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**The role of public relations strategies in shaping or
reflecting national identity: A content analysis
of the speeches of two Governors-General
in New Zealand**

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Abstract

This thesis focuses on the role public relations strategies perform in reflecting or shaping New Zealand identity by using content analysis to examine the speeches of two Governors-General from different eras. The core data which is the focus of this analysis comprises the swearing-in, Waitangi Day and Anzac Day speeches delivered by Lord Cobham (1957-1962) and Sir Jerry Mateparae (2011-present). Cobham, an English aristocrat, became Governor-General a decade after New Zealand commenced governing independently and ended a decade before Britain joined the European Union. It signals a time when New Zealand prosperity hinged on Britain and represents a moment in time when British ideology was strongly linked to New Zealand identity. Mateparae, a New Zealander with Māori ancestry, took office at a time of increased debate surrounding the nation's identity in relation to the flag. A comparison between the two offers insight into the fluidity of the nation's identity.

Amidst the debate of the flag is an underlying questioning of the need for New Zealand to maintain its link with Britain. The Governor-General's role is ceremonial, constitutional and community focused. This means the incumbent performs a key part, by delivering speeches, in the rituals which symbolise the nation's identity (e.g., Waitangi Day). It is important to understand whether the Governor-General is shaping or reflecting the New Zealand national identity as the role requires s/he be apolitical.

Qualitative content analysis was used to analyse the data applying the rhetorical theory framework. The findings suggest that two Governors-General have used public relations strategies to primarily reflect the dominant publics' national identity, within the existing social hierarchy. The findings of this research could be

furthered by an analysis of what New Zealanders perceive to be the role of the Governor-General and who s/he reflects compared with the findings of this thesis which emphasised that only the views of the influential publics were being reflected.

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Table of Contents

Abstract.....	2
Acknowledgements.....	4
Chapter 1: Introduction	1
1.1 National identity.....	2
1.2 Purpose	8
1.3 Research Question	10
1.4 Analysis	10
1.5 Scope.....	11
1.6 Rationale	12
1.7 Organisation of thesis	15
Chapter 2: Literature Review	17
2.1 National Identity	17
2.2 New Zealand National Identity.....	22
2.3 Language	28
2.4 Public Relations	28
2.4.1 Rhetorical theory.....	30
2.4.2 Speeches.....	33
Summary 2.5.....	37
Chapter 3: Methodology	38
3.1.1 Rationale.....	39
3.1.2 Constructivist/interpretive research.	40
3.2 Method.....	43
3.2.1 Critical analysis.....	44
3.2.2 Rhetorical theory.....	47
3.2.3 Limitations.....	51

3.2.4 Ethical approval	52
3.2.5 Data collection.....	53
3.2.6 Data analysis.....	55
3.3 Summary	59
Chapter 4: Data Analysis.....	60
4.1 Values.....	61
4.2 Positioning as ‘other’	65
4.3 Positioning New Zealand	70
4.4 Appeal to Publics	75
4.5 Summary	82
Chapter 5: Discussion	83
5.1 The ‘Other’	86
5.2 Representing New Zealand.....	91
5.3 A Fluid National Identity	96
5.4 Summary	104
Chapter 6: Conclusion.....	106
6.1 Key Findings.....	106
6.1.1 New Zealand identity.	107
6.1.2 Public relations.....	108
6.2 Further Research	109
References	110
Appendices.....	119
Appendix 1: Cobham’s Swearing-in Speech without coding	120
Appendix 2: Mateparae’s Swearing-in Speech 2011 without coding	122
Appendix 3: Cobham’s Waitangi Day Speech 1959 original	125
Appendix 3.1: Cobham’s Waitangi Day Speech 1959 without coding	130
Appendix 4: Cobham’s Waitangi Day Speech 1960 original	134

Appendix 4.1: Cobham’s Waitangi Day Speech 1960 without coding	136
Appendix 5: Cobham’s Waitangi Day Speech 1962 Original	138
Appendix 5.1: Cobham’s Waitangi Day Speech 1962	144
Appendix 6: Mateparae’s Waitangi Day Speech 2012	148
Appendix 7: Mateparae’s Waitangi Day Speech 2013	152
Appendix 8: Mateparae’s Waitangi Day Speech 2014	156
Appendix 9: Mateparae’s Waitangi Day Speech 2015	160
Appendix 10: Mateparae’s Anzac Day Speech 2012 - Christchurch	163
Appendix 11: Mateparae’s Anzac Day Speech 2013 - Wellington	165
Appendix 12: Mateparae’s Anzac Day Speech 2014 – Anzac Cove.....	168
Appendix 13: Coding Phase 1	171
Appendix 13.1: Cobham’s Swearing-in Speech 1957	172
Appendix 13.2: Mateparae’s Swearing-in 2011	174
Appendix 13.3: Cobham’s Waitangi Day Speech 1959.....	177
Appendix 13.4: Cobham’s Waitangi Speech 1960.....	180
Appendix 13.5: Cobham’s Waitangi Day Speech 1962.....	182
Appendix 13.6: Mateparae’s Waitangi Day Speech 2012.....	186
Appendix 13.7: Mateparae’s Waitangi Day Speech 2013.....	190
Appendix 13.8: Mateparae’s Waitangi Day Speech 2014.....	194
Appendix 13.9: Mateparae’s Waitangi Day Speech 2015.....	198
Appendix 13.10: Mateparae’s Anzac Day Speech 2012.....	201
Appendix 13.11: Mateparae’s Anzac Day Speech 2013.....	203
Appendix 13.12: Mateparae’s Anzac Day Speech 2014.....	206
Appendix 14: Coding Phase Two.....	209
Appendix 14.1: Cobham’s Swearing-in Speech 1957	210
Appendix 14.2: Mateparae’s Swearing in Speech 2011.....	212
Appendix 14.3 Cobham’s Waitangi Day Speech 1959.....	215

Appendix 14.4 Cobham’s Waitangi Day Speech 1960.....	218
Appendix 14.5 Cobham’s Waitangi Day Speech 1962.....	220
Appendix 14.6: Mateparae’s Waitangi Day Speech 2012.....	224
Appendix 14.7: Mateparae’s Waitangi Day Speech 2013.....	228
Appendix 14.8: Mateparae’s Waitangi Day Speech 2014.....	232
Appendix 14.9: Mateparae’s Waitangi Day Speech 2015.....	236
Appendix 14.10: Mateparae’s Anzac Day Speech 2012.....	239
Appendix 14.11: Mateparae’s Anzac Day Speech 2013.....	241
Appendix 14.12: Mateparae’s Anzac Day Speech 2014.....	244
Appendix 15: Summary of Newspapers.....	247
Appendix 15.1: Wednesday 4th September 1957.....	248
Appendix 15.2: Thursday 5 th September 1957	248
Appendix 15.3: Friday 6 th September 1957	250
Appendix 15.4: Saturday 7 th September 1957	251
Appendix 15.5: Monday 9 th September 1957.....	251
Appendix 15.6: Tuesday 10th September 1957	252
Appendix 15.7: Wednesday 11 th September 1957	254
Appendix 15.8: Thursday 12th September 1957	255
Appendix 15.9: Friday 13th September 1957	255
Appendix 15.10: Saturday 14 th September 1957.....	255
Appendix 15.11: Monday 16 th September 1957	256
Appendix 15.12: Tuesday 17 th and Wednesday 18 th September 1957.....	256
Appendix 15.13: Thursday 19 th September 1957	257
Appendix 15.14: Friday 20 th September 1957.....	257
Appendix 15.15: Saturday 21 st September 1957.....	257
Appendix 15.15: Monday 23 rd September 1957	258
Appendix 15.16: Tuesday 24 th September 1957	258

Appendix 15.17: Wednesday 25 th September 1957.....	259
Appendix 15.18: Thursday 26 th September 1957	259
Appendix 15.19: Wednesday 24 th August 2011.....	259
Appendix 15.20: Thursday 25 th August 2011	260
Appendix 15.21: Friday 26 th August 2011.....	260
Appendix 15.22: Saturday 27 th August 2011.....	261
Appendix 15.23: Sunday 28 th August 2011	261
Appendix 15.24: Monday 29 th August 2011.....	262
Appendix 15.25: Tuesday 30 th August 2011	262
Appendix 15.26: Wednesday 31 st August 2011.....	263
Appendix 15.27: Thursday 1 st September 2011	263
Appendix 15.28: Friday 2 nd September 2011	264
Appendix 15.29: Saturday 3 rd September 2011.....	265
Appendix 15.30: Sunday 4 th September 2011	266
Appendix 15.31: Monday 5 th September 2011.....	266
Appendix 15.32: Tuesday 6 th September 2011.....	266
Appendix 15.33: Wednesday 7 th September 2011.....	267
Appendix 15.34: Thursday 8 th September 2011	267
Appendix 15.35: Friday 9 th September 2011.....	268
Appendix 15.36: Saturday 10 th September 2011.....	269
Appendix 15.37: Sunday 11 th September 2011	269
Appendix 15.38: Monday 12 th September 2011	270
Appendix 15.39: Tuesday 13 th September 2011	270
Appendix 15.40: Wednesday 14 th September 2011.....	271
Appendix 16: Anzac Day Newspaper clippings (e.g., Queen’s message. <i>The Dominion</i> . April 24 1958.).....	272

List of tables:

Table 1: Modes of persuasion 50

List of figures:

Figure 1: Step model of inductive category development..... 57

Chapter 1: Introduction

National identity is generated through an agreed collective definition and symbols (Jenkins, 2014). One such symbol is the nation's flag which has in recent times caused a divisive debate to arise around the proposed redesign of the current New Zealand flag, with the Prime Minister announcing two referendums to ensure that the flag represents a unifying symbol for the nation ("New Zealand to hold flag referendum in 2016," 2014; Office, 2014). The flag becomes the nation's collective national identity (Gelber, 2012). In New Zealand there are two dominant ideological positions which contribute to the debate surrounding the national flag. One states that the current flag does not highlight the essence of what it means to be a New Zealander as it is linked too strongly to New Zealand's colonial past which does not give representation to Māori ("Flag change in the wind," 2014). On the other side of the debate is the Returned Services Association (RSA) which has repeatedly stated that New Zealanders need to honour those who died serving beneath the current flag by retaining it (Owen, 2014, October 18). The debate over the flag is not new. However, the call for a change has become increasingly stronger (Blundell, 2014). The debate appears to focus on the Union Flag and whether it should be replaced by a symbol that reflects the cultural diversity of the nation. The current flag is linked to the nation's colonial past, the monarchy in particular. The call for a change has many supporters, including the titular head of state, the current Governor-General, Sir Jerry Mateparae (Blundell, 2014).

This raises questions surrounding the apolitical nature of the role of Governor-General and whether he should be entering such a political debate (Cabinet Office, 2008). Throughout the debate the Prime Minister John Key has

reassured people that while the flag needs to represent modern day New Zealand, any change is not a move towards the country becoming a republic (Office, 2014). The fact that the Governor-General is openly backing the move may indicate a willingness to allow the democratic process to take place, but it may also be his way of encouraging New Zealanders in a certain direction. In order to truly understand whether the role of Governor-General maintains an apolitical stance or indeed shapes the nation's identity requires further study. Queen Elizabeth II made a remark to a well-wisher about the then upcoming Scottish referendum that she hoped "people will think very carefully about the future" (Queen Elizabeth cited in "Scottish independence: Queen urges people to 'think carefully about future'," 2014). The media were quick to question her involvement in the matter and Buckingham Palace rapidly responded reassuring the people that the monarch was not compromising her role of being neutral. In New Zealand this has not happened in regard to the Governor-General's stance, raising the question of the likely influence of the Governor-General upon the New Zealand national identity.

1.1 National identity

The debate surrounding the flag appears to illuminate the fluidity of national identity as the symbol which has represented this nation seems to have lost its relevance. Davidson (2000) describes national identity being subjectively experienced through an individual's emotional attachment created by belonging to one people. Giddens (1991, p. 201) attributes fluidity within an individual's identity to "dilemmas of self, such as powerlessness, uncertainty, fragmentation and a struggle against commodification". This struggle against commodification is one

factor that endears people to a national identity. Berger and Luckmann (1967) believed that identity is socially constructed, gaining meaning through symbols and language. Mead (1934) states that identity is created through symbols where the meaning is instantly recognised by individuals within that group/nation. One such symbol is the national flag:

A flag is only a piece of cloth from which no emotional meaning can be derived. However, the emotional meaning of the flag can become so dramatic that people are willing to sacrifice their life for it. The flag is the bearer of the notion of collectivity; it represents the soul of society and, as such, the flag is sacred. (Durkheim, 1953, p. 87)

The flag has caused controversy throughout the history of New Zealand, with Hone Heke cutting down the flagstaff repeatedly in 1844 at Waitangi in an attempt to communicate his political views (Walker, 1984). National identity emerges from the history. As A. Smith (1991) states, in order to create an emotional attachment to a nation, a common history, the myth of a common ancestry, common elements within a culture and historical memories need to be created. Therefore, the history informs a sense of belonging. In the case of the flag debate the history that the flag represents is argued by some not to represent New Zealanders as a whole anymore (Blundell, 2014).

Immigrants have populated New Zealand. The land was first inhabited by Māori whose estimated arrival around 1200 A.D. (Thomson, 1850/1974), an approximate date assessed, through studying the migration patterns of language and cultural customs. From the beginning, the New Zealand identity has been associated with the beauty of the land. Thomson (1850/1974) states Hawaiki, a mythical place, that Māori identify as their ancestral home which they left due to

the outbreak of war. Of interest to this thesis is the fact that the chief Ngahue fled his country and discovered New Zealand. After a long voyage he returned to his native country reporting:

Glowing accounts of the fertility of the soil in New Zealand, the excellence of the fish in the sea, the immense size of the eels in the rivers, and the birds and plants suitable for food in the woods (Thomson, 1850/1974, p. 60).

This is perhaps one of the first recorded accounts of New Zealand and the richness of the land. It could be argued that this is no different to the way in which New Zealand is commercially marketed today, for example, the '100% Pure' campaign which focuses on New Zealand's unspoilt landscape (Morgan, Pritchard, & Piggott, 2002). The identity of the nation therefore has always been strongly linked with the land and its beauty. Sack (1992) contends that individuals draw on a place and social interactions in order to create a sense of self. Therefore, the landscape plays a part in the construction of a nation's and an individual's identity.

New Zealand's beauty and the opportunity that the plentiful resources provide made the country appealing to the predominantly British early settlers. The British were not keen to accept control over another colony, especially one that was at the other end of the world (McLean, 2006). Although Captain Cook had named Queen Charlotte Sound in honour of the British Monarchy and claimed the nation as part of Britain's expanding empire, the British government repeatedly rejected New Zealand as part of Britain's expanding empire in the early 19th century (Byrnes, 2009). Britain decided to accept sovereignty due to the perceived threat of French and Germans coming to lay claim to the country which caused the

missionaries and early settlers to place an increase in pressure on England to protect the interest of Māori (Harrop, 1926). Increase in disorderly behaviour by the early settlers, fuelled by alcohol also spurred the need for an alliance between Māori and British.

The threat from the French prompted thirteen chiefs to ask King William IV for protection. Britain sent their first Crown representative, James Busby, to New Zealand. He helped draft the Declaration of Independence in 1835. This affirmed Māori sovereignty, and Britain's role was to act as the protector of the nation's independence. However, as it became increasingly difficult to moderate British behaviour, Busby asked the Crown to take the aggressive action of extending sovereignty over New Zealand which meant making Māori a British subject (Byrnes, 2009). This resulted in the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840. The Declaration of Independence and the Treaty of Waitangi highlight the shift of sovereignty from Māori to Britain (Durie, 1998).

Tension escalated to warfare between Māori and Pakeha (European settlers) in the 19th century. The Māori were known for their bravery and skills in warfare (Pugsley, Barber, & Pugsley, 2008), while the British were known for their superior technology which enabled them to expand their empire (Harrop, 1926). The skills of both Māori and British in warfare helped shape the development of national identity. Bravery was something that the Anzac troops became known for during their campaign in World War One and is one of the qualities which continues to be celebrated annually on Anzac Day, 25th April (Cabinet Office, 2008). This day has come to symbolise not only the achievements of the New Zealand Army, but also of the nation.

After the Treaty of Waitangi was signed, New Zealand's identity was shaped and influenced by Britain and in particular by the monarch's representative, during the 1840s the role was titled Governor-in-chief. Over the intervening decades these powers devolved from creating the Government and Law of the country to the position of being an apolitical figure with reserved powers that have never had cause to be invoked by the Governor-General. Although, it was very slow to take up increased independence only ratifying the Westminster Statute some 16 years after it passed through the British Parliament (Boyce, 2008), the nation has evolved and slowly began to assert itself as an independent nation with its own identity. The calls for republicanism have not materialised into legislative change, one of the core arguments being that people cannot agree on who and what would replace the role of Governor-General. The role of Governor-General is a constitutional one, representing the Queen, although from the 1970s onwards, the role changed to also include being the representative of the New Zealand people (McLean, 2006). However, remaining neutral in all political matters is a key component of the role. It is of interest to explore whether s/he manages to maintain this neutrality throughout the numerous speeches, delivered throughout the five-year tenure, that provide her/him with a platform to influence people.

Speeches contain the language which provides a variety of words giving the user the ability to arrange them in a multitude of ways be it for the purpose of humour, education or instruction (Wittgenstein, Anscombe, Hacker, & Schulte, 2009). It provides meaning and shapes a way of life because if there were only words that were able to provide instructions the society in which that language exists would not be able to communicate emotions such as humour (Nørreklit &

Scapens, 2014). Therefore, language and the way in which it can be used, in turn, structures the society that uses it.

The oral tradition of Māori language is vital to the continuation of their cultural heritage. Prior to the arrival of the European settlers, the Māori language (Te Reo Māori) was oral. It was given a written form, fourteen alphabetical letters, by the first missionaries (Thomson, 1974). Although there are various dialects throughout the Pacific Islands, similarities can be found and speakers can make themselves understood within the region. As tribal dialects are detectable throughout New Zealand, there is a disagreement among historians as to when New Zealand was populated (King, 2012). Thomson (1850/1974) argues he had traced the arrival of Māori to a group that immigrated en masse to New Zealand in 1200 A.D. The dialects he attributed to being differentiated over time, the same way in which various dialects are apparent in England. Various tribes living separately were creating their own patterns of communication.

The signing of the Treaty of Waitangi did not bring the harmonious existence of Māori and Pakeha (European settlers) as hoped. The way in which the Treaty was translated is a major cause of the conflict and in turn has created suspicion and distrust. One of the key words:

[...]kāwanatanga (a transliteration of governance) and not mana was ceded in the Treaty, Māori understandings of self-determination do not always accept that control, the mechanisms necessary for the exercise of control [...] (Durie, 1998, p. 3)

Durie (1998) argues that the distortion in the translation was a purposeful deception. Conflicts arose due to the cultural difference between written and oral

language. The Māori culture places more emphasis on spoken agreements over written. This is partly due to the mistrust created through “[...] cryptic land deeds, misleading surveys and ‘protective’ but manipulative legislation” (Byrnes, 2009, p. 88). This conflict is evident in the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840. There was a fear that Te Reo would die out and that the British would dominate, as expressed by a signatory chief Mohi Tawhai who believed the written word of the Pakeha would “float light, like the wood of the whau tree” whereas Māori proverbs would “sink to the bottom like a stone” (Tawhai cited in Byrnes, 2009, p. 73).

The fear of losing the culture and identity through language is evident and it is apparent that these fears were not without merit. The New Zealand education system was based on the British, drawing heavily on British literature. Te Reo was discouraged as the nation’s language in favour of English in the school education system leading to a decline to 26% of the population being fluent Māori speakers in 1960s (Tollefson & Tsui, 2004). Over time the Māori voice has emerged and grown in influence. The language only gained equal status with English in 1987 when it became the second official language of New Zealand (Māori Language Act, 1987). Therefore it appears that one of the key elements within New Zealand culture is the spoken word. In order to understand the way in which the New Zealand national identity is being shaped or reflected, an examination of the discourse within the Governor-General’s speeches needs to be performed. These speeches will form the core data of this thesis.

1.2 Purpose

The purpose of this study is to gain an understanding of whether the Governor-General is shaping or merely reflecting the New Zealand national identity. Māori

culture has a history of the spoken word. Kawharu (2008) states that Māori knowledge is passed down the generations through myth, stories, prayer and song. Wehi , Whaanga, and Roa (2009) state that these provide identity markers for Māori as well as important knowledge to safeguard New Zealand's natural resources. They argue that context is required to derive the meaning within these stories, myths, prayer and song. This is due to Māori rarely expressing thoughts and ideas directly. Instead, imagery is used to convey and pass down information. In contrast, the western oral tradition has been studied and discussed by early scholars including Plato and Aristotle. They discussed the impact that discourse could have on society and created rhetorical analysis to understand the balance within arguments (Heath, 2009).

Language is a site of struggle and tension (Fairclough, 2001). Meaning is constructed not only through language but also non-verbal language such as symbols. One of those symbols is the representative of the titular head of state. The Governor-General also represents New Zealanders and on unifying days, such as Waitangi Day and Anzac Day, s/he delivers speeches that provide her/him with a strong voice. Therefore Lord Cobham (1957-1962) and Mateparae's (2011-present) speeches have been chosen in order to examine the way in which the New Zealand national identity is being expressed. Audiences are used to politicians' speeches which are crafted to ensure that the individuals legitimise themselves and delegitimise the opposition (Boyd, 2009). In a role where the individual is required to be apolitical, persuasive rhetoric is not expected. Since the 1990s the Governor-General's office employs public relations officials paid by the Government who shape the speeches (McLean, 2006). Yet when the Governor-General speaks it appears that s/he is not questioned like a

politician due to the apparent neutrality of the role. Taking this into account it is even more of a surprise that Sir Jerry Mateparae has entered into the rhetoric surrounding the flag and Cobham's repeated remarks on the delicate balance the Governor-General has to maintain within the duties of the role, including the public addresses. Therefore this thesis will take a critical approach to analyse her/his speeches to gain an understanding of whether s/he is using persuasion to shape national identity.

1.3 Research Question

The question that guides this study is:

Do public relations strategies play a role in shaping or reflecting national identity? A content analysis of the speeches of two Governors-General in New Zealand.

The question is designed to investigate the New Zealand national identity in order to gain an understanding of whether the Governor-General plays a role in shaping New Zealand's identity.

1.4 Analysis

This study makes use of qualitative methods to examine whether the Governor-General reflects or shapes national identity through her/his speeches. The data was collected from the official Governor-General website, Archives New Zealand and Lord Cobham's book of speeches. In order to provide triangulation further data was collected from the New Zealand Herald. Content analysis was used to analyse the raw data. The purpose of the analysis of this data was to examine whether rhetorical strategies are used by the Governor-General to shape or reflect New Zealand identity.

1.5 Scope

The studies on the Governors-General to date have focused either on an overview of the achievements of the individuals during their time in office, or their failures, as in the case of Governor FitzRoy (Moon, 2000). These studies were either written by others (Boyce, 2008; Henderson & Macfadyen, 1907; McLean, 2006; Moon, 1998, 2000; Romanos & Woodfield, 2008; Ross, 1973) or were autobiographies (Tizard, 2010). At the end of Lord Cobham's tenure a book of his speeches was sold successfully throughout New Zealand with profits going toward Outward Bound Trust (Hintz, 1962). A previous analysis completed on Governors-General speeches was on the opening of Parliament addresses delivered by the Australian Governors-General, investigating the shift in emphasis on certain Government policies (Dowding, Hindmoor, Iles, & John, 2010). However, the researcher was unable to find any published analyses of how New Zealand national identity is positioned within the speeches of the Governors-General.

During the time period (1957-2014) between Lord Cobham (1957-1962) and Mateparae (2011-present) the role changed meant that the Governor-General is now also required to represent New Zealanders. There was a shift away from a reliance on Britain and a development of an autonomous identity. Lord Cobham's tenure occurred during a time of change, after the British Empire ceased and the Commonwealth was a decade old but prior to Britain joining the European Union. The link between Britain was seen to be important in terms of trade, however New Zealanders became increasingly disillusioned with Britain when it joined the European Union and imposed trade barriers during the 1970s (Liu, Wilson, McClure, & Higgins, 1999). This forced New Zealand to create trading partners with other countries to ensure continued prosperity. Therefore Cobham's term in

office offers a reference point to study the change in the rhetoric surrounding national identity.

1.6 Rationale

When the Governor-General is sworn into office, the occasion encompasses the ceremonial, constitutional and unifying elements of the role. Two other national holidays which unify the nation: Waitangi Day and Anzac Day, provide platforms for the Governor-General to comment on New Zealand national identity. The speeches offer some insight into the way in which a prevailing ideology can be either challenged or supported. In order to maintain legitimacy within society or a nation the institutions need to continually be relevant to the people or nation. Ideological legitimacy is constructed through acceptance of certain institutions as having rightful authority, which is typically unquestioned (Fairclough, 2001). The office of Governor-General provides the incumbent with a certain amount of legitimacy (Boyce, 2008). However, in order to maintain that legitimacy, the office is required to adhere to a framework of discourse accepted by the public.

As Dame Catherine Tizard (Tizard, 1993, p. 10) states, the Governor-General's responsibility:

[...] is to serve as a link between citizens as individuals, while at the same time representing them collectively on public occasions. Personalising our national identity in this way, keeps the scale of individual built right into our perception of "the state" – the national corporate person, legal identity, nation state, however we describe it.

Former Governors-General of New Zealand, Tizard (1993) and Cartwright (2006) viewed the incumbent's responsibility as one of highlighting key attributes of national identity. While Governors-General have expressed this view of the office, it appears that there has not so far been an exploration of the way in which New Zealand national identity is being expressed in their speeches, therefore this thesis seeks to bridge this gap, taking into account the way in which the Governor-General constructs identity and in particular, national identity.

The role of Governor-General provides the incumbent with legitimacy which is partly constructed through the perception of the role being apolitical. Cobham commented on this at the opening of the Auckland Festival in 1958 by stating:

In all his [Governor-General] utterances he has to pass between the Scylla of pious platitudes and the Charybdis of anything controversial

(Hintz, 1962, p. 39)

While he was alluding to not wanting to be controversial in his opinions on art, it can be read as a description of the role of the Governor-General that requires a balance between fulfilling his responsibility to the Crown while understanding the needs of the New Zealand people. It infers that the Governor-General is in a position of influence which requires a certain amount of restraint.

Each Governor-General gives a speech at the official swearing-in ceremony. This day highlights the ceremonial as well as the constitutional. In the early days it would often be New Zealand's first glimpse of the new Governor-General, as they stepped off the boat to begin their term in office. However, since 1972 all Governors-General have been prominent New Zealanders familiar to the nation. The swearing-in still provides the first opportunity for the Governor-General to express his intentions for the term ahead. Therefore, the core data to be

analysed is that of swearing-in speeches. This provides an understanding of the aims and objectives that the Governor-General seeks to achieve while communicating her/his understanding of New Zealanders.

Waitangi Day and Anzac Day are days which symbolise and celebrate events which contribute to the national identity. Symbols require a group to meet and reaffirm the importance of their meaning in order to maintain their relevance, therefore rituals are an important part of constructing meaning within communities (Janssen & Verheggen, 1997). Creating traditions is one of the ways in which this meaning can be re-constructed. Therefore, data collated from these speeches delivered by the two Governors-General on these national days will provide further insight into national identity.

A comparison is required between two Governors-General from two eras in order to gain a good understanding of whether the Governor-General is shaping or reflecting national identity. The current Governor-General Sir Jerry Mateparae is New Zealand born and raised. Lord Cobham (1957-1962) is of an era when Governors-General were British aristocrats and echoing the British identity associated with monarchy to New Zealand. A comparison might highlight the way in which the New Zealand identity is being expressed and whether shaping has occurred. At a time when there is a debate concerning the flag, a symbol of New Zealand identity, it is important to understand whether the Governor-General, in her/his apolitical role, is using the position to influence New Zealanders and their national identity.

1.7 Organisation of thesis

Chapter 1 has provided an overview of the background in order to establish the context for this study. Chapter 2 provides the reader with an introduction to the literature. This in turn creates a theoretical framework for the study of the speeches of the Governor-General. It provides the reader with definitions of national identity and public relations. The literature is reviewed in terms of national identity and the role language plays in the construction and re-affirming of this concept.

Chapter 3 describes the methodological paradigms including the ontology and epistemology that underpin this research including the current scholarly debate over the methodologies employed in this thesis. The method for data collection and analysis is described in detail to ensure that the study is replicable and valid. This includes a detailed description of the way in which coding was carried out and the reason ethical approval was not required.

Chapter 4 shows the results as they emerged from the data. Specifically this chapter elucidates the utilisation of rhetorical devices within the speeches, the emergence of tensions and the manner in which the apolitical figure manages to negotiate the, at times, turbulent political landscape. It combines both phases of coding, categories and rhetorical theory coding, to illuminate the conclusions reached in the following chapter.

Chapter 5 discusses the converging findings of the theoretical framework and the analysis findings in order to re-affirm or interpret any contradictions that are created by the data. The results have been placed under three headings: the 'other', representing New Zealand, and biculturalism/multiculturalism.

Chapter 6 presents the conclusions drawn from these results and identifies further areas of research that could further the findings of this study.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

The purpose of this chapter is to summarise the theoretical concepts that form a frame of reference for this thesis. The focus of the discussion is on the potential influences of speeches made in a particular context by Governors-General from different eras to potentially shape national identity. As communication in the form of public relations strategies within the genre of speeches is central to this thesis, a brief overview of public relations and rhetorical analysis follows. The literature review is organised under the following sections; national identity, New Zealand identity, language and public relations. The first section provides a theoretical framework to the construction of national identity. Section two provides an understanding of New Zealand identity. The third section discusses the ideological influences within which legitimacy and power give voice to particular institutional representatives, such as Governors-General, is discussed. The final section provides the framework for rhetorical theory and the way in which this is utilised as part of a public relations strategy.

2.1 National Identity

One of the original researchers to examine the process of identity construction through social interactions in groups was Cooley (1902). He argued that identity was created through interactions within groups. The fluidity of identity is created by the changing nature of social interactions (Mead, 1934). Mead argued that identity is culturally bound, constructing strong links through symbolism. As individuals are educated, socialised and participate within society, they develop a stable and enduring set of values to use in defining the appropriate

rules and norms for behaviour. Festinger (1954) argues that individuals use comparison as a tool to construct identity. Goffman (1959) expands on this idea theorising that an individual's identity is shaped by social groups and changed depending on the social settings. He argued that it was in order to portray the desired behaviour within that social setting that individuals performed in certain ways. The fluidity of identity gives an individual the ability to inhabit more than one identity related to a certain social setting. Therefore, social indicators provide individuals with a guide as to how to act.

Tajfel (1978) expanded upon Festinger's theory arguing that the comparison theory focused on comparison between individuals but did not take into consideration that individuals operate within a number of groups. Individuals align themselves to groups because of their perception of the group as a whole not just because of relationships with individuals within a group. Tajfel (1978) and Festinger (1954) agree that individuals seek social status through their affiliation or links to a group that enjoy success within a society.

Social identity is embedded in the cognitive significance and affective value perceived by individuals as they self-categorise into social groups (Tajfel, 1978). The psychological aspect of identity is central; it bestows a cognitive and emotional foundation for a sense of collective belonging for individuals within a group. P. Burke (1991) believes that identity is not something that is static but rather an on-going process of an individual re-affirming themselves with a particular identity. The re-affirmation of belonging to a group in terms of national identity occurs through the political discourse and informs the structure of newspaper reportage and other communication which people come in contact with daily (Billig, 1995). A. Smith (2010) adds that national identity is established

through interactions not only characterised by language but also by symbols. The emotional alignment to a group created through symbols, language and behaviour enables the building of national identity.

Davidson (2000) argues that the notion of national identity can be divided into two categories, objective and subjective. The objective national identity is characterised by its territorial, economic, psychological make-up as well as a stable shared language and history. The territory of New Zealand has largely stayed the same. The economy has relied heavily on the resources and growth of demand from overseas. Language has been a site of tension, as during New Zealand's early years Te Reo Māori was the main language until the British ceded sovereignty in 1840 when English was introduced as the favoured language (King, 2012). The Treaty of Waitangi brought the two cultures together, however they were not given equal importance in terms of language use and history. As Byrnes (2009) argues, to this day New Zealand history is given a colonial slant and the notion of national identity can be seen as aimed at continuing an implicit British colonial domination on the people of New Zealand. In her view New Zealand history needs to be re-written to provide a more balanced point of view. While this thesis will not seek to re-affirm this opinion, it will interrogate whether it is British or Māori/New Zealand identity that is being represented within the speeches. The era following the 20th Century World Wars is described by scholars as post-colonial and is ascribed to nations that have been subjected to European colonisation (Ashcroft, Griffiths, & Tiffin, 2002; Fisher Onar, Liu, & Woodward, 2014). Scholars have identified post-colonial theory to public relations practice to gain a deeper insight into the way in which public relations might be continuing to implicitly pursue the Western ideology (Munshi, 2005).

The subjective category described by Davidson (2000) focuses on the emotional attachment in belonging to one people/nation. This category is particularly useful to understanding the development and current status of New Zealand's identity. New Zealand has not had a stable shared language and history due to the tensions between Māori and British. Davidson (2000) believed that the subjective perspective applied to Scottish national identity because it encompasses the feeling of belonging. New Zealand is similar to Scotland as both have come under English rule, which in turn has brought conflict and tension within the nation's identity. Therefore, this thesis will be drawing on the subjective category of national identity.

The theoretical construct of national identity is understood to consist of unique elements which set a group apart from other groups (Jenkins, 2014). According to Tajfel and Turner (1979) the fluidity of identity means that individuals will move to other groups if they feel that a certain group is not fulfilling their needs. That is not to argue that there is not variation within the group, but that there are some 'core' characteristics which provide a set of meanings for any given group which differentiates the group from others and thus makes up a national identity (Huntington, 1993). Such characteristics and meanings will serve to tie together sub-cultures within the wider whole.

National identity is constructed through social interactions and is given meaning through symbols (flags, statues, awards) and language. The definition of national identity adopted in this thesis is provided by Bloom (1990, p. 52):

[...] that condition in which a mass of people have made the same identification with national symbols – have internalised the symbols of the nation – so that they may act as one psychological group when there is a

threat to, or the possibility of enhancement of, these symbols of national identity.

This definition of national identity purports that the key to uniting people includes symbols. Mead (1934, p. 181) defined a symbol as “nothing but the stimulus whose response is given in advance”. Ward (2014) discusses the revival of traditional Irish dress during the campaign for independence as a symbol of Irish identity as well as a sign of solidarity. It was a costume that began to be recognised not only in Ireland but also overseas as Irish campaigners made an effort to wear it when attending meetings in Wales and while on tour in America. While the Irish costume dated back to the 13th Century (Ward, 2014), individuals modernised it and therefore created a new tradition embedded in an old. Hobsbawm and Ranger (1983) believed that new traditions are often created when they are believed to have roots within an older tradition. As discussed in the previous chapter the flag is a symbol endowed with meaning. The troops of the nation fought beneath it, Olympic athletes parade behind it. Symbols resonate with certain groups of people that set them apart from other nations. The way in which individuals interpret symbols requires a group to create meaning and consistently reinforce it. In terms of the flag the symbol of the union jack reinforces the New Zealand connection with Britain which some argue is outdated. Therefore, it is of interest to this study to understand the way the Governor-General speaks of the New Zealand national identity.

There are different reasons attributed to the increase in people demonstrating their national identity (Anholt & Hildreth, 2010). It has been argued that society has become increasingly secular, meaning that national identity is one of the few remaining ideals people defend (A. Smith, 1991). Others have said that

it is due to an increase in globalisation which has caused individuals to pull closer to the nation which best fits their ideals (Ailon-Souday & Kunda, 2003). It appears to have a uniting power over individuals and groups to the extent that people will fight and die for the nation as illustrated during the 20th Century World Wars. As national identity is socially constructed and communicated through symbols, it must be continually re-affirmed to maintain its relevance and this is often done through calling on tradition and celebrations. Anzac Day and Waitangi Day provide this opportunity of expressing and re-affirming what it means to be a New Zealander. They are also a site of tension and struggle which forms part of the New Zealand national identity. During these celebrations a key figure representing and uniting the nation is the Governor-General in New Zealand.

2.2 New Zealand National Identity

New Zealand national identity is a site of struggle and tension within the nation. While Governors-General have repeatedly talked about the Waitangi Grounds being “the birth place of the nation” (eg. Cartwright, 2006), where the historical Treaty of Waitangi was signed, not all would agree. It is perhaps the beginning of the creation of the New Zealand nation state as we know it today, but Māori had lived for hundreds of years on this land prior to the signing of the Treaty. New Zealand national identity is influenced by the perception of it being a young nation which has been populated by immigrants. As outlined in chapter 1 (page 4), the country was promoted as a land of opportunity to struggling citizens particularly in England during the late 18th and early 19th century (Fox, 2011). Early settlers arrived bringing their social constructions and stories told through promotional campaigns or other’s experiences (Fox, 2011). Kilbride (2003) argues

that activities such as travel can become rituals that add to the construction of identity not just on the individual level but also on a national level. He believes that often when people travel they do so to re-affirm their beliefs of their nation's values being superior to the country they are visiting. While Kilbride (2003) is discussing this in regard to American tourists visiting Britain, it does highlight that an individual's belief system is often intensified in new environments which aids the construction of identity. The immigrants were using their own social constructions to evaluate the new surroundings, as Tajfel (1978) argues that individuals seek out groups to identify with, and compare themselves to members of other groups in order to make sense of the world around him/her. This creates a social hierarchy. In order to create a hierarchy an understanding of what is 'good' and 'bad' is required. This enables people to categorise objects and people.

The early settlers coming to New Zealand might have been looking to create a better life for themselves, but they would have brought their social constructs from their respective countries with them. Promotional campaigns were built on the premise that people were searching to move up the socially constructed hierarchy through hard work and opportunity (Fox, 2011). Tajfel and Turner (1979, p. 35) argue that "social mobility" arises from "the general assumption that the society in which the individuals live is a flexible and permeable one". In their view it also relies on the individual's desire to belong to another social group in which they feel more comfortable. New Zealand provided that "flexible and permeable" society where it was possible for individuals to have "social mobility" through hard work, in contrast to the stratified, largely immobile, social system in Britain.

Although immigrants sought social mobility and opportunity, they brought with them their rituals and traditions including parliamentary structure and the judiciary system of Britain. Rituals and traditions contribute to enhancing an identity and a sense of belonging to a group. The majority were from England as the New Zealand Company marketed and sold land to British citizens (King, 2012). These traditions were upheld by the Governors and later the Governor-General as they were all British-born prior to the 1970s (McLean, 2006).

However, two traditions that developed over time and New Zealanders recognise as being a significant part of their heritage, Anzac and Waitangi Day (Siteine, 2010), which provide a valid and enduring source of national identity. Because of their historical significance, these days are “significant symbols” (Mead, 1934, p. 181). The significance of the day is emphasised by the school education system that is not only a source of information but also confirms the importance of these days by re-affirming them as significant symbols of the nation. Siteine (2010) interviewed school teachers who argued that teaching students about the importance of these days helped the children gain insight into their own identity. Therefore, these days are linked to New Zealander’s national identity and the symbolic representative of the Crown, the Governor-General, who plays a central role in the rituals of New Zealand society.

Waitangi and Anzac Day have sparked controversy for different reasons over the years (McLean, 2006; Robinson, 2010). The tension may represent the “National Identity Dynamic [caps in original] [that] describes the potential for action which resides in a mass which shares the same national identification” (Bloom, 1990, p. 53). The tension appears to indicate the nation’s growth in finding and expressing its own identity. The Treaty of Waitangi was meant to create harmony

but one of the issues that prevented this was the perceived inaccuracies in the translations of the Treaty, giving rise to a feeling of betrayal among Māori people (Durie, 1998).

The national days create sites of emotional alignment with the nation. National identity gives a feeling of prestige, pride, aspiration and belonging (Hyam, 2010; Wood, 2014) although at times nations can be called upon to question aspects of their national identity (e.g., Hager, 2014). Waitangi Day did not appear to incite pride and a sense of belonging due to the tension within the nation. Therefore, it appears that Anzac Day became a day that unified New Zealanders. However, there also seems to be a contested history surrounding Anzac Day's popularity. Phillips (1996, p. 110) argues that in the 1950s "[...] the nation's men basked in their wartime glories". McGibbon (2000) seemed to confirm this point of view, as he noted that the 1950s was a time when attendance numbers for Anzac Day services were at their peak. However, the actual recorded attendance numbers for Anzac Day ceremonies contradicts this view (Robinson, 2010). While there is considerable scholarly literature written about Anzac Day between the wars, there appears to be a gap for the period after the war. There are two reasons given for the prominence of Anzac Day between the wars; firstly, it was a site for people to express their grief and optimism for the future, and secondly, it was a time for patriotism to reinvigorate and reaffirm the reasons behind the war effort (Robinson, 2010). It reconfirmed that New Zealanders were not just fighting for Great Britain but rather it was a day of celebration of what it meant to be a New Zealander.

The decline and then the resurgence in numbers appears to be linked to legislation. In October 1921 the Anzac Day Amendment Act came into effect,

requiring the day to be recognised as a 'holy day' and rules that applied to Sundays were to be enforced. It meant a full day of church services, prohibiting all sport and recreational activities. This was in stark contrast to the way in which soldiers stationed in Egypt celebrated the first Anzac Day in 1916. While they still observed tradition in having a service they also played sports in the afternoon (Clarke, 2014). The Anzac Day Amendment Act resonated with returned soldiers and families as it gave them a day of mourning and the ability to meet up with old comrades to reminisce.

The fact that Anzac Day was elevated to the status of a 'holy day' appears to give some indication of the importance that the day held for New Zealanders. While it was a time for people to come together, the tension that arose from it being such a sacred day appears to say something about the nation's identity. The sacrifice made needed to be recognised. People, however, also considered that a full day of mourning was not honouring the spirit of those who had fought. It was also argued that sports were "traditional training for war" (Phillips, 1996, p. 264) and therefore the exclusion of sports was incongruent to the day. This led to tension among New Zealanders who wanted to celebrate the lives of the men who had died. The fear of war being able to break out again, heightened through the threat of communism, also meant that people wanted to be ready (Phillips, 1996; Robinson, 2010). During the 1950s men were keen to settle back into family life and as New Zealand was an affluent country, this meant they were able to enjoy a high standard of living. The horrors of war were still etched into the psychology of the nation and this made many keen to enjoy the simple pleasures of raising a family (Phillips, 1996). This appears to have contributed to the decline in Anzac

Day attendance as it appears people did not want the memories of the war to be stirred up again (Robinson, 2010).

The Anzac Day Act 1966 came into effect after increased pressure by the people (Robinson, 2010). The Act allowed people to resume usual leisure activities including sport, after 1pm, therefore the day resembled that of the first Anzac celebration held by the New Zealand soldiers in Egypt in 1916 (Clarke, 2014). The significance might be attributed to both European settlers and Māori taking pride in their military/warrior history (Pugsley et al., 2008). Prior to the South African Boer War, Māori and British settlers had mainly fought against each other. The First World War acted as a galvanising force to fight together, as even though Māori were not required to enlist they came forward to fight. Arch rivals are said to unite when a great force is threatening (Novitz & Willmott, 1989). In this regard the First World War achieved what the Treaty of Waitangi set out to achieve, it united the nation in a common pursuit of freedom and democracy.

Both Waitangi and Anzac Day are of significance to New Zealand. It has become traditional for the Governor-General to present speeches at these national events as the representative of the titular head of state. Waitangi Day marks the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, but while it now is a place of struggle, early celebrations were described by Lord Cobham as being “dreary beyond description” (Cobham cited in McLean, 2006, p. 282). However, the dreariness was soon replaced by the Treaty being discounted by some as a fraud so that by the 1970s Waitangi became a site to stage protests over grievances (McLean, 2006). The Waitangi grounds are part of New Zealand’s national heritage and part of the tension demonstrated there could be due to the struggle to find an autonomous New Zealand identity. “People want the nations – ethic, cultural and

civic – to which they belong and represent to be held in high regard” (Wood, 2014, p. 100). New Zealand’s history of being marketed as a land of opportunity (Fox, 2011) is an enduring image of the way in which the country is sold to the world. The British saw themselves as a powerful and prestigious nation which, Hyam (2010) argued, enabled them to govern over a vast empire (including New Zealand). Therefore, the British culture and language seemed to be the ideals to strive towards. This influenced the national identity as English became the language and culture that governed New Zealand.

2.3 Language

Extensive searches have been unable to identify prior discussion about the Governors-General’s speeches as a source of influence on the development of national identity in New Zealand, which is the purpose of this thesis. As the role of the Governor-General is situated in a legitimated institution of political power, as outlined in chapter 1 (p. 13), the content of the speeches themselves becomes central to any consideration of whether public relations strategies are being employed as a form of influence, rather than merely ‘proclaiming’ the mana and ideals of the country as Tizard (1993) contends above. To introduce the discussion of whether the speeches of the Governors-General use public relations strategies to either shape or merely reflect national identity, the role of public relations will be outlined below including Heath’s (1993) discussion of rhetorical theory as a public relations tool.

2.4 Public Relations

Efforts to define the essence of public relations have continued for decades and the quest may well be unproductive (Galloway, 2013). However, for the

purpose of this thesis the definition to be used is that of the Public Relations Society of America, as it is the most recent available: “Public relations is a strategic communication process that builds mutually beneficial relationships between organisations and their publics” (PRSA, 2012). While the word “strategic” is important, where public relations aims to facilitate organisations’ achievement of their strategic goals, then the terms “process” and “relationships” are equally significant. “Process” implies sustained effort. Therefore, this thesis examines speeches by Governors-General in two eras, recognising for reasons of scope that it is not feasible to examine the detail of changing narratives over a decades-long period. “Relationships” can refer not only to mediated, parasocial interaction (Horton & Richard Wohl, 1956) but more particularly here to the shift in public relations practice from one-way messaging to a dialogic model of professional public relations practice. It is not argued here that Governors-General have been trying to establish dialogue; rather, it is contended that the shift in public relations practice to “relationship management” (e.g., Bruning & Ledingham, 2000; Ledingham, 2003) reflects societal changes which have resulted in a more symmetrical and inclusive approach to exercising the role of Governor-General.

This relational emphasis, now characterised as a “general theory of public relations” (Ledingham, 2003), is not incompatible with Heath (1993) arguing that rhetoric is the essence of public relations, because even though persuasion is central to a rhetorical perspective of public relations, Heath envisages persuasion as an interactive dialogic process with which “zones of meaning” can be created. Within these zones, shared understanding of problems can be produced (Heath, 1993). A strategic approach to communication is therefore now seen as one in which crafting of messages and the deployment of rhetorical devices are used to

strengthen relationships between organisations and their stakeholders through building shared meaning. Rhetoric becomes a means of recruiting people to the support of that shared meaning and to appropriate action such a commonly held understanding might inspire. This thesis will argue that although Lord Cobham's speeches evidence attempts at this "rhetorical recruitment", the later speeches of Sir Jerry Mateparae demonstrate clearly an emphasis on strengthening relationships in an increasingly diverse society within which the interactions of the Governor-General and the governed need some renegotiation.

2.4.1 Rhetorical theory.

According to Skerlep (2001), discourse and rhetorical analysis have been firmly linked within the field of public relations. Rhetoric has its roots in an ancient Greek philosophy in the original works of Aristotle and Plato, although they differed in their opinions on rhetoric and its function with society. Plato likened it to propaganda as he argued that rhetoric possessed a strong element of persuasion and lacked a basis in fact (Heath, 2009). In comparison, Aristotle's contention was that a message only becomes a piece of propaganda when the argument is not balanced between the three rhetorical elements of logos, pathos, and ethos. These have been described as being the logical facts, emotional value judgements and credibility of the speaker (Shields, 2014). Through having a balance of these, trust is created between the audience and the organisation/institution making the message more memorable. Aristotle believed that logical facts enable listeners to follow the thought process of the speaker (Shields, 2014). This means that individuals could judge for themselves if the facts that lead the individual to come to a certain point are

credible. However, he also argued that certain sources are more credible than others. For example, it has been argued that the BBC used the British monarchy to affirm a public perception of credibility (Hajkowski, 2010). Therefore, they legitimised the institution, as the monarchy was considered to be a trusted source.

According to Heath (2009), Aristotle's view is akin to the discourse in which public relations engages because it seeks to integrate multiple elements in its efforts to influence publics. The historical debate largely focused on the search for truth and whether rhetoric is used to seek or obscure 'truth'. Plato was critical of rhetoric as he felt that it worked to 'flatter' and sought to manage human emotion rather than focus on the pursuit of fact. Heath (2009, p. 25) aligns this view with the idea of "Public Relations spin", a stance often attributed to the overuse of emotion in rhetoric. For example corporate environmental responsibility has been equated to public relations spin as it taps into consumers' need to protect the planet, which may persuade people on an emotional level to buy products (Munshi & Kurian, 2005). Emotion is perceived as overshadowing the message to the extent that it potentially blurs the fact. While rhetoric seeks to appeal to the emotions of its audience, Aristotle argued that rather than emotional appeals being detrimental, they merely provide another perspective among the crowd of voices (Shields, 2014). This places the Governor-General as another voice that is being heard within the masses. However, there are voices that are given more weight due to the trust built with an audience. Therefore it is argued that the position of Governor-General needs to be occupied by someone who is trusted by the public.

The weakness in Plato's argument is that there was an assumption of one party being more knowledgeable than the other in the communication exchange

(Heath, 2009). Plato's fear is that the person with the knowledge is able to persuade the others with less knowledge by obscuring the 'truth' and promoting their own cause. However, Aristotle argued that individual speakers are required to provide factual support for their argument, underlining the role of an active audience which will evaluate messages and source credibility (Shields, 2014). For example, in the past, mass media was compared to a hypodermic syringe that injects an opinion and ideas in its audience, and because of the media's perceived power, the viewpoint is passively taken in as fact (Wiggerhaus, 1994). However, this idea was subsequently challenged by the now dominant idea of people being active, not passive, in their consumption of information (McCombs, Einsiedel, & Weaver, 1991).

The audience may be active in the exchange but as discussed some institutions (e.g., universities, BBC) and individuals have a heightened credibility, giving their opinions more weight. The British Monarchy, for example, is meant to be neutral, which means their opinions are not supposed to be politically motivated. In contrast, the audience expects a politician to provide a biased perspective on issues in order to legitimise their role/party within the institution of government. Therefore, a politician's speech will be listened to more critically than that of the Queen or her representatives. It follows that the audience would perhaps listen less critically to the Governor-General's speeches than to political rhetoric, which makes it vital that an understanding of whether s/he is shaping or reflecting is obtained.

2.4.2 Speeches.

Formal speeches are given to persuade, inform or entertain (Kline, 2004). The role of Governor-General is to unite and celebrate with New Zealanders (2000). Therefore, the speeches are not meant to provide entertainment, but may take the form of either persuading or informing. Considering that unity requires a sense of belonging, which is created through a shared culture (whether myth or reality) (Jenkins, 2014), it appears that perhaps the role that the speeches perform within society is that of influencing the general population towards a particular national identity.

Individuals operate within a framework of societal cues (Berger & Luckmann, 1967). This includes obvious cues such as an understanding of legal process and abstract constructs such as ownership and legitimisation. It requires a group consensus on what these terms mean (Berger & Luckmann, 1967). Therefore in order for the role of Governor-General to maintain its status it needs to be legitimised within the social and cultural context of New Zealand. Bakhtin (1986a, p. 63) states that the person delivering the utterance expects “response, agreement, sympathy, objection and so forth”, therefore the speech requires a response from the audience to make it meaningful to individuals as they may identify with or reject her/his message in part or in its entirety. The string of words only becomes meaningful when listeners respond to the utterance. This interaction requires the speaker to be aware of the publics’ opinions and shape his/her utterance in such a way as not to alienate individuals. One of the key ceremonies that legitimises the role of Governor-General within New Zealand is the public swearing-in ceremony, as this event not only re-affirms the formal recognition of

the Crown as the legitimate head of state but also provides an introduction to the new Governor-General.

New Zealand government derives its legitimacy from the Crown through the Treaty of Waitangi Cox (2008, p. 60) states:

[...] electoral support might suffice for much of the legitimacy of government, this is re-enforced by the historical continuity of the Crown. This is particularly in respect of the Treaty of Waitangi, but also as the principal apparatus of government which dates from 1840.

Although the Governor-General's tenure is usually five years, it is the process of continuity of the Crown which s/he represents which provides the stability to New Zealand governance. Drawing on Berger and Luckmann (1967) it requires a social group's consensus to give a group legitimacy, consequently acquiring prestige over the perceived 'other'. As New Zealand has developed its own interests and global alliances, so has the role of Governor-General evolved from being merely the Queen's representative negotiating land deals and establishing 'harmony' among Māori and European settlers, to representing the people of New Zealand overseas as well as domestically. The Queen's overseas representation of Britain has been equated to the idea of 'soft power' (Bidault, 2012).

One way in which nations promote themselves is through using 'soft power'. Nye (1990), coined the term 'soft power' which provides another way of understanding the legitimisation process as well as the importance of representation overseas. The term is defined as “[...] the ability to obtain preferred outcomes by attraction and persuasion rather than coercion and payment” (Nye,

2014). He uses America as an example, where he argues the country has used the film industry to export, and thus normalise, their way of life around the world. This view aligns with Fairclough (2001) who contends that such normalisation encourages acceptance of the way things are presented as merely 'common-sense'. Following Gramsci (1971) he argues that people are not likely to question things if they believed that it was just the way life is. Therefore, 'soft power' can be used to influence the masses and arguably is one of the ways in which the Governor-General promotes New Zealand and in turn reflects the national identity back to the New Zealanders via an overseas platform.

Dame Catherine (Tizard, 1993, p. 7), who was in the role of Governor-General from 1990-1996 said:

I suggest that at least one of the reasons the position really exists is to have someone proclaim – literally – the mana, the spirit and the ideals of our country.

