The political representation of Māori people in Aotearoa New Zealand

A claims-making analysis studying the link between descriptive representation and substantive claims

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# Abstract

 Indigenous peoples are often underrepresented in the politics of liberal democracies. Therefore, it is crucial to understand whether the presence of indigenous peoples themselves enhance their representation substantively. This possible link between descriptive and substantive representation is widely discussed in the literature (Phillips, 2019; White, 2017; Summersby, 2009; Wängnerud, 2009; Ruedin, 2020; Curtin, 2008; Sawer, Tremblay and Trimble, 2006; Schwindt-Bayer and Mishler). However, the evidence revealing such a link remains inconclusive. On the one hand, Pitkin (1967) argues that the different forms of representation must be studied separately, while Phillips (2019) and Mansbridge (1999) argue that descriptive representation leads to substantial changes. Empirical research is mostly done in the field of gender and representation (Wängnerud, 2009; Ruedin, 2020; Sawer, Tremblay and Trimble, 2006; Schwindt-Bayer and Mishler, 2005; Curtin, 2008 and Mansbridge, 2005). These studies confirm at least a weak link between descriptive and substantive representation. Meanwhile, empirical studies regarding indigenous peoples are less unequivocal (Maddison, 2010; Morris, 2014; Lloyd, 2009; Summersby, 2009; Snagovsky et al, 2020; White, 2017). Thus, this thesis uses a claims-making analysis to study the link between the descriptive representation of Māori people and the substantive claims made on their behalf. Using Aotearoa New Zealand as a single case study, the results confirm the expectation that the presence of Māori people in the national Parliament of Aotearoa New Zealand enhance substantive claims made on their behalf.

Keywords: Māori, descriptive representation, substantive representation, substantive claims, symbolic representation, Aotearoa New Zealand

# Chapter 1: Introduction

“When it comes to views of indigenous rights and indigenous peoples, those views must be from those indigenous peoples for the indigenous rights of our people.” (Waititi, 2021)

The quotation above by Rawiri Waititi, the leader of the Māori Party, emphasized the importance of the political representation of Māori people[[1]](#footnote-1) during a parliamentary speech. According to Rawiri Waititi (2021), the House is in disrepute, because Māori people are constantly insulted. Therefore, for representatives like Rawiri Waititi, the only way to obtain full indigenous representation is by having indigenous politicians in parliament. Many scholars argue the same; representatives who are descriptively similar enhance the substantive representation of their constituents (Phillips, 2019; Young, 2002; Williams, 1998; White, 2017; Morris, 2014; Lloyd, 2009 and Summersby, 2009). This is precisely what this thesis seeks to uncover. This thesis explores whether indigenous peoples are indeed best represented by their own indigenous tribe as Rawiri Waititi proposes. To study this, literature from the field of political representation is used (Pitkin, 1965; Phillips, 2019; Mansbridge, 1999; Williams, 2018; Wängnerud, 2009).

Pitkin (1967), one of the most influential scholars in this field, divides political representation roughly up into two parts: ‘standing for’ and ‘acting for’. ‘Standing for’ is mostly referred to as descriptive representation. This means that citizens are represented by someone who is descriptively similar and/or shares the same experiences (Mansbridge, 1999). In the case of Māori people this would mean that they are best represented by someone of Māori descent. Pitkin (1967) sets out ‘standing for’ as opposite to ‘acting for’, also named substantive representation. Substantive representation is about the action representatives undertake for their constituents. It consists of the execution of representation for others (Pitkin, 1967). For Māori people, this would mean that it does not matter what descriptive characteristics the representatives have, as long as they act in the interests of Māori people. This leads to the following main research question: *Does descriptive representation lead to substantive representative claims of indigenous populations in liberal democracies?*

This chapter will provide an overview of the whole thesis. Starting by introducing the main puzzle of this thesis within the extensive field of literature, discussing the link between descriptive and substantive representation. After this introduction of the main literature, Aotearoa New Zealand[[2]](#footnote-2) as a case will be introduced, after which the used methodology will be briefly explained. This will be followed by scientific and societal relevance of the research question. This thesis will close by providing the reader with an overview of the remaining four chapters.

## 1.1 Theory of political representation

As mentioned above, the two main concepts in the theory of political representation are ‘descriptive’ and ‘substantive’ representation. In chapter 2 these two concepts are discussed in further detail. Pitkin (1967) formulates these concepts as separate. However, recent scholars criticize this rigid divide and argue for a broader view on political representation (Mackay, 2008; Severs, 2012; Saward, 2006, Schwindt-Bayer and Mishler, 2005). Meaning that the different concepts are overlapping rather than each presenting a different part of political representation. Therefore, this thesis will use Saward’s (2008) definition of political representation: ‘the representative claim’. This definition takes a broader view on political representation. It suggests that political representation regards more than solely the representation of interests and preferences of the people, as Rohrschneider and Thomassen (2020) propose. Saward (2008) moves beyond the institutional view by covering different elements of political representation in the “representative claim”. These elements consists of a maker, a subject, an object, a referent, and an audience. Although the claim-maker could be anyone (Saward, 2008), this thesis will focus on politicians in the national parliament, because this thesis studies whether representation is indeed claimed by specific politicians. Although politicians are not the only actors that matters, the parliamentary process reveals the core of political representation (Wängnerud, 2009).

The field of political representation consists of normative and empirical research. Normative research mainly argues that descriptive representation leads to substantial changes while the empirical findings are mixed. Many studies researching this link between descriptive and substantive representation are in the field of gender (Wängnerud, 2009; Ruedin, 2020; Sawer, Tremblay and Trimble, 2006; Schwindt-Bayer and Mishler, 2005; Curtin, 2008 and Mansbridge, 2005). These studies confirm at least a weak link between descriptive and substantive representation (Wängnerud, 2009; Ruedin, 2020; Sawer, Tremblay and Trimble, 2006; Schwindt-Bayer and Mishler, 2005; Curtin, 2008). However, as will be shown in chapter 2, the evidence regarding indigenous peoples is less unanimous (Maddison, 2010; Morris, 2014; Lloyd, 2009; Summersby, 2009; Snagovsky et al, 2020; White, 2017). White (2017) already studied the political representation of Māori people. Instead of a claims-making analysis White (2017) used a discourse analysis to study maiden speeches from Māori MPs. Saward (2006) proposed a claims-making analysis because it fits the dynamic and relational character of political representation. White (2017) found a link between the descriptive and substantive representation of Māori people, but White (2017) only researched twelve speeches without looking at differences between Māori and non-Māori MPs and differences between symbolic and substantive representation. Therefore, more research on the Māori representation in Aotearoa New Zealand is needed. This is what this thesis aims to contribute to the literature.

## 1.2 Aotearoa New Zealand

As will be shown in chapter 3, Aotearoa New Zealand is an appropriate case to study. The goal of this single case study is to identify a link between descriptive and substantive representation. Aotearoa New Zealand provides a fruitful case to analyse because of their electoral system; a Mixed Member Proportional (MMP) system.[[3]](#footnote-3) The Parliament consists of 120 seats. Via the MMP system each voter casts two votes; one for a party and one for an electorate. The party vote mainly determines how many seats a party gets in Parliament.3 The electorate vote determines which candidate is going to represent the area you live in.3 Aotearoa New Zealand’s electoral system has a special feature; the Māori electoral option.[[4]](#footnote-4) This option defines that all voters get the opportunity to register themselves on the general or the Māori roll. This roll determines on which candidates they can vote for the electorate vote; candidates registered as Māori or candidates registered as general New Zealander.4 Out of the 120 parliamentary seats, 7 seats are reserved for the Māori roll candidates. These seats ensure the descriptive representation of Māori people. This presence of Māori MPs makes it possible to study the difference between Māori MPs and non-Māori MPs.

Aotearoa New Zealand has only had an MMP system since 1996. The beginning of Aotearoa New Zealand as one state goes back to the beginning of the 19th century when the British colonized the land of Aotearoa New Zealand (Terruhn, 2019). In 1840 they created an agreement with the Māori population; the Treaty of Waitangi (Stokes, 1992). This is seen as the founding document of the state. The colonizers took away land and dishonoured the culture of Māori people. This resulted in a difficult coexistence of the two peoples (Bell, 2008). Chapter 4 will elaborate on the history of Aotearoa New Zealand and how it has affected the political representation of Māori people today. The next section will describe the methodology that will be used to study the research question.

## 1.3 Methodology

This thesis will use a claims-making analysis. Saward (2006) is one of the most influential scholars that proposes this method to study political representation. As was previously stated and will become clearer in chapter 2, not only Saward (2006), but many scholars argue for a broader view on political representation (Phillips, 2019; Mansbridge, 1999; Williams, 2018; Mackay, 2008; Severs, 2012 and Schwindt-Bayer and Mishler, 2005). The claims-making analysis aligns this broader view by using quantitative and qualitative methods. Meaning that a claims-making analysis is a mixed-method design. In this way more contextual aspects can be considered, while simultaneously can be measured whether and to what extent descriptive representation influences the substantive claims made in Parliament. The qualitative analysis consists of two parts. First, some general information about key events and actors that influenced the political representation of Māori people over the years will be gathered. Second, parliamentary speeches are gathered and claims made on behalf Māori people are coded. The speeches need to be interpreted as a part of the qualitative analysis. The coding afterwards is what makes the analysis quantitative. This quantitative data will be analysed by using the statistical program SPSS. The parliamentary speeches are dated between 23 July 2019 and 17 February 2021. They concern the previous and current government periods. Chapter 3 will go into further detail on the mixed-method design. The next section will explain the scientifical and societal relevance of this thesis.

## 1.4 Scientifical and societal relevance

This thesis contributes to the field of political representation by establishing a link between descriptive representation and substantive claims made on behalf of Māori people in Aotearoa New Zealand. Most studies regarding political representation are directed to gender (Wängnerud, 2009; Ruedin, 2020; Sawer, Tremblay and Trimble, 2006; Schwindt-Bayer and Mishler, 2005; Curtin, 2008 and Mansbridge, 2005). Thus, this thesis broadens this scope to include indigenous peoples of liberal democracies. This is much needed due to the Western bias in (political science) research. This bias arose due to a lack of presence of indigenous scholars and a lack of research on indigenous issues (Curtin and Sawer, 2016).

As mentioned above, Aotearoa New Zealand provides us with the unique condition of dedicated seats for Māori people. Therefore, the descriptive representation of Māori people in Aotearoa New Zealand is quite well established. Other countries, like Australia, see the way Aotearoa New Zealand handles the political representation of their indigenous peoples as an example (Lloyd, 2009). Dedicated seats could be essential in establishing an expression of a formal relationship between indigenous and non-indigenous peoples (Llloyd, 2009).

The preserving of the dedicated seats is discussed time after time (Taonui, 2017). After the switch from a majority to a mixed-member proportional (MMP) system in 1996, this discussion intensified because the number of minority representatives was expected to already increase with this MMP system (Xanthaki and O’Sullivan, 2009). Separate Māori seats would become unnecessary because with an MMP system Māori people would already get represented better (Xanthaki and O’Sullivan, 2009). However, to Māori people these seats were more than just proportional representation; it recognised the distinct position they had in the state of Aotearoa New Zealand. With the dedicated seats they could distance themselves from other minorities while emphasizing the special status they have due to being the original population (Xanthaki and O’Sullivan, 2009). The dedicated seats survived and became an institutional aspect of the MMP system. In the next section the conclusion of this chapter will be briefly formulated after which an overview of the structure of this thesis is given.

## 1.5 Thesis outline and conclusion

This thesis consists of five chapters. Chapter 2 contains the theoretical framework, which gives an overview of the literature used in this thesis. This chapter starts with explaining the concept of political representation after which the different forms of representation are elaborated further. Chapter 3 provides an explanation of the methods and methodology. This consists of a claims-making analysis. Chapter 4 is split up into two parts. First a contextual overview of Aotearoa New Zealand’s history is given, regarding the Māori representation. The second part consists of a statistical analysis of the claims made in Parliament on behalf of Māori people. Chapter 5 concludes this thesis by discussing the main results in relation to the literature of political representation after which a final conclusion is given.

Overall, the main goal of this thesis is to determine a link between descriptive representation and substantive claims made on behalf of indigenous populations in liberal democracies. This link will be established in the case of Māori people. As the results will show in chapter 4, the claims-making analysis will reveal that MPs from Māori descent are more likely to make claims on behalf of Māori people than other MPs. When the Māori MPs are chosen via the Māori roll, they are even more likely to make claims on behalf of Māori people. This confirms the studies of Phillips (2019), Young (2002), Williams (1998), White (2017), Morris (2014), Lloyd (2009) and Summersby (2009). Chapter 5 will provide limitations, future avenues of research and the conclusion for the thesis.

# Chapter 2: Theoretical Framework

 In the following chapter, I will discuss the literature regarding political representation to answer the following research question: *Does descriptive representation lead to substantive representative claims of indigenous populations in liberal democracies?*  More specifically, this literature review evaluates the different types of representation formulated by Pitkin (1967). Pitkin (1967) is one of the most influential scholars to political representation who started the ongoing discussion with her comprehensive work “*The Concept of Representation”* about the different forms of representation (Kurebwa, 2015). Recent scholars, like Saward (2006), Schwindt-Bayer and Mishler (2005), suggest that the different forms of political representation Pitkin (1965) originally formulated must not be seen as separate concepts, but are interconnected.

The chapter is organized in the following way. First, the concept of political representation will be defined. Then, the different forms of representation will be discussed. The chapter concludes with an overview of the empirical studies, mainly done in Aotearoa New Zealand, about the link between descriptive and substantive representation.

## 2.1 Political representation

 Political representation is commonly defined as “the representation of a constituency by an elected member of a legislature” (Saward, 2008, p.94). Rohrschneider and Thomassen (2020) clearly explain how political representation is at work in liberal democracies. They define political representation as the process of “how well the interests and preferences of mass publics become represented by the institutions of liberal democracies” (Rohrschneider and Thomassen, p.1). Meaning that when people are sufficiently politically represented, their voices are heard in Parliament. Phillips (2019) and Ruedin (2020) reveal that this is not always the case for marginalized groups.

This definition of political representation is limited to liberal democratic institutions. According to Saward, (2008) scholars like Young (2002), Phillips (1995) and Mansbridge (2003), rely on such a definition. While Saward (2008) does not deny the importance of representation via democratic institutions, Saward argues that there is much more that matters to political representation. Saward (2008, p.298) moves beyond this institutional view by offering ‘the representative claim’ – “seeing representation in terms of claims to be representative by a variety of political actors, rather than (as is normally the case) seeing it as an achieved, or potentially achievable, state of affairs as a result of election”. This means that being a political actor is not limited to the profession of being a politician. In principle, everybody can claim to represent the interests of someone or something. The mechanism through which political representation occurs is more broadly applicable than the democratic institutions that Rohrschneider and Thomassen (2020) propose. Saward (2008, p.203) suggests the following mechanism of the representative claim: “A maker of representations (M) puts forward a subject (S) which stands for an object (O) which is related to a referent (R) and is offered to an audience (A)”. Representative claims only work if there is an audience who acknowledges them. This reveals the dynamic nature of political representation. This thesis uses the definition of Saward (2008) applied in the parliamentary process. Saward’s (2008) definition will be used as it takes a broad view on representation whereby different aspects are taken into account. The focus is on the parliamentary arena since this reveals the core of political representation (Wängnerud, 2009). This results in a study to the claims politicians make in Parliament.

 Rohrschneider and Thomassen (2020) state that political representation only works well if there is variation in the offered policies by political parties. Without sufficient variation, the congruence between the electorate and the party system will decline (Brandenburg and Johns, 2014). If this choice between policies does not offer all issues or directions of the population, people will be excluded from political representation. If, for example, people of colour do not see their interest represented in policies made by the political parties, their preferences are not represented in politics. They could start their own political party to get their preferences represented. However, often there are practical constraints that make this difficult, or even impossible, for the average citizen. For example, money for campaigning or a threshold value to enter parliament. If marginalised minorities face more difficulties entering parliament, representation might be biased. The bias could be a consequence of certain people being more likely to be elected. Such as, people of majoritarian groups or those who already belong to political parties. But does a biased parliament lead to biased outcomes? Or, put more clearly; if one group, for example people of colour, are underrepresented in terms of visual characteristics, in this case skin colour, does this result in a lesser or absence of representation of the preferences of people of colour in policies? Or, can a person from a majoritarian group represent just as well the preferences or interests of people of colour? This example illustrates the importance of the different interpretations of the concept of 'representation'. In the first case it is about representation where one could claim to represent a group, in this example people of colour, by virtue of being descriptively similar (Saward, 2008). While in the second case it is about the substance of the representation itself. Pitkin (1967) distinguishes those two forms of political representation; representation in the sense of ‘standing for’ and ‘acting for’. As previously explained in chapter 1, the first is mostly referred to as descriptive representation whereas the second is often referred to as substantive representation’ (Pitkin 1967). In the next sections, the different forms of representation will be further explained.

## 2.2 Descriptive representation

The concept of descriptive representation is widely used. But there are different ways of describing the same phenomenon. Besides the ‘standing for’ naming of Pitkin (1967), ‘politics of presence’ and ‘politics of ideas’ (Phillips, 1995), ‘self-representation’ (Williams, 1998) and ‘politics of difference’ (Young, 1990, 2002) are commonly used concepts. To avoid confusion the concept ‘descriptive representation’ will be used in this thesis. Descriptive representation means that a representative is similar in appearance to his or her constituency. However, it goes beyond only visible characteristics such as skin colour or gender. Shared experiences are just as much part of it (Mansbridge, 1999). For example, in Aotearoa New Zealand, a Māori representative could claim to represent Māori people by simply being a Māori.

Authors such as Oleh Protsyk (2010), claim that everyone must be represented in parliament. Protsyk (2010) wrote a rapport on behalf of the IPU (Inter-Parliamentary Union) and UNDP (United Nations Development Programme) where he emphasizes the importance of parliamentary representation of minorities and indigenous peoples. Protsyk (2010) claims that this improves not only the political participation of those groups, but benefits societies as a whole by, among other things, strengthening democracy and preventing conflict. Other authors like Phillips (2019) reveal that theorists who write about descriptive representation do so in reaction to the homogeneity of those in positions of power. The basic ground of descriptive representation theorists is that everybody needs to be represented in politics. Although, at least a minimal form of descriptive representation is quite well accepted in liberal democracies today (Childs and Cowley, 2011), arguments against descriptive representation are far from gone (Phillips, 2019).

Pitkin (1967) herself brings in a crucial argument that questions the utility of descriptive representation. Where theorists in favour of descriptive representation argue that it increases the legitimacy of policy since a diverse group of decision makers mirrors the electorate (Snagovsky et al., 2020), Pitkin argues that it is exactly this that is not obviously connected to descriptive representation. Indeed, representatives can look like their electorate or share the same experiences as them, but this does not automatically lead to policy that reflects those characteristics. As Pitkin (1967, p.61) puts it: “Representing is not acting with authority, or acting before being held to account, or any kind of acting at all.” According to Pitkin (1967) descriptive representation is purely about resemblance, but not about acting. It is about ‘standing for’ and not ‘acting for’ (Pitkin, 1967). However, I argue that descriptive representation is important as it is also representation.

In Pitkin’s (1967) argument, descriptive representation seems to be a static act of simply being. Others argue; this demonstrates a false and quite negative image of descriptive representation (Phillips, 2019; Mansbridge, 1999; Williams, 2018; Snagovsky et al., 2020). Phillips (2019) explains that experiences determine the way in which political issues are understood. Thus, descriptive representation consists not simply of being there, but also of understanding what problems descriptively similar people face. Now that I have explained descriptive representation, I will continue to present another type of representation; substantive representation, or, as Pitkin (1967) puts it; ‘acting for’.

## 2.3 Substantive representation

 According to Pitkin (1967) representation as ‘standing for’ misses an essential part of political representation, namely ‘acting for’. This is about the execution of representation for others. About the nature of the actions a representative takes; consisting of the substance or content during the acting itself (Pitkin, 1967). Pitkin (1967) argues that this is known as ‘substantive representation’. Only this view of representation can cover the obligations of representatives, because only this view reveals the action taken by representatives. Just being present, is not the pith of the matter in substantive representation. It is about the *actions* you execute as representative, and one can only be properly judged on that ground (Pitkin, 1967). It is about representing interests rather than representing symbolically.

