The Language of Strategy:

A Study in Australian Prime Ministerial Rhetoric and Campaign Speechmaking, 1983-2013

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Statement of originality

I hereby certify that the work embodied in the thesis is my own work, conducted under normal supervision.

The thesis contains no material which has been accepted, or is being examined, for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university or other tertiary institution and, to the best of my knowledge and belief, contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference has been made in the text. I give consent to the final version of my thesis being made available worldwide when deposited in the University's Digital Repository, subject to the provisions of the Copyright Act 1968 and any approved embargo.

Brooke Gizzi-Stewart

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Publications relating to this research

Gizzi-Stewart, B. 2016. New visions and vintage values: Shifting discourses of Australian national identity in 21st century prime ministerial rhetoric. *Communication, Politics and Culture*. 49(1), pp. 62-85.

Gizzi-Stewart, B. 2016. From campaigns to classrooms: Why political speeches are important. *Persuading the people – prime ministers and their speeches*. Museum of Australian Democracy, Canberra. https://primeministers.moadoph.gov.au/topics/persuading-the-people

Abstract

What makes a political speech persuasive? Which approaches can be used to understand the mechanisms of strategic language in political speechmaking, and determine their influence? Political actors in all political systems from despots to democrats use political rhetoric in many aspects of their role. These rhetorical activities are so central to the way we understand politics that they have become an integral part of the way we are governed. Since politics involves the contest of ideas, beliefs and meanings, analysis should focus on argumentation—the original site of rhetorical theory and practice.

Drawing on the classical rhetorical tradition and contemporary rhetorical theory, this thesis examines a little studied area of the Australian political process: political speechmaking. The purpose is to explore the function of rhetoric in contemporary Australian political speechmaking by analysing the full transcripts of 16 Australian federal election campaign speeches across a thirty year period: 1983-2013. The thesis develops an original methodological approach to analyse these speeches. It combines a modified version of Alan Finlayson's rhetorical political analysis with the use of text analysis software Leximancer. Using this method to analyse the campaign launch speeches by the prime minister and, during shifts of incumbency, those of the opposition leader, the thesis identifies the strategic use of rhetorical techniques by examining rhetorical appeals, argumentation structure and narratives. These techniques point to a 'language of strategy' unique to each study period.

The term 'language of strategy' captures the sustained and longitudinal use of a rhetorical method and style, in particular the overarching tone and form of the rhetorical arguments and language expressed across the set piece speeches in the study periods. The language of strategy confirms patterns of persuasive language relating to prime ministers and electoral

success, demonstrating a link between arguments that appeal to three core persuasive narratives and successful bids for national leadership: the nation-building argument, articulating a vision, and building ethos through values. Similarly, the thesis findings indicate persuasive language trends associated with changes of incumbency, particularly in how successful opposition leaders harness the rhetoric of opportunism to frame change in positive terms.

The analysis of the language of strategy presented in this thesis also reveals broader cultural, historical and behavioural aspects specific to the study periods, political environment and political leadership and is a formative line of enquiry for other scholars of rhetorical political speech analysis. By undertaking a textual analysis of rhetorical speech during these fundamental moments of democracy, the thesis demonstrates how the words of political leaders are fashioned into electoral weapons to affect political outcomes, and in particular how this language of strategy frames a rhetorical path to electoral legitimacy.

Chapter One: Introduction

The campaign launch is the sum total of the political movement gathered into one leader with one twenty-seven-minute speech in his hand. Because it is the moment when the whole party visibly and noisily projects itself onto the leadership it is also the moment when the leader's dependence on the led is most obvious. The campaign launch is the occasion when some leaders might feel most powerful, and others most vulnerable – and some might feel terribly powerful and terribly vulnerable at the same time.

Don Watson (2002)

Try to imagine politics without persuasion. Try to imagine a form of politics where everything was certain and clear; where choice and deliberation were irrelevant and decision-making was unnecessary. Imagining politics without persuasion is imagining a world without politics.

