with Māori language and culture and as a result lack an accurate understanding of Māori language issues. This was despite an increase between the 2000 and 2003 surveys in the proportion of the non-Māori population who held positive attitudes toward the language. The lack of behavioural change accompanying attitudinal change amongst non-Māori points to the limited usefulness of targeting Māori language revitalisation efforts at the population as a whole. Resources targeted toward those motivated to participate in Māori language and culture is clearly the course most likely to yield language revitalisation results.

As the discrepancy in results between Māori and non-Māori discussed here can be explained by TPK's own argument that Māori and non-Māori may have different roles to play in supporting the Māori language (and it would therefore be appropriate to examine the participation of non-Māori in different behaviours than Māori), TPK's observations could be interpreted as reflecting ambivalence towards focusing on non-Māori in Māori language planning.

Reasons for ambivalence

A number of possible reasons can be identified for the apparent ambivalence of New Zealand policymakers towards planning for tolerability.

Priorities

One likely reason is the issue of priorities. Given that so few non-Māori currently know and use the Māori language, an argument can certainly be made that it is more effective to focus efforts among communities where use of the language is already strong and can be built upon. This reasoning is reflected in the focus of the current Māori Language Strategy on increasing Māori language use in Māori domains. It is also apparent on the MLC's website, which states one of the MLC's functions as "to promote the Māori language amongst New Zealanders in general, but more particularly in those communities where its use is strongest"[46]. Understandably, the attention of policymakers is for the most part directed elsewhere than the attitudes and behaviours of non-Māori. TPK (2004a), for example, makes a strong case for focusing on Māori language development at the whānau and community level. None of its recommendations relates to non-Māori. In a meeting with TPK in December 2005, I asked Tipene Chrisp if he personally thought the attitudes of non-Māori were important to Māori language regeneration, and he said that they were, but they were low on the priority queue, as the main focus would always have to be Māori.

---

[46] MLC website, www.tetaurawhiri.govt.nz/english/issues_e/reo/reo.shtml, accessed May 2008

Theoretical influences

Another reason may be that both TPK and the MLC are highly influenced by Fishman's work on RLS. Fishman's theoretical mark is evident from the focus on diglossia[47] in the current Māori Language Strategy, in academic articles produced by TPK staff (e.g. Chrisp 1997b), in meetings I have had with TPK officials, and also from the predominant focus on intergenerational transmission both at TPK and the MLC (see e.g. MLC 2006b: 28-29) . As noted in chapter two, Fishman has been highly critical of focusing on non-members of a minority language community, and has stated this view very strongly in relation to the Māori language.

Potential ineffectiveness

A further reason could be that policymakers consider that improved attitudes and behaviours of non-Māori might have little effect on Māori language regeneration. An argument I have heard on occasion is that placing too much importance on the attitudes and behaviours of non-Māori towards the Māori language is patronising. By this argument, Māori are strong enough to resist the negative attitudes of majority language speakers, and such negativity may even bolster their language regeneration efforts. Fishman has stated a version of this view, commenting that "although a positive atmosphere for RLS may be preferable to a negative one (actually, even that is by no means certain, since the motivational intensification attributable to moderate opposition must not be entirely written off), the direct and 'evaluatable' linkage between such general positiveness and specific RLS goals may be lacking or insufficient" (2000: 478). This argument may hold true for some individuals, but it does not stand up to general scrutiny. The negative attitudes and behaviours of majority language speakers towards the Māori language are, on the basis of past experience, more likely to be negative than positive in effect, and although it is not possible to predict the precise extent to which this is the case, removing such barriers would surely be likely to help rather than hinder Māori language regeneration.

---

[47] This understanding of diglossia is based not on the classical model developed by Ferguson (1959) but the extended model developed by Fishman (1967), referring to the division of functions between two languages coexisting in one community.

Māori language is for Māori

A fourth possible source of ambivalence relates to language ownership, i.e. who does the Māori language belong to – Māori alone, or all New Zealanders? Tipene Chrisp noted that the Māori Language Act 1987 refers to the Māori language being a taonga of Māori, in contrast to the vision statement of the MLC that the Māori language is "a living national taonga for all New Zealanders" (meeting with TPK, December 2005). The current Māori Language Strategy places emphasis on the Māori language as a taonga of Māori, stating that "the Māori language is a taonga guaranteed to Māori people by the Treaty of Waitangi" (TPK 2003b: 5) and "Māori have the lead role to play in revitalising the Māori language because ultimately the language is a Māori taonga" (TPK 2003b: 25). While stating that "the proposed objectives [of the Māori Language Strategy] will eventually lead to an inclusive policy", a 1997 Cabinet paper (Cabinet Committee on Strategy and Priorities 1997: 7) makes an argument for initially focusing primarily on Māori "learning their own language […] because, as a taonga, the language is part of Māori culture and identity, and resources to revitalise the language are scarce". Sometimes this argument is combined with more practical considerations, e.g. Chrisp (1997b: 38) comments in relation to Māori language planning that: "the focus on Māori people (as opposed to New Zealanders as a whole) can be accounted for in two ways: (1) the Māori language is the heritage language of the Māori population, and (2) the Māori population makes up the largest corpus of Māori language knowledge and use". Whether stated alone, or in combination with other reasons, the ethno-cultural distinction between Māori and non-Māori in terms of language ownership is always present in government policy materials. This issue will be discussed further in chapter seven where the views of the non-Māori participants in the current research are discussed.

Negativity/lack of interest from non-Māori

Ambivalence could also derive from the very fact that so many non-Māori appear to have negative attitudes towards, or be uninterested in, the Māori language. Language regeneration is a difficult enough prospect in the first place, so why choose to focus on people who are actively opposed to it, and in the process have to deal with the inevitable resistance? The ambivalence of policymakers in

planning for tolerability could reflect a simple recognition that the task in relation to non-Māori is difficult and may even be unachievable.

End goal

Finally, ambivalence could be due to the fundamental question of what the end goal for Māori language regeneration should be. In my meeting with TPK in December 2005, Tipene Chrisp outlined his view that the end goal for Māori language regeneration was a form of diglossia (i.e. increased use of Māori in Māori domains) rather than increased use of Māori in wider domains in New Zealand society. This was because he considered the former goal to be achievable and the latter unrealistic. His views on this are set out in more detail in Chrisp (1997b). The first part of the current Māori Language Strategy vision would support the idea of a diglossic end goal (TPK 2003b: 5):

> By 2028, the Māori language will be widely spoken by Māori. In particular, the Māori language will be in common use within Māori whānau, homes and communities.

The Strategy goes on to identify a series of specific 'key domains' where increased Māori language use could be promoted, such as in whānau, at marae, hui, and kapa haka events, within educational institutions, and in the context of sports and recreation (TPK 2003b: 21). But if a form of diglossia is indeed envisaged, what is the purpose of the second part of the vision?

> All New Zealanders will appreciate the value of the Māori language to New Zealand society.

As noted further above, one of the benefits of more positive attitudes towards the Māori language among non-Māori identified in government policy documents is non-Māori support for the use of Māori language in a wider range of domains (e.g. MLC 1996: 17, TPK 2003b: 27). This concern for Māori being used in wider domains (i.e. 'public places') is somewhat at odds with an end goal of diglossia within Māori communities.

Whatever the cause of this particular ambiguity in the end goal of the Māori Language Strategy, the important point here is that the role of non-Māori in Māori language regeneration is quite different if diglossia, rather than an increase in

domains, is the end goal. It could be argued that the importance of improved attitudes of non-Māori towards the Māori language is decreased if the goal is for Māori to use Māori in almost exclusively Māori domains. There are, however, other reasons why improved attitudes of non-Māori could assist Māori language regeneration other than by favouring the use of Māori in non-Māori domains, e.g. raising the status of the language generally, which would be likely to encourage its greater use among Māori, and the creation of an environment in which government Māori language regeneration initiatives are supported by non-Māori (e.g. as taxpayers). Even in the case of diglossia, therefore, majority language speaker attitudes may have to be addressed at some point. This argument is supported by Jorgensen (2003), who reports on a study by Boyd et al. (1994) on the use of minority languages in the four largest Nordic countries. The research found that low-status minority languages such as Vietnamese and Turkish were more extensively used in the homes of minority language communities than the higher-status Finnish and American English, but that these low-prestige languages were nevertheless in greater peril of extinction as mother tongues in the Nordic countries. Jorgensen (2003: 85-86) observes that:

> The private use of minority languages in homes does not seem to be enough to maintain them. Societal recognition and acceptance are just as important, and even official recognition may not suffice if the public reaction in everyday use does not follow suit.

Jorgensen notes that Sweden's official policy was at that time in favor of maintaining minority languages, and that there was a measurable difference in effect when, for example, Turks in Denmark and Sweden were compared. This raises the question of whether diglossia alone, without accompanying support from majority language speakers, really can promote language maintenance and regeneration.

Finally, it is interesting to note that TPK and the MLC seem to have divergent views of the end goal for Māori language regeneration. TPK appears to be in favour of diglossia, while the MLC appears to see diglossia as a step along the way to much more ambitious goals, including the use of Māori in wider public domains, and ultimately a fully bilingual nation (meeting with the MLC, 15 March 2006, MLC 2006: 8). In a presentation at the Human Rights Commission in 2005, Patu Hohepa, the then Chair of the MLC, said that "all New Zealanders should be

at least bilingual in English and Māori" and that the long term vision of the MLC was that "by 2030AD, 40% of all New Zealanders will be fluent in English and Māori" (Hohepa 2005). At a speech for Māori Language Week at the Ministry of Social Development in 2007, the CEO of the MLC went even further, commenting that she looked forward to a day when the Māori language would again be "the main language" of New Zealand (Rokx 2007). So while the ambivalence of TPK towards non-Māori might be explained by its focus on diglossia, the ambivalence of the MLC must have other causes.

A combination of reasons

The reasons given by the MLC for not placing strong emphasis on non-Māori include that non-Māori are not their primary audience (meeting of 4 December 2006); their ultimate goal is to increase the number of Māori speakers among Māori (meeting of 23 September 2005); they want to spend the available money where they consider it most likely to be effective (meeting of 4 December 2006); and it is difficult to know how to address non-Māori attitudes (meeting of 15 March 2006). It is likely that a number of the above reasons account for the approach of both the MLC and TPK in planning for tolerability. These are certainly valid reasons, but they do not take into account the risk that the negative attitudes of non-Māori towards Māori language regeneration may be a significant obstacle to achieving these goals.

Summary: chapter five

I have argued in this chapter that the New Zealand government's approach to planning for tolerability demonstrates a degree of ambivalence. The Government's recognition of the impact of majority language speakers on minority languages and the rationale for planning for tolerability is in line with the literature on these topics, but the extent to which this translates into a firm theoretical and practical commitment to planning for tolerability is variable. This is not to say the policy initiatives undertaken in New Zealand for planning for tolerability are not worthwhile. A detailed analysis of the messages conveyed and discursive techniques employed in Māori language promotion campaigns undertaken to date reveals a highly creative approach to planning for tolerability, while at the same time providing food for thought on the more general question of the behaviours in

which non-Māori might engage in order to support the Māori language. This analysis, and the responses of the non-Māori participants to the approach taken, is provided in the next chapter.

'Reason and tickle' in Māori language promotion materials aimed at non-Māori New Zealanders

Building on the overview of the New Zealand government's approach to planning for tolerability in the previous chapter, this chapter examines in detail the primary means by which New Zealand policymakers have sought to promote the tolerability of the Māori language among non-Māori New Zealanders: language promotion campaigns. The first part of the chapter analyses the messages about the Māori language and desired behaviours discernible in a selection of Māori language promotion materials aimed at non-Māori, and the discursive techniques by which these messages are conveyed. The second part presents the responses of the non-Māori participants introduced in chapter three to these promotional materials, to assist in evaluating the effectiveness of this approach.

Part One: Analysis of promotional materials aimed at non-Māori

The analysis of Māori language promotion materials in this chapter is necessarily selective. The materials considered are two television advertisements, a series of phrase booklets, and a website produced by the MLC. These do not encompass all the promotional material produced by the MLC in recent years, but are the most suitable for my research focus, in the senses of being: directed at non-Māori as well as Māori[48]; recent (and in most cases current) texts; reasonably complex texts; and from a range of different media. Further materials are referred to, where relevant, in the context of discussing the main materials. Even given these restrictions, it is not possible to analyse each promotional material exhaustively. Rather, I have focused on three main elements especially relevant to planning for tolerability, namely:

- messages about the Māori language (attitude-related);

---

[48] I could find no evidence of promotional materials directly solely at non-Māori, rather than both non-Māori and Māori.

- messages about desired behaviours towards the Māori language (behaviour-related); and

- discursive techniques used to convey these messages.

The analytical approach is based on recent research within linguistics on the discourse of advertising, in particular Cook (2001) and Myers (1994). One major feature of this research is its consideration of extra-linguistic features of discourse, i.e. a focus on both text and context. Cook (2001: 4) defines discourse as:

> text and context together, interacting in a way which is perceived as meaningful and unified by the participants (who are both part of the context and observers of it).

In this definition, Cook uses 'text' to refer to "linguistic forms, temporarily and artificially separated from context for the purposes of analysis", whereas 'context' includes all the following (2001: 4):

- *substance*: the physical material which carries or relays text;

- *paralanguage*: meaningful behaviour accompanying language, such as voice quality, gestures and facial expressions (in speech), and typeface and letter sizes (in writing);

- *situation*: the properties and relations of objects and people in the vicinity of the text, as perceived by the participants;

- *co-text*: text which precedes or follows that under analysis, and which participants judge as belonging to the same discourse;

- *intertext*: text which the participants perceive as belonging to other discourse, but which they associate with the text under consideration, and which affects their interpretation;

- *participants*: their intentions and interpretations, knowledge and beliefs, attitudes, affiliations and feelings; and

- *function*: what the text is intended to do by the senders, or perceived to do by the receivers.

According to Cook, these elements must be seen in interaction, not in isolation, so an advertisement can be seen as "an interaction of elements" (2001: 5). I have sought to take into account all these elements, where appropriate, in the following analysis.

Cook (2001: 4-5) emphasises that the meaning of discourse is created partly by the participants of that discourse, whom he calls the 'sender' and the 'receiver'. In defining senders, a further distinction can be made between those who commission the materials (in all cases here the MLC) and those who actually create the materials (e.g. designers). The former are likely to have more influence over the messages to be conveyed, and the latter over the techniques used to convey them - although often these roles will blur. In addition to my own analysis, I obtained information on the intentions of both kinds of senders through supporting material from the MLC on the purpose of the materials and interviews and supplementary information from the creators of the materials. Later in the chapter we will hear the other side of the story: the responses of the non-Māori participants to the promotional materials.

Roma and Koro television advertisements

The MLC released two television advertisements in 2000, as part of the Into Te Reo campaign:

- 'Roma': an advertisement set in Italy featuring two young New Zealanders (one Māori, one non-Māori) talking in Māori in a café; and

- 'Koro': portraying the relationship between a non-Māori grandfather and his Māori grandchild who has been learning Māori through immersion education.

The advertisements were run on four channels during Māori Language Week 2000. It was envisaged that 80% of the viewing audience would have the opportunity to see them on average 2.5 times. They continued to air from 2001-

2003 supported by TVNZ's Community Support Foundation, and were run again during Māori Language Week 2005.

I analyse the Roma and Koro advertisements in turn below, and then discuss them further in the context of information obtained from the MLC regarding the senders' intentions.

Roma television advertisement

A transcript of the Roma ad is provided below. A copy of the ad itself is included as Appendix Four (provided on CD)[49].

Roma

(30 seconds long)

The setting is a café supposedly in Italy. A young Māori man sits down at a table next to a young Pākehā woman.

The words in italics are subtitles[50].

Man: Kia ora
Hello

Woman: Taku tane…Hoha! Kei hea ke ētahi?
My boyfriend - he's driving me crazy! Where are the others?

Man: Ha! Hei aha rātou…Kei kōnei ahau.
Who cares…I'm here

(Man gets out Italian-Māori phrasebook)

Man: Espresso…He aha rānei te kupu Itariana?
…What's Italian for 'espresso'…

(Woman turns to waiter)

Woman (in Italian): Due espresso per piacere
Two espressos please

Waiter 1: Grazie
Thank you

---

[49] I thank the MLC for its permission to reproduce this and other Māori language promotion materials in this thesis.

[50] I thank Te Atawhai Kumar for her assistance with the Māori transcription.

Man:	Tō tino mōhio hoki
	You're very clever, aren't you
Woman:	Āna
	I am.

(Scene change to kitchen of the café, where the waiter has taken the order.)

Waiter 2:	È una bellissima lingua
	That's a beautiful language
Waiter 1:	Non sai? E Māori – sono della Nuova Zelanda (Shrugs) Beh
	It's Māori – they're from New Zealand
Caption:	*Everyone's into te reo*
New screen:	*Māori Language Week, proudly supported by TVNZ.*
	Our nation. Our voice.
	Te wiki o te reo Māori, i tino tautokohia ana e TVNZ.
	He tāu tangata. He reo tātaki.

According to Cook (2001: 15), advertisements can be classified broadly by technique. One distinction is between 'reason' and 'tickle' ads, the former suggesting motives for 'purchase', and the latter appealing to emotion, humour and mood. I consider the most interesting aspect of the Roma ad to be its combination of a reason and tickle approach. On the reason side, in a very short space of time, it transmits several messages about the Māori language, including that (in the world of this ad at least):

- Māori is spoken by both Māori and non-Māori;

- Māori is spoken by young people;

- Māori is spoken by 'hip' people (the woman has a pierced eyebrow);

- Māori is spoken by patriotic people (the woman has 'NZ girl' on her t-shirt);

- Māori is used as an everyday means of conversation;

- Māori can be used for all purposes (including flirting);

- If you speak Māori you might also be good at speaking other languages;

- Being bilingual is 'clever';

- Māori has enough status for there to be Māori-foreign language dictionaries;

- Māori is known internationally as a New Zealand language;

- It is logical that you will speak Māori if you are from New Zealand (the waiter's unsubtitled 'non sai?' / 'don't you know?' and shrug suggest obviousness);

- English is not the only possible language;

- Māori is a beautiful language; and

- Māori is for everyone ("Everyone's into te reo").

In transmitting these positive messages, the advertisement also indirectly counters a number of negative messages sometimes expressed about the Māori language, including that:

- Māori is only for Māori people;

- Māori is only used by elderly people;

- Māori is a dying language;

- Māori is not a fully functioning language;

- Māori is not 'sexy';

- Māori cannot be used in the modern world;

- Māori cannot be used as an means of everyday communication;

- Only Romance languages are 'beautiful' and admired; and

- English is the only language of any use internationally.

The Roma ad is thus rich in information, but it does not come across as didactic. How does it manage this? According to Cook, modern advertisers do not usually concentrate on literal meanings, but link the 'product' to an unrelated user, situation or effect (any of which Cook terms 'sphere'), thereby effecting a 'fusion' between the "characterless product" and whatever desirable qualities the advertiser wishes to play upon, without attending to any literal or logical link between product and sphere (Cook 2001: 108, 156). One of the spheres with which the Roma ad attempts to fuse the Māori language is that of flirtation. Several elements of the production of the ad create a sensual atmosphere. These include:

- *actors*: the main actors are both young and conventionally attractive;

- *dialogue*: the man pays the woman compliments and hints he is glad to be alone with her, although we know she has a boyfriend who is not present;

- *tone:* after the woman's initial expressed irritation at her boyfriend, they both talk in slow, sensual tones;

- *gaze*: the man and woman gaze coyly at each other in close-up, while the Italian waiter glances benignly on;

- *colour*: the scene is filmed in warm terracotta colours;

- *music*: the soundtrack is a nostalgic Italian song;

- *filming*: the ad uses a slow, deliberate and exaggerated style of filming, similar to a soap-opera.

All these elements combine to create a romantic, flirtatious and sensual mood, with which the product (the Māori language) is associated. This is the tickle that accompanies the reason. This technique is also relevant to promoting tolerability. By creating a world where Māori is used as a means of everyday communication by all New Zealanders, both Māori and non-Māori, the ad encourages viewers to imagine what such a world would be like, thereby implicitly suggesting the possibility that change could occur. This could be a challenging message in the eyes of some non-Māori but here, clothed in the guise of a romantic fantasy, its tolerability is arguably increased.

Another sphere with which the Māori language is associated in the ad is that of Italianness. The Italian setting is clearly not incidental, given the effort put into creating as 'Italian' a scene as possible, including use of: Italian music, Italian language, stereotypically Italian-looking actors, and Italian speech style (the older waiter at the end of the ad saying 'beh' and making dramatic gestures). The Italian theme deserves attention, given that it is not a sphere with which one would naturally associate the Māori language. What is its purpose?

Discussing the powerful but elusive effects of music, Cook (2001: 51) comments that "advertising favours any mode of communication which is simultaneously powerful but indeterminate". This also applies to the use of language in advertising, primarily through the exploitation of 'connotation', the vague association a word or phrase may have for a whole speech community or for groups or individuals within it (Cook 2001: 108). Complex webs of connotation can occur at the level of a one-word product name or short phrase, but may also exist at a more macro level, e.g. in the choice of an entire language in an ad. Myers (1994) discusses the use of language varieties as 'signs' in ads. His first point is that the use of languages other than English in British ads is "generally restricted to a few products, a few effects, and a very few languages" (1994: 92). Commenting on a British ad that uses limited French language, he suggests that this minimal use of French "keeps the code-switching as a reference to Frenchness (*Gallicité*?), not really as a message in French". The use of other languages in ads in English speaking national contexts (and vice versa) can therefore be viewed as a sign rather than language in use.

What, then, do these signs mean? The obvious point is that use of a non-native language is intended to call up national stereotypes associated with the speakers of the language or the relevant national context. But how do we identify the precise content of these stereotypes, i.e. what specific associations are being called upon in a given ad? Myers (1994: 103) notes that "the associations with a language choice, which can go in many directions, can be constrained by or conflict with the visuals presented with the words", that "the clusters of association are a second level of interpretation, a myth, that can draw on words, music and images", and that these myths are not fixed but "change with different contexts, and different functions to which they are put."

Other elements within the Roma ad may therefore allow us to identify the precise connotations of Italianness projected onto the Māori language in this ad. Previous ads in New Zealand using the Italian language/Italianness have associated this with themes of romance, family and food (for example recent ads for Leggo's pasta, Olivani spread, and Dolmio pasta sauce). Since the ad is set in a café, the food connotation could be said to apply, but this connotation is not strongly foregrounded in any other way in the ad. The connotation of family appears to be absent. Romance is a promising candidate, given the fusion of the Māori language with the sphere of flirtation. But I think a possible further connotation of Italianness is worth discussing in more detail here. May (2003: 117) comments that:

> There are not many critics of [minority language rights] arguing that 'elite' bilingualism – say, learning English and French – is injurious to one's involvement in and grasp of 'broader societal culture'. Quite the reverse in fact […]. So, why should it be different for any other language? Why should bilingualism be good for the rich but nor for the poor (Cummins, 2001)?

I believe the main reason for using an Italian theme in the Roma ad is to associate the Māori language with the sophistication non-Māori New Zealanders tend to associate with European languages such as Italian. Starks et al. (2006) found that Pākehā intermediate and high school students in Auckland showed a strong preference for European languages (particularly Italian, French, Spanish and German) as 'languages they would like to speak well', whereas Māori and Pasifika students were most likely to select Māori and Pasifika languages, respectively. The Roma ad challenges this non-Māori preference for European languages over

Māori, suggesting that, like Italian, the Māori language can be a sophisticated, worldly, romantic and, indeed, 'beautiful' language. The link between Italianness and perceived linguistic sophistication is supported by the foregrounding of language in general in the ad: the topic is language, there are subtitles throughout (relatively unusual in New Zealand), only Italian and Māori are spoken, with no spoken English at all, there is a shot of a dictionary, both the couple and the waiters talk about language, and the TVNZ tagline at the end is in both Māori and English, with the slogan "Our nation. Our voice". With this abundance of references to, and use of, languages other than English, it is highly likely that one of the intended connotations of Italianness in this ad is linguistic sophistication.

The fusion of the Māori language with the sphere of Italianness in the Roma ad is a clever approach for promoting positive attitudes towards the Māori language. This is perhaps particularly so for a non-Māori audience, who are likely to relate to the non-Māori character, be attracted to the use of Italian language, and (along with Māori) be drawn to the romantic scenario of sipping espressos in Italy, which obviously is not a context usually associated with Māori language use.

Koro television advertisement

A transcript of the Koro ad is provided below. A copy of the ad itself is included as Appendix Five (provided on CD).

Koro

(15 seconds long)

A man in his sixties and a ten-year-old girl are on a boat in the sunshine. The man, who is in the foreground, speaks to the camera.

The words in italics are subtitles.

Grandfather: My grandaughter, kōhanga and now kura. So now I say…

Kia ora, kei te pēhea koe[51]?
Hello, how are yeow?

(Camera pans to girl, who has come to sit next to her grandfather.)

---

[51] 'Koe' is pronounced in an anglicised form.

<table>
<tr><td>**Girl** (smiling):</td><td>Kei te pēhea <u>koe</u>, koro…<u>koe</u>!
How are <u>you</u>, Pop,…<u>you!</u></td></tr>
<tr><td>**Grandfather**:</td><td>Kei te pai, moko, kei te pai!
Fine, thanks!</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">(Girl shakes head, smiling.)</td></tr>
<tr><td>Caption:</td><td>*Everyone's into te reo*</td></tr>
<tr><td>New screen:</td><td>*TVNZ*
 Reaching out to our community

TVNZ
Community Support Foundation</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">(Final screen is accompanied by sung slogan "Reach out")</td></tr>
</table>

Whereas the Roma may be focused primarily on attitudes towards the Māori language, the Koro ad is a good example of a discursive approach of modeling desired behaviours. The behaviours modeled by the non-Māori grandfather (and directed, by association, at the non-Māori audience) are to:

- support others learning and using Māori;

- support Māori language regeneration initiatives such as Māori medium education (kōhanga reo and kura kaupapa);

- use Māori words and phrases in conversation; and

- pronounce Māori well.

The behaviours modeled by the Māori child (and directed, by association, at the Māori audience) are to:

- speak Māori with non-Māori; and

- correct their pronunciation if necessary; but

- be indulgent of unintentional errors.

129

The main message appears to be that, if goodwill is shown on both sides, the Māori language can unite rather than divide Māori and non-Māori. This interpretation is supported by the obviously warm relationship between the grandfather and grandaughter having fun together in the sunshine.

Another discursive technique used in this ad is humour, when the grandfather pretends to misunderstand his grandaughter correcting his pronunciation of the Māori lexical item 'koe' in 'how are you?' by answering that he is 'fine thanks'. As well as lightening the tone of the ad (pronunciation of Māori can be a sensitive issue, as we shall see in chapter seven), this use of humour can also be seen as a face-saving device for the grandfather: his pronunciation is criticised, but he then uses this criticism to light-heartedly tease his grandchild in return by pretending not to get her point. The humour thus both makes light of the source of potential conflict and returns dignity to the grandfather by giving him the last laugh.

Senders' intentions: Roma and Koro ads

The above discussion is based on the Roma and Koro ads as stand-alone or 'disembodied' texts (Cook 2001: 204). Further insights into the intended messages of the ads are provided by earlier drafts of the scripts, sourced during my file search at the MLC in November 2005. These drafts demonstrate some differences in content from the final versions, and contain descriptive passages that illuminate the reasoning behind some of the discursive features in the final ads.

The draft script of the Roma ad describes the initial scene as follows:

> Two New Zealand passports flip over. Two young Kiwi[52] backpackers, one female, one male enter a café in Italy fighting with a map of Rome. We hear Italian being spoken. A chalk board is on the counter with an Italian menu written on it and there is Italian music being played in the background.

Later, when the woman orders her coffee, the description reads:

> The waiter acknowledges the effort to speak Italian with a smile and beckons them to a seat.

---

[52] Nowhere in this script is the ethnicity of the characters made explicit – they are both 'Kiwis'.

These passages illustrate the intention both to foreground the Italian language and Italianness and to link positive attitudes towards speaking Italian with positive attitudes towards speaking Māori. The draft script also proposes a different slogan at the end: 'Into Te Reo – Uniquely Kiwi'. This positioning of the Māori language as an integral part of New Zealand identity is supported by the matter-of-fact Italian dialogue of the waiters (in the draft: "What language was that?" "Māori. They're Kiwis") and is carried through to the final ad in the 'patriotic' t-shirt worn by the woman and the only slightly modified dialogue ("That's a beautiful language" "It's Māori – they're from New Zealand"). The slogan in the final ad is however less explicitly focused on portraying Māori as specifically relating to New Zealand, instead using the more general "Everyone's into te reo" (discussed further below). Apart from some other minor changes in the dialogue, the only other obvious difference between the earlier draft and the final version is the introduction of the flirtatious element.

The Koro ad underwent more significant changes from draft to final version. These changes seem to primarily have involved making its ideological message less explicit. For illustration, the text of the draft script is reproduced here in full:

> A Pākehā elder is sitting on a bench in a park with his mokopuna playing at his feet with a toy.
>
> **Koro:** (really strong New Zealand accent, terrible pronunciation of Te Reo) I wasn't too sure when the boy started at kōhanga, and then when we [sic] went to kura, well…he loves it…and I love him…and it makes him feel good. (Picks the boy up onto his lap). So now when I spend some time with my moko
>
> **Boy:** (correcting his koro's diction while brushing away his koro's hand from his head) Moko, koro, moko!
>
> **Koro:** (reluctantly, but with a bit of a laugh) OK then moko. So now I say 'Kia ora' to him, and ask him 'Kei te pēhea koe?' (Playing and looking admiring at the boy the Elder turns to the camera with a smile) After all, we are all Kiwis, aren't we.
>
> Taglines:
> [Into Te Reo – Only in New Zealand]
> [Into Te Reo – Bringing us together]
> [He huarahi whakapiripiri]

Unlike the Roma ad, which has a very light-hearted tone, the Koro ad, in both draft and final version, is ideologically loaded, focusing on the controversial issue of

pronunciation and involving, in the draft version in particular, explicit reference to negative non-Māori attitudes towards the Māori language. The final version of the ad still highlights the issue of pronunciation in the context of the relationship between a grandfather and grandchild, but takes a more attenuated approach[53]. Elements of the draft that were removed in the final version include:

- the grandfather's admission that he was initially not 'too sure' about his grandchild learning Māori;

- the grandfather's explicit linkage of his love for the child with his acceptance of the Māori language (i.e. he loves the child so he *has* to accept the language);

- the grandchild pushing the grandfather away when he pronounces a Māori word incorrectly;

- the grandfather's 'reluctance' to re-pronounce the word correctly;

- the grandfather repeating the word correctly; and

- the grandfather's final comment "After all, we are all Kiwis, aren't we".

The removal of these elements has a striking effect on the tone of the final ad. The message is still there, Patu Hohepa of the MLC being quoted in a press release as saying that the ad was (MLC 2000):

> a metaphor for where we are as a nation. That grandfather has no other choice but to embrace the culture, the language and the child. Their relationship depends upon his acceptance.

This message is to be gently inferred, however, rather than explicitly expressed. The lighter tone of the final ad is further emphasised by the addition of a humorous ending. It is hard not to conclude that a conscious decision was made to lighten the message to a non-Māori audience, i.e. that these changes were made in order to improve the tolerability of the ad among non-Māori.

---

[53] Although the spelling of 'yeow' for 'you' in the English subtitle is arguably still confronting, suggesting that pronouncing Māori words in an anglicised form amounts to mangling the Māori language.

As with the Roma ad, the proposed slogans for the earlier draft of the Koro ad differ from the final version. Two English slogans were proposed as options: 'Into Te Reo – Only in New Zealand' and 'Into Te Reo – Bringing us Together'. The first echoes the message of the Māori language as a unique aspect of New Zealand identity, while the second highlights the message of the Koro ad in particular, that the Māori language can unite. As with the Roma ad, this second message is carried through to the final version, but in a less explicit form. Perhaps the reason for dropping these earlier distinct versions of the slogan was simply to create a unified brand across the two ads in the campaign, although the slogan 'Everyone's Into Te Reo' also adds an extra shade of meaning by playing upon two further elements, in the Roma ad suggesting that (even) Italians are 'into' the Māori language, and in the Koro ad suggesting that non-Māori are also into the Māori language.

Kōrero Māori phrase booklets

The MLC began producing phrase booklets to promote the Māori language in 2004, under the NZ Reo, NZ Pride brand, and has continued to do so under the MLIP since 2005. In his preface to *The Language Instinct*, Stephen Pinker (1995: 7) observes that he has "never met a person who is not interested in language". Using this format as a medium for Māori language promotion is arguably similar to the foregrounding of language in the Roma ad, potentially transferring interest in language in general to interest in Māori. The four booklets produced to date are analysed individually below.

Kōrero Māori phrase booklet : Original

Design

The graphic design[54] used in the first Kōrero Māori booklet (MLC 2004d), released in Māori Language Week 2004, is a discursive and promotional technique in itself. Some of the appealing design features include:

- *format*: the pocket-sized 16-page format makes the booklet easy to carry around or keep at a desk;

---

[54] The booklets were all designed by JR Design in Wellington.

- *material*: the booklet has a sturdy plastic-coated cover that feels soft to the touch, so the booklet is both nice to hold and built to last;

- *colour*: the cover is red, white and black, distinctively Māori colours as used in kōwhaiwhai patterns, etc., creating a subtle visual link to Māori culture;

- *pictures*: cartoon figures with hair resembling Māori symbols (e.g. the traditional wave design) feature on the cover and throughout the booklet, again giving it a 'Māori' appearance and creating visual appeal;

- *paralanguage*: an extensive range of fonts and other creative font use are employed throughout, attracting attention and maintaining interest;

- *layout*: the text is arranged against varied backgrounds involving the use of boxes, borders and speech bubbles in varying shades. According to the designer, this layout was intended to be friendly, non-threatening and non-textbook like, with each page a bite-sized stand-alone piece, so the viewer could open the booklet on any page and start reading (interview with Jenny Ralston, 26 June 2006).

These design features, aside from the booklet's textual content, make it interesting to look at and read and may encourage readers to keep it, thereby contributing to enduring promotional effect.

Desired behaviour: learn Māori?

Going by its introduction, the purpose of the Kōrero Māori booklet is to help people learn Māori:

> This booklet is designed to help you become comfortable with the basics of the language. It's not a text book, simply a guide to the first steps. […] This booklet will help you with some useful words and phrases. It won't make you fluent overnight. Don't be afraid of making mistakes – it's all part of the process.

The booklet is, in fact, a useful learning aid. It has category sections including 'basic pronunciation', 'meeting and greeting', 'colours', 'time', 'everyday objects',

and 'body parts', and these sections include useful phrases for beginning language learners, such as:

Ko (name) ahau   My name is (name)

Nō Te Whanganui-a-Tara ahau I'm from Wellington

Ka kite anō   See you later

The booklet also directly transmits some positive messages about learning the Māori language. These include impersonal statements such as *ka rawe te kōrero Māori* (speaking Māori is good fun), as well as several imperative forms, including:

Take the time to learn

Give it a go

Don't be afraid to try

Using direct address in this way could come across as didactic, but this is mitigated by placing these messages in the background, in paler fonts, in dotted lines, on an angle, or even half off the page (e.g. 'take the time to understand', where the only visible letters of the last word are "nderstan"). This design approach means the messages are more subtle, functioning as gentle (arguably even subliminal) background encouragement. According to the designer, these phrases were intended to maintain a positive "have a go" message throughout the booklet without being "in your face" (interview with Jenny Ralston, 26 June 2006). The booklet also includes a list of organisations that offer further Māori language learning resources on the inside back cover. For all these reasons, the Kōrero Māori booklet can be viewed quite simply as an educational resource to help readers learn Māori.

Use of the Māori language

The stated purpose of the Kōrero Māori booklet may, however, only partly express its intent. Helping and encouraging readers to learn Māori is clearly one of the functions of the booklet, but its purpose is also partly, if not mostly, to address attitudes towards the Māori language. In this regard, one of the most important features of the booklet is its very use of the Māori language. The fact that a Māori

phrase booklet exists at all sends the message that Māori can be used. This is a direct challenge to the view that Māori is a dead language. Through its choice of vocabulary items under the section on 'everyday objects', e.g. *rorohiko* (computer), *tīwharawhara* (stereo) and *waka rererangi* (aeroplane), the booklet also goes further, suggesting that Māori can be used for modern purposes. The booklet is also at pains to highlight that the Māori language is already widely used in the context of New Zealand English. This concern is evident in the introduction to the booklet, which states:

> You may not be aware that you are probably already using Māori phrases without even thinking about it. Everyone knows the extremely versatile, 'kia ora'. Words like haka, kauri, koru, marae, kūmara and kai are for many, part of our everyday language. There are Māori place names, the Māori rendition of our National Anthem, the list goes on and on.

The above passage contains at least two distinct messages about the Māori language, namely that the Māori language is alive and well and being used; and that the Māori language is already part of how we speak and who we are as New Zealanders - perhaps encouraging non-Māori in particular to reconsider Māori as being relevant to their life. These messages relating to use of the Māori language, while not directly stated in the phrase booklet, are arguably as important as the booklet's direct encouragement to learn Māori. This non-use-focused purpose is confirmed by the designer of the booklets, who, while having designed all the learning-related aspects of the booklet described above, commented that (interview with Jenny Ralston, 26 June 2006):

> The key from where I sit is that if the majority are not supportive of the minority language then it won't survive. Because the majority need to have learnt to listen to it. They may not need to…they don't need to understand it…. it's up to them, they don't need to learn it. They just need to accept that it's there.

Alongside this intended attitudinal message, the learning-related goals of the booklet are not ambitious. According to the designer: "the booklet is a tool to encourage people to give it a go and who just want to be able to use two or three words or learn a phrase" (interview with Jenny Ralston, 26 June 2006).

Positive tone

Another discursive technique in the Kōrero Māori booklet is its cultivation of a positive tone through the content of the bilingual phrases included in the booklet. Some of the phrases express negative content, e.g.:

Piro rawa atū!	Really stink!
Tetahi rā kino, koia tenei	What a terrible day!

Most of them, however, emphasise the positive, e.g.:

Taku aroha nui ki a koe	Love you heaps
Ka pai tō mahi	You're doing great
He pai rawa atu tēnā	That's fantastic

The intention behind building this positive tone is presumably to encourage positive feelings towards the Māori language among the target audience. The use of colloquial language for translating the above phrases ('stink', 'heaps') also contributes to creating a relaxed mood in stark opposition to the austere associations arguably linked to the Māori language during the He Taonga Te Reo campaign (see Boyce 2005: 100). The result is more in line with Boyce's description of the MLC's focus from the Into Te Reo campaign onwards (Boyce 2005: 107):

> To speak Māori is to be friendly, warm, helpful, inclusive, caring. Focus on the positive.

Language and New Zealand identity

A further discursive technique in the Kōrero Māori booklet is linking the Māori language with New Zealand identity. This is achieved through the inclusion of: the words to the New Zealand national anthem in both English and Māori; the words to the haka used by the All Blacks; the section on place names (including an image of New Zealand in the background); the NZ Reo, NZ Pride logo on the front and back of the booklet; and, most explicitly, the first and last sentences of the introduction:

> Māori language is intrinsic to New Zealand's culture and history. It contributes to our distinct and unique cultural identity. […]
>
> In te reo, we have a rich and valuable cultural resource and by using it – even in simple ways – we are sharing in a rich tradition that provides much of the background to our kiwi culture.

The designer notes that, despite some nods to Māori design, the intention was to not use strongly Māori design features in order to create a "generic look" to appeal to all New Zealanders (interview with Jenny Ralston, 26 June 2006). The approach in the booklet is thus to downplay the links between the Māori language and Māori culture and to play up the links between the Māori language and New Zealand culture more generally.

Target audience

The above discussion has taken for granted that the target audience of the Kōrero Māori booklet includes non-Māori. The target audience is not directly stated in the booklet, but the references to New Zealand identity and the lack of a specific focus on Māori people are both suggestions that all New Zealanders (Māori and non-Māori) are intended to be included in its reach. If this is not enough, one further phrase from the booklet makes it clear that non-Māori are to feel part of the picture. Under the section on greetings is the phrase:

He Pākehā ahau   I am a Pākehā

Kōrero Māori phrase booklet : Kai

The MLC commissioned a second Kōrero Māori phrase booklet for Māori Language Week 2005, on the theme of kai (food) (MLC 2005f). Many of the comments above apply to both booklets; I focus here primarily on what is new in this booklet.

Design

The design for the kai-themed booklet is very similar to the original Kōrero Māori booklet, although in black, white and orange, instead of red. The continued production of these booklets in different colours but using the same format may

encourage readers to collect them and the designer commented that they could one day be marketed as a set (interview with Jenny Ralston, 26 June 2006).