 Although the definition of Pitkin’s (1967) notion of substantive representation is widely used, a lot of critique has come to the rigid divide of the different concepts. Recent scholars argue for a broader view on political representation (Mackay, 2008; Severs, 2012; Saward, 2006, Schwindt-Bayer and Mishler, 2005). The claims that political representatives make are context dependent. According to Saward (2012, p.297) the theory of political representation requires “a shift in frame of reference”. The different concepts cannot be seen separately due to their dynamic relationship. Therefore, Mackay (2008) pleads for a thick conceptualization of substantive representation. A good study of political representation should not be limited to a fixed substance beforehand, but should take the contested nature of substantive representation into account. Saward (2006), Severs (2012) and Schwindt-Bayer and Mishler (2005) also emphasize the relational aspects of political representation. Therefore, the study of substantive representation requires an open-ended approach. This open-ended approach should take the interpretation of the parliamentary context into account. Besides, the study should not solely focus on descriptive and substantive representation, but should also look at symbolic forms of representation. The following section will start with an explanation of symbolic representation based on Pitkin (1967) continued by placing it into the wider debate of political representation shortly demonstrated in this paragraph.

## 2.4 Symbolic representation

 In addition to descriptive and substantive representation, Pitkin (1967) offers symbolic representation as other form of political representation. According to various authors, the different forms of representation that Pitkin (1967) sets apart are much more interconnected than often assumed (Mackay, 2008; Severs, 2012; Saward, 2006, Schwindt-Bayer and Mishler, 2005). Pitkin (1967) explains the notion of symbolic representation with the example of a flag standing symbol for a nation. Under the right circumstances politicians can, just like the flag, stand for a nation. Like descriptive representation, Pitkin (1967) sees this kind of representation as ‘standing for’, not as ‘acting for’. Saward (2006) criticizes this interpretation of Pitkin for the same reason Phillips (2019) does on the notion of descriptive representation. Namely, the assumption of ‘standing for’ as a seemingly non-active state of being. The word ‘symbolic’ unfairly feigns a passive state of representation. However, it appears to be a lot more substantively connected. As Kurebwa (2015) and Schwindt-Bayer and Mishler (2005) state, the different forms of political representation formulated by Pitkin (1967) cannot be handled separately because there is a strong causal connection. Most empirical research treats the concepts as separate. Therefore, this creates an incomplete picture of political representation (Schwindt-Bayer and Mishler, 2005).

 Since the work of Saward (2006), symbolic representation is seen as more than “standing for”. Saward (2006) calls for a shift of reference. Therefore, we should no longer decompose different forms of representation, but we must explore what is going on in representation in a broader sense. To do so, Saward (2006) offers the mechanism of ‘the representative claim’. Representation arises in the making of claims. Saward (2006, p. 301) states “More specifically, political figures (or political parties or other groups, for example) make representations of their constituencies, their countries, themselves. Crucially, these representations are an unavoidable part of a ‘substantive acting for’, and any theory of political representation must take them on board.”

 Saward (2006) is not the only one who argues for the incorporation of symbolic representation into substantive representation. Mackay (2008) sets out a framework to study the quality of substantive representation for women. This consists of two components: recognition and redistribution. Where Pitkin’s (1967) notion of substantive representation focuses on the second, the first is also crucial to look out for. Recognition is linked to the symbolic part of substantive representation (Mackay, 2008). It is about the degree to which politicians or democratic institutions recognise the, in this case, indigenous peoples of a country. In addition to the redistributive part, where the emphasis is on the economic and social rights, this creates a thick conception of substantive representation (Mackay, 2008). Severs (2012) elaborates further on the representative claim from Saward (2006). To make the claim substantive, it is essential that it covers more than simply claiming to represent someone; a reference to an activity must be made.

The question remains whether such claims are more often made by descriptively similar politicians. Phillips (1995) suggests that such a link is present in the case of women in her book “*The Politics of Presence”.* Just like Mansbridge (1999), the argument is based on the differences between men and women. Mansbridge (1999) states that women should be better able to represent women as a result of experiencing similar issues, such as raising children, sexual harassment and divisions of (un)paid labour. If we would carry over this argument to indigenous peoples, this would mean that indigenous people are best represented by people of their own group because they have the same experiences and understand the issues they face. This link between descriptive and substantive representation will be further explained in the next section.

## 2.5 Bringing the two together

 Pitkin (1967) makes a clear distinction between descriptive and substantive representation. The only thing that they have in common are that they are both about political representation, but the interpretation they provide is totally different (Pitkin 1967). If we follow Pitkin's (1967) line of thinking, the core of political representation consists of substantive representation. The question that comes to mind is: “Does descriptive representation enhance substantive representation?” Phillips (2019) thinks so, and points out an important critique in framing the two, ‘standing for’ and ‘acting for’, as exclusive concepts. This is misleading because representatives are never just standing there and doing nothing, they are always doing something (Phillips, 2019). Representatives always have to act; they are always busy discussing or making policies. As Phillips (2019) formulates: “It is precisely because representatives must act that the knowledge they draw on from their social experiences become relevant to their political decisions.” This has important consequences. If indeed, as suggested by Phillips (2019), representatives draw from their own experiences, it does matter how well the representatives mirror the electorate in descriptive characteristics and shared experiences. In the case of Aotearoa New Zealand, that would mean that Māori people are best represented by a Māori representative because that person understands what policy is in their interests.

 In a broader sense, this is exactly what Mansbridge (1999) argues. According to her, descriptive representation is the best way of providing substantive representation. Mansbridge’s (1999) argument is twofold. In the first place, descriptive representation enhances substantive representation in providing adequate communication in contexts of mistrust. These contexts arise when groups become marginalized due to a history of suppression. The suppression of one group creates a dominant, often even arrogant group, standing opposite a subordinate group that has lost its faith in the dominant group. This creates a gap between them. Consequently, communication and deliberation between the two is difficult to accomplish. Mansbridge (1999, p.643) argues: “The deeper the communicative chasm between a dominant and a subordinate group, the more descriptive representation is needed to bridge that chasm.” Thus, in theory, descriptive representation should enhance substantive representation.

 The second argument in which Mansbridge (1999) states the need of descriptive representation is in the situation of ‘uncrystallised interests’. These are situations where, for example, the representative does not have the opportunity to take a position on a certain topic, because that topic has not yet reached the political agenda. An example is the Covid-19 crisis. With the outbreak of Covid-19, citizens, but especially political representatives, started to deepen their knowledge on the topic. Unless, at that moment, there is an election, citizens do not know how the representatives they voted into parliament are going to handle the Covid-19 crisis. In that case, Mansbridge (1999) argues, it might be beneficial for citizens to have descriptive representatives in parliament. For example, people from their own ethnicity, class, or gender. This is in their substantive interests because representatives will likely react similarly as the voters, based on descriptive likeness. Citizens may get their best substantive representation from a descriptive representative (Mansbridge, 1999).

 Griffiths and Wollheim (1960, p.190) can be seen as pioneers in questioning the utility of descriptive representation in establishing substantive representation. They made a statement to the debate that could be considered to be quite controversial: “We would not want to complain that the large class of stupid or maleficent people have too few representatives in Parliament: rather the contrary.” Nevertheless, they reveal a key question; which groups need descriptive representation to become better represented substantively? Williams (2018, p.176) sets two criteria to answer this question. The first assumes people who currently experience inequality. The second contains people who face a history of oppression and discrimination. In the following section the problem of ‘essentialism’ that arises when requiring representation of groups will be explained.

## 2.6 Essentialism

 The expected link between descriptive and substantive representation implies some form of “essentialism”. Phillips (2019) explains this in the context of gender. Here, essentialism means that all women by the virtue of being women have the same interests and thus favour the same policies. Essentialism is highly criticized because there is no such thing as an unified women’s interest (Phillips, 2019; Young, 1997) or an essential identity (Mansbridge, 1999). Groups are per definition heterogenous (Phillips, 2019). Certain groups are dominant, while others remain marginalized. We must challenge those structures to change the power positions of these different groups. Minority groups need special attention or special procedures to be properly represented (Young, 1997; Phillips, 2019; Mansbridge, 2005). The case of Aotearoa New Zealand provides an example of these challenging to the power structures. The previously underrepresented group of Māori people is via dedicated seats actively better represented in terms of descriptive characteristics. In this way, descriptive representation is implemented to overcome those power structures and thereby enhance the legitimation of policy. Nevertheless, the ongoing tension between demanding special treatment for a marginalized group while, at the same time, deferring that the particularly marginalized group has certain essential characteristics that form a common set of interests, remains. Mansbridge (1999) points out that tendencies towards essentialism are indeed the greatest cost of descriptive representation. She stipulates that we should be cautious with actively pursuing descriptive representation in the form of quota’s because this encourages essentialism (Mansbridge, 2005). In this way, essentialism could in some circumstances disrupt political representation. Interests and preferences of citizens are now clustered into groups and can be used strategically (Bell, 2014). While strategic essentialism tries to gain political benefits by claiming shared preferences (Bell, 2014), the process of political representation requires the preference formation of individual citizens (Rohrschneider and Thomassen, 2020).

 Young (1997) clarifies the tension between descriptive representation and essentialism by making a distinction between interests and opinions in contrast to perspectives. Interests and opinions imply solutions or answers to certain problems; those could be qualified as good or bad or as (il)legitimate. While perspectives consist of assumptions and questions about concerns or experiences (Young, 1997). An experience cannot be judged in the same way as interests can. The representation of groups is about representing perspectives rather than interests of members of a group. Those perspectives are formed by their structured social position. Due to the social structures, certain perspectives are dominant while others remain unheard. Young (1997) refutes the problem of essentialism by stating that all social perspectives need to be considered to arrive at wise and fair decisions. This implies that descriptive representation matters and leads to better decisions, and thus enhances substantive representation. In the next paragraph empirical research about the link between descriptive and substantive representation will be discussed.

## 2.7 Aotearoa New Zealand

Regarding the literature on Aotearoa New Zealand and other Westminster countries, there is mixed empirical evidence, but most works have mentioned that although the relationship remains weak, descriptive representation can enhance substantive representation. At least on gender (Wängnerud, 2009; Ruedin, 2020; Sawer, Tremblay and Trimble, 2006; Schwindt-Bayer and Mishler, 2005; Curtin, 2008). Mansbridge (2005, p.622) gives this conclusion more substance by stating the following: “As I write, descriptive representation by gender improves substantive outcomes for women in every polity for which we have a measure. And as I write, significant representation by gender cannot be achieved in any existing polity without some form of quota.”

Sawer, Tremblay and Trimble (2006) did a comparative study, among four Westminster regimes, including Aotearoa New Zealand, where they found an ambiguous link between descriptive and substantive representation. Even though women’s interests are not homogenous, without the presence of women in politics, their perspectives and experiences are unlikely to be heard and taken into account (Sawer, Tremblay and Trimble, 2006). They reveal important factors that determine the strength of the link. Those factors are: party discipline and the electoral system. In countries with a proportional system, like Aotearoa New Zealand, cooperation between women is more prevalent due to a tendency towards consensus. The strength of party discipline matters, because strong party ties make it difficult to act independently on behalf of women or cooperate across party lines (Sawer, Tremblay and Trimble, 2006). Wängnerud (2009) discusses various studies that reveal a link between descriptive and substantive representation. Again, the link is not that strong. Wängnerud (2009) emphasizes that it leans towards a position where the presence of female politicians strengthens the interests of women. However, Schwindt-Bayer and Mishler (2005) caution against overestimating the link between descriptive and substantive representation. This is because most research investigates the specific forms of representation in isolation, but it is of crucial importance to consider all different forms of representation in order to establish a complete picture of political representation. As already noted, other authors (Saward, 2006; Mackay, 2008; Severs, 2012) also emphasize the importance of taking symbolic representation into account in the study of substantive representation. When incorporating all forms of political representation formulated by Pitkin (1967), Schwindt-Bayer and Mishler (2005) find a much lower effect of substantive representation of women than the theory predicts. However, they still find an effect (Schwindt-Bayer and Mishler, 2005). To conclude, although the overall evidence is not that strong, the two concepts seem to be connected.

According to Curtin (2008) descriptive representation of women is a necessary, but not a sufficient, condition for the substantive representation of women’s interests. With her case study to Aotearoa New Zealand, Curtin (2008) argues for the importance of political activism and separate institutional spaces exclusive for women. A link between descriptive and substantive representation regarding gender can be expected to exist in Aotearoa New Zealand (Sawer, Tremblay and Trible, 2006; Schwindt-Bayer and Mishler, 2005; Curtin, 2008). But is the same argument applicable to the case of indigenous peoples? In the case of Aotearoa New Zealand, descriptive representation of indigenous peoples is far better established than other Western countries with indigenous populations. This is due to the electoral system (Maddison, 2010). Aotearoa New Zealand has a proportional system with dedicated seats for the indigenous population which makes the voice of Māori people better heard (Morris, 2014). Consequently, the recognition moves beyond the symbolic level, causing substantive representation of Māori people (Morris, 2014). It makes symbolic recognition practical and substantive in the sense that it gets fixed on a legal level. This should lead to a fairer treatment of indigenous peoples in constitutional terms (Morris, 2014). An important study to the political representation of indigenous people is done by White (2017). White (2017) researched the link between descriptive and substantive representation of Māori people in the Parliament of Aotearoa New Zealand, specifically directed to te ao Māori (the Māori worldview). Via a discourse analysis of maiden speeches White (2017, p. 191) states that the substantive representation of te ao Māori in Parliament will be ensured via the presence of Māori electorates: “all those Māori MPs demonstrate a perspective that can be described as ‘te ao Māori’”. Meaning that descriptive representation is a sufficient condition for the substantive representation of Māori people. As mentioned before, the study of Curtin (2008), to the political representation of women, finds that descriptive representation is not a sufficient, but a necessary condition for substantive representation.

 As already explained, there is a difference between substantive and symbolic representation. Symbolic representation of minorities is closely related to their recognition. Although it may seem unnecessary to determine recognition, it is necessary. Often, recognition is assumed, but in the case of indigenous peoples, this is unfortunately not always reality. Recognition of indigenous peoples starts with the acknowledgment of the difference in culture (Bell, 2014). It becomes substantive when this is laid down in law. In the case of indigenous peoples this is mostly in terms of repairing past injustices (Bell, 2014). Examples are the restoration of lands that were unjustly taken, economic means to be self-sustaining or forms of self-governance (Bell, 2014). An example of symbolic recognition of indigenous peoples without the substantive results is the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP) (2007). International norms are set on how to respect Māori rights. However, this declaration is not binding and therefore does not give any assurance on the implementation at the national level. Aotearoa New Zealand did not sign the declaration until 2010. And even now, they continue violating the norms set by the declaration (Mutu, 2018). Thus, although the words of the UNDRIP promises a prosperous future, the deeds that must establish this remain absent. Aotearoa New Zealand is not the only country that only later signed the UNDRIP, also Australia, Canada and the United States voted against the declaration at first, only to return to it afterwards.[[5]](#footnote-5)

Due to the geographical location and colonial history, Australia is often compared with Aotearoa New Zealand. However, the two cannot be more different from each other regarding the political representation of their indigenous populations. Morris (2014) states that Australia can learn a lot from Aotearoa New Zealand and that the country requires a reform. Lloyd (2009) demonstrates, by looking at Aotearoa New Zealand, that dedicated seats could be essential in establishing an expression of a formal relationship between indigenous and non-indigenous peoples in Australia. Thus, where an electoral feature, such as dedicated seats, could establish descriptive representation, this will likely enhance the substantive representation. Is descriptive representation then, like Curtin (2008) suggested, a necessary, but not sufficient condition for the substantive representation? Should this, as with gender, be in the form of separate institutions such as, for example, an indigenous commission. Or are more radical forms required? In the case of indigenous peoples some form of self-government is often argued. According to article 4 and 5 of the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (2007) indigenous peoples possess the right to self-determination, meaning that they have the right to self-government and separate political institutions while simultaneously being able to participate in the state’s political institutions.

Maddison (2010) makes a comparable argument in the case of Australia. Parliamentary representation is essential, but contains mainly a symbolic function. There is more needed to create a structural transformation that leads to an appropriate representation of the concerns and needs of indigenous peoples in a postcolonial state like Australia (Maddison, 2010). Maddison (2010) wonders whether it is possible that descriptive representation can ever lead to effective participation of a broad diversity of indigenous interests. This cites the notion of essentialism; are you just a politician or are you per definition an indigenous politician as politician from indigenous descent. As Maddison (2010) describes: “Indigenous parliamentarians take up their role bearing a complex burden of representational expectations, raising questions about who or what they represent, and in what circumstances.” At the same time, Maddison (2010) sees a system present in Aotearoa New Zealand, with dedicated seats for indigenous peoples, as a valuable addition to the Australian political system. First, it creates clarity about the afore mentioned dilemma; politicians chosen on behalf of indigenous peoples can be unambiguously seen as indigenous politicians instead of politicians representing the broader electorate. White (2017) confirms this in her study; all Māori MPs represent Māori people in a substantive way, but Māori MPs chosen on behalf of the Māori roll even more. Besides, the political relationship between the settler state and the indigenous peoples will be captured with the inclusion of Māori people in Parliament. Maddison (2010) ends her article by stating that the underrepresentation of indigenous peoples in Australia will continue to create dilemmas that limit their substantive representation. Dedicated seats could be part of a possible solution (Maddison, 2010). Thus, just like Sawer, Tremblay and Trimble (2006) revealed with their comparative study to the political representation of gender, the electoral system matters. But does this enhance the substantive representation of Māori people? Summersby (2009) investigates this link between Pitkin’s ‘standing for’ and ‘acting for’ in case of Māori representation in Aotearoa New Zealand. Although, Summersby (2009) cannot find a direct correlation between the two, she finds that descriptive representation does matter in this case, because the evidence suggests that Māori representatives feel responsible to act in the interests of Māori people and thus promote Māori interests. Where the study of Summersby (2009) suggests a link between descriptive and substantive representation of Māori people, White’s (2017) study states a stronger conclusion by finding the evidence that confirms this link.

According to the case of Aotearoa New Zealand, some link between descriptive and substantive representation of indigenous peoples appears. Ruedin (2020, p.1) makes an important contribution to the field of descriptive representation by stating that: “On average, representatives of regional and ethnic minorities work in the name of their respective group.” This would imply that descriptive representation does lead to substantive representation. In contrast, Snagovsky et al. (2020) explains that normative arguments are made in favour of descriptive representation because of the enhanced legitimacy, but this claim is empirically flawed. Snagovsky et al. (2020) contradicts the normative perceptions with his Australian case study. The results suggest that the descriptive representation of ethnic minority or immigrants does not enhance the perceived legitimacy of policy. A possible explanation for this unexpected result could be due to the categorization of all ethnic minorities as one entity (Snagovsky et al., 2020).

In sum, a link between descriptive and substantive representation regarding gender seems to be present (Wängnerud, 2009; Ruedin, 2020; Sawer, Tremblay and Trimble, 2006; Schwindt-Bayer and Mishler, 2005; Curtin, 2008). Authors such as Maddison (2010) and Lloyd (2009) also expect such a link in case of indigenous peoples. This is confirmed by Summersby’s (2009) study that finds an indirect link between descriptive and substantive representation, but rejected by the study of Snagovsky et al. (2020). However, White (2017) finds a direct relation between descriptive and substantive representation by studying the discourse of maiden speeches. Therefore, the following hypothesis is stated: *Descriptive representation of indigenous peoples enhances the substantive claims made on their behalf.*

2.8 Conclusion

 As we have seen Pitkin (1967) sets out different forms of representation. Recent scholars like Saward (2008), Schwindt-Bayer and Mishler (2005) and Mackay (2008) argue that the different forms are much more interconnected than proposed by Pitkin (1967). Where normative research mainly argues that descriptive representation leads to substantial changes (Phillips, 2019; Mansbridge, 1999; Williams, 2018), the empirical findings are mixed. The research on gender clearly turns into a direction of confirming, at least, a weak link between descriptive and substantive representation (Wängnerud, 2009; Ruedin, 2020; Sawer, Tremblay and Trimble, 2006; Schwindt-Bayer and Mishler, 2005; Curtin, 2008), but the evidence regarding indigenous peoples is less unequivocal (Maddison, 2010; Morris, 2014; Lloyd, 2009; Summersby, 2009; Snagovsky et al, 2020; White, 2017).