Persuasion pervades politics and the relationship between language and politics is one of both flux and interconnectedness. Indeed, the original political science and the fundamental political knowledge or skill is knowing how to speak to successfully persuade (Martin 2014). The fact that political persuasion is all-encompassing is only natural, for persuasion is about influence; and influence is the essence of politics. The very nature of politics is premised within the purpose to gain, be it power, territory or electoral success. For example, politics can be characterised as a struggle for power to put certain political, economic and social ideas into practice (Lukin 2015). Or one can simply define politics as inherently based in power; the ability to achieve a desired outcome through whatever means. These examples may be abridged and contested definitions of what is otherwise a highly complex discipline and practice, yet what is consistent among them is an indication of the instrumental relationship between politics and persuasive communication. That is, one seemingly cannot exist without the other. Exerting one's influence over another—be it ideological, physical or in the realm of argumentation—is both a matter of understanding the motivations embedded in the exchange, and utilising strategies of rhetoric. Rhetorical language, therefore, plays a crucial role in the study and practice of politics, for every political action is prepared, accompanied and influenced by language.

The "awe-inspiring power of language" stems from its complex internal organisation; a function of the long history of humans using language to interact with each other and make sense of their eco-social environment (Halliday 2003, 4). Indeed, the intrinsic question, "what is the relationship between language and politics", and the recognition of the significance of this relationship can be traced back to classical Greek and Roman treatises on rhetoric. The word 'rhetoric' derives from the ancient Greek *rhetorike*, meaning the 'art' (*technê* or skill) of persuasive discourse undertaken by a *rhetor* (an orator or speaker). Ancient Greek philosophers including Socrates and Aristotle established the conventions which guided the technical analysis of oratory from the classical into the modern era. In the works of Aristotle, rhetoric was understood as the methods of persuasion in speech acts, from projecting the credibility of the speaker to appealing to the logic and emotions of the audience. These three audience appeals accounted for the various language strategies a speaker could employ to persuade their audience in specific speech contexts in the *polis*. The classical rhetorical tradition also adhered to the rhetorical canon, which pertained to the structural factors associated with persuasive argumentation including invention, arrangement and style (Benson and Prosser 2013). Ancient scholars of rhetoric believed that if a speaker crafted their oratory according to the rhetorical canon, and then implemented the speech in accordance with specific audience appeals, a favourable outcome for the speaker was likely. Classical rhetorical theory is therefore the conceptual starting point for any study which examines the relationship between persuasive language and politics. Indeed, the rhetorical tradition generally guides the theoretical and methodological path for contemporary research that brings together rhetorical analysis and political speeches to make assertions regarding the dynamic between the two (see for example, Garsten 2011; Gross 2008; Martin 2013).

In a political setting, speech mobilises the power of persuasion and affords the speaker the potential to wield a degree of control over an audience. The extent of this control is contingent on several key variables including the credibility of the speaker, the receptivity of the audience, and the internal structure of the speech. Indeed, to understand the function and reach of persuasive language in political argumentation it is important for scholars to examine the ethical integrity of the speaker (for example, Hart and Childers 2005; Smith and Smith 1994) and the affective elements of rhetorical language on audiences (for example, Bull and Miskinis 2015; Cohen 1995). These are two key areas of contemporary research that inform broader analyses of political oratory in the primary battleground for persuasive argumentation: election campaigns. The scholarly literature is largely concentrated within Northern America and tends to focus on broader conceptualisations of effective leadership (Engbers and Fucilla 2012; Lim 2008; Neustadt 1991), the *technê* of speech oration and delivery (Atkinson 1984; Willyard and Ritter 2005), and the extent to which the use of persuasive language in political speeches influences voter behaviour and turnout (Clifford et al. 2015; Hart and Johnson 1999; Jacobs and Shapiro 2000). Understanding how public political discourse acts or does not act as a persuasive force in promoting and justifying political policy (Roan and White 2010) and successful leadership (Charteris-Black 2007) also remains of critical importance in this literature. The study of political rhetoric in Australian literature over the past decade has largely concentrated on the function of rhetoric in parliamentary politics (Uhr 2014; Walter 2014), parliamentary speech (Grube 2013; Walter and Uhr 2014) and policy formulation (Grube 2010). Several scholars have enquired further into the potential limitations of rhetorical 'routines' for political leaders (Grube 2011; 2014; 2016) and the impact of public perception of rhetoric as purely 'spin' (Kane and Uhr 2010). The study of election campaign rhetoric is primarily situated within broader electoral studies and tends not to delve into granular textual analyses, like that undertaken in this thesis.

