

PROMISES
PROMISES

PROMISES *PROMISES*

80 years of wooing New Zealand voters

Claire Robinson

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Preface

WHEN I WAS A CHILD my parents subscribed to image-filled magazines such as *Life*, *Time* and *Nova*. The images in those magazines spoke to me of emotions, relationships and extraordinary circumstances in a way that words did not, and from an early age I found I could understand stories by looking at photographs and illustrations while barely scanning the written text. I was reluctant to talk about my reading method because I thought it would expose me as lazy. Having a best friend who was a voracious reader of any book she could lay her hands on did not help.

At age 30, I returned to university to study for a design degree and learned not only that it is perfectly acceptable to 'read' images, but also that images have their own story to reveal, independent of what is contained in written texts. Never neutral witnesses, images give form to concepts not able to be expressed in or interpreted by words. My new confidence in reading images led me to study political advertising and marketing for a PhD in politics, and for the past 20 years I have collected, researched, written about and provided media commentary on the visual channels and forms of communication by which the political becomes manifest in the world.

In January 2017 I was tidying up my home office when I discovered a folder of political advertisements I had collected during the 2005 New Zealand general election campaign; they were visual reminders of a fascinating moment in New Zealand's recent political history, when Don Brash almost led the National Party to victory on the back of a racially divisive election campaign (see opposite page). I mused that someone ought to write a history of New Zealand's political advertising and its role in New Zealand politics. My position as a Massey University pro vice-chancellor in charge of 180 staff in the College of Creative Arts (my day job) is to delegate to others. As I reflected further, I realised that 'someone' had to be me. I pitched the idea to Massey University Press publisher Nicola Legat, who agreed it would make a good book and that I should write it; that is, if I could find a window of time. I am grateful to Massey University vice-chancellor Jan Thomas for granting me that time in late 2018.

When I started researching for this book, one of the first places I went to was the Les Cleveland Archive stored in the J. C. Beaglehole Room in the Victoria University of Wellington (VUW) library. The archive contains Les's personal collection of political advertisements dating back to the early twentieth century. The words 'went to' seem a bit prosaic; to say I was 'called there' too spiritual. Afterwards I described the experience to a friend as 'spooky'. Les was, among other things, a colleague of my late father Alan Robinson in the VUW Political Science Department in the 1970s, and it was in one of Les's Honours classes in the mid-1980s that I first developed an interest in political



National Party billboard from the 2005 election campaign promising that a Don Brash-led National government would protect free access for *all* New Zealanders to the beach, and threatening that a Helen Clark/Labour-led government would privilege Māori right of access only.

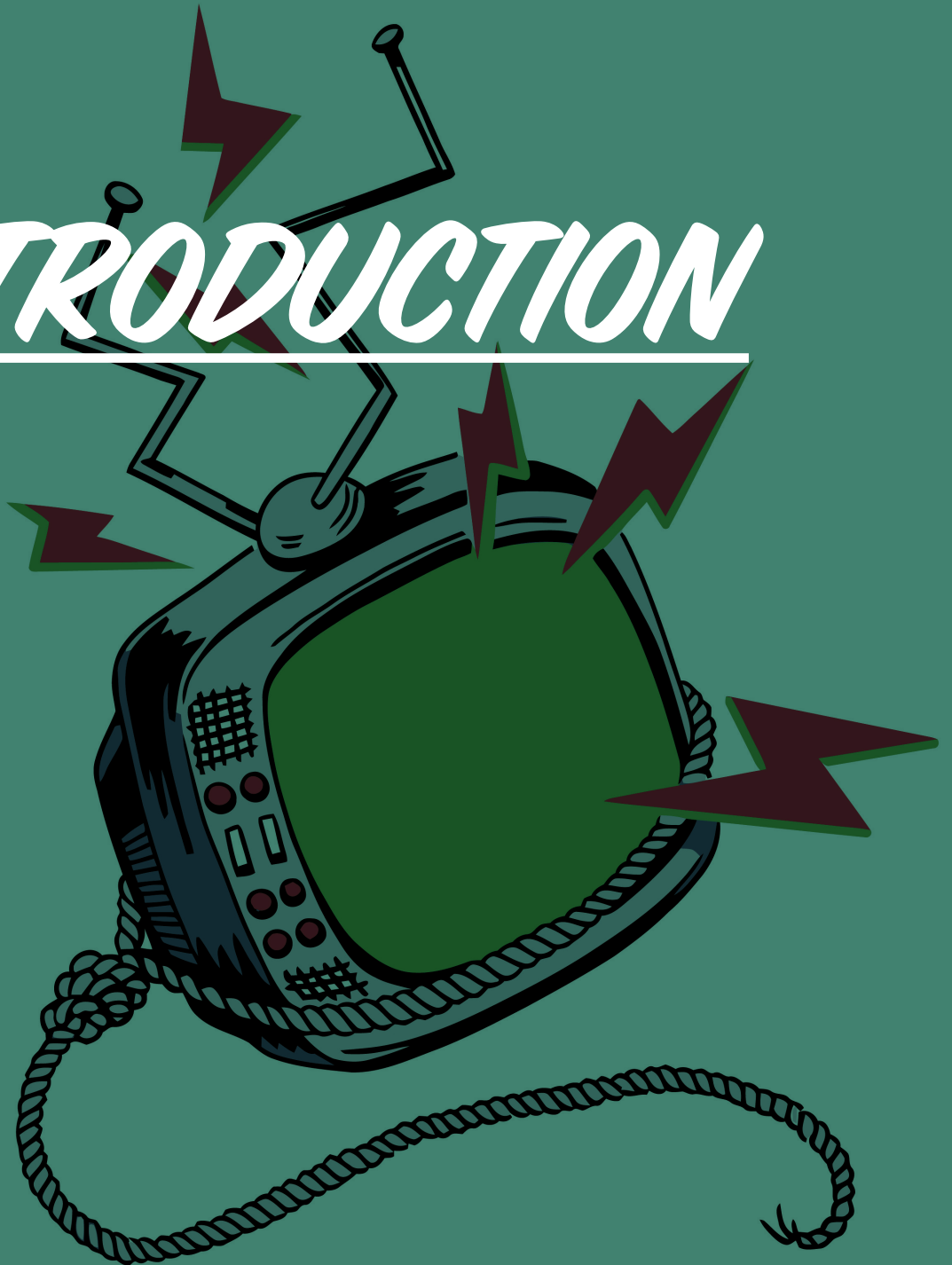
communication. A former journalist and talented photographer, Les had both an aesthetic and an academic appreciation of the importance of political images.

Searching his archive in November 2017, I discovered a four-page note Les had written in January 2009 to accompany the collection in which he reflected on the importance of the study of political imagery. Delighted by the discovery of his teachings from beyond the grave, I was even more surprised to find that Les had filed the advertisements in recycled manila folders that had once been used by my father, who had scrawled his distinctive casual cursive handwriting across the covers. Not normally one to think there is an afterlife, at that moment I did wonder whether Les and Alan were 'up there' together, sending me a clear message of encouragement that this was my book to write.

Political advertisements don't tend to win awards for creativity. Compared with some of the iconic advertisements from New Zealand history (for example, the tourist posters produced by the Railways Studios),¹ most don't even begin to compete in terms of composition, colour and sophistication. They have, as a consequence, been overlooked in historical surveys of art and design styles and movements in this country. This does not mean they should be written out of history, however. If anything, the ads in this book have *made* history. *Promises Promises* reveals the overlooked story of the way images and visual forms of persuasion have been used by those in political power to maintain that power over the past 80 years. An enquiry that places a visual form of communication at centre stage in New Zealand's political history, and makes that history accessible to both the professional and general-interest reader, is long overdue.