This thesis argues that an aspect of the role is to give voice to what it means to be a New Zealander and the way in which Governors-General do so is embedded in the speeches they present. Cartwright (2006) later argued that the role of Governor-General was not limited to being the representative of New Zealanders in the institution of the British monarchy but that it also included representing New Zealand to the world. Protocol is an important part of the role and while some of the symbolism in the attire of the Governors-General has changed over time, the role itself draws on historic symbolism in day-to-day activities. If they are providing the "social affirmation" that Tizard (1993, p. 10) argues, then this aspect is likely present within the speeches they deliver. An example of "social affirmation" is the

honours system in which the Governors-General acknowledge New Zealanders who engage in desired activities such as community work. The honours system has symbolic meaning ascribed to it through the legitimacy of the office.

Meaning is not just derived from the words used but also the nonverbal cues, for example, the clothing worn and the formality of proceedings (Bakhtin, 1986a). All of this adds a sense of legitimacy and can either alienate or resonate with individuals. The Governor-General is required to perform ceremonial duties which enhance the legitimisation of the office. However, in order to maintain relevance, each Governor-General shapes the role to maintain its position within society (Cartwright, 2006). The general public's response to the speech will alter depending on whether the speech is either shaping or reflecting the national identity.

Considering the position of influence the Governor-General holds, it is important to understand whether s/he is using persuasive elements in order to shape or merely reflect the national identity. The literature only discusses the role of Governor-General as a representative, or provides a history of the role within New Zealand, but does not give insight into whether the Governor-General is contributing to shaping or reflecting the country's identity. Therefore this thesis seeks to address this gap in the literature. It is important to understand whether s/he is shaping, because if that is the case, then the point of view the Governor-General is supporting requires exploration.

National identity is fluid and open to being influenced, meaning that it is important for people to understand who is shaping this identity, and what their motives are for shaping it in a particular way. Therefore this content analysis of the

speeches of two Governors-General in New Zealand from different eras will illuminate whether public relations strategies is shaping or reflecting national identity is needed. While there have been studies completed on the political speeches delivered (Breeman et al., 2009; Dowding et al., 2010), there has not been a study on the influence the Governor-General speeches have had on shaping national identity.

Summary 2.5

The literature review provides the theoretical framework for this thesis. The construction of national identity through groups provides the bases for studying the speeches of the Governor-General. It is through the re-affirmation of symbols and their meanings that maintains the existence of a certain group. Anzac Day and Waitangi Day provide two such occasions where the Governor-General contributes the confirmation of the New Zealand national identity. A national identity only exists if there is an 'other' to compare itself to, and thus it is based on the understanding that New Zealand national identity differs to other nations' identity (Wodak, Cillia, Reisigl, & Liebhart, 2009). In order to ascertain whether public relations is being utilised in the Governors-General speech, rhetorical theory will provide a framework for the analysis. The next chapter presents the methodology and method this thesis employs in order to answer the research question of whether public relations is shaping or reflecting New Zealand's national identity in key speeches of two Governors-General.

Chapter 3: Methodology

This chapter provides a theoretical framework for the chosen methodology and summarises the method used to ensure the validity of the findings of this thesis. First, the qualitative constructivist interpretivist paradigm which underpins the study is outlined followed by the chosen method of data collection, including the way in which qualitative content analysis with a critical turn was employed in order to access the richness in the data. Qualitative studies need to demonstrate validity due to their inability to objectively examine the data (Schreier, 2012), therefore triangulation has been used as a form of validation. Limitations of the research approach are explained.

This research is viewed through the lens of the qualitative constructivist paradigm which stems from understanding the psychological development of the individual's world as created through social interaction. The epistemology of qualitative research is interpretive, it "deals with symbolic material – verbal data, visual data, artefacts – which leaves much room for interpretation" (Schreier, 2012, p. 20). The Governor-General's speeches become an artefact of their time, and qualitative research allows an individual to interpret data with an understanding that there is more than one way in which it can be deciphered. The meaning requires an understanding of the context in which the information is received. Therefore, the process of making sense of the world is a constructed one.

The ontology relies on locality as the construction of meaning inevitably varies from one group to another in diverse social and geographic locales. In

Collins' (1975) words, "when collective rituals and symbols are frequent enough to make the larger collectivity highly salient" (cited in Lawler, 1992, p. 334), citizens of a country (or state) will form an affective commitment or identification with the collective in the form of national identity. However, constructions of identity are fluid within a social context (Guba & Lincoln, 2005). That is one of the reasons this paradigm has been employed in this study. To analyse whether the Governor-General is using public relations to merely reflect or also shape the national identity through key speeches relies on the fluid nature of identity formation through group interaction.

3.1.1 Rationale.

The rationale for this analysis lies in the unique role of the Governor-General as the representative of the titular head of state, who is given access to an institutionally legitimate platform to convey meaningful messages to the public. If the world is constructed by creating meaning as suggested by Berger and Luckmann (1967), those with legitimacy have power to shape a social reality. Accordingly, it is the purpose of this study to identify categories within the messages to gain insight into the meaning within the framework of the speech, as the Governor-General has the legitimacy to potentially create shared meanings via the ceremonial duties s/he undertakes during his/her time in office.

The research addresses the following question:

Does Public Relations have a role in shaping or merely reflecting national identity as expressed in the speeches of two selected New Zealand Governors-General?

In this research, qualitative content analysis will be applied to the speeches to provide a view of national identity and the way in which it has been communicated by both Sir Jerry Mateparae and Lord Cobham. A sample of speeches will be analysed within the context of their time using newspaper editorials, as triangulation, to provide an understanding of the social context of the eras under analysis, as in themselves, speeches provide a discursive construction of “practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak” (Foucault, 1991, p. 49). In the following section the research paradigm which informs this study is outlined, followed by the method.

3.1.2 Constructivist/interpretive research.

Quantitative and qualitative analysis differ as the first focuses on numbers and the other on meaning. The strength of quantitative analysis is that its validity can be proven and the results will yield the same answers, regardless of who undertakes this study. However, a qualitative approach relies on the information to be interpreted in order to understand the meaning being conveyed and, as there are various possibilities, the results are subject to the researcher’s background which influences her/his interpretation through constructed values (Flick, 2014). Quantitative analysis was the favoured research method of psychologists as it was seen to yield reliable results. Flick (2014) argues that the limitation of quantitative methods is that the results are too far removed from everyday life. This realisation has caused psychologists and other researchers to look to qualitative analysis. There are differing schools of thought on whether qualitative or quantitative research is best, for example, Cicourel (1981) argued that quantitative was best applied when researching micro sociological questions and qualitative for

answering macro sociological questions. It appears there is an agreement that it depends upon the question as to whether a qualitative or quantitative approach is more appropriate. However as long as the data requires interpretation, then it is suitable to use qualitative rather than quantitative methods (Flick, 2014). However, although the content analysis model involves a systematic approach, the influence of the “social” may not always be foremost, for example, when undertaking a quantitative method of comparing documents or transcripts to quantify occurrences of specified data. As argued by Weber (1985, p. 41), a quantitative reduction of information precludes much of “the richness and detail” that can be achieved through a qualitative approach. Similarly, the “multi-dimensional” nature of language means that “frequency-counts of straightforward, surface meanings rarely go deep enough to answer in-depth questions” (Carney, 1972, p. 48). As Holsti (1969, p. 42) contends, content analysis “has been marked by a diversity of purpose, subject matter, and technique” thus qualitative approaches have developed as equally valid to the once dominant quantitative process to inform constructivist/interpretive research.

Constructivism is closely aligned to the way in which individuals both create and interpret the meaning within their environment. An interpretive approach views reality as socially constructed, where outcomes are firmly grounded in the social context within which they occur. As Guba and Lincoln (2005, p. 167) state, the “meaning-making activities themselves are of central interest to social constructionists/constructivists, simply because it is the meaning-making/sense-making/attributional activities that shape action (or inaction)”. The social world is both explained and constructed through the way in which individuals produce,

organise and define their identity and language is central to the process.

Language is not merely a code for communication; it is inseparably involved with processes of thinking and reasoning in which versions of the reality of the social world are constructed by social actors. As Burrell and Morgan (1979, p. 28) argue:

The interpretive paradigm is informed by a concern to understand the world as it is, to understand the fundamental nature of the social world at the level of subjective experience.

Social interaction is required for meaning to be created and expressed through either language or objects. This plays an important role within the study of the speeches, as words that may be used to evoke national identity are constructed through a shared understanding of a value system which needs the participation of the target social group in order to be accepted. Berger and Luckmann (1967) use the example of a knife as having the subjective cultural knowledge of being a weapon. The reason this is known is because of the social norms which inform the understanding of the knife being created to hunt for food. However, the knife can also depict anger if it is thrown at someone. Therefore, the object becomes subjectified as an individual's anger when it is used as a weapon.

The authors also emphasise that the object can maintain its meaning after the act has ceased to exist. The example given, is if the knife is thrown, misses the target's head but hits the wall, it still depicts the anger with which it was thrown even though the act ceases to exist. The way in which the world is understood depends on the way in which society around an individual has shaped that individual's world view. The social world is evolving from shared experiences of

members within a society as social reality is a system of shared meanings. The world is constructed by creating meaning in objects within social contexts (Berger & Luckmann, 1967). Due to meaning being formed by language and objects within society, the listener/reader has the ability to interpret and derive meaning from the Governor-General's speeches.

3.2 Method

This research utilises qualitative content analysis (QCA), enabling the researcher to examine a system of shared meaning through the content of texts, either spoken or written. A rigorous method of analysis was required in order to ensure that the way in which the meaning was interpreted is replicable. QCA provides a systematic means to gain insight into meanings within texts (Bryman, 2008; Holsti, 1969; Krippendorff, 2004, 2013). QCA is concerned with meaning that is not immediately apparent (Kracauer, 1952; Schreier, 2012). The emphasis on text makes this method suitable to analyse the Governor-General's speeches. Krippendorff (2004, p. 19) defines the text as having meaning "to someone, it is produced by someone to have meaning for someone else, and these meanings therefore must not be ignored [...]".

The past is only understandable through the artefacts that have survived (Dibble, 1963), and as artefacts the documents in the form of speeches are available for analysis. As the speeches are artefacts that exist after the time of presentation, it is integral to examining the role of the Governor-General in relation to the evolution of national identity to understand what social constructs existed at the time the speeches were delivered. Triangulation will be achieved through the analysis of the newspaper editorials to provide insight into the social context of the

period within which the texts were produced and delivered. Triangulation helps “to secure an in-depth understanding of the phenomenon in question” (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008, p. 7), through using a variety of data sources. Qualitative researchers are interested “in the particulars, not in general conclusions across contexts” (Schreier, 2012, p. 30). Due to context playing an important role in qualitative research (Flick, 2014), the method of content analysis was chosen for this research. The context was provided through the analysis of newspaper editorials at the time of the swearing-in.

3.2.1 Critical analysis.

As the Governor General occupies a powerful role within a legitimated political institution, this research will take a critical turn drawing on Fairclough (2001), by exploring the way in which language is used to position the speaker and audience within the context of national identity. The ideological struggle “is over language in the sense that language itself is a stake in the social struggle as well as the site of social struggle” (Fairclough, 2001, p. 88), as ideology is expressed through symbols and language.

A critical approach will focus “more closely on the [underlying] question of power and control” (Mumby & Clair, 1997, p. 182), which includes the closely related concepts of ideology and hegemony. Ideology is important to critical theory, as the common-sense world of everyday existence is ideological. The shared meaning that underlies social reality espouses practices through which an ideology, or understanding of what is acceptable, is both embodied and expressed. The acceptance of a particular framework of definitions has such a taken-for-granted nature that people tend to be unaware that an ideology is even

there as they share fundamental interests, values and concerns (Hall, Critcher, Jefferson, Clarke, & Roberts, 1978).

Phillips and Hardy (2002, p. 3) define discourse analysis as “an interrelated set of texts, and the practices of their production, dissemination, and reception”. The issue of why some interests are rationalised and thus legitimated as dominant to others gives rise to questions about the shaping of consent that results in their taken-for-granted acceptance. In other words, questions arise about the way in which dominant power is maintained in a way that “rationalize[s] and legitimate[s] particular courses of action upon the actions of self and others” (Smart, 1986, p. 164) without coercion. Gramsci (1971) defined the framing of definitions to allow dominant groups to exert authority over subordinate groups as “the organization of consent” or “hegemony” (cited in Barrett, 1994, p. 238). Ideology “plays a central role in this process” (Littlejohn, 1996, p. 229) as it shapes the way in which people understand and interpret their experience. Sometimes information that we regard as facts or knowledge are instead ideologies that we have adopted through the community we live in (Fairclough, 2001). In other words, ideologies can become an intrinsic part of a community’s way of life, which means that the ideology is viewed as a common sense approach to life rather than as an ideology in itself (Fairclough, 2001).

Ideologies exist in many forms and consistently reflect the social structure they inhabit. As Bourdieu (1991, p. 169) contends, “Ideologies owe their structure and their most specific functions to the social conditions of their production and circulation”. This is particularly true when thinking of the struggle of Māori to have the language of their ancestors recognised and enjoy the same status as the

English language. This is an example of the power struggle that was playing out between the two major cultures in New Zealand. Fairclough (2001, p. 88) continues stating “[...] ideological struggle pre-eminently takes place in language”. Denying a language in turn may suppress a culture, which gives rise to ideological struggles. Language can reveal the site of struggle within society, therefore analysing the speeches that speak about the New Zealand national identity will enable the researcher to examine the tension within the nation. The Māori language was only officially recognised in 1987 (1987) 30 years after Lord Cobham took office. Therefore language, and in this case the speeches, will provide a minor indication of the effect this law change has had on the nation and its identity. However, critical discourse analysis unlike descriptive discourse analysis focuses not just on language but rather, as Phillips and Hardy (2002) argue, it encompasses production, dissemination and the context in which it is delivered.

According to Schreier (2012) QCA is able to be combined with other methods in order to systematically analyse the data. This critical turn is necessary in the examination of the speeches in order to gain an understanding of whether the message is seeking to persuade/influence the audience to adopt a particular view. Schreier (2012, p. 47) states that “if you use discourse analysis, you are interested in the process of reality construction” and in turn a rhetorical approach is one way of applying discourse analysis perspective to the data within a content analysis framework. Important public relations scholars have interpreted their discipline as focusing on contributions to rhetorical contests (Cutlip, 1994; Heath, 2009).

3.2.2 Rhetorical theory.

The historical roots of rhetorical theory are found in the books of the philosophers Plato and Aristotle (Beiner, 1983; Heath, 2009; Olmsted, 2006). It has been used to identify the types of persuasive devices used by speakers. Plato and Aristotle's ideas around persuasion, originated from watching the political and judicial orators of the time state their cases. Plato believed persuasion was flattering because it appealed to the emotions of the listener (Olmsted, 2006). Aristotle on the other hand argued that as long as the argument was balanced then it would be acceptable to involve the emotions of the audience (Heath, 2009; Shields, 2014). He argued that only by engaging the rational and non-rational elements of the listener could action be evoked. In order to achieve this effect Beiner (1983, p. 88) states that the speaker must have the ability to:

Show oneself to be a man [sic] of moral purpose, to be aware of how emotion interacts with judgement, and to choose the most effective enthymemes, arguments, style, language, delivery, and arrangement of speech is to achieve in rhetoric what the man in possession of phronesis achieves in acting with practical wisdom in a given situation of choice and action.

Beiner is writing about politics where the aim is to persuade an audience to adopt a certain point of view. As Demirdöğen (2010, p. 190) argues "the central aim of political interaction can be stated as persuasion". Within the political domain an audience would expect persuasion to occur as individuals seek to add their voices in order to come to a common agreeable solution for their citizens. However, the Governor-General is meant to be apolitical in his position which means that if s/he

is employing any of the tactics of persuasion then s/he is seeking to shape the nation's opinion. Rhetorical theory has been utilised to analyse many political speeches (e.g., Alkhirbash, Paramasivam, Muati, & Ahmad, 2014; Demirdöğen, 2010; Maguire, 2014; J. Murphy, 1997). Therefore a rhetorical approach allows the data to be analysed to examine whether the Governor-General is shaping or reflecting the national identity. Rhetorical theory analysis provides a framework in which to analyse the text. It involves not just interpreting the text but rather applying coding to it to elucidate the way in which the particular speech has been constructed and in doing this it becomes evident whether strategies of persuasion is being utilised.

The three elements of persuasion as described by Aristotle are: the speaker's character/credibility (ethos), the audience's emotional response to the message (pathos) and the rationality of the speech's arguments (logos) (Beiner, 1983; Heath, 2009). An element of logos is the use of enthymemes which evoke the listener's emotions while being based within a logical argument. Olmsted (2006, p. 13) provides an example of an enthymeme "if the war is the cause of present evils, things should be set right by making peace". Enthymemes inspire action by providing a choice. However, they draw the listener to only one possible conclusion, in this example, peace. These characteristics will elucidate the use of persuasion within the Governor-General's speeches and provide an insight into whether shaping or reflecting may be present. Therefore, the second phase of coding of the speeches identifies these rhetorical devices. In order to code for these elements within the text each one needed to be broken down further. See

the table over page for the characteristics of the rhetorical devices that Alkhirbash et al. (2014) identified in their political analysis.

Table 1 Modes of persuasion.

Rhetorical devices	Characteristics
Ethos	Found in the message of speaker. Credibility can be achieved through demonstrating the following qualities throughout her/his speech: <ol style="list-style-type: none">1. Demonstrates that s/he is competent, knowledgeable and reasonable.2. Good moral compass, providing a fair, unbiased, straightforward argument3. Is sincere, concern for others and wishes others well.
Pathos	Persuasion based on emotion. The speaker seeks to stir the listener's emotions. Produces a feeling within the audience which relates to the situation. Arouses feelings such as empathy, anger, sorrow, compassion, fear, love and pride.
Logos	Logos provides the statements with validity and can be identified through the speaker's use of: <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Reason• Facts• Enthymemes• Evidence• Examples• Statistics• Eye-witnesses

This Table has been modified from Alkhirbash et al. (2014, pp. 45-46)

These definitions draw on Aristotle and other rhetorical theory scholars (Corbett, 1990; Corbett & Connors, 1999; Crowley & Hawhee, 1999; Hauser, 2002; Sheldon, 2004) whose analysis is useful for answering the research question because it will indicate to what degree the Governor-General is employing rhetorical devices in her/his speeches to shape or reflect New Zealand identity. The speeches were coded by identifying the characteristics of the modes of persuasion, and categorised by using three different coloured highlighters (see e.g., [Appendix 14](#), p. 212).

3.2.3 Limitations.

As Krippendorff (2013) points out, although content analysis provides an unobtrusive means to obtain context sensitive data, sampling of that same data does introduce bias at the level of individual interpretation. The interpretive paradigm also inevitably assumes “the researcher’s beliefs and feelings about the world and how it should be understood and studied” (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008, p. 31). This means a researcher has to acknowledge their own perceptions and knowledge that are being brought to the research, in this case, a preconceived notion of what it means to be a New Zealander. For example, some assumptions that were made when starting this research include the belief that national identity is reproduced, “as special forms of social identity, are produced and reproduced, as well as transformed and dismantled, discursively” (Wodak et al., 2009, pp. 3-4).

Further limitations include a small sample of data and a lack of diverse perspectives. The small sample of speeches studied limits any attempt at generalization across all Governors-General’s speeches. However, that does not affect the replicability of this study as long as the prescribed method is applied to the speeches examined. While the data collated from the *New Zealand Herald* provided only one perspective, it is a valid perspective as it is one of the main sources from which individuals gained their information, however, it does not provide the research with diverse perspectives. This analysis of the *New Zealand Herald* looks at the periods September 1957 and September 2011. Within this period the editors and the lens from which they view and report the world’s news may have changed. People listening to or reading the speeches will come from various backgrounds and bring to them various lenses through which they will

interpret the content. Communities are often hard to define as people living within the same geographical area have been shown to have completely different experiences which provide them with different lenses through which they interpret the world (Fine, Weis, Weseen, & Wong, 2000). In 1950s New Zealand Māori lived alongside predominantly British and European immigrants; more recently Pacific Island, Asian and South African immigrants have joined the community (Jackson & McRobie, 2008). As a New Zealander with ancestral ties dating back to 1840, as well as spending a large percentage of my informative years in North and South Africa, I bring my own perspective to this research. Due to the scope of this thesis there was not the opportunity to gain a wider perspective of the particular times under investigation. Krippendorff (2013, p. 30) believes that the researcher “must draw specific inferences from a body of text to their chosen context”.

Despite these limitations, the method of qualitative content analysis is widely recognised as a sound method of analysis of text. This provided a tool to access the ‘thick descriptions’, thus enabling the researcher to identify and analyse the emergent themes from the data. This method allows the researcher to “preserve the conceptions of the data’s sources” (Krippendorff, 2013, p. 46)

3.2.4 Ethical approval.

As this research involved only archival analysis of existing documents available in the public domain, there were no identified privacy or human ethics considerations. Advice was sought, and ethical approval was not required from the Massey University Human Ethics Committee to complete this study.

3.2.5 Data collection.

All data gathered was available in the public domain. In completing this research an effort was made to ensure that the data used was accurate. The book of published speeches of Lord Cobham was an incomplete source as it had been edited by the 1958 *New Zealand Herald* editor, O.S. Hintz, (Hintz, 1962). To ensure a valid sample of speeches for analysis, access to the original speeches was required from the National Archives in Wellington. On the 25th June 2014 a day trip to Wellington was made, flying from Auckland to Wellington to spend seven hours in the archives. In order to save expenditure and avoid an overnight stay, another person as well as the author searched for the relevant data. To ensure that the day ran smoothly, the author searched the online data base of the National Archives (www.archway.archives.govt.nz) and created a list of box numbers containing the information needed. This search also identified whether any consents were needed to be obtained, as the Archives hold sensitive information and may require access clearance from the Police or Government which can take a number of weeks. However, all items pertinent to this research are public records. On arrival the Archivist checked that no items had been missed and helped retrieve the boxes, a process that took half an hour, then continued to make further searches on the topic. The search terms used were: Lord Cobham, Governor-General 1950s, Governor-General 1957-1962 and Government House. There is a limit of five boxes per person at any given time so the second person also ordered boxes from the list to reduce waiting time and increase productivity. The dataset consisted of many handwritten speeches demonstrating proof of self-editing, which at times contradicted the printed version of the same speech in the book. In order to save time and expense the data was

photographed with a smart-phone and then transferred onto a memory stick on return to Auckland. Once that was completed, the researcher printed off the data and filed it into a data folder so that a hard copy as well as an electronic copy was available. As there were no issues regarding consent, the data was not stored in a secure cabinet.

Sir Jerry Mateparae's speeches were available on the official Government House website (<http://gg.govt.nz/>). The website is updated regularly and the speeches are uploaded weekly, ensuring that the wider public has access to them. There are speeches uploaded from previous Governors-General, but there were not many present for Lord Cobham, and the ones that were examined, contained spelling errors, making it an unreliable source to use for the older speeches. To ensure that it was an accurate representation of the current Governor-General's speeches a comparison was made between the uploaded Anzac Day speech delivered at Anzac Cove in 2014 during the dawn service and the televised version. The comparison assured the researcher that the website was a credible source for the newly uploaded speeches. All speeches, handwritten, edited, and summary of the editorials are in Appendices (p.118).

The original newspaper editorials during Cobham's tenure were sourced, mainly through microfilm, to provide a snapshot of the time. Past issues of the *New Zealand Herald* are on microfilm and held by both Massey University and the Auckland public library at Takapuna. Over a period of a month, in four hour blocks, the information was retrieved from the microfilm. The quality was poor and page numbers could at times not be retrieved due to the lack of clarity. The machine developed a fault at Massey University that required a move to Takapuna Library.

This was only completed in four-hour intervals due to the blurry images. However, breaking it up into four hour periods meant that once the data had been retrieved and scanned onto a USB drive, the researcher was then able to begin printing and code. The newspapers provided an authentic view of what societies concerns were at the time. One weakness is that articles may have been written and edited for profit, and therefore could provide a colonialised view of issues (Byrnes, 2009). The *New Zealand Herald* has been continually owned and operated by the Wilson family who emigrated from Scotland in 1841 until 1996 (Roughan, 2013), bringing a colonial view to the content. While the newspaper still employs Wilson family members (Roughan, 2013) the paper was sold to Dublin-based Independent News and Media Group in 1996. The paper is now owned by Australian Provincial Newspapers (APN) which is a subsidiary of Independent News and Media (New Zealand Government, 2014). These changes will have brought differing perspectives to the newspaper's editorials. While the researcher was aware of these changes, an in-depth analysis of what impact this may have had on the views expressed was excluded by the scope of this thesis.

3.2.6 Data analysis.

Inductive research requires categories to be identified from the data which are reduced further to identify underlying themes. QCA provides a flexible frame for coding data (Boyatzis, 1998). The main criterion is that the coding captures the desired results set out by the research question (Neuendorf, 2002). This is how QCA allows a researcher to reduce the information, keeping the question in focus rather than taking all of the information contained within the data (Schreier, 2012). Using the research question as a guide two categories came to the fore; New

Zealand and British identity. The reason to distinguish between British and New Zealand identity is because the Governor-General is representing the Queen, a British institution which aims to uphold British traditions. In order to ensure this process was systematically completed the Mayring (2000) model, as shown in the Figure 1 below, was applied.

The diagram illustrates that the categories are guided by the research question. However, in QCA the data is able to reveal further categories that the researcher can include (Schreier, 2012) as part of the revision process. Additional categories which were coded as: family, privilege, role and personal attributes. These categories emerged from the data as a direct result of the words used by the speaker. For example, the category of family was created by the continued use of the concept through words such as “our forefathers”, “my wife” and so on. This coding was used to analyse the speeches (swearing-in, Waitangi Day and Anzac Day) and newspapers. Once this was completed the speeches went through a second phase of coding focusing on rhetorical theory; using pathos, ethos and logos to identify the type and amount of persuasion that is potentially contained within the data.

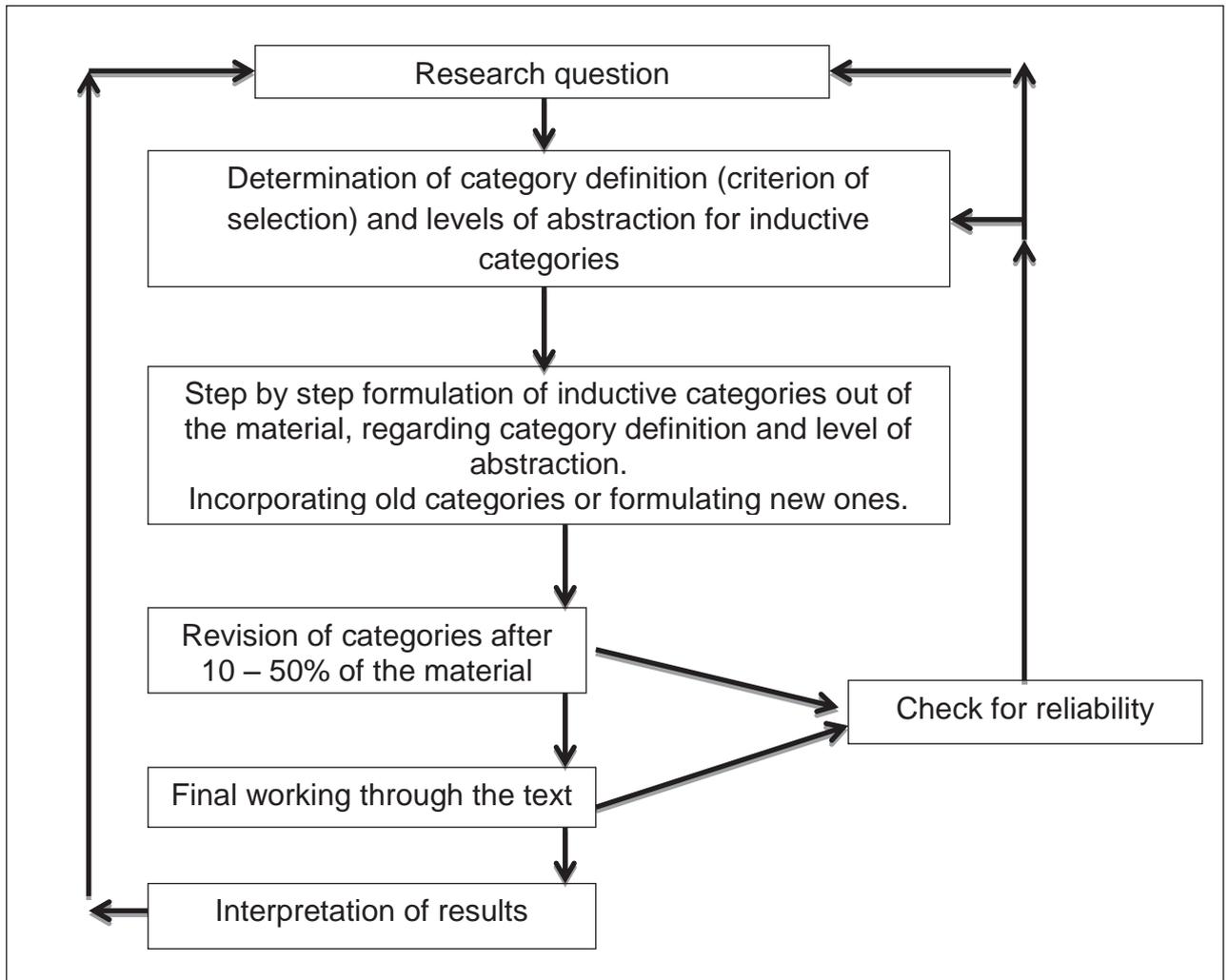


Figure 1: Step model of inductive category development adapted from Mayring (2000)

The information obtained from both sets of data has been combined in order to understand the words identified within the categories and whether persuasive devices are operating within the speeches. The Figure 1 above, illustrates the need for constant revision and interpretation of the final results. Revision was completed by coding with a partner whose results were matched in order to ensure consistence of analysis, and the final stage of interpreting the results have been merged into three main categories. According to Becker and Lissmann (1973) content analysis is divided into primary content and latent

content (cited in Mayring, 2000). Primary content consists of the text and the categories which are derived from them, and latent content is material that provides context. In this thesis the latent content comes from the newspaper editorials. Krippendorff (2004, p. 42) describes this as a “context-sensitive method [...that] acknowledges the textuality of the data – that is, they recognize that the data are read by and make sense to others, and they proceed by reference to contexts of their own”. A text is interpreted through the individual’s construct of the world created through their own experiences, which provides the listeners/readers with the tools to interpret the message. Therefore, the way individuals derive meaning from certain words depends on their association with them.

In the context of this research, the analyst first needs to have an understanding of the way listeners are interpreting the speech. Bakhtin (1986b) argued that the person delivering the utterance is required to relate to the knowledge of the listener in order to create a message to be interpreted in the intended manner. The speeches use particular references which would be understood within the context in which they were delivered. In order to gain some insight into the way in which messages were constructed, a snapshot of the time the speeches that were produced will be reviewed to give some comparison with the cultural/societal knowledge at the time. Context sensitive/latent content requires the researcher to acknowledge that what is being researched will be interpreted depending upon the “world (the analyst’s context) [construct] within which the participants appear to “speak” in the analytical terms that the conversation analyst is familiar with and brings to [the] analysed transcript”

(Krippendorff, 2013, p. 39). The newspapers provided an important insight into the speeches as it helped to identify the publics towards whom the message was targeted.

The Governor-General is meant to be in an apolitical role, and yet there have been no identified studies in New Zealand to illustrate whether s/he is shaping or reflecting the national identity. In order to study this the researcher chose qualitative content analysis with a critical turn as “the hermeneutical interpreter has – or should have – the capacity to select whatever s/he thinks to be appropriate from a multitude of techniques and theories” (Kleining & Witt, 2001). This relies on the researcher to possess the skill to not just collate information but also interpret it within the chosen field.

3.3 Summary

This chapter has summarised the methodology and method used in order to undertake this research project. Qualitative content analysis has been utilised as the basis of the research, lodged in the belief that there are a number of characteristics and attitudes that people collectively ascribe to forming the phenomenon of national identity. The central focus of the study categorised the ways in which the speeches may either reflect or shape national identity. Content analysis can utilise either qualitative or quantitative methods, a quantitative approach would have enabled the researcher to count the amount of times a word, phrase or device was used, however it would not have revealed the richness of data. The two phase coding provided depth to the study, as the next chapter will illustrate.

Chapter 4: Data Analysis

The data was first read, driven by the research question which drove the first coding phase to reveal categories that allowed further examination of the New Zealand identity. Through the process of reading and revising, further categories came to the fore. In order to clarify these categories to the reader these have been placed under three distinct headings; values, positioning of the other and appeal to the New Zealand publics. The speeches from Lord Cobham (1957-1962) and Sir Jerry Mateparae (2011- present) have been analysed using the Mayring (2000) model to guide the process. The swearing-in speeches provided the basis of the analysis, but in order to broaden the scope of the study, Waitangi Day and Anzac Day speeches were included in the analysis. The newspapers provided the context through highlighting the issues that were being discussed in society at the time, as rhetoric only becomes an effective tool when all aspects are taken into account (Triadafilopoulos, 1999).

The social context was provided through the *New Zealand Herald*, a national publication available for comparison over the time frames in this thesis. The newspaper editorials were analysed in detail for the month in which Lord Cobham (September 1957) and Sir Jerry Mateparae (August/September 2011) delivered their swearing-in speeches. [Appendix 15](#) (p. 250-274) contains summary of each editorial for the month, and only the relevant information is included below. The contextualisation provided by the newspaper has been used to support the analysis of the speeches.

It must be noted that when researching Lord Cobham's Waitangi Day speeches, there was only one (1959) published in his book of speeches that was edited by Hintz (1962). However, the archives revealed two further speeches, 1960 ([Appendix 4](#), p. 135-136) and 1962 ([Appendix 5](#), p. 139-144). The 1959 Waitangi Day speech from the archives showed changes made to the speech which were ignored by the editor of the book. Therefore, both have been provided as the changes were deemed important to the analysis in this section. The researcher will note when an omitted section of the speech is being analysed. The deleted section in Cobham's Waitangi Day 1959 speech (Lines 38-40, 1959, [Appendix 3](#), p. 132) have been deleted and other lines added (Lines 26-32, 1959, [Appendix 3.1](#), p. 132). This deletion is a quote from Kipling which is relevant to coding phase 2 in relation to the rhetorical device ethos.

Aristotle contends that ethos, pathos and logos are used when an individual seeks to promote a particular end (Olmsted, 2006). Public relations defends its use of rhetorical theory as providing a voice that adds to the rhetoric of the day (Cutlip, 1994), which is relevant to an analysis of the Governor-General.

4.1 Values

Bloom's (1990) definition of national identity highlights that symbols have socially constructed meaning for a group of people creating a unifying effect. It is possible that the Governor-General uses these symbols to unify the people through adhering to ceremonial protocols and language. The newspaper editorials provide an overview of the ceremony. Lord Cobham has arrived in Wellington harbour on a rainy day (1957, [Appendix 15.3](#), p. 253-254). He is dressed in uniform, and the newspaper comments that the uniform is of lesser rank than that

of his predecessors. Symbols can provide visual markers within a culture where the meaning is recognisable within a society (Mead, 1934). This may be used to persuade the audience to adopt a certain point of view (Scott, 1994). Fairclough (2001, p. 27) argues “visuals can be an accompaniment to talk which helps determine its meaning”. Therefore the ceremony surrounding the speeches of the Governor-General needs to be taken into account during the analysis as this impacts on the interpretation and receptiveness of the listener/reader.

A uniform works as an identification point as K. Burke (1969) contends that individuals seek identifications to create a sense of belonging and unity within a group. In the 1950s when the dominant public still called England “home”, the British uniform was a visual representation of Cobham’s heritage. Sir Jerry Mateparae chose not to wear a uniform and instead it was noted in the newspaper that he wore a Māori cloak over a suit (Bennett, 2011). This could have been to disassociate himself from his previous role as the Chief of Defence. Prior to Sir Jerry’s swearing-in, there were articles published which questioned his suitability for the position of Governor-General due to his role as Chief of Defence (Young, 2011a, 2011b). Military uniforms have “always been one important symbol of respectability, professionalism, separateness, or cohesiveness” (Schiff, 1995, p. 16), values that are symbolised within the uniform. It appears that Lord Cobham was seeking to build his ethos (credibility) within the New Zealand audience. Sir Jerry Mateparae seeks to establish his ethos through breaking down the separation between himself and the public by refraining from wearing his military uniform.

This concept of breaking down the separation or division created by the position of the office within societal constructs, is evident in a press conference held at Government House (Trevett, 2011). Dismantling the barriers through dress, he states “I have to wonder what the reaction has been with us wandering around in jeans” (Trevett, 2011, online). The reporter goes on to explain that she had received instructions that jeans were not to be worn at Government House. This appears to be Sir Jerry’s attempt at breaking down the formal barriers. It also ties into his speech where he states, “As a people, New Zealanders are in equal measures informal, strong-willed, competitive and yet also modest about all we have achieved” (Line 72-74, 2011, [Appendix 13.2](#), p. 177). Sir Jerry is identifying as a New Zealander which encompasses a broader definition than Lord Cobham who appears to identify primarily with those of British descent.

It is important to view the pageantry that surrounds a speech, as it is not just the words that influence the listener, but the context in which it is delivered. The pageantry of the swearing-in ceremony for each new Governor-General needs to be taken into account. Triadafilopoulos (1999) argues that the context into which the message is delivered prepares the audience. Lord Cobham comments in his speech, “[that by] this impressive ceremony, the people of New Zealand are once again giving expression to their traditional loyalty to our Queen” (Line 07-08, 1957, [Appendix 13.1](#), p. 174). Traditional loyalty is here linked to the Queen and is expressed in a British manner. The newspaper reported the ceremonial inspection of the guard and the 21 Gun salute from a headland on Wellington’s waterfront (Point Jerningham). Lord Cobham appears to encourage the British traditional form of welcome by later stating in regard to the Queen

Mother's visit, "I know that she will receive a traditional welcome to New Zealand" (Line 56-57, 1957, [Appendix 13.1](#), 175). Britain colonised the world through showing superiority in military force, and continued their dominance within conquered regions by creating a feeling of pride and prestige through the use of British tradition (Wood, 2014).

Newspapers report that Sir Jerry Mateparae's swearing-in maintained the British ceremonial traditions but also included Māori cultural traditions of a Kapa Haka performance and the wearing of a traditional Māori cloak by Lady Janine and Sir Jerry (Bennett, 2011). This prepared the audience for Sir Jerry Mateparae's speech which opened with a traditional welcome in Te Reo and included Māori proverbs. He acknowledges with an un-translated passage in Te Reo, the recent passing of Sir Paul Reeves, the first Māori Governor-General (1985-1990) who held office when Te Reo became an official language of New Zealand. This establishes the New Zealand identity by the use of Te Reo as "a nation's self-respect hinges upon its ability and willingness to defend itself, but its very existence is inconceivable without its own language" (Edwards, 1985). Sir Jerry Mateparae creates ethos through his knowledge and use of Te Reo as this appears to be spontaneous which helps build rapport with the audience.

The values placed upon each tradition builds ethos with the audience. Cobham draws on his British heritage while Mateparae draws on his Māori heritage. The movement of de-colonisation that followed the Second World War shifted the power away from Britain (Shome & Hegde, 2002). In this case it placed an emphasis upon New Zealand's identity and correspondingly on New Zealand traditions. This created a change in the way audiences were positioned.

4.2 Positioning as 'other'

The use of pronouns draws the audiences in and induces the reader/listener to actively participate (Nash, 1989). This allows the producer of the text or speaker to position themselves in relation to New Zealanders. This positioning is evident in both Lord Cobham's and Sir Jerry Mateparae's speeches. In terms of public relations the positioning of the target publics is key in order to effectively communicate a message. Therefore an audience is divided up into key publics in order to manage the individual's or corporation's image and, as Munshi and Kurian (2005, p. 514) contend:

[...] the dominant organizational core [is] that public relations "manages" the corporate image through an asymmetric hierarchy of publics: (1) the predominantly Western shareholders; (2) the Western consumer public/the global middle-class consumer; (3) the Western activist public; (4) the vast numbers of Third World citizens who produce the goods for consumption by others; and (5) the even greater numbers of Third World citizens too poor to consume.

In the case of the Governors-General, they are not an organisation creating goods to be consumed but rather are there to provide a largely ceremonial function. However, the Governors-General are using public relations in order to create the speeches and therefore it is important to understand their publics and whether their messages are reflecting a certain perspective inherent in a targeted message. Munshi and Kurian (2005, p. 514) state that public relations would "focus on undercutting the protests of the third public to appease the second

public”. Publics four and five are not powerful enough to warrant the organisation’s attention.

The division of publics appears within the creation of the “other” within the speeches of both Cobham and Mateparae. Lord Cobham reinforces the British ideology through his rhetoric emphasising British identity and with that, aims to encourage individuals to aspire to these ideals. This is evident in his statement

Our forefathers who brought to these distant shores their faith, their democratic ideal and their traditional culture would indeed be proud of the way in which their vision has become reality during the last 100 years (Line 42-44, 1957, [Appendix 13.1](#), p. 175).

The use of “our” creates the association of other. It is a rhetorical device that creates containment, used to persuade individuals to adhere to certain ideals. M. Smith (2010) contends that containment is used to provide the listeners with certain norms and ensure that the reader/listener feels included within the norms, in this case, British ideals. This employs the rhetorical device of logos as the speaker uses facts to build an image of norms. Tajfel (1978) argues that the ‘other’ allows individuals to identify with one group and distance itself from ‘other’ groups. Therefore, the ‘other’ possesses characteristics which are not favourable and plays an important role in the creation of group identity.

The treatment of the ‘other’ within the speeches provides an insight in the way in which identity is being expressed by Lord Cobham and Sir Jerry Mateparae. Lord Cobham’s reference to forefathers sets up the British settlers as the norm and places the Māori as the ‘other’. He is emphasising the ‘other’ as

being people whose forefathers did not bring the type of faith, democracy and traditional culture that he values, positioning British ideologies as having value over others. This is not an attempt by Lord Cobham to shape New Zealanders as he is reflecting the dominant ideology of the time. The newspapers indicate the New Zealand reliance upon the British system. For example they provide information on the interest rates charged in Britain (1957, [Appendix 15.16](#), p. 261). In contrast, the Māori culture and tradition is being ignored. Therefore, it appears that with this statement Lord Cobham's objective is to establish his credibility by demonstrating an understanding of the economic situation of New Zealand. However, it seems that it would mainly persuade those who identified as European settlers.

The next lines down provide further evidence of rhetorical containment. The early settlers are called the "early peaceful settlers" whereas Māori are referred to as "Maori brethren" (Line 46, 1957, [Appendix 14.1](#), p. 213). While Cobham is acknowledging Māori contribution in establishing this country, the audience is being directed to look at Māori from an outward gaze. Contrast that with 'our forefathers' a few lines earlier. The audience is specified to be descendants of early settlers who "brought to these distant shores their faith, their democratic ideal and their traditional culture" (Line 42-43, 1957, [Appendix 14.1](#), p. 213). Pathos is being invoked by creating an emotional reaction of belonging to a distinct group. The use of pronouns involves the listener/reader as an active participant within the piece creating an emotional reaction (Nash, 1989).

The way in which this containment positions Māori illustrates a hierarchy of values which are further expressed through the pairing of words and the order in

which information is arranged. Fairclough (2001, p. 38) states “[...] these positions continue to be part of social structure [...] discourse in turn determines and reproduces social structure”. This is particularly evident in Cobham’s use of the trope “family”. A trope is defined as “markers of some creative concept” (Nash, 1989, p. 145). They are used to tap into the audience’s imagination; however they rely upon interpretation, making tropes context sensitive. Cobham creates a hierarchy of “family” through his positioning of this trope within his speech. He begins with the literal meaning of family, acknowledging his wife and children and then he speaks of the “Royal Family” (Line 9, 1957, [Appendix 14.1](#), p 213) before expanding it out to the “great family known as the British Commonwealth” (Line 10-11, 1957, [Appendix 14.1](#), p. 213). This device evokes pathos as it may create an emotional reaction from the audience (Nash, 1989). Metaphors and tropes evoke emotions and often engage the senses. In this instance Cobham is constructing an image of unity and a sense of belonging to something greater, the Commonwealth family.

When Lord Cobham delivered this speech, membership to the Commonwealth was limited to the countries that were realms of Her Majesty the Queen (Te Velde, 2011). The shift from Empire to Commonwealth had only occurred a decade earlier which could be why Lord Cobham is seeking to re-affirm New Zealand belonging as a nation. It is also creating an emotional link for New Zealand to England. It was highlighted in the newspapers that New Zealand was reliant upon Britain buying New Zealand produce. This use of the concept of ‘family’ could also be due to the communist threat, which the newspapers believed could be overcome through ensuring that “Christian values” were maintained

([Appendix 15.4](#), p . 254). As mentioned above, Lord Cobham praises the early settlers for bringing faith to New Zealand. This faith is what the newspapers are claiming would keep New Zealand safe from the perceived threat of communism. By re-affirming the link between New Zealand, the Commonwealth and England, Lord Cobham appears to legitimise the role of Governor-General. He also is validating himself as the appropriate candidate through his ancestral connection to New Zealand. The fact that Sir Jerry Mateparae does not refer to the Commonwealth at all in any of his speeches could be due to the changing nature and importance of Commonwealth membership.

After the Second World War, nations began to push for independence from colonial rule. The changing point came about when India became independent in 1947 (Shome & Hegde, 2002). While Britain tried to forget, scholars have argued that “western metropole must [now] confront its postcolonial history, told by its influx of postwar migrants and refugees, as an indigenous or native narrative internal to its national identity” (Bhabha, 1994, p. 6). This signalled a shift in power dynamics and as Fairclough (2001, p. 38) contends “social structures not only determine discourse, they are also a product of discourse”. Therefore, the postcolonial history was impacting on the way in which Cobham constructs his argument and the way in which he seeks to maintain British relevance.

The colonial stance is evident within Cobham’s 1959 Waitangi Day speech where he states that

The treaty [sic] has been called the Maoris’ [sic] “Magna Carta”, but it was more even than that: it was the document which extended to the Maori [sic] people all the rights and privileges of full British citizenship. Today they

bear the proud name of New Zealanders” (Line 10-13, 1959, [Appendix 13.3](#), p. 179).

While this provides the Treaty with credibility through linking it to an ancient document there is an assumption that it is a privilege to become a British citizen. Within this statement there is a hierarchy of values being illustrated by linking everything back to Britain (e.g., Magna Carta, citizenship). Fairclough (2001, p. 33) states, “Ideological power, the power to project one’s practices as universal and ‘common sense’, is a significant complement to economic and political power, and of particular significance here because it is exercised in discourse”. Being a New Zealander is mentioned but not given the same importance as being a British citizen. In Mateparae’s Waitangi Day speech in 2012 he welcomes “New Zealand’s newest citizens” (Line 116, 2012, [Appendix 13.6](#), p. 191) and then lists the countries from which the newly affirmed citizens come: “Somalia, South Africa, Thailand, the USA, Iran, Britain, Ireland, Gambia, the Netherlands, India [...]” (Line 117-119, 2012, [Appendix 13.6](#), p. 191). British people are now becoming New Zealanders, rather Māori people becoming British. One of the newspaper editorials uses the Magna Carta to rebuild New Zealander’s faith in the legal system after were found to be at fault ([Appendix 15.38](#), page 270-271).

4.3 Positioning New Zealand

A post-colonial point of view may be present because the office itself, although evolved from its original function, was created during colonial rule. However, Munshi and McKie (2001, p. 16) argue that a “homogenised worldview of public relations maintains old colonial legacies that support neo-colonial economic interests”. In other words, the norms that public relations adheres to

maintain the Western ideology. In Cobham's time New Zealand's economic prosperity hinged on successful trade with Britain. This is evident in the newspapers ([Appendix 15.8](#), p. 258). However, within Cobham's speech there are indications that a shift of power is occurring. Through the continued use of the trope of 'family', Cobham expresses the need for New Zealand to strengthen its relations with Australia by referring to the nation as a "sister-Dominion" (Line 74, 1959, [Appendix 13.3](#), p. 180). While Cobham is acknowledging New Zealand's need to focus on other nations to continue its economic growth, the way in which he positions New Zealand and Australia, emphasises his post-colonial point of view. Australia is positioned as a sibling, which renders England in the role of parent. In other words, Australia and New Zealand are placed as equals; however, England is still placed above the two nations. This position is highlighted in the newspapers as the Prime Minister and agricultural ministers from England are set to visit to advise on any improvements that could be made in the industry ([Appendix 15.5](#), p. 255). The editorials of 2011 contrast with this, when British ministers are sent over to experience the Rugby World Cup preparations as they are set to host the Olympics in England the following year. New Zealand in this instance is being positioned as a country that is in a position to give advice to England. This concept also emanates from Sir Jerry Mateparae's 2013 Waitangi Day speech when he quotes Kevin Roberts as saying "The New in New Zealand is our reason to exist" (Line 50-51, 2013, [Appendix 13.11](#), p. 206). These two examples show a shift in the way in which the speaker is seeking to engage with the audience. Lord Cobham is advising New Zealanders to look to Australia to ensure prosperity, while Sir Jerry Mateparae is encouraging the nation to take pride in their own achievements and continue to encourage innovation. In his

Waitangi Day speech in 2015, he speaks of the Treaty settlements moving “some way towards restoring an economic, cultural and social base for iwi” (Line 40-41, 2015, [Appendix 13.09](#), p.200-201).

Lord Cobham’s “sister-Dominion” (Line 74, 1959, [Appendix 13.3](#), p. 180) may also allude to a parent offering guidance by advising the children that it is perhaps time to work together and look outside the “well-forged links which will always bind our two countries together” (Line 72, 1959, [Appendix 13.3](#), p.180). This phrase also places an emphasis on Cobham being British with the use of the pronoun “our”, and expands on his trope of family, conjuring up the idea of belonging together. For example, on Waitangi Day in 1962, Lord Cobham appears to be providing advice and guidance to the nation again when he states:

[...] try to ensure that both races, each contributing its own particular genius, each however retaining its own individuality and tradition, go together along convergent paths until in God’s good time all races are merged into one common brotherhood (Line 157-161, 1962, [Appendix 13.5](#), p.187)

There is a strong sense that Lord Cobham is seeking to unify the nation, asking the people to accept and embrace the culture and knowledge of each other. While there still is a desire to encourage Māori to embrace Western culture, there appears to be encouragement for the European New Zealander to value the wisdom of Māori through an emotional appeal to the audience. Lord Cobham has built the emotional appeal up slowly throughout this Waitangi Day speech using logos by providing a logical mapped out argument combining Māori mythology

with British history to lead the audience towards this final statement which is steeped in pathos.

New Zealand is positioned by Lord Cobham as part of the Commonwealth and as one of the realms. This reflects the times as the newspaper editorials continue to discuss British concerns as a shared concern for New Zealanders. Sir Jerry Mateparae in contrast uses the word “turangawaewae” (Line 87, 2011, [Appendix 13.2](#), p. 172), a Māori concept which translates as a “place to stand” (Te Ahukaramū Charles Royal, 2012). It provides a connection to New Zealand that is in stark contrast to Lord Cobham’s link to Britain. This could be attributed to the change in the role of Governor-General, who now is the representative of New Zealand to the monarch, as expressed by the Letters of Patent 1983 (McLean, 2006), this contrasts with Lord Cobham who was selected to represent the monarch in New Zealand. This change meant the office was now a New Zealand rather than an imperial office. While this may seem a subtle change it could explain the way in which the Governor-General speaks of identity.

This change is not just evident in Lord Cobham’s description of New Zealand as a “well-forged link in the chain that knits” (Line 37, 1957, [Appendix 13.1](#), p. 174). He speaks of New Zealand with an outsider’s observation; “steadfastness in war” (Line 48), “contribution” (Line 50) “great in heart” (Line 52), “traditional” (Line 56, 1957, [Appendix 13.1](#), p. 175). In contrast, Sir Jerry Mateparae speaks of New Zealanders from a place of knowledge and experience “determination” to “succeed” (Line 72), “informal, strong-willed, competitive and yet also modest” (Line 73), “strong sense of community” (Line 74), “public-spiritedness” (Line 75) and “lend a helping hand” (Line 76, 2011, [Appendix 13.2](#),

p. 177). While the words here show a marked difference in the way New Zealanders are being described, it is also important to note that this speech was delivered only a few months after a major earthquake in Christchurch. It appears that the rhetoric resonates at that time with New Zealanders, and in particular with those helping within the community after this disaster.

Anzac Day is marked by dawn services throughout New Zealand. While the literature indicated that there was controversy over whether this was an important day during the 1950s (Robinson, 2010), the fact that Cobham's speeches on Anzac Day, if there were any, could not be found is a sign that perhaps the relevance within the New Zealand national identity has changed. The newspapers at that time make reference to the Governor-General by acknowledgment of the receipt of the Queen's message which thanked New Zealanders for their efforts in the First World War (see [Appendix 16](#), p. 275). The more recent addresses of Mateparae's are often televised and emphasise New Zealand's "indelible bond" (Line 49, 2013, [Appendix 13.11](#), p. 206), with Australia, which highlights the shift away from being linked to Britain.

New Zealand's positioning has changed within the speeches of Cobham and Mateparae. Public relations achieves its goals through identifying publics and targeting its message to those with perceived power (Munshi & Kurian, 2005). The effect is to build pathos within the targeted publics. However, in order for the publics to be receptive to the message, it requires the speaker to position the rhetoric and in doing so appeal to the listener.

4.4 Appeal to Publics

In order to appeal to the target publics the speaker needs to find a commonality and mutual understanding with the audience (Stanley, 2004).