 Overall, the evidence suggests a link between descriptive and substantive representation. The presence of indigenous peoples ensures the understanding of their experiences. This leads to the expectation that the descriptive representation of indigenous peoples enhances their substantive representation by representatives who claim the representation of the preferences of indigenous peoples. To study this expectation, a claims-making analysis is executed in chapter 4. Meanwhile, the following chapter will explain why this is an appropriate method to study this expectation and how it is done.

# Chapter 3: Methodology and Methods

## 3.1 Method

To analyse the hypothesis, ‘*Descriptive representation of indigenous peoples enhances the substantive claims made on their behalf’,* following the theoretical framework*,* a claims-making analysis will be executed using Aotearoa New Zealand as case study. The following sections will explain why this is a good approach to study the hypothesis. The mixed-method design will be further explored. The chosen mixed-method design is a claims-making analysis, and it is structured in two parts. The first part is qualitative; this consists of coding claims made in parliamentary speeches. The second part is the quantitative analysis of these coded claims. In the second section, the choice for Aotearoa New Zealand as case study will be argued. Followed by a detailed explanation on the data gathering and the operationalization of key concepts. This chapter concludes with examples of pre-coded speeches and an overall conclusion.

### 3.1.1 Mixed-method design

Mixed-method studies originate from a paradigm war between quantitative and qualitative research (Terrell, 2012). Johnson and Onwuegbuzie (2004) define it as “the class of research where the researcher mixes or combines quantitative and qualitative research techniques, methods, approaches, concepts or language into a single study.” Pure quantitative researchers claim that science is objective and thereby aims for generalizations that are time- and context-free (Johnson and Onwuegbuzie, 2004). In contrast, qualitative researchers criticize this point of view by stating that time- and context-free generalizations are not feasible, nor desirable (Johnson and Onwuegbuzie, 2004). Where quantitative researchers strive to establish a causal relationship between cause and outcome, qualitative researchers see it as impossible to completely separate cause and outcome. Qualitative scholars perceive science as subjective and therefore belong to an interpretivists school of thought (Johnson and Onwuegbuzie, 2004). This way of thinking complies with the theory of political representation. As mentioned in the theoretical framework, recent scholars argue for an open-ended approach in studying political representation (Mackay, 2008; Severs, 2012; Saward, 2006, Schwindt-Bayer and Mishler, 2005). Due to the relational aspect of the different forms of representation that Pitkin (1967) sets apart, a broader outlook is needed (Severs, 2012). A claims-making analysis fits this open-ended approach by studying a broad set of aspects and taking the context into account. This approach consists of two parts. First information will be gathered to create a historical overview of the political representation of Māori people. The second part is the beginning of the mixed-method design by collecting parliamentary speeches as data. These speeches are interpreted by the researcher and coded into different categories. The qualitative part of this thesis consists of the interpretation of the speeches. After this data is coded it is transformed into numbers representing different categories. This is the quantitative part of this thesis. The data will be analysed by using the statistical program SPSS. All data is categorical[[6]](#footnote-6) and will therefore be analysed via descriptive statistics, chi-square tests[[7]](#footnote-7) and Cramer’s V tests[[8]](#footnote-8). Thereby, it can be determined whether a link is present between descriptive representation and substantive claims made on behalf of Māori people.

An advantage of this combination of qualitative and quantitative approaches is that the contexts resulting from the qualitative approach adds meaning to the numbers, while the quantitative outcomes in their turn add precision to these contexts (Johnson and Onwuegbuzie, 2004). The qualitative part of the claims-making analysis captures the detailed, contextual, and dynamic process of political representation. Where a qualitative analysis is less applicable in establishing a causal relationship, this is exactly what the strength is of quantitative research (Johnson and Onwuegbuzie, 2004). In this way a mixed-method approach combines the best of both worlds. However, some disadvantages remain. By taking the context of speeches into account, the research depends on the interpretation of the researcher itself, because the person coding interpretates the speeches (Johnson and Onwuegbuzie, 2004). However, the codebook in Appendix A is aimed at providing validity to the study. In the next section the choice to study Aotearoa New Zealand will be explained.

### 3.1.2 Choosing Aotearoa New Zealand as a case study

Gerring (2016, p.28) defines a case study as follows: “A case study is an intensive study of a single case or a small number of cases which draws on observational data and promises to shed light on a larger population of cases”. This thesis analysis only one case, also called a *single case study*. An advantage is that the case can be studied very deep and thorough (Gerring, 2016). However, this can be at the expense of the strength of your conclusion, because the number of cases provide the representative basis of your argument (Gerring, 2016). Despite this, Aotearoa New Zealand, can be received as a sufficient basis of the study of the link between descriptive representation and substantive claims being made. The next paragraph will explain why.

 The case of Aotearoa New Zealand can be received as a *pathway case*. A pathway case illustrates the theory in a way that the impact of X on Y confirms the hypothesis (Gerring, 2016). Therefore, the link between X and Y is strongly present. This is applicable to Aotearoa New Zealand, because their electoral system provides a high number of descriptive representatives of indigenous peoples in comparison with other countries. This means that X = 1. Leading to the expectation that the substantive representation of indigenous peoples in Aotearoa New Zealand is enhanced. Thus, Y = 1. Whether the presence of X will actually lead to the presence of Y has to appear from the analysis.

 In contrast to most countries, Aotearoa New Zealand's Parliament represents indigenous people quite well, at least in descriptive terms. This is mainly due to the dedicated Māori seats. In the previous government period, 27 out of 120 MPs (Members of Parliament) were from Māori descent. In the current government period 23 out of 120 MPs are from Māori descent. This comes down to respectively 22,5% and 19,2%, while only 16,9% of the population is from Māori descent (Stats NZ, 2020). In comparison with other liberal democracies, the descriptive representation of indigenous people in Aotearoa New Zealand is much better. In Canada 3% of the MPs identifies themselves as indigenous, while 5% of the Canadian population does so (Lim and Gibson, 2019). This results in the underrepresentation of its indigenous peoples. The same holds for Australia, 2 (Parliament of Australia, 2017) out of the 151 Parliamentarians[[9]](#footnote-9) is of indigenous descent. Meaning that 1,3% of MPs identifies as indigenous while 3,3% of the population is from indigenous descent (AIHW, 2019).

Aotearoa New Zealand's Parliament consists of 120 seats. People can cast two votes; one for a party and one for their electorate.[[10]](#footnote-10) The votes for the party determine the number of seats a party receives in Parliament. A vote for an electorate represents a vote for a candidate you want to represent the area you live in.[[11]](#footnote-11) The electorate vote displays two options. If you are registered on the Māori roll you can vote for a Māori representative of the Māori area you live in and if you are registered on the general roll you can vote for a representative in the general electorate you live in. The number of Māori electorates is determined at seven.[[12]](#footnote-12) In contrast to the electoral systems before, with the current MMP system Māori representatives are not solely chosen by Māori electorates, but can also be chosen via general electorates and parties.11

In sum, the descriptive representation of Māori people in Aotearoa New Zealand is quite well established. Aotearoa New Zealand provides us with the unique condition of dedicated seats for indigenous peoples. The next section describes what sources will be analysed and how this data will be gathered.

## 3.2 Data gathering

The goal of the claims-making analysis is to see whether descriptive representation enhances substantive representation in the case of Māori people in Aotearoa New Zealand by making claims on behalf of them. With a claims-making analysis different aspects come to the surface. For instance, the person *who* makes the claim and on *what* kind of issue the claim is made. These aspects will be explained in detail in the operationalization that follows. However, a complete analysis of all speeches since the installation of MMP in Aotearoa New Zealand is not feasible. Therefore, a selection of speeches must be made. Only the period after 2003 can be analysed because the Hansard records (official records of debates) are available since then. However, after 2003 no important electoral changes have taken place in Aotearoa New Zealand in relation to Māori rights. In the next section the sources and period of the speeches that will be analysed are explained.

### 3.2.1 Sources and time frame

In this thesis, the speeches were gathered between 23 July 2019 and 17 February 2021 due to several reasons. First, it gives an accurate picture of the current representation of Māori people. Second, the national election on 17 October 2020 falls in this period. The Parliament that resulted is the most diverse Parliament in Aotearoa New Zealand’s’ history (Reuters, 2020). However, there are slightly less Māori representatives in the current Parliament than in the previous Parliament. It decreased from 27 to 23 Māori representatives (see Codebook, Appendix A). This election also brought the Māori Party back into Parliament with two seats, while they were only voted out of office in the 2017 election (RNZ, 2020). This development makes it possible to reveal whether there is a difference in Māori representation between a Parliament with and without the Māori Party.

The specific dates are based on news events. First 23 July; this was one week before Māori protest the ‘stolen children’ (Menon, 2019). This protest displays the tension between the state and the Māori population. The state removes a disproportionate number of Māori children from their parents because they are at-risk according to the state institutions. However, the Māori population criticized this process because it is racially skewed and a legacy of colonization (Menon, 2019). This provides a starting point for this thesis because it directly addresses national politics. Thus, this can be expected to result in claims about Māori people. The end date, 17 February 2021 is a week after the day that Rawiri Waititi, MP for the Māori Party, was ejected from Parliament because he wore a hei-tiki, a greenstone pendant with cultural importance to Māori people, instead of the usual tie worn by all other male MPs. The speaker of the House, Trevor Mallard, made a U-turn in this debate. At first, he rejected Rawiri Waititi when he wanted to speak without a tie (Frost, 2021). After all the commotion, he stated that there was not enough support for change, even though he personally loathed the practice of wearing a tie (Frost, 2021). However, Mallard returned to his actions by stating that a Standing Orders Committee had discussed the matter and a majority no longer required a tie as appropriate business attire (NZ Herarld, 2021). The tie, or as Rawiri Waititi called it a ‘colonial noose’, is now no longer a necessary part of men's clothing in Parliament (Cramer, 2021). Prime Minister Jacinda Ardern said in a reaction that she thinks this situation can be resolved and that most New Zealanders probably do not care about ties (Frost, 2021). Other MPs, both in the Labour Party as in other parties voiced a much stronger opinion. According to Chris Hipkins and Kieran McAnulty, both members of the Labour Party, wearing a tie shows respect to the democratic institution (Cooke, 2021). Simon Bridges (2020), leader of the National Party, himself from Māori descent, made a clear statement on Twitter: “It may not be the biggest issue the world faces but men who come to Parliament should wear ties. It’s not a bar, or a club, or a business, it’s a national Parliament.” This occurrence reveals the still clashing cultures of Māori and Pākehā. Not all speeches between 23 July 2019 and 17 February 2021 will be analysed. Only those where the word ‘Māori’ is mentioned, because this is likely to cover all or almost all speeches that make claims about Māori people.

On the website of the Hansard reports of the parliamentary debates several filters can be applied.[[13]](#footnote-13) The steps taken to get the needed speeches are the following; first the word ‘Māori’ is written in the ‘keyword’ bar; second, the correct parliament is chosen (52nd or 53rd); third, the correct ‘date range’ is selected and lastly a ‘speech’ is selected as document type. This resulted in 131 speeches in the current government period and 695 speeches in the previous government period. The previous government period consists of far more speeches because it is a greater period. To be able to make a good comparison between the two government periods a proportional number of speeches shall be analysed, resulting in 114 speeches. This means that all speeches of the current government will be analysed, but only a selection, 114 out of the 695, of the previous government. These were randomly selected to provide a representative selection. In the next section the operationalization of the claims-making approach will be explained.

## 3.3 Operationalization and claims-making in practice

In this thesis a claims-making analysis will be used to study the link between descriptive representation and substantive claims made on behalf of Māori people. The main reason to choose this method is that it sees “representation in terms of claims to be representative by a variety of political actors, rather than (as is normally the case) seeing it as an achieved, or potentially achievable, state of affairs as a result of election” (Saward, 2006, p.298). In the following sections, first the claims-making analysis will be further explained. After which the concepts ‘indigenous peoples’ and ‘claims’ are operationalized.

### 3.3.1 Claims-making

Parliamentary speeches will be coded using a claims-making approach. Saward is one of the first (2006) to design such an approach in his article ‘The Representative Claim’. According to Saward (2006) a claim consists of a maker, a subject, an object, and an audience. An example Saward (2006, p.308) offers states the following: “The conservative party (maker) offers itself (subject) as standing for the interests of “family” (object) to its electorate (audience)”. Severs (2012) argues that Saward’s (2006) claims-making analysis provides an insufficient basis for the study of substantive representation. Severs (2012) touches upon an important point; the claim Saward (2006) proposes is mainly symbolic and not substantive. To broaden the study of political representation from symbolic to substantive representation, a reference to an activity must be made. Severs (2012, p.173) adapts the claim in the following way to exemplify: “The conservative party (maker) offers itself (subject) as standing for the interests of “family” (object) to its electorate (audience) by denouncing revenue cuts for family allowances”. The explicit reference to an activity is what makes the claim substantive. Although the concepts of symbolic and substantive representation are interconnected, a distinction between the two can be made by differentiating separate parts of a claim. Claims that explicitly refer to an activity are received as substantive while claims that do not refer to an activity are purely symbolic. In this thesis an activity is present when the issue of a claim is linked to an addressee. An addressee is the person or group or person that must take action. In the last section of this chapter the different aspects of the claims-making analysis will be further explained.

As mentioned by Saward (2006), a claims-making analysis can be performed by a variety of political actors. Being a political actor is not limited to democratic institutions. Nevertheless, this study only takes MPs into account.

### 3.3.1 Operationalization indigenous peoples

The concepts that require operationalization are *indigenous peoples* and all aspects of a *claim.* To start with the first; who determines who has an indigenous identity? There is no universal definition of indigenous peoples following international law (Griffiths, 2018). Definitions of indigenous peoples are quite controversial and often contested (Roach and Egan, 2008; Adebanwi, 2009; Shaw, 2008). The UNDRIP also does not provide a definition, but emphasises the importance of self-identification. This turns out to be a crucial criterion (Griffiths, 2018; Corntassel, 2003, Wilson, 2009). However, it creates a tension with enforcement of international standards (Corntassel, 2003). This is linked with the problem of essentialism; no universal definition can be given of indigenous peoples, while at the same time requiring a special treatment. This is the consequence of sharing certain essential characteristics while being a heavily heterogeneous group. Therefore, it is more useful to look at a definition of Māori people instead of trying to fit them into a definition of a pluralistic group of indigenous peoples. Aotearoa New Zealand confirms themselves to the common international standard; self-identification.[[14]](#footnote-14) It is up to Māori people themselves to consider if they belong to an indigenous identity. This criterion of self-identification is applied in the current electoral system. Voters can choose to register on the general or Māori roll.9 The seven MPs who were chosen via the Māori roll, identified themselves by standing for election for their Māori electorate. But Māori representatives can also be elected via the general roll or party lists. Table A.2 and A.3 (Appendix A) display all Members of Parliament in both government periods who identify themselves as Māori. This results in 27 Māori MPs in the 52nd government period and 23 in the 53rd government period.

### 3.3.2 Operationalization claim

The claims by the MPs are the unit of analysis. MPs were chosen instead of other political actors because the parliamentary process reveals the core of political representation. As Wängnerud (2009, p.65) describes: “It would be a mistake for research on substantive representation to sidestep the parliamentary process”. Despite a tendency towards more autonomy for indigenous governments, the national parliament remains the primary governance representing indigenous peoples (Morden, 2018).

The conceptualization of claims is inadequate in the current literature on political representation (Guasti and Geissel, 2019). This is the result of a mainly theoretical instead of empirical debate around claims-making. However, there are scholars that did make a clear typology or applied the claims-making analysis in practice (e.g., Severs, 2012; Gora and De Wilde, 2019; Joschko and Glaser, 2019, Heinisch and Werner, 2019). As mentioned in the beginning of this chapter, it is important to make sure that the claim is not purely symbolic, but also substantive (Severs, 2012). That means that a broader definition of a claim must be used than Sawards’ (2008) definition. There must be a reference to an activity (Severs, 2012). For this thesis, the definition of a claim is the following: “the expression of a political opinion by verbal action in the parliamentary sphere regarding Māori’s.” This definition implies three delimitations: (1) instances of claims-making must be the result of purposive strategic action of the claimant, (2) they must deal with issues that relate to Māori’s and (3) the claims must be made in parliamentary speeches. A claim can consist of the following aspects: location, claimant, issue, addressee, evaluation of the addressee, object, unification, and justification. These aspects are commonly included in claims-making analysis (Gora and De Wilde, 2019; Joschko and Glaser, 2019; Saward, 2008). Depending on the context and goal of the claims-making analysis certain aspects need to be present to speak of a representative claim. In this thesis a distinction between two claims will be made. First, to speak of a symbolic claim, the following aspects need to be present: a claimant, an issue, and an object. As mentioned by Severs (2012) to speak of a substantive claim also a reference to an activity must be made. Therefore, the following aspects are needed to speak of a substantive claim: a claimant, an issue, an object, and an addressee. I will now proceed to explain each of these variables briefly (a further specification can be found in the codebook, Appendix A).

*Location*

The location answers the question *when* and *where* the claim is made. In this thesis the *where* is fixed beforehand, namely the Parliament of Aotearoa New Zealand. The *when* is limited to the time frame determined in the last section; 23 July 2019 - 17 February 2021.

*Claimant*

 A claimant is the actor that makes the claim. Also formulated as an “entity performing a strategic or communicative act in the public sphere” (De Wilde, 2013, p.286). For this thesis, a distinction is made between an electorate and a list MP. If a person is elected via an electorate seat a further distinction is made between the election via the general or Māori electorate. This difference is key in answering the research question because it shows whether Māori MPs are more likely to claim Māori’s substantive representation than other MPs. But an MP who is not elected via the Māori roll can still be a Māori MP. Therefore, there is also a difference within the list MPs and the general electorate MPs whether they identify themselves as Māori or not. These differences reveal whether there are any differences between Māori MPs who are especially elected because they are Māori and Māori MPs who are not elected with the goal of representing Māori interests. Finally, the gender of the MPs will be coded.

*Addressee*

 The addressee shows the group or individual at who the claim is directed. This should answer the question: “Who should take action?”. This could be the MP him- or herself, other MPs, other Māori MPs, local actors, international actors, the Māori Affairs Committee, the government, or Māori citizens. When there is an addressee in addition to a claimant, an issue, and an object, we speak of a substantive claim, because someone is urged to take action (Severs, 2012).

*Evaluation*

Besides, the evaluation of the addressee matters. This can be positive, negative, or absent. It is positive if an addressee is for example praised. While it is negative when an addressee is criticized. But there will not always be such an evaluation, resulting in the “absent” option. This variable is solely directed at the evaluation of the addressee, not to other parts of the claim.

*Issue*

The issue is a core part of the claim. There is not a standard list of issues that are important for Māori people. This makes the determination of coding possibilities a difficult task. Morden (2018) studied the issue of representation of indigenous peoples in the Canadian Parliament. Morden (2018) created a list of issues divided in two dominating categories. The first category are universal issues, such as social policy or education, and the second category consists of indigenous-specific issues, such as indigenous rights. Morden (2018) also finds a bias, in the Canadian Parliament 76% of the issues raised for indigenous peoples are universal issues, only 24% are directed as specific indigenous issues. The list of issues of this thesis is based on a combination of the list of Morden (2018) and the pre-coded claims, resulting in the following issues:

* Universal issues
	+ Social policy
	+ Health
	+ Education, art and language
	+ Energy, resources and the environment
	+ Crime
	+ Trade and economy
	+ Housing
* Indigenous-specific issues
	+ Māori rights
	+ Treaty of Waitangi/Crown-Māori relation
	+ Governance, autonomy and self-determination
	+ Land, wildlife and fisheries

*Object*

 The object represents the person or group of persons on whose behalf the claim is made. In this thesis this should be on Māori people, otherwise we cannot speak of a claim. However, within all Māori people differences can be seen. In this study the focus is on three differences: the whole Māori population, specific Māori groups or an individual person from Māori descent.

 The object differs from the addressee. The object shows on whose behalf the claim is made, thus about whom is talked about, while the addressee mentions who must act according to the claim.

*Justification*

The justification of a claim consists of the argument being made. Gora and De Wilde (2019, p.30) define a justification as follows: “justifications are the explicit or implicit reasons given by a claimant to rationalize and/or legitimize his or her claims.” This can be done explicitly or contextually. The justification reveals the context and deeper argument in which the claim is seated. In the study of Morden (2018) the most common frame used is the ‘poverty-problem’. Other frames that Morden (2018) describes are ‘the culture of victimization’, ‘relationship to the land’ and ‘culture of complaint’. Justifications that Gora and De Wilde (2019) describe have a broader basis. For example; democracy, equality, freedom, rule of law and protection of human dignity. The justifications used in this thesis are based on the precoding of some parliamentary speeches. This resulted into seven categories:

* Performance
* Injustice
* Urgence
* Substantive
* Culture
* Economy
* Absent

For example, in the second claim in figure 1 (next section), the claimant praises the Māori population (object) because of their good performance handling the Covid-crisis. Therefore, the justification coded is ‘performance’. The justifications are further specified in the codebook (Appendix A).