Claire Robinson, July 2019

INTRODUCTION



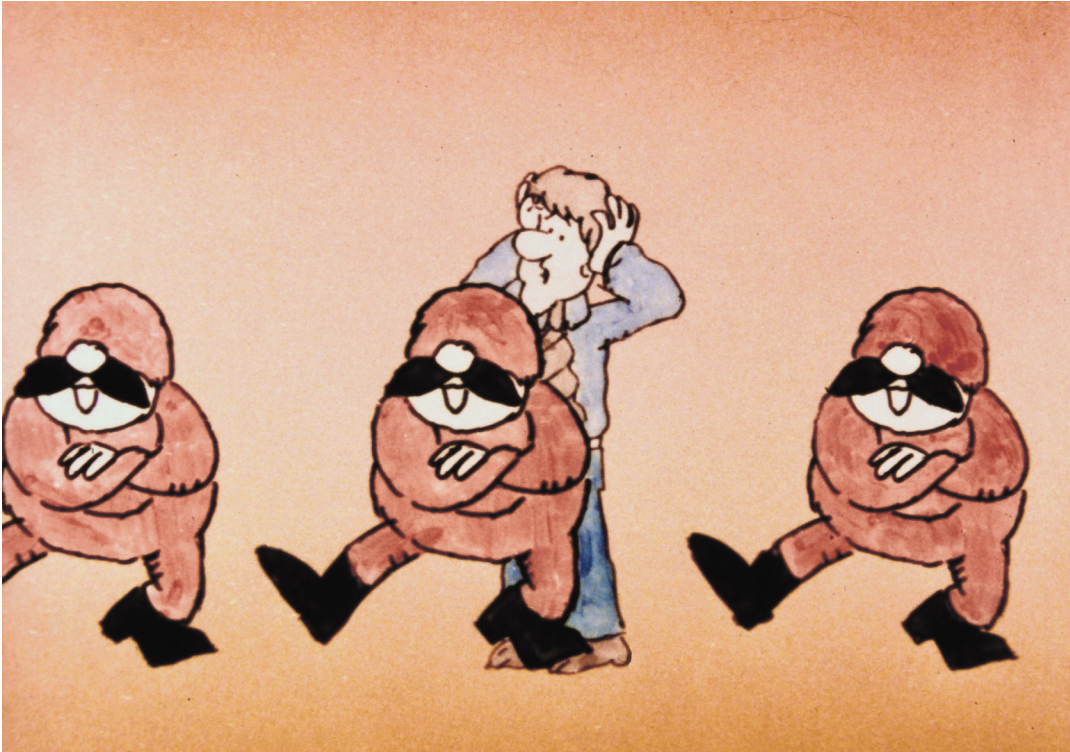
MENTION POLITICAL ADVERTISEMENTS TO ANYONE interested in New Zealand politics and they immediately say ‘Dancing Cossacks’. This was a short animated television commercial originally titled ‘Superannuation’, produced by the National Party and broadcast twice during the 1975 general election campaign (see page 10). It contained a 15-second sequence featuring Russian male dancers and vigorous Russian dancing music. The ad implied that a vote for the Labour Party would be a vote for communism. It was one in a series of attack ads offering a grim view of the future if voters continued with a Labour government. (Labour, with Norman Kirk as leader, had won the 1972 election after 12 years on the opposition benches.) Critics described its content as distorted, exaggerated and questionable. Others attributed National’s landslide win in the 1975 election to it. Regardless, the ‘Dancing Cossacks’ ad is thoroughly embedded in New Zealand’s political history and forever attached to memories of the 1975 Muldoon administration. It might be our most infamous political ad, but there are plenty more like it.

The political advertisements featured in this book date back to 1938. With 27 elections held since then, and 25 before, the book traverses just over half of New Zealand’s electoral history. I picked the almost halfway point as the start because it was effectively the commencement of modern politics in this country, making the context and content familiar to readers. It was the first election contested between the Labour and National parties as we know them today, and both parties (the major parties) have formed the basis of every New Zealand government since. Their 1938 manifestos can be found at the end of this chapter (see pages 20–23).

The book includes mass-produced, political-party-generated newspaper advertisements, pamphlets, booklets, flyers, billboards and posters, as well as still images from television commercials, opening- and closing-night party political broadcasts, campaign videos and social media screen captures. Most incorporate image and word. Some are image only, some are word only. The inclusion of words doesn’t make them any *less* visual. The common denominator is that these ads offer a designed visual experience. Although the major parties have been the most prolific producers of political advertisements, the book also includes many minor party ads.

Unlike art, which, for its cultural worth and capital value, is collected, stored, restored, curated, exhibited and catalogued in museums, galleries and art books, political advertisements have not had such privileged care. As is the case with most visual ephemera, having been created for a single purpose and having no subsequent market value, little remains for examination. Most of what exists is undigitised, and has not seen the light of day since the election it was created for. Only some resides in national collections like the Alexander Turnbull Library and Ngā Taonga Sound and Vision.

As a result of their ephemeral nature and the lack of attention to conservancy, the reproduction quality of some of the ads featured here is not ideal, and I have left many of them in the state in which they were found. This is an authentic visualisation of what remains of these ads, and in any event this



***THE 'DANCING COSSACKS' AD
IS THOROUGHLY EMBEDDED
IN NEW ZEALAND'S POLITICAL
HISTORY AND FOREVER
ATTACHED TO MEMORIES
OF THE 1975 MULDOON
ADMINISTRATION.***

Still from 1975 National Party
'Superannuation' television commercial
featuring an 'ordinary' New Zealand man
overwhelmed by a troupe of Russian
Cossack dancers. The commercial implies
that Labour's compulsory superannuation
scheme would bring in so much revenue
that the Labour government would be able
to buy every company and farm in New
Zealand, leading to a communist takeover
of the country.

is not a book claiming that political advertisements are fine art. (As a designer, nonetheless, I haven't been able to stop myself from including many ads that I consider to be examples of good communication design from a formal perspective — showing strong composition, or sensitive choice and use of type, colour, illustration and photographic imagery.)

I viewed thousands of advertisements in researching this book, but of course it does not, and cannot, contain every political ad that was ever made in New Zealand. I have also limited the content to political party advertisements and excluded ads for individual electorate candidates. I apologise to readers, former candidates and members of Parliament if I have left out ads they fondly remember.

I know it will disappoint some, but this book doesn't examine radio advertising. That is not to say that radio advertising is unimportant. In fact, up until the early 1960s, when television transmission began in this country, it was our primary means of mass political communication. But this particular book unashamedly privileges and celebrates the contribution of the visual to New Zealand's political history.

Nor does the book cover the influence of the specific printers, advertising agencies or designers that created the advertisements. It could be argued that ultimately political parties do not select the words and images that feature in advertisements; that this is the prerogative of the copywriters, art and creative directors in advertising agencies who make the ads, and that, as a result, political advertisements contain messages that the agencies intended but of which parties were not necessarily aware. Certainly, in New Zealand's advertising history 'admen' like Bob Harvey and Michael Wall have been personally credited with creating some of our most influential political advertising campaigns. In her 2013 book *Sell!*, which examines the history of the New Zealand advertising industry, Hazel Phillips even describes Labour's 1987 election success as a 'historic win for Colenso [Labour's then advertising agency] — the first time a government had gone back with an increased majority'.¹ But this is not a whodunit historical analysis. It does not seek to apportion blame or credit to any one individual or agency. At the end of the day, it is the political parties that set the campaign agenda, and determine the policies and values that the ads promote and the voters they target. Hence the appropriate focus of the book has to be on the parties.

It is one thing to locate the advertisements, but quite another to curate 27 elections' worth of ads into a meaningful narrative. To do this I adopted an image-led process, which meant I didn't start with a hypothesis to prove. Instead, I let the ads reveal their own stories. Once revealed, my role was to thread those stories together. This was neither quick nor easy. A good part of a year was spent staring at the ads, sorting, re-sorting, looking at them alongside each other, thinking about them in terms of our already known election history and searching them for their encoded meaning — what they are saying at a deeper level beyond simply 'vote for us and not them' in individual elections. For me the enjoyment of the exercise lay in identifying themes and trends that haven't featured large in New Zealand's standard political histories. The ads picked for inclusion are those I have assessed as showing this best.

As a visual political history this book fills a gap in New Zealand political science scholarship that has been largely confined to written narratives covering the lives of prime ministers, governments, political parties, policies, the electoral system, individual election results and voter behaviour. Some of these books include photographs and ads as illustrations, and some of the more recent individual election analyses have televised ads, billboard images and television excerpts attached to them on DVD.² These will be fantastic resources for scholars of the future who want to understand what was happening in our early twenty-first-century elections, provided they can still find the technology to play a DVD.

Sadly, however, the main textbooks available to students of New Zealand politics are heavy on descriptive text and numbers, but light on pictures to support or illustrate the content, let alone drive the analysis. This must be disconcerting to the current generation of young people studying politics who have been brought up as digital natives in a world of video and music streaming, video games, smart-phone apps, infographics, virtual and augmented reality, social media platforms

and other visual content-delivery channels. They interact with the world, including the political world, through predominantly visual forms and channels of communication.

It's not just New Zealand's political histories that have been text-dominated. Our general history books tend to focus on the written word and textual sources for explications of the past. When visual images are included in a historical survey, they serve as illustrations or decorations supporting the text, not as primary sources of knowledge. Cementing the written word as the primary documenter of history is the subgenre of illustrated histories; books such as Keith Sinclair's edited *Oxford Illustrated History of New Zealand*. The word 'illustrated' in the title is an adjective in service of the noun and main act, history; the need to qualify a visual history a sign to readers that the book is a subordinate history. Keith Sinclair even wrote in his preface that the book was 'intended for the general reader and for students, not for professional historians'.³ Written histories need no such qualifier. The word 'written' is absent from the title pages of all the canonical histories of New Zealand.

IN HIS 1964 BOOK *Understanding Media*, American media theorist Marshall McLuhan offered a suggestion as to why advertisements are overlooked in serious scholarship. He says:

Highly literate people cannot cope with the nonverbal art of the pictorial, so they dance impatiently up and down to express a pointless disapproval that renders them futile and gives new power and authority to the ads. The unconscious depth-messages of ads are never attacked by the literate, because of their incapacity to notice or discuss nonverbal forms of arrangement and meaning. They have not the art to argue with pictures.⁴

This seems particularly so when it comes to politics, where there is a familiarity and comfort in the idea that political power resides in verbal, rather than visual, rhetoric. When it comes to the history of ideas and creation of knowledge, rational and logical thought and reasoning codified in words and verbal language has occupied a privileged place in western philosophy, science and culture for hundreds of years. Visual and non-verbal language and forms, the emotional, the felt, the subconscious, the spiritual and the intangible have occupied a less trusted and privileged position.