Cobham creates the metaphor of unity in the swearing-in speech by the use of the verb “welded” (Line 46, 1957, [Appendix 14.1](#), p. 213) producing an imagery of two independent parts being joined together. The newspaper editorials comment on the desire for independence by some of the members of the Commonwealth and the call to band together to fight communism ([Appendix 15.4](#), p. 254). During his 1962 Waitangi Day address Lord Cobham quotes Gordon Coates (former Prime Minister of New Zealand 1925-1928) who spoke at Waitangi in response to Lord Bledisloe’s gift of the Waitangi grounds in 1932, “We have tried to make the Maori a Pakeha, and we have failed” (Line 107, 1962, [Appendix 14.5](#), p. 224). In this quote the pronouns are used to position the audience as viewing Māori from a distance.

However there is a shift that has occurred in the Waitangi Day speech, compared to his first speech (swearing-in). While he still positions the ‘other’ as Māori and the ‘us’ or in-group as the European New Zealanders, in this later speech it appears that he is attempting to prescribe a way for the country to move forward together. At the end of his speech he asks the European New Zealanders for acceptance of Māori New Zealanders, and for Māori to seek to “the benefits of higher education” (Line 111, 1962, [Appendix 14.5](#), p.225). He continues by stating “The Maori race is growing in number; now is the time for it to grow in influence” (Line 116-117, 1962, [Appendix 14.5](#), p.225). While this is his attempt at building logos, it appears to fail because successful progress is being framed within a

Western ideology of higher education, rather than asking Māori to grow their influence through creating leadership within their hapu.

Logos and ethos, created through the use of quotations which appeal to the audiences' common knowledge, are used by Mateparae and Cobham to reflect the way the role of Governor-General has changed from being merely a representative of the Queen to also representing the New Zealand people. Quotations and proverbs help to affirm the character and knowledge of the speaker, creating a sense of communion with the audience (Perelman & Olbrechts-Tyteca, 1969). Who the speaker chooses to quote is another important aspect of rhetorical analysis as "quotations from a source deemed reliable by both parties can serve to highlight the bond between them, thus enhancing the audience's receptivity to the speaker's message" (Stanley, 2004, p. 14). By choosing appropriate quotes, the audience may recognise and identify with the Governor-General and the bond between them is reinforced. Lord Cobham does not use any quotes during his swearing-in speech. There could be a number of reasons for this, one being that he was required to edit his speech to make it shorter due to the rain that was falling on the day, or it could be that he is not entirely sure what will resonate with the audience. However, in later speeches he relies heavily upon quotes from people with relevance to New Zealand such as Gordon Coates (former Prime Minister), Lord Bledisloe (Governor-General 1930-1935) and Nopera (chief who was instrumental in the signing of the Treaty). Sir Jerry Mateparae not only uses proverbs in Te Reo, but also relies on quotes from prominent New Zealanders to enhance credibility and create a link to the audience. Ethos is created through quotes such "as [a] prop in the performance of

a particular sort of character and in the making of a representative claim” (Atkins & Finlayson, 2014, p. 4). Cobham draws on the characteristics of individuals who support the British identity, while Mateparae chooses to quote Māori ancestry and high achieving New Zealanders. Therefore, when quotes are chosen wisely they have the ability to enhance the credibility of the speaker.

In the 1959 Waitangi Day speech of Lord Cobham, the quotes used provided the audience with an idyllic perspective of New Zealand identity making, little reference to the unsettling characteristics of lawlessness and only touching on the best aspects within the nation: the early settlers, whaling-stations, and the way in which Māori exchanged land for guns and blankets (Line 18-21, 1959, [Appendix 13.3](#), p.179). In essence, the identity portrayed in this speech is mainly constructed from the interaction between Māori and British settlers. New Zealand is being depicted as a peaceful place, which is something that was evident within the swearing-in speeches. This does not correlate with the newspaper editorials at the time which comment on continuing disagreements between Māori and the Crown. However, Cobham could be attempting to unite the nation, by encouraging a celebration of a combined history. Lord Cobham draws on Nopera’s speech at Kaitaia who said of the Treaty, “The shadow of the land goes to the Queen, but the substance remains with us” (Line 53-54, 1959, [Appendix 14.3](#), p. 218). Here he uses the quote to intertwine ethos (through showing his knowledge in NZ history) and logos (taking the audience through a logical process) to come to a conclusion.

According to the Dictionary of New Zealand, Nopera, a northern chief who championed the Treaty, soon regretted his support a year after the Treaty was

signed as it had not brought about the change he had hoped (Ballara, 1990). When he realised that the settlers were not adhering to the promises he had been assured of, he became disillusioned with the Treaty. It must be noted that Cobham misquoted Nopera as his words were “what have we to say against the governor, the shadow of the land will go to him but the substance will remain with us” (Ballara, 1990, online). Nopera was acknowledging the position of the governor and not the Queen. However, to Lord Cobham it appears that the governor and the Queen are interchangeable but to Nopera the governor is the one that would be fulfilling the promises of the Treaty.

Lord Cobham notes his wish to hear Nopera’s quote in Te Reo by stating, “for even rendered in English, it is a magnificent piece of oratory” (Line 51, 1959, [Appendix 14.3](#), p.270-271). What makes this interesting is that during this time Te Reo Māori was being discouraged and remained a site of conflict until the 1970s. In the 1930s Strong went as far as to say “the natural abandonment of the native tongue inflicts no loss on the Maori” (1931, p. 193). This seems to contradict Cobham’s subsequent statement, as he appears to be saying that there is a power in hearing words in the original language they were spoken in. Te Reo Māori only became recognised as an official language in 1987 (1987). In a time when Te Reo was not encouraged and did not appear to be valued, it appears that Lord Cobham is seeking to acknowledge and legitimise Māori.

In the book version of the Waitangi Day speech (Hintz, 1962), Cobham uses a quote from Kipling to emphasise his point; “But there is neither East nor West border nor breed nor birth when two strong men stand face to face though they come from the ends of the earth” (Line 38-40, 1959, [Appendix 14.3](#), p. 216-

217). In the archival notes this was crossed out, and instead a handwritten piece was inserted describing Captain Hobson's character (Line 26-32, 1959, [Appendix 14.3](#), p. 216). This could be a sign that Lord Cobham wanted to endear his speech to the audience by using a New Zealand reference. However, Hobson is still positioned as a British citizen, "the right man[...] the right place; and the first Lieutenant Governor [who] admirably set in motion those integrating forces, which have stood the test of the years that follow" (Line30-32, 1959, [Appendix 14.3](#), p. 216). The fact that Cobham has edited the speech emphasises his efforts to mould a speech to the audience and the occasion. Therefore, Cobham must have decided that the Kipling quote did not suit at this point and time.

The structure of Lord Cobham's 1962 Waitangi Day speech relies heavily upon ethos and logos. Ethos is evident in the extensive use of quotations, and while deeper examination has revealed that some of the quotations are incorrect, it does build on the dominant ideology of the time. Heath (2009) described structure as being an important element in ensuring the rhetorical devices have the maximum impact. In this speech Lord Cobham provides an overview which employs logos by guiding the listener/reader through a perceived common history. However, it appears to be slanted in favour of the British perspective. When analysing the structure it became apparent that Cobham aligned all positive characteristics with the British identity and all the negative ones with Māori. This is apparent in the lines "Maoris [sic] were themselves Colonists" (Line 13, 1962, [Appendix 14.5](#), p.221). He introduces British as victims by stating "There are indeed few countries in the world which have not, at some time or another, been victims of Colonialism" (Line 30-31, 1962, [Appendix 14.5](#), p.221) and is quick to

add “we gained additions to our language, and from the Romans and Normans we learnt the rule of law which is civilization itself” (Line 34-35, 1962, [Appendix 14.5](#), p. 221-222).

The structure in which this narrative is built appears to be leading the audience towards a conclusion that colonisation has produced a shared identity within New Zealand. Cobham builds towards “both races [...] merged into one common brotherhood” (Line 123-125, 1962, [Appendix 14.5](#), p. 224). This is not dissimilar to Mateparae’s vision of New Zealand, where all races come together that chose to call New Zealand home. However, Cobham is encouraging New Zealanders to aspire towards a British identity and Mateparae is looking to enhance the unique New Zealand identity.

Sir Jerry Mateparae uses New Zealand quotes and proverbs from the beginning of his tenure. He describes his predecessors as “Te Toka tu moana (the rock standing in the ocean)” (Line 33, 2011, [Appendix 14.2](#), p.213), which he builds on further when he describes his view of the role by saying “My view reflects the sentiments of the proverb ‘He aha te mea nui o te ao – What is the most important thing in the world? The answer is: he tangata, he tangata, he tangata – it is people, it is people, it is people!’” (Line 63-65, 2011, [Appendix 14.2](#), p.214). He does all of this before moving to a quote by Sir Edmund Hillary which describes what he believes symbolises all New Zealanders, “In some ways I believe I epitomise the average New Zealander. I have modest abilities, I combine these with a good deal of determination, and I rather like to succeed” (Line 70-72, 2011, [Appendix 14.2](#), p.214).

Logos created by the use of quotations appeals to the publics by creating unity, which is further expanded in the literal use of the concept of family in both Cobham and Mateparae's speeches. Cobham appears to be using family to enhance his credibility through his knowledge of the country and reinforce the link of his ancestry to New Zealand. It appears to be an attempt to endear himself to the New Zealand people as well as validate his selection as Governor-General through statements such as, "No one who bears our family name can feel a stranger in New Zealand" (Line 25, 1957, [Appendix 13.1](#), p.173). This is in reference to his forefathers who came to New Zealand a hundred years prior, gave their family name to Lyttelton in Christchurch and owned land in Canterbury. It appears that it is important to Lord Cobham to illustrate to the New Zealand people that he has familial ties to the nation, requiring a previous visit to the country, and highlighting his familiarity with the geography of the nation, for example, trout fishing in Lake Coleridge (see Line 19-20, 1957, [Appendix 13.1](#), p.173). In this instance, family is being used in the literal sense and is not a trope. Therefore it is linked to ethos rather than pathos.

Sir Jerry Mateparae uses family in a different way. During his Waitangi Day speeches it is used to highlight the vision that he states as reason for the signing of the Treaty. It was as a "they wanted peace for themselves and they wanted peace so their families [...] could live and prosper" (Line 92-94, 2014, [Appendix 13.8](#), p. 196). Family is related to the country in terms of New Zealand being a great place to raise a family. In this instance Mateparae is not referring to family as a trope, but rather the rhetorical device being employed is logos. It appears that he is using a 'soft sell' approach located within logos because he is speaking in a

matter of fact way about why the Treaty was signed. He underscores this by mentioning the individuals and families present who have just taken the oath or affirmation to become new New Zealanders and continues to “welcome into the fold our newest New Zealand citizens” (Line 127-128, 2014, [Appendix 13.8](#), p.198). It brings to the fore the commitment that both parties have entered into; New Zealanders for having laws which welcome new residents and the new New Zealanders for taking the oath.

4.5 Summary

Analysing the data using two phases of coding enabled the researcher to apply the Mayring (2000) model twice over to ensure reliability. This model provided the intellectual rigour required to ensure that the data was valid. It was mostly achieved through checking the researchers results against those of a coding partner at various stages (after 10%, 50% and 100% of completed coding), always ensuring that it was leading towards answering the research question. Phase one of coding enabled the examination of the way in which the British and uniquely New Zealand identity were communicated within the speeches. The second coding enabled a detailed analysis of what public relations strategies were being employed and with what aim.

Using qualitative content analysis enabled the researcher to mine the “rich” data by acknowledging the context sensitive nature of the speeches. The inclusion of newspaper editorials enabled the researcher to gain an insight into the topical issues at the time the speeches were delivered. The next chapter discusses in detail the findings and places within the current literature.

Chapter 5: Discussion

The previous chapter presented a content analysis with a critical turn to address the research question - do public relations strategies have a role in shaping or merely reflecting national identity as expressed in the speeches of two New Zealand Governors-General? The critical turn utilised the public relations framework of rhetorical theory. Through using two different sets of coding it was possible to identify influences of public relations rhetorical strategies on the construction of the message. The research question sought to illuminate any influence that the Governor-General's speeches have on New Zealand's national identity.

This chapter presents the findings which have been merged into three main categories; the 'other', 'representing New Zealand' and 'a fluid national identity'. These three categories highlight the way in which the Governor-General reflects the New Zealand national identity. The 'other' brought to the fore the way in which the Governor-General is positioning the publics and so creates a hierarchy. Tizard (1993) defined the role of Governor-General as representing New Zealanders. This is a change in the role since Cobham's incumbency and highlights some important tensions that exist within New Zealand's identity. The speeches revealed a tension that exists within New Zealand's national identity between multiculturalism and biculturalism. It provides an important insight into the way in which publics are targeted and identity created. While other scholars have written about various Governors-General (Boyce, 2008; McLean, 2006; Moon, 1998, 2000; Paul, Stenhouse, & Spencer, 2013; Romanos & Woodfield, 2008), none

have analysed the speeches by examining the way in which public relations strategies may have been utilised.

One of the key findings in the study is that public relations tools are being utilised to position the message to appeal to a particular public, rather than reflecting the national identity of the wider New Zealand population. It is argued that “[...] only through the expertise of public relations can causes, industries, individuals, and institutions make their voices heard in the public forum where thousands of competing voices daily re-create the Tower of Babel” (Cutlip, 1994, p. ix). This statement emphasises the need for public relations, but it also denotes an element of persuasion, whether it is a non-for-profit organisation persuading people to change their behaviour or donate, or a business persuading consumers to adopt a particular lifestyle/product. In this information age, companies are competing to be heard and succeed within the business goals. Public relations plays a part in persuading people to action whether it be to buy a product or to adopt a particular point of view (R. Smith, 2013). However, with an apolitical figure such as the Governor-General, the expectation of the public is rather different. Catherine Tizard (1993, p. 4) in defining the role of Governor-General during her tenure stated “if we can, we are supposed to assert and instil civic virtues – those qualities that sustain a civic society”. The word ‘sustain’ appears to be addressing the need to maintain the status quo through civic virtue which has been argued is using Western religious models to create peace among the governed (Lain, in press). This builds on the idea of the identity construction, as Kellerhals, Ferreira, and Perrenoud (2002, p. 217) contend, identity is constructed through the “[...] ties derived from their affiliation to outside domains”.

Examining the different strands of data, newspaper editorials, swearing-in and Waitangi Day speeches, brought to the fore the way in which messages are targeted towards key New Zealand publics. These publics are the power holders at the time and appear to be those with political and economic influence. The publics identified in public relations given a hierarchy of importance as it is impossible to target a message to include all (Coombs & Holladay, 2014; R. Smith, 2013). Therefore analysis revealed likely target publics of the Governor-Generals speeches such as the corporations during Mateparae's tenure. The results of this research indicate the presence of power dynamics that govern the way in which the speech is framed however the speeches do signal the tensions that exist within New Zealand society at that time. There is evidence of the speeches reflecting the norms of the time. Social norms are defined by Anderson (2000, p. 170) as "a standard of behavior [sic] shared by a social group, commonly understood by its members as authoritative or obligatory for them". Scholars have argued that norms differ from 'civic virtues' as it removes the religious element (McTernan, 2014). While Tizard has spoken of role entailing being the upholder of 'civic virtues' within the speeches the social norms were what the Governor-General appeared to be addressing although a religious category of coding was not considered. This indicates that public relations strategies are not being used to shape the New Zealand identity through the speeches of the Governor-General but rather to reflect the socially constructed power dynamics within the context of the time. The study identified certain groups which appear to be those of most influence. These groups differed from the 1950s to 2011 illustrating a shift in power from British New Zealanders to the corporations. The interplay between the tensions and the way in which the speeches seek to provide a stable image of

New Zealand relates to the way in which society seeks to order itself into a hierarchy. Fairclough (2001, p. 33) refers to

[...] political power is typically exercised not just by capitalists, but by any alliance of capitalists and others whose their interests as tied to capital [...]
We can refer to this alliance as the *dominant bloc* [italics in original].

He also contends that power is created through creating norms within society, as “language is both a site of and a stake in class struggle” (Fairclough, 2001, p. 35). When analysing the speeches of the Governor-General and placing them within the context in which they were delivered, this struggle became apparent through the way in which the ‘other’ is positioned within the speeches.

5.1 The ‘Other’

Heath (2009) argues that logos, pathos, ethos and structure are important elements used in public relations rhetoric. Even though Cobham did not employ an official public relations officer, rhetorical devices are utilised in his speeches. Structure is most evident in the way that both Cobham and Mateparae position their publics. In analysing this positioning the social norms and hierarchies were exposed, for example, British citizenship in Cobham’s Waitangi Day speech (Line 12-14, [Appendix 14.3](#), p.216) is placed ahead of New Zealand citizenship. While they both appear to be providing an image of a racially harmonious nation, the way in which they structure this argument appears to reflect the view of a segment of New Zealand society, namely those with influence e.g., British New Zealanders during Cobham’s tenure. Therefore, it re-affirms that the Governors-General are reflecting not only the New Zealand identity but also the socially constructed

power dynamics of the nation at the time. By identifying the 'other', the dominant ideology and group that represents it, becomes apparent from the speeches.

Social norms produce a hierarchy within which the formation of the 'other' is created. As Tajfel (1978) contends, the 'other' is required to create a point of comparison allowing an individual to align themselves with one group and not the 'other'. This means that the way in which the 'other' is positioned provides a hierarchy as the desired group is assigned favourable characteristics while the 'other' is not. This generates tension between the groups. Social tension between Māori and European settlers is well documented (Byrnes, 2009; King, 2012); however this study highlights the way in which rhetorical theory can illustrate the devices used to subtly reaffirm the social construct of a desirable group. In order to want to join a group an individual needs to be inspired to behave within the group's norms, which is often achieved by the group creating a sense of belonging (P. Burke, 1980). The aspiration appears in both Cobham and Mateparae's speeches, to be motivated by further economic development during both time periods studied. However, Cobham emphasises the link to Britain providing economic prosperity, compared to Mateparae to whom corporate innovation is more important.

During Cobham's time this opposition is expressed through racial tension between Māori and New Zealand Europeans. The newspapers reported that there were disagreements over tribal land, which the government judged as not being used productively and consequently confiscated it (see [Appendix 15.17](#), p.261-262). However throughout Cobham's speeches he seems to be portraying an image of 'racial harmony', and appears to inadvertently disassociate himself from

the Māori population. The role therefore is reflecting a distinct group of New Zealand people's identity without recognising the diversity of New Zealanders. It appears as an active will to weld together a society through portraying an image of peace and harmony. The word "welded" is a term Cobham uses in his speeches to talk about Māori and European settlers coming together to build the nation. It suggests that both parts have joined together and have had an equal influence in building the nation. However, if this was true then Māori would be one of the publics to which Cobham would be targeting his message directly. Instead in his speeches Māori are positioned as the 'other', undergirding the power difference and contradicting the use of this statement.

This power discrepancy is evident within the quotations Cobham uses and the way in which he draws on the idea of family. The intimations of problems that are expressed in the newspaper are not overt in his speeches. However, there is a contradiction, as at the time of Cobham's speech, Te Reo was being actively discouraged within schools and yet Cobham states that he would love to hear the quotation of Nopera in Te Reo. This contradiction perhaps acknowledges the change in the power dynamics within society which was taking place at the time, which was the increase in influence of Māori as well as Britain's evolving from being an imperial power to becoming part of the European Union. While it appears condescending it could be that Cobham is attempting to reach out to certain publics, arguably Māori but from a paternalistic colonial viewpoint. This implicitly reflects the issue of the time and underscores the colonial perspective.

Control over language allows a hierarchy to be established, and truth, order and reality to be constructed (Ashcroft et al., 2002). The image of New Zealand

that Cobham portrays is in stark contrast to the underlying dissent, referring to the nation as a harmonious example for other Commonwealth countries. Cobham complements New Zealanders on the fact that they should be proud of the nation's achievements, particularly the Treaty of Waitangi, which in his opinion provided Māori people with British citizenship. While he is acknowledging Māori, he is doing so from the colonial perspective. This hierarchy of values places Britain and their subjects as superior which is implied by his reference to the Treaty making Māori British subjects. It appears that Cobham is seeking to acknowledge Māori, while calling on Māori to adopt the positive aspects of British lifestyle and improve themselves through adapting to the European way of living (Line 111-117, 1962, [Appendix 13.5](#), p.186-187). In order to create such an ideology, it requires society to accept that there is a correct way of doing things and therefore establishes a societal hierarchy within a nation.

The positioning of the 'other' is present in Mateparae's speeches, however, in the intervening years, there has been a social shift that has given Māori a voice. The period which elapsed between Cobham's and Mateparae's tenures saw many changes, such as the establishment of the Māori Court and an increased willingness to revitalise Te Reo as a national language. While Cobham links New Zealand with Britain and continues to speak of this link, Mateparae positions the nation within the Pacific and links New Zealand more closely with Asia and Pacific nations. This is a reflection of the way New Zealand has transformed from being "dominated by a colonial relationship [...] to the current situation which has seen the intensification of new forms of association, notably Asia and the Pacific" (Spoonley, Bedford, & Macpherson, 2003, p. 28).

Overall, the speeches reflect the socially perceived construct of 'other'. At first glance it might appear that the Governors-General are shaping: for example, Cobham asked New Zealanders to look to other trade alliances outside Britain, and today, Britain is no longer the number one buyer of New Zealand's exports. However, triangulation with newspaper editorials suggests that it was a reflection of what was happening within society at the time. The shift away from identifying with Britain during the intervening years might have occurred due to the change in immigrants to New Zealand as the immigrants associate with similar groups when they emigrate from their homeland. This creates a problematic concept of a 'nation' (Fleras & Spoonley, 1999). As Spoonley et al. (2003, p. 29) state, "During most of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the 'homeland' for many New Zealanders (other than the indigenous Māori) was Britain". This is echoed in Cobham's speeches as he links New Zealand identity with Britain through his positioning of Australia as a 'sister-Dominion', which in turn suggests Britain as the parent. The newspapers also provide this link through reporting on British ministers coming to New Zealand to offer advice. Therefore, the social hierarchy which is expressed through the structure of Cobham's speeches mirrors that of the European New Zealander's values. Mateparae stated that part of his objective when accepting the role was to represent New Zealanders. He also employs a Māori concept of home in his use of 'turangawaewae', literally meaning 'a place to stand' but more relevant perhaps to this study it encompasses the concept of belonging. However, the contradiction of levelling a message to publics and representing all New Zealanders appears to reflect the tension that exists in the wider society. Scholars have analysed the way in which political speeches have used rhetorical analysis in order to position the listener (e.g., Maguire, 2014) but

none have examined whether public relations devices are utilised within speeches by leaders whose role requires them to eschew party politics. Therefore, this research found that the Governor-General not only utilises public relations devices but has done so even prior to the office officially employing public relations experts.

5.2 Representing New Zealand

Another important finding of this thesis is that at times there are questions raised about whom the Governor-General is representing. This study revealed the way in which Cobham and Mateparae attempt to negotiate at times politically sensitive subjects was to target their message to the dominant public. It appears that it has become increasingly difficult to know who the Governor-General is representing since the role changed in the 1980s, requiring her/him to represent both the Queen and the people of New Zealand. There are times when the role conflicts, and the presence of conflict illuminates the struggle New Zealand has in its need to separate from its colonial past and become a nation with a unique identity, evident during Waitangi Day celebrations. Since the 1970s, the Waitangi Day celebrations often have been a site where Māori frustrations with the Crown have been overtly expressed (McLean, 2006).

According to Munshi (2005), public relations scholars are becoming increasingly aware that the framework from which they are working has its roots in Western ideology. However, there are no identified studies on the ways in which Western ideology is being expressed through the New Zealand Governors-General even though the role appears to depict this dichotomy between Western and Māori identity. Considering that “increasingly, scholars and practitioners are

defining public relations as the management of relationships between organizations and publics” (Bruning & Ledingham, 2000, p. 85), it appears that the Governor-General’s publics are at times conflicting with one another requiring the incumbent to negotiate a balance of publics within the nation’s identity.

During Cobham’s tenure, it was clear that he was representing the Queen. His perspective within the speeches is heavily slanted in favour of the British, an example being his remarks about colonisation as being a positive opportunity to adopt better ways of doing things (see Line 30-35, [Appendix 5.1](#), p.144). Economics is also an important part of his argument, asking Māori to seek higher education which requires an adoption of the Western concept of success. While he seeks to compliment the Māori way of life, speaking of the innovation and work which is represented in their dragnets and wakas, he frames the next step within a Western ideology by asking the young people to look up and seek higher education. This appears to be his way of appeasing one public (Māori) and encouraging that public to adopt the Western ideologies of the dominant public (European New Zealanders). This is also reflected in the people he chooses to quote. Quoting Nopera in one of his speeches may on the surface appear to highlight his knowledge of New Zealand history, but it is still promoting the Western ideology as Nopera has been noted for keenly adopting the British way of life (Ballara, 1990).

Economic development is overtly expressed by both Cobham and Mateparae as important aspects of New Zealand identity. This influences the way in which the New Zealand identity is being characterised in the speeches. During Cobham’s tenure New Zealand is positioned as a Commonwealth country with

Britain at the helm, in comparison to Mateparae who positions the nation with the Pacific and Asia. The reason for this change in representation is partly attributed to the migration of British settlers to New Zealand as well as an economic element (Spoonley et al., 2003). The economic aspect is highlighted in Cobham's speeches through his encouragement of New Zealand to look further to other nations for opportunities of growth. In the newspaper editorials the focus on British politics also highlighted the economic dependence and again depicted the power dynamics of the time.

Mateparae's choice of people to quote within the speeches tends to be New Zealanders who have become successful within the Western framework of success, e.g., businessman Kevin Roberts. He encourages New Zealand to seek innovation and firmly positions New Zealand as having its own unique identity. However, at times the fact that he represents New Zealanders and the Queen conflicts, as demonstrated in the celebrations leading up to the 2015 Waitangi Day where he appears to overstep the mark, highlighting this ambiguity. Mateparae admitted that when he signs bills into law, at times his personal views conflict with the role of Governor-General, "but my pen didn't hesitate when I signed the settlements for my iwi in Hawkes Bay. My pen will not hesitate when the Government brings to me, as is likely, the Ngapuhi agreement" (Trevett, 2015). In this instance Mateparae is encouraging Ngapuhi to accept the settlement and use it to create a commercially successful venture. This is reiterated in the Waitangi Day speech which Mateparae delivered at Government House, encouraging Māori tribes to seek the economic benefit of signing settlements.

The Ngapuhi agreements have stalled due to disagreements within the different iwis and are awaiting the results of the Waitangi Tribunal investigation (Trevett, 2015). The Prime Minister came to the defence of Sir Jerry by stating “I don’t think he was making political comments” and continued by saying they were “totally appropriate” as they were expressing a “hope and aspiration for the people of the Far North” (Trevett, 2015). The issue of the Governor-General entering into the debate brings into question who he is representing, as one of the elders of Ngapuhi stated “I don’t know whether he is representing Maori or the Crown” (“Treaty of Waitangi: Queens rep visits historic Mangungu Mission,” 2015). Mateparae appears to be emphasising the current bicultural policy by encouraging Māori to enjoy an equal chance of achieving economic prosperity.

New Zealand operates within a bicultural framework as set out by the Treaty of Waitangi. During Cobham’s tenure, the role was to represent the monarch within New Zealand. This is marked out in the speeches, as he aligns himself with the European New Zealanders and speaks from the position of a British subject. The change in role has now created a grey area between representing the Crown and the people of New Zealand. The example above builds on the struggle of the New Zealand identity between the colonial past and the Māori culture which converge to become the current national identity. Again this appears to be an attempt by the office to maintain relevance within a changing landscape of New Zealand identity. It also highlights a shift in the hierarchy of values. As Spoonley et al. (2003) contend, there has always been tension surrounding the status of who is a worthy citizen of New Zealand.

The powerful group within New Zealand in the 1950s were the immigrants who identified with British ideologies as well as with Britain as a nation. The Governor-General at the time appeared to demonstrate this power dynamic by being British and representing the British ideology. The shift that occurred from Cobham to Mateparae's tenure is represented in the speeches, as Mateparae appears to be emphasising the capitalistic corporate perspective by his use of quotations and his encouragement of New Zealand to continue to lead the way. In the 2015 Waitangi controversy he stated that it would be of financial benefit for Ngapuhi to come to an agreement which again places an emphasis upon economics (Trevett, 2015). According to Munshi (2005, p. 631):

In the domain of public relations, there is an overwhelming emphasis on the communication of the corporate goals. This communication is channelled through messages about a dominant, largely Western, model of economic growth and development.

Munshi (2005) continues to state that through the use of targeted communications focused on influential publics this often means that minority stakeholders are undermined or ignored. It could be argued that while Sir Jerry is asking Ngapuhi to sign in order to reap the financial benefits this would entail, it still requires Māori to align themselves with Western values. In particular, there appears that financial gain is being given as a motivation, however, it is aligned with the message that John Key has been pushing for Ngapuhi to reach an agreement. The question that the Ngapuhi leader asked about who Mateparae is representing is apt, as it appears that Western ideologies are still evident within the Governor-General's rhetoric. However, it also appears to bring to the fore the conflict between

representing New Zealanders and the Queen. This appears to reflect the tension that prevails within the New Zealand identity.

This study revealed the importance that the Governor-General places on the influential publics who holds power. It could be because of the lessons learnt by Governor FitzRoy whose tenure was cut short as he was deemed not to be performing the duty required by the British Government. Moon (2000) attributed his failings to being too progressive and his lack of communication with those in positions of power. While the role of Governor-General has changed greatly since FitzRoy's tenure, as the title alone suggests, it appears that the key publics are still those that are in power, therefore the rhetoric of the Governor-General needs to ensure that this public engaged.

During Mateparae's swearing-in speech he ascribed the characteristic of 'public-spiritedness' to New Zealanders. Perhaps another way of viewing this is not that it is an attempt to engage in public debate, but rather asking the Ngapuhi tribe to take the community's needs into consideration. However, the question remains, is this an attempt to shape the future of New Zealand? It is expressing a hope for the future, as John Key stated, but again it appears that the Governor-General is voicing the opinion of a segment of New Zealand society, a group which is hard to determine. Therefore, it appears from the evidence in this thesis that the Governor-General is more intent on reflecting the societal structure and tensions at the time, rather than attempting to shape them.

5.3 A Fluid National Identity

The fluidity of identity is evident through the tension in the New Zealand identity. To gain a deeper insight into the way in which the conflict and fluidity

within the nation's identity expresses itself, an understanding of the difference between multiculturalism and biculturalism needs to be gained. The Treaty of Waitangi is based on a bicultural principle that underpins the nation's policy. Many countries have shifted towards a multicultural policy which has been described as "a public policy approach for managing cultural diversity [...] officially stressing mutual respect and tolerance for cultural differences within a country's borders" (N. Murphy, 2007, p. 96). The difference is that multiculturalism aims to ensure that all minority groups receive equal status within a country whereas biculturalism only acknowledges two cultures maintaining equality (N. Murphy, 2007). New Zealand has a bicultural policy which theoretically provides both New Zealand Europeans and Māori with an equal societal position. It does create a hierarchy within New Zealand society as it places all those that do not belong to either of these groups as 'other'. Therefore the increase in importance placed upon upholding the Treaty has moved Māori out of 'other' category and placed them as a partner within the New Zealand identity.

Mateparae attempts to illustrate a shift in a hierarchy of values from a predominantly British ideology by incorporating Māori traditions into the swearing-in speech through the use of Māori proverbs and Te Reo. This creates a definite sense of place and self as it differentiates New Zealand from other countries. One issue associated with post-colonisation is "the recovery of an effective identifying relationship between self and place" (Ashcroft et al., 2002, p. 8). The New Zealand identity is being linked to the language of the indigenous people of New Zealand. However, while there has been a shift towards acknowledging Māori culture and

language, the tensions still exist, evident in the Ngapuhi settlement process mentioned above.

The attempts to create an image of racial harmony among all New Zealanders is perhaps “a reflection of New Zealand’s national identity as a model society in the international arena” (N. Murphy, 2007, p. 94). New Zealand does not have a multicultural policy, rather a bicultural one which Johnson and Moloughney (2007, p. 6) state:

In New Zealand [...] the relationship between Pākehā and Māori, as articulated in the 1840 Treaty of Waitangi, became the basis for the creation of a bicultural society. One consequence of this is that in New Zealand, biculturalism has the prestige elsewhere associated with multiculturalism. The politics of race have been substantially improved as a result of the pursuit of biculturalism, and few would wish to return to the policies of the past.

The focus on biculturalism is to ensure that the partnership between Māori and European New Zealanders is maintained as stipulated by the Treaty of Waitangi. The tensions came to the fore in the political arena in 2004/2005 with the foreshore and seabed debate. The controversy concerned ownership of the foreshore and seabed which was being contested by Māori as their rightful title, stipulated by the Treaty of Waitangi. During this controversy, the Labour Party was seen to emphasise biculturalism providing Māori with a more influential voice in creating New Zealand’s identity, while the National Party argued that this led to a division of the nation, creating two standards of citizenship. National wanted to see more emphasis placed on multiculturalism. According to N. Murphy (2007)

biculturalism and multiculturalism were used within the rhetoric of New Zealand's two political parties to articulate their vision of New Zealand's identity in 2004.

There appears to be a fear in New Zealand that multiculturalism would dilute the Māori voice with a move away from bicultural policies. Johnson and Moloughney (2007) argue that this is what happened during the debate on the foreshore and seabed. Labour supported biculturalism and the bill, whereas National were pushing for multiculturalism and felt that this new bill was prioritising one group of New Zealanders over another.

The Governor-General is meant to be apolitical; however there is a particular voice coming through more strongly in his utterances. New Zealand's "debate over national identity has focussed largely on immigration, and which immigrants are deemed suitable to form part of that identity" (N. Murphy, 2007, p. 100). It has been argued that politicians have gained voters through utilising New Zealand European fears of being overrun by another ethnicity (N. Murphy, 2007). Mateparae emphasises and welcomes the new New Zealanders in every Waitangi Day address. It appears to be an attempt of either quelling those fears or supporting the National Government's immigration policy. While Mateparae does appear to acknowledge the Māori voice, it seems that the key public he is appealing to is the New Zealand European. Having the understanding that publics are targeted for their influence within society, a deeper interpretation would be that the New Zealand Europeans are the influential group in New Zealand. Mateparae singles out the influential group through his choice of quotes e.g., Kevin Roberts, a representative of the business community. The public he is appealing to within this speech are likely to be businessmen. Mateparae identifies New Zealand as

leading the way by quoting Roberts who uses the word “first-isms”, thereby associating New Zealand identity with leaders and business. Mateparae appeals to New Zealanders to keep working towards innovation and success through, “What I see as the essence of being a New Zealander”, “modest abilities”, “a good deal of determination”, and “like[ing] to succeed” (Lines 69-72, 2011, [Appendix 13.2](#), p.175). Mateparae attributes similar characteristics to the soldiers which fought for the nation.

The bicultural and multicultural argument appears to have been part of the catalyst igniting the debate on the flag as McKinnon (1996, p. 62) argues that

[...] the increased attention paid to the New Zealand flag, renewed interest in commemorating Anzac Day (in pointed contrast to the jaundiced view many have about Waitangi Day) and the phenomenon of nationalism in sport, suggest ways in which the change is being accommodated, ways by which the values undergirding the link with the Crown are being maintained.

There certainly has been a shift in the way that Anzac Day has become a focal point for celebrations. The researcher was unable to find Anzac Day speeches delivered by Lord Cobham. The only mention in the newspapers was publishing the Queen’s message published on Anzac Day (See [Appendix 16](#), p.275). While there are opposing views on whether Anzac Day in the 50s was well attended or not, Robinson (2010) contends that people did not desire to celebrate the day and numbers were declining during the 1950s. Cobham does not appear to have had an active role within the celebrations, whereas Mateparae delivers a speech (often televised) every year to mark the day. New Zealand’s identity is at the forefront of these speeches; however the audience to whom he is delivering the speech

dictates the way in which he speaks of New Zealand's identity. When he speaks overseas, there is a sense that he is speaking on behalf of New Zealanders through statements such as "I thank you on behalf of all New Zealanders" (Line 62, 2014, [Appendix 13.12](#), p.207). In this instance he is thanking the Government of Turkey for allowing New Zealanders to visit the resting place of their forefathers. Although he thanks them on behalf of all New Zealanders, it would not be the new New Zealanders that would be visiting their ancestor's burial site. It would only be those New Zealanders with ancestral links to the war effort.

Anzac Day and Waitangi Day are days which provide children with an understanding of what it means to be a New Zealander and builds part of their identity (Siteine, 2010). Therefore, the expectation of New Zealanders would be that the Governor-General should be presenting the average New Zealander's point of view. As Mateparae stated in his swearing-in speech, he felt he was an average New Zealander (see Line 70-77, [Appendix 2](#), p.123). However, the New Zealand identity that was/is being reflected through the speeches appears to be that of the dominant groups rather than the average New Zealander. For example, the swearing-in, Waitangi Day and Anzac Day speeches were positioned as appealing to the publics deemed to possess the most power. During Cobham's tenure he speaks of the "the Pakeha as the dominant power in the land" (Line 113-114, 1962, [Appendix 5](#), p.147). However, it seems that both Governors-General are slanting their vision of New Zealand's identity towards dominant publics, which became apparent through rhetorical analysis. McKinnon (1996) is referring to the way in which the colonial perspective is being maintained through Anzac Day. This thesis furthered McKinnon's study by highlighting the way in

which the Governor-General structures her/his speeches within the colonial perspective. A. Smith (1991) argues that national identity is partly created through people sharing a sense of a common memory. The Governor-General maintains a presence at national ceremonies such as Anzac Day and Waitangi Day which enables her/him to contribute to this common memory.

The traditions within those days themselves can be a cause of conflict as new traditions are adopted when they appear to be rooted in an older tradition (Hobsbawm & Ranger, 1983). Therefore, there would be an expectation that the ceremonies at which the Governor-General speaks maintain certain British ceremonial traditions due to the nature of the office. However, considering that Mateparae is a New Zealander, not a British aristocrat like Cobham, there is the expectation that the incumbent represents the people of New Zealand. This is also partly due to the change of role which saw this shift occur (McLean, 2006).

The Governor-General is appealing to the audience from the perspective of sport which according to McKinnon (1996) is the way in which he seeks to maintain the Crown's dominance within the nation. Cobham also referred to sport, but his references were restricted to the sports in which he participated, fishing and cricket. It added to his status as being part of the elite society through his membership to the M.C.C cricket club and built credibility within the audience members who were familiar with British establishments and the social hierarchy within those. During Mateparae's swearing-in speech he makes a direct reference to the Rugby World Cup. The All Blacks, New Zealand's national rugby union team, has been described as "a national icon or symbol denoting or representing

New Zealand and New Zealanders in virtually every walk of life both in this country and overseas” (William cited in Magdalena & Insch, 2008, p. 295).

During Cobham’s tenure it would have been expected that he would draw on British ideology as he was born into these values and they would have been the societal norms which he reflected in his speeches. Therefore, Cobham was not only asserting the British ideology because he was representing the Queen, but also because it was inherent to his own belief system. However, this places an ethnocentric value upon British citizenship and ideology being superior to the ‘other’. The analysis showed that the ‘other’ consisted of anything different to British society.

Mateparae is a Māori New Zealander who acknowledges his heritage through the use of Te Reo and drawing on his cultural history. However, the way in which he positions his publics suggests that his key objective is to communicate a certain type of New Zealand identity, illustrating McKinnon’s (1996) view that the colonial perspective is being maintained. Mateparae does this through placing emphasis on Anzac Day and sport in his speeches, and in so doing, is arguably maintaining relevance for the Crown within New Zealand culture. The World Wars in the 20th century transformed nations from being part of an empire to individual nations, leaving only the colonial residue through representation and continued the Western ideology through politics (Fisher Onar et al., 2014), which appears to be reflected within the speeches of the Governor-General. Those in power are continuing to have their ideologies reflected back to them through various public figures, the Governor-General being one of them.

5.4 Summary

Rhetorical theory analysis provided an insight into the finding that elements of public relations devices present in the two Governor-General's speeches reflect rather than shape the New Zealand national identity. However, the use of targeting publics portrays a certain national identity. The tensions that exist within the country are expressed through the way in which the identity is being depicted.

According to Fisher Onar et al. (2014) public relations operates within a Western framework. This may account for the Governor-General appearing to perpetuate a colonialist point of view. The office of Governor-General is there to represent the titular head and unite New Zealanders through constitutional, community and ceremonial duties and since the 1980s s/he has been required to represent the people of New Zealand (McLean, 2006; 2000). Representing both the people of New Zealand and the Queen places the Governor-General at odds with conflicting publics, as this study showed there are times when certain publics question who the Governor-General is representing.

Using an inductive approach to study the Governors-General's speeches revealed that public relations strategies target the publics reflecting the social hierarchy within New Zealand. This brought to the fore that, while the Governor-General is reflecting the national identity it is only a particular part of the nation's identity that is being reflected.

The analysis of the speeches identified that the Governors-General appear to reflect not shape the national identity. The positioning of the nation within the speeches reflects the way in which New Zealand is perceived by the world and itself no longer as just a colonial outpost, but rather an independent nation.

However, the value placed upon Western ideology is still evident. At first glance Sir Jerry Mateparae's speeches would appear to have more structural elements ensuring the rhetorical devices achieve maximum impact, as argued by Heath (2009). This structure is evident as each speech is broken up with subheadings on the Government House website but was not articulated during delivery. The subheadings separate the key messages, which is useful for media consumption and could be printed in this format because they are being published on the internet as a resource. If the media for example was to use a speech, they may scan it for important sound bites for the news that evening. Having it in this format would help the news editors easily find a suitable quote or section of the address. Lord Cobham's speeches were typed for oral delivery or published in the book format which assumes the reader will take the time to read the whole speech – these speeches are organised within merged categories. However, Cobham and Mateparae's speeches are structured to lead the listener/readers to a specific point. The analysis highlights the way in which public relations is utilised to emphasise a certain perspective, as well as the way the speaker targets her/his message towards particular publics.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

The purpose of this study was to identify whether public relations strategies were being used within the speeches of two Governors-General to shape or reflect the national identity. The inductive qualitative content analysis approach to this study allowed an in-depth analysis to be conducted, illuminating the way in which public relations strategies are being utilised within the speeches of the two Governors-General in New Zealand. The evidence suggests the two Governors-General employ rhetorical strategies to reflect, rather than shape, New Zealand national identity. However, it also revealed that the Governors-General, Cobham and Mateparae, are reflecting only the certain publics' perceptions of New Zealand national identity, rather than New Zealanders as a population. The finding that they are mainly reflecting is important because it provides evidence that the two Governors-General, utilised public relations rhetorical strategies, in their speeches. This brings into question the role of the Governor-General because s/he is meant to be apolitical and a representative of all New Zealanders. The study has opened up the possibility for further research to be completed that could identify the precise makeup of the dominant publics and the national identity the Governor-General appears to reflect. In the light of the recent flag debate it would be timely to analyse further what New Zealander's expectations are of the role of Governor-General.

6.1 Key Findings

This thesis has two key findings: the Governor General reflects the dominant publics' national identity, and public relations strategies have been used

to shape the content of the speeches, even prior to the existence of the office employing a dedicated public relations person.

6.1.1 New Zealand identity.

A rhetorical analysis of the speeches, applying qualitative content analysis, using newspaper editorials of the time to provide context, afforded some insight into the fluid nature of the New Zealand identity. Previous research has shown that national identity is continually constructed and re-affirmed within social settings (Tajfel, 1978). The Governor-General contributes to the re-affirmation of the New Zealand identity through delivering crafted speeches at key events. This study contributed further to this research by providing insight into the utilisation of public relations strategies to reflect the characteristics of influential publics' identity. This also added to the knowledge of the Governor-General's role, as previous studies have focused either on events and the history of the role (McLean, 2006; Moon, 1998, 2000; Romanos & Woodfield, 2008) or personal accounts of being a Governor-General (e.g., Tizard, 2010).

The New Zealand identity has become increasingly focused on Anzac Day as an important part of the national identity. This was reflected in the data as during Cobham's tenure, the focus was more on the link between New Zealand and Britain. The Governor-General did not deliver a speech to commemorate Anzac Day, but rather is reported as receiving a message from the Queen for the nation. Comparatively, Mateparae gives an annual Anzac Day speech in which he focuses on the way in which the wars established a New Zealand national identity and the close relationship built with Australia.

The implication of this finding is that, while the Governor-General appears to represent all New Zealanders at these events, if s/he is only reflecting certain

publics then s/he is not truly representing all of New Zealand. This leads to the need of further research which could illuminate New Zealander's expectation of the Governor-General in comparison to the finding of this thesis.

6.1.2 Public relations.

Another key finding of this research demonstrated the way in which the speeches of two Governors-General utilised public relations strategies. These strategies are commonly used to analyse politician's rhetoric (e.g., Alkhirbash et al., 2014; Maguire, 2014; J. Murphy, 1997). However, in the political arena the audience is aware that the speeches are produced to contain persuasive devices. This research utilises the framework to analyse speeches from a supposedly apolitical figure, the Governor-General.

The implications of this finding are that the public relations strategies appear to be employed to maintain the dominant Western ideology. Byrnes (2009) contends that New Zealand history is being articulated from a Western perspective. During Cobham's tenure (1957-1962), although he acknowledges that the Māori voice is increasing in influence, he overtly states that the dominant group are the British settlers. The rhetorical analysis revealed the way in which he targets the message towards this group and, in turn, the goals and ideals the audience is to aspire to within the nation's identity. The Western perspective is still being reinforced within the speeches of Mateparae (2011-present). Through drawing on his Māori and European heritage he emphasises the bicultural policies of New Zealand and the Treaty of Waitangi; however, he does so within the post-colonial framework which continues to perpetuate Western ideology. It appears that the dominant public has shifted to corporations rather than the British settlers of Cobham's time.

6.2 Further Research

The finding that the Governor-General is reflecting only a segment of New Zealand identity is important, as it justifies further areas of research to explore if the ideology reflected in the speeches echoes the ideology of the political party of the time and if they are actively persuading individuals towards a certain understanding. It would provide an understanding of the power dynamics within influential groups. This could be achieved through a comparison of the rhetoric of the political parties and that of the Governor-General at the time. In order to complete this study, an analysis of Governors-General whose tenure overlapped a National and Labour Government would further illuminate whether it was the political party currently in power that is the targeted public.

Due to this research having political relevance to inform strategic priorities of government policy makers when considering national identity, a further line of inquiry that would be of interest to New Zealanders would be to create a public relations strategy that would be implemented should New Zealand become a republic. This is particularly relevant as currently considerations centre on the future design of the flag. Now that there is an understanding that the office is only reflecting a certain segment of society, a public relations strategy could emphasise the way in which the head of state could operate by taking other voices into account. It could include asking such questions as:

What would the country's expectations be for the new head of state?

How would this transition be managed from a public relations perspective?

How is it possible to ensure that the head of state is more representative of the people of New Zealand?

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Appendices

1: Cobham's Swearing-in Speech without coding

01	First, I must thank you, Mr Prime Minister, on behalf of myself and my family for
02	the warmth of your welcome to us on our arrival in New Zealand.
03	For us, your gracious speech is the culmination of many expressions of goodwill
04	which reached us from New Zealand when the news of my appointment
05	became known, which put us in such good heart during the somewhat arduous
06	though exciting period of preparation.
07	I am, of course, aware that in this impressive ceremony, the people of New
08	Zealand are once again giving expression to their traditional loyalty to our Queen
09	and to the Royal Family. This loyalty has been unfaltering since your earliest
10	days, and is the most precious asset of the great family known as the British
11	Commonwealth.
12	This is my third visit to New Zealand, and I am indeed fortunate in that I have
13	never come alone, for every good thing becomes better by being shared.
14	Twenty odd years ago, I had the pleasure and privilege of coming with an M.C.C.
15	team, and, during the three months we spent with you, we all grew to know the
16	meaning of New Zealand hospitality and good fellowship.
17	Then, seven years ago, my wife and I paid a visit to our properties in Christchurch.
18	On that occasion, work kept me with my nose all too adjacent to the grindstone;
19	but we did have time to spend a few days in the lakes – although I regret to say
20	the Lake Coleridge trout proved singularly unco-operative.
21	Now, through the generosity of your Government, Mr Prime Minister, I return as
22	your Governor-General with a family large in number but not as yet in size. For
23	them this is, too, a great adventure, and they are looking forward to some happy
24	years ahead in their new home and among new friends.
25	No one who bears our family name can feel a stranger in New Zealand, and I feel
26	so proud and happy that I am being given the chance to carry on in some small
27	measure the work begun by my great-grandfather a century ago.
28	For I have come here to serve you and to work with you. There can be no honour
29	greater than that of representing the Queen in one of her Dominions, and I
30	assure you that I am very conscious of my great responsibility. It is with a sense
31	of deep humility that I say that I will do my utmost to justify your confidence and
32	maintain the very high tradition of service set by a long line of industrious
33	predecessors.
34	Just before leaving England, we were graciously received in audience by Her
35	Majesty the Queen, and she spoke of her recent tour in New Zealand in such
36	warm and affectionate terms that it made us very aware of our own great
37	responsibility in keeping bright this well-forged link in the chain that knits

38	the whole Commonwealth.
39	For it cannot be too often repeated that, provided always that it remains true to
40	itself and its ideals, the Commonwealth affords the brightest hope for the future
41	peaceful development of mankind.
42	Our forefathers who brought to these distant shores their faith, their democratic
43	ideal and their traditional culture, would indeed be proud of the way in which
44	their vision has become reality during the last 100 years.
45	They would be proud to see how those early peaceful settlers, farmers and
46	professional men have, with their Maori brethren, welded themselves into a
47	self-governing Dominion, with a fine record of achievement in peace and of
48	steadfastness in war.
49	They would see the two races – European and Maori – living together in
50	harmony, each making towards the common weal their contributions in gifts of
51	mind and spirit.
52	They would see a nation small in size but great in heart, which has competed
53	With their larger friends in many fields, but notably in agriculture, in medicine, in
54	Science, and in sport.
55	You will, I know, be delighted to hear of the visit which has been planned by
56	Queen Elizabeth the Queen Mother. I know that she will receive a traditional
57	welcome to New Zealand, and we are, for our part, delighted that the beginning
58	of our term of office is to be so pleasantly honoured.
59	Since our ship left England, we also heard that Mr Macmillan is to pay a visit to
60	New Zealand early in the New Year. I am sure that he will also enjoy his tour
61	enormously. It may not be without significance that he is, I believe, a keen
62	fisherman.
63	Finally, I would like to say, Sir, with how great a feeling of regret my wife and I
64	heard of your decision to retire from public life. We in England have for long
65	known that in you we had a staunch friend and ally, and I feel sure that all in
66	New Zealand would like to join me in wishing you every good thing in those
67	years that lie ahead.
68	And so, once again, thank you, Prime Minister, on behalf of our whole party for
69	gracious words with which you have greeted us.