Despite the vast range of methodological approaches these studies and others adopt there exists a common focal point in analyses of rhetorical political speech, and that is to uncover the relationship between persuasive language and political outcomes. By providing a hybrid methodological approach and subsequent evidence to suggest the nature of this 'special' relationship within the Australian political landscape, this thesis seeks to contribute to the literature that is situated within political communication and political science research.

The purpose of this thesis, in essence, is to explore the function of rhetoric in contemporary Australian political speechmaking in federal election campaign speeches made by the prime minister between and including the 1983 and 2013 federal election campaigns. During shifts of incumbency—1983, 1996, 2007 and 2013—the thesis also analyses the campaign speech of the opposition leader. In total, 16 speeches are analysed. This study focuses its analysis on the rhetorical strategies these political leaders use to persuade their audiences during election campaigns through a hybrid quantitative and qualitative methodology. It examines the internal composition of these moments of political speech, including rhetorical arguments, techniques and culturally-specific rhetorical language. The thesis then maps language trends longitudinally in conjunction with an assessment of the electoral contexts to make determinations on how and why, if at all, the strategic use of language contributed to the success (or loss in the case of the 1983, 1996, 2007 and 2013 elections) of the incumbent.

The rest of this introductory chapter presents the core theoretical, definitional and methodological characteristics of the thesis. It first situates the ancient study and practice of the art of rhetoric before drawing on the fundamental connection between rhetorical language and political speechmaking. The contributions of classical rhetorical theory and the work of ancient Greek philosophers to the thesis' theoretical framework are outlined, as are the

additions brought by the contemporary study of political rhetoric in theory and practice. Next, key terms such as 'political discourse' and 'political rhetoric' are defined, as well as the methodological differences between these core, seemingly interchangeable, terms to further situate the thesis' scope. Considering the parameters surrounding these terms and their use in this study is of particular significance to the rationale behind the thesis's methodological approach. Finally, an insight into the thesis's hybrid research methodology is provided before the content of each chapter is outlined in conjunction with a summary of the broader research objectives of the thesis.

Classical rhetoric and new politics

An attempt to distinguish rhetoric as an art form sees definitions ranging from the strategic use of figures of speech and compositional techniques, to the eloquent delivery of ideas and arguments. Put simply, knowing how to speak convincingly. The power of persuasive speech in the political realm has been understood since well before the 'rhetorical turn' (Simons 1990) in quantitative and qualitative studies in the social sciences and humanities of recent decades. In fact, political speeches have been the object of study for over 2000 years (Gunderson 2009). A key reason why speeches have continued to be a source of social power and academic examination throughout history is due to the various discursive strategies one can employ to increase the potential and desired effect of the speech on the target audience. In other words, persuasion never gets old.

Rhetoric and the analysis of rhetorical language typically provide heuristics or practical methods for understanding, discovering, and developing arguments for particular situations. From ancient Greece to the late 19th century, rhetoric was a central part of Western education and enabled the training of public speakers and writers to move audiences to action with

arguments. Along with grammar and logic—also known as dialectic—rhetoric is one of the three ancient arts of discourse. The best known definition for classical rhetoric comes from the Greek philosopher Aristotle, who considered it a counterpart of both logic and politics, and called it "the faculty of observing in any given case the available means of persuasion" (2007, 1356a).

Aristotle is widely recognised for developing the fundamentals of the system of rhetoric that "thereafter served as its touchstone", therefore influencing the development of rhetorical theory from ancient through present times (Bizzell and Herzberg 2001, 3). In his seminal works, *On Rhetoric*, Aristotle took a methodical approach to understanding the process of persuading an audience, specifically the techniques or appeals used to convince a crowd in a democratic forum. In the context of either a deliberative (parliamentary), judicial (court scenario) and epideictic (ceremonial or symbolic) speech, Aristotle theorised that speakers have at their disposal three technical means of persuasion. For Aristotle, the means of persuasion are manifest in three key audience appeals: logos, or logical argument; pathos, the emotional appeal; and ethos, the speaker's projection of ethical credibility. In theory, the use of one or a combination of these rhetorical appeals affords the orator a higher likelihood of the subject or argument they are extending to achieve the ends of persuasion—whatever the actual intention may be—among their audience (Aristotle 2007, 1356a). The appeals relate to the three elements of a speech: the argument being conveyed, the orator, and the audience respectively. What this thesis draws from the classical rhetorical tradition are the methods used to examine the internal construction of a speech, in addition to what was considered as the effective use of argumentation strategies in political speeches. Indeed, this information helps to construct the theoretical foundations of the thesis' argument.