Unsurprisingly, therefore, the news media, academics



1 Royalty-free images titled 'Excited Children Arriving Home With Parents' from the website Shutterstock.com, used in a Labour Party KiwiBuild Facebook ad, 3 July 2018.

2 A Fujitsu heat pump television commercial, November 2018.

and commentators spend much of their time poring over words uttered by politicians in speeches, debates, interviews and press conferences; at parliamentary question time; in maiden and valedictory speeches, official statements and legislation; and on social media. They are searched for meaning, collected, reproduced and written about. For the first two years after his election as president of the United States in November 2016, the American news media got themselves tied up in knots trying to dissect every character tweeted by Donald Trump, as if those words held more power than anything else. In the meantime Trump, who understands the persuasive power of the political image, quickly worked out the places and ways he needed to be photographed and filmed to look presidential, competent, affable and liked. These images would have confirmed Trump supporters' belief in his abilities to lead the country and would not have caused them to change their feelings about him, despite all the allegations of incompetence and instability swirling around him on a daily basis.

Political ads don't get the same kind of respect or attention as the written word. In fact, of all forms of political communication, they probably get the worst rap. Much of this is due to the relationship they have with commercial advertising. At its most basic, commercial advertising combines image and word to raise people's awareness of the availability of a product in a location and at a price they might think meets their needs, wants and desires. Competition has led advertisers to adopt psychological and persuasive techniques to attract consumers to buy their particular product, service or experience. They do this by tapping into people's subconscious desires, feelings and dreams and exploiting their insecurities.

In 1957 Vance Packard published the book *The Hidden Persuaders*, revealing for the first time the psychological techniques that powerful self-interested advertisers used to persuade Americans to buy things they did not need.⁵ The hypodermic effect of all forms of advertising — that is, that people view an advertisement and are instantly persuaded of its message — has since been disproved. If advertisements had that sort of power over behaviour no one would still be smoking, drink-driving, or hitting their partners. Nonetheless, critics still don't like the idea that political advertising reduces politics to the level of a product that can be sold. Particular suspicion falls on the role of spin doctors: political operatives with no direct responsibility to the electorate, reputed to be mostly interested in manipulating citizens, like consumers, into voting for a candidate or party on the basis of qualities portrayed but not necessarily possessed.

It's easy to see how the connection between commercial and political advertising is made. Both forms burgeoned with the nineteenth-century industrial revolution and the beginning of mass commerce and consumption, and sometimes it's genuinely difficult to tell them apart. In 2018, as I was starting to prepare for this book I collected an image posted on social media by the Labour Party, promoting its new KiwiBuild package (see opposite page). A few months later I was bemused to see the exact same image on television, advertising Fujitsu heat pumps (see opposite page). But while political advertising shares many technical qualities and channels (and sometimes the same royalty-free stock images) with commercial advertising, the fundamental purpose of political advertising is political persuasion, a process used by political elites to gain and maintain power for thousands of years before capitalism took hold of contemporary western society.

Bias against the visual notwithstanding, there is good reason to want to understand the 'unconscious depth-messages' of ads as a form of political persuasion. At the surface level political ads are calls to action, asking people to vote for a party or candidate. At a deeper level, they are complex visual objects that reveal aspects of reality that written texts can only partially grasp, if at all.⁶ Through visual elements such as colour, type, line, composition, material, movement, narrative and emotion, advertisements are able to express ideas and messages that parties cannot, or dare not, put into words. This gives them a power that is denied to pure forms of verbal communication.⁷ If we want to understand how the political becomes manifest in our world, it is critical to understand the role and meaning of visual forms of political communication in this process.

TO WORKINGMEN.

FELLOW WORKMEN : If you wish to have **CHEAP LAND** and Small Farms, Cheap Food and Fair Wages, few Taxes and plenty to do, Public Schools and fewer Policemen, an Inspector of Weights and Measures, a Public Wharf and Market House, Prosperity for yourselves, and an Independence for your Children, you will not vote for the

Importers of CHINESE SLAVES, for LAND SHARKS, ABSENTEE AGENTS, or FLOUR MONOPOLISTS, but you will

VOTE FOR **WAKELIN,** The **POOR MAN'S FRIEND.**

RUSH TO THE POLL ON TUESDAY NEXT !!!

Let not the Monopolists have it all their own way ! Have at least one member in the Council to look after and support your interests. Yours faithfully,

A Working Man.

One of the first collected letterpress campaign posters, produced by Provincial Council candidate Richard Wakelin, 1853.

***THIS 1853 ELECTION POSTER
USES PERSUASIVE TACTICS
THAT ARE NOT DISSIMILAR TO
THE WAY ADVERTISEMENTS
ARE CREATED TODAY.***

ON THE PAGE OPPOSITE is one of the first collected political advertisements in New Zealand, dating back to the first general election held in 1853 for the House of Representatives and the six provincial councils. It is a poster, similar in style and composition to the poster advertising that was ubiquitous in Victorian Britain. This included the immigration posters of the New Zealand Company and the provincial governments selling the idea of New Zealand to the early settlers.⁵ Using graphic language to communicate, the poster is set in letterpress type alternating between upper- and lower-case letters. Offering a few good catchlines to attract attention, it picks out certain words for emphasis in large display typefaces, and exaggerates them in weight and size to create visual emphasis and draw attention to key points.

The poster uses persuasive tactics that are not dissimilar to the way advertisements are created today. It identifies a target audience (working men), a reason to trust the candidate (he is a fellow working man) and an understanding of audience needs, wants and desires (cheap land and small farms). It contains a call to action (rush to the poll on Tuesday), an offer in exchange (for a friend), a promise of a better future (prosperity for yourselves and independence for your children) and a fear appeal (unscrupulous importers of Chinese slaves, land sharks, absentee agents and flour monopolists). Unfortunately for Mr Wakelin it was not enough to get him elected, proving there is more to electoral success than simply having a good ad.

Sage Handbook of Political Advertising editors Christina Holtz-Bacha and Lynda Lee Kaid define political advertising as 'any controlled message communicated through any channel designed to promote the political interests of individuals, parties, groups, governments, or other organizations'.⁹ Key to this broad definition is that political advertising is controlled by political actors (politicians/parties), unlike political messages channelled through the news media, which have editorial control over which messages and actors get coverage. Political advertising also exists within a context 'in which the distribution of political power is contested and determined in elections and in which parties or candidates compete with each other'.¹⁰ Its purpose in this competitive context is political persuasion, which, political scientists Diana C. Mutz, Paul M. Sniderman and Richard A. Brody argue in their formative book *Political Persuasion and Attitude Change*, is 'the central aim of political interaction'.¹¹

Political advertisements are not the only forms of political persuasion. Persuasion is an often subtle process that may include behaviours, smiles, smells, locations, physical actions, shapes and spaces, and may take place at any time in an electoral cycle. In this era of the permanent campaign, political parties are engaged in persuasion from the day after an election to the day before the next election: when their logo appears on a letterhead, a banner or a vehicle; when an MP attends a function, makes a speech, is interviewed by the media, holds an electorate clinic, or posts a tweet, a Facebook update or a photo on Instagram; when a minister releases a press statement, opens a retirement village, walks through an airport terminal; when a party holds its annual conference. All these activities, events and messages are undertaken by parties in the hope that voters accumulate favourable thoughts in their minds for retrieval at key moments such as opinion polls and elections, with the ultimate goal of gaining as much support as possible.

In New Zealand, recognition of advertisements as persuasive devices is set in the definition of an election advertisement in section 3A of the Electoral Act 1993, which provides that an election advertisement is an advertisement in any medium that may reasonably be regarded as encouraging or persuading voters to vote, or not to vote, for an electorate candidate or party or a type of candidate or party. The Broadcasting Act 1989 also contains a definition of an 'election programme', which is a programme that encourages or persuades, or appears to encourage or persuade, voters to vote for a party or candidate. Although the definition of an advertisement includes any medium, the Electoral Commission prefers to monitor tangible forms and channels of communication like print, billboard, radio, television and Internet advertisements over intangible things like smiles, which would be impossible to monitor.

Should anyone infringe the rules around the publication or broadcast of a political advertisement, they may be found guilty of a corrupt practice, and fined a significant amount of money or even imprisoned. This somewhat over-the-top regulation of advertising over other forms of persuasion is an anachronism that dates back to the 1986 Royal Commission on the Electoral System, which was deliberating on the most appropriate electoral system for New Zealand and what was needed to support it. Back then, the Internet wasn't even a thing, television was the primary means of communication between political parties and voters, and future-proofing was a matter of planning for satellite transmission and private ownership of television stations. The rules had just been changed in 1983 to allow political parties to purchase advertising time on public and private radio and television, although no party had taken up the option in the 1984 election because they already had plenty of free broadcasting time provided through the New Zealand Broadcasting Corporation (NZBC). In 1984 this amounted to 115 minutes each for the National government and the Labour opposition, 80 minutes for Social Credit and 50 minutes for the New Zealand Party.