*Unification*

The variable unification measures whether the claimant identifies with the object he or she claims to stand for. The claimant should create a certain degree of togetherness; the feeling that the claimant and object belong to each other and are facing the same difficulties. This is measured with a binomial variable, meaning that the unification is either present or absent. Words that express unification need to show unity, like “our people” or “we as Māori people”. If this is the case, this can be seen as a form of the symbolic representation of Māori people.

To provide a sufficient basis for all choices made above, a pre-coding analysis of five speeches was executed (Appendix B). The next section gives two examples of these pre-coded speeches.

## 3.4 Examples of Claims

A pre-coding analysis is executed to see whether the designed method fits the analysis of the speeches. The pre-coded speeches can be found in Appendix B. Figure 3.1 presents two examples of claims resulting from the pre-coded speeches. In the first column the claims made in the speeches are paraphrased. The second column shows how the variables are coded. The first claim is made by Rawiri Waititi, chosen via the Māori roll. Waititi is the leader of the Māori Party and demands change in the electoral system. Therefore, the issue is coded as ‘governance, autonomy and self-determination’. Waititi is not requesting anyone to act resulting in an absent addressee. However, an attempt to unification is present. In his last sentence he states, “but we are here”, meaning that he identifies himself with the Māori population. No specific Māori tribe or group is mentioned. Therefore, the object is coded as ‘whole Māori population’. Finally, the justification is coded as ‘injustice’, because Waititi demands change in the electoral laws due to the racist aspects and the fact that Māori people were first-nation peoples. Waititi therefore claims that it would be fair to change these electoral laws. The second claim is made by Meka Whaitiri. Whaitiri is member of the Labour Party. Whaitiri acknowledges the response of the Māori population in the Covid-19 crisis. The issue is therefore coded as ‘health’. Whaitiri makes no attempt to unification. No addressee is mentioned either. Therefore, these variables are coded as ‘absent’. This claim is purely about the recognition of the conduct of the Māori population resulting in ‘performance’ as justification and the ‘whole Māori population’ as object.

Not all possible aspects of a claim are present, but the three necessary aspects to speak of a claim are there: claimant, issue, and object. According to the determined criteria both claims would be symbolic and not substantive, because no addressee is mentioned.

### Table 3.1 Examples of claims

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| Claim | Variables |
| Rawiri Waititi claims the need for a Māori Parliament and the removal of racist electoral laws because Māori are the original peoples of Aotearoa New Zealand. Rawiri Waititi ends his speech by stating the following: “Many political commentators and many members in this House have said that these policies are ambitious, but they also said that of the Māori Party's return to Parliament—but we are here.” | *CLAIMANTNAME*: Waititi, Rawiri*CLAIMANTGEN*: men*CLAIMANT:* Māori roll*CLAIMANTPAR*: Māori Party*ADRES*: absent*EVAL*: absent*ISSSUE*: governance, autonomy and self-determination*OBJECT*: whole Māori population*UNI*: present*JUST*: injustice |
| Meka Whaitiri claims to acknowledge the Māori response to doing a stellar job in testing and communicating with communities in the current COVID crisis. | *CLAIMANTNAME*: Whaitiri, Meka*CLAIMANTGEN*: woman*CLAIMANT:* Māori roll*CLAIMANTPAR*: Labour Party*ADRES*: absent*EVAL*: absent*ISSSUE*: health*OBJECT*: whole Māori population*UNI*: absent*JUST*: performance |

## 3.5 Conclusion

 Overall, this thesis uses a mixed-method design applied to Aotearoa New Zealand to study the hypothesis: *Descriptive representation of indigenous peoples enhances the substantive claims made on their behalf*. The mixed-method design consists of a claims-making analysis. First the speeches will be gathered. The qualitative part consists of the interpretation of these parliamentary speeches. The quantitative part that follows codes these claims after which they will be analysed using the statistical program SPSS. In the next chapter the analysis will be performed and the results will be discussed in order to answer the research question.

# Chapter 4: Analysis

The analysis of this dissertation is split up into two parts. The first part consists of a contextual overview of Aotearoa New Zealand’s history regarding Māori representation. This part explains the emergence of Aotearoa New Zealand as a settler colonial state and how this influenced the relationship between Māori people and the state. The second part consists of a statistical analysis of the claims made in parliament on behalf of Māori people. The goal of the claims-making analysis is to determine whether a link is present between descriptive representation and substantive claims made on behalf of Māori people. This chapter also explores the nature of the claims being made, among other things, the claimant, the issues, the addressees, and the justifications. In total 245 speeches were analysed, which resulted in 230 claims. The findings reveal that Māori MPs are more likely to make claims on behalf of Māori people in comparison with non-Māori MPs. The Labour Party and Māori Party take a crucial role in the representation of Māori people. The issues mainly addressed are the Treaty of Waitangi/crown-Māori relation’ and ‘governance, autonomy and self-determination’. Overall, the results demonstrate that descriptive representation may lead to more substantive representative claims.

## 4.1 The relationship between Māori and the state

Aotearoa New Zealand is a settler colonial state. Figure 1 shows that the arrival of Pākehā people started off slowly, but it increased dramatically after 1840. This is due to the Treaty of Waitangi, which contained an agreement between Māori and Pākehā[[15]](#footnote-15) people in 1840 (Terruhn, 2019). The colonizers tried to take as much land as possible from Māori people to create a country that was a ‘Better Britain’ (Terruhn, 2019). In 1853, the first governmental elections were held (Terruhn, 2019). Figure 1 shows the rapid increase of the Pākehā population a few years after. This was around 1960 when many Europeans came to Aotearoa New Zealand to search for gold.[[16]](#footnote-16)



### Figure 4.1 Māori and European population number, 1838-1901.16

The new state of Aotearoa New Zealand benefitted the colonizers at the expense of the Māori population. Where once the culture and language of Māori people represented the culture and language of the country, it now was only a small part of Aotearoa New Zealand (Terruhn, 2019). Besides the reduced presence of the Māori culture, many conflicts over land arose.[[17]](#footnote-17) The history is important in understanding the relationship between Māori people and the state today. The British colonizers believed in Western universalism (Bell, 2008). By taking away land and dishonouring the culture of Māori people, the colonizers created an overwhelming gap between them and the Māori population. The legacy the colonial settlers have left, makes it difficult to establish a respectful coexistence due to the remaining cultural differences (Bell, 2008).

 In the next section, the Treaty of Waitangi will be discussed. After this, the origin and the developments of the Māori seats are described. This first part ends with a description of the recent developments regarding Māori people and their representation.

### 4.1.1 Treaty of Waitangi

On 6 February 1840, the Treaty of Waitangi is signed by the British Crown and several Māori chiefs (Stokes, 1992). It is also known as the nation’s founding document and thereby marks a key date in Aotearoa New Zealand’s history (Stokes, 1992). It was created because Great Britain claimed Aotearoa New Zealand as a colony (Stokes, 1992). Both parties saw enough opportunities for themselves within the Treaty to agree on it. The British colonizers were content with the expansion of their land. The Māori people signed the Treaty for economic reasons (Orange, 2020). Besides, Māori chiefs were hoping for a more peaceful relationship between the Māori tribes. However, for Māori people, the Treaty turned out to be a delusion (Stokes, 1992). Where there was meant to be only one Treaty; two understandings arose, because two versions were created; one English and one in Māori (Stokes, 1992). These versions differed in wording, resulting in two different Treaties. For example, where the English version talks about sovereignty over Māori land, the Māori version only states governorship (Stokes, 1992). This started a tense and unfair relationship between Māori people and the British colonial settlers.

In 1852 the British colonizers created a parliamentary system that excluded most Māori people from voting.[[18]](#footnote-18) Later on, several conflicts emerged, which are mostly referred to as the New Zealand Wars.16 Although the tensions remained for decades, Māori people still received the Treaty as a special agreement with the Crown (Stokes, 1992). Māori people addressed the arrangements that the Crown had entered by signing the Treaty of Waitangi. However, the Crown did not act upon the Treaty in ensuring the rights of Māori people (Stokes, 1992). From 1970 on a new, post-colonial, path was taken (Renwick, 1991). More public pressure arose demanding recognition of the Treaty of Waitangi (Stokes, 1992). This became clear during the Land March Protest in 1975 (Stokes, 1992). Māori and Pākehā people gathered and protested the continuing loss of land from Māori people. After more than a century, Māori people were no longer alone in their battle against the state for recognition through the accession of several Pākehā people (Stokes, 1992).

In 1975, the Waitangi Tribunal was created.[[19]](#footnote-19) This is “a permanent commission of inquiry that makes recommendations on claims brought by Māori relating to Crown actions which breach the promises made in the Treaty of Waitangi”.18 It tries to ensure the practical application of the Treaty of Waitangi (Stokes, 1992). Tawhai and Gray-Sharp (2011) study the degree to which the state of Aotearoa New Zealand lives up to the Treaty of Waitangi in their policies. They state that the importance of the Treaty of Waitangi lies not in its history, but its application in contemporary times. Rather than persisting with the past, the focus of the Treaty is about creating a democratic future where the Māori rights, views and leadership are incorporated (Tawhai and Gray-Sharp, 2011).

Although improvement is needed in many areas, Tawhai and Gray-Sharp (2011) state that much progress has been made. The voice of Māori people is needed to create policies according to the Treaty of Waitangi (Tawhai and Gray-Sharp, 2011). This is good for all peoples of Aotearoa New Zealand. This implies the importance of Māori MPs. They can speak up on behalf of the Māori population to ensure the Treaty of Waitangi in the policy-making process. The Māori Party has explicitly dedicated its policies to the Treaty of Waitangi because this could provide the base for constitutional change, reaching for shared governance (Geddis, 2006). In the case of Aotearoa New Zealand, the Treaty of Waitangi moves the level of representation from the symbolic to the substantive level. The Treaty is used as a fundament in ensuring Māori rights in the policy-making process. Although the Treaty has no legally enforceable power, it has become a moral and political authority that stimulates change (Morris, 2014). The principles of the Treaty are converted into legal change. This makes the principles that recognise the Māori population not only symbolic but also substantive.

In sum, the Treaty of Waitangi is the basis on which the constitutional government of Aotearoa New Zealand developed. Where once the Treaty resulted in the exclusion of Māori people, nowadays the Treaty is the checkpoint for the inclusion of Māori rights of the created policies. The next section describes the progress in history towards the creation of Māori seats.

### 4.1.2 Māori seats

In 1867 the Māori Representation Act created four seats for Māori people in Parliament (Dahlberg, 1996). At first glance, this seems like a genuine gesture trying to take Māori interests into account. However, this creation of Māori seats “involved no high intentions or moral principles” (Dahlberg 1996, p.63). Rather, parliamentary seats were installed as a reaction to Māori people seeking autonomy (Wilson, 2009; Taonui, 2017). The aim was to content Māori rebels and reward loyal Māori’s while simultaneously ensuring critics in Britain that the colonists were looking after Māori interests (Wilson, 2009). In 1996, Aotearoa New Zealand adopted a new system; a mixed-member proportional representation parliament (MMP).[[20]](#footnote-20) Although a proportional system already enhances the representation of minorities, the dedicated seats remained.

Figure 2 reveals the impact the MMP system has on Māori representation in Parliament; the number of Māori MPs increased from less than 10% in the majority system in 1993 to 22,5% in the past government period. The figure shows that there is an upward trend in MPs identifying themselves as Māori’s. Although the 2020 election resulted in the most diverse Parliament in Aotearoa New Zealand’s history (Reuters, 2020), there was a decrease in the number of MPs from Māori descent in comparison with the election of 2017 (see table A.2 and A.3, Appendix A).



### Figure 4.2. Percentage of MPs identifying as Māori. Source: NZ Parliamentary Library, 2017.

The number of Māori seats is determined by the share of people that subscribe themselves to the Māori roll. Under the MMP system, this started with five and eventually grew to seven in 2002 (Geddis, 2006). However, as mentioned in the previous chapter; Māori MPs can also be chosen via the general roll or via the party list. In the current Parliament, Māori people are overrepresented. Indeed, only 16,9% of Aotearoa New Zealand’s population is Māori (Stats NZ, 2020), while 19,2% of the MPs identifies as Māori.

In sum, Aotearoa New Zealand has seven dedicated seats for Māori people. This secures the descriptive representation of Māori people. But does this relatively high number of Māori MPs lead to an increase of substantive claims made on their behalf? In the second part of this chapter this question will be answered via a claims-making analysis. But first, some recent developments around the political representation of Māori people will be explained.

### 4.1.3 Current representation of Māori people

 Since the installation of the MMP system, the political representation of Māori people has improved significantly (Joseph, 2008). Between 1943 and the installation of MMP, the Labour Party held all Māori seats. Currently, the Labour Party is leading in the number of Māori people in Parliament. The Labour Party actively claims commitment to Māori people in their policies to improve the wellbeing of Māori people.[[21]](#footnote-21) With 65 out of 120 seats, the Labour Party leads the current government, together with the Green Party (New Zealand Parliament, 2020a). In the previous government period, the Labour Party formed a minority government with NZ First and the Green Party (New Zealand Parliament, 2020a).

Figure 3 gives an overview of the seats of the Labour Party, National Party, and other parties over time. In 1996, the first election under the MMP system was held. Since then, the National Party and the Labour Party have been the two biggest parties. Besides these two main parties, there are a few other parties that are combined into the green line in figure 3 because they have relatively few seats. Between the 2008 and the 2017 election the proportion of Labour and National has been quite stable. Only in the recent election this has changed with the Labour Party currently occupying 32 more seats than the National Party.

### Figure 4.3. Seat distribution in Parliament.[[22]](#footnote-22)

The combination of the MMP system, the dedicated seats and the presence of the Māori Party ensures the voice of Māori people in Parliament and political life in general (Xanthaki and O’Sullivan, 2009). The Māori Party, founded in 2004, strives to empower Māori people and has the goal to achieve self-determination for all indigenous peoples in Aotearoa New Zealand.[[23]](#footnote-23) Except for the government period of 2017-2020, the Māori Party have been in Parliament since their foundation in 2004.

In 2007, the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP) got adopted. This is an agreement among governments of how states should treat indigenous peoples and respect their rights. However, the government of Aotearoa New Zealand, led by the Labour Party (New Zealand Parliament, 2020a), voted against it at that time. After the elections of 2008, a new government was formed, led by the National Party (New Zealand Parliament, 2020a). This was a minority government supported by among others the Māori Party (New Zealand Parliament, 2020a). This government signed the UN Declaration in 2010 (Mutu, 2018). The delayed signature of Aotearoa New Zealand does not coincide with their progressive picture regarding Māori people. Aotearoa New Zealand is mostly seen as a state with a respectful relationship with its indigenous peoples (Morris, 2014). The delayed signature sends a signal of ignorance and disrespect. Even when Aotearoa New Zealand signed the declaration in 2010, Mutu (2018) argues that this is still not fulfilling the rights and needs of Māori people. In the speech, given by Nanaia Mahuta, MP of the Labour Party, the previous government regretted that they were unable to sign the declaration (New Zealand Parliament, 2010). “Unable” because the declaration did not match the constitution of Aotearoa New Zealand. When they signed the declaration, they strongly linked their speech, given by the Minister of Justice Simon Power (2010), to the Treaty of Waitangi:

“The Declaration contains principles that are consistent with the duties and principles inherent in the Treaty, such as operating in the spirit of partnership and mutual respect. We affirm this objective, and affirm the Government’s commitment to build and maintain constructive relationships with Māori to achieve better results for Māori, which will benefit New Zealand as a whole.”

According to Xanthaki and O’Sullivan (2009) Aotearoa New Zealand provides an example of how to successfully implement international norms on the national level. The principles of the UN Declaration are directly applied in the Māori seats of Aotearoa New Zealand’s MMP system (Xanthaki and O’Sullivan, 2009). Besides, the declaration recognises the distinctive position of indigenous peoples in society by emphasizing the need for separate rights. However, not all scholars agree with the viewpoint of Xanthaki and O’Sullivan (2009). Adamson (2012) warns of the purely symbolic function of the declaration, resulting from the non-binding nature. This is exactly what is going on according to Mutu (2018). Despite the signature, Aotearoa New Zealand still violates the rights of Māori people and the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi. Reconciliation and justice for Māori people is impossible within the current constitutional system (Mutu, 2018). An equal position for Māori requires change on the legal level. During the last twenty years the Aotearoa New Zealand government has been creating settlement bills for justice and reconciliation for Māori people. The government claims the great success of these settlements, while the Māori population does not receive them as such (Mutu, 2018). For them, the settlements are far from complete and fair. This reveals a complex situation; what might be proposed as an improvement, might not be the case in practice.

The UN made several recommendations to the state of Aotearoa New Zealand to improve the position and wellbeing of Māori people (United Nations General Assembly, 2014; United Nations Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, 2017; United Nations Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, 2018). For instance, the UN Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination reported that the state of Aotearoa New Zealand in 2017 did not live up to the international standards for indigenous peoples. Criticisms resulting from this report stated that the state’s actions were not in line with the Treaty of Waitangi and the state does not recognize the right for self-determination to Māori people.

In sum, the MMP in combination with the Māori seats led to an increase in MPs from Māori descent. In both the current and the previous government, the Labour Party is the leading party. The Māori Party returned to Parliament after the 2020 election. In combination with the Māori seats and the MMP system, this ensures the voice of Māori people in Parliament. But although Aotearoa New Zealand eventually signed the UNDRIP the position of Māori people remains disputed. In the next section the claims made in the parliamentary speeches will be analysed.

## 4.2 Claims-making analysis

 The goal of the claims-making analysis is to see whether Māori MPs are more likely to make claims on behalf of Māori people than non-Māori MPs. Furthermore, the claims-making analysis tests whether the claims are symbolic or substantive and what the main characteristics of the claims are.

### 4.2.1 Answering the research question

 Table 4.1 shows that the coding of the speeches resulted in 230 claims, of which 103 claims in the previous government period (52nd) and 127 claims in the current government period (53rd). In the following sections the data resulting from the coded claims will be analysed. Out of the 230 claims, 108 claims were made by Māori MPs. In table 4.1 we can see that 47% of the claims were made by Māori people, while we see in table 4.2 that they only make up around 20% of the MPs in both government periods.

### Table 4.1. Number of claims made by (non-)Māori MPs.

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|   | 52nd and 53rd government period | 52nd government period | 53rd government period |
| Māori MPs | 108 (47,0%) | 46 (44,7%) | 62 (48,8%) |
| Non-Māori MPs | 122 (53,0%) | 57 (55,3) | 65 (51,2%) |
| Total | 230 (100%) | 103 (100%) | 127 (100%) |

###

###

### Table 4.2. Number of (non-)Māori MPs.

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
|  | 52nd government period | 53rd government period |
| Number of Māori MPs | 27 (22,5%) | 23 (19,2%) |
| Number of Non-Māori MPs | 93 (77,5%) | 97 (80,8%) |
| Total | 120 (100%) | 120 (100%) |

A chi-square test7 is used to compare the expected number of Māori claims with the observed number of Māori claims. Table 4.3 shows that the chi-square tests are significant in both government periods. Meaning that Māori MPs are more likely to make claims on behalf of Māori people than non-Māori MPs. This confirms the main hypothesis of this thesis: *Descriptive representation of indigenous peoples enhances the substantive claims made on their behalf.*

### Table 4.3. Chi-Square tests (non-)Māori MPs.

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Government period | MPs | Expected number of claims | Observed number of claims | Chi-Square | Df | Significance |
| 52 | Māori | 23,175 | 46 | 64,711 | 1 | 0,000 |
|  | Non- Māori | 79,825 | 57 |  |  |  |
|  | Total | 103 | 103 |  |  |  |
| 53 | Māori | 24,34167 | 62 | 86,362 | 1 | 0,000 |
|  | Non- Māori | 102,6583 | 65 |  |  |  |
|  | Total | 127 | 127 |  |  |  |

In the next section the differences between the two time periods will be explained.

