Copyright is owned by the Author of the thesis. Permission is given for a copy to be downloaded by an individual for the purpose of research and private study only. The thesis may not be reproduced elsewhere without the permission of the Author.

Political Messaging, Parliament, and People Or, Why Politicians Say the Things They Do the Way They Do:

The Parliamentary Green Party of Aotearoa New Zealand in 2013

A thesis presented in partial fulfilment Of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy in Social Anthropology

At Massey University Palmerston North Aotearoa New Zealand

Jessica Anne Copplestone Bignell

2018

Abstract

One of the main things a Member of Parliament (MP) does in their everyday work is talk. They are constantly saying things to try to win over the public's support and make the world they envision real. This thesis is about politicians' statements: why they say the things they say the way they do. Based on behind-the-scenes ethnographic fieldwork in the parliamentary offices of the Green Party of Aotearoa New Zealand, I explore the difficult strategic work that shapes what opposition MPs say. In order to win over the public support they need to increase their vote, MPs have to communicate effectively in adherence to the rules and codes of political messaging, be good oppositional MPs, and speak and act in ways that fit authentically with their dispositions. I show that, unlike the simple soundbites we see in public from our politicians, the production of statements designed to win support is messy, indeterminate, uncertain, filled with tension and above all – intensely complex. Drawing on Bourdieu's theory of practice and analysis of the political field, I argue that managing that complexity to make political statements that aim at winning the political stakes and fit the specific situation, MPs must rely on their practical sense: their feel for the game that allows them to anticipate and shape the future state of play from the current situation. Because the language used to describe the world constitutes the social order that makes it real, this thesis examines how the three drivers of modern political communication, the structure of parliament, and the dispositions of individuals preconstrain what politicians can say and therefore the possibilities of the world MPs can aim at creating.

Key Words: Political Communication, Political Strategy, Messaging, Parliament, Opposition, Member of Parliament, Green Party of Aotearoa New Zealand, Bourdieu.

Acknowledgements

Thank you, first and foremost, to Holly, Kennedy, Gareth, and Catherine for taking a chance with me and this research. You know that our time together had a much greater impact on my life beyond making this thesis.

Thank you too to the other MPs and staff for your help and friendship as it appears in this thesis and much more what doesn't. I hope I've captured the spirit of 2013 for you.

Thank you to my supervisors Carolyn and Russell for your all your feedback, patience, and encouragement. Thank you especially, too, for the ease with which you understood my need and gave me the freedom to pursue life over thesis.

Thank you to Lesley and Kathy for your guidance and confidence too, even if it has taken me over a year to learn what you taught me.

Finally, thank you to Simon and my family. It's done.

Table of Contents

Abstract	i
Acknowledgements	ii
Table of Contents	 iii
List of Tables	vi
List of Figures	vi
List of Appendices	vii
List of Appendices	VII
Introduction	1
Winning Politics:	
Making Statements	
Why Politicians Say Things	2
What Members of Parliament Can Say	3
The Logic of Messaged Statements	4
Being in Parliament in Opposition	5
The Individual Dispositions of MPs	6
Context: New Zealand's Political Field and the Green Party's Broad Strategy	9
Why This Thesis Matters: Addressing the Gaps	19
The Contribution to New Zealand's Political Field	19
The Contribution to Ethnographic Understandings of Parliament	24
Outline of Thesis Chapters	30
Chapter Two	33
·	33
Modern Political Communication Through the Lens of Bourdieu:	
How Messaging Strategies Dominate What Politicians Say	2.4
The Rationalisation of Politicians' Practical Communicative Skill and Sense	34
The Influence of Lakoff: Framing	39
The Influence of Westen: Emotional Appeals	45
The Green Party's Belief	49
Anthropology Joins In	52
The Case for Messaging as a Messy, Indeterminate, and Uncertain Practice Conclusion	55 59
Chapter Three	62
Politics is Done by People:	
Fieldwork with Four MPs and Their Political Lives	
Outline of the Fieldwork Site, Methods, and Methodological Considerations	64
Holly Walker: Being an MP and Becoming a Mother	71
Gareth Hughes: Change, Effectiveness, and Ambition	77
Catherine Delahunty: Hard-Core, Radical Left Green	80
Dr Kennedy Graham: Resolutely Diplomatic-Academic	85
Conclusion	90

Chapter Four	92
Opposition Politics: Some Important Parts of What Green MPs Do	
The Rhythm of Parliament	94
The Morning Call	99
Legislation and Speaking in the House	104
Question Time and the Speaker	109
Working with the Media	112
•	
Preparing to Govern	117
The Difficulty of Being Positive While in Opposition	119
Conclusion	121
Chapter Five	123
Strategic Reproduction of the Field:	
Parliament's Regulated Consensus and Passing the Plumbers Bill	
The Plumbers, Gasfitters and Drainlayers Amendment Bill 2013	125
The Green Party's Position and the First Reading	127
The Bill at Government Administration Select Committee	131
The Second Reading The Committee Stages and Third Reading	136
The Committee Stages and Third Reading	139
Conclusion	141
Chapter Six	144
Message Discipline:	
Why MPs Say Only Some Things and Not Other Things	
Message Discipline in the Green Party	145
The 1+3 as an Internal Tool for Producing Message Discipline	148
Maintaining Message Discipline	153
Conclusion	161
Conclusion	101
Chapter Seven	163
The Practical Complexity of Messaging the Issues in the Political Field: Society, Environment, and Economy	:
Society: Good Lives, Fair Futures	164
Environment: Love It, Protect It	167
Economy: Smart, Green Economics	173
At What Cost to Vision and Values?	175
Conclusion	180
Conclusion	180
Chapter Eight:	183
Messaging from the House:	
New Directions for Questions for Oral Answer	
How the Green Party Makes Good Questions	185
Practical Sense and Predictability	187
· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	194
Working with a Different Practical Sense	174

