

Biculturalism in New Zealand Parliament: A corpus-based approach

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Abstract

New Zealand is a bicultural country, with, some say, an obligation to recognise the language of the indigenous peoples, te reo Māori. Politicians, as representatives of the people and the country, are individuals who arguably should be facilitating bicultural understanding, competence and confidence. An important part of this facilitation is for politicians to use te reo Māori in their day to day business. This thesis presents a corpus informed analysis of the use of te reo Māori words in New Zealand Parliament. Specifically, I examine the labels used in reference to the country (e.g., *New Zealand*, *Aotearoa*, *Aotearoa New Zealand*) and its people (e.g., *New Zealand Europeans*, *Māori*, *New Zealanders*, *Kiwis*). Using the New Zealand Parliamentary Language Corpus (NZPLC; Ford, 2018), I examine the frequency of use of these labels, including changes over time, and consider whether different political parties and different individual politicians exhibit differences in their use of these terms. Results show that *New Zealand* was most frequently used to name the country, as expected, but also that of the two main parties, Labour used *Aotearoa* when referring to the country more frequently than National. On the other hand, politicians who identified as Māori were not more likely to use terms such as *Aotearoa* over *New Zealand*. The most common label for citizens was *New Zealander*, which collocated with words such as ‘all’, indicating an attempt at inclusiveness. The most-used bicultural variant for the majority ethnic populace was *Pākehā*, which was primarily used to signal a comparison with *Māori*. *New Zealand European* was used only in reference to other ethnicities, such as *Māori* and *Pasifika*. These findings are discussed in terms of the extent to which biculturalism is displayed through language in New Zealand Parliament, and some further reflections are made on the relationship between language and culture in Aotearoa New Zealand.

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I'll get started earlier for the next one, I promise.

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Glossary

hapū subtribe

iwi tribe

kaupapa topic

kōrerorero conversation

kupu word

marae courtyard of a Māori meeting house

Māori original settlers in New Zealand

Pākehā non-Māori, specifically those from a European background

rangatira chief

tangata person

tangata tiriti person of the Treaty (non-Māori)

tangata whenua Māori

te reo the language of the indigenous population

Te Tiriti o Waitangi the Māori name for the Treaty of Waitangi

tikanga protocol, custom

tūrangawaewae place where one has the right to stand

waka canoe

wāhi location

whakapapa genealogy

whānau family

whanaungatanga relationship, kinship

whenua land

1 Introduction

New Zealand is a country in the Southern Hemisphere that promotes itself on being a diverse and multicultural society (e.g., New Zealand Immigration, 2016; New Zealand Trade and Enterprise, Te Taurapa Tūhono, n.d.; Multicultural New Zealand, n.d.). However, the considered founding document of New Zealand requires the country to be *bicultural*, in a partnership with the tangata whenua, the original inhabitants (Watters, 2016). Biculturalism reflects only two cultures: Māori (the tangata whenua), and the largest, New Zealand European. There are many government-led initiatives that showcase New Zealand’s bicultural heritage, such as Māori-led programmes like the Mātua Whangai programme (for at-risk youth) and the Ngā Kōti Rangatahi (Rangatahi Courts), which are alternative Youth Courts that follow Māori tikanga (Ministry of Justice, 2018). But how bicultural is New Zealand? Biculturalism, which in the New Zealand context implies respect towards the minority Māori culture that has been negatively and unjustly affected by the colonisers, the New Zealand Europeans, can be difficult by some to accept. It can be seen as discriminatory towards other cultures, an untrue representation of the country’s cultural state, and a reflection on history that is no longer valid today.

One major aspect of biculturalism is that of language. Language is intertwined with culture: the language one speaks provides to others a cultural connection, and mastery of a language can be seen to provide honorary citizenship (Fanon, 1986). The language of the original peoples, te reo Māori, is an official language of New Zealand, and te reo is included in the names of many institutions and geographical locations. The usage of te reo is important in these areas as it normalises the language, and presents it as an everyday occurrence. However, while the use of te reo Māori in formal names reflects an institutional response to biculturalism, it does not showcase how this is occurring the speech of New Zealanders. This usage is where biculturalism exists in practice. Using te reo kupu (words) as a native English and non-fluent te reo speaker reflects acceptance and acknowledgement of the culture within

those words. There are a number of well-known kupu that have both a Māori and English equivalent and are used interchangeably by individuals, such as *family* and *whānau*. The decision to use one word over the other is a choice, and this use is good way to examine how biculturalism is occurring within New Zealand.

However, not all words are the same. Words carry different connotations and implications, and some words have much more bicultural meaning. Examples of these include words that incorporate more than just the individual using the word and their immediate environment. Words such as *whānau* have an immediate connection back to the individual using it, and imply a cultural acknowledgement of a relatively small sphere - just the members of the family, and while this may include thirty individuals, it is a small portion of culture as a whole. On the contrary, words that identify with national identity incorporate a large number of individuals (potentially, all of them). If to use a word is to accept that cultural ownership and contextual viewpoint, then words of national identity would carry far more bicultural meaning than that of, say, *whānau*. These words of national identity include names such as the country, and the people within that country.

Just as words have different bicultural meanings, who says them is of importance. Language does not occur in a vacuum, and individuals use words not only to project their culture, but to present a particular self-image with certain beliefs and viewpoints. This is particularly relevant for public-based individuals, such as celebrities and politicians, whose self-image is the basis of their work. By virtue of their position, these individuals have a large public audience and their use of bicultural words could be considered more biculturally important than, say, a neighbour down the street, as public personnel have the ability to influence many people. For politicians, this could be considered two-way, due to many promoting themselves as a representative of a community, which they would then be influenced by. Politicians are also more closely related to national identity than other public figures, as the government, made up of politicians, is the institution that determines who and what the country is: they set laws, promote the country internationally, and are the “authority”

of the country nationally. Politicians can be seen as relevant to analyse in the question of bicultural New Zealand, as not only do they have a wide public audience outreach, but their very persona is tied into a self-image, which can be presented through their use of language. This research examines the speech of New Zealand politicians within parliament, as these individuals are formally representing the people who voted them in, either as an individual in an electorate or as a party list member. Due to their connection with national identity and the significance this holds to biculturalism, the words used to describe the country and its people will be the focus of the thesis. These two topics contain words that, while may not well be understood, are common-place within New Zealand. The country's Māori name is *Aotearoa*, and this can co-occur with the English version to create *Aotearoa New Zealand* and *New Zealand Aotearoa*. Biculturally, there are two main citizens of New Zealand: Māori, and New Zealand European. The latter also have a Māori name, of *Pākehā*. However, geographical terms *New Zealander* and *Kiwi* are being increasingly used to mean an ethnic individual of New Zealand descent. Three research questions will be analysed:

1. How is the country described by members of parliament?
2. How are *New Zealander(s)* and *Kiwi(s)* used in parliament?
3. What is the relationship between *New Zealand European*, *Pākehā*, and *Māori*?

This research will make use of the official parliamentary record, Hansard, or New Zealand Parliamentary Debates. This large body of text contains written utterances of the words spoken within the House of Representatives, alongside relevant information such as who is speaking, what day it is, and the name of the debate. Similar to studies of refugee group representation (Baker, 2006), this research will use a corpus linguistics methodology. Corpus linguistics enables research within corpora to find trends and examine how words are used in relation to each other. Corpus linguistic techniques such as collocation (the words that frequently occur together), concordances (the words either side of a keyword, to allow

examination on what is occurring qualitatively), and frequency, provide a structured and credible method to analyse text.

Due to Hansard not being fully available online nor of an easy format for corpus analysis, this research will use the New Zealand Parliamentary Language Corpus (NZPLC), a subset created of Hansard that includes everything between the dates of February 2002 and March 2016 (Ford, 2018). The NZPLC is in a format appropriate for undertaking corpus linguistics, and with a range of fourteen years and two different leading governments, provides the ability for a thorough analysis.

As a historic part of New Zealand's history (and now future), biculturalism is an element important to the discussion of cultural awareness and what is it to belong to this land. It is crucial in decolonisation efforts and cultural appropriation to right injustices to people - just like us - that occurred in the past. Language is an element of biculturalism that is observable and easily recognisable as something cultural. This is specifically true for words that have both an English and te reo Māori well-known variant, which can demonstrate a choice by the speaker to be more or less bicultural. This research provides support as to how successful biculturalism is, particularly by those who are said to represent us: politicians. This research is relevant not just for the people who were disadvantaged and are now fighting for their cultural right, but for all people who consider themselves people of this land. Biculturalism acknowledges not only the events in the past, but a way forward for the future. Acceptance comes with knowledge, and knowledge comes through discussion, normalisation, and outreach - all of which occur in parliament.

1.1 The role of the researcher

As a white, fifth-generation New Zealand-born Pākehā, I come at this research from the view of the coloniser. Whilst I pride myself on my cultural awareness and am sensitive of what I say and how I portray it, I am not Māori and I have no indigenous roots. My discussion

of Māoridom comes from research, observation, and kōrerorero. I have done my best to be culturally appropriate, but will take this space to acknowledge that part of this research is about a people I neither speak for nor affiliate with, and the discussions and conclusions that occur are not mine to own.

Additionally, the country is consistently referred to throughout this thesis as New Zealand. This was done as a deliberate choice to avoid confusion when discussing the bicultural variables.

2 Literature Review

This chapter will first provide a brief history of New Zealand to explain the background importance of biculturalism. This will be followed in Section 2.3 by a discussion of why language is relevant to culture, including an explanation of the different cultural variants used to describe the country and the people that live here. Previous research on words used to describe groups of people through corpus linguistic methods are discussed in Section 2.4, followed by how this can be analysed in relation to New Zealand Parliament. Section 2.6 outlines the research questions.

2.1 The people of New Zealand

New Zealand received its name from a Dutch map maker, after Dutch explorer Abel Tasman discovered and charted the country's west coast in the 1640s (Wilson, 2005). It was the first awareness Europeans had of the country, however proper investigation did not occur until 1769 when British navigator Captain James Cook mapped the entire coastline (Captain Cook Birthplace Museum, 2015; Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2017a; Wilson, 2005). While explorers from other European countries such as France and Italy eventually visited New Zealand (usually as a base for further travels; Wilson, 2016; Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2017a), it was the English who had a prominent effect on the country's history (Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2017a).

However when the European explorers first reached New Zealand shores, the land was already occupied: the first settlers had likely arrived in the late 13th century from East Polynesia (Howe, 2005). Perhaps surprisingly, these original inhabitants - Māori, meaning *normal* or *indigenous* in their native language (Moorfield, 2018) - were not one people; multiple vessels arrived at various times and to different locations around the country, and individual tribes, or *iwi*, were fully settled across the country by the time Europeans arrived (Royal, 2005). The continuous encounters between Māori and the incoming settlers over the years were mixed

(Watters, 2016). Both Tasman and Cook’s first confrontation resulted in deaths - for Tasman, four of his own crew (Watters, 2016), for Cook, nine Māori warriors (Captain Cook Birthplace Museum, 2015; New Zealand Herald, 2016). However, Cook’s relations with Māori eventually improved enough to enable trade (Captain Cook Birthplace Museum, 2015). Māori were willing traders, and from the 1790s they often provided pork and potatoes in exchange for goods from the whaling ships (Wilson, 2005; Watters, 2016). Māori were also known to have worked on these ships, learning about European customs and sailing the world (Derby, 2011). Importantly, in many early relations, Māori had authority over their own tribal area, and the European settlers - described as Pākehā¹ - survived by accepting this authority (Derby, 2011). However, violence still occurred. For example, in 1809, Māori attacked a sailing ship and killed most of the passengers and crew in retaliation for the perceived mistreatment of a young local chief by the captain; after which, the whalers extracted similar revenge (Watters, 2016; Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2014a; Petrie, 2008). Following on from this event, trading mostly ceased until the missionaries established a mission station in 1814 (Petrie, 2008).

However, the original peoples and the European settlers were not the only strained relationship on New Zealand. Intertribal war was not uncommon, and up to one-fifth of the Māori population (around 20’000 people) were thought to have been killed during the period known as the *Musket Wars*, between 1810s to 1830s (Watters, 2016; Keane, 2012). The introduction of the European musket was not the reason for warfare, but rather changed how it could be conducted from traditional practices (Watters, 2016; Keane, 2012). The state of the country was one of lawlessness. With intertribal warfare by the Māori population and no governing body overlooking that of the settlers, pressure mounted on the British government

¹The original meaning behind this word is unclear, however there is a general consensus from many Māori scholars that it has a reference to pale skin (King, 1991). Moorfield (2018) provides an explanation through the tribal lore of Ngāti Porou, who describe the word as “a shortened form of *pakepakehā*, which was a Māori rendition of a word or words remembered from a chant used in a very early visit by foreign sailors for raising their anchor (TP 1/1911:5)” (search query: *Pakeha*). An alternative view is that the term was coined by Māori from the expression “buggar ya!” which was heard frequently from the whaler and sealer visitors (King, 1991).

to colonise the country (Watters, 2016; Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2014b; Wilson, 2005). Eventually, the British Colonial Office sent William Hobson to New Zealand in order to obtain sovereignty over all or part of New Zealand, with tribal consent (Watters, 2016; Wilson, 2005; Royal, 2005). This led to the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi.

2.1.1 The Treaty of Waitangi

The concept of the treaty was to assist in keeping law (Royal, 2005). Named after the location where it was signed, it was drafted by Hobson and other British residents, including missionaries (Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2012a). On the 4th of February 1840, some iwi from around the country met at Waitangi to discuss the document translated into Māori by two missionaries (Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2012a). After much discussion, the treaty was eventually signed on the 6th of February 1840 by more than 40 chiefs, and, after circulating the country, by September had around another 500 signatures from other iwi (Watters, 2016). 1841 saw New Zealand formally established as a colony of Britain - under the Crown (Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2012a). The Treaty of Waitangi is considered the founding document of New Zealand (Watters, 2016), and covers the governorship of New Zealand, chieftainship and possession of land, and Māori protection and rights under the Queen as given to British subjects (Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2012b).

However, the document is not without controversy. Firstly, rangatira (chiefs) signed on behalf of their people. Importantly, many had reservations, and indeed not all signed, such as Tāraia Ngākuti, of Ngāti Tamaterā (in Hauraki) (Orange, 2012). Claiming that because they did not sign they were not bound by the Treaty led to the British Colonial Office ruling that regardless of whether their chief had signed, all Māori were British subjects, and therefore bound by the Treaty's rules (Orange, 2012).

Secondly, with two different languages, there are two texts (some claim technically, therefore, two treaties): the Treaty of Waitangi, in English, and te Tiriti o Waitangi, in Māori

(Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2012b). The majority of the rangatira signed the Māori version (Orange, 2012). Differences in wording between the two texts led to differences in interpretation on sovereignty and ownership (Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2012b), which in turn initiated the New Zealand Wars regarding land during the 1860s (Derby, 2011). Over this time, many grievances were committed towards Māori by Pākehā, including the confiscation of large amounts of land in the North Island (Derby, 2011).

Since then, it has been a constant battle for ownership recognition for Māori. In the 1970s Māori fought for autonomy, to exist in a partnership with the Crown, as outlined in the Treaty (Workman, 2016). Pressure mounted on the government to recognise this biculturalism, which eventually resulted in the passing of the Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975, giving legal authority to the Treaty, and establishing a new era of relationship between Māori and the Crown (Orange, 2012).

2.2 The rise of biculturalism

The signing of the Treaty initiated an agreement between the Crown and Māori (Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2012b). Specifically, it was a *partnership* (Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2012b). New Zealand was to be recognised as a country of two cultures - Māori, and that of the Crown (who was British). However the agreement was abused by the Crown in the years following. Colonisation negatively affected Māori, and the outcome of this is still apparent today through historical trauma. Historical trauma is considered to be trauma that has been experienced across multiple generations, and is shared by a collective rather than an individual; it links injustices done in the past to the current day (Borell, Barnes, & McCreanor, 2018). Historical trauma has resulted in many negative outcomes for Māori, including within the health, justice, and education sectors. Statistical information show that they are more likely to be prosecuted, imprisoned and victims of crime than any other ethnicity (Statistics New Zealand, 2015). They are more likely to be mothers

under the age of eighteen and bear low birth weight children, with parents that are poor (Department of Corrections, 2007). They have a higher mortality rate than other ethnicities (Ajwani, Blakely, Robson, Tobias, & Bonne, 2003), and collect less wealth from investments and inheritance (Statistics New Zealand, 1999, as cited in Ajwani et al., 2003). Colonisation has led to an overall lower standard of economic and social living for Māori (Department of Corrections, 2007). Biculturalism attempts to acknowledge this historical trauma, both by accepting it occurred, and by trying to correct it.

However, biculturalism refers only to two cultures. In the New Zealand context, specifically Māori culture, and that of the Pākehā (originally, the settlers, and in current times, the dominant ethnic group, New Zealand Europeans). This distinction is important because New Zealand has many ethnicities - more than the world's countries, in fact (New Zealand Herald, 2013). While this stance may seem on the outset discriminatory, it is a reflection on the Treaty, that these two peoples signed. Māori are the tangata whenua: they are only found in New Zealand, while all other ethnicities have ancestry to other countries and cultures where they can identify² (Kia Māia, 2015).

Biculturalism is not easy to swallow for many people who have grown up in New Zealand. Firstly, New Zealand is often described as multicultural. With ethnic diversity only set to increase (MacPherson, 2017), recognising only one culture appears rude, insensitive and an incorrect reflection of current New Zealand society. Secondly, biculturalism asks individuals to be aware of their own ethnic existence within a contrasting setting - in this instance, with Māori. This asks a much bigger question, in the New Zealand context, of who can claim ethnic nationality to this land. This concept will be discussed and analysed in the following sections.

²The exception to this, perhaps, is the increasing opinion of the *New Zealander*, of someone born here, likely to parents also born here, and who have links only to this country, with ancestral heritage too far removed to have much meaning: this is discussed in detail in Section 2.3.3.

2.2.1 Bicultural versus multicultural

A point missing from consideration for many is that Māori, in and of itself, is not one specific culture. Like other indigenous peoples (e.g., original inhabitants in America, Australia), *Māori* is a collective term for numerous different tribes. They do not consider themselves a monolithic society through an overarching term, similar to that of the First Nation Peoples in America being described as *Native American* or *American Indian* (Yellow Bird, 1999).