### 4.2.2 Time-periods

 The speeches analysed in this thesis are between 23 July 2019 and 17 February 2021. This period can be split up into two parts. First, the 52nd government period, ranging from 23 July 2019 until 16 October 2020. Second, the 53rd government period, ranging from 17 October 2020 until 17 February 2021. Both government periods were under Labour leadership (New Zealand Parliament, 2020a). The starting date, 23 July 2019, is linked to the Māori protest of the stolen children. During the coding process no speeches were linked to this. This can be a coincidence since the speeches are selected randomly. Thus, there might be speeches where the MPs talked about the protest, which were just not selected in this thesis to analyse. Meanwhile, the end date of 17 February 2021 is linked to the disagreement around the clothing of MPs. Rawiri Waititi was wearing a hei-tiki instead of the, at that time mandatory, tie. In the coded speeches one speech covers this incident[[24]](#footnote-24).

 Figure 4.4 shows the number of speeches that were coded over time. A clear difference is visible between the 52nd and the 53rd government period. During the transition from 2020 to 2021 many speeches were coded in comparison with the other months. This is due to the installation of the new Parliament. 50 out of the 127 speeches are titled ‘Address in Reply Debate’. From these 50 speeches, 47 were in the period December until February. The Address in Reply Debate is a special debate that opens the period of a new Parliament (New Zealand Parliament, 2020b). During this debate, most MPs are holding their maiden speech. Maiden speeches are deeply personal; MPs talk about their upbringing, values, and the community they represent.[[25]](#footnote-25) This explains the relatively high number of speeches in December 2020 and January 2021 that addresses the Māori population. In the following sections all different aspects of the claims will be analysed: claimant, issue, object, addressee, evaluation, unification, and justification. Starting the next section with the results of the analysis of the claimant.



### Figure 4.4. Number of claims over time.

### 4.2.3 Analysing the claimant

As we have seen in table 4.3, Māori MPs are more likely to make claims on behalf of Māori people than non-Māori MPs. Interesting differences can be seen between the two government periods. In the 52nd government period 27 Māori MPs were in Parliament, while there were only 23 in the 53rd government period. Therefore, it is remarkable that in the 53rd government period more claims were made by Māori MPs, namely 48,8%, than in the 52nd government period, namely 44,7%. It is not a big difference, but it goes against the expectation of the hypothesis. According to the hypothesis, more Māori MPs would lead to an increase in Māori claims. The increase in claims while having a decrease in Māori MPs could be due to the fact that the Māori Party returned to Parliament in the 53rd government period.

Figure 4.5 presents the number of claims per party in the previous government period. The Labour Party made the most claims followed by the National Party. Although the National Party was the biggest party in Parliament with 56 seats, they made fewer claims than the Labour Party with 46 seats (Electoral Commission, 2017). However, the Labour Party was in lead of the government (New Zealand Parliament, 2020a).



### Figure 4.5. Claims made per party in the 52nd government period.

Figure 4.6 presents the number of claims per party for the current government period. Again, the Labour Party made the most claims. This is not surprising since the Labour Party is the biggest party in Parliament.[[26]](#footnote-26) Also, the Labour Party has clear policy standpoints about Māori people19 and is aiming to include Māori in society while simultaneously acknowledging the fundamental differences that arose between Māori people and the state (Humpage, 2006). Thereby they acknowledge the special status that the Māori have by the virtue of being first-nation people. The difference in the number of claims between the Labour Party and the other parties is far greater in the 53rd government period than in the 52nd. This can be partly explained by the increase of seats of the Labour Party from 46 in the 52nd government period[[27]](#footnote-27) to 65 in the 53rd government period (Electoral Commission, 2020).

Out of figure 4.6 becomes also clear that the Māori Party made 20 out of the 127 claims in total in the 53rd government period. This is a share of 15,7%. Thereby they made the second most claims of the five parties. However, the differences with the three following parties were not significant (National Party, Green Party, ACT).



### Figure 4.6. Claims made per party in the 53rd government period.

When the mean number of claims from the Māori Party is compared with other Māori MPs and non-Māori MPs, a significant difference becomes visible. The Māori Party has only two seats. With two MPs they make 15,7% of the claims. The average number of claims for every MP is 1,1 (127 claims divided through 120 MPs). In table 4.4 the average number of claims for different MP groups become visible. As we can see the average number of claims for Māori MPs is, with a value of 2,5, higher than the overall average of 1,1. But the average number of claims for an MP of the Māori Party is 10. This is quite extreme in comparison with the other averages of the number of claims from the other (Māori) MPs. Therefore, it is not surprising that the differences between these MPs are significant (see table 4.4).

### Table 4.4. Average number of claims made in the 53rd government period.

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Number of MPs | Number of claims | Average number of claims | P value |
| Non- Māori MPs | 97 | 65 | 0,7 | 1,71834E-16 |
| Māori MPs  | 23 | 57 | 2,5 |  |
| MPs of the Māori Party  | 2 | 20 | 10 |  |
| Māori MPs from other parties  | 21 | 37 | 1,8 |  |

Another aspect that is important concerns how an MP is chosen. The MPs chosen on the Māori roll can be expected to make more claims on behalf of Māori people than other (Māori) MPs. This expectation is confirmed with a significant chi-square value shown in table 4.5.

### Table 4.5. Chi-square test claimants.

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
|  | 52nd government period | 53rd government period |
| Chi-Square | 74.927 | 29.613 |
| Df | 2 | 2 |
| Significance | 0.000 | 0.000 |

Besides, the gender of the claimant is coded. As becomes clear in figure 4.7, in the previous government period men make slightly more claims than women do. However, these differences are not significant.



Figure 4.7. Gender of claimants in the 52nd government period.

Figure 4.8 shows a comparable picture for the current government period. Again, men make slightly more claims than women do, but not with a significant difference.

### Figure 4.8. Gender of claimants in the 53rd government period.

To summarise, claims on behalf of Māori people are more likely to be made by Māori MPs than non-Māori MPs. Even more when they are chosen on the Māori roll. Most claims are made by MPs of the Labour Party. But MPs of Māori Party make on average far more claims than any other party. The next sections will dive deeper into the content of the claims. To start with the issues around which the claims were made.

### 4.2.4 Analysing issues

 For the analysis, two categories of issues were distinguished: indigenous-specific and universal issues. Indigenous-specific issues are solely directed at Māori people, like the Treaty of Waitangi or Māori rights. Universal issues can be directed to a broader public, for example issues about health or education. Table 4.6 shows that out of the 230 claims, 106 claims mentioned universal issues. This comes down to 46,1%, meaning that the majority of the claimants (53,9%) addressed an indigenous-specific issue. In the current government period, the share of indigenous-specific issues is greater than in the previous government period.

### Table 4.6. Issue-categories.

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | 52nd government period | 53rd government period | 52nd and 53rd government period |
| Indigenous-specific | 45 (43,7%) | 79 (62,2%) | 124 (53,9%) |
| Universal | 58 (56,3%) | 48 (37,8%) | 106 (46,1%) |
| Total | 103 (100%) | 127 (100%) | 230 (100%) |

Table 4.7 shows that Māori MPs in 64,8% of the claims state an indigenous-specific issue, while non-Māori MPs only state an indigenous-specific issue in 44,3% of the claims. Thus, Māori MPs seem to be important in the representation of issues that specifically address Māori people.

### Table 4.7. Indigenous-specific/universal issues addressed by MPs during both government periods.

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
|  | Māori MPs | Non-Māori MPs |
| Indigenous-specific | 70 (64,8%) | 54 (44,3%) |
| Universal | 38 (35,2%) | 68 (55,7%) |
| Total | 108 (100%) | 122 (100%) |

The relation between the categories of issues mentioned with the descent of an MP is measured using a Cramer’s V test.8 As revealed in table 4.8, there is a significant, although weak, relation.

### Table 4.8 Cramer’s V: MPs and issues.

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
|  | Value | Significance |
| Cramer’s V | 0,206 | 0,002 |
| N | 230 |  |

Figure 4.9 shows that the two main issues are the ‘Treaty of Waitangi/crown-Māori relation’ and ‘governance, autonomy and self-determination’.



### Figure 4.9. Issues mentioned by MPs in both government periods.

When we look at table 4.9, we see that these two issues both take up around 20% of the share of the issues addressed during both government periods. These findings are not surprising seen the history of Aotearoa New Zealand. The Treaty of Waitangi forms the basis ensuring the rights of Māori people in policies (Stokes, 1992). Causing a lot of claims that address this issue. Reading the speeches, it became clear that the political position of Māori people, both at the local and national level, remains a much discussed topic.

Table 4.9 reveals that the Treaty of Waitangi is mainly mentioned in the 52nd government period (30,1%) and the issue of governance in the 53rd government period (32,3%). During the 52nd government period many Settlement Bills were discussed in Parliament. These bills recognise the wrongs of the state in the past by compensating Māori people. The state deprived many Māori tribes from their land in the past and tries to make up for this by giving them land and/or money. These Settlement Bills explain the high number of claims that were coded under the ‘Treaty of Waitangi/crown-Māori relation’. In the 53rd government period, a new bill regarding Māori representation on the local level was heavily discussed. On this bill there were many debates held in a short period of time because many MPs wanted the bill to be executed in the near future.

### Table 4.9. Issues mentioned by MPs.

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | 52nd government period | 53rd government period | Total |
| Social policy | 9 (8,7%) | 13 (10,2%) | 22 (9,6%) |
| Health | 15 (14,6%) | 11 (8,7%) | 26 (11,3%) |
| Education, art and language | 10 (9,7%) | 8 (6,3%) | 18 (7,8%) |
| Energy, resources and environment | 3 (2,9%) | 4 (3,1%) | 7 (3,0%) |
| Crime | 12 (11,7%) | 5 (3,9%) | 17 (7,4%) |
| Trade and Economy | 1 (1,0%) | 6 (4,7%) | 7 (3,0%) |
| Housing | 8 (7,8%) | 1 (0,8%) | 9 (3,9%) |
| Māori rights | 3 (2,9%) | 6 (4,7%) | 9 (3,9%) |
| Treaty of Waitangi/ Māori-crown relation | 31 (30,1%) | 16 (12,6%) | 47 (20,4%) |
| Governance, autonomy and self-determination | 10 (9,7%) | 41 32,3%) | 51 (22,2%) |
| Land, wildlife and fisheries | 1 (1,0%) | 16 (12,6%) | 17 (7,4%) |
| Total | 103 (100%) | 127 (100%) | 230 (100%) |

As we can see in table 4.9, besides the issues of the Treaty of Waitangi and governance, the indigenous-specific issue ‘land, wildlife and fisheries’ is regularly discussed. 7,4% of the claims of both government periods are directed towards this issue. From the universal issues, ‘social policy’, ‘health’, ‘crime’ and ‘education, art and language’ were mainly claimed. A chi-square test is performed to see whether the differences between the two categories ‘indigenous-specific’ and ‘universal’ issues are significant. Table 4.10 shows that this is only significant regarding the claims made in the 53rd government period.

### Table 4.10. Chi-square tests issues.

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | 52nd government period | 53rd government period | 52nd and 53rd government period |
| Chi-Square | 1,641 | 7,567 | 1,409 |
| Df | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Significance | 0.200 | 0.006 | 0,235 |

 Figure 4.10 shows the issues mentioned by Māori and non-Māori MPs. It becomes clear that Māori MPs address the indigenous specific issues scuh as the Treaty and governance more than non-Māori MPs, while non-Māori MPs address mostly universal issues as crime and social policy. The specific numbers are stated in Appendix C (table C.4.20).



### Figure 4.10. Issues mentioned by (non-)Māori MPs in both government periods.

In sum, indigenous-specific issues are more often discussed than universal issues, with the Treaty of Waitangi and the issue of governance as main issues. In the next section, the results for the object of the claims are further discussed.

### 4.2.5 Analysing the object

 There is a clear outcome regarding the object of the claims. The overwhelming majority of the claims is made on behalf of the whole Māori population (78,8%), meaning that MPs mostly talk about Māori people in general instead of individual Māori people or specific Māori tribes. Table 4.11 shows that from the 230 claims in total, only 7 were made on behalf of an individual Māori, 42 on a specific Māori group and 181 on the whole Māori population. The next section explains the results regarding the variables ‘addressee’ and ‘unification’.

### Table 4.11. Object of the claims.

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | 52nd government period | 53rd government period | Total |
| Individual from Māori descent | 1 (1,0%) | 6 (4,7%) | 7 (3,0%) |
| Specific Māori group | 26 (25,2%) | 16 (12,6%) | 42 (18,3%) |
| Whole Māori population | 76 (73,8%) | 105 (82,7%) | 181 (78,7%) |
| Total | 103 (100%) | 127 (100%) | 230 (100%) |

###

### 4.2.6 Analysing the addressee and presence of the unification

The addressee of the claim reveals an important distinction between symbolic and substantive claims. As explained in the theoretical framework, the two concepts are relational, but can be distinguished by the attendance of an action. As mentioned in chapter 3, a substantive claim is identified when an addressee is mentioned, because the addressee is the one acting. Table 4.12 gives an overview of the mentioned addressees. In 31,7% of the claims no addressee is mentioned, meaning that in 68,3% of the claims an addressee is mentioned.[[28]](#footnote-28) In the 52nd government period in 73 claims out of the 103, an addressee is mentioned. In the 53rd government period this is the case in 84 out of 127 claims. This comes down to respectively 70,9% and 66,1% substantive claims. Meaning that around two-thirds of the claims is substantive, and thus referring to an addressee, and one-third symbolic, not referring to an addressee.

Table 4.12 shows the number of symbolic and substantive claims that are made by Māori MPs and non-Māori MPs. From this table, we can conclude that Māori MPs are not necessary in the making of substantive claims. Māori MPs are not necessary, because non-Māori MPs also make claims, not only substantive, but also symbolic. As table 4.12 shows, out of the 157 substantive claims, non-Māori MPs made 83 claims.

### Table 4.12 Symbolic and substantive claims made by (non-)Māori MPs.

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Symbolic claims | Substantive claims | Total |
| Māori MPs | 34 (46,6%) | 74 (47,1%) | 108 (47,0%) |
| Non-Māori MPs | 39 (53,4%) | 83 (52,9%) | 122 (53,0%) |
| Total | 73 (100%) | 157 (100%) | 230 (100%) |

Table 4.13 shows that there are two main addressees: the government and other MPs/Parliament. In both government periods, the government is mentioned most often. The second addressee ‘other MPs/Parliament’ is mentioned somewhat more in the previous (24,3%) than in the current government period (16,5%). Meaning mostly that the government and MPs or parliament are requested to take action. This is not surprising, since the claims analysed are solely claims made by MPs. However, all categories, except the category ‘Māori citizens’, cover governmental actors. Thus, it is notable that addressees mentioned are not very specific, but more general like the government or parliament. An exception is the Māori Affairs Committee. This is a specific addressee that is mentioned a considerably number of times (9,1%). Implying that the Māori Affairs Committee has an influential role in representing Māori people.

### Table 4.13. Addressee of the claims.

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | 52nd government  | 53rd government | Total |
| Absent | 30 (29,1%) | 43 (33,9%) | 73 (31,7%) |
| Government | 30 (29,1%) | 48 (37,8%) | 78 (33,9%) |
| Local actors | 3 (2,9%) | 2 (1,6%) | 5 (2,2%) |
| Māori Affairs Committee | 12 (11,7%) | 9 (7,1%) | 21 (9,1%) |
| MP him/herself | 0 (0%) | 2 (1,6%) | 2 (0,9%) |
| Māori citizens | 0 (0%) | 1 (0,8%) | 1 (0,4%) |
| Other Māori MP(s) | 3 (2,9%) | 1 (0,8%) | 4 (1,7%) |
| Other MPs/Parliament | 25 (24,3%) | 21 (16,5%) | 46 (20,0%) |
| Total | 103 (100%) | 127 (100%) | 230 (100%) |

The variable that is closely related to the concept of symbolic representation is ‘unification’. Table 4.14 shows that in 20% of the claims, the claimant makes an attempt to unify themselves with the Māori population. There are no big differences between the two government periods. The presence of Māori MPs is not sufficient in providing substantive representation. Table 4.14 reveals that the presence of a Māori MP results in both symbolic and substantive claims. In case of sufficiency, the presence of a Māori MP should (almost) always lead to a substantive claim. Although, Māori MPs are neither necessary nor sufficient in making substantive claims, they play an important role in the representation of Māori people as revealed earlier by the chi-square test in table 4.3, that showed that Māori MPs are more likely to make claims on behalf of Māori people than non-Māori MPs.

### Table 4.14. Unification of the claims.

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | 52nd government period | 53rd government period | Total |
| Absent | 87 (84,5%) | 97 (76,4%) | 184 (80,0%) |
| Present | 16 (15,5%) | 30 (23,6%) | 46 (20,0%) |
| Total | 103 (100%) | 127 (100%) | 230 (100%) |

 The distinction between symbolic and substantive claims is not as simple as proposed above. The division that is made using the presence of an addressee as prove for a substantive claim and the absence of an addressee as prove for a symbolic claim is not showing the complete picture. As already mentioned in chapter 2, the concepts are relational. Meaning that they cannot be divided in a rigid way. The results displayed in table 4.15 confirm this. This table shows the results of the variable ‘unification’: a binominal variable which covered the attempts that are made to unification/togetherness. Table 4.15 reveals that attempts to unification are not solely made in symbolic claims, but also in substantive claims. In 17,8% of the substantive claims an attempt to unification is made, meaning that the substantive and symbolic claims can go together.

### Table 4.15. Unification of substantive claims.

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | 52nd government | 53rd government | Total |
| Absent | 61 (83,6%) | 86 (81,0%) | 129 (82,2%) |
| Present | 12 (16,4%) | 16 (19,0%) | 28 (17,8%) |
| Total | 73 (100%) | 84 (100%) | 157 (100%) |

Besides the addressee, the evaluation of the addressee was coded. Table 4.16 shows that the claimants of the current government period made 71 evaluations of the addressees. This is less than the 86 evaluations of the previous government. In both government periods the positive evaluations overruled the negative evaluations.

### Table 4.16. Evaluation of the addressee.

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | 52nd government | 53rd government | Total |
| Negative | 23 (26,7%) | 13 (18,3%) | 36 (15,7%) |
| Neutral | 5 (5,8%) | 2 (2,8%) | 7 (3,0%) |
| Positive | 37 (43,0%) | 20 (28,2%) | 57 (24,8%) |
| Absent | 21 (24,4%) | 36 (50,7%) | 57 (36,3%) |
| Total | 86 (100%) | 71 (100%) | 157 (100%) |

 Table 4.17 compares the evaluation of addressees from Māori MPs with non-Māori MPs. Non-Māori MPs evaluate the addressee precisely as much positive as negative with a percentage of 19,7. Māori MPs evaluate the addressee more often positively (30,6%) than negatively (11,1%). This implies that Māori MPs are in general content with the discourse of MPs.

### Table 4.17. Evaluations of the addressees by (non-)Māori MPs.

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Non-Māori MPs | Māori MPs | Total |
| Negative | 24 (19,7%) | 12 (11,1%) | 36 (15,7%) |
| Neutral | 2 (1,6%) | 5 (4,6%) | 7 (3,0%) |
| Positive | 24 (19,7%) | 33 (30,6%) | 57 (24,8%) |
| Absent | 72 (59,0%) | 58 (53,7%) | 130 (56,5%) |
| Total | 122 (100%) | 108 (100%) | 230 (100%) |

In sum, around two-thirds of the claims are substantive. In 20% of the claims the claimant expresses some degree of unification of themself with the Māori population. The main addressees are the ‘government’, ‘other MPs/Parliament’ and the ‘Māori Affairs Committee’ with mostly positive evaluations. In the next section the justifications are discussed.

### 4.2.7 Analysing the justifications

 The justifications reveal the main argument around which claims are built. Figure 4.11 shows that in both government periods, the justification ‘injustice’ was used the most. This is in line with the developments of the last years, after which it becomes clear that Māori people still face an unequal position in society seen the reports from the United Nations (2014; 2017; 2018). After ‘injustice’ (53,9%), the second most used justification is ‘performance’ (19,1%), closely followed by ‘culture’ (12,2%). The regularly use of the justification ‘performance’ shows that Māori people are often recognized for their actions. The common use of ‘culture’ as justification reveals that MPs recognize the importance of the survival of the Māori culture.