At that time, there were restrictions on the amount that individual political candidates could spend campaigning, but there were no such restrictions on parties. While spending on party promotion was not normally considered excessive by international standards, in 1984 the New Zealand Party, established by millionaire Bob Jones and backed by wealthy donors, had reportedly spent \$1 million on its campaign, an enormous amount for that time. The Royal Commission was concerned this was a portent of things to come. In its view a wealthy party in conjunction with a trend toward the purchase of substantial television time could 'significantly increase the advantage which parties with the greatest level of financial support have over those without substantial resources'.¹² This could then create pressures on other parties to follow suit, and the constant escalation in campaign costs this would entail would be undesirable:

We are not convinced that significantly increased election expenditure would necessarily lead to a better informed electorate or a more healthy democracy. Large scale expenditure may lead to an unhealthy dependence on wealthy supporters and may induce cynicism amongst a public exposed to a barrage of slick and expensive political advertising.¹³

Public cynicism is such a feature of New Zealand politics today, it seems quaint to think its mitigation was one of the factors underpinning the Royal Commission's recommendations of a set of controls on party election expenditure in 1986. These controls were subsequently implemented in the Electoral Act 1993 for not just expenditure on television and radio, but print advertising as well. Further reforms to advertising regulation have taken place in the intervening years, notably the inclusion of a fulsome definition of election advertising in 2010, and the removal of the need for television and radio to provide time for free and for parties to spend their broadcast allocation on television in 2017 (see timeline, page 340). The idea that party advertising is somehow different from other forms of persuasion and requires stricter controls has remained a constant feature of our electoral administration, however.

On the surface it seems completely reasonable to think that there should be regulatory controls on how much is spent on political advertising, especially when we look at the extraordinary amount of money spent in countries where there are no such limits. In the 2016 US presidential election, spending on political advertising reached a record high of US\$9.8 billion (NZ\$14 billion). In political advertising expenditure New Zealand does not even reach a thousandth of that — in 2017 total advertising expenditure was \$8.9 million.

But a focus on the expenditure cap masks a more insidious aspect of electoral regulation, which is the relationship between control of the advertising rules and the maintenance of political power. In New Zealand, major parties control the legislative agenda and so have ultimate control of the rules

determining which parties get the resources to create ads. Those rules currently provide that the parties that receive the greatest proportion of the party vote at the preceding general election, and have the highest support in subsequent opinion polls, shall receive the greatest proportion of the broadcasting allocation — the name of the fund appropriated each election to enable parties to buy advertising time on television and radio, place advertising on the Internet, and pay for the production costs of television, radio and Internet advertising. Not surprisingly, it is the major parties who are the greatest beneficiaries of these rules. In 2017 the fund was set at \$4,145,750 including GST. National was allocated \$1.28 million, Labour \$1 million. Minor parties in Parliament were allocated amounts ranging from \$93,000 for United Future to \$497,000 for the Greens. Minor parties outside Parliament were allocated \$37,330–\$51,848 each.¹⁴

Such paltry amounts mean minor parties, which have fewer party members and financial supporters than the major parties, are highly dependent on the news media for campaign coverage. Unfortunately for these minor parties, the news media has a structural bias in favour of news generated by the major parties.¹⁵ It also does not believe it to be within its role, budgetary capacity, column centimetres or airtime minutes to cover every minor party.

We may think that having two major parties survive for the past 80 years is a sign of the stability of New Zealand's democracy. In reality it's partly an outcome of the major party duopoly advancing their self-interest by controlling (some might even use the term 'rorting') the rules around election funding and advertising, so that minor parties are prevented from disseminating their messages widely. It is hard to introduce new ideas, convey competitiveness and convince voters a vote for a minor party will not be a wasted vote, let alone redress imbalances of power or inequity, when access to the channels of visual communication is denied to anyone who isn't already in power.

Is it any surprise, then, that New Zealand has a rapidly looming minor party replacement problem? In the first MMP (Mixed Member Proportional) election in 1996 four minor parties were elected to Parliament, and the minor party proportion of the party vote was 38 per cent. Four of the seven elections held since have seen five minor parties being elected by either having one MP or crossing the 5 per cent threshold required for representation in the House. In two elections six minor parties were successful. In 2017 only three were elected and the minor party vote share dropped to 18 per cent. Only one minor party, New Zealand First, has survived the entire 23 years to date since the introduction of MMP. Aside from the Māori and Mana parties, which originated after Labour MP Tariana Turia left Labour and formed the Māori Party in 2004, no new minor party has been elected to Parliament since 1999. The minor parties in Parliament today were all offshoots to one degree or another from the two major parties.

Three competitive new parties have been formed lately, but they have not reached the threshold: Internet/Mana (1.42 per cent in 2014), Conservatives (3.97 per cent in 2014) and The Opportunities Party (TOP, 2.4 per cent in 2017). The biggest irony, given that the broadcasting allocation was set up to stop 'Big Money' from entering the political competition, is that all three of these new parties have been bankrolled by millionaires: Internet/Mana by Kim Dotcom, the Conservative Party by Colin Craig, and TOP by Gareth Morgan, the very scenario the Royal Commission on the Electoral System was trying to avert. This area of public funding and electoral regulation needs a total overhaul.

DOES ADVERTISING REALLY NEED all this regulation? Is it that potent? Concern that election outcomes could hinge on the whims of uninformed voters making last-second choices after being exposed to political advertisements has led to 70 or so years of research, principally in the United States, on the impact of advertising and campaigns and to the discovery of a number of variables that

impact on the effectiveness of political advertising. One is the political predispositions of voters: their lifetime experiences, values and traits that predict their political behaviour (for example, traditionally the working class could be relied on to vote for Labour). Another is levels of political awareness or interest in politics. The greater a person's level of awareness, the more likely they are to pay attention to advertising messages. However, with a greater level of political awareness also comes the ability to resist information that is inconsistent with their support for the political party they already feel most aligned with, or their partisanship. What this means is that when a voter sees their own party's advertisements they are reminded why they like and vote for that party; when they see another party's advertisements they are reminded why they dislike and don't vote for that party.

For political advertising to change voters' allegiances, it needs to reach the voters whom political communication researchers refer to as low-awareness or low-interest. These are voters with little prior information about an election, little access to alternative communication flows (such as the news media, or friends and family who discuss politics), and little contextual information with which to process the implications of a given issue for their values. These are the voters most likely to invoke heuristics, or mental short cuts, to help them process complex political information quickly and place their vote more easily. These heuristics are frequently found in forms of political communication like advertising messages, newspaper headlines and billboard slogans.

Time of voting decision has also been found to be an important factor. Voters who reach their decision prior to the beginning of an election campaign, referred to as early deciders, are more likely to be influenced by their partisanship rather than by political ads. Late deciders, who leave their voting decision until the election campaign, however, are open to the range of campaign communication effects, from mobilisation (motivating them to get out to vote) to reinforcement (giving their vote to their preferred party) to conversion (switching allegiance to a different party). Of these, it is late deciders with little general awareness of politics who are considered to be the voters most likely to change their party preferences once exposed to information in ads in an election campaign.¹⁶ But this is also the smallest group of voters. According to data from the New Zealand Election Study collected between 1996 and 2014, the cohort that might be classified as 'late deciding, low awareness' is only 1.39 per cent of all New Zealand voters.¹⁷ Although this is theoretically enough to have a decisive effect on the outcome of an extremely close election, it is unlikely to affect most election outcomes. All up, the findings of the many decades of research are that political advertising has minimal effect on changing the outcome of individual elections. A recent US study of 49 field experiments on the persuasive effects of campaign contact and advertising, by American researchers Joshua Kalla and David Brockman, has even gone so far as to claim it has zero effect on changing a voter's mind.¹⁸

Whether advertising's potential to persuade at most a small handful of New Zealand voters warrants the level of regulation and sanctions imposed by the Electoral Act is a moot point. But try telling political parties and candidates that advertising has only limited effects. Political advertising has been a consistent feature of election campaigning in this country for the past 166 years, and the counterfactual is strong in terms of awareness, reinforcement and mobilisation. If we didn't see billboards on our street corners we might not know that there was an election coming up. If we didn't receive pamphlets in our mailbox we might not learn who was standing in our electorate. If we didn't see videos on our social media feeds we might not discover the issues over which the election is being fought — especially if, as increasingly is the case, we don't watch the news on television or read a newspaper. Political advertisements fuel the sense of competition that is required for voters to feel that by making a choice between parties and candidates they are exerting control over who governs them.

Equally important, political advertisements underwrite a de facto contract between parties and voters. Promises contained in ads form the agenda that parties entering government will often claim a mandate to pursue, on the grounds that 'the people' voted for them. In subsequent elections,

competing parties hold each other to account on whether they've delivered on those promises, and then claim they can do a better job than the other. There is then a snowball or cascading effect, whereby repeated issues and interests become the issues that we care about and take for granted as a political culture, without further questioning to see whether there are alternative points of view or more important things to be done.