Assuming one finds the Aristotelian perspective helpful in imagining a practice of rhetoric in which arguments, emotions and trust generation are all essential as means and ends of persuasion in a speech, one is still left with the question of whether that imagined kind of rhetoric has a place in the contemporary world (Aune 2008, 50). For much of the 20th century the whole field of political philosophy was defined by its anti-sophist stance toward rhetoric, yet this point did not much concern political theorists unless they were writing about the history of political thought. Only recently, as a quick keyword search of relevant academic journals will show, have writers concerned with contemporary political theory been persuaded to recognise the importance of rhetoric. Indeed, central to this 'reawakening' was work by historically-minded theorists who pointed out that the long intellectual tradition of writing about rhetoric offered an alternative way of thinking about public argument and deliberation (see for example, Bacon 1915; Wichelns 1925). To some extent this was further encouraged by dissatisfaction with the theories of deliberative democracy that became influential in the 1990s. As a result, scholars turned to Aristotle's *On Rhetoric* to explore aspects of democratic citizenship absent in contemporary theories of deliberative democracy (see for example, Abizadeh 2002; Garsten 2006; Yack 2006). In detailing the benchmark that prepared the way for the recent revival of interest in rhetoric, it is also important to acknowledge developments in politics—especially, the arrival of 'true' mass democracy and of a media world commensurate to it.

As the 20th century proceeded, the media grew more important, the selection of political leaders became more personalised and charisma-driven, and the influence of political parties decreased as a result. The new focus on forms of deliberation and persuasion was linked to a general unease about the place of reason and reasoning in these emerging modes of mass politics (Garsten 2011). This unease is one of several areas that can be held accountable for

contemporary research which focuses on the decline of the art of rhetoric to result from social and technological change and the dominance of ideologies hostile to the concepts of 'common sense' and 'common good'.

Recent works that draw on the legacy of the classical rhetorical tradition to inform wider research on political communication within rhetorical and communication studies include that of Kennedy (2009), Burgchardt (2010), and Garsten (2011). These studies affirm the value surrounding the revival of rhetoric in political theory and are useful in laying a foundation for understanding contemporary developments in rhetorical theory, particularly 'new rhetorics'. New rhetorics is a label applied to the contemporary discipline of rhetoric as a mode of differentiation to classical rhetorical theory, study and practice. The difference between 'old' rhetoric and 'new' rhetoric may be surmised to the extent that the key term for 'old' rhetoric was *persuasion*. Conversely, the key term for 'new' rhetoric is *identification*, and this may include partially unconscious factors in its appeal from the perspective of the speaker toward the audience. This thesis draws on both classical rhetoric and new rhetorics to inform the theoretical scope and parameters of the research methodology.

Definitions and scope

It has been suggested that much of the work on political discourse and communication was traditionally categorised under the broad label of rhetoric (Van Dijk 1997). This, of course, is not surprising when considering that classical rhetoric—aside from its uses in the courtroom and symbolic ceremonies—was primarily developed as an art of speech to persuade people in a political assembly. Although the terms are applied interchangeably within more generalised literature, the use of political 'rhetoric', 'language' or 'discourse' can be read as not only a semantic decision but also a theoretical one; situating new work within research traditions. It

is therefore important to note that the terminology used throughout this study is rarely theoretically neutral, and definitions of 'political language' and its many derivatives are both numerous and contested. Indeed, the choice of terminology often radically shifts the analytical perspective of similar works in the wider field of political communication studies. While the terms 'political speech' and 'political language' can be—and often are—placed under the larger umbrella of works on political rhetoric, political discourse cannot be categorised so simply. This is because rhetoric is one of the many forms of discourse, meaning the study of political discourse runs concurrent to the study of political rhetoric. Accordingly, the analysis of political discourse and political rhetoric draws on divergent methodologies and theoretical frameworks, with the former generally encompassing critical approaches to the examination of language. Although not synonymous, the two can and do inform one another from a theoretical perspective in any given speech context, or from a methodological perspective in any given form of speech analysis. Put another way, studies on political discourse capture more than just the art and practice of persuasive language, and instead look at the broader social and cultural concerns that produce, affect and reproduce certain forms of discourse. Creating a clear distinction between political discourse and political rhetoric, and the analysis of each is critical in establishing the research methodology and design of this thesis.