Original Sourced from:

Hintz, O. S. (1962). *Lord Cobham's speeches* Auckland, NZ: Wilson and Horton

Appendix 2: Mateparae's Swearing-in Speech 2011 without coding

01	Ka tangi te Titi,
02	Ka tangi te Kaka,
03	Ka tangi hoki ahau.
04	Tihei mauri ora!
05	Mihi and Acknowledgements
06	E nga mana, e nga reo, e nga maunga, e nga awa-awa, e nga pataka o nga
07	taonga tuku iho,
08	tēnā koutou.
09	Prime Minister, Chief Justice, Mr Speaker, members of the Executive Council and
10	members of the New Zealand Parliament, Dean and members of the Diplomatic
11	Corps, Chief of the Defence Force, Service Chiefs and Defence representatives,
12	officials, whanau, friends, ladies and gentlemen: kia ora koutou katoa
13	The Event and the Day
14	Prime Minister, thank you for your words of welcome and the sentiments you
15	expressed in your address. Janine and I, and our family, are delighted to have
16	made it to this point, in what shows all the signs of being a wonderful day. For my
17	part, being here is an extraordinary honour. Almost every day over the past six
18	months I've reflected on this honour, and when I woke up this morning I gave
19	myself one more pinch just in case! At the same time, it is with some trepidation
20	That we look ahead to what the next five years holds.
21	The six months since I was named as New Zealand's 20 th Governor-General have
22	passed very quickly. During that time, as a family we've both prepared ourselves
23	and been prepared by others for the opportunities that will come with the role. We
24	have been heartened by the generosity of spirit and support that many New
25	Zealanders have shown in congratulating us. Strangers have approached us in the
26	street and in the shops to wish us well. A highlight for us was the special audience
27	Her Majesty the Queen of New Zealand in June.
28	Predecessors
29	The prospect of being able to serve both our Queen and the people of New
30	Zealand as Governor-General is a privilege that only a few people have the
31	opportunity to take up. The men and women who have preceded me all brought
32	their unique qualities, character, energy and mana to the role. They have been
33	steadfast, like: Te toka tu moana (the rock standing in the ocean). The example
34	they have set gives me cause to be optimistic about what lies ahead, and that has
35	been confirmed as I have drawn on the wisdom of five of my predecessors.
36	It is with considerable sadness that I remember Sir Paul Reeves, a generous,
37	thoughtful, and compassionate man. "No reira, Ta Paora, moe mai, moe mai
38	moe mai ra. Ka apiti hono tatai hono te hunga mate kit e hunga mate. Ka apiti
39	hono tatai hono te hunga ora kit e hunga ora." I also acknowledge Dame

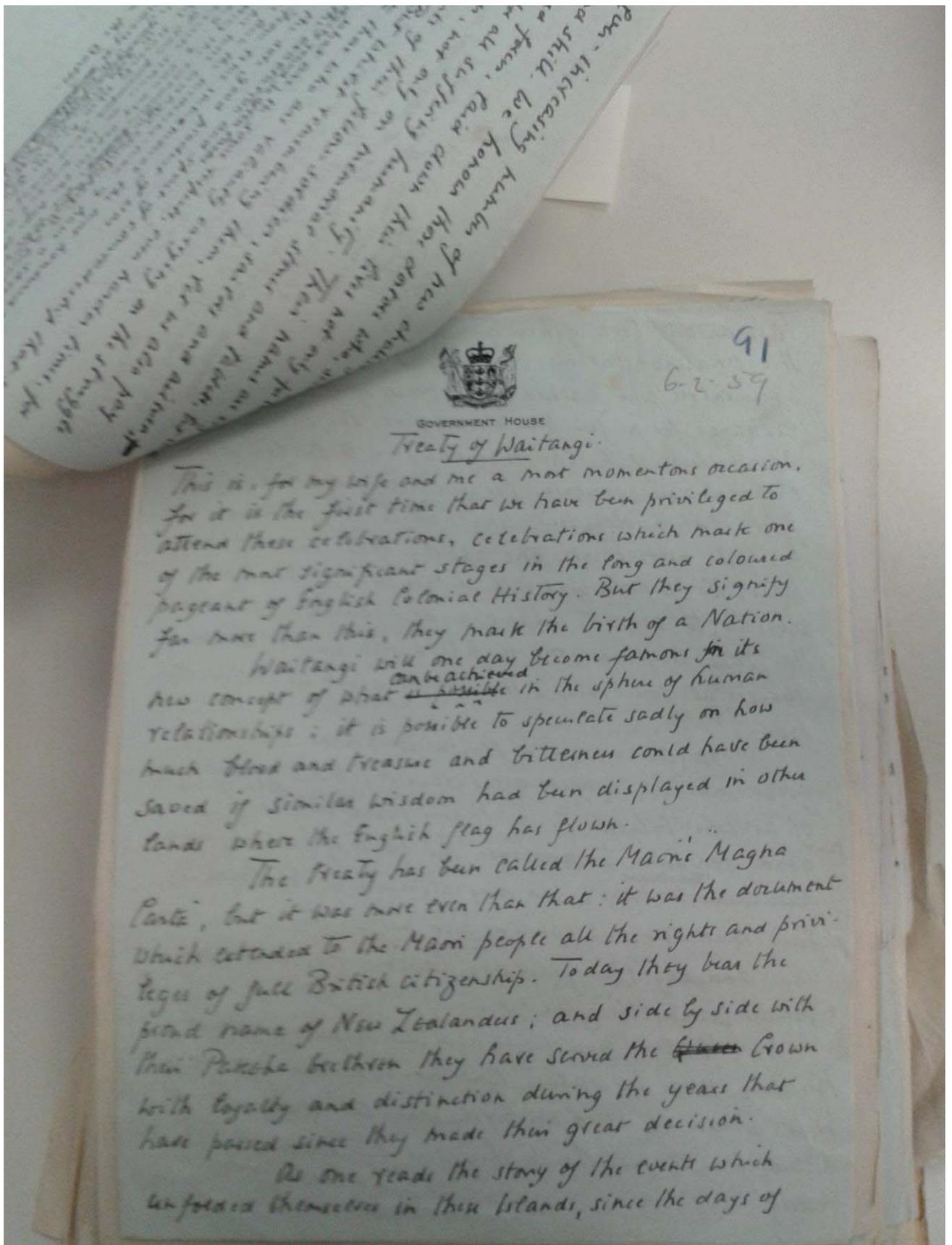
40	Catherine Tizard, Sir Michael Hardie Boys, Dame Silvia Cartwright and Sir
41	Anand Satyanand, who have been so generous and open in sharing their
42	experiences. One of the unfortunate things with “protocols of the office” is that
43	I am only now able to publicly acknowledge, with them in absentia, Sir Ananad
44	and Lady Susan for their contributions in the role. As he undertook to do at his
45	swearing-in, Sir Anand served faithfully and impartially, and he did that with
46	dignity, warmth and compassion. Janine and I wish them well as they ease back
47	into a life more ordinary.
48	The Role, its Challenge and its Opportunities
49	Like my predecessors, I have taken the Oath of Allegiance to Her Majesty the
50	Queen of New Zealand and the Oath of Office. The two oaths together reflect
51	my commitment to our country and the people of the Realm of New Zealand
52	(including the Cook Islands, Niue and Tokelau) that I will serve faithfully and
53	impartially. The values and undertakings in these oaths are very important to me.
54	In the past 12 months we in New Zealand have had some difficult times, and
55	anniversaries of events will test us again in the coming months. However, as a
56	people, New Zealanders, whether we be of Māori, British, European, Pacific
57	Island, Asian or other descent, have cause to see a silver lining in adversity. The
58	Kiwi spirit – companionship and with that a generosity, compassion and resolve
59	when things need to be done – has been evident.
60	As I’ve reflected on my new role, what I am looking forward to most is the
61	opportunity of meeting and getting to know people: being able to support in the
62	sad times, but also to celebrate successes, achievements and the good times.
63	My view reflects the sentiments of the proverb “He aha te mea nui o te ao - What
64	is the most important thing in the world? The answer is: he tangata, he tangata,
65	he tangata – it is people, it is people, it is people!”
66	Over the next five years I want to take the opportunity to meet and talk with as
67	many New Zealanders as I can. There are many people who recognise me from
68	my time as the Chief of Defence Force; still more will have no knowledge of me.
69	What I identify as the essence of being a New Zealander was put neatly by Sir
70	Edmund Hillary when he said that “In some ways I believe I epitomise the average
71	New Zealander. I have modest abilities, I combine these with a good deal of
72	determination, and I rather like to succeed”. As a people, New Zealanders are in
73	equal measures informal, strong-willed, competitive and yet also modest about all
74	we have achieved. We have a strong sense of community, where public-
75	spiritedness is appreciated and valued. We are inclined to be considerate
76	prepared to lend a helping hand to those in need. Yet we also like to get on and
77	do stuff – we admire individual ingenuity and those who have a sense of adventure
78	Looking ahead to our five-year adventure, it is likely that Janine and I will
79	become known better by New Zealanders as we travel together in the Realm
80	New Zealand and beyond. You will see we are ordinary folk, who have been
81	Given a special opportunity. It is our hope that we can encourage people to
82	Think about how New Zealanders can make a difference. We look forward

83	to promoting and celebrating those things that positively unite us as New
84	Zealanders: our virtues, our heritage, our way of life and our future. We also
85	want to strengthen the bonds of fraternity between all for whom Aotearoa-New
86	Zealand is our turangawaewae, regardless of whether you or your ancestors
87	came here 10 years ago, 100 years ago or a 1000 years ago.
88	It will have been obvious that Janine and my being here has been accomplished
89	with the support of our immediate family, our extended whanau, our iwi and our
90	friends. We appreciate their encouragement, guidance and patience. I also want
91	to thank the people who have accommodated our whims, fancies and requests
92	with this ceremony – getting the invitations out has been no small challenge!
93	Conclusion
94	When I think about what lies in store for us over the next five years, it's not easy
95	thinking beyond the events that will unfold over the next three months: an election
96	and of course the Rugby World Cup. With the former, I will exercise my
97	Constitutional responsibilities impartially, with the advice of many eminently
98	qualified people. With the latter, like most New Zealanders I will be taking a keen
99	and of course less than impartial interest in the result.
100	Prayer: Ki a koe, te Matua. Māu e tiaki (Father. Protect me)

Original sourced from:

<http://gg.govt.nz/content/swearing-speech>

Appendix 3: Cobham's Waitangi Day Speech 1959 original



91
6-2-59



GOVERNMENT HOUSE

Treaty of Waitangi.

This is, for my wife and me a most momentous occasion. For it is the first time that we have been privileged to attend these celebrations, celebrations which mark one of the most significant stages in the long and coloured pageant of English Colonial History. But they signify far more than this, they mark the birth of a Nation.

Waitangi will one day become famous for its new concept of what ^{can be achieved} ~~is possible~~ in the sphere of human relationships; it is possible to speculate sadly on how much blood and treasure and bitterness could have been saved if similar wisdom had been displayed in other lands where the English flag has flown.

The Treaty has been called the Maori Magna Carta, but it was more even than that: it was the document which extended to the Maori people all the rights and privileges of full British citizenship. Today they bear the proud name of New Zealanders; and side by side with their Pakeha brethren they have served the ~~Queen~~ Crown with loyalty and distinction during the years that have passed since they made their great decision.

As one reads the story of the events which unfolded themselves in these islands, since the days of

Tasman and Cook; of their government
the whaling-stations, the bands of
speculators who gained great tracts of
exchange for a few blankets or guns. The
heroic work of the Christian Churches in the
these discouragements; the work done by Mr. [?]
first British Resident, who had ^{nought} to rely on
his own native wit; the apathy of a British govern-
ment, too preoccupied with difficulties at home and
abroad, to wish to undertake new commitments: - as
this tale progresses, one is filled with wonder at the
successful conclusion, the Treaty which we celebrate
today.

It is perhaps a truism to repeat that only
great men can achieve great results; but those
of us who believe in a High Power, who ^{from time}
good servants ~~to advance~~ ⁱⁿ the cause of human prog-
~~from time to time~~, can only attribute to this Power the
fact that two outstanding men met on this spot a
red and eighteen years ago. Captain Hobson was one
Tamati Waaka Nene the other.

Kipling must surely have been thinking of these
two men when he wrote: "But there is neither East nor
West, border nor breed nor birth, when two strong men
stand face to face though they come from the ends of the
earth."



GOVERNMENT HOUSE

2.

Tamati Waka Nene was one of New Zealand's greatest sons, ^{and his name will be} ~~to be~~ honoured by future generations as the man whose vision penetrated a hundred years into the mists of the future. Negotiator, sage and warrior, he was to the Maoris what Pericles was to the Ancient Greeks. To him and to those other Maori Chieftains who signed the Treaty, New Zealand owes her unique position in the world today. They realized that no country can progress without law; and they trusted Hobson to bring law and administer it justly. Nene's speech was a ^{masterpiece of cool reasoning and understanding} ~~scarcely less shrewd and far-sighted~~ as the speech made later by Nopera at Kaitiaki. One day I would like to hear that speech declaimed by one of his own race, for even rendered into English, it is still a magnificent piece of oratory. And in the course of it, he made the wise observation that ^{has} ~~was~~ now ^{been worn} ~~passed~~ into the ^{vivid} tapestry of New Zealand's history: "The shadow of the land goes to the Queen, but the substance remains with us."

We do well to meet here, and remember those men and the Treaty they made, for Waitangi is hallowed ground. It is one of the few places upon this earth where

Even-increasing number of men
and skill. We L

^{As}
~~Reason~~ ^{good-sense} once prevailed over passion and
brought together two fine races who
settled down together to achieve full Nation
a young and undeveloped country, under the
peace and law.

And in remembering these men, let us also
remember those who ^{came after} ~~followed~~ them and who played the
part in implementing the provisions of the Treaty during
the ~~year~~ ^{following} ~~that followed~~ ~~subsequent~~ century.

Finally, I think that I should join my
own tribute to that of - to one whose death
last year must necessarily cast a shadow over our
celebrations. I refer of course to my eminent and great
loved predecessor in office, Lord Bledisloe ^{through} whose
generosity this Waitangi Land ^{became dedicated to the Na} ~~will ever be associated~~.
It is indeed good to know that every year his memory
will, by these celebrations, be kept ever fresh in the
Land he loved so well and served so faithfully.

to reflect ~~that~~ upon
is connected and
of the man who dedicated
men and with grati

And who played their
part in the
Treaty during
the Nation
And the Nation
And the Nation

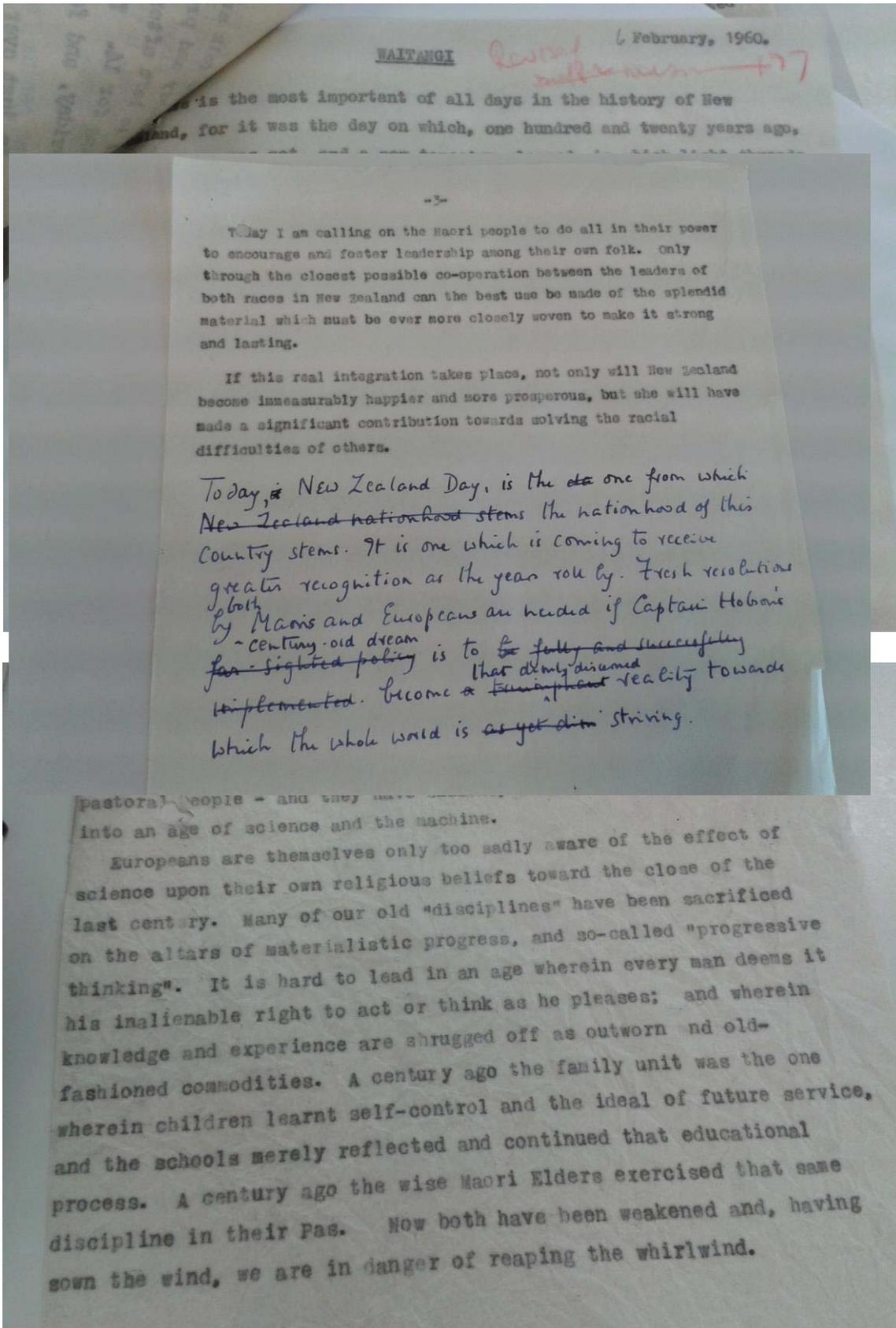
reflect that upon the fact that so long as
is commemorated and honoured, so will the
the man who dedicated it to the Nation be
remembered with gratitude and affection.

And so ~~once more we celebrate this momentous~~
occasion, ~~beholding in truth~~ ~~The~~ its setting must be one of the
Eastland in the world and it is entirely fitting that represent-
atives of all facets of New Zealand life should be present here
today. And so we meet again here, amid this ~~perfect~~ matchless
to do honour to those ~~able~~ and honourable men who paved the
way to New Zealand's nationhood, and forged the links which
will always bind our two countries together. As the world grows
smaller, and the speed of events ever faster, it is natural that
she must increasingly turn her eyes towards her sister-Dominion
of Australia and that ~~other-great Western Democracy~~ North-
ward - ~~and it is~~ ~~prudent~~ and necessary for her to do so -
but ~~no one of those who speak the English tongue~~ the little island of
~~New Zealand~~ will ~~not~~ ~~ever~~ forget that it was ~~at~~ Run-
mede, in the sleepy Thames, where seven hundred years ago
was born that ~~spirit of freedom~~ ^{love} ^{justice} which was embodied in
Magna Carta, ~~and~~ ^{its contents} ^{have} which ~~has~~ been reaffirmed throughout the
centuries by English-speaking peoples all over the world; in
the Declaration of Independence. The Treaty of Waitangi, and
more recently in the Atlantic Charter. These ~~are the~~ ^{may not} ~~real~~
~~landmarks of history~~ These are seldom accounted the land-
marks of history, - but they are things better than landmarks,
they are signposts, ^{pointing} ~~showing~~ the way to that dimly-discerned
vision of a world wherein fear and want and war ~~no longer~~ ^{can}
no longer haunt mankind ~~no longer~~ ~~longer~~ ~~any place~~

04	British Colonial History. But they signify far more than this, they mark the birth
05	of a Nation.
06	Waitangi is already famous for its new concept of what can be achieved in the
07	sphere of human relationships; it is possible to speculate sadly on how much
08	blood and treasure and bitterness could have been saved if similar wisdom
09	had been displayed in other lands where the English flag has flown.
10	The treaty has been called the Maoris' "Magna Carta", but it was more even
11	than that: it was the document which extended to the Maori people all the
12	rights and privileges of full British citizenship. Today they bear the proud name
13	of New Zealanders; and side by side with their Pakeha brethren they have
14	served the Crown with loyalty and distinction during the years that have
15	passed since they made their great decision.
16	As one reads the story of the events which unfolded themselves in these
17	islands, since the days of Tasman and Cook; of their government by New
18	South Wales, the whaling stations, the bands of adventurers and speculators
19	who gained great tracts of Maori land in exchange for a few blankets or guns;
20	the sublime and heroic work of the Christian Churches in the face of all these
21	discouragements; the work done by Mr Busby, the first British resident, who
22	had nought to rely on but his own native wit; the apathy of a British
23	Government, too preoccupied with difficulties at home and abroad, to wish to
24	undertake new commitments: - as this tale progresses, one is filled with
25	wonder at its successful conclusion, the Treaty which we celebrate today.
26	<i>For Captain Hobson, already a sick man, the signing of the Treaty crowned a</i>
27	<i>life spent in his country's service. He brought to New Zealand that admirable</i>
28	<i>blend of firmness, patience and good humour which marks the born</i>
29	<i>Administrator and negotiator. Fate certainly decreed that on this occasion at</i>
30	<i>least the right man should be in the right place; and the first Lieutenant</i>
31	<i>Governor admirably set in motion those integrating forces, which have stood</i>
32	<i>the test of the years that followed.</i>
33	It is perhaps a truism to report that only great men can achieve great results
34	but those of us who believe in a higher power who chooses from time to time
35	good servants in the cause of human progress can only attribute to this power
36	the fact that two outstanding men met on this spot a hundred and eighteen
37	years ago. Captain Hobson was one Tamati Waka Nene the other.
38	<i>Kipling must surely have been thinking of these two men when he wrote "But</i>
39	<i>there is neither East nor West border nor breed nor birth when two strong men</i>
40	<i>stand face to face though they come from the ends of the earth.</i>
41	Tamati Waka Nene was one of New Zealand's greatest sons and his name will
42	be honoured by future generations as the man whose vision penetrated a
43	hundred years into the mists of the future. Negotiator, sage and warrior he
44	was to the Maoris what Pericles was to the Ancient Greeks. To him and to those

45	those other Maori chieftains who signed the Treaty, New Zealand owes her
46	unique position in the world today. They realized that no country can progress
47	without law; and they trusted Hobson to bring law and administer it justly.
48	Nene's speech was a masterpiece of cool reasoning and understanding.
49	Scarcely less shrewd and far-sighted was the speech made later by Nopera
50	Panakareao at Kaitaia. One day I would like to hear that speech declaimed by
51	one of his own race, for even rendered into English, it is still a magnificent
52	piece of oratory. And in the course of it, he made the wise observation that
53	has now been woven into the vivid tapestry of New Zealand's history: "The
54	shadow of the land goes to the Queen, but the substance remains with us."
55	We do well to meet here, and remember these men and the Treaty they made,
56	for Waitangi is hallowed ground. It is one of the few places upon this earth
57	where good sense once prevailed over passion and prejudice. It brought
58	together two fine races who settled down together to achieve full Nationhood
59	for young and undeveloped country, under the Queen's peace and law.
60	And in remembering those men, let us also remember those who came after
61	them and who played their part in implementing the provisions of the Treaty
62	during the following century.
63	Finally, I think that I should join my own tribute to the of Mr Bell and Mr Guy to
64	one whose death last year must necessarily cast a shadow over our
65	celebrations. I refer of course to my eminent and greatly-loved predecessor in
66	office, Lord Bledisloe through whose generosity this Waitangi land became
67	dedicated to the Nation. It is indeed good to know that every year this memory
68	will, by these celebrations, be kept ever fresh in the land he loved so well and
69	served so faithfully.
70	And so we must again here, amid this matchless scenery, to do honour to
71	those able and honourable men who paved the way to New Zealand's
72	nationhood, and forged the links which will always bind our two countries
73	together. As the world grows smaller, and the speed of events even faster, it is
74	natural that she must increasingly turn her eyes towards her sister-Dominion
75	of Australia, and that other great Western Democracy which lies to the North-
76	Eastward, the United States. It is indeed prudent and necessary for her to do
77	so, but none of those who speak the English tongue will ever forget the little
78	island of Runnymede, in the sleepy Thames, where seven hundred years ago
79	was born that love of justice which was embodied in Magna Carta. Its contents
80	have been reaffirmed throughout the centuries by English-speaking peoples
81	all over the world; in the Petition of Right The Declaration of Independence,
82	the Treaty of Waitangi, and more recently, the Atlantic Charter. These are
83	seldom accounted the landmarks of history – but they are things better than
84	landmarks, they are signposts, pointing the way to that dimly-discerned vision
85	of a world wherein fear and want and war can no longer haunt mankind.

Appendix 4: Cobham's Waitangi Day Speech 1960 original



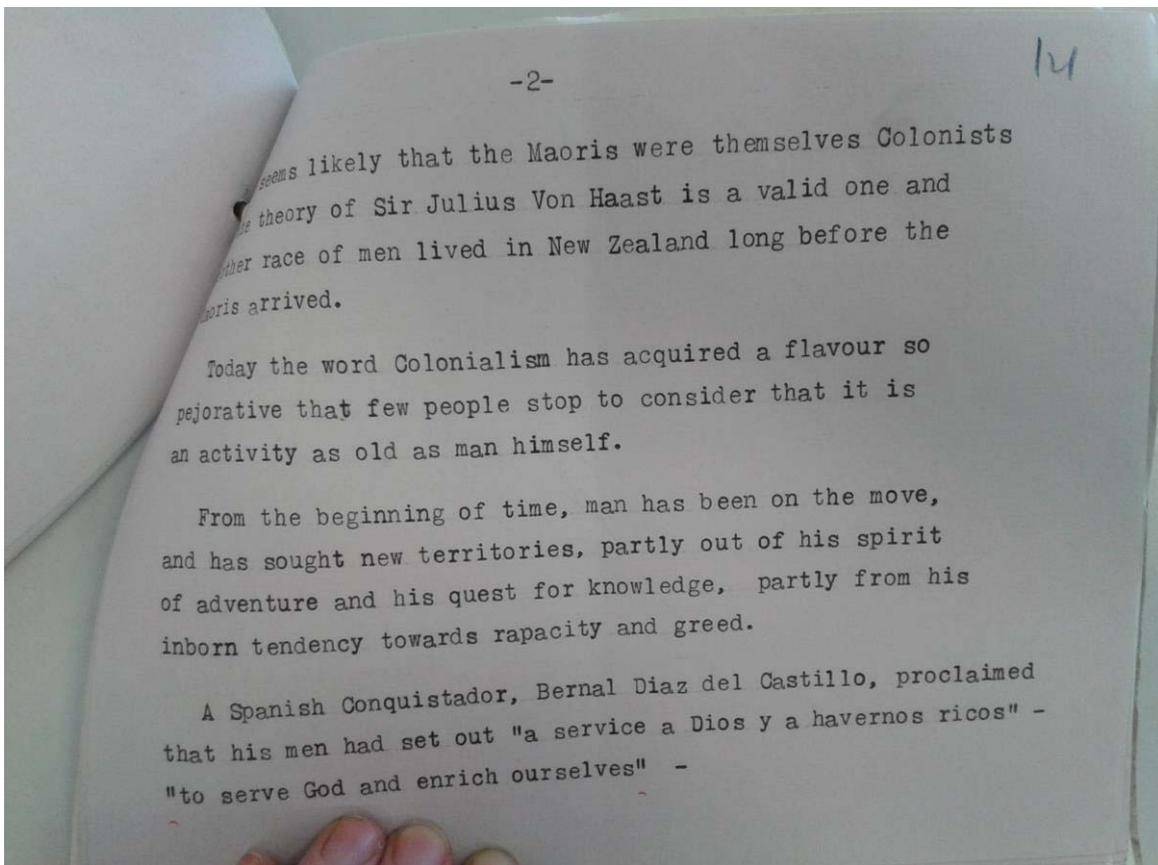
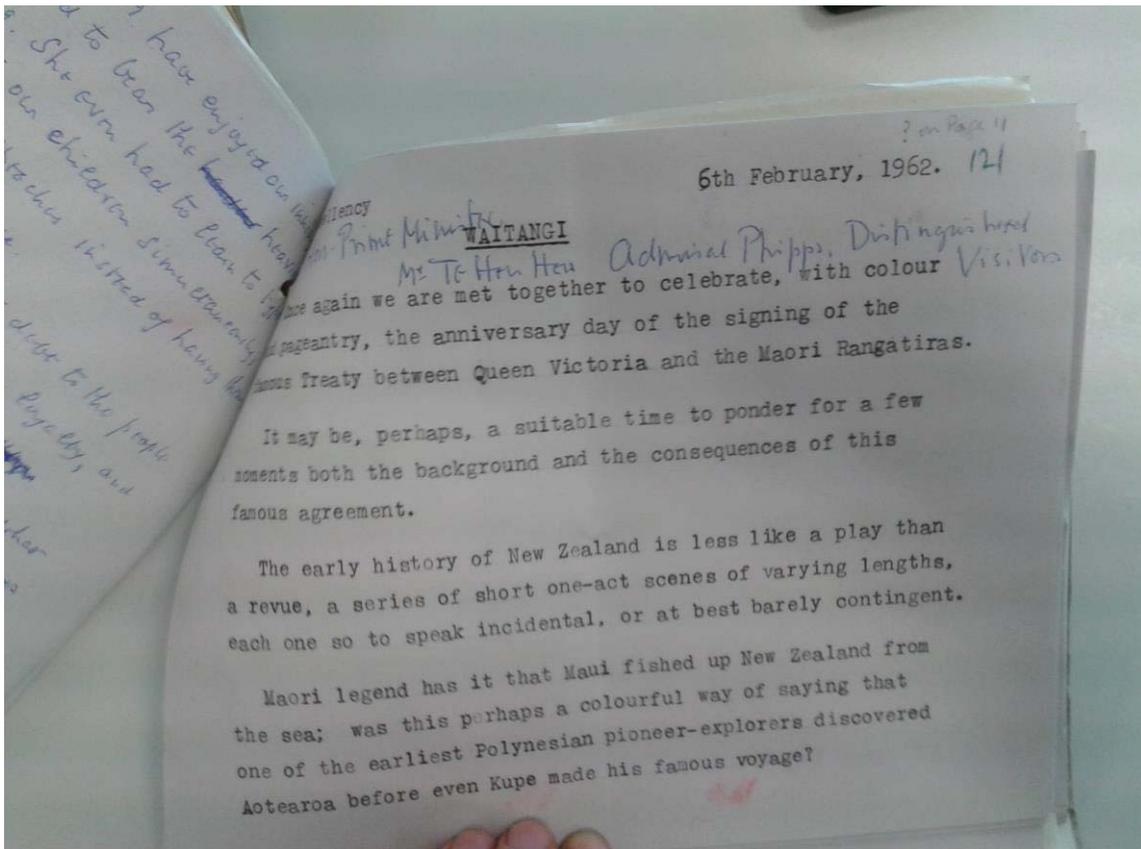
Cobham, C. (1960). *Waitangi day* (Box 48). Speech File Lord Cobham, R18698207, Archives New Zealand.

Appendix 4.1: Cobham's Waitangi Day Speech 1960 without coding

01	This is the most important of all days in the history of New Zealand, for it was
02	the day on which, one hundred and twenty years ago, the pattern was set, and
03	a new tapestry planned, in which light threads and dark ones were to be
04	interwoven to form the completed study of a new Nation.
05	Against the wide background of time, in relation to the world's history, it is true
06	to say that the tapestry is only just begun. The intervening years have not
07	been easy ones for the Maori people. They have had to try to adjust
08	themselves, in only just over a hundred years, to a way of life that it took
09	western men two thousand years to achieve.
10	In an age when the European is face with social problems of great complexity,
11	particularly in the crowded and often unhealthy atmosphere of great cities, it is
12	sheer hypocrisy to wag a monitory finger at the young people of the Maori
13	race who find it perhaps even harder to attune their lives to modern social and
14	industrial conditions.
15	Their history is of seafaring people, of farmers, of hunters and fishermen; in
16	other words they were and are an agrarian and pastoral people – and they
17	have suddenly found themselves translated into an age of science and the
18	machine.
19	Europeans are themselves only too sadly aware of the effect of science upon
20	their own religious beliefs toward the close of the last century. Many of our old
21	“disciplines” have been sacrificed on the altars of materialistic progress, and
22	so-called “progressive thinking”. It is hard to lead in an age wherein every man
23	deems it his inalienable right to act or think as he pleases: and wherein
24	knowledge and experience are shrugged off as outworn and old – fashioned
25	commodities. A century ago the family unit was the one wherein children learnt
26	self-control and the ideal of future service, and the schools merely reflected
27	and continued that educational process. A century ago the wise Maori Elders
28	exercised that same discipline in their Pas. Now both have been weakened
29	and, having sown the wind, we are in danger of reaping the whirlwind.
30	Today I am calling on the Maori people to do all in their power to encourage
31	and foster leadership among their own folk. Only through the closest possible
32	co-operation between the leaders of both races in New Zealand can the best
33	use be made of the splendid material which must be ever more closely woven
34	to make it strong and lasting.
35	If this real integration takes place, not only will New Zealand become
36	immeasurably happier and more prosperous, but she will have made a
37	significant contribution towards solving the racial difficulties of others.
38	Today, New Zealand Day, is the one from which the nationhood of this country
39	stems. It is one which is coming to receive greater recognition as the years roll

40	by. Fresh resolutions by both Maoris and Europeans are needed if Captain
41	Hobson's century-old dream is to become that dimly discerned reality towards
42	which the whole world is striving.

Appendix 5: Cobham's Waitangi Day Speech 1962 Original



Although this seems a phrase which lends itself to a certain amount of cynical reflection upon ends and means, is, nonetheless, a fair description of the normal motives for exploration and conquest.

The Maoris themselves seem to have moved half across the world, and it is likely that the Toi expedition found at least remnants of the earlier Moriori settlers whom the more vigorous Maoris ultimately drove into their last home in the Chatham Islands.

There are indeed few countries in the world which have not, at some time or another, been victims of Colonialism, and Great Britain is no exception, having been at one time or another invaded or occupied by Phoenicians, Romans, Vikings, Jutes, Danes and Normans.

From all of them we gained additions to our language, and from the Romans and Normans we learnt the rule of law which is civilization itself.

Old Maori Rangatiras who decided to place themselves under the British Crown were men of vision and integrity; they looked beyond the obvious and immediate problems which integration entailed, and saw, in the far distant future, a New Zealand inhabited, not by Europeans and Maoris, but by New Zealanders.

A hundred and twentytwo years have passed, and it is possible today to see how far we have travelled along the road towards integration.

Not very far, perhaps, but what is a century compared with the mighty figures which Nature demands for her evolutionary processes?

In this scientific and technological age, it is possible to make ^{rapid} improvements in ^{almost} everything, except human beings. That takes time.

121

Maoris have a culture as ancient as our own, and a language of great beauty and flexibility, - a language which captured the softness of New Zealand place names to the melody of the New Zealand countryside. In many of them there is a haunting melancholy which one so naturally associates with Ireland; can there be a more beautiful name in the world than Waikaremoana?

I join with that great man, the late Sir Peter Buck, in expressing the heartfelt wish that the traditional Maori culture will never be allowed to fade into obscurity and disuse, for it belongs to an age wherein mankind took pleasure in the simple things of life, - in the wonders of nature, in craftsmanship, in expressing the joy of living, in singing and dancing.

121

The traditional Maori way of life there was time for reflection and contemplation. Their canoes must have represented an incredible number of hours' work, and it has been told with what astonishment the Pakehas in this every Bay of Islands greeted the sight of a Maori flaxen dragnet about half a mile in length and thirty feet in depth.

The whole tempo of Maori life was necessarily a leisurely one, but their civilization was graceful, and as Professor Sir Derrick Dunlop wrote recently and truly

"It takes a very civilized man to be able to idle gracefully."

We Westerners make the ludicrous mistake of equating civilization with technology, and have destroyed our own happiness in the frenzy of producing vast quantities of largely unnecessary consumer goods, we are perhaps sometimes impatient with our Maori brethren whose needs are few /and who

and who cannot understand the European's way of which appears to them to consist largely of the ceaseless pursuit of money for its own sake.

Twenty-eight years ago, on this very day, there was held the first celebration to mark the signing of the Treaty and the handing over to the Nation of the renovated Treaty House and its adjoining land.

My distinguished and dearly-loved predecessor in office, the late Lord Bledisloe, whose gift it was, made a magnificent speech on that occasion, which was a classic of its kind.

I can do nothing better than to quote from it a passage which seems to me to summarize in noble prose the inner meaning of the Treaty of Waitangi:

14
"If", he said, "there is one conclusion more than any other that I draw from this gathering today, it is that something has occurred in the years which have intervened since 1840 to relieve the Pakeha population of the responsibilities then solemnly undertaken.

"On the contrary, these responsibilities have increased rather than diminished, for in the working of that inexorable law - the survival of the fittest - the pendulum has swung to the opposite pole, and made us the dominant power in the land, and, therefore, the senior partner in the compact entered into near this spot 94 years ago.

"Upon us, therefore, devolves in a larger sense, the obligation of seeing that we observe the terms of a Treaty which not only places the Maori on a footing of political equality with the Pakeha, but enables him to march forward side by side with us in social life, in education, in industry and in sport."

...on he said:

"It is not unusual in modern times to commit the peoples of the world to the tutelage of stronger nations under an international mandate, as a means of preserving their nationality and their nationhood. Our obligations, however, to the Maori people lie deeper than any which even a mandate from the League of Nations could impose.

"We came to the Maoris with our hands extended in friendship, and we ourselves persuaded them to entrust their future to us.

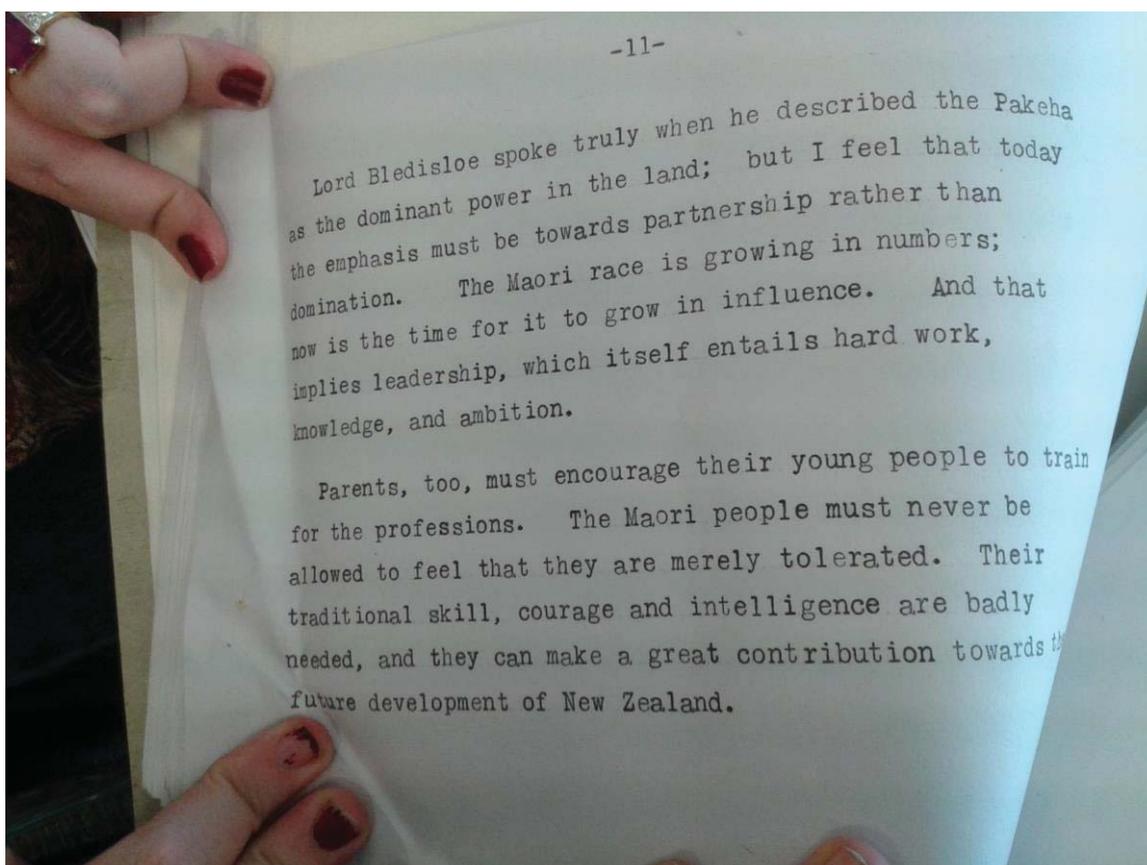
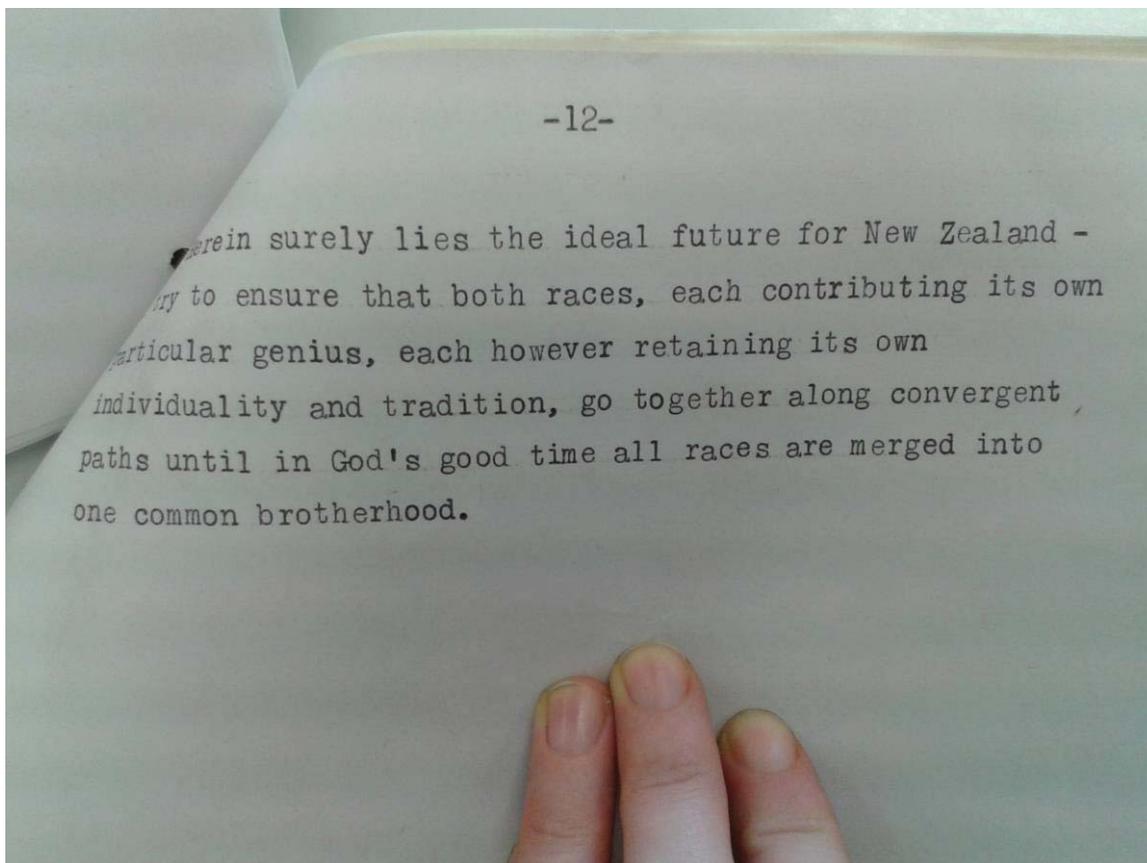
"Our duty then is to see that the trust which they reposed in our honour in 1840 will never be betrayed so long as our Empire endures."

These fine sentiments should still inspire our policy today, as they did 28 years ago.

On that same occasion the Prime Minister, the Right Hon. Gordon Coates, said:

"We have tried to make the Maori a Pakeha, and we have failed; however that is no reason why the two races should not march forward together, in perfect harmony."

This is true, but at the same time I earnestly adjure the young people of the Maori race to lift up their eyes and seek the benefits of higher education. There is a world shortage of doctors, teachers, surveyors and engineers.



Cobham, C. (1962). *Waitangi day* (Box 49). Speech File Lord Cobham, R18698208, Archives New Zealand.

Appendix 5.1: Cobham's Waitangi Day Speech 1962

01	The Prime Minister, Mr Te Hue Hue, Admiral Phipps and distinguished visitors.
02	Once again we are met together to celebrate, with colour and pageantry, the
03	anniversary day of the signing of the famous Treaty between Queen Victoria
04	and the Maori Rangatiras.
05	It may be, perhaps, a suitable time to ponder for a few moments both the
06	background and the consequences of this famous agreement.
07	The early history of New Zealand is less like a play than a revue, a series
08	of short one-act scenes of varying lengths, each one so to speak incidental,
09	or at best barely contingent.
10	Maori legend has it that Maui fished up New Zealand from the seas; was this
11	perhaps a colourful way of saying that one of the earliest Polynesian pioneer-
12	explorers discovered Aotearoa before even Kupe made his famous voyage?
13	It seems likely that the Maoris were themselves Colonists the theory of Sir
14	Julius Von Haast is a valid one and another race of men lived in New Zealand
15	long before the Maoris arrived.
16	Today the word Colonialism has acquired a flavour so pejorative that few
17	people stop to consider that it is an activity as old as man himself.
18	From the beginning of time, man has been on the move, and has sought new
19	territories, partly out of his spirit of adventure and his quest for knowledge,
20	partly from his inborn tendency towards rapacity and greed.
21	A Spanish Conquistador, Bernal Diaz del Castillo, proclaimed that his men
22	had set out "a service a Dios y a havernos ricos" – "to serve God and enrich
23	ourselves" – Although this seems a phrase which lends itself to a certain
24	amount of cynical reflection upon ends and means, it is, nonetheless, a fair
25	description of the normal motives for exploration and conquest.
26	The Maoris themselves seem to have moved half across the world, and it is
27	likely that the Toi expedition found at least remnants of the earlier Moriori
28	settlers whom the more vigorous Maoris ultimately drove into their last home
29	in the Chatham Islands.
30	There are indeed few countries in the world which have not, at some time or
31	another, been victims of Colonialism, and Great Britain is no exception, having
32	been at one time or another invaded or occupied by Phoenicians, Romans,
33	Vikings, Jutes, Danes and Normans.
34	From all of them we gained additions to our language, and from the Romans
35	and Normans we learnt the rule of law which is civilization itself.

36	The old Maori Rangatiras who decided to place themselves under the British
37	Crown were men of vision and integrity; they looked beyond the obvious and
38	immediate problems which integration entailed, and saw, in the far distant
39	future, a New Zealand inhabited, not by Europeans and Maoris but by New
40	Zealanders.
41	A hundred and twenty two years have passed, and it is possible today to see
42	how far we have travelled along the road towards integration.
43	Not very far, perhaps, but what is a century compared with the mighty figures
44	which Nature demands for her evolutionary processes?
45	In this scientific and technology age, it is possible to make rapid improvements
46	in almost everything, except human beings. That takes time.
47	Maoris have a culture as ancient as our own, and a language of great beauty
48	and flexibility, - a language which is attuned the softness of New Zealand
49	place names to the majesty of the New Zealand countryside. In many of them
50	there is a haunting melancholy which one so naturally associates with Ireland;
51	can there be a more beautiful name in the world than Waikaremoana?
52	I join with that great man, the late Sir Peter Buck, in expressing the heartfelt
53	wish that the traditional Maori culture will never be allowed to fade into
54	obscurity and disuse, for it belongs to an age wherein mankind took pleasure
55	in the simple things of life, - in the wonders of nature, in craftsmanship, in
56	expressing the joy of living, in singing and dancing.
57	Amidst traditional Maori way of life there was time for reflection and
58	contemplation. Their canoes must have represented an incredible number of
59	hours' work, and one has been told with what astonishment the Pakehas in
60	this very Bay of Islands greeted the sight of a Maori flaxen dragnet about
61	half a mile in length and thirty feet in depth.
62	The whole tempo of Maori life was necessarily a leisurely one, but their
63	civilization was graceful, and as Professor Sir Derrick Dunlop wrote recently
64	and truly
65	"It takes a very civilized man to be able to idle gracefully."
66	We Westerners make the ludicrous mistake of equating civilization with
67	technology, and have destroyed our own happiness in the frenzy of producing
68	vast quantities of largely unnecessary consumer goods, we are perhaps
69	sometimes impatient with our Maori brethren whose needs are few/and who
70	cannot understand the European's way of life which appears to them to
71	consist largely of the useless pursuit of money for its own sake.
72	Twenty-eight years ago, on this very day, there was held the first celebration
73	to mark the signing of the Treaty and the handing over to the Nation of the

74	renovated Treaty House and its adjoining land.
75	My distinguished and dearly-loved predecessor in office, the late Lord
76	Bledisloe, whose gift it was, made a magnificent speech on that occasion,
77	which was a classic of its kind.
78	I can do nothing better than to quote from it a passage which seems to me to
79	summarize in noble prose the inner meaning of the Treaty of Waitangi:
80	“If”, he said, “there is one conclusion more than another that I draw from this
81	gathering today, it is that nothing has occurred in the years which have
82	intervened since 1840 to relieve the Pakeha population of the responsibilities
83	then solemnly undertaken.
84	“On the contrary, these responsibilities have increased rather than diminished,
85	for in the working of that inexorable law – the survival of the fittest – the
86	pendulum has swung to the opposite pole, and made us the dominant power
87	in the land, and, therefore, the senior partner in the compact entered into near
88	this spot 94 years ago.
89	“Upon us, therefore, devolves in a larger sense, the obligation of seeing that
90	we observe the terms of a Treaty which not only places the Maori on footing of
91	political equality with the Pakeha, but enables him to march forward side by
92	side with us in social life, in education, in industry and in sport.”
93	Later on he said:
94	“It is not unusual in modern times to commit the other peoples of the world to
95	the tutelage of stronger nations under an international mandate, as a means of
96	preserving their nationality and their nationhood. Our obligations, however, to
97	the Maori people lie deeper than any which even a mandate from the League
98	of Nations could impose.
99	“ We came to the Maoris with our hands extended in friendship, and we
100	ourselves persuaded them to entrust their future to us.
101	“Our duty then is to see that the trust which they reposed in our honour in
102	1840 will never be betrayed so long as our Empire endures.”
103	These fine sentiments should still inspire our policy today, as they did 28 years
104	ago.
105	On that same occasion the Prime Minister, the Right Hon. Gordon Coates,
106	said:
107	“We have tried to make the Maori a Pakeha, and we have failed; however that
108	is no reason why the two races should not march forward together, in perfect
109	harmony.”
110	This is true, but at the same time I earnestly adjure the young people of the

111	Maori race to lift up their eyes and seek the benefits of higher education.
112	There is a world shortage of doctors, teachers, surveyors and engineers.
113	Lord Bledisloe spoke truly when he described the Pakeha as the dominant
114	power in the land; but I feel that today the emphasis must be towards
115	partnership rather than domination. The Maori race is growing in numbers;
116	now is the time for it to grow in influence. And that implies leadership, which
117	itself entails hard work, knowledge and ambition.
118	Parents, too, must encourage their young people to train for the professions.
119	The Maori people must never be allowed to feel that they are merely tolerated.
120	Their traditional skill, courage and intelligence are badly needed, and they can
121	make a great contribution towards the future development of New Zealand.
122	Therein surely lies the ideal future for New Zealand – To try to ensure that
123	both races, each contributing its own particular genius, each however retaining
124	its own individuality and tradition, go together along convergent paths until in
125	God's good time all races are merged into one common brotherhood.

Appendix 6: Mateparae’s Waitangi Day Speech 2012

01	<i>Introduction and acknowledgements</i>
02	Tihe Mauri Ora! Tātou katoa e pae nei, nau mai,
03	haere mai ti tēnei Kāinga, Whare Kāwanatanga, ki
04	te whakanui, te rā o te Tiriti o Waitangi.
05	Distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen,
06	welcome to Government House as we mark the
07	signing of the Treaty of Waitangi.
08	I specifically acknowledge: Dr Rt Hon Lockwood Smith, Speaker of the House
09	and Members of Parliament - tēnā koutou; Hon Amy Adams, Minister of the
10	Internal Affairs and fellow Ministers of the Crown—tēnā koutou; Your
11	Excellency Anthony Mongalo, Dean of the Diplomatic Corps and members of
12	Corps—tēnā koutou; Your Worship Celia Wade-Brown, Mayor of Wellington—
13	tēnā koe.
14	Welcome to Government House in Wellington for this Waitangi Day reception.
15	I welcome people from many different fields and parts of the country—
16	government, judiciary, business, sport, arts and culture, charities, religious
17	groups, education and science. And a special welcome to those from
18	Christchurch.
19	<i>Waitangi Day</i>
20	It is an honour as New Zealand’s Governor-General, representing all New
21	Zealanders and Her Majesty The Queen, to make my first Waitangi Day
22	Address.
23	Today New Zealanders gather to mark the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi
24	172 years ago on 6 February 1840.
25	It was the day when Māori and Tau-iwi began the process of building a shared
26	relationship.
27	It was the day that New Zealanders set the pathway to a modern nation.
28	It was the day when the first representative of Queen Victoria in New Zealand,
29	Captain William Hobson, uttered the immortal words: “He iwi tahi tatou—We
30	are all one people”, as he shook the hand of each of the 40 rangatira after
31	they signed the Treaty.
32	Waitangi Day represents different things to different people.
33	It is a day of reflection for some, a time to look back at the tangled roots of our
34	nation’s history, recall our achievements, our triumphs and recommit ourselves
35	to reconciling the challenging times of our history.
36	It is a day of debate for others, when some discuss the significance of the
37	Treaty and its evolving principles in the life of a modern and independent

38	democracy.
39	It is day of family time for many. Having been in the Bay of Islands yesterday
40	and at festivals in Porirua and central Wellington earlier today, I have seen
41	New Zealanders from all walks of life having fun and taking time to enjoy
42	Waitangi Day.
43	I have seen people, young and old, families from a multitude of ethnicities and
44	cultural and religious backgrounds enjoying the summer sun, listening to
45	music, playing games, and checking out food and craft stalls.
46	While Waitangi Day represents different things to different people, it is first and
47	foremost New Zealand's national day.
48	As our national day, it is a time when we celebrate all that it means to be a
49	New Zealander and take pride in the things that we have achieved in this
50	beautiful land that we call home.
51	As our national day, it is a time when we reaffirm our commitment to the
52	shared values that bind us together—compassion, tolerance, a strong sense
53	of community and a Kiwi can-do attitude.
54	And it is a time when we look forward with renewed hope for our country's
55	prospects, confident that the New Zealand we will bequeath to our young
56	people will continue to be a great place to live, to settle and to raise a family.
57	<i>Queen's Diamond Jubilee</i>
58	The 6th of February has a wider significance that stretches beyond these
59	shores. When it was signed by William Hobson in the name of Queen
60	Victoria, the Treaty of Waitangi incorporated New Zealand was incorporated
61	into a global empire where, it was once said, the sun would never set.
62	On that same day, 112 years later in 1952, Queen Victoria's great-great
63	granddaughter, Elizabeth II became our Queen and Head of State.
64	So, as we celebrate our national day, we also mark the beginning of the
65	celebrations to mark the Diamond Jubilee of Queen Elizabeth's reign as
66	Queen of New Zealand.
67	Her Majesty has visited our shores 10 times as Queen, most recently in 2002,
68	meeting people from all walks of life and from all parts of the country. She
69	was the first reigning monarch to open the New Zealand Parliament, and
70	made her first Christmas broadcast from Government House in Auckland in
71	1953.
72	Her Majesty continues to be held in the highest esteem for her unfailing
73	dedication to her official duties, her work in promoting charities and royal
74	patronages, and as Head of the Commonwealth. And I can attest from
75	personal experience, as have Governors-General before me, of her keen

76	interest in, and knowledge of, New Zealand and its people, whom she
77	continues to hold in high regard.
78	When Her Majesty became our Queen in 1952, the sun was setting on the
79	British Empire and New Zealand was an independent realm.
80	In the intervening 60 years New Zealand has continued to change. In 1952,
81	God Save the Queen, was our national anthem. Today most New Zealanders
82	would also acknowledge God Defend New Zealand as our national anthem.
83	First performed 136 years ago, it has been our national song since 1940 and
84	co-equal national anthem since 1977. Today we sing it in both Māori and
85	English.
86	Our world focus has moved from Britain and Europe to Asia and the Pacific as
87	we have charted an independent course in international relations and trade.
88	And the office of Governor-General, once the preserve of the British
89	aristocracy, many of whom were military officers, has for 40 years been
90	occupied by New Zealanders from many different backgrounds.
91	<i>New New Zealanders</i>
92	Within New Zealand, our society, economy and government have changed.
93	We have moved on from the electoral system we inherited from Britain, and
94	we've also established our own final court of appeal.
95	Women increasingly play a greater role, and 110 years after New Zealand
96	became the first country to grant women the right to vote, our four highest
97	constitutional offices were held by women.
98	One of the most striking changes has been the transformation of New Zealand
99	into a thoroughly cosmopolitan nation. People from the Pacific, Asia, Africa,
100	the Americas and Europe have settled here, bringing with them many musical,
101	artistic, linguistic, culinary and cultural influences that continue to shape the
102	New Zealand of today.
103	Some made the decision to immigrate, while others have been refugees,
104	forced to flee the land of their birth. All of them have settled in New Zealand,
105	seeking a better life for themselves and their families.
106	Seeking a better life is what brought all New Zealanders to this land. As one
107	of the last places to be inhabited by humans, we are all immigrants or the
108	descendants of immigrants, whether we came here by canoe, sailing ship,
109	steamer or by aeroplane.
110	In my case, on one side of my family I am descended from those who came
111	here on Te Arawa and Tākitimu waka about 1000 years ago, and on the other
112	from British settlers who arrived on the sailing ship, Katherine Stewart Forbes
113	in 1841.