POLITICAL CULTURE IS A TERM that covers the informal, psychological and subjective dimensions of politics — the attitudes, beliefs, ideals, values, traditions and feelings which give order and meaning to political processes, guide political behaviour, determine political priorities and resource allocation, sustain power structures and define our political world.

All cultures — be they iwi, club, school, workplace, informal groupings of people sharing a common hobby or pastime (such as gaming, deer hunting or quilting), or people who share similar demographic traits (such as people born in the 1960s) — have their own ways of doing things, values, priorities, informal and formal rules, rituals and symbols. These ways are generally derived from the shared experiences, interests and imagination of the people who form part of the culture. Because culture does not exist outside the experience of those who inhabit it, people outside of a culture often struggle with knowing what it takes to join or empathise with it.

While most cultures are defined and bound by the things they have in common, political culture is more complex, existing at a national level. Those who have previously written about New Zealand's political culture have tended to abstract it to a set of largely homogeneous, bordering on stereotypical, traits and values, such as being like-minded, pragmatic, tolerant, inclusive, classless and egalitarian, valuing consensus and fairness.¹⁹ It may have been narratively convenient to abstract political culture in this way, but these words don't necessarily reflect the shared interests and experiences of all the members of New Zealand's political culture. Rather, they reflect the interests and values of the dominant political culture. Here the term 'dominant' does not refer to dominance in numbers; it does not necessarily reflect the views of the majority. The dominant political culture is the broad social grouping of people whose world views, values and priorities are sustained and represented by those in political power. Most people don't realise it, but each time we vote, we effectively vote for the political culture on offer.

The standard way of studying political culture is to study the beliefs and values of individual voters, generally through public opinion and values surveys. But political culture reveals itself in other ways, too. It is also manifest in forms of cultural expression such as symbols, rituals, events, buildings, spaces, songs and music, words and images. These forms of cultural expression are often mediated through news and social media channels, books, magazines, radio and, as Les Cleveland understood when building up his collection, political advertising.

Political ads are not simply visual records of the voters and issues valued by our dominant political culture, however. They are also protagonists in its creation. This book tells the story of how political ads have been strategically deployed by those in power to maintain political power in New Zealand over the past 80 years. In telling this story the book reveals the origins of much that we take for granted in politics today. My hope is that the book will raise awareness of the political-cultural embeddedness of our current political priorities, and that out of this we will gain a better understanding of why our political system and values are failing to meet the needs of everyone, everywhere in twenty-first-century New Zealand. This is an important question to consider at a time when many people around the world are considering the culpability of dominant cultures in creating the world's intractable problems, and their inability to resolve them.

Labour's Election Policy

Labour's Objective

THE OBJECTIVE of the Government is to utilise to the maximum the wonderful resources of the Dominion:—

First, by maintaining and improving the living standards that have been experienced in the Dominion in the past three years as compared with the deprivation of the previous three years.

Second, by organising an internal economy that will distribute the production and services in a way that will guarantee to every person able and willing to work an income sufficient to provide him and his dependants with everything necessary to make a "home" and "home life" in the best sense of the meaning of those terms.

Third, by continuing the progressive legislation and administration which have been successfully carried on by the Government since it took office on December 6, 1935. In extension of its programme the Government submits the following policy to the electors.

Social Security

(a) Complete the organisation of administration procedure and personnel to give effect to the Government's Social Security Act.

(b) Co-operate with friendly societies in extension of membership and arrangements for the utilisation of friendly societies' dispensaries and other existing machinery that will assist the practical administration of social security benefits.

(c) Negotiate with chemists to ensure their full co-operation and supply of drugs and appliances required under the medical benefits of the Act at reasonable rates.

By the Social Security Act there will be removed that paralysing fear of want and distress that has never been far from the mind of our average responsible citizen when he contemplates how he will fare when age, sickness, accident, or unemployment prevent him from earning a living, how he will meet the bills for doctors and hospitals, how his wife and children will be placed if he meets a premature death. The provision of maternity benefits will take away a burden of cost that has oppressed many homes. In place of the fear of want and of debt there will be security founded on the strongest institution of the nation—the wealth of the whole community.

It is now quite clear that social security will become operative only if the Government is returned to office.

Motherhood Endowment

The extended provision of family allowances is only one more step towards the objective of motherhood endowment. As circumstances enable the Government to take further steps to remove from our mothers the worry of maintaining a family of children on inadequate incomes, the Government will extend the principle until every mother has a sufficient income to maintain each child.

State Control of Currency and Credit

In extension of its policy the Government proposes to maintain and extend the control of credit and currency until the State is the sole authority for the issue of credit and currency.

To provide a banking service necessary to bring unused resources and idle labour together, to produce goods and services to provide for the needs of the people.

Interest rates have been kept down and money provided for local bodies at lower than the ruling market rates quoted by private financial interests.

Defence

Complete organisation and co-ordination of Army, Navy, and Air Forces to ensure the most effective defence of the Dominion.

In 1932 £600,000 was spent on defence; in 1935 this had risen to £1,000,000. For the year 1938-39 over £3,000,000 is being spent on defence in all its aspects.

The Government takes the view that it would prefer to spend money on houses rather than defence, but in view of the world situation defence is regrettably necessary.

Having decided on this course the Government is doing the job efficiently and is keeping in constant touch with Great Britain and will continue to do so.

Never before have the organisation and facilities for our national defence been as efficient as now.

Foreign Policy

The Government, in its belief in collective security, will continue its support of the principles contained in the Covenant of the League of Nations and the maximum provision for the defence of the Dominion, together with co-operation to the fullest extent with the United Kingdom and other members of the British Commonwealth to maintain its existence and assist in its protection.

Primary Production

Organisation and support for the extension and diversification of primary production to ensure the maximum availability of commodities that can be marketed within the Dominion and overseas.

Guaranteed Prices

Extension of guaranteed price procedure to provide an income for farmers measured by New Zealand living standards in accord with the services rendered by the farmer.

Prices of farm products are unstable. To rectify this the Government promised to institute a policy of guaranteed prices. Already this procedure covers butter, cheese, wheat, fruit, honey, barley, and tobacco. The results have so justified the policy that no farmer would advocate the abolition of the guaranteed price procedure.

It has brought stability, security, and hope for the future.

External Marketing

Continuance of negotiations with the United Kingdom and other countries with a view to securing expanding markets for our primary products by bilateral agreement.

The Government will continue the negotiations with the United Kingdom and other countries with the main view of expanding markets for our primary products by bilateral agreements on a reciprocal trade basis.

Internal Marketing

Regulation of orderly marketing in the Dominion to ensure reasonable prices to consumers whilst maintaining guaranteed prices to primary producers.

Secondary Industries

Establishment, protection, and expansion of manufacturing and other secondary industries essential to the development of the Dominion.

The Government believes that a vigorous policy of industrial development and expansion is essential to the welfare of this Dominion.

The Government has made extensive investigations into possible new industries. As a result of these investigations a number of new activities have been commenced and others will be commenced in the near future.

Land Settlement

The policy aims—

1. To bring into productivity all available unoccupied Crown land which is suitable for development.

2. To acquire (by purchase) land which to-day is not being adequately farmed.

3. To provide for settlement of acquired land after the development.

4. Provide security of tenure for occupiers by leasehold titles, conserving full value of all improvements to lessees.

5. To give preference to application for lands when developed and stocked to competent rural and other workers and sons of farmers for whom land has not been previously available at economic prices.

6. Financial assistance to farmers to enable them to develop and improve their properties.

Housing

(a) Continuation of Government housing construction to the maximum of available labour and materials.

(b) Extension of housing construction to rural areas for farmers, farm workers, and other rural dwellers.

(c) Clearance of slum areas and erection of modern dwellings.

(d) Advances to modernise existing dwelling-houses.

The construction of homes by the Government will be extended to all country

cy Social Security, Defence & Foreign Policy Land Settlement, Control of Finance

districts to ensure that farmers, farm-workers, and other rural dwellers shall have the same comforts and amenities as those in urban districts.

Home owners will be assisted to modernise and improve dwellings, and to install necessary hygienic equipment to bring homes up to the high standard achieved in the new houses now being erected.

Clearing Slum Areas

The slum areas at present existing in some of our cities and towns will be swept away and replaced by modern dwellings that will be a credit and a pleasure to the country that takes pride in its high standard of living. In the clearance of these areas the city dweller will have the choice of multiple dwellings or of individual homes as he prefers, and all forms of transport will be developed and improved to serve new suburbs efficiently and cheaply.

State Advances

(a) Provide credit to the fullest extent for farmers at the lowest possible rates of interest.

(b) Provide the maximum advance of capital at the lowest rates of interest for persons in rural and urban districts who desire to own their own homes, and for the erection of suitable houses for the accommodation of workers on farms.

(c) Extend the provision of credit for the establishment and extension of secondary industry.

Advances will be made to farmers for the purchase and equipping of farms, for improvements and extensions, and for the erection of homes and other buildings. These loans will be made at the lowest rate of interest and on the most favourable conditions possible.

Advances on the most helpful terms will be made for the purchase of stock, implements, manures, and other farming requisites.

Loans will be made available for enabling farmers and dwellers in urban districts to erect their own homes and to build accommodation for workers on long-term mortgage, to any person who is worthy of credit.

