

Clark Vader and the Helengrad Labour Lesbians

Anatomy of a political-symbolic hate campaign

Lewis Stoddart – lewis@feayn.org

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*And yet the rage that one felt was an abstract, undirected emotion
which could be switched from one object to another like the flame of a blowlamp.*
— George Orwell, *Nineteen Eighty-Four*

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Helen Clark, the first woman elected Prime Minister of New Zealand, has for decades been the subject of political attacks. These have been made on the basis of her history as an academic, her gender, domestic status and personal life, and not least her politics. John Banks and Lindsay Perigo, in their host roles on the Radio Pacific breakfast talk show *The First Edition*,¹ crystallised various of these attack strategies into a characterisation which I describe as ‘communist lesbian dictator’. This is not to say that Banks or Perigo ever owned or controlled the discourse which feeds this characterisation; indeed it is quite widespread, enough so that caricatures of Clark² routinely make fun of her ‘masculine’ characteristics, her ‘ruthlessness’, her tendency to wear red blazers, and other such symbolic matter. There exists enough *prima facie* evidence of this characterisation that my research does not examine *whether* it exists; rather it concentrates on analysing the symbolic discourse which is deployed to form the characterisation.

The primary means by which Banks and Perigo characterise Clark as a communist lesbian dictator is by constructing an us/them moiety³ division, containing in the ‘them’ group Clark, her government, its supporters and an astonishing assortment of the world’s evildoers; and in the ‘us’ group the hosts, certain of their political allies, and the ‘battlers from Struggle Street’ [33]⁴ who make up the notional Radio Pacific audience. The dualism is established by means of a sustained symbolic attack campaign primarily invoking well-known symbols of the communist threat, a prurient/deviant lesbian ‘feminazi’ paradox, and an archetypally brutal, power-hungry dictator. It separates what should be (and for most people are) quite minor issues or reconcilable differences of opinion with an unbridgeable symbolic-political chasm. This is a manifestation of ‘wedge politics’.⁵ The mechanism which allows Banks and Perigo to drive the wedge and broaden this divide is what I term ‘symbolic promotion’, whereby they load low-valence political symbols with additional meaning by use of ‘promotant’ words and phrases which elevate the valence of symbols. Simply, they add meaning to symbols in order to make people feel more strongly about them; in the case of Clark, more *negatively*.

Clark Vader and the Helengrad Labour Lesbians

This title has its own genealogy as part of a long tradition of mostly ad-hoc polemic discourse on this subject. ‘The Dark lord [sic] Clark Vader’ was to my knowledge first used by the pseudonymous ‘chrongen’ in a comment on ACT MP Rodney Hide’s weblog on 1 September 2006, although similar constructions such as ‘Darth Helen’ may predate it.⁶ It refers to the Young Nationals’ publication of a cartoon featuring Helen Clark’s head superimposed on Darth Vader’s body, with the caption

¹Perigo succeeded Banks as host of *The First Edition* on 16 July 2007. He has since left for undisclosed reasons.

²A prime source of satirical representations of Clark is the TV show *Face Lift*.

³(Fr. *moitié*, half): the entire society is divided into two, and any individual or group belongs to one or the other’ (Rodney Needham, *Symbolic Classification* (Santa Monica: Goodyear, 1979) p. 7). In anthropology the term can have a more specialised meaning; I use it in this less exact sense of two mutually-exclusive halves of arbitrary size and character.

⁴The ‘battlers’ terminology is fairly widespread throughout Australian and New Zealand anti-elitist discourses, see John Higley and Jan Pakulski, ‘Anti-Elitism as Political Strategy’ in: Marian Sawer and Barry Hindess (eds.), *Us and Them: Anti-Elitism in Australia* (Perth: API and Curtin University of Technology, 2004) p. 21. The notation [33] refers to clip 33 from my dataset; hereafter I cite all such clips in-text in this format. Refer to Appendix C for a clip listing and metadata. For copyright reasons the source audio is not always distributed with this paper. See Appendix A for distribution requirements.

⁵‘Wedge politics’ is succinctly defined as ‘targeting unpopular or stigmatised social issues or groups as a way of defining “mainstream politics” and linking political opponents to their support of these issues or groups.’ (Shaun Wilson and Nick Turnbull, ‘Wedge Politics and Welfare Reform in Australia’ *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, 47 (2001):3 p. 385).

⁶Rodney Hide, *National door knocks Epsom* (http://www.rodneyhide.com/index.php/weblog/comments/national_door_knocks_epsom/) – visited on 15 July 2007. Since the access date the page has been removed from that website.

‘Luke—I am your lesbian father!’ on their website.⁷ The second part of the title, ‘Helengrad’ was apparently coined by a caller to Lindsay Perigo’s radio programme shortly after the 1999 general election.⁸ It is obviously a portmanteau of ‘Helen’ and ‘Stalingrad’ and refers to Wellington as the seat of government in New Zealand. The third section ‘Labour Lesbians’ was uttered by a caller to *The First Edition* on 28 July 2007 [08].

Methodology

In order to analyse the communist lesbian dictator discourse as deployed by Banks and Perigo on *The First Edition*, I selected audio clips from the programme covering an eight-week period. I conducted a critical discourse analysis on those texts, the data from which is presented as a symbolic vocabulary (Appendix B). Based on this, I examined the means by which Banks and Perigo symbolically established the us/them dualism, the specific mechanisms employed to promote symbolic issues in service of their campaign against the government. A more complete exposition of my data collection methodology is presented as Appendix A.

Discourse

The specific character of my discourse analysis was predicated on three theoretical bases, covered in more detail below. First, it was a critical analysis because it addressed issues of power and dominance. Second, talk as a genre marginalises non-dominant voices, resulting in a lack of diversity despite the often large number of individual speakers on a given programme. *The First Edition*’s history intensified this effect. Because of this, I treated all voices on the programme as if they were a single unified voice. Thirdly, there was the question of whether to take the often outrageous and sometimes quite astonishing statements made on *The First Edition* seriously. On the basis that perfect intelligibility was unattainable, and given the particularly impassioned nature of the speech, I took all statements at face value.

Critical discourse analysis

I analysed the audio sources in order to derive from it political-symbolic data. I did not conduct a pragmatic, linguistic or transactional analysis of the texts. In keeping with my selection of only ‘clear and unambiguous’ examples and the analysis only of ‘what was said’ (See Appendix A), I concentrated on explicit macro-level discourse: words and phrases of particular symbolic value. Much of the content is repeated in multiple clips; in such cases for brevity’s sake I provided a few demonstrative examples of a given symbol, as a reference.

Critical discourse analysis, primarily concerned with ‘*the role of discourse in the (re)production*

⁷At the insistence of then-National Party leader Don Brash, the Young Nats pulled the image from their website on 21 September, although not before the *New Zealand Herald* published it on their website, where it remains (New Zealand Press Association, *Brash orders ‘offensive’ picture of PM removed from website* (http://www.nzherald.co.nz/section/1/story.cfm?c_id=1&objectid=10402333) – visited on 4 October 2007). In response, a political satirist blogger constructed an image featuring Brash’s head on Princess Leia’s body, with a similar caption (‘Newz Land’, *Blog Unsuccessfully Seeks To Affront People With Image Of Don Brash As Lesbian Mother* (<http://newzland.wordpress.com/2006/09/21/>) – visited on 5 October 2007). Yet another re-made the image in Clark’s official likeness (‘ScrubOne’, *Correction* (<http://halfdone.wordpress.com/2006/09/29/correction/>) – visited on 4 October 2007). I am indebted to ‘ScrubOne’ for confirming the authenticity of the original image on the *New Zealand Herald* website, above.

⁸Peter Cresswell, ‘*Helengrad: Where did it come from?*’ (<http://pc.blogspot.com/2005/09/helengrad-where-did-it-come-from.html>) – visited on 4 October 2007.

and challenge of dominance'⁹ was clearly the appropriate framework for this sort of research, but perhaps not for the reasons one might expect. Since the discourse in question was presented ostensibly by and on behalf of the 'battlers from Struggle Street' [33] and attacked powerful political elites it seemed a manifest challenge to dominance. However as broadcasters, politicians and political actors in their own right, neither Banks nor Perigo were in fact the ordinary folk they claimed to represent, but were themselves elites engaging in 'insider anti-elitism'.¹⁰ Moreover, the divide they created implicated many genuinely 'ordinary' folk in the 'them' category which was the object of attack just as much as was the government. On this basis I interpreted the discourse as elites discoursing critically about non-elites, and therefore a manifestation of what Antonio Gramsci termed 'hegemonic struggle'.¹¹

Talk voices: different, but the same

Joy Press, of the *Village Voice*:

Watching [US talk host] Nancy Grace I can feel two sides of myself in bitter conflict. There's the irony-soaked Gen-X'er in me who treats the show as a spectator sport, delighting in every sleazy line of enquiry. And then there's the more earnest me who understands how many people watch Grace in utter seriousness—the me who agrees with Jon Stewart's contention that this kind of blowhard demagoguery is 'hurting America'. May the better half win.¹²

It is perhaps this sense – that talk can't be serious, and people read too much into it – which leads the media and cultural establishment to disdain the genre.¹³ But whether intended or not, talk is taken seriously by huge numbers of real people.¹⁴ For this research, at issue was whether talk more readily *expressed* the views of its audience or *influenced* them. Kate McMillan notes that while American research indicates that talk may influence views in that country, the question remains unanswered (though largely unstudied) in New Zealand.¹⁵ She suggests examination of talk's agenda-setting role as an entry-point to further research on the matter of bias, and indeed the agenda-setting hypothesis¹⁶ indicates it *should* have such an influence. Steve Mickler takes this further, arguing that in the Australian context talk does in fact perform a political function outside of the electoral process, an 'extra-party political leadership' role for the segment of society which is the 'least governmental, the most governed by others'.¹⁷ *The First Edition's* agenda, in a long-term sense, was set by virtue of its

⁹Teun A van Dijk, 'Principles of Critical Discourse Analysis' *Discourse and Society*, 4 (1993) p. 249 (his emphasis); see also Norman Fairclough, *Discourse and Social Change* (Cambridge: Polity, 1992), throughout.

¹⁰Marian Sawyer and Barry Hindess (eds.), *Us and Them: Anti-Elitism in Australia* (Perth: API and Curtin University of Technology, 2004) p. 1. For details of John Banks' and Lindsay Perigo's lives, which I do not intend to traverse here, refer to their authorised biographies: Paul Goldsmith, *John Banks: A Biography* (Auckland: Penguin, 1997), and Deborah Coddington, *Perigo! Politically Incorrect* (Auckland: Radio Pacific, 1999). For discussion of insider anti-elitism in general, see Sawyer and Hindess, *Us and Them* and Gerry Spence, *Bloodthirsty Bitches and Pious Pimps of Power: The Rise and Risks of the New Conservative Hate Culture* (New York: St Martin's Press, 2006), throughout.

¹¹See Fairclough, *Discourse and Social Change* pp. 91–96.

¹²In Spence, *Bloodthirsty Bitches* p. 15.

¹³Kate McMillan, 'Racial Discrimination and Political Bias on Talkback Radio in New Zealand: Assessing the Evidence' *Political Science*, 57 (2005):2 p. 76.

¹⁴See pages linked from http://www.radios.co.nz/radio_research/survey_area_results/ for detailed official radio audience survey data in New Zealand.

¹⁵McMillan, 'Racial Discrimination and Political Bias' p. 77.

¹⁶For which see Maxwell E McCombs and Donald L Shaw, 'The Agenda-Setting Function of the Mass Media' *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 36 (1972).

¹⁷Steve Mickler, 'Talkback Radio, Anti-Elitism and Moral Decline: A Fatal Paradox?' in: Marian Sawyer and Barry

host's particular opinions and influential position, and formed a political community with its own very distinctive characteristics, one of which (the communist lesbian dictator discourse) is the subject of this paper. Without implying a false dichotomy, the answer to the question of expression or influence indicates whether the dog (audience) wags the tail (host), or the inverse; in other words, whether it is more meaningful to study the impact of political discourse on talk media, or as I do, the impact of talk media on political discourse. I have not answered that question here, but in examining the discourse I have perhaps thrown some light on the workings of this particular community.

While talk bills itself as a 'democratised' medium on the basis that anyone can ostensibly call and talk about whatever they want, this is an illusion. Steve Mickler, Gerry Spence, Peter Laufer and others have detailed how hosts control agendas at the behest of their financial backers, ensuring that 'the [radio] presenter has strict and total control over what and who is heard on the program'.¹⁸ A caller, while nominally being part of the medium, in fact remains a member of the audience except under one of two conditions: first, that she substantively agree with or accept the host's framework for interpreting the programme content (and often the content itself); or second, that she disagree with or challenge the host's framing in some way which allows the host to further his agenda.

Viewed in light of Stuart Hall's encoding/decoding model of media-audience interaction, this 'strict and total control' has profound implications for research on talk media. Hall posited that any media text is semiotically encoded with meaning by its owner, and detailed three hypothetical decoding positions audience members may take. The first is *dominant-hegemonic*, in which the audience member takes meaning from the proffered media text 'full and straight, and decodes the message in terms of the reference code in which it has been encoded', thereby replicating the hegemony the text owner encoded in the text more or less 'transparently'; that is, without challenge, critique or modification.¹⁹ The second position is *negotiated*, in which the audience member 'acknowledges the legitimacy' of the hegemonic position encoded in the text while nevertheless asserting their 'own ground rules'; challenges or modifications, and arriving at their own reading of it. The third position is *oppositional*, in which the audience member decodes the message in a 'globally contrary' manner to that in which it was encoded, re-coding it 'within some alternative framework of reference' as a wholesale challenge to the hegemonic position.²⁰ The control imperative of talk's agenda-setting function effectively negates the 'oppositional' position and severely marginalises the 'negotiated' position, with the logical consequence that *all*²¹ voices on a given talk programme *are effectively the voice of the host* and should be interpreted as such.