### Figure 4.11. Justifications used in both government periods.

When we look at table 4.18, differences between the two government periods come to the surface. In both government periods the justification ‘injustice’ is used in more than half of the claims. In the previous government period ‘injustice’ is used in 55,3% of the claims and in the current government in 52,8% of the claims. But other than that, the justifications differ quite a lot. After injustice, ‘performance’ is the most used justification in the 53rd government period with a percentage of 34,6. It is notable that ‘performance’ is an important justification in the current government period, while this justification is not used in the previous government period. Vice versa, this is true for the justifications ‘culture’ which is used in 27,2%, and ‘economy’, which is used in 15,5%.

The often used justification ‘performance’ could be due to the Covid-19 crisis. While reading the speeches MPs, it appeared that MPs recognized the effort that the Māori undertook regarding the Covid-19 crisis several times. The justification ‘urgence’ is also used quite some times in the 53rd government period (7,9%). This justification is probably closely related to the bill for Māori representation on the local level. During the speeches on this bill, it became clear that this had to be installed quickly due to upcoming local elections in 2022 (Mahuta, 2021). To see whether there is a significant correspondence between the justifications and the issues, a Cramer’s V test is performed.

### Table 4.18. Justifications of claims.

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | 52nd government | 53rd government | Total |
| Performance | 0 (0%) | 44 (34,6%) | 44 (19,1%) |
| Injustice | 57 (55,3%) | 67 (52,8%) | 124 (53,9%) |
| Urgence | 0 (0%) | 10 (7,9%) | 10 (7,9%) |
| Substantive | 0 (0%) | 6 (4,7%) | 6 (4,7%) |
| Culture | 28 (27,2%) | 0 (0%) | 28 (12,2%) |
| Economy | 16 (15,5%) | 0 (0%) | 16 (7,0%) |
| Absent | 2 (1,9%) | 0 (0%) | 2 (1,9%) |
| Total | 103 (100%) | 127 (100%) | 230 (100%) |

Using Cramer’s V, the conclusion is that there is a relation between the justifications and the issues. This becomes clear in figure 4.12, where we see that certain justifications match with certain issues. The precise numbers and percentages of figure 4.12 are stated in table C.4.21 in Appendix C. Indeed, when we look at the justification ‘performance’, figure 4.12 reveals that it is often used with the issue of health. However, this justification is used on many more issues. Meaning that the Covid-19 crisis only explains partly the common use of ‘performance’ as justification in the 53rd government period. The other suggestion was that the justification of ‘urgence’ would be closely aligned with the issue of governance. Figure 4.12 reveals that this is indeed the case. As mentioned before, ‘injustice’ is the most used justification. In figure 4.12 we see that this justification is used in combination with almost all issues, but mostly with the Treaty of Waitangi. This is not surprising since the Treaty is closely related to injustice. The same goes for the issue of crime and governance. The justification of ‘economy’ is almost solely used for the issues ‘land, wild and fisheries’ and ‘trade and economy’. With both issues this justification fits quite well, because of their economic character.



### Figure 4.12. Justification per issue of both government periods.

Table 4.19 shows that the Cramer’s V, revealing a relation between the issues and justifications, is significant with a value of 0,401. Thus, the two variables are having a medium strong association.

### Table 4.19. Cramer’s V: issue and justification.

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
|  | Value | Significance |
| Cramer’s V | 0,401 | 0,000 |
| N  | 230 |  |

 In sum, in both government periods ‘injustice’ is the most used justification. Apart from that, the two government periods differ in the used justifications. The justifications ‘culture’ and ‘economy’ are used many times in the 52nd government period and the justification ‘performance’ was used a lot during the 53rd government period. The used justifications are related to the mentioned issues in the claims. Especially, the justification ‘injustice’; this one is mostly used in with the Treaty of Waitangi. In the next section the conclusion of this chapter is given.

## 4.3 Conclusion

 This chapter revealed the main findings of the claims-making analysis of the political representation of Māori people in Aotearoa New Zealand’s Parliament. The findings confirm the main hypothesis: *Descriptive representation of indigenous peoples enhances the substantive claims made on their behalf.* MPs of Māori descent are more likely to make claims on behalf of Māori people than other MPs. MPs chosen via the Māori roll even more. It is remarkable that in the 53rd government period more claims were made than in the 52nd government period, while there were less Māori MPs in Parliament. This increase in claims is probably due to the return of the Māori Party to Parliament after the 2020 election. The Māori Party made a significant proportion of the claims in the 53rd government period. Overall, the Labour Party made the most claims. This is not surprising seeing the fact that they are the leaders in both governments. There are no significant differences regarding the gender of the claimants. The Treaty of Waitangi and governance were the most discussed issues. The object was mostly the whole Māori population. There were three main addressees: the government, other MPs/Parliament, and the Māori Affairs Committee. The addressees were mostly positively evaluated by the claimants. Most claims were substantive, but also a considerable part of the claims was symbolic. In 20% of the claims the claimant identified themselves with the Māori population. The justification most used is ‘injustice’, followed at a distance by ‘performance’ and ‘culture’.

The contextual overview matches the main findings of the claims-making analysis. The findings confirm that the Treaty of Waitangi is indeed key in Māori representation. It still determines the relation between Māori and the state. Where it once was a delusion for Māori people, it turned into an insurance for the protection of Māori rights. The dedicated seats for Māori people ensure their representation in Parliament. Māori MPs are not solely elected via the Māori roll, but also via the general roll or the party lists, resulting in far more Māori MPs in Parliament than the seven Māori seats. This does not mean that the Māori seats are unnecessary. Rather, the claims-making analysis revealed the importance of the Māori seats by the fact that people chosen on the Māori roll are more likely to make claims on behalf of Māori people than other Māori MPs. As Xanthaki and O’Sullivan (2019) mention, the combination of the MMP system, the Māori seats and the Māori Party ensure the voice of Māori in Parliament. The Māori Party reveals its value in the claims-making analysis; they made on average the most claims.

Lastly, the frequent use of the justification ‘injustice’ marks the unfair and unequal situation that Māori nowadays still face. This corresponds to the developments from the past years. Of course, improvement has been made regarding the social, political, and economic situation of Māori people, but a great deal has still to be done. The delayed signature of the UN declaration and the still present violation of the rights of Māori people reveal the shortcomings of the government policy. However, the relatively high number of Māori MPs and the return of the Māori Party into Parliament reveals a positive picture of the political representation of Māori people. This outlines hope for improvement of the difficult situation Māori people still face when it comes to representation.

# Chapter 5: Discussion and Conclusion

 For Māori representatives, like Rawiri Waititi, the only way to acquire full indigenous representation is by having indigenous politicians in parliament (Waititi, 2021). This thesis aimed to provide more clarity on the role of indigenous politicians in representing indigenous peoples by providing an answer to the following research question: *Does descriptive representation lead to substantive representative claims of indigenous populations in liberal democracies?*  According to the analysis of the claims made in Aotearoa New Zealand’s Parliament a link between descriptive representation and the substantive claims made on behalf of Māori people is present. This chapter consists of a final discussion of the results by connecting it with the literature of political representation. After which the contributions, generalizability and limitations of this thesis are given. This chapter ends with an overall conclusion of the whole thesis. In short, due to a present link between the descriptive and substantive representation of Māori people in Aotearoa New Zealand’s Parliament, a positive outlook arises on the possibilities for the political representation of indigenous peoples in liberal democracies like Canada, Australia, and the United States.

## 5.1 Discussion of the results in relation to the literature

This thesis revealed a link between descriptive representation and substantive claims made on behalf of Māori people in Aotearoa New Zealand’s Parliament. Thus, Māori MPs represent the perspectives of Māori people better than non-Māori MPs. Using the results of the claims-making analysis, the literature of political representation proposed in chapter 2 is reflected on in this section.

Rohrschneider and Thomassen (2020) state that political representation is about the extent to which the interests and preferences of people are represented in democratic institutions. In the case of Māori people this seems to be the case. The dedicated seats ensure the inclusion of Māori people in the parliamentary arena. The results of the claims-making analysis show that Māori as well as non-Māori MPs are making substantive claims on behalf of Māori people. But Māori MPs make many more claims than non-Māori MPs. When they are chosen via the Māori roll or member of the Māori Party, they present Māori perspectives even better. This is in line with the expectation of Maddison (2010) that political representation is more in line with the perspectives of indigenous peoples when they are specifically chosen on behalf of their indigenousness. The results show that this does not per se have to be in the form of dedicated seats, but it could also be in the form of a party. Overall, MPs of the Māori Party made even more claims on behalf of Māori people than MPs chosen via the Māori roll. Thus, due to the presence of descriptively similar people, the perspectives of Māori people are considered in Aotearoa New Zealand’s Parliament. This provides more clarity between the arguments of authors such as Pitkin (1967) or authors such as Phillips (2019), Mansbridge (1999) and Williams (2018). The results of this thesis confirm the arguments from Phillips (2019), Mansbridge (1999) and Williams (2018) which state that Māori people are best represented by a Māori representative because that person shares the same characteristics and experiences causing a mutual understanding of what policy is in their interests.

To recapitulate, Pitkin (1967) argues that political representation can be split up in two parts: ‘standing for’ and ‘acting for’. Pitkin (1967) receives ‘standing for’, mostly referred to as descriptive representation, as distinct from ‘acting for’, mostly referred to as substantive representation. In contrast to Pitkin (1967) this thesis proves, as argued by other scholars, such as Phillips (2019), Mansbridge (1999) and Williams (2018), that the two are interconnected. In the case of Māori people, descriptive representation consists not of simply being there, but also of understanding what problems descriptively similar people face. This makes the substantive expressions of MPs dependent on the presence of descriptively similar characteristics. As stated in chapter 2, Williams (2018) argues that groups that experience inequality and face a history of oppression and discrimination need descriptive representation. From the contextual overview of Aotearoa New Zealand’s history, it appears that Māori people were structurally discriminated and limited in the expression of their culture and their way of living (Stokes, 1992; Bell, 2008). Besides, Māori people still face inequalities today. This becomes clear from the commonly used justification ‘injustice’ and the often addressed issue of the Treaty of Waitangi. In this case descriptive representation is needed, because otherwise mistrust arises (Mansbridge, 1999).

With ‘the representative claim’, Saward (2008) proposes that descriptive, symbolic, and substantive representation are interconnected. Many scholars agree and argue that different forms of political representation cannot be seen separately due to their dynamic relationship (Mackay, 2008; Severs, 2012; Saward, 2006, Schwindt-Bayer and Mishler, 2005). The results of this thesis confirm this relational nature of political representation by revealing the link between descriptive and substantive representation and by revealing that the attempts to unification are not solely made in symbolic claims, but also in substantive claims.

Across the literature, authors such as Maddison (2010) have argued that parliamentary representation mainly contains a symbolic function. Meanwhile, this thesis contradicts this by revealing the many substantive claims that were made on behalf of Māori people. Given the results, descriptive representation plays an important role in the establishment of substantive claims. However, it is neither a sufficient nor a necessary condition. This is because the findings show that Māori MPs as well as non-Māori MPs make substantive claims. Besides, Māori MPs do not solely make substantive claims, but also symbolic Thus, the findings of this thesis contradict the findings of Curtin (2008) and White (2017). The results of White (2017) imply that descriptive representation of Māori people is a sufficient condition in providing their substantive representation. However, White (2017) studied only a limited number of maiden speeches. Contradictory, Curtin (2008) determines that in the case of women, descriptive representation is not sufficient, but necessary, in creating substantive representation. Although the results of this thesis do not support the notion that descriptive representation is necessary in establishing substantive representation. It is supported that the substantive representation of Māori people is much better ensured when they are descriptively represented. Future research should show whether descriptive representation in combination with other conditions provides a sufficient set of conditions in the establishment of substantive claims-making. In the next section, the contributions that this thesis provides are presented.

## 5.2 Contributions of this thesis

The main contribution of this thesis to the literature of political representation provides empirical evidence that confidently proves that descriptive representation leads to substantive claims. The claims-making analysis aligns closely with the recent literature that argues for a broader view on political representation (Phillips, 2019; Mansbridge, 1999; Williams, 2018; Mackay, 2008; Severs, 2012 and Schwindt-Bayer and Mishler, 2005). Therefore, like Saward (2006) proposed, claims-making proves to be an effective method to study political representation.

The link between descriptive and substantive representation is a much debated topic. However, most studies are in the field of gender and representation. There is still a bias in research that creates barriers for research on and by indigenous peoples (Curtin and Sawer, 2016). This thesis contributes to the field of political science by being part of the upcoming research on indigenous peoples (Maddison, 2010; Morris, 2014; Lloyd, 2009; Summersby, 2009; Snagovsky et al, 2020; White, 2017); an important development that brings us one step closer to the understanding of indigenous peoples’ issues and needs. A trend that will hopefully continue.

Today, liberal democracies accept at least some form of descriptive representation as necessary for political representation (Phillips, 2019). Authors, as Phillips (2019), Mansbridge (1999) and Young (2002) argue that the link between descriptive and substantive representation is present. Despite their arguments, the empirical evidence is still inconclusive by finding weak and contradicting results. This thesis contributes to the literature of political representation by connecting this gap between normative and empirical research by finding a link between descriptive representation and substantive claims made on behalf of Māori people.

White (2017) already made an important contribution to the literature of political representation by finding empirical evidence that confirms the link between descriptive and substantive representation in the case of Māori people in Aotearoa New Zealand. This thesis is a valuable addition to the study of White (2017), because of the different method. While White (2017) used a discourse analysis, this thesis used a claims-making analysis. As mentioned earlier, Saward (2006) proposed this claims-making analysis because it fits the dynamic and relational character of political representation. Besides, it aligns to the specific research question of this thesis, since it is focussed on substantive claims. This thesis contributes to the study of White (2017) in at least four ways. First and foremost, the MPs that are giving the speeches. White (2017) only analysed the speeches of Māori MPs, while this thesis analysed speeches of all MPs if the word ‘Māori’ was used. This gives much more weight to the results because the comparison between Māori MPs and non-Māori MPs can be made. Thus, this thesis can confidently state that Māori MPs are more likely to make claims on behalf of Māori people than non-Māori MPs. Second, the identifying and analysing of claims provided much more information than White’s (2017) study detected in speeches. White’s (2017) study is limited to four themes, while this thesis analyses eight aspects of a claim with different categories within each aspect. The eight aspects provide a much broader study by including the location, claimant, issue, object, addressee, evaluation of the addressee, unification, and justification of a claim. The themes of White (2017) are solely directed at measuring the Māori worldview. Third, the kind of speeches. Where White’s (2017) study is solely based on maiden speeches, this thesis takes all different parliamentary speeches into account. This provides a much more complete picture of the political representation of Māori people. Fourth, the number of speeches. White’s (2017) study captures 12 speeches, while this thesis analysed 245 speeches. Overall, this thesis provides a more extensive study to the political representation of Māori people. The results confirm and complete the findings of White’s (2017) study. In the next section, the extent to which these findings are generalizable to other countries and population groups is discussed.

## 5.3 Generalizability of the results

 This thesis shows that in the case of Māori people in Aotearoa New Zealand descriptive representation leads to substantive claims in Parliament. The generalizability of a case study is always contestable. It depends on the scope conditions (Gerring, 2016). Aotearoa New Zealand shares certain characteristics with other liberal democracies like Australia, Canada and the United States. These are also liberal democracies with a history of British colonization. Therefore, it could be possible that the findings of this thesis are generalizable to these countries. That would suggest that the presence of indigenous peoples in Parliaments of liberal democracies increases the substantive claims made on behalf of the indigenous populations. However, it is important to keep in mind that the results are not one-to-one applicable these countries. Besides their similarities, these countries also differ. Three important differences between Aotearoa New Zealand and these three countries are: the size of the indigenous populations, the electoral system, and the history. Firstly, 16,9% of the population of Aotearoa New Zealand is from Māori descent (Stats NZ, 2020). The Māori population is much larger in comparison with the indigenous peoples in Australia, Canada and the United States who form respectively 3,3%, 5% and 2% of the population in their country (Lim and Gibson, 2019; AIHW, 2019; IWGIA, 2016). Secondly, except Aotearoa New Zealand the other three countries have an electoral system based on majority instead of proportional representation.[[29]](#footnote-29) Thirdly, Aotearoa New Zealand has a special history with the immediate creation of the Treaty of Waitangi when the British colonizers entered the land. Further research should show whether these results are also applicable in other liberal democracies with indigenous populations.

Besides the possible generalization to other countries, the potential generalization to other minority groups requires some explanation. As stated in the first chapter, indigenous peoples differ from other minority groups by the virtue of being first-nation peoples. This creates a different relationship to the state. On this basis Māori people rightly claim their special status by having dedicated seats in Parliament (Taonui, 2017). Mansbridge (2005) states that in the case of women, descriptive representation can only be achieved through some form of quota. Future research should show whether dedicated seats or some other form of quota could establish substantive claims for other minority groups. The next section goes deeper into the limitations of this thesis resulting in recommendations for further research.

## 5.4 Limitations of this thesis

Aotearoa New Zealand proved to be an appropriate case in confirming the hypothesis of this thesis. However, due to the overrepresentation of Māori people in the Parliament of Aotearoa New Zealand, one has to be careful of a sample bias. Meaning that a case is chosen because of its highly chance to success (Gerring, 2016). As stated in chapter 3, Aotearoa New Zealand is chosen as a possible *pathway case*. A *pathway case* illustrates the theory in a way that the impact of X on Y confirms the hypothesis (Gerring, 2016). The results of this thesis indeed confirm the hypothesis that followed from the theoretical framework. As mentioned before, Aotearoa New Zealand provides unique conditions with the dedicated seats for Māori people. The sufficient representation makes it possible to study the effect of descriptive representation on the substantive claims being made. However, this is at the expense of the external validity because comparable countries like Australia, Canada and the United States struggle with the political representation of their indigenous peoples. But the advantage of a single case study reveals itself in a deep and thorough study. As stated, the expectation is that the findings are generalizable to other liberal democracies and population groups. Comparative research is needed to determine the degree of applicability of the results of this thesis. However, this thesis provides a first step into the research of indigenous groups in Parliament.

This thesis focusses on the link between descriptive representation and substantive claims. However, this reveals only a limited part of substantive representation. Substantive representation does not only consist of what MPs claim to do, but also of the actual policy outcomes in the end. Future research should prove whether these claims are turned into actions.

 Another limitation refers to the method of ‘the representative claim’ of Saward (2008). The scope of this thesis is limited in terms of the application of the claims-making analysis. As already explained, a claims-making analysis takes a broad view on political representation by analysing many aspects of a claim. However, this thesis used a restricted version of the claims-making analysis. It is limited in three ways. First, according to Saward (2008) the claimant can be anyone, but this thesis only took MPs into account. This is because the parliamentary process reveals the core of political representation (Wängnerud, 2009). Secondly, the location is limited. Where this thesis only analysed parliamentary speeches, claims can be made on much more areas. Future research could study claims being made in the media, for example. Thirdly, the absence of the audience. The audience takes an important place in Saward’s (2006) theory. The relationship between the claimant and the audience makes it dynamic (Phillips, 2019). The claims-making analysis of this thesis misses the role of the audience, in this case the electorate. The electorate has an important role in political representation by having the possibility to react to the choices of MPs. The most accessible and obvious way is to punish or reward an MP by (not) voting for them in the next election. But the reaction of the electorate could also be via for example social media. Since this thesis did not study the role of the audience, the interpretation of the parliamentary representation is possibly biased. This becomes clear out the work of the addressees. This was for the most part evaluated successfully. However, these evaluations are done by MPs themselves, not by the broader Māori population. Mutu (2018) states that the framed success of the settlement bills does not per se lead to an improvement for Māori people. Therefore, it is crucial to take the audience into account in further research into the political representation of indigenous peoples to see whether the claims made, are accepted by the audience. This could be an issue in understanding whether there was indeed more substantive representation. This thesis finds an effect revealing the impact of descriptive representation on substantive claims, but this captures only one part of substantive representation. Even though the claims-making analysis has these limitations it was still chosen because it closely aligns the theories that take a broader view on representation, and it therefore captures many aspects of claims made by representatives.

In sum, this thesis focussed on substantive claims-making of Māori people. Future research could broaden this study in several ways. First by including not only parliamentary actors, but also actors in for example the business or cultural world. Second, future research could broaden the scope of the location to other areas, such as the media. Third, the dynamic relationship should be taken into account to capture a full picture of substantive representation. In this way not only the claims should be taken into account, but also the policy outcomes and the evaluation and reaction of the electorate to these policies. The next section will conclude this thesis by describing the main findings.