For the first time State advances are available for the establishment and extension of secondary industries, and the fullest assistance will be provided to enable the development of industry on conditions that will facilitate expansion and new enterprise.

Education

Continuation of the Government's successful policy of providing for all children the fullest educational opportunities from the kindergarten to the university; further development of kindergarten education; maintenance and extension of the Government's present energetic educational building programme to provide the best type of new school buildings (including Native schools) with well-equipped classrooms and modern head-teachers' residences; progressive reduction in the size of classes;

maintenance of the numbers of students in the training colleges at full strength to ensure an adequate supply of teachers.

Special attention to the educational needs, both primary and post-primary, of the country child, including consolidation of schools, post-primary schools, and school department in country districts, and assistance to pupils through increased conveyance services and boarding allowances; increased opportunities for home science and manual training centres in town and country; generous provision for technical and occupational training, including agricultural courses; further encouragement of girls' and boys' agricultural clubs.

Health

The strengthening of school medical and nursing services to ensure the medical examination of every school child at least once each year.

The most rapid extension possible of the school dental service (so that the teeth of all school children can be cared for).

The milk-in-schools scheme to be pushed forward so as to include all schools in the Dominion at the earliest possible moment.

Additional health districts and an increase in the district health officers and nurses to provide better public health services.

Institution of a branch to investigate and occupational diseases.

Increased support of the Medical Research Council.

Provision of most efficient maternity attention and care in all parts of the Dominion.

National Development

Organisation of land development and utilisation by extension of irrigation works and swamp drainage by modern methods.

Extension of afforestation system with provision for maximum economic utilisation of products.

Establishment of a special Department under the Minister of Public Works for the prevention of river erosion, and the cleaning of river beds and planting of hills with a view to avoiding the disastrous floods which have been experienced during the past ten years.

Public Works

1. Maximum facilities for the improvement of secondary and main highways with special consideration for the construction and improvements of roads in backblock areas.

2. Completion of existing railway construction work and the extension of Taneatua-Opotiki railway and Rimutaka deviation tunnel.

The development of air services and the Air Force necessitates the rapid building of extensive aerodromes. This will be proceeded with. Men will be employed to build nationally-needed assets. This policy will dovetail in with the work of national development referred to elsewhere.

Railways

The Government has initiated a campaign for the modernisation of the railway system and the latest designs in railcars, multiple-electric units, electric locomotives, improved engine designs, and rolling stock generally are being provided for the service of the public.

This policy will be continued in the future in order that our great national transport system shall become one of the most efficient in the world.

Electrical Development

Provision of electricity at minimum charges for domestic needs in rural and urban areas.

Special facilities for supply of power to farmers and manufacturers at low rates to reduce production costs.

Industry

Maintenance and improvement of wages and conditions in industrial and other employment in accord with productive facilities and potential living standards.

Native Affairs

(a) An immediate determination of the sums which should be provided to equitably meet Native claims.

(b) Extension of Native land development and settlement.

(c) Provision of houses, water, sanitation, and health facilities in Native districts.

The Policy in Brief

The Government's policy is founded on the belief that every possible provision should be made for the maintenance and future expansion of national income and production. The Government believes that, given an efficiently organised economy, there is infinite scope for the development and expansion of the Dominion's economic activity. It believes that an efficiently organised economy is one in which there is a scientific use of human and natural resources so as to promote the maximum amount of social welfare through the provision of a high minimum standard of living and is incompatible with unemployment, poverty, or insecurity.

So long as the necessary labour, a major portion of the requisite raw material, and the capital equipment are available in New Zealand, there is no insuperable obstacle to the fullest possible utilisation of those resources irrespective of overseas conditions.

The existing and potential wealth of this Dominion is amply sufficient to enable everybody to enjoy a standard of living considerably higher than that which has so far been achieved. It will be the Government's aim to ensure that present standards are progressively lifted.

VOTE LABOUR AGAIN.

MANIFESTO OF THE NEW ZEALAND NATIONAL PARTY

We seek to arouse a deeper interest in the Government of our country. New Zealand is now an independent member of the Empire with close upon a century's life behind her, and must accept the full responsibility of Nationhood.

Every citizen of the Dominion should realise his duty to fulfill the obligations of Democracy.

As a Party, we aim at being truly National in character, representing all sections of the community—farmers, manufacturers, wage-earners, business and professional men—and we shall govern in National as distinct from sectional or class interests. We recognise no class distinctions in the people of this virile young nation.

EMPIRE RECIPROCITY

Recognising our responsibility as a unit of the great Empire to which we proudly belong, and responding to the ties of a common heritage, we will at all times co-operate with Great Britain and other parts of the Empire to the fullest extent possible—not only in trade and defence, but also in every direction that will further strengthen the bonds of Empire and promote the peace of the world.

PRIVATE ENTERPRISE

Labour stands for the subjection of industry and the supremacy of the State. The National Party, on the contrary, stands for private enterprise and the greatest freedom for the individual to develop his own resources and his own initiative. We will remove from the minds of small traders and shopkeepers the fear which is engendered by Internal State Marketing, and we will give them freedom to expand.

In place of the uncertainty and distrust which at present stand in the path of organisation, planning and development by commerce, trade and industry, we shall give encouragement and an assurance of stability, and shall establish the most favourable conditions under which individual and co-operative effort may thrive in the community.

THE FARMER

Primary production is the foundation industry of New Zealand, and is entitled to a standard of reward comparable with other industries.

As the farmer labours under an economic disadvantage in that he has to accept world market prices for his produce, but has to meet internal costs, we will give effect to such measures as will ensure that farmers are able to pay competitive rates of wages, are assured of reasonable interest on capital value in farms and stocks, are enabled to meet increased costs imposed by legislation—including tariffs—and are ensured a remuneration commensurate with the service they render, comparable with that obtained by other members of the community who render equal service.

This will be accomplished by a lowering of costs, or by a compensating payment for farm produce, or a combination of both.

Regarding the present so-called guaranteed price, the National Party will honour all commitments which have been entered into by the Labour Government with regard to the current season's dairy produce. We will return to the farmer the ownership of his own produce. The commandeering principle will be entirely removed. We will consult the dairy industry on matters relating to marketing and finance, and

will assist by providing a guaranteed minimum price. Internal prices and farming costs will both receive close attention.

LAND SETTLEMENT

New Zealand's export wealth comes almost entirely from primary products. The various types of farming offer one of the best avenues for establishing many of our people in suitable homes and permanent occupations.

To this end, we will pursue a vigorous land settlement policy, first by making available for settlement any suitable areas of Crown lands, and, secondly, by a policy of subdivision of such as are suitable for this purpose. Settlers to obtain their holdings at reasonable and economic values and on table mortgage.

We will provide financial assistance and adjust costs in order:

(1) To encourage voluntary subdivision.

(2) To provide farms for suitable applicants such as farmers' sons, rural workers, share milkers and others with small amounts of capital.

(4) To arrange small holdings for such seasonal workers as dairy factory, freezing works, and farm workers and miners.

Group settlement will be undertaken to assimilate less experienced men under the control of a group manager. The value of the farms when developed will be based on productive values.

In order to provide amenities for married workers, in districts where such labour can be utilised—particularly in the vicinity of villages—facilities will be given for the erection of convenient and suitable homes upon small farms of convenient size.

Land tenure will be in all cases at the option of the settler, and all-weather roads will be provided.

A vigorous policy of treeplanting will be encouraged and assisted.

MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES

In the field of manufacturing industries we see the most likely and fruitful field for increasing national production, enlarging the national income available to the people, absorbing our surplus manpower, and reducing the great uneconomic loss of idle productive capacity which has so many attendant ill-effects.

We realise that our manufacturing industries cannot prosper while they are burdened with excessive taxes, constantly rising costs, with confidence in investment and production almost non-existent, and with Government interference and bureaucratic regulation in every direction.

We recognise that finance will not be available for investment in industry unless a return commensurate with the investment involved, and the risk incurred, is reasonably assured.

In a country with a relatively small population, a larger ratio of consumption of New Zealand-produced goods is essential to efficient and economical production.

Policy in regard to Industry.

We will co-operate closely with our manufacturers, so as to bring about a greatly increased consumption of goods produced, not only in our factories, but also on our farms, so as to stimulate production and increase efficiency wherever possible.

We will give industry the greatest amount of freedom from State interference and dictation, by limiting Government regulation to the prevention of abuses inimical to the public interest.

We will help the industrialists by stabilising costs and by constant co-operation in research, to improve efficiency and to discover new avenues of expansion.

We will assist industry by requiring that foreign-made goods are clearly marked with the name of the country of origin, as far as is practicable.

We will restore to the manufacturing industries the Ottawa basis of competition with overseas goods.

We will do everything possible to restore confidence in industrial enterprise, with goodwill and understanding between the workers and the employer, and we will encourage schemes to bring about that end. We will encourage schemes for profit-sharing, co-partnership, etc.

As a Government, we will see that wherever possible New Zealand-made goods will be given preference in Government requirements.