This was clearly evident in *The First Edition*'s discourse. Prime examples included John Key agreeing that the Ministry of Women's Affairs was run by man-hating lesbians [67]; former MP

Hindess (eds.), *Us and Them: Anti-Elitism in Australia* (Perth: API and Curtin University of Technology, 2004) p. 102. I have some problems with Mickler's casting the predominantly white Australian talk audience as the 'most governed', but that discussion is well outside the scope of this paper.

¹⁸Mickler, 'Fatal Paradox' p. 103; see also Spence, *Bloodthirsty Bitches* and Peter Laufer, *Inside Talk Radio: America's Voice Or Just Hot Air?* (New York: Birch Lane Press, 1995), throughout.

¹⁹Hall's model presumes the host is not the text owner, and identifies a sub-position called 'professional' occupied by the presenting broadcaster, which is 'relatively independent' but nevertheless 'serves to reproduce the dominant definitions' in the text by 'bracketing' them with the veneer of neutrality accorded broadcasters. (Stuart Hall, 'Encoding/decoding' in: Stuart Hall et al. (eds.), *Culture, Media, Language: Working Papers in Cultural Studies, 1972-79* (London: Hutchinson and the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, University of Birmingham) p. 136.) In talk, where the host is *both* the text's owner and its presenter, this position does not strictly exist as a separate position, but may be used by a host in order to appeal to journalistic integrity.

²⁰Hall, 'Encoding/decoding' pp. 136-138.

²¹Excluding rare cases covered by the caveat above, where the host allows a caller to present a non-hegemonic position in order to further develop his own perspective.

Muriel Newman agreeing that Mental Health Foundation CEO Judi Clements was a stupid bitch [80], and ACT deputy leader (and Social Services spokesperson) Heather Roy agreeing that the government had a feminazi welfare agenda [76]; positions they might have been more reluctant to take in the cold light of the mainstream media. Rare examples of negotiated and oppositional positionings were also present: a caller objected to Perigo's sexist language (and was roundly insulted for doing so) [72]. More significantly, both former Alliance MP Matt McCarten and Labour MP Steve Chadwick rejected outright the link between welfare and child murder, and the proffered solutions: enforced sterilisation of welfare recipients on the one hand, and dismantling the welfare state on the other [73, 81].

This effect extended to *The First Edition*'s hosts. Having taken up his Radio Pacific post (although on a different programme) at the request of former National Prime Minister Sir Robert Muldoon [33], John Banks continued at the station more or less until he resigned to stand for Mayor of Auckland on 13 July 2007. He was replaced by Lindsay Perigo, who had formerly had his own show on Radio Pacific as part of a long career in broadcasting.²² While it must be said that Banks and Perigo's views differ enormously in many areas²³ their campaigns against the government are very much in tune, as is demonstrated by Perigo's appearance as a guest on Banks' programme on 28 June 2007 [08]. In keeping with Banks' own history as a former National Minister and his Radio Pacific mandate from Muldoon, *The First Edition* was staunchly pro-National and therefore anti-Labour. Past and present National MPs were regular guests on the show, including (during the data window) National leader John Key [51, 66–68, 87], deputy leader Bill English [20, 60], education spokesman Paul Hutchison [63], and others. Banks' show also featured appearances by an unnamed Helen Clark impersonator, who would satirise current government policy on-air, identified as 'the Prime Minister' [05, 11, 16]. Other voices from similar political perspectives were also regularly entertained. Historically, this use of elite voices defined and framed *The First Edition* for its audience. Perigo made some changes to the lineup, including adding 'Comrade' Matt McCarten. Other occasional guests from the left (Steve Chadwick and Green MP Keith Locke) also featured during the data window, but the overall anti-Clark and anti-government communist lesbian dictator discourse remained. Perigo went so far as to give explicit support to National (in spite of his own misgivings about the party) on the grounds that they opposed Labour [51, 53, 87]. Returning to my conclusion from Hall's model above, it is clear that these voices were almost exclusively present in service of the host's own discourse, and that being the case, as fellow elites were in fact *co-hosts* rather than guests in the ordinary sense of the word. The relatively transparent transition from Banks' to Perigo's show made a strong distinction between the two host's discourses unnecessary; for the purposes of this research the latter was simply a progression of the former.

Therefore, in the analysis which follows I refer to 'the discourse', not distinguishing between individual voices except in rare cases where the speaker's identity is pertinent for some other reason. Similarly, I distinguish between the discourse and categorical statement of fact or theory by using the past tense in all discussions of the discourse, and the present tense for matters which have wider applicability. I have changed the tense of statements excerpted from the clips to avoid confusion. This tense shift also underlines the fact that the discourse in the form I have analysed it has ended, with *The First Edition* being off-air for the time being.

Word as action

The question in Joy Press' quote above is whether to take talk seriously or not. Political speech is both semiotically fungible and highly polysemic: symbol meanings change rapidly and may legit-

²²Lindsay Perigo, *Lindsay Perigo* (<http://www.lindsayperigo.com/>) – visited on 10 October 2007.

²³To cite just one example of Banks and Perigo's differences, Banks is a devout Christian who broadcast Bible readings every morning on *The First Edition*, whereas Perigo believes 'all religion is evil' (Lindsay Perigo, 'Answer to Professor Pomo' *Salient* (24 September 2007) p. 28).

imately be interpreted in diverse ways. An analyst or audience member must therefore rely on her own (or received) interpretations as to whether a given utterance is to be taken seriously, and if so how seriously. Banks and Perigo frequently resorted to hyperbole, humour or sarcasm; so frequently and with such vigour as to present serious problems in discerning between satire and serious comment. In response to one such instance (though not in my dataset) Perigo ridiculed Victoria University of Wellington Religious Studies Professor Paul Morris for taking as written Perigo's statement 'recommending "robust sodomy" of Muslims as they bend towards Mecca' saying 'such is the paucity of his case, it would seem, that he must repair to piss-taking as meant literally, when he knows full well it wasn't.'²⁴ This was disingenuous. Lisa Wedeen argues that discourse itself is a form of political action, in the sense that all speech – and especially public, widely-disseminated, semiotically rich speech – constitutes meaning-making and norm-reinforcement, whether the speaker believes it to be so or not. She says

Systems of signs are inscribed in material, observable practices; semiotic practices produce material effects, ... And material effects reproduce systems of signification, which are communally intelligible and therefore open to interpretation.²⁵

The implication is that *what a speaker actually says*, and *how*, is more important in terms of meaning than *what she thinks* she is saying. Perigo's appeal for the sodomy of Muslims during prayer, while indeed 'piss-taking' as he says, nevertheless had powerful associations which were not diminished by the attempt at humour. In analysing the texts of my dataset I took no position on matters of fact or accuracy, or indeed on matters of a speaker's interpretation of events or history, but I took positions on issues of *discourse* since that was the object of my research. In this I followed the example of Otago University politics Professor Robert Patman, as a guest on *The First Edition*. When Banks cited Fiji Interim Prime Minister Frank Bainimarama's complaint that the media were misquoting him to produce 'a smokescreen to belittle me personally' regarding his expulsion of New Zealand High Commissioner Michael Green, Professor Patman admonished that

[Bainimarama] did actually publicly say that at a press conference, so I don't think he can have it both ways ... it seems to me that he's making public statements on the record at press conferences, and then saying these are being used against him. [04]

As broadcasters and political actors, *The First Edition* was Banks and Perigo's official platform. The only logically consistent position given the arguments above and the symbolic fertility of the discourse was simply to take all their utterances seriously; to take speakers at their word.

Political symbols

Needham begins his *Symbolic Classification* by saying that a symbol is 'something that stands for something else'.²⁶ Approaching a more practical definition is White's 'a thing the value or meaning of which is bestowed upon it by those who use it'.²⁷ This illuminates two aspects of a symbol: the thing itself, and the meaning ascribed to or associated with the thing. Murray Edelman, following

²⁴Perigo, 'Answer' p. 28.

²⁵Lisa Wedeen, 'Conceptualizing Culture: Possibilities for Political Science' *The American Political Science Review*, 96 (2002):4 pp. 720–723.

²⁶Needham, *Symbolic Classification* p. 3.

²⁷In Charles D Elder and Roger W Cobb, *The Political Uses of Symbols* (New York: Longman, 1983) p. 29.

Figure 1: *Elder and Cobb's Typology of Political Symbols*

<i>Type of Political Symbol</i>	<i>Example</i>
Political Community	The Flag, America, the "Constitution"
Regime Norms, Structures and Roles	The "Presidency," "Congress," "One Man, One Vote"
Situational Symbols	
(1) Current authorities	The "Reagan Administration," the "Burger Court"
(2) Nongovernmental political actors	Ralph Nader, NRA
(3) Policies and policy issues	"Right to Life," Gun Control

Edward Sapir, distinguishes on the basis of meaning between two major types of symbol: referential, whose main deployments are as 'economical ways of referring to the objective elements in objects or situations'; and condensational, which when deployed 'condense' the associations of the symbol into something of much more significance than the thing itself, and it is these condensational symbols which are of relevance here.²⁸

A symbol is composed of a 'referent', which is an object (material, conceptual or otherwise), and two general forms of meaning attached to that referent. The first and by far the most powerful²⁹ is 'valence' or 'affect'; the emotive resonance a symbol holds for a person, whether they feel it is good or bad. The second is the 'cognitive' meaning; what a person knows (or believes they know) about a given symbol. Since a fundamental characteristic of symbols is that they have no inherent meaning, Elder and Cobb distinguish between people whose affect toward a symbol is 'high' or 'low', and between people whose cognition of a symbol is 'well-specified' or 'diffuse'. When using such terms one must presume a notional audience of people who possess that degree of affect or cognition toward the symbol in question, since those aspects of a symbol's meaning are culturally constructed and reside in the audience, not in the symbol. While the model discusses at much greater length the interactions of affect and cognition from various sources, this research is concerned primarily with changes in the direction and magnitude of affect.³⁰

A political symbol, then is such a thing where the meaning or value bestowed is political in nature, or more explicitly 'of relevance to the exercise of political authority and to the management of social conflict'.³¹ Elder and Cobb's typology categorises political symbols from 'high order' symbols at the top which are 'inclusive and enduring' to 'low order' symbols at the bottom which are 'specific and transient'. I reproduce their model in Figure 1.³²

The major determinant of place in this typology is the level of consensus a symbol invokes in a political audience. High-order symbols are widely and multilaterally deployed and understood, and stimulate broad agreement or consensus on the magnitude of a symbol's import even among parties whose alignment with a particular symbol differs.³³ The highest-order symbols are those upon which reasonable people sharing a common paradigm cannot typically disagree. Turning this metric around, disagreement over a high-order symbol denotes a very deep, broad and possibly irreconcilable difference between two peoples' political perspectives. Those symbols in the lower order of the

²⁸Murray Edelman, *The Symbolic Uses of Politics* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1964) pp. 6–9; see also Elder and Cobb, *Political Uses* p. 33–34.

²⁹Murray Edelman, *Politics as Symbolic Action: Mass Arousal and Quiescence* (Chicago: Institute for Research on Poverty and the Markham Publishing Company, 1971) pp. 31–32.

³⁰Elder and Cobb, *Political Uses* pp. 37–56.

³¹Elder and Cobb, *Political Uses* p. 30.

³²Elder and Cobb, *Political Uses* p. 36.

³³Elder and Cobb, *Political Uses* pp. 35–37.

typology can and often do stimulate heated disagreement and misunderstanding at a fundamental level, even among reasonable people who might ordinarily agree on many things.

Based on this I posit a theory of symbolic promotion, whereby symbols of low valence are associated with symbols of higher negative valence and thereby ‘promoted’ up through Elder and Cobb’s typology. This has precedent in the principle of equivalence in symbolic classification, in which members of the same class are conceptually joined and may be acted upon as if they were the same. I return to this theory below.

Communist lesbian dictator

Three major symbols acted as proxies for the us/them moiety division: ‘communism’, ‘feminazi’ and ‘totalitarian’, each of which approximated closely to one part of the communist lesbian dictator discourse label. Each of these three symbolic issues acted as a touchstone, or as a litmus test for the dualism: those to whom the symbol applied were ‘them’, and those to whom it did not were ‘us’. These three primary symbols were constructed from a variety of other, lesser symbols. Ultimately they converged upon an overall symbolic character made explicit by Perigo but latent in the discourse as a whole: ‘Nanny State’ [44].

Communist

Referring to Elder and Cobb’s model, ‘Helen Clark’ and the ‘Clark Government’ were symbols of ‘current authority’, toward which one would expect affect to be quite divided (an expectation confirmed by regular polls). ‘Communism’, on the other hand, produces affect of a much higher order for most people in capitalist countries such as New Zealand; indeed Elder and Cobb cite it as a canonical symbol of strong negative affect.³⁴ The most famous (and arguably successful) deployment of this symbol in the New Zealand context was the National Party’s 1975 election campaign advertisement featuring dancing cossacks, suggesting that Labour’s recently-implemented superannuation scheme would result in New Zealand being taken over by communism.³⁵

The communist lesbian dictator discourse deployed various means to connect Clark with communism. These included direct reference to New Zealand’s ‘so-called leaders’ [30] as various stripes of communists [77] and socialists, including the epithet ‘smelly’ [58]; Stalinists [20], Marxists and neo-Marxists [44], and National Socialists, which of course contained the symbolic matter of ‘socialist’, while also being the root of the word ‘Nazi’ [73]. Personal comparisons included to Pol Pot, Joseph Stalin and Mao Zedong as archetypal communist dictators [17]. Helen Clark was ‘Chairman of the Central Committee’ [11] who wanted New Zealand to become ‘a colony of Communist China’ [05]. Perigo is surprised at her omission from Graham Hunt’s book ‘Spies and Revolutionaries’ given her (and others’) supposed historical association with the Sandinistas of Nicaragua [92, 93]. The discourse used terminology lent symbolic weight by its use in communist regimes: cabinet ministers who transgressed would be purged, would ‘do their time’ on the back benches, and might eventually be ‘rehabilitated’ [65].

³⁴Elder and Cobb, *Political Uses* p. 67.

³⁵For the ad footage, see <http://www.filmarchive.org.nz/offsite/elections/C1555NatSuperannuation.html>.

Feminazi

The contrast of two quotes encapsulates the gendered nature of the communist lesbian dictator discourse.