At the lowest community level, people who identify as Māori are part of a *whānau*, traditionally made up of familial ties. Many whānau come together to form a *hapū* (tribal subgroup), and multiple hapū form to make an *iwi*. Iwi affiliate to one or more specific *waka* (canoe(s)), of which many arrived across the country (Taonui, 2005). The term *Māori* was a word that only came to the forefront from the foreigners who arrived on New Zealand shores - Māori people describe themselves by their tribal affiliation (Ranford, 2015; Liu, 2014; Statistics New Zealand, 2001).

Being that the term ‘Māori’ refers to more than one identity group, it balances out the two sides of biculturalism; rather than referring to two cultures, it refers to two *sets* of cultures: one that belongs to the original inhabitants, and the other that of the settlers, which over time has undoubtedly expanded with the arrival of many different immigrants.

Another point to consider is that Māori are already bicultural - Māori have had no choice but to assimilate over the years to the dominant culture, that of the Pākehā (Stewart, 2018; Hayward, 2012). Political scientist Richard Mulgan explains that “biculturalism does not deny the existence of other cultures besides Pākehā and Māori; it merely denies them and their cultures special recognition” (1989, p. 9; as cited in Hayward, 2012, p. 3). One aspect of bicultural recognition is that of language. While English is the de facto language of New Zealand, in 1987 te reo Māori became an official one (Māori Language Act 1987). This led to a number of changes within New Zealand regarding the use of te reo, some of which are discussed in the next section.

2.2.2 Acknowledging te Tiriti o Waitangi

Te reo Māori was originally suppressed in schools and, by the 1980s, less than 20% of Māori had the level of te reo that would be considered appropriate for a native speaker (Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2017b). Now, a resurgence has increased the visibility of te reo around the country, through initiatives such as the ones described below.

Te Wiki o te Reo Māori, Māori Language Week, began in 1975 (Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2017b), and Te Tauri Whiri i te Reo Māori (the Māori Language Commission) was established in 1987 (Workman, 2016). By 1997 there were 675 kōhanga reo (Māori language preschools) and 54 kura kaupapa (Māori language schools) (Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori, 2018). Radio and television shows were launched, including the funding for a Māori television channel (Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori, 2018). Apps to promote the language have been developed, including the *Te Kete Tikanga Māori* (Māori Cultural Kit) app, an educational resource from New Zealand Trade and Enterprise (2013) that includes Māori kupu (words) and cultural information such as tikanga (protocol).

There was also an increase in te reo names for public institutions and locations, which is still occurring today. Many government departments have both an English and a Māori name, and some physical places around the country are receiving the same. While several wāhi (locations), such as Kaikoura, Opotiki, and Whangarei are already established with a te reo name, other places are adding the original Māori name alongside the English. For example, in 2013 a petition was put forward by a school to the local council to change Poverty Bay, in the Gisborne region, to Tūranganui-a-Kiwa / Poverty Bay (Gisborne District Council, 2018). The Māori name reflects the cultural heritage of the area as the traditional name (Gisborne District Council, 2018). Noticeably, this and other initiatives have originated from the general public (albeit usually public with ties to Māori heritage), rather than the government.

However, while these initiatives have increased the prominence of te reo throughout New

Zealand, the wider public are not always fully supportive of such initiatives and increased usage of the language. This can be exemplified by two responses to national broadcasters using te reo on their programmes. In 2015, weather broadcaster Kanoa Lloyd revealed she received “weekly complaints” regarding her use of te reo on the television (Radio New Zealand, 2015), and in 2017 the Broadcasting Standards Authority received an official complaint about Radio New Zealand reporters signing off in te reo (Radio New Zealand, 2017). One presenter is said to receive “more criticism from listeners than encouragement. He has been accused of forcing the language on people and told the majority of Kiwis speak English and don’t need to hear Māori on-air” (Radio New Zealand, 2017). For individuals to take the time to complain about aspects of language demonstrate the importance it has in people’s lives. To discern why this is, it must first be understood why language is such a prominent feature of culture, and in turn why it is so crucial when discussing biculturalism.

2.3 Language and culture

Language is used for communication, but that communication is within a set of culturally structured concepts: words condition and impact how reality is perceived (Vuković, 2012). Words not only express and reflect who we are, but also create and imply specific images and alignments of one’s self. In this way, words are an important aspect to showcase an individual’s social identity - a knowledge of who is included and excluded from a group (Liu, 2014).

An example of this can be seen from the speech of ‘Mozzies’ - that is, Māori living in Australia (Māori Aussies) - on docudrama tv show *The GC*. Some Māori back in New Zealand were outraged by the Mozzies’ use of language, slang in particular, commenting that it was inappropriate to their cultural background (Harwood, 2015). One particular word, *aunty*, was being used to mean a single girl (that is, a potential sexual partner), while in New Zealand, Māori use the word to refer to a known female of senior importance (Harwood,

2015). The two meanings imply a very different level of respect, which is a central element of Māori tikanga. Online social network comments from Māori in New Zealand described offence at the show members' use of the slang, and highlighted their cultural differences from one another - "that's why they are now called Mozzies" (Harwood, 2015, p. 14), even though many of the show's individuals still openly consider themselves Māori (Harwood, 2015).

For Māori, te reo is often central to their ethnic identity (Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2017b); Paora Trim, Head of Māori Language at Kāpiti College, says that "without Māori language, the culture would not survive" (as cited in Barback, 2017). Due to this, te reo Māori is therefore also an integral aspect of biculturalism, and its use by the general public an area of interest. However, as mentioned in the previous section, te reo is not without stigma: even though improvements have been made, it is not seen as the language of the people - it is a language of *a* people, and those people are not the majority of people who ethnically make up New Zealand. In fact, apart from certain place names, a native-born citizen could go their whole life without speaking te reo. Because of this, why people use a te reo word, when there is an alternative English word, is worth analysing. This is especially meaningful when discussing the very essence of New Zealand - what the country, and its people, are called. For many, to speak a language takes on that culture - an important element in the upkeep of biculturalism.

2.3.1 The power of a name

Within a New Zealand context, there is more than one acceptable name for the country and its citizens. Some are clearly of English origin, some come from te reo Māori, and others are a combination of both. It is important to note that because these words are common and have been 'taken in' by monolingual English speakers, when the words are discussed as being te reo Māori, it reflects rather their *origins* than the words themselves. These words, like that of whānau, have been borrowed into English, and could be considered as part of

the New Zealand English lexicon (Macalister, 2006). However, that does not diminish their worth when analysing biculturalism. Because they are still Māori words when used in te reo, their usage within an English context contains the social connotation of te reo Māori, and therefore their usage implies a pro-Māori stance - a nod to biculturalism. This means that they are alternative ethnic variables to the Anglicised one(s).

2.3.2 Names of the country

Māori did not originally have a name for the entire country. *New Zealand*, as mentioned earlier, was the name given to the country from the Europeans (in Dutch, *Nieuw Zeeland*) (Wilson, 2005). It is also the name used in the Treaty - “the great number of Her Majesty’s Subjects who have already settled in New Zealand...” (Kawharu, n.d., *Preamble*). Notably, the te reo Māori version did not mention a name for the country. Rather, it used the words *(t)ō ratou wenua* - “their land” (Orange, 2012; Wilson, 2005).

While Māori may not have had an overarching name to refer to the country, they did have names for parts of the land - such as *Te Ika a Māui* for the North Island, and *Te Waipounamu* for the South Island. Another name was that of *Aotearoa*, often agreed to mean “long white cloud” (*ao*, meaning cloud; *tea*, meaning white, or potentially bright; and *roa*, meaning long). One origin story tells how Kupe’s wife, Hine-te-aparangi, while on a long voyage, saw a cloud which indicated land and called out “He ao! He ao!” (a cloud! a cloud!) (Oakley Wilson, 1996). The name was originally given to just the North Island (Oakley Wilson, 1996; Moorfield, 2018), but is said to have become more widespread when it was picked up by Pākehā writers - one of these being the Education Department’s School Journal - as a romanticised name for the country (The Dominion Post, 2009).

Nowadays, it is seen as the te reo Māori name for New Zealand. It can be used as an alternative word for *New Zealand*, or can be used alongside, such as *Aotearoa New Zealand* or *New Zealand Aotearoa*. Within these, in writing there is varying punctuation such as

Aotearoa-New Zealand and *Aotearoa/New Zealand*. The combined terms are relevant to discuss, because they highlight a possible connection between two cultural groups. A combined name is based in neither group, unlike either original name - they are dual names, a creation of something new: a bicultural relationship (Stewart, 2018). While there may be something to be said regarding the order in which ethnic terms appear, it was not analysed in this research, and is therefore not mentioned further.

While these four names can be used interchangeably throughout New Zealand - online, in the media, within institutions - *New Zealand* is the one used more often. Therefore the use of *Aotearoa*, whether stand-alone or adjacent with *New Zealand*, shows an awareness of biculturalism.

2.3.3 Who are New Zealanders?

Of a more complicated nature is the ethnic name of the citizens or individuals who reside within New Zealand and claim an identity with the land. There is a difference between a group of people having a *geographical* identification, and an *ethnic* identification. Descriptors connected to nation-hood refer to the political place an individual affiliates with, usually due to birth or current living situation, while ethnicity is the name of the culture *within* that location (Surbhi, 2016). These terms are often confused, as descriptors are typically intertwined with ethnicity; Statistics New Zealand (2001) sets out factors that may influence or contribute to an ethnicity, which include ancestry, residence, race, birth place, and language. A last important distinction is that ethnicity is *self-perceived*, while nationality is of a legal status, denoting membership (such as citizenship, residency) to certain geographical locations (Statistics New Zealand, 2001; Surbhi, 2016).

Ethnicity is far more relevant for biculturalism, which - as the name suggests - is interested in the partnership of different cultures. Examining ethnic descriptors, the term groups use to describe an ethnicity, is important; Statistics New Zealand (2004) include a name as a

factor that may contribute to a person's ethnic identity, describing it as "a common proper name that collectively describes a group of individuals and authenticates the characteristics and the history of its members" (p. 7). In essence, a name can summarise the characteristics and existence of an ethnicity. For this reason, the ethnic labels used to describe individuals in New Zealand is analysed.

Māori, of course, is the ethnic term to refer to the tangata whenua. As mentioned earlier, the other major ethnic group within New Zealand are the *New Zealand Europeans*. The most recent census form provided eight ethnic categories, plus a box for participants to list those not included. These are listed below. Respondents could specify up to six ethnicities.

- New Zealand European
- Māori
- Samoan
- Cook Islands Māori
- Tongan
- Niuean
- Chinese
- Indian
- other, eg Dutch, Japanese, Tokelauan

(Statistics New Zealand, 2018, p. 86)

Results from the 2013 census (as the 2018 results have not yet been published) show that 74% of people identified with a European ethnicity, 15% with a Māori ethnicity, 12% with an Asian ethnicity, and 7% with a Pacific ethnicity (Statistics New Zealand, 2015). While there

is always uncertainty on whether survey respondents are answering based on the criteria specified (in this instance, of ethnicity and not nationally; Statistics New Zealand, 2001), these results show the trend of ethnic categorisation that occurs statistically nationally, of grouping ethnicities geographically. The following discussion will compare the top two ethnic categories only, as these are the two that are reflected in the concept of bicultural New Zealand.

Unlike the name of the country, ethnic names are social identifiers, describing characteristics of an individual. To understand their effect on biculturalism, it is important to know not only which words are used, but how these relate to the wider New Zealand context, and their potential connotations.

Statistics New Zealand (2018) found in a testing phase of the 2018 census that individuals thought *New Zealand European* was “old fashioned”, and that *New Zealand Pākehā* should be included (p. 86). However when the 1996 census included ‘NZ European *or* Pākehā’, there was a significant adverse reaction that meant it was then dropped for the next census (Statistics New Zealand, 2009). Rather than ticking *New Zealand European*, Statistics New Zealand have found increasing number of answers from participants in the *other* category, describing themselves in terms such as *New Zealander*, *Kiwi*, *Mainlander*, and *Fourth generation New Zealander* (Statistics New Zealand, 2007). The table below shows the frequency of these answers in the last four censuses. Due to categorisation, these counts include more than only instances of *New Zealander*, such as those described above.

Table 2: Number of respondents who answered the New Zealand census question with *New Zealander* (or something similar) across the more recent New Zealand censuses. Statistics from Statistics New Zealand, www.stats.govt.nz

		1996 census	2001 census	2006 census	2013 census
New Zealander	<i># of answers</i>	58,614	61,118	429,429	65,973
	<i>% of answers</i>		2.4%	11.1%	1.6%

Surprisingly, the last census, in 2013³, had a lower percentage of participants using these terms than the previous census, although still an increase from the one before. The 2006 census appears to be an anomaly. A reason Statistics New Zealand (2007) gives for this is the “heightened media presentation of the option to report as a New Zealander” (p. 2) that occurred before the census.

The two most popular alternatives are *New Zealander* and *Kiwi*. Kiwi, of course, comes from the nickname of the native bird of the same name, which is a national symbol. The people who use these terms as ethnic identifies appear to use them to refute the ethnic term *New Zealand European* - many of the *New Zealander* responses in 2006 were from individuals who identified as *New Zealand European* in 2001 (Statistics New Zealand, 2009).

Research into why individuals consider themselves New Zealanders over other ethnic terms appears to be in part because of nationality; being born in a country provides an obvious connection to that national identity. In a series of interviews by Bell (2009), sixteen ‘young New Zealanders’ typically relied only on this claim to describe their identity. One response provides a succinct summary:

³Usually held every 5 years, the 2013 census was delayed due to the 2010/2011 Christchurch earthquakes.

Ann: To me being born in New Zealand makes me a New Zealander. I don't classify myself as New Zealand European, I'm just a New Zealander, a Kiwi (G1, 13)

(Bell, 2009: p. 150)

In another study, children currently living with their parents who answered the 2006 census as *New Zealander* were examined for their parental heritage; the majority of respondents who answered as a New Zealander were born in New Zealand, with New Zealand-both parents (78%) (Kukutai & Didham, 2009). The importance of birth place therefore seems meaningful: in 2006, 94.3% of participants who answered *New Zealander* were born in New Zealand, even though only 71.7% of the population fit this category (Statistics New Zealand, 2007).

This appears to be because *New Zealand European* lacks meaning for many New Zealand-born individuals, who have long since lost ties to Europe or Britain, being the third- or fourth-generation born here. In this context, the use of *New Zealander* comes because the current ethnic terms - *New Zealand European* and *Pākehā* - do not resonate with individuals as much as *New Zealander* does (Statistics New Zealand, 2007; Bell, 2009).

Part of the appeal of terms such as *New Zealander* and *Kiwi* are because they imply a unified nation, specifically one that is treated equally. Using an umbrella term like *New Zealander* also elicits both a national *and* ethnic identity; it adds an indigenous aspect, of being natively connected to the country - similar to how *Chinese* and *Japanese* are ethnic terms when used in a New Zealand context (Callister, 2004). This is an important concept, as *New Zealand European* is very much an ethnicity that is connected with New Zealand's history of colonisation. For individuals who can only trace their lineage back to family in New Zealand, they feel very far removed from their original ancestors. Additionally, individuals who have only immigrated in the last generation feel no connection to colonisation - it was not *their* ancestors, and being ethnically labelled as such is feels insensitive. For individuals without ancestral ties to Europe, it adds another dimension of confusion; *New Zealand European* is

often the only ethnic category that reflects a connection to New Zealand if someone is not Māori.

Technically, the term *New Zealander* refers to a nationality and not an ethnicity (Callister, 2004; Statistics New Zealand, 2001). While there is some debate of whether enough time has lapsed for it to become an ethnic category, it is still currently only formally observed as a nationality (Statistics New Zealand, 2001). The term *New Zealander* was originally given to Māori, used throughout the 18th and early 19th centuries (Watters, 2016; Statistics New Zealand, 2001). Now, it seems to be mostly non-Māori who are using the term, likely as a result of economic ties being slowly distanced from Britain. Additionally, *New Zealander* and *Kiwi* are often used as overarching terms to describe everybody in the country; a study on editorial representation in four major New Zealand newspapers regarding the controversial foreshore and seabed political movement found that the word *all* was referenced with phrases such as *the public*, *the Crown*, and *New Zealanders* (Phelan, 2009). Because the term *New Zealander* is ambiguous, it diminishes the cultural differences of the people within New Zealand, and therefore actually removes ethnic distinctions - including that of the tangata whenua (Statistics New Zealand, 2009).

Many Māori are not necessarily keen to remove their ethnic identity to become a *New Zealander* (A. Suzsko, personal communication, March 2017). They are Māori first, and (if at all) New Zealanders second (Head, 1991). In fact, when Statistics New Zealand (2001) added New Zealand to the front of Māori to create an ethnic category called *New Zealand Māori* for the 1991 census, objections were raised and it was removed for the next census. The word *Māori* implies whakapapa and tūrangawaewae (rights of residence through kinship). In comparison, these are two things not often associated with the term *New Zealand European*, and have given rise to the term *New Zealander*, which includes these concepts. But this is problematic. An overarching term that includes all ethnicities works on the assumption that diversity impacts unity (McCreanor, 2009). Biculturalism, at its core, demands that individual cultures - and therefore, ethnicities - be preserved. An overarching term therefore

undermines Māori as the indigenous group of New Zealand, which is culturally inappropriate under the partnership of the Treaty (Statistics New Zealand, 2004).

This culturally appropriate response, however, does not answer the question of what individuals who are by default New Zealand European will call themselves when they reject that particular ethnic categorisation. There are words in societal use other than *New Zealand European* that can be used to describe non-Māori, although these words have not fully been “owned” by them; this is due to a number of factors, some of which will be discussed in the next section, with a detailed look at what these terms mean.

2.3.4 Alternatives to the New Zealand European

The most popular alternative to *New Zealand European* is that of *Pākehā*. Others not widely known include *tauiwi* (foreigner) and *tangata tiriti* ([non-Māori] people of the treaty). Notably, all of these are of te reo Māori origin, which may in part be why New Zealand Europeans have not fully accepted them as their own. Other reasons include negative connotations associated with the words, as discussed below.