Indeed, studies which analyse political rhetoric and discourse are largely defined by their methodology. There is, however, no standardised analytical approach for identifying and analysing persuasive language techniques in texts. In lieu of a standardised cross-discipline approach, different types of analyses can be broadly categorised as either qualitative or quantitative methodological treatments of persuasive communication. Within the interpretative, discursively orientated qualitative approach there exists a diverse range of

methodologies where research is strongly guided towards looking for certain types of linguistic formats or strategies (see for example, Bevir and Rhodes 2003, 2006). In the United Kingdom, qualitative work has taken on an even broader perspective of socio-cultural studies and socio-linguistics, where research is concerned not only with the analysis of political language in and of itself, but with the way language can influence beliefs and ideas, its potential power to change a world view, and function as an agent of cultural or racial domination (Charteris-Black 2004; Chilton and Schäffner 2002; de Landtsheer 1998; Finlayson 2007).

Political discourse analysis (PDA) is one of the more dominant qualitative methodologies used within studies of contemporary political communication. It can refer either to the analysis of political discourse, defined as the text and talk of politicians within overtly political contexts, or to a political or critical approach to discourse analysis. PDA is broadly concerned with understanding the nature and function of political discourse and with critiquing the role discourse plays in producing, maintaining, abusing and resisting power in contemporary society (Dunmire 2012, 736). It comes out of the field of critical linguistics and combines aspects of this field with theories of argumentation developed by scholars of communication and informal logic and embeds the whole within an Aristotelian conception of political deliberation. However, unlike methodologies that are used to examine political rhetoric, PDA does not include analytical tools or theoretical insights to explain the technical aspects of persuasive language.

There is also a more critical reading of political discourse analysis as a political approach to discourse and discourse analysis: known as critical discourse analysis. Critical discourse analysis (CDA) examines the reproduction of power, power abuse or domination through

political discourse, including various forms of resistance or counter-power against such forms of discursive dominance. In particular, such analyses deal with the discursive conditions and consequences of social and political inequality that result from such domination (see Fairclough 1989, 1992, 1995b; Fairclough and Wodak 1997). This thesis, however, takes a rhetorical approach to address how forms of political communication, namely set piece election campaign speeches, use language techniques to persuade audiences. As such, the objectives and outcomes of the study are less focused on a *critical* analysis of the speeches, their contexts and effects. Instead, the study seeks to provide a *rhetorical* analysis of the internal structure, appeals and outward manifestations of the political speeches. The broad goal of a rhetorical analyst is to deepen the understanding of a text, and to build awareness about public communication and argumentation. Indeed, the aim of rhetorical analysis is not simply to describe or critique the claims and arguments advanced within speech acts, but to identify the specific semiotic strategies employed by the speaker to accomplish specific persuasive goals.

There is, however, no foundational methodology for studies that undertake close textual analyses of political rhetoric. Unsurprisingly, the limitless variables regarding corpus and context in addition to variant interdisciplinary usage makes for a lack of a methodological benchmark. British scholar, Alan Finlayson (2007, 1) bridges this gap in knowledge and enquiry arguing that what is needed is a 'rhetorical political analysis'. This qualitative methodology, argues Finlayson, is a specific way of understanding the nature and formulation of the objects under analysis and provides a conceptual toolkit that one can use to examine rhetorical language in texts. The premise of Finlayson's reasoning for the salience of his qualitative methodology in the scientific study of political communication is that since politics involves the contest of ideas, beliefs and meanings, analysis should focus on

arguments. Given that the central analytical focus of this thesis is rhetoric in political speechmaking acts, it follows that a method of political analysis which is concentrated on argument form and style to identify specific language strategies is both applicable and appropriate.