Domains, attitudes and learning

An important feature of the kai-themed booklet is its detailed focus on one subject area: kai. This provides a mixture of messages similar to the overall messages of the first booklet, both demonstrating how Māori language can be used in a specific domain (attitude-related message) and helping readers to learn to use Māori in this domain (behavioural message). The specificity and detail of this booklet takes both of these messages further than the previous booklet, enabling a reader to make quite extensive use of Māori in relation to food. The pages on 'asking for and making a drink', for example, provide almost all the vocabulary one would need to have a conversation with co-workers or family about having tea or coffee, with variations as specific as:

He tī otaota māku, kāore he huka, kāore he miraka	Herbal tea for me, no sugar, no milk
He maero māku, kia nui te miraka, kāore he huka	Milo for me, lots of milk, no sugar
He kawhe māku, kia kotahi te huka, kāore he miraka	Coffee for me, one sugar, no milk

The level of detail provided here both demonstrates to readers that such a conversation is perfectly possible in Māori and equips them with the necessary vocabulary to try it out. The learning value of the kai-themed booklet is enhanced by the inclusion of a new section on 'basic sentence structure' for those who want to take their knowledge of Māori further.

Food, Māori language and Māori culture

Another interesting feature of the kai-themed booklet is the three-way link it creates between Māori language, Māori culture and food. The booklet has kai-related whakatauki (proverbs) throughout, e.g.

Ko te kai a te rangatira, he kōrero	Talk is the food of chiefs

Iti noa ana, he pito mata	With care, a small kūmara will produce a harvest
Te manu e kai ana i te miro, nōna te ngahere; te manu e kai ana i te mātauranga, nōna te ao	As the berries of the forest are the food of the birds, so education is the food of the people

It also has two karakia (prayers) on the final page, noting that "it is tradition for a brief karakia to be said before any meal or meeting", and includes a recipe for a traditional Māori dish, using a mixture of English and Māori vocabulary (with a Māori glossary provided). These features more strongly develop the link between Māori culture and Māori language that was only hinted at in the first booklet (in that instance primarily through design elements) and also create a new link between Māori language and food. The latter plays upon the connotations of food as providing nourishment and comfort, and transfers these connotations to the Māori language (both implicitly and explicitly, as in the whakatauki above). On a more basic level, the whakatauki and the recipe simply develop the kai theme of the booklet, increasing its interest factor and appeal. The designer advised me that a further reason for the focus on kai, in this case targeted at Māori in particular, was the emphasis of the MLC on intergenerational transmission. This led to a focus on the whānau in the home and one thing that everyone has in common: eating (interview with Jenny Ralston, 26 June 2006).

Kōrero Māori phrase booklet: Sport

The MLC released a further phrase booklet on the theme of sport during Māori Language Week 2006 (MLC 2006).

Cultural icons

The black and white colours of the booklet, along with the references to rugby (among other sports) recall the links made in the earlier NZ Reo, NZ Pride campaign between the Māori language and New Zealand cultural icons the All Blacks. These connotations are made explicit here by the inclusion of Māori translations of All Blacks promotional slogans among the phrases in the booklet:

Kia tū pango mai	Stand in black

| *Nōku tērā poraka pango e mau ana koe!* | That's my black jersey you're wearing! |

New Zealand English

A further way the booklet links the Māori language with a more general New Zealand identity is through its use of New Zealand English vocabulary in the translations of Māori phrases (emphasis mine):

| *I haere ā-taiao mātou i ngā maunga* | We went for a <u>tramp</u> in the hills |
| *I mauria mai e koe ō kahu kauhoe?* | Did you bring your swimming <u>togs</u>? |

As well as increasing the appeal of the booklet (New Zealanders are likely to respond positively to the use of typically New Zealand phrasing), this discursive technique subtly links the Māori language with a specifically New Zealand way of speaking.

Humour

Prior to the release of the sport-themed booklet, the designer commented that humour was treated carefully in the earlier booklets because of a perceived need to be "responsible" in government publications. She said she would like to use more humour in future booklets, however, due to "this association with learning Māori that you are going to get told off the minute you open your mouth" (interview with Jenny Ralston, 26 June 2006). The sport-themed booklet shows the start of an attempt to push these boundaries a little[55], through the inclusion of humorous phrases such as:

| *Tē kite ai he mahere rautaki?* | Game plan? What game plan? |

As with the humour in the Koro ad, this gives the booklet inherent appeal, and contributes to a positive non-threatening tone.

---

[55] The commercially produced Māori language phrase booklet *Instant! Māori* (Theobold and Walker 2004), with its controversial combination of humour, colloquial language, references to bodily functions, tongue-in-cheek nods to race relations, and sexual allusion, is an example of just how much further non-government organisations can go when it comes to more edgy approaches to Māori language promotion.

Learning versus attitudes

If the focus on learning as opposed to attitudes was ambiguous in the earlier booklets, it is not so in this one. Phrases such as *papua te poirewa* (pump up the volleyball) and *he tere rawa te kaiwawao ki te pū wīhara* (the ref's a bit whistle happy) are not the kind of phrases a beginning Māori language learner would readily find useful. The inclusion of such phrases clearly serves other (attitude- and promotion-related) purposes here.

Kōrero Māori phrase booklet: Tourism

The most recent Kōrero Māori phrase booklet was a tourism-themed booklet for Māori Language Week 2007 (MLC 2007b). This booklet continues some of the themes of the earlier booklets, in many cases taken somewhat further, namely:

- modern vocabulary*:*

Tono pūrongo mai i tō taenga atu	Send me a text when you get there

- topical/trendy vocabulary:

He matū waro ngā kai o konei?	Is the food here organic?

- use of Kiwi-isms in English translations*:*

Me āta haere e hoa!	Slow down mate!

- humour:

He rīwai parai hoki?	Do you want fries with that?

- romance*:*

Kei te aha koe i te pō ?	What are you doing tonight?

Language and culture

Unlike the original Kōrero Māori booklet, the tourism-themed booklet has considerable Māori cultural content. This includes: information on the hongi (Māori greeting), Māori performance art and protocol on the marae; the words to a popular Māori song, Pōkarekare ana; and full-colour photos on a Māori tourism theme. Of all the booklets, this one most exemplifies a discursive approach of promoting the Māori language alongside Māori culture.

Figure 6.1: Cover and sample pages of Kōrero Māori phrase booklet: Tourism

© Māori Language Commission

143
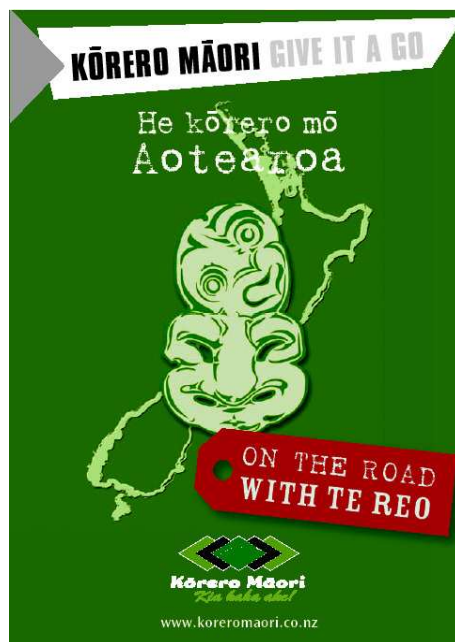
Kōrero Māori website

The final promotional material analysed here is the Kōrero Māori website <www.KōreroMāori.govt.nz>[56]. This was developed in the first year of the MLIP and launched in September 2005. The aim of the website, as described on the MLC's main website prior to its launch, was to be "a one-stop portal of information about the Māori language". In addition to this information focus, the website developer said its further aims were to "increase use of Māori language and to increase awareness about Māori language issues" (interview with Lana Simmons-Donaldson, 8 November 2006).

Design

The website has a range of appealing design features:

- soft pastel *colours*, mainly pale green, blue and shades of crimson;

- Māori-inspired *cartoons* of pohutukawa, the sun, a map of New Zealand, etc;

- a recurrent koru *motif*, on the borders of the pages, headers, and as bullet points;

- an *illustration* of a tui at the top of most pages; and

- colour *photos* throughout, mostly of Māori engaged in everyday activities.

This combination of design features make the website both visually appealing to move through and give it a (modern) Māori feel.

Target audience

The website's home page states that it is "for everyone who wants to speak the Māori language, or learn more about it". The site is separated into three audience-targeted sections: for learners, speakers, and businesses. Unlike the phrase

---

[56] I last visited this website for the purpose of analysis on 13 February 2008.

booklets, which I have argued serve a number of purposes, the focus of the website is firmly on learning the Māori language. In this respect, although non-Māori are not in any way excluded, the envisaged non-Māori target audience is probably quite small, as it would include only those non-Māori who are already interested in learning Māori. Interestingly, although there are many photos of people on the website, none is obviously non-Māori in appearance. The sections of the website that are most applicable to non-Māori are those for learners and businesses. These sections appear in English, whereas the section for speakers is (appropriately) in Māori, and would thus be inaccessible to most non-Māori. I concentrate on these two sections, therefore, below.

Interactivity

Possibly the most appealing aspects of the website are its 'interactive' elements. Interactivity on a website can be a persuasive device in that it creates a pseudo-conversational situation with the viewer, potentially increasing persuasive effect (Cook 2001: 178). Interactivity in a language learning context also serves other purposes, enabling the viewer to undertake learning activities and test their progress. The website exhibits several such features.

One of these is the audio 'pronunciation guide' enabling the viewer to click on a vowel, consonant, word or phrase and hear it pronounced. One part of the site using this feature is a map of New Zealand with Māori place names, where the viewer can click on a place name and hear it pronounced. This is a good example of modeling desired behaviours, in that it enables visitors to the website to hear instances of Māori pronunciation and to practice them in a non-threatening environment. This feature was enhanced in 2007 by the introduction of a game involving further interactive maps of the North and South Islands, where visitors could listen to the Māori names of various locations and drag these names to where they thought they belonged on the map.

Another interactive part of the website is the conversations for learners. Viewers can select from a range of topics (e.g. meet and greet; family and friends; work and school) and for each of these learn basic phrases and pronunciation by participating in activities such as 'guess the word', 'fill in the phrase', and 'test your

listening skills'. Every time the viewer gets an answer right, a message pops up saying "Ka pai! Well done!"

Māori Language Club

The website offers visitors the opportunity to join the 'Kōrero Māori Language Club', which claims to offer "everyone who wants to use the Māori language the opportunity to make contact with other people who want to speak and learn more about reo Māori". When users sign up they are sent a lapel badge to identify their level of Māori language proficiency, progressing from 'light pāua' for beginners, through 'dark pāua' for intermediate speakers, 'pounamu' for fluent speakers, to 'pounamu inanga' for native and highly fluent speakers. Apparently based on a similar initiative in Wales, the idea is for members to be able to identify each other so they can jointly develop their Māori language skills. Members can also discuss issues on an online forum. This is another way the website is interactive in nature, with the badges offering the opportunity to extend this interactivity beyond the website itself.

Language and culture

Like some of the other promotional materials above, the website creates a link between Māori language and Māori culture. This is achieved through the use of Māori imagery and photos in the site design, and also several sections on aspects of tikanga (cultural practices). Indeed, the learners' section of the website relates more to culture than to language, including, after a sub-section on 'the basics' of the Māori language, further subsections on: protocols; myths and legends; proverbs; and waiata (songs). The 'protocols' sub-section alone links to further pages on: greetings; pōwhiri (welcomes); karanga (call on to the marae); whaikōrero (speeches); mihimihi (introductions); marae visits; and tangihanga (funerals).

If it is impossible to separate attitudes towards a language from attitudes towards speakers of that language (Lambert et al. 1960), it makes sense to promote language and culture together. Nevertheless, I wonder whether, in the case of promotional materials directed at non-Māori as well as Māori - and where the aim in relation to non-Māori is planning for tolerability - too strong a focus on culture

risks reducing tolerability among non-Māori, either because they feel threatened, or because they feel this has little relevance to them. This is presumably the reasoning behind the focus on a more general 'New Zealand' identity in the NZ Reo, NZ Pride campaign. The Māori language promotion materials targeted at non-Māori discussed in this chapter arguably reflect a tension in how to present the link between Māori language and Māori culture. A range of approaches are evident, moving from promoting the language separately from Māori culture (the original Kōrero Māori booklet), to promoting it alongside Māori culture (the later Kōrero Māori booklets, the Kōrero Māori website), and in one context going as far as promoting the language through Māori culture (the MLC's approach to the Matariki celebrations, where the focus on language is treated as essential but implicit, as exemplified in a booklet produced by the MLC to celebrate Matariki in 2005 (MLC 2005b)). This tension may also relate more generally to the ambivalence in the Government's approach between promoting Māori as a language for Māori and as a language for all New Zealanders, as discussed in chapter five.

Business focus

According to the website developer, the decision to include a section for businesses originated from usability testing of the website, when businesspeople suggested including tips on how businesses could incorporate Māori language into their work. As the MLC was also receiving questions through its existing website related to business (e.g. how businesses could get a Māori name for their organisation), this added up to a perception of some existing demand from the business sector that the MLC wanted to meet (interview with Lana Simmons-Donaldson, 8 November 2006). The business section positions Māori language as providing two main benefits for businesses: contributing to branding and increasing accessibility to the community. It includes a photo montage of business signs that incorporate Māori words, similar in approach to the first phrase booklet highlighting Māori words already present in New Zealand English. Sensitising non-Māori to the fact that Māori language is already all around them is a means of 'normalising' the language. The section also includes examples of how to use Māori language at work, e.g. Māori greetings for spoken or written communication. A subsection called 'showcase' profiles businesses that "have incorporated

promotion of reo Māori into their everyday operations in innovative ways". This is another instance of modeling desired behaviours as a promotional technique.

Directly addressing negative attitudes

The Kōrero Māori website provides the only instance of promotional material produced by the MLC that addresses outright negative attitudes towards the Māori language. In the Frequently Asked Questions section of the website, responses are given to the following: 'I'm not Māori, why should I learn Māori?'; 'It's a dying language, isn't it? There isn't really much point in learning Māori language?'; 'Wouldn't it be more useful to know Japanese or another language which is spoken by people overseas?'; 'Is Māori really a language for all New Zealanders?'; and 'It's okay for other people, but don't force it on me!' This is the closest approach I have found to May's (2005b: 335) suggestion of pointing out misconceptions and inconsistencies in arguments against the utility of minority languages. I remain of the view that this is not the best approach to take with those who already hold negative attitudes, but it may be an effective approach in this context given that those visiting the website will already be partly persuaded and may find the arguments useful for discussing the issues with others.

According to the MLC, the website is only partially complete, as funding ran out during development (interview with Lana Simmons-Donaldson, 8 November 2006). As at November 2006, the next plans for the website were to add: interactive versions of the Kōrero Māori booklets; some episodes of the Kōrero Mai programme (relating to language learning) screened on Māori Television; more content in all areas, especially the sections for fluent speakers and businesses; and more advanced interactive conversations.

Commercial and other partnerships and Māori language promotion

Before concluding this section on analysis of the promotional materials, I make some general comments below on the potential of commercial and other organisations to contribute to Māori language promotion. One of the most interesting aspects I noticed when analysing the Māori language promotional

materials was the range of links made with commercial and other organisations. These included:

- *distribution* of government Māori language promotion materials with the addition of corporate branding (e.g. the original Kōrero Māori booklet was distributed through Westpac bank branches in a print run incorporating the Westpac logo in 2004, and bilingual national anthem cards produced as part of the NZ Reo, NZ Pride campaign were distributed to girl guides with the Girl Guides Association logo);

- *modification* of existing government promotional materials to fit the brand and specific focus of an organisation (e.g. a modified version of the kai-themed booklet was distributed by Progressive Enterprises at their supermarket checkouts in the summer of 2004/2005, as part of their existing 'Celebrate New Zealand' campaign[57]);

- *adoption* by commercial (and other) organisations of the promotional approach of MLC materials (e.g. a TVNZ newspaper advertisement published in 2004 was based directly on the NZ Reo, NZ Pride anthem cards; wallet cards with Māori phrases were released by Christchurch City Libraries and Ngāi Tahu in 2005, possibly based on the Kōrero Māori booklets; and a Capital Times article in 2005 directly took up the approach of the Kōrero Māori booklets in proposing Māori phrases targeting Wellingtonians in particular[58]); and

- *joint development* of the theme of Māori Language Week, through partnerships with organisations such as Sport and Recreation New Zealand

---

[57] The booklets were placed on a purpose-built stand in each participating supermarket, and some Māori phrases were included in the supermarkets' summer newsletter. Māori phrases were also played over the supermarkets' in-store speaker, amidst other regular promotional recordings. The booklets themselves were modified to suit the context, with extra phrases on groceries and supermarket shopping, such as *kei hea nga…?* (where are the…?), *wākena* (trolley) and *tūpapa moni* (checkout).

[58] This article provides phrases likely to resonate particularly strongly with a Wellington audience, by referring to Wellington's notorious weather and its café culture: *Kei te pupuhi te hau?* (Is the wind blowing?) and *Hōmai tetahi cappuccino me tetahi latte koa?* (Can I have a cappuccino and a latte?) (Māori for beginners, *Capital Times*, 20-26 July 2005).

(SPARC) for the sports theme in 2006, and Tourism New Zealand for the tourism theme in 2007.

The Kōrero Māori website suggests a number of benefits for businesses of being involved in Māori language promotion. Benefits for Māori language promotion also result from the involvement of commercial and other organisations. These include:

- *wider distribution* of Māori language promotion materials;

- *financial support* for Māori language promotion through purchasing government promotional materials;

- a wider *range of promotional approaches* in the public domain;

- *demonstration of support* for the Māori language among influential groups in the community, who become 'champions' of the Māori language (e.g. the Christchurch City Libraries pamphlet stating that "Christchurch City Libraries is proud to show continued support for Te Reo Māori");

- *attitude change within the organisations* themselves (e.g. the contact person for Westpac commented that her involvement in the campaign prompted her to try speaking more Māori herself; a similar comment was made by corporate sponsors of Māori Language Year in 1995); and

- potential for *attitude change among the wider community*, as if a wide range of organisations support Māori language this may help shift social norms towards support for Māori language regeneration.

For these reasons I consider commercial involvement to be a promising development for Māori language promotion, and in particular for planning for tolerability. The fact that it is occurring at all suggests that Māori language promotion is appealing in itself. These organisations are not engaging in the activities above based on a Cabinet directive, but because they think it makes business sense, suggesting a perception that some of their customers will in fact embrace Māori language promotion. Commercial partnerships may also be a particularly promising approach among non-Māori. If a predominantly non-Māori organisation such as Westpac decides to promote the Māori language, this sends

the message that it is not just the agenda of 'Māori radicals' or a 'politically correct' government, but something that has currency with everyone.

Promotional materials and planning for tolerability

In chapter two I noted that the literature on planning for tolerability tends to concentrate on theoretical arguments to use with majority language speakers, and I expressed the view that simply stating these arguments was unlikely to be an effective approach. Much of the Māori language promotion material analysed above shows what a creative promotional approach can contribute in this regard. When analysed closely, the materials convey several of the messages suggested in the literature on tolerability (and several more), but do so in such a creative way that some of these messages may not even be consciously perceived by the receiver. The overall approach is similar to that of the Roma ad: a combination of 'reason and tickle', involving strong messages conveyed in an appealing way. This leads me to conclude that Māori language promotion campaigns, when well executed, are potentially an effective approach for improving the tolerability of the Māori language. The table below summarises the main attitudinal and behavioural messages conveyed by the Māori language promotion materials analysed above, and the techniques by which they are conveyed (N.B. this table is intended to be read vertically).

Table 6.1: Summary of messages, desired behaviours and discursive techniques used in Māori language promotion materials

Messages about the Māori language	Behavioural messages	Techniques used to convey these messages
Māori is for all New Zealanders (Māori and non-Māori)	Pronounce Māori well Learn (some) Māori	Create fusion with other spheres, e.g. romance (Roma ad)
Māori is a key element of Māori culture	Use (some) Māori Don't be afraid of making mistakes	Create fantasy world to challenge negative attitudes (Roma ad)
Māori is a key element of New Zealand identity	Support others learning and using Māori	Promote learning Māori but address attitudes indirectly (booklets)
Māori is part of New Zealand's international image	Support Māori language regeneration initiatives	Use appealing design to attract (booklets and website)
Māori is a source of pride		
Māori can unite	Take an interest in Māori language and culture	Use technological interactivity (website)

Messages about the Māori language	Behavioural messages	Techniques used to convey these messages
Māori is beautiful Māori is fun Māori is sexy Māori is hip Māori is modern Māori is easy to learn Māori is a living language Māori is as important as other languages Māori is for young people Māori can be used in everyday conversation Māori can be used in all domains (e.g. business) Māori can be used for all purposes (e.g. flirting) Māori can be used in all registers (not just formal)	Celebrate/be proud of Māori	Appeal to interest in language in general (Roma ad, booklets) Use humour (Roma and Koro ads, later booklets) Use colloquial forms (booklets) Cultivate positive encouraging tone (booklets) Target/partner with businesses (booklets, website) Be sensitive to tolerability in materials themselves (development of Koro ad) Foreground relevance (booklets) Emphasise Māori already used (booklets) Use Māori in materials (all) Demonstrate Māori language use in specific domains (booklets) Demonstrate Māori language use for varied purposes (Roma ad, booklets) Demonstrate Māori language use by non-Māori (Roma and Koro ads) Model positive behaviours (Koro ad, website) Provide material to assist engaging in behaviours (booklets) Directly address negative attitudes (website) Create link to New Zealand identity rather than Māori culture (Roma ad, early booklets) Promote Māori language and culture together (later booklets, website) Promote Māori language through Māori culture (Matariki materials)

Part Two: Participants' responses to the promotional materials

I have argued that the promotional materials analysed above present a variety of messages and desired behaviours about the Māori language to non-Māori, using a range of creative approaches. The senders' intentions and the materials themselves are just one part of the picture, however. Of much greater importance for planning for tolerability is how majority language speakers respond to these materials. In chapter two I proposed evaluating success as an essential component of the process of planning for tolerability. The rest of this chapter aims to assist in evaluating the success of the promotional materials in reaching a non-Māori target audience.

Evaluating success

Evaluating success in this context involves at least three separate objectives: first, measuring the target audience's immediate responses to the initiatives undertaken; second, measuring changes in their attitudes and behaviours over time; and third, the most difficult, linking the two.

In relation to the first objective, the current Māori Language Strategy introduced a requirement for government agencies to develop five year plans for the implementation of their Māori language functions, to be monitored by TPK to ensure progress towards the goals of the Māori Language Strategy (TPK 2003b: 5). There should, therefore, be an evaluation process in train for the MLIP, providing information on how the target audience is responding to the initiatives undertaken. The MLC had intended to conduct research to inform the development of the MLIP projects in 2004-2005 but this was not possible because of a six month delay in launching the programme (MLC 2005g: 2). The MLC stated that it instead intended to engage in research to evaluate the impact of the MLIP in 2005-2006. The research programme was to include: formative research to help target the programme to key audiences and better understand the determinants of their behaviour (with a focus on Māori audiences); benchmarking research to provide a baseline measurement; and monitoring research to assist with fine-tuning the programme over time and provide information for reporting purposes (MLC 2005e: 2). Early in 2005, the MLC and TPK agreed it would be appropriate for TPK to undertake an independent evaluation of the MLIP, to

ensure the robustness and impartiality of the evaluation process (MLC 2005g: 2). TPK has not, however, undertaken any evaluative research on the MLIP (TPK, personal communication, 8 May 2008). The MLC has undertaken one piece of evaluation research, engaging a research company in 2007 to undertake a series of focus groups with parents of Māori children to test the existing messages and resources of the MLIP (in particular the phrase booklets), with a resulting report on the attitudes and behaviours of parents/primary caregivers towards the Māori language (Akroyd Research and Evaluation 2007). This research did not relate to the non-Māori audience of the programme, however, and does not therefore relate to planning for tolerability.

Regarding the second objective, the TPK attitude surveys suggest increasingly positive attitudes towards the Māori language among non-Māori, as noted in chapter three. The 2003 survey report stated that the second survey was undertaken to inform government policy with up-to-date data and to measure the effectiveness of policy in the area of attitudes towards language (TPK 2003a: 5). These surveys are not linked to concrete initiatives, however, and thus the third objective – linking any long-term changes in the attitudes and behaviours of non-Māori to specific policy initiatives, such as the promotional campaigns described in this chapter – is not met.

There are examples of successful approaches to evaluating promotional campaigns in New Zealand, a high profile example in the social marketing sector being the Like Minds, Like Mine Project to Counter Stigma and Discrimination associated with Mental Illness, initiated by the Ministry of Health in 1997. This project incorporates a sophisticated research and evaluation programme, including an initial benchmark national attitudes survey; pre-testing advertising concepts for each wave of the campaign; small 'omnibus' studies undertaken after an initial burst of advertising in each wave; and national impact surveys undertaken after each wave to measure attitude change over time. It is in the national surveys that links are made between the advertising itself and changes in participants' more general attitudes towards people with mental illness (see e.g. Phoenix Research 2002). All this research and evaluation involves significant work, but the benefits are obvious, both in the findings of the pre-test research, which show clear indications of what works and what does not work in the design stages of a campaign (see e.g. Phoenix Research 2001) and also in the results of the national

attitude surveys, which have shown consistent shifts in attitudes among all target groups. The research and evaluation programme used by the Like Minds, Like Mine campaign is a useful model for evaluating the policy techniques used in planning for tolerability in New Zealand. It, does, however, require considerable resources, which are not currently available for the MLIP.

Methodological approach

Given that we are starting from a low position in terms of evaluating the policy initiatives aimed at planning for tolerability undertaken by the New Zealand government, I have focused in the present research on what appears to be the biggest initial gap, that of how the target audience of non-Māori New Zealanders is currently responding, in an immediate sense, to the promotional materials. Although this is only one part of the evaluation picture, it is an essential one. The non-Māori participants in the current research were asked about their responses to the promotional materials in part two of the questionnaire (see Appendix One). The materials chosen for inclusion were all the main materials analysed above: the Roma ad and Koro ad, the Kōrero Māori website, and one of the first three Kōrero Māori booklets (original, kai-themed or sport-themed[59]). As well as usefully representing a range of different promotional media, this was as many promotional materials as participants could reasonably be expected to respond to in the context of a questionnaire which also asked them questions on a range of other topics. The participants were given a hard copy of the relevant booklet, a DVD of the two ads, and the website address as part of their questionnaire pack.

Responses to promotional materials are often investigated in the discipline of marketing through person-to-person methods such as focus groups. The reasons for using the questionnaire method in this context included: the sensitive nature of the topic; the opportunity for participants to look at the promotional materials in their own time rather than responding on the spot to a large amount of written, visual and audio material; and the possibility for accessing a larger number of participants. The specific approach taken in eliciting responses to the materials was modeled on that of Forceville (1996), who also used a written questionnaire to obtain responses to advertisements, in his case focusing on verbo-pictorial

---

[59] The proportions were 29 original booklets, 26 kai-themed booklets and 25 sport-themed booklets. The tourism-themed booklet was not included as it had not been released at the time.

metaphors in IBM billboards. Forceville asked participants open-ended questions about the billboards and allocated their responses to 'themes'. He then classified themes raised by three or more participants as "strong implicatures" and themes raised by two or fewer participants as "weak implicatures". There are significant limitations to this approach, as Forceville acknowledges. In particular he notes the difficulty of allocating the responses to themes, given that "the wide variety of responses volunteered by the participants had to be somehow classified in a limited amount of categories" (1996: 177). To reduce the subjectivity involved in interpreting the participants' responses, Forceville asked a second person to cross-check his allocation of the participants' responses to his list of themes, but this person disagreed on most of the allocations, only underlining the subjective nature of the process. I had a similar experience asking a group of nine people to classify some sample responses to my questionnaire into the themes I had chosen. Furthermore, the results obtained represent only the views of those participants who choose to respond, i.e. just because a participant does not state a particular view in response to an open-ended question does not mean they do not hold that view. Some participants tend to respond in more detail than others, which also influences the results. The results presented for the participants' responses to the promotional materials should be viewed with these limitations in mind. Despite the limitations, I am convinced of the value of this approach in this specific context. In advertising much thought generally goes into creating strong messages. Despite individual variation in how others might interpret the responses of the participants, I believe that the strongest messages should still come through, and that there is value in attempting to measure (quantitatively) how widely they are shared.

Messages about the Māori language perceived by participants

The participants were asked what messages about the Māori language they thought the creators of each of the promotional materials were trying to convey. This aimed to elicit the attitudinal messages about the Māori language present in the materials. The messages discerned in the responses to each material are shown in Tables 6.2-6.5 below. All the messages about the Māori language analysed in the first half of this chapter were perceived by at least some participants, along with several further messages.

Strong messages about the Māori language in each material

Following Forceville (1996), I adhered to the theory that the higher the number of participants perceiving a message the stronger that message was and, on this basis, distinguished strong messages as those perceived by more than 20% of the participants. Using this method, the strong messages in the Roma ad were that Māori is: beautiful, recognised and respected overseas, an international language, for everyone (including non-Māori), sexy, and cool/sophisticated. It is interesting that the strongest message by far, 'Māori is beautiful', is the only one that was directly stated verbally in the ad ("è una bellissima lingua").

The strong messages in the Koro ad were that: young people use Māori well, Māori is an intergenerational or family phenomenon, and you are never too old/it is never too late to learn. An interesting aspect of the responses to this ad was that ten participants explicitly mentioned they thought, or were unsure whether, the grandfather in the ad was Māori. This is important as it impacts on the messages about the Māori language these participants would have taken from the ad. For example, one participant perceived a message that "elderly Māori may not have perfect Māori pronunciation" (M-U-25/30-PbM) and another that "older Māori people are teaching younger Māori people" (M-S-30/35-PrNZ). Not everyone thought the koro was Māori, one stating "the girl's grandad looks Pākehā so maybe it shows you are never too old to try learning Māori" (F-S-40/45-PbG), and others were confused, one specifically noting "I couldn't tell if the grandfather was Māori/Pākehā etc – which changes the meaning/intent of the ad" (F-S-25/30-PbM). Some participants did perceive what I considered to be a primary message of the ad, e.g. "learning the language can help you connect to your own family if there are Māori connections" (F-S-35/40-PbG), but the level of uncertainty evident in the responses is likely to have affected the overall effectiveness of the ad.

The strong messages in the website were that: Māori is relevant to business, for everyone, and accessible/easy to learn, you can learn Māori whatever your level, Māori can be used in everyday situations, and resources/support are available. Three of these messages relate to the ease of learning Māori and could potentially be combined, which would make this combined category by far the strongest message of the website.

The strong messages in the booklets were that Māori: can be used in everyday situations, is easy, and is fun. Although the message that 'sport is relevant to the Māori people/language' was not a strong message for the participants overall, it was a strong message if only those participants who had the booklet on the sports theme are considered.

Some messages participants perceived in the materials were neither mentioned by the senders of the materials, nor found in my own analysis. These included the perception of the Koro ad as a "modern interpretation of Māoris' affiliation/links to the sea" (F-S-30/35-PrNZ); the observation that the direct address in the Koro ad involved "including the viewer in the conversation to suggest that language needs to be offered to those who do not speak it" (M-S-40/45-PbG); and the comment regarding the Roma ad that "I felt the 'espresso' reference – that we frequently use words of another language without realising – was too subtle in its relevance to your average Kiwi speaking the odd Māori word" (F-S-30/35-PrNZ). These uncommon interpretations echo Forceville's (1996) results, which, while showing some strong messages commonly held across participants, also showed a range of less widely held messages. These responses show the diversity of messages perceived by individual receivers of ads, reveal the sophistication of some of the participants' analysis of the promotional materials, and reinforce the notion that the meaning of ads is jointly constructed by the sender and the receiver.

Table 6.2: Messages about the Māori language perceived in Roma ad

Messages	Number of participants	Percentage of participants
Māori is beautiful	41	52.6
Māori is recognised and respected overseas	28	35.9
Māori is an international language	25	32.1
Māori is for everyone (including non-Māori)	23	29.5
Māori is sexy	21	26.9
Māori is cool/sophisticated	16	20.5
Māori sounds good	14	17.9
Māori can be used in a range of everyday situations	14	17.9
Māori is as important/has as much status as any other language (including Italian)	14	17.9
Māori is as admirable as any other language (including Italian)	13	16.7

Messages	Number of participants	Percentage of participants
Māori is a New Zealand language	12	15.4
Young people speak Māori	10	12.8
Māori is unique	7	9.0
Māori is useful	6	7.7
Being bilingual is smart	5	6.4
Good looking people speak Māori	4	5.1
Multilingualism is normal internationally	4	5.1
Māori is normal	3	3.8
Māori is a living language	3	3.8
Māori is easy to learn	3	3.8
People are curious about/interested in Māori	3	3.8
Māori is modern	2	2.6
Māori is a taonga/national treasure	1	1.3
Māori can be a first language	1	1.3
Māori is interesting	1	1.3

Table 6.3: Messages about the Māori language perceived in Koro ad

Messages	Number of participants	Percentage of participants
Young people use Māori well	26	33.8
Māori is an intergenerational/family thing	22	28.6
Never too old/never to late to learn Māori	21	27.3
Māori is for everyone (including non-Māori)	12	15.6
OK to make mistakes	11	14.3
Māori is easy	9	11.7
Important to teach Māori to/speak Māori with the young	9	11.7
Māori is fun	7	9.1
Māori can be used in everyday situations	7	9.1
Māori brings people together	7	9.1
Māori is a living language	6	7.8

Messages	Number of participants	Percentage of participants
Māori is spoken by old and young	6	7.8
Immersion programmes exist	6	7.8
Māori can be used interculturally	5	6.5
Pronunciation is important	5	6.5
OK to have a go	3	3.9
Māori speak both Māori and English	2	2.6
Māori is cool	1	1.3
Māori is important/has status	1	1.3
People in the middle generation can't speak Māori	1	1.3
People will help you	1	1.3
Māori is a New Zealand thing	1	1.3
It is up to speakers to promote Māori	1	1.3
Use it or lose it	1	1.3
You can speak both English and Māori	1	1.3
Māori has institutional support	1	1.3

Table 6.4: Messages about the Māori language perceived in Kōrero Māori website

Messages	Number of participants	Percentage of participants
Māori can be used for business	28	37.8
Māori is for everyone (including non-Māori)	24	32.4
Māori is accessible/easy to learn	24	32.4
You can learn Māori whatever your level	21	28.4
Māori can be used in everyday situations	19	25.7
Resources/support available	15	20.3
Māori is a living language	7	9.5
Māori is fun to learn	7	9.5
Māori is useful	6	8.1
Māori is relevant	6	8.1
Māori language is linked to Māori culture	6	8.1
Lots of ways to learn	4	5.4

Messages	Number of participants	Percentage of participants
Māori is important	3	4.1
Māori is a substantial/serious language	3	4.1
Māori is modern	2	2.7
Māori is interesting	2	2.7
Māori is vibrant/colourful/expressive	2	2.7
Māori is linked to native flora and fauna	2	2.7
Māori is better/dominant over English	2	2.7
You can be part of a community if you learn Māori	2	2.7
Māori is cool	1	1.4
Māori is important to New Zealand identity	1	1.4
Māori is a taonga/national treasure	1	1.4
Never too old to learn	1	1.4
Important to teach children the language	1	1.4
Māori has insititutional support	1	1.4

Table 6.5: Messages about the Māori language perceived in Kōrero Māori booklets

Messages	Number of participants	Percentage of participants
Māori can be used in everyday situations	32	43.2
Māori is easy	29	39.2
Māori is fun	21	28.4
Already know/use a lot of words	12	16.2
Māori is important to New Zealand culture/history	12	16.2
Sport is relevant to Māori people/Māori language	11	14.9
Māori is useful	8	10.8
Māori is for everyone (including non-Māori)	8	10.8
Māori is relevant	5	6.8
Even just knowing the basics can bring benefits	5	6.8
OK to make mistakes	5	6.8
Māori is cool	4	5.4

Messages	Number of participants	Percentage of participants
Māori is modern	4	5.4
All English words can be translated into Māori	4	5.4
Young people use Māori well	3	4.1
Resources/support available	2	2.7
Māori is a taonga/national treasure	1	1.4
Lots of people are intimidated by Māori	1	1.4
Māori is interesting	1	1.4
We need more people speaking Māori	1	1.4
Māori is less formal than English	1	1.4
Māori is as important as English	1	1.4
Māori is a valid/substantial language	1	1.4
Māori has institutional support	1	1.4

Common messages about the Māori language across materials

Six messages perceived by participants recurred across all four promotional materials, and could be seen as representing general themes of the Government's overall promotional approach, as perceived by the participants.

Table 6.6: Messages about the Māori language perceived in all four promotional materials (% of participants)

Message	Roma	Koro	Website	Booklets	AVERAGE %
Māori can be used in everyday situations	17.9	9.1	25.7	43.2	24.0
Māori is for everyone, including non-Māori	29.5	15.6	32.4	10.8	22.1
Māori is easy to learn	3.8	11.7	32.4	39.2	21.8
Māori is a New Zealand language	15.4	1.3	1.4	16.2	8.6
Māori is cool	20.5	1.3	1.4	5.4	7.2
Māori has status/is important	17.9	1.3	4.1	1.4	6.2

These results show three especially common messages: that Māori can be used in everyday situations, is for everyone (including non-Māori), and is easy to learn.

These messages are all relevant to planning for tolerability. From this point of view, it is encouraging that one of the most widely perceived messages was that the Māori language is also for non-Māori, suggesting participants perceived the materials as being directed at them.

Cross-tabulation of attitude categories and messages about the Māori language

A different picture emerged when the results were cross-tabulated with attitude category, however. The messages perceived by the supporters and uninterested participants were for the most part not strikingly divergent, except in one case. The message 'Māori is for everyone, including non-Māori' was the message that showed the widest divergence between supporters and uninterested participants in the Roma ad, the website and the phrase booklets (36.4% of supporters compared to 16.7% of uninterested participants, 41.5% of supporters compared to 20.7% of uninterested participants, and 17.1% of supporters compared to 0% of uninterested participants, respectively)[60]. This message was also the second most widely divergent message for the Koro ad (perceived by 20% of supporters, compared to 10.3% of uninterested participants)[61]. This is a significant result. It suggests that although this message was a strong message of the promotional materials when the overall sample is considered, it was considerably less likely to be perceived by uninterested participants than by supporters. This result *is* likely to have been influenced by participants' existing attitudes (given that, as we saw in chapter four, supporters are more likely to consider the Māori language as personally relevant to them), and provides further suggestive evidence of the lower level of tolerability of the Māori language among this attitude category. This particular result may be of concern to the senders of the promotional materials. One possible conclusion is that if policymakers want to encourage uninterested participants to have more positive attitudes towards the Māori language, they may need to find new ways to encourage them to feel they are personally being targeted by the promotional materials and, accompanying this, that the Māori language is relevant to them.

---

[60] For the phrase booklets, this message is only the one that showed the widest divergence if the message 'sport is relevant to Māori people/culture' is excluded (on the basis of relating to only a small proportion of the participants who received the sport-themed phrase booklet).

[61] The message that showed the greatest divergence between the two groups for this ad was the message 'It's OK to make mistakes', perceived by 20% of supporters and 6.9% of uninterested participants.

Behavioural messages perceived by participants

The participants were also asked what they thought the creators of each of the promotional materials were asking them to do, if anything. This aimed to elicit behavioural messages about the Māori language. The messages discerned in the responses to each material are shown in Tables 6.7-6.10 below. Again all the behavioural messages analysed in the first half of the chapter were perceived by at least some of the participants, along with several further messages.

Strong behavioural messages in each material

The strong behavioural messages about the Māori language in the Roma ad were to: learn Māori, speak/use Māori, and value/be proud of Māori. The strong behavioural messages in the Koro ad were to: learn Māori, speak/use Māori, and to 'give it a go'. The strong behavioural messages in the website were to: learn Māori, give it a go, and use the website to learn or practice. The strong behavioural messages in the booklets were to: give it a go, learn Māori, use Māori phrases, and speak/use Māori[62]. Strikingly, the strongest behavioural messages for each of the promotional materials related to learning or using the Māori language.

An interesting aspect of the results for this question was the practice of some participants of assuming the voice of the sender in expressing these messages, e.g. "link up with other Māori language speakers to support te reo by using it and contributing your experience and ideas!" in relation to the website (M-U-45/50-PsI) and "learn multiple languages and impress others!" in relation to the Roma ad (F-S-30/35-PbG). This practice was also evident in Forceville's (1996) data, one participant stating in relation to a billboard featuring a piano tuner that "we, IBM, help you to stay in tune". Given that both Forceville's participants and the participants in the current research sometimes expressed quite different views in their later personal response to the promotional materials, these examples provide further evidence of the ease and expertise of modern audiences in interpreting the discourse of advertising (see Cook 2001).

---

[62] The distinction in phrase booklet messages between 'using Māori' and 'using Māori phrases', and between 'learning Māori' and 'learning Māori phrases' reflects the apparently distinct levels of competence in the language envisaged by the participants in relation to this promotional material (which was more apparent here than in relation to the other promotional materials).