Suzanne Dixon:

Male reaction to female power seems to contain an element of sincere horror as well as a conscious attempt to control and diminish that power by defining it as illegitimate and unnatural by making it sound ridiculous or offensive.³⁶

Pat Robertson:

The feminist agenda is not about equal rights for women. It is about a socialist, anti-family political movement that encourages women to leave their husbands, kill their children, practice witchcraft, destroy capitalism and become lesbians.³⁷

The symbolic matter Robertson deployed in this famous statement is quite similar to that of the ‘feminazi’ concept at the heart of this part of the discourse. Feminazi, as a portmanteau of ‘feminist’ and ‘Nazi’ had obvious and powerful symbolic strength. The archetypal feminazi in the discourse was the character ‘Nanny State’ [44].³⁸ Women who did not explicitly reject Nanny State were *de facto* feminazis [72], and men who did not (such as Labour Minister Steve Maharey) were their ‘stooges’ [70]. To elaborate on the feminazi idea the discourse deployed historically-resonant symbols which drew their strength from ancient traditions of misogyny, which Jack Holland was surely not the first to call ‘the world’s oldest prejudice’.³⁹ At the most crude level she was a ‘freak of nature’ and ‘a hybrid of gargoyle and dominatrix’ [44], but the fundamental basis of Clark’s symbolic promotion from woman to feminazi was to be found in her status as a powerful woman.

Totalitarian

I distinguished between ‘totalitarian’ and ‘dictator’ with regard to this symbol, since the former describes a more complete state structure. The symbolic representation of the Clark government was of an all-seeing, all-encompassing machine which demanded subservience. The regime had ‘lost touch with reality’ [20] and was ‘oblivious’ [58] to the will of the people. It was corrupt and crazy with power [08, 50, 84], and tried changing the rules [60] in order to keep the ‘Beehive mafia elite’ [08] in control. It was constructed as violent and violating [90], ‘stealing’ from people [80] and stripping them of their fundamental rights [69]. In service of these aims it engaged in a multi-pronged strategy of information control to keep people ‘gullible’ [14], including the monopoly use of propaganda [17, 28, 66], systematic deceit [54, 57, 69] and dumbing-down education [35, 48, 63]. It was free to do so with impunity because of the country’s complicit and compliant media [08, 28] not coincidentally

³⁶Suzanne Dixon, ‘Conclusion—The Enduring Theme: Domineering Dowagers and Scheming Concubines’ in: Barbara Garlick, Suzanne Dixon and Pauline Allen (eds.), *Stereotypes of Women in Power: Historical Perspectives and Revisionist Views* (New York: Greenwood, 1992) pp. 210–211.

³⁷In Maralee Schwartz and Kenneth J Cooper, ‘Equal Rights Initiative in Iowa Attacked’ *Washington Post*, (23 August 1992).

³⁸Clip 44 consists mostly of Perigo reading his opinion piece ‘Time to Beat The Bitch Back’, which was published in Victoria University of Wellington’s student magazine *Salient*. Perigo regularly read his own releases on *The First Edition*, and there exists as a result some synergy between his discourse on the programme, on his personal website <http://solopassion.com>, and in his *Salient* columns, which may be found at <http://www.salient.org.nz/opinion/politically-incorrect-with-perigo/>.

³⁹Jack Holland, *Misogyny: The World’s Oldest Prejudice* (New York: Carroll & Graf, 2006).

run by communist feminazis [09, 35, 94].

The fundamental symbolic issues of this discourse were of the highest order – ‘freedom’ and ‘responsibility’. By association, these symbols promoted minor issues: had a bill permitting regulation of non-prescription medicines been passed into law, it would have represented ‘the end of civilised life as we know it’ [69]. One caller, having asked for advice, was apparently told to live his own life, keep to himself, and not to believe the world owed him a living [69]. This marked the symbolic distinction between ‘us’ and ‘them’: if everyone did that the world would be fine but the ‘crowd of politicians’ in government prevented it from coming to pass by limiting peoples’ freedom and allowing them to shirk their responsibilities [69].

Ideological conspiracy

The ‘communist’ symbol-set represented a general ideological conspiracy. Those associated with the symbol were ‘extremist’ [50] and came ‘out of leftfield’ [88]. The ideology was anti-progress and its agencies were ‘moribund in bureaucracy’ as opposed to supporting ‘free enterprise’ [63], ‘common sense’ [28], thrift [67] and ‘responsibility’ [76]. In this government, policy was driven by ideological dogma rather than efficiency or necessity. This extended to the selection of cabinet ministers, who were appointed ‘based on obedience rather than talent’ [69].

Secret agenda

The ideology’s purpose was the advancement of a ‘secret agenda’ [04, 25, 83]. This again was a powerful political symbol. The government was not working on behalf of ‘us’, the ‘battlers’ but on behalf of ‘them’, the ‘special interests’.⁴⁰ Specifically Clark was furthering the interests of communists, ‘Islamofascists’ [44, 94] and ‘Modies’ [06, 08].⁴¹ The two most significant special interest groups, however, were feminazi man-haters [72, 76–78, 80] and no-hopers on welfare. Welfarism was directly equated with communism, and was also the primary means by which the government stayed in power: welfare recipients allegedly bred Labour voters [70–73, 75–77]. I return to this aspect below.

The discourse alleged a ‘humanistic agenda to control the world’ [24] by legislating attitudes and engaging in social engineering [81]. The government funded ‘apartheid TV’ [03] by supporting Māori language broadcasts, as part of its overall policy of pandering to ‘brown racists’ [91]. Because of its refusal to support the US-led invasion and subsequent war in Iraq, the government was made up of ‘apologists for evil’ [91] and supporters of Islamofascism. As the discourse went, Islamofascism went hand-in-hand with communism [48, 49], and the same forces which made New Zealand a ‘fourth-world’ [19] country also conspired to turn it into an ‘emerging Muslim state’ [24, 30].

The agenda in action

The so-called humanist special-interest Nanny State promoted legislation in service of its aims. Five significant pieces of such legislation were at the fore in the discourse. The first was the Therapeutic Medicines Bill to regulate health products. Among other things this would supposedly ban erectile dysfunction drugs, symbolically neutering the men in *The First Edition*’s mostly elderly audience [01, 30], and the provisions for a trans-Tasman regulatory authority would constitute cession

⁴⁰For more on the symbolic construction of special interests see Marian Sawyer, ‘Populism and Public Choice in Australia and Canada: Turning Equality-Seekers into “Special Interests” in: Marian Sawyer and Barry Hindess (eds.), *Us and Them: Anti-Elitism in Australia* (Perth: API and Curtin University of Technology, 2004).

⁴¹‘Modie’ or something approaching it was Banks and Perigo’s imitative mispronunciation of the word ‘Māori’, used to cast Māori issues or culture in a derogatory light.

of sovereignty to Australia [41].

The second and most significant piece of legislation, and the only one to have been passed into law, was the Crimes (Substituted Section 59) Amendment Act, which removed the defence of reasonable force for parents disciplining their children. This bill was branded the ‘anti-smacking bill’ by its opponents, and the name has persisted even now that it has been passed into law. Without irony it was also referred to as the ‘smacking bill’ [36, 80, 90]. The bill was in fact a private member’s bill sponsored by Green MP Sue Bradford, outside the government coalition. Nevertheless Labour’s support for the bill meant that Bradford was Clark’s ‘girlfriend’ [05] and was proof-positive of the government’s support for special interests. Moreover, the ‘anti-smacking bill’ was not intended to solve the problems of child abuse [36, 70, 80] but rather to criminalise good parents [36] and was therefore *entirely* in service of the special interests and ultimately the secret agenda to ‘control the citizens of this country’ [70]. National, while ostensibly allowing a conscience vote, provided *de facto* support for the bill, on the grounds that a majority of MPs were prepared to vote in favour of it. John Key came under some criticism for having ‘rolled over and capitulated’ to Nanny State with this ‘pragmatic’ stance’ [51], though it must be said he escaped with only a minor slap on the wrist.

The third and fourth pieces of proposed legislation were the Electoral Finance Bill and the Education (Tertiary Reforms) Amendment Bill, to which I return below.

The fifth was *another* private member’s bill; the Infant Feeding Bill sponsored by Labour MP Steve Chadwick. If passed, this legislation would make it illegal to prevent mothers from breastfeeding in public [78, 81]. This seemingly minor issue was constructed as an attack on the fundamental freedom of private ownership [81], another example of New Zealand’s progress down ‘the slippery slope to dictatorship’ [82]. The discussion of this matter between Perigo and Chadwick, however, represents one of the few genuinely oppositional positionings taken by any speaker to the communist lesbian dictator discourse. Chadwick’s position was that allowing the ‘market’ to solve the problem was not working, and cited public support (from men, no less) saying that promoting breastfeeding was ‘good for my family and good for us all’. Furthermore she challenged pretexts of public nudity upon which people might object to breastfeeding in public, saying ‘I thought we’d moved on’ from such prudery [81].

Information control

The communist lesbian dictator discourse held that the secret agenda of special interests was kept secret by information control. This was achieved by keeping the media compliant, by keeping the population stupid, and simply by lying to the electorate.

Media compliance

The most obvious means by which they exerted this control was by manipulating New Zealand media. John Banks, the day before ‘handing over the airwaves to the communists, to the lefties and the liberals, to those that don’t know the difference between right and wrong, good and bad, to those that don’t care’ [33] warned of ‘a huge gap in the componency of common-sense on the airwaves. It’s all going to be left-wing propaganda, Goebbelism and Helen Clark-speak’ [28].⁴² During the data window the government rolled out the live televisation of parliament, along with rules preventing the footage from being used for purposes of ‘satire, ridicule or denigration’. This was not only a massive waste of taxpayer money, the discourse held, but amounted to a total ban on satire, ridicule and denigration and therefore an assault on freedom of speech; a ‘cross-party commitment to fascism’ since all parties in the house had supported it [08, 11]. It stirred only weak protestations from the

⁴²The irony here is that Banks made public the fact that he was to be replaced by Perigo, hardly part of the supposed Clark conspiracy.

Figure 2: *Symbolic designation of media*

<i>Media outlet</i>	<i>Symbolic designation</i>
Media in general	'gutless' [44]; 'leftist' and 'cosy' with the government [08, 28]; weak [14, 85, 91]; 'craven cowards' [49]; 'somewhat to the left of Joseph Stalin and their only problem with the current government is that it's not left-wing enough' [08]
Vernon Small, chair of the Parliamentary Press Gallery	'pommie commie' [08]
Radio New Zealand National	'National Socialist Radio'; 'Moaning Report'; 'bastion of Islamofascism'; 'Stalinist backwater'[48]; run by National's biggest enemies [68]
bFM	'mad lefty students' who are 'all to the left of Joseph Stalin' [48]
Māori TV or Te Karere	'apartheid TV'; 'racist TV' [03]
Campbell Live	'Saddamy at seven' [49]
<i>Otago Daily Times</i>	publishes a column by 'shocking left-winger' John Pilger [24]
<i>Dominion Post</i>	'communist tabloid' [06, 09]; 'run by left-wing feminazis' [35]
One	'state TV One' [94]
TV3	'proxy state TV3' [94]

media. Not only the NZ government benefited from this lack of vigilance, however; Perigo described TV presenter John Campbell performing anilingus on a visiting 'Saddamite Islamofascist', former British Labour MP George Galloway [49] as a graphic representation of the media's compliance toward those interests as well. Figure 2 details the symbolic designations of different media outlets.

Education rot

The second information control symbol-set was the 'dumbing down' of education, part of 'the PC socialisation of everything' [38]. The government was held to be 'anti-education' [17] and attitudes of 'incipient communism' were fostered in students, rather than 'free enterprise' [56]. Teachers were 'child-molesters of the mind' [44] and Massey University was a 'coven of left-wing witches' [62] while universities in general (and sociology departments in particular) graduated nothing but man-hating feminazis [70, 71]. The fact that Helen Clark, Michael Cullen, Steve Maharey and other senior government figures were formerly academics both implicated them in this conspiracy and provided proof of its existence. The government also apparently supported 'tertiary courses in prostitution' [46] and courses which taught the country's 'future criminals' to steal cars, abuse alcohol, take drugs and use stolen firearms to shoot at policemen, in reference to recent events [11]. The situation was getting worse: the Tertiary Reforms Amendment Bill would give the government 'unprecedented control' over tertiary education institutions and specified 'bureaucratic control as a route to education'. Ultimately because of these reforms, the 'stranglehold of the state was just getting tighter and tighter' [63].

Lies

The third and most subtle set of symbols deployed around the issue of information control was the constant assertion that the government and its agents were misleading the public. They 'parroted' the party line and were Helen Clark's 'puppets' [04, 08]. They were 'hypocritical', preaching one thing and doing another; such as in Clark's supposedly inconsistent stances on China and Fiji [04]. They used 'tricks' [20, 88], 'false pretenses' [49], 'waffle' [57], 'weasel-words' [63] and 'platitudinous cliches' [80] to keep people 'gullible' [14]. The government was also involved in 'brainwashing'

[38], ‘whitewashing’ [22] and ‘hoodwinking’ [27].

One strong example of this last aspect was David Benson-Pope’s resignation from cabinet after he admitted misleading parliament over the dismissal of a senior staffer.⁴³ Benson-Pope was said to be a ‘serial liar’ who ‘looked guilty’, had been ‘coached, probably by Helen’ and would secretly be ‘congratulated for lying’ about the case [55, 57]. The affair showed that ‘in Labour’s world, there’s nothing that’s not political’, and meant the death of ‘public service neutrality’ [60]. All these symbols were deployed *before* Benson-Pope’s resignation, along with a general feeling of doubt that he would ever be found out – Helen Clark’s ‘inner circle’ would close ranks to protect him [59].

Corruption

The discourse constructed the government as nepotistic, wasteful and amoral. Beyond assigning cabinet positions on the basis of obedience, Helen Clark had a ‘cabal’ of ‘lovies’ and ‘sycophants’, one of whom (chief of staff Heather Simpson) was labelled ‘H2’, the implication being she and Clark were birds of a feather [57, 64, 95]. Clark’s was ‘the most corrupt government in New Zealand history’, and ‘no other government outside Zimbabwe’ had such a poor record of MP conduct [18, 20]. Beyond its conduct, the government’s *policies* were also corrupt, having ‘crossed the line into criminality’ with feminazi measures to screen women for domestic abuse in hospitals [71, 72, 74].