114	And so, in recognising the on-going contribution of new New Zealanders to our
115	nation, earlier this afternoon I hosted a ceremony at Government House
116	where 24 people, from 19 countries, became New Zealand's newest citizens.
117	They are from countries as far afield as Somalia, South Africa, Thailand, the
118	USA, Iran, Britain, Ireland, Gambia, the Netherlands, India, China, Mexico and
119	Bulgaria, the Philippines, Sri Lanka, Japan, Thailand, Samoa and Australia.
120	By becoming citizens, they have made a significant step in the journey of
121	making New Zealand their homeland. By becoming citizens, they now share a
122	unique bond with other New Zealanders, and a bond that links us all as one
123	nation.
124	As the Māori proverb notes: "Tuitui tangata, tuitui korowai"—bringing people
125	together is like weaving a cloak. Weaving korowai, a symbol of mana and
126	respect, takes time and great skill as does building enduring relationships.
127	Together we will build a stronger, independent country for the benefit of us all.
128	Our futures are now woven together.
129	<i>Conclusion</i>
130	To conclude, it seems fitting that on Waitangi Day, as we celebrate our
131	national day, I ask everyone to join me in welcoming our newest citizens to our
132	New Zealand family.
133	And before inviting them to come up and receive a kōuka tree seedling to
134	mark the occasion, I will close by repeating second English verse of God
135	Defend New Zealand, which seems particularly appropriate.
136	Men of every creed and race,
137	Gather here before Thy face,
138	Asking Thee to bless this place,
139	God defend our free land.
140	From dissension, envy, hate,
141	And corruption guard our state,
142	Make our country good and great,
143	God defend New Zealand.

Original sourced from:

<http://gg.govt.nz/content/waitangi-day-address-0>

Appendix 7: Mateparae’s Waitangi Day Speech 2013

01	<i>Introduction and welcome</i>
02	Rau rangatira mā, e hui nei ki te Whare Kāwana o Tāmaki Makaurau—
03	nau mai, haere mai, te Whakanui i te rā o Te Tiriti o Waitangi.
04	Distinguished guests gathered here at Government House in Auckland,
05	welcome to the celebrations to mark the signing of the Treaty of
06	Waitangi.
07	It is a great pleasure for Janine and me to welcome you to Government
08	House Auckland for this garden reception to mark the 173rd anniversary
09	of the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi. This is the first time we have
10	hosted this reception in the vibrant and beautiful city of Auckland, and
11	on that note, we want to specifically acknowledge: Your Worship Len
12	Brown, Mayor of Auckland, and Mayoress Shirley-Anne Inglis.
13	<i>Te Tiriti o Waitangi—The Treaty of Waitangi</i>
14	The Bledisloe Prayer, which Jo Kelly-Moore, Dean of the Holy Trinity
15	Cathedral, has just read, was recited by the Bishop of Aotearoa at the
16	first Waitangi Day in 1934. The prayer, composed by Lord Bledisloe,
17	spoke of the Treaty of Waitangi as a “sacred compact.”
18	As an agreement between Māori rangatira and the British Crown, the
19	Treaty had in 1840 established a framework for the government and
20	settlement of New Zealand. Both Māori and Pākehā had reasons for
21	signing, and for committing to a relationship together. For me it was
22	about hope—hope for a better future.
23	As we know, the ink had barely dried on the parchment before there
24	were misunderstandings and disagreements as to what, in effect, the
25	Treaty meant. There were many subsequent years in which it was
26	considered by some to be a relic, an irrelevance, a nullity.
27	One hundred and seventy-three years on from 1840, we continue to
28	debate the Treaty. But now we do so as a nation that recognises its
29	fundamental importance. In recent years, successive governments
30	have made explicit and constructive efforts to address the inequities of
31	the past, and to compensate for Treaty breaches by the Crown.
32	I have no doubt that debates will continue. But the spirit of that “sacred
33	compact”—a new way of two peoples living together—remains integral
34	to Aotearoa New Zealand, and to the nature and texture of our nation,
35	and to our enduring democracy.
36	As people of the land and people of the Treaty, we are together
37	governed by an administration that we have, together, elected.

38	And it is together that we pay tribute to our Head of State, the Queen of
39	New Zealand. This day, 6 February, is the anniversary—by historical
40	coincidence—of the accession of Queen Elizabeth II. And this particular
41	6 February marks the end of her Diamond Jubilee year. As of today,
42	she has been 61 years on the throne—more than a third of the time
43	since the Treaty was signed.
44	In that period we have continued to develop our own distinctive national
45	character. Whether it is in sport, business, agriculture, the arts, science
46	and the creative industries, or in international fora such as
47	peacekeeping, New Zealanders have repeatedly shown their talent,
48	tenacity, flair and commitment.
49	That legacy of the new way of doing things was well put by New
50	Zealander and Saatchi and Saatchi worldwide chief executive Kevin
51	Roberts a few years ago when he said: “We were the last to be
52	discovered and the first to see the light. This makes us one of the great
53	experimental cultures. We try things first. Whether it’s votes for
54	women, the welfare state or the market economy, powered flight,
55	nuclear physics, anti-nuclearism, biculturalism. First-isms. The New in
56	New Zealand is our reason to exist.”
57	<i>The contribution of women</i>
58	As he notes, New Zealand was the first nation in the world to grant
59	women the right to vote in 1893. In marking the anniversary of the
60	signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, this year we also recall the 120 years
61	since that momentous change, and recognise the contribution women
62	have made to building the nation we call home.
63	That contribution was recognised when the Treaty was signed. At a
64	time when British women could not vote and they had little say on
65	important issues, at least 13 women signed the Treaty of Waitangi, the
66	compact that set us on the path of creating New Zealand as a modern
67	nation. One of the 40 rangatira who signed on 6 February 1840 was
68	Ana Hamu, the widow of the chief Te Koki. This reflected the status of
69	Māori women as rangatira or ariki. And when one signature collector
70	would not allow the daughter of a Ngāti Toa rangatira to sign, her
71	husband refused to sign the Treaty, probably because it was an insult to
72	his wife.
73	Men and women—both Māori and Pākehā—have shared experiences
74	bringing life to our beautiful country. Those pioneers shared the
75	perilous journey here and shared the experience of living in a
76	sometimes harsh environment. That partnership has produced a culture
77	which values diversity, egalitarianism, and the well-being of all members

78	of our society.
79	Within 30 years of the Treaty being signed, articulate women began
80	calling for equal rights with men, and particularly the right to vote. They
81	included Kate Edger, who became the first woman in the British Empire
82	to receive a Bachelor of Arts degree, from Auckland University College
83	in 1877.
84	In the 1880s under the leadership of Kate Sheppard, later to become
85	the first President of the National Council of Women, three petitions,
86	each one larger than the one before, were presented to Parliament on
87	women's suffrage.
88	When Parliament granted all women—both Māori and Pākehā alike—
89	the right to vote, my predecessor, Governor Lord Glasgow, signed the
90	law on 19 September 1893. Women cast their ballots for the first time
91	later that year and contrary to the dire warnings of critics, that first
92	election was peaceful and without disturbance. The following day,
93	Elizabeth Yates was elected Mayor of Onehunga, the first woman in the
94	British Empire to be elected to such a position. She was congratulated
95	by Premier Richard Seddon and Queen Victoria—although not by all her
96	Council colleagues!
97	Together men and women have continued to build Aotearoa-New
98	Zealand, as the cultural and legal restrictions on women taking a full role
99	in our society and economy have fallen by the wayside.
100	And as New Zealanders have served overseas, protecting our nation
101	against tyranny, men and women, Māori and Pākehā, have done this
102	together. More than 600 New Zealand women served as nurses in both
103	the First and Second World wars and several lost their lives.
104	Today men and women in the New Zealand Defence Force serve
105	alongside each in all roles, including in peacekeeping missions. And, as
106	service in Afghanistan has shown, New Zealand men and women have
107	made the ultimate sacrifice in attempting to bring peace to troubled
108	lands.
109	Women with many varied interests and backgrounds have stepped
110	forward to pave the way for others. In 1897, Ethel Benjamin, became
111	the first woman in the British Empire to appear as counsel in court. In
112	1927 Dr Nina Muir, New Zealand's first woman house surgeon, became
113	the first woman president of the Medical Association of New Zealand. In
114	1941 Edna Pierce walked the beat as the first woman police officer and
115	Mary Anderson became our country's first woman judge in 1945. In
116	1976 Linda Jones was the first woman to apply for a jockey licence and
117	two years later Sue Day became the first professional female jockey to
118	ride a winner. Anne Barry became the first woman professional fire-

119	fighter in Australasia in 1981.
120	Not forgetting, of course, the fact that New Zealand has seen women in
121	the highest offices of the land, including as Governor-General, Prime
122	Minister, Speaker of the House of Representatives and Chief Justice.
123	<i>Suffrage and citizenship</i>
124	Granting women the right to vote had a wider national and international
125	significance. It meant that all adult New Zealanders, regardless of their
126	race, religion, gender or wealth, had the right to vote for their
127	representatives: a fundamental pillar of citizenship.
128	Earlier this afternoon, we hosted a citizenship ceremony here at
129	Government House where 25 people became the newest members of
130	the New Zealand family. Each one will soon receive a kōuka tree
131	seedling to mark their decision to set down new roots here in Aotearoa
132	New Zealand.
133	Later this year, they, like all of us, will have the opportunity to vote in
134	local elections and next year in a general election for our House of
135	Representatives. One hundred and twenty years after New Zealand led
136	the world in ensuring that all adults had the right to vote in free and fair
137	elections, each of us has the opportunity to exercise our democratic
138	will. As Kate Sheppard herself said more than a century ago: “Do not
139	think your single vote does not matter much. The rain that refreshes the
140	parched ground is made up of single drops.”
141	And on that note, as we celebrate Waitangi Day—our national day—and
142	welcome into the fold our newest New Zealand citizens, we recall the
143	contribution all New Zealanders, men and women, Māori and Pākehā,
144	and especially women like Kate Sheppard, have made in making our
145	country good and great. Kia ora, kia kaha, kia manawanui, huihui tātou
146	katoa.

Original Sourced:

<http://gg.govt.nz/content/waitangi-day-address-2013>

Appendix 8: Mateparae’s Waitangi Day Speech 2014

01	E nga mana, e nga reo, e nga manu tioriori, tēnā koutou, tēnā koutou,
02	tēnā koutou katoa. Rau rangatira mā, e hui nei ki te Whare Kāwana o
03	Te Whanganui-a-Tara – nau mai, haere mai, te Whakanui i te rā o Te
04	Tiriti o Waitangi. To those in authority, to our distinguished orators and
05	to our great women, I offer my greetings and salutations. Distinguished
06	guests gathered here at Government House in Wellington, welcome to
07	the celebrations to mark the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi. Kia ora
08	tātou katoa.
09	I want to specifically acknowledge: the Hon Gerry Brownlee, Minister of
10	the Crown and Mayor of Wellington, Celia Wade-Brown– tēnā koutou
11	katoa.
12	It is a great pleasure for Janine and me to welcome you all to
13	Government House in Wellington for this garden reception to celebrate
14	the 174th anniversary of the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, and to
15	mark the contribution of our predecessors, Lord Charles Bledisloe and
16	his wife, Lady Elaine Bledisloe, who gifted the Waitangi Treaty Grounds
17	to New Zealand in 1932.
18	It is perhaps a supreme irony that the Waitangi Treaty Grounds – which
19	now figure so strongly in New Zealanders’ sense of nationhood and
20	understanding of our history – were secured for posterity by English
21	aristocrats who had never visited our shores until Lord Bledisloe
22	became Governor-General in 1930. The Government of the day had
23	dragged its heels on numerous requests for it to buy the land and
24	former British residence when it came up for sale.
25	New Zealanders will forever be indebted to the Bledisloes for their
26	generous gift. We are indebted to them for their inspiration and passion
27	and enthusiasm for our country. The awards and gifts they established
28	to recognise excellence – including the Bledisloe Cup that marks Trans-
29	Tasman rugby rivalry – continue to figure in our national discourse. And
30	we are also indebted to them for helping us to recognise the importance
31	of our history and our heritage, and the relevance of an event and a
32	document signed 174 years ago.
33	The prayer that Lord Bledisloe composed provided his interpretation of
34	William Hobson’s words; “He iwi tahi tātou – We are now one people”.
35	This entailed ending the strife and bloodshed between Māori and
36	Pākehā, and working in partnership for a better future. And, the sacred
37	compact made should be faithfully and honourably upheld for all time.
38	Māori and Pākehā had their motives for signing the Treaty – Te Tiriti –
39	including creating a safe environment, because New Zealand was
40	regarded as a lawless place before the signing of the Treaty. The

41	arrival of Europeans – whalers, traders, escaped convicts and others –
42	had seen dubious land sales and violent disputes fuelled by alcohol and
43	firearms. Kororāreka in the Bay of Islands had an international
44	reputation as the “Hell Hole of the Pacific.”
45	As we know, the Treaty of Waitangi did not bring peace to New
46	Zealand. Misunderstandings and disagreements as to the meaning of
47	the Treaty’s three clauses saw many wrongs committed, lives lost and
48	lands confiscated in its name, while the document itself was treated with
49	little more than contempt.
50	This year marks the 150th anniversary of the Battle of Ōrākau at
51	Kihikihi, in 1864, which brought the Waikato Wars to an end. We will
52	also mark the Battle of Gate Pā in Tauranga. The former was a great
53	loss for Māori, the latter a great loss for British forces. It is said that
54	when the desperate defenders of Ōrākau Pā were offered the chance to
55	surrender Rewi Maniapoto, their leader, replied: “E hoa, ka whawhai
56	tonu mātou, Āke! Āke! Āke! Friend, we will fight on forever, forever and
57	forever!”
58	The battles were savage engagements with tragic loss of life on all
59	sides. Equally as tragic was the subsequent confiscation of land,
60	denying iwi of an economic base and making them tenants in their own
61	land. The wars cast a long shadow over relations between Māori and
62	the Crown that we continue to wrestle with to this day. One hundred
63	and fifty years after these two historic battles, a concerted effort is being
64	made to recognise the wrongs of the past, to make some amends, and
65	to ensure the Treaty receives rightful recognition. I will be attending
66	commemorative events later this year to mark both battles.
67	Despite the enmity the land wars engendered between Māori and the
68	Crown, 50 years after these two epic battles, many Māori fought
69	alongside Pākehā in the First World War, in the Native Contingent and
70	later the Māori Pioneer Battalion.
71	This year in August we mark the centenary of the outbreak of the First
72	World War. Dubbed the Great War and the war to end all wars, it was
73	meant to usher in a period of peace. Instead of peace, however, it
74	unleashed a series of bloody conflicts that enveloped the first half of the
75	20th Century.
76	And 21 years after the end of the First World War, when war broke out
77	again in 1939, Māori and Pākehā – New Zealanders - again fought
78	alongside each other to resist tyranny and an evil and racist totalitarian
79	ideology. All New Zealanders recall with pride the gallant exploits of the
80	28 (Māori) Battalion in North Africa and Italy. As their commander, and
81	my predecessor as Governor-General, Sir Bernard Freyberg, once said:

82	“No infantry battalion had a more distinguished record, or saw more
83	fighting, or, alas, had such heavy casualties as the Māori Battalion.”
84	Sir Apirana Ngata, who was instrumental in the creation of the Battalion,
85	described Māori participation in the war, and the subsequent heavy
86	casualties, as “the price of citizenship.” It symbolised Māori aspirations
87	to be a full partner in our country and for recognition of the Treaty.
88	The price of citizenship has a wider meaning, and it was one that was
89	paid by all New Zealanders. As a nation we fought to defend our
90	country, our way of life and our democratic principles and civil and
91	political rights. On a personal level, many served also because they
92	wanted peace. They wanted peace for themselves and they wanted
93	peace so their families – their wives, husbands, children and
94	grandchildren – could live and prosper. Thousands paid the ultimate
95	sacrifice in the pursuit of that cherished goal.
96	And in seeking peace and security for their own children and families,
97	we have a proud record of work as peacekeepers. New Zealanders
98	have, and continue to serve, throughout the world attempting to bring
99	stability to troubled lands, so that others may taste the fruits of peace
100	that we have long enjoyed. And as service in Afghanistan and
101	elsewhere has shown, the pursuit of that goal has not been without its
102	human costs.
103	The reference to citizenship brings me to my last point. Earlier today,
104	we hosted a citizenship ceremony in which 17 new New Zealanders
105	took the oath or affirmation of allegiance to our Head of State, the
106	Queen of New Zealand, that they will abide by New Zealand’s laws and
107	to fulfil their duties as citizens.
108	This is the fourth time we have hosted a citizenship ceremony at
109	Government House, and each time I have been impressed by the
110	diversity of cultures, ethnicities, ages, knowledge and experiences they
111	bring to our wonderful country.
112	While all new citizens swear the oath or affirmation individually, some
113	were joined by other members of their family; husbands, wives, partners
114	and children who also became citizens at the same time. This, in my
115	view, is in the spirit of those who signed the Treaty of Waitangi and
116	everyone who has settled before and since that time.
117	Whether you or your ancestors came to New Zealand by waka a
118	thousand years ago, by a sailing ship 200 years ago, by steamer 100
119	years ago, or by aeroplane 10 years ago, they came seeking a land of
120	opportunity where they and their families could live in peace.
121	As the last habitable place on the planet to be discovered by humanity,

122	New Zealand is a land of immigrants. As New Zealand historian, the
123	late Dr Michael King, once said: “In a country inhabited for a mere one
124	thousand years, everybody is an immigrant or a descendent of an
125	immigrant.”
126	And on that note, as we celebrate Waitangi Day—our national day—we
127	celebrate all of the things that are right with our country, and welcome
128	into the fold our newest New Zealand citizens. Also, we recall the
129	contribution of all those New Zealanders, who have made our country
130	good and great. Kia ora, kia kaha, kia manawanui, huihui tātou katoa.

Original sourced from:

<http://gg.govt.nz/content/waitangi-day-speech-2014>

Appendix 9: Mateparae's Waitangi Day Speech 2015

01	Tihei mauri ora!
02	E te tini, e te mano,
03	koutou katoa kua haere mai
04	ki taku pōwhiri ki te whakanui
05	i te rā tapu, mo Te Tiriti o Waitangi.
06	Nau mai, haere mai
07	ki te whare Kawana o
08	Te Whanganui a Tara.
09	Kia ora huihui tātou katoa.
10	To the many, many people who have come at our invitation to celebrate
11	this sacred day for the Treaty of Waitangi, I welcome you to
12	Government House Wellington. My greetings to all of us who are
13	gathered here.
14	I would especially acknowledge; our predecessors the Rt Hon Sir
15	Anand and Lady Susan Satyanand and Lady Norma Beattie; the
16	Speaker of the House of Representatives, Rt Hon David Carter; the
17	Deputy Prime Minister, the Hon Bill English and Mrs Mary English; His
18	Worship the Mayor of Upper Hutt, Wayne Guppy and Mrs Sue Guppy;
19	the Bishop of Wellington, the Rt Rev Justin Duckworth and Mrs Jenny
20	Duckworth; Sir Tamiti Reedy and Lady Tilly Reedy; Members of the
21	Diplomatic Corps, Members of Parliament and Member of the Judiciary
22	– tēnā koutou katoa.
23	Ladies and Gentlemen, thank you for coming from all points around
24	New Zealand – and from overseas – to join Janine and me in
25	commemorating the 175th anniversary of the signing of Te Tiriti o
26	Waitangi – the Treaty of Waitangi.
27	I extend a special welcome to the 26 newest New Zealand citizens from
28	today's citizenship ceremony here at Government House, and your
29	families.
30	I want to begin by paying tribute to Lord Bledisloe, Governor-General of
31	New Zealand from 1931 to 1935 – and in whose honour this reception
32	is named.
33	Bledisloe formed a deep attachment to this country and encouraged
34	New Zealanders to share his keen interest in our history. He
35	recognized the significance of Te Tiriti as a founding document and the
36	partnership it established between Māori and the Crown. He purchased
37	James Busby's house, where the Treaty was first signed – and then, in
38	1932, presented it along with 1000 acres of reserve land to the people
39	of New Zealand.
40	Without his foresight and extraordinary act of generosity, the Treaty

41	House would in all probability have disappeared and our tradition of
42	annual Waitangi Day commemorations may not have eventuated.
43	Until the end of his days, Bledisloe regarded Waitangi as his spiritual
44	home and his spirit certainly lives on in the legacy he left to our nation.
45	This 175th anniversary is a chance to take stock of where we have
46	come to – and where we are going in the 25 years leading up to the
47	bicentenary of the signing of the Treaty.
48	Looking back, we can see how much the relationship between the
49	Treaty partners has evolved.
50	There is an expectation that they will act reasonably and in good faith –
51	and that the Crown has a responsibility to actively protect Māori
52	interests, work to remedy past wrongs and make informed decisions on
53	issues that affect Māori.
54	There's been considerable progress in Treaty settlements. While it's
55	true to say that they can't undo the wrongs committed in the past, the
56	settlements have gone some way towards restoring an economic,
57	cultural and social base for iwi. All New Zealanders benefit from this
58	progress – as is implied in the whakatauki: Nā tō rourou, nā taku rourou
59	ka ora ai te iwi – with your food basket and my food basket the people
60	will thrive.
61	By the time of the bicentenary in 2040, I like to think that my mokopuna
62	will live in a New Zealand where we can see the success of post-
63	settlement enterprises reflected in equally impressive social and
64	economic indicators.
65	2015 is notable for significant commemorations of events in our nation's
66	story: 150 years since the shift of the seat of government to Wellington,
67	100 years since the Gallipoli landings, 50 years of self-governance for
68	the Cook Islands and 40 years since the hikoi led by Dame Whina
69	Cooper arrived at Parliament. At such times we think about the impact
70	of history, about our role in the world and what this nation stands for.
71	I also see these milestones of nationhood as opportunities to reflect on
72	the responsibilities and obligations of citizenship – in addition to the
73	rights and privileges that we all enjoy.
74	Honouring the Treaty will always be one of those responsibilities – by its
75	very nature it must be part of an ongoing dialogue, facilitated by an
76	informed citizenry. In a sense, I like to think that it makes every day
77	Waitangi Day for New Zealanders.

78	We have made great progress in recent years in terms of public
79	understanding of the Treaty, but we cannot be complacent. When a
80	quarter of our people were born elsewhere, I acknowledge there are
81	ongoing challenges in achieving such understanding. It remains a
82	worthwhile goal for those who choose to live here, wherever they have
83	come from.
84	We are fortunate to have such a vibrant mix of cultures taking their
85	place in the sun on Waitangi Day. This confirms that Te Tiriti gives all
86	of our citizens the right to call this beautiful country our home.
87	For some iwi, the Treaty of Waitangi commemorations will be observed
88	at a later date, because the various copies of the Treaty took some
89	months to reach different parts of the country – from Kaitaia to Rakiura -
90	Stewart Island.
91	Just two days ago I was at the site where the largest gathering of Māori
92	and Europeans came together for one of those occasions - Mangungu,
93	in the Hokianga. Visiting the site, arriving by waka and seeing the table
94	used for the signing brought home what a remarkable scene it must
95	have been on 12 February 1840, when in the presence of several
96	thousand onlookers, more than 60, perhaps 75, rangatira from the
97	region signed the Treaty.
98	This year I intend to visit other sites where rangatira – men and women
99	- came together to debate what was being proposed to them, and
100	where many of them made the decision to sign the Treaty.
101	Today, as we celebrate our good fortune to be citizens of this
102	extraordinary and beautiful country, I encourage New Zealanders to visit
103	some of those sites themselves, to immerse themselves in our history
104	and to reflect on our collective responsibility to uphold the special
105	compact that underpins our nationhood.
106	Again, welcome to you all. I am delighted we can host so many of you
107	to celebrate this very special Waitangi Day. Please enjoy the hospitality
108	of Government House.
109	No reira, tēnā koutou, tēnā koutou, tēnā koutou katoa.

Original sourced from:

<http://gg.govt.nz/content/waitangi-day-address-1>

Appendix 10: Mateaparae's Anzac Day Speech 2012 - Christchurch

01	E aku rangatira e hui tahi nei, e te hunga hōia o
02	ngā pakanga o mua, o ngā pakanga o inaianei, ngā
03	pouaru me a whānau, aku mihi māhana ki a koutou
04	katoa I tenei rā whakamau mā hara. To the
05	veterans, the soldiers of past and present battles,
06	the widows and the families, and all those who
07	have gathered here, my warm greetings to you all
08	on this day of remembrance.
09	It's an honour for me to be here at this Dawn Service at Cranmer Square, to
10	commemorate Anzac Day.
11	Ninety-seven years ago, as the dawn was about to break on the other side
12	of
12	the world, then men of Australian and New Zealand Army Corps – the
13	ANZACs – landed on the shores of Gallipoli. In what proved to be a tragic
13	and
14	ill-fated campaign tens of thousands of men died. New Zealand lost 2721
15	men, Australia lost 8709.
16	This morning, veterans have marched to war memorials throughout New
17	Zealand as a mark of remembrance for their fallen comrades. And in a few
18	hours' time Australian veterans will join us in remembering their fallen
19	comrades.
20	We gather this morning to remember men and women, not to glorify their
21	deeds, but to remember their example. We join with our veterans to recall
21	the
22	service of all those who have served in the defence of our country, its
22	values,
23	the democratic freedoms we enjoy, and our way of life.
24	We gather this morning to remember how, in the trenches, stench and soil
24	of
25	Gallipoli that strong and enduring bonds of comradeship were formed
25	between
26	New Zealanders and Australians. And we recall that in the aftermath of
26	battle
27	and defeat, we have also built strong ties of friendship with our former
27	Turkish
28	foes. Gallipoli, it is suggested kindled the first sense of a unique national
29	character for the peoples of all three nations.
30	We gather this morning to remember the courage, comradeship, and
31	compassion shown by the ANZACs at Gallipoli. They are enduring values
31	that

32	have been demonstrated by the men and women of New Zealand's Army,
33	Air Force and Navy since that time as they have defended New Zealand and
34	have strived to bring peace to troubled lands.
35	They are also the values that we have witnessed in the response to other
36	calamities at home. They are the values of the brave, the caring and the
37	thoughtful.
38	Two months ago we gathered at Hagley Park to mark the first anniversary of
39	the February 2011 earthquake. While we continue to grieve, we take pride
40	in actions of ordinary Kiwis who put their own lives at risk, cared for their
41	neighbours and helped strangers. And we take pride that it is still the case
42	that bonds of compassion, community and friendship have remained strong
43	and resilient. The Royal Humane Society of New Zealand's Gold award to
44	the people of Christchurch and the ANZAC of the Year Award to the Student
45	Volunteer Army speak of those enduring values.
46	Almost a century on from the distinguished service of the first Anzacs, we
47	remember their example; their incredible ANZAC legend and their legacy, our
48	heritage.
49	Lest we forget – Kia ora huihui tātou katoa.

Original sourced from:

<http://gg.govt.nz/content/anzac-day-2012-dawn-service>

Appendix 11: Mateparae's Anzac Day Speech 2013 - Wellington

01	Ki a koutou katoa e hui tahi nei. Ngā hoia o ngā pakanga o mua, o
02	tēnei wā hoki, a rātou whānau, a rātou hoa, me a rātou hoa pūmau
03	hoia, ki te Ope Kaatua o Aotearoa, ka tuku mihi māhana ahau ki a
04	koutou katoa, i tēnei rā whakamaumahara.
05	To everyone gathered here: to the veterans of past and present
06	conflicts, and their families, friends and comrades-in-arms; to the New
07	Zealand Defence Force personnel - I extend warm greetings to you all
08	on this day of remembrance.
09	I specifically acknowledge: Rt Hon John Key, Prime Minister; Iain Lees-
10	Galloway MP, representing the Leader of the Opposition; Your
11	Excellency William Dihm, Dean of the Diplomatic Corps, Your
12	Excellencies Michael Potts and Damla Yesim Say, the High
13	Commissioner of Australia and Ambassador of Turkey; Maj Gen Tim
14	Keating, Vice-Chief of the Defence Force; Lt Gen (Rtd) Don McIvor,
15	President of the Royal New Zealand Returned and Services
16	Association; Your Worship Celia Wade-Brown, Mayor of Wellington -
17	tēnā koutou katoa.
18	It is a great honour for me and Janine to be here this morning.
20	At first light, we gathered to mark ANZAC Day. ANZAC Day begins
21	here as the new day dawns. It continues wherever New Zealanders
22	and Australians are gathered as the rising sun makes its way around
23	the world.
24	Lives lost, friendships forged and deeds done: all is remembered as
25	wreaths are laid, and the last post is played.
26	Lives lost: Ninety-eight years ago today, the men of the Australian and
27	New Zealand Army Corps - the ANZACs - went ashore at Gallipoli.
28	Apparently it was a glorious morning.
29	In the days, weeks and months that followed, thousands upon
30	thousands of New Zealand, Australian, Allied and Turkish lives were
31	lost on the slopes of Anzac Cove, at Lone Pine and at Chunuk Bair, and
32	elsewhere on the Gallipoli peninsula. Among the dead were 2,721 New
33	Zealanders, about a quarter of those who had landed.
34	Those who died paid the ultimate sacrifice in the service of their
35	country. Those sacrifices were repeated on the Western Front, and in
36	Greece, North Africa, Italy, in the Pacific, and in the air over Europe and
37	on the seas in the Second World War, and in Korea, Malaya and
38	Vietnam in the 1950s, 60s and 70s.
39	That service continues to this day, in places as diverse as the Middle
40	East and Sinai, Korea, the Solomon Islands, and South Sudan, where
41	New Zealanders serve as peacekeepers.

42	Earlier this month, we travelled to Bamyan Province in Afghanistan to
43	watch the New Zealand flag lowered for the last time and to unveil a
44	memorial to the eight New Zealanders who lost their lives there. Their
45	names, and those of the two New Zealanders who lost their lives in
46	Kabul, have been added to our memorials and live on in our
47	memories. Their families, friends and comrades grieve for them still.
48	Friendships forged: The Gallipoli campaign served to create an
49	indelible bond between New Zealanders and Australians. On the
50	beaches and in the trenches, we ate, slept and joked side-by-side, and
51	we fought, died and wept side-by-side.
52	Then, as now, there were rivalries, and yet in the thick of battle, when
53	all was at stake, it was the Australians we trusted before anyone else.
54	The unique bond of two nations sharing the same day of remembrance
55	has created a spirit of mateship and shared sacrifice.
56	In the 98 years that have passed, we have served alongside each other
57	in conflict zones around the world, and we have been there when the
58	other has been afflicted by tragedies and natural disasters.
59	And then there is our respected one-time enemy, the Turks. On the
60	ridges above what is now Anzac Cove there was mutual respect
61	between the ANZACs and the Turks. In a temporary truce in May 1915
62	they looked each other in the eye, shook hands and swapped cigarettes
63	and mementoes; and gathered and buried their dead.
64	The man who led the Turkish forces at Gallipoli and later led Turkey as
65	its first President, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, in 1934 wrote a tribute to all
66	the Allied soldiers who died at Gallipoli. He assured their grieving
67	mothers that their sons were “now lying in our bosom and in peace....
68	After having lost their lives on this land they have become our sons as
69	well.” By reaching out in reconciliation and friendship to a former foe,
70	Atatürk laid the foundation for the strong and enduring relationship our
71	nations share to this day.
72	Deeds done: The New Zealanders who landed at Gallipoli fought
73	bravely and with honour. They set the standard of courage,
74	comradeship, commitment and integrity that the New Zealand Defence
75	Force holds dear to this day.
76	The courage and integrity of men like Lt Colonel William Malone, a
77	Taranaki farmer and lawyer, and the men who died with him on Chunuk
78	Bair, is the stuff of legend. Those legendary men include Corporal Cyril
79	Bassett, a bank clerk and later bank manager, whose courage and
80	commitment won New Zealand’s first Victoria Cross of the war, for

81	laying and maintaining a phone line on Chunuk Bair under continuous
82	enemy fire.
83	From those New Zealanders who served and died at Gallipoli, to those
84	who served and died in Afghanistan, they came to understand
85	comradeship and the risks of service. Theirs is the proud tradition of
86	ordinary New Zealand men and women who stepped forward to serve
87	our country. They gave up the safety and security of home to oppose
88	tyranny, to bring peace to troubled lands and defend the values of
89	democracy and liberty that lie at the heart of being a New Zealand
90	citizen.
91	On this day especially, we are conscious of the shared responsibilities
92	of citizenship of all New Zealanders during times of war. This year
93	marks 120 years since New Zealand women were able to share with
94	men the fundamental right to vote in national elections.
95	In the First World War, with about 100,000 men away, women helped
96	keep the farms and the factories and of course, the families of New
97	Zealand going. Yet, hundreds of women went overseas as nurses and
98	volunteer aids. Many lost their lives and many were honoured for their
99	duty, courage and bravery.
100	That pattern was repeated in the Second World War and, in more
101	recent times, New Zealand men and women have served alongside
102	each other in all roles in the New Zealand Defence Force. And as
103	service in Afghanistan has shown, they have also made the ultimate
104	sacrifice together.
105	This year, then marks the centenary of the last year of peace, before
106	two global wars in two generations enveloped our world. With the
107	centenary commemorations of the First World War beginning next year,
108	there will be an emphasis on re-evaluating the 'Great War' as it is still
109	often called – the war that was meant to end all wars - and its meaning
110	for us today. As the Last Post is sounded, however, our pride in those
111	men and women who have served New Zealand will remain
112	undiminished. We will recall the supreme sacrifice they made. When
113	we hear the notes of the Reveille we recommit ourselves to the solemn
114	pledge to never forget their service, to always remember them and their
115	legacy of a New Zealand society that is open, inclusive and tolerant.
116	Lest we forget—Kia ora huihui tātou katoa.

Original sourced from:

<http://gg.govt.nz/content/anzac-day-address-2013>

Appendix 12: Mateparae's Anzac Day Speech 2014 – Anzac Cove

01	Tihei mauri ora
02	E te tini me te mano e huihui nei,
03	Nga mihi māhana ki a koutou katoa.
04	Tēnā koutou i tēnei karakia atatū o te rā o ANZAC ,
05	E maumahara ana i te pakanga tuatahi ki Kariporia,
06	Me ngā pakanga katoa o te Ao,
07	Kia ora huihui tātou katoa.
08	To the many people gathered warm greetings to you all.
09	I greet you all at this dawn service on this ANZAC day, as we remember WW1
10	at Gallipoli, and all the wars where we have fought. Greetings to us all
11	One hundred years ago, Europe was heading into what has long been
12	remembered as a golden summer. No-one could have foreseen that summer's
13	end would herald one of the darkest periods in our history. The First World
14	War cast a long shadow and ripped the world apart.
15	Now, remembrance ceremonies like this one bring us together. Each
16	year New Zealanders, Australians and Turks come from the four corners
17	of the earth, to this place where our grandfathers, great grandfathers and
18	great-great grandfathers fought, and where many of them died.
19	This morning we stand at the brink of the Centenary of the First World War.
20	At dawn, a year from now, those gathered here will look back to the start of
21	the Gallipoli campaign. People's thoughts will rightly be focused on the events
22	that unfolded exactly one hundred years ago. They will imagine the Australian
23	troops landing at Anzac Cove on a cold crisp morning and the New Zealanders
24	that followed in the heat of the afternoon. They will also contemplate the
25	thoughts and deeds of the Turkish troops up on those hills who braced
26	themselves to defend their homeland.
27	This year, the 99th anniversary year, our thoughts, our reflections, will likely
28	be the same. However, in the space before the centenary begins, it is timely
29	to remember the peace that was over this land 100 years ago as we honour
30	those who fought here in 1915, and all the service men and women who have
31	answered the call since.
32	In the words of the New Zealand historian Neil Atkinson, 'History is a
33	responsibility we carry with us now and into the future'. As the years pass and
34	new history is made, it is important we stop and remember the momentous
35	events of our past. We do that not to glorify war, but to pay homage to the men
36	and women who served in them. They have served, and some of them are
37	currently serving, and women who often very far from home, to defend our
38	freedoms and to bring about a better peace for their families, for our families.
39	The Anzac name and its meaning were born of those times. And every Anzac

40	Day, we spare a thought for the ANZACs and the friendships that were forged
41	on these battlefields at Gallipoli 99 years ago.
42	After the war, our New Zealand Gallipoli veterans spoke warmly of their
43	Australian mates. These words of Sergeant Harvey Johns are an example:
44	“They were good. You could depend on them... If they wanted anybody to back
45	them up it would be the New Zealanders”. And there were many other
46	comments along similar lines – unsentimental, as was the nature of those men,
47	but indicating a deeply felt respect and rapport. Australians and New Zealanders
48	retain a special relationship and confidence in each other to this day.
49	Our histories, our peoples and our well-being are tightly interwoven. We
50	continue to have close partnerships in security and defence, most recently in our
51	near region - Timor-Leste and the Solomon Islands – and further afield in places
52	like Afghanistan and the Sinai. Our defence forces continue to work together
53	closely, especially in support of our neighbours in the Pacific.
54	We also remember that we were not alone at Gallipoli. Many other countries, on
55	both the Allied and Ottoman sides, lost men in that terrible campaign. For New
56	Zealand and Australia, Gallipoli also shaped a new and profound relationship
57	with Turkey. Once on opposite sides of the Gallipoli campaign, we have
58	developed the greatest respect and affection for Turkey and its people.
59	Every Anzac Day, the Government and people of Turkey are our most
60	considerate hosts. They allow the descendants of the first ANZACs the
61	opportunity to remember our forebears’ experience of war in the land where they
62	served. For this I thank you on behalf of all New Zealanders – here, at home
63	and around the world.
64	This commemorative site at Anzac Cove was created as a collaborative
65	venture between Turkey, Australia and New Zealand. The men who fought
66	here could scarcely have imagined this in their future. And yet, standing here
67	today, we remember their examples and we know there can be hope even in the
68	darkest of times.
69	In New Zealand, we are proud to have a memorial on New Zealand soil to
70	Mustafa Kemal Ataturk, the man who fought valiantly against us and then forged
71	an enduring friendship. He was a leader in the art of peace and the art of nation-
72	building as much he was in the art of war.
73	This year we will also mark the 75th anniversary of the outbreak of the Second
74	World War. Some of those who served in that war are still with us today. I want
75	to take a moment to acknowledge those brave men and women – and those, too,
76	who were not on active service, but nevertheless suffered the stresses and
77	privations of wartime.
78	Far away from here, in Wellington our national capital, a National War Memorial
79	Park– Pukeahu - is being built to mark the centenary of the Anzac landings. I will

80	have the honour of opening Pukeahu next year. It will be a place to remember all
81	who have served our country. And it will be a place where other nations that we
82	share wartime experiences with may choose to place a memorial. It is fitting that
83	the first country to place a memorial at Pukeahu will be Australia, our brothers in
84	arms at Gallipoli.
85	When we remember our brave forebears we pay them the honour they deserve.
86	It is also a time for reflection on war and its impact. And it is a chance to
87	enlighten new generations about the events that shaped their world, and to
88	encourage them to strive for peace.
89	Looking out from where I stand this morning, it is very moving to see so many
90	people assembled for this Dawn Service and to know Anzac Day services are
91	taking place in many countries throughout the world. The scale of these
92	commemorations shows how deeply people have been affected by what
93	happened here.
94	On Anzac Day we remember the suffering and loss of life at Gallipoli, and yet we
95	also celebrate the values that rose above the hardship: comradeship, courage,
96	compassion, loyalty, and self-sacrifice for the greater good. And looking back,
97	we know wars pass but these values and the prospect of a better peace endure.
98	Our being here this Anzac Day, keeps alive the torch of remembrance that has
99	been passed to us so we can pass it on to our children and through them to their
100	children. In this way we ensure the service, sacrifice and hope of past
101	generations is never forgotten.
102	I will close by quoting the last refrain of "The Ode to the Fallen".
103	I te hekenga atu o te ra,
104	Tae noa ki te aranga mai i te ata,
105	Ka maumāhara tonu tātou ki a rātou.
106	At the going down of the sun and in the morning, we will remember them.

Original sourced from:

<http://gg.govt.nz/content/dawn-service-gallipoli>

Appendix 13: Coding Phase 1

The following speeches have been coded accordingly.

Categories	Criteria
Family	This concept is related back to Britain and the Commonwealth, all words related to family highlighted
New Zealand identity	Words that have been used to describe the New Zealand identity or attributes ascribed the country and people
Linking	Words used to link New Zealand to another country or concept
Personal attributes	These are characteristics the Governor-General uses to describe himself
British identity	Words that have been used to describe the British identity or attributes ascribed the country and people
Legitimation	Used when the Governor-General seeks to legitimise a point of view
Multi-coloured sentences	This coding highlights the various categories used within a sentence to emphasise the speakers view

Appendix 13.1: Cobham's Swearing-in Speech 1957

01	First, I must thank you, Mr Prime Minister, on behalf of myself and my family for
02	the warmth of your welcome to us on our arrival in New Zealand.
03	For us, your gracious speech is the culmination of many expressions of goodwill
04	which reached us from New Zealand when the news of my appointment
05	became known, which put us in such good heart during the somewhat arduous
06	though exciting period of preparation.
07	I am, of course, aware that in this impressive ceremony, the people of New
08	Zealand are once again giving expression to their traditional loyalty to our Queen
09	and to the Royal Family. This loyalty has been unfaltering since your earliest
10	days, and is the most precious asset of the great family known as the British
11	Commonwealth.
12	This is my third visit to New Zealand, and I am indeed fortunate in that I have
13	never come alone, for every good thing becomes better by being shared.
14	Twenty odd years ago, I had the pleasure and privilege of coming with an M.C.C.
15	team, and, during the three months we spent with you, we all grew to know the
16	meaning of New Zealand hospitality and good fellowship.
17	Then, seven years ago, my wife and I paid a visit to our properties in Christchurch.
18	On that occasion, work kept me with my nose all too adjacent to the grindstone;
19	but we did have time to spend a few days in the lakes – although I regret to say
20	the Lake Coleridge trout proved singularly unco-operative.
21	Now, through the generosity of your Government, Mr Prime Minister, I return as
22	your Governor-General with a family large in number but not as yet in size. For
23	them this is, too, a great adventure, and they are looking forward to some happy
24	years ahead in their new home and among new friends.
25	No one who bears our family name can feel a stranger in New Zealand, and I feel
26	so proud and happy that I am being given the chance to carry on in some small
27	measure the work begun by my great-grandfather a century ago.
28	For I have come here to serve you and to work with you. There can be no honour
29	greater than that of representing the Queen in one of her Dominions, and I
30	assure you that I am very conscious of my great responsibility. It is with a sense
31	of deep humility that I say that I will do my utmost to justify your confidence and
32	maintain the very high tradition of service set by a long line of industrious
33	predecessors.
34	Just before leaving England, we were graciously received in audience by Her
35	Majesty the Queen, and she spoke of her recent tour in New Zealand in such
36	warm and affectionate terms that it made us very aware of our own great
37	responsibility in keeping bright this well-forged link in the chain that knits
38	the whole Commonwealth.

39	For it cannot be too often repeated that, provided always that it remains true to
40	itself and its ideals, the Commonwealth affords the brightest hope for the future
41	peaceful development of mankind.
42	Our forefathers who brought to these distant shores their faith, their democratic
43	ideal and their traditional culture, would indeed be proud of the way in which
44	their vision has become reality during the last 100 years.
45	They would be proud to see how those early peaceful settlers, farmers and
46	professional men have, with their Maori brethren, welded themselves into a
47	self-governing Dominion, with a fine record of achievement in peace and of
48	steadfastness in war.
49	They would see the two races – European and Maori – living together in
50	harmony, each making towards the common weal their contributions in gifts of
51	mind and spirit.
52	They would see a nation small in size but great in heart, which has competed
53	With their larger friends in many fields, but notably in agriculture, in medicine, in
54	Science, and in sport.
55	You will, I know, be delighted to hear of the visit which has been planned by
56	Queen Elizabeth the Queen Mother. I know that she will receive a traditional
57	welcome to New Zealand, and we are, for our part, delighted that the beginning
58	of our term of office is to be so pleasantly honoured.
59	Since our ship left England, we also heard that Mr Macmillan is to pay a visit to
60	New Zealand early in the New Year. I am sure that he will also enjoy his tour
61	enormously. It may not be without significance that he is, I believe, a keen
62	fisherman.
63	Finally, I would like to say, Sir, with how great a feeling of regret my wife and I
64	heard of your decision to retire from public life. We in England have for long
65	known that in you we had a staunch friend and ally, and I feel sure that all in
66	New Zealand would like to join me in wishing you every good thing in those
67	years that lie ahead.
68	And so, once again, thank you, Prime Minister, on behalf of our whole party for
69	gracious words with which you have greeted us.

Appendix 13.2: Mateparae's Swearing-in 2011

01	Ka tangi te Titi,
02	Ka tangi te Kaka,
03	Ka tangi hoki ahau.
04	Tihei mauri ora!
05	Mihi and Acknowledgements
06	E nga mana, e nga reo, e nga maunga, e nga awa-awa, e nga pataka o nga
07	taonga tuku iho,
08	tēnā koutou.
09	Prime Minister, Chief Justice, Mr Speaker, members of the Executive Council and
10	members of the New Zealand Parliament, Dean and members of the Diplomatic
11	Corps, Chief of the Defence Force, Service Chiefs and Defence representatives,
12	officials, whanau, friends, ladies and gentlemen: kia ora koutou katoa
13	The Event and the Day
14	Prime Minister, thank you for your words of welcome and the sentiments you
15	expressed in your address. Janine and I, and our family, are delighted to have
16	made it to this point, in what shows all the signs of being a wonderful day. For my
17	part, being here is an extraordinary honour. Almost every day over the past six
18	months I've reflected on this honour, and when I woke up this morning I gave
19	myself one more pinch just in case! At the same time, it is with some trepidation
20	That we look ahead to what the next five years holds.
21	The six months since I was named as New Zealand's 20 th Governor-General have
22	passed very quickly. During that time, as a family we've both prepared ourselves
23	and been prepared by others for the opportunities that will come with the role. We
24	have been heartened by the generosity of spirit and support that many New
25	Zealanders have shown in congratulating us. Strangers have approached us in the
26	street and in the shops to wish us well. A highlight for us was the special audience
27	Her Majesty the Queen of New Zealand in June.
28	Predecessors
29	The prospect of being able to serve both our Queen and the people of New
30	Zealand as Governor-General is a privilege that only a few people have the
31	opportunity to take up. The men and women who have preceded me all brought
32	their unique qualities, character, energy and mana to the role. They have been
33	steadfast, like: Te toka tu moana (the rock standing in the ocean). The example
34	they have set gives me cause to be optimistic about what lies ahead, and that has
35	been confirmed as I have drawn on the wisdom of five of my predecessors.

36	It is with considerable sadness that I remember Sir Paul Reeves, a generous,
37	thoughtful, and compassionate man. “No reira, Ta Paora, moe mai, moe mai
38	moe mai ra. Ka apiti hono tatai hono te hunga mate kit e hunga mate. Ka apiti
39	hono tatai hono te hunga ora kit e hunga ora.” I also acknowledge Dame
40	Catherine Tizard, Sir Michael Hardie Boys, Dame Silvia Cartwright and Sir
41	Anand Satyanand, who have been so generous and open in sharing their
42	experiences. One of the unfortunate things with “protocols of the office” is that
43	I am only now able to publicly acknowledge, with them in absentia, Sir Ananad
44	and Lady Susan for their contributions in the role. As he undertook to do at his
45	swearing-in, Sir Anand served faithfully and impartially, and he did that with
46	dignity, warmth and compassion. Janine and I wish them sell as they ease back
47	into a life more ordinary.
48	The Role, its Challenge and its Opportunities
49	Like my predecessors, I have taken the Oath of Allegiance to Her Majesty the
50	Queen of New Zealand and the Oath of Office. The two oaths together reflect
51	my commitment to our country and the people of the Realm of New Zealand
52	(including the Cook Islands, Niue and Tokelau) that I will serve faithfully and
53	impartially. The values and undertakings in these oaths are very important to me.
54	In the past 12 months we in New Zealand have had some difficult times, and
55	anniversaries of events will test us again in the coming months. However, as a
56	people, New Zealanders, whether we be of Māori, British, European, Pacific
57	Island, Asian or other descent, have cause to see a silver lining in adversity. The
58	Kiwi spirit – companionship and with that a generosity, compassion and resolve
59	when things need to be done – has been evident.
60	As I’ve reflected on my new role, what I am looking forward to most is the
61	opportunity of meeting and getting to know people: being able to support in the
62	sad times, but also to celebrate successes, achievements and the good times.
63	My view reflects the sentiments of the proverb “He aha te mea nui o tea ao - What
64	is the most important thing in the world? The answer is: he tangata, he tangata,
65	he tangata – it is people, it is people, it is people!”
66	Over the next five years I want to take the opportunity to meet and talk with as
67	many New Zealanders as I can. There are many people who recognise me from
68	my time as the Chief of Defence Force; still more will have no knowledge of me.
69	What I identify as the essence of being a New Zealander was put neatly by Sir
70	Edmund Hillary when he said that “In some ways I believe I epitomise the average
71	New Zealander. I have modest abilities, I combine these with a good deal of
72	determination, and I rather like to succeed”. As a people, New Zealanders are in
73	equal measures informal, strong-willed, competitive and yet also modest about all
74	we have achieved. We have a strong sense of community, where public-
75	spiritedness is appreciated and valued. We are inclined to be considerate
76	prepared to lend a helping hand to those in need. Yet we also like to get on and
77	do stuff – we admire individual ingenuity and those who have a sense of adventure

78	Looking ahead to our five-year adventure , it is likely that Janine and I will
79	become known better by New Zealanders as we travel together in the Realm
80	New Zealand and beyond. You will see we are ordinary folk , who have been
81	Given a special opportunity . It is our hope that we can encourage people to
82	Think about how New Zealanders can make a difference . We look forward
83	to promoting and celebrating those things that positively unite us as New
84	Zealanders : our virtues, our heritage, our way of life and our future. We also
85	want to strengthen the bonds of fraternity between all for whom Aotearoa-New
86	Zealand is our turangawaewae, regardless of whether you or your ancestors
87	came here 10 years ago, 100 years ago or a 1000 years ago .
88	It will have been obvious that Janine and my being here has been accomplished
89	with the support of our immediate family, our extended whanau, our iwi and our
90	friends. We appreciate their encouragement, guidance and patience . I also want
91	to thank the people who have accommodated our whims, fancies and requests
92	with this ceremony – getting the invitations out has been no small challenge!
93	Conclusion
94	When I think about what lies in store for us over the next five years, it's not easy
95	thinking beyond the events that will unfold over the next three months: an election
96	and of course the Rugby World Cup . With the former, I will exercise my
97	Constitutional responsibilities impartially , with the advice of many eminently
98	qualified people. With the latter, like most New Zealanders I will be taking a keen
99	and of course less than impartial interest in the result.
100	Prayer: Ki a koe, te Matua. Māu e tiaki (Father . Protect me)

Appendix 13.3: Cobham's Waitangi Day Speech 1959

01	This is, for my wife and me a most momentous occasion, for it is the first time
02	that we have been privileged to attend these celebrations, celebrations which
03	mark one of the most significant stages in the long and coloured pageant of
04	British Colonial History. But they signify far more than this, they mark the birth
05	of a Nation.
06	Waitangi is already famous for its new concept of what can be achieved in the
07	sphere of human relationships; it is possible to speculate sadly on how much
08	blood and treasure and bitterness could have been saved if similar wisdom
09	had been displayed in other lands where the English flag has flown.
10	The treaty has been called the Maoris' "Magna Carta" , but it was more even
11	than that: it was the document which extended to the Maori people all the
12	rights and privileges of full British citizenship. Today they bear the proud name
13	of New Zealanders; and side by side with their Pakeha brethren they have
14	served the Crown with loyalty and distinction during the years that have
15	passed since they made their great decision.
16	As one reads the story of the events which unfolded themselves in these
17	islands, since the days of Tasman and Cook; of their government by New
18	South Wales, the whaling stations, the bands of adventurers and speculators
19	who gained great tracts of Maori land in exchange for a few blankets or guns;
20	the sublime and heroic work of the Christian Churches in the face of all these
21	discouragements; the work done by Mr Busby, the first British resident, who
22	had nought to rely on but his own native wit; the apathy of a British
23	Government, too preoccupied with difficulties at home and abroad, to wish to
24	undertake new commitments: - as this tale progresses, one is filled with
25	wonder at its successful conclusion, the Treaty which we celebrate today.
26	<i>For Captain Hobson, already a sick man, the signing of the Treaty crowned a</i>
27	<i>life spent in his country's service. He brought to New Zealand that admirable</i>
28	<i>blend of firmness, patience and good humour which marks the born</i>
29	<i>Administrator and negotiator. Fate certainly decreed that on this occasion at</i>
30	<i>least the right man should be in the right place; and the first Lieutenant</i>
31	<i>Governor admirably set in motion those integrating forces, which have stood</i>
32	<i>the test of the years that followed.</i>
33	It is perhaps a truism to report that only great men can achieve great results
34	but those of us who believe in a higher power who chooses from time to time
35	good servants in the cause of human progress can only attribute to this power
36	the fact that two outstanding men met on this spot a hundred and eighteen
37	years ago. Captain Hobson was one Tamati Waka Nene the other.
38	<i>Kipling must surely have been thinking of these two men when he wrote "But</i>
39	<i>there is neither East nor West border nor breed nor birth when two strong men</i>
40	<i>stand face to face though they come from the ends of the earth.</i>

41	Tamati Waka Nene was one of New Zealand's greatest sons and his name will
42	be honoured by future generations as the man whose vision penetrated a
43	hundred years into the mists of the future. Negotiator, sage and warrior he
44	was to the Maoris what Pericles was to the Ancient Greeks. To him and to
45	those other Maori chieftains who signed the Treaty, New Zealand owes her
46	unique position in the world today. They realized that no country can progress
47	without law; and they trusted Hobson to bring law and administer it justly.
48	Nene's speech was a masterpiece of cool reasoning and understanding.
49	Scarcely less shrewd and far-sighted was the speech made later by Nopera
50	Panakareao at Kaitaia. One day I would like to hear that speech declaimed by
51	one of his own race, for even rendered into English, it is still a magnificent
52	piece of oratory. And in the course of it, he made the wise observation that
53	has now been woven into the vivid tapestry of New Zealand's history: "The
54	shadow of the land goes to the Queen, but the substance remains with us."
55	We do well to meet here, and remember these men and the Treaty they made,
56	for Waitangi is hallowed ground. It is one of the few places upon this earth
57	where good sense once prevailed over passion and prejudice. It brought
58	together two fine races who settled down together to achieve full Nationhood
59	for young and undeveloped country, under the Queen's peace and law.
60	And in remembering those men, let us also remember those who came after
61	them and who played their part in implementing the provisions of the Treaty
62	during the following century.
63	Finally, I think that I should join my own tribute to the of Mr Bell and Mr Guy
64	to one whose death last year must necessarily cast a shadow over our
65	celebrations. I refer of course to my eminent and greatly-loved predecessor in
66	office, Lord Bledisloe through whose generosity this Waitangi land became
67	dedicated to the Nation. It is indeed good to know that every year this memory
68	will, by these celebrations, be kept ever fresh in the land he loved so well and
69	served so faithfully.
70	And so we meet again here, amid this matchless scenery, to do honour to
71	those able and honourable men who paved the way to New Zealand's
72	nationhood, and forged the links which will always bind our two countries
73	together. As the world grows smaller, and the speed of events even faster, it is
74	natural that she must increasingly turn her eyes towards her sister-Dominion
75	of Australia, and that other great Western Democracy which lies to the North-
76	Eastward, the United States. It is indeed prudent and necessary for her to do
77	so, but none of those who speak the English tongue will ever forget the little
78	island of Runnymede, in the sleepy Thames, where seven hundred years ago
79	was born that love of justice which was embodied in Magna Carta. Its contents
80	have been reaffirmed throughout the centuries by English-speaking peoples
81	all over the world; in the Petition of Right The Declaration of Independence,

82	the Treaty of Waitangi, and more recently, the Atlantic Charter. These are
83	seldom accounted the landmarks of history – but they are things better than
84	landmarks, they are signposts, pointing the way to that dimly-discerned vision
85	of a world wherein fear and want and war can no longer haunt mankind.