Table 6.7: Behavioural messages perceived in Roma ad

Messages	Number of participants	Percentage of participants
Learn Māori	36	56.3
Speak/use Māori	23	35.9
Value/be proud of Māori	18	28.1
Use Māori overseas	8	12.5
Give it a go	5	7.8
Promote/advocate for Māori language	5	7.8
Take part in/be aware of Māori Language Week	5	7.8
Use Māori anywhere	3	4.7
Take an interest in Māori	1	1.6
Learn Māori before learning other languages	1	1.6
Make an effort (as you would with Italian if visiting Italy)	1	1.6
Speak to people overseas in their own language	1	1.6

Table 6.8: Behavioural messages perceived in Koro ad

Messages	Number of participants	Percentage of participants
Learn Māori	18	32.1
Speak/use Māori	17	30.4
Give it a go	15	26.8
Teach your family Māori	10	17.9
Encourage/support others to learn Māori	7	12.5
Don't worry about making mistakes	6	10.7
Pronounce Māori properly	5	8.9
Make an effort	4	7.1
Have fun speaking Māori	2	3.6
Value/be proud of Māori	2	3.6
Learn Māori when young	1	1.8
Learn Māori if you are Māori	1	1.8
Promote/advocate for Māori	1	1.8
Speak Māori correctly	1	1.8

Messages	Number of participants	Percentage of participants
Take an interest in/find out more about Māori	1	1.8
Celebrate New Zealand culture	1	1.8

Table 6.9: Behavioural messages perceived in Kōrero Māori website

Messages	Number of participants	Percentage of participants
Learn Māori	37	52.1
Give it a go	22	31.0
Use this site to learn/practice	19	26.8
Speak/use Māori	14	19.7
Get involved	13	18.3
Incorporate Māori into all facets of your life (including business)	12	16.9
Link up with other speakers of Māori	8	11.3
Join the Māori language club	6	8.5
Use the support networks available	4	5.6
Find out about Māori culture/protocol	3	4.2
Don't worry about making mistakes	2	2.8
Promote/advocate for Māori	2	2.8
Make an effort	2	2.8
Teach others (including children) Māori	2	2.8
Speak Māori correctly	1	1.4
Pronounce Māori correctly	1	1.4
Buy Kōrero Māori products	1	1.4
Encourage/support others to learn Māori	1	1.4

Table 6.10: Behavioural messages perceived in Kōrero Māori booklets

Messages	Number of participants	Percentage of participants
Give it a go	45	63.4
Learn Māori	21	29.6

Messages	Number of participants	Percentage of participants
Use Māori phrases	18	25.4
Speak/use Māori	17	23.9
Learn phrases	12	16.9
Don't worry about making mistakes	7	9.9
Have fun while learning	6	8.5
Use the booklet to learn	4	5.6
Value/be proud of Māori	2	2.8
Get involved	1	1.4
Celebrate New Zealand culture	1	1.4
Pronounce Māori correctly	1	1.4
Teach Māori to your children	1	1.4
Take it seriously (grammar)	1	1.4
Be healthy/fit/active	1	1.4

Common behavioural messages across materials

Three behavioural messages were strikingly common across the promotional materials, and arguably represent the strongest behavioural themes of the Government's overall promotional approach, as perceived by the participants.

Table 6.11: Behavioural messages perceived in all four promotional materials (% of participants)

Message	Roma	Koro	Website	Booklets	AVERAGE %
Learn Māori	56.3	32.1	52.1	29.6	42.5
Give it a go	7.8	26.8	31.0	63.4	32.3
Speak/use Māori	35.9	30.4	19.7	23.9	27.5

Notably, these messages all relate to participants learning and using Māori, despite the Government's stated intention of not promoting language learning in particular to non-Māori (see chapter five). Messages relating to other behaviours did exist in the participants' responses, but were much weaker than the learning-related behavioural messages. This suggests that if the Government does indeed

intend non-Māori to engage in behaviours other than learning and using Māori, such behaviours may need to be more strongly foregrounded in future promotional materials.

Cross-tabulation of attitude categories and behavioural messages

When the behavioural messages were cross-tabulated with attitude category, the messages that showed the greatest divergence between supporters and uninterested participants in the Roma and Koro ads and the booklets related to participants using the Māori language. The message 'speak/use Māori ' was perceived by 44.7% of supporters and 21.7% of uninterested participants in the Roma ad, and by 35% of supporters and 20% of uninterested participants in the Koro ad, and the message 'use Māori phrases' was perceived by 37.5% of supporters and 7.1% of uninterested participants in the booklets. This common finding for these three promotional materials[63] suggests uninterested participants were less likely than supporters to identify use of the Māori language as a behavioural message targeted at them. As with the result for the message 'Māori is for everyone', this is likely to reflect the uninterested participants' own attitudes towards use of the Māori language by non-Māori (discussed in the next chapter).

Popularity of the materials among participants

Participants were asked whether or not they liked each promotional material, the response options being 'like', 'dislike' and 'neutral'. This question aimed to obtain general information as to which promotional materials were most popular overall. The results showed that a majority of participants liked the promotional materials, in the following proportions:

- 63.8% of participants liked the Roma ad;

- 67.5% of the participants liked the Koro ad;

- 62.5% of the participants liked the website; and

---

[63] The results for the website were inconclusive, with some use-related messages more likely to be perceived by supporters and some by uninterested participants.

- 73.8% of the participants liked the booklets.

These are quite high proportions of positive ratings, particularly for the booklets, and it is notable that very low proportions of participants disliked the materials, most of those who did not 'like' the materials expressing a 'neutral' rather than a 'dislike' response. There were considerable differences between attitude categories, however:

- 80% of the supporters liked the Roma ad, compared to 48.4% of the uninterested participants, and none of the English Only participants;

- 73.3% of the supporters liked the Koro ad, compared to 64.5% of the uninterested participants, and 25% of the English Only participants;

- 71.1% of the supporters liked the website, compared to 54.8% of the uninterested participants, and 25% of the English Only participants; and

- 80% of the supporters liked the booklets, compared to 64.5% of the uninterested participants, and 75% of the English Only participants.

Not surprisingly perhaps, the results show the supporters consistently liked the promotional materials in greater proportions than the uninterested and English only participants, and the uninterested participants generally liked the materials in greater proportions than the English only participants. It is interesting, however, to note the differences in which materials appealed most to the different groups:

- The supporters were most likely to like the booklets and the Roma ad (80% each), followed by the Koro ad (73.3%) and then the website (71.1%);

- The uninterested participants were most likely to like the booklets and the Koro ad (64.5% each), followed by the website (54.8%) and then the Roma ad (48.4%)[64]; and

---

[64] The higher proportion of missing responses for these questions among uninterested participants will have influenced the results (four for the Roma ad, three for the Koro ad and website and two for the phrase booklets). The only other missing responses were three among supporters for the Roma ad.

- The English only participants were most likely to like the booklets (75%), followed by the Koro ad and the website (25% each), and did not like the Roma ad at all.

The booklets thus had the widest appeal across attitude categories, with the Roma ad more likely to be liked by supporters, the Koro ad more likely to be liked by uninterested and English Only participants, and the website somewhere in between. In interpreting the results for the booklets as a whole, it is important to remember three different booklets were used. When the results for each booklet are compared, the most popular was the original Kōrero Māori booklet (liked by 86.2% of participants), followed by the sport-themed booklet (liked by 72% of participants), followed by the kai-themed booklet (liked by 61.5% of participants). Again, supporters were generally most likely to like the booklets, although there was an exception for the sport-themed booklet, which was liked by a higher proportion of uninterested participants than supporters.

What participants liked about the materials

In addition to being asked if they liked the materials, the participants were asked to state what they liked or disliked about them. This aimed to elicit information as to which discursive techniques appealed most (and least) to the participants.

The elements most commonly liked about the Roma ad (over 10% of participants) related to the aesthetic and creative aspects of the ad, including the: comparison to Italian, cleverness/originality/creativeness, international flavour, presentation of Māori in a new/positive light, humour, and coolness/sophistication/stylishness. The elements most commonly disliked related to the perceived artificiality of the ad, including the: scenario being hard to take seriously, unclear meaning, perceived overacting, 'cheesiness' or pretentiousness, style of filming, unrealistic comparison (since Māori is not 'on a par' with Italian), and subject of conversation. Some elements were liked by some participants and disliked by others, e.g. some found the ad too short, others liked the length; some thought the message was unclear, others praised it for being clear; some enjoyed the low prominence of English in the ad, others saw this as Māori dominating over English, and so on. In general, the Roma ad appears to have polarised viewers. This was also reflected

in the popularity figures, where the divide between attitude categories was strongest in relation to this ad.

The elements most commonly liked about the Koro ad (over 10% of participants) related to the characters and tone, including the: relationship between koro and child, humour, positive message, family setting, theme of old learning from young, everyday setting, characters, friendliness/warmth/light-heartedness, 'cuteness', and strong/clear message. The elements most commonly disliked were: the unclear message, lack of relevance to the viewer (likely to reflect confusion about whether or not the grandfather was Māori), short length, and that people would not understand the Māori words. This ad appeared less controversial than the Roma ad, with 32 mentions of disliked aspects of the ad, compared to 62 for the Roma ad.

The elements most commonly liked about the website (over 10% of participants) related to its usefulness, including that it: was informative, easy to navigate and use, bilingual, positive and non-threatening, good for every level, visually appealing, interactive, good for pronunciation, had good resources, had a good layout, was useful, clear, and explained Māori history, culture and protocol. The elements most commonly disliked were: the design, a perceived overload of information, and the simplistic content. The first two of these dislikes were also cited as likes by other participants, and a number of further elements of the website were also both liked and disliked, e.g. some participants liked the information about Māori culture on the site, others found this intimidating, and others still thought there was not enough of it.

The elements most commonly liked about the booklets (over 10% of participants) related to their accessibility and usefulness, including that they: were informative, easy to use, had a good format, were useful, had simple phrases, were visually appealing, were encouraging and non-threatening, had a good layout, were relevant, easy to understand, and fun. The elements most commonly disliked were: that they were cluttered, the design, the restricted focus of the sport-themed booklet, that they were poorly structured, and that more pronunciation guidance was required.

Visibility of the materials by participants

Finally, the participants were asked whether they had seen the promotional materials before. This aimed to elicit information as to the effectiveness of the materials in actually reaching their target audience. The results for this question showed that only a small proportion of participants had seen most of the materials. The most commonly viewed materials were the booklets (seen by 33.8% of the participants), followed by the Roma ad (seen by 32.5% of the participants, with a 7.5% missing response[65]), followed by the Koro ad (seen by 27.5% of the participants, with an 8.8% missing response), and the website in last place (seen by only 12.5% of the participants, with an 8.8% missing response). Three participants commented that the website was poorly publicised, which may be reflected in these results.

There were some differences between the proportions of supporters and uninterested participants who had seen the materials. Although the results were similar for the television ads (at 31.1% and 32.3% for the Roma ad, and 28.9% and 29% for the Koro ad, respectively), supporters were more likely to have seen the website than the uninterested participants (17.8% to 6.5%) and much more likely to have seen the booklets (48.9% to 12.9%). It is likely that the supporters are involved in networks where they were more likely to be exposed to the website and booklets than the uninterested participants (particularly, perhaps, those working in government, as these are government publications). The broad sweep approach of using television is likely to be most effective in reaching all attitude categories, although this medium has other disadvantages, including the expense involved.

Overall effectiveness of materials

Of the materials analysed in this chapter, the phrase booklet approach appears to have come up with top marks overall. The booklets succeeded in conveying the core messages of the materials as a whole, were the most popular overall, and were the most popular across attitude categories. Added to this is the highly positive evaluation of the booklets by parents of Māori children reflected in the

---

[65] It may be more likely that those who did not tick a box had not seen the relevant material.

focus group research undertaken by the MLC with a Māori audience in 2007 (Akroyd Research and Evaluation)[66]. Given that these results suggest the booklets are especially effective, policymakers may wish to continue with this approach, or at least incorporate some of its elements into other approaches. The Roma ad presented a mixed bag in terms of responses, being very popular among supporters, but considerably less popular among other attitude categories. Perhaps the least successful promotional material was the Koro ad. This ad had considerable inherent appeal for many participants, but the fact that a number of participants thought both characters were Māori suggests its messages relating to tolerability passed unnoticed by many. If language promotion campaigns continue to be used in planning for tolerability in New Zealand, it will also be important to distribute the materials more widely, as they are not currently reaching a great proportion of their intended audience, which places an immediate limit on their potential effectiveness.

Summary: chapter six

This chapter has argued that recent promotional materials used by the New Zealand government in planning for tolerability use a range of creative discursive techniques to transmit a variety of attitudinal and behavioural messages relating to the Māori language. The responses of the non-Māori participants suggest that the materials were largely effective in transmitting these messages ('reason') to a non-Māori audience in an appealing way ('tickle'), although important differences between attitude categories existed. General themes included that:

- participants whose attitudes towards the Māori language were already positive responded more positively to Māori language promotion, and also perceived it as being targeted at them;

- participants interpreted the promotional materials in line with their existing attitudes towards the Māori language, perceiving different messages in the

---

[66] The report notes that the four booklets "were unanimously received as excellent resources" and that (2007: 66): "When parents had the phrase books in their hands, they wanted to use them straight away and were using them in the focus groups to kōrero with each other. The implication is that this is the preferred style of published resource."

materials depending on their attitude category, so different groups of participants actually 'got' different messages[67]; and

- participants overall tended to think they were being encouraged to learn Māori, despite government policy documents stating that this is not necessarily the intention for a non-Māori audience.

The implications of these themes for future approaches to planning for tolerability will be discussed in chapter nine.

Aside from the present research, there has been no evaluation of the policy initiatives undertaken to plan for tolerability in New Zealand. The results described in this chapter should assist in filling this gap. A more extensive, ongoing evaluation programme would be needed to link the promotional campaigns to changes in attitudes and behaviours over time.

Of course, to be sure of success in influencing language behaviour, it is necessary to know what you want your target audience to do. The next chapter discusses in more detail the notion of 'desired behaviours' for non-Māori in relation to the Māori language, which is, at present, an ambiguous element of planning for tolerability in New Zealand.

---

[67] This tendency is noted in attitude research. Fabrigar et al. (2005: 99) note, for example, that pre-message attitudes can bias evaluation of the arguments in a message, so "arguments compatible with one's pre-message attitudes are accepted, whereas arguments incompatible with one's pre-message attitude are undermined".

Chapter Seven
Desired behaviours:

The behaviours of non-Māori New Zealanders towards the Māori language

Given that both the attitudes and the behaviours of majority language speakers impact on minority languages, I have proposed that planning for tolerability involves targeting not only the attitudes of majority language speakers, but also proposing desired behaviours. From the discussion so far, a lack of clarity is evident in the New Zealand government's approach to desired behaviours. The Government does not strongly propose learning and using Māori as desired behaviours for non-Māori, but the desired behaviours actually considered appropriate - aside from having positive attitudes - are not stated. A range of potential desired behaviours are discernible in recent government promotional materials, but according to the non-Māori participants in the current research the strongest behavioural message in these materials is still to learn Māori. The Government claims that Māori and non-Māori have different roles to play in supporting the Māori language, yet the measure used in the TPK surveys to investigate the current behaviours of Māori and non-Māori is identical. In the midst of this jumbled picture, there has been no detailed consideration in Māori language planning of what specific behaviours non-Māori in particular could engage in to support the Māori language. The current chapter seeks to advance the discussion by presenting in-depth information from the non-Māori participants about their views on desired behaviours for non-Māori in relation to the Māori language.

Methodological approach

The participants were asked about behaviours towards the Māori language in both the questionnaire (see Appendix One) and the interviews. The questions in the questionnaire were intended largely as a preliminary exercise, to elicit participants' views on the range of behaviours that might be appropriate for Māori and non-Māori. These questions were open-ended, so as not to predetermine participants' selection of behaviours. Participants were also asked about their participation in the language and culture related activities used as a behavioural measure in the

TPK surveys, as a control. The interviews then took a selection of potential desired behaviours and enquired in more detail into participants' views regarding these behaviours. The results from the questionnaires and interviews are discussed separately below, given the differing aims and nature of the data.

Participation of participants in Māori language and culture related activities

In the demographic section of the questionnaire, the participants were asked how many times in the past year they had participated in a range of Māori language and culture related activities, based on those included in the TPK attitude surveys. Table 7.1 below shows the percentage of participants who participated in these activities regularly (once or more often in the past month).

Table 7.1: Percentage of participants who had participated in Māori language and culture-related activities once or more often in the past month

Activity	Supporters	Uninterested	English Only	All participants
Read Māori focused magazines	15.6	0	0	8.8
Listen to iwi radio	8.8	3.2	0	6.3
Watch Māori television	53.2	19.5	25	38.8
Access Māori language and culture websites	31.1	3.2	0	18.8
Go to a marae	2.2	0	0	1.3
Attend events with Māori welcomes and speeches	33.4	12.9	0	23.8
Visit Māori art, culture or historical exhibits	15.5	3.2	0	10.1
Go to kapa haka/ Māori culture group concert	2.2	0	0	1.3

The results show supporters had the most involvement in the activities, followed by uninterested participants and then English Only participants, but the regular

participation of all these groups in the activities was very low. The only activities with notably higher levels of participation were: watching Māori Television (particularly supporters but also uninterested participants); attending events with Māori welcomes and speeches (particularly supporters but also uninterested participants); and accessing Māori culture and language websites (supporters). Notably, all these more frequent activities are either largely passive (watching TV or surfing the internet) or unlikely to be voluntarily sought (given the high proportion of public servants and workers at Māori-focused organisations in the supporter category, Māori welcomes and speeches are likely to be work-related).

It is not possible to make a detailed comparison between the present results and the results of the TPK surveys, as only a limited selection of the TPK results are available from the survey reports, and the 2000 and 2006 TPK surveys use the response format 'very rarely' to 'very often' rather than the format used here. In general terms, however, the TPK results are similar to the present data in all the ways stated above, i.e. TPK's 'passive supporters' had the most involvement in the activities, followed by uninterested participants, and finally English Only participants; the regular participation of all these groups in the activities was very low; and the most frequent activities were watching Māori programmes on television and going to events with Māori welcomes and speeches (TPK did not ask about websites). One difference is that TPK's participants were more likely to go to Māori art and cultural exhibits than participants in the current research.

The results for this question suggest the non-Māori participants in the current research mirrored the TPK participants in terms of limited involvement in the language and culture-related activities in the TPK surveys. The question then arises as to whether the current participants were more likely to participate in other behaviours to support the Māori language.

Māori and non-Māori roles in relation to the Māori language

At the beginning of the behaviours section of the questionnaire, participants were asked if they thought people should support Māori language use in New Zealand. All but two participants (97.5%) responded 'yes' to this question[68]. What the

---

[68] This is likely to reflect the social-desirability bias, as this was the obvious 'socially appropriate' response to this question. The question was included despite this anticipated result, as it then gave participants the option of opting out from the subsequent questions about how people could

different attitude categories meant by supporting the Māori language could of course differ considerably, and those participants who answered 'yes' were thus asked open-ended questions relating to the roles they perceived for Māori and non-Māori in relation to supporting the Māori language. To analyse the responses to these questions I used the same approach as for the responses to the promotional materials, i.e. identifying themes in the participants' responses and allocating participants' responses to these themes. The use of this method again calls up the limitations discussed in chapter six, relating to its subjective nature. I consider these limitations mitigated in the present context by the preliminary nature of the questions and the use of other complementary forms of analysis, i.e. the qualitative analysis of some of the questionnaire data and, in particular, the interview data later in the chapter.

Māori role

Participants were first asked what they thought Māori New Zealanders could do to support the Māori language[69]. The behaviours identified in the responses to this question are shown in Table 7.2 over the page. The most common behaviours (mentioned by over 10% of participants) were: speak/use Māori, learn Māori, encourage others to speak/learn/value Māori, encourage non-Māori in particular to speak/learn/value Māori, promote or advocate for Māori, pass Māori on to their children, be positive about/proud of Māori, use Māori in the home, use Māori in public, teach Māori to others, and be open and inclusive about the language and culture. Notably, many of these behaviours rely on Māori already knowing the Māori language.

When the results were cross-tabulated for attitude category, the top three most widely divergent behaviours between supporters and uninterested participants were: speak/use Māori (62.2% supporters, 36.7% uninterested); use Māori in public (22.2% supporters, 3.3% uninterested); and promote/advocate for Māori (28.9% supporters, 10% uninterested), with the fourth widest divergence being

---

support the Māori language. This responded to an issue raised during piloting of the questionnaire, where one participant noted that launching directly into asking participants how they thought people could support the Māori language involved (unreasonably) assuming they wished to do so.

[69] This question and the subsequent question were based on those used in TPK (2003a). This survey did, therefore, ask participants what behaviours they saw as appropriate for Māori and non-Māori in relation to the Māori language. The results for these questions were given very little treatment in the survey reports, however, and participants' behaviours were measured instead against the language and culture related activities discussed above.

'encourage non-Māori to learn/use/value Māori' (28.9% supporters, 10% uninterested). These results show supporters were more likely than uninterested participants to propose that Māori engage in extensive use and direct promotion of the Māori language to others, including to non-Māori. In contrast, uninterested and English Only participants resisted what they perceived as the Māori language being 'forced' on them by Māori:

> Be more supportive about Pākehā learning the Māori language. But not force it on us (F-EO-30/35-PrNZ)
>
> Learn it, don't enforce [sic] it on others who aren't interested in it otherwise there will be a backlash against it (M-EO-35/40-PbG)
>
> Encourage use of it within own family unit. Don't force it on other people who may not be comfortable with any "second" language (F-U-30/35-PrI)

Others again promoted the associated discourse of choice:

> Make Māori available for those who <u>choose</u> to use it (M-U-40/45-PrI)

Table 7.2: Participants' views on what Māori can do to support the Māori language

Behaviours	Number	Percentage of participants
Speak/use Māori	40	51.3
Learn Māori	33	42.3
Encourage/help others (in general) to learn/speak/value Māori	17	21.8
Encourage non-Māori to learn/speak/value Māori	17	21.8
Promote/advocate for Māori	16	20.5
Pass Māori on to children	16	20.5
Be positive about/proud of Māori	12	15.4
Use Māori at home/within family unit	11	14.1
Use Māori in public	11	14.1
Teach Māori to others	8	10.3
Be open/inclusive about the Māori language and culture	8	10.3
Be patient/encouraging/respond constructively to people making mistakes but trying	7	9.0
Make it positive/less threatening/less intimidating	6	7.7
Send children to immersion schools	5	6.4

Behaviours	Number	Percentage of participants
Support Māori broadcasting	5	6.4
Take ownership of the language/up to Māori to take leading role	4	5.1
Teach Māori culture to others	3	3.8
Encourage/help Māori to learn/speak/value Māori	3	3.8
Push for more education on Māori language and culture in school	3	3.8
More advertising in mainstream media	3	3.8
Accept that not everyone knows how to speak Māori	3	3.8
Don't force it on others	3	3.8
Use Māori phrases	2	2.6
Send children to Māori classes	2	2.6
Be involved in culture/develop cultural identity	2	2.6
Use Māori at formal/cultural events	2	2.6
Find creative/motivating ways to remind people of the language	2	2.6
More focus/exposure of the language in business	2	2.6
Don't expect other people to understand	2	2.6
Don't use it as a political tool	2	2.6
Push for Māori language provision by government departments	1	1.3
Take part in language regeneration initiatives/get involved	1	1.3
Use available resources/support	1	1.3
Know English as well to show openness/mutual respect	1	1.3
Help write down language for future generations	1	1.3

Non-Māori role

Participants were then asked what they thought non-Māori New Zealanders could do to support the Māori language[70]. The behaviours identified in the responses to this question are shown in Table 7.3 over the page[71]. The most commonly

---

[70] Following the 2003 TPK survey, participants were also asked what they thought they personally could do to support the Māori language. The results for this question are not discussed here, as they so closely mirrored the responses given by participants for the role of non-Māori as a whole.

[71] This list could be shortened in some places, but I wanted to reflect the subtle differences in the responses on some topics, for example the increasing intensity of role represented in a sequence relating to awareness, progressing from: 'be aware of Māori language' to 'take an interest in Māori

mentioned behaviour for non-Māori, as for Māori, was to learn the language, but followed this time by 'be accepting of Māori language/respect others' right to use it', rather than non-Māori using the language themselves, although 'speak/use Māori' followed next. Also above10% were: appreciate/value Māori language, use correct pronunciation, promote/advocate for Māori, welcome use of the language, and learn phrases/basic Māori. These behaviours proposed for non-Māori were in some ways similar to the perceived role for Māori, particularly in terms of the most common behaviour: learning Māori. The other behaviours above, however, relate less to significant use of the language and more to accepting and encouraging its use by others, as well as supportive gestures such as pronunciation and learning Māori phrases.

When the results were cross-tabulated for attitude category, more interesting results emerged. The top three most widely divergent behaviours between supporters and uninterested participants were: learn Māori (62.2% supporters, 27.6% uninterested); speak/use Māori (26.7% supporters, 3.4% uninterested); and use correct pronunciation (20% supporters, 6.9% uninterested). These results reveal that the high prominence of learning and speaking/using Māori in the overall results was carried largely by supporters.

Table 7.3: Participants' views on what non-Māori can do to support the Māori language

Behaviours	Number	Percentage of participants
Learn Māori	36	46.8
Be accepting of Māori language/respect others' right to use it	31	40.3
Speak/use Māori	13	16.9
Appreciate/value Māori language/understand its importance	13	16.9
Use correct pronunciation	11	14.3
Promote/advocate/express support for the language	10	13.0
Welcome use of Māori language	9	11.7
Learn phrases/basic Māori	8	10.4
Use phrases	7	9.1

language' to 'appreciate/value Māori language' to 'promote/advocate/express support for the language'.

Behaviours	Number	Percentage of participants
Give it a go	7	9.1
Promote/teach in schools	7	9.1
Encourage children to learn basic Māori	7	9.1
Watch/listen to Māori broadcasting	7	9.1
Support/take part in language regeneration initiatives	6	7.8
Find out about Māori culture/history	6	7.8
Take an interest in Māori language	4	5.2
Be aware of Māori language	3	3.9
Promote to other non-Māori	3	3.9
Make Māori compulsory in schools	3	3.9
Maintain ceremonial use of Māori at public events etc	2	2.6
Don't always link Māori language to political issues	2	2.6
Encourage others to use correct pronunciation	1	1.3
Teach others (e.g. family) the Māori that you know	1	1.3
Encourage others to learn/use Māori	1	1.3
Introduce children to Māori culture/history	1	1.3
Encourage children to be tolerant/supportive of Māori	1	1.3

Distinction between Māori and non-Māori roles

Compared to the responses of uninterested participants, the supporters' views on language learning and use by non-Māori were much closer to the behaviours they proposed for Māori, suggesting that supporters were less likely to make a clear distinction between the roles of Māori and non-Māori in relation to the Māori language. Some supporters explicitly noted the lack of distinction they perceived between Māori and non-Māori roles:

> I think it is (a little bit) strange to think that Māori and non-Māori should do "different" things to support the language (F-S-30/35-PbG)

> I don't see any meaningful distinction between the activities that Māori and non-Māori can do to support the Māori language (M-S-25/30-PbG)

Others simply indicated the same behaviours for both Māori and non-Māori, by stating "all of the above" (F-S-30/35-PbM) or "same as per 3.2" (M-S-35/40-PbG). One supporter referred to a need, under both the Māori and Māori roles, to:

> Work on fostering an 'our language' point of view rather than 'their language' (F-S-35/40-PbM)

In contrast, the uninterested and English Only participants tended to explicitly distinguish between the behaviours of Māori and non-Māori on the basis of the ethnic connection of Māori to the language:

> I see the language as being relevant to Māori but I do not consider it part of my cultural heritage (M-U-40/45-PbG)

> Learn it – it's their language (M-EO-25/30-PbG)

> Not interested. Not my culture (M-EO-25/30-PbG)

Passive and active roles for non-Māori

The results also suggest supporters were more likely to envisage an active role for non-Māori. Supporters were more likely than uninterested participants to suggest the following behaviours for non-Māori: learn Māori; speak/use Māori; give it a go; take an interest in Māori language; value Māori language; promote/advocate/express support for the language; promote the language to other non-Māori; teach others the Māori that you know; encourage others to learn/use/value Māori; welcome use of the language; use correct pronunciation; support Māori language initiatives; support Māori broadcasting; find out about Māori culture; encourage children to learn about Māori culture; and make Māori language compulsory in schools. These responses show an interventionist view of the role of non-Māori, involving not only taking an active personal interest in Māori language and culture, but also attempting to spread this interest among others.

Some supporters did propose more passive forms of support for the Māori language, relating, for example, to attitudes and listening to the language:

> I think my main contribution will be attitudinal, i.e. that I recognise the importance of it and the respect it deserves (M-S-25/30-PbM)

Probably more important than speaking [Māori] is the importance of learning to listen to Māori even when it is not understood (F-S-30/35-PbM)

Many supporters, however, went much further than this, expressing behaviours that involved actively advocating for the Māori language:

Talk about how important the language is to cultural revival and survival, whenever the subject comes up (F-S-40/45-PbM)

Try to counter people's stereotypes and assumptions about Māori and Māori language (F-S-20/25-PbM)

Don't back down when people ask what the point is (F-S-35/40-PbM)

Try and dispel anti-Māori sentiment (M-S-30/35-PrNZ)

Be accepting. Talk it up (M-S-30/35-PrI)

Push/lobby for Māori to be used more in official situations (F-S-40/45-PbG)

Encourage Māori friends and colleagues to be proud of their language (F-S-40/45-PbG)

These behaviours, notably, reveal the supporters' attempts to directly promote the tolerability of the Māori language among their social networks.

In contrast, uninterested participants were more likely than supporters to propose the following behaviours for non-Māori: be aware of Māori language; be accepting of others using the language; not always link the Māori language to political issues; maintain ceremonial uses of the language; learn phrases; use phrases; encourage children to be tolerant of Māori culture; encourage children to learn basic Māori; and teach Māori in schools. These results shows the uninterested participants' focus on more minimal personal use of Māori language (e.g. learning and using phrases, rather than learning and using the language), and also their focus on 'awareness' of the language rather than active promotion. Strikingly, the behaviours proposed for non-Māori by uninterested participants were often expressed as 'not' doing something negative rather than doing something positive:

Not raise any barriers to Māori using the language (M-U-40/45-PbG)

Not dismiss it (M-U-25/30-PrI)

If not interested in it for self, don't let this stop other people (F-U-30/35-PrI)

Current behaviours of non-Māori participants towards the Māori language

The participants were asked, looking at their previous answers, to state whether they were aware of currently engaging in any behaviours to support the Māori language. 65.4% of participants claimed to be participating in behaviours to support the Māori language. The results for this question were strongly associated with attitude category, with 84.4% of supporters claiming active support for the Māori language, compared to 40% of uninterested participants (and one English Only participant).

Participants who responded 'yes' were then asked to state what behaviours they were engaging in to support the Māori language. The most common behaviours (over 10% of participants) were: learning Māori, using Māori phrases in conversation, advocating for wider use of/expressing support for Māori, using correct pronunciation, accepting or respecting Māori language use by others, supporting Māori broadcasting, and using Māori (to a greater extent than phrases).

Again there were noticeable differences between attitude categories in the responses to this question. The activities engaged in by uninterested participants were generally minimal, and they saw little active role for themselves in supporting the language (beyond, for example, singing the national anthem in Māori at the rugby), although they would like their children to know about Māori language and culture. In contrast, the behaviours engaged in by supporters suggested quite active involvement in supporting the language in a range of ways: learning and using it, encouraging others to learn and use it; advocating for its wider use and acceptance; getting involved in Māori culture; and supporting Māori language regeneration initiatives.

Although non-Māori are less likely to speak Māori than are Māori, the list of behaviours given by the supporters suggests there is nothing 'passive' about the ways in which some participants claimed to support the Māori language. Instead, these participants reported engaging with the language in a range of other but arguably no less active ways. This is why I have called them 'supporters' rather than using TPK's term 'passive supporters'.

Table 7.4: Current behaviours of participants to support the Māori language

Behaviours	Number	Percentage of participants
Learn Māori	20	39.2
Use Māori words/phrases	18	35.3
Advocate for wider use/express support for Māori	10	19.6
Use correct pronunciation	9	17.6
Accept/be supportive of/respect Māori language use	8	15.7
Support Māori broadcasting	7	13.7
Use Māori	6	11.8
Take part in language regeneration initiatives	5	9.8
Learn phrases	4	7.8
Encourage others to learn/speak Māori	4	7.8
Encourage children to learn Māori	4	7.8
Teach others (e.g. family) the Māori that I know	3	5.9
Learn about Māori culture	3	5.9
Encourage others to use correct pronunciation	2	3.9
Use resources (e.g. booklet)	2	3.9
Encourage children to learn about Māori culture	1	2.0
Learn from/interact with other Māori speakers	1	2.0
Go to events where Māori is spoken	1	2.0
Accept ceremonial use at public events, etc	1	2.0
Sing national anthem in Māori	1	2.0
Support language initiatives through paying taxes	1	2.0

Selected desired behaviours for non-Māori in interviews

As is clear from the above, the participants came up with a wide range of potential behaviours for non-Māori in relation to the Māori language. The questionnaire format did not allow for enquiring into participants' views on these behaviours in depth, however. The interviews provided an opportunity for more detailed discussion of a selection of desired behaviours.

Twenty-six questionnaire participants were interviewed, comprising eleven supporters, eleven uninterested participants, and four English Only participants (the latter representing all available participants from this category). These participants were randomly selected from those who had indicated their willingness to participate in the interview in the questionnaire (63 out of 80 participants). The interviews were conducted wherever it was convenient for the participant (usually in a meeting room at the participant's workplace, a public library, or in one case the participant's home). The interviews were recorded using a digital voice recorder and transcribed. There was a noticeable difference in the length of the interviews between attitude categories, the average length of the interviews being 24 minutes for supporters (15 minutes to 37 minutes), 18 minutes for uninterested participants (12 minutes to 26 minutes), and 14 minutes for English Only participants (12 minutes to 17 minutes).

The social-desirability bias will undoubtedly have affected the interviewees' expression of their views to some degree. As noted in chapter four, this bias may be most present in a face-to-face interview context, and I was myself aware of accommodating to the attitude category of my interviewee, to the extent of involuntarily changing my habitual pronunciation of Māori words. For a number of reasons, however, I do not think the operation of the social-desirability bias was as strong as it might have been. I am certain that some of the comments made about Māori people in particular during the interviews would have been less freely made if I had been a Māori interviewer. Also, although some uninterested and English Only participants initially expressed 'socially desirable' responses to questions about the Māori language, usually as the discussion progressed other views came through[72]. I tried to conceal my own views, and to encourage openness in the participants by agreeing with them or providing other forms of positive feedback, even when elsewhere I might have objected or expressed alternative views. I also took into account what I had already learnt about the participants from their questionnaire, and adjusted my style and tone accordingly. In addition to these specific strategies, it should be noted that the interview interactions were not based solely around my and the participants' respective attitude categories, other

---

[72] For example, one participant claimed that others using Māori in her presence 'didn't worry' her but then went on to express a view of the 'impoliteness' of using another language around people who cannot speak it. This participant also initially said she thought it was 'fine' that government departments use Māori language, but then went on to say in strong terms that this was a 'waste of money'. These examples could be seen as instances of Boyce's (2005) characterisation of 'yes, but' attitudes towards the Māori language among non-Māori.

important factors being personalities and the rapport that was built. Some of the most enjoyable and (apparently) open interviews were with people with quite different attitudes towards the Māori language than my own, but with whom I connected on other levels, e.g. age, gender or common interests. This adds up to a complex picture of interaction, where social-desirability may not be the strongest factor.

In the final analysis, I think the data speaks for itself. While the combination of topic and interview context mean the participants may not have revealed all their feelings about the Māori language, I believe there is enough variety and subtlety in the responses reported in the remainder of this chapter to contribute much to our understanding of the views of non-Māori on desired behaviours for non-Māori in relation to the Māori language. The reporting of results includes a selection of quotes from the participants[73]. Those interested in reading further quotes are referred to Appendix Six (provided on CD), which compiles supplementary data supporting the claims made.

Introductory questions

At the start of the interviews, participants were asked some introductory questions picking up on some of the themes of the questionnaire. This was to give participants some context for the subsequent discussion of behaviours and to get them thinking about the relevant issues before talking about the behaviours. I chose not to conceal the purpose of the research during this round, explicitly noting that it was "based on the theory that majority language speakers can have quite a big impact on the possibilities for a minority language to survive". I said that, based on this theory, I was looking at the current attitudes and behaviours of non-Māori New Zealanders towards the Māori language to see what the current environment was like in New Zealand regarding the Māori language.

---

[73] My own utterances appear in brackets, where relevant, but I have generally removed minimal feedback (such as "yeah", "OK", "right") on my part. I have also generally edited out pauses, fillers and repetitions in the participants' utterances. Longer portions of utterances that have been removed (e.g. for relevance) are indicated by "[…]". Insertions for clarity occur in square brackets (e.g. "impact on the [Māori] language"). Emphasis is indicated by italics (e.g. "*absolutely*"). Paralinguistic features are indicated in brackets in italics (e.g. "(*J laughs*)").

Impact of non-Māori on Māori language use

Noting that the theory underpinning the research was "just a theory", I asked participants if they personally thought non-Māori New Zealanders had an impact on Māori language use in New Zealand. Almost all participants agreed that they did, but there were differences between attitude categories in how this impact was described. Some supporters emphasised the impact of non-Māori in terms of power relationships, noting a general tendency for majority groups to exert dominance over minorities:

> I mean when you're talking about majority language by definition it's in a hegemonic position you know it's always going to squeeze out, you know or there's the danger of it squeezing out other languages (M-S-25/30-PbG)

> Status quos […] tend to exert themselves and dominate in all aspects of society and I think majorities are not particularly good at accounting for minorities in general and I think that feeling of being part of the majority gives a lot of people a sort of a sense of a moral imperative to impose their way of acting and thinking and in this case speaking (M-S-30/35-PrI)

Like supporters, English Only participants tended to express the impact of majority language speakers in terms of relative power, one referring to the use of English as 'erasing' the Māori language, the difference here being that, unlike supporters, English Only participants did not express this power relationship in critical terms:

> Being European…the European English language is the dominant language if that makes sense so um the way we use it every day it sort of erases the Māori language from being spoken every day and used in that sort of context so it probably would definitely have some sort of impact on the Māori language (M-EO-25/30-PbG)

Similarly, although uninterested participants recognised the impact of non-Māori on the Māori language, this was often expressed as a natural or logical, rather than problematic, state of affairs:

> The common factor among people communicating will always you know always have an impact on any other minorities simply because it's the common and accepted way of communicating (M-U-30/35-PrI)

Not everyone felt that non-Māori had a significant impact on the Māori language, with reasons for this view also depending on attitude category. One supporter

emphasised the predominant influence of Māori speakers in keeping the Māori language alive:

> I certainly think [non-Māori] have an impact and have historically had an impact but I think it is *an* impact, not the determinant you know […] ultimately I think it is for Māori speakers to keep the language alive and they have kept the language alive in the face of attempts by various people at various times to prevent them (M-S-25/30-PbM)

One English Only participant felt the increasing recognition of minority rights was diminishing the impact of non-Māori on the Māori language:

> I think [non-Māori] do [have an impact], yes, however I also think that the impact that they do have is changing at the moment because like with minorities getting more rights and seen to have more rights and everything else (M-EO-35/40-PbG)

Role of non-Māori in relation to the Māori language

Given the recognition among participants that non-Māori had at least some impact on Māori language use, I asked if they thought non-Māori New Zealanders had a role to play in supporting the Māori language. Supporters generally uncomplicatedly agreed, but the discourse of choice was a strong theme in the responses of English Only and uninterested participants:

> I think that that would be a personal choice and not something that should be dictated (M-EO-35/40-PbG)

Distinction in roles between Māori and non-Māori

I asked participants whether they saw a meaningful distinction in what Māori and non-Māori could do to support the Māori language, noting the questionnaires had revealed a difference in opinion here. The aim here was to indirectly elicit participants' views on the distinction made by the Government between the roles of Māori and non-Māori in relation to the Māori language. The uninterested and English Only participants all expressed a view that the Māori language was more relevant to Māori than non-Māori on the basis of the ethnic connection of Māori to the Māori language. For these participants, this meant Māori and non-Māori would necessarily exhibit different behaviours towards the Māori language:

I think…the success of it is largely dependent on the people maybe who are a lot closer to that culture…being Māori people (M-U-40/45-PrI)

As in the questionnaire results, supporters were much more likely to see a blurry distinction between the roles of Māori and non-Māori in relation to the Māori language. Some supporters straightforwardly saw no distinction in roles:

I think all New Zealanders have a role to play and I think the role is the same (F-S-25/30-PbG)

More frequently, supporters acknowledged that Māori and non-Māori might have different connections to the language based on their ethnicity, but felt this did not prevent both ethnic groups supporting the language in similar ways[74]:

I wouldn't say it would be all the same I just guess just because they're coming from quite different cultural contexts as to how that manifests itself must be necessarily different but that's not to say that the two of them can't meet and mix and merge (F-S-30/35-PbG)

One supporter said she thought non-Māori attributing full responsibility for the Māori language to Māori involved a 'cop-out' of the responsibility of all New Zealanders to support the Māori language:

I think it's probably something that New Zealanders as a whole if we want the language to survive have to get over kind of skipping out on responsibility through going well it's all down to you I guess and […] if you look at that in Treaty terms there are responsibilities for protecting the language. So I don't think [the roles] are the same and I think they come out of different origins but I do think it can be a bit of a cop-out for New Zealanders to go that's too hard or that's their responsibility (F-S-35/40-PbM)

Views on selected desired behaviours

After the introductory questions, I went through a list of behaviours that I said others had suggested for non-Māori New Zealanders. I emphasised that the participants might not agree with all the behaviours but that the aim was just to see

---

[74] This particular form of ethnic distinction between Māori and non-Māori is present in the New Zealand curriculum (Ministry of Education 2007), which comments that: "by learning te reo and becoming increasingly familiar with tikanga, Māori students strengthen their identities, while non-Māori journey towards shared cultural understandings." The message here appears to be that both Māori and non-Māori can engage in the same behaviour (learning Māori) but due to their different cultural backgrounds they may get different things out of it.

what they thought of them. The behaviours were selected from a range of sources, including discussions with policymakers, the analysis of promotional materials in chapter six, the behaviours proposed by the participants in the questionnaires (most of which had been returned before the interviews began), and my own evolving thoughts on potential desired behaviours for non-Māori. The list aimed to balance out behaviours involving language behaviour and behaviour towards language (Ager 2005a: 1039). The general format was for participants to be asked whether they engaged in the relevant behaviour themselves, leading on to a discussion of their views on the behaviour more generally. The data relating to the participants' own behaviours are based on self-reports, and therefore cannot be seen as a straightforward reflection of the participants' actual behaviours[75]. This was not considered to be a problem in this context, as the main purpose of the exercise was to elicit participants' views on potential desired behaviours. The behaviours are discussed in turn below, in the order they were discussed in the interviews. Some identifying information (e.g. place names or other details) have been altered to preserve confidentiality.