## 5.5 Conclusion

 The aim of this thesis was to study the relationship between descriptive representation and substantive claims-making of indigenous peoples in liberal democracies. This link has been found by using Aotearoa New Zealand as a single case study. The starting point of the theoretical framework is provided by the work of Pitkin (1967), who sets out separate forms of political representation. Other scholars reacted to this by finding evidence that reveals an important role for descriptive representation in establishing substantive representation (Wängnerud, 2009; Ruedin, 2020; Sawer, Trembay and Trimble, 2006; Curtin, 2008; Mansbridge, 2005; Maddison, 2010; Summersby, 2009 and White, 2017). These studies are contradicted by some studies that do not find such a link (Snagovsky et al., 2020; Chesterman, 2006). Finally, other scholars that were included in the theoretical framework emphasize the importance of the inclusion of symbolic representation in the study to political representation (Saward, 2006, 2008; Schwindt-Bayer and Mishler, 2005; Severs, 2012 and Mackay, 2008). A claims-making analysis was used to identify the 230 claims made on behalf of Māori people in the parliamentary speeches between 23 July 2019 and 17 February 2021. Overall, the main results show that Māori MPs are more likely to make claims on behalf of Māori people than non-Māori MPs. This effect becomes stronger when Māori MPs are chosen on behalf of the Māori roll or Party. The Labour and Māori party turned out to be key in the representation of Māori people. However, future studies should determine whether these substantive claims of the MPs match with their actions.

The issues that were mostly addressed were the ‘Treaty of Waitangi/Crown-Māori relation’ and ‘governance, autonomy and self-determination’. The object on which behalf the claims were made were mostly the whole Māori population. There were three main addressees: the government, other MPs/Parliament, and the Māori Affairs Committee. They were mostly positively evaluated by the claimant. A claim was identified as substantive when an addressee, who was asked to act, was present. This was the case in most instances. However, also a considerable part of the claims did not consist of an addressee and was therefore identified as a symbolic claim. In 20% of the claims the claimant identified themselves with the Māori population by making an attempt to unification. The justification most used was ‘injustice’. Revealing that Māori people still experience an unjust position in many policy areas. The results display a hopeful picture for the future of the political representation of indigenous peoples. When indigenous peoples are represented in Parliament, they make substantive claims in the name of their people. This thesis proves that the descriptive representation leads to substantive claims in case of Māori people.

I want to conclude with the notion that political representation is all about equality. Therefore, descriptive representation matters; all people deserve a voice in politics. This thesis proves that the descriptive representation does enhance people’s representation in the discourse of the parliamentary arena. Future research should examine whether this also leads to an improvement of people’s everyday lives resulting in practical equality.

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# Appendix A Codebook

## Introduction

This codebook is created with the aim of performing a claims-making analysis to answer the following research question: *Does descriptive representation lead to substantive representative claims of indigenous populations of liberal democracies?*  To answer this question, the claims of Aotearoa New Zealand’s parliamentary speeches are analysed. The goal of the claims-making analysis is to study whether there is a difference between MPs (Members of Parliament) that claim to speak for Māori. More specifically, whether the presence of Māori MPs leads to an increase of claims about Māori people. This claims-making analysis will lead to a broader understanding of the representation of Māori people in parliament.

In the following sections the case and the data gathering are explained after which the concept of a representative claim will be defined. When this is established the coding guide will follow. This coding guide guarantees the validity of the analysis. A pre-coding analysis has been performed to make sure the codes capture the correct interpretation of the claims.

### Case and data gathering

 Aotearoa New Zealand is selected as a single case study on which the claims-making analysis is performed. Aotearoa New Zealand provides a fruitful case to analyse due to their high degree of MPs from Māori descent. This is mainly due to the implementation of dedicated seats in their electoral system.

 The data gathering is based on the Hansard records[[30]](#footnote-30), which are the official records of Aotearoa New Zealand’s parliamentary debates. The search strings select two things: document type and keyword. The document type displays a choice between four categories: event, question, speech, and vote. Hereby is chosen for speech. Regarding the keyword, the word ‘Māori’ is typed in to find all speeches that possibly make a claim about Māori people. A selection of speeches between 23 July 2019 and 17 February 2021 will be analysed. To be precise, 114 of the previous government period (52nd government period) and 131 speeches from the current government period (53rd government period).

 Most of the speeches are in English. Sometimes a part of a speech is stated in Māori. These parts are always followed by an English translation in the Hansard records. However, there are some Māori words which are commonly used in New Zealand’s English language which are not translated in the Hansard records. For example, whanau, meaning family and Te Reo Māori, meaning Māori language. The website of the Māori dictionary[[31]](#footnote-31) is used to translate these words.

### Coding of a representative claim

 The unit of analysis are the claims made by Members of Parliament. Regarding this thesis specifically, a representative claim is defined as ‘the expression of a political opinion by verbal action in the parliamentary sphere regarding Māori’s. This definition implies three delimitations: (1) instances of claim-making must be the result of purposive strategic action of the claimant, (2) they must deal with issues that relate to Māori’s and (3) the claims must be made in parliamentary speeches.’ Most parliamentary speeches are having circa 500 words. The claim can be stated in a single sentence or less, but also in one or more paragraphs. A claim covers only one argument. However, one parliamentary speech can consist of multiple claims. A claim can consist of the following aspects: location, claimant, issue, addressee, evaluation of the addressee, object, unification, and justification. An excel file is used to code all representative claims. Thereby a distinction is made between all above stated different aspects. To start with the first, the location. The ‘WHERE’ of the location, is already fixed at the parliamentary arena. The ‘WHEN’ is limited to the used time frame between 23 July 2019 and 17 February 2021. Now we turn to the other aspects.

 A distinction is made between a symbolic and a substantive claim. To speak of a symbolic claim, the following aspects need to be present: claimant, issue, and object. To speak of a substantive claim the additional aspect of an addressee needs to be present. A claim can also consist of three other aspects, namely an evaluation of the addressee, an unification and a justification. Table A.1 gives a complete overview of all aspects. In the next section, all different aspects with the corresponding variables will be discussed.

### Table A.1. Aspect of a claim.

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| Aspects claim | Description | Variables |
| Location | Where and when is the claim made? | DATE, TITLE |
| Claimant | Who made the claim? | CLAIMANT, CLAIMANTNAME, CLAIMANTPAR, CLAIMANTGEN |
| Issue | What issue does the claim refer to? | ISSUE |
| Object | On whose behalf is the claim made? | OBJECT |
| Addressee | At whom is the claim directed at? | ADDRES |
| Unification | Is there a reference being made to togetherness? | UNI |
| Evaluation | How does the claimant evaluate the addressee? | EVAL |
| Justification | What justification or frame is used for the claim? | JUST |

*Location*

The location answers the question *when* and *where* the claim is made. In this thesis the *where* is fixed beforehand, namely the Parliament of Aotearoa New Zealand. The *when* is limited to the time frame determined in the last section; 23 July 2019 – 17 February 2021. The specific date of the speech will be coded using that date. The name of the variable is *DATE.* The specific dates will be mentioned in the excel file using an eight-digit code; DD-MM-YYYY. Besides the date the title of the speech is mentioned in a separate variable. This will be copied from Aotearoa New Zealand’s website of the Hansard records. The variable is named *TITLE.*

*Claimant*

 A claimant is the actor that makes the claim. Answering the question: “WHO makes the claim?” The claimant is always an MP. The interest is whether the claimant is from Māori descent or not. This is determined based on self-identification. At the end of this appendix, in table A.2 and A.3, the Māori MPs are stated. The information of the other MPs is gathered from the website ‘New Zealand Parliament’.[[32]](#footnote-32) The variables regarding the claimant are *CLAIMANT, CLAIMANTNAME, CLAIMANTPAR, CLAIMANTGEN.*

 *CLAIMANT*

Variable label: ‘descent of Member of Parliament’

Value label:

*List MP (1) Electorate MP – general roll (2) or Māori roll (3)*

1 – Māori 3 – general roll Māori

2 – non-Māori 4 – general roll non-Māori

5 – Māori roll

*CLAIMANTPAR*

Variable label: ‘party of claimant’

Value label:

1 – Labour Party

2 – National Party

3 – Green Party

4 – ACT

5 – Māori Party

6 – independent

7 – New Zealand First

999 – absent

*CLAIMENTGEN*

Variable label: ‘gender of claimant’

Value label:

0 – men

1 – women

999 – no information/ not specified

*Issue*

The issue is a core part of the claim. The issue captures the main content of the claim. The variable is named *ISSUE.* If there are multiple issues addressed in one claim the most important issue will be coded. Most issues speak for themselves, but the issue ‘Treaty of Waitangi/ Crown-Māori relation’ requires some further explanation. Not only claims that explicitly mention the Treaty or the relation of Māori with the Crown are coded here, but also claims consisting of stolen land and government waste or mismanagement, because these are closely related to the Treaty and the Māori-Crown relation.

*ISSUE*

Variable label: ‘main issue of the claim’

Value label:

Universal issues (1)

* Social policy
* Health
* Education, art and language
* Energy, resources and the environment
* Crime
* Trade and economy
* Housing

Indigenous-specific issues (2)

* Māori rights
* Treaty of Waitangi/ Crown-Māori relation
* Governance, autonomy and self-determination
* Land, wildlife and fisheries

*Addressee*

 The addressee shows the group or individual at who the claim is directed. This should answer the question: “WHO should take action?”. The claim should address some person or a group of persons to act. An action could for instance be requiring answers from an MP, asking the government to act on a certain matter or offer a bill to Parliament. The variable is named *ADDRES.* When there is an addressee in addition to a claimant, an issue, and an object, we speak of a substantive claim, because someone is urged to take action. The action is what distinguishes a symbolic from a substantive claim (Severs, 2012). There are a lot of committees created to execute the work of the government. Therefore, they are coded under the category ‘government’. Except for the Māori Affairs Committee; this is coded separately, because it relates directly to Māori policy.

*ADDRES*

Variable label: ‘addressee’

Value label:

1 – MP him/herself

2 – other MP(‘s)/parliament

3 – other Māori MP(‘s)

4 – local actors

5 – government

6 – international actors

7 – Māori Affairs Committee

8 - Māori citizens

999 – absent

*Evaluation*

Besides the evaluation of the addressee matters. The evaluation captures how the addressee is received by the claimant. This can be positive, negative, neutral, or not present at all. The variable name is *EVAL*. This variable is solely directed at the evaluation of the addressee, not about the evaluation of other parts of the claim.

*EVAL*

Variable label: ‘evaluation of the addressee by the claimant’

Value label:

 -1 – negative

 0 – neutral

 1 – positive

*Object*

 The object represents on whose behalf the claim is made. In this thesis this should be on Māori people, otherwise we cannot speak of a claim. Therefore, the variable *OBJECT* is created.The variable, *OBJECT,* answers the question whether the object consists of the whole Māori population, a specific Māori group or an individual from Māori descent. However, according to the pre-coded speeches claims on behalf of individuals from Māori descent occur rarely; it is mostly used in the context of a wider Māori group or the whole Māori population. Only when it is purely about one individual from Māori descent it is coded as such.

The object differs from the addressee. The object shows on whose behalf the claim is made, thus about whom is talked, while the addressee mentions the person or group that must act according to the claim.

*OBJECT*

Variable label: ‘part of Māori population on whose behalf the claim is made’

Value label:

1 – whole Māori population

2 – specific Māori group(s)

3 – individual from Māori descent

*Justification*

The justification of claims consists of the argument being made. Gora and De Wilde (2019, p.30) define a justification as follows: “justifications are the explicit or implicit reasons given by a claimant to rationalize and/or legitimize his or her claims.” This can be done explicitly or contextually. The justification reveals the context and deeper argument in which the claim is seated. The justifications are based on the precoding of some parliamentary speeches. This resulted into seven categories: ‘performance’, ‘injustice’, ‘urgence’, ‘substantive’, ‘culture’, ‘economy’ and ‘absent’. The variable for the justifications is named *JUST.* The first justification, performance, is coded in instances where the claimant praises a person or a group because of their actions. The second justification, injustice, is coded when unfair circumstances are used as the main argument for stating the claim. The third justification, urgence, is coded when the claim is made resulting from time pressure. The fourth justification, substantive, is coded when the claim refers to a words-deeds gap. Meaning that more is needed than just talking; action must be taken. The fifth justification, culture, is coded when the argument on which the claim relies refers to traditions or other aspects of (Māori) culture. Finally, there is the justification economy. All justifications referring to economic aspects are coded here. For example economic benefits or budgets. When a claim does not have a justification it is coded as absent.

*JUST*

Variable label: ‘the reasons given by the claimant to legitimize his or her claims’

Value label:

1 – performance

2 – injustice

3 – urgence

4 – substantive

5 – culture

6 – economy

999 – absent

*Unification*

The variable unification measures whether Māori people are symbolically represented. The variable is named *UNI* and measures whether the claimant identifies with the object he or she claims to stand for. The claimant should create a certain degree of togetherness; the feeling that the claimant and object belong to each other and are facing the same difficulties. This is measured in a binomial variable, meaning that the unification is either coded as present or absent. Words that are expressing unification need to show unity, like “our people” or “we as Māori people”.

*UNI*

Variable label: ‘the claimant identifies with the Māori population’

Value label:

0 – absent

1 – present

### Table A.2. Māori identification Members of Parliament (53rd government).

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Name | General/Māori roll or Party list | Party | Self-identification |
| Allan, Kiritapu | General roll | Labour Party | <https://www.labour.org.nz/kiriallan>  |
| Davidson, Marama | Party list | Green Party | <https://www.greens.org.nz/marama_davidson>  |
| Davis, Kelvin | Māori roll | Labour Party | <https://www.parliament.nz/en/mps-and-electorates/members-of-parliament/davis-kelvin/>  |
| Eagle, Paul | General roll | Labour Party | <https://www.labour.org.nz/pauleagle>  |
| Halbert, Shanan | General roll | Labour Party | <https://www.parliament.nz/en/pb/hansard-debates/rhr/document/HansS_20201201_052740000/mallard-trevor-halbert-shanan>  |
| Henare, Peeni | Māori roll | Labour Party | <https://www.parliament.nz/en/mps-and-electorates/members-of-parliament/?PrimaryFilter=M%C4%81ori+electorate+seats&SecondaryFilter=>  |
| Jackson, Willie | Party list | Labour Party | <https://www.labour.org.nz/williejackson>  |
| Kerekere, Elizabeth | Party list | Green Party | <https://www.greens.org.nz/elizabeth_kerekere>  |
| Luxton, Jo | General roll | Labour Party | <https://www.stuff.co.nz/national/politics/103298466/how-mori-qualifies-as-mori-blueeyed-politician-says-i-feel-like-a-fraud>  |
| Mahuta, Nanaia | Māori roll  | Labour Party | <https://www.parliament.nz/en/mps-and-electorates/members-of-parliament/?PrimaryFilter=M%C4%81ori+electorate+seats&SecondaryFilter=>  |
| McKee, Nicole | Party list | ACT Party | <https://www.parliament.nz/en/pb/hansard-debates/rhr/document/HansS_20201208_051960000/mckee-nicole>  |
| Ngarwea-Packer, Debbie | Party list | Te Paati Māori  | <https://www.maoriparty.org.nz/debbie_ngarewa_packer>  |
| Prime, Willow-Jean | Party list | Labour Party | <https://www.labour.org.nz/willowjeanprime>  |
| Rurawhe, Adrian | Māori roll | Labour Party | <https://www.parliament.nz/en/mps-and-electorates/members-of-parliament/?PrimaryFilter=M%C4%81ori+electorate+seats&SecondaryFilter=> |
| Bridges, Simon | General roll | National Party | <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/feb/27/new-zealand-national-party-elects-maori-leader-jacindamania>  |
| Reti, Shane | Party list | National Party | <https://www.parliament.nz/en/pb/hansard-debates/rhr/document/51HansS_20141029_00000979/reti-shane-address-in-reply>  |
| Tamati, Coffey | Māori roll | Labour Party | <https://www.parliament.nz/en/mps-and-electorates/members-of-parliament/coffey-tamati/>  |
| Tirikatene, Rino | Māori roll | Labour Party | <https://www.parliament.nz/en/mps-and-electorates/members-of-parliament/?PrimaryFilter=M%C4%81ori+electorate+seats&SecondaryFilter=> |
| Tuiono, Teanau | Party list | Green Party | <https://www.greens.org.nz/teanau_tuiono_mp>  |
| Wall, Louisa | Party list | Labour Party | <https://www.parliament.nz/en/pb/hansard-debates/rhr/document/48HansS_20080304_00001030/wall-louisa-maiden-statement>  |
| Waititi, Rawiri | Māori roll | Te Paati Māori  | <https://www.parliament.nz/en/mps-and-electorates/members-of-parliament/?PrimaryFilter=M%C4%81ori+electorate+seats&SecondaryFilter=> |
| Whaitiri, Meka | Māori roll | Labour Party | <https://www.parliament.nz/en/mps-and-electorates/members-of-parliament/?PrimaryFilter=M%C4%81ori+electorate+seats&SecondaryFilter=>  |
| Williams, Arena | General roll | Labour Party | <https://www.parliament.nz/en/pb/hansard-debates/rhr/document/HansS_20201126_051540000/williams-arena>  |

\*This table is created based on a variety of sources. They are stated separately in the references.

### Table A.3. Māori identification Members of Parliament (52nd government).

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Name | General/Māori roll or Party list | Party | Self-identification |
| Allan, Kiritapu | Party list | Labour Party | <https://www.labour.org.nz/kiriallan> |
| Bennett, Paula | General roll | National Party | <https://www.parliament.nz/en/pb/hansard-debates/rhr/document/48HansS_20051116_00000852/bennett-paula-address-in-reply>  |
| Bidois, Dan | General roll | National Party | <https://www.parliament.nz/en/pb/hansard-debates/rhr/combined/HansDeb_20180703_20180703_24>  |
| Bridges, Simon | General roll | National Party | <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/feb/27/new-zealand-national-party-elects-maori-leader-jacindamania>  |
| Davidson, Marama | Party list | Green Party | <https://www.greens.org.nz/marama_davidson>  |
| Davidson, Marama | Party list | Green Party | <https://www.greens.org.nz/marama_davidson>  |
| Davis, Kelvin | Māori roll | Labour Party | <https://www.parliament.nz/en/mps-and-electorates/members-of-parliament/?PrimaryFilter=M%C4%81ori+electorate+seats&SecondaryFilter=> |
| Eagle, Paul | General roll | Labour Party | <https://www.labour.org.nz/pauleagle>  |
| Hayes, Joanne | Party list | National Party | <https://www.parliament.nz/en/pb/hansard-debates/rhr/document/50HansS_20140129_00000932/hayes-joanne-maiden-statements>  |
| Henare, Peeni | Māori roll | Labour Party | <https://www.parliament.nz/en/mps-and-electorates/members-of-parliament/?PrimaryFilter=M%C4%81ori+electorate+seats&SecondaryFilter=>  |
| Hipango, Harete | General roll | National Party | <https://www.parliament.nz/en/pb/hansard-debates/rhr/document/HansS_20171116_055575000/hipango-harete-mallard-trevor>  |
| Jackson, Willie | Party list | Labour Party | <https://www.labour.org.nz/williejackson>  |
| Jones, Shane | Party List | New Zealand First | [https://web.archive.org/web/20081015150848/http://beehive.govt.nz/minister/shane+jones?bio=1](https://web.archive.org/web/20081015150848/http%3A//beehive.govt.nz/minister/shane%2Bjones?bio=1)  |
| Luxton, Jo | Party List | Labour Party | <https://www.stuff.co.nz/national/politics/103298466/how-mori-qualifies-as-mori-blueeyed-politician-says-i-feel-like-a-fraud>  |
| Mahuta, Nanaia | Māori roll  | Labour Party | <https://www.parliament.nz/en/mps-and-electorates/members-of-parliament/?PrimaryFilter=M%C4%81ori+electorate+seats&SecondaryFilter=>  |
| Marcroft, Jenny | Party list | New Zealand First | <https://www.parliament.nz/en/pb/hansard-debates/rhr/document/HansS_20171109_061425000/marcroft-jenny>  |
| Mark, Ron | Party list | New Zealand First | <https://www.nzfirst.nz/hon_ron_mark>  |
| Peters, Winston | Party list | New Zealand First | <https://www.nzfirst.nz/rt_hon_winston_peters>  |
| Prime, Willow-Jean | Party list | Labour Party | <https://www.labour.org.nz/willowjeanprime>  |
| Reti, Shane | Party list | National Party | <https://www.parliament.nz/en/pb/hansard-debates/rhr/document/51HansS_20141029_00000979/reti-shane-address-in-reply>  |
| Ross, Jami-Lee | General roll  | Independent | <https://www.parliament.nz/en/pb/hansard-debates/rhr/document/49HansS_20110406_00001062/ross-jami-lee-maiden-statements>  |
| Rurawhe, Adrian | Māori roll | Labour Party | <https://www.parliament.nz/en/mps-and-electorates/members-of-parliament/?PrimaryFilter=M%C4%81ori+electorate+seats&SecondaryFilter=> |
| Tabuteau, Fletcher | Party list | New Zealand First | <https://www.nzherald.co.nz/rotorua-daily-post/news/election-profile-fletcher-tabuteau/KFDLQZ3UJS4F6YIWTFMDKZHXBU/>  |
| Tamati, Coffey | Māori roll | Labour Party | <https://www.parliament.nz/en/mps-and-electorates/members-of-parliament/coffey-tamati/>  |
| Tirikatene, Rino | Māori roll | Labour Party | <https://www.parliament.nz/en/mps-and-electorates/members-of-parliament/?PrimaryFilter=M%C4%81ori+electorate+seats&SecondaryFilter=> |
| Wall, Louisa | General roll | Labour Party | <https://www.parliament.nz/en/pb/hansard-debates/rhr/document/48HansS_20080304_00001030/wall-louisa-maiden-statement>  |
| Whaitiri, Meka | Māori roll | Labour Party | <https://www.parliament.nz/en/mps-and-electorates/members-of-parliament/?PrimaryFilter=M%C4%81ori+electorate+seats&SecondaryFilter=>  |

\*This table is created based on a variety of sources. They are stated separately in the references.