Appendix 13.4: Cobham's Waitangi Speech 1960

01	This is the most important of all days in the history of New Zealand, for it was
02	the day on which, one hundred and twenty years ago, the pattern was set, and
03	a new tapestry planned, in which light threads and dark ones were to be
04	interwoven to form the completed study of a new Nation.
05	Against the wide background of time, in relation to the world's history, it is true
06	to say that the tapestry is only just begun. The intervening years have not
07	been easy ones for the Maori people. They have had to try to adjust
08	themselves, in only just over a hundred years, to a way of life that it took
09	western men two thousand years to achieve.
10	In an age when the European is face with social problems of great complexity,
11	particularly in the crowded and often unhealthy atmosphere of great cities, it is
12	sheer hypocrisy to wag a monitory finger at the young people of the Maori
13	race who find it perhaps even harder to attune their lives to modern social and
14	industrial conditions.
15	Their history is of seafaring people, of farmers, of hunters and fishermen; in
16	other words they were and are an agrarian and pastoral people – and they
17	have suddenly found themselves translated into an age of science and the
18	machine.
19	Europeans are themselves only too sadly aware of the effect of science upon
20	their own religious beliefs toward the close of the last century. Many of our old
21	“disciplines” have been sacrificed on the altars of materialistic progress, and
22	so-called “progressive thinking”. It is hard to lead in an age wherein every man
23	deems it his inalienable right to act or think as he pleases: and wherein
24	knowledge and experience are shrugged off as outworn and old – fashioned
25	commodities. A century ago the family unit was the one wherein children learnt
26	self-control and the ideal of future service, and the schools merely reflected
27	and continued that educational process. A century ago the wise Maori Elders
28	exercised that same discipline in their Pas. Now both have been weakened
29	and, having sown the wind, we are in danger of reaping the whirlwind.
30	Today I am calling on the Maori people to do all in their power to encourage
31	and foster leadership among their own folk. Only through the closest possible
32	co-operation between the leaders of both races in New Zealand can the best
33	use be made of the splendid material which must be ever more closely woven
34	to make it strong and lasting.
35	If this real integration takes place, not only will New Zealand become
36	immeasurably happier and more prosperous, but she will have made a
37	significant contribution towards solving the racial difficulties of others.
38	Today, New Zealand Day, is the one from which the nationhood of this country
39	stems. It is one which is coming to receive greater recognition as the years roll

40	by. Fresh resolutions by both Maoris and Europeans are needed if Captain
41	Hobson's century-old dream is to become that dimly discerned reality towards
42	which the whole world is striving.

Appendix 13.5: Cobham's Waitangi Day Speech 1962

01	The Prime Minister, Mr Te Hue Hue, Admiral Phipps and distinguished visitors.
02	Once again we are met together to celebrate, with colour and pageantry, the
03	anniversary day of the signing of the famous Treaty between Queen Victoria
04	and the Maori Rangatiras.
05	It may be, perhaps, a suitable time to ponder for a few moments both the
06	background and the consequences of this famous agreement.
07	The early history of New Zealand is less like a play than a revue, a series
08	of short one-act scenes of varying lengths, each one so to speak incidental,
09	or at best barely contingent.
10	Maori legend has it that Maui fished up New Zealand from the seas; was this
11	perhaps a colourful way of saying that one of the earliest Polynesian pioneer-
12	explorers discovered Aotearoa before even Kupe made his famous voyage?
13	It seems likely that the Maoris were themselves Colonists the theory of Sir
14	Julius Von Haast is a valid one and another race of men lived in New Zealand
15	long before the Maoris arrived.
16	Today the word Colonialism has acquired a flavour so pejorative that few
17	people stop to consider that it is an activity as old as man himself.
18	From the beginning of time, man has been on the move, and has sought new
19	territories, partly out of his spirit of adventure and his quest for knowledge,
20	partly from his inborn tendency towards rapacity and greed.
21	A Spanish Conquistador, Bernal Diaz del Castillo, proclaimed that his men
22	had set out "a service a Dios y a havernos ricos" – "to serve God and enrich
23	ourselves" – Although this seems a phrase which lends itself to a certain
24	amount of cynical reflection upon ends and means, it is, nonetheless, a fair
25	description of the normal motives for exploration and conquest.
26	The Maoris themselves seem to have moved half across the world, and it is
27	likely that the Toi expedition found at least remnants of the earlier Moriori
28	settlers whom the more vigorous Maoris ultimately drove into their last home
29	in the Chatham Islands.
30	There are indeed few countries in the world which have not, at some time or
31	another, been victims of Colonialism, and Great Britain is no exception, having
32	been at one time or another invaded or occupied by Phoenicians, Romans,
33	Vikings, Jutes, Danes and Normans.
34	From all of them we gained additions to our language, and from the Romans
35	and Normans we learnt the rule of law which is civilization itself.

36	The old Maori Rangatiras who decided to place themselves under the British
37	Crown were men of vision and integrity; they looked beyond the obvious and
38	immediate problems which integration entailed, and saw, in the far distant
39	future, a New Zealand inhabited, not by Europeans and Maoris but by New
40	Zealanders.
41	A hundred and twenty two years have passed, and it is possible today to see
42	how far we have travelled along the road towards integration.
43	Not very far, perhaps, but what is a century compared with the mighty figures
44	which Nature demands for her evolutionary processes?
45	In this scientific and technology age, it is possible to make rapid improvements
46	in almost everything, except human beings. That takes time.
47	Maoris have a culture as ancient as our own, and a language of great beauty
48	and flexibility, - a language which is attuned the softness of New Zealand
49	place names to the majesty of the New Zealand countryside. In many of them
50	there is a haunting melancholy which one so naturally associates with Ireland;
51	can there be a more beautiful name in the world than Waikaremoana?
52	I join with that great man, the late Sir Peter Buck, in expressing the heartfelt
53	wish that the traditional Maori culture will never be allowed to fade into
54	obscurity and disuse, for it belongs to an age wherein mankind took pleasure
55	in the simple things of life, - in the wonders of nature, in craftsmanship, in
56	expressing the joy of living, in singing and dancing.
57	Amidst traditional Maori way of life there was time for reflection and
58	contemplation. Their canoes must have represented an incredible number of
59	hours' work, and one has been told with what astonishment the Pakehas in
60	this very Bay of Islands greeted the sight of a Maori flaxen dragnet about
61	half a mile in length and thirty feet in depth.
62	The whole tempo of Maori life was necessarily a leisurely one, but their
63	civilization was graceful, and as Professor Sir Derrick Dunlop wrote recently
64	and truly
65	"It takes a very civilized man to be able to idle gracefully."
66	We Westerners make the ludicrous mistake of equating civilization with
67	technology, and have destroyed our own happiness in the frenzy of producing
68	vast quantities of largely unnecessary consumer goods, we are perhaps
69	sometimes impatient with our Maori brethren whose needs are few/and who
70	cannot understand the European's way of life which appears to them to
71	consist largely of the useless pursuit of money for its own sake.
72	Twenty-eight years ago, on this very day, there was held the first celebration
73	to mark the signing of the Treaty and the handing over to the Nation of the

74	renovated Treaty House and its adjoining land.
75	My distinguished and dearly-loved predecessor in office, the late Lord
76	Bledisloe, whose gift it was, made a magnificent speech on that occasion,
77	which was a classic of its kind.
78	I can do nothing better than to quote from it a passage which seems to me to
79	summarize in noble prose the inner meaning of the Treaty of Waitangi:
80	“If”, he said, “there is one conclusion more than another that I draw from this
81	gathering today, it is that nothing has occurred in the years which have
82	intervened since 1840 to relieve the Pakeha population of the responsibilities
83	then solemnly undertaken.
84	“On the contrary, these responsibilities have increased rather than diminished,
85	for in the working of that inexorable law – the survival of the fittest – the
86	pendulum has swung to the opposite pole, and made us the dominant power
87	in the land, and, therefore, the senior partner in the compact entered into near
88	this spot 94 years ago.
89	“Upon us, therefore, devolves in a larger sense, the obligation of seeing that
90	we observe the terms of a Treaty which not only places the Maori on footing of
91	political equality with the Pakeha, but enables him to march forward side by
92	side with us in social life, in education, in industry and in sport.”
93	Later on he said:
94	“It is not unusual in modern times to commit the other peoples of the world to
95	the tutelage of stronger nations under an international mandate, as a means of
96	preserving their nationality and their nationhood. Our obligations, however, to
97	the Maori people lie deeper than any which even a mandate from the League
98	of Nations could impose.
99	“ We came to the Maoris with our hands extended in friendship, and we
100	ourselves persuaded them to entrust their future to us.
101	“Our duty then is to see that the trust which they reposed in our honour in
102	1840 will never be betrayed so long as our Empire endures.”
103	These fine sentiments should still inspire our policy today, as they did 28 years
104	ago.
105	On that same occasion the Prime Minister, the Right Hon. Gordon Coates,
106	said:
107	“We have tried to make the Maori a Pakeha, and we have failed; however that
108	is no reason why the two races should not march forward together, in perfect
109	harmony.”
110	This is true, but at the same time I earnestly adjure the young people of the

111	Maori race to lift up their eyes and seek the benefits of higher education.
112	There is a world shortage of doctors, teachers, surveyors and engineers.
113	Lord Bledisloe spoke truly when he described the Pakeha as the dominant
114	power in the land; but I feel that today the emphasis must be towards
115	partnership rather than domination. The Maori race is growing in numbers;
116	now is the time for it to grow in influence. And that implies leadership, which
117	itself entails hard work, knowledge and ambition.
118	Parents, too, must encourage their young people to train for the professions.
119	The Maori people must never be allowed to feel that they are merely tolerated.
120	Their traditional skill, courage and intelligence are badly needed, and they can
121	make a great contribution towards the future development of New Zealand.
122	Therein surely lies the ideal future for New Zealand – To try to ensure that
123	both races, each contributing its own particular genius, each however retaining
124	its own individuality and tradition, go together along convergent paths until in
125	God's good time all races are merged into one common brotherhood.

Appendix 13.6: Mateparae’s Waitangi Day Speech 2012

01	<i>Introduction and acknowledgements</i>
02	Tihe Mauri Ora! Tātou katoa e pae nei, nau mai,
03	haere mai ti tēnei Kāinga, Whare Kāwanatanga, ki
04	te whakanui, te rā o te Tiriti o Waitangi.
05	Distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen,
06	welcome to Government House as we mark the
07	signing of the Treaty of Waitangi.
08	I specifically acknowledge: Dr Rt Hon Lockwood Smith, Speaker of the House
09	and Members of Parliament - tēnā koutou; Hon Amy Adams, Minister of the
10	Internal Affairs and fellow Ministers of the Crown—tēnā koutou; Your
11	Excellency Anthony Mongalo, Dean of the Diplomatic Corps and members of
12	Corps—tēnā koutou; Your Worship Celia Wade-Brown, Mayor of Wellington—
13	tēnā koe.
14	Welcome to Government House in Wellington for this Waitangi Day reception.
15	I welcome people from many different fields and parts of the country—
16	government, judiciary, business, sport, arts and culture, charities, religious
17	groups, education and science. And a special welcome to those from
18	Christchurch.
19	<i>Waitangi Day</i>
20	It is an honour as New Zealand’s Governor-General, representing all New
21	Zealanders and Her Majesty the Queen, to make my first Waitangi Day
22	Address.
23	Today New Zealanders gather to mark the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi
24	172 years ago on 6 February 1840.
25	It was the day when Māori and Tau-iwi began the process of building a shared
26	relationship.
27	It was the day that New Zealanders set the pathway to a modern nation.
28	It was the day when the first representative of Queen Victoria in New Zealand,
29	Captain William Hobson, uttered the immortal words: “He iwi tahi tatou—We
30	are all one people”, as he shook the hand of each of the 40 rangatira after
31	they signed the Treaty.
32	Waitangi Day represents different things to different people.
33	It is a day of reflection for some, a time to look back at the tangled roots of our
34	nation’s history, recall our achievements, our triumphs and recommit ourselves
35	to reconciling the challenging times of our history.
36	It is a day of debate for others, when some discuss the significance of the
37	Treaty and its evolving principles in the life of a modern and independent

38	democracy.
39	It is day of family time for many. Having been in the Bay of Islands yesterday
40	and at festivals in Porirua and central Wellington earlier today, I have seen
41	New Zealanders from all walks of life having fun and taking time to enjoy
42	Waitangi Day .
43	I have seen people, young and old, families from a multitude of ethnicities and
44	cultural and religious backgrounds enjoying the summer sun, listening to
45	music, playing games, and checking out food and craft stalls.
46	While Waitangi Day represents different things to different people, it is first and
47	foremost New Zealand's national day .
48	As our national day , it is a time when we celebrate all that it means to be a
49	New Zealander and take pride in the things that we have achieved in this
50	beautiful land that we call home.
51	As our national day , it is a time when we reaffirm our commitment to the
52	shared values that bind us together—compassion, tolerance, a strong sense
53	of community and a Kiwi can-do attitude .
54	And it is a time when we look forward with renewed hope for our country's
55	prospects, confident that the New Zealand we will bequeath to our young
56	people will continue to be a great place to live, to settle and to raise a family.
57	<i>Queen's Diamond Jubilee</i>
58	The 6th of February has a wider significance that stretches beyond these
59	shores. When it was signed by William Hobson in the name of Queen
60	Victoria , the Treaty of Waitangi incorporated New Zealand was incorporated
61	into a global empire where, it was once said, the sun would never set .
62	On that same day, 112 years later in 1952, Queen Victoria's great-great
63	granddaughter, Elizabeth II became our Queen and Head of State .
64	So, as we celebrate our national day , we also mark the beginning of the
65	celebrations to mark the Diamond Jubilee of Queen Elizabeth's reign as
66	Queen of New Zealand .
67	Her Majesty has visited our shores 10 times as Queen, most recently in 2002,
68	meeting people from all walks of life and from all parts of the country. She
69	was the first reigning monarch to open the New Zealand Parliament , and
70	made her first Christmas broadcast from Government House in Auckland in
71	1953.
72	Her Majesty continues to be held in the highest esteem for her unfailing
73	dedication to her official duties, her work in promoting charities and royal
74	patronages, and as Head of the Commonwealth . And I can attest from
75	personal experience, as have Governors-General before me, of her keen

76	interest in, and knowledge of, New Zealand and its people, whom she
77	continues to hold in high regard.
78	When Her Majesty became our Queen in 1952, the sun was setting on the
79	British Empire and New Zealand was an independent realm.
80	In the intervening 60 years New Zealand has continued to change. In 1952,
81	God Save the Queen, was our national anthem. Today most New Zealanders
82	would also acknowledge God Defend New Zealand as our national anthem.
83	First performed 136 years ago, it has been our national song since 1940 and
84	co-equal national anthem since 1977. Today we sing it in both Māori and
85	English.
86	Our world focus has moved from Britain and Europe to Asia and the Pacific as
87	we have charted an independent course in international relations and trade.
88	And the office of Governor-General, once the preserve of the British
89	aristocracy, many of whom were military officers, has for 40 years been
90	occupied by New Zealanders from many different backgrounds.
91	<i>New New Zealanders</i>
92	Within New Zealand, our society, economy and government have changed.
93	We have moved on from the electoral system we inherited from Britain, and
94	we've also established our own final court of appeal.
95	Women increasingly play a greater role, and 110 years after New Zealand
96	became the first country to grant women the right to vote, our four highest
97	constitutional offices were held by women.
98	One of the most striking changes has been the transformation of New Zealand
99	into a thoroughly cosmopolitan nation. People from the Pacific, Asia, Africa,
100	the Americas and Europe have settled here, bringing with them many musical,
101	artistic, linguistic, culinary and cultural influences that continue to shape the
102	New Zealand of today.
103	Some made the decision to immigrate, while others have been refugees,
104	forced to flee the land of their birth. All of them have settled in New Zealand,
105	seeking a better life for themselves and their families.
106	Seeking a better life is what brought all New Zealanders to this land. As one
107	of the last places to be inhabited by humans, we are all immigrants or the
108	descendants of immigrants, whether we came here by canoe, sailing ship,
109	steamer or by aeroplane.
110	In my case, on one side of my family I am descended from those who came
111	here on Te Arawa and Tākitimu waka about 1000 years ago, and on the other
112	from British settlers who arrived on the sailing ship, Katherine Stewart Forbes
113	in 1841.

114	And so, in recognising the on-going contribution of new New Zealanders to our
115	nation, earlier this afternoon I hosted a ceremony at Government House
116	where 24 people, from 19 countries, became New Zealand’s newest citizens.
117	They are from countries as far afield as Somalia, South Africa, Thailand, the
118	USA, Iran, Britain, Ireland, Gambia, the Netherlands, India, China, Mexico and
119	Bulgaria, the Philippines, Sri Lanka, Japan, Thailand, Samoa and Australia.
120	By becoming citizens, they have made a significant step in the journey of
121	making New Zealand their homeland. By becoming citizens, they now share a
122	unique bond with other New Zealanders, and a bond that links us all as one
123	nation.
124	As the Māori proverb notes: “Tuitui tangata, tuitui korowai”—bringing people
125	together is like weaving a cloak. Weaving korowai, a symbol of mana and
126	respect, takes time and great skill as does building enduring relationships.
127	Together we will build a stronger, independent country for the benefit of us all.
128	Our futures are now woven together.
129	<i>Conclusion</i>
130	To conclude, it seems fitting that on Waitangi Day , as we celebrate our
131	national day, I ask everyone to join me in welcoming our newest citizens to our
132	New Zealand family.
133	And before inviting them to come up and receive a kōuka tree seedling to
134	mark the occasion, I will close by repeating second English verse of God
135	Defend New Zealand , which seems particularly appropriate.
136	Men of every creed and race,
137	Gather here before Thy face,
138	Asking Thee to bless this place,
139	God defend our free land.
140	From dissension, envy, hate,
141	And corruption guard our state,
142	Make our country good and great,
143	God defend New Zealand.

Appendix 13:7: Mateparae’s Waitangi Day Speech 2013

01	<i>Introduction and welcome</i>
02	Rau rangatira mā, e hui nei ki te Whare Kāwana o Tāmaki Makaurau—
03	nau mai, haere mai, te Whakanui i te rā o Te Tiriti o Waitangi.
04	Distinguished guests gathered here at Government House in Auckland,
05	welcome to the celebrations to mark the signing of the Treaty of
06	Waitangi.
07	It is a great pleasure for Janine and me to welcome you to Government
08	House Auckland for this garden reception to mark the 173rd anniversary
09	of the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi. This is the first time we have
10	hosted this reception in the vibrant and beautiful city of Auckland, and
11	on that note, we want to specifically acknowledge: Your Worship Len
12	Brown, Mayor of Auckland, and Mayoress Shirley-Anne Inglis.
13	<i>Te Tiriti o Waitangi—The Treaty of Waitangi</i>
14	The Bledisloe Prayer, which Jo Kelly-Moore, Dean of the Holy Trinity
15	Cathedral, has just read, was recited by the Bishop of Aotearoa at the
16	first Waitangi Day in 1934. The prayer, composed by Lord Bledisloe,
17	spoke of the Treaty of Waitangi as a “sacred compact.”
18	As an agreement between Māori rangatira and the British Crown, the
19	Treaty had in 1840 established a framework for the government and
20	settlement of New Zealand. Both Māori and Pākehā had reasons for
21	signing, and for committing to a relationship together. For me it was
22	about hope—hope for a better future.
23	As we know, the ink had barely dried on the parchment before there
24	were misunderstandings and disagreements as to what, in effect, the
25	Treaty meant. There were many subsequent years in which it was
26	considered by some to be a relic, an irrelevance, a nullity.
27	One hundred and seventy-three years on from 1840, we continue to
28	debate the Treaty. But now we do so as a nation that recognises its
29	fundamental importance. In recent years, successive governments
30	have made explicit and constructive efforts to address the inequities of
31	the past, and to compensate for Treaty breaches by the Crown.
32	I have no doubt that debates will continue. But the spirit of that “sacred
33	compact”—a new way of two peoples living together—remains integral
34	to Aotearoa New Zealand, and to the nature and texture of our nation,
35	and to our enduring democracy.

36	As people of the land and people of the Treaty, we are together
37	governed by an administration that we have, together, elected.
38	And it is together that we pay tribute to our Head of State, the Queen of
39	New Zealand. This day, 6 February, is the anniversary—by historical
40	coincidence—of the accession of Queen Elizabeth II. And this particular
41	6 February marks the end of her Diamond Jubilee year. As of today,
42	she has been 61 years on the throne—more than a third of the time
43	since the Treaty was signed.
44	In that period we have continued to develop our own distinctive national
45	character. Whether it is in sport, business, agriculture, the arts, science
46	and the creative industries, or in international fora such as
47	peacekeeping, New Zealanders have repeatedly shown their talent,
48	tenacity, flair and commitment.
49	That legacy of the new way of doing things was well put by New
50	Zealander and Saatchi and Saatchi worldwide chief executive Kevin
51	Roberts a few years ago when he said: “We were the last to be
52	discovered and the first to see the light. This makes us one of the great
53	experimental cultures. We try things first. Whether it’s votes for
54	women, the welfare state or the market economy, powered flight,
55	nuclear physics, anti-nuclearism, biculturalism. First-isms. The New in
56	New Zealand is our reason to exist.”
57	<i>The contribution of women</i>
58	As he notes, New Zealand was the first nation in the world to grant
59	women the right to vote in 1893. In marking the anniversary of the
60	signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, this year we also recall the 120 years
61	since that momentous change, and recognise the contribution women
62	have made to building the nation we call home.
63	That contribution was recognised when the Treaty was signed. At a
64	time when British women could not vote and they had little say on
65	important issues, at least 13 women signed the Treaty of Waitangi, the
66	compact that set us on the path of creating New Zealand as a modern
67	nation. One of the 40 rangatira who signed on 6 February 1840 was
68	Ana Hamu, the widow of the chief Te Koki. This reflected the status of
69	Māori women as rangatira or ariki. And when one signature collector
70	would not allow the daughter of a Ngāti Toa rangatira to sign, her
71	husband refused to sign the Treaty, probably because it was an insult to
72	his wife.
73	Men and women—both Māori and Pākehā—have shared experiences
74	bringing life to our beautiful country. Those pioneers shared the
75	perilous journey here and shared the experience of living in a
76	sometimes harsh environment. That partnership has produced a culture

77	which values diversity, egalitarianism, and the well-being of all members
78	of our society.
79	Within 30 years of the Treaty being signed, articulate women began
80	calling for equal rights with men, and particularly the right to vote. They
81	included Kate Edger, who became the first woman in the British Empire
82	to receive a Bachelor of Arts degree, from Auckland University College
83	in 1877.
84	In the 1880s under the leadership of Kate Sheppard, later to become
85	the first President of the National Council of Women, three petitions,
86	each one larger than the one before, were presented to Parliament on
87	women's suffrage.
88	When Parliament granted all women—both Māori and Pākehā alike—
89	the right to vote, my predecessor, Governor Lord Glasgow, signed the
90	law on 19 September 1893. Women cast their ballots for the first time
91	later that year and contrary to the dire warnings of critics, that first
92	election was peaceful and without disturbance. The following day,
93	Elizabeth Yates was elected Mayor of Onehunga, the first woman in the
94	British Empire to be elected to such a position. She was congratulated
95	by Premier Richard Seddon and Queen Victoria—although not by all her
96	Council colleagues!
97	Together men and women have continued to build Aotearoa-New
98	Zealand, as the cultural and legal restrictions on women taking a full role
99	in our society and economy have fallen by the wayside.
100	And as New Zealanders have served overseas, protecting our nation
101	against tyranny, men and women, Māori and Pākehā, have done this
102	together. More than 600 New Zealand women served as nurses in both
103	the First and Second World wars and several lost their lives.
104	Today men and women in the New Zealand Defence Force serve
105	alongside each in all roles, including in peacekeeping missions. And, as
106	service in Afghanistan has shown, New Zealand men and women have
107	made the ultimate sacrifice in attempting to bring peace to troubled
108	lands.
109	Women with many varied interests and backgrounds have stepped
110	forward to pave the way for others. In 1897, Ethel Benjamin, became
111	the first woman in the British Empire to appear as counsel in court. In
112	1927 Dr Nina Muir, New Zealand's first woman house surgeon, became
113	the first woman president of the Medical Association of New Zealand. In
114	1941 Edna Pierce walked the beat as the first woman police officer and
115	Mary Anderson became our country's first woman judge in 1945. In
116	1976 Linda Jones was the first woman to apply for a jockey licence and
117	two years later Sue Day became the first professional female jockey to

118	ride a winner. Anne Barry became the first woman professional fire-
119	fighter in Australasia in 1981.
120	Not forgetting, of course, the fact that New Zealand has seen women in
121	the highest offices of the land, including as Governor-General, Prime
122	Minister, Speaker of the House of Representatives and Chief Justice.
123	<i>Suffrage and citizenship</i>
124	Granting women the right to vote had a wider national and international
125	significance. It meant that all adult New Zealanders, regardless of their
126	race, religion, gender or wealth, had the right to vote for their
127	representatives: a fundamental pillar of citizenship.
128	Earlier this afternoon, we hosted a citizenship ceremony here at
129	Government House where 25 people became the newest members of
130	the New Zealand family. Each one will soon receive a kōuka tree
131	seedling to mark their decision to set down new roots here in Aotearoa
132	New Zealand.
133	Later this year, they, like all of us, will have the opportunity to vote in
134	local elections and next year in a general election for our House of
135	Representatives. One hundred and twenty years after New Zealand led
136	the world in ensuring that all adults had the right to vote in free and fair
137	elections, each of us has the opportunity to exercise our democratic
138	will. As Kate Sheppard herself said more than a century ago: “Do not
139	think your single vote does not matter much. The rain that refreshes the
140	parched ground is made up of single drops.”
141	And on that note, as we celebrate Waitangi Day—our national day—and
142	welcome into the fold our newest New Zealand citizens, we recall the
143	contribution all New Zealanders, men and women, Māori and Pākehā,
144	and especially women like Kate Sheppard, have made in making our
145	country good and great. Kia ora, kia kaha, kia manawanui, huihui tātou
146	katoa.

Appendix 13.8: Mateparae’s Waitangi Day Speech 2014

01	E nga mana, e nga reo, e nga manu tioriori, tēnā koutou, tēnā koutou,
02	tēnā koutou katoa. Rau rangatira mā, e hui nei ki te Whare Kāwana o
03	Te Whanganui-a-Tara – nau mai, haere mai, te Whakanui i te rā o Te
04	Tiriti o Waitangi. To those in authority, to our distinguished orators and
05	to our great women, I offer my greetings and salutations. Distinguished
06	guests gathered here at Government House in Wellington, welcome to
07	the celebrations to mark the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi. Kia ora
08	tātou katoa.
09	I want to specifically acknowledge: the Hon Gerry Brownlee, Minister of
10	the Crown and Mayor of Wellington, Celia Wade-Brown– tēnā koutou
11	katoa.
12	It is a great pleasure for Janine and me to welcome you all to
13	Government House in Wellington for this garden reception to celebrate
14	the 174th anniversary of the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, and to
15	mark the contribution of our predecessors, Lord Charles Bledisloe and
16	his wife, Lady Elaine Bledisloe, who gifted the Waitangi Treaty Grounds
17	to New Zealand in 1932.
18	It is perhaps a supreme irony that the Waitangi Treaty Grounds – which
19	now figure so strongly in New Zealanders’ sense of nationhood and
20	understanding of our history – were secured for posterity by English
21	aristocrats who had never visited our shores until Lord Bledisloe
22	became Governor-General in 1930. The Government of the day had
23	dragged its heels on numerous requests for it to buy the land and
24	former British residence when it came up for sale.
25	New Zealanders will forever be indebted to the Bledisloes for their
26	generous gift. We are indebted to them for their inspiration and passion
27	and enthusiasm for our country. The awards and gifts they established
28	to recognise excellence – including the Bledisloe Cup that marks Trans-
29	Tasman rugby rivalry – continue to figure in our national discourse. And
30	we are also indebted to them for helping us to recognise the importance
31	of our history and our heritage, and the relevance of an event and a
32	document signed 174 years ago.
33	The prayer that Lord Bledisloe composed provided his interpretation of
34	William Hobson’s words; “He iwi tahi tātou – We are now one people”.
35	This entailed ending the strife and bloodshed between Māori and
36	Pākehā, and working in partnership for a better future. And, the sacred
37	compact made should be faithfully and honourably upheld for all time.
38	Māori and Pākehā had their motives for signing the Treaty – Te Tiriti –

39	including creating a safe environment, because New Zealand was
40	regarded as a lawless place before the signing of the Treaty. The
41	arrival of Europeans – whalers, traders, escaped convicts and others –
42	had seen dubious land sales and violent disputes fuelled by alcohol and
43	firearms. Kororāreka in the Bay of Islands had an international
44	reputation as the “Hell Hole of the Pacific.”
45	As we know, the Treaty of Waitangi did not bring peace to New
46	Zealand. Misunderstandings and disagreements as to the meaning of
47	the Treaty’s three clauses saw many wrongs committed, lives lost and
48	lands confiscated in its name, while the document itself was treated with
49	little more than contempt.
50	This year marks the 150th anniversary of the Battle of Ōrākau at
51	Kihikihi, in 1864, which brought the Waikato Wars to an end. We will
52	also mark the Battle of Gate Pā in Tauranga. The former was a great
53	loss for Māori, the latter a great loss for British forces. It is said that
54	when the desperate defenders of Ōrākau Pā were offered the chance to
55	surrender Rewi Maniapoto, their leader, replied: “E hoa, ka whawhai
56	tonu mātou, Āke! Āke! Āke! Friend, we will fight on forever, forever and
57	forever!”
58	The battles were savage engagements with tragic loss of life on all
59	sides. Equally as tragic was the subsequent confiscation of land,
60	denying iwi of an economic base and making them tenants in their own
61	land. The wars cast a long shadow over relations between Māori and
62	the Crown that we continue to wrestle with to this day. One hundred
63	and fifty years after these two historic battles, a concerted effort is being
64	made to recognise the wrongs of the past, to make some amends, and
65	to ensure the Treaty receives rightful recognition. I will be attending
66	commemorative events later this year to mark both battles.
67	Despite the enmity the land wars engendered between Māori and the
68	Crown, 50 years after these two epic battles, many Māori fought
69	alongside Pākehā in the First World War, in the Native Contingent and
70	later the Māori Pioneer Battalion.
71	This year in August we mark the centenary of the outbreak of the First
72	World War. Dubbed the Great War and the war to end all wars, it was
73	meant to usher in a period of peace. Instead of peace, however, it
74	unleashed a series of bloody conflicts that enveloped the first half of the
75	20th Century.
76	And 21 years after the end of the First World War, when war broke out
77	again in 1939, Māori and Pākehā – New Zealanders - again fought
78	alongside each other to resist tyranny and an evil and racist totalitarian
79	ideology. All New Zealanders recall with pride the gallant exploits of the

80	28 (Māori) Battalion in North Africa and Italy. As their commander, and
81	my predecessor as Governor-General, Sir Bernard Freyberg, once said:
82	“No infantry battalion had a more distinguished record, or saw more
83	fighting, or, alas, had such heavy casualties as the Māori Battalion.”
84	Sir Apirana Ngata, who was instrumental in the creation of the Battalion,
85	described Māori participation in the war, and the subsequent heavy
86	casualties, as “the price of citizenship.” It symbolised Māori aspirations
87	to be a full partner in our country and for recognition of the Treaty.
88	The price of citizenship has a wider meaning, and it was one that was
89	paid by all New Zealanders. As a nation we fought to defend our
90	country, our way of life and our democratic principles and civil and
91	political rights. On a personal level, many served also because they
92	wanted peace. They wanted peace for themselves and they wanted
93	peace so their families – their wives, husbands, children and
94	grandchildren – could live and prosper. Thousands paid the ultimate
95	sacrifice in the pursuit of that cherished goal.
96	And in seeking peace and security for their own children and families,
97	we have a proud record of work as peacekeepers. New Zealanders
98	have, and continue to serve, throughout the world attempting to bring
99	stability to troubled lands, so that others may taste the fruits of peace
100	that we have long enjoyed. And as service in Afghanistan and
101	elsewhere has shown, the pursuit of that goal has not been without its
102	human costs.
103	The reference to citizenship brings me to my last point. Earlier today,
104	we hosted a citizenship ceremony in which 17 new New Zealanders
105	took the oath or affirmation of allegiance to our Head of State, the
106	Queen of New Zealand, that they will abide by New Zealand’s laws and
107	to fulfil their duties as citizens.
108	This is the fourth time we have hosted a citizenship ceremony at
109	Government House, and each time I have been impressed by the
110	diversity of cultures, ethnicities, ages, knowledge and experiences they
111	bring to our wonderful country.
112	While all new citizens swear the oath or affirmation individually, some
113	were joined by other members of their family; husbands, wives, partners
114	and children who also became citizens at the same time. This, in my
115	view, is in the spirit of those who signed the Treaty of Waitangi and
116	everyone who has settled before and since that time.
117	Whether you or your ancestors came to New Zealand by waka a
118	thousand years ago, by a sailing ship 200 years ago, by steamer 100
119	years ago, or by aeroplane 10 years ago, they came seeking a land of
120	opportunity where they and their families could live in peace.

121	As the last habitable place on the planet to be discovered by humanity,
122	New Zealand is a land of immigrants. As New Zealand historian, the
123	late Dr Michael King, once said: “In a country inhabited for a mere one
124	thousand years, everybody is an immigrant or a descendent of an
125	immigrant.”
126	And on that note, as we celebrate Waitangi Day—our national day—we
127	celebrate all of the things that are right with our country, and welcome
128	into the fold our newest New Zealand citizens. Also, we recall the
129	contribution of all those New Zealanders, who have made our country
130	good and great. Kia ora, kia kaha, kia manawanui, huihui tātou katoa.

Appendix 13.9: Mateparae’s Waitangi Day Speech 2015

01	Tihei mauri ora!
02	E te tini, e te mano,
03	koutou katoa kua haere mai
04	ki taku pōwhiri ki te whakanui
05	i te rā tapu, mo Te Tiriti o Waitangi.
06	Nau mai, haere mai
07	ki te whare Kawana o
08	Te Whanganui a Tara.
09	Kia ora huihui tātou katoa.
10	To the many, many people who have come at our invitation to celebrate
11	this sacred day for the Treaty of Waitangi, I welcome you to
12	Government House Wellington. My greetings to all of us who are
13	gathered here.
14	I would especially acknowledge; our predecessors the Rt Hon Sir
15	Anand and Lady Susan Satyanand and Lady Norma Beattie; the
16	Speaker of the House of Representatives, Rt Hon David Carter; the
17	Deputy Prime Minister, the Hon Bill English and Mrs Mary English; His
18	Worship the Mayor of Upper Hutt, Wayne Guppy and Mrs Sue Guppy;
19	the Bishop of Wellington, the Rt Rev Justin Duckworth and Mrs Jenny
20	Duckworth; Sir Tamiti Reedy and Lady Tilly Reedy; Members of the
21	Diplomatic Corps, Members of Parliament and Member of the Judiciary
22	– tēnā koutou katoa.
23	Ladies and Gentlemen, thank you for coming from all points around
24	New Zealand – and from overseas – to join Janine and me in
25	commemorating the 175th anniversary of the signing of Te Tiriti o
26	Waitangi – the Treaty of Waitangi.
27	I extend a special welcome to the 26 newest New Zealand citizens from
28	today’s citizenship ceremony here at Government House, and your
29	families.
30	I want to begin by paying tribute to Lord Bledisloe, Governor-General of
31	New Zealand from 1931 to 1935 – and in whose honour this reception
32	is named.
33	Bledisloe formed a deep attachment to this country and encouraged
34	New Zealanders to share his keen interest in our history. He
35	recognized the significance of Te Tiriti as a founding document and the
36	partnership it established between Māori and the Crown. He purchased
37	James Busby’s house, where the Treaty was first signed – and then, in
38	1932, presented it along with 1000 acres of reserve land to the people
39	of New Zealand.
40	Without his foresight and extraordinary act of generosity, the Treaty

41	House would in all probability have disappeared and our tradition of
42	annual Waitangi Day commemorations may not have eventuated.
43	Until the end of his days, Bledisloe regarded Waitangi as his spiritual
44	home and his spirit certainly lives on in the legacy he left to our nation.
45	This 175th anniversary is a chance to take stock of where we have
46	come to – and where we are going in the 25 years leading up to the
47	bicentenary of the signing of the Treaty.
48	Looking back, we can see how much the relationship between the
49	Treaty partners has evolved.
50	There is an expectation that they will act reasonably and in good faith –
51	and that the Crown has a responsibility to actively protect Māori
52	interests, work to remedy past wrongs and make informed decisions on
53	issues that affect Māori.
54	There's been considerable progress in Treaty settlements. While it's
55	true to say that they can't undo the wrongs committed in the past, the
56	settlements have gone some way towards restoring an economic,
57	cultural and social base for iwi. All New Zealanders benefit from this
58	progress – as is implied in the whakatauki: Nā tō rourou, nā taku rourou
59	ka ora ai te iwi – with your food basket and my food basket the people
60	will thrive.
61	By the time of the bicentenary in 2040, I like to think that my mokopuna
62	will live in a New Zealand where we can see the success of post-
63	settlement enterprises reflected in equally impressive social and
64	economic indicators.
65	2015 is notable for significant commemorations of events in our nation's
66	story: 150 years since the shift of the seat of government to Wellington,
67	100 years since the Gallipoli landings, 50 years of self-governance for
68	the Cook Islands and 40 years since the hikoi led by Dame Whina
69	Cooper arrived at Parliament. At such times we think about the impact
70	of history, about our role in the world and what this nation stands for.
71	I also see these milestones of nationhood as opportunities to reflect on
72	the responsibilities and obligations of citizenship – in addition to the
73	rights and privileges that we all enjoy.
74	Honouring the Treaty will always be one of those responsibilities – by its
75	very nature it must be part of an ongoing dialogue, facilitated by an
76	informed citizenry. In a sense, I like to think that it makes every day
77	Waitangi Day for New Zealanders.
78	We have made great progress in recent years in terms of public

79	understanding of the Treaty, but we cannot be complacent. When a
80	quarter of our people were born elsewhere, I acknowledge there are
81	ongoing challenges in achieving such understanding. It remains a
82	worthwhile goal for those who choose to live here, wherever they have
83	come from.
84	We are fortunate to have such a vibrant mix of cultures taking their
85	place in the sun on Waitangi Day . This confirms that Te Tiriti gives all
86	of our citizens the right to call this beautiful country our home.
87	For some iwi , the Treaty of Waitangi commemorations will be observed
88	at a later date, because the various copies of the Treaty took some
89	months to reach different parts of the country – from Kaitaia to Rakiura -
90	Stewart Island.
91	Just two days ago I was at the site where the largest gathering of Māori
92	and Europeans came together for one of those occasions - Mangungu,
93	in the Hokianga. Visiting the site, arriving by waka and seeing the table
94	used for the signing brought home what a remarkable scene it must
95	have been on 12 February 1840, when in the presence of several
96	thousand onlookers, more than 60, perhaps 75, rangatira from the
97	region signed the Treaty.
98	This year I intend to visit other sites where rangatira – men and women
99	- came together to debate what was being proposed to them, and
100	where many of them made the decision to sign the Treaty.
101	Today, as we celebrate our good fortune to be citizens of this
102	extraordinary and beautiful country, I encourage New Zealanders to visit
103	some of those sites themselves, to immerse themselves in our history
104	and to reflect on our collective responsibility to uphold the special
105	compact that underpins our nationhood.
106	Again, welcome to you all. I am delighted we can host so many of you
107	to celebrate this very special Waitangi Day . Please enjoy the hospitality
108	of Government House.
109	No reira, tēnā koutou, tēnā koutou, tēnā koutou katoa.

Appendix 13.10: Mateparae’s Anzac Day Speech 2012

01	E aku rangatira e hui tahi nei, e te hunga hōia o
02	ngā pakanga o mua, o ngā pakanga o inaianei, ngā
03	pouaru me a whānau, aku mihi māhana ki a koutou
04	katoa I tenei rā whakamau mā hara. To the
05	veterans, the soldiers of past and present battles,
06	the widows and the families, and all those who
07	have gathered here, my warm greetings to you all
08	on this day of remembrance.
09	It’s an honour for me to be here at this Dawn Service at Cranmer Square, to
10	commemorate Anzac Day.
11	Ninety-seven years ago, as the dawn was about to break on the other side
12	of
12	the world, then men of Australian and New Zealand Army Corps – the
13	ANZACs – landed on the shores of Gallipoli. In what proved to be a tragic
14	and
14	ill-fated campaign tens of thousands of men died. New Zealand lost 2721
15	men, Australia lost 8709.
16	This morning, veterans have marched to war memorials throughout New
17	Zealand as a mark of remembrance for their fallen comrades. And in a few
18	hours’ time Australian veterans will join us in remembering their fallen
19	comrades.
20	We gather this morning to remember men and women, not to glorify their
21	deeds, but to remember their example. We join with our veterans to recall
22	the
22	service of all those who have served in the defence of our country, its
23	values,
23	the democratic freedoms we enjoy, and our way of life.
24	We gather this morning to remember how, in the trenches, stench and soil
25	of
25	Gallipoli that strong and enduring bonds of comradeship were formed
26	between
26	New Zealanders and Australians. And we recall that in the aftermath of
27	battle
27	and defeat, we have also built strong ties of friendship with our former
28	Turkish
28	foes. Gallipoli, it is suggested kindled the first sense of a unique national
29	character for the peoples of all three nations.
30	We gather this morning to remember the courage, comradeship, and

31	compassion shown by the ANZACs at Gallipoli. They are enduring values that
32	have been demonstrated by the men and women of New Zealand's Army,
33	Air Force and Navy since that time as they have defended New Zealand and
34	have strived to bring peace to troubled lands.
35	They are also the values that we have witnessed in the response to other
36	calamities at home. They are the values of the brave, the caring and the
37	thoughtful.
38	Two months ago we gathered at Hagley Park to mark the first anniversary of
39	the February 2011 earthquake. While we continue to grieve, we take pride
40	in actions of ordinary Kiwis who put their own lives at risk, cared for their
41	neighbours and helped strangers. And we take pride that it is still the case
42	that bonds of compassion, community and friendship have remained strong
43	and resilient. The Royal Humane Society of New Zealand's Gold award to
44	the people of Christchurch and the ANZAC of the Year Award to the Student
45	Volunteer Army speak of those enduring values.
46	Almost a century on from the distinguished service of the first Anzacs, we
47	remember their example; their incredible ANZAC legend and their legacy, our
48	heritage.
49	Lest we forget – Kia ora huihui tātou katoa.

Appendix 13.11: Mateparae's Anzac Day Speech 2013

01	Ki a koutou katoa e hui tahi nei. Ngā hoia o ngā pakanga o mua, o
02	tēnei wā hoki, a rātou whānau, a rātou hoa, me a rātou hoa pūmau
03	hoia, ki te Ope Kaatua o Aotearoa, ka tuku mihi māhana ahau ki a
04	koutou katoa, i tēnei rā whakamaumahara.
05	To everyone gathered here: to the veterans of past and present
06	conflicts, and their families , friends and comrades-in-arms; to the New
07	Zealand Defence Force personnel - I extend warm greetings to you all
08	on this day of remembrance.
09	I specifically acknowledge: Rt Hon John Key, Prime Minister; Iain Lees-
10	Galloway MP, representing the Leader of the Opposition; Your
11	Excellency William Dihm, Dean of the Diplomatic Corps, Your
12	Excellencies Michael Potts and Damla Yesim Say, the High
13	Commissioner of Australia and Ambassador of Turkey; Maj Gen Tim
14	Keating, Vice-Chief of the Defence Force; Lt Gen (Rtd) Don McIvor,
15	President of the Royal New Zealand Returned and Services
16	Association; Your Worship Celia Wade-Brown, Mayor of Wellington -
17	tēnā koutou katoa.
18	It is a great honour for me and Janine to be here this morning.
20	At first light, we gathered to mark ANZAC Day. ANZAC Day begins
21	here as the new day dawns. It continues wherever New Zealanders
22	and Australians are gathered as the rising sun makes its way around
23	the world.
24	Lives lost, friendships forged and deeds done: all is remembered as
25	wreaths are laid, and the last post is played.
26	Lives lost: Ninety-eight years ago today, the men of the Australian and
27	New Zealand Army Corps - the ANZACs - went ashore at Gallipoli.
28	Apparently it was a glorious morning.
29	In the days, weeks and months that followed, thousands upon
30	thousands of New Zealand, Australian, Allied and Turkish lives were
31	lost on the slopes of Anzac Cove, at Lone Pine and at Chunuk Bair, and
32	elsewhere on the Gallipoli peninsula. Among the dead were 2,721 New
33	Zealanders, about a quarter of those who had landed.
34	Those who died paid the ultimate sacrifice in the service of their
35	country. Those sacrifices were repeated on the Western Front, and in
36	Greece, North Africa, Italy, in the Pacific, and in the air over Europe and
37	on the seas in the Second World War, and in Korea, Malaya and
38	Vietnam in the 1950s, 60s and 70s.

39	That service continues to this day, in places as diverse as the Middle
40	East and Sinai, Korea, the Solomon Islands, and South Sudan, where
41	New Zealanders serve as peacekeepers.
42	Earlier this month, we travelled to Bamyan Province in Afghanistan to
43	watch the New Zealand flag lowered for the last time and to unveil a
44	memorial to the eight New Zealanders who lost their lives there. Their
45	names, and those of the two New Zealanders who lost their lives in
46	Kabul, have been added to our memorials and live on in our
47	memories. Their families, friends and comrades grieve for them still.
48	Friendships forged: The Gallipoli campaign served to create an
49	indelible bond between New Zealanders and Australians. On the
50	beaches and in the trenches, we ate, slept and joked side-by-side, and
51	we fought, died and wept side-by-side.
52	Then, as now, there were rivalries, and yet in the thick of battle, when
53	all was at stake, it was the Australians we trusted before anyone else.
54	The unique bond of two nations sharing the same day of remembrance
55	has created a spirit of mateship and shared sacrifice.
56	In the 98 years that have passed, we have served alongside each other
57	in conflict zones around the world, and we have been there when the
58	other has been afflicted by tragedies and natural disasters.
59	And then there is our respected one-time enemy, the Turks. On the
60	ridges above what is now Anzac Cove there was mutual respect
61	between the ANZACs and the Turks. In a temporary truce in May 1915
62	they looked each other in the eye, shook hands and swapped cigarettes
63	and mementoes; and gathered and buried their dead.
64	The man who led the Turkish forces at Gallipoli and later led Turkey as
65	its first President, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, in 1934 wrote a tribute to all
66	the Allied soldiers who died at Gallipoli. He assured their grieving
67	mothers that their sons were “now lying in our bosom and in peace....
68	After having lost their lives on this land they have become our sons as
69	well.” By reaching out in reconciliation and friendship to a former foe,
70	Atatürk laid the foundation for the strong and enduring relationship our
71	nations share to this day.
72	Deeds done: The New Zealanders who landed at Gallipoli fought
73	bravely and with honour. They set the standard of courage,
74	comradeship, commitment and integrity that the New Zealand Defence
75	Force holds dear to this day.
76	The courage and integrity of men like Lt Colonel William Malone, a
77	Taranaki farmer and lawyer, and the men who died with him on Chunuk

78	Bair, is the stuff of legend. Those legendary men include Corporal Cyril
79	Bassett, a bank clerk and later bank manager, whose courage and
80	commitment won New Zealand's first Victoria Cross of the war, for
81	laying and maintaining a phone line on Chunuk Bair under continuous
82	enemy fire.
83	From those New Zealanders who served and died at Gallipoli, to those
84	who served and died in Afghanistan, they came to understand
85	comradeship and the risks of service. Theirs is the proud tradition of
86	ordinary New Zealand men and women who stepped forward to serve
87	our country. They gave up the safety and security of home to oppose
88	tyranny, to bring peace to troubled lands and defend the values of
89	democracy and liberty that lie at the heart of being a New Zealand
90	citizen.
91	On this day especially, we are conscious of the shared responsibilities
92	of citizenship of all New Zealanders during times of war. This year
93	marks 120 years since New Zealand women were able to share with
94	men the fundamental right to vote in national elections.
95	In the First World War, with about 100,000 men away, women helped
96	keep the farms and the factories and of course, the families of New
97	Zealand going. Yet, hundreds of women went overseas as nurses and
98	volunteer aids. Many lost their lives and many were honoured for their
99	duty, courage and bravery.
100	That pattern was repeated in the Second World War and, in more
101	recent times, New Zealand men and women have served alongside
102	each other in all roles in the New Zealand Defence Force. And as
103	service in Afghanistan has shown, they have also made the ultimate
104	sacrifice together.
105	This year, then marks the centenary of the last year of peace, before
106	two global wars in two generations enveloped our world. With the
107	centenary commemorations of the First World War beginning next year,
108	there will be an emphasis on re-evaluating the 'Great War' as it is still
109	often called – the war that was meant to end all wars - and its meaning
110	for us today. As the Last Post is sounded, however, our pride in those
111	men and women who have served New Zealand will remain
112	undiminished. We will recall the supreme sacrifice they made. When
113	we hear the notes of the Reveille we recommit ourselves to the solemn
114	pledge to never forget their service, to always remember them and their
115	legacy of a New Zealand society that is open, inclusive and tolerant.
116	Lest we forget—Kia ora huihui tātou katoa.