Pronunciation of Māori words

The first behaviour discussed was pronouncing Māori words "either in a 'Māori' way or more of a New Zealand English kind of pronunciation". All supporters except one (born overseas) said they tried to pronounce Māori words in a 'Māori' way. This was less common among the other attitude categories, but about half of the uninterested participants and one of the English Only participants also claimed to use 'Māori' pronunciation. The differences between attitude categories were more striking in the stated reasons for doing so. Supporters all viewed pronunciation of Māori words as a way of showing support for the Māori language:

> I think that's something that's pretty important […] there is […] a political aspect there […] I think in terms of showing respect to the language and the culture and the people that it's important to make an effort (M-S-30/35-PrI)

Those uninterested and English Only participants who used 'Māori' pronunciation were more likely to do so for reasons of linguistic 'correctness' rather than a desire to support the language:

---

[75] To avoid repetition, however, I have not used the phrasing "the participant stated that they…" each time I refer to a behaviour.

I think it comes down just to…proper Eng…well and you can call it a Māori word but I just call it proper English as in that's how it's pronounced, that's how it's said so that's how people should (M-EO-40/45-PrI)

Those English Only and uninterested participants who did not pronounce Māori words in a 'Māori' way tended to attribute this to their upbringing, and this coming 'naturally' to them[76]:

It's just because it's my natural way and that's the way I've been cultured (M-EO-25/30-PbG)

I don't consciously go and try and get of my southern roots of pronunciation (M-U-40/45-PrI)

It's just kind of how it happens (F-EO-30/35-PrNZ)

One English Only participant claimed not to pronounce Māori words using standard Māori pronunciation because it was offensive to speakers of other dialects of Māori[77]:

I sort of object to some of the pronunciation because particularly it's the sort of Northern North Island Māori that we use that's standardised around the country and so for instance I'm from the South Island and Tainui Māori pronunciation is totally different from Ngai Tahu Māori […] it's almost offensive to the lower South Island Māori that we're using this Tainui standard Māori (M-EO-25/30-PbG)

A more common reason for uninterested and English Only participants not pronouncing Māori words in a 'Māori' way (also shared by the two migrants interviewed) was lack of ability:

I probably do it in whichever way I can because I don't speak Māori […] getting pronunciation totally correct in a day to day thing is probably a bit of a hit-and-miss affair (M-EO-35/40-PbG)
I don't know how to pronounce it in the Māori correct way so I just do it the conventional way, the way that I hear most often (F-U-20/25-PrNZ)

---

[76] An argument can certainly be made that it is linguistically 'natural' to phonologically assimilate words from other languages into one's own language (see Deverson 1991: 22). On this basis, it is generally accepted that recent resistance to the anglicisation of Māori words has occurred for political/social not linguistic reasons (Deverson 1991: 26; Davies and Maclagan 2006: 89).

[77] This respect-based claim sat uneasily with this participant's other stated views about the Māori language, but it was part of a thread in the responses of English Only participants of referring to dialectal variation as an argument against the wider use of Māori, another English Only participant noting that "Māori isn't actually one language, […] each region has their own pronunciation of different words for different things so if you go that way you're going to end up in anarchy really where the whole country is speaking different dialects" (M-EO-35/40-PbG).

Even some supporters who did try to use 'Māori' pronunciation nevertheless indicated a lack of confidence in their ability to do so:

> It's something I try to do um I mean I'm very conscious that you know my pronunciation is not great [...] I do try and make an effort but I still feel slightly uncomfortable about that [...] it's almost that...I'm trying to make the effort but consciously in the back of my mind is this actually even making an effort or...seeming worse (*both laugh*) (M-S-25/30-PbG)

I asked those participants who did try to pronounce Māori words in a 'Māori' way if this was something they had always done. Some had always done so:

> I've pretty much always done it, I mean I come from a fairly liberal middle class background [...] and it was always something that was considered to be important when I was growing up so I think it's something I sort of adopted and then took on as my own when I got older (M-S-30/35-PrI)

Most, however, had made a conscious choice to change their pronunciation at some point. All participants were aware of a national change towards the pronunciation of Māori words according to Māori principles during their own lifetime (in the mainstream media at least). For those who had also made a personal change, the stimulus was variously stated as being the influence of the media, moving to another part of the country, education or their workplace:

> Since I left home I've become more aware of it, especially with the pronunciation of the presenters on television news and things [who] put more of an effort into how they say it (F-S-25/30-PrI)

> I've moved to the North Island and up here it is a lot easier for me [...] It's a little easier I think when you're dislocated from the areas where you've been...kind of trained to say Māori names in a different way (F-S-35/40-PbM)

> It's mainly through the influence of work, through the work culture here [...] It is a partnership culture and there is levels of structure around encouraging people through pronunciation and language skills so there's support there (M-U-35/40-PbG)

Several participants commented that they occasionally returned to their original pronounciation of Māori words. This was usually expressed as momentary lapses to earlier patterns of behaviour, rather than a conscious choice:

> Sometimes you fall into like words that you grew up saying wrong, [they] just pop out you're like oooh that's a bit painful on the old ear but then I think that's the reality of what you're grappling with as well (F-S-30/35-PbM)

I also asked the participants if their chosen way of pronouncing Māori words varied according to situational factors. Some claimed their pronunciation did not change, but it was much more common for participants to report situational variation:

> I try and be reasonably staunch about [pronunciation] but I'm aware that when I'm in some situations I find there's a part of me that is trying to get me to deliberately mispronounce things which is quite interesting and I think […] it depends on the kind of environment that you're in, who you're talking to, the context…so I think if I'm feeling that I think there must be a large group of people who feel it even stronger and it would be a real barrier to it (M-S-30/35-PrI)

One common example of situational variation was the reported practice of varying pronunciation for intelligibility:

> There are some situations where people […] won't even know what I'm trying to say if I say it in a more correct pronunciation. I might start off a conversation using it correctly the first time but then I lapse into [an anglicised pronunciation] (F-S-30/35-PbM)

Several participants reported a pattern of making more effort to pronounce Māori words around Māori:

> If I was speaking to someone who is Māori then I would probably try my best to say it properly and if I was talking to […] people within the workplace who I know quite well I might I might lapse a wee bit and go back into the Pākehā type of speaking (M-S-40-45-PrI)

Some participants who generally pronounced Māori words in a 'Māori' way, however, felt nervous about their pronunciation around Māori:

> I notice when I'm speaking to my partner's family I get really nervous when I'm trying to pronounce sort of cities I've been to in Māori (F-S-25/30-PrI)

For one participant, this self-consciousness extended to the participant making less effort in the pronunciation of Māori words among Māori:

> I suppose it's the idea that they might see me as you know trying to be all you know wonderful and you know (*posh tone*) 'oh of course I'm totally in

tune with the Māori people' (*J laughs*) you know that sort of […] tokenism type thing so in that respect actually I'm probably a little less conscious or I'd probably put a little bit less effort into the pronunciation simply because of how that's going to be perceived (M-S-25/30-PbG)

In a reversal of the general pattern, this participant was more likely to use 'Māori' pronunciation among non-Māori:

I've got family members who are quite right wing and conservative people and […] I actually put a bit more effort in those contexts because it's kind of role modeling I guess (M-S-25/30-PbG)

There was variation in how the other participants negotiated the pronunciation of Māori words around other non-Māori. Some felt inhibited in their own pronunciation by the potential reactions of non-Māori:

It's funny how you know some things are OK and some things aren't OK you know I still struggle to say Taupo consistently because people seriously do kind of find it quite…difficult […] I've had colleagues say…it's just…it's people make assumptions (M-S-30/35-PrI)

Others, however, felt no such inhibition among non-Māori. One participant, asked if she would continue to use 'Māori' pronunciation around someone who was hostile to this, commented:

Oh that would probably egg me on more (*both laugh*) I'm terrible like that (F-S-30/35-PbG)

Some participants were open to anglicised pronunciations being used by other non-Māori:

I'm more forgiving of my the older generation of my family certainly…and well I don't necessarily have expectations of other people in general about what they do I mean I support it and I think it's what we should be doing but I try not to judge people and what they do (F-S-30/35-PbG)

Others instead went out of their way to encourage 'Māori' pronunciation among non-Māori. Several supporters spoke of instances where they had tried to help others with their pronunciation:

I know people who have been…you know I've broken long Māori words down for them and I don't pretend to be an expert but it's a phonetic

language as I understand it and I've broken words down so that they might be able to pronounce a little more nicely (M-S-25/30-PbM)

If I have opportunities for perhaps correcting somebody without being you know judgmental or imposing a value on them [I will] (F-S-30/35-PbG)

Others viewed their own pronunciation as a way of modeling behaviour:

I guess the pronunciation is more of an issue when you're around people who can't pronounce stuff or who don't choose not to make the effort I mean I guess it's a symbolic thing in some ways (M-S-25/30-PbG)

Some participants referred to others correcting their own pronunciation:

You do get corrected a lot of the time, even non-Māori correct you on the proper name like *Taupo* and things like that (M-U-20/25-PrNZ)

A number of Uninterested and English Only participants said they were more likely to pronounce Māori words in a 'Māori' way at work, if not in their private lives:

In my professional life it's important to have proper Māori pronunciation of Māori words…but in my everyday life I don't to a great extent (M-EO-25/30-PbG)

I'm probably more casual with my pronunciation if the relationship is closer […] but if it's a formal business setting for instance then I think whether you're speaking Māori or English you do tend to watch your pronunciation and your articulation and things anyway so I do think situation does dictate how any person pronounces (F-U-30/35-PrNZ)

This practice appeared to represent a perception of 'Māori' pronunciation as an accepted standard to which participants oriented when necessary in formal contexts. This sense of a recognised standard was reinforced by those participants who chose not to use 'Māori' pronunciation but still referred to their behaviour as 'incorrect':

I'd definitely be on the not pronouncing it correctly side (F-U-30/35-PrI)

[Do I] pronounce it incorrectly? (*J laughs*) *Absolutely* (M-U-40/45-PrI)

There was resentment in the responses of some participants on this issue, one uninterested participant referring to the attitudes she felt were attributed to people who did not pronounce Māori words in the accepted way:

> I find it quite frustrating because it's almost like you read someone whether they're…you know if someone's been to teacher's college they know how to say Māori words proper and if they haven't it's like they don't really care (F-U-30/35-PrI)

Although this participant acknowledged that "to be honest I don't care enough about it to be bothered to learn it the correct way", she was aware of the social costs of not doing so.

In general, the picture of pronunciation painted in the interviews was one of extreme variation, both among and within participants, depending on the context. Demonstrating this variation, some participants varied their pronunciation within the interview itself when talking about other topics:

> The effort involved to learn Māori or Māori or however I'm supposed to say it (*J laughs*) see I can't even say it right (F-U-30/35-PrI)

> If you live in Rotorua or in Auckland or anywhere above Taupo I suppose - I should say Taupo (*J laughs*) but er Taupo - then you'd have more of it in your face every day I guess. But that's you know I just said Taupo but really I know to say Taupo (M-S-40/45-PrI)

These examples show both the variation in pronunciation participants acknowledge occurs, as well as the sensitivity of the issue for the participants, who both felt the need to 'apologise' for their pronunciation.

As the presence of Māori words is perhaps the most distinctive feature of New Zealand English (Deverson 1991: 18; Macalister 2005: ix), pronouncing Māori words is virtually unavoidable for speakers of this variety. Previous research has indicated a trend (among Māori at least) that "the more integrated someone is into the Māori community, the greater the likelihood that they will use Māori pronunciation for words of Māori origin when speaking [English]" (Boyce 1992: 138). While highlighting the attitudinal salience of the pronunciation of Māori words, however, the results for this behaviour show that pronunciation is not straightforwardly related to attitudes towards the Māori language. The results suggest that in some cases a speaker's 'Māori' pronunciation of Māori words may well indicate positive attitudes towards the language, and may even involve a conscious attempt to display those attitudes to others. This may not always be the case, however, given some uninterested participants' comments that their 'Māori' pronunciation was based on linguistic 'correctness' rather than attitudes towards

the Māori language. Conversely, anglicised pronunciation will not always indicate negative attitudes towards the Māori language. Sometimes such pronunciation will indeed reflect lack of interest in, or opposition to, the Māori language, but a number of those with highly positive attitudes towards the Māori language who in fact want to pronounce Māori words in a 'Māori' way may nevertheless not do so in a particular instance. This may be because they are concerned about getting it wrong, they are nervous about speaking Māori around Māori, they are worried about how non-Māori will react, they wonder if the person they are speaking to will understand them, or a combination of these factors. This means it is very difficult to interpret what a particular instance of the pronunciation behaviour represents. It is also a clear example of the problematic relationship between attitudes and behaviour, showing a situation where, although attitude may act as a predisposition to behaviour, it does not always result in the intended behaviour. Changing the behaviour - for those who actually want to engage in it - would appear to require limiting the effect of some of the intervening situational variables, most of which here seem to relate to knowledge and confidence.

Using Māori words and phrases

The next behaviour discussed with participants was knowing and using some basic Māori words and phrases[78]. The use of Māori lexical items in New Zealand English is the subject of a body of research, progressing from small studies based on impression and observation (Deverson 1991; Trudgill and Hannah 1994; Bellett 1995) to large-scale corpus-based research (Kennedy and Yamazaki 1999; Macalister 2003). This research has found that words of Māori origin account for approximately 5-6 per 1,000 words of spoken and written New Zealand English (Kennedy and Yamazaki 1999: 41-42), but that Māori tend to both know and use a higher number of Māori words in English than non-Māori (Bellett 1995, Kennedy 2001, Macalister 2003: 263). Kennedy (2001: 75) also found that "Pākehā speakers […] use a much higher proportion of Māori words that are proper nouns", whereas "Māori speakers not only used more Māori overall, but they have a wider Māori vocabulary, which they use when speaking English."

---

[78] Defining what counts as a 'Māori word' is not a straightforward matter (see Macalister 2003). For current purposes, I assumed that participants would view a Māori 'word' as a one-word-length lexical item of Māori origin (e.g. *kai*) and a Māori 'phrase' as the use of more than one such lexical item consecutively (e.g. *kia ora*).

Using some categories of Māori words is not a matter of choice for non-Māori. This is the case for many proper nouns, e.g. names of places and people, and various flora and fauna, which may only have a Māori name. For other categories, however, using a Māori word involves a specific choice. This is the case, for example, when a speaker chooses to use the greeting 'kia ora' instead of 'hello', or the term 'whānau' instead of 'family'. Macalister (2007: 500-503) discusses six possible motivations for choosing a Māori word over an English word when two variants exist. These include economy of expression (e.g. pā instead of fortified village), expression of identity (ethnic identity for Māori or national identity for non-Māori), displaying empathy with Māoridom (e.g. Aotearoa instead of New Zealand), making an impact (political or humorous, as in Pā Wars), cultural reference (e.g. kaumātua rather than elder) and clarity of meaning (e.g. Ngāti to convey the sense of 'a community of interest', as in Ngāti Cappuccino). Macalister notes that "the operation of at least some of these factors affecting lexical choice is clearly going to be influenced by social and political changes" and that "the emphasis on biculturalism and the recognition of *te reo Māori* as an official language, for example, must have an influence on the lexical choices individuals make". Importantly, he also observes that "in that regard, it is worth noting that choosing not to use a Māori word when one exists also illustrates the factors at work".

Many of the motivations suggested above for using Māori words in English relate in part to attitudes towards the Māori language, and a potential link between attitudes towards the Māori language and the use of Māori words in English has been suggested in some previous studies. In her analysis of Māori lexical items in the newsletters of kōhanga reo, King (1995: 56) suggests that using Māori words and phrases in English "enables the speaker/writer to occupy a linguistic space removed from standard [New Zealand English] and closer to that of Māori", and, in a context where many Māori are not fluent in Māori, may also function to express positive attitudes towards Māori language regeneration. Similarly, Kennedy (2001: 77) suggests that Māori speakers' more frequent use of Māori words in his findings might function as "a way of deliberately marking identity, of resisting further assimilation [and] of supporting language revival". Given these observations in relation to Māori, we might hypothesise that those non-Māori who have positive attitudes towards the Māori language might also show a preference for using Māori words in English, as a means of expressing these attitudes. Such a

relationship was indeed suggested by Thompson (1990), who found that Pākehā participants with positive attitudes towards the Māori language were more likely to select Māori words over English words in a cloze exercise.

The questionnaire responses suggested some association between attitudes towards the Māori language and use of Māori words. There was a trend for supporters to use Māori words as a 'natural' part of their responses, e.g. (emphasis mine):

> That good looking young people can speak Māori, as well as *koroua* and *kuia* (M-S-25/30-PbM)

> I don't think that *kia ora* and *ka kite apōpō* from our newsreaders is enough Māori in the mainstream (M-S-30/35-PrI)

Supporters also showed their knowledge of Māori words by (correctly) listing those they knew in their questionnaire responses:

> I regularly use "morena", "ka pai", "kia ora" (F-S-30/35-PrNZ)

> I think I (and other Kiwis) [use Māori] to a certain extent anyway by saying "kia ora" when we meet, and using words like "mana", "kia kaha" etc in conversation (F-S-40-25-PbG)

A weaker knowledge of Māori was suggested by the incorrect use of Māori words by one English Only participant, e.g. (emphasis mine):

> They [Māori] are also *speaking kōrero* on TV programmes such as Shortland St with no translation. (F-EO-30/35-PrNZ)

To further explore the relationship between attitudes and this behaviour in the interviews, I asked participants if they had a basic knowledge of some Māori words and phrases, and if they used these in their everyday life. Most participants claimed to have a 'very basic' knowledge of Māori words and phrases, uninterested and English Only participants in particular emphasising the limited extent of their knowledge:

> God…very basic (M-U-30/35-PrI)

> Oh very very little (M-U-40/45-PrI)

> Very very simple phrases (M-U-40/45-PrI)

> Very very very basic (F-U-20/25-PbG)

Some participants were able to list some words and phrases they knew:

> I could say hello tēnā koe or tēnā kōrua […] I know that paihikara is bicycle…and [my dad] used to ask me what time it was…how did it go, he aha te taima (F-S-25/30-PrI)

> Kia ora…haere mai…tangata whenua (M-U-20/25-PrNZ)

Others were at more of a loss (though obviously they were put on the spot in the interview context):

> Oh like um….um….oh (*laughs*) it's hard to give examples but I'll be able to pick it up when I hear some things I will be able to repeat it (F-U-20/25-PrNZ)

> Tēnā…whatever John Campbell [newsreader] says at the end of his goodbye um… te something ka kite…ka kite…something like that (F-U-30/35-PrI)

A majority of supporters and a minority of uninterested participants reported using Māori words and phrases in their everyday life. A number of supporters reported doing so very frequently:

> I do. *All* the time (F-S-25/30-PrI)

> Yeah I do, *daily*, yep…yep […] in every, every context (M-S-25/30-PbM)

It was much more common for participants to say they rarely used the phrases they knew. Participants were more likely to use Māori words than phrases, and often gave examples of arguably established borrowings in New Zealand English, such as kai, whānau and puku. Some reported using a mixture of words and phrases:

> I say kia ora when I pick up the phone sometimes and I say kei te pēhea koe […] ka pai you know just those basic ones (F-U-20/25-PbG)

As in the questionnaires, supporters' generally greater knowledge of Māori words was evident in their occasional use of them in other parts of the interview, although often glossed in English:

The kaupapa is that the idea is to give back, that you share what you are doing in your home or your workplace (F-S-30/35-PbG)

They actively participate in Māoritanga you know their Māoriness (M-S-25/30-PbM)

He's got a taiaha, this massive spear thing which he was gifted (F-S-25/30-PrI)

As to participants' motivations for using Māori words, some of the participants who had learnt Māori found it simply came naturally to them to use Māori words in English:

There are some words that are just very expressive and would pop out even if I was talking with someone who doesn't speak [Māori] at all (F-S-30/35-PbM)

Other participants reported a conscious choice to use Māori words in situations that involved Māori:

I have a lot of um (*laughs*) this is going to sound like 'some of my best friends are Māori' (*J laughs*) but I do, of my circle of friends a lot of them are Māori and a lot of them are proud of being Māori […] so I think it makes them comfortable to use basic sayings (M-S-25/30-PbM)

Some viewed using Māori words and phrases in English as a way of expressing a national identity:

One aspect that I really like about it is […] this is the only place you can do it, it makes us different and it makes this country quite cool (M-S-25/30-PbM)

Among uninterested participants this national identity motivation was more likely to operate overseas than in New Zealand:

I'd be lucky to use kia ora and I'd probably use it maybe…possibly if I was overseas and explaining [about] New Zealand (F-U-30/35-PrI)

There was an interesting thread of some participants using Māori words and phrases in what they referred to as a joking or ironic way:

> We have a sort of joke at home […] when we ring each other we usually just say 'kia ora, kei te pēhea koe?' but it's a little bit tongue-in-cheek (F-S-25/30-PbG)

> I kind of might use them occasionally at work but it tends to be almost in a slightly ironic sort of way (*laughs*) because I mean no one that I work with on a regular basis to my knowledge speaks Māori (M-S-30/35-PrI)

Although these reported behaviours among the supporters above perhaps reflected attempts to experiment with the Māori language in contexts in which this otherwise felt unnatural, this practice also extended to three of the four English Only participants, revealing another side of Māori language use among non-Māori that should give us pause in claiming a direct link between Māori language use and positive attitudes towards the Māori language:

> I'm not going up to my friends and saying kia ora or tēnā koe or anything…occasionally I do but it's sort of almost a mocking way that I'm doing it (M-EO-25/30-PbG)

Participants who reported infrequent use of Māori words and phrases gave a number of reasons for this. As with the pronunciation behaviour, participants often said using Māori words and phrases did not come naturally to them:

> I wouldn't use kia ora as a standard greeting because that's not me I'd say 'hey' cos I say 'hey' you know if it's an informal sort of situation […] I sort of thought about it at one time but I thought it's not me, that's not who I am (F-U-30/35-PbG)

Others felt their use of Māori words and phrases would be tokenistic:

> I feel making a point of it's a bit…I feel, for me, sometimes can be bordering on patronising and just…it's not enough really… I don't know, sometimes you want to make more effort or just what's comfortable I guess (F-U-30/35-PbG)

Another common reason for not using Māori words and phrases was self-consciousness or embarrassment, particularly among supporters:

> I try, I'm still really shy about it. It's certainly not something that…I mean saying kia ora is definitely something that comes pretty naturally now…but the rest is sort of quite conscious, and I still feel quite sort of awkward and embarrassed about it (F-S-30/35-PbG)

This self-consciousness was often linked to participants' fears as to how others would react to their use of Māori words:

> I guess I am a bit shy of being seen as a liberal Pākehā that's just trying to show off and be politically correct and that sort of thing (F-S-30/35-PbG)

> Sometimes I feel…funny greeting Māori people in their language […] like they're going to think oh she's such a try-hard you know (F-U-25/30-PrI)

Some participants felt using Māori words and phrases would come more naturally to them with effort and practice:

> There's always that step between when you do something and it comes naturally and when you're actually forcing it and sometimes […] it comes naturally after you've spent some time making yourself do things (F-S-30/35-PbG)

Others were waiting for changes in the attitudes and behaviours of others to occur first:

> I think that would change […] if the whole country's attitude towards it changed…I think […] if something becomes widely used or accepted then […] people will use it more and more and not feel…(F-U-30/35-PrNZ)

Some participants talked of environments that were more conducive to the use of Māori words and phrases than others. Some supporters felt comfortable engaging in this behaviour among friends:

> I have quite a few friends who do it, so that makes it…a lot easier (F-S-35/40-PbM)

A number of participants in public sector organisations referred to their workplace environment as an overtly encouraging environment for the use of Māori words and phrases[79]:

> [In] my last group at work we spent some time learning together on a programme so then intrinsically as a group, after that structured learning, we spent some time practising with each other, we tried to integrate that into our work routine, so you might introduce…phrases or terminology into meetings perhaps (M-U-35/40-PbG)

---

[79] The data having been collected in a workplace environment is likely to have influenced participants' specific mentions of Māori language use at their workplaces.

In contrast, the workplace was seen by some participants in private sector organisations as a specific inhibitor to their use of Māori words and phrases:

> My workplace is a fairly white…kind of (*laughs*) place you don't often hear languages other than English spoken I don't think so…in practical terms I probably actually don't [use Māori words] like I think it is actually quite worthwhile and sensible but I think maybe [it's] just a reflection of the kind of work environment that I'm in (M-S-30/35-PrI)

Some participants spoke of their own Māori language use changing as they moved from more supportive to less supportive workplace environments:

> I used to years ago with [workplace] because you know being a government department […it was] a fairly kind of liberal place, it was a fairly diverse work environment so I used to answer the phone and say kia ora and had it on my voicemail message but then when I moved out of that environment…I sort of left that behind really…and I think if I did it now, if I actually answered the phone and said kia ora, I think people might react quite differently (*laughs*) (M-S-30/35-PrI)

This occurred not just when changing workplaces entirely but also when changing teams within a workplace, one participant commenting that:

> I think I use words but I don't think I use phrases…even in the work environment and in fact that's slowed down for me because I sort of moved from a policy environment where I had done that in the past but now I'm in IT and I can tell you that there's very little use of Māori words and phrases in IT (M-U-35/40-PbG)

One supporter reported her active attempts to introduce Māori words and phrases into her workplace, and how she felt this rubbed off on others around her:

> I have been making an effort to begin all my business emails with you know a Māori greeting and that sort of thing and sometimes I might even go a bit further and chuck the odd word in here or there and what I've noticed is that people often feel obliged, and I'm talking about Pākehā people here, feel obliged to respond back (F-S-30/35-PbG)

The participants' responses to this behaviour highlight the quite conscious choice that appears to be involved for most non-Māori in using Māori words and phrases in English, as well as the high sensitivity of participants to the constraints and possibilities of their social environment. Using Māori words and phrases did not come naturally to most participants and, while several had positive attitudes

towards engaging in this behaviour, the sense of artificiality or discomfort they experienced in actually doing so could easily derail their intentions. Whether using Māori words and phrases in English or, for that matter, pronouncing Māori words according to Māori principles are genuinely supportive behaviours for Māori language regeneration is a matter for debate[80]. Perhaps more important here, however, is that a number of participants who did view them as desirable nevertheless felt unable to engage in them with ease. In relation to this particular behaviour, the new theme of the workplace environment as either an inhibitor or encourager of Māori language use suggests the current reticence of some participants in using Māori words and phrases could possibly be alleviated through fostering more favourable workplace (and other) environments.

Learning/speaking Māori to a fluent level

The next behaviour discussed with participants was learning to speak Māori fluently. I asked those who had not learnt Māori if they had ever considered, or would ever consider, doing so. Uninterested participants who had not learnt Māori generally showed little interest in doing so, tending to emphasise that Māori would be of no use to them in their lives:

> It's as difficult for me to justify a reason to learn Māori as it is to learn Swedish (M-U-30/35-PrI)

> I just don't see any relevance to my life in terms of…what would the benefit be (F-U-30/35-PrI)

Uninterested participants were particularly likely to express an interest in learning languages other than Māori, with a notable focus on European languages:

> Going through Europe…there's times where I'm sitting in France somewhere saying I wish I could speak French and I guess if I wanted to spend my time learning a different language I'd love to […] learn Italian or French or something like that, Spanish, they're the ones I really want to speak (M-U-40/45-PrI)

Supporters who had not learnt Māori were more likely to express a desire to do so, although several acknowledged they had not prioritised it:

---

[80] King (1995: 57) quotes Tipene Chrisp as having commented that "I have noted a tendency among some people to use more and more Māori words in English sentences. The intention is admirable, but ironically all that is happening is the English lexicon is being extended."

> In my job [...] I hear Māori all the time and can get by without it but it would be a good thing to do and I probably see it as being generally enhancing...it really is just one of those kind of time...effort...prioritising factors (F-S-35/40-PbM)

All four English Only participants had learnt Māori, but none had chosen to do so themselves, all having attended small schools where the subject was compulsory for a period of time. All these participants resented this:

> I objected and learnt French at the same sort of time but I also did Māori but it was just more that it shouldn't be compulsory [...] it was all that was offered and it was you know forced on us (M-EO-25/30-PbG)

One English Only participant directly attributed his lack of proficiency in Māori to having been 'forced' to learn it:

> Oh I got bottom of the class [...] I think that was more because it was forced on us rather than anything (M-EO-40/45-PrNZ)

I asked those participants who had chosen to learn Māori why they had done so. The participants gave a range of reasons, often in combination, including national identity, a desire to learn about Māori culture, the influence of their family or workplace, instrumental motivations, and going overseas:

> There's definitely a pride of something that's unique to New Zealand and a culture that I see as beautiful, as a very valuable culture that's really important to the richness of our country and richness to *my* life (F-S-30/35-PbG)

> It was just a consciousness that I was from like this middle class white suburban...I was quite ignorant and I was kind conscious of it (F-S-30/35-PbM)

> It was quite instrumental...what would be an asset if you were going to get into this government area [...] and one thing that came through quite strongly was the whole commitment to biculturalism thing (F-S-30/35-PbG)

> It was my parents [...] Mum sort of felt to get a government type job it was really useful but Dad said well you know it's I think it's important from a cultural perspective that you do it (F-S-25/30-PbG)

> It would be my own inquisitive nature but also it's work driven so the opportunities to attend had come from work, sort of over a number of years, things had popped up where courses were available (M-U-35/40-PbG)

I went to Switzerland as an exchange student […] a lot of the people I met had read info about New Zealand and of course the Māori factor was promoted strongly and so they were expecting to hear a lot about that and I couldn't tell them…stuff all basically and I was so embarrassed […] I probably let it slide for a while when I got back again but […] that never left me, that feeling that you know I need to follow this up and I need to sort this out, you know, this is part of my culture […] so I think that was one of the key things that led me to make that effort (F-S-30/35-PbG)

Several Māori-speaking participants talked of the benefits and satisfaction they experienced from speaking Māori, particularly noting the effect on their relationships:

I was in the woolshed once and one of the shearers realised I had gone to uni to learn te reo and he started speaking it you know and it was just really lovely […] it creates a different…it's a new opportunity for a new kind of relationship or brings them to another level (F-S-30/35-PbM)

Some Māori speakers also saw potential for their own Māori language use to have an influence on other non-Māori:

I think it's because often it's not isolated you're not the only non-Māori engaged in the process there are others so and there's sort of that seeing it can happen (F-S-30/35-PbM)

Some supporters felt that they would encourage their children to learn Māori, or even send them to kōhanga reo, but others were ambivalent about this:

I've been thinking about what kind messages I want [my kids] to have and would I like them to speak Māori and I think yeah that'd be fantastic…and then well if they had a *choice* if they're at school and they can choose to do *a* language you know would I encourage them to do Māori and at that point I'm not so sure […] when it comes down to it I think if […] I was going to sort of think about [my son] doing a language I'd probably think he should go and learn French (*laughs*) (M-S-30/35-PrI)

Those participants who had learnt Māori in the past but were no longer learning it generally referred to having lost proficiency over time:

I did a couple of night school courses quite a while ago now, ten years ago […] I'm sure that I've forgotten ninety five percent of it now anyway just because I didn't A carry it on and B use it afterwards (M-S-30/35-PrI)

Some expressed an intention to regain proficiency, although they generally thought this would be difficult to achieve:

> I would really like to somehow get my language ability back up again but it's quite hard when you're doing a full time workload […] that's kind of a dilemma for me is how do you get exposed to the language if it's not around you (F-S-30/35-PbG)

Most did not, however, intend to return to learning:

> I have a bit of middle class guilt about this because I can say all the nice words about valuing the language and stuff but when it comes to the crunch […] in real terms I'm not going to do any more courses (M-S-30/35-PrI)

I asked participants for their views on the focus of current Māori language policy on promoting Māori language learning and use among Māori in particular and promoting a supportive environment towards the language among non-Māori. Supporters tended to acknowledge the validity of a primary policy priority of targeting Māori:

> If you did have to prioritise one group you know Pākehā or non-Māori or Māori having first call on the resources available to help them learn I think you know Māori probably should have first call (M-S-25/30-PbM)

Some supporters emphasised, however, that non-Māori should also be part of the policy picture in terms of promotion and providing opportunities:

> I think you can make a case that it's appropriate to direct those resources in the first instance towards Māori but I don't think that that necessarily precludes having less intensive strategies […] There should be scope generally for promoting the language I guess yeah there's something there about promotion (M-S-25/30-PbG)

> I think it *is* appropriate to focus it on Māori but I'd like to see that there are opportunities for people like when you're a kid saying I want to learn that there is that opportunity to do that (F-S-30/35-PbM)

Uninterested and English Only participants were likely to oppose a primary government focus on Māori for quite different reasons, expressing this in terms of opposition to 'special rights' for Māori:

> Like all things Māori it's always more focused on the Māoris and what they're missing out on and all that sort of stuff and they're only…oh you'll

know what percentage of New Zealand they are…I mean it's small…then why are they only focusing on teaching Māori to Māori […] if I want to learn Māori I should have the same access to learn it as what anybody else does (F-U-30/35-PrI)

I don't see why a minority, whether they're Māori which is part of our country or not, should have special rights or privileges or anything else for the promotion of their language (M-EO-35/40-PbG)

I also asked participants what they thought about the more general view that learning Māori was more appropriate for Māori than non-Māori. Supporters were generally vehemently opposed to this view. Although acknowledging that Māori might have stronger cultural links to the language, supporters did not regard this as entailing a meaningful distinction regarding learning Māori, seeing this as counterproductive both for the language and for intercultural relationships:

I disagree completely with it. I think it can only assist communication […between] speakers of Māori and non-speakers of Māori (M-S-25/30-PbM)

To me that seems counterproductive [...] if you're saying really only Māori should learn Māori essentially or that should be the main concern and you know other people shouldn't *really* you're treating it as a kind of artefact, you're treating it as something which should be sectioned off and specialised only to these people and […] to me that's kind of the opposite of a living language (M-S-25/30-PbG)

Uninterested participants also agreed that learning Māori should be equally available for non-Māori and for Māori, but were more likely to express this as avoiding 'separatism', rather than providing benefits for the language:

I wonder whether by doing that it creates a sort of separatism and I would discourage that […] why should it *be* only Māoris that are encouraged to speak Māori language, we're all New Zealanders (F-U-30/35-PrNZ)

I wouldn't like to see it being an exclusive Māori domain (M-U-40/45-PrI)

To summarise the results for the learning Māori behaviour, uninterested and English Only participants were not interested in learning Māori, and strongly opposed to any compulsory element in terms of learning the language. Supporters were generally interested in learning Māori, although this did not always translate into actually doing so. Those who learnt Māori did so for a number of reasons, both identity-related and instrumental, and reported a number of benefits, particularly in terms of their relationships. An area on which all attitude

categories converged was that learning Māori should be equally available to Māori and non-Māori, although the reasons for this unanimous view differed between attitude categories. While supporters thought that both Māori and non-Māori learning Māori would lead to positive benefits for both the Māori language and for intercultural relationships, uninterested and English Only participants – most of whom did not want to learn the language anyway – were more concerned about avoiding separatism. For the latter participants, this view extended to a resistance to any government policy focus on Māori, whereas supporters were mostly open to some priority being placed on Māori, due to their cultural links to the language.

Responding to the use of Māori language by others

At this point the discussion moved from Māori language behaviours to behaviours towards the Māori language. The first such behaviour discussed was how participants responded to others using the Māori language around them. I first asked participants if they were in a position of hearing the Māori language often or at all. Some participants in public sector organisations claimed to hear Māori quite frequently, but it was much more common for participants in all categories to report rarely or never hearing Māori. Some participants occasionally heard Māori in everyday situations, e.g. on the bus, but for most it was at official or formal occasions. I then asked participants how they generally felt about hearing Māori used around them. The majority of supporters and a minority of uninterested participants said they enjoyed this, particularly if they could speak or understand some Māori themselves:

> I really like it when I hear things that I understand you know those basic things […] and I think those things are good because you know you almost don't even notice that it's a different language because you're just so in tune with what it means (F-U-20/25-PbG)

Uninterested and English Only participants were much more likely to refer to instances when they found the use of Māori around them frustrating. This was particularly when they felt Māori language use in formal contexts continued for too long:

> It really doesn't bother me, as long as they don't go *on and on and on and on* […] now that's really rude from me and I should be ashamed of saying it but I get bored with it […] I just switch right off (M-U-40/45-PrI)

212

There was a particular divergence in views on the use of Māori at pōwhiri (welcomes) in government departments. Some supporters liked this use of Māori at work:

> I think that's great […] that's one way to make people feel less uncomfortable […] because sometimes some of that stuff is quite scary and it can make people feel more comfortable (F-S-25/30-PbG)

A number of uninterested and English Only participants were, however, highly irritated by pōwhiri, saying they found them irrelevant and wanted to get their work done:

> Every so often they welcome new people to the company and it's a Māori powhiri and speeches and things like that and it's very Māori cultural orientated and although I understand it and everything else like that it's…hey that's not my culture if you want to welcome me into here then do my culture as well so […] they take a whole day to do this welcome and I must admit I'm one of these people that's 'just let me get my work done please' (M-EO-35/40-PbG)

> It just drives me nuts, I'm like a work in work person […] it frustrates the hell out of me (F-U-30/35-PbG)

Such comments among English Only and uninterested participants were often expressed in the context of more general monolingual views, particularly the idea that it was 'impolite' to use languages other than English around English speakers:

> I must admit I get a little bit annoyed because it's similar to… other cultures when they speak their own language in front of me I find that *highly* offensive because I can't understand it and you know I kind of suppose I get that little bit of paranoid oh they're talking about me [and] I see the same thing with Māori where they're speaking in Māori and they know that I can't speak Māori (M-EO-35/40-PbG)

Not all uninterested participants felt this way, however, and this group was generally more open than English Only participants to the use of other languages:

> I know some people are like 'oh I don't like it when people speak another language in front of me' and it's like well 'why? You're kind of like a little bit…rude to think they are going to be talking about you, like do you seriously think you're that important?' You know, it's no different from you know 'oh I don't like it when people speak Chinese on the bus' (F-U-30/35-PbG)

An overseas-born supporter attributed his own comfort with hearing the Māori language to having lived in a multilingual environment:

> We always have sympathy for other languages being used because in [country] where we come from every state speaks a different language (M-S-45/50-PrI)

Supporters were generally likely to express more multilingual views:

> I quite like being in environments when you hear people talking their languages and I never find that threatening (F-S-35/40-PbM)

Some supporters did, however, note a level of discomfort with Māori language use. One expressed this as occurring despite herself:

> I get uncomfortable when I don't understand what's being said and I don't know whether that's me making me feel stupid or if I think it's rude if they don't elaborate on what they've said […] it's odd and I don't…yeah, I get annoyed at myself for getting annoyed (*laughs*) […] I've traveled half around the world and if you're sitting on in a bus in Holland you don't get annoyed if someone's talking in Dutch and you can't understand what they're saying, so I don't see why I should [but] yeah I get uncomfortable (F-S-25/30-PrI)

If participants said they enjoyed hearing Māori used, I asked if they were aware of ways in which they expressed this positive response. This was a difficult question for most participants to answer, but some supporters had ideas, particularly providing minimal feedback in Māori:

> When they do a prayer I say Amene at the end of it which is kind of a way of acknowledging that I understand that it was a prayer that was being said (F-S-25/30-PbG)

> An example I can give is whenever people give a mihi at any function that I'm at and they finish usually saying tēnā koutou tēnā koutou tēnā koutou katoa, always responding with the chorus…kia ora you know finishing with that (M-S-25/30-PbM)

> A word that I quite often use is tautoko…support, you know if somebody says something I agree with […] I go 'tautoko' (M-S-25/30-PbM)

Others wanted to express support but were not sure how to do so:

I was listening to [Māori] on the bus the other night […] it was like probably a couple of working class guys, one in their sixties and the other in his forties […] but I don't think I gave them […] I was kind of thinking […] you know will they see me kind of glancing over as 'oh she thinks it's strange' or will you know…and I kind of glanced over and smiled but you kind of yeah…(F-S-35/40-PbM)

Participants of all attitude categories referred to their awareness of the responses of others to Māori language use, be these negative or positive:

One thing I find quite interesting is [at work when] we're doing the formal welcome for new staff then we'll have Māori people speaking their speech in Māori and people will just be nodding all the way through but I wonder how many people really understand the entire speech (F-U-20/25-PrNZ)

Yesterday […] it was a going away thing with a big afternoon tea and […] all the staff were invited…I was very conscious there would have been a lot of people there…I actually saw quite a few people getting quite sort of [*imitates sighing*] fidgety and annoyed and I was actually quite interested because I was trying to work out what he was saying and how much I understood but I was conscious that there were other people there who were like [*imitates sighing*]…you know […] and I am quite conscious of that (F-S-30/35-PbG)

Overall, there was a clear division between supporters on the one hand and uninterested and English Only participants on the other in relation to responding to the use of Māori language by others. While supporters generally both liked Māori language use in their presence and engaged in specific behaviours to show their support for this, uninterested and English Only participants experienced irritation and frustration, often in the context of general monolingual views. The fact that participants of all attitude categories were aware of how people other than themselves responded to Māori language use around them suggests these reactions must be apparent to Māori New Zealanders too.