(Re)-emerging in the 1970s and 1980s, on a political background of being an ethnic group in comparison to Māori in a decolonising aesthetic (Spoonley, 1991; MacDonald, 2016), *Pākehā* became problematic in the 1990s after a National Party backbencher described the term an insult to New Zealand Europeans, as it meant “long white pig” (King, 1991). Positive advocate for the term, historian Michael King, however, describes it as:

Pākehā... is an indigenous New Zealand expression that denotes things that belong to New Zealand via one major stream of its heritage: people, manners, values and customs that are not exclusively Polynesian. (*King, 1991, p. 16*)

Professor Paul Spoonley (1991) calls himself a *Pākehā* because:

Why do I call myself a Pākehā? First of all, it clearly says what I am not. I am not a European or even a European New Zealander. I am a product of New Zealand, not of Europe. I am not English, despite immediate family connections with that country. Nor am I Māori or one of the other ethnic groups that exist here. (*Spoonley, 1991, p. 146*)

However the term has not lost its negative connotations over the years. There is confusion over what it means and whether it is a degrading term. This can be seen by the answers to the question “Do you consider yourself a Pākehā? Why or why not?” asked of my friendship circle, of individuals in their late 20s raised in New Zealand with New Zealand-born parents of European heritage:

No not really. The word has never been properly defined to me. I also don’t like the idea of segregating groups of people with words. (*C.J., personal communication, July 2018*)

No. New Zealander. Maybe because I don’t have any associations with the Māori culture. (*M.T., personal communication, July 2018*)

Am unsure. Have deep respect for Māori culture but have negative connotations associated with Pākehā. I think if I was confident that it was respectfully used to mean non-Māori Caucasians I would be more comfortable with it. Also a fan of New Zealander but understand this isn’t useful in terms of social planning expenditure.

To be clear I’m not a fan of separating myself from other New Zealanders. But I appreciate that Māori are tangata whenua and I am not. (*J.K., personal communication, July 2018*)

I don't like Pākehā because I've heard Māori use it as an insult. Probably just a one off, but it's stuck. (*K.H., personal communication, July 2018*)

New Zealander 100%. (*H.K., personal communication, July 2018*)

Ranford (2015) describes Pākehā as not an ethnicity but a differentiate, similar to that of Māori (due to Māori people describing themselves by their tribal affiliation; see Section 2.2.1), for all individuals of non-Māori or non-Polynesian ancestry. This stance is shown in a survey of adults, where *Pākehā* was the preferred name for New Zealand Europeans by Māori - more so than the New Zealand Europeans surveyed (Liu, 2014). This may be in part because far more Māori than New Zealand European participants agreed that there was such a thing as a 'Pākehā identity' (Liu, 2014).

Huygens (2016) denotes Pākehā as “European settlers and their descendants”, and tauiwi as a more ethnically inclusive term, to include “all New Zealanders who are not of Māori descent” (p. 146). *Tauiwi* is a word not widely known, and seems to have mixed connotations. King (1991) considered *tauwi* to be culturally offensive, rude towards people who have lived in New Zealand for generations, describing it to mean *strange tribe*, *foreign race* or *aliens*. While that definition still exists today, the first explanation in the online Māori Dictionary (Moorfield, 2018) is of a personal noun, to mean “foreigner, European, non-Māori, colonist” (www.maoridictionary.co.nz). Others describe it to have originally meant anyone not from the individual's iwi, but nowadays to mean anyone not tangata whenua (tane_ariki, 2008). It appears to have become a more neutral term of political inclusiveness (MacDonald, 2016), being used in institutions, such as the Methodist Church of New Zealand (2009) labelling their youth ministry as TYTANZ: Tauwi Youth Together Aotearoa New Zealand.

Tangata tiriti is an even less known term, developed (one assumes) in comparison to *tangata whenua*. It came into public perception in 2006 in a document *Tangata Tiriti - Treaty People*, funded by the Human Rights Commission and Auckland Workers Education Association (www.treatypeople.org/background). This document indicated the term was inclusive, for

“all Treaty people, that is all migrants who have come to this country since the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, including Pākehā and other ‘older’ settler groups” (Human Rights Commission, 2006).

The important part to note is that all these terms - *Pākehā*, *tauiwi*, and *tangata tiriti* - are used as comparisons to that of the indigenous population. In this way, these terms are all bicultural, as they uphold the partnership of the Treaty.

While one of Statistic New Zealand’s reasons not to include *New Zealander* on the census form was to allow consistency across data over time (2007), it is also a decision that is culturally appropriate. Even though it will not stop individuals writing *New Zealander* or *Kiwi*, it does not further support an overarching ethnic term. However, the census is only one aspect of political discussion around cultural identity. Political language itself can be broken down into many separate subgroups, such as electoral language or media language. The reason why political discourse is so powerful within a country is because it includes opinions from considered elite sources - people other than the general public - such as politicians, scholars, and journalists (van Dijk, 1997). Importantly, because these opinions are considered to be more valid, they can assist in the continuation of language debasing, such as spreading racism.

One of the prominent places of political language is that of the government. Not only is it a place where representatives from around the country gather, it is conducted primarily through speech, centered on events happening within the country, by the people in it. Therefore it would be expected that there will be many examples of the name of the country and the people within it. Analysis of the names people use to describe the country and its people in this environment is a part of language discourse. Previous discourse studies on the representation of groups have used corpus informed methods to do so, as these are based on actual usage of the words.

The next section will discuss corpus linguistics and how this is useful for research in group

representation, followed by a discussion on parliamentary text as an appropriate corpus.

2.4 A corpus approach

Corpus linguistics is a method for analysing language. It refers to an analysis of bodies of text, known as corpora. Specifically, it focuses on how language is *used*, with data based on actual instances to provide research on real life examples (Baker, 2006).

2.4.1 What is corpus linguistics?

Corpus linguistics uses algorithmic processing through computer software to analyse language use. It provides the tools to be able to approach large, unstructured data that is unfeasible to analyse manually. Using frequency, researchers have the ability to not only examine millions of words within one corpus, but to compare how their results are similar or different across other corpora. However because it uses computer software, it relies on corpora to be available in a format possible for this - *paper*-based corpora are therefore unable to utilise this method, unless they are first transferred to a computer-appropriate format.

Specifically, corpus linguistics is about *linguistic context*, rather than social context - about how words occur together. Corpus linguistics, critically, can not provide data on why, or in which way, language is being used. That information must be analysed and assessed by the researcher (Baker, 2006).

Corpus linguistics refers to a number of different methods of analysing text, many used together, to allow the opportunity for both a qualitative and quantitative approach. This is possible because corpora used in corpus linguistics typically have more than just the text that is to be analysed. They are annotated to include appropriate metalinguistic data, which can be used to further understand the corpus. This data can include anything relevant to the corpus context, such as the speaker's sex, age, and, in the case of transcribed spoken data, information like location.

Corpus linguistic methods have been used for centuries, such as in the development of dictionaries (McCarthy & O’Keeffe, 2010, as cited in Ford, 2018). These used quantitative methods, such as frequency. Recent corpus linguistics research used in studies for discourse analysis combines quantitative and qualitative methods (e.g., Baker, 2006; Meier, Rose, & Hölzen, 2017). Common analytical tools include lexical frequency counts (how often a word occurs), concordances (how the word appears within a sentence), and collocations (which other words occur with this word) (for a good introduction to corpus linguistic methods, see Baker, 2006). Because of the nature of corpus linguistic methods, results are also replicable.

2.4.2 Previous studies of group representation

In the development of corpus linguistics into discourse analysis, a common theme has been to examine how groups of people are represented in particular texts. For example, Baker (2006) looked at the group representation of refugees within British broadsheet and tabloid newspapers published in 2003. Analysing semantic preference - that is, the relationship between *refugee(s)* and semantically related words - Baker found *refugee(s)* in his corpus to be described as victims, natural disasters, and criminal nuisances. For example, the movement of refugees were described as “streaming”, “swelling”, and a “flood”; all of these words are related to elemental forces which are uncontrollable, such as natural disasters. Refugees were also often quantified, with words such as “thousands of”, “up to 100”, and “more”. Providing details about the the group in regards to their numbers associates a concern with how many refugees there are (Baker, 2006).

A study of how Islamists and Muslims were portrayed in the United States media between 2001 and 2015 found that these two words (*Islams* and *Muslims*) were highly related to words thematically associated with undesirable concepts, such as “violence” and “anti”, and also to words semantically unrelated, such as “faith”, “prophet”, and “believe” (Samaie & Malmir, 2017). A corpus analysis on *Muslim* in British newspapers between 1998 and 2009 found

terms of violence (e.g., *terrorist*) to be less frequent than categories that referred to words of ethnic and national identity (e.g., *community*, *country*, *leader*) and attributes of character (e.g., *woman*, *man*, *youth*) (Baker, Gabrielatos, & McEnery, 2013).

These studies are some examples of how corpus linguistic methods are able to describe how groups of people are being presented within a certain medium (in these instances, the media). These methods can be applied in analysing how people within New Zealand parliament use words to represent the country and its people. The next section will discuss how parliamentary discourse is appropriate for corpus methods.

2.4.3 Parliamentary discourse as an avenue for corpus analysis

Similar to the courtroom, parliament is carried out through spoken words which are used not only to communicate information but to demonstrate power balances, challenges to the authority of other speakers, and persuasion of arguments (Ilie, 2015). Additionally, this all occurs within a formally structured environment with rules and regulations that must be adhered to (New Zealand Parliament, n.d.). Additionally, parliament is a semi-unique situation in that everything done is for an audience (Ilie, 2015): Members of Parliament (MPs) speak towards not only the others MPs sitting in the House, but to the public, who can listen live in the public gallery, through parliamentary television (which broadcasts live through both television and the internet every time the House meets), or on the radio (New Zealand Parliament, n.d.). Additionally, each sitting is recorded through written text, which is (now) published online and freely available (New Zealand Parliament, n.d.). Furthermore, the media uses direct snippets of parliamentary speech in their presentation of the news. Politicians speak therefore not only to an immediate audience, but to a future one, too.

Within a democracy, parliament expresses the will of the people (Ilie, 2015). MPs are elected through a public vote, and even though all MPs affiliate back to a political party, debating politicians who represent an electorate shift between these two roles (Ilie, 2006,

2015). This shows a recognition of public representation being important within parliament - which can also be reflected by the fluctuation of numbers of MPs per party elected into parliament each election. Parliamentary discourse reveals and contributes to political, social and cultural perceptions (Cavanaugh, 2012), and observing this allows for analysis on how bicultural politicians are being in their speeches.

Parliamentary discourse is all about political power: to challenge, compete, defend and acquire, either through speaking (monologic communication) or debating (dialogic communication) (Ilie, 2015). Parliamentary debate is based on opposing political standpoints, in a confrontation of ideas that are different and even occasionally contradictory (Ilie, 2015); parliamentary discourse is therefore a power struggle, which allows for pronounced polarisation (Vuković, 2012), which has the assumption of being two sides of a social issue that also occurs outside of parliament, in the nation.

This analysis is not interested in how politicians debate, but rather how they use specific language when they do so. Because parliament processes are country-specific, the next section will outline the how the New Zealand Parliament is structured and fits within the bicultural landscape of the country.

2.5 New Zealand Parliament

The New Zealand Parliament uses the Westminster system, as developed in United Kingdom (New Zealand Parliament, n.d.). Elections are held every three years, with around 120 politicians elected to parliament⁴. It is controlled by the Speaker of the House (Martin, 2015), who is elected from the floor, typically from the party in power (although this is not required). However, they are expected to be impartial, presiding over the House and chairing it when in sitting (Martin, 2015). While politicians often work in conflict in the

⁴Due to a conflict between seats reserved for Māori and a percentage requirement for party inclusion, occasionally the number of politicians increases, such as in the 49th Parliament (2008-2011), where there were 122 members elected.

House, outside of it they frequently work together with no problems (previous MP Marama Fox, personal communication, July 2017).

The rest of this section will firstly give a brief overview of the New Zealand government landscape, before discussing the relationship between parliament and Māori, and finishing with a brief explanation on speech specific to a New Zealand context.

2.5.1 History

By the late 1930s there were two dominant parties - Labour and National - which have continued through to today (Martin, 2015). Labour was formed in 1916 (Aimer, 2015b), and National in 1936 after the fusion of two parties (James, 2015).

Mixed member proportional (MMP) was introduced in 1996 (Martin, 2015). Mixed, because there are two types of MPs that are elected into parliament - electorate MPs and list MPs (Arseneau & Roberts, 2015). Each voter receives one vote for an electoral candidate and one vote for a party. In 2017, there were 64 general electoral seats and seven Māori seats (New Zealand Parliament, n.d.). Electorate seats refer to geographical locations around the country which an MP represents in parliament. Urban areas usually have an electorate population of between 3,000 and 5,000 (New Zealand Parliament, n.d.). The Māori seats are, as implied, seats reserved for Māori, in both standing and voting rights, which began as only four seats from the Māori Representation Act 1867 (Bargh, 2015). A law change in 1967 meant non-Māori could contest a Māori seat, and Māori could contest a non-Māori seat; before this point, there had been a clear divide, with a Māori roll and a general roll (Bargh, 2015). Even now, there is still that distinction: as of 2015, 55% of enrolled Māori were on the Māori electorate roll, meaning they vote for their local Māori electorate rather than the general one (Bargh, 2015). Candidates who can speak te reo Māori have an advantage when standing for the Māori seats, due to their ability to engage with Māori media and spaces, such as the marae (Bargh, 2015).

MMP means it is harder for a majority party to govern alone, as they still need partners (in formal coalitions, matters of confidence, or matters of supply) (Martin, 2015). Since 1996, each parliament has had six to eight parties represented (Aimer, 2015b).

2.5.2 Māori and the government

Of the two main parties, Labour has always been seen as the more favourable towards Māori. Since 1999, Labour has always held at least one Māori seat (Bargh, 2015), and, even when the seats are won by an individual from another party, receives the majority party vote (Godfery, 2015).

This is not to say that Labour is seen as the best choice for Māori, but rather that there are few other options (Aimer, 2015a). The other main party, National, held a position in the 1990s that largely reflected an avoidance of referring to the Treaty and self-determination (Humpage, 2015), and so were seen to be less politically minded towards Māori.

The emergence of the Māori Party in 2005 challenged the traditional voter loyalty to Labour (Aimer, 2015b). When it entered parliament, it was the first independent Māori political party to do so (Godfery, 2015). Unsurprisingly, perhaps, the founder of the Māori Party came from Labour, as did a founder of an earlier party *Mana Motuhake*, which never made it into government (Godfery, 2015).

In 2008, National made movements to appeal to Māori voters, and signed a support agreement with the Māori Party, which lasted for the next three parliaments (James, 2015). However, this caused a decline in popularity with Māori; in 2014 Labour won back six of the seven Māori seats, and in 2017, all of them; before that, the Māori Party had secured between three and five seats each parliament (Bargh, 2015; New Zealand Gazette, 2017). Their decline in popularity eventually ended with the Māori Party not re-elected in the 2017 election.

Their loss of popularity is epitomised by the emergence of the Mana Party in 2011. Estab-

lished from an individual departing the Māori Party, he said he did so because the party was seen to have decided the commitment to their people was less important than their coalition with National (Godfery, 2015). The Māori Party was bound under its coalition agreement to vote for certain bills, even when they were not popular with Māori, presenting a public view of siding with the government (and iwi elites) over that of the (majority) Māori populace (Godfery, 2015). At the heart of it, Mana and the Māori Party had different views of what kaupapa Māori politics should be (Godfery, 2015).

2.5.3 Speech in parliament

Māori MPs elected in 1868 brought the ‘issue’ of speaking te reo Māori in parliament with them (Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2014c). Some used te reo Māori because they knew little English, while for others it was a preference or choice; one MP was said to have used it so his wife, listening on the radio, could receive messages (Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2014c). By the 1880s there were three interpreters, but in 1913 an MP spoke Māori without an interpreter present, to obstruct business; the Speaker ruled that Māori was not to be used when an interpreter was absent (Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2014c). In the 1930s, MPs were allowed to speak briefly in te reo so long as they followed with an immediate translation (Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2014c), and in 2010 simultaneous interpretation was introduced, allowing MPs to listen on receivers at their seats (New Zealand Parliament, n.d.).

The political structure of parliament is turn-taking, giving numerous individuals the opportunity to speak. However the number of MPs allowed to speak in debates is proportional: the more the party is represented, the more speaking rights they receive (Martin, 2015). This is important for parties, as parliamentary debates are a way to hold the government to account (Ilie, 2015). At each sitting, an hour is set aside for twelve questions in an attempt to scrutinise members, called Question Time (New Zealand Parliament, n.d.).

2.5.4 Parliamentary text: *Hansard* as a corpus

Named after Luke Hansard, the printer of the House of Commons Journal from 1774 until his death in 1828 (Ilie, 2006), Hansard is a formal documentation of all the utterances said within a parliament. Hansard texts are country-specific, and many are now available in an online format.

In New Zealand, official independent recording - that is, *Hansard* - began in 1867 (New Zealand Parliament, n.d.), and originally also came in te reo Māori (Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2014c).

Hansard provides a good example of a corpus. It is based on one speech genre, that of parliamentary discourse. Due to the number of years it has been recorded, is also considered a large corpus: corpora of less than 250,000 words are considered small, which raise questions on how valid the results may be (Chandra, 2017). Large corpora are potentially also problematic though in that they can de-contextualise their data (Chandra, 2017), and Rissanen (2018) describes a risk of the student not being acquainted intimately with their text (this is specifically relevant when dealing with non-fluent language, such as historical languages, where the more the original text is read, the better the scholars' semi-intuitive knowledge; Rissanen, 2018). However because Hansard is an official record for the government, a large amount of contextual information is embedded, such as the speaker, the date, and the topic, that allow a better understanding of what is occurring when each speech utterance is recorded.

2.6 The importance of parliamentary words within bicultural New Zealand: Research questions

This thesis will analyse two distinct concepts that are relatable to biculturalism: the name of the country, and the name of its people. There are three research questions, as outlined

below.

1. How is the country described by members of parliament?

Of the two main parties, Labour is more traditionally associated with Māori than National. Due to this (or because of this), it is hypothesised that Labour will be more bicultural and would therefore use *Aotearoa* more than National. Additionally, it would be expected that individuals of Māori ethnicity, who have had to assimilate to the majority and are on the forefront of biculturalism, will use *Aotearoa* more than other ethnicities.