Appendix 13.12: Mateparae's Anzac Day Speech 2014

01	Tihei mauri ora
02	E te tini me te mano e huihui nei,
03	Nga mihi māhana ki a koutou katoa.
04	Tēnā koutou i tēnei karakia atatū o te rā o ANZAC ,
05	E maumahara ana i te pakanga tuatahi ki Kariporia,
06	Me ngā pakanga katoa o te Ao,
07	Kia ora huihui tātou katoa.
08	To the many people gathered warm greetings to you all.
09	I greet you all at this dawn service on this ANZAC day, as we remember WW1
10	at Gallipoli, and all the wars where we have fought. Greetings to us all
11	One hundred years ago, Europe was heading into what has long been
12	remembered as a golden summer. No-one could have foreseen that summer's
13	end would herald one of the darkest periods in our history. The First World
14	War cast a long shadow and ripped the world apart.
15	Now, remembrance ceremonies like this one bring us together. Each
16	year New Zealanders, Australians and Turks come from the four corners
17	of the earth, to this place where our grandfathers, great grandfathers and
18	great-great grandfathers fought, and where many of them died.
19	This morning we stand at the brink of the Centenary of the First World War.
20	At dawn, a year from now, those gathered here will look back to the start of
21	the Gallipoli campaign. People's thoughts will rightly be focused on the events
22	that unfolded exactly one hundred years ago. They will imagine the Australian
23	troops landing at Anzac Cove on a cold crisp morning and the New Zealanders
24	that followed in the heat of the afternoon. They will also contemplate the
25	thoughts and deeds of the Turkish troops up on those hills who braced
26	themselves to defend their homeland.
27	This year, the 99th anniversary year, our thoughts, our reflections, will likely
28	be the same. However, in the space before the centenary begins, it is timely
29	to remember the peace that was over this land 100 years ago as we honour
30	those who fought here in 1915, and all the service men and women who have
31	answered the call since.
32	In the words of the New Zealand historian Neil Atkinson, 'History is a
33	responsibility we carry with us now and into the future'. As the years pass and
34	new history is made, it is important we stop and remember the momentous
35	events of our past. We do that not to glorify war, but to pay homage to the men
36	and women who served in them. They have served, and some of them are
37	currently serving, and women who often very far from home, to defend our
38	freedoms and to bring about a better peace for their families, for our families.
39	The Anzac name and its meaning were born of those times. And every Anzac

40	Day, we spare a thought for the ANZACs and the friendships that were forged
41	on these battlefields at Gallipoli 99 years ago.
42	After the war, our New Zealand Gallipoli veterans spoke warmly of their
43	Australian mates . These words of Sergeant Harvey Johns are an example:
44	“They were good. You could depend on them... If they wanted anybody to back
45	them up it would be the New Zealanders ”. And there were many other
46	comments along similar lines – unsentimental , as was the nature of those men,
47	but indicating a deeply felt respect and rapport . Australians and New Zealanders
48	retain a special relationship and confidence in each other to this day.
49	Our histories, our peoples and our well-being are tightly interwoven . We
50	continue to have close partnerships in security and defence, most recently in our
51	near region - Timor-Leste and the Solomon Islands – and further afield in places
52	like Afghanistan and the Sinai. Our defence forces continue to work together
53	closely, especially in support of our neighbours in the Pacific.
54	We also remember that we were not alone at Gallipoli. Many other countries, on
55	both the Allied and Ottoman sides, lost men in that terrible campaign. For New
56	Zealand and Australia, Gallipoli also shaped a new and profound relationship
57	with Turkey. Once on opposite sides of the Gallipoli campaign, we have
58	developed the greatest respect and affection for Turkey and its people.
59	Every Anzac Day, the Government and people of Turkey are our most
60	considerate hosts. They allow the descendants of the first ANZACs the
61	opportunity to remember our forebears’ experience of war in the land where they
62	served. For this I thank you on behalf of all New Zealanders – here, at home
63	and around the world.
64	This commemorative site at Anzac Cove was created as a collaborative
65	venture between Turkey, Australia and New Zealand. The men who fought
66	here could scarcely have imagined this in their future. And yet, standing here
67	today, we remember their examples and we know there can be hope even in the
68	darkest of times.
69	In New Zealand, we are proud to have a memorial on New Zealand soil to
70	Mustafa Kemal Ataturk, the man who fought valiantly against us and then forged
71	an enduring friendship. He was a leader in the art of peace and the art of nation-
72	building as much he was in the art of war.
73	This year we will also mark the 75th anniversary of the outbreak of the Second
74	World War. Some of those who served in that war are still with us today. I want
75	to take a moment to acknowledge those brave men and women – and those, too,
76	who were not on active service, but nevertheless suffered the stresses and
77	privations of wartime .
78	Far away from here, in Wellington our national capital, a National War Memorial
79	Park– Pukeahu - is being built to mark the centenary of the Anzac landings. I will

80	have the honour of opening Pukeahu next year. It will be a place to remember all
81	who have served our country. And it will be a place where other nations that we
82	share wartime experiences with may choose to place a memorial. It is fitting that
83	the first country to place a memorial at Pukeahu will be Australia, our brothers in
84	arms at Gallipoli.
85	When we remember our brave forebears we pay them the honour they deserve.
86	It is also a time for reflection on war and its impact. And it is a chance to
87	enlighten new generations about the events that shaped their world, and to
88	encourage them to strive for peace.
89	Looking out from where I stand this morning, it is very moving to see so many
90	people assembled for this Dawn Service and to know Anzac Day services are
91	taking place in many countries throughout the world. The scale of these
92	commemorations shows how deeply people have been affected by what
93	happened here.
94	On Anzac Day we remember the suffering and loss of life at Gallipoli, and yet we
95	also celebrate the values that rose above the hardship: comradeship, courage,
96	compassion, loyalty, and self-sacrifice for the greater good. And looking back,
97	we know wars pass but these values and the prospect of a better peace endure.
98	Our being here this Anzac Day, keeps alive the torch of remembrance that has
99	been passed to us so we can pass it on to our children and through them to their
100	children . In this way we ensure the service, sacrifice and hope of past
101	generations is never forgotten.
102	I will close by quoting the last refrain of “The Ode to the Fallen”.
103	I te hekenga atu o te ra,
104	Tae noa ki te aranga mai i te ata,
105	Ka maumāhara tonu tātou ki a rātou.
106	At the going down of the sun and in the morning, we will remember them.

Appendix 14: Coding Phase Two

Rhetorical devices	Characteristics
Ethos	<p>Found in the message of speaker. Credibility can be achieved through demonstrating the following qualities throughout her/his speech:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 4. Demonstrates that s/he is competent, knowledgeable and reasonable. 5. Good moral compass, providing a fair, unbiased, straightforward argument 6. Is sincere, concern for others and wishes others well.
Pathos	<p>Persuasion based on emotion. The speaker seeks to stir the listener's emotions.</p> <p>Produces a feeling within the audience which relates to the situation.</p> <p>Arouses feelings such as empathy, anger, sorrow, compassion, fear, love and pride.</p>
Logos	<p>Logos provides the statements with validity and can be identified through the speaker's use of:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reason • Facts • Enthymemes • Evidence • Examples • Statistics • Eye-witnesses

Adapted from p. 45-46 from original source:

Alkhirbash, A., Paramasivam, S., Muati, A., & Ahmad, Z. (2014). Aspects of persuasive language in selected speeches of Mahathir Mohamad. *Journal of Language and Communication*, 1(1), 41-57.

Appendix 14.1: Cobham's Swearing-in Speech 1957

01	First, I must thank you, Mr Prime Minister, on behalf of myself and my family for
02	the warmth of your welcome on our arrival in New Zealand.
03	For us, your gracious speech is the culmination of many expressions of goodwill
04	which reached us from New Zealand when the news of my appointment
05	became known, which put us in such good heart during the somewhat arduous
06	though exciting period of preparation.
07	I am, of course, aware that in this impressive ceremony, the people of New
08	Zealand are once again giving expression to their traditional loyalty to our Queen
09	and to the Royal Family. This loyalty has been unfaltering since your earliest
10	days, and is the most precious asset of the great family known as the British
11	Commonwealth.
12	This is my third visit to New Zealand, and I am indeed fortunate in that I have
13	never come alone, for every good thing becomes better by being shared.
14	Twenty odd years ago, I had the pleasure and privilege of coming with an M.C.C.
15	team, and, during the three months we spent with you, we all grew to know the
16	meaning of New Zealand hospitality and good fellowship.
17	Then, seven years ago, my wife and I paid a visit to our properties in Christchurch.
18	On that occasion, work kept me with my nose all too adjacent to the grindstone;
19	but we did have time to spend a few days in the lakes – although I regret to say
20	the Lake Coleridge trout proved singularly unco-operative.
21	Now, through the generosity of your Government, Mr Prime Minister, I return as
22	your Governor-General with a family large in number but not as yet in size. For
23	them this is, too, a great adventure, and they are looking forward to some happy
24	years ahead in their new home and among new friends.
25	No one who bears our family name can feel a stranger in New Zealand, and I feel
26	so proud and happy that I am being given the chance to carry on in some small
27	measure the work begun by my great-grandfather a century ago.
28	For I have come here to serve you and to work with you. There can be no honour
29	greater than that of representing the Queen in one of her Dominions, and I
30	assure you that I am very conscious of my great responsibility. It is with a sense
31	of deep humility that I say that I will do my utmost to justify your confidence and
32	maintain the very high tradition of service set by a long line of industrious
33	predecessors.
34	Just before leaving England, we were graciously received in audience by Her
35	Majesty the Queen, and she spoke of her recent tour in New Zealand in such
36	warm and affectionate terms that it made us very aware of our own great

37	responsibility in keeping bright this well-forged link in the chain that knits
38	the whole Commonwealth.
39	For it cannot be too often repeated that, provided always that it remains true to
40	itself and its ideals, the Commonwealth affords the brightest hope for the future
41	peaceful development of mankind.
42	Our forefathers who brought to these distant shores their faith, their democratic
43	ideal and their traditional culture, would indeed be proud of the way in which
44	their vision has become reality during the last 100 years.
45	They would be proud to see how those early peaceful settlers, farmers and
46	professional men have, with their Maori brethren, welded themselves into a
47	self-governing Dominion, with a fine record of achievement in peace and of
48	steadfastness in war.
49	They would see the two races – European and Maori – living together in
50	harmony, each making towards the common weal their contributions in gifts of
51	mind and spirit.
52	They would see a nation small in size but great in heart, which has competed
53	With their larger friends in many fields, but notably in agriculture, in medicine, in
54	Science, and in sport.
55	You will, I know, be delighted to hear of the visit which has been planned by
56	Queen Elizabeth the Queen Mother. I know that she will receive a traditional
57	welcome to New Zealand, and we are, for our part, delighted that the beginning
58	of our term of office is to be so pleasantly honoured.
59	Since our ship left England, we also heard that Mr Macmillan is to pay a visit to
60	New Zealand early in the New Year. I am sure that he will also enjoy his tour
61	enormously. It may not be without significance that he is, I believe, a keen
62	fisherman.
63	Finally, I would like to say, Sir, with how great a feeling of regret my wife and I
64	heard of your decision to retire from public life. We in England have for long
65	known that in you we had a staunch friend and ally, and I feel sure that all in
66	New Zealand would like to join me in wishing you every good thing in those
67	years that lie ahead.
68	And so, once again, thank you, Prime Minister, on behalf of our whole party for
69	gracious words with which you have greeted us.

Appendix 14.2: Mateparae's Swearing in Speech 2011

01	Ka tangi te Titi,
02	Ka tangi te Kaka,
03	Ka tangi hoki ahau.
04	Tihei mauri ora!
05	Mihi and Acknowledgements
06	E nga mana, e nga reo, e nga maunga, e nga awa-awa, e nga pataka o nga
07	taonga tuku iho,
08	tēnā koutou.
09	Prime Minister, Chief Justice, Mr Speaker, members of the Executive Council and
10	members of the New Zealand Parliament, Dean and members of the Diplomatic
11	Corps, Chief of the Defence Force, Service Chiefs and Defence representatives,
12	officials, whanau, friends, ladies and gentlemen: kia ora koutou katoa
13	The Event and the Day
14	Prime Minister, thank you for your words of welcome and the sentiments you
15	expressed in your address. Janine and I, and our family, are delighted to have
16	made it to this point, in what shows all the signs of being a wonderful day. For my
17	part, being here is an extraordinary honour. Almost every day over the past six
18	months I've reflected on this honour, and when I woke up this morning I gave
19	myself one more pinch just in case! At the same time, it is with some trepidation
20	That we look ahead to what the next five years holds.
21	The six months since I was named as New Zealand's 20 th Governor-General have
22	passed very quickly. During that time, as a family we've both prepared ourselves
23	and been prepared by others for the opportunities that will come with the role. We
24	have been heartened by the generosity of spirit and support that many New
25	Zealanders have shown in congratulating us. Strangers have approached us in the
26	street and in the shops to wish us well. A highlight for us was the special audience
27	Her Majesty the Queen of New Zealand in June.
28	Predecessors
29	The prospect of being able to serve both our Queen and the people of New
30	Zealand as Governor-General is a privilege that only a few people have the
31	opportunity to take up. The men and women who have preceded me all brought
32	their unique qualities, character, energy and mana to the role. They have been
33	steadfast, like: Te toka tu moana (the rock standing in the ocean). The example
34	they have set gives me cause to be optimistic about what lies ahead, and that has
35	been confirmed as I have drawn on the wisdom of five of my predecessors.
36	It is with considerable sadness that I remember Sir Paul Reeves, a generous,
37	thoughtful, and compassionate man. "No reira, Ta Paora, moe mai, moe mai
38	moe mai ra. Ka apiti hono tatai hono te hunga mate kit e hunga mate. Ka apiti
39	hono tatai hono te hunga ora kit e hunga ora." I also acknowledge Dame
40	Catherine Tizard, Sir Michael Hardie Boys, Dame Silvia Cartwright and Sir
41	Anand Satyanand, who have been so generous and open in sharing their
42	experiences. One of the unfortunate things with "protocols of the office" is that
43	I am only now able to publicly acknowledge, with them in absentia, Sir Ananad
44	and Lady Susan for their contributions in the role. As he undertook to do at his

45	swearing-in, Sir Anand served faithfully and impartially, and he did that with
46	dignity, warmth and compassion. Janine and I wish them sell as they ease back
47	into a life more ordinary.
48	The Role, its Challenge and its Opportunities
49	Like my predecessors, I have taken the Oath of Allegiance to Her Majesty the
50	Queen of New Zealand and the Oath of Office. The two oaths together reflect
51	my commitment to our country and the people of the Realm of New Zealand
52	(including the Cook Islands, Niue and Tokelau) that I will serve faithfully and
53	impartially. The values and undertakings in these oaths are very important to me.
54	In the past 12 months we in New Zealand have had some difficult times, and
55	anniversaries of events will test us again in the coming months. However, as a
56	people, New Zealanders, whether we be of Māori, British, European, Pacific
57	Island, Asian or other descent, have cause to see a silver lining in adversity. The
58	Kiwi spirit – companionship and with that a generosity, compassion and resolve
59	when things need to be done – has been evident.
60	As I've reflected on my new role, what I am looking forward to most is the
61	opportunity of meeting and getting to know people: being able to support in the
62	sad times, but also to celebrate successes, achievements and the good times.
63	My view reflects the sentiments of the proverb "He aha te mea nui o tea ao - What
64	is the most important thing in the world? The answer is: he tangata, he tangata,
65	he tangata – it is people, it is people, it is people!"
66	Over the next five years I want to take the opportunity to meet and talk with as
67	many New Zealanders as I can. There are many people who recognise me from
68	my time as the Chief of Defence Force; still more will have no knowledge of me.
69	What I identify as the essence of being a New Zealander was put neatly by Sir
70	Edmund Hillary when he said that "In some ways I believe I epitomise the average
71	New Zealander. I have modest abilities, I combine these with a good deal of
72	determination, and I rather like to succeed". As a people, New Zealanders are in
73	equal measures informal, strong-willed, competitive and yet also modest about all
74	we have achieved. We have a strong sense of community, where public-
75	spiritedness is appreciated and valued. We are inclined to be considerate
76	prepared to lend a helping hand to those in need. Yet we also like to get on and
77	do stuff – we admire individual ingenuity and those who have a sense of adventure
78	Looking ahead to our five-year adventure, it is likely that Janine and I will
79	become known better by New Zealanders as we travel together in the Realm
80	New Zealand and beyond. You will see we are ordinary folk, who have been
81	Given a special opportunity. It is our hope that we can encourage people to
82	Think about how New Zealanders can make a difference. We look forward
83	to promoting and celebrating those things that positively unite us as New
84	Zealanders: our virtues, our heritage, our way of life and our future. We also
85	want to strengthen the bonds of fraternity between all for whom Aotearoa-New
86	Zealand is our turangawaewae, regardless of whether you or your ancestors
87	came here 10 years ago, 100 years ago or a 1000 years ago.
88	It will have been obvious that Janine and my being here has been accomplished
89	with the support of our immediate family, our extended whanau, our iwi and our
90	friends. We appreciate their encouragement, guidance and patience. I also want
91	to thank the people who have accommodated our whims, fancies and requests

92	with this ceremony – getting the invitations out has been no small challenge!
93	Conclusion
94	When I think about what lies in store for us over the next five years, it's not easy
95	thinking beyond the events that will unfold over the next three months: an election
96	and of course the Rugby World Cup. With the former, I will exercise my
97	Constitutional responsibilities impartially, with the advice of many eminently
98	qualified people. With the latter, like most New Zealanders I will be taking a keen
99	and of course less than impartial interest in the result.
100	Prayer: Ki a koe, te Matua. Māu e tiaki (Father. Protect me)

Appendix 14.3 Cobham's Waitangi Day Speech 1959

01	This is, for my wife and me a most momentous occasion, for it is the first time
02	that we have been privileged to attend these celebrations, celebrations which
03	mark one of the most significant stages in the long and coloured pageant of
04	British Colonial History. But they signify far more than this, they mark the birth
05	of a Nation.
06	Waitangi is already famous for its new concept of what can be achieved in the
07	sphere of human relationships; it is possible to speculate sadly on how much
08	blood and treasure and bitterness could have been saved if similar wisdom
09	had been displayed in other lands where the English flag has flown.
10	The treaty has been called the Maoris' "Magna Carta", but it was more even
11	than that: it was the document which extended to the Maori people all the
12	rights and privileges of full British citizenship. Today they bear the proud name
13	of New Zealanders; and side by side with their Pakeha brethren they have
14	served the Crown with loyalty and distinction during the years that have
15	passed since they made their great decision.
16	As one reads the story of the events which unfolded themselves in these
17	islands, since the days of Tasman and Cook; of their government by New
18	South Wales, the whaling stations, the bands of adventurers and speculators
19	who gained great tracts of Maori land in exchange for a few blankets or guns;
20	the sublime and heroic work of the Christian Churches in the face of all these
21	discouragements; the work done by Mr Busby, the first British resident, who
22	had nought to rely on but his own native wit; the apathy of a British
23	Government, too preoccupied with difficulties at home and abroad, to wish to
24	undertake new commitments: - as this tale progresses, one is filled with
25	wonder at its successful conclusion, the Treaty which we celebrate today.
26	<i>For Captain Hobson, already a sick man, the signing of the Treaty crowned a</i>
27	<i>life spent in his country's service. He brought to New Zealand that admirable</i>
28	<i>blend of firmness, patience and good humour which marks the born</i>
29	<i>administrator and negotiator. Fate certainly decreed that on this occasion at</i>
30	<i>least the right man should be in the right place; and the first Lieutenant</i>
31	<i>Governor admirably set in motion those integrating forces, which have stood</i>
32	<i>the test of the years that followed.</i>
33	It is perhaps a truism to report that only great men can achieve great results
34	but those of us who believe in a higher power who chooses from time to time
35	good servants in the cause of human progress can only attribute to this power
36	the fact that two outstanding men met on this spot a hundred and eighteen
37	years ago. Captain Hobson was one Tamati Waka Nene the other.
38	<i>Kipling must surely have been thinking of these two men when he wrote "But</i>

39	there is neither East nor West border nor breed nor birth when two strong men
40	stand face to face though they come from the ends of the earth.
41	Tamati Waka Nene was one of New Zealand's greatest sons and his name will
42	be honoured by future generations as the man whose vision penetrated a
43	hundred years into the mists of the future. Negotiator, sage and warrior he
44	was to the Maoris what Pericles was to the Ancient Greeks. To him and to
45	those other Maori chieftains who signed the Treaty, New Zealand owes her
46	unique position in the world today. They realized that no country can progress
47	without law; and they trusted Hobson to bring law and administer it justly.
48	Nene's speech was a masterpiece of cool reasoning and understanding.
49	Scarcely less shrewd and far-sighted was the speech made later by Nopera
50	Panakareao at Kaitaia. One day I would like to hear that speech declaimed by
51	one of his own race, for even rendered into English, it is still a magnificent
52	piece of oratory. And in the course of it, he made the wise observation that
53	has now been woven into the vivid tapestry of New Zealand's history: "The
54	shadow of the land goes to the Queen, but the substance remains with us."
55	We do well to meet here, and remember these men and the Treaty they made,
56	for Waitangi is hallowed ground. It is one of the few places upon this earth
57	where good sense once prevailed over passion and prejudice. It brought
58	together two fine races who settled down together to achieve full Nationhood
59	for young and undeveloped country, under the Queen's peace and law.
60	And in remembering those men, let us also remember those who came after
61	them and who played their part in implementing the provisions of the Treaty
62	during the following century.
63	Finally, I think that I should join my own tribute to the of Mr Bell and Mr Guy to
64	one whose death last year must necessarily cast a shadow over our
65	celebrations. I refer of course to my eminent and greatly-loved predecessor in
66	office, Lord Bledisloe through whose generosity this Waitangi land became
67	dedicated to the Nation. It is indeed good to know that every year this memory
68	will, by these celebrations, be kept ever fresh in the land he loved so well and
69	served so faithfully.
70	And so we meet again here, amid this matchless scenery, to do honour to
71	those able and honourable men who paved the way to New Zealand's
72	nationhood, and forged the links which will always bind our two countries
73	together. As the world grows smaller, and the speed of events even faster, it is
74	natural that she must increasingly turn her eyes towards her sister-Dominion
75	of Australia, and that other great Western Democracy which lies to the North-
76	Eastward, the United States. It is indeed prudent and necessary for her to do
77	so, but none of those who speak the English tongue will ever forget the little
78	island of Runnymede, in the sleepy Thames, where seven hundred years ago
79	was born that love of justice which was embodied in Magna Carta. Its contents

80	have been reaffirmed throughout the centuries by English-speaking peoples
81	all over the world; in the Petition of Right The Declaration of Independence,
82	the Treaty of Waitangi, and more recently, the Atlantic Charter. These are
83	seldom accounted the landmarks of history – but they are things better than
84	landmarks, they are signposts, pointing the way to that dimly-discerned vision
85	of a world wherein fear and want and war can no longer haunt mankind.

Appendix 14.4 Cobham’s Waitangi Day Speech 1960

01	This is the most important of all days in the history of New Zealand , for it was
02	the day on which, one hundred and twenty years ago , the pattern was set , and
03	a new tapestry planned , in which light threads and dark ones were to be
04	interwoven to form the completed study of a new Nation .
05	Against the wide background of time, in relation to the world’s history, it is true
06	to say that the tapestry is only just begun . The intervening years have not
07	been easy ones for the Maori people . They have had to try to adjust
08	themselves, in only just over a hundred years, to a way of life that it took
09	western men two thousand years to achieve .
10	In an age when the European is face with social problems of great complexity,
11	particularly in the crowded and often unhealthy atmosphere of great cities, it is
12	sheer hypocrisy to wag a monitory finger at the young people of the Maori
13	race who find it perhaps even harder to attune their lives to modern social and
14	industrial conditions .
15	Their history is of seafaring people, of farmers, of hunters and fishermen; in
16	other words they were and are an agrarian and pastoral people – and they
17	have suddenly found themselves translated into an age of science and the
18	machine .
19	Europeans are themselves only too sadly aware of the effect of science upon
20	their own religious beliefs toward the close of the last century. Many of our old
21	“disciplines” have been sacrificed on the altars of materialistic progress, and
22	so-called “progressive thinking”. It is hard to lead in an age wherein every man
23	deems it his inalienable right to act or think as he pleases: and wherein
24	knowledge and experience are shrugged off as outworn and old – fashioned
25	commodities. A century ago the family unit was the one wherein children learnt
26	self-control and the ideal of future service, and the schools merely reflected
27	and continued that educational process. A century ago the wise Maori Elders
28	exercised that same discipline in their Pas. Now both have been weakened
29	and, having sown the wind, we are in danger of reaping the whirlwind.
30	Today I am calling on the Maori people to do all in their power to encourage
31	and foster leadership among their own folk . Only through the closest possible
32	co-operation between the leaders of both races in New Zealand can the best
33	use be made of the splendid material which must be ever more closely woven
34	to make it strong and lasting.
35	If this real integration takes place, not only will New Zealand become
36	immeasurably happier and more prosperous , but she will have made a
37	significant contribution towards solving the racial difficulties of others .

38	Today, New Zealand Day, is the one from which the nationhood of this country
39	stems. It is one which is coming to receive greater recognition as the years roll
40	by. Fresh resolutions by both Maoris and Europeans are needed if Captain
41	Hobson's century-old dream is to become that dimly discerned reality towards
42	which the whole world is striving.

Appendix 14.5 Cobham's Waitangi Day Speech 1962

01	The Prime Minister, Mr Te Hue Hue, Admiral Phipps and distinguished visitors.
02	Once again we are set together to celebrate, with colour and pageantry, the
03	anniversary day of the signing of the famous Treaty between Queen Victoria
04	and the Maori Rangatiras.
05	It may be, perhaps, a suitable time to ponder for a few moments both the
06	background and the consequences of this famous agreement.
07	The early history of New Zealand is less like a play than a revue, a series
08	of short one-act scenes of varying lengths, each one so to speak incidental,
09	or at best barely contingent.
10	Maori legend has it that Maui fished up New Zealand from the seas; was this
11	perhaps a colourful way of saying that one of the earliest Polynesian pioneer-
12	explorers discovered Aotearoa before even Kupe made his famous voyage?
13	It seems likely that the Maoris were themselves Colonists the theory of Sir
14	Julius Von Haast is a valid one and another race of men lived in New Zealand
15	long before the Maoris arrived.
16	Today the word Colonialism has acquired a flavour so pejorative that few
17	people stop to consider that it is an activity as old as man himself.
18	From the beginning of time, man has been on the move, and has sought new
19	territories, partly out of his spirit of adventure and his quest for knowledge,
20	partly from his inborn tendency towards rapacity and greed.
21	A Spanish Conquistador, Bernal Diaz del Castillo, proclaimed that his men
22	had set out "a service a Dios y a havernos ricos" – "to serve God and enrich
23	ourselves" – Although this seems a phrase which lends itself to a certain
24	amount of cynical reflection upon ends and means, it is, nonetheless, a fair
25	description of the normal motives for exploration and conquest.
26	The Maoris themselves seem to have moved half across the world, and it is
27	likely that the Toi expedition found at least remnants of the earlier Moriori
28	settlers whom the more vigorous Maoris ultimately drove into their last home
29	in the Chatham Islands.
30	There are indeed few countries in the world which have not, at some time or
31	another, been victims of Colonialism, and Great Britain is no exception, having
32	been at one time or another invaded or occupied by Phoenicians, Romans,
33	Vikings, Jutes, Danes and Normans.
34	From all of them we gained additions to our language, and from the Romans

35	and Normans we learnt the rule of law which is civilization itself.
36	The old Maori Rangatiras who decided to place themselves under the British
37	Crown were men of vision and integrity; they looked beyond the obvious and
38	immediate problems which integration entailed, and saw, in the far distant
39	future, a New Zealand inhabited, not by Europeans and Maoris but by New
40	Zealanders.
41	A hundred and twenty two years have passed, and it is possible today to see
42	how far we have travelled along the road towards integration.
43	Not very far, perhaps, but what is a century compared with the mighty figures
44	which Nature demands for her evolutionary processes?
45	In this scientific and technology age, it is possible to make rapid improvements
46	in almost everything, except human beings. That takes time.
47	Maoris have a culture as ancient as our own, and a language of great beauty
48	and flexibility, - a language which is attuned the softness of New Zealand
49	place names to the majesty of the New Zealand countryside. In many of them
50	there is a haunting melancholy which one so naturally associates with Ireland;
51	can there be a more beautiful name in the world than Waikaremoana?
52	I join with that great man, the late Sir Peter Buck, in expressing the heartfelt
53	wish that the traditional Maori culture will never be allowed to fade into
54	obscurity and disuse, for it belongs to an age wherein mankind took pleasure
55	in the simple things of life, - in the wonders of nature, in craftsmanship, in
56	expressing the joy of living, in singing and dancing.
57	Amidst traditional Maori way of life there was time for reflection and
58	contemplation. Their canoes must have represented an incredible number of
59	hours' work, and one has been told with what astonishment the Pakehas in
60	this very Bay of Islands greeted the sight of a Maori flaxen dragnet about
61	half a mile in length and thirty feet in depth.
62	The whole tempo of Maori life was necessarily a leisurely one, but their
63	civilization was graceful, and as Professor Sir Derrick Dunlop wrote recently
64	and truly
65	"It takes a very civilized man to be able to idle gracefully."
66	We Westerners make the ludicrous mistake of equating civilization with
67	technology, and have destroyed our own happiness in the frenzy of producing
68	vast quantities of largely unnecessary consumer goods, we are perhaps
69	sometimes impatient with our Maori brethren whose needs are few/and who
70	cannot understand the European's way of life which appears to them to
71	consist largely of the useless pursuit of money for its own sake.

72	Twenty-eight years ago, on this very day, there was held the first celebration
73	to mark the signing of the Treaty and the handing over to the Nation of the
74	renovated Treaty House and its adjoining land.
75	My distinguished and dearly-loved predecessor in office, the late Lord
76	Bledisloe, whose gift it was, made a magnificent speech on that occasion,
77	which was a classic of its kind.
78	I can do nothing better than to quote from it a passage which seems to me to
79	summarize in noble prose the inner meaning of the Treaty of Waitangi:
80	“If”, he said, “there is one conclusion more than another that I draw from this
81	gathering today, it is that nothing has occurred in the years which have
82	intervened since 1840 to relieve the Pakeha population of the responsibilities
83	then solemnly undertaken.
84	“On the contrary, these responsibilities have increased rather than diminished,
85	for in the working of that inexorable law – the survival of the fittest – the
86	pendulum has swung to the opposite pole, and made us the dominant power
87	in the land, and, therefore, the senior partner in the compact entered into near
88	this spot 94 years ago.
89	“Upon us, therefore, devolves in a larger sense, the obligation of seeing that
90	we observe the terms of a Treaty which not only places the Maori on footing of
91	political equality with the Pakeha, but enables him to march forward side by
92	side with us in social life, in education, in industry and in sport.”
93	Later on he said:
94	“It is not unusual in modern times to commit the other peoples of the world to
95	the tutelage of stronger nations under an international mandate, as a means of
96	preserving their nationality and their nationhood. Our obligations, however, to
97	the Maori people lie deeper than any which even a mandate from the League
98	of Nations could impose.
99	“ We came to the Maoris with our hands extended in friendship, and we
100	ourselves persuaded them to entrust their future to us.
101	“Our duty then is to see that the trust which they reposed in our honour in
102	1840 will never be betrayed so long as our Empire endures.”
103	These fine sentiments should still inspire our policy today, as they did 28 years
104	ago.
105	On that same occasion the Prime Minister, the Right Hon. Gordon Coates,
106	said:
107	“We have tried to make the Maori a Pakeha, and we have failed; however that
108	is no reason why the two races should not march forward together, in perfect

109	harmony.”
110	This is true, but at the same time I earnestly adjure the young people of the
111	Maori race to lift up their eyes and seek the benefits of higher education.
112	There is a world shortage of doctors, teachers, surveyors and engineers.
113	Lord Bledisloe spoke truly when he described the Pakeha as the dominant
114	power in the land; but I feel that today the emphasis must be towards
115	partnership rather than domination. The Maori race is growing in numbers;
116	now is the time for it to grow in influence. And that implies leadership, which
117	itself entails hard work, knowledge and ambition.
118	Parents, too, must encourage their young people to train for the professions.
119	The Maori people must never be allowed to feel that they are merely tolerated.
120	Their traditional skill, courage and intelligence are badly needed, and they can
121	make a great contribution towards the future development of New Zealand.
122	Therein surely lies the ideal future for New Zealand – To try to ensure that
123	both races, each contributing its own particular genius, each however retaining
124	its own individuality and tradition, go together along convergent paths until in
125	God’s good time all races are merged into one common brotherhood.

Appendix 14.6: Mateparae’s Waitangi Day Speech 2012

01	<i>Introduction and acknowledgements</i>
02	Tihe Mauri Ora! Tātou katoa e pae nei, nau mai,
03	haere mai ti tēnei Kāinga, Whare Kāwanatanga, ki
04	te whakanui, te rā o te Tiriti o Waitangi.
05	Distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen,
06	welcome to Government House as we mark the
07	signing of the Treaty of Waitangi.
08	I specifically acknowledge: Dr Rt Hon Lockwood Smith, Speaker of the House
09	and Members of Parliament - tēnā koutou; Hon Amy Adams, Minister of the
10	Internal Affairs and fellow Ministers of the Crown—tēnā koutou; Your
11	Excellency Anthony Mongalo, Dean of the Diplomatic Corps and members of
12	Corps—tēnā koutou; Your Worship Celia Wade-Brown, Mayor of Wellington—
13	tēnā koe.
14	Welcome to Government House in Wellington for this Waitangi Day reception.
15	I welcome people from many different fields and parts of the country—
16	government, judiciary, business, sport, arts and culture, charities, religious
17	groups, education and science. And a special welcome to those from
18	Christchurch.
19	<i>Waitangi Day</i>
20	It is an honour as New Zealand’s Governor-General, representing all New
21	Zealanders and Her Majesty The Queen, to make my first Waitangi Day
22	Address.
23	Today New Zealanders gather to mark the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi
24	172 years ago on 6 February 1840.
25	It was the day when Māori and Tau-iwi began the process of building a shared
26	relationship.
27	It was the day that New Zealanders set the pathway to a modern nation.
28	It was the day when the first representative of Queen Victoria in New Zealand,
29	Captain William Hobson, uttered the immortal words: “He iwi tahi tatou—We
30	are all one people”, as he shook the hand of each of the 40 rangatira after
31	they signed the Treaty.
32	Waitangi Day represents different things to different people.
33	It is a day of reflection for some, a time to look back at the tangled roots of our
34	nation’s history, recall our achievements, our triumphs and recommit ourselves
35	to reconciling the challenging times of our history.

36	It is a day of debate for others, when some discuss the significance of the
37	Treaty and its evolving principles in the life of a modern and independent
38	democracy.
39	It is day of family time for many. Having been in the Bay of Islands yesterday
40	and at festivals in Porirua and central Wellington earlier today, I have seen
41	New Zealanders from all walks of life having fun and taking time to enjoy
42	Waitangi Day.
43	I have seen people, young and old, families from a multitude of ethnicities and
44	cultural and religious backgrounds enjoying the summer sun, listening to
45	music, playing games, and checking out food and craft stalls.
46	While Waitangi Day represents different things to different people, it is first and
47	foremost New Zealand's national day.
48	As our national day, it is a time when we celebrate all that it means to be a
49	New Zealander and take pride in the things that we have achieved in this
50	beautiful land that we call home.
51	As our national day, it is a time when we reaffirm our commitment to the
52	shared values that bind us together—compassion, tolerance, a strong sense
53	of community and a Kiwi can-do attitude.
54	And it is a time when we look forward with renewed hope for our country's
55	prospects, confident that the New Zealand we will bequeath to our young
56	people will continue to be a great place to live, to settle and to raise a family.
57	<i>Queen's Diamond Jubilee</i>
58	The 6th of February has a wider significance that stretches beyond these
59	shores. When it was signed by William Hobson in the name of Queen
60	Victoria, the Treaty of Waitangi New Zealand was incorporated
61	into a global empire where, it was once said, the sun would never set.
62	On that same day, 112 years later in 1952, Queen Victoria's great-great
63	granddaughter, Elizabeth II became our Queen and Head of State.
64	So, as we celebrate our national day , we also mark the beginning of the
65	celebrations to mark the Diamond Jubilee of Queen Elizabeth's reign as
66	Queen of New Zealand.
67	Her Majesty has visited our shores 10 times as Queen, most recently in 2002,
68	meeting people from all walks of life and from all parts of the country. She
69	was the first reigning monarch to open the New Zealand Parliament , and
70	made her first Christmas broadcast from Government House in Auckland in
71	1953.
72	Her Majesty continues to be held in the highest esteem for her unflinching
73	dedication to her official duties, her work in promoting charities and royal

74	patronages, and as Head of the Commonwealth. And I can attest from
75	personal experience, as have Governors-General before me, of her keen
76	interest in, and knowledge of, New Zealand and its people, whom she
77	continues to hold in high regard.
78	When Her Majesty became our Queen in 1952, the sun was setting on the
79	British Empire and New Zealand was an independent realm.
80	In the intervening 60 years New Zealand has continued to change. In 1952,
81	God Save the Queen, was our national anthem. Today most New Zealanders
82	would also acknowledge God Defend New Zealand as our national anthem.
83	First performed 136 years ago, it has been our national song since 1940 and
84	co-equal national anthem since 1977. Today we sing it in both Māori and
85	English.
86	Our world focus has moved from Britain and Europe to Asia and the Pacific as
87	we have charted an independent course in international relations and trade.
88	And the office of Governor-General, once the preserve of the British
89	aristocracy, many of whom were military officers, has for 40 years been
90	occupied by New Zealanders from many different backgrounds.
91	<i>New New Zealanders</i>
92	Within New Zealand, our society, economy and government have changed.
93	We have moved on from the electoral system we inherited from Britain, and
94	We have also established our own final court of appeal.
95	Women increasingly play a greater role, and 110 years after New Zealand
96	became the first country to grant women the right to vote, our four highest
97	constitutional offices were held by women.
98	One of the most striking changes has been the transformation of New Zealand
99	into a thoroughly cosmopolitan nation. People from the Pacific, Asia, Africa,
100	the Americas and Europe have settled here, bringing with them many musical,
101	artistic, linguistic, culinary and cultural influences that continue to shape the
102	New Zealand of today.
103	Some made the decision to immigrate, while others have been refugees,
104	forced to flee the land of their birth. All of them have settled in New Zealand,
105	seeking a better life for themselves and their families.
106	Seeking a better life is what brought all New Zealanders to this land. As one
107	of the last places to be inhabited by humans, we are all immigrants or the
108	descendants of immigrants, whether we came here by canoe, sailing ship,
109	steamer or by aeroplane.
110	In my case, on one side of my family I am descended from those who came
111	here on Te Arawa and Tākitimu waka about 1000 years ago, and on the other

112	from British settlers who arrived on the sailing ship, Katherine Stewart Forbes
113	in 1841.
114	And so, in recognising the on-going contribution of new New Zealanders to our
115	nation, earlier this afternoon I hosted a ceremony at Government House
116	where 24 people, from 19 countries, became New Zealand's newest citizens.
117	They are from countries as far afield as Somalia, South Africa, Thailand, the
118	USA, Iran, Britain, Ireland, Gambia, the Netherlands, India, China, Mexico and
119	Bulgaria, the Philippines, Sri Lanka, Japan, Thailand, Samoa and Australia.
120	By becoming citizens, they have made a significant step in the journey of
121	making New Zealand their homeland. By becoming citizens, they now share a
122	unique bond with other New Zealanders, and a bond that links us all as one
123	nation.
124	As the Māori proverb notes: "Tuitui tangata, tuitui korowai"—bringing people
125	together is like weaving a cloak. Weaving korowai, a symbol of mana and
126	respect, takes time and great skill as does building enduring relationships.
127	Together we will build a stronger, independent country for the benefit of us all.
128	Our futures are now woven together.
129	<i>Conclusion</i>
130	To conclude, it seems fitting that on Waitangi Day, as we celebrate our
131	national day, I ask everyone to join me in welcoming our newest citizens to our
132	New Zealand family.
133	And before inviting them to come up and receive a kōuka tree seedling to
134	mark the occasion, I will close by repeating second English verse of God
135	Defend New Zealand, which seems particularly appropriate.
136	Men of every creed and race,
137	Gather here before Thy face,
138	Asking Thee to bless this place,
139	God defend our free land.
140	From dissension, envy, hate,
141	And corruption guard our state,
142	Make our country good and great,
143	God defend New Zealand.

Appendix 14.7: Mateparae’s Waitangi Day Speech 2013

01	<i>Introduction and welcome</i>
02	Rau rangatira mā, e hui nei ki te Whare Kāwana o Tāmaki Makaurau—
03	nau mai, haere mai, te Whakanui i te rā o Te Tiriti o Waitangi.
04	Distinguished guests gathered here at Government House in Auckland,
05	welcome to the celebrations to mark the signing of the Treaty of
06	Waitangi.
07	It is a great pleasure for Janine and me to welcome you to Government
08	House Auckland for this garden reception to mark the 173rd anniversary
09	of the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi. This is the first time we have
10	hosted this reception in the vibrant and beautiful city of Auckland, and
11	on that note, we want to specifically acknowledge: Your Worship Len
12	Brown, Mayor of Auckland, and Mayoress Shirley-Anne Inglis.
13	<i>Te Tiriti o Waitangi—The Treaty of Waitangi</i>
14	The Bledisloe Prayer, which Jo Kelly-Moore, Dean of the Holy Trinity
15	Cathedral, has just read, was recited by the Bishop of Aotearoa at the
16	first Waitangi Day in 1934. The prayer, composed by Lord Bledisloe,
17	spoke of the Treaty of Waitangi as a “sacred compact.”
18	As an agreement between Māori rangatira and the British Crown, the
19	Treaty had in 1840 established a framework for the government and
20	settlement of New Zealand. Both Māori and Pākehā had reasons for
21	signing, and for committing to a relationship together. For me it was
22	about hope—hope for a better future.
23	As we know, the ink had barely dried on the parchment before there
24	were misunderstandings and disagreements as to what, in effect, the
25	Treaty meant. There were many subsequent years in which it was
26	considered by some to be a relic, an irrelevance, a nullity.
27	One hundred and seventy-three years on from 1840, we continue to
28	debate the Treaty. But now we do so as a nation that recognises its
29	fundamental importance. In recent years, successive governments
30	have made explicit and constructive efforts to address the inequities of
31	the past, and to compensate for Treaty breaches by the Crown.
32	I have no doubt that debates will continue. But the spirit of that “sacred
33	compact”—a new way of two peoples living together—remains integral
34	to Aotearoa New Zealand, and to the nature and texture of our nation,
35	and to our enduring democracy.

36	As people of the land and people of the Treaty, we are together
37	governed by an administration that we have, together, elected.
38	And it is together that we pay tribute to our Head of State, the Queen of
39	New Zealand. This day, 6 February, is the anniversary—by historical
40	coincidence—of the accession of Queen Elizabeth II. And this particular
41	6 February marks the end of her Diamond Jubilee year. As of today,
42	she has been 61 years on the throne—more than a third of the time
43	since the Treaty was signed.
44	In that period we have continued to develop our own distinctive national
45	character. Whether it is in sport, business, agriculture, the arts, science
46	and the creative industries, or in international fora such as
47	peacekeeping, New Zealanders have repeatedly shown their talent,
48	tenacity, flair and commitment.
49	That legacy of the new way of doing things was well put by New
50	Zealander and Saatchi and Saatchi worldwide chief executive Kevin
51	Roberts a few years ago when he said: “We were the last to be
52	discovered and the first to see the light. This makes us one of the great
53	experimental cultures. We try things first. Whether it’s votes for
54	women, the welfare state or the market economy, powered flight,
55	nuclear physics, anti-nuclearism, biculturalism. First-isms. The New in
56	New Zealand is our reason to exist.”
57	<i>The contribution of women</i>
58	As he notes, New Zealand was the first nation in the world to grant
59	women the right to vote in 1893. In marking the anniversary of the
60	signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, this year we also recall the 120 years
61	since that momentous change, and recognise the contribution women
62	have made to building the nation we call home.
63	That contribution was recognised when the Treaty was signed. At a
64	time when British women could not vote and they had little say on
65	important issues, at least 13 women signed the Treaty of Waitangi, the
66	compact that set us on the path of creating New Zealand as a modern
67	nation. One of the 40 rangatira who signed on 6 February 1840 was
68	Ana Hamu, the widow of the chief Te Koki. This reflected the status of
69	Māori women as rangatira or ariki. And when one signature collector
70	would not allow the daughter of a Ngāti Toa rangatira to sign, her
71	husband refused to sign the Treaty, probably because it was an insult to
72	his wife.
73	Men and women—both Māori and Pākehā—have shared experiences
74	bringing life to our beautiful country. Those pioneers shared the
75	perilous journey here and shared the experience of living in a
76	sometimes harsh environment. That partnership has produced a culture

77	which values diversity, egalitarianism, and the well-being of all members
78	of our society.
79	Within 30 years of the Treaty being signed, articulate women began
80	calling for equal rights with men, and particularly the right to vote. They
81	included Kate Edger, who became the first woman in the British Empire
82	to receive a Bachelor of Arts degree, from Auckland University College
83	in 1877.
84	In the 1880s under the leadership of Kate Sheppard, later to become
85	the first President of the National Council of Women, three petitions,
86	each one larger than the one before, were presented to Parliament on
87	women's suffrage.
88	When Parliament granted all women—both Māori and Pākehā alike—
89	the right to vote, my predecessor, Governor Lord Glasgow, signed the
90	law on 19 September 1893. Women cast their ballots for the first time
91	later that year and contrary to the dire warnings of critics, that first
92	election was peaceful and without disturbance. The following day,
93	Elizabeth Yates was elected Mayor of Onehunga, the first woman in the
94	British Empire to be elected to such a position. She was congratulated
95	by Premier Richard Seddon and Queen Victoria—although not by all her
96	Council colleagues!
97	Together men and women have continued to build Aotearoa-New
98	Zealand, as the cultural and legal restrictions on women taking a full role
99	in our society and economy have fallen by the wayside.
100	And as New Zealanders have served overseas, protecting our nation
101	against tyranny, men and women, Māori and Pākehā, have done this
102	together. More than 600 New Zealand women served as nurses in both
103	the First and Second World wars and several lost their lives.
104	Today men and women in the New Zealand Defence Force serve
105	alongside each in all roles, including in peacekeeping missions. And, as
106	service in Afghanistan has shown, New Zealand men and women have
107	made the ultimate sacrifice in attempting to bring peace to troubled
108	lands.
109	Women with many varied interests and backgrounds have stepped
110	forward to pave the way for others. In 1897, Ethel Benjamin, became
111	the first woman in the British Empire to appear as counsel in court. In
112	1927 Dr Nina Muir, New Zealand's first woman house surgeon, became
113	the first woman president of the Medical Association of New Zealand. In
114	1941 Edna Pierce walked the beat as the first woman police officer and
115	Mary Anderson became our country's first woman judge in 1945. In
116	1976 Linda Jones was the first woman to apply for a jockey licence and

117	two years later Sue Day became the first professional female jockey to
118	ride a winner. Anne Barry became the first woman professional fire-
119	fighter in Australasia in 1981.
120	Not forgetting, of course, the fact that New Zealand has seen women in
121	the highest offices of the land, including as Governor-General, Prime
122	Minister, Speaker of the House of Representatives and Chief Justice.
123	<i>Suffrage and citizenship</i>
124	Granting women the right to vote had a wider national and international
125	significance. It meant that all adult New Zealanders, regardless of their
126	race, religion, gender or wealth, had the right to vote for their
127	representatives: a fundamental pillar of citizenship.
128	Earlier this afternoon, we hosted a citizenship ceremony here at
129	Government House where 25 people became the newest members of
130	the New Zealand family. Each one will soon receive a kōuka tree
131	seedling to mark their decision to set down new roots here in Aotearoa
132	New Zealand.
133	Later this year, they, like all of us, will have the opportunity to vote in
134	local elections and next year in a general election for our House of
135	Representatives. One hundred and twenty years after New Zealand led
136	the world in ensuring that all adults had the right to vote in free and fair
137	elections, each of us has the opportunity to exercise our democratic
138	will. As Kate Sheppard herself said more than a century ago: “Do not
139	think your single vote does not matter much. The rain that refreshes the
140	parched ground is made up of single drops.”
141	And on that note, as we celebrate Waitangi Day—our national day—and
142	welcome into the fold our newest New Zealand citizens, we recall the
143	contribution all New Zealanders, men and women, Māori and Pākehā,
144	and especially women like Kate Sheppard, have made in making our
145	country good and great. Kia ora, kia kaha, kia manawanui, huihui tātou
146	katoa.

Appendix 14.8: Mateparae’s Waitangi Day Speech 2014

01	E nga mana, e nga reo, e nga manu tioriori, tēnā koutou, tēnā koutou,
02	tēnā koutou katoa. Rau rangatira mā, e hui nei ki te Whare Kāwana o
03	Te Whanganui-a-Tara – nau mai, haere mai, te Whakanui i te rā o Te
04	Tiriti o Waitangi. To those in authority, to our distinguished orators and
05	to our great women, I offer my greetings and salutations. Distinguished
06	guests gathered here at Government House in Wellington, welcome to
07	the celebrations to mark the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi. Kia ora
08	tātou katoa.
09	I want to specifically acknowledge: the Hon Gerry Brownlee, Minister of
10	the Crown and Mayor of Wellington, Celia Wade-Brown– tēnā koutou
11	katoa.
12	It is a great pleasure for Janine and me to welcome you all to
13	Government House in Wellington for this garden reception to celebrate
14	the 174th anniversary of the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, and to
15	mark the contribution of our predecessors, Lord Charles Bledisloe and
16	his wife, Lady Elaine Bledisloe, who gifted the Waitangi Treaty Grounds
17	to New Zealand in 1932.
18	It is perhaps a supreme irony that the Waitangi Treaty Grounds – which
19	now figure so strongly in New Zealanders’ sense of nationhood and
20	understanding of our history – were secured for posterity by English
21	aristocrats who had never visited our shores until Lord Bledisloe
22	became Governor-General in 1930. The Government of the day had
23	dragged its heels on numerous requests for it to buy the land and
24	former British residence when it came up for sale.
25	New Zealanders will forever be indebted to the Bledisloes for their
26	generous gift. We are indebted to them for their inspiration and passion
27	and enthusiasm for our country. The awards and gifts they established
28	to recognise excellence – including the Bledisloe Cup that marks Trans-
29	Tasman rugby rivalry – continue to figure in our national discourse. And
30	we are also indebted to them for helping us to recognise the importance
31	of our history and our heritage, and the relevance of an event and a
32	document signed 174 years ago.
33	The prayer that Lord Bledisloe composed provided his interpretation of
34	William Hobson’s words; “He iwi tahi tātou – We are now one people”.
35	This entailed ending the strife and bloodshed between Māori and
36	Pākehā, and working in partnership for a better future. And, the sacred
37	compact made should be faithfully and honourably upheld for all time.
38	Māori and Pākehā had their motives for signing the Treaty – Te Tiriti –

39	including creating a safe environment, because New Zealand was
40	regarded as a lawless place before the signing of the Treaty. The
41	arrival of Europeans – whalers, traders, escaped convicts and others –
42	had seen dubious land sales and violent disputes fuelled by alcohol and
43	firearms. Kororāreka in the Bay of Islands had an international
44	reputation as the “Hell Hole of the Pacific.”
45	As we know, the Treaty of Waitangi did not bring peace to New
46	Zealand. Misunderstandings and disagreements as to the meaning of
47	the Treaty’s three clauses saw many wrongs committed, lives lost and
48	lands confiscated in its name, while the document itself was treated with
49	little more than contempt.
50	This year marks the 150th anniversary of the Battle of Ōrākau at
51	Kihikihi, in 1864, which brought the Waikato Wars to an end. We will
52	also mark the Battle of Gate Pā in Tauranga. The former was a great
53	loss for Māori, the latter a great loss for British forces. It is said that
54	when the desperate defenders of Ōrākau Pā were offered the chance to
55	surrender Rewi Maniapoto, their leader, replied: “E hoa, ka whawhai
56	tonu mātou, Āke! Āke! Āke! Friend, we will fight on forever, forever and
57	forever!”
58	The battles were savage engagements with tragic loss of life on all
59	sides. Equally as tragic was the subsequent confiscation of land,
60	denying iwi of an economic base and making them tenants in their own
61	land. The wars cast a long shadow over relations between Māori and
62	the Crown that we continue to wrestle with to this day. One hundred
63	and fifty years after these two historic battles, a concerted effort is being
64	made to recognise the wrongs of the past, to make some amends, and
65	to ensure the Treaty receives rightful recognition. I will be attending
66	commemorative events later this year to mark both battles.
67	Despite the enmity the land wars engendered between Māori and the
68	Crown, 50 years after these two epic battles, many Māori fought
69	alongside Pākehā in the First World War, in the Native Contingent and
70	later the Māori Pioneer Battalion.
71	This year in August we mark the centenary of the outbreak of the First
72	World War. Dubbed the Great War and the war to end all wars, it was
73	meant to usher in a period of peace. Instead of peace, however, it
74	unleashed a series of bloody conflicts that enveloped the first half of the
75	20th Century.
76	And 21 years after the end of the First World War, when war broke out
77	again in 1939, Māori and Pākehā – New Zealanders - again fought
78	alongside each other to resist tyranny and an evil and racist totalitarian
79	ideology. All New Zealanders recall with pride the gallant exploits of the

80	28 (Māori) Battalion in North Africa and Italy. As their commander, and
81	my predecessor as Governor-General, Sir Bernard Freyberg, once said:
82	“No infantry battalion had a more distinguished record, or saw more
83	fighting, or, alas, had such heavy casualties as the Māori Battalion.”
84	Sir Apirana Ngata, who was instrumental in the creation of the Battalion,
85	described Māori participation in the war, and the subsequent heavy
86	casualties, as “the price of citizenship.” It symbolised Māori aspirations
87	to be a full partner in our country and for recognition of the Treaty.
88	The price of citizenship has a wider meaning, and it was one that was
89	paid by all New Zealanders. As a nation we fought to defend our
90	country, our way of life and our democratic principles and civil and
91	political rights. On a personal level, many served also because they
92	wanted peace. They wanted peace for themselves and they wanted
93	peace so their families – their wives, husbands, children and
94	grandchildren – could live and prosper. Thousands paid the ultimate
95	sacrifice in the pursuit of that cherished goal.
96	And in seeking peace and security for their own children and families,
97	we have a proud record of work as peacekeepers. New Zealanders
98	have, and continue to serve, throughout the world attempting to bring
99	stability to troubled lands, so that others may taste the fruits of peace
100	that we have long enjoyed. And as service in Afghanistan and
101	elsewhere has shown, the pursuit of that goal has not been without its
102	human costs.
103	The reference to citizenship brings me to my last point. Earlier today,
104	we hosted a citizenship ceremony in which 17 new New Zealanders
105	took the oath or affirmation of allegiance to our Head of State, the
106	Queen of New Zealand, that they will abide by New Zealand’s laws and
107	to fulfil their duties as citizens.
108	This is the fourth time we have hosted a citizenship ceremony at
109	Government House, and each time I have been impressed by the
110	diversity of cultures, ethnicities, ages, knowledge and experiences they
111	bring to our wonderful country.
112	While all new citizens swear the oath or affirmation individually, some
113	were joined by other members of their family; husbands, wives, partners
114	and children who also became citizens at the same time. This, in my
115	view, is in the spirit of those who signed the Treaty of Waitangi and
116	everyone who has settled before and since that time.
117	Whether you or your ancestors came to New Zealand by waka a
118	thousand years ago, by a sailing ship 200 years ago, by steamer 100
119	years ago, or by aeroplane 10 years ago, they came seeking a land of
120	opportunity where they and their families could live in peace.