Permanent power

Clark believed herself ‘born to rule’. She had ‘obstinate’, ‘arrogant’ attitudes and ‘too much power’, and was a ‘one-man band’ like Muldoon in his day [04, 08, 13, 50, 65]. The regime was also fixated on perpetuating its ‘long reign over us’ [17], and with securing a ‘historic fourth term’ for Clark [67]. Apparently with a view to winning the 2008 election [64], the government introduced the ‘democracy-rationing’ [61] Electoral Finance Bill, which was ‘an abuse of the democratic process’ [66] and represented ‘the biggest attack on freedom in years’ [69]. The issues here were again the most fundamental: freedom of speech and information. This was to be the final brick in the wall of information control, and would mean the government limiting peoples’ beliefs [61] and a media monopoly of ‘taxpayer-funded propaganda campaigns’ in election years [66]. As a direct consequence of this not-yet-passed bill, the discourse declared that ‘we are now in a quasi-dictatorship’ [61] and ‘we do not live in a democracy any longer’ [69]. These ‘fundamentally anti-democratic’ rules were referred to in sporting terminology: ‘bowling the critics out’, ‘changing the rules’, ‘screwing the scrum’ and ‘changing the playing field’ [60, 61]. This appeal to unfairness has great symbolic potency: it does not accord ‘with the egalitarian value of “a fair go” that has run deep through this society since the early days of colonisation’, to reverse Colin James’ phrase.⁴⁴

Ultimately the government’s supposedly evident efforts to rig the electoral system went hand-in-hand with ‘keeping their bottom in the butter’ [52] and promoting Nanny Statism. This sense of impunity was manifest in capricious disregard for their constituents, as a result of which the discourse deemed the government illegitimate and criminal. Various calls were made for politicians to be imprisoned without trial [70–76] or ‘kicked out en masse’ [69], for tax revenues to be withheld [71] and for a Fiji-like coup to be staged [01, 08]. Using ‘bullet versus ballot [looked] more attractive by the day’ [69].

Give and take

⁴³See New Zealand Press Association and New Zealand Herald Staff, *Benson-Pope quits Cabinet* (http://www.nzherald.co.nz/organisation/story.cfm?o_id=116&objectid=10454158) – visited on 10 October 2007.

⁴⁴Colin James, ‘The political context of the Treaty of Waitangi and human rights’ (20 July 2004) (http://www.colinjames.co.nz/speeches_briefings/Hn_Rights_Comm_04Jul20.htm) – visited on 9 February 2007.

The idea of government impunity and inevitable bloat was manifest as traditional financial corruption, and by extension wasteful use of ‘our damn money’ [47]. The government ‘rorted’ the system [57], and the taxpayers of New Zealand were ‘ripped off’ and ‘diddled’ [03] as a result of political greed [12]. The government was ‘spending like there’s no tomorrow’ [67], especially on special interests, and the whole programme was labelled a ‘bloody racket’ [83] plagued by ‘cronyism’ [08]. Government ownership was equated with communism [56], and indeed any state participation in markets was tantamount to ‘Kremlin economics’ [47], with the only cure being laissez-faire market policies and privatisation [35, 58, 63, 68]. Waste was identified everywhere, but particularly in health, welfare and education, with ‘billions and billions’ spent ‘subsidising bad parents’ [69]. Domestic abuse measures were constructed as ‘piling more work on ‘poor old front-line health workers’ [76] and ‘turning our hospital system into a gulag’ [77]. Government support for sporting events such as the America’s Cup and Rugby World Cup was an outrage [05, 12]. Helen Clark personally lived in a ‘villa’ [05] and ‘loved junketing so much’ she was headed to Indonesia at a time when Australian authorities considered it dangerous [23, 27]. This was just the most recent in a series of ‘secret’ junkets where she would contribute millions to foreign governments instead of fixing problems at home [26].

Another aspect of this waste discourse was the ‘bureaucracy’ line of lazy government [23, 63]. The government forced business owners to work as ‘unpaid debt collectors’ while simultaneously giving irresponsible beneficiaries more money than they deserved [12]. John Banks was amazed that he had never heard of Associate Minister of Treaty Negotiations Miti Rini. This was hardly surprising since there was – and is – no such minister; he was presumably referring to Labour minister Mita Rinui. Real or not, the point is the same: since he had never heard of the MP in question he must not be doing anything, with the additional imputation of ‘Modie’ laziness [03]. Ultimately, this laziness was seen as relatively benign; more concerning was the fact that ‘a government big enough to give you everything is big enough to take it away’ [42].

Nanny State

[Nanny State] is Labour and National, liberal and conservative, Helen Clark and Rob Muldoon, communism and fascism, Stalin and Hitler ... and she sucks. [44]

Nanny State was the archetypal feminazi, an evil inhuman ‘bitch’ who must be ‘beaten back’; an ‘unholy alliance of socialist lefties, militant feminists and Islamic radicals’ [44]. The term ‘Nanny State’ was employed as a proper noun and used interchangeably with ‘the government’, or ‘man-hating feminazi’. Helen Clark was synonymous with all four, and was the default woman when one was not specified. This is illustrated by one case when, without any introduction or lead-in, a guest referred to Clark in the second person: ‘her’, and neither host nor guest felt any apparent need to clarify further [27].

Despite token attribution to Muldoon, Stalin and Hitler, the characterisation of Nanny State is explicitly female. The inverse, which Perigo described but did not name, was the masculine-gendered ‘Nightwatchman State’ which provided security and nothing else. This gendered distinction between the role of governments formed the heart of the communist lesbian dictator discourse, and yet it is nothing unusual. Power was a masculine trait, and a powerful woman was therefore a paradox, an anomaly. The peril of liminality is a fundamental premise of symbolic classification systems, as anthropologist Mary Douglas notes: ‘danger lies in transitional states, simply because transition is neither one state nor the next, it is indefinable.’⁴⁵ On the basis of this principle, a variety of cultures from ancient through to modern times have characterised powerful women as two basic types: the

⁴⁵Mary Douglas, *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1966) p. 96.

Figure 3: *Symbolic designation of women*

<i>Woman</i>	<i>Symbolic designation</i>
Helen Clark	'shrill' [04]; 'freak of nature' [50]; childless, but 'mother to the nation' [16]; lesbian [05]; 'Madame Lafarge' [64]; 'Nanny State'; 'bitch' [44]
'Nanny State'	'strident'; 'snooping'; 'scolding'; 'control freak'; 'drooling wannabe totalitarian'; 'puritan'; 'hybrid of gargoyle and dominatrix' [44]
Sue Bradford, Green MP	lesbian [05]
Annette King, Labour Minister	'fishwife'; not feminine; 'a turn-off' [45]
Lianne Dalziel, Labour Minister	'Minister of Ugly Women's Affairs' [83]
Steve Chadwick, Labour MP	has 'a problem with freedom'; 'politically correct'; 'air-head' [78, 81]
Judi Clements, CEO, Mental Health Foundation	'stupid bitch'; 'airhead'; 'politically correct sheila' [80]
Kate Sladden, District Health Board manager	'stupid cow'; 'food police' [86]

'domineering dowager' and the 'scheming concubine'.⁴⁶ The discourse symbolically constructs Clark as *both*.

Paradox

According to the discourse, the government denounced men as 'penis-wielding male oppressors' [83], imputing to government speakers famous feminazi catch-phrases such as 'all men are rapists' [77], 'all men are abusers' and 'all women are victims' [70]. The sexualisation of such issues continued through the deviant/prurient paradox, which existed in parallel to (and presumably as a consequence of) the 'powerful woman' paradox. The typically pious John Banks engaged in a sort of reverie describing Helen Clark at home with her (allegedly homosexual) husband Peter Davis 'patting the pussy', a clear inference of masturbation [05]. Clark's notional sexuality was entirely geared toward the domination of men. Labour wanted eunuchs, not men, in the party, and there were 'not many beautiful women' in it either [07]. Nanny State tried to ban erectile dysfunction drugs [01], 'sex, except between women' and masturbation, 'animal protein', meat and full-fat milk [78]. Also on the chopping block were alcohol, chocolate, pies and smoking, and indeed the ultimate goal was to 'regulate every facet of our existence' [78]. This enforced prurience in others was the root of Nanny State's sexuality: her 'source of orgasm was power-lust' [08, 44], she got off on power and was addicted to it [81, 84]. Despite this hyper-dominant sexualisation, however, 'she couldn't organise a whipping in a bondage parlour' [85] – a somewhat ironic assumption of female incompetence. The discourse also extended such attributes to other members of the government, and women outside the government who take similar positions, as shown in Figure 3.

False victimhood

The discourse constructed the image of a generation of super-powerful man-hating feminazi women who have the world at their feet, or are well on their way toward that goal. As a special interest group, the discourse extrapolated this power out to other special interest groups, such as ethnic and religious minorities, and set up the counterpoint of 'political correctness' [49, 67, 79, 91]

⁴⁶Barbara Garlick, Suzanne Dixon and Pauline Allen (eds.), *Stereotypes of Women in Power: Historical Perspectives and Revisionist Views* (New York: Greenwood, 1992).

against it.⁴⁷ Political correctness (PC), or umbrage at political incorrectness, was the ‘first and last resort of evildoers’, ‘an art form and a legal bludgeon’ which would shortly mean the truth would be made illegal as ‘hate speech’ [91]. The discourse appealed to emancipation campaigner William Lloyd Garrison’s arguments against moderation in the face of manifest evil, placing PC on the same footing as slavery [91]. By thus reversing the valence of minorities, equating them with *oppression* rather than emancipation, the discourse created the impression that special interests were trying to have it both ways, being both all-powerful and over-sensitive. Ironically, this is *exactly* the conclusion Raymond Nairn and Timothy McCreanor drew from their landmark study on racism: that Pākehā are both *insensitive* to the feelings of others and *hypersensitive* to others’ attitudes towards them.⁴⁸ When viewed in light of this finding it becomes clear that the communist lesbian dictator discourse was simply one in a long line of hegemonic anti-elitist discourses, the likes of which are well-documented the world over.

Violence

The discourse constructed Nanny State as violent, and violating. This took two main forms: it was anti-human, in the sense that government policy and conduct cynically disregarded human wellbeing in pursuit of its own ends; and anti-nature, in the sense that restriction of peoples’ action and will constituted violation of the naturally-ordained conditions of life.

Anti-human

The discourse’s central focus on welfare as a means of securing future power by breeding future Labour voters had an important subtext that welfare recipients were cynically being used as a resource. Welfare recipients are generally classified in such terms as ‘low-lives’ and ‘scumbags’, and included in the ‘them’ moiety as ‘those people’ [72] and similar. By taking the ‘provider’ [51] role of supporting those people’s incomes, the government knowingly created an ‘army of losers’ [69]. They ‘bribed no-hopers to breed in return for votes’ [70–73, 75–77]. The key to this was the government *keeping* welfare recipients down, keeping them ‘addicted to welfare’, just as Nanny State herself was ‘addicted to power’ [84]. The full rhetoric of self-help and beating addiction was deployed: the government was afraid of ‘alienating’ voters [76] by breaking the ‘welfare cycle’, but for their own good, the cycle must be broken: it would be painful but nevertheless it was ‘the cure’ [84]. Moreover by refusing to do so they subsidised ‘booze-binging’, allowing welfare recipients to ‘lay about and breed and kill their kids’ [71]. Ultimately by keeping the ‘welfare net’ [53] tight, the government was ‘aiding and abetting abusers’ and was itself the ‘real abuser and should be locked up’ [70–76].

As well as allegedly mistreating its own people, the government machine did not respect human rights elsewhere, seeking stronger ties with ‘autocratic’ regimes such as China and while supporting such figures as Yasser Arafat [04], Pervez Musharraf [21], the Ayatollah Ali Khamenei [91], and former Algerian politician and terror suspect Ahmed Zaoui [23, 25].⁴⁹ The government also refused to support people who had apparently overthrown their own corrupt governments, such as Fiji [01, 02, 04].

Symbolic speech is rich with metaphor, and metaphors of Nanny State used in the discourse evoked violent oppression. Nanny State, it was said, ‘didn’t protect our rights, she violated them’

⁴⁷Perigo’s erstwhile radio show on Radio Pacific, his biography, and his regular *Salient* column were all entitled ‘Politically Incorrect’, so this was perhaps not surprising.

⁴⁸Raymond G Nairn and Timothy N McCreanor, ‘Insensitivity and Hypersensitivity: An Imbalance in Pakeha Accounts of Racial Conflict’ *Journal of Language and Social Psychology*, 9 (1990).

⁴⁹On 13 September Ahmed Zaoui’s security risk certificate was revoked and he was deemed to no longer be a terror threat. See Warren Tucker, *Statement by director of the SIS concerning Mr Ahmed Zaoui* (http://www.nzherald.co.nz/section/1/story.cfm?c_id=1&objectid=10463352) – visited on 12 October 2007.

[44, 91]. The welfare state was ‘the Nazi system’ of one section of society ‘subsidising the other at gunpoint’ [73] and the policy of screening women for domestic violence in hospitals was ‘interrogation’ [80]. Helen Clark tried to ‘bully’ Fiji and was looking for a fight [01, 02]. The government was a ‘fighting machine’ [95] which responded to public criticism with ‘rearguard actions’ [72, 78], ‘assaults’ and ‘attacks’ on public institutions. Helen Clark was Madame Lafarge [64] – a French woman convicted of poisoning her husband on the one hand, on the other the woman who sat knitting as the guillotine fell during the French Revolution. This last image is apt: if David Benson-Pope was to admit wrongdoing, Clark would ‘cut his throat’ [57, 59]. The discourse compared the government’s performance in parliament to that of a boxer, and in a rare mark of respect, the impression of Helen Clark’s government against John Key’s National opposition was ‘like the All Blacks vs Romania’ [95].