INDUSTRIAL EMPLOYMENT

The Labour Party's administration and compulsory unionism has resulted in the domination of industrial employment by the Trades Hall, greatly to the detriment of industrial peace, as exemplified by the enormous number of disputes, strikes and other causes of stoppage of work, since Labour has been the Government.

The National Party will retain the system of compulsory arbitration, and awards of the court will be impartially enforced on both employer and employee. The procedure of the Arbitration Court will be simplified and thus do away with the present irritating delays in making awards and giving decisions.

The questions of workers' wages, hours and conditions of employment will be left to the Court of Arbitration for decision on the evidence submitted, including the effect of awards on industry and on employment.

We will repeal the law relating to compulsory unionism, but we acknowledge the right of the workers to join unions and provision will be made for the inclusion of preference to unionists clause in awards of the Arbitration Court.

One Court of Arbitration will be reverted to, and matters of less importance referred to industrial magistrates.

We will undertake a complete overhaul of the existing law governing the employment of our youth population.

THE SMALL TRADER

THE SMALL FARMER

THE SMALL SHOPKEEPER

Recognising that New Zealand's prosperity and development have been largely built up by small traders, small farmers, small manufacturers and small shopkeepers, we will do everything possible to ensure their prosperity and freedom from Ministerial dictatorship and interference.

The National Party is opposed to monopolistic control of any section of trade or industry.

HOUSING

We will approach the housing problem from the standpoint that a home owned is far better than a house rented. The Labour Party believes that the State should own the houses and the people should be State tenants. The National Party stands for the private ownership of the home as the basis of our national life.

The right of purchase will be given to tenants of State rental houses and in other cases, liberal advances up to 90 per cent. will be made available to home builders, while every encouragement will be given to building societies.

The present Government's housing policy has crippled private house building. The unwarranted restrictions placed on private housebuilding, has resulted in large numbers of houses previously available for letting purposes, being taken off the market, thus aggravating, rather than relieving the existing shortage. These restrictions will be removed and we will restore to owners the right of access to their own properties, at the same time providing adequate safeguards for tenants.

Particular attention will be given to the provision of homes for farm and other country workers.

As employees of the State departments are constantly subject to transfer from one place to another, we will see that houses are provided for letting to the Departmental staffs on reasonable terms.

Realising the responsibility of the State to see that adequate housing is available for the people, we aim at a building programme of at least 5000 houses each year.

LOANS FOR PURCHASE OF FURNITURE

We will advance to young couples getting married a loan of £100 for the purchase of furniture, such loan to be repaid with interest at the lowest possible rate, but the loan will be cancelled on the birth of children as follows:—

For the first child	£20
For the second child	£30
For the third child	£50

DEFENCE

We approve of the ideals of the League of Nations, but we believe that a strongly-defended British Empire is the greatest factor in the preservation of world peace.

We accept our responsibility for providing our own local defence. In addition, we will take our share in maintaining trade routes and in the common object of Empire defence.

Our policy is that:

- (1) We will maintain another cruiser in the New Zealand Division of the Royal Navy.
- (2) We will provide sufficient aeroplanes to defend our country and sufficient equipment to service such machines. We will provide facilities for the training of an increasing number of young pilots—members of the Air Force and of the Territorial Air Force. We will build up a wireless and radio corps with the object of keeping abreast with the science of rapid communication.
- (3) We will develop our voluntary land forces into a highly-efficient and mobile force, capable of putting up an effective defence in the event of attack. We will restore the status of the recently-dismembered territorial units and ensure that members of the military forces have the privilege of serving with the colours of our historic regiments with their glorious traditions. We will give liberal camp pay and allowances and special privileges for efficiency in service.
- (4) We will encourage as complementary and essential to an efficient defence scheme a voluntary organisation of women and girls trained in nursing and first aid and the services supplementary to the fighting forces.
- (5) In the event of war the National Party will mobilise the resources of the country, both men and money. No inhabitant of New Zealand will be allowed to exploit his fellow-citizen.

TRANSPORT

We believe that an efficient and modern railway service is an essential part of our national transport system, and that the community will be best served by the maintenance of a properly co-ordinated and privately-owned road transport service, complementary to that provided by the railways.

We assure to private services in all branches of transport that are required by the people reasonable opportunities of providing up-to-date services. Whatever regulation may be necessary will be designed for the purpose of giving the public the best service possible and fair treatment to all branches of transport.

We will amend the present law that constitutes the Minister of Transport as the final court of appeal from decisions of the transport licensing authorities, and will restore to those concerned this right of appeal to a properly-constituted appeal authority.

TAXATION

We stand for a reduction of taxation so that enterprise may be encouraged, industries established and living costs reduced.

We believe that the smallest amount of taxation possible should be collected consistent with the efficient carrying on of the proper functions of democratic government.

The best means of encouraging industry and enterprise, and of increasing permanent and useful employment among the people is to leave as much spending power as possible in the hands of those earning the money.

RURAL RATING

We agree that our rural rating finance system has reached the stage when maintenance charges should not be car-

ried so largely by the farming community. With a view to easing the increasing burden of road rates, we will give effect to the resolution carried at recent county conferences, to the effect that county council rates for roads, other than highways, be subsidised on a basis of £ for £ instead of as at present. Subsidy for highways will remain as at present.

RESERVE BANK

The National Party realises the great value of the Reserve Bank as an integral part of our banking and financial system. We will retrain the Government ownership of the bank's capital, and while the bank is always subject to Parliament, we realise that success in public finance can be achieved

UNEMPLOYMENT

The solution of the great problem of unemployment lies in the ability of our industries, both primary and manufacturing, to absorb our workless population back into productive employment, and our administration as a Government will be based on that fundamental truth.

Private enterprise must be encouraged and assisted to find increased employment.

Until such time as our unemployed can be absorbed back into industry, we will continue unemployment relief as at present.

All money expended on relief works should be productive of useful public assets.



HON. ADAM HAMILTON.

only by closest co-operation between the bank and the Government.

PUBLIC WORKS

In prosperous times public works should be limited to works of a developmental and reproductive character.

We will develop such public works as will stand up to the test of national usefulness and the work will be done wherever possible on a system of co-operative contracts and payment will be based on standard rates.

We will not continue the present policy of taking workers out of productive employment in our primary industries. Public works already commenced will be completed with all reasonable expedition and by the use of the most modern equipment available.

RETURNED SOLDIERS

The National Party gives full recognition to the great services rendered to the nation by the returned soldiers. We realise that with the passage of time, many cases of hardship develop which may not be fully covered by existing provisions. We will, at all times, deal most sympathetically with these new problems as they arise.

NATIVE RACE

We will develop to the full the resources in land and man power of the Maori people. We will improve the status of the Native race and give its members equal opportunities with the pakeha, with whom they share nationhood.

We are intimately aware of the grievances of a number of tribes of the Maori race. It will be our duty to call

them into our confidence, thoroughly to investigate their problems and so ensure them justice. Housing will be provided at reduced costs; the craftsmanship of the Maori will be developed in technical pursuits; and more vigorous measures will be taken with regard to Native health.

PETROLEUM ROYALTIES

We will amend the Petroleum Act by making provision for property-owners to receive one-half of the royalties payable under the Act. This will maintain to the Native race the spirit of the Treaty of Waitangi.

ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE

We claim that the courts of justice play a most important part in the preservation of the rights and liberties of the individual in every British democracy.

We view with alarm the actions of the Government in taking away from individuals the traditional right of appeal to our courts and substituting a right of appeal to a Cabinet Minister.

We undertake to restore to every individual the right of appeal to the courts and will oppose every action whether legislative or administrative, which tends to limit the jurisdiction of our courts or which seeks to deprive the individual of his right of appeal to our courts of justice.

EDUCATION

We believe that democracy can only be maintained by a free, independent and educated people and that the children are the greatest asset of every nation. In view of the rapid progress that is made each year in the world of scientific knowledge and invention, we must see that our children are provided with the best possible educational equipment for the battle of life.

We will encourage and develop the kindergartens. We will maintain the present entry and leaving school ages. We will extend the work of the correspondence school and provide further facilities for secondary and technical education in country districts. We will provide facilities for adult education.

That the welfare of the children must be the first consideration in every educational system, and realising that the best results can only be attained with the most efficient teaching staff, we will consult with the profession in an effort to find solutions of these problems. We will extend dental treatment for children and increase free transport facilities to children attending primary and secondary schools.

BROADCASTING

The existing dual control of radio broadcasting services, with divided authority, duplicated equipment and staffs will be ended. The services will be placed under one authority and commercial broadcasting will be put on a sound business footing. We will continue Parliamentary broadcasts but will put a stop to abuse of the radio for political propaganda.

AMALGAMATION OF LOCAL BODIES

We appreciate fully the valuable work being done by our local bodies, and will not bring about amalgamations except by a vote of the people concerned.

ONE
EVERYONE
EVERYWHERE
IS BETTER OFF
TODAY!