121	As the last habitable place on the planet to be discovered by humanity,
122	New Zealand is a land of immigrants. As New Zealand historian, the
123	late Dr Michael King, once said: “In a country inhabited for a mere one
124	thousand years, everybody is an immigrant or a descendent of an
125	immigrant.”
126	And on that note, as we celebrate Waitangi Day—our national day—we
127	celebrate all of the things that are right with our country, and welcome
128	into the fold our newest New Zealand citizens. Also, we recall the
129	contribution of all those New Zealanders, who have made our country
130	good and great. Kia ora, kia kaha, kia manawanui, huihui tātou katoa.

Appendix 14.9: Mateparae’s Waitangi Day Speech 2015

01	Tihei mauri ora!
02	E te tini, e te mano,
03	koutou katoa kua haere mai
04	ki taku pōwhiri ki te whakanui
05	i te rā tapu, mo Te Tiriti o Waitangi.
06	Nau mai, haere mai
07	ki te whare Kawana o
08	Te Whanganui a Tara.
09	Kia ora huihui tātou katoa.
10	To the many, many people who have come at our invitation to celebrate
11	this sacred day for the Treaty of Waitangi, I welcome you to
12	Government House Wellington. My greetings to all of us who are
13	gathered here.
14	I would especially acknowledge; our predecessors the Rt Hon Sir
15	Anand and Lady Susan Satyanand and Lady Norma Beattie; the
16	Speaker of the House of Representatives, Rt Hon David Carter; the
17	Deputy Prime Minister, the Hon Bill English and Mrs Mary English; His
18	Worship the Mayor of Upper Hutt, Wayne Guppy and Mrs Sue Guppy;
19	the Bishop of Wellington, the Rt Rev Justin Duckworth and Mrs Jenny
20	Duckworth; Sir Tamiti Reedy and Lady Tilly Reedy; Members of the
21	Diplomatic Corps, Members of Parliament and Member of the Judiciary
22	– tēnā koutou katoa.
23	Ladies and Gentlemen, thank you for coming from all points around
24	New Zealand – and from overseas – to join Janine and me in
25	commemorating the 175th anniversary of the signing of Te Tiriti o
26	Waitangi – the Treaty of Waitangi.
27	I extend a special welcome to the 26 newest New Zealand citizens from
28	today’s citizenship ceremony here at Government House, and your
29	families.
30	I want to begin by paying tribute to Lord Bledisloe, Governor-General of
31	New Zealand from 1931 to 1935 – and in whose honour this reception
32	is named.
33	Bledisloe formed a deep attachment to this country and encouraged
34	New Zealanders to share his keen interest in our history. He
35	recognized the significance of Te Tiriti as a founding document and the
36	partnership it established between Māori and the Crown. He purchased
37	James Busby’s house, where the Treaty was first signed – and then, in
38	1932, presented it along with 1000 acres of reserve land to the people
39	of New Zealand.

40	Without his foresight and extraordinary act of generosity, the Treaty
41	House would in all probability have disappeared and our tradition of
42	annual Waitangi Day commemorations may not have eventuated.
43	Until the end of his days, Bledisloe regarded Waitangi as his spiritual
44	home and his spirit certainly lives on in the legacy he left to our nation.
45	This 175th anniversary is a chance to take stock of where we have
46	come to – and where we are going in the 25 years leading up to the
47	bicentenary of the signing of the Treaty.
48	Looking back, we can see how much the relationship between the
49	Treaty partners has evolved.
50	There is an expectation that they will act reasonably and in good faith –
51	and that the Crown has a responsibility to actively protect Māori
52	interests, work to remedy past wrongs and make informed decisions on
53	issues that affect Māori.
54	There's been considerable progress in Treaty settlements. While it's
55	true to say that they can't undo the wrongs committed in the past, the
56	settlements have gone some way towards restoring an economic,
57	cultural and social base for iwi. All New Zealanders benefit from this
58	progress – as is implied in the whakatauki: Nā tō rourou, nā taku rourou
59	ka ora ai te iwi – with your food basket and my food basket the people
60	will thrive.
61	By the time of the bicentenary in 2040, I like to think that my mokopuna
62	will live in a New Zealand where we can see the success of post-
63	settlement enterprises reflected in equally impressive social and
64	economic indicators.
65	2015 is notable for significant commemorations of events in our nation's
66	story: 150 years since the shift of the seat of government to Wellington,
67	100 years since the Gallipoli landings, 50 years of self-governance for
68	the Cook Islands and 40 years since the hikoi led by Dame Whina
69	Cooper arrived at Parliament. At such times we think about the impact
70	of history, about our role in the world and what this nation stands for.
71	I also see these milestones of nationhood as opportunities to reflect on
72	the responsibilities and obligations of citizenship – in addition to the
73	rights and privileges that we all enjoy.
74	Honouring the Treaty will always be one of those responsibilities – by its
75	very nature it must be part of an ongoing dialogue, facilitated by an
76	informed citizenry. In a sense, I like to think that it makes every day
77	Waitangi Day for New Zealanders.

78	We have made great progress in recent years in terms of public
79	understanding of the Treaty, but we cannot be complacent. When a
80	quarter of our people were born elsewhere, I acknowledge there are
81	ongoing challenges in achieving such understanding. It remains a
82	worthwhile goal for those who choose to live here, wherever they have
83	come from.
84	We are fortunate to have such a vibrant mix of cultures taking their
85	place in the sun on Waitangi Day. This confirms that Te Tiriti gives all
86	of our citizens the right to call this beautiful country our home.
87	For some iwi , the Treaty of Waitangi commemorations will be observed
88	at a later date, because the various copies of the Treaty took some
89	months to reach different parts of the country – from Kaitaia to Rakiura -
90	Stewart Island.
91	Just two days ago I was at the site where the largest gathering of Māori
92	and Europeans came together for one of those occasions - Mangungu,
93	in the Hokianga. Visiting the site, arriving by waka and seeing the table
94	used for the signing brought home what a remarkable scene it must
95	have been on 12 February 1840, when in the presence of several
96	thousand onlookers, more than 60, perhaps 75, rangatira from the
97	region signed the Treaty.
98	This year I intend to visit other sites where rangatira – men and women
99	- came together to debate what was being proposed to them, and
100	where many of them made the decision to sign the Treaty.
101	Today, as we celebrate our good fortune to be citizens of this
102	extraordinary and beautiful country, I encourage New Zealanders to visit
103	some of those sites themselves, to immerse themselves in our history
104	and to reflect on our collective responsibility to uphold the special
105	compact that underpins our nationhood.
106	Again, welcome to you all. I am delighted we can host so many of you
107	to celebrate this very special Waitangi Day. Please enjoy the hospitality
108	of Government House.
109	No reira, tēnā koutou, tēnā koutou, tēnā koutou katoa.

Appendix 14.10: Mateparae’s Anzac Day Speech 2012

01	E aku rangatira e hui tahi nei, e te hunga hōia o
02	ngā pakanga o mua, o ngā pakanga o inaianei, ngā
03	pouaru me a whānau, aku mihi māhana ki a koutou
04	katoa I tenei rā whakamau mā hara. To the
05	veterans, the soldiers of past and present battles,
06	the widows and the families, and all those who
07	have gathered here, my warm greetings to you all
08	on this day of remembrance.
09	It’s an honour for me to be here at this Dawn Service at Cranmer Square, to
10	commemorate Anzac Day.
11	Ninety-seven years ago, as the dawn was about to break on the other side
12	of the world, then men of Australian and New Zealand Army Corps – the
13	ANZACs – landed on the shores of Gallipoli. In what proved to be a tragic
14	and ill-fated campaign tens of thousands of men died. New Zealand lost 2721
15	men, Australia lost 8709.
16	This morning, veterans have marched to war memorials throughout New
17	Zealand as a mark of remembrance for their fallen comrades. And in a few
18	hours’ time Australian veterans will join us in remembering their fallen
19	comrades.
20	We gather this morning to remember men and women, not to glorify their
21	deeds, but to remember their example. We join with our veterans to recall
22	the service of all those who have served in the defence of our country, its
23	values, the democratic freedoms we enjoy, and our way of life.
24	We gather this morning to remember how, in the trenches, stench and soil
25	of Gallipoli that strong and enduring bonds of comradeship were formed
26	between New Zealanders and Australians. And we recall that in the aftermath of
27	battle and defeat, we have also built strong ties of friendship with our former
28	Turkish foes. Gallipoli, it is suggested kindled the first sense of a unique national
29	character for the peoples of all three nations.
30	We gather this morning to remember the courage, comradeship, and

31	compassion shown by the ANZACs at Gallipoli. They are enduring values that
32	have been demonstrated by the men and women of New Zealand's Army,
33	Air Force and Navy since that time as they have defended New Zealand and
34	have strived to bring peace to troubled lands.
35	They are also the values that we have witnessed in the response to other
36	calamities at home. They are the values of the brave, the caring and the
37	thoughtful.
38	Two months ago we gathered at Hagley Park to mark the first anniversary of
39	the February 2011 earthquake. While we continue to grieve, we take pride
40	in actions of ordinary Kiwis who put their own lives at risk, cared for their
41	neighbours and helped strangers. And we take pride that it is still the case
42	that bonds of compassion, community and friendship have remained strong
43	and resilient. The Royal Humane Society of New Zealand's Gold award to
44	the people of Christchurch and the ANZAC of the Year Award to the Student
45	Volunteer Army speak of those enduring values.
46	Almost a century on from the distinguished service of the first Anzacs, we
47	remember their example; their incredible ANZAC legend and their legacy, our
48	heritage.
49	Lest we forget – Kia ora huihui tātou katoa.

Appendix 14.11: Mateparae's Anzac Day Speech 2013

01	Ki a koutou katoa e hui tahi nei. Ngā hoia o ngā pakanga o mua, o
02	tēnei wā hoki, a rātou whānau, a rātou hoa, me a rātou hoa pūmau
03	hoia, ki te Ope Kaatua o Aotearoa, ka tuku mihi māhana ahau ki a
04	koutou katoa, i tēnei rā whakamaumahara.
05	To everyone gathered here: to the veterans of past and present
06	conflicts, and their families, friends and comrades-in-arms; to the New
07	Zealand Defence Force personnel - I extend warm greetings to you all
08	on this day of remembrance.
09	I specifically acknowledge: Rt Hon John Key, Prime Minister; Iain Lees-
10	Galloway MP, representing the Leader of the Opposition; Your
11	Excellency William Dihm, Dean of the Diplomatic Corps, Your
12	Excellencies Michael Potts and Damla Yesim Say, the High
13	Commissioner of Australia and Ambassador of Turkey; Maj Gen Tim
14	Keating, Vice-Chief of the Defence Force; Lt Gen (Rtd) Don McIvor,
15	President of the Royal New Zealand Returned and Services
16	Association; Your Worship Celia Wade-Brown, Mayor of Wellington -
17	tēnā koutou katoa.
18	It is a great honour for me and Janine to be here this morning.
20	At first light, we gathered to mark ANZAC Day. ANZAC Day begins
21	here as the new day dawns. It continues wherever New Zealanders
22	and Australians are gathered as the rising sun makes its way around
23	the world.
24	Lives lost, friendships forged and deeds done: all is remembered as
25	wreaths are laid, and the last post is played.
26	Lives lost: Ninety-eight years ago today, the men of the Australian and
27	New Zealand Army Corps - the ANZACs - went ashore at Gallipoli.
28	Apparently it was a glorious morning.
29	In the days, weeks and months that followed, thousands upon
30	thousands of New Zealand, Australian, Allied and Turkish lives were
31	lost on the slopes of Anzac Cove, at Lone Pine and at Chunuk Bair, and
32	elsewhere on the Gallipoli peninsula. Among the dead were 2,721 New
33	Zealanders, about a quarter of those who had landed.
34	Those who died paid the ultimate sacrifice in the service of their
35	country. Those sacrifices were repeated on the Western Front, and in
36	Greece, North Africa, Italy, in the Pacific, and in the air over Europe and
37	on the seas in the Second World War, and in Korea, Malaya and
38	Vietnam in the 1950s, 60s and 70s.

39	That service continues to this day, in places as diverse as the Middle
40	East and Sinai, Korea, the Solomon Islands, and South Sudan, where
41	New Zealanders serve as peacekeepers.
42	Earlier this month, we travelled to Bamyán Province in Afghanistan to
43	watch the New Zealand flag lowered for the last time and to unveil a
44	memorial to the eight New Zealanders who lost their lives there. Their
45	names, and those of the two New Zealanders who lost their lives in
46	Kabul, have been added to our memorials and live on in our
47	memories. Their families, friends and comrades grieve for them still.
48	Friendships forged: The Gallipoli campaign served to create an
49	indelible bond between New Zealanders and Australians. On the
50	beaches and in the trenches, we ate, slept and joked side-by-side, and
51	we fought, died and wept side-by-side.
52	Then, as now, there were rivalries, and yet in the thick of battle, when
53	all was at stake, it was the Australians we trusted before anyone else.
54	The unique bond of two nations sharing the same day of remembrance
55	has created a spirit of mateship and shared sacrifice.
56	In the 98 years that have passed, we have served alongside each other
57	in conflict zones around the world, and we have been there when the
58	other has been afflicted by tragedies and natural disasters.
59	And then there is our respected one-time enemy, the Turks. On the
60	ridges above what is now Anzac Cove there was mutual respect
61	between the ANZACs and the Turks. In a temporary truce in May 1915
62	they looked each other in the eye, shook hands and swapped cigarettes
63	and mementoes; and gathered and buried their dead.
64	The man who led the Turkish forces at Gallipoli and later led Turkey as
65	its first President, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, in 1934 wrote a tribute to all
66	the Allied soldiers who died at Gallipoli. He assured their grieving
67	mothers that their sons were “now lying in our bosom and in peace....
68	After having lost their lives on this land they have become our sons as
69	well.” By reaching out in reconciliation and friendship to a former foe,
70	Atatürk laid the foundation for the strong and enduring relationship our
71	nations share to this day.
72	Deeds done: The New Zealanders who landed at Gallipoli fought
73	bravely and with honour. They set the standard of courage,
74	comradeship, commitment and integrity that the New Zealand Defence
75	Force holds dear to this day.
76	The courage and integrity of men like Lt Colonel William Malone, a

77	Taranaki farmer and lawyer, and the men who died with him on Chunuk
78	Bair, is the stuff of legend. Those legendary men include Corporal Cyril
79	Bassett, a bank clerk and later bank manager, whose courage and
80	commitment won New Zealand's first Victoria Cross of the war, for
81	laying and maintaining a phone line on Chunuk Bair under continuous
82	enemy fire.
83	From those New Zealanders who served and died at Gallipoli, to those
84	who served and died in Afghanistan, they came to understand
85	comradeship and the risks of service. Theirs is the proud tradition of
86	ordinary New Zealand men and women who stepped forward to serve
87	our country. They gave up the safety and security of home to oppose
88	tyranny, to bring peace to troubled lands and defend the values of
89	democracy and liberty that lie at the heart of being a New Zealand
90	citizen.
91	On this day especially, we are conscious of the shared responsibilities
92	of citizenship of all New Zealanders during times of war. This year
93	marks 120 years since New Zealand women were able to share with
94	men the fundamental right to vote in national elections.
95	In the First World War, with about 100,000 men away, women helped
96	keep the farms and the factories and of course, the families of New
97	Zealand going. Yet, hundreds of women went overseas as nurses and
98	volunteer aids. Many lost their lives and many were honoured for their
99	duty, courage and bravery.
100	That pattern was repeated in the Second World War and, in more
101	recent times, New Zealand men and women have served alongside
102	each other in all roles in the New Zealand Defence Force. And as
103	service in Afghanistan has shown, they have also made the ultimate
104	sacrifice together.
105	This year, then marks the centenary of the last year of peace, before
106	two global wars in two generations enveloped our world. With the
107	centenary commemorations of the First World War beginning next year,
108	there will be an emphasis on re-evaluating the 'Great War' as it is still
109	often called – the war that was meant to end all wars - and its meaning
110	for us today. As the Last Post is sounded, however, our pride in those
111	men and women who have served New Zealand will remain
112	undiminished. We will recall the supreme sacrifice they made. When
113	we hear the notes of the Reveille we recommit ourselves to the solemn
114	pledge to never forget their service, to always remember them and their
115	legacy of a New Zealand society that is open, inclusive and tolerant.
116	Lest we forget—Kia ora huihui tātou katoa.

Appendix 14.12: Mateparae's Anzac Day Speech 2014

01	Tihei mauri ora
02	E te tini me te mano e huihui nei,
03	Nga mihi māhana ki a koutou katoa.
04	Tēnā koutou i tēnei karakia atatū o te rā o ANZAC ,
05	E maumahara ana i te pakanga tuatahi ki Kariporia,
06	Me ngā pakanga katoa o te Ao,
07	Kia ora huihui tātou katoa.
08	To the many people gathered warm greetings to you all.
09	I greet you all at this dawn service on this ANZAC day, as we remember WW1
10	at Gallipoli, and all the wars where we have fought. Greetings to us all
11	One hundred years ago, Europe was heading into what has long been
12	remembered as a golden summer. No-one could have foreseen that summer's
13	end would herald one of the darkest periods in our history. The First World
14	War cast a long shadow and ripped the world apart.
15	Now, remembrance ceremonies like this one bring us together. Each
16	year New Zealanders, Australians and Turks come from the four corners
17	of the earth, to this place where our grandfathers, great grandfathers and
18	great-great grandfathers fought, and where many of them died.
19	This morning we stand at the brink of the Centenary of the First World War.
20	At dawn, a year from now, those gathered here will look back to the start of
21	the Gallipoli campaign. People's thoughts will rightly be focused on the events
22	that unfolded exactly one hundred years ago. They will imagine the Australian
23	troops landing at Anzac Cove on a cold crisp morning and the New Zealanders
24	that followed in the heat of the afternoon. They will also contemplate the
25	thoughts and deeds of the Turkish troops up on those hills who braced
26	themselves to defend their homeland.
27	This year, the 99th anniversary year, our thoughts, our reflections, will likely
28	be the same. However, in the space before the centenary begins, it is timely
29	to remember the peace that was over this land 100 years ago as we honour
30	those who fought here in 1915, and all the service men and women who have
31	answered the call since.
32	In the words of the New Zealand historian Neil Atkinson, 'History is a
33	responsibility we carry with us now and into the future'. As the years pass and
34	new history is made, it is important we stop and remember the momentous
35	events of our past. We do that not to glorify war, but to pay homage to the men
36	and women who served in them. They have served, and some of them are
37	currently serving, and women who often very far from home, to defend our
38	freedoms and to bring about a better peace for their families, for our families.

39	The Anzac name and its meaning were born of those times. And every Anzac
40	Day, we spare a thought for the ANZACs and the friendships that were forged
41	on these battlefields at Gallipoli 99 years ago.
42	After the war, our New Zealand Gallipoli veterans spoke warmly of their
43	Australian mates. These words of Sergeant Harvey Johns are an example:
44	“They were good. You could depend on them... If they wanted anybody to back
45	them up it would be the New Zealanders”. And there were many other
46	comments along similar lines – unsentimental, as was the nature of those men,
47	but indicating a deeply felt respect and rapport. Australians and New Zealanders
48	retain a special relationship and confidence in each other to this day.
49	Our histories, our peoples and our well-being are tightly interwoven. We
50	continue to have close partnerships in security and defence, most recently in our
51	near region - Timor-Leste and the Solomon Islands – and further afield in places
52	like Afghanistan and the Sinai. Our defence forces continue to work together
53	closely, especially in support of our neighbours in the Pacific.
54	We also remember that we were not alone at Gallipoli. Many other countries, on
55	both the Allied and Ottoman sides, lost men in that terrible campaign. For New
56	Zealand and Australia, Gallipoli also shaped a new and profound relationship
57	with Turkey. Once on opposite sides of the Gallipoli campaign, we have
58	developed the greatest respect and affection for Turkey and its people.
59	Every Anzac Day, the Government and people of Turkey are our most
60	considerate hosts. They allow the descendants of the first ANZACs the
61	opportunity to remember our forebears’ experience of war in the land where they
62	served. For this I thank you on behalf of all New Zealanders – here, at home
63	and around the world.
64	This commemorative site at Anzac Cove was created as a collaborative
65	venture between Turkey, Australia and New Zealand. The men who fought
66	here could scarcely have imagined this in their future. And yet, standing here
67	today, we remember their examples and we know there can be hope even in the
68	darkest of times.
69	In New Zealand, we are proud to have a memorial on New Zealand soil to
70	Mustafa Kemal Ataturk, the man who fought valiantly against us and then forged
71	an enduring friendship. He was a leader in the art of peace and the art of nation-
72	building as much he was in the art of war.
73	This year we will also mark the 75th anniversary of the outbreak of the Second
74	World War. Some of those who served in that war are still with us today. I want
75	to take a moment to acknowledge those brave men and women – and those, too,
76	who were not on active service, but nevertheless suffered the stresses and
77	privations of wartime.

78	Far away from here, in Wellington our national capital, a National War Memorial
79	Park– Pukeahu - is being built to mark the centenary of the Anzac landings. I will
80	have the honour of opening Pukeahu next year. It will be a place to remember all
81	who have served our country. And it will be a place where other nations that we
82	share wartime experiences with may choose to place a memorial. It is fitting that
83	the first country to place a memorial at Pukeahu will be Australia, our brothers in
84	arms at Gallipoli.
85	When we remember our brave forebears we pay them the honour they deserve.
86	It is also a time for reflection on war and its impact. And it is a chance to
87	enlighten new generations about the events that shaped their world, and to
88	encourage them to strive for peace.
89	Looking out from where I stand this morning, it is very moving to see so many
90	people assembled for this Dawn Service and to know Anzac Day services are
91	taking place in many countries throughout the world. The scale of these
92	commemorations shows how deeply people have been affected by what
93	happened here.
94	On Anzac Day we remember the suffering and loss of life at Gallipoli, and yet we
95	also celebrate the values that rose above the hardship: comradeship, courage,
96	compassion, loyalty, and self-sacrifice for the greater good. And looking back,
97	we know wars pass but these values and the prospect of a better peace endure.
98	Our being here this Anzac Day, keeps alive the torch of remembrance that has
99	been passed to us so we can pass it on to our children and through them to their
100	children. In this way we ensure the service, sacrifice and hope of past
101	generations is never forgotten.
102	I will close by quoting the last refrain of “The Ode to the Fallen”.
103	I te hekenga atu o te ra,
104	Tae noa ki te aranga mai i te ata,
105	Ka maumāhara tonu tātou ki a rātou.
106	At the going down of the sun and in the morning, we will remember them.

Appendix 15: Summary of Newspapers

The following two sections contain the newspaper summaries of each day's editorial for the month of each Governors-General's swearing-in, Cobham (September 1957) and Mateparae (August/September 2011). The originals have not been included as the microfilm made legibility an issue. These are all taken from the National edition of the *New Zealand Herald*.

Appendix 15.1: Wednesday 4th September 1957.

The editorial does not mention Lord Cobham's impending arrival but rather discusses the threat of communism and concerns around the main sea artery of New Zealand shipping being closed (the Panama Canal). The threat of communism was so great that countries did not want to be associated with any nation that in any way supported the regimes. Due to this threat there is a strong allegiance to Great Britain being emphasised.

At a local level, nursing staff in Auckland hospital were battling influenza and pneumonia and the editor was asking for Nurse Volunteers to help out.

Appendix 15.2: Thursday 5th September 1957

The editorial in the newspaper mainly concerned itself with the impending arrival of the new Governor-General with the heading "Lord and Lady Cobham". The heading suggests that readers would instinctively know that this is the new Governor-General. The editorial is aimed at giving the nation a better understanding of who Lord Cobham is. It does this through drawing on quotes from people and highlighting his link to New Zealand. It has all the hallmarks of being a public relations press release, the opening line in particular "Within the next few hours Lord Cobham and his family will have arrived in New Zealand and he will be sworn in as Governor-General under auspices as happy as anyone could imagine".

The fact that Lord Cobham has visited the country on two separate occasions prior to his arrival here as Governor-General is emphasised, showing that he is better known to New Zealander's than his predecessors. His privileged

position is also brought into view through the quote that has been inserted from Mr Holmes the vice-captain of the MCC team that Lord Cobham toured New Zealand with thirty years prior to his governorship:

This wise appointment has been made not because Lord Cobham is a peer, or a Lyttelton, or because he is a good cricketer, or the longest driver the game of golf has produced, or because he is a very good all-road sportsman, or a first-class brain, a first-rate mixer, or a great and witty raconteur. He is all these things, but let us remember that he has been appointed because he is the very best man for the job (Hintz, 1962)

This quote was printed in the newspaper on the day of Cobham's arrival as well as in the introduction that O.S. Hintz wrote for the book of Cobham's published speeches. In his introduction he comments that Cobham comprehended the New Zealand people. The quote itself is interesting because it denotes an number of things. The fact that he was a member of the M.C.C team and therefore has someone that can vouch for him is an indication of his privileged position which he inhabits in England. The newspaper article not only links through the past family connection but also emphasises that there will be a connection for Lord Cobham for generations to come. It also states that Lord Cobham is keen to meet as many New Zealanders as possible during his first few years in office. In the article it only briefly alludes to the constitutional role that the Governor-General performs in New Zealand; the swearing in and the task of signing off on Holyoake handing over the Prime Ministership to Holland.

Appendix 15.3: Friday 6th September 1957

The editorial itself addresses the neglect of talented children within the education system and how communism cannot have any sway over people if they are kept informed through freedom of press.

On the same page there are a number of articles that are set to inform people about Cobham and his family disembarking the boat in Wellington, swearing in and the civic reception that occurred the day before. It gives a detailed description of the speeches delivered by Lord Cobham. The headline *Lord Cobham takes oath* highlights the importance of his role and the reason for his arrival in New Zealand. The bi-line *Cheering welcome in the rain* shows the determination of the New Zealand public to greet the new Governor-General. The formality of the occasion is not missed either with *Guns Sound a Greeting* which is the third headline given to the same article. The newspaper has published various parts from different speeches made throughout the day. The first address occurred shortly after disembarking and being greeted by the chairman of the Wellington Harbour Board. He makes reference to the warm welcome and his sadness at not being able to enjoy the harbour views upon arrival due to the weather.

The second article that is headed up with *Something new in uniforms* is an article which comments on Cobham's uniform being of lesser rank than that of his predecessors.

The Prime Minister's welcome is also written about, in particular the newspaper has noted him as saying, "I am sure your term of office will be stimulating for New Zealand." The use of the word 'stimulating' is interesting as in this context it is a little ambiguous.

Come to Us, Pleads Pitcairn: Offer House and Oranges, is a brief report written about the plea from Pitcairn Island offering Lord Cobham a position there once his tenure in New Zealand has been completed.

“Team of Eight” had lessons at sea is in reference to Cobham’s children who have travelled with their parents to make New Zealand home. It also mentions that they have brought 10 personal servants with them including a chauffeur.

Appendix 15.4: Saturday 7th September 1957

The focus of the editorial is on communism and how that might be combated. It uses the religious paradigm to speak about it stating

“Christianity....provides in the West sanction and motive for loyalty, self-effacement, fair play, truthfulness, unselfishness, and those other virtues which enable a society or group to work together generally in mutual trust.”

The discourse in this editorial is very much that Christianity is good and communism evil. It is apparent that there is a fear of communism and that at this time everyone was on their guard making sure that this evil did not permeate into New Zealand culture. The attributes of Christianity are also assigned to being a true New Zealander. It seems an important part of the discourse in the 1950s.

Appendix 15.5: Monday 9th September 1957

The editorial discusses the futility of the Auckland City local board meeting where reforms to make the bureaucratic administration easier to understand has come under scrutiny. It also discusses School Certificate becoming a more widely

accepted and recognised form of achievement. Latin is the only subject singled out as being a concern in terms of marking and awarding School Certificate. It highlights that the curriculum is very much in line with the Britain's.

There is a small article announcing that Lord and Lady Cobham are arriving in Auckland around midday. It provides the reader with the itinerary for the day which includes being met by a guard of honour at Whenuapai airport followed by a civic reception and a visit to the Grafton cemetery to view Captain Hobson's grave.

The article next to it announces the arrival of two British MPs to New Zealand. It is a three week tour of the country and will include visits to farms both sheep and dairy. The two MPs were chosen to come due to their knowledge in the sheep farming industry and electrical engineering. This highlights the reliance of New Zealand on British trade.

Appendix 15.6: Tuesday 10th September 1957

The editorial discusses the views of the people in regard to Germany being divided into two stating that governments were not supportive of the move but that people increasingly were discussing this as being a positive move for the European and global affairs.

There are two articles concerning the new Governor-General; *Capture Hearts of all, Lord Cobham witty, informal and Even a Lemon tree on the lawn*. The first reports on the Civic reception held in Auckland attended by 1500 people. Cobham's abilities are highlighted with "...his informal turn of phrase was as polished as his batting of old." The fact that he has the ability to be informal and the link to sport is endearing him to the New Zealand public. Further on in the

article Mr Ashby, the Mayor of Auckland, is reported to have said that Lord Cobham's business interests and sporting history would endear him to the New Zealand public. He also mentions that Lord Cobham possesses strong ties to the land, hinting that his family are land owners in Christchurch. Again New Zealand identity is being reflected by the Governor-General's personal attributes.

In serious vein he spoke as an 'Empire' minded man who was glad that the unfashionable words 'British Empire' were still common in New Zealand.

In other words New Zealanders are traditional and perhaps a little unfashionable but this is appealing to him. The idea of loyalty is highlighted in regard to the Queen and the Royal family which the nation is expressing through their presence and welcome to her representative.

His privileged position is evident throughout the report, highlighting that he is a member of the House of Lords. He also states it would be rude of him to be too long winded in his address.

The one thing this newspaper article highlights is that the Governor-General is working hard to gain the affection of the New Zealand people. Laying a wreath on Captain Hobson's grave is another act which shows he is acknowledging the history of the nation, albeit one-sided.

The second article is about the Governor-General and his wife visiting their new home in Auckland. Lord Cobham is depicted as a practical and adaptable man as he discusses how the whole family might fit into the house. His wife on the other hand is shown as a little bit naive; it is the first time that she has been quoted in the newspaper which states she enquired of the tree she is looking at "Is

it really a lemon tree?" Upon learning that it is she concludes, "I think a lemon tree in a garden is very exciting."

Now to most of the public this would probably seem rather odd as lemon trees are common place. It does not show her in a particularly favourable light but perhaps the New Zealand public is not required to be endeared to Cobham's wife.

Appendix 15.7: Wednesday 11th September 1957

The editorial speaks of the American Civil Rights movement and issues that are arising out of people seeking equality. It is very much written from the point of view of America needing to create a country that values equality. The issue closer to home being debated is whether New Zealand is doing enough to conserve the forests and harness the value that this resource can yield.

There is an article written about the *Happy Vice-Regal tour of Auckland*. Again this highlights the joy with which the Governor-General is being received. It reports:

The suburban tour was another personal triumph for Lord and Lady Cobham 'Not stuck up, is he?' 'A manly chap' and 'Hasn't she got lovely hair.' Were some of the remarks heard wherever Their Excellencies stopped.

These sorts of comments are normally bestowed on members of the Royal family or a celebrity but are not common place for the Governor-General and partner today. Auckland city is trying to show its best side to the new Governor-General. He is personable and able to relate easily with the people of New Zealand. The

idea of celebrity is beginning to show through not only with the comments but also with the insert article which describes the pen in detail with which Lord Cobham signed his oath of allegiance when he first arrived. The heading *No Ordinary Pen* highlights the importance of Lord Cobham's position and of the papers that he signed that day. The discourse is very much of elitism and power which is then juxtaposed with the comments of the people which place him on an even level with New Zealanders.

Appendix 15.8: Thursday 12th September 1957

The editorial is focused on the London market and how the decrease in milk consumption is affecting the New Zealand export industry. This highlights New Zealand's dependency on Britain.

Appendix 15.9: Friday 13th September 1957

The editorial is very much concerned with local matters. This includes pressure being placed on the government to ensure research is done in the field of agriculture, the Auckland Town Hall requiring urgent upgrades and a bill passed in parliament which permits Auckland, Canterbury and Victoria to be called Universities.

The move to officially naming these education facilities as Universities shows that New Zealand is beginning to recognise and value itself. This is also highlighted by the countries desire to complete its own research in its thriving agriculture industry.

Appendix 15.10: Saturday 14th September 1957

The editorial is about Ghana's failure to self-govern and it is very much a piece that applauds the British for building such great nations. The idea of

nationhood being rendered to these “backward nations” should be met with gratitude according to this article. This article has a strong sense of patriotism to the British.

The discourse therefore is very much steering New Zealanders away from making the same mistake by showing examples where self-governance has not worked. While there is no indication in the newspaper editorials that New Zealand was looking to move away from the Crown, this article still works as a deterrent.

Also discussed are the meat industry and the wine industry; the lengths the meat industry is going to in order to ensure that New Zealand meat has no issues getting past customs in America and the need to help the wine industry get up and running through giving it a monopoly in restaurants.

Appendix 15.11: Monday 16th September 1957

The editorial shows the New Zealand identity trait of egalitarianism very strongly. It is discussing the education system which has relied upon not only having experts provide governance but also lay people. It attributes this to ensuring a strong partnership and the success of the education of children. The idea that everyone has the right to have their say is an important aspect of New Zealand life.

Appendix 15.12: Tuesday 17th and Wednesday 18th September 1957

Both of these editorials are focused on the economic growth of the nation as well as referring to European relations. West Germany has just had an election and ensured that alliances are kept open to the rest of the world. The government is encouraging business so that it may prosper. Tourism is also a growing industry for New Zealand with the building of a major hotel in Auckland. There is concern

around an outbreak of disease in dairy herds and a shortage in university lecturers as Auckland University College faces an increase in student numbers.

Appendix 15.13: Thursday 19th September 1957

Some medical practitioners have been taking advantage of the system in order to gain payment from the Government. Moves are being made to stop this practice. New Zealander Sir Lesley Munro has been elected as the president of the General Assembly of the United Nations. It shows that New Zealand is being recognised on the global stage.

There is also an article about Auckland Museum being grateful to receive a painting of Lord Freyberg to be painted in London. Lord Freyberg is a former Governor-General of New Zealand and war hero. This again places the position of Governor-General on an even keel with the monarchy. However, it also re-affirms his importance to New Zealand as he fought alongside the 28th Battalion.

Appendix 15.14: Friday 20th September 1957

The editorial highlights that fruit is becoming a rising export commodity. On a global level it focuses on the issues of self-governance in Malaya.

Appendix 15.15: Saturday 21st September 1957

Mr Holland has resigned due to ill health and the new Prime Minister Holyoake takes office. The editorial and subsequent articles focus on this event. Holyoake is quoted as saying “the Queen’s Government must go on”. This change over has occurred without much disturbance. Lord Cobham’s role is highlighted as he accepted the resignation of the Prime Minister and summoned Holyoake to Government House to accept his Royal Warrant. The Government expressed its loyalty to the new Prime Minister.

In the editorial there is also mention of Lord Bledisloe's birthday. Reference is made to Bledisloe buying and donating the Treaty of Waitangi grounds back to New Zealanders. It pays gratitude to his passion for not being content to just be a figure head but rather work hard to find ways to improve New Zealand. One of his keen interests was farming for which he invested in Sir Bruce Levy's research. According to the newspaper, "...Lord Bledisloe's missionary zeal, [was] to the great benefit of production and economic wellbeing".

Throughout all of the editorials there is evidence of New Zealand's agricultural dominance which is the primary export to Britain and the United States.

Appendix 15.16: Monday 23rd September 1957

The link to Britain is strongly identified as concerns over the bank rate in Britain are being voiced. However, there is also an eye being turned to the elections in Samoa which indicates recognition of the importance of Pacific Islands.

Appendix 15.17: Tuesday 24th September 1957

Maori land use is being lamented as a problem. The state is taking land away that is not being utilised completely. Land leases are being given to people if Maori farmland is deemed to be neglected. Raglan City Council is contesting that leases are being given out too speedily. The Minister of Land and Maori Affairs, Mr Corbett, is quick to state that the rights of the land owners must come first.

The Act which permits this leasing of the land is being greeted with suspicion by the land owners and this is also causing delays in negotiating deals.

The Governor-General announces that Mr Holland has been given a knighthood. The response from Mr Holland is “This is an honour for New Zealand, not for me. I feel very humble.” This comment highlights the humble and collectivist identity of New Zealanders.

Appendix 15.18: Wednesday 25th September 1957

The Duke of Edinburgh is quoted from an address he gave six years prior urging that the time lag between invention and application be shortened.

Appendix 15.19: Thursday 26th September 1957

There are discussions being held about bringing airports up to standard in order to accommodate the increase in air traffic. New Zealand is helping fund upgrades to Fiji’s airport in order to accommodate the growing need.

The rest of the editorials for the month of September do not provide any further information relevant to this research. They discuss the issues around another water crisis, should the summer be as hot as the last one, which caused water shortages across the major cities. There is also the announcement of the sudden death of Mr Ashby the Auckland mayor.

Appendix 15.20: Wednesday 24th August 2011

The SAS wants to withdraw from Afghanistan and there is a sense in this article that the author believes that the troops should stay as long as they are needed. This article explains that New Zealand troops are highly respected and have been supporting the British by taking over the security training.

A letter to the editor writes that staying till the job is finished is a characteristic embedded in the national psychology. A soldier has been killed in the line of duty and the Prime Minister has gone to visit the family. This sparked

the discourse about whether the New Zealand troops should remain in Afghanistan. The letter written by David Garrett is asking for the nation to get some perspective on the issue. In his opinion the nation needs to move past the death of a soldier as he was killed doing his job. In other words, it is not time to question the whole campaign due to the death of one soldier. This exemplifies the national identity of moving on after tragedy.

Appendix 15.21: Thursday 25th August 2011

The editorial is attacking the Government's proposal to monitor the spending of young people who are unemployed. There appears to be conflict between wanting to ensure that young people are making the right choices and providing the freedom of choice. The article is very critical of the cabinet and questions the calibre of the individual members.

The major theme running through the letters to the editor is the need to bridge the gap between rich and poor. There is commentary made on the London riots reasoning that young people are not given any hope for their future chance of finding a job in order to contribute to society. The unrest in Britain sent shock waves through the world as it took several weeks to bring it under control. The concern was that economic inequity would result in similar upheaval in New Zealand.

Appendix 15.22: Friday 26th August 2011

The editorial is discussing the issue of child abuse in New Zealand and that the government is not finding the answers. It is criticizing the government's desire to implement spot checks on families. The issue of child abuse has come to the attention of the nation due to a high profile court case of abuse that resulted in Nia Glassie's death.

Appendix 15.23: Saturday 27th August 2011

The editorial raises concerns about the fact that sunbeds should have an age restriction on the users. This is to ensure young people's safety. It appears the editorial in the weekend is trying to move away from more serious issues. The letters to the editor however are more concerned with the fact that there are such income discrepancies between the rich and poor and that this is causing many social problems.

There is a letter comparing Mr Key to Mr Holyoake which in light of this research is of interest as it is concerned with the same time periods of Cobham and Mateparae. The argument focuses on the fact that both Prime Ministers were dealing with changing times and, in this writer's point of view, they both navigated this change slowly and fairly.

Appendix 15.24: Sunday 28th August 2011

The *Editorial and Comment* focuses on the surgeons in Christchurch who have been avoiding paying taxes through creating a series of trusts. This is highlighting the privileged wealthy who are able to avoid paying taxes by taking advantage of loop holes in the system. It reflects the sentiment of the time as the day before one of the letters to the editor discussed the gap between rich and poor. This article appears to support the public comment on social inequity. The second article shows New Zealand's desire to compete on the world stage. It is discussing Auckland City's renovations for the Rugby World Cup (RWC) which is about to begin. The opening paragraph defines nicely the sentiment of the New Zealanders, "At the rate things are going downtown Auckland will soon start looking like a real city rather than a cross between a racetrack and a carpark" (T. Murphy, 2011a, p. 47).

This statement implies that only once Auckland has the appearance similar to other major cities in the world then it will become a real city. New Zealand has a need to show the world that it can compete and is a thriving country. Another perspective is that this article is legitimising the disruptions that major works and road closures caused to Auckland citizens are for the greater good. The idea of New Zealand wanting to put their best foot forward is evident throughout.

Appendix 15.25: Monday 29th August 2011

This editorial is highlighting New Zealand identity and again is pertaining to the World Cup and the improvements being sought to show of New Zealand, as it states “Cities, like people, need a reason to get dressed up. The Rugby World Cup has given many a reason, not just Auckland” (T. Murphy, 2011c, p. A8). Here it is echoed that New Zealand needs to put its best foot forward. The way things normally are is not good enough and changes need to be made. It’s highlighting New Zealand’s need for approval by the outside world.

The Parliament website confirmed the swearing-in of Sir Jerry Mateparae noting the ceremony contained a traditional Maori ceremony of welcome. This information was picked up by the New Zealand Herald and published online the following day.

Appendix 15.26: Tuesday 30th August 2011

The editorial is focused on Auckland City. The council has decided to realise the new city plan while it is basking in the success of the RWC upgrades. In this vein it is using the World Cup to legitimise further upgrades and is asking the citizens to consider this new plan. It appears that the editorial is poking fun at the council with such lines as “...quite rightly take little account of cost.” (T.

Murphy, 2011b, p. A8). Murphy also indicates that the plans would take Aucklanders 30 years to pay off.

Appendix 15.27: Wednesday 31st August 2011

The editorial is about an individual who has received a shorter sentence by handing over illegal firearms to the police. This sets a precedent in which criminals will seek lighter sentences by handing over weapons. The legal system is coming under scrutiny.

The Rugby World Cup is mentioned in a letter to the editor. The letter is concerned that New Zealand's clean green image is under threat due to traffic management littering the streets with discarded plastic cable ties used to secure the temporary signing. The concern is not just for the environment but for the image of New Zealand that international visitors will take home with them.

It must be noted that while the New Zealand Herald editorial did not make any reference to the Governor-General's swearing-in, the New Zealand Herald online published an article, showing a photo of Sir Jerry and Lady Janine Mateparae both wearing a Maori cloak. This provides a visual expression of New Zealand identity. The position is described in Mateparae's words of being "an extraordinary honour" (Bennett, 2011). The role is therefore being seen as a position of privilege that only a few people get to inhabit. Bennett reports that Mateparae quotes Sir Edmund Hillary when he describes the core values of being a New Zealander. These have been previously discussed.

Appendix 15.28: Thursday 1st September 2011

The New Zealand Herald online and in print has another article reporting on the swearing-in of the Governor-General. The photo highlights the cultural aspect that was not present during Lord Cobham's ceremony. In both cases the Herald

reported that the men desired to meet as many New Zealanders as possible. The article was written by the political reporter, although the Governor-General is meant to be separate from politics.

The editorial is concerned with the housing of individuals displaced by the Christchurch earthquake in February 2011 which devastated the city. The earthquake destroyed many old English heritage buildings in the city centre of Christchurch. The discourse of the time was around whether buildings should be replaced with new designs or rebuilt as well as the cost of rehousing the people affected by the earthquake.

Appendix 15.29: Friday 2nd September 2011

The New Zealand Herald editorial is addressing the protests against oil exploration and drilling happening offshore of New Zealand. The motivating factor against the drilling is the concern that it will spoil the natural habitat, and as New Zealand relies on this image for tourism, this in turn would have an economic impact.

It argues that oil and gas are becoming of increasing importance due to a shift away from coal. It does not state the Pike River disaster as reason for this shift away but this would be at the forefront of many people's minds. The recency of the Rena disaster would also motivate people to protest against any exploration.

An article in the newspaper is about the Governor-General showing the ordinary side of Sir Jerry and Lady Janine. The accompanying photo is of both of them sitting on a couch smiling. It becomes apparent through reading the report that this is an organised press conference designed to introduce and endear the new Governor-General to the New Zealand public. A few lines into the article Sir

Jerry admits that he walks around the house in jeans, which contrasts with the requirement that anyone visiting Government House adheres to a strict dress code that does not permit jeans. While the photo gives the reader the feeling of this being a relaxed interview situation it is clear that it is not. Sir Jerry is asked questions surrounding his previous role as Defence Chief due to the release of Nicky Hager's new book. There is a whole article dedicated to the release of Hager's book that has exposed New Zealand's involvement in America's "war on terror". The Defence force denies the allegation but either way it does put the new Governor-General in an awkward situation as it places him in a political storm which, in his role, is not acceptable. He handles the situation with diplomacy and skirts the issues, adhering to his role by not commenting on anything political except when asked about the Rugby World Cup. However, this does place him in an interesting position of not being able to be questioned on the Defence Force involvement in the war on terror.

Appendix 15.30: Saturday 3rd September 2011

The editorial focuses on Sonny Billy Williams, an All Black player. It is discussing the controversy surrounding the player and New Zealand's sentiment in his changing codes. It argues that, in order for New Zealand to have a chance at winning, this player is needed.

On this page the newspaper also runs a cartoon which deals with issues of the day. This cartoon is questioning the Sir Jerry Mateparae's suitability for the role of Governor-General in a humorous way. He is shown as breaking into Government House, mocking his SAS skills. His wife is shown watching the Rugby World Cup as he breaks through the window. She comments: "Crumbs Jerry!"

Can't you use the front door like any other normal Governor-General?"

(Emmerson, p. A24).

Appendix 15.31: Sunday 4th September 2011

The editorial discusses the Governor-General in relation to the revelations in Nicky Hager's book. Hager is revered as one of New Zealand's top investigative journalists and he is questioning the democratic process. At the heart of the investigation is the Defence Force which he believes is making its own decisions rather than entering into discussion or getting Ministerial sign-off. This means that the democratic process is not being followed and if this is the case how can the man at the heart of this now sit above Government. Part of the Governor-General's role as the representative of the Queen is to ensure the democratic process is intact. However, if he undermined this process in his previous role then how can he now remain unbiased?

Appendix 15.32: Monday 5th September 2011

In both the editorial and the majority of the letters to the editor, New Zealand identity is either being called into question or described as a positive attribute. Fashion week is starting and the editorial is keen to highlight the emerging talent from New Zealand. The national identity is emphasised through the way in which the fashion industry contains mainly individuals who have set out on their own and are making it through sheer hard work.

Appendix 15.33: Tuesday 6th September 2011

The editorial is questioning the New Zealand legal system as it has granted leniency to a comedian in granting him name suppression. This is showing that a

hierarchy exists which goes against the national identity of everyone being fair and equal.

There is a letter to the editor concerning the Governor-General's ability to be apolitical when in fact he is currently being questioned on his involvement in political issues within his previous roles. This is a reader's response to the concerns raised by Nicky Hager.

Appendix 15.34: Wednesday 7th September 2011

The Pacific Islands Forum is being hosted by New Zealand and it has attracted high profile leaders from all over the world to the summit. New Zealand is clearly operating on a global level. New Zealand is involved in talks without purely looking to Britain for guidance and support.

Questions of loyalty to the All Blacks are also being raised in regard to the fact that only the New Zealand flag flies from the Harbour Bridge. Why is the Silver Fern flag not flying also? It is questioning New Zealand patriotism. It does highlight that in the minds of the public the Silver Fern is firmly linked to sport in particular rugby, whereas the national flag does not seem to provide that link.

Appendix 15.35: Thursday 8th September 2011

The Government have changed the laws to ensure that carers of disabled people receive equal pay. A loophole in the system existed where carers were paid below minimum wage for sleepover shifts. This had caused organisations to significantly underpay their workers. The editorial highlights that everyone in New Zealand has equal rights to fair pay and working conditions. It also recognises that people with disabilities are a valued part of society and provides support for their needs.

The letters characterise the notion of supporting one another by questioning the changes that the Government is making to the structure of Housing New Zealand and demanding answers. Housing New Zealand provides state funded houses to people of low-social economic means. The election is looming and the political rhetoric is increasing. Focus on the policy of asset sales which is being proposed by the incumbent National party is being questioned within the letters to the editor. Much of the identity of New Zealanders stems from the land, not just for Māori but Pakeha alike. Therefore the talk of asset sales is one that is bringing national identity into focus. The idea of New Zealand falling into overseas ownership is being greeted with hostility. There is a real fear of losing part of New Zealand to overseas.

Appendix 15.36: Friday 9th September 2011

The Rugby World Cup is kicking off and New Zealand is holding its breath, saying a silent prayer that all the planning would ensure a smooth experience for visitors and New Zealanders alike. The title of the editorial speaks for itself *Haere mai! Everything is ka pai...* It is using the Māori language interwoven with English and resembles a tapestry of language that depicts a coming together of two cultures.

In the letters to the editor due to the impending opening of the World Cup, there is heated debate around New Zealand culture and how this should be portrayed to the world. A debate has arisen over the blessings at ceremonies. One writer states that she believes Christianity and Māori culture are the bedrock of the nation and therefore need to be included in ceremonies. This is in reaction to an article written by one of the Herald's columnists. In the Herald's bid to stay

unbiased on the issue they have published another letter which states that New Zealand is losing interest in religion and therefore it is not a fair representation of our country when having a blessing precede celebrations or in times of crisis.

Appendix 15.37: Saturday 10th September 2011

It is the day before the tenth anniversary of 9/11 which changed the American perspective on terrorism. The editorial is questioning the way in which Americans still allow this event to impact on their freedom. It is asking why people allow their liberties to be eroded.

The letters accuse the government on their part in the Pacific Partnership Trade Agreement which threatens the clean green image. Preservation of the image of New Zealand appears to be uppermost in the mind of the public but is not being translated accordingly into politics. Another letter voices concerns about the fears of pollution caused by fracking, mining and burning fossil fuels.

Appendix 15.38: Sunday 11th September 2011

It is exactly ten years since the 9/11 attacks which explains the editorial focus on terrorism. However, it is looking at terrorism closer to home. In 2007 the Government raided the homes of suspected terrorists in the Ureweras. The newspaper is seeking to legitimise our legal system by reminding people that it is based on the Magna Carta which was signed 800 years ago. Trust has been eroded in the police who have made a mistake, as well as questions raised about the Defence Force acting under their own governance.

The other strong undercurrent that appears in this editorial is the unjust treatment of Māori people. Lord Cobham spoke of the Magna Carta in his 1959 Waitangi speech again pointing to it as a key document that has lead the way to creating justice and equality in the world. In the case of the Urewera raids, Tuhoē

versus the Crown, past grievances of colonial forces versus Māori are raised. There is a sense that Māori are still being forced to live within a Pakeha (British) cultural system.

While the newspaper editorial is focused on the serious issues of terrorism and people being wrongly accused, other parts of the newspaper are more focused on the image of the country through the eyes of tourist. One article interviews a tourist about his experience of New Zealand in which he praises New Zealanders for being friendly and hospitable.

Appendix 15.39: Monday 12th September 2011

The editorial is once again concerned with the landscape of New Zealand and arguing that the council should be doing more to highlight the volcanic features of the city. This is indicative of New Zealander's relationship with the land and the need to see it cared for properly.

One of the letters to the editor highlights the fear of European culture being overshadowed by Māori culture. This again shows that there is an on-going struggle between the two cultures which is still prevalent. It is particularly making reference to the opening ceremony of the Rugby World Cup.

Appendix 15.40: Tuesday 13th September 2011

The editorial is overtaken by the transport issues plaguing the Rugby World Cup. However, in the letters to the editor, Gary Duff voices his opinion on the flag. He complains that the flag is not being proudly flown the way it used to be on

buildings throughout the city. He acknowledges that the flag is due for an update but feels that until this happens the nation should be proud of flying the current flag.

Appendix 15.41: Wednesday 14th September 2011

The editorial is still discussing the issues surrounding the Rugby World Cup. There is a mention of British Ministers coming over to learn from New Zealand's successes and failures throughout the event of the Rugby World Cup. The rest of the newspaper editorials are mainly focused on the Rugby World Cup and do not add any further relevance to this study.

Appendix 16: Anzac Day Newspaper clippings (e.g., Queen's message. *The Dominion*. April 24 1958.)

Due to the poor quality of the microfilm, I have only included this as an example.

E. 's d. st le re d. or — K L Y h d t n n Y H	now visiting Britain. "The Americans offered New	a I D O S P I B S ta m M H I: C H H N F I I n
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MESSAGE FROM THE QUEEN		
AUCKLAND, April 25 (P.A.).— The Governor-General has received the following telegram from the Queen:		
"Once more I join with my peoples in the Commonwealth of Australia and New Zealand in their proud and glorious memory of Anzac Day. The courage and devotion to duty of all those who laid down their lives will ever remain a shining example to us all.—Elizabeth II."		
His Excellency has sent the following reply to Her Majesty:		
"The Government and people of New Zealand, to whom Your Majesty's gracious message has been communicated, deeply appreciate Your Majesty's association with them in their observance of Anzac Day.		
"With humble duty, I respectfully tender on their behalf, grateful thanks and a renewed assurance of their abiding loyalty."		