Anti-nature

The discourse held that the government’s sustained attacks on fundamental freedoms constituted violation not only of those freedoms, but of natural laws of human will, and the markets those forces supposedly create [56, 81]. The government’s consideration of measures to prevent the sale of an Auckland International Airport majority to Dubai Aerospace Enterprises was not only ‘shamelessly xenophobic’ but gave the ‘economically illiterate’ impression that the airport would somehow be physically relocated to Dubai should the sale proceed [58]. The government and those opposing the sale were oblivious to the ‘moral reality’ that property owners were free to dispose of their property as they pleased. They were ‘mired in primordial ooze’ [58].

This ‘moral reality’ that one was free to do as one pleased, and the consequent responsibility to not interfere with others while doing so, were constructed as principles to which the system was utterly and incontrovertibly opposed [69, 74, 81, 85]. For proposing legislation requiring private property owners to allow mothers to breastfeed on their public premises, Steve Chadwick Labour had ‘a problem with freedom’ [81]. Screening women for domestic abuse was the false presumption that all men were guilty of domination and all women were victims of domination, when the genders are objectively equal in nature [70]. The welfare system’s purpose was to replace the family [76] as core societal structure, and this would have dire consequences for the ordinary development of the country. Child abuse was ‘the modern-day equivalent of cannibalism’ [70, 73] and the government was keeping the cooking-fires stoked with its welfare system. Nanny State’s constructed proscriptiveness was the ultimate violation:

Nanny’s essential sin is to deny beings of choice the freedom to exercise it. If ever there were a case for going back to nature it’s going back to human nature, whereby governments protect rather than violate our rights. [44]

Convergence

The various characteristics of the discourse converged into a picture, not entirely unlike Orwell’s boot stamping on a human face.⁵⁰ There were in fact two pictures: of the current decline and immediate future which would result from it; and of the more distant future, should the decline be allowed to progress down the slippery slope to its eventual, inevitable conclusion.

Decline

⁵⁰George Orwell, *Nineteen Eighty-Four* (London: Heron, [1949] 1970) p. 270.

The three major aspects of the government combined in the discourse to produce the sick [71] and sickening [21] state of affairs in modern life, where ‘babies had babies’ [73] and people murdered their babies because they didn’t want them, but were required to breed them in order to get welfare money [37, 70–76]. Because of atheism [17, 30], humanism [24, 30] and the death of freedom and responsibility [37, 76, 85] there was apparently no longer a distinction between right and wrong [06, 33] and ultimately this had resulted in a decline in ‘values’ [73]. Moreover this was only the beginning: because of the ‘sick mentality’ of supporting ‘scumbags’ [72] at the expense of ‘good folk of reason and decency’ [79] alongside the attendant perils of Islamofascism, the powers of ‘evil’ were winning [91] and ‘Western civilisation was stuffed’ [44]. Freedom, it was said ‘was not long’ [91] and ‘the future didn’t look bright’ [44], since the frog was in the pot and was being slowly boiled alive [61].

Panopticon

The endgame for Nanny State was in her dual characteristics of prurience and deviance – prescriptiveness and proscriptiveness – which formed the heart of her policy agenda. Nothing was optional; everything was either ‘illegal or compulsory’ [81]. This ‘illegal or compulsory’ was a powerful symbol in itself, but the inevitable result of such policy was conformance and uniformity, a much stronger symbol indeed. Perigo, in a rage, prescribed just such a final solution for Nanny State’s perfect Orwellian world:

I don’t know why they don’t just cut to the chase. Implement their real agenda in one fell swoop. Install monitors in every home, and have an arch-instructor who tells us when to get up, when to ablute, when to shower, when and what to eat – no animal protein, of course – when to go to work, when and what to have for lunch; work again. Back home for dinner – no alcohol, and no meat. When to go to bed – no sex, except between women. Oh, and the sheets will be examined in the morning for signs of solitary indulgence. Why don’t they just do that? That’s what they really want to do – regulate every facet of our existence, the feminazis and their fellow travellers. Why don’t they just get on with it? [78]

This combined the three aspects – communist, feminazi and totalitarian – into one; the economic aspects of communism, the prurience of the feminazis, all overseen by a totalitarian secret police force whose eyes were everywhere. Since Clark and the government manifestly were, and ‘always had been paranoid’, a statement to which even Green MP Keith Locke agreed [65], this was clearly the only way of ensuring the regime’s security. As in Bentham’s original panopticon concept,⁵¹ the unidirectionality of this vision gave the seer utter control over the seen. The frog was in the pot, on the slippery slope – this result was not only desired by those in power but inevitable. The only preventative was regime change [01, 08, 71, 90].

Symbolic promotion

As the preceding sections illustrate, the communist lesbian dictator discourse constituted a hate campaign by any ordinary meaning of the term. While most analyses of talk explain the medium’s propensity toward hate in terms of a political economy imperative deriving from the talk media business model, I consider another explanation based on my theory that political symbols can be, and in this case have been, promoted by association with more powerful symbols.

⁵¹For a detailed analysis of panopticism see Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (New York: Vintage, 1995 [1975]) pp. 195–228.

Figure 4: *Belman's seven key messages of hate propaganda*

1. The enemy is qualitatively different than us.
2. The enemy represents some great evil. They are demonic, fascist, fundamentalist, etc. The evilness of the enemy is eternal. They have always been evil and they will always be evil.
3. The enemy has harmed us in the past with impunity.
4. The enemy has plans to harm us again in the future.
5. Unlike the enemy, we are noble and deserving of the good lives that the enemy would deny to us.
6. The enemy is united so we must also be. Those of us who undermine our unity are traitors or agents of the enemy.
7. This is the final battle. If we win we will move on to a bright future free from the threat that the enemy poses.⁵⁶

Hate

Leonard Doob, in 1935, defined propaganda as ‘*a systematic attempt by an interested individual (or individuals) to control the attitudes of groups of individuals through the use of suggestion and, consequently, to control their actions*’.⁵² The term ‘propaganda’ is itself a negative-valence political symbol of quite high order. John Banks and Lindsay Perigo deployed it in reference to the legitimate role of government in disseminating policy information, and particularly in attacking the New Zealand media as compliant. The question of whether Banks and Perigo’s discourse itself constitutes propaganda remains unanswered. By the same token, the discourse could perhaps be read as an unofficial (but tacitly approved) negative political campaign on the National Party’s behalf, since it did include some characteristics of such campaigns.⁵³ Those investigations necessitate a different methodological basis than mine, and hinge on evaluations I have not made, including issues of fact, interpretation, emphasis, intention and motivation. Therefore I do not attempt to classify the discourse as either a propaganda campaign or a National attack campaign *per se*.

Gerry Spence and others have argued persuasively that talk as a medium is *designed* to inspire hate by presenting extreme and divisive views to fulfil the ratings imperative of the mass media. Bill O’Reilly:

Conservative people tend to see the world in black-and-white terms, good and evil. Liberals see grays. In any talk format, you have to pound home a strong point of view. If you’re not providing controversy and excitement, people won’t listen, or watch.⁵⁴

This political economy argument is not directly relevant to my research, although it does have background relevance in the sense that *The First Edition* needed an audience to persist, and that audience was provided by hate speech.⁵⁵ The question for this research is whether discourse serves to divide a society, or to unite one group against another on the grounds of ‘black-and-white’, ‘good and evil’ hate speech; and if so how. Jonathan Belman, investigating various modern campaigns of hate propaganda, isolated seven key messages, reproduced in Figure 4. All seven messages were clearly present

⁵²Leonard W Doob, *Propaganda: Its Psychology and Technique* (New York: Henry Holt, 1935) p. 89.

⁵³See Karen S Johnson-Cartee and Gary A Copeland, *Negative Political Advertising: Coming of Age* (Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1991).

⁵⁴In Spence, *Bloodthirsty Bitches* p. 58.

⁵⁵And indeed *The First Edition* ceased airing not long after Banks’ retirement.

in the communist lesbian dictator discourse, as should be clear from the preceding pages. Hate is a powerful political-symbolic tool – Belman argues it is the strongest – and it was by symbols of hate that the discourse attempted to drive ‘us’ apart from ‘them’, to divide New Zealand into those who are for us, and those who are against us.

A theory of symbolic promotion

On the basis of the communist lesbian dictator discourse and Elder and Cobb’s typology of political symbols (see Figure 1), I argue a theory of ‘symbolic promotion’. This is the process whereby a low-valence symbol is strengthened by association with or appeal to a higher-valence symbol. Depending on the nature of the symbols and ‘promotants’ employed, the *direction* of the valence could be reversed. Because high-valence political symbols promote consensus among a notional audience, per Elder and Cobb’s model, associating an extant symbol with symbols of strong enough negative valence could, in principle, unite that audience against that symbol, or a political actor associated with that symbol. Conversely, association with a strong enough positive symbol could unite an audience in favour of a symbol or its associated political actors.

Symbolic promotion relies on the principle of equivalence between members of a symbolic category. The wedge, once driven between those who are united with us and those who are not, separates society in a fundamental way. What is symbolically true of ‘us’ or ‘them’ is axiomatically true of ‘all of us’ or ‘all of them’. This is a fundamental property of symbolic categorisation systems; each member of a given category is strongly linked with each other, as Needham makes clear: ‘A symbolic classification establishes equivalences among things in the universe that to an outsider may appear quite dissimilar, *and then by an action upon one member of the class some other member may be affected.*’⁵⁷ This is a form of syllogism, identified as a core tool of negative political campaigns by Karen Johnson-Cartee and Gary Copeland:

All people are mortal.
Socrates is a person.
Socrates is mortal.
...
All liberals support tax and spend programs.
Michael Dukakis is a liberal.
Michael Dukakis supports tax and spend programs.⁵⁸

The distinction between the logical syllogism and symbolic association is that the former progresses by way of cognition and the latter by way of emotion or valence. As Edelman says, politics is the science of the head manipulating the hearts of the electorate:

Political beliefs and perceptions are very largely not based upon empirical observations or, indeed, upon “information” at all. More than that, non-empirically based cognitions are the most resistant to revision based upon observations of the world, and accordingly they have the most potent influence upon which empirical observations and social cues are taken into consideration and which ignored.⁵⁹

This symbolic promotion is therefore the primary mechanism by which the communist lesbian

⁵⁷Needham, *Symbolic Classification* pp. 28–29 (my emphasis).

⁵⁸Johnson-Cartee and Copeland, *Negative Political Advertising* p. 36.

⁵⁹Edelman, *Politics as Symbolic Action* p. 31

dictator discourse created and divided the ‘us’ and ‘them’ moieties: by taking extant, relatively low-valence symbols or political actors and associating them with strongly negative political symbols or symbolic promotants. Symbolic meaning was not applied strictly or in a careful, rigid fashion, but by generalisation and simplification, as widely as possible in order to maximise symbolic promotion according to the principle of equivalence.

Symbolic promotion in action

The association of communist, feminazi and totalitarian symbol-sets to the Clark government was a manifest case of symbolic promotion. Clark and her government were communists, were associated with and supported by communists, and their policies represented a hegemonic challenge by communists to the values of anti-communist New Zealand as constructed by the discourse. To support Helen Clark was to support the communists, since they were birds of a feather as a result of having been classified together. Likewise, while ‘lesbian’ is probably not a low-valence symbol, its common use is not distinctly a political. Simply labelling Helen Clark – a married, heterosexual politician – ‘lesbian’ lent the symbol political valence by inferring dishonesty and indeed ‘double life’, and therefore ‘secret agenda’. More powerful than the ‘lesbian’ symbol, however, is its big sister ‘feminazi’; the conjunction of ‘feminist’ and ‘Nazi’ and all their symbolic associations. The ‘domineering dowager’ and ‘scheming concubine’ definitions, and indeed the characterisations present in the communist lesbian dictator discourse are definitions of last resort, symbolic constructs of the paradox embodied; unnatural, abnormal and perilous. By the same token, ‘totalitarian’ or the less-evocative ‘dictator’ are canonical examples of evil since the Holocaust. To infer that because a politician is strong, and because a government retains power by legitimate and internationally-sanctioned means that they are equivalent to the Nazi regime or Stalinist Russia creates a distinct litmus-test: either you support the regime and totalitarianism or you do not.

Because of the potency of the symbols deployed, the notional audience of *The First Edition* was in a sense irrelevant – the only possible way to not find oneself in the ‘us’ moiety created by this symbolic campaign was to consciously take an oppositional audience position, rejecting the precepts upon which the discourse founded its assertions. As my analysis of Hall shows, this is something which the medium of talk makes most difficult.

Hope

The communist lesbian dictator discourse, like hate discourses in general, was not particularly consistent. Although I have not analysed its inconsistencies in any detail, cracks in the edifice included anti-Islamic speech while criticising the government for being xenophobic toward Dubai [58]; objecting to government participation in markets in almost the same breath as decrying the ‘silent genocide’ of women from breast cancer because the government would not fund the drug Herceptin [15]; and most egregiously the call for enforced sterilisation for some members of society while explicitly comparing the government to the Nazis, who implemented just such a programme. It was this last example which prompted Matt McCarten to turn the communist lesbian dictator discourse around upon its purveyors, saying with sarcasm, ‘put them into camps’ [73].

The cracks in the edifice revealed that the discourse was not cut from whole cloth, as indeed one should not expect it to be since it was made up of so many peoples’ voices, even despite the narrow framework within which they were discoursing. But more than that, they showed that the discourse was a visceral reaction based not on cool consideration of history, politics, policy or personality, but on particularly extremist ideological positions which were themselves not internally consistent because they had been taken beyond their logical extremes. The discourse chose its enemies arbitrarily, and indeed if it seemed ridiculous it is because there was no fundamental logic in it, beyond the fiery logic

of hatred. As Gerry Spence said somewhat cynically when discussing US talk host Laura Ingraham's discourse against elitists:

We get confused by Ms. Ingraham's definitions unless we understand that she simply uses the term "elitist" to include anyone who disagrees with the proclamations of the conservative chip that has been implanted into her brain.