Rhetorical political analysis (RPA), in essence, concentrates on the crafting of arguments and the elements of which they are arranged. The methodology comprises five broad characteristics: the rhetorical situation, argument form (including framing and the internal elements of a speech), rhetorical style (including narrative), rhetorical appeals (including commonplaces), and metaphors. In practice, RPA proposes that a corpus of argument—in this instance speech texts—should first be located in their 'rhetorical situation' (Bitzer 1999): the context of relations in which the speech first took place. Regarding this study, the rhetorical situation is both the formal federal election campaign and, to a lesser extent, the key socio-political issues and events surrounding the lead up to the campaign. The arguments that take place within the rhetorical situation are then examined, and it is here that links can be drawn to the internal techniques, appeals, and structure of the speeches. Finlayson's methodology also highlights the persuasive technique of framing; political leaders 'frame' issues by increasing the salience of certain aspects of a given topic to shape an audience's thinking and to exert maximum persuasive influence. Rhetorical style, specifically the arrangement of narratives, is also of interest to this qualitative methodology. Indeed, narrative is a useful linguistic strategy to assist people in comprehending events and the meaning behind human actions and their effects. Narratives often enable the rhetorical analyst to identify the way a text structures facts to impose a generalised order, which can elicit significant findings when used in a context when there is a call to action—like a campaign speech. Rhetorical appeals, devices (like metaphors) and commonplaces are among the other

core elements of RPA as the use of these techniques is fundamental to the rhetorical strategy behind a text. Indeed, such functions often organise thoughts and shape judgements as they are formulated, meaning the analysis of them is essential when attempting to qualify their effect. In all, RPA suggests that there is more to rhetorical communication than the words that are spoken as the rhetoric is simultaneously formative of the ideas that are expressed through those words. Studying rhetoric is essentially studying the creation, shaping and re-shaping of political ideas through the arguments that are being made for or against those ideas.

Guided by Finlayson's methodology, the qualitative textual analysis undertaken in this thesis is applied to each campaign launch speech in chronological order according to their respective chapter to identify trends and develop profiles of the rhetorical strategies used by political leaders in the successive election campaigns. The role and purpose of the qualitative methodology in the speech analysis is to provide an insight into the rhetorical situation before identifying the central narrative of the speech and examining its internal speech structure, rhetorical devices and appeals.

Qualitative interpretative methodologies like rhetorical political analysis prioritise depth over breadth when examining texts. Conversely, quantitative methodologies in political science and communication research guide studies which undertake comprehensive content analyses of texts, prioritising breadth over depth. Indeed, content analyses find their place in a rich quantitative methodological tradition in Northern American political science where projects often undertake wide ranging studies across huge volumes of material. Content analysis has been utilised in the quantitative approach to allow for these vast studies to highlight patterns, shifts and trends in political language. This approach is time efficient, can cope with large

data sets, and reduces the likelihood of the rhetorical analyst attributing bias during the interpretation of data. That said, content analysis has been criticised for removing the context from texts and for assuming the existence of quantifiable meanings in texts. In response to these criticisms and methodological limitations, researchers involved with quantitative studies of political rhetoric have adopted computerised text analysis software as a practical means of handling large amounts of data and succinctly mapping findings (see for example, Hart 2009; Hart and Johnson 1999; Hart and Lind 2014; Willyard and Ritter 2005). These programs ensure breadth of analysis through in-built dictionaries and have the intuitive capacity to correlate complex linguistic themes in texts into accessible platforms for researchers to use in their projects. To complement the qualitative textual analysis of the election campaign speeches using the RPA methodology, the quantitative component of this thesis' hybrid research methodology engages the content analysis software, Leximancer.

Leximancer automatically analyses text documents to identify high level concepts, delivering key ideas and actionable insights with powerful interactive visualisations and data exports. Developed in 2007, Leximancer includes various useful capabilities its older competitors do not. It has in-built coding functions, user friendly statistics panel, interpretative maps, and timely and intuitive processing. Leximancer uses word proximity and correlation in the text; the meaning is emergent from the text itself and not predetermined with bias. Leximancer also operates at a concept level, each with its own thesaurus of defining terms that travel with it in the text and help identify its presence. The presence of concepts within texts assists with drawing links between the function and impact of language use, both on a conceptual and practical level. The combined results from the speech analysis which is guided by this hybrid research methodology aim to realise the overarching research aims and objectives of the thesis.