THIS CHAPTER TITLE IS A slogan from a Labour poster produced for the 1960 election: ‘Everyone everywhere is better off today, Hold fast to prosperity, Vote Labour again’ (see page 26). The poster contains an illustration of a smiling, happy voter family. It was an extension of Labour’s 1949 campaign slogan ‘Everyone’s better off under Labour’ and its 1951 emphatic campaign slogan ‘Everyone — yes, everyone — will be better off under Labour’ (see page 28). In these campaigns the words ‘everyone, everywhere’ serve as a proxy for the people, for whom democracy and political parties exist. But exactly who is ‘everyone everywhere’ in Labour’s version of 1940s–1960s New Zealand? It doesn’t take a microscope to see that everyone is shining, gleaming white. Not a single person of colour to be seen. It’s not fair to pick on Labour as the only example of this. National used the term ‘everybody’ in its 1951 advertising, and in National’s ad, similarly, everybody is white (see page 31). This chapter looks at how white (European or Pākehā) families came to be valued as the archetypal New Zealand voter.

One of the first attempts to understand New Zealand’s political culture was written in 1948 by Leslie Lipson, the American founder of the Political Science Department at Victoria University of Wellington. In his book *The Politics of Equality* Lipson declared New Zealand’s political culture to be homogeneous and like-minded. He put this down to the ‘prevalence of a single national, racial and cultural tradition — that of Britain’. He said it was this homogeneity that made possible the equalitarianism that typified New Zealand democracy: its focus on ‘fair play for everyone who belongs to the group’, its passion for social justice and the eradication of poverty, and the absence of privilege and class distinctions. Lipson confidently proclaimed that ‘there is no underdog, nor is anyone exploited — unless it be the housewife and mother’.¹

Today it is unthinkable that women’s exploitation should be brushed off so inconsequentially, or that the indigenous Māori population should be totally ignored. The 1940s was a time, however, when the perspective of Anglo-Saxon men was all that counted in public life — and not just in New Zealand, but all over the western world, where they have comprised and defined the dominant political culture for hundreds of years. People who are comfortably part of a dominant political culture don’t normally pause to consider that those outside that culture might not share their views and values. They assume that, like them, everyone is perfectly happy with the status quo. We would like to think those times have past, and that New Zealand’s political culture now reflects the complexity of its diverse population. However, dominant cultures are resilient and highly resistant to change, and New Zealand’s is no different.

First, a bit of context for non-New Zealand readers. Ngā iwi Māori, the Māori people, are the indigenous people (tangata whenua/people of the land) of Aotearoa New Zealand. They occupied the land for 600 or more years before British settlers arrived in the early nineteenth century. Until then Māori (a word that means ‘ordinary’ in te reo, the Māori language) were grouped in separate and politically autonomous groups called iwi (extended kinship groups/tribes) that were then, and still are, connected by whakapapa (lineage/genealogy).

**EVERYONE
EVERYWHERE
IS BETTER OFF
TODAY !**



HOLD FAST TO PROSPERITY

***VOTE LABOUR
AGAIN !***

PRINTED BY C. H. BARNES LTD.

ISSUED BY THE N.Z. LABOUR PARTY

Labour Party posters from 1951 and 1960
(see also pages 28–29) promise greater
prosperity to New Zealand families.

In 1840, the Treaty of Waitangi was concluded between iwi and Queen Victoria (the Crown), establishing New Zealand as a British colony. There are two versions of the Treaty, one in English and one in te reo, and the meanings are different. In the English version the Crown claimed rights and powers of sovereignty over New Zealand, while also recognising Māori rangatiratanga (chieftainship) over all aspects of their property and culture, and granting Māori full rights and protections as British subjects. Māori maintain that, in signing the Māori version, Te Tiriti o Waitangi, they never gave the Crown power to govern Māori — just to govern the British colonists. The deal was that Māori would continue to assert their authority over their own lands, villages, property and treasures. This aspect of the Treaty has never been honoured by the Crown to the satisfaction of Māori.

At the time of the signing of the Treaty in 1840 the Māori population was estimated to be around 80,000 and the European settler population only 2000. Māori would not have anticipated that by signing Te Tiriti they were, in effect, acceding sovereignty to the British colonists who would so quickly overtake them in number. In 1946, when Leslie Lipson was writing his book, the European population had risen to 1.6 million, or 93.6 per cent of the entire population, due to immigration, mainly from Britain. The Māori population had risen to 98,744, but was now only 6.4 per cent of the overall population. By 1960, when the first ads in this chapter were produced, the European population had risen to 2.17 million (still 93 per cent) and the population identifying as Māori remained at seven per cent (154,000). As at 31 December 2018 the estimated resident population of New Zealand is 4.93 million, 15 per cent of which identifies as Māori.

WHY ARE VOTERS PICTURED IN advertisements in the first place? Aren't political parties trying to sell their leaders, members of Parliament and policy positions? Shouldn't that be what is featured? This question goes to the heart of how ads communicate. Persuasion 101. The first step in any persuasive strategy is to draw attention to a message. To this end, ads are targeted towards groups of people who are most likely to be interested in the products or services and act on the offering; that is, buy what is being advertised. When determining if they should pay attention to an advertisement, audiences evaluate whether they can see themselves in the ad. Not only do people look to see themselves represented, but they look to see their *best* selves represented: whom they aspire to being, what they want to look like, rather than who they are at that particular moment in time.

By including images of voters in their political advertisements, political parties are saying:

You are the voters who matter to us.
We share your values.
We understand your aspirations.
We promise to deliver on your hopes and dreams.

This is literally drawn as a thought bubble in the advertising sketch (see page 33) that went on to become a 1960 National Party ad. The finished version of the ad appears in the next chapter (see page 87), but we don't need it in order to read the meaning of this sketch. The young mother in the ad has a dream home in mind. The ad-husband appears to understand that if he is to make his ad-wife happy he needs to deliver on her dream. The message to voters: National understands the needs of sophisticated, attractive, ambitious young Pākehā families and will deliver their future happiness through home ownership if they give their vote to National's electoral candidate. It was still First Past the Post (FPP), after all.

For those not familiar with New Zealand's electoral history, FPP was New Zealand's electoral system up to 1993. Each voter had one vote to choose the member of Parliament (MP) they wanted

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BOUR



to represent the electorate where they lived. The candidate who got the most votes won the electorate (seat), and the political party winning the most seats formed the government. Single-party majority governments, formed by either the Labour Party or the National Party, resulted from every FPP election in New Zealand between 1935 and 1993. In 1996, following a public referendum, FPP was changed to a Mixed Member Proportional (MMP) electoral system. Under this system, each voter casts two votes. The first vote, the party vote, is for the political party the voter chooses. This determines the total number of seats each political party gets in Parliament. A second vote, the electorate vote, chooses the MP the voter wants to represent their electorate. Under current MMP rules, a political party that wins at least one electorate seat or 5 per cent of the party vote gets a share of the seats in Parliament that is more or less proportionate to its share of the party vote.

Complex psychological mechanisms underpin the processes by which audiences connect with the people they see in advertisements (irrespective of whether they are drawn or photographed, or in still or moving images). A potent human driver is the desire to affiliate with others, and we do so mostly with those who are socially close to us.³ For the purposes of protection and efficiency, the brain is capable of discerning those in our close social group ('us') from those with whom we have less in common ('them'). Being able to recognise the former (our in-group) saves on cognitive resources: it means we don't have to relearn the affiliation on a daily basis. At the same time, this familiarity means we grow to favour, protect and normalise members of our own group over people who are not like us (out-groups), and we work hard to perpetuate and reproduce the world around us in the image and interests of our own group.

This bias towards our in-group might be cognitively efficient, but it is highly resistant to change and has well-known negative impacts. One is the co-option and absorption of the interests of anyone in the out-group into the dominant culture;⁴ another is the stereotyping, misrepresentation and discrimination of people from out-groups, and the omission or marginalisation of their images and stories from forms of mass communication like advertisements, television, movies, social media and the news media. These impacts can all have serious political repercussions. If voters are marginalised and misrepresented by the dominant culture's need to perpetuate and reproduce the world around it in its image, this can lead to them being overlooked when it comes to sharing any benefits the in-group gains for itself. Not only this, but the more people are marginalised in forms of cultural expression, the more they expect to be treated as marginal, and this affects their sense of self-worth.

In politics this translates to feelings of being powerless to affect change; this lack of efficacy can lead to disengagement from the political system, which in turn leads to what is known as a cycle of mutual neglect. If certain groups of people don't vote, political parties fail to appreciate their viewpoints. The more political parties ignore the needs of these voters when developing their election promises, the more these voters think their vote isn't important. Parties double down on meeting the needs of those who do vote, leading to a widening gap between those who control power and those who don't.

If we want to find out who our political culture values, and doesn't value, at any point in time, we need look no further than at who is pictured in political ads.

IF THERE'S ONE IMAGE THAT has signified the most valued voter in the post-Depression period up until today, it is the Pākehā male voter in the role of father (see page 32). Not surprisingly, this is a voter in the likeness of our predominantly Pākehā male politicians. In the early elections, fathers were told they had a duty to the state. 'Every citizen of the Dominion should realise his duty to fulfil the obligations of democracy,' proclaimed the 1938 National Party manifesto (see page 22). Those obligations were as head of their family and breadwinner. National told fathers the nuclear family was an imperative of empire. In a 1938 brochure titled 'Your Future in Your Hand' National leader Adam