Chapter Nine:	204
Speaking to the Public:	
Getting Media Coverage	
The Strategic and Practical Parts of Getting Media Coverage	205
The MPs' Dispositions and Media Styles	209
'Hey Clint'	212
No Media Coverage	215
Good Media Coverage	217
Getting into a Leading Story	220
Conclusion	225
Conclusion	227
The Challenge and Complexity of Doing Politics,	
and the Contribution this Thesis Makes	
Updating Bourdieu	227
The Contribution to Understanding Political Messaging	229
The Contribution to Understanding Parliament and Opposition	232
The Contribution to Understanding MPs and Their Practical Sense	235
Some Thoughts About Where Next	236
Post-Script: What Happened in 2014	240
References	242
Appendices	265
rr	

List of Tables

Table 1.1	The Election and Constitution of New Zealand's 50 th Parliament, 2011-2014	11
Table 5.1	Timeline of the Progression of the Plumbers Bill	127
Table 11.1	The Election and Composition of New Zealand's 51 st Parliament, 2014-2017	239

List of Figures

Figure 1.1	The Green Party Caucus 2011-2014	6
Figure 1.2	The Four Green MPs, in Chronological Order of Fieldwork	8
Figure 1.3	2013 Labour Party Leaders, David Shearer and David Cunliffe	15
Figure 1.4	Prime Minister of New Zealand 2008-2016, Rt Hon Sir John Key	16
Figure 2.1	An Example of Westen's Neural Networks of Association	46
Figure 3.1	Fieldwork Calendar	63
Figure 3.2	Structure and Roles of the Green Party's Parliamentary Wing	65
Figure 3.3	Holly Walker at Oxford University	73
Figure 3.4	Gareth Hughes Growing Up in Gisborne	77
Figure 3.5	Catherine Delahunty, 3 rd from Left, Protesting at Parliament as a Child	81
Figure 3.6	Kennedy Graham, Aged Around 40, Being Interviewed on UN Television	87
Figure 4.1	House Calendar 2013	95
Figure 4.2	Catherine Delahunty's Diary – Thursday November 14, 2013 (Sitting)	96
Figure 4.3	Gareth Hughes' Diary – Monday August 12, 2013 (Recess)	98
Figure 4.4	The Green Party's House Programme for Tuesday July 30, 2013	102
Figure 4.5	Co-leader Russel Norman Speaking to the Press Gallery on the Bridge	115
Figure 5.1	Holly Speaks on the First Reading of the Plumbers Bill	129
Figure 5.2	Holly Featuring on New Zealand Herald's Website About the Plumbers Bill	131
Figure 5.3	Holly Speaks on the Second Reading of the Plumbers Bill	136
Figure 6.1	Green Party's Facebook Image on the Decision to Mine Denniston Plateau	152
Figure 6.2	Two Pages from a Draft of Part One of Kennedy's Background Papers	154
Figure 6.3	Two Pages from a Draft of Part Two of Kennedy's Background Papers	154
Figure 6.4	Two Pages from Meeting the Challenge	155
Figure 7.1	Co-leader Metiria Turei Speaking at the Launch of the Kiwibid Campaign	169
Figure 7.2	The Front Page of the Kiwibid Leaflet Included in Action Packs for Volunteers	170
Figure 7.3	The Green Party's Economic Messaging	173
Figure 8.1	Kennedy's Question Bid on the Issuing of NZUs for the Morning Call	195
Figure 8.2	Betsy's Drafted Supplementary Questions on the Issuing of NZUS	198
Figure 9.1	Gareth Asking, "Hey Clint, Are We Pleased?"	213
Figure 9.2	Gareth's Tweet in Response to 'Hey Clint'	214
Figure 9.3	Images of Gareth Featuring in the Phosphate Mining Story	218
Figure 9.4	The Green Party's Facebook Post about the Phosphate Mining Story	219

List of Appendices

Appendix A:	Green Party MP List Rankings and Portfolios, Mid-Year 2013	265
Appendix B:	Lakoff's Strict Father and Nurturant Parent Models	267
Appendix C:	Holly Walker's Speech on the First Reading of the Plumbers Bill	269
Appendix D:	Holly Walker's Response to the Minister's Motion on the Plumbers Bill	271
Appendix E:	Green Party Minority View on the Plumbers Bill	272
Appendix F:	Holly Walker's Speech on the Second Reading of the Plumbers Bill	274
Appendix G:	Holly Walker's Speech in Committee on the Plumbers Bill	277
Appendix H:	Metiria Turei's Speech on the Third Reading of the Plumbers Bill	280
Appendix I:	Gareth Hughes' Speech at the Kiwibid Handover	282
Appendix J:	Holly Walker's Questions for Oral Answer to the Minister for Justice	284
Appendix K:	Gareth Hughes' Press Release on Treasury's Advice Against the Payment	286