2. How are *New Zealander(s)* and *Kiwi(s)* used in parliament?
3. What is the relationship between *New Zealand European*, *Pākehā*, and *Māori*?

Ethnic identity is complex, however because parliament is an institution that refers to all individuals in the country, with the majority of MPs New Zealand European, it could be expected that overarching terms such as *New Zealander* and *Kiwi* will be used more than bicultural alternatives such as *Māori*, *New Zealand European*, or *Pākehā*, and used more specifically within the year leading into an election. Additionally, because these latter terms refer to the two largest cultures within New Zealand, it would be expected that they will be used in relation to each other.

3 Methodology

This section will describe the corpus used in the research, before discussing in detail how the research questions will be answered, including the specific corpus methods. The chapter will finish by outlining some limitations that need to be kept in mind when analysing the results.

3.1 The New Zealand Parliamentary Language Corpus (NZPLC)

The NZPLC was created by Geoffrey Ford (Ford, 2018). The corpus contains information from the New Zealand *Hansard* reports, specifically from February 2002 to March 2016. The corpus was created to facilitate a corpus linguistic analysis of political language in New Zealand, as previously available versions of Hansard (www.parliament.nz/en/pb/hansard-debates/rhr/) is not formatted in a way to support this. The first date of the corpus was determined by the first entry uploaded online by New Zealand Parliament, and the final entry determined by Ford’s research. Ford (2018) wrote a software program to collect the data, collecting not only the speech instances but metadata such as the speaker, date, and political party. For further detail on the creation of the corpus, see Ford (2018, p. 290). Ford (2018) also developed a software tool that completed corpus linguistic analysis.

The corpus is large, with over 57 million (non-punctualised) words. It can be downloaded into a comma-separated values (CSV) file, which can then be uploaded into other software. The corpus has each speech utterance separated into a separate row, with metadata listed in columns. This metadata includes information such as the speaker’s name, gender, and party affiliation; the document date and current parliamentary term; the source id, document title, and the url direct to the original utterance as provided on the New Zealand Parliament website. The corpus can be searched via section, allowing analysis to be completed on not only the text spoken, but by speaker, date, and party.

Additionally, the metadata separates the speech from those individuals not attached to

a party, specifically the speech utterances from the Speaker(s) and Assistant Speaker(s) of House. These utterances are tagged as *Mr SPEAKER*, and are not coded for party affiliation, meaning it can not be accidentally included in comparative party analysis.

For the purpose of this research, Ford also added on an ethnic tag to speakers, regarding their ethnicity. Through statistical programme *R* an additional detail of Parliamentary Term breakdown was created to assist in answering the research questions. Each Parliamentary Term was separated into three years, based on the next election date. For example, the election for the 49th Parliament was on the 8th November 2008. The third year of the 48th Parliament was therefore considered to start a year back from this date - that is, the third year ran from the 8th November 2007 to the 7th November 2008. The second year was considered a year back from this, and the first year from the Parliament's election date to this date - for the 48th Parliament, the election was the 17th September 2005; this means the first year of the 48th Parliamentary Term is from the 17th September 2005 to the 7th November 2006.

3.2 Analysis

Analysis was completed in *R* (an environment allowing statistical computing and graphics) (R Development Core Team, 2008), primarily through statistical programme *quanteda*, “Quantitative Analysis of Textual Data” (Benoit, 2018). Version 1.3.0 was used for this analysis.

Using a statistical programme to explore corpus methods provides a degree of intimacy that may not be achieved through a pre-set programme. Having to manually explore which columns the code requires for data analysis provides a closer reading of the corpus than purely asking an interface for results. This allows a much better way to understand the data, as the researcher is fully involved in the process every step of the way; they are required not only understand of what is being asked, but knowledge of how the corpus can provide this

data.

Due to limitations within *quanteda*, some additional results were provided by Geoffrey Ford through the NZPLC software, on request.

Following a detailed explanation of how each corpus method works, this section will then describe how each research question will be analysed.

3.2.1 Frequency

Corpus linguistics is the analysis of lexical frequency. Raw frequency refers to the absolute frequency of the actual number of occurrences (Gablasova, Brezina, & McEnery, 2017). A normalised frequency is the raw frequency within context. A speaker who uses six tokens but only says 28 words uses the token at a higher frequency than someone else who uses it 13 times but says 200 words; while the raw frequency would show the latter individual as using the token at a higher frequency, normalised frequency put the token usage into a context, and would have the former individual as using it more.

Normalised frequencies are important for accurately comparing individual usage, however they can be applied in different ways. Some research normalises by using the overall counts of the corpus, such as normalising the token within 100,000 tokens (Ford, 2018). This allows a comparison of how a token is used between corpora, as overall counts of the individual corpora do not unduly influence the counts of the token. However this does not allow a good comparison at an individual level. The normalised frequencies used in this research were by speaker. The tokens in question were counted per speech utterance, and then normalised by the speech utterance count. For party comparisons, the normalised frequency for each token was grouped by party and then averaged. For comparisons across time, this was further grouped by the yearly Term breakdown.

3.2.2 Collocations

A collocation refers to words that co-occur together, more often than they would by chance (McKeown & Radev, 2000). They are different than an idiom, which has no meaning without the full phrase, and free word combinations, which are limited only by grammar. A free word combination can substitute out any synonym, but doing so with a collocation leads to an error. An example of these three distinctions can be found in Table 3.

Table 3: Distinction between a free word combination, collocation, and idiom

Free word combination	Collocation	Idiom
to buy a car	fast food	under the weather
she called her mum	heavy rain	break a leg

In the first example, *car* can be substituted out for a synonym such as *automobile*, and the phrase is still grammatical. However, substituting in the word *quick* or *speedy* for *fast* does not sound correct. Similarly, *heavy snow* sounds fine, while *heavy sun* sounds unnatural. Within a collocatation, the word that can be switched out is called the *collocator*, while the *base* holds a lot of the information needed for the collocation (McKeown & Radev, 2000). Different words can function as bases or collocators; the two examples above show such a difference: the adjective *fast* is the collocator and the noun *food* is the base, while the adjective *heavy* is the base and the noun *rain* is the collocator.

Because collocations refer to words that co-occur together, they can indicate fluency of a language, and are therefore usually constrained as language-specific, although there are programmes to tag bilingual collocations (McKeown & Radev, 2000).

While they can be difficult to define, they are easy, with corpus linguistics, to observe. It is possible to find general collocations - any that may exist within the corpus - and, perhaps

more relevantly for research, collocations for a specific word.

Collocation takes into account the distance between the co-occurring words. Association measures (AMs) are often used to examine the strength of association between word combinations, by not only counting the frequency of co-occurrences, but combining this with other mathematically expressed collocational properties (Gablasova et al., 2017). AMs are dependent on the system used to complete the collocation, although some systems can use more than one.

In this research, collocations produced from the NZPLC rely on Log Dice (Ford, 2018), while collocations from *quanteda* use “lambda” (Benoit, 2018; see Blaheta & Johnson, 2001, for detailed information on lambda). The main difference between these two methods is that *quanteda* is only able to return multi-word expressions; as of yet, there is no way to incorporate collocations for a specific token.

3.2.3 Concordances / keywords in context (KWIC)

Unlike collocates, which describe “a word from the company it keeps” (Firth, 1957, as cited in Baker, 2006), concordances provide more context than the other methods and could be considered the qualitative part of corpus linguistics. Concordances showcase the token in question in its surrounding sentence - that is, with a specified number of words either side. Statistical programmes typically begin with a minimum of five each side - 5L and 5R (five words to the left of the keyword and five words to the right) (Baker, 2006). Depending on the system, punctuation can end up being included as part of the word count.

3.2.4 Topic modelling

Topic modelling provides a way to compare the different topics that are occurring within the speech utterances that contain the word in question. This is useful to understand how words are being used, and how they can compare to other words. Automatic topic modelling Latent

Dirichlet Allocation can be completed in *quanteda* (Benoit, 2018). This is a probability model which consists of two matrices: one matrix has the chance of selecting a specific part (in this instance, a kupu) when sampling the topic or category, and the second matrix describes the possibility of a topic when sampling a specific document (Lettier, 2018).

3.2.5 Bicultural variants used in the analysis

As discussed in Section 2.3.2, the four variants often used to describe the country are *New Zealand*, *Aotearoa*, *Aotearoa New Zealand*, and *New Zealand Aotearoa*. All four of these variants will be analysed for their usage within the NZPLC.

Section 2.3.3 described seven different variables to describe a New Zealand ethnicity: three main ones, *New Zealand European*, *Pākehā*, and *Māori*; two overarching terms of *New Zealander* and *Kiwi*, and two additional lesser-known variants, of *tauiwi* and *tangata tiriti*. All seven of these variants will be described, although detailed analysis will focus on the five more well-known variants of *New Zealand European*, *Pākehā*, *Māori*, *New Zealander* and *Kiwi*.

Because the purpose of this research was to examine biculturalism in regards to the description of the majority populace, rather than that of the minority, *tangata whenua*, a lesser used variant of *Māori*, was not included in this analysis. This is relevant to note because while *tauiwi* and *Pākehā* are comparisons for *Māori*, *tangata tiriti* is more of a direct comparison to *tangata whenua*.

3.2.6 Analyses for the first research question

The first research question asks:

1. How is the country described by members of parliament?

To begin this analysis, frequency counts will be completed for *New Zealand*, *Aotearoa*, *Aotearoa New Zealand*, and *New Zealand Aotearoa*. These will then be graphed to com-

pare their usage across the parliamentary Term breakdowns (that is, each year within the corpus, rather than just between the parliamentary terms).

The two main parties, Labour and National, will then be compared, to determine whether Labour uses *Aotearoa* more than National. This will be followed by an analysis of how each ethnicity uses the term, to determine whether individuals who identify as Māori will use *Aotearoa* more than the other ethnicities.

3.2.7 Analyses for the second research question

The second research question is:

2. How are *New Zealander(s)* and *Kiwi(s)* used in parliament?

Like the previous section, this question will first look at the frequency of the seven variants used to describe people of New Zealand: *New Zealand European*, *Pākehā*, *Māori*, *New Zealander*, *Kiwi*, *tawiwi* and *tangata tiriti*. This will then be followed by analysis specifically for the two terms *New Zealander* and *Kiwi*. To determine how they are being used, a collocation and concordance will be completed. With the assumption that these two terms will be used more in the year leading into an election (that is, the third year of a parliamentary term), frequency counts will be specifically examined for this timeframe only.

3.2.8 Analyses for the third research question

The last research question is:

3. What is the relationship between *New Zealand European*, *Pākehā*, and *Māori*?

This will be answered by completing a concordance, collocation and topic modelling on the word *Pākehā*. *New Zealand European* will then be analysed through a concordance.

3.3 Limitations

While corpus methods are useful and make examining large data approachable, they are not without limitations.

The problem of studying language use within a corpus is that it only gets the instances that can be searched for. We can not tell how many times it is referred to implicitly, by reference - there is no way to do this without close reading, which in turn is a large task for a corpus with millions of words. Therefore it is important to be aware that the results found in this study are around the use of variation in explicit instances, rather than all instances, such as those implied.

Written text does not allow for subtle nuances of language, such as intonation, which provide metalinguistic data for listeners. Without reading the full speech to gather context, it is impossible to tell the additional meanings of a singular word, like whether it was said in jest or seriousness. With a corpus analysis, all instances of a word are equally weighted. This is also a positive, however, as it means the data will not in any way be tainted by the researcher or analyst determining certain words are more relevant.

However, context cannot be overlooked: words are nothing without their surrounding social connection. For this reason, this research will take both a quantitative and a qualitative approach, to better understand how parliament is using bicultural language.

There is one by-product of this analysis that is seriously problematic to finding conclusions. Unfortunately, to filter the specific variants out of the corpus, the data could only be filtered by finding instances before punctuation and when not followed by a capital letter. This would remove instances of names when as part of a bill, for example. However, there is no easy way within the filtering process to remove a word occurring *before* the token that begins with a capital letter. Therefore, there are still some instances within the captured tokens that will refer to names and institutions. This will have to be considered alongside any results.

4 Results and Discussion

This section is structured by first discussing the NZPLC (Ford, 2018), followed by answering the research questions in two sections: firstly, how the different names of the country are used, and secondly, how the citizens who live in the country are labelled.

Each section will begin with an overview of the tokens within the corpus, before discussing and answering the specific research questions.

4.1 Overview of the NZPLC

The NZPLC covers five Parliamentary Terms. For analysis, each Term has also been divided yearly to closer examine change over time. This breakdown is provided in Table 4. Labour led the government for nine years (the 46th, 47th and 48th Parliamentary Terms), before National took over for the following nine (49th, 50th, and 51st Parliamentary Terms). The NZPLC begins partway through Labour’s second term in power, the 47th Parliament, and ends partway through National’s third term, the 51st Parliament.

Table 4: NZPLC term breakdown

47th	48th	49th	50th	51st
Parliament	Parliament	Parliament	Parliament	Parliament
Labour-led	Labour-led	National-led	National-led	National-led
11/Feb/03 -	20/Sep/05 -	08/Nov/08 -	12/Nov/11 -	20/Sep/14 -
16/Sep/05	07/Nov/08	25/Nov/11	19/Sep/14	31/Mar/16

In order to examine change over time, each term is further broken down into three years: the first year, starting from the day of the election, the second year, which begins two years out from the next election date, and the third year, which begins one year out. Due to each

election date being set by the party in government (New Zealand Parliament, n.d.), each term begins and ends on a different date, if not a different month. This means the terms are not broken down into three years of exactly 365 days. Additionally, the very first and last terms are incomplete, as can be seen in Table 5. The symbols indicate who was in power (*L* for Labour, *N* for National), which term it was (their 1st, 2nd or 3rd term before they lost power), and the final number refers to which year within that term it was (a 1 indicates the year directly following an election, while 3 refers to the year directly leading into the next election).

Table 5: Specific year breakdown within each parliamentary term

47th Parliament	48th Parliament	49th Parliament	50th Parliament	51st Parliament
<i>L_2_1:</i> 11/02/03- 16/09/03	<i>L_3_1:</i> 17/09/05- 07/11/06	<i>N_1_1:</i> 09/11/08- 25/11/09	<i>N_2_1:</i> 26/11/11- 19/09/12	<i>N_3_1:</i> 20/09/14- 22/09/15
<i>L_2_2:</i> 17/09/03- 16/09/04	<i>L_3_2:</i> 08/11/06- 07/11/07	<i>N_1_2:</i> 26/11/09- 25/11/10	<i>N_2_2:</i> 20/09/12- 19/09/13	<i>N_3_2:</i> 23/09/15- 31/03/16
<i>L_3_2:</i> 17/09/04- 16/09/05	<i>L_3_3:</i> 08/11/07- 08/11/08	<i>N_1_3:</i> 26/11/10- 25/11/11	<i>N_2_3:</i> 20/09/13- 19/09/14	

Table 6 outlines the individuals elected to parliament per party within each parliamentary

term that exists in the corpus. As politicians elected in an election year may not actually fully see out their term, it causes some difficulty in knowing exactly who is in parliament at any one given time. The individuals elected into parliament at the start of a parliamentary term will undoubtedly be slightly different than the individuals who finish; Tariana Turia, for example, left Labour to form the Māori Party during the 47th Parliament (New Zealand Parliament, n.d.). Overall term party counts were not broken down into years, due to politicians changing at different times throughout the year and these not fitting into the pre-determined yearly Term breakdown. To avoid confusion on party numbers, Table 6 includes only the counts per party as confirmed from election night (New Zealand Parliament, n.d.). Hansard includes one other party not listed in the table - individuals who no longer belong to a party but are still within parliament are labelled as *Independent* (New Zealand Parliament, n.d.). This occurs when an individual leaves the party they were elected through, and either joins or creates a new one. *Independent* was not included as a party for analysis, due to it not being an actual party with a similar political background and because individuals are not labelled as *Independent* for long. Their speeches are still included, however, when examining individual and overall tokens.

Table 6: Politicians elected per parliamentary term, by party

	(Labour-led) 47th	(Labour-led) 48th	(National-led) 49th	(National-led) 50th	(National-led) 51st
Act	9	2	5	1	1
Green	8	6	9	14	14
Labour	52	50	43	34	32
Mana	0	0	0	1	0
Māori	0	4	5	3	2
National	27	48	58	59	60

	(Labour-led)	(Labour-led)	(National-led)	(National-led)	(National-led)
	47th	48th	49th	50th	51st
NZ First	13	7	0	8	11
Progressive	2	1	1	0	0
United	9	3	1	1	1
Future					
Total	120	121	122	121	121

The parties with the largest elected individuals are, as expected, Labour and National, with more members in parliament when they are in power. New Zealand First, Progressive, the Māori Party and Mana are missing representation in parliament across all five terms, while the Māori Party, United Future and Act have lowering representation across time in the corpus. To understand the size difference between the main parties and the minor parties, 71% of the corpus tokens come from the two main political parties, National and Labour (Ford, 2018).

Table 7 refers to the ethnic make-up of parliament in each term, while Table 8 refers to the parties’ ethnic make-up across the full corpus. Individual ethnicity (New Zealand Parliament, personal communication, May 2018) was combined into overarching categories for ease of analysis. For example, individuals identifying as Indian and Iranian were listed under *Asian*, and Samoan and Tokelaun under *Pasifika*. *Māori, other* refers to someone who described their ethnicity as being Māori and something else, for example, European, while those in *Pasifika, NZ* specified New Zealand as an ethnicity alongside their Pasifika heritage - for example, New Zealander of Samoan descent. All individuals who had not specified their ethnicity were assumed to be New Zealand European (NZ Euro)⁵. Ethnic diversity appears to be an increasing trend.

⁵Individual ethnicity was received after an email request to New Zealand Parliament. The spreadsheet received contained ethnicity on “all MP’s who have declared a non-Pakeha ethnicity who were active between 2002 and 2014.”