Research aims and objectives

This thesis examines the use of rhetorical language by Australian prime ministers and victorious opposition leaders in a conventional genre of political communication that is fundamental to the functioning of a liberal democracy: the election campaign launch speech. In identifying and interpreting the rhetorical techniques behind the speechmaking, it aims to gather quantifiable evidence to demonstrate the extent to which this medium of strategic communication affected the speaker's incumbency. Drawing on classical and contemporary rhetorical theory, the thesis questions the nature of the arguments, their structure and delivery in the speeches in relation to the social political climate with the aim of demonstrating how these arguments influenced the outcome of the election. Through the use of the hybrid RPA and Leximancer research methodology, the thesis seeks to illustrate how rhetorical analyses of communicative political events can enhance our understanding in such a way that provides a more detailed and richer insight into the political process of election campaigning. Indeed, to assess the political relevance of rhetorical analysis, the contextual functions of various structures and strategies of text and talk must be examined. In fulfilling these research aims, the thesis' objective is to contribute to a developing field of inquiry into Australian politics where cross disciplinary theoretical concerns are combined with more traditional political communication interests. Here, the dynamic relationship between historical or international comparative studies which trace the history and development of political rhetoric provides opportunity for further exploration or study in comparison with political language and actors from other countries.

There are two levels of research questions that direct the thesis' argument in line with these broad aims and objectives. On a macro level, the thesis seeks to address the following questions: a) how was rhetorical language used in Australian election campaign speeches in

the period 1983-2013; b) in what ways, if at all, did political rhetoric contribute to the broader election campaign strategies of the study periods; and c) to what extent, if at all, are there patterns of persuasive language in Australian election campaign speeches, and what do these reveal about the language of Australian political discourse. On a micro level, the speech analysis chapters were driven by two central research questions: what was the language of strategy in prime ministerial election campaign launch speeches in the study period, and what made this language effective. Encapsulating the thesis is a meta query—to what extent does persuasive language affect political outcomes.

Despite the election campaign being the primary speech context of the thesis, the research does not aim to nor does it provide any quantifiable insight into voter behaviour. It is focused on the application of rhetorical language as one of the factors that contribute to influencing electoral outcomes rather than an assessment of effect outside of persuasion. In any case, examining what campaign speeches might reveal about how political leaders use persuasive language to frame themselves and their case for leadership has currency given that studies of Australian political discourse and political rhetoric are still "frustratingly rare" (Dyrenfurth 2010, 41; Kabanoff et al. 2001). The research of political discourse and political rhetoric in the Australian context, like that undertaken in this thesis, is therefore both relevant and valuable in an otherwise small but growing field of scholarly inquiry. As the concerns of political science and communication continue to develop and diversify, the power of political language beyond its contested role in influencing election outcomes is an increasingly valuable site of research. Indeed, the research undertaken in this thesis seeks to provide evidence to further demonstrate this point.

Thesis outline

To establish the thesis' theoretical foundations and justify the use of the rhetorical canon as guiding theoretical principles, Chapter Two (pp. 24-53) maps the evolution of rhetoric as an art form of persuasive communication from the 5th century BCE through to its use as a strategic tool of communication in contemporary election campaigning. It investigates the beginnings of the 'rhetorical consciousness' and how rhetoric came to be considered a legitimate subject of civic practice, education and scientific enquiry despite the criticisms of the formative Greek philosophers of the era. Aristotle's foundational text *On Rhetoric* features predominantly throughout the chapter as the primary reference source, specifically Aristotle's three means of persuasion. Chapter Two continues the historical narrative of the evolution of the study of rhetoric throughout the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, drawing on the seminal works of rhetoricians including Quintilian and Francis Bacon. The narrative then outlines key areas of theoretical and methodological departure from classical accounts of rhetoric and the eventual revival of rhetoric in theory and practice at the beginning of the 20th century. Indeed, this revival prompted new methodological approaches and a reconceptualisation of argumentation which consequently reimagined the nature of persuasive oratory. It is argued that the commonalities between modern campaign speechcraft and classical rhetorical techniques demonstrate that so long as political leaders attempt to make tailored appeals to their audience in oratory, rhetorical arguments and persuasive language strategies like those analysed by Aristotle and featured in rhetorical treatises since remain ever-present in understanding the extent to which rhetorical language affects political processes. In essence, Chapter Two lays a theoretical framework which the thesis draws on to guide its