# Appendix B

 This appendix consists of the pre-coded speeches. In tables B.1 until B.5 the text and aspects of the pre-coded speeches are stated.

### Table B.1 Pre-coded speech 1.

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| *TEXT* | But within that context, we obviously know that in Aotearoa New Zealand, some of the factors that we have to consider are the cultural factors, and so I do want to highlight that the whole issue of organ donation, particularly for Māori, is incredibly complex. So I think that it was a very good piece of work by our Health Committee. Can I just go back to say what I was saying before, that in having the conversation with my father and telling him that I wanted to donate my organs—one of the issues that will come up specifically for Māori in the future, I think, is the opportunity to maybe not donate generally, but to donate to someone from your hapū or your iwi. I also think this is relevant for the Pacific community, because we have this hard time reconciling losing a part of our body when we go back to Papatūānuku, but if we knew that our organs were going to somebody from our extended whānau, then maybe we'd be a bit more engaged in this issue. Kia ora. |
| *DATE* | 17-10-2019 |
| *CLAIMANTNAME* | Wall, Louisa |
| *CLAIMANT* | General roll Māori |
| *CLAIMANTGEN* | Women |
| *CLAIMANTPAR* | Labour Party |
| *ISSUE* | Health |
| *UNI* | Absent  |
| *ADDRES* | Absent  |
| *EVAL* | Absent |
| *OBJECT* | Whole Māori population |
| *JUST* | Culture  |

### Table B.2. Pre-coded speech 2.

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| *TEXT* | I want to talk about the membership of the board as well, because that's important. And if we look at clause 10 of the bill, we can see that that board will have a very broad base. Obviously, we want people with infrastructure and urban development and technical housing expertise, but, equally, we want people with knowledge of Te Ao Māori, with community connections, with perspectives of public housing, with perspectives of being or assisting tenants in public and community housing, because that's all part of understanding how these projects are best delivered. A number of submitters came to us—community submitters—and said, "Well, in some of these projects that Governments have embarked upon we felt left out of the process. We felt we were only taken into account at the last." Well, here we have it that we've got an ability to have those people around the table at Kāinga Ora and making sure that they're absolutely included in the decision-making process. |
| *DATE* | 19-09-2019 |
| *CLAIMANTNAME* | Webb, Duncan |
| *CLAIMANT* | General roll Māori |
| *CLAIMANTGEN* | Men |
| *CLAIMANTPAR* | Labour Party |
| *ISSUE* | Housing |
| *UNI* | Absent  |
| *ADDRES* | Absent  |
| *EVAL* | Absent |
| *OBJECT* | Whole Māori population |
| *JUST* | Injustice |

### Table B.3. Pre-coded speech 3.

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| *TEXT* | I move, That the Local Electoral (Māori Wards and Māori Constituencies) Amendment Bill be reported to the House by 15 February 2021 and that the committee have authority to meet at any time while the House is sitting (except during oral questions), during an evening on a day on which there has been a sitting of the House, and on a Friday in a week in which there has been a sitting of the House, despite Standing Orders 193 and 196(1)(b) and (c). I acknowledge that it is unusual to make a change of this nature in such haste. However, the bill must proceed quickly so that the changes affecting councils can apply for the 2022 local body elections. Councils and communities with Māori ward processes already under way will have certainty about what will happen, expensive poll processes will soon become redundant and they do not need to be started, and—to be clear—for those councils who want to reconsider whether they have Māori wards at the 2022 local elections, if they decide to, every council has until 21 May 2021 to create Māori wards for their communities. After that, councils that have resolved to establish Māori wards will need to undertake the representation review process to make sure that their overall representation arrangements are fair and effective. The bill will address a discriminatory provision where a poll of 5 percent of electors can overturn a resolution to create Māori wards and constituencies. This provision does not apply to general wards and constituencies. That's why we are making the changes contained in the bill. Despite the urgency of the bill, the Government values hearing from all New Zealanders about law reform and we encourage people to make submissions. This is why we are proposing that the select committee process does take place and in haste, and I respectfully ask the Māori Affairs Committee to consider the bill thoroughly and report back to the House by 15 February. Giving the committee additional authority to meet outside the usual hours will support it to meet the time frames that I invite the House to support in this motion. |
| *DATE* | 09-02-2021 |
| *CLAIMANTNAME* | Nanaia, Mahuta |
| *CLAIMANT* | Māori roll |
| *CLAIMANTGEN* | Woman |
| *CLAIMANTPAR* | Labour Party |
| *ISSUE* | Governance, autonomy and self-determination |
| *UNI* | Absent |
| *ADDRES* | Māori Affairs Committee |
| *EVAL* | Absent |
| *OBJECT* | Whole Māori population |
| *JUST* | Urgence |

### Table B.4 Pre-coded speech 4.

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| *TEXT* | In the time that I have, I want to acknowledge the Māori response, particularly in Auckland. I want to acknowledge Turuki Health Care, the Waipareira Trust, and, of course, the Whānau Ora clinic in Manukau, who have come to the fore to ensure the testing, the services support for those vulnerable communities in South Auckland, but in Auckland particularly. They are at their finest, given the 12 months of work that they have undertaken to keep those particular communities safe. I do want to labour that point around the Māori response, not just in Auckland and this recent case but the resilience of those communities throughout Aotearoa in terms of testing and both ensuring communities are communicated with in an appropriate manner but also providing those support services. So I want to acknowledge those particular organisations who are doing a stellar job. |
| *DATE* | 17-02-2021 |
| *CLAIMANTNAME* | Whaitiri, Meka |
| *CLAIMANT* | Māori roll |
| *CLAIMANTGEN* | Women |
| *CLAIMANTPAR* | Labour Party |
| *ISSUE* | Health |
| *UNI* | Absent  |
| *ADDRES* | Absent  |
| *EVAL* | Absent |
| *OBJECT* | Whole Māori population |
| *JUST* | Performance  |

### Table B.5 Pre-coded speech 5.

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| *TEXT* | We demand a Māori Parliament. We want to implement constitutional transformation based on te Matike Mai report. We want to change racist electoral laws so Māori can switch between the Māori and general rolls at any time. But, first of all, commit Māori to the Māori roll and then they can opt out. Establish a commissioner for Te Tiriti o Waitangi to provide oversight of the Crown. Are you listening, Mr Jackson? We want Māori procurement to put whānau first—for more than 5 percent. We want a by Māori, for Māori, mokopuna Māori entity that takes the place of Oranga Tamariki. We want Whānau Ora to be better resourced and for all its funding to go to the commissioning agencies and not to Crown agencies. We want Māori proprietary rights recognised when it comes to water. Māori own the water. We want to stop onshore and offshore oil exploration and drilling and also deep-sea oil drilling in Aotearoa. We want to officially change the name of New Zealand to Aotearoa and all place names to be changed back to their original names. And, yes, you guessed it—we want the oath changed to also reflect tangata whenua e te Tiriti o Waitangi. Many political commentators and many members in this House have said that these policies are ambitious, but they also said that of the Māori Party's return to Parliament—but we are here. |
| *DATE* | 03-12-2020 |
| *CLAIMANTNAME* | Waititi, Rawiri |
| *CLAIMANT* | Māori roll |
| *CLAIMANTGEN* | Men |
| *CLAIMANTPAR* | Māori Party |
| *ISSUE* | Governance, autonomy and self-determination |
| *UNI* | Present |
| *ADDRES* | Absent  |
| *EVAL* | Absent |
| *OBJECT* | Whole Māori population |
| *JUST* | Injustice  |

# Appendix C

### Table C.4.20. Crosstab: MP x issue. 52nd and 53rd government.

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Non-Māori MPs | Māori MPs | Total |
| Crime | 13 | 4 | 17 |
| Education, art and language | 11 | 7 | 18 |
| Energy, resources and environment | 2 | 5 | 7 |
| Governance, autonomy and self-determination | 21 | 30 | 51 |
| Health | 15 | 11 | 26 |
| Housing | 7 | 2 | 9 |
| Land, wildlife and fisheries | 11 | 6 | 17 |
| Māori rights | 3 | 6 | 9 |
| Social policy | 15 | 7 | 22 |
| Trade and economy | 5 | 2 | 7 |
| Treaty of Waitangi/Crown-Māori relation | 19 | 28 | 47 |
| Total | 122 | 108 | 230 |

### Table C.4.21. Crosstab: justification x issue. 52nd and 53rd government.

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|   | absent | culture | economy | injustice | performance | substantive | urgence |  Total |
| Crime | 0 | 1 | 0 | 16 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 17 |
|   | 0,0% | 3,6% | 0,0% | 12,9% | 0,0% | 0,0% | 0,0% | 7,4% |
| Education, art and language | 0 | 8 | 0 | 5 | 5 | 0 | 0 | 18 |
|   | 0,0% | 28,6% | 0,0% | 4,0% | 11,4% | 0,0% | 0,0% | 7,8% |
| Energy, resources and environment | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 0 | 7 |
|   | 50,0% | 3,6% | 0,0% | 0,8% | 4,5% | 33,3% | 0,0% | 3,0% |
| Governance, autonomy and self-determination | 0 | 2 | 1 | 27 | 11 | 1 | 9 | 51 |
|   | 0,0% | 7,1% | 6,3% | 21,8% | 25,0% | 16,7% | 90,0% | 22,2% |
| Health | 0 | 6 | 0 | 10 | 9 | 1 | 0 | 26 |
|   | 0,0% | 21,4% | 0,0% | 8,1% | 20,5% | 16,7% | 0,0% | 11,3% |
| Housing | 0 | 0 | 0 | 4 | 5 | 0 | 0 | 9 |
|   | 0,0% | 0,0% | 0,0% | 3,2% | 11,4% | 0,0% | 0,0% | 3,9% |
| Land, wildlife and fisheries | 0 | 1 | 9 | 5 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 17 |
|   | 0,0% | 3,6% | 56,3% | 4,0% | 2,3% | 16,7% | 0,0% | 7,4% |
| Māori rights | 0 | 2 | 0 | 6 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 9 |
|   | 0,0% | 7,1% | 0,0% | 4,8% | 2,3% | 0,0% | 0,0% | 3,9% |
| Social policy | 1 | 2 | 2 | 13 | 3 | 1 | 0 | 22 |
|   | 50,0% | 7,1% | 12,5% | 10,5% | 6,8% | 16,7% | 0,0% | 9,6% |
| Trade and economy | 0 | 1 | 4 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 7 |
|   | 0,0% | 3,6% | 25,0% | 0,8% | 0,0% | 0,0% | 10,0% | 3,0% |
| Treaty of Waitangi/crown-Māori relation | 0 | 4 | 0 | 36 | 7 | 0 | 0 | 47 |
|   | 0,0% | 14,3% | 0,0% | 29,0% | 15,9% | 0,0% | 0,0% | 20,4% |
|  Total | 2 | 28 | 16 | 124 | 44 | 6 | 10 | 230 |
|   | 100,0% | 100,0% | 100,0% | 100,0% | 100,0% | 100,0% | 100,0% | 100,0% |

1. Māori people are the indigenous people of Aotearoa New Zealand. [↑](#footnote-ref-1)
2. Aotearoa is the Māori name for New Zealand. During parliamentary speeches the country is mostly referred to as Aotearoa New Zealand. This thesis will use the same naming, ‘Aotearoa New Zealand’. In this way both the Māori language and English are respected. [↑](#footnote-ref-2)
3. Electoral Commission. *What is MMP?* Accessible via <https://elections.nz/democracy-in-nz/what-is-new-zealands-system-of-government/what-is-mmp/> [↑](#footnote-ref-3)
4. Electoral Commission. *What is the Māori* *Electoral Option?* Accessible via <https://elections.nz/democracy-in-nz/what-is-an-electoral-roll/what-is-the-maori-electoral-option/> [↑](#footnote-ref-4)
5. United Nations. *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples.* Accessible via <https://www.un.org/development/desa/indigenouspeoples/declaration-on-the-rights-of-indigenous-peoples.html> [↑](#footnote-ref-5)
6. Categorical data is made up of two or more unordered categories (Field, 2013, p.8-9). When a categorical variable has two categories it is called a binary variable and when it has more than two categories it is called a nominal variable. [↑](#footnote-ref-6)
7. A chi-square test measures the relationship between two categorical variables by comparing the observed and expected frequencies. (Field, 2013, p.721-722). [↑](#footnote-ref-7)
8. A Cramer’s V test measures the strength of association by restricting the range of the test statistic from 0 to 1 (Field, 2013, p.725). [↑](#footnote-ref-8)
9. Parliament of Australia. *About the House of Representatives.* Accessible via <https://www.aph.gov.au/about_parliament/house_of_representatives/about_the_house_of_representatives> [↑](#footnote-ref-9)
10. Electoral Commission. *What is MMP?* Accessible via<https://elections.nz/democracy-in-nz/what-is-new-zealands-system-of-government/what-is-mmp/> [↑](#footnote-ref-10)
11. Electoral Commission. *What is the Māori Electoral Option?* Accessible via <https://elections.nz/democracy-in-nz/what-is-an-electoral-roll/what-is-the-maori-electoral-option/> [↑](#footnote-ref-11)
12. New Zealand Parliament. *Electorate Profiles 2020.* Accessible via <https://www.parliament.nz/en/mps-and-electorates/electorate-profiles/> [↑](#footnote-ref-12)
13. Hansard Reports. *Read Hansard Reports.* Accessible via <https://www.parliament.nz/en/pb/hansard-debates/rhr/search> [↑](#footnote-ref-13)
14. NZ Human Rights. *The Rights of Indigenous Peoples.* Accessible via <https://www.hrc.co.nz/files/5814/5618/4456/NZHR_Booklet_12_WEB.pdf> [↑](#footnote-ref-14)
15. Pākehā people are peoples from English, foreign, European, exotic descent, introduced from or originating in a foreign country. Source: Māori Dictionary. Accessible via <https://maoridictionary.co.nz/search?idiom=&phrase=&proverb=&loan=&histLoanWords=&keywords=pakeha> [↑](#footnote-ref-15)
16. New Zealand History. *Māori and European population numbers.* Accessible via <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/media/photo/maori-and-european-population-numbers-1838%E2%80%931901> [↑](#footnote-ref-16)
17. Waitangi Tribunal. *Publications and Resources.* Accessible via <https://waitangitribunal.govt.nz/publications-and-resources/school-resources/treaty-past-and-present/section-5/> [↑](#footnote-ref-17)
18. New Zealand History. *The Treaty in practice.* Accessible via <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/politics/treaty/the-treaty-in-practice/early-crown-policy> [↑](#footnote-ref-18)
19. Waitangi Tribunal. *Waitangi Tribunal.* Accessible via <https://www.waitangitribunal.govt.nz/> [↑](#footnote-ref-19)
20. NZ History. *The Road to MMP.* Accessible via <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/politics/fpp-to-mmp> [↑](#footnote-ref-20)
21. Labour Party. *Te Arawhiti & Māori Development.* Accessible via <https://www.labour.org.nz/maori> [↑](#footnote-ref-21)
22. Data used from: Electoral Commission: *New Zealand Election Results.* Accessible via [https://www.electionresults.govt.nz/](https://www.electionresults.govt.nz/?__cf_chl_captcha_tk__=e74499b4e139c21541eb3440d6b268f934a88d5f-1621934466-0-ATkZZTCjL1KH1jTOvM3Qs82NtTGqhRRc2r2koXIm85hYbWZdIPOZdX0W7gEN1egMWGluCgo7etQf9c-bbbQdT84scjJAeB_R4k5e3L5Iag37ZQuAyqmSv1h4wdfVRDAt6hMjRfLBPtD5Ei3u-vbY2dE5AsD98zGLZ3r7KsxoSGYGdjOKGjjIzvNyg-a7-ibthzyQG-cgW6lYnoMfq8epH9li7wShu7M_9Am3frVEYCEgR09S6EGyv-BJtC7szOZJ4sGJhYqHnQ_4WjCN9guiiX2T2_7-uCD4Lc7qWb-nlU4ne0Lwt5OrPkKTIx4lWeaJakcKzqRrtsAduCCTNjtfJ-fTezVwnQWwI6WKZam_iWLR6CcDz_kmF4n3A0xB2ZkX4QGNHbQZq72HDEPC5y8yXu2D5G5vvroZKX4G1DDycWEbSPMZLjFn6tJqaeWnKKIiDuRHdaUdiSgdMLBdLv5m70KmD1BXWRpZYGG2TBo5ebbkmZqzjtd1pDbN5D4TzE6N7xJ4FaOEi5hR-oIQqym6iMzQFfa7B7FZToluWG2uBth21P1GBiiaeokyz4_ULOLq3eg82EmSWSPhrbFQSzmp9qlYdakGri2Gj4HOS-R6SqWrsSONLaXbG5EQl2DHvsOWjYKr2AfU4y3oatY8qQeCMJ4Hd3HT7LGaypnE5eZ0oT3s) [↑](#footnote-ref-22)
23. Māori Party. *Te Paati Māori – About us*. Accessible via <https://www.maoriparty.org.nz/about_us> [↑](#footnote-ref-23)
24. Frost, N. (2021, February 10). *He Calls the Tie a ‘Colonial Noose.’ Now Parliament Says It’s No Longer Mandatory.* Accessible via <https://www.nytimes.com/2021/02/10/world/asia/new-zealand-rawiri-waititi-tie.html> [↑](#footnote-ref-24)
25. New Zealand Parliament. *First words: The parliamentary maiden speech.* Accessible via <https://www.parliament.nz/en/get-involved/features/first-words-the-parliamentary-maiden-speech/> [↑](#footnote-ref-25)
26. New Zealand Parliament. *Parliamentary Parties.* Accessible via <https://www.parliament.nz/en/mps-and-electorates/political-parties/> [↑](#footnote-ref-26)
27. Electoral Commission. *New Zealand Election Results.* Accessible via <https://www.electionsresults.govt.nz> [↑](#footnote-ref-27)
28. It is normal for a claims-making analysis to not always have an addressee mentioned in the claim. See for example the study of De Wilde (2013). [↑](#footnote-ref-28)
29. FairVote. *Electoral Systems around the World.* Accessible via <https://www.fairvote.org/research_electoralsystems_world> [↑](#footnote-ref-29)
30. New Zealand Parliament. *Read Hansard Reports.* Accessible via <https://www.parliament.nz/en/pb/hansard-debates/rhr/search> [↑](#footnote-ref-30)
31. Māori Dictionary. Accessible via <https://maoridictionary.co.nz/> [↑](#footnote-ref-31)
32. New Zealand Parliament. *Members of Parliament.* Accessible via <https://www.parliament.nz/en/mps-and-electorates/members-of-parliament/> [↑](#footnote-ref-32)