Table 7: Politicians elected per parliamentary term, by ethnicity

	(Labour-led)	(Labour-led)	(National-led)	(National-led)	(National-led)
	47th	48th	49th	50th	51st
Asian	2	2	6	5	5
Māori	18	21	19	21	27
Māori, other	1	1	0	0	0
NZ Euro	97	95	96	93	85
Pasifika	0	0	0	1	1
Pasifika, Māori	0	0	0	1	2
Pasifika, NZ	2	2	1	0	1

Table 8: Politician ethnicity per party across the full corpus

	Māori, other		NZ Euro		Pasifika, Māori		Pasifika, NZ
	Asian	Māori			Pasifika	Māori	
Act	0	1	0	17	0	0	0
Green	0	9	0	42	0	0	0
Labour	7	39	0	158	0	1	6
Mana	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Māori	0	14	0	0	0	0	0
National	12	26	2	210	0	2	0
NZ First	1	16	0	20	2	0	0
Progressive	0	0	0	4	0	0	0

	Māori, other		NZ Euro		Pasifika, Pasifika, NZ	
	Asian	Māori			Pasifika	Māori
United Future	0	0	0	15	0	0

Progressive and United Future have an ethnic make-up of only New Zealand Europeans, while the Māori Party and Mana (predictably) only include politicians who identify as Māori. Between the two main parties, Labour was more ethnically diverse during the corpus’ five terms.

4.2 How is the country described by members of parliament?

The four variants to describe the country are *New Zealand*, *Aotearoa*, *Aotearoa New Zealand*, and *New Zealand Aotearoa*. The breakdown of their frequency across the corpus can be seen in Table 9. The normalised frequency reflects the frequency of the word within the speech it was taken from, providing a comparable count between speakers, while raw frequency refers to the actual number of instances (see Section 3.2.1 for more information).

As discussed in Section 3.3, the filtering process is not perfect, and therefore there will be tokens included in the counts below that do not refer to the country, but rather as the names of institutions and government bills. This must be considered when analysing the results.

Table 9: Frequency across the corpus of four variables
used to describe the country

	Raw frequency	Normalised frequency
New Zealand	132519	733.1820548
Aotearoa	2567	7.6665135
Aotearoa New Zealand	683	2.0954222
New Zealand Aotearoa	19	0.0448473

New Zealand is clearly used more frequently than the other variants, with *New Zealand Aotearoa* barely used at all. A breakdown of how the variants are used across the parliamentary terms can be seen in Figure 1. The grey dotted line refers to a new parliamentary term following an election, with the black line indicating a change in government party leadership. The axis symbols indicate who was in power (*L* for Labour, *N* for National), which term it was (their 1st, 2nd or 3rd term before they lost power), and the final number refers to which year within that term it was (a 1 indicates the year directly following an election, while 3 refers to the year directly leading into the next election; see Table 5 for a full breakdown).

As indicated from the table, *New Zealand* is used the most; however in the final year of the second term of the Labour-led government (L_2_3; the 47th Parliament), *Aotearoa* spiked to being used at a higher normalised frequency than *New Zealand*. A second, smaller spike can be seen in the middle year of National’s third term in power. As this was the final year in the corpus, and subsequently is not a complete full year, it is possible that the use of this variant may be more frequent than portrayed here.

The first peak occurs at a turbulent time nationally, when the relationship between Māori and the Crown was strenuous. The controversial *Foreshore and Seabed Act 2004* was introduced earlier in the year, in April, regarding who owned the rights to the public foreshore and

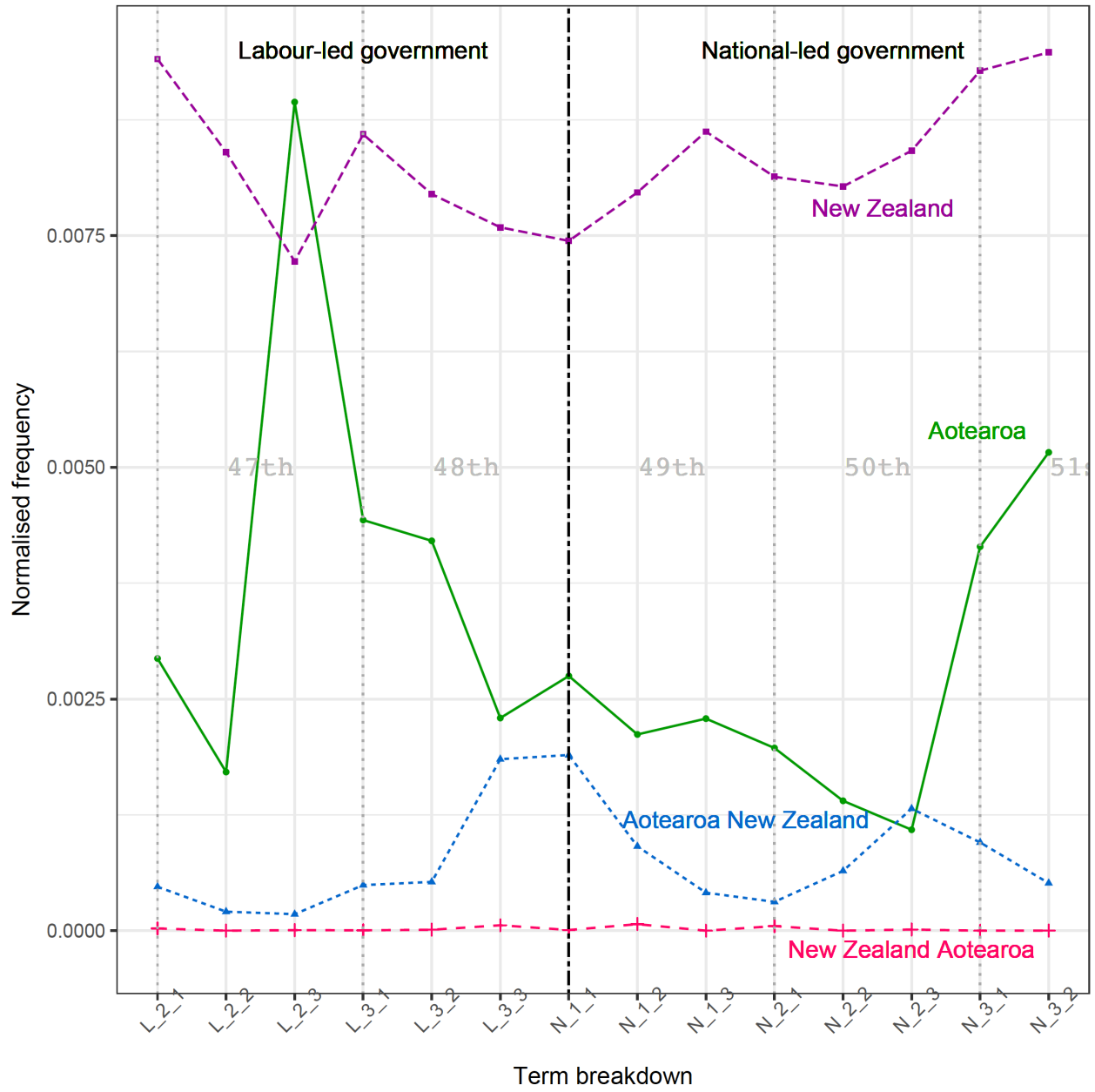


Figure 1: Frequency of how the country is described in the corpus

seabed (New Zealand Parliament, n.d.). This Act occurred following on from the *Ngāti Apa v Attorney-General (Ngāti Apa)* decision (Suzako, 2009).

In 1997, due to dissatisfaction with local marine farming management, eight iwi in the Marlborough Sounds applied to the Māori Land Court⁶ declaring the land to be customary Māori land (Waitangi Tribunal, 2004). As defined by the *Te Ture Whenua Māori Act 1993*, “land that is held by Māori in accordance with tikanga Māori shall have the status of Māori customary land” (Part 6 129(2)). Objections by interested parties claimed the foreshore and seabed, however, was already owned by the Crown. An eventual High Court ruling in 2002 found that the land below the water-mark was owned by the Crown (and therefore could not be Māori customary land), but that the Māori Land Court had the dominion to inquire about the area between the high- and low-water marks; however, a previous case claimed that if the adjoining land above the high-water mark was not Māori customary land, the area below it could not be either (Waitangi Tribunal, 2004). The High Court ruling was appealed by the iwi, and it went to the Court of Appeal. The outcome of the *Ngāti Apa v Attorney-General (Ngāti Apa)* (2003) was that the Māori Land Court did, in fact, have the jurisdiction to determine whether land of this type - foreshore and seabed - had the status of Māori customary land (Waitangi Tribunal, 2004).

In response to this, amongst widespread concern that public access could be restricted and it was unfair preferential treatment for Māori (New Zealand House of Representatives, 2004), the government released a document for public comment: *Protecting Public Access and Customary Rights: Government Proposals for Consultation* (New Zealand House of Representatives, 2004). In response to this, the Labour-led coalition government introduced the *Foreshore and Seabed Act*, which passed in November 2004.

The Act vested the Crown full legal and beneficial ownership of the foreshore and seabed (*Foreshore and Seabed Act*, Section 13(1)), removing the right of the Māori Land Court to

⁶Set up in the 19th century, the Māori Land Court / te Kooti Whenua Māori rules on matters regarding Māori land (Royal, 2005).

determine Māori customary claims. However not all parties within government supported the bill; Labour, New Zealand First and Progressive voted for it, while National, Act, the Greens, United Future and the Māori Party⁷ opposed (New Zealand House of Representatives, 2004). Even though the latter parties did not vote in favour, their view on the bill varied; United Future opposed because of a dispute over a phrase of “public domain” changing to “Crown ownership”, while National believed it offered too much for Māori (New Zealand House of Representatives, 2004). This is further exemplified by the so-called *iwi-kiwi* billboards the latter released in June 2005 as part of their election campaign, which suggested that under Labour all the nation’s beaches would be given to Māori (*iwi*), while under National, they would remain in the hands of New Zealanders (*kiwi*) (James, 2012).

With each party having a slightly different view and relationship towards Māori over this time, it would not be surprising if the spike was caused by a specific party. A breakdown of how each party uses the variables across the corpus can be seen in Figure 2.

In the figure, the *y* axis has a free scale, meaning each party plot is not directly comparable. However, it provides a better comparison within the one party. As was indicated in 4.1, some parties do not have data for all parliamentary terms; in this instance, New Zealand First, United Future, Act and Progressive have some years without any tokens.

Perhaps surprisingly, the majority of parties show a spike in their own use of *Aotearoa* for the third year of the 47th Parliament, for the dates 17th September 2004 - 16th September 2005 inclusive. Progressive is the only party that has not increased from the previous year, with National and New Zealand First peaking the following year, in the first year of the 48th Parliament (still led by a Labour government).

It would be worth noting here, however, that in total there are only 44 instances of the word *Aotearoa* across all parties for the third year of the 47th Parliament (L_2_3), and

⁷The Māori Party was formed on account of Tariana Turia leaving Labour due to their support for the bill; this caused a by-election, which she contested and won, therefore re-entering Parliament as a member of the Māori Party (New Zealand Parliament, n.d.).

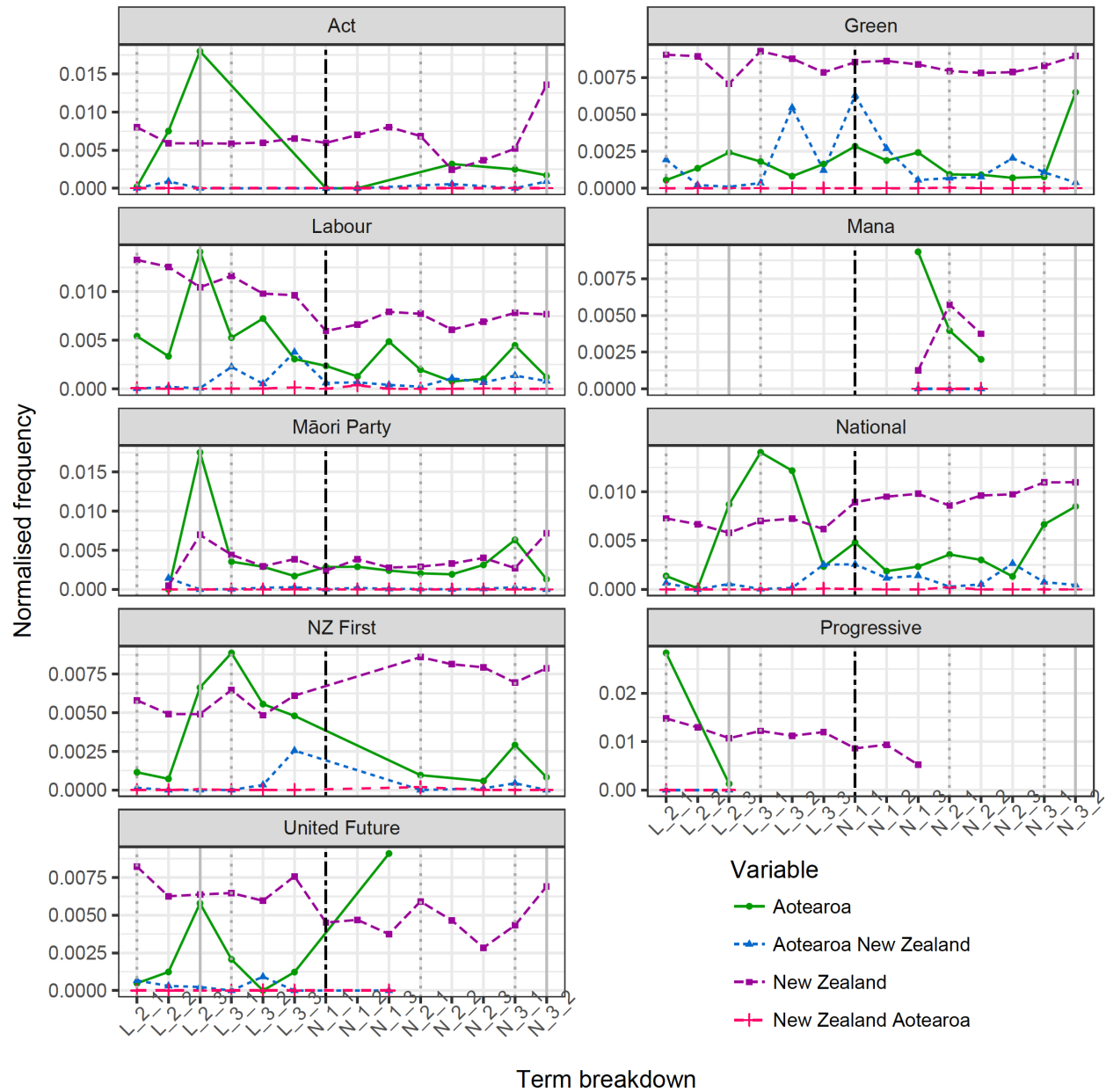


Figure 2: Frequency of how the country is described per term by party. The solid grey lines indicate where the spikes were when combining all parties

the majority of these are by Labour and the Greens; National, in fact, only has one instance. Unfortunately, the small number of tokens does not provide enough data to analyse comparatively, between parties.

The second, smaller spike, indicated by the solid grey line towards the right of the graph, is in the last year-and-a-half of the corpus, the beginning and middle of the 51st Parliamentary term, from the 20th September 2014 to the 31st March 2016 inclusive (N_3_2). Unlike the earlier spike, there are only two parties still with increased use: National and the Greens. The other main parties still using the term - Labour, the Māori Party and New Zealand First - increase in the first year of the term, and then decrease over the second. Labour uses *Aotearoa* 46 times in the first year of the 51st Parliament, and only seven during the next year, while in comparison National uses it 41 times and then 23, respectively.

A major event occurring over this time was the referendum of the New Zealand flag. The governing party, National, held a two-step referendum in November-December 2015 and March 2016 to decide whether to change the current New Zealand flag, which had been in use since the early 1900s (Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2016; Electoral Commission New Zealand, 2016). While this national discussion may provide an insight into why there is an increase in occurrence of *Aotearoa*, a closer look at the specific instances show that National, over the period of the 51st Parliamentary Term, actually use the word *Aotearoa* 44 times as part of institutional names, such as the *Environment Aotearoa 2015* report, Te Marautanga o Aotearoa, and Relationships Aotearoa. In comparison, Labour has 26, and the Greens nine (out of 36 tokens across both years). This shows that National, although appearing to use *Aotearoa* frequently, is not using it more than the other parties, as their instances are more often referring to something other than the country.

Figure 2 also provides insight into trends that appear to be occurring in parliament. *Aotearoa New Zealand* is a variant that appears most often used by the Greens, although it is used occasionally by other parties, particularly during the 48th Parliament (L_3_1-L_3_3). The

increase of the phrase is shown by most of the parties bar Act, Progressive and the Māori Party. Looking at the specific tokens, however, it appears this is mostly due to *Māori Business Aotearoa New Zealand*.

Also due to the filtering process, the possibility of the Green’s full name, the *Green Party of Aotearoa*, might affect their *Aotearoa* instances by increasing their counts. However, this does not appear to be the case, as there are only six instances of this from the Greens across the corpus.

In the next section, the two main parties will be more closely analysed. Due to the low frequency of *New Zealand Aotearoa*, it is removed from further analysis.

4.2.1 Comparing the two main parties

To analyse the research question of how parliament describes the country, the two main parties will be analysed. It is expected that Labour, thought to be more Māori-conscious than National, will use the variant *Aotearoa* more.

Within the NZPLC, Labour and National have consecutive terms each. Figure 3 shows how the two parties use the three main country variants over time.

Labour and National appear to follow the same trend, using *Aotearoa* at a similar normalised frequency, however for *New Zealand*, it appears this country description is used more when the party is in power. It is also fairly clear that Labour specifies the country less while in opposition.

If Labour uses *Aotearoa* more than National can be answered by Table 10. The normalised frequency counts in this table show that National, albeit only just, actually uses the variant more often than Labour.