Use of Māori language by public organisations

I then asked participants how they felt about the use of Māori language by public organisations, such as government departments. Although this has the appearance of an attitude-related question, I considered it related to behaviour because how non-Māori respond to public organisations using Māori is likely to

affect the organisations' willingness to do so[81]. Supporters tended to view the use of Māori by public organisations in a positive light, both enjoying the use of the language in itself and seeing it as a government responsibility:

> If you go away and come home and you see the signs in Māori or whatever you know it does make you feel good (M-S-40/45-PrI)

> I think the government needs to model good behaviours […] It would be fairly hypocritical not to do it, if the Government's trying to promote Māori language […] it makes sense to also use it in its own organisations (M-S-30/35-PrI)

Some supporters did wonder, however, how effective this was in supporting the Māori language:

> I think it's generally positive I'm not sure, what I'm wondering is…I guess I'm wondering how effective it might actually be in practice (F-S-30/35-PbM)

Other participants reacted negatively to what they saw as tokenistic Māori language use by the Government:

> I do think it's good that that they're trying to do that but sometimes […] I just think oh…you're just doing that because you think you should do it (F-U-20/25-PbG)

Whereas some such comments reflected a desire among participants for the Government to do more in relation to Māori language use, some participants took the opposing view that any Māori language use by the Government involved being 'politically correct':

> Government are in a leadership position aren't they, they've got to be as PC as they possibly can wah wah wah wah to the point of being overly PC it's irritating (F-U-30/35-PrNZ)

> I just think they're doing it just to be politically correct, that's the only view I have on it (F-EO-30/35-PrNZ)

---

[81] An example of this I became aware of during my research was the concern of Statistics New Zealand about how the bilingual census impacts on census reply rates (Statistics New Zealand official, personal communication, 16 May 2006).

Uninterested participants tended to view government use of Māori as relating to improving access to public services, rather than supporting the language. Some saw this as a reasonable exercise:

> Things that are providing a public service you know IRD, ACC, MSD, whatever, they're obliged to because people use that as a language, some people don't speak English, so absolutely they need to […] in our society that's a valid thing that they need to support (M-U-30/35-PrI)

This access-based, rather than language-based, point of view led others to question the Government prioritising Māori speakers over speakers of other languages, however:

> I would hazard a guess that we have higher fluency rates of other languages in New Zealand like Samoan, Chinese languages, probably Korean […] so why would you spend the money on Māori? (F-U-30/35-PrI)

Several uninterested and English Only participants at public organisations emphasised the practical costs of using Māori language at work:

> Māori words and things like that […] require a special font […] if they send an email to someone and they don't have that it creates all sorts of issues and things like that so for me it tends to come down to practicalities (M-EO-35/40-PbG)

Some uninterested participants did not want government Māori language use to go further than it already had:

> As an employer I would hate for my employment to be dependent on speaking a certain number of languages or another language if my role wasn't based on that, to say […] well sorry you can't speak Māori you don't get the job, I would not like us to go down that track (M-U-40/45-PrI)

English Only participants generally thought government Māori language use had already gone too far:

> At the end of the day it all comes down to…for me the majority speak English and English should be it, essentially (M-EO-35/40-PbG)

Use of public money to support Māori language regeneration initiatives

I next asked participants how they felt about some government spending being put towards Māori language regeneration planning. The idea here, again, was that if the general public were opposed to public money being spent on Māori language regeneration this would influence the resources the Government was willing to expend. Examples I gave to participants included funding the MLC, conducting linguistic survey research, running the Māori Television Service, and funding the Māori language planning team at TPK.

Supporters were generally strongly in favour of some public spending being dedicated to Māori language regeneration, using the words "absolutely", "definitely", "really important". Some felt that the Government was under an obligation to engage in such spending:

> I mean it was government policy that basically contributed largely to the demise of the language by not allowing it to be spoken in schools and things so I think that's just part of […] the current taxpayer investment in a better future of the country, I mean it's in the interests of everyone getting on really (F-S-30/35-PbG)

Uninterested participants were less enthusiastic about this spending, but often said it did not bother them. Several expressed this in terms of preferring public money to be spent on the Māori language than on something else:

> I'd rather they did that than blowing 70 million dollars on a boat harbour in Auckland (M-U-40/45-PrI)

> I would much rather money be spent on that than somebody doing a thesis on hip hop in the United States thank you very much (M-U-40/45-PrI)

> There are far worse things the Government could be doing with their money (M-U-20/25-PrNZ)

Others were in favour of some government spending on language regeneration if it was not too much:

> As long as it's not taking money away from really important areas like education and health and that kind of thing then I don't see the harm in it (F-U-30/35-PrNZ)

Others wanted an assurance that the money was effective:

> I think with things like that if they're going to spend money […] it would have to be something really proactive, something that someone was really on the ball with doing and made sure that it actually was effective (F-U-20/25-PbG)

Some English Only and uninterested participants, however, saw government spending on Māori language regeneration as a straightforward waste of money:

> I think you can only throw so much money at something, it doesn't actually cost money to learn a language…because speaking's free (F-U-30/35-PbG)

In this vein, English Only participants were likely to say they would prefer the money to be spent on other areas of government activity, e.g. health or policing.

Taking an interest in Māori language and culture

I told participants the last set of behaviours related to their degree of personal involvement or investment in the Māori language and culture, and asked if this was something in which they took an interest in their everyday lives[82]. Uninterested and English Only participants almost all said they took no interest in Māori language and culture. Almost all supporters said they did take an interest, but generally expressed this in attenuated terms:

> Yep, there's a spectrum, I'm somewhere on the spectrum, I wouldn't say I do everything I can but I wouldn't say I don't do anything yep so I do (M-S-25/30-PbM)

Those who did take an interest in Māori language and culture referred to following Māori issues in the news and taking opportunities to find out more:

> I guess just sort of awareness of the issues and talking about them and when I have opportunities to ask questions of someone who knows a bit more I tend to do that (M-S-30/35-PrI)

> My father-in-law being Māori […] when I see him every time it's like giving me more knowledge I guess of Māoridom and […] driving around the

---

[82] Given the social-desirability bias, how I phrased this question (and others) depended on a participant's earlier responses. For English Only and uninterested participants I was more likely to say something like "I'm getting the impression this is not something you're particularly interested in?"

countryside if I see like Ratana up near Wanganui and those heritage sites I try and make a point of going to those (M-S-40/45-PrI)

Those who were uninterested in Māori language and culture generally referred to lack of contact or relevance to their lives:

> The company I work for they don't use any Māori, there's no awareness of it there and none of the groups or friends that I hang out with…there's just no link for me (F-U-25/30-PrI)

One uninterested participant went as far as questioning whether anyone was interested in the Māori language and culture:

> I mean who *is* really passionate about it? Or is it just the Government doing it? Because they feel they have to…or for votes…for the twelve per cent of the Māori vote or whatever it is […] As long as it's available to people to learn then that's fine, but it's kind of like at the end of the day well if no one cares then why bother? (F-U-30/35-PrI)

Discussing Māori issues with others

I then asked participants if they often or ever found themselves in a position of talking about Māori issues in their social networks. The aim here was to find out if any of the participants were involved in advocating for the Māori language or culture. Māori issues on the news were a topic for discussion among all attitude categories:

> Me and my partner often find ourselves watching the Channel One Māori programming on Saturday mornings […] and that usually tends to…result in conversations (*both laugh*) (F-S-30/35-PbG)

Whether participants chose to actively engage in these discussions seemed primarily to be a matter of personality rather than attitude category:

> At work it tends to be in a fairly negative sort of way, it will be someone complaining about something […] I don't thrive on confrontation so it's not something that I'd necessarily pursue but I generally try and at least indicate that I have a different point of view (*both laugh*) on certain things (M-S-30/35-PrI)

> I suppose in a comfortable setting I would [say what I think] but the thing is I'm not there to cause offence and what value do you add by rarking someone up (F-U-30/35-PrI)

> Sometimes I don't want to because I think it's quite an emotive topic often and sometimes…you don't feel like going into that sort of emotion […] it can be quite a complicated thing to engage in in a positive way (F-S-30/35-PbM)

Supporters were, however, much more likely than other attitude categories to refer to specifically engaging with others to attempt to influence their views on Māori issues:

> I am an engager in those things […] and I do kind of knowing that we're probably going to have a discussion if people are interested, I just like having the discussion really. […] Also I find often people are better about it than you expect (F-S-35/40-PbM)

Uninterested participants were more likely than other attitude categories to report that Māori issues came up infrequently in their social networks, but that when they did this was often in a negative context. Usually these participants did not explicitly note which side they took:

> In a social circle yeah it is definitely something that would come up, (*laughs*) not always in a positive light (F-U-20/25-PbG)

English Only participants were more likely to explicitly acknowledge that they tended to discuss the negative elements of Māori issues:

> With friends you know we do discuss it but […] I'd have to say it's sort of the negative, we focus on the negative aspects of it (M-EO-25/30-PbG)

One uninterested participant felt she could not express her genuine views on Māori issues even if she wanted to:

> As a non-Māori New Zealander […] I feel like I probably couldn't always say what I really believed, I don't think there is freedom of speech for non-Māori […] You know things like the allocations to education and this whole diversity thing and you've got to have so many Māoris and so many this and so many something else it's like as far as I'm concerned that's bollocks…but I couldn't say that…because it's kind of…it feels like it's protected by the Government, it's like the Government say that's how it's going to be […], everyone's got an opinion […] but no one's *really* allowed to say what it is because we have to be a little bit correct you know (F-U-30/35-PrI)

Other behaviours

I then asked participants if they could think of any further behaviours non-Māori New Zealanders could engage in to support the Māori language, if they wished to do so. Of the uninterested and English Only participants who suggested additional behaviours, the responses were generally split between providing the basics in the education system and (for uninterested participants only) adopting a passive acceptance of others learning and using the Māori language:

> I think it's just keeping an open mind… and really everybody has different values and priorities and if somebody has a priority to support the language I think others have to be tolerant of it and accepting of it
> (M-U-40/45-PrI)

Supporters had a wider range of behaviours in mind, including making Māori compulsory in schools (despite acknowledging a likely backlash), making some knowledge of Māori a prerequisite for new migrants, going to marae, learning about Māori history, and generally engaging with Māori culture in ways beyond the "snippet" of being "proud of the haka and the All Blacks" (M-S-40/45-PrI). Befitting their attitude category, the behaviours proposed by supporters were considerably more interventionist than those of uninterested and English Only participants. One supporter saw the role of non-Māori as overtly political:

> I suspect they could get more political […] I think the only way it is going to get into things like the curriculum is if people really push for that and that push probably has to come from non-Māori New Zealanders… because of their numbers and because of their power […] While a Māori […] campaign could do quite a lot, they've been doing it for years and there is resistance and…you know partly that's about Pākehā going well we don't really want to be told that we have to do this so I suspect that stuff does have to come from non-Māori New Zealanders (F-S-35/40-PbM)

A common theme among supporters was a perceived need for other non-Māori to lose their fear of the Māori language:

> Oh if only they weren't scared of it (F-S-25/30-PrI)

> My generation who grew up during the eighties when you know things were a bit fraught between Pākehā and Māori […] we just didn't […] know what to think or how to think about it and I think that did set up a lot of fear and anxiety about it so I think if Pākehā put more energy into overcoming that
> (F-S-30/35-PbG)

> I think there's probably an unstated and unseen…I don't know if I'd say fear but reluctance to…*go there* for a lot of non-Māori New Zealanders and I think just […] being receptive to it, not being scared by it…but I don't know how you would express that because I don't think it's actively expressed as fear (M-S-25/30-PbM)

Rather than proposing additional behaviours, the examples above involved supporters referring to the attitudes of other non-Māori as inhibiting them from engaging in behaviours that had already been discussed. According to these supporters, therefore, attitudinal change had to occur before non-Māori could engage in behaviours to support the Māori language. This view was shared by some of the uninterested participants:

> I think for a lot of people it's actually…before doing anything to engage in it it's getting the right attitude towards it (F-U-20/25-PbG)

Barriers to non-Māori supporting the Māori language

This leads to the last topic in the interviews, the barriers participants perceived to non-Māori more actively supporting the Māori language. This topic has been referred to at various points above regarding particular behaviours, but was also discussed in more general terms at the end of the interviews. The issue of barriers was also addressed in the questionnaire, so we initially return to the questionnaire results here.

The responses of questionnaire participants as to what might prevent them engaging in behaviours to support the Māori language are shown in Table 7.5 below. The most common response was lack of time, followed by the actual or feared negative reactions of others. If the latter was combined with the figures for feared reactions of Māori and non-Māori in particular further down the chart, this would be the most common barrier to participants supporting the Māori language. It is not surprising that participants noted the time and effort required to learn a language. What is perhaps more interesting is the prominence of barriers relating to how participants thought others might respond to them supporting the Māori language.

Table 7.5: Barriers to participants supporting the Māori language

Barriers	Number	Percentage of participants
Lack of time/busy	18	29.0
Negative attitudes/reactions of others (actual or feared)	13	21.0
Lack of exposure to Māori language	8	12.9
No one to speak it with/others don't understand	8	12.9
Effort required/difficulty to learn a language	7	11.3
Other priorities/interests	7	11.3
Embarrassment/shyness/lack of courage	7	11.3
Own attitudes to Māori culture/issues	6	9.7
Lack of access to formal learning opportunities	5	8.1
Lazy	5	8.1
Lack of incentive/need	5	8.1
Need/want to learn other languages first	5	8.1
Negative attitudes/reactions from Māori (actual or feared)	5	8.1
Lack of knowledge/confidence in speaking Māori	5	8.1
Lack of interest	4	6.5
Fear of looking PC/tokenistic	3	4.8
Not my culture	2	3.2
Not relevant	2	3.2
Negative attitudes/reactions from non-Māori (actual or feared)	2	3.2
Cost of learning Māori	2	3.2
Lack of opportunity to speak it	2	3.2
Ridiculed for mispronouncing words/making mistakes	1	1.6
People don't understand correct pronunciation	1	1.6
Negative media coverage	1	1.6
Not useful	1	1.6
English is more useful/relevant/spoken	1	1.6
Don't intend to stay in New Zealand	1	1.6
Unsure how to support Māori language	1	1.6

The cross-tabulation of these results by attitude category revealed differences between attitude categories in what stopped participants supporting the Māori language. As a broad-brush description, uninterested participants were more likely than supporters to cite as barriers: lack of interest, lack of incentive, lack of relevance, lack of usefulness, English being more useful, not being of Māori culture, wanting to learn other languages first, their own attitudes towards the Māori language and culture, having other priorities and interests, lack of exposure to the language, having no one to speak Māori with, people misunderstanding correct Māori pronunciation, and the cost of learning Māori. This shows the strong influence of the participants' attitudes towards Māori language and culture on their behavioural support for Māori language, as well as their lack of contact with the Māori language. Unlike supporters, uninterested participants tended not to see the cultural value of the Māori language, and consequently judged it solely on the current 'practical' merits of using the language. The link between attitudes to Māori issues and attitudes to the Māori language was also evident in some of the questionnaire responses of the uninterested and English Only participants as to what might prevent them supporting the Māori language:

> A lingering perception that Māori culture is a priority over anything European; probably a legacy of the Treaty claims and hand-outs (M-U-45/50-PrNZ)

> It is a sad fact that modern day Māori (particularly the youth) do not exhibit ideal morals. […] What I am saying is that when I hear the Māori language it doesn't always send the right message. (M-U-45/50-PrI)

> Māori segregating themselves i.e. Māori All Blacks, Māori TV, etc, puts me off. It's an overload of "Māoridom". I find it a little racist. There is no "Pākehā All Black team"! (F-EO-30/35-PrNZ)

In contrast, supporters were more likely than uninterested participants to cite as barriers to supporting the Māori language: lack of time, laziness, the effort required to learn a language, limited knowledge of Māori, limited access to learning opportunities, lack of opportunity to speak Māori, their plans to leave New Zealand, the media portrayal of Māori (for one participant), embarrassment or shyness, fear of looking PC, being ridiculed for making mistakes, the potential reactions of others/Māori/non-Māori, and being unsure how to support the Māori language. These responses reflect two main themes: the effort required to learn a language and fears about others' reactions. The comments in the questionnaires

suggest the feared responses of others (both Māori and non-Māori) were a real stumbling block to some supporters more actively supporting the Māori language:

> It's easy to feel like the Pākehā trying to be PC and looking ingenuine. That is intimidating. (M-S-30/35-PrNZ)

> Strong prejudices, I do not want to anger anyone that has strong feelings against the Māori language. (M-S-30/35-PrNZ)

> An unwelcoming environment: either towards the Māori language in general, or to my position as a Pākehā person or speaker without fluent pronunciation attempting to speak Māori (which I have experienced a few rare times). (M-S-25/30-PbG)

> Some Māori people who can be intensely critical of Pākehā people attempting to give te reo a go. (F-S-20/25-PbM)

> Non-Māori workers in the workplace (F-S-30/35-PrI)

Although the responses above were much more common among supporters, they were also shared by a smaller number of uninterested participants, one commenting that:

> An old flatmate of mine […] was Māori and worked at [a Māori organisation] but we never exchanged a single word in Te Reo. Because he didn't, I felt I couldn't try. I don't even know if he spoke it, and I suppose in the back of my mind, because I'm Pākehā, I thought he would wonder what my reasons were for wanting to speak Māori. Speaking Māori makes you stick out, and I suspect I simply lack the courage to do it. I don't have a political statement to make! (F-U-30/35-PbG)

The responses in the interviews confirmed these themes. In response to the question of what barriers existed to non-Māori New Zealanders more actively supporting the Māori language, some supporters again referred to the time and effort required to learn a language:

> I think […] just from a day to day perspective it can be quite tricky to make time to do it, there is a lot going on and actually learning another language is quite time intensive (F-S-30/35-PbM)

Participants from all attitude categories also noted the perceived lack of usefulness of the Māori language as a barrier. Some participants held this view themselves:

It's all about a need, […] once I've trained all these people or made them aware or given them the access […] to learning the language, once they know it what do they do with it? (M-U-30/35-PrI)

Supporters were more likely to attribute this view to others, phrasing it as something people needed to 'get over':

People […] go oh what am I going to learn from speaking Māori I mean where's that going to get me so there is that you've got to try to get over (M-S-40/45-PrI)

Some supporters linked the perception of the lack of usefulness of Māori to the monolingual character of New Zealand:

New Zealand in general is very monolingual I mean you know coming from lots of English immigrants […] I guess there is that Anglo Saxon view of the world about implicit cultural supremacy (*both laugh*) and stuff no particular need to learn the language of anyone else (M-S-30/35-PrI)

The by now familiar themes of English Only and uninterested participants resisting Māori being 'rammed down their throat' or altering the status quo recurred at this point of the interviews:

Well just for my personality if it's rammed down my throat and if it is made compulsory and it's just everywhere, if it's saturation level […] or if I have to change my everyday habits or anything like that, if it impinges on those sorts of things I find it hard (M-EO-25/30-PbG)

I think it needs to be a choice…because as soon as somebody *rams* something down my throat I react and it's negative and that's what will happen and people will start resenting it and saying I don't want to (M-U-40/45-PrI)

Some of the English Only and uninterested participants acknowledged that their own attitudes towards Māori culture and Māori issues affected their behaviours towards the Māori language. Although this was not the case for all uninterested participants (who held a range of views), some expressed particularly strong views at this point of the interviews:

If there's any criticism with the Māori culture they focus too much on past grievances and in a lot of cases it's a very aggressive culture and that's what I sort of…*God* they *don't* smile you know…in regards to everything is done very aggressively […] you know 150, 200 years ago the world was a brutal place […] but the thing is that if we dwell on that it's a culture that's

not going to go forward and I think we've got too many people that get on this grievance bandwagon and turn everybody else off (M-U-40/45-PrI)

I think the major inhibitor is the perception of people like myself, white middle class New Zealand I guess, which is around the Treaty claims and talk about one justice system for Māori another one for the…that I think is very divisive and that totally turns me off wanting to know *anything* about you know…(M-U-40/45-PrI)

Some supporters also referred to the attitudes of other non-Māori (implicitly not themselves) as a barrier to supporting the Māori language:

I guess there's probably an element of maybe a little bit of racism out there and not seeing the need to…you know some of those sort of historical [issues], probably stemming back from Treaty type…you know hearing about it and going oh God here's another one type of attitude maybe that is a barrier, maybe there's a perceptional barrier (F-S-25/30-PbG)

The theme of supporters' discomfort about others' reactions (non-Māori and Māori) recurred here:

I think […] there is a sort of political barrier around…I'm generalising here but the generalised perception that non-Māori who will make an effort with Māori language are you know…whale loving left wing liberal third fifth columnists who are trying to institute […] NCEA in kindergartens and make everyone wear homespun jerseys and bone carvings around their neck and cause the All Blacks to lose the World Cup […] this idea that there is this PC brigade of Wadestown liberals […] so basically a white person speaking pronouncing Māori place names well I think even something as simple as that can be construed quite negatively and that person can get categorised as being a sort of you know dodgy PC liberal and […] that could potentially be a barrier for some for some people (M-S-30/35-PrI)

A friend of mine […] had parents [from overseas] and his mother tried to learn Māori and was kind of ridiculed for it by a lot of Māori people and he told me about his family when they arrived actually feeling […] far more acutely from the Māori people they'd meet far more a sense of you're not welcome why are you here and when his mum started learning the language it's not for you to learn than he did from non-Māori New Zealanders (M-S-25/30-PbM)

One supporter referred to a combination of the reactions of non-Māori and Māori as a double barrier:

I think the first [barrier] is more about non-Māori dealing with other non-Māori and that's around issues that particular people have around the Māori language […] so I think that's kind of a barrier in terms of promoting the language to other non-Māori. The second issue which I have only

experienced once or twice is actually about Māori reactions to the language […] I have had bad reactions where I've…and it could just be my kind of paranoia but I have had the sense that you know what the hell is this white guy coming in and you know trying to use Māori when he obviously can't fucking speak it so yeah, I guess those are actually the two big barriers that I would see (M-S-25/30-PbG)

The potential reactions of Māori were also a concern for uninterested and English Only participants:

I don't think the Māori attitude towards Pākehā people learning the language is particularly good, like I think they think we're trying to be smart if we learn it (F-EO-30/35-PrNZ)

I'm always scared that a Māori person will be like well what are you trying to speak Māori for, it's not your language […] I wouldn't want to *offend* anyone (F-U-25/30-PrI)

The potential reactions of other non-Māori were not raised as a barrier by uninterested and English Only participants, however. This may suggest that the reactions supporters feared were those of non-Māori in the uninterested and English Only groups.

The results for barriers in the interviews thus reinforced the findings for the questionnaires. Barriers to supporting the Māori language existed for all participants, but the nature of these barriers was different: for uninterested and English Only participants it was largely their existing attitudes towards Māori language and culture, while it was more likely to be a lack of confidence that held supporters back. The responses suggest two interesting conclusions. First, majority language speakers may themselves be inhibited from supporting a minority language in an environment where the problem of tolerability is evident, even when they want to do so. Second, supporters in particular may need more support to encourage greater confidence in supporting the Māori language.

Summary: chapter seven

This chapter has shown that, although the New Zealand government has not defined the specific behaviours non-Māori could engage in to support the Māori language, the participants in the current research had in mind a wide range of behaviours. The nature of these behaviours varied among attitude categories,

with some non-Māori envisaging a limited and largely passive role for non-Māori, but others picturing a highly active and varied role. Interestingly, the results also showed that while English Only and uninterested participants saw a clear distinction in roles between non-Māori and Māori in relation to the Māori language, supporters were more likely to view these roles in a similar light. This contrasts with the Government's view that Māori and non-Māori have different roles to play in supporting the Māori language.

The results showed that the attitudes of some non-Māori towards Māori language and culture are such that they are not interested in engaging in behaviours to support the language. As they were quick to point out, these people cannot be 'forced' to support the Māori language. The results also showed, however, that some non-Māori are very interested in supporting the Māori language. In addition to engaging in their own supportive behaviours towards the language (e.g. pronunciation, using Māori words, learning Māori, etc), these 'supporters' can potentially influence the attitudes of other non-Māori towards the Māori language, which may be necessary before the latter are willing to engage in supportive behaviours of their own. In the current attitudinal environment, with evidence of a low level of tolerability of the Māori language among a considerable proportion of the non-Māori population, perhaps the most important behaviour non-Māori with positive attitudes towards the language can adopt is to engage with other non-Māori about it. In this sense, supporters can play an important and perhaps even distinct role in promoting the tolerability of the Māori language.

In order to exploit this potential, however, a significant barrier needs to be overcome: the lack of confidence of many supporters in supporting the Māori language, perhaps influenced by the low tolerability of the language among their own non-Māori peers. Addressing this issue is a potential area of partnership between supporters and Māori New Zealanders. Supporters may be in a special position to improve the tolerability of the Māori language among other non-Māori, and Māori may be able to assist in raising their confidence through encouragement. There is some suggestion in the data that certain environments also favour more active support of the Māori language, particularly a supportive workplace culture.

This chapter concludes the presentation of the main findings of this thesis relating to planning for tolerability in New Zealand. Chapter nine will return to considering the New Zealand situation, by discussing the implications of the findings as a whole for the future of planning for tolerability in New Zealand. For the moment, the next chapter takes a step away from New Zealand, to consider two international examples of planning for tolerability.

Chapter Eight
International comparisons:

Planning for tolerability in Wales and Catalonia

The bulk of this thesis has analysed the approach taken in New Zealand to planning for tolerability, using the process model introduced in chapter two. New Zealand is not alone in planning for tolerability, however. Accordingly, this chapter moves outside the New Zealand situation to discuss planning for tolerability in two international minority language situations: Wales and Catalonia. The analysis focuses on the same five components of planning for tolerability (recognising the problem, defining majority language speakers, developing messages and desired behaviours, selecting policy techniques, and evaluating success). In this way, the chapter aims both to test the general application of the model and to examine possible alternative approaches that could inform future planning for tolerability in New Zealand.

Comparable international situations

Fishman (2000: 22) emphasises the importance of studying a variety of international language regeneration efforts, claiming these cases provide clues and lessons for all language situations, and such comparative analysis is "the basis upon which more effective theory and practice of RLS must ultimately be based". While I consider this to be true, the extreme contextual differences between minority language situations mean finding situations similar enough to provide a basis for comparison is challenging. For current purposes, I focused on a number of criteria I viewed as essential to a useful comparison with the Māori language situation in relation to planning for tolerability. The language had to: be a minority language in contact with a majority language within a nation state; be an indigenous language; and have undergone language shift. Language regeneration efforts had to be underway; there had to be a government organisation in charge of the process; language regeneration policy had to be well established; and there had to be some evidence of the problem of tolerability. Although a number of minority language situations fitted some of these criteria, the two situations that best fitted all of them (particularly in terms of established language policy activity) were Welsh and Catalan.

The discussion below is based mainly on an analysis of language policy documents from the main language planning organisations in each context, supported by reference to secondary sources, personal contact over email and/or telephone with policymakers and academics and, in the case of Welsh, a two week research trip to Wales in September 2007, including meetings with Welsh linguists, the Welsh Language Board, Welsh Assembly Government and two mentrau iaith (community language organisations) in North Wales. Given the considerable attention Welsh and Catalan have received in the language regeneration planning literature, information on the broader historical and policy context of language shift and language regeneration for these language situations is not provided here. For particularly useful accounts, readers are referred to May (2000a, 2001) and Williams (2000, 2001) for Welsh, and Woolard (1989), Fishman (1991), May (2001) and Gardner et al. (2000) for Catalan.

Planning for tolerability in Wales

Background

The most extensive source of regular statistical data on the Welsh language is the UK census, held every ten years[83]. The 2001 census indicated that approximately 582,400 (20.8%) of the Welsh population aged three and over were able to speak Welsh. This compares with 508,100 (18.7%) in 1991, and 503,500 (19.0%) in 1981. The results for previous censuses since 1901 are shown in Figure 8.1 over the page, reflecting a long decline in Welsh speakers that now appears to be stabilising.

---

[83] This has recently been complemented by a series of three Welsh Language Board commissioned language use surveys over 2004-2006 which expand on the information available from the 2001 Census, with the intention of obtaining information on "who uses Welsh, and how, when and how much they use it" (WLB 2006a: 6).

Figure 8.1: Percentage of Welsh speakers as a proportion of population of Wales from 1901 to 2001[84]
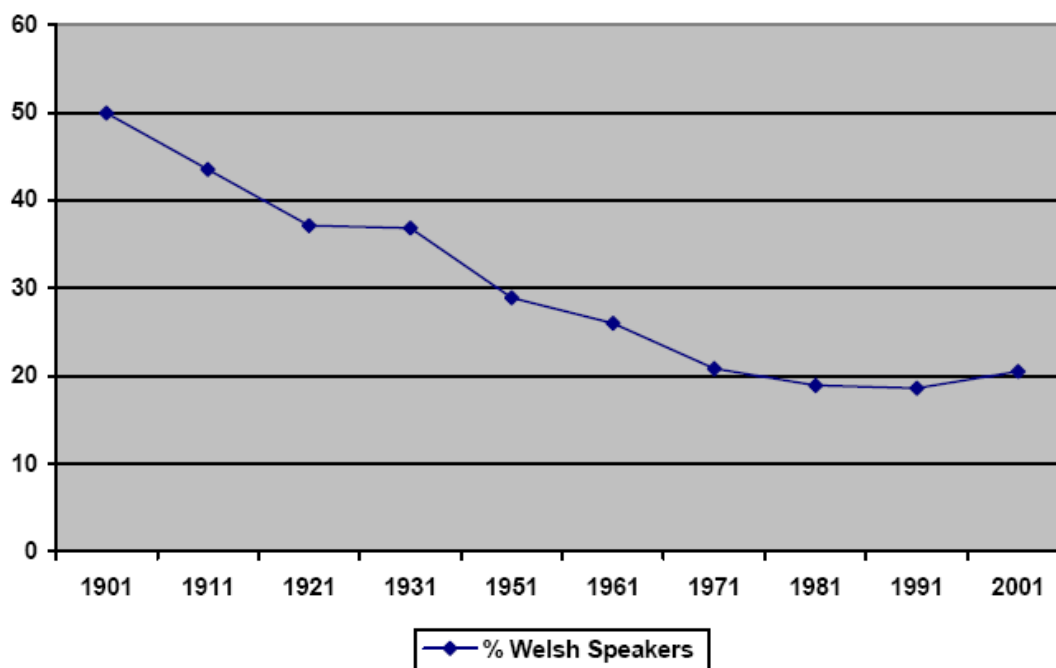
© Welsh Language Board

The most relevant census results for current purposes are those for ethnic group and country of birth[85]. In the 2001 census 96% percent of the population of Wales gave their ethnicity as White British. Given that the census does not have a category for 'Welsh', this category is likely to include both people who consider themselves Welsh and people who consider themselves English[86]. This fits with the results for place of birth, which showed that 75% of the population of Wales were born in Wales, 20% were born in England, and 2% were born outside the European Community. Among Welsh speakers, 99% had a White British ethnic background and 1% (5,536) had different ethnic backgrounds, including mixed ethnicity (2,910), Asian/British Asian (1,648), Black/British Black (443), and Chinese or other ethnic groups (535). 24.7% of people born in Wales could speak Welsh but only 9.0% of people born outside Wales could do so. The 2001 census also showed a decrease in the number of communities with more than 70% of

---

[84] I thank the Welsh Language Board for its permission to reproduce this and other images in this chapter.

[85] The results reported here are from WLB (2003b).

[86] Coupland et al. (2006: 374) note that "the issue of ethnic self-labeling was politicised in Wales at the time of the 2001 census because the Office of National Statistics refused to include a 'Welsh tick box' […] option on the census return form."

speakers of Welsh, from 81 in 1991 (155,000 speakers) to 54 in 2001 (81,000 speakers) (WLB 2006b: 3).

Based on the above, there are some important differences between the Welsh and Māori language situations in relation to planning for tolerability. Firstly, there are many more speakers of Welsh than speakers of Māori, both in numeric terms and as a proportion of the total population. Secondly, given that Welsh people make up the dominant ethnic group in Wales (though they are a minority group in the United Kingdom as a whole), Welsh is the heritage language of a majority group in Wales, whereas Māori is the heritage language of a minority group in New Zealand. Thirdly, although the number of communities in Wales where a majority of the population speaks Welsh is in decline, there are still more such communities in Wales than in New Zealand. There are, however, also some similarities between the two language situations. New Zealand and Wales have a similar population. The percentage of Welsh people who can speak Welsh is similar to the percentage of Māori people who can speak Māori. By far the highest proportion of speakers of Welsh and Māori are people for whom the language is a heritage language.

Defining majority language speakers

The differences between the Welsh and Māori language situations have implications for how majority language speakers are defined in Wales. There is a group of people resident in Wales who are non-Welsh and do not speak Welsh. This group could be seen as analogous to most non-Māori New Zealanders in relation to the Māori language. However, this group makes up a much smaller proportion of the Welsh population than the New Zealand population. In this context, the attitudes and behaviours of non-Welsh people in particular towards the Welsh language are likely to be of less concern to policymakers in Wales than in New Zealand. In contrast, the attitudes and behaviours of non-speakers of Welsh more generally towards the Welsh language may well be a tolerability-relevant concern. This broader group of non-speakers of Welsh are the best candidates for a definition of majority language speakers in Wales. There is of course a further, much larger group of majority language speakers to consider in the Welsh language situation: those non-speakers of Welsh in neighbouring England, who have historically had considerable impact on the Welsh language.

For the purposes of the current analysis, however, these majority language speakers are left aside, as language planning in Wales targets residents of Wales.

Evidence of the problem of tolerability in Wales

Research to date provides some evidence of the problem of tolerability in Wales among non-speakers of Welsh, showing that support for language regeneration is concentrated largely among speakers of Welsh. In his study of the linguistic situation in the Teifi Valley, Evas (2000) found that although 56.5% of Teifi Valley respondents overall were in favour of small companies receiving tax concessions for offering services in Welsh, this positive response was made up of 73.6% of mother tongue speakers of Welsh, 38.9% of second language learners, and only 29.3% of non-speakers of Welsh. Evas comments that (2000: 301): "time after time the project elicited answers in a worryingly segmented fashion: the entire Teifi community is not convinced that increasing the status of Welsh is a good thing." Furthermore, Evas (2000: 306) notes that during the fieldwork "several anecdotes regarding tension between linguistic groups were noted, and several of those interviewed insinuated that two parallel communities were developing in the area, one Welsh-speaking, the other English".

Through a survey of 494 teacher trainees in four teacher training institutions in Wales, May (2000a) identifies two competing discourses in the responses of participants, one the 'discourse of opportunity', focusing on Welsh language requirements providing people with the opportunity to become bilingual, and the other the 'discourse of choice', focusing on individual choice as a means of opting out of Welsh language requirements. May notes that each discourse was predominantly associated with language ability, with Welsh speakers more likely to invoke the discourse of opportunity, and non-speakers of Welsh more likely to draw upon the discourse of choice. As May observes, the difficulty in reconciling these two sets of views is that the discourse of opportunity arguably requires some element of compulsion in order to provide real choice and opportunity for Welsh speakers. This led many Welsh speakers to support compulsory Welsh-language requirements, but May notes "there was also a recognition among Welsh-speaking interviewees of the potential backlash that any notion of compulsion will inevitably elicit from non-Welsh speakers" (2000a: 121). This backlash was in fact evident in the interview responses of non-Welsh-speakers to the notion of compulsory Welsh

language requirements in the public service, with these viewed as "at best discriminatory and at worst racist" (2000a: 121). Based on these results, May (2000a: 124) concludes that, despite best efforts and considerable successes along the way in Welsh language policy, "the fears and antagonisms of majority language speakers, and the associated discourses of individual choice and language rights, continue to militate against its successful development and enactment in the longer term".

An attitude survey commissioned by the Welsh Language Board (NOP Social and Political 1996) showed that attitudes of non-speakers of Welsh towards the Welsh language were consistently less positive than the attitudes of speakers of Welsh. The survey also provides some evidence of more negative attitudes towards the Welsh language among non-Welsh people in particular. For example, half the respondents who thought of themselves as Welsh agreed with the statement 'Welsh is relevant to modern life' (including 83% of fluent Welsh speakers), compared to only 28% of those who considered themselves English or British.

A market research report commissioned by the Welsh Language Board (WLB 2003a) also reported that Welsh speakers in focus groups identified the "negative attitudes of some non-Welsh speakers" as one factor inhibiting their Welsh language use.

As in New Zealand, it is necessary to look to anecdotal rather than official sources to get a flavour of especially trenchant opposition to the Welsh language and Welsh language policy. A BBC news article in May 2007 (BBC 2007) sought online responses to a listener's comment that "promotion of the Welsh language has gone completely over the top." This elicited a flood of responses from all positions on the attitude scale. Negative attitudes expressed included that no one speaks Welsh any more, Welsh is not relevant to the modern world, Welsh holds Wales back, other languages (particularly English) are more useful than Welsh, language death is 'natural', the Welsh language will survive without intervention if people want it to, Welsh language promotion is expensive, there are better uses of public money, multilingualism of any kind is divisive, and speaking in other languages in front of English speakers is rude. Just a few of these comments are reproduced below:

The overwhelming majority of people in large parts of Wales DON'T use the Welsh language, but we get it stuffed down our throats anyway

The attempts to impose linguistic apartheid by a small vocal minority damage the economy of Wales

Personally I'm fed up with trying to understand signs that contain Welsh when my language is internationally accepted English

In a democracy a language that cannot support itself does not deserve to be supported

Use of the Welsh language in government will come about as a result of common sense and genuine need to do so, not as a result of centrally imposed rules to pacify a noisy minority inside a minority

If groups in Wales want dual language signs etc., etc., fine, BUT LET THEM PAY FOR IT, NOT THE REST OF US!

All these themes are replicated in almost identical form in the New Zealand context by people opposed to Māori language promotion (see e.g. Lane 2003). The only two that seem more specific to the Welsh context are the allegations of an elitist Welsh-speaking ruling class, and the notion that one might be made to feel less Welsh for not being able to speak Welsh:

A "ruling class" couldn't be a better way to describe the abject snobbery that and elitism that pervades Welsh speakers.

I do object to feeling marginalised and 'less Welsh' by some […] Welsh speakers.

These themes are less likely from non-Māori in New Zealand due to other aspects of the social context (although the latter comment is sometimes expressed by Māori who do not speak Māori). Taken as a whole, however, the comments provide anecdotal evidence of a similar environment in terms of tolerability in Wales and New Zealand.

Language policy context

The Welsh Language Board (henceforth WLB) and the Welsh Assembly Government (henceforth WAG) are the two main organisations responsible for Welsh language policy. The WLB is a statutory body established by the UK Government under the Welsh Language Act 1993 to promote and facilitate the use of Welsh. Initially accountable to the Welsh Office, the WLB has been

accountable to the WAG since the establishment of the National Assembly for Wales in 1999. The National Assembly is a devolved representative body of 60 Assembly Members that decides on priorities and allocates the funds made available to it by the UK Government. The National Assembly has delegated its executive powers to nine Cabinet Ministers, led by the First Minister, who together form the WAG, and are subject to democratic scrutiny by the National Assembly. The creation of the National Assembly was a significant development for Welsh language policy, the WLB noting in 2000 that (WLB 2000: 89-90):

> The National Assembly for Wales is now responsible for safeguarding the Welsh language, and is given quite wide-ranging powers to do so. Section 32 of the 1999 Government of Wales Act states that 'the Assembly may do anything it considers appropriate to support the Welsh language'.