This is reflected in Orwell's blowtorch metaphor: 'And yet the rage that one felt was an abstract, undirected emotion which could be switched from one object to another like the flame of a blowlamp.'⁶⁰ When the definition of a symbolic class becomes arbitrary, it loses much of its valent meaning. In its immoderacy the communist lesbian dictator discourse lost whatever value it might have had as a critique of Helen Clark or her government. In this sense, the symbolic campaign went too far to remain credible, or if we speculate about its purpose, perhaps therefore too far to achieve its ends. However, in going so far, it served as an excellent, even archetypal example of symbolic promotion.

Émile Durkheim argued that in a society with no crime, lesser transgressions would be redefined as crime in order for society to continue functioning:

Imagine a society of saints, a perfect cloister of exemplary individuals. Crimes or deviance, properly so-called, will there be unknown; but faults, which appear venial to the layman, will there create the same scandal that the ordinary offense does in ordinary consciousnesses. If then, this society has the power to judge and punish, it will define these acts as criminal (or deviant) and will treat them as such.⁶¹

On 13 October 2007 John Banks was re-elected Mayor of Auckland City, a position which he occasionally on *The First Edition* referred to as the second-most powerful position in the country (after the Prime Minister). While, given his role in the symbolic campaign above this might seem dangerous, I think otherwise for two reasons. Firstly, the promotion of such comparative trivia as public breastfeeding to the same rank as the death of private property rights; or indeed the problems of child abuse, as serious as they are, to the rank of cannibalism was a clear indication that the discourse was functioning not as some much-needed brake on society's progress down the slippery slope, but rather as a blow-off valve, as in the perfect cloister.

The second reason is derived from Gandhi's famous progression of civil disobedience: first they ignore you, then they laugh at you, then they fight you, then you win. That John Banks was elected to such high office as the mayoralty of Auckland for a *second* time with no significant discussion of his more outrageous discursive habits by the media or indeed by his political opponents indicates that the communist lesbian dictator discourse remains firmly on the first step of being ignored, at least by other political and media elites. Moreover, upon resigning as host of *The First Edition* but before the first ballot had been cast, Banks' discourse had become constrained by the mayoral chains, resulting in a change which Perigo described as 'the soft, marshmallow Banksie' [35].

I have made no attempt to 'measure' the effect of this campaign's impact on NZ electoral politics, or on policy. While in a free society with free media opposing a powerful hate discourse is akin to trying to dam a rushing torrent – as Professor Morris found when objecting to Perigo's column in *Salient* – policy based on such a discourse is a different matter. Despite the communist lesbian dictator discourse's protestations to the contrary, avenues for protest and objection remain open to the public of New Zealand, who must as a matter of democratic responsibility utilise them. Since the discourse in this case was of blind, opportunistic hate rather than any sort of critique of policy or process or law, policies derived from the communist lesbian dictator discourse – from Banks' position

⁶⁰Orwell, *Nineteen Eighty-Four* p. 14.

⁶¹Émile Durkheim, *The Rules of the Sociological Method* (New York: The Free Press, 1982 [1895]) pp. 68–69.

as mayor, or from future governments involving those who colluded with this campaign, or others – must necessarily be blind, opportunistic policies of hate. It is incumbent upon people of all political stripes who do not wish to reign by hate to respond as Steve Chadwick and Matt McCarten responded during the discourse itself – take arms against such policies, and by opposing, end them.

Appendix A: Data collection

To acquire data for this research, I set up a client brief at Media Monitors⁶² to alert me when certain issues featured in the media. Media Monitors employs staff to monitor broadcast media and summarise the contents of each show; I set the brief up to catch the terms ‘Helen Clark’, ‘Prime Minister’, ‘Labour’ or ‘Government’ in a summary. I then performed a two-stage triage process, first, reviewing each summary and excluding those from sources other than *The First Edition*, or those which clearly did not refer substantively to Clark or her government. I then listened to the audio relating to each remaining summary, and selected clips with relevance to the communist lesbian dictator characterisation. I tagged each clip with author and timestamp information, assigned each a title, and exported the clips in MP3 format.

My data window was an eight-week period from Monday 18 June until Friday 10 August 2007 (*The First Edition* airs weekdays). I had initially planned on examining only Banks’ show, but by good fortune on Friday 13 July (half-way) John Banks resigned to stand for the mayoralty of Auckland City [33] and was replaced by Lindsay Perigo, whose discourse on Clark bears many similarities to Banks’. The eight-week period yielded a total of 95 clips comprising 4:52:41 of air time.

No analysis of this sort can be conducted without distortion or bias. Some sources of distortion emerging from the collection process were beyond my control. While Media Monitors places much emphasis on consistency, human coding inevitably results in variations between coders. I myself regularly monitored parts of the show, and undoubtedly paid closer attention to my topics than did other monitors. I was not in a position to moderate coding, or have the coding repeated as a means of mitigating this distortion. Orthogonal to this is the fact that certain aspects of monitoring are dictated by the company’s business needs. For instance, on a day when a monitor was absent, or when an issue not discussed on *The First Edition* was of major interest to the company’s clients, the show might receive less attention in favour of other shows. Conversely, *The First Edition* on some days undoubtedly received closer analysis than usual due to the nature of the day’s events. As the data-collection period wore on my colleagues became more aware of and in some cases more interested in my research, potentially exhibiting variations in their monitoring of the show as a result. While I was unable to control for these issues explicitly, I designed my brief to be as broad as possible as a means of mitigating the distortions, performing manual triage on summaries containing words which were practically guaranteed to be present whenever my topic came up: ‘Helen Clark’, ‘Prime Minister’, ‘Labour’ or ‘Government’.

My own involvement in the data collection process was an unavoidable source of distortion. As the data collection period progressed I found myself becoming more attuned to the specifics of the discourse I was investigating. I exercised an editorial role by assigning each clip a title for organisational purposes. The titles were all taken more or less verbatim from something said by a speaker in the clip, but my choice of title framed each clip, in a way which could colour a naïve listener’s

⁶²I am employed by Media Monitors, a media intelligence company which monitors and analyses the media throughout the Asia-Pacific region. For more information see <http://www.mediamonitors.co.nz> for more information. Prior to and during the data collection period I was a Broadcast Monitor, part of a team with responsibility for summarising radio and TV broadcasts. Monitors including myself monitored and summarised *The First Edition* as a course of our ordinary business. I am indebted to Media Monitors for allowing me to use their systems and facilities for my private research, although I must note that the work for this paper was done entirely on my own time. I am similarly grateful to my fellow monitors for their careful attention to the media which resulted in such a strong dataset. Media Monitors senior management have reviewed and approved this methodology section in the interests of transparency, but otherwise no part of the research should be attributed to or has been vetted by the company. Media Monitors owns the copyright to its monitors’ summaries (including my own). I have not used these at any point during the research, except as fodder for a search algorithm. **The views, analysis and conclusions expressed herein are my own except where noted, and are absolutely not endorsed by Media Monitors, its owners or staff.** All correspondence regarding this paper should be directed to me; by email to lewis@feayn.org.

opinion of the clip before having listened to it.

The final and most obvious source of potential bias was my own political perspective and background. I generally disagree quite strongly with Banks' and Perigo's avowed political positions, and indeed a major motivation for this research was what I perceived to be the *sheer outrageousness* of the communist lesbian dictator discourse against Helen Clark. However this paper was not a hatchet-job on Banks or Perigo, their personalities or their politics. Neither should it be interpreted as a call for greater censorship or control of political speech. Believing the flaws in the discourse to be largely self-evident, I did not set out to call attention to or even address them. Rather than examining the *quality or veracity* of the attacks on Clark and Labour, I examined their *nature*: what symbols drove the characterisation, how they were constructed and deployed, and to what end.

Ultimately I made no pretense at having undertaken a random or representative analysis of *The First Edition* or the hosts' discourse as a whole. I began research with a clear idea of my object and what I expected to find, and set about finding it. With this in mind I excluded many of what I considered to be marginal cases, where an argument could be made that the clip fit my criteria but where it was not explicit. In order to amass a strong body of data I included clips only when they were clearly and unambiguously part of the communist lesbian dictator discourse. The dataset is therefore not to be understood as a sample; that term connotes randomness or representativeness. It was an expression of one particular discourse within *The First Edition* between the specified dates; no more. It was an analysis of *what was said*, and there can be no argument that it was not said.

Appendix B presents an alphabetised list of symbols from my dataset, while Appendix C lists metadata from the audio files which make up that dataset.

Appendix B: Symbolic vocabulary

Abdullah	born to rule	desperate
abuse of democracy	bowling the critics out	diddled
addiction to power	brainwashing	die-while-you-wait health system
addiction to welfare	breakdown of the family unit	different rules
Adolf Hitler	bribery	disease
Ahmed Zaoui	bullet v ballot more attractive by the	dodgy
airhead	day	don't be fooled
alcohol	bully	doublespeak
All Blacks	cabal	drooling wannabe totalitarian
all men are abusers	cameo appearance	drugs
all women are victims	cannibalism	dumbing down
analingus	can't trust a word	dyed in the wool union man
anti-Americanism	card-carrying communist	economic illiterates
anti-smacking bill	Chairman of the Central Committee	education rot
anything goes	changes the playing field	elites
apartheid TV	changing the rules	end of democracy
apologists for every liberal cause	child abuse is an excuse for a real	everything's political with Labour
going	agenda	evil
appeasement	childless	evil is winning
a problem with freedom	child molesters of the mind	excuses
arrogant	China	ex gratia payment to shut up
as long as Helen favours him	Chinese colonisation	expensive reforms
atheism	closing down industrial civilisation	extremist
at the jugular	coached, probably by Helen	false pretences
authoritarian	communism	false review
automated rigging of polls	communist tabloid	fear and trepidation about the future
ayatollah	complacency	fellow travellers
babies having babies	completely lost her bearings	feminazi man-haters who run this govt
bag of tricks	comrade	fight
banninf full-fat milk	confiscates money	fighting machine
banning alcohol	conflicts of interest	finger poised over the eject button
banning animal protein	congratulated for lying	fishwife
banning chocolate bars	cosy media	flunkies
banning cigars	couldn't organise a whipping in a	foisted
banning erectile dysfunction drugs	bondage parlour	food police
banning hate speech	coven of left-wing witches	force
banning masturbation	covert campaign	foreign aid
banning meat	crazy scheme to interrogate sick	freaks of nature
banning pies	women in hospital	freedom is not long
banning satire	crime	free is not really free
banning sex, except between women	cronyism	frog in the pot
banning smoking	crossed the line into criminality	fundamentally anti-democratic
beat the bitch back	crowd of politicians knowingly create	fundamentally unfair
Beehive mafia elite	an army of losers to vote for them	gangsters in parliament
biggest attack on freedom in years	cultural safety	gas
billions and billions of dollars	cut his throat	genocide
subsidising bad parents	CYFS	get off on the power
bitch	dangle in the wind	giving themselves a considerable
bloody racket	death of the neutral public service	advantage
body language gave him away	decline	gloves off
booze-binges	democracy-rationing	Goebbelism and Helen Clark-speak

government are the real abusers	long-term strategy	pattern of behaviour
government funding for sporting events	looked guilty	pattern of deceit
government is no replacement for a family	losers	Pervez Musharraf
government propaganda	lost touch with reality	Peter Davis
government should be locked up	lovies	platitudinous cliches
government spreading itself thin	low-lives paid by the government to breed	police rot
Great Satan	lust to control	political correctness
greed	Madame Lafarge	political witchhunts
groupies	maintaining ignorance	Pol Pot
gutless	makes criminals of parents	pommie commie
hand-outs	man-hating lesbians	prevent returning soldiers enjoying cigarettes
health rot	Mao Zedong	primordial ooze
henchwoman	Marxism	prison rot
hoodwink	meddling in peoples' lives	privilege
hounded out	men as penis-wielding male oppressors	puppet
how good is his word?	Minister of Ugly Women's Affairs	puritan
humanistic agenda to control the world	MMP	quasi-dictatorship
hypocrisy	moral cannibalism	racist TV
ideology driving policy	moral decay	radical
ignorant rabble	moral relativism	rearguard action
illegal or compulsory	moribund	recalcitrance
immigration	murders	red
imposing your morality	Nanny State	red tape
India	National Socialist radio	regulate every facet of our existence
Indonesia	nauseating	rehabilitation
inhuman	neomarxist agenda	rehearsed
inner circle	never before	revolutionaries
in no other Western democracy	not doing their job	rhetoric
Islamofascism	not feminine	ridiculous level of dishonesty
jails overflowing	nothing to do with solving the problem	right or wrong doesn't exist
John Pilger	not prepared to make the hard decisions	ripped off
Joseph Stalin	not transparent	Robert Fisk
junkets	oblivious	rort
keeping people gullible	obsession with control	rule from Australia
keep them honest	obstinate	ruthless
kicking them all out en masse	offence as an art form and a legal bludgeon	Saddamite
killjoy zeal	on a limb	Saddamy
knee-jerk reaction	one man band	Sandinistas
knock out	oppression	scolding
Kremlin economics	organised it like this	screwing the scrum
Labour won on points	out of control bureaucracy in Wellington	scumbags
lawlessness	out of leftfield	security
laziness	paranoia	selection based on obedience
lefties	parasite	Separatist
leftist media	parasitical ignoramuses	serial liar
legislating attitudes	parrot	sets them up
lesbian	party pooper	shamelessly xenophobic
lesbianism		shrill
liberals		sickening
limiting beliefs		sick mentality
		slippery slope
		smelly socialists

snivelling, whining socialists	taxpayer-funded propaganda	unfairness
snooping	campaigns	unholy alliance of socialist lefties,
social engineering	teetotaler	militant feminists and islamic
socialism	terrorism	radicals
socialist utopia	tertiary courses in prostitution	unpaid debt collector
Social Welfare	that's the direction we're going in	unprecedented control of universities
so that's why	the age of umbrage	untruth
source of orgasm is power lust	the future doesn't look bright	USSR
sovereignty	these sorts of humans	vanity
special interests	the types of women who are rampant	vegetarian
special rights	in parliament	victimised by the socialist labour govt
Stalinist backwater	this government's certainly got you in	villa
Stalinist outrage	your rightful place	violence
state as provider	this is the beginning	waffle
state ownership	thought police	war
state TV	threatening	weasel-words
stench	tight control	welfare is a way of life
stooge	tight five	welfare mentality
stranglehold	to be expected	welfare net
strident	too frightened to cut benefits	Western civilisation is stuffed
strong	treacherous tide	whitewash
student protester	Treaty of Waitangi	Yasser Arafat
subsidy at gunpoint	trendy trash	Yes, Minister
supposed to be caring	tribal Labour	your money
sycophants	tricks	youth taking over
take his word for it	turning hospitals into a gulag	
tax burden	ultimate arbiter of power	

Appendix C: Source audio

The following is metadata from the audio which made up my dataset; simply an index of the ID3 tag data from the source MP3 files. The titles were chosen by me, taken more or less verbatim from something said in the clip. If a co-host or fellow elite (for discussion of which refer to the section entitled *Talk voices: different but the same*) was present with the main host, their name has been included, while non-elites such as talkback callers are not included. Due to the limitations of ID3 tags, ‘album’ approximated to ‘station in the case of this dataset.