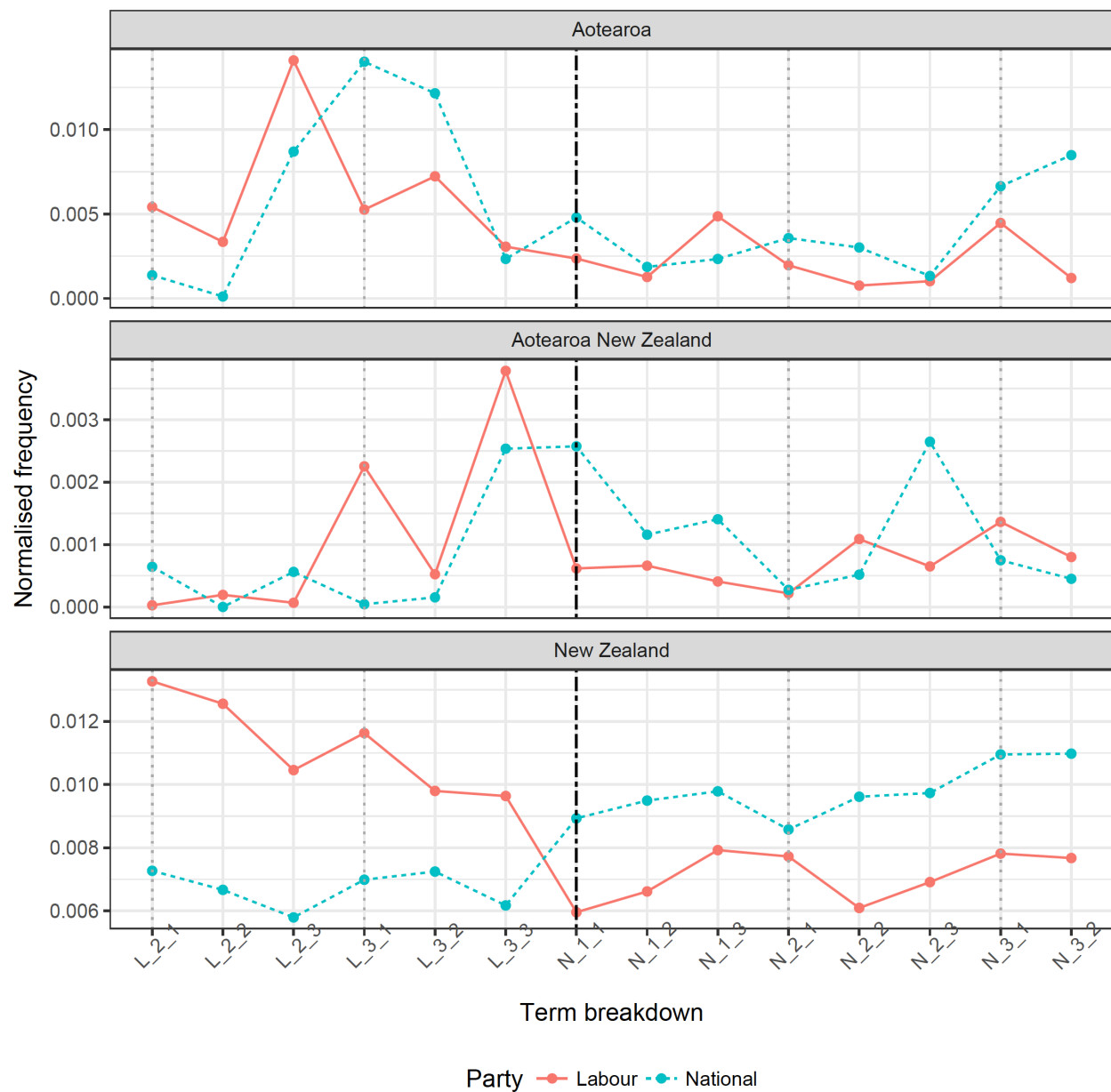


Figure 3: Comparison of how Labour and National describe the country

Table 10: Normalised frequencies of *Aotearoa* per Parliamentary Term

Parliamentary Terms	Labour	National
(Labour-led) 47th	0.00845	0.00454
(Labour-led) 48th	0.00513	0.00768
(National-led) 49th	0.00266	0.00252
(National-led) 50th	0.00102	0.00268
(National-led) 51st	0.00353	0.00482
Corpus mean	0.00416	0.00445

However due to the inconclusive nature of the search query and being unable to know whether the tokens refer specifically to the country or to something else, a collocation was run to see the top words associated with *Aotearoa* for each party. All instances of the word were included, and the results of the co-occurring words (span of five each side) are displayed in Table 11.

This is quite revealing on the nature of the *Aotearoa* instances for National and Labour. Italicised words - *o* and *te* - are structural words. *o* translates to *of*, and *te* is a singular determiner (for example, *Te Tiriti o Waitangi* - *The Treaty of Waitangi*). Of the other listed words, only four do not directly refer to the names of institutions. These words have been bolded. Below are some examples to illustrate the names of the institutions reflected in the collocations.

Table 11: Top collocations of the word *Aotearoa* for Labour and National

	Labour	National
1	toi	<i>o</i>
2	taunaha	wānanga
3	pou	ltd
4	<i>o</i>	toi
5	wānanga	fisheries
6	diabetes	taunaha
7	checked	pou
8	ngā	ltd.
9	tuatahi	ngā
10	whenua	directors
11	educanz	diabetes
12	tangata	<i>te</i>
13	council	mātauranga
14	ltd	puna
15	munition	kai
16	identity	breastscreen
17	fisheries	marautanga
18	tātou	checked
19	relationships	league
20	non-governmental	football

Toi Māori Aotearoa	<i>Maori Arts New Zealand</i>
Ngā Pou Taunaha o Aotearoa	<i>New Zealand Geographic Board</i>
Aotearoa College of Diabetes Nurses	
Aotearoa Tuatahi	<i>New Zealand First</i>
Aotearoa Fisheries Limited	
Get Checked Aotearoa	
Association of Non-Governmental Organisations of Aotearoa	

The four bolded words are all said by Labour. Notably, three of them are te reo Māori, while the fourth relates to character definition. However, the word *identity* is more often used in conjunction with *New Zealand* - it co-occurs with *Aotearoa New Zealand* (57%) *New Zealand Aotearoa* (14%) more often than just *Aotearoa* (28%). When discussing identity, it appears Labour would like to be as inclusive as possible, using both the Māori and English name for the country.

Of the three Māori kupu, *tangata* and *whenua* often occur together, as *tangata whenua* is another way to refer to the indigenous people (*tangata*) of the land (*whenua*). *Tātou* is a pronoun that means “all of us”. Māori have pronoun distinctions that determine whether the speaker and/or listener are included, and *tātou* refers to both the speaker and the listener. While all three are Māori words, *tātou* is the only word that occurs exclusively in a te reo context (that is, within a sentence in te reo). This is a nice example that highlights the importance of the discussion of whether Māori words within an English sentence are a part of the English lexicon or the te reo Māori one.

Examples of the four words in context are given below.

It recognises the importance of Māori culture in reinforcing the dynamic and unique **identity** of **Aotearoa**, both nationally and internationally.

Dave Hereora, May 22nd, 2007, NZPLC#212689

Kei te tē tonu te kaha o te reo mō **tātou** katoa mai i **Aotearoa** (*The language continues to be strong for all of us from New Zealand*)⁸

Hon Parekura Horomia, July 22nd, 2008, NZPLC#61048

Labour certainly supports building a strong **identity** for **Aotearoa** New Zealand.

Carol Beaumont, August 19th, 2009, NZPLC#278173

For me, that statutory acknowledgment is acknowledging the status that our iwi groups have as mana **whenua** of **Aotearoa**. *Louisa Wall, February 19th, 2014, NZPLC#420665*

For Māori people, only 28 percent own their own homes, which means 72 percent of **tangata whenua** in **Aotearoa** rent.

Jenny Salesa, September 9th, 2015, NZPLC#372563

Engari, e tū ake au ki te tautoko te mana **whenua**, te mana mō ngā iwi, kotahi **tātou** mō te **whenua** o **Aotearoa** (*Rather, I stand in support for the authority, the prestige for iwi, all of us one for the land of Aotearoa*)⁹ *Hon John Tamihere, October 14th, 2003, NZPLC#115379*

This more detailed analysis shows that Labour does use the word *Aotearoa* more than National when referring to the country.

The next section will discuss how the country is described by ethnicity.

4.2.2 Comparing ethnicities

Due to low numbers, ease of viewing, and the research question, the ethnic category of *Māori*, *other* was combined to also include the individuals within the *Pasifika*, *Māori* category.

⁸Translated in Hansard.

⁹Personal translation.

The former category only includes one politician, the Honorable Clem Simich, who was in parliament during the first two terms only; the latter includes two individuals, only in government in the last two terms. Table 13 shows the ethnic categories for this section.

Table 13: The number of individuals within each ethnic category

	(Labour-led) 47th	(Labour-led) 48th	(National-led) 49th	(National-led) 50th	(National-led) 51st
Asian	2	2	6	5	5
Māori	18	21	19	21	27
Māori, other	1	1	0	1	2
NZ Euro	97	95	96	93	85
Pasifika	0	0	0	1	1
Pasifika, NZ	2	2	1	0	1

Figure 4 describes the normalised frequency counts of how each ethnicity within the corpus describe the country.

4.2.3 *Aotearoa* and politicians who identify as Māori

These graphs are all scaled the same, meaning they are directly comparable. As can be seen fairly clearly, politicians who identify as Māori do not use *Aotearoa* more; in fact, *Aotearoa* is only used more in the first part of the corpus, under a Labour-led government, and only by individuals who identify as Asian or New Zealand European. However, like earlier, there are a low number of counts - for example, the spike of *Aotearoa* during the third year of the 47th Term (L_2_3) by politicians who identify as Asian is based on only one speaker.

This graph clearly shows that *Aotearoa* is actually spoken most often by politicians who

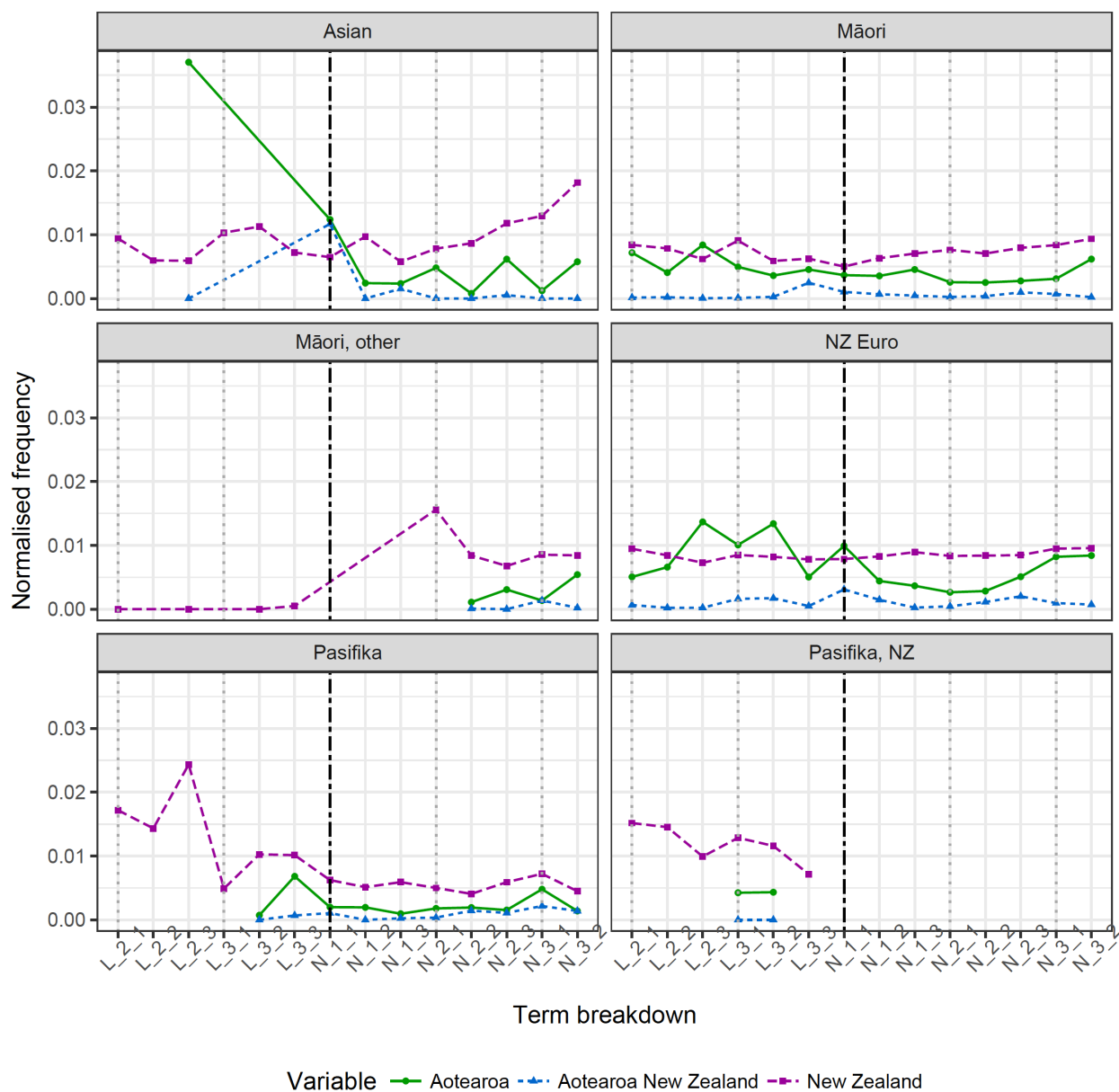


Figure 4: Frequency of how the country is described in the corpus by ethnicity

identify as New Zealand European (NZ Euro). As all the instances are normalised by speaker, the higher number of NZ Euro in parliament does not affect this result. It must be noted, as discussed above, that these counts of *Aotearoa* are not guaranteed to be only about the country; to try understand this, further analysis was completed. Based on the findings that National and Labour appear to use the majority of their *Aotearoa* usage in the name of institutions, it could be assumed that parties would (roughly) have the same level of usage for institution frequency across all speakers, due to speaking agendas being related to political parties, and individuals being a speaker of their party when in the House. Therefore one might expect all ethnicities within the same party to have around the same frequency for *Aotearoa*. To examine this, Table 4 below outlines the normalised frequency of each ethnicity per party, to see whether there was any ethnic variance.

The results are mixed. New Zealand Europeans use it more when in the parties of either the Greens, Labour, National (and the two parties with only New Zealand European representation, Progressive and United Future), but for the other parties, the highest ethnic identity for *Aotearoa* usage in Act is Asian, and Pasifika for NZ First. Mana and the Māori Party are not comparable due to the fact there are no New Zealand European individuals in their listings.

Table 14: Normalised frequency of *Aotearoa* per ethnic group, by party

	Asian	Māori	Māori, other	NZ Euro	Pasifika	Pasifika, NZ
Act	0.0370	0.00190	-	0.01236	-	-
Green	-	0.00158	-	0.00172	-	-
Labour	0.000113	0.00243	0.00532	0.00609	0.00101	0.00467
Mana	-	0.00523	-	-	-	-
Māori	-	0.00298	-	-	-	-
Party						
National	0.00119	0.00447	0.00149	0.00579	0.000440	-
NZ First	0.00122	0.00234	-	0.00711	0.00859	-
Progressive	-	-	-	0.01479	-	-
United	-	-	-	0.00225	-	-
Future						

Examining the results from the smaller parties in more detail, the four ethnicities in NZ First use a fairly consistent frequency use of *Aotearoa* to mean the country and *Aotearoa* as part of an institution name. Act and the Greens are similar, although notably for the former, 59% of their instances refer to *Te Wānanga o Aotearoa*. For the single-ethnic parties, Progressive and the United Future are similar to the others, using a mixture of institutions and instances to refer to the country. Of difference is the two parties with only Māori ethnic representation. The Mana Party has 30 instances of *Aotearoa*, and all of them refer to the country. A third

of them are also in te reo Māori sentences. The Māori Party have a significantly larger count, but importantly, the majority of their instances also refer to the country.

To understand this better, a collocation was run for the Māori Party, similar to the one for National and Labour. The results can be seen in Table 15. Compared with National and Labour, the differences are prominent. Italicised are sentence structure markers: *o* refers to *of*, *mō* to *for* (future possession), and *ki* as a directional particle, indicating a motion towards the object. The bolded term refers to the name of an institution. The second and third kupu are the same, first in Māori and then English; the remaining three refer to concepts specifically for the country, namely the people, the (other) name for the country, and a locational preposition.

Table 15: Top collocations of the word *Aotearoa* for the Māori Party

Māori Party	
1	<i>o</i>
2	nei
3	here
4	wānanga
5	throughout
6	<i>mō</i>
7	zealand
8	<i>in</i>
9	citizens
10	<i>ki</i>

The difference between the two Māori-populace parties and the others demonstrates that

there is an ethnic difference occurring within the corpus. However perhaps this difference is not specifically due to ethnicity, but rather the kaupapa of the party the ethnic individual belongs to. A very obvious example of this is the Aotearoa collocate *history*: for the Māori Party, it is the 17th most frequent collocate; for Labour, the 87th; and for National, it is not included at all. Perhaps these results signify that the parties align with an individual's usage - or, of a less positive directional influence, the individual matches their parties' usage. These results indicate that while *New Zealand* is the more popular variant to describe the country, *Aotearoa* is being used in some cases. However, it could also be worth considering that individuals in parliament who only use the variant *New Zealand* may use it at a frequency higher than those who employ more than one variant, thereby distorting the comparison of these individuals in their use of *Aotearoa* and *New Zealand*. Due to the ambiguity of many instances of *Aotearoa* implying the country or not, the next section will analyse only the Māori Party, to see whether individuals who use more than one country variable use *Aotearoa* more so than *New Zealand*.

4.2.4 Ethnic individual use

Figure 5 shows how individual speakers in the Māori Party alternate between *New Zealand* and a te reo alternative. The corpus was filtered to include only those speech instances where *Aotearoa* was used; this meant that any individual who said *New Zealand* had also said *Aotearoa* within the same speech utterance. The frequency of *Aotearoa* and *Aotearoa New Zealand* are the same as previously shown, and to provide an easy comparison, the overall normalised frequency of *New Zealand* is included as well, in the grey line. The new data is that of the purple *New Zealand* line, which incorporates only the normalised frequency of *New Zealand* by speakers who have also said a variant of *Aotearoa* within the same speech. For speakers in the Māori Party who use *New Zealand* alongside an *Aotearoa* variant, they use *Aotearoa* more frequently. As the Māori Party had a larger number of instances which

referred to the country, rather than institutions, this result is valid - for Māori individuals within the Māori Party, they will use *Aotearoa* to refer to the country more so than *New Zealand*.