In some ways, the relationship between the WAG and the WLB is similar to that between TPK and the MLC. Notably, the WAG is the main language policy-setting agency, whereas the WLB is entrusted with delivery and operational elements of the policy, as well as playing an advisory role. The WLB is funded by the WAG, on the basis of agreed annual plans, as the MLC in New Zealand is funded by the New Zealand government. The kind of activities the two organisations undertake, viewed as a whole, are similar to those undertaken by the MLC and TPK. There are, however, some important differences in how the responsibilities for these activities are shared out between the organisations. In particular, the WAG has referred to the WLB as "the national Welsh language planning body" (WAG 2003: 10), which suggests a more elevated status for the WLB than is generally attributed to the MLC by TPK (although the MLC is certainly engaged in language planning). In 2003, the WAG accentuated the strategic capacity and responsibilities of the WLB by giving it a "strengthened role in maintaining a strategic overview of Welsh language issues" (WAG 2003: 14) and providing it with further funding for developing a range of statistical indicators about Welsh language ability levels and usage patterns to inform policy-making (WAG 2003: 17). The above functions are retained by TPK rather than being delegated to the MLC. Finally, the WLB is more highly funded than the MLC[87].

---

[87] These organisational arrangements may change, as a result of a decision by the First Minister of Wales in 2004 to merge the WLB with the WAG, with the WAG taking over the role of strategic planning for Welsh language regeneration. This merger was intend to occur by April 2007, but was placed on a 'formal pause' after the elections of 2007, and may no longer occur (meeting with WLB, 12 September 2007).

The WAG and the WLB have released four main documents presenting an overall strategic direction for the Welsh language: *A Strategy for the Welsh Language* (WLB 1996) ("the Strategy"), the WLB's first comprehensive strategic plan, released three years after its inception and initially intended to see the Board through to the 2011 census; *The Welsh Language : A Vision and Mission for 2000-2005* (WLB 1999) ("the Vision and Mission"), released by the WLB only three years later, in response to the unanticipated development of the creation of the National Assembly for Wales in 1999; *Iaith Pawb: A National Action Plan for a Bilingual Wales* (WAG 2003) ("*Iaith Pawb*"), the WAG's high level national action plan to regenerate the Welsh language and create a bilingual Wales; and *The Future of Welsh: A Strategic Plan* (WLB 2005) ("the Strategic Plan"), released by the WLB to ensure continuity for the WLB's work and vision if its functions were incorporated into the WAG, as proposed at the time.

Recognising the problem of tolerability

To what extent is the problem of tolerability officially recognised in Welsh language policy? When one analyses the strategic policy materials released by the WAG and the WLB over the past ten years, the first apparent difference from the New Zealand situation is that non-Welsh people in particular are not singled out for any special attention. Instead, as predicted above on the basis of the demographic features of the Welsh language situation, majority language speakers are referred to only as non-speakers of Welsh. WLB officials confirm that the ethnic element of language policy is not something they either think about or have much research on (meeting with WLB, 13 September 2007). This points to a fundamental difference between the Welsh and the New Zealand language situations, suggesting that in Wales tolerability may primarily be an intra-ethnic rather than an inter-ethnic issue.

Welsh policy documents explicitly recognise the influence of the attitudes and behaviours of non-speakers of Welsh on Welsh language use in one specific sense: the increasing in-migration of non-speakers of Welsh to primarily Welsh speaking areas. Campbell (2000: 24) describes the effect of such in-migration on Cwm Gwendraeth, a deindustrialised area in south west Wales with a high concentration of Welsh speakers:

Many rural villages in the outlying areas of the valley have experienced difficulties in maintaining Welsh-language networks as monoglot incomers create situations whereby the English language becomes the *lingua franca* of social discourse. In recent years, evidence has come to light of a growing social polarisation between Welsh speakers and English incomers in certain areas, giving rise to tensions and hostilities.

Iaith Pawb notes the recent decline in the "number and strength of primarily Welsh-speaking communities" and cites as one of the reasons "the inward migration, primarily in more rural and coastal areas, of non-Welsh speakers" (WAG 2003: 21). The Strategic Plan also notes as a priority work area preparing a position paper on the impact of inward migration and out-migration (WLB 2005: 31). Both of these documents therefore explicitly recognise the impact of non-speakers of Welsh on Welsh language use in these communities.

Apart from this specific context, the policy documents do not reflect any official acknowledgement of the impact of the attitudes of non-speakers of Welsh on Welsh language use in other parts of Wales. This concern is perhaps implicit in some of the materials. For example, the Vision and Mission states that "the Board continues to emphasise that the future of the language is dependent above all on three components: public goodwill; investment by our institutions; and purposeful language planning" (WLB 1999: 5). One can assume that public goodwill in this context consists of goodwill among both speakers and non-speakers of Welsh, but this is never stated outright.

Policy initiatives

Welsh policymakers have developed a range of initiatives to address the problem of tolerability in primarily Welsh-speaking areas by directly targeting in-migrants to these areas. One such initiative is the Moving to Wales project, which operates in partnership with real estate agents in North and South-West Wales. As part of this project people moving into Welsh-speaking communities are provided with 'Welcome Packs' which "[introduce] them to the linguistic heritage of the area and [provide] details of how to learn and respect the language" (WAG 2003: 34). This approach is complemented by a website (www.movingtowales.com). Other initiatives include the 'Assimilating Newcomers project' in the South-West area of Anglesey and related initiatives in the Llŷn Peninsula, the Tanat Valley, Penllyn, and rural Conwy (WLB 2007: 32). These WLB-funded projects, while executed

differently in each area by the national network of mentrau iaith, all involve local 'community facilitators' or 'animateurs', who directly contact non-Welsh-speakers who have moved to the area and try to increase their awareness of the area's linguistic and cultural character, in the hope that they will understand and appreciate these elements and perhaps go on to learn Welsh (Helen Thomas, Menter Iaith Môn, personal communication, 15 February 2007).

Despite no acknowledgement in the strategic policy documents of the problem of tolerability among non-speakers of Welsh in other parts of Wales, some Welsh language policy initiatives do address the attitudes of non-speakers of Welsh more generally. One notable example is 'language awareness and sensitivity training', provided by both commercial providers and mentrau iaith. The Menter Iaith Conwy provides such training both to non-speakers of Welsh, to increase their awareness of the Welsh language, and to speakers of Welsh, to arm them with the necessary knowledge and strategies to respond constructively to negative attitudes expressed by non-speakers of Welsh (meeting with Meirion Davies, Menter Iaith Conwy, 20 September 2007). Both these approaches can be seen as planning for tolerability. These initiatives appear to have developed locally, however, rather than on the basis of a national policy decision[88]. This is reflected in the WLB's approach of developing a Language Awareness Strategy to attempt to improve quality and consistency across the diverse programmes currently underway (WLB 2006c).

The WLB is world-renowned for its focus on language marketing[89], and some of its recent language promotion campaigns have had a partial focus on non-speakers of Welsh. The annual 'Cymraeg yn gyntaf/Welsh - Give it a go' campaign, for example, has a secondary audience of non-speakers of Welsh, who are encouraged to 'give Welsh a go' during the week of the campaign, in addition to

---

[88] The Welsh Language Board claims that language awareness training in the workplace evolved as a result of public sector organisations responding to the duty under the Welsh Language Act 1993 to "[prepare] schemes giving effect to the principle that in the conduct of public business ... the English and Welsh languages should be treated on a basis of equality" (WLB 2006: 3).

[89] New Zealand researchers have looked to Wales for inspiration in relation to language marketing as early as Nicholson and Garland (1991) and the Welsh experience was noted by policymakers in developing the MLIP (TPK 2003c: 11). The similarities between language promotion campaigns in Wales and New Zealand extend to the use of some of the same discursive techniques. For example, a postcard on the WLB website uses a sports/national pride theme (Wales versus Italy postcard); and an e-card uses a romance theme (St. Dwynyen's Day e-card).

the primary focus on speakers of Welsh to 'speak Welsh first' in service interactions (meeting with Non Roberts, Menter Iaith Môn, 17 September 2007). Other marketing campaigns respond in part to the impact of non-speakers of Welsh on Welsh language use. For example the 'Twf' (growth) campaign, which promotes Welsh language transmission in the family, responds partly to research showing that families in which one parent does not speak Welsh are less likely to pass Welsh on to their children (meeting with WLB, 13 September 2007). Similarly, the 'Cymraeg: Kids Soak it Up' campaign, featuring a cartoon sponge (see Figure 8.2 over the page), attempts to calm the fears of non-Welsh-speaking parents about their children's participation in Welsh medium education (meeting with WLB, 13 September 2007), by promoting the message that "young children learn language easily…they soak it up, as a sponge soaks up water" (see www.cymraeg-kids-soak-it-up.com). There has been one campaign aimed entirely at non-speakers of Welsh, namely the 2004 'Work, Play, Live…Use Welsh' campaign. The aim of this campaign was "to raise interest in the Welsh language and demonstrate that it can be used in all aspects of life" (WAG 2004: 2), and the campaign included a series of posters on billboards and buses across Wales, television advertisements and a website (see Figure 8.3 over the page). Although the monolingual nature of the campaign suggested a non-Welsh-speaking audience was envisaged, the WLB now acknowledges that the 'call to action' for this campaign was perhaps unclear, as non-Welsh-speakers wondered how they could 'work, play and live' using Welsh if they could not speak the language (Jeremy Evas, WLB, personal communication, 28 November 2007). It is fair to say that such campaigns targeting majority language speakers represent the exception in Wales and that, in general, the Board has tended to focus on the attitudes and behaviours of existing speakers of Welsh, to encourage them to make use of their Welsh language skills, rather than targeting the attitudes and behaviours of non-speakers of Welsh (meeting with WLB, 13 September 2007)[90].

---

[90] See also sustained focus on the need to "influence positively the attitudes and habits of Welsh speakers as regards the use of the language" in the Strategy (e.g. WLB 1996: 8-9).

Figure 8.2: 'Cymraeg – Kids Soak it up' sponge

© Welsh Language Board

Figure 8.3: Billboard for 'Work, Play, Live…Use Welsh' campaign

© Welsh Language Board

Desired behaviours

The desired behaviour proposed by Welsh policymakers for majority language speaking in-migrants to Welsh-speaking areas is primarily to learn Welsh, although a focus on attitudes is also apparent[91]. Desired behaviours in the policy initiatives aimed at non-speakers of Welsh more generally described above are more varied, including increased awareness of Welsh language issues, 'giving Welsh a go', supporting Welsh language transmission in the home, and enrolling children in Welsh medium education. Overall, however, there is a much stronger focus on language learning among majority language speakers in Wales than in New Zealand. Indeed, Colin Baker of the WLB commented to me that "rather than just aspiring to achieve positive attitudes among English-language speakers, the work of the Board tries to achieve increasing acquisition and learning of the Welsh

---

[91] The aim of the Moving to Wales website, for example, is to "promote awareness of social and learning opportunities in the Welsh language and […] to encourage newcomers to learn the language and get involved in the local Welsh-speaking community" (WAG 2003: 34).

language amongst the language majority" (personal communication, 14 February 2007).

Evaluating success

Some tolerability-relevant initiatives in Wales have been subject to evaluative exercises, e.g. the Twf campaign (WLB 2002) and Language Awareness Training (ELWa 2005). The results of these evaluations are not described here, but their existence is noted as they represent an advance on the limited evaluation activities undertaken in planning for tolerability in New Zealand.

Summary: planning for tolerability in Wales

In his analysis of the Teifi Valley, Evas (2000: 293) refers to "a rather neglected target group within academic language planning activity in Wales, namely those who do not speak the language being planned", and comments that "if the WLB's Strategy [(1996)] and its Corporate Plan (1999) for the Welsh language are to be realized, this will only come about with the ready support of the majority of Wales' citizens, who do not, of course, speak Welsh" (2000: 307). Similarly, Williams (2004: 6) claims that:

> There are two strategic variables which, if not handled correctly, threaten to undermine the political credibility of *Iaith Pawb*. The first is the socio-economic well-being of beleaguered Welsh-speaking communities in the north and west. The second is the response of the English-speaking majority to the declared targets […]. If *Iaith Pawb* is serious in its mission, the non-Welsh speaking portion comprises over 80 per cent of the 'everyone' (*pawb*) who counts in Wales.

Some recent initiatives have addressed the problem of tolerability in Wales by directly targeting the attitudes and behaviours of non-speakers of Welsh, particularly in primarily Welsh-speaking areas. There does, however, appear to be a certain reticence in Welsh language policy in relation to planning for tolerability, reflected particularly in the absence of official recognition of the issue at the national level in strategic planning documents. In what seems a confirmation of this, Colin Baker of the WLB acknowledged to me via email that although "the concept of tolerability is very important […] gaining the support of the majority language speakers in Wales is not well developed" (personal communication, 14

February 2007). May (2001: 271) concludes from his own analysis of Welsh language policy that:

> While much *has* clearly been accomplished by the recent institutional changes in Wales, much more still needs to be accomplished if the significant progress made thus far in legitimating and institutionalising Welsh is not to be undone within the crucible of majority-language speakers' attitudes.

If policymakers in Wales want to resolve the problem of tolerability, they may need to not only continue their current focus on promoting positive attitudes and behaviours regarding the use of the Welsh language among its existing speakers, but also give more attention to promoting positive attitudes and behaviours towards Welsh among non-speakers of Welsh.

Planning for tolerability in Catalonia

Background

Since 1975, the municipal or general census undertaken every five years in Catalonia[92] has included a question on Catalan language competence (Strubell 1996: 273). The most recent census for which results are available (2001) showed that, of the total population of Catalonia aged over two years: 94.5% (5,872,202 people) could understand Catalan; 74.5% (4,630,640 people) could speak Catalan; 74.4% (4,621,404 people) could read Catalan; and 49.8% (3,093,223 people) could write Catalan (Institut d'Estadística de Catalunya 2003). This very high number of speakers of Catalan was already relatively high when language regeneration efforts in Catalonia began in the 1970s, with an estimated 5.5 million speakers of Catalan across all the Catalan-speaking territories in Spain at that time (Strubell 1996: 264).

Figure 8.4 over the page shows changes in Catalan language proficiency over the previous fifteen years, as shown by the census results for 1986-2001. The results show a steady increase in all four skill areas (from right to left: comprehension, speaking, reading, and writing), with the greatest increase in writing, followed by

---

[92] Although Catalan is also spoken in several areas outside Catalonia (see Gardner et al. 2000: 335), the analysis in the paper focuses on Catalonia in particular, due to the majority of speakers residing in Catalonia and the active promotion of the language in this region.

reading and speaking. Comprehension of Catalan has always very been high, due to the considerable similarities between the Spanish (henceforth 'Castilian') and Catalan languages.

Figure 8.4: Catalan language results in censuses from 1986-2001[93]

	L´entén	El sap parlar	El sap llegir	El sap escriure
□ 1986	90,6	64,2	60,7	31,6
□ 1991	93,8	68,3	67,6	39,9
□ 1996	94,9	75,3	72,4	45,8
■ 2001	94,5	74,5	74,4	49,8
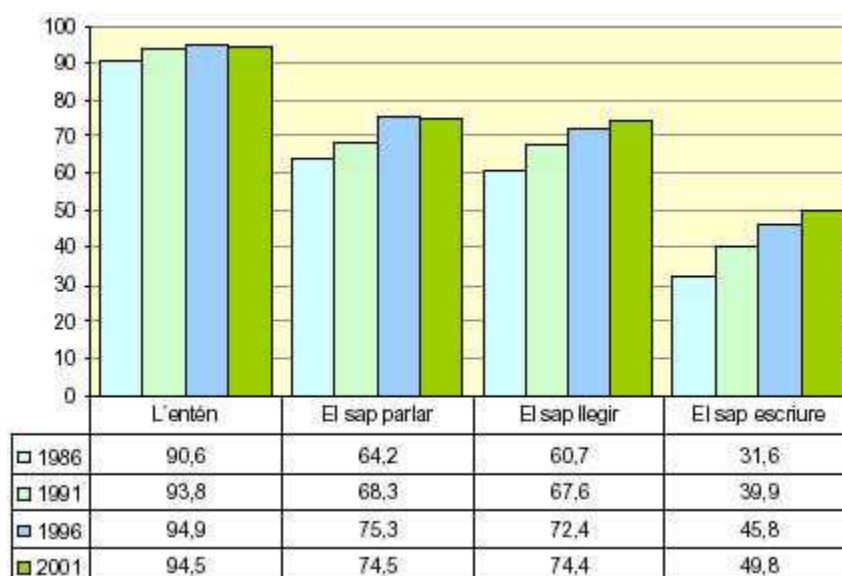
© Generalitat de Catalunya, Secretaria de Política Lingüística
(http://www.gencat.cat/llengua)

In 2003, the Catalan government undertook an official language use survey for the first time (Institut d'Estadística de Catalunya and Secretaria de Política Lingüística 2004). The survey, involving telephone interviews with 7,237 Catalan residents over the age of fifteen, showed a high level of use of Catalan in everyday life, with Catalan used more than Castilian overall. The results showed that 50.1% of participants claimed to use Catalan as their habitual language; 36.7% reported habitually using Catalan in informal domains (with friends, classmates, workmates, and neighbours), compared to 30.2% who reported using Castilian; 48.4% reported habitually using Catalan in formal domains (such as at banks, businesses, and the doctor), compared to 29.7% who reported using Castilian; and a significant proportion reported habitual primarily bilingual language use, with varying degrees of Catalan and Castilian language use.

It is clear from the above that the Catalan language situation differs from that of Māori in very important respects. In particular, there are many more Catalan

---

[93] I thank the Generalitat de Catalunya for its permission to reproduce this and other images in this chapter.

speakers than Māori speakers both numerically and as a percentage of the population; the degree of bilingualism in the Catalan language situation is much higher; and there is greater use of Catalan than Māori in everyday life. There are a number of further aspects that differentiate the Catalan language situation from that of Māori.

The first is the nature of the relationship between language and ethnicity in Catalonia. Two main communities are considered to exist in Catalonia: Catalans and Castilians, but what determines ethnic group membership is a matter of debate (Atkinson 2000: 187-188). Woolard (1989) discusses four main criteria of Catalan identity - descent, birthplace, sentiment, and language - and goes on to claim that language is the most important of these, so "in common parlance, a Catalan is a person who uses Catalan in a native-like way as a first, home, and/or habitual language" (1989: 39). Later researchers have come to the same conclusion, Atkinson (2000: 189) for example commenting that "while the meaning of key terms such as *català* and *castellà* are not fixed, the behaviour of many people seems to suggest a rough consensus that Catalans are characterized principally by native(-like) use of Catalan and/or Catalan ancestry and/or use of Catalan as the main language of their domestic life". As in New Zealand, therefore, ethnic membership is the main point of distinction between majority and minority language speakers in Catalonia. This is likely to be even more the case in Catalonia, however, given that language is the most important marker of ethnic identity more generally. Woolard (1989: 68) claims that in Catalonia "since language is the primary symbol of group affiliation, the necessity of making language choices can be a constant reminder of ethnic identity and relations". This is not the case in New Zealand, where features of Māori ethnicity other than language are arguably more salient as ethnic identity markers for Māori (see Ngaha 2004).

The salience of language and the lack of other strongly defining elements of 'Castilian' as opposed to 'Catalan' ethnic identity leads to what seems an unusual situation, whereby, according to Woolard (1989: 62), Castilians can effectively change their ethnic identity for all practical purposes by acquiring native-like proficiency in the language of the other group. This is a different situation from the Māori language situation in New Zealand, where changing one's ethnic identity by learning Māori is not generally an option. As Woolard goes on to discuss,

however, the extent to which such an ethnolinguistic transformation is possible is limited by other factors, primary among which is the link between language group and social class, which limits both language choice and social mobility between the different groups in Catalonia.

Due to the history of immigration into Catalonia, discussed further below, Strubell (1996: 266-267) observes that "it has nearly always been the case that Catalan speakers have higher social status than non-Catalan-speaking immigrants"[94]. This has a complex set of effects in relation to intergroup relations generally and Catalan language regeneration in particular. On one hand, the high level of prestige attached to the Catalan language by both Catalans and Castilians means both groups generally have positive attitudes towards the language, so "if anything the Catalan government has built upon, rather than created, a generalised opinion about the usefulness of being bilingual" (Strubell 1996: 267). This obviously favours Catalan language regeneration planning. On the other hand, the link between language and class works to cement the existing class divisions between Catalan and Castilian speakers and to relate the issue of language to wider intergroup tensions (Woolard 1989:132). This has had an important impact on Catalan language policy, as we shall see further below. Although links may be made between Māori language and social class in New Zealand, given that Māori are disproportionately represented among the lowest socio-economic indicators in New Zealand, the inverse applies to the situation in Catalonia, where Catalan is associated with economic prestige, socioeconomic advantage, and instrumental value. The Māori language arguably has none of these associations in wider New Zealand society.

A further distinguishing characteristic of the Catalan language situation is the link between language and nationalism. MacInnes (1999) notes that the Catalan language has been central to the definition and articulation of Catalan national identity and, for this reason, language has played a "central and relatively stable role in the Catalan nationalist movement" (Roller 2002: 279). In New Zealand issues other than language, such as political representation and land claims, have assumed much greater political importance among Māori communities and the general population.

---

[94] Following other commentators, the term 'immigrants' in this chapter refers to in-migrants from within Spain rather than outside Spain, unless otherwise specified.

The links between language, ethnicity, class and nationalism help to explain a final distinguishing feature of the Catalan language situation: the high salience of language issues amongst the general public, including regular public debates on bilingualism in ordinary conversation and the press (Hoffman 1995: 82). Māori language issues do not command this level of public attention in New Zealand.

In many respects, therefore, the Catalan language situation is poles apart from the Māori language situation. Given the scale of the differences, why even consider it as a comparison? There are two main reasons Catalonia presents a useful comparison to the Māori language situation in New Zealand. The first is that, like Māori, Catalan can be viewed as a minority language in a state of reverse language shift. This is, admittedly, a contentious point. Certainly, researchers agree that Catalan is an "atypical minority" (Hoffman 2000: 426), a "relatively strong minority language" and that "it is quite clear, and widely recognised, that Catalan finds itself in a far better position than many of the world's minority languages" (Atkinson 1997: 6). This acknowledgment is based on various features such as the comparatively large numbers of Catalan speakers, its prominence within the region of Catalonia where Catalans are a majority, and the economic and social prestige of the language (Hoffman 2000). These features differentiate Catalan not only from Māori but from most minority languages in the world.

Most academic commentators also agree however that, despite these points, it does not follow that Catalan is not endangered. Atkinson (1997: 7-8) claims instead that "a dispassionate sociolinguistic analysis of the situation raises serious questions as to the validity of […] cosy complacency" regarding the future of the language. This is based on the notion that 'minoritisation' is not a matter of numbers but of relative power (see also Nelde et al. 1996: 1, Strubell 1999: 16). Atkinson (2000: 186) comments that "power is inescapably at the heart of such issues" and "fundamentally, it is the degree of minoritisation of a language which should suggest the extent of the protection which it needs". From this point of view, classifying Catalan as a minority language is less controversial. Evidence includes the longstanding pattern of Catalan speakers accommodating to Castilian with Castilian speakers, even if the latter understand or even speak Catalan. This language practice, discussed by Woolard (1989), remains evident in the results of the 2003 language use survey discussed above, which showed that, if Catalan

speaking respondents started a conversation in Catalan and were responded to in Castilian, 18.5% would continue in Catalan and 70.6% would switch to Castilian (Institut d'Estadística de Catalunya and Secretaria de Política Lingüística 2004: 83). These results relating to speech accommodation norms are quite dramatic, given the otherwise high rate of Catalan language use demonstrated by the survey. According to Atkinson (2000: 196) this practice "militates against assigning Catalan the role of the 'dominant' language since the linguistic *behaviour* of both communities tends towards strategies of accommodation to Castilian". Castilian also remains the dominant language in some significant domains in Catalonia, particularly the police, judiciary and other organisations with a base elsewhere in Spain. Castilian is also the language current immigrants to Catalonia from outside Spain most often learn. The 2005 annual language policy report of the Catalan government notes that (Generalitat de Catalunya 2006, section 4, p. 4):

> The arrival of immigrants into bilingual societies shows up the power relations that exist concerning language. Immigrants accommodate themselves to the language that has the greater social, economic and political power. The fact that many immigrants use Spanish is a reflection of the complex social situations that coexist in Catalonia. […] Many immigrants have no concept that Catalonia has its own language, and neither do they receive any incentive from the State to acknowledge its legitimacy.

From these points of view, at least, Catalan can legitimately be viewed as a minority language. More importantly for the specific focus of the current research, however, Catalonia is an example of a language situation that has had to deal with the problem of tolerability head-on. From the point of view of investigating approaches to planning for tolerability, therefore, the great disparity between the Catalan and Māori language situations may be less important than it first appears.

Language policy context

Language regeneration planning began in Catalonia in 1979 at the end of the Catalan language's forty year repression under the Franco regime. The Generalitat de Catalunya (henceforth GDC), the autonomous regional government of Catalonia, was established by Catalonia's Statute of Autonomy in 1979. The General Directorate of Language Policy was created in 1980 as the main body in charge of Catalan language regeneration. The central goal of language policy

was, and continues to be, to 'normalise' the Catalan language, i.e. "to return to normality the use of the language in all areas of public life" (Gardner et al. 2000: 342). In 2004 the General Directorate of Language Policy was replaced by the Language Policy Secretariat (GDC 2006, section 1, p. 9). The structure of this organisation is represented in Figure 8.5 below (GDC 2006, section 1, p. 10):

Figure 8.5: Organisation chart of Catalan Language Policy Secretariat
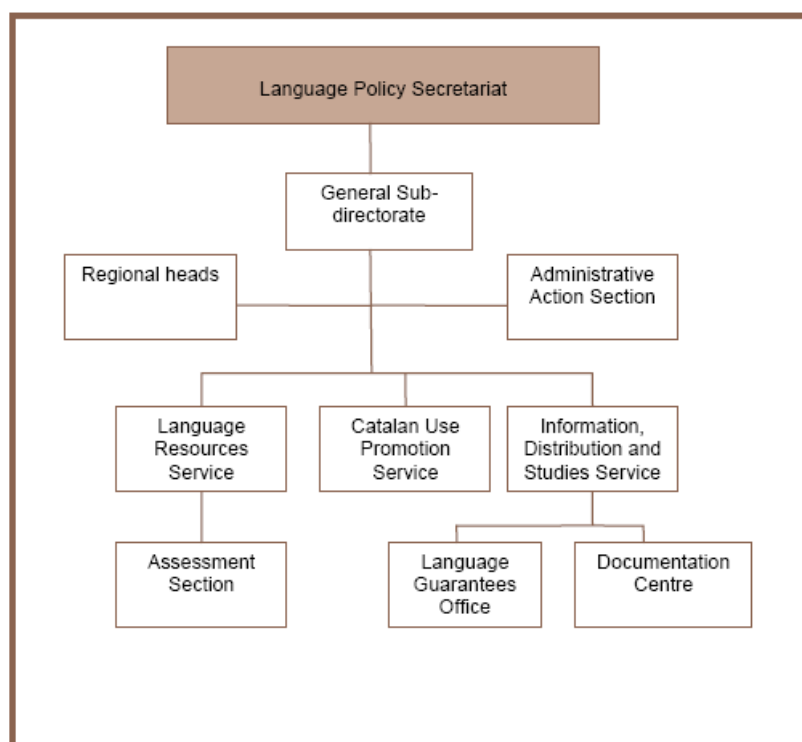
© Generalitat de Catalunya, Secretaria de Política Lingüística
(http://www.gencat.cat/llengua)

There is also a range of other organisations involved in Catalan language policy that, in total, employ as many as 600 professional language planners (Gardner et al. 2000: 349). The Catalan government allocated 25,706,856 euros to the Language Policy Secretariat in the 2005 financial year, and a further 24,859,921.46 euros to a range of other government organisations for the purpose of promoting the use of Catalan (GDC 2006, section 1, p.14). This amounts to a total budget for Catalan language promotion of around 50 million euros. In addition to this higher level of resourcing, the Catalan language policy context differs from that of Māori in that Catalans have some institutional power in Catalonia, in the form of their own autonomous government. This is closer to the situation in Wales than in New Zealand. Legal recognition of the Catalan language is also more developed in Catalonia, with references to Catalan

language in the 1978 Spanish Constitution and the 1979 and 2006 Catalan Statutes of Autonomy, as well as two specific language laws: the 1983 Linguistic Normalisation Law, and the 1998 Catalan Language Act. Overall, the Catalan language benefits from considerably more institutional support than the Māori language in New Zealand.

Defining majority language speakers

Due to the link between language and ethnicity in Catalonia, the Catalan language situation involves a return to the notion of ethnicity as a vitally important element of the problem of tolerability, which is not the case in Wales. This being so, one might assume that majority language speakers could be defined simply as non-Catalans. In reality, the situation is more complicated. The language policies implemented by the Catalan government have evolved through three stages, broadly a first phase from 1980 until 1990, a second phase from the beginning of the 1990s to the end of the twentieth century (see Gardner et al. 2000: 343; Strubell 1999: 24) and a third phase from 2000 onwards. These phases can all be related to distinct problems of tolerability in Catalonia involving separate groups of majority language speakers. Although the periods are not entirely separable, broadly the first phase relates to the in-migration of a large number of non-Catalans from across Spain in the 1970s, the second to the attitudes of majority language speakers across Spain towards Catalan language policy, and the third to a new wave of immigration from outside Spain. The Catalan situation is thus an interesting example of how the problem of tolerability can express itself in distinct (albeit related) ways within a single language situation, and how the umbrella category of majority language speakers can be defined in different ways at different times. In all these phases in Catalonia, as in New Zealand, majority language speakers have been defined as people from outside the Catalan ethnolinguistic group. Given the distinct character of the problem of tolerability in each phase, the phases and policy responses to them are discussed in chronological order below.

Phase one policy initiatives: Immigration from across Spain

In addition to the overt repression of Catalan during the Franco period, other social and economic developments impacted on the Catalan language at this time. Of

particular interest here is the in-migration of numerous Castilian speakers to Catalonia, in response to the economic development of Catalonia during the 1950s and 1960s and the underdevelopment of other regions of Spain (Gardner et al. 2000: 338). Research on language attitudes and behaviour at the beginning of the 1980s revealed divergent language attitudes between Castilian speaking 'immigrants' to Catalonia and indigenous Catalans (Gardner et al. 2000: 343-344). The majority language-speaking Castilians: did not want the Catalan language to be imposed on them and rejected its compulsory use; did not want to face discrimination on linguistic grounds; were unaware of the recent history of repression of the Catalan language; and therefore considered the imbalance between the two languages to be normal. In contrast, the minority language speaking Catalans: wanted to be respectful towards the immigrant population; switched easily from Catalan to Castilian to be polite; wanted to forget the history of repression of Catalan language and therefore did not transmit it to younger generations; used only Castilian in business because everybody could understand it; did not exercise their statutory language rights when dealing with public institutions; agreed there should be an increase in the use of Catalan in public, but did nothing to help change the situation; and did not want to cause any trouble, even if they were convinced they were right. This situation foreshadowed the problem of tolerability, in that the immigrants represented a large group of majority language speakers in Catalonia who were already having an influence on the language use patterns of Catalan speakers, and could potentially respond negatively to greater use of the Catalan language (Fishman 1991: 305).

Catalan policymakers took a multi-pronged approach to this situation. First, they concentrated on extending knowledge of Catalan to all citizens of Catalonia, including immigrants (Fishman 1991: 306). Second, they sought to change the population's attitudes and behaviours towards the use of Catalan through a series of promotional campaigns aimed at "informing, sensitizing and creating a consensus among the population" (Gardner et al. 2000: 344). In 1982, the government launched the 'Norma' campaign in which a ten year old cartoon girl encouraged Catalans to practice a 'bilingual conversation' (Gardner et al. 2000: 344), that is to speak in Catalan even if their interlocutors addressed them in Castilian. Norma (from 'normalisation') was accompanied by the slogan 'el català és cosa de tots', translated as 'Catalan is everybody's business'.

Figure 8.6: Norma

© Generalitat de Catalunya, Secretaria de Política Lingüística
(http://www.gencat.cat/llengua)

The Norma campaign is widely regarded as having succeeded in creating public goodwill about the need to promote the Catalan language and paving the way for the first 'language normalisation' law in 1983. The impact of the campaign on actual language use was less clear, however. Strubell (1996: 265) comments that:

> The 'Norma' campaign was successful in achieving considerable popular appeal. However, it failed to substantially change the social norm [of switching to Castlian] in practice. If anything, it gave an institutional boost to those Catalans who do constantly use their language, despite the norm.

Strubell (1999: 23) also discusses a second language promotion campaign from the early 1980s, the 'Scales' advertisement, designed shortly after the language normalisation bill became law, in which "the metaphor of a set of scales was used to convey the intention of the law, which was to lead to a balanced and just linguistic situation". In addition to the advertisement, a number of round-table discussions were organised, "mainly in districts in the industrial hinterland of Barcelona, where nearly all in-migrants lived, and where it was felt that demagogic politicking could cause serious social unrest."

These language attitude campaigns attempted to foster consensus among the population of Catalonia in relation to the Catalan language. This search for

consensus can also be seen as a distinct more general approach to the Catalan government's language policy implementation at this time. Hoffman (2000: 430) notes as an important feature of Catalan language policy its insistence on public acceptance and cooperation, with the objectives of the normalisation policy to be achieved voluntarily and gradually over a period of time. Others have referred to the Government's approach in this regard as "[stressing] the formation of a social consciousness favourable to the recovery of Catalan throughout society" (Sole i Camardons 1997: 43); "[encouraging] the whole population to play an active part in the recovery of the public use of the language, in a spirit of tolerance and peaceful co-existence" (Strubell 1999: 23); and "fostering among [Castilian] speakers a fondness for and an identification with Catalan" (Fishman 1991: 299).

A further element of the Government's approach was to emphasise preservation of the rights of majority language speakers. Fishman (1991: 299) notes that in promoting Catalan to Castilian speakers, language planners sought to counteract any feelings that Castilian speakers might harbour to the effect that Castilian, the nationwide official language, was being "slighted or subordinated". As Fishman goes on to emphasise, however, this was (and has continued to be) a very delicate balancing act (1991: 313).

Commentators agree that the early phase of Catalan language policy developed in an atmosphere of general consensus. There are perhaps reasons independent of the Government's actions why this was so, in particular the sense of unity and common purpose in Catalonia that crossed ethnic and class boundaries immediately after the fall of the Franco regime. Mar-Molinero (2000: 160) notes that "very many still identified political democratisation in general with the upgrading and promotion of the minority languages in particular". Some have questioned the depth of this consensus, however. There was an initial instance of opposition from Castilian speakers to a perceived reduction in their linguistic rights in 1981, when a 'Manifesto for the Equality of Language Rights' was signed by 2,300 individuals. More generally, Mar-Molinero (2000: 91-92) comments that:

> The solidarity and consensus that had been created by the opposition to the
> Franco regime had papered over differing attitudes and beliefs about
> language politics in Spain. […] It was easy to forget that not everyone in
> the new Spain necessarily agreed with the promotion of the minority
> languages, and this expedient compromise has gradually begun to fall apart
> in the years since the end of the Franco regime.

Phase two policy initiatives: Majority language speakers across Spain

The changing fortunes of the tolerability of the Catalan language among majority language speakers became apparent in the second phase of Catalan language policy, which coincided with a second distinct instance of the problem of tolerability. This was in the form of resistance to Catalan language policy not principally from within Catalonia, but rather fostered by Castilian speakers elsewhere in Spain. In this sense the second phase more closely resembled a classic minority-majority language situation, as in the context of the Spanish state Catalan is a territorial minority language.

Strubell (2000: 273) describes the beginning of a full-scale backlash towards Catalan language policy from 1993, when Castilian speakers began to protest against the introduction of Catalan immersion schooling in Catalonia. In response, the Madrid-based daily newspaper ABC published a front page feature, which, according to Strubell, was "a head-on attack on the Generalitat's language policy, describing it as the same, in reverse, as what had been done in the dictatorship, including a campaign of 'persecution' against Spanish, in an attempt to 'eradicate' it". This backlash continued and intensified in the lead-up to the 1998 Catalan Language Act, which, according to May (2002: 6), constituted "the 'next stage' of the legitimation and institutionalisation of Catalan within Catalonia – with a clear movement away from the more gradualist, 'politics of persuasion' approach that typified earlier language measures". The focus of the new law was affirmative action measures (Costa 2003: 419) to ensure the presence of Catalan in the legal system and several social and cultural domains not included in the earlier legislation (Hoffman 2000: 431). But although such an approach could have worked in an atmosphere of consensus, as Gardner et al. (2000: 340-341) remark, "the political climate for the approval of the revised Act in the mid-1990s was very different from the early 1980s *entente cordiale* among the political parties". In this setting, the controversy over the Act "highlighted deep divisions in Catalan political circles on 'how far' the issue of linguistic policy should go in protecting and promoting the use of language in Catalan society" (Roller 2002: 285).

It has been suggested that the outcry against Catalan language policies, at least from politicians and the media in Madrid, was at least partly politically motivated. According to May (2002: 6-7) the opposition during this period was "firmly located

within a broader conservative political agenda advocating the return of a traditional centralist Spanish nationalism exemplified in the majoritarian model of the linguistically homogenous nation-state" (see also Atkinson 1997 and Rees 1996: 316 on the specific political context in Spain at the time). The issue for Catalan language planners was that the views of the politically motivated few could have a considerable effect on the attitudes of the disinterested many in Spain, and reinforce what has been described as the 'latent resistance' towards minority languages among Castilian speakers across Spain (Hoffman 1995: 87). This, in turn, could influence the effectiveness of Catalan language policy implementation, given that, according to Strubell (1996: 270), "many of the linguistic decisions affecting Catalonia are taken outside Catalonia, by multinational companies, Spanish ministries, etc. whose perception of [the Catalan] situation [had] been tainted", and the Catalan government had little ability to influence public opinion across Spain in a pro-Catalan direction (Strubell 1996: 270). Moreover, although according to May (2002: 7-8) "the majority of immigrants in Catalonia actually accept and support 'Catalanisation' policies", the conflict also had the potential for creating disquiet between Castilians and Catalans in Catalonia itself (Woolard 1989: 45). The combination of opposition or potential opposition from three types of majority language speaker – politicians and the media in Madrid, Castilian speakers across Spain, and Castilian immigrants within Catalonia – presented a formidable challenge to Catalan language policy, and can be seen as a virulent form of the problem of tolerability.

Despite the above, it is clear the language debates in Catalonia in the 1990s reflected a complex situation, and academic perspectives span the spectrum. Some researchers lean towards sympathy with the pro-Castilian claims, Hoffman (1995: 62) commenting for example that "in some respects language planners appear to be starting to repeat the very same injustices they originally set out to redress". Others are firmly on the side of the Catalans, May (2002: 7-8) arguing that "the clear weight of evidence in debates on Catalan language suggests that the arguments of oppositionalists are almost entirely invalid"[95]. Despite these differences of opinion, one should not exaggerate the degree of conflict in this second phase of Catalan language policy, just as one should not exaggerate the degree of consensus in the first phase. Mar-Molinero (2000: 163-164) claims that

---

[95] Though he does note the important caveat that the recognition and promotion of Catalan, while unproblematic in itself, has yet to be extended to a formal recognition of the languages of Catalonia's various ethnic minorities as well.

"most commentators have not seen the issue in such controversial and strident terms as ABC and there was a great deal of quiet support for the Catalan language policies". This was reflected in opinion polls in Catalonia, two surveys in 1994 showing that 98 per cent of those interviewed wanted their children to be taught Catalan, and 96 per cent believed everyone living in Catalonia should understand Catalan (Mar-Molinero 2000: 163-164).

The main approach policymakers took to addressing the problem of tolerability during this phase of Catalan language policy was to water down the provisions of the proposed linguistic normalisation Act that were causing the most controversy (MacInnes 1999). Very few substantial changes actually resulted from the Act, which focused on "areas of social and cultural life where the use of Catalan was not yet guaranteed but where it was safe to legislate, as censuses showed the level of understanding of Catalan was very high" (Gardner et al. 2000: 341). At a more general level, the Government's response to opposition to the Act is a case of May's (2000a: 124) recommendation of taking a "gradual and graduated approach" in relation to minority language policy, so as not to antagonise majority opinion.

It does not seem that Catalan language policymakers during this phase settled upon a way to effectively deal with the problem of the negative attitudes and behaviours of majority language speakers towards Catalan language policy, other than compromising in their goals and stepping on the brakes. The response during this phase appears to have been reactive in nature, unlike the proactive approach of the first phase.

Phase three policy initiatives: Immigration from outside Spain

Roller (2002: 281) claims that language issues have recently been the subject of less controversy in Spain. Based on the results of a study conducted by the Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas in 2001, she states that "the controversy over linguistic discrimination, so prevalent in the negotiations leading up to the approval of the 1997 legislation, has been limited to debates in the media and political circles rather than developing into a broad-based public debate". According to Hoffman (2000: 433), however, "the new challenge in present-day Catalonia is that there are a number of factors at work which were absent in earlier

times and which make a consensual language policy much more difficult to achieve". Some of these emerging factors can be seen simply as new dimensions of factors with ongoing relevance, but overall they arguably indicate the commencement of a further 'third phase' in Catalan language policy. The ongoing and new factors are discussed below, before describing how the Catalan government is currently attempting to address them.

Today it seems immigrants to Catalonia from within Spain are not such an urgent focus of Catalan language policy as they were in the 1980s. Gardner et al. (2000: 351-352) describe the increasing integration of Castilian-speaking immigrants to Catalonia, noting that the migratory balance of these immigrants has now been negative for some time, and the second and third generation descendants of the immigrants of the 1950s and 1960s are growing up in a society where Catalan has acquired a new prestige and currency. Gardner et al. go on to note, however, that, despite the proficiency of these immigrants in Catalan, Castilian continues to be their preferred language in everyday activities (2000: 352). A related issue is that of birth rates. Since the 1930s the fertility rate of Catalans has been close to or even below replacement levels, and according to Strubell 1999 (34-35) "this will make Catalonia extremely fragile in terms of its ability to integrate newcomers linguistically" and "makes the position of Spanish (Castilian) much stronger". In a more positive vein, Strubell (2000: 269-270) goes so far as to say that Castilian speakers may in fact be the ones to secure the future of the Catalan language:

> Faced with massive immigration and low birth rates, the only long-term hope for Catalan is to recruit new speakers among the immigrant groups. There is growing evidence that this recruitment is at least partly taking place.

In addition to the existing immigrants and their descendants, a new wave of immigrants have become a focus of attention in Catalan language policy. Since 2000, international immigration has become a key feature of Catalonia's demographic dynamic, with around 90% of the total growth of the Catalan population during the period 2001-2005 resulting from immigration from abroad (GDC 2005a: 154-155). These immigrants come from a range of backgrounds, including Moroccan, Latin American, Eastern European, Chinese and Pakistani, and in a sense cannot be seen as 'majority language speakers' in that most are not native speakers of Castilian but arrive in Catalonia with a range of first

languages. The underlying assumption, however, is the likelihood that they will learn Castilian instead of Catalan as their "language of social integration" (Gardner et al. 2000: 353).

In addition to the continued importance of immigration - old and new - in Catalan language policy, the attitudes of majority language speakers across Spain are still of concern. Gardner et al. (2000: 352) highlight this as the first on their list of future challenges for the Catalan language, noting that "the Spanish state is still a monolingual state and still has much latent animosity against the 'other' languages". Similarly, Hoffman (1995: 88) claims that "linguistic normalisation of Spanish native speakers resident in Catalonia will only be achieved if attitudes in the rest of Spain are positive towards Spanish-Catalan bilingualism."

A variety of current policy initiatives serve a claimed dual aim of promoting the Catalan language and facilitating the integration of new immigrants. In 2005 the Catalan government approved a Citizenship and Immigration Plan for 2005-2008, identifying 70 actions across twelve priority areas, one of which is "linguistic reception and social use of the Catalan language" (GDC 2005a: 163). The rationale given for including Catalan language outcomes in the plan is that "when immigrants use the Catalan language as a vehicle for communication, it can greatly increase their level of integration" (GDC 2005a: 160). The document also acknowledges, however, that immigrants learning Catalan works in favour of the government's Catalan language policy to "promote Catalan as the customary language of communication and citizenship in Catalonia" (GDC 2005a: 163). This appears to be a strategic attempt to convert this 'problem' for the Catalan language into a strength. There is no suggestion in the document, for instance, of a need for immigrants to learn Castilian in order to integrate into Catalonia. Relevant current initiatives include the 'Voluntaris per la llengua' ('Language Volunteers') programme, a scheme whereby Catalan volunteers provide Catalan language tutoring to immigrants to Catalonia (Kolyva and Angelescu 2004), and a range of resources produced by the Catalan government, including both 'welcoming guides' in various languages with information on living in Catalonia and the Catalan language, and language specific guides, which compare Catalan to languages spoken by immigrants to Catalonia, including Arabic, Berber, Chinese, Punjabi, and Ukrainian[96].

An earlier initiative relating to immigrants from outside Spain was the 2003 'Tu ets Mestre' (You are a teacher) language promotion campaign, in which Catalans were encouraged to speak in Catalan to new immigrants to encourage the "linguistic integration" of the latter into Catalan society (GDC 2003). The campaign was run through television, radio and the press. The television and radio advertisements presented three everyday scenarios: at a market, in a restaurant kitchen, and a conversation among young people. In all three cases a Catalan addressed an immigrant in Catalan, with a voiceover at the end saying 'help me, speak to me in Catalan'. The press ads reproduced a photo of each of these situations, with the slogan 'you are a teacher' (as shown below, from GDC 2003).

Figure 8.7: Press advertisement from Tu ets mestre campaign

© Generalitat de Catalunya, Secretaria de Política Lingüística
(http://www.gencat.cat/llengua)

Tu ets Mestre is an intriguing language promotion campaign from the point of view of planning for tolerability. The campaign focuses - indirectly - on the language practices of immigrants, who are both non-speakers of the Catalan language and non-members of the ethnic group associated with the Catalan language. Despite this ultimate target audience, however, the direct focus of the campaign is on the

---

[96] Website of GDC,
www.gencat.net/benestar/societat/convivencia/immigracio/recursos/materials/index.htm, accessed March 2007

behaviours of current speakers of the Catalan language, rather than non-speakers of Catalan. In this sense, the approach represents an inverse approach to that taken in the Māori language promotional materials discussed in chapter six. Whereas the New Zealand materials involve proposing language-related behaviours among non-Māori that are intended to indirectly increase Māori language use among Māori, this campaign involves proposing language-related behaviours among Catalans that are intended to indirectly increase Catalan language use among non-Catalans.

Areny i Cirilo (2004) reports on some interesting evaluation findings for the Tu ets Mestre campaign, showing that acceptance of the campaign by its target audience was conditioned by attitudes towards immigration already held by participants. Based on a qualitative analysis of responses to the promotional materials, three attitudinal profiles were developed for the target audience, namely: committed supporters (people who participated in actions of solidarity towards immigrants); passive supporters (people who were in favour of actions of solidarity towards immigrants but adopted a passive attitude); and skeptical non-supporters (people who had intolerant attitudes towards immigrants). The first group evaluated the campaign positively and enthusiastically; the second group adopted an ambivalent position, evaluating the intention of the campaign positively, but not its form; and the last group did not identify with the intention of the campaign and had an attitude of rejection towards it. These results are similar to those found in my own data collection discussed in chapter six.

In 2005, the Government launched a more extensive language promotion campaign called 'Dóna corda al català' (Give Catalan a boost). This was the first language promotion campaign addressed to the wider community since the Norma campaign in 1982 (GDC 2005b). The impulse for the campaign was the results of the 2003 language use survey, discussed above, particularly those suggesting that although the vast majority of people in Catalonia understood Catalan, their use of Catalan in informal or private spheres was significantly lower than in formal or public spheres, and the dominant trend among Catalan speakers was to accommodate to Castilian in interactions with Castilian speakers (GDC 2006, section 4, p.2). The general aim of the campaign was to promote and facilitate use of the Catalan language. The slogan was intended to give the message that "all societies have to give a boost to their languages, everyone has to use them so

that they remain living languages, and […] in this respect Catalan is no exception". The campaign used a 'mascot' called la Queta (the diminutive of 'boqueta', or little mouth), which was an animated wind-up toy set of teeth, shown in Figure 8.8 below. La Queta symbolises the Catalan language, which has to be given a boost by being wound up so it can walk (GDC 2006, section 4, p. 5). It is up to Catalans to 'wind up' the toy teeth.

Figure 8.8: La Queta[97]

© Generalitat de Catalunya, Secretaria de Política Lingüística
(http://www.gencat.cat/llengua)

The promotional materials for the 2005 campaign included two radio advertisements, a television advertisement, and three posters, supported by more than 150 public events across Catalonia (GDC 2006b). The intended messages of the campaign were 'Parla sense vergonya' (don't be shy about speaking), 'Parla amb llibertat (speak freely)' and 'Per començar, parla en català' (when you start, speak in Catalan) (GDC 2005b)[98].

---

[97] GDC 2006, section 4, p. 6

[98] The 2006 wave of the Dóna corda al català campaign also involved a radio advertisement, two television advertisements, and three posters. This year the campaign had a new overall theme, 'El català va amb tu' (Catalan goes with you). Again the slogans on the posters present the intended messages of the campaign, this time relating primarily to domains: 'Quan fas amics' (when you make friends), 'Quan et diverteixes' (when you have fun) and, as in the 2005 campaign, 'Per començar' (when you start (speaking)). This year of the campaign also involved downloadable mobile phone ring tones, an image of the campaign mascot 'la Queta' to use as mobile phone wallpaper, versions of the campaign theme song (in hip hop, reggae, rumba and disco versions), and a range of three online games, one involving a Gaudí theme.

Figure 8.9: Posters for 2005 Dóna corda al català campaign

© Generalitat de Catalunya, Secretaria de Política Lingüística
(http://www.gencat.cat/llengua)

The campaign was addressed at the following target audiences: habitual Catalan speakers who did not always use the language; Catalan speakers who had good knowledge of the language but did not use it habitually; and people who were not fluent in Catalan and needed support and reinforcement in order to speak it (GDC 2005b). Included amongst these various audiences was a sub-target audience of new immigrants, with a goal of encouraging them to "learn and speak Catalan and to make it easy for them to do so […] and to ensure that this is seen as a means of integrating into a welcoming society" (GDC 2006, section 4, p.4) The 2005 language policy annual report in fact identifies one of the three main aims of the campaign as "raising awareness among new arrivals so that they take the plunge into Catalan" (GDC 2006, section 4, p.2). The Dóna corda al català campaign also continues the Catalan government's longstanding focus on language as a means of promoting consensus and social harmony. One of the secondary goals of the campaign was "to foster the values of civic harmony, understanding and identification with the country and its shared goals which have always characterised the Generalitat of Catalonia's language policy" (GDC 2006, section 4, p.3).

The initial phase of the campaign was evaluated in three ways: a critical discourse analysis of the representation of the campaign in the media, a series of focus groups with members of the target audience, and a series of interviews (GDC 2006, section 4). The evaluation showed that the campaign had met with a positive response overall, but to differing degrees with each of the above

audiences. 78% of habitual speakers of Catalan evaluated the campaign positively, compared to 68% of non-habitual speakers of Catalan, and only 59% of immigrants/new citizens (GDC 2005c). On the positive side, the campaign was seen as communicating an active and fun image of Catalan, and as being geared towards immigrants as a friendly, fun and non-threatening invitation to speak Catalan. Weak points were that the physical action of winding up the toy was not sufficiently linked to the act of speaking Catalan, and that there was a sense of saturation of messages, diminishing impact (GDC 2006, section 4, p. 12).

In terms of addressing the issue of the attitudes of majority language speakers across Spain towards the Catalan language, one of the objectives of the Catalan government's 2005-2006 language policy Action Plan relates to the perceptions and treatment of the Spanish State towards the Catalan language (GDC 2005d: 2). The objective is (my translation):

> To participate actively in the political, institutional and civic effort to attempt to obtain an egalitarian treatment for the diverse languages of the Spanish state and to adapt the status of the Catalan language, in the setting of the European Union, to fit with its legal, demographic, political and cultural reality.

A recent development in this regard is an agreement signed in March 2007 between the governments of Catalonia, the Basque Country and Galicia, to collaborate in matters of language policy. The aim of the agreement is to enable the governments to exchange experience and to work together for the recognition of the Spanish state as a multilingual state and increased social equality between languages (Montse Romà Roura, GDC, personal communication, 11 April 2007). The agreement covers several areas, including (but not limited to): encouraging the Spanish state to adopt measures in the education system to ensure teaching of the history and culture of regional and minority languages to all Spanish students; sharing their respective strategies for promoting increased use of the Basque, Catalan and Galician languages; and developing strategies for promoting and improving the prestige of the Basque, Catalan and Galician languages internationally.

Desired behaviours

As is clear from the above, the desired behaviours for majority language speakers in Catalonia have largely been to learn and use Catalan, although some attitudinal elements have also been involved, particularly in relation to majority language speakers across Spain. This emphasis on language learning and use is closer to the Welsh approach to planning for tolerability than the New Zealand approach. The focus of Catalan language policy on immigrants also parallels the Welsh policy of targeting in-migrants to Welsh-speaking areas.

Evaluating success

Evaluation activities appear to be more strongly established in Catalonia than in Wales and New Zealand, with evaluation initiatives documented for (at least) the Tu ets mestre campaign (Areny i Cirilo 2004), the Dóna corda al català campaign (Guerrero et al. 2006) and the Voluntaris per la llengua programme (Campos and Genovès 2005).

Summary: planning for tolerability in Catalonia

Although obviously very different from the New Zealand situation, the Catalan language situation in some ways presents a highly compatible comparison in terms of planning for tolerability. Like New Zealand, the Catalan language situation is an interesting example of the problem of tolerability being framed not in terms of speakers and non-speakers of the minority language but rather in terms of members and non-members of the ethnic group associated with the language. In contrast to Wales, the impact of the attitudes and behaviours of majority language speakers on Catalan language use has been explicitly recognised since the beginning of large-scale language regeneration planning in Catalonia, and majority language speakers have been a specific target of language regeneration planning since then. The policy techniques used for planning for tolerability in the early 1980s and the present in Catalonia (i.e. language promotion campaigns) are similar in some ways to the New Zealand approach, but a range of other methods have also been undertaken. Tolerability is still a problem in Catalonia, but it is a problem that language policymakers are actively seeking to address.

Summary: chapter eight

All three language policy situations discussed in this thesis demonstrate some degree of sensitivity to the influence of majority language speakers on minority language regeneration, but the problem of tolerability has been addressed quite differently in each. The three approaches differ in the extent to which the problem of tolerability is recognised (partially or strongly), the nature of the target audience (non-speakers of the language versus members of a dominant ethnic group), the messages developed and behaviours proposed for majority language speakers (language learning or other supportive behaviours), the specific language planning techniques used (from language promotion campaigns to linguistic welcome initiatives to policy dialogue), and the evaluation initiatives undertaken (non-existent or established).

Whether or not one considers planning for tolerability to be an appropriate focus of language regeneration planning, the three language situations discussed in this thesis demonstrate at the very least an innovative and growing repertoire of language policy approaches addressing this problem. In the context of the continuing development of language planning theory and practice, this is reason enough for both policymakers and language planning theorists to take note of planning for tolerability.

The next chapter considers some of the implications of the international comparisons in this chapter, along with the other findings of the thesis so far, for planning for tolerability in New Zealand.

Chapter Nine
Conclusion:

Ways forward for planning for tolerability
in New Zealand

This conclusion draws together the discussion in the previous chapters to consider the future of planning for tolerability of the Māori language. It summarises the main findings of the thesis in terms of the research questions in the introduction, highlights key issues to be considered in the future development of planning for tolerability in New Zealand, and suggests directions for further research.

Summary of findings

The main findings of the present research are summarised below, under the research questions to which they relate.

1. *What are the theoretical justifications for promoting positive attitudes and behaviours towards minority languages among majority language speakers?*

This thesis has shown that, although the impact of the attitudes and behaviours of majority language speakers on minority languages is clear, theoretical perspectives differ on whether majority language speakers should be a focus of language regeneration planning.

Fishman (1991, 2000) is skeptical about focusing on majority language speakers or 'outsiders' in language regeneration, advocating a focus on minority language speakers themselves. He also doubts the usefulness of focusing on attitudes more generally in language regeneration, and dismisses focusing on 'atmosphere effects' with majority language speakers when intergenerational language transmission has not yet been secured. May (2000a, 2002), however, emphasises the importance of securing the 'tolerability' of minority language policy initiatives among majority language speakers. He claims that minority language policies will inevitably invoke opposition from majority language speakers, as they involve

changes to the linguistic status quo currently favouring them. He terms this 'the problem of tolerability', and claims the long-term success of minority language policy initiatives may only be achieved if at least some degree of favourable majority opinion is secured.

This thesis has argued that the problem of tolerability is a useful concept for analysing some aspects of the dynamics of minority and majority language relationships and provides a solid rationale for targeting the attitudes and behaviours of majority language speakers in language regeneration planning. The literature on tolerability to date, however, has tended to concentrate on theoretical arguments that need to be conveyed to majority language speakers to improve the tolerability of minority languages, rather than practical policy initiatives that could be used to achieve this goal. This thesis advances knowledge in this area, by considering how language planners might practically engage in 'planning for tolerability', defined as minority language planning targeting the attitudes and behaviours of majority language speakers.

The thesis has proposed a process model for planning for tolerability, involving five essential components: recognising the problem of tolerability; defining the target audience of majority language speakers; developing messages and desired behaviours; selecting policy techniques; and evaluating success. In relation to defining majority language speakers, the model recognises that the definition of majority language speakers for the purpose of planning for tolerability will vary among language situations, depending on contextual factors particular to each situation. In New Zealand the approach to defining majority language speakers in this context has generally taken the form of attention to non-Māori New Zealanders.

2. *What is the New Zealand government's current policy on promoting positive attitudes and behaviours towards the Māori language among non-Māori New Zealanders?*

This thesis has shown that the New Zealand government has officially recognised the importance of the attitudes and behaviours of non-Māori towards the Māori language since the development of the first government-wide strategic plan for the Māori language in the mid 1990s. This has included recognition of the historical

impact of the attitudes and behaviours of non-Māori on the Māori language, their continued impact in the present, and consideration of the potential benefits of improved attitudes and behaviours among non-Māori for the future of the Māori language. In addition to accepting the problem of tolerability in theory, the Government has also engaged in practical policy initiatives to plan for tolerability. The main focus has been several promotional campaigns relating to the Māori language, of which non-Māori have been a secondary audience, alongside Māori. One important aspect of the Government's approach to planning for tolerability has been the nature of the 'desired behaviours' proposed by policymakers for non-Māori in relation to the Māori language. Policymakers envisage different behaviours for Māori and non-Māori, with learning and using Māori promoted much more strongly among Māori. The behaviours considered appropriate for non-Māori, aside from having positive attitudes towards the Māori language, are not clearly stated. This is an underdeveloped component of planning for tolerability in New Zealand.

Despite the Government's apparent theoretical and practical commitment to planning for tolerability, the thesis has argued that the Government's recognition of non-Māori as an important audience for Māori language planning is somewhat ambivalent. Indicators of ambivalence are apparent in a reduced focus on non-Māori in the implementation of recent policy initiatives, a specific policy recommendation to place less focus on non-Māori, and meetings with TPK and the MLC. This thesis has discussed possible reasons for the ambivalence, including: the issue of priorities, theoretical influences, concerns about potential ineffectiveness, ideas about language ownership, existing evidence of negative attitudes and lack of interest from non-Māori, the inherent difficulty of addressing attitudes, and a fundamental question of what, according to the Government, the end goal for Māori language regeneration should be.

3. *What discursive approach is taken in current government promotional campaigns relating to the Māori language aimed at non-Māori New Zealanders, and what attitudes and behaviours do these campaigns propose for non-Māori New Zealanders?*

This thesis has shown that recent and current Māori language promotion materials aimed at non-Māori - including television ads, phrase booklets, and a website -

transmit a wide range of messages about the Māori language. These messages relate to both attitudes and desired behaviours towards the language, and are conveyed using a range of discursive techniques, demonstrating both a 'reason' and 'tickle' approach. The analysis shows that the materials convey several of the messages suggested in the literature on tolerability, and many others besides, in a highly creative way.

The thesis has argued that Māori language promotion campaigns, through their skilful uses of a variety of discursive strategies, are potentially an effective approach for planning for tolerability. The actual effectiveness of the promotional materials can only be discerned by analysing the responses of their target audience, however. Until the present research, there has been no evaluation of how non-Māori are responding to the promotional materials. This is a further underdeveloped component of planning for tolerability in New Zealand.

4. *What are the responses of a non-Māori audience to the current promotional campaigns relating to the Māori language, and what role do they see for themselves in supporting Māori language regeneration?*

This thesis has presented the results of a data collection process with eighty non-Māori New Zealanders at nine white-collar workplaces in Wellington, using questionnaires and interviews. The analysis of the data centered on the attitudes of the participants towards the Māori language, their responses to current and recent promotional materials relating to the language, and their views on desired behaviours for non-Māori in relation to the language.

The participants were placed into three attitude categories, based on those developed in previous research: supporters, uninterested participants and English Only participants. The results showed that the attitudes of some participants towards the Māori language were similar to those in previous research on attitudes towards the Māori language among non-Māori, providing suggestive evidence of the problem of tolerability. The results also indicated a group of participants with considerably more positive attitudes towards the Māori language, however, reminding us that, when talking of non-Māori in relation to the Māori language, we have a diverse group of people in mind.

The responses of participants to the promotional materials suggested the materials were largely effective in transmitting the attitudinal and behavioural messages discerned in the prior analysis, although important differences between attitude categories were apparent. Particularly telling differences included that: participants whose attitudes towards the Māori language were already positive responded more positively to the promotional materials, and were more likely to perceive the materials as being targeted at them; participants interpreted the promotional materials in line with their existing attitudes towards the Māori language, perceiving different messages in the promotional materials depending on their attitude category, so different groups of participants actually 'got' different messages; and participants tended to think they were being encouraged to learn Māori, despite the claim in government policy documents that this is not necessarily intended for a non-Māori audience. The detailed results presented in the thesis provide some evaluative information on how a non-Māori audience is responding to Māori language promotion materials. A more extensive, ongoing evaluation programme would be needed to link the promotion campaigns to changes in attitudes and behaviours over time.

The results for participants' views on desired behaviours for non-Māori in relation to the Māori language showed that, although the New Zealand government has not fixed upon specific behaviours that non-Māori could engage in to support the Māori language, the participants had in mind a wide range of such behaviours. The particular nature of these behaviours varied between attitude categories, with uninterested and English Only participants envisaging a limited and largely passive role for non-Māori, but supporters picturing a highly active and varied role. The results also showed that while English Only and uninterested participants saw a clear distinction in roles between non-Māori and Māori in relation to the Māori language, supporters were more likely to view these roles in a similar light. This contrasts with the Government's view that Māori and non-Māori have different roles to play in supporting the Māori language. The results for the interview participants' views on selected desired behaviours for non-Māori (including pronunciation of Māori words, using Māori words and phrases in English, learning Māori, responding to the use of Māori around them, among others) provide detailed information, unavailable heretofore, on the complex mechanisms underlying participants' participation in behaviours to support the Māori language. Although some participants were not interested in engaging in behaviours to

support the Māori language, others were very interested in doing so. In addition to engaging in their own supportive behaviours, these 'supporters' can potentially influence the attitudes and behaviours of other non-Māori towards the Māori language. In this sense, they can play an important and perhaps distinct role in promoting the tolerability of the Māori language. In order to exploit this potential more effectively, however, there is a significant barrier to overcome: the lack of confidence among many supporters of the Māori language, which acts as a significant barrier to active engagement.

5. *What language policy approaches relating to majority language speakers are taken in comparable international minority language situations (specifically Wales and Catalonia)?*

The analysis of language policy in Wales and Catalonia in this thesis has shown that New Zealand is not alone in planning for tolerability. All three language policy situations discussed in this thesis demonstrate some degree of sensitivity to the influence of majority language speakers on minority language regeneration, but they have addressed the problem of tolerability in quite different ways. The three approaches differ in relation to all five components of planning for tolerability, in particular: the extent to which the problem is recognised (partially or strongly), the nature of the target audience (non-speakers of the minority language versus members of a dominant ethnic group), the messages developed and behaviours proposed for majority language speakers (language learning or other supportive behaviours), the specific language planning techniques used (from language promotion campaigns to linguistic welcome initiatives to policy dialogue) and the evaluation undertaken to date (non-existent or extensive). In their very diversity, these language policy experiences provide useful counterpoints to the New Zealand approach and suggest possible directions for future development.

Implications of the thesis

The findings of this thesis have implications for:

- Māori language policymakers in New Zealand, in determining the future direction of Māori language planning and the role that planning for tolerability could play within it;

- International language policymakers, as they consider how the techniques used in planning for tolerability in other language situations might provide insights for their own efforts to regenerate minority languages; and

- Language planning theorists, as they continue to work on developing a comprehensive theory of language planning that encompasses all the possible focuses of such planning.

Key issues to be considered

As is often the case, the current research raises almost as many questions as it answers. Some of the more significant issues that have arisen from the policy analysis, data collection and international comparisons are highlighted here. The solutions to these will be important in determining the future direction of planning for tolerability in New Zealand.

Ambivalence

The first issue is the New Zealand government's current ambivalence towards planning for tolerability. The discussion in this thesis of the similarities and differences between international language situations should help here. As well as showing that the problem of tolerability is a universal feature of language regeneration planning and that this problem is currently being actively addressed elsewhere, these comparisons should highlight the particular salience of planning for tolerability in New Zealand, where the problem of tolerability may be even more pressing. A relevant point here is that the attitudes of majority language speakers towards language regeneration initiatives may be more positive in Wales and Catalonia than in New Zealand. For example, May (2000a: 118) found that a high percentage of respondents overall in his Welsh survey were in favour of bilingual road signs (85%), printed forms in Welsh and English (81.3%), public services in both languages (79.5%) and a Welsh language requirement for public sector jobs (41.2%). These percentages are much higher than those for similar questions in Nicholson and Garland's (1991) survey. Moreover, Māori language regeneration policy in New Zealand has not gone anywhere near as far as language policy in Wales or Catalonia (for example, New Zealand does not impose minimum Māori

language quota systems in the media or require bilingual service provision in the commercial sector, whereas these have been part of Catalan language policy since 1988), and yet we are already experiencing some majority language speaker resistance to the more limited Māori language regeneration initiatives here. These arguments suggest the Government should pay special attention to planning for tolerability in New Zealand. Another, more positive, reason for the Government to make a greater commitment to planning for tolerability is the evidence in the current research of highly positive attitudes towards the Māori language among some non-Māori. The Government would do well to consider if it is sufficiently exploiting this pool of support.

Ethnicity

A thorny issue raised by the current research is the notion of the distinction or otherwise in roles between Māori and non-Māori in relation to the Māori language. The Government has consistently maintained that the roles of Māori and non-Māori in relation to the Māori language are distinct. The results of the data collection, however, showed that those most interested in supporting the Māori language generally saw no meaningful distinction in the roles Māori and non-Māori could play in supporting the Māori language. In contrast, those who had negative attitudes towards the Māori language did tend to perceive a meaningful distinction in roles, and were likely to use this ethnic distinction as an argument for their lack of participation in supporting the Māori language. In some international situations ethnicity has very little importance in planning for tolerability – in Wales for example attention is targeted solely at speakers and non-speakers of Welsh. It is worth at least considering whether the current ethnic distinction made by the Government in planning for tolerability could actually be counterproductive, and whether there really is a meaningful distinction in the roles that Māori and non-Māori can play in supporting the Māori language. This is a potentially controversial issue, but merits further discussion.

Language learning

Another important issue is to clarify desired behaviours for non-Māori in relation to the Māori language, with a focus in particular on the place of language learning.

Of note here is that both the Welsh and Catalan language policy situations have demonstrated a concerted focus on majority language speakers learning the minority language, rather than engaging in other non-learning related behaviours. In the Catalan case, promoting learning Catalan to majority language speakers perhaps makes more sense at present because Catalan is in a much further advanced state of regeneration than Māori. There are major instrumental incentives for non-speakers of Catalan to learn the Catalan language in a way that is not currently the case for the Māori language in New Zealand, where the main incentive for learning Māori must at this point be seen as integrative, and where those with the most likelihood to see integrative appeal in the language are those with an ethnic connection to it. There is also the relative ease of majority language speakers learning the Catalan language, due to the similarities between Catalan and Castilian. These factors may suggest it currently makes sense to set the bar lower in New Zealand regarding the behavioural demands on majority language speakers. There is, however, also the possibility that we are simply setting the bar *too* low in New Zealand.

Also of note is that the participants in the current research overwhelmingly felt that Māori language promotion materials were encouraging them to learn the Māori language, despite this not being a strongly stated aim of government Māori language policy in relation to non-Māori. The fact that participants felt Māori language learning was being asked of them anyway, in combination with minority language learning being universally promoted across ethnic groups in both Wales and Catalonia, suggests it is worth considering whether Māori language learning should be more strongly promoted among non-Māori. If the Government wishes to promote behaviours other than learning Māori among non-Māori, it will need to make these behaviours more explicit in future initiatives aimed at planning for tolerability – because the non-Māori participants to the current research were getting a different message.

Effectiveness

A further issue, only partially addressed by the current research, is how effective the New Zealand government's approach to planning for tolerability has been to date. Ideally, evaluation of the success or otherwise of policy initiatives should assist in refining or modifying the existing approach to better meet its goals.

Although the current research has provided information on how some non-Māori are responding in an immediate sense to the current approach to planning for tolerability in New Zealand, it is not possible to draw connections between these results and any longer-term changes in the attitudes and behaviours of non-Māori. As noted in chapter three, recent TPK attitude surveys suggest some improvement in the attitudes of non-Māori towards the Māori language. Future evaluative work relating to planning for tolerability will need to link evaluation of policy initiatives with findings relating to attitude change more generally. This could also assist in answering the question of whether language promotion campaigns are in fact an appropriate method of planning for tolerability. Skepticism has been expressed to me about whether such 'marketing campaigns' can result in genuine attitude change among non-Māori. I prefer to keep an open mind on this matter. Given the available evidence of the success of other social marketing campaigns, I see no reason to dismiss this approach out of hand. As this thesis has shown, however, other approaches to planning for tolerability can be – and have been – used. Only extensive evaluative research can tell us if we are on the right track.

Achievability

A further issue, related to the effectiveness of the approach taken to date, is whether tolerability of the Māori language among non-Māori is actually an achievable goal. As noted above, general themes from the analysis of participant responses to the promotional materials showed that participants whose attitudes towards the Māori language were already positive responded more positively to Māori language promotion, and that participants interpreted the promotional materials in line with their existing attitudes towards the Māori language. This indicates that we need to be clear about what we can actually achieve in attitude change among non-Māori, so we can set achievable goals. What might such goals be?

It seems uncontroversial that what is achievable will differ between attitude categories. In my view, the following goals could, in a best case scenario, potentially be achieved for each group, in response to planning for tolerability and other influences:

- *English only*: That non-Māori in the English Only category will refrain from actively expressing their negative attitudes towards the Māori language in public, in response to a changing social norm in wider society that disfavours the expression of these attitudes, thereby limiting their potential negative effects.

- *Uninterested non-Māori*: That uninterested non-Māori will review some of their negative attitudes towards the Māori language, develop more of an interest in the Māori language, and begin to adopt some of the desired behaviours discussed in this thesis.

- *Supporters*: That people in the supporter category, who already have positive attitudes towards the Māori language, will gain greater confidence to express these positive attitudes, perhaps in the form of the desired behaviours discussed in this thesis. Research to date suggests that this group makes up a significant proportion of New Zealanders, and there is a potential here to more actively harness their existing support for the Māori language. This could create a sea change with flow-on effects for both the uninterested and English Only groups.

Returning to a comparison made in chapter six between Māori language promotion and the successful Like Minds, Like Mine campaign, agencies involved in reducing discrimination against people with mental illness have identified the importance of "focusing energy into areas where it is possible to be effective, and focus[ing] on people who are interested in change" (Mental Health Commission 2005: 12). In the same context, Phoenix Research (2005: 17-18) notes that in a social marketing campaign one initially looks to the 'early adopters' to pick up new ideas, before moving on to those who follow the early adopters, leaving the 'low level of acceptance' group as the last group one would try to influence. In relation to the Māori language, this argument would suggest the best focus of planning for tolerability at present would be supporters[99]. There is a potential objection that targeting supporters as a primary audience of planning for tolerability would

---

[99] For a contrasting view, see Dominguez (1998: 3), who quotes Strubell (1991: 69) as stating that "it is necessary, above all, to locate the most unwilling people and give them a specific treatment because they can be capable of halting a real language normalisation project". Dominguez also observes, however, that "[i]t is also necessary to detect neutral people, among the more influential ones, in order to try to convince them, and the more favorable ones, or those more sensitive to change, to take advantage of them".

amount to preaching to the converted. But preaching to the converted is not always pointless. It can inspire and encourage people to keep going in their efforts, and make them feel good about doing so. There is in fact evidence of a strong need for this in the responses of supporters in the current research, who are highly motivated to support the Māori language but lack confidence in doing so.

Confidence

On the basis of the above, the immediate priority issue to be addressed in planning for tolerability is how to address the lack of confidence expressed by a number of those non-Māori who currently do want to support the Māori language. These people represent a resource for planning for tolerability that should be more actively supported lest it go to waste. How can confidence be encouraged? A number of possible approaches could be trialled. For example, since pronunciation appears to be a sensitive issue for most participants, providing pronunciation workshops could be useful. Another option could be to directly address the concerns expressed by supporters about the potential reactions of others to their behaviours in supporting the Māori language, by focusing on the potentially positive reactions of Māori or non-Māori to such behaviours in future promotional materials. The Māori Language Week Awards are an example of this approach, and appear to have resulted in increased confidence in promoting the Māori language among a number of 'mainstream' organisations.

Segmenting the non-Māori audience

The Catalan comparison in this thesis showed that majority language speakers can be viewed in a range of ways at different times, and the Welsh comparison also showed that different groups of majority language speakers can assume relevance at the same time, e.g. the dual focus in Welsh planning for tolerability on in-migrants to Welsh-speaking areas and non-speakers of Welsh more generally. Further segmentation of the non-Māori audience might also be required in future approaches to planning for tolerability in New Zealand. For example, it could be important to take into account the potentially different orientations towards the Māori language of Pākehā whose families have been in New Zealand for several generations, as compared to Pasifika people whose families have migrated in

more recent decades and whose languages are more closely related to Māori, or newer migrants from other parts of the world who arrive with their own culturally situated pre-conceptions about monolingualism or multilingualism.

Contact

A final issue to be considered by those engaged in planning for tolerability is the 'contact issue'. Participants in the data collection referred to a number of factors they saw as influencing their attitudes and behaviours towards the Māori language. Factors supporters often claimed as influential included: their family upbringing; growing up in the North Island; current family links with Māori; overseas trips; learning other languages; and their workplace environment. Uninterested participants in contrast often referred to a lack of contact with Māori culture in their personal background and present life. From the interviews in particular, it seemed to me the strongest overall factor influencing participants' attitudes towards the Māori language was their level of contact with Māori people and Māori culture. This echoes the findings of Thompson (1990), whose results showed that Pākehā participants "in regular contact with Māori language or other aspects of culture […] generally hold more positive attitudes towards the Māori language than those without such characteristics". It is important to note here that contact alone is not enough, as all four of the English Only participants had learnt Māori at school as a compulsory subject, and several had had a reasonable amount of contact with Māori culture growing up or had come from areas with a high proportion of Māori. The kind of contact required is substantial, meaningful, positive contact. How does one go about fostering such contact between Māori and non-Māori? Clearly, this cannot be achieved through language planning alone. It is, nevertheless, likely to have a strong impact on the success of planning for tolerability in New Zealand. A potentially positive factor here is the increasing incidence of multi-ethnicity in New Zealand. In 2008, two thirds of Māori babies born, half of Pasifika babies and a third of Pākehā, Asian and other babies belonged to multiple ethnic groups (Statistics New Zealand 2008). Given this scenario, sustained cross-cultural contact between New Zealanders may increasingly happen as a matter of course.

Directions for future research

There are a number of possible directions for taking the current research further, of which I highlight five below.

Māori perspectives on planning for tolerability

I hope this thesis contributes to knowledge about what non-Māori think about the relationship between non-Māori and the Māori language. As the focus of the thesis was on non-Māori, it has been entirely silent on what Māori think about these issues. Research is now needed on the responses of Māori to the attitudes and behaviours of non-Māori towards the Māori language.

Boyce (1992: 140-141) touches on some issues that might surface from such research. In her study of the reported Māori language proficiency, patterns of use and attitudes of 56 Māori respondents living in Porirua, she found that while non-Māori support for Māori language regeneration was welcomed and the responsibility for maintaining Māori was seen as one that all New Zealanders shared, there was also a degree of mistrust "that Pākehā people will take over the language, just as they have taken over land and natural resources". Boyce therefore called for Pākehā support "on Māori terms", and "in a way that empowers Māori people and does not lead to their further disadvantage, linguistically or otherwise". Do the behaviours for non-Māori discussed in this thesis fit this kind of approach? Former MLC Chief Executive Haami Piripi has commented in relation to the behaviour of the use of Māori words by non-Māori that:

> It can be seen as tokenistic, but I grew up in a Māori-speaking environment and my experience has been that non-Māori people who do try to speak Māori or make a bit of an effort, it's always seen as a sign of respect and an acknowledgment of our mana[100].

Apart from anecdotal comments such as the above, there is little information on these matters, and it is likely that the responses of Māori to the behaviours proposed for non-Māori in this thesis would be as diverse as the responses of non-Māori reported in the current research. Research with Māori participants would need to be approached differently than the current research, and, given

---

[100] The Press, 31 July, 2004, cited in Davies and Maclagan (2006: 90).

considerations of social-desirability and interviewer bias, such research would best be undertaken by Māori.

Research on behaviours rather than about behaviours

The current research has focused on the views of non-Māori participants on possible desired behaviours for non-Māori in relation to the Māori language. Talking about behaviours is, of course, very different from actually undertaking them. An area of future research could be the actual engagement of non-Māori in these behaviours, e.g. through recorded real-life data of their interactions with others. This would shed further light on the extent to which non-Māori actually engage in behaviours to support the Māori language, how they execute these behaviours, and how others respond.

Planning for tolerability and other minority languages

Another area for future research could be to consider the tolerability of minority languages other than Māori in New Zealand. There are a number of minority languages in New Zealand, which all present different potential issues in terms of tolerability. These include New Zealand Sign Language (NZSL), a number of Pacific languages for which the majority of the ethnolinguistic group now reside in New Zealand (Niuean, Tokelauan, and Cook Island Māori), and the languages of significant immigrant minority ethnic groups (such as Chinese languages, Samoan and Hindi). For some of these languages, tolerability may be important for the continued existence of the languages at all; for others it may promote language maintenance and diversity; for others still it may assist in the fuller participation of their speakers in New Zealand society. As noted in chapter two, however, the ways the problem of tolerability expresses itself in relation to these languages will necessarily be different than for an endangered indigenous language such as Māori[101]. A starting point for research on planning for tolerability in this area could be to focus on the actions required to work towards a more multilingually-oriented society in New Zealand more generally, with potential benefits for speakers of all languages. This is the approach taken in the Human Rights Commission's draft Language Policy Framework, which identifies as one of a number of priorities the

---

[101] NZSL is also an indigenous language, however, and Niuean, Tokelauan and Cook Island Māori are indigenous to the New Zealand realm.

promotion of positive attitudes towards language diversity (Human Rights Commission 2007).

Ongoing evaluative research

Ongoing evaluative research will be required to measure the effectiveness of current and future initiatives aimed at planning for tolerability in New Zealand, with a particular focus on identifying links between immediate responses to such initiatives and longer term changes in the attitudes and behaviours of non-Māori towards the Māori language over time. There are models for such evaluative research in relation to promotional materials in social marketing; other evaluative activities may be required if different kind of initiatives are introduced.

Planning for tolerability and language planning theory

Finally, as noted in chapter two, planning for tolerability does not easily fit into the traditional language planning subcategories of status, corpus and acquisition planning, nor does it fit exactly into the emerging areas of language marketing and prestige planning. A further area of future research, therefore, is theoretical work on how planning for tolerability might relate to existing theories of language planning.

Concluding remarks

I want to conclude on a positive note. The problem of tolerability exists in New Zealand. There is ample evidence of this in previous research, and further evidence in this thesis. This justifies a focus on non-Māori New Zealanders in Māori language regeneration in terms of planning for tolerability. It is important to bear in mind, however, that there is a range of attitudes towards the Māori language among non-Māori, with some highly positive about the Māori language and actively engaged in supporting it, in some of the ways most necessary to improve the tolerability of the language. This research calls for a new conceptualisation of the role of non-Māori in Māori language regeneration, a distinct role that, if successfully encouraged, could lead to non-Māori acting not as a negative but rather a positive force for the tolerability of the Māori language and, accordingly, for the long-term future of the language. There are significant

challenges ahead in realising this goal, but the results of the current research suggest it is at the very least a possibility.

VICTORIA UNIVERSITY OF WELLINGTON
Te Whare Wananga o te Upoko o te Ika a Maui

Questionnaire

Opinions about Māori language

INTRODUCTION

Thank you very much for agreeing to fill out this questionnaire. The questionnaire asks your opinions on several topics to do with the Māori language in New Zealand. It should take you between **30** and **45 minutes** to complete. A complimentary movie ticket is included in your questionnaire pack to thank you for your participation.

There are four sections:

- Attitudes;
- Promotional materials;
- Behaviours; and
- Demographic information.

Before you start, please make sure you have:

- Your pack of promotional materials;
- Access to a computer;
- Sound enabled on your computer; and
- Internet access.

Remember:
No answers are right or wrong and the research is looking for a range of views, so please feel free to give your honest opinions. Your identity will remain confidential to the researcher.

This section of the questionnaire asks you for your opinions on a series of statements and questions relating to the Māori language in New Zealand. It should take you up to **10 minutes** to complete.

1.1 Māori language in general

Below is a list of statements that have been made about the Māori language in general.

Please indicate if you personally <u>agree</u> or <u>disagree</u> with each statement by ticking the relevant box in the table for each statement.

N.B. Please select <u>one option</u> for each statement but feel free to add comments to the right of the chart if you want to comment on/modify any of the statements

Statement	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Unsure/no opinion	Agree	Strongly agree
People greeting each other in Māori gets on my nerves					
I have respect for people who can speak Māori fluently					
Some ideas cannot be expressed in the Māori language					
Māori people should speak only English at home					
It is pointless for Māori people to learn the Māori language					
It is good when Māori people speak Māori in public places, such as in the street or supermarket					
The Māori language is unpleasant to listen to					
It is good that Māori people speak Māori on the marae					
Māori children in New Zealand should have the opportunity to learn some Māori language at school					

Statement	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Unsure/no opinion	Agree	Strongly agree
All children in New Zealand should have the opportunity to learn some Māori language at school					
Māori people shouldn't speak Māori in front of people who might not understand what they are saying					

1.2 Māori language in different contexts

Below is a list of statements that have been made about Māori language use in different contexts.

Please indicate if you personally <u>agree</u> or <u>disagree</u> with each statement by ticking the relevant box in the table for each statement.

N.B. Please select <u>one option</u> for each statement but feel free to add comments to the right of the chart if you want to comment on/modify any of the statements

Statement	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Unsure/no opinion	Agree	Strongly agree
The use of Māori at public events such as sports events and music festivals should be encouraged					
The use of Māori should be limited to the home or the marae					
English should be the only language used on ceremonial occasions such as public welcomes for dignitaries					
It would be good if Government departments could conduct some business in Māori if requested					
The use of Māori in everyday situations such as community settings should be encouraged					
Māori language at government functions is just bureaucrats being PC					

Statement	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Unsure/no opinion	Agree	Strongly agree
I support the Government's decision to establish a Māori TV service					
The Government shouldn't bother promoting Māori language					
It is important to keep track of how many people can speak Māori					
Public signage should be in English only					

1.3 Race relations, Māori culture and Māori language

Below is a list of statements that have been made about race relations, Māori culture and the Māori language in New Zealand.

Please indicate if you personally agree or disagree with each statement by ticking the relevant box in the table for each statement.

N.B. Please select one option for each statement but feel free to add comments to the right of the chart if you want to comment on/modify any of the statements

Statement	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Unsure/no opinion	Agree	Strongly agree
Māori culture is a part of every New Zealander's heritage					
New Zealand would be a better place if there weren't so many races of people					
Māori should have some rights as indigenous people					
I feel I can learn from other races in New Zealand					
I get sick of people talking about Māori rights					
I want to be involved in things to do with the Māori culture					

Statement	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Unsure/no opinion	Agree	Strongly agree
The more New Zealanders who understand Māori culture the less racial tension we would have					
I am interested in learning the Māori language					
There is too much emphasis on Māori issues in New Zealand					

1.4 Current level of Māori language use

Thinking about the current situation in New Zealand, with both the amount of Māori language spoken and the places you see and hear Māori, do you personally think there is more than enough, enough, or not enough Māori being spoken?

Enough

More than enough

Not enough

Unsure/don't know

What are your reasons for thinking that there is enough/more than enough/not enough Māori language spoken in New Zealand?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

1.5 Future of the Māori language

Statistics suggest that the future of the Māori language is uncertain, due to a rapid decline in the number of fluent speakers of Māori since the 1970s. What is your level of concern about this situation?

No concern

Some concern

Great concern

Do you think the Māori language has a future as a living language in New Zealand?

Yes

No

Unsure/don't know

What are your <u>reasons</u> for thinking the Māori language does/does not have a future as a living language in New Zealand?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

This section of the questionnaire asks you for your interpretation of, and opinions about, a number of promotional materials relating to the Māori language. It should take you up to **20 minutes** to complete.

When you look at each of the promotional materials, please think about the following two questions, which you will be asked to answer for each promotional material:

- What messages about the Māori language do you think the promotional material is trying to convey to you?

- Do you think the promotional material is trying to tell you to do anything, and if so, what?

A) *ROMA TELEVISION AD*

Please watch the 'Roma' television advertisement, which is on the CD in your questionnaire pack. You may watch it more than once if you wish.

2.1 Messages

What messages about the Māori language do you think the Roma television ad is trying to convey to you? And what, if anything, do you think the Roma television ad is trying to tell you to do?

Please list these in the chart below.

Messages about the Māori language	Messages telling you to do something

2.2 Personal response

Now ignore the creator's intentions with this television ad and think about your <u>personal response</u> to the Roma ad. Do you like it?

Like

Dislike

Neutral

What do you <u>dislike</u> or <u>like</u> about the ad?

Please write anything you can think of in the chart below.

Like	Dislike

B) *KORO TELEVISION AD*

Please watch the 'Koro' television advertisement, which is on the CD in your questionnaire pack. You may watch it more than once if you wish.

2.3 Messages

What <u>messages about the Māori language</u> do you think the Koro television ad is trying to convey to you? And what, if anything, do you think the Koro television ad is trying to <u>tell you to do</u>?

Please list these in the chart below.

Messages about the Māori language	Messages telling you to <u>do</u> something

2.4 Personal response

Now ignore the creator's intentions with this television ad and think about your personal response to the Koro ad. Do you like it?

Like

Dislike

Neutral

What do you dislike or like about the ad?

Please write anything you can think of in the chart below.

Like	Dislike

C) *KŌRERO MĀORI WEBSITE*

Now please take a few minutes to look at the following website on the internet:

www.koreroMāori.govt.nz

2.5 Messages

What messages about the Māori language do you think the website is trying to convey to you? And what, if anything, do you think the website is trying to tell you to do?

Please list these in the chart below.

Messages about the Māori language	Messages telling you to do something

2.6 Personal response

Now ignore the creator's intentions with this website and think about your personal response to the website. Do you like it?

Like

Dislike

Neutral

What do you dislike or like about the website?

Please write anything you can think of in the chart below.

Like	Dislike

D) *PHRASE BOOKLETS*

Now please take a few minutes to look through the red phrase booklet included in your questionnaire pack.

2.7 Messages

What messages about the Māori language do you think the phrase booklet is trying to convey to you? And what, if anything, do you think the phrase booklet is trying to tell you to do?

Please list these in the chart over the page.

Messages about the Māori language	Messages telling you to <u>do</u> something

2.8 Personal response (circle one)

Now ignore the creator's intentions with this phrase booklet and think about your <u>personal response</u> to the phrase booklet. Do you like it?

Like

Dislike

Neutral

What do you <u>dislike</u> or <u>like</u> about the phrase booklet?

Please write anything you can think of in the chart below.

Like	Dislike

2.9 Prior knowledge of promotional materials (tick relevant boxes)

Have you seen any of the promotional materials shown in this section before?
Please tick 'seen before' or 'not seen before' for each promotional material in the chart below.

Promotional material	Seen before	Not seen before
Roma television ad		
Koro television ad		
Kōrero Māori website		
Phrase booklet		

PART THREE:

BEHAVIOURS TOWARDS MĀORI LANGUAGE

This section of the questionnaire asks you for your opinions about behaviours relating to the Māori language. It should take you up to **10 minutes** to complete.

3.1 Supporting Māori language

Do you think people should support Māori language use in New Zealand?

No

Yes

If you answered NO above, please make any comments you would like to make on this topic in the space below, and then skip the questions in this section and go straight to Part Four of the questionnaire (demographic information).

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

If you answered YES above, then please continue answering the questions in this section before moving on to Part Four of the questionnaire.

3.2 Māori role

Thinking about Māori language in New Zealand, what you believe Māori New Zealanders can do to support the Māori language?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

3.3 Non-Māori role

What about non-Māori? What do you believe <u>non-Māori</u> New Zealanders can do to support the Māori language?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

3.4 Personal role

What do you believe <u>you</u> personally can do to support the Māori language?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

3.5 Current behaviours

Looking at your previous answers, are you aware of <u>currently engaging</u> in any behaviours to support Māori language?

     No

     Yes

If yes, what are these behaviours?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

3.6 Reasons preventing you from engaging in behaviours

Can you think of any reasons that might <u>prevent</u> you from engaging in behaviours to support Māori language?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

PART FOUR:

DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

This section of the questionnaire asks you for some further general information about yourself so that the research can be sure of reaching a wide range of New Zealanders. It should take you up to **5 minutes** to complete.

4.1 Age

Which of the following age groups do you fall into?

20-25

25-30

30-35

35-40

40-45

45-50

50+

4.2 Gender

What is your gender?

Female

Male

4.3 Ethnicity

Which ethnic group do you belong to? (You may choose more than one)

New Zealand European/Pākehā

Māori

Chinese

Samoan

Other (please specify below)

_____

4.4 Country of birth

In which country were you born?

      New Zealand

      Other (please specify below)

_____

If you were <u>NOT</u> born in New Zealand, how many years have you been living in New Zealand? (please specify below)

_____

If you were <u>NOT</u> born in New Zealand, please go straight to question **4.8**.

If you <u>WERE</u> born in New Zealand, please continue answering the questions below.

4.5 Regional origin

Thinking of your life up to around the age of 20, where did you grow up (mainly) in New Zealand?

Please make a mark on the map below to indicate the general location.

4.6 Rural or urban

Did you grow up (mainly) in a rural area, small town or big city?

      Rural area

      Small town

      Big city (Auckland, Hamilton, Wellington, Christchurch or Dunedin)

4.7 Years outside of New Zealand

How many years of your life in total have you spent outside New Zealand?

Less than one year

One to five years

Five to ten years

More than ten years

Which country/countries have you spent most time in overseas? (specify below)

_____

4.8 Time living in Wellington

How long have you been living in Wellington?

Less than one year

One to five years

Five to ten years

More than ten years

4.9 Highest level of education

What is your highest level of education?

Secondary education

Tertiary education (technical or professional qualification)

Tertiary education (undergraduate degree)

Tertiary education (postgraduate degree)

4.10   Languages

In which languages could you have a conversation about a lot of everyday things?

English

Māori

Mandarin

Samoan

Other language(s) (please specify below)

_____

4.11   Māori language

Have you ever learnt, or are you currently learning, the Māori language?

>   Not ever

>   Currently learning formally (school, course, etc)

>   Currently learning informally (friends, family, colleagues, etc)

>   Learnt in the past formally (school, course, etc)

>   Learnt in the past informally (friends, family, colleagues, etc)

4.12   Participation in Māori language and culture related activities

Below is a chart of Māori language and culture related activities.

Please tick a box on the chart to indicate about how many times in the past year you have done each of the activities.

Activity	Every day	Once a week	Once a month	At least once in the past six months	At least once in the past year	Not at all in the past year
Read/browse Māori focused magazines (e.g. Tu Mai, Mana)						
Listen to Iwi Radio (Māori Radio)						
Watch or listen to Māori Television						
Access Māori language or culture websites						
Go to a marae						
Attend ceremonies or events with Māori welcomes and speeches						
Visit Māori art, culture or historical exhibits						
Go to a Kapa						

Activity	Every day	Once a week	Once a month	At least once in the past six months	At least once in the past year	Not at all in the past year
Haka or Māori culture group concert						

4.13   Participation in other Māori language and culture related activities

Do you participate regularly in any Māori language and culture related activities other than those listed in the chart on the previous page? If yes, please describe below.

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

CONCLUDING QUESTIONS

5.1 Prior knowledge of researcher/research project

What, if anything, did you already know about the researcher or their research project before undertaking this questionnaire?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

5.2 Next round of research

This research also has a second round, which will involve an individual interview of around 30 minutes in length. All interview participants will get a complimentary book voucher!

Would you be willing to participate in the second round?

Yes

No

If you circled <u>YES</u>, the researcher will contact you in due course with further information (you are welcome to change your mind later).

5.3 Further comments

You have reached the end of the questionnaire. If you have any <u>further comments</u> you would like to make about the subject of this questionnaire, or the questionnaire itself, please write these below.

_____

_____

_____

_____

Please return your completed answer sheet by mailing it in the <u>postage paid envelope</u> in your questionnaire pack along with your <u>signed consent form</u>.

Your complimentary movie ticket is in your questionnaire pack.
Thank you very much for your time!

Appendix Two: Sample email sent to workplaces

To [name of organisation] staff,

You are invited to participate in a PhD research project on people's opinions about the Māori language in New Zealand.

All participants will receive a complimentary movie voucher for Reading Cinemas as thanks for participating in the research.

Participation involves completing a written questionnaire on the above topic in your free time. The questionnaire should take between 30 and 45 minutes to complete.

The focus of this research is on the opinions of non-Māori New Zealanders towards the Māori language so you will need to be non-Māori to participate.

Participants need to be:

- non-Māori;
- aged between 25 and 45;
- born in New Zealand or have lived in New Zealand for at least the past ten years; and
- have access to the internet and a computer with the ability to play mpeg files.

If you meet the criteria above and are interested in participating in the research, please let me know by return email.

The first ten people will be selected so get in quick!

Regards,
[contact person at workplace]

References

Abbreviations used

TPK   Te Puni Kōkiri

MLC   Māori Language Commission

WLB   Welsh Language Board

GDC   Generalitat de Catalunya

AGB McNair 1992. Survey of demand for bilingual and immersion education in
        Māori. Wellington: AGB McNair.

Agenda Marketing Agency 1997. Final report to the Ministry of Māori
        Development He Taonga Te Reo 1997/1998. Wellington: Agenda
        Marketing Agency.

Ager, D. 2001. *Motivation in language planning and policy*. Clevedon: Multilingual
        Matters.

Ager, D. 2003. *Ideology and Image: Britain and Language*. Clevedon: Multilingual
        Matters.

Ager, D. 2005a. Prestige and image planning. In E. Hinkel (ed.): 1035-1054.

Ager, D. 2005b. Image and Prestige Planning. *Current Issues in Language
        Planning* 6,1: 1-43.

Akroyd Research and Evaluation 2007. Research aimed at understanding
        attitudes and behaviours of parents/caregivers of Māori children aged up to
        7 years toward speaking reo Māori in the home environment. Lower Hutt:
        Akroyd Research and Evaluation.

Albarracín, D., B. Johnson and M. Zanna 2005 (eds.). *The Handbook of Attitudes*.
        Mahwah: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Albarracín, D., M. Zanna, B. Johnson and G. Kumkale 2005. Attitudes: Introduction and Scope. In Albarracín et al.: 3-19.

Areny i Cirilo, M. 2004. Campanyes i programes institucionals per promoure l'ús de la llengua. *Cercle XX1 Bulletí Virtual* 02, 27/05/04, http://www.cercle21.org/butlleti/02/campanyes.htm (accessed May 2008)

Atkinson, D. 1997. Attitudes towards language use in Catalonia: politics or sociolinguistics? *International Journal of Iberian Studies* 10,1: 5-14.

Atkinson, D. 2000. Minoritisation, identity and ethnolinguistic vitality in Catalonia. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 21,3: 185-197.

Baker, C. 1992. *Attitudes and Language*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Baldauf, R. 2004. Issues of prestige and image in language-in-education planning in Australia. *Current Issues in Language Planning* 5, 4: 376-388.

Baldauf, R. 2005. Language planning and policy research: an overview. In Eli Hinkel (ed.): 957-970.

Bayard, D. 1990. "God help us if we sound like this": attitudes to New Zealand and other English accents. In Bell and Holmes (eds.): 67-96.

Bayard, D. 1998. White turnips and mythical Moriori: combating folk-linguistic and folk-anthropological myths in the popular press. *New Zealand English Journal* 12: 6-20.

BBC 2007. 'Too much' Welsh language support'. BBC News website 17/5/07, http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/wales/6655109.stm (accessed May 2008)

Bell, A. and J. Holmes (eds.) 1990. *New Zealand Ways of Speaking English*. Wellington: VUW Press.

Bellett, D. 1995. Hakas, Hangis and Kiwis: Māori lexical influence on New
    Zealand English. *Te Reo* 38: 73-104.

Benton, R. 1981. Māori and English at Pukekaraka: community resources and
    parental attitudes. Wellington: New Zealand Council for Educational
    Research.

Benton, R. and N. Benton 2000. RLS in Aotearoa/New Zealand. In J. Fishman
    (ed.) 2000: 423-450.

Blommaert, J. 1996. Language planning as a discourse on language and society.
    Language Problems and Language Planning 20, 3: 199-222.

Boyce, M. 1992. Māori language in Porirua: a study of reported proficiency,
    patterns of use and attitudes. Unpublished MA thesis. Wellington: Victoria
    University of Wellington.

Boyce, M. 2005. Attitudes to Māori. In A. Bell, R. Harlow and D. Starks (eds.)
    Languages of New Zealand. Wellington: VUW Press: 86-110.

Boyd, S., A. Holmen, and J. Jørgensen (eds.) 1994. Sprogbrug og sprogvalg
    blandt
    indvandrere i Norden 1–2. Kbh.studier i tosprogethed 20–21. Copenhagen:
    Danmarks Lærerhøjskole.

Bradley, D. and M. Bradley (eds.) 2002. Language Endangerment and Language
    Maintenance. London: Routledge Curzon.

Cabinet Committee on Strategy and Priorities 1997. Māori Language Policy:
    Options to Improve the Status and Vitality of the Language (CSP(97)184).
    Wellington: Cabinet.

Cabinet Policy Committee 2003. Māori Language Strategy: Report on further
    functions. (POL(03)309). Wellington: Cabinet.

Cabinet Strategy Committee 1998. Māori Language Policy: Monitoring and Evaluation Options (STR(98)89). Wellington: Cabinet.

Campbell, C. 2000. Menter Cwm Gwendraeth: A case study in community language planning. In C. Williams (ed.): 247-291.

Campbell, M. 1988. The life and death of minority languages: a study of language death and resuscitation and an assessment of the prospects of Māori. Unpublished paper. Dunedin: University of Otago.

Campbell, M. 1990. Preliminary report on the Gisborne Māori language attitude survey, 1989. Unpublished paper. Dunedin: University of Otago.

Campos, A. and I. Genovès (2005) Avaluació del programa "Voluntaris per la llengua". *Llengua i Ús* 33: 52-59.

Chrisp, T. 1997a. He taonga te reo: The use of a theme year to promote a language. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 18,2: 100-106.

Chrisp, T. 1997b. Diglossia: A theoretical framework for the revitalisation of the Māori language. *He Pukenga Kōrero* 2,2: 35-42.

Chrisp, T. 1998. Government services and the revitalisation of the Māori language. *Te Reo* 41: 106-115.

Chrisp, T. 2005. Māori intergenerational language transmission. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 172: 149-181.

Christensen, I. 2001. *Ko Te Whare Whakamana: Māori Language Revitalisation*. Unpublished PhD thesis. Palmerston North: Massey University.

Cook, G. 2001. *The Discourse of Advertising* (2edn.). London and New York: Routledge.

Cooper, R. 1989. *Language Planning and Social Change.* Avon: Cambridge
    University Press.

Cooper, R. and J. Fishman 1974. The study of language attitudes. *International
    Journal of the Sociology of Language* 3: 5-19.

Costa, J. 2003. Catalan linguistic policy: liberal or illiberal? *Nations and
    Nationalism* 9,3: 413-432.

Coupland, N., H. Bishop, B. Evans and P. Garrett 2006. Imagining Wales and the
    Welsh Language. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology* 25: 351-
    376.

Crystal, D. 2000. *Language Death.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press*.*

Dauenhauer, N. and R. Dauenhauer 1998. Technical, emotional and ideological
    issues in reversing language shift. In L. Grenoble and L. Whaley (eds.)
    Endangered Languages: Current Issues and Future Prospects. Cambridge:
    Cambridge University Press.

Davies, C. and M. Maclagan 2006. Māori words – read all about it. *Te Reo* 49:
    73-99.

Deverson, T. 1991. New Zealand English lexis: the Māori dimension. *English
    Today* 26: 18-25.

Dominguez, F. 1998. Toward a language-marketing model. *International Journal
    of the Sociology of Language* 134: 1-13.

Drinnan, J. 2006. 'Māori Television 'zigs where others zag'. *National Business
    Review*.

Eagly, A. and S. Chaiken 1993. *The Psychology of Attitudes.* Fort Worth:
    Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.

Edwards, J. and J. Chisholm 1987. Language, multiculturalism and identity: a
Canadian study. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*
11,1: 5-36.

ELWa (Education and Learning Wales) 2005. Language Awareness Training.
Cardiff: ELWa.

Evans, C. 1996. Ethnolinguistic vitality, prejudice, and family language
transmission. *The Bilingual Research Journal* 20,2: 177-207.

Evas, J. 2000. Declining density: a danger for the language? In C. Williams (ed.):
292-310.

Fabrigar, L., T. MacDonald and D. Wegener 2005. The structure of attitudes. In
Albarracín et al.: 79-124.

Ferguson, C. 1959. Diglossia. *Word* 15: 325-340.

Fishman, J. 1967. Bilingualism with and without diglossia; diglossia with and
without bilingualism. *Journal of Social Issues* 23: 29-38.

Fishman, J., C. Ferguson. and J. Das Gupta (eds.) 1968. *Language Problems of
Developing Nations.* New York: John Wiley & Sons.

Fishman, J. 1991. *Reversing Language Shift.* Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Fishman, J. 2000. *Can Threatened Languages be Saved?* Clevedon: Multilingual
Matters.

Fishman, J. 2006. Language maintenance, language shift and reversing language
shift. In T. Bhatia and W. Ritchie (eds.) *The Handbook of Bilingualism*
(2edn.). Oxford: Blackwell: 406-436.

Forceville, C. 1996. *Pictorial Metaphor in Advertising.* London and New York:
Routledge.

Gardner, N., M. Puigdevall i Serralvo, and C. Williams 2000. Language revitalisation in comparative context: Ireland, the Basque Country and Catalonia. In C. Williams (ed.): 311-361.

Garrett, P., N. Coupland and A. Williams 2003. *Investigating Language Attitudes*. Llandybie: Dinefwr Press.

GDC 2003. La Generalitat emprèn una campanya per facilitar la integració lingüística de les persones immigrades. Press release, 19/3/03, http://premsa.gencat.net/display_release.html?id=11083&comp_id=1006. (accessed March 2007).

GDC 2005a. *Pla de Ciutidania i Immigració 2005-2008*. Barcelona: GDC.

GDC 2005b. Es presenta la campanya 'Dóna corda al català' per promoure l'ús de la llengua. Press release, 24/1/05, http://www6.gencat.net/llengcat/premsa/corda.htm (accessed May 2008).

GDC 2005c. Balanç del Pla d'acció de política lingüística 2004-2005. Resum de dades. Barcelona: GDC.

GDC 2005d. *Pla d'acció de política lingüística 2005-2006*. Barcelona: GDC.

GDC 2006. *Informe de política lingüística 2005*. Barcelona: GDC.

Gottlieb, N. and P. Chen 2001. Language planning and language policy in East Asia: an overview. In N. Gottlieb and P. Chen (eds.): 1-20.

Gottlieb, N. and P. Chen 2001 (eds.) *Language Planning and Language Policy: East Asian Perspectives*. Richmond: Curzon

Grenoble, L. and L. Whaley 2006. Saving Languages. Cambridge and New York.

Grin, F. 1995. Combining immigrant and autochthonous language rights. In T. Skutnabb-Kangas and R. Phillipson (eds.) *Linguistic Human Rights*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter: 31-48.

Grin, F. 2005. Linguistic human rights as a source of policy guidelines. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 9,3: 448-460.

Grin, F. and F. Vaillancourt 1998. Language Revitalisation Policy: theoretical framework, policy experience and application to te reo Māori. Wellington: Treasury.

Guerrero, Á., N. Montse, A. Joan Solé, and M. Simó 2006. Aproximació a l'avaluació de la campanya "Dóna corda al català" (i II). *Llengua i Ús* 36: 26-35.

Haarman H. 1984. Language planning and prestige planning. *Europa Ethnica* 41,2: 81-89.

Haugen, E. 1966. *Language Conflict and Language Planning*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Hinkel, E. (ed.) 2005. *Handbook of Research in Second Language Teaching and Learning*. New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum

Hinton, L. and K. Hale (eds.) 2001. The Green Book of Language Revitalization in Practice. San Diego: Academic Press.

Hoffman, C. 1995. Monolingualism, bilingualism, cultural pluralism and national identity: twenty years of language planning in contemporary Spain. *Current Issues in Language and Society*: 59-90.

Hoffman, C. 2000. Balancing language planning and language rights. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 21, 5: 425-441.

Hohepa, M. 1998. 'Hei tautoko i te reo': Māori language regeneration and whānau bookreading practices. Unpublished PhD thesis. Auckland: University of Auckland.

Hohepa, P. 2000. Presentation at Bilingualism at the Ends of the Earth Conference, Waikato University, November 2000.

Hohepa, P. 2005. 'Reo Māori mō Māori'. Presentation at Human Rights Forum, Human Rights Commission, Wellington, 21/7/05.

Holmes, J. and M. Stubbe 2003. *Power and Politeness in the Workplace*. London: Longman.

Holmes, K. 1999. Stereotypes of Māori: influence of speaker accent and appearance. Unpublished MA thesis. Dunedin: University of Otago.

Hornberger, N. 2006. Frameworks and models in language policy and planning. In T. Ricento (ed.) *An Introduction to Language Policy: Theory and Method*. Oxford: Blackwell: 24-41.

Human Rights Commission 2007. Languages in Aotearoa: Draft Statement on Language Policy. Wellington: Human Rights Commission.

Human Rights Commission 2008. *Race Relations in 2007*. Wellington: New Zealand Human Rights Commission.

Institut d'Estadística de Catalunya 2003. Cens lingüístic 2001 – Principals resultats. Barcelona: Institut d'Estadística de Catalunya.

Institut d'Estadística de Catalunya and Secretaria de Política Lingüistica 2004. Estadística d'usos lingüístics a Catalunya 2003. Barcelona: Institut d'Estadística de Catalunya and Secretaria de Política Lingüistica.

Jackson, R. 1988. *Language Planning Using a Marketing Model*. Arlington: University of Texas at Arlington.

Jones, A. 1995. Why should the devil have all the good tunes? Marketing: a valid discipline in language planning. *Europa Ethnica* 52, 2-3: 108-114.

Jørgensen, J. 2003. Bilingualism and minority languages. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 159: 73-91.

Kaplan, R. and R. Baldauf 1997. *Language Planning from Practice to Theory*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Katz, D. and E. Stotland 1959. A preliminary statement to a theory of attitude structure and change. In S. Koch (ed.) *Psychology: A Study of a Science*. New York: McGraw Hill: 423-475.

Kennedy, G. 2001. Lexical Borrowing from Māori in New Zealand English. In B. Moore (ed.) *Who's Centric Now? The Present State of post-Colonial Englishes*. Melbourne: Oxford University Press: 59-81.

Kennedy, G. and S. Yamazaki 1999. The Influence of Māori on the New Zealand lexicon. In J. Kirk (ed.) *Corpora Galore: Analyses and Techniques in Describing English*. Amsterdam: Rodopi: 33-44.

King, J. 1995. Māori English as a solidarity marker for te reo Māori. *New Zealand Studies in Applied Linguistics* 1: 51-59.

Kloss, H 1977. *The American Bilingual Tradition*. Rowley: Newbury House.

Kolyva, K. and D. Angelescu (eds.) 2004. *50 Ways to Motivate Language Learners*. European Commission, http://www.eurointeractions.com/projectlingo.htm# (accessed May 2008)

Krosnick, J., C. Judd and B. Wittenbrink 2005. The measurement of attitudes. In Albarracín et al.: 21-76.

Lambert, W., R. Hodgson, R. Gardner, and S. Fillenbaum 1960. Evaluational reactions to spoken language. *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology* 60,1: 44-51.

Lane, C. 2003. Writing a language off: Anti-Māori argumentation in letters to New Zealand editors. In P. Ryan and R. Terborg (eds.) *Language: Issues of Inequality*. México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.

Lasagabaster, D. and A. Huguet (eds.) 2007. *Multilingualism in European Bilingual Contexts*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Leek, R. 1990. Survey: the place of the Māori language in New Zealand. Unpublished paper. Auckland: University of Auckland.

Liddicoat, A. 2007. Introduction: literacy and language planning. In A. Liddicoat (ed.) *Issues in Language Planning and Literacy*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Lo Bianco, J. 2001. Viet Nam: Quoc Ngu, colonialism and language policy. In N. Gottlieb and P. Chen (eds.): 159-206.

Macalister, J. 2003. *The Presence of Māori words in New Zealand English*. Unpublished PhD thesis. Wellington: Victoria University of Wellington.

Macalister, J. 2005. *A Dictionary of Māori words in New Zealand English*. Melbourne: Oxford University Press.

Macalister, J. 2007. Weka or woodhen? Nativization through lexical choice in New Zealand English. *World Englishes* 26,4: 492-506.

MacInnes, J. 1999. Consensus and controversy in language normalisation in Catalunya. *Journal of Catalan Studies*.

Māori Television Service 2007a. 'Māori Television Rocks the Ratings – Again!' Press release, 5/9/07, www.scoop.co.nz/stories//BU0709/S00061.htm (accessed May 2008)

Māori Television Service 2007b. 'Audience viewing statements corrected', Māori Television website, www.Māoritelevision.com/latestnews/audience_viewing_statements_correct ed.htm (accessed May 2008)

Mar-Molinero, C. 2000. *The Politics of Language in the Spanish-speaking World*. London and New York: Routledge.

May, S. 2000a. Accommodating and resisting minority language policy: the case of Wales. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism* 3,2: 101-128.

May, S. 2000b. Uncommon languages: the challenges and possibilities of minority language rights. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 21,5: 366-385.

May, S. 2001. *Language and Minority Rights. Ethnicity, Nationalism and the Politics of Language*. London: Longman.

May, S. 2002. Developing greater ethnolinguistic democracy in Europe: minority language policies, nation-states, and the question of tolerability. *Sociolinguistica* 16: 1-13.

May, S. 2003. Rearticulating the case for minority language rights. *Current Issues in Language Planning* 4,2: 95-125.

May, S. 2005a. Language policy and minority language rights. In Eli Hinkel (ed.): 1055-1073.

May, S. 2005b. Language rights: moving the debate forward. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 9,3: 319-347.

Mental Health Commission 2005. Reducing Discrimination against People with Mental Illness Multi-Agency Plan 2005-2007. Wellington: Mental Health Commission.

Ministry of Education 2007. *New Zealand Curriculum*. Wellington: Ministry of Education.

MLC 1994. 'Major New Zealand companies commit to being foundation partners for He Taonga Te Reo 1995 A Celebration of Māori language'. Press release, 13/12/94. Wellington: MLC.

MLC 1995a. He Taonga Te Reo planning hui 11 January 1995 (minutes). Wellington: MLC.

MLC 1995b. Output 6 report He Taonga Te Reo. Wellington: MLC.

MLC 1996. Toitū te Reo (policy document). Wellington: MLC.

MLC 1998. He Taonga Te Reo 1998-1999 A briefing paper. Wellington: MLC.

MLC 2000. 'Into Te Reo'. Press release, 20/7/00. Wellington: MLC.

MLC 2002a. Annual Report of the Māori Language Commission for the year ended 30 June 2002. Wellington: MLC.

MLC 2002b. He pārongo mō te Wiki o te Reo Māori 2002 (evaluation report). Wellington: MLC.

MLC 2003a. Annual Report of the Māori Language Commission for the year ended 30 June 2003. Wellington: MLC.

MLC 2003b. NZ Reo, NZ Pride – Māori Language Week 2003. Press release, 25/703. Wellington: MLC.

MLC 2004a. Statement of Intent 04-05. Wellington: MLC.

MLC 2004b. NZ Reo, NZ Pride Māori Language Week 2003 evaluation report. Wellington: MLC.

MLC 2004c. Māori Language Information Programme implementation plan 2004-2005. Wellington: MLC.

MLC 2004d. Kōrero Māori phrase booklet (original). Wellington: MLC.

MLC 2005a. Statement of Intent 05-06. Wellington: MLC.

MLC 2005b. Matariki. Wellington: MLC.

MLC 2005c. Māori Language Week Awards award category sponsorship proposal. Wellington: MLC.

MLC 2005d. Māori Language Information Programme project plan 2005-2006. Wellington: MLC.

MLC 2005e. Research/evaluation of the Information Programme 2005-06. Wellington: MLC.

MLC 2005f. Kōrero Māori phrase booklet (kai). Wellington: MLC.

MLC 2005g. Proposal to deliver an information programme in 2005-2006. Wellington: MLC.

MLC 2006a. Statement of Intent 06-07. Wellington: MLC.

MLC 2006b. Annual Report of the Māori Language Commission for the year ended 30 June 2006. Wellington: MLC.

MLC 2006c. Kōrero Māori phrase booklet (sport). Wellington: MLC.

MLC 2007a. Statement of Intent 07-08. Wellington: MLC.

MLC 2007b. Kōrero Māori phrase booklet (tourism). Wellington: MLC.

Myers, G. 1994. *Words in Ads.* London: E Arnold, New York: Routledge.

Nelde, P., M. Strubell and G. Williams 1996. *Euromosaic.* Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities.

Neustupny, J. 1974. Basic types of treatment of language problems. In J. Fishman (ed.) *Advances in Language Planning*. The Hague: Mouton de Gruyter: 37-48.

Ngaha, A. 2004. Language and identity in the Māori community: Without the reo, who am I? Paper presented at Language and Society Conference, Palmerston North, September 2004.

Nicholson, R. 1997. Marketing the Māori language. In J. Reyhner (ed.) *Teaching Indigenous Languages*. Flagstaff: Northern Arizona University Center for Excellence in Education: 206-213.

Nicholson, R. and R. Garland 1991. New Zealanders attitudes to the revitalisation of the Māori language. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 12,5: 393-410

NOP Social and Political 1996. Public Attitudes to the Welsh Language (report to WLB). London: NOP Social and Political.

Obiols, M. 2002. The Matched Guise Technique. *Revista de Sociolinguistica* 2002: 1-6.

Phoenix Research 2001. Pre-testing of second wave national advertising campaign to reduce stigma and discrimination associated with mental illness. Auckland: Phoenix Research.

Phoenix Research 2002. Impacts of National Media Campaign to Counter Stigma and Discrimination Associated with Mental Illness. Survey 4. Auckland: Phoenix Research.

Phoenix Research 2005. Impacts of National Media Campaign to Counter Stigma and Discrimination Associated with Mental Illness. Survey 6. Auckland: Phoenix Research.

Pinker, Stephen 1995. *The Language Instinct*. London: Penguin.

Rees, E. 1996. Spain's linguistic normalisation laws: the Catalan controversy. *Hispania*: 313-321.

Ricento, T. 2000. Historical and theoretical perspectives in language policy and planning. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 4,2: 196-123.

Robertson, S. 1994. Identifying Māori English. A study of ethnic identification, attitudes and phonetic features. Unpublished MA thesis. Wellington: Victoria University of Wellington.

Rokx, H. 2007. Speech at Ministry of Social Development, Wellington, 23/7/07.

Roller, E. 2002. When does language become exclusivist? Linguistic politics in Catalonia. *National Identities* 4,3: 273-289.

Rubin, J. and B. Jernudd 1971. Introduction. In J. Rubin and B. Jernudd (eds.) *Can Language Be Planned?* Hawaii: The University Press of Hawaii: xiii-xxiv.

Sherwood, V. 1989. Survey: the place of the Māori language in New Zealand. Unpublished paper. Dunedin: University of Otago.

Smith. H. 2004. Attitudes of teacher educators in Aotearoa New Zealand towards bilingualism and language diversity. Unpublished PhD thesis. Wellington: Victoria University of Wellington.

Solé i Camardons, J. 1997. Planning multilingualism: the Catalan case. *Sociolinguistica*: 43-52.

Spolsky, B. 2003. Reassessing Māori regeneration. *Language in Society* 32,4: 553-578.

Starks, D., G. Barkhuizen and U. Knoch 2006. Language practices, preferences and policies. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 27,5: 375-391.

Statistics New Zealand 2008. Hot off the press: Births and deaths: March 2008 quarter. Wellington: Statistics New Zealand.

Strubell, M. 1996. Language planning and bilingual education in Catalonia. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 17,2-4: 262-275.

Strubell, M. 1999. Language, democracy and devolution in Catalonia. In Sue Wright (ed.) *Language, democracy and devolution in Catalonia*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters: 4-38.

Strubell, M. 2000. Catalan a decade later. In J. Fishman (ed.): 260-283.

Theobold, N. and P. Walker 2004. *Instant! Māori*. Hong Kong: Writer & Writer.

Thompson, W. 1990. Attitudes to Māori and the use of Māori lexical items in English. *Wellington Working Papers in Linguistics* 1: 37-46.

Tollefson, J. 1991. Planning language, planning inequality. London and New York: Longman.

Tollefson, J. 2002. Limitations of language policy and planning. In Robert Kaplan (ed.) *The Oxford Handbook of Applied Linguistics*. New York: Oxford University Press: 416-425.

TPK 1999a. *Te Tūāoma.* Wellington: TPK.

TPK 1999b. *Mātātupu: Māori language policies and plans*. Wellington: TPK.

TPK 2002. *Survey of Attitudes, Values and Beliefs about the Māori Language*. Wellington: TPK.

TPK 2003a. *Survey of Attitudes, Values and Beliefs about the Māori Language*. Wellington: TPK.

TPK 2003b. *Te Rautaki Reo Māori - The Māori Language Strategy*. Wellington: TPK.

TPK 2003c. *He Reo e Kōrerotia Ana, He Reo Ka Ora*. Wellington: TPK.

TPK 2004a. *Te Reo Māori i te Hāpori.* Wellington: TPK.

TPK 2004b. Budget bid for Māori Language Information Programme. Wellington: TPK.

TPK 2004c. Draft report to Minister of Māori Affairs on the Māori Language Information Programme. Wellington: TPK.

TPK 2006. *Nga Waiaro atu ki te reo Māori. Attitudes towards the Māori Language.* Wellington: TPK.

Trudgill, P. and J. Hannah 1994. *International English: A Guide to the Varieties of Standard English* (3edn.). London: Arnold.

Tsunoda, T. 2005. *Language Endangerment and Language Revitalization.* Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.

Vaughan, G. and I. Huygens 1990. Sociolinguistic stereotyping in New Zealand. In Bell and Holmes (eds.): 49-66.

WAG 2003. *Iaith Pawb: A National Action Plan for a Bilingual Wales.* Cardiff: WAG.

WAG 2004. Report of the Minister for Culture, Welsh Language and Sport, 29/9/04. WAG.

Williams, C. 2000. On recognition, resolution and revitalization. In C. Williams (ed.): 1-47.

Williams, C. 2000 (ed.). *Language Revitalization: Policy and Planning in Wales.* Cardiff: University of Wales Press.

Williams, C. 2001. Welsh in Great Britain. In G. Extra and D. Gorter *Other Languages of Europe: demographic, sociolinguistic and educational perspectives.* Clevedon and Buffalo: Multilingual Matters: 59-81.

Williams, C. 2004. Iaith Pawb: the doctrine of plenary inclusion. *Contemporary Wales* 17: 1-27.

WLB 1996. *A Strategy for the Welsh Language*. Cardiff: WLB.

WLB 1999. *The Welsh Language : A Vision and Mission for 2000-2005.* Cardiff: WLB.

WLB 2000. Language revitalization: the role of the Welsh Language Board. In C. Williams (ed.): 83-115.

WLB 2002. Twf Appraisal. Cardiff: WLB.

WLB 2003a. *Changing behaviour, Usage and Perceptions: Marketing the Welsh Language*. Cardiff: WLB.

WLB 2003b. Census 2001: Main statistics about Welsh. WLB website, http://www.bwrdd-yr-iaith.org.uk/cynnwys.php?cID=&pID=109&nID=173&langID=2 (accessed March 2007)

WLB 2004. Marketing Strategy 2004/05-2005/06 (draft). Cardiff: WLB.

WLB 2005. *The Future of Welsh: A Strategic Plan*. Cardiff: WLB.

WLB 2006a. *2004 Welsh Language Use Survey.* Cardiff: WLB.

WLB 2006b. Consultation by the Welsh Assembly Government on the Merger with the Welsh Language Board: Response by the Welsh Language Board. Cardiff: WLB.

WLB 2006c. Language Awareness Training Draft Strategy June 2006. Cardiff: WLB.

WLB 2007. Annual Review 06/07. Cardiff: WLB

Woolard, K. 1989. *Double talk: Bilingualism and the Politics of Ethnicity in Catalonia*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.