The contents of the audio files are owned by MediaWorks, the operator of Radio Pacific, and therefore may not have been distributed with this paper. My use and distribution of the audio clips for this research is exempted from copyright restrictions under the ‘fair dealing’ provisions specified in §43 of New Zealand’s Copyright Act 1994 (for which refer to <http://www.legislation.govt.nz>). In the interests of transparency I am happy to distribute the source audio files to those who require them and have a justification under fair dealing to receive them. Neither I nor Media Monitors has sought legal advice regarding this specific instance of copying and distribution, and I will accept all liability in this matter should a dispute arise. To contact me regarding the paper, or to request a copy of the audio files, email me: lewis@feayn.org.

01-20070618-082429-banks-clark_wants_to_fight_fiji.mp3: Title : Fight Fiji Album : Radio Pacific Comment: Aired 18 Jun 2007 08:24:29	Artist: John Banks Year: 2007, Genre: Sound Clip (37) Track: 1	12-20070702-062405-banks-greed.mp3: Title : Greed Album : Radio Pacific Comment: Aired 2 Jul 2007 06:24:05	Artist: John Banks Year: 2007, Genre: Sound Clip (37) Track: 12
02-20070619-071040-banks-clark_is_trying_to_bully_fiji.mp3: Title : Trying to bully Fiji Album : Radio Pacific Comment: Aired 19 Jun 2007 07:10:40	Artist: John Banks Year: 2007, Genre: Sound Clip (37) Track: 2	13-20070702-081809-banks-one_man_band.mp3: Title : One-man band Album : Radio Pacific Comment: Aired 2 Jul 2007 08:18:09	Artist: John Banks Year: 2007, Genre: Sound Clip (37) Track: 13
03-20070620-061315-banks-miti_rini.mp3: Title : Miti Rini Album : Radio Pacific Comment: Aired 20 Jun 2007 06:13:15	Artist: John Banks Year: 2007, Genre: Sound Clip (37) Track: 3	14-20070704-081236-banks-rogue_states.mp3: Title : Rogue states Album : Radio Pacific Comment: Aired 4 Jul 2007 08:12:36	Artist: John Banks Year: 2007, Genre: Sound Clip (37) Track: 14
04-20070620-074250-banks+patman-old_fashioned_strongman.mp3: Title : Old-fashioned strongman Album : Radio Pacific Comment: Aired 20 Jun 2007 07:42:50	Artist: John Banks and Robert Patman Year: 2007, Genre: Sound Clip (37) Track: 4	15-20070706-071642-banks-silent_genocide.mp3: Title : Silent genocide Album : Radio Pacific Comment: Aired 6 Jul 2007 07:16:42	Artist: John Banks Year: 2007, Genre: Sound Clip (37) Track: 15
05-20070622-073737-banks+impersonator-colony_of_communist_china.mp3: Title : Colony of communist China Album : Radio Pacific Comment: Aired 22 Jun 2007 07:37:37	Artist: John Banks & Clark Impersonator Year: 2007, Genre: Sound Clip (37) Track: 5	16-20070706-074027-banks+impersonator-mother_to_the_nation.mp3: Title : Mother to the nation Album : Radio Pacific Comment: Aired 6 Jul 2007 07:40:27	Artist: John Banks & Clark impersonator Year: 2007, Genre: Sound Clip (37) Track: 16
06-20070627-074217-banks-moral_decline.mp3: Title : Moral decline Album : Radio Pacific Comment: Aired 27 Jun 2007 07:42:17	Artist: John Banks Year: 2007, Genre: Sound Clip (37) Track: 6	17-20070709-064532-banks-hitler_stalin_mao_pol_pot.mp3: Title : Hitler, Stalin, Mao, Pol Pot Album : Radio Pacific Comment: Aired 9 Jul 2007 06:45:32	Artist: John Banks Year: 2007, Genre: Sound Clip (37) Track: 17
07-20070628-063807-banks-crown_jewels.mp3: Title : Crown jewels Album : Radio Pacific Comment: Aired 28 Jun 2007 06:38:07	Artist: John Banks Year: 2007, Genre: Sound Clip (37) Track: 7	18-20070709-070953-banks-the_most_corrupt_government_in_nz_history.mp3: Title : The most corrupt govt in NZ hi Album : Radio Pacific Comment: Aired 9 Jul 2007 07:09:53	Artist: John Banks & Bill English Year: 2007, Genre: Sound Clip (37) Track: 18
08-20070628-073704-banks+perigo-cross_party_commitment_to_fascism.mp3: Title : Cross-party commitment to fasc Album : Radio Pacific Comment: Aired 28 Jun 2007 07:37:04	Artist: John Banks & Lindsay Perigo Year: 2007, Genre: Sound Clip (37) Track: 8	19-20070709-071755-banks-fourth_world.mp3: Title : Fourth world Album : Radio Pacific Comment: Aired 9 Jul 2007 07:17:55	Artist: John Banks Year: 2007, Genre: Sound Clip (37) Track: 19
09-20070628-081022-banks-left_wing_media.mp3: Title : Left-wing media Album : Radio Pacific Comment: Aired 28 Jun 2007 08:10:22	Artist: John Banks Year: 2007, Genre: Sound Clip (37) Track: 9	20-20070709-073752-banks+english-no_other_government_outside_zimbabwe.mp3: Title : No other govt outside Zimbabwe Album : Radio Pacific Comment: Aired 9 Jul 2007 07:37:52	Artist: John Banks & Bill English Year: 2007, Genre: Sound Clip (37) Track: 20
10-20070629-072531-banks-taxes.mp3: Title : Taxes Album : Radio Pacific Comment: Aired 29 Jun 2007 07:25:31	Artist: John Banks Year: 2007, Genre: Sound Clip (37) Track: 10	21-20070709-081527-banks-their_own_jail.mp3: Title : Their own jail Album : Radio Pacific Comment: Aired 9 Jul 2007 08:15:27	Artist: John Banks Year: 2007, Genre: Sound Clip (37) Track: 21
11-20070629-081055-banks+impersonator-appropriate_educational_options.mp3: Title : Appropriate educational option Album : Radio Pacific Comment: Aired 29 Jun 2007 07:25:31	Artist: John Banks & Clark Impersonator Year: 2007, Genre: Sound Clip (37) Track: 11	22-20070710-062835-banks-whitewash.mp3: Title : Whitewash Album : Radio Pacific Comment: Aired 10 Jul 2007 06:28:35	Artist: John Banks Year: 2007, Genre: Sound Clip (37) Track: 22

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23-20070710-063935-banks-junketing.mp3:
Title : Junketing Artist: John Banks
Album : Radio Pacific Year: 2007, Genre: Sound Clip (37)
Comment: Aired 10 Jul 2007 06:39:35 Track: 23

24-20070710-065815-banks+cooper-humanistic_agenda_to_control_the_world.mp3:
Title : Humanistic agenda to control t Artist: John Banks
Album : Radio Pacific Year: 2007, Genre: Sound Clip (37)
Comment: Aired 10 Jul 2007 06:58:15 Track: 24

25-20070710-071915-banks-silly_little_secret_games.mp3:
Title : Silly little secret games Artist: John Banks
Album : Radio Pacific Year: 2007, Genre: Sound Clip (37)
Comment: Aired 10 Jul 2007 07:19:15 Track: 25

26-20070710-085650-banks-secret_payments.mp3:
Title : Secret payments Artist: John Banks
Album : Radio Pacific Year: 2007, Genre: Sound Clip (37)
Comment: Aired 10 Jul 2007 08:56:50 Track: 26

27-20070712-065144-banks-cameo_appearance.mp3:
Title : Cameo appearance Artist: John Banks
Album : Radio Pacific Year: 2007, Genre: Sound Clip (37)
Comment: Aired 12 Jul 2007 06:51:44 Track: 27

28-20070712-073929-banks-goebbellism_and_helen_clark_speak.mp3:
Title : Goebbellism and Helen Clark-sp Artist: John Banks
Album : Radio Pacific Year: 2007, Genre: Sound Clip (37)
Comment: Aired 12 Jul 2007 07:39:29 Track: 28

29-20070712-074124-banks-at_the_jugular.mp3:
Title : At the jugular Artist: John Banks
Album : Radio Pacific Year: 2007, Genre: Sound Clip (37)
Comment: Aired 12 Jul 2007 07:41:24 Track: 29

30-20070712-074245-banks+silver-emerging_muslim_state.mp3:
Title : Emerging Muslim state Artist: John Banks & Dave Silver
Album : Radio Pacific Year: 2007, Genre: Sound Clip (37)
Comment: Aired 12 Jul 2007 07:42:45 Track: 30

31-20070712-082204-banks-silly_female_canine.mp3:
Title : Silly female canine Artist: John Banks
Album : Radio Pacific Year: 2007, Genre: Sound Clip (37)
Comment: Aired 12 Jul 2007 08:22:04 Track: 31

32-20070713-065822-banks+bhatnagar-hes_got_the_gun.mp3:
Title : He's got the gun Artist: John Banks & Aaron Bhatnagar
Album : Radio Pacific Year: 2007, Genre: Sound Clip (37)
Comment: Aired 13 Jul 2007 06:58:22 Track: 32

33-20070713-071018-banks-handing_over_the_airwaves.mp3:
Title : Handing over the airwaves Artist: John Banks
Album : Radio Pacific Year: 2007, Genre: Sound Clip (37)
Comment: Aired 13 Jul 2007 07:10:18 Track: 33

34-20070713-071632-banks-dont_be_hurtful.mp3:
Title : Don't be hurtful Artist: John Banks
Album : Radio Pacific Year: 2007, Genre: Sound Clip (37)
Comment: Aired 13 Jul 2007 07:16:32 Track: 34

35-20070716-063605-perigo-feminazis.mp3:
Title : Feminazis Artist: Lindsay Perigo
Album : Radio Pacific Year: 2007, Genre: Sound Clip (37)
Comment: Aired 16 Jul 2007 06:36:05 Track: 35

36-20070716-065027-perigo-there_when_it_shouldnt_be.mp3:
Title : There when it shouldn't be Artist: Lindsay Perigo
Album : Radio Pacific Year: 2007, Genre: Sound Clip (37)
Comment: Aired 16 Jul 2007 06:50:27 Track: 36

37-20070716-075336-perigo-paid_by_the_government_to_breed.mp3:
Title : Paid by the government to bree Artist: Lindsay Perigo
Album : Radio Pacific Year: 2007, Genre: Sound Clip (37)
Comment: Aired 16 Jul 2007 07:53:36 Track: 37

38-20070716-081324-perigo+hide-pc_socialisation_of_everything.mp3:
Title : PC socialisation of everything Artist: Lindsay Perigo & Rodney Hide
Album : Radio Pacific Year: 2007, Genre: Sound Clip (37)
Comment: Aired 16 Jul 2007 08:13:24 Track: 38

39-20070716-081737-perigo+hide-parasite.mp3:
Title : Parasite Artist: Lindsay Perigo & Rodney Hide
Album : Radio Pacific Year: 2007, Genre: Sound Clip (37)
Comment: Aired 16 Jul 2007 08:17:37 Track: 39

40-20070717-062625-perigo-dont_be_foiled.mp3:
Title : Don't be fooled Artist: Lindsay Perigo
Album : Radio Pacific Year: 2007, Genre: Sound Clip (37)
Comment: Aired 17 Jul 2007 06:26:25 Track: 40

41-20070717-063929-perigo-nanny_state.mp3:
Title : Nanny state Artist: Lindsay Perigo
Album : Radio Pacific Year: 2007, Genre: Sound Clip (37)
Comment: Aired 17 Jul 2007 06:39:29 Track: 41

42-20070717-065327-perigo+darnton-big_enough_to_take_it_away.mp3:
Title : Big enough to take it away Artist: Lindsay Perigo & Bernard Darnton
Album : Radio Pacific Year: 2007, Genre: Sound Clip (37)
Comment: Aired 17 Jul 2007 06:53:27 Track: 42

43-20070717-071439-perigo-the_end_of_civilised_life_as_we_know_it.mp3:
Title : The end of civilised life as w Artist: Lindsay Perigo
Album : Radio Pacific Year: 2007, Genre: Sound Clip (37)
Comment: Aired 17 Jul 2007 07:14:39 Track: 43

44-20070717-083926-perigo-beat_the_bitch_back.mp3:
Title : Beat the bitch back Artist: Lindsay Perigo
Album : Radio Pacific Year: 2007, Genre: Sound Clip (37)
Comment: Aired 17 Jul 2007 07:14:39 Track: 44

45-20070718-062057-perigo-fishwife.mp3:
Title : Fishwife Artist: Lindsay Perigo
Album : Radio Pacific Year: 2007, Genre: Sound Clip (37)
Comment: Aired 18 Jul 2007 06:20:57 Track: 45

46-20070719-063702-perigo-lust_for_control.mp3:
Title : Lust for control Artist: Lindsay Perigo
Album : Radio Pacific Year: 2007, Genre: Sound Clip (37)
Comment: Aired 19 Jul 2007 06:37:02 Track: 46