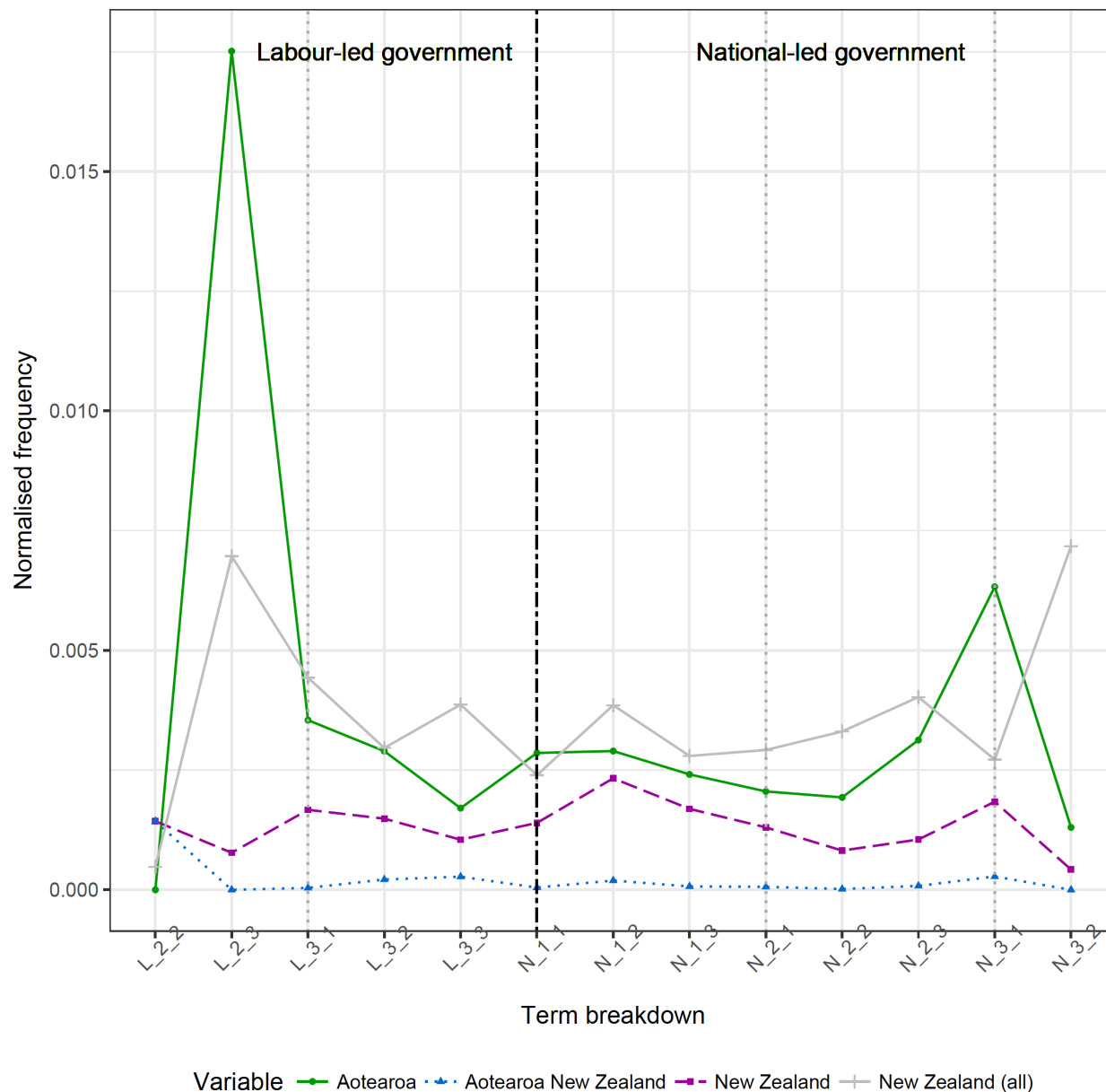


Figure 5: The Māori Party's usage of the country variables, including a comparison of *New Zealand* from only speakers who use both variables within one speech utterance

To see whether this translated across to the ethnicity, individuals who identified as Māori who used *New Zealand* alongside an *Aotearoa* variant were analysed to see whether they still

used *New Zealand* more frequently.

Table 16: Normalised frequency comparison of *New Zealand* versus *Aotearoa*, from only speakers who use both variables in the same speech utterance and identified as Māori

	Corpus normalised frequency
Aotearoa	0.00283
New Zealand	0.00233
<i>comparison New Zealand, all Māori speakers</i>	0.00734

Table 16 shows their normalised corpus frequency. Here we find that for these speakers, *Aotearoa* is said more often than *New Zealand* - although the difference is minimal. Additionally, because of the high frequency of *Aotearoa* to mean something other than the country, these results support the original finding that Māori ethnic individuals do not use *Aotearoa* more than the other ethnicities.

4.2.5 A country of two(?) names

The research question asked how politicians described the country. *New Zealand* was used the most frequently, by all parties and all ethnicities, and *Aotearoa* was used the most of the bicultural alternatives.

These results confirm that there are two main names for the country, as expected - *Aotearoa* and *New Zealand*. Within the corpus, the majority of *Aotearoa* instances appear to refer to the names of institutions rather than the country, which shows a different sort of bicultural use. While the country is not being referred to explicitly, being used for the name of the country within a formal institution name - especially if the rest of it is in English - increases

the use of the word, as can be seen in this corpus. While it is not the bicultural usage this thesis looked to examine, it is a bicultural usage nonetheless. The more that the word is used, the more that it is normalised, seen as a word that belongs to the country, and increases awareness of Māori culture. In this way, while these results did not support the concept of biculturalism within how MPs name the country, it describes an institutional initiative which is, in its own way, helping biculturalism.

Within the main parties, Labour does appear to be more culturally positive towards Māori when in comparison to National. Perhaps this result is not surprising, based on the history of voters and the well-known political ideologies of the parties. However this thesis analysed one very small part of what might be considered language biculturalism, and there is a far larger study that would need to be done to fully compare how the two main parties are biculturally aware within their speeches.

Ethnically, the Māori Party and Mana do appear to be using the word *Aotearoa* to refer to the country more often than an institutional name. Individuals in the Māori Party who use an *Aotearoa* alternative alongside *New Zealand* do use *Aotearoa* more often than *New Zealand*, however this result is lost once all instances of *New Zealand* are included. When completing the same analysis with all individuals who identify as Māori, regardless of party, *Aotearoa* is (just) used at a higher normalised frequency. However, due to the findings that individuals within Labour and National use *Aotearoa* at a high frequency to refer to institutions, rather than the name of the country, this result is unlikely to be correct.

4.3 How Parliament describes citizens

This section refers to how residents, citizens, or people who identify as belonging to New Zealand are labelled within Parliament. Unlike the country, these variables are not interchangeable and can reflect very different perceived ethnicities.

The first subsection describes how the seven variables discussed in Section 2.3.3 are used

across the corpus. This is then followed by discussing the second research question, of *How are New Zealander and Kiwi used in parliament?*, followed by the third, *What is the relationship between New Zealand European, Pākehā, and Māori?*

4.3.1 Seven variables used to describe citizens

As discussed in Section 2.3.3, there could be considered seven different variables to describe a New Zealand ethnicity: three main ones, *New Zealand European*, *Pākehā*, and *Māori*; two overarching terms of *New Zealander* and *Kiwi*, and two additional lesser-known variants, of *tauiwi* and *tangata tiriti*. The frequency counts of these seven variables can be found in Table 17. The normalised frequency reflects the frequency of the word within the speech it was taken from, providing a comparable count between speakers, while the raw frequency refers to the actual number of instances.

Table 17: Frequency of seven variables used to describe residents across the corpus

	Raw frequency	Normalised frequency
New Zealander(s)	49809	243.921832
Māori	43355	184.382635
Kiwi(s)	7920	38.486079
Pākehā	1895	6.518508
Tauiwi	86	0.002998456
Tangata tiriti	35	6.543062e-05
New Zealand European	12	7.302779e-05

As expected, *New Zealander(s)* are used the most frequently, followed by *Māori*. This is

not unexpected, with the assumption that *New Zealander(s)* is being used as an all-inclusive term. The four alternative bicultural names to describe the largest ethnic group are spoken the least, with *New Zealand European* used only twelve times across the whole corpus.

The top four variables were graphed to see how they were spoken over the span of the corpus (see Figure 6).

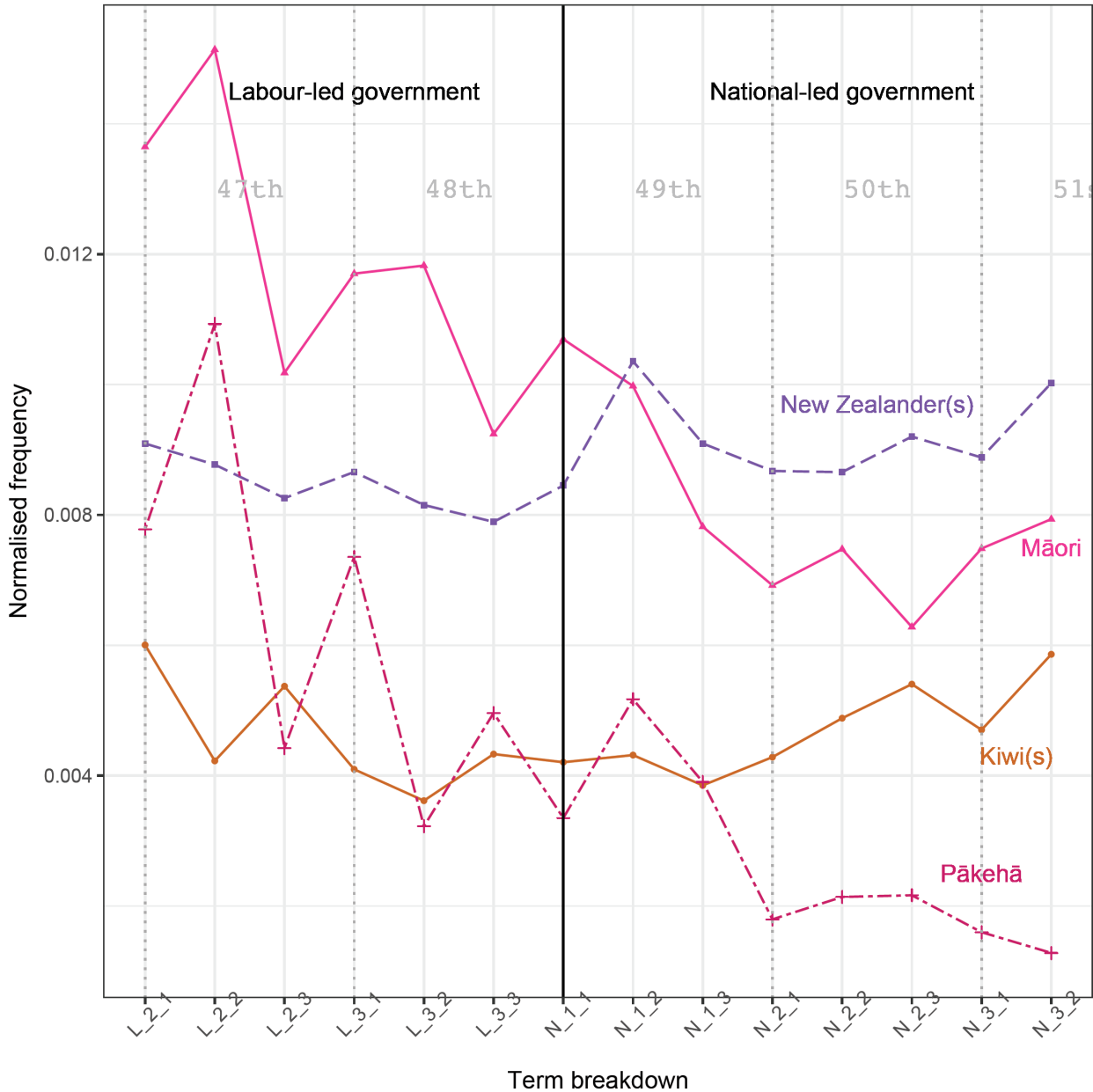


Figure 6: Frequency of how residents are described in the corpus

Even though *New Zealander(s)* are used more frequently than *Māori* across the corpus, under the Labour-led government and the first year of the National-led government, *Māori* was used more than *New Zealander(s)*. *Pākehā*, notably, follows a similar trend. In comparison, *New Zealander(s)* and *Kiwi(s)* are used at a fairly steady rate, although the former is used slightly more under the National-led government. The next section will take a closer look at these two variables.

4.3.2 How are *New Zealander(s)* and *Kiwi(s)* used in parliament?

As could be seen in Table 17, *New Zealander(s)* and *Kiwi(s)* are popular terms to describe individuals within the country. To see how they were being used within the corpus, a collocation was run for each word, for both their singular and plural form. The top ten results for each variable are shown in Table 18.

Table 18: Top ten collocations for *Kiwi*, *Kiwis*, *New Zealander* and *New Zealanders*

Kiwi	Kiwis	New Zealander	New Zealanders
dream	hard-working	every	new
dads	ordinary	average	all
mums	kiwis	single	ordinary
kiwi	thousands	new	many
families	everyday	proud	most
hard-working	struggling	ordinary	hard-working
average	dad	zealander	thousands
kids	mum	passport	young
ordinary	jobs	hard-working	who
battlers	leaving	each	for

Two words occur in each collocation, and these have been bolded. For *Kiwi(s)*, *hard-working* collocates higher than *ordinary*, while for *New Zealander(s)*, *ordinary* collocates higher than *hard-working*.

The use of *ordinary* presupposes an *unordinary*. Because these are seen being used as inclusive terms, the subconscious presupposition might be that those who do not identify with this ethnic term are unordinary. In this case, of course, the implication is that of Māori.

New Zealander(s) differs from *Kiwi(s)* mainly due to the inclusion of more quantifier collocates. Words such as *every*, *all*, *many*, and *thousands* refer to measurements of quantity, which indicate a group concept.

To see whether this word was indeed referring to a group concept, a collocation was completed with an ethnic qualifier. The word *Māori* was used as it was the second most frequent ethnic term. To complete the collocation, the word *Māori* was searched on either side of *New Zealander(s)*. Thirty-five results were returned.

The two most popular phrases within the sentences were:

- New Zealander(s), Māori or/and non-Māori
- New Zealander(s), Māori or/and Pākehā

The first ethnic qualifiers occurred 14 times, and the second eight.

The table below outlines the number of times a specific group quantifier occurs before *New Zealand* and these ethnic associations. *All* is used the most, and indeed in an inclusive way, by describing not only one ethnicity but two (Māori *and* non-Māori; Māori *and* Pākehā).

Table 19: Number of times a quantifier occurred before *New Zealander(s)* when followed by one of the following ethnic qualifiers

Quantifier	Māori or non-Māori	Māori and non-Māori	Māori or Pākehā	Māori and Pākehā
all		5		3
every	2			
most				1
some		1		
thousands of				1

If the term *New Zealander* is meant to be associated with inclusivity, then one could assume that this will be used most often in the year leading into the election. This hypothesis will be looked at in the next section.

4.3.3 The increase of *Kiwi* and *New Zealander* in the year leading into an election

Due to parties increasing their appeal to the public in order to gain votes in the year leading into the election, it is plausible that the use of these “inclusive” citizen terms may increase during this time.

Figure 7 shows the normalised frequency of *New Zealander(s)* and *Kiwi(s)* in each yearly Term breakdown across the corpus. The highlighted bars refer to the years in question, the third year of each parliamentary term.

As can be seen, the two tokens do not appear to increase in the third year; the only time there is an increase is for the final year of the 50th Parliament. Again, this may be related to the flag referendum, which was an election promise by National.

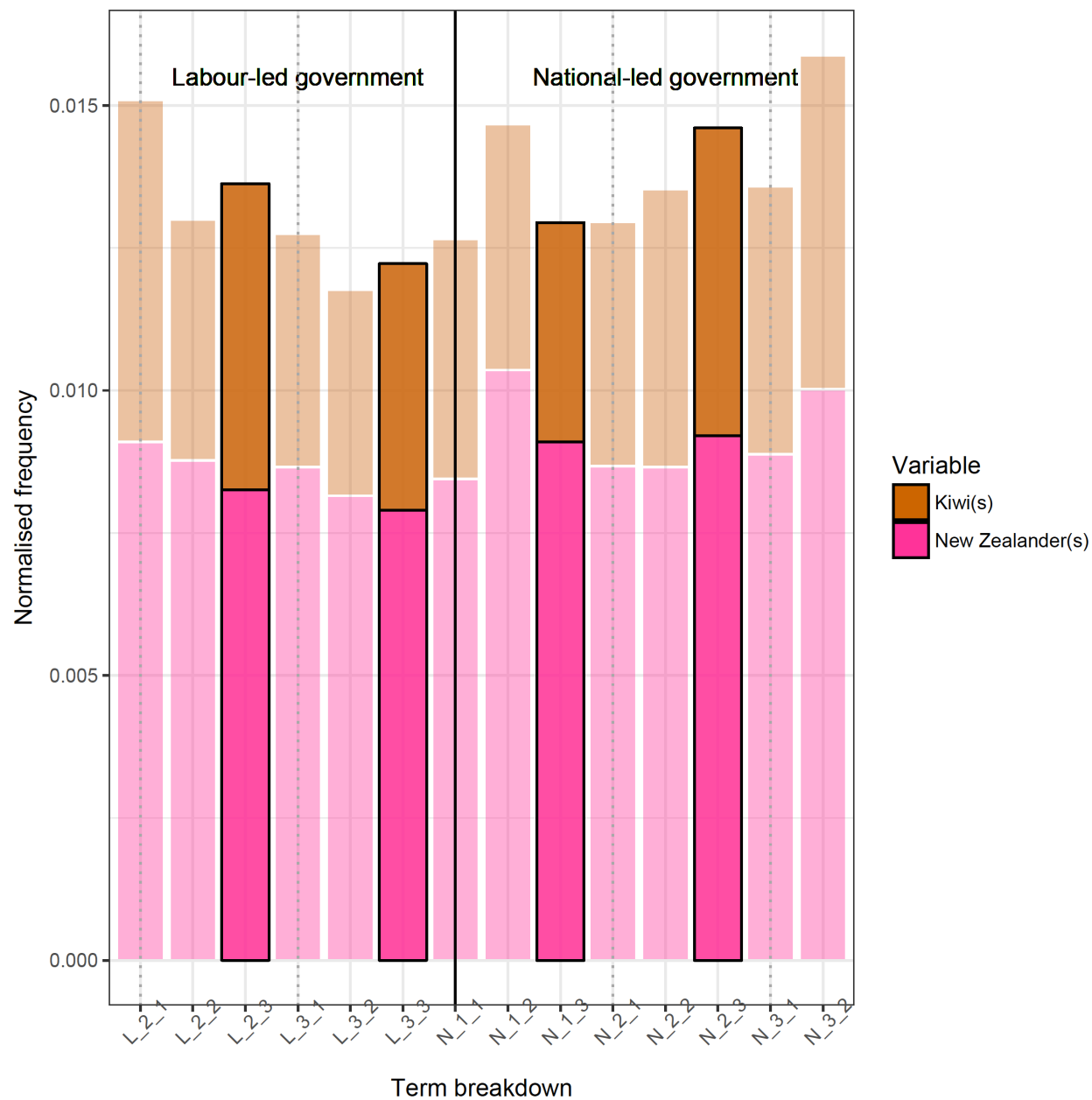


Figure 7: Normalised frequency of *New Zealander(s)* and *Kiwi(s)* per term

Table 20 shows whether, across corpus, the third year in general has a higher normalised frequency. Due to partial data, the first year (L_2_1) and last year (N_3_2) of the corpus were excluded.

Table 20: Combined normalised frequency of the variables per year within a term

	First year of a term	Second year of a term	Third year of a term
Kiwi(s)	0.0173	0.0170	0.0190
New Zealander(s)	0.0347	0.0360	0.0344
Total:	0.0520	0.0530	0.0534

The normalised frequencies are extremely similar across each year of a term. The third year of an election year does have a higher frequency of *New Zealander(s)* and *Kiwi(s)*, however only just; this appears mainly due to the higher frequency of *Kiwi(s)*, as *New Zealander(s)* is higher in the second year. In this sense, *Kiwi(s)* does appear to increase in the year leading up to the election, but together, the variables do not show an increase.

4.3.4 What is the relationship between *New Zealand European*, *Pākehā*, and *Māori*?

4.3.5 Pākehā in comparison to Māori

To see how Pākehā is used within the corpus, a concordance was completed with the word *Pākehā* as the keyword with ten words either side. All instances of *Pākehā* were included. An example of this can be seen in the image below. A random sample was selected and seven instances of the word *Pākehā* within the 60th - 65th speeches of the Pākehā subcorpus (that is, only speeches which included the word *Pākehā*) can be seen.

Speech number	Pre	Keyword	Post	Term Breakdown
60	their rangatiratanga, which is distinctly different from a private exclusive	<i>Pākehā</i>	model of title; and what is the Government doing to	L_2_1
60	parties, and provide information on the differences between private exclusive	<i>Pākehā</i>	title and Māori customary title to the New Zealand public,	L_2_1
61	community all be of one mind? Certainly people in the	<i>Pākehā</i>	- European community, and people in other communities in our society,	L_2_1
62	members demand that there be no disturbance whatever of any	<i>Pākehā</i>	property rights. During my parliamentary career since 1984 one thing	L_2_1
63	you're a Māori. We'll take Māori rights, but not my	<i>Pākehā</i>	mate's." This is where the debate is, fair and square.	L_2_1
64	a different set of rules and say: "No, no. If	<i>Pākehā</i>	have a win in the courts, we've got to legislate	L_2_1
65	their case in the court, so be it, but when	<i>Pākehā</i>	win in the court they want to bring in legislation	L_2_1

Figure 8: Random example of a concordance: the 60th - 65th speech within the *Pākehā* subcorpus

Table 21: Number of times the word *Māori* was found within ten words either side of *Pākehā*

	Total corpus count
<i>Pākehā</i>	1999
<i>Māori</i> within close proximity of <i>Pākehā</i>	1134

As can be seen in Table 21 above, the majority of these instances had the word *Māori* within the ten words on either side. This implies that *Pākehā* is used the majority of the time as a word associated - often in opposition - with Māori. A collocation on the word *Pākehā* demonstrates this also; Table 22 gives the top five collocations across the corpus.

Table 22: The top five collocations of the word *Pākehā* across the corpus

Rank	
1	reo
2	ao
3	Māori
4	alike
5	Pasifika

As can be seen, the word *Māori* is third from the top in rank. Within the top 35 words, there are nine that refer to ethnicities. These are shown below.

Table 23: Words relating to specific ethnicities within the top 35 collocations of *Pākehā*

Rank	
3	Māori
5	Pasifika
6	Asian
7	tauīwi
8	Pākehā
25	Indian
26	Zealander
27	Pacific
35	Europeans

To see whether *Pākehā* was being used specifically with *Māori* or with other ethnicities as well, an automatic topic modelling was completed to find four topic models, with the results in Table 24.

Table 24: Automatic topic modelling within a subset of the corpus on the word *Pākehā*

Topic 1	Topic 2	Topic 3	Topic 4
bill	te	Māori	Māori
Māori	ngā	people	will
will	o	new	govern
settlement	ki	Zealand	new
land	e	will	people
people	nei	us	zealand

These results all show a connection with *Māori*. One topic is based around *te reo* (the Māori language), and the other three topics all physically include the word *Māori*. The first topic also appears to be related to Māori affairs, with the words such as *land* and *settlement*. Importantly, no other ethnicities are mentioned, further confirming the prediction that *Pākehā* will be used most often in a context alongside *Māori*.

4.3.6 The variable of *New Zealand European*

Although the most common variables formally for ethnically describing citizens other than Māori (as seen through its usage in the census), there was a low number of *New Zealand European* tokens within the NZPLC, of only sixteen instances. Of these, all were use alongside other ethnicities. Table 25 outlines which ethnicities the variable *New Zealand European* was used with and as a comparison to. One speech, which included three instances, was excluded

due to quoting the ethnicities on an enrollment form for public health.

Table 25: Other ethnicities described alongside *New Zealand European*

	Alongside	Comparatively
Māori		8
Pasifika		3
Pākehā	2	
Palagi	2	
New Zealand Māori		2
New Zealand Pasifika		1
New Zealand Asian	1	

The results here support the apparent use of individuals rejecting the phrase of *New Zealand European* as an ethnic label. Within parliament, it was used primarily to describe an ethnic variety in regards to another. That is, it was used to formally identified the ethnic category as something that did exist within New Zealand - but not one speaker used *New Zealand European* as an identifier of their own ethnicity.

4.3.7 The names of the people

As expected from the discussion, *New Zealander* and *Kiwi* are a more frequent variant used by MPs to describe the people of New Zealand than current ethnic terms such *New Zealand European*, *Pākehā*, and *tawiwi*. The exception, of course, is that of *Māori*, which is used more frequently than that of *Kiwi*. This is not surprising, given that this is an actual ethnic term of the second-large ethnic group in New Zealand. Additionally, as described earlier, *Māori* has very few alternatives compared with other ethnicities. While *tangata whenua* and

indigenous peoples can be used to describe Māori, they are known primarily as Māori, which is not the case with any other ethnic group described in this study.

The results found in this section also support the concept that *New Zealander* is being used as an inclusive ethnic term. This is shown through its association with quantifier words such as “all” and “every”, and use like an ‘umbrella’ term, where other ethnicities ‘sit’ under *New Zealander*, seen through sentences that include phrases such as “New Zealanders, Māori and non-Māori”.

The low count of *New Zealand European* - the lowest of all the ethnic names - supports the rejection that individuals appear to have over the term, through their responses in the census and by the researcher’s own friend group (see Section 2.3.4). The results also support the assumption that Pākehā is the most known biculturally appropriate alternative for *New Zealand European*, being used more frequently than *tauiwi* and *tangata tiriti*. However these results also show that *Pākehā* has a very strong association with Māori. This is more than just *Māori* as a comparative ethnicity, but with the culture as seen through the words associated with the term found by collocation and topic modelling. This potentially indicates that the term *Pākehā* is ‘owned’ more by Māori than New Zealand Europeans. This finding supports previous research that Māori prefer the term over New Zealand Europeans (see: Liu, 2014), and provides additional understanding on why the term is not seen as a viable ethnic alternative by New Zealand Europeans.

4.4 The importance of parliamentary words within bicultural New Zealand

Biculturalism is important under the founding documentation of the country. Using Māori terms over English ones - or alongside English ones - increases the use of te reo and helps its normalisation in society. This process allows the language to thrive more than it is doing, potentially decreasing stigma and increasing awareness of te reo Māori tikanga, therefore

providing support for biculturalism. The purpose of this research was to examine how alternative bicultural national identity names were used in parliament.

The results found that while bicultural variants are being used in parliament, these are overwhelmed by either the English variant (such as *New Zealand* over *Aotearoa*) or an English concept that does not align with biculturalism (such as *New Zealander* instead of *Pākehā* or *New Zealand European*).

Language reflects a knowledge of a culture. Using words such as *Aotearoa* shows an acceptance of the tangata whenua and their claim to the land. It is not to say that the English variants, such as *New Zealand*, should be removed from usage, or viewed as less important than the Māori alternative; but how can the tangata whenua be seen as having an equal share in the land when the name to describe where they stand is assimilated by the majority culture? Until the reo kupu are interchangeable with the English variants, then it can not be considered bicultural.

4.4.1 An underlying assumption

The literature thus far has had been from an angle that biculturalism is culturally appropriate and parliament will therefore make an effort to portray elements of this through language. However it is an assumption to expect all the politicians who make up parliament to be pro-bicultural. Politicians represent groups of people, and these groups are a collection of many different individuals; it is unrealistic to expect no politician to represent a group of people who do not believe in the concept of biculturalism. These individuals are not exactly few and far between. While extreme views of anti-biculturalism may not be wide-spread, for example, individuals who believe the concept of *New Zealander* to be an appropriate ethnic term (regardless of ignorance), still portray an attitude against biculturalism. Therefore, the assumption that underpins this research of parliament *wanting* to be bicultural is something that needs to be discussed.

Indeed, there are MPs in parliament who are openly against biculturalism. MP Don Brash - who has been a leader of both the National Party and Act - fronts Hobson's Pledge, a lobbying group that refutes the partnership rights of the Treaty of Waitangi and whose "vision for New Zealand is a society in which all citizens have the same rights, irrespective of when we or our ancestors arrived" (Hobson's Pledge Trust, n.d., landing page). Specifically, the group believes separation is being caused by Māori receiving political privilege. This stance may be at the extreme end of thoughts on biculturalism, but it is important in that it shows that MPs do not all hold the same view of being "culturally appropriate" that has been discussed throughout this thesis.

What does this mean? On the one hand, it might mean that finding *any* elements of biculturalism within parliament is actually something noteworthy and should be celebrated. The findings from this thesis are not a negative reflection on society, but actually a positive step in increasing biculturalism. But on the other hand, it shows that the country is even further behind its journey in being bicultural - if individuals that make up the *governing body* of the country do not consider themselves as needing to represent biculturalism, then the future of biculturalism is questionable.

Again, these points are from the aspect that biculturalism is the 'correct' viewpoint to have regarding the country. But this is not a stance that will be shifted within this thesis. Being culturally aware means putting aside one's own contextual history to accept there is more than one viewpoint and more than one culture and concept of how to live. This is hard for many western individuals, who have grown up at the 'top' of that cultural ladder - as the people who have benefited from those ousted below. To accept another's history means accepting our position is privileged, which for many, is a hard thing to face. Not only because we lose our conceived status of receiving our position through hard work alone, but because we are faced with the knowledge that we were a part of a society that abused another on the basis of perceived cultural superiority. Biculturalism does not diminish one's existence but allows a second, hidden narrative to finally be spoken. For this reason, this thesis will

describe biculturalism as the appropriate outcome for the country, and one all individuals should all be aiming to achieve.

5 Limitations, future research, and conclusions

This chapter will discuss three key areas where there are limitations and clear pathways for future research: the bicultural terms used, the politicians who were used as subjects, and the methodology of corpus linguistics. This section will be concluded with an overview of the research project.

5.1 Biculturalism

This thesis looked at only two concepts: the country and the people. While these two areas are important in national identity, biculturalism in language is far more than just these. There are a number of words that have both a Māori and English name that may useful to analyse, such as familial terms. Additionally, MPs may use other terms to indicate biculturalism, such as politicians from Christchurch using the te reo name Ōtautahi every time they mention their geographical community. For them, this may have a far larger bicultural meaning, as they would say this word at a higher frequency than, say, the country. Further research into other bicultural terms could provide a better insight into what is occurring in parliament, and allow a comparison on how these then relate to national identifiers in bicultural importance.

This analysis also did not consider individuals of ‘mixed heritage’; that is, someone with both Māori and New Zealand European ancestry. These individuals do not fit into the current ethnically provided boxes, as they are they are all *Māori*, *non-Māori*, and *other* (Phillips, 2015). An analysis on how these individuals are discussed within parliament may showcase additional concepts of biculturalism. As New Zealand society is increasingly diversifying, this is an important concept to ongoing bicultural discussions.

Finally, as te reo is the aspect of language that is bicultural, analysing how te reo occurs within a Māori context when compared to a Pākehā context could be of value. How does

biculturalism occur within a purely te reo Māori sentence? These are areas that could be analysed in future research, in order to expand how biculturalism and language are understood.

5.2 Politicians

This thesis examined the speech of politicians within the House, which is not the only place politicians speak. While they are aware that what they are saying within the House is put on record and spoken to an audience, these processes are both partially removed from the immediate environment of the politician. Alternative locations may be considered more immediately relevant and promotional for biculturalism. Research into the speech of politicians within these other environments, such as televised political debates, media interviews, and promotional events, may provide a more rounded picture of how politicians are using bicultural language.

Importantly, the ethnic population of parliament is also increasing. It could be worth considering whether this is positively influencing the use of bicultural language. While a larger sample of bicultural words would need to be considered, this could be an avenue for further research. It would also examine whether politicians are influenced by each other, and if increasing diversity is one way to improve the bicultural landscape.

A third research area would be on the words of the Speaker of the House. These individuals were deliberately excluded from this research. However as this individual is central in government proceedings, a study on their language would be of relevance. It would be particularly interesting to see if a speaker elected as Speaker of the House maintained the same bicultural language frequency that they had as an individual in parliament *before* being elected. As the Speaker of the House is meant to be impartial, their usage of bicultural terms could be considered an important aspect of this, and would be an area for research.

Lastly, this research did not make any distinction between the different speaking domains of

the House. Politicians are often able to prepare and present scripted speeches, however this is not totally possible within Question Time, whereby supplementary questions (optional questions that follow after the main one, which is known beforehand) are not known by the receiver. This means some speech within parliament will be scripted, and some will be impromptu. This can be an important distinction, as speakers use slightly different speech patterns in each of these contexts. An example can be seen through research on Montenegrin pronouns within parliament. As subject pronouns are expressed in the verb, the addition of them in the sentence marks an emphasis (Vuković, 2012). Comparing speeches, which are written beforehand, and comments, which are a spontaneous reaction to a question, the researcher found that the more spontaneous speech had less inclusive pronouns - specifically, first person plural *we* (Vuković, 2012). Additionally, there was an increase of the second person plural pronoun *you*. In other words, the comments referenced themselves as part of a group less, and employed the use of the ‘other’ more. While this is potentially to be expected by the nature of comments being a response to a question, dialogic in nature, the increase of other pronouns such as first person singular and third person plural, *I* and *they* respectively, discounts this as the sole reason (Vuković, 2012). This shows that the structured and prepared speech used linguistic strategies different from unscripted speech, most likely due to an avoidance of repeating information. Speaker variation within scripted and unscripted speech may therefore be relevant for understanding bicultural variant usage.

5.3 Corpus linguistics

A major limitation of this study was the inability to be sure how the filtering of search terms, such as *Aotearoa*, only recalled instances that referred to the country. This was particularly relevant in the first section. In a small corpus, this would not have been a problem, as the utterances could have been manually checked. This is not possible in a corpus the size of the NZPLC, which is one drawback to using a large corpus. However, alternative

methods could be used to get around this problem. Baker (2006) suggests finding patterns by analysing a random set of concordances - say, 20 - and seeing what patterns occur, before selecting another random set. If there appears to be patterns occurring between the random sets, then it might be worth investigating to see if there is a pattern occurring across the corpus. While this specific activity is not needed in this study to find patterns, a number of random concordances could have been sampled to provide an estimate of how many times *New Zealand* and *Aotearoa* was used in reference to the country. This would have allowed a context for the results found. Additionally, the use of another corpus linguistic programme may have been able to remove this problem.

5.4 Conclusion

This research analysed how bicultural terms relating to the country and its people were used within New Zealand parliament over the period from 2002 - 2016, using the New Zealand Parliamentary Language Corpus (NZPLC). Biculturalism is a concept not fully supported under the misconception that it is preferential treatment for certain ethnicities, and an inaccurate reflection on the diverse state of New Zealand society. However some claim that until New Zealand is able to become bicultural, it is unable to be multicultural anyway (Stewart, 2018; Kia Māia, 2015). The area of biculturalism analysed in this thesis was that of language, particularly in regards to the names used for the country (*New Zealand* and *Aotearoa*) and the names for the citizens (such as *New Zealander*, *Kiwi*, *Māori*, and *Pākehā*).

While biculturalism was not found to be widely supported in government speech across the time covered by the corpus, it did provide some insights into how politicians are using language, such as *New Zealand* being the more popular lexical variant for describing the country, and *Pākehā* being used almost exclusively in relation to “Māori”. It also added to previous research with the inclusive, but un-bicultural terms, *New Zealander* and *Kiwi* in frequent use across the corpus, in lieu of other ethnic terms such as *Pākehā* and *New Zealand*

European.

Research into *Hansard* has not been widely undertaken within New Zealand (see: Ford, 2018). This research provides another element of analysis into what is happening within the New Zealand government in regards to language and how this may be important for New Zealand. Additionally, it provides another component in the literature on corpus linguistics and its benefits into analysing large corpora.

This research shows that while New Zealand Parliament is using aspects of bicultural language, it still has a long way to go before it could be considered bicultural when referencing national identities. This research provides an insight into where these improvements might be, in the hope that one day, Aotearoa New Zealand will be a place of two equal cultures.

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