47-20070719-071434-perigo-kremlin_economics.mp3:
Title : Kremlin economics Artist: Lindsay Perigo
Album : Radio Pacific Year: 2007, Genre: Sound Clip (37)
Comment: Aired 19 Jul 2007 07:14:34 Track: 47

48-20070719-082155-perigo-national_socialist_radio.mp3:
Title : National socialist radio Artist: Lindsay Perigo
Album : Radio Pacific Year: 2007, Genre: Sound Clip (37)
Comment: Aired 19 Jul 2007 08:21:55 Track: 48

49-20070720-061247-perigo-islamophobe.mp3:
Title : Islamophobe Artist: Lindsay Perigo
Album : Radio Pacific Year: 2007, Genre: Sound Clip (37)
Comment: Aired 20 Jul 2007 06:12:47 Track: 49

50-20070720-063729-perigo-mud_doesnt_stick.mp3:
Title : Mud doesn't stick Artist: Lindsay Perigo
Album : Radio Pacific Year: 2007, Genre: Sound Clip (37)
Comment: Aired 20 Jul 2007 06:37:29 Track: 50

51-20070723-073701-perigo+key-to_the_left_of_labour.mp3:
Title : To the left of Labour Artist: Lindsay Perigo & John Key
Album : Radio Pacific Year: 2007, Genre: Sound Clip (37)
Comment: Aired 23 Jul 2007 07:37:01 Track: 51

52-20070723-081427-perigo-bottom_in_the_butter.mp3:
Title : Bottom in the butter Artist: Lindsay Perigo
Album : Radio Pacific Year: 2007, Genre: Sound Clip (37)
Comment: Aired 23 Jul 2007 08:14:27 Track: 52

53-20070723-082236-perigo-welfare_net.mp3:
Title : Welfare net Artist: Lindsay Perigo
Album : Radio Pacific Year: 2007, Genre: Sound Clip (37)
Comment: Aired 23 Jul 2007 08:22:36 Track: 53

54-20070724-061520-perigo-sideshow.mp3:
Title : Sideshow Artist: Lindsay Perigo
Album : Radio Pacific Year: 2007, Genre: Sound Clip (37)
Comment: Aired 24 Jul 2007 06:15:20 Track: 54

55-20070724-073641-perigo-coached_probably_by_helen.mp3:
Title : Coached, probably by Helen Artist: Lindsay Perigo
Album : Radio Pacific Year: 2007, Genre: Sound Clip (37)
Comment: Aired 24 Jul 2007 07:36:41 Track: 55

56-20070724-074100-perigo-incipient_communism.mp3:
Title : Incipient communism Artist: Lindsay Perigo
Album : Radio Pacific Year: 2007, Genre: Sound Clip (37)
Comment: Aired 24 Jul 2007 07:41:00 Track: 56

57-20070724-075039-perigo+garner-cut_his_throat.mp3:
Title : Cut his throat Artist: Lindsay Perigo & Duncan Garner
Album : Radio Pacific Year: 2007, Genre: Sound Clip (37)
Comment: Aired 24 Jul 2007 07:50:39 Track: 57

58-20070725-061410-perigo-smelly_socialists.mp3:
Title : Smelly socialists Artist: Lindsay Perigo
Album : Radio Pacific Year: 2007, Genre: Sound Clip (37)
Comment: Aired 25 Jul 2007 06:14:10 Track: 58

59-20070725-065411-perigo+mccarten-cabal.mp3:
Title : Cabal Artist: Lindsay Perigo & Matt McCarten

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Album : Radio Pacific Year: 2007, Genre: Sound Clip (37) Comment: Aired 1 Aug 2007 07:53:43 Track: 77
Comment: Aired 25 Jul 2007 06:54:11 Track: 59

60-20070725-072128-perigo+english-everythings_political.mp3:
Title : Everything's Political Artist: Lindsay Perigo & Bill English
Album : Radio Pacific Year: 2007, Genre: Sound Clip (37)
Comment: Aired 25 Jul 2007 07:21:28 Track: 60

61-20070725-082802-perigo-democracy_rationing.mp3:
Title : Democracy rationing Artist: Lindsay Perigo
Album : Radio Pacific Year: 2007, Genre: Sound Clip (37)
Comment: Aired 25 Jul 2007 08:28:02 Track: 61

62-20070726-072711-perigo-left_wing_witches.mp3:
Title : Left-wing witches Artist: Lindsay Perigo
Album : Radio Pacific Year: 2007, Genre: Sound Clip (37)
Comment: Aired 26 Jul 2007 07:27:11 Track: 62

63-20070726-074036-perigo+hutchison-stranglehold_of_the_state.mp3:
Title : Stranglehold of the state Artist: Lindsay Perigo & Paul Hutchison
Album : Radio Pacific Year: 2007, Genre: Sound Clip (37)
Comment: Aired 26 Jul 2007 07:40:36 Track: 63

64-20070727-072100-perigo+garner-madame_lafarge.mp3:
Title : Madame Lafarge Artist: Lindsay Perigo & Duncan Garner
Album : Radio Pacific Year: 2007, Genre: Sound Clip (37)
Comment: Aired 27 Jul 2007 07:21:00 Track: 64

65-20070727-075256-perigo+locke-always_been_paranoid.mp3:
Title : Always been paranoid Artist: Lindsay Perigo & Keith Locke
Album : Radio Pacific Year: 2007, Genre: Sound Clip (37)
Comment: Aired 27 Jul 2007 07:52:56 Track: 65

66-20070730-082747-perigo+key-an_abuse_of_the_democratic_process.mp3:
Title : An abuse of the democratic process Artist: Lindsay Perigo & John Key
Album : Radio Pacific Year: 2007, Genre: Sound Clip (37)
Comment: Aired 30 Jul 2007 08:27:47 Track: 66

67-20070730-085004-perigo+key-man_hating_lesbians.mp3:
Title : Man-hating lesbians Artist: Lindsay Perigo & John Key
Album : Radio Pacific Year: 2007, Genre: Sound Clip (37)
Comment: Aired 30 Jul 2007 08:50:04 Track: 67

68-20070730-085731-perigo+key-not_our_biggest_friends.mp3:
Title : Not our biggest friends Artist: Lindsay Perigo & John Key
Album : Radio Pacific Year: 2007, Genre: Sound Clip (37)
Comment: Aired 30 Jul 2007 08:57:31 Track: 68

69-20070731-065005-perigo+darnton-obedience_rather_than_talent.mp3:
Title : Obedience rather than talent Artist: Lindsay Perigo & Bernard Darnton
Album : Radio Pacific Year: 2007, Genre: Sound Clip (37)
Comment: Aired 31 Jul 2007 06:50:05 Track: 69

70-20070801-061214-perigo-the_modern_day_equivalent_of_cannibalism.mp3:
Title : The modern day equivalent of cannibalism Artist: Lindsay Perigo
Album : Radio Pacific Year: 2007, Genre: Sound Clip (37)
Comment: Aired 1 Aug 2007 06:12:14 Track: 70

71-20070801-062056-perigo-social_workers_are_lesbians.mp3:
Title : Social workers are lesbians Artist: Lindsay Perigo
Album : Radio Pacific Year: 2007, Genre: Sound Clip (37)
Comment: Aired 1 Aug 2007 06:20:56 Track: 71

72-20070801-063639-perigo-raging_agenda_of_evil_feminazis.mp3:
Title : Raging agenda of evil feminazi Artist: Lindsay Perigo
Album : Radio Pacific Year: 2007, Genre: Sound Clip (37)
Comment: Aired 1 Aug 2007 06:36:39 Track: 72

73-20070801-064828-perigo+mccarten-put_them_into_camps.mp3:
Title : Put them into camps Artist: Lindsay Perigo
Album : Radio Pacific Year: 2007, Genre: Sound Clip (37)
Comment: Aired 1 Aug 2007 06:48:28 Track: 73

74-20070801-071342-perigo-this_is_beyond_the_pale.mp3:
Title : This is beyond the pale Artist: Lindsay Perigo
Album : Radio Pacific Year: 2007, Genre: Sound Clip (37)
Comment: Aired 1 Aug 2007 07:13:42 Track: 74

75-20070801-072347-perigo-the_lefties_are_the_nazis.mp3:
Title : The lefties are the nazis Artist: Lindsay Perigo
Album : Radio Pacific Year: 2007, Genre: Sound Clip (37)
Comment: Aired 1 Aug 2007 07:23:47 Track: 75

76-20070801-072623-perigo+roy-no_replacement_for_an_absent_father.mp3:
Title : No replacement for an absent father Artist: Lindsay Perigo & Heather Roy
Album : Radio Pacific Year: 2007, Genre: Sound Clip (37)
Comment: Aired 1 Aug 2007 07:26:23 Track: 76

77-20070801-075343-perigo-turning_our_hospitals_into_a_gulag.mp3:
Title : Turning our hospitals into a gulag Artist: Lindsay Perigo
Album : Radio Pacific Year: 2007, Genre: Sound Clip (37)

78-20070802-061325-perigo-regulate_every_facet_of_our_existence.mp3:
Title : Regulate every facet of our existence Artist: Lindsay Perigo
Album : Radio Pacific Year: 2007, Genre: Sound Clip (37)
Comment: Aired 2 Aug 2007 06:13:25 Track: 78

79-20070802-063621-perigo-scumbags_flunkies.mp3:
Title : Scumbags, flunkies Artist: Lindsay Perigo
Album : Radio Pacific Year: 2007, Genre: Sound Clip (37)
Comment: Aired 2 Aug 2007 06:36:21 Track: 79

80-20070802-065016-perigo+newman-lets_get_the_womens_vote_back.mp3:
Title : Let's get the women's vote back Artist: Lindsay Perigo & Muriel Newman
Album : Radio Pacific Year: 2007, Genre: Sound Clip (37)
Comment: Aired 2 Aug 2007 06:50:16 Track: 80

81-20070802-075246-perigo+chadwick-you_have_a_problem_with_freedom.mp3:
Title : You have a problem with freedom Artist: Lindsay Perigo & Steve Chadwick
Album : Radio Pacific Year: 2007, Genre: Sound Clip (37)
Comment: Aired 2 Aug 2007 06:52:46 Track: 81

82-20070802-080846-perigo-slippery_slope_to_dictatorship.mp3:
Title : Slippery slope to dictatorship Artist: Lindsay Perigo
Album : Radio Pacific Year: 2007, Genre: Sound Clip (37)
Comment: Aired 2 Aug 2007 08:08:46 Track: 82

83-20070803-061354-perigo-minister_of_ugly_womens_affairs.mp3:
Title : Minister of Ugly Women's Affairs Artist: Lindsay Perigo
Album : Radio Pacific Year: 2007, Genre: Sound Clip (37)
Comment: Aired 3 Aug 2007 06:13:54 Track: 83

84-20070803-064849-perigo-lust_for_power.mp3:
Title : Lust for power Artist: Lindsay Perigo
Album : Radio Pacific Year: 2007, Genre: Sound Clip (37)
Comment: Aired 3 Aug 2007 06:48:49 Track: 84

85-20070806-061316-perigo-gargoyle_and_dominatrix.mp3:
Title : Gargoyle and dominatrix Artist: Lindsay Perigo
Album : Radio Pacific Year: 2007, Genre: Sound Clip (37)
Comment: Aired 6 Aug 2007 06:13:16 Track: 85

86-20070806-063615-perigo-stupid_cow.mp3:
Title : Stupid cow Artist: Lindsay Perigo
Album : Radio Pacific Year: 2007, Genre: Sound Clip (37)
Comment: Aired 6 Aug 2007 06:36:15 Track: 86

87-20070806-072913-perigo+key-naff_off_nanny.mp3:
Title : Naff off Nanny Artist: Lindsay Perigo & John Key
Album : Radio Pacific Year: 2007, Genre: Sound Clip (37)
Comment: Aired 6 Aug 2007 07:29:13 Track: 87

88-20070806-073629-perigo-lets_see_if_he_has_the_balls.mp3:
Title : Let's see if he has the balls Artist: Lindsay Perigo
Album : Radio Pacific Year: 2007, Genre: Sound Clip (37)
Comment: Aired 6 Aug 2007 07:36:29 Track: 88

89-20070806-082111-perigo-get_helen_clark_a_un_job.mp3:
Title : Get Helen Clark a UN job Artist: Lindsay Perigo
Album : Radio Pacific Year: 2007, Genre: Sound Clip (37)
Comment: Aired 6 Aug 2007 08:21:11 Track: 89

90-20070807-061217-perigo-she_violates_them.mp3:
Title : She violates them Artist: Lindsay Perigo
Album : Radio Pacific Year: 2007, Genre: Sound Clip (37)
Comment: Aired 7 Aug 2007 06:12:17 Track: 90

91-20070808-061158-perigo-offend_a_fascist_a_day.mp3:
Title : Offend a fascist a day Artist: Lindsay Perigo
Album : Radio Pacific Year: 2007, Genre: Sound Clip (37)
Comment: Aired 8 Aug 2007 06:11:58 Track: 91

92-20070808-074222-perigo+hunt-a_wonder_shes_not_in_it.mp3:
Title : A wonder she's not in it Artist: Lindsay Perigo & Graham Hunt
Album : Radio Pacific Year: 2007, Genre: Sound Clip (37)
Comment: Aired 8 Aug 2007 07:42:22 Track: 92

93-20070808-082243-perigo-wouldnt_surprise_me.mp3:
Title : Wouldn't surprise me Artist: Lindsay Perigo
Album : Radio Pacific Year: 2007, Genre: Sound Clip (37)
Comment: Aired 8 Aug 2007 08:22:43 Track: 93

94-20070810-061303-perigo-saddamy_at_seven.mp3:
Title : Saddamy at seven Artist: Lindsay Perigo
Album : Radio Pacific Year: 2007, Genre: Sound Clip (37)
Comment: Aired 10 Aug 2007 06:13:03 Track: 94

95-20070810-073728-perigo+garner-all_blacks_vs_romania.mp3:
Title : All Blacks vs Romania Artist: Lindsay Perigo & Duncan Garner
Album : Radio Pacific Year: 2007, Genre: Sound Clip (37)
Comment: Aired 10 Aug 2007 07:37:28 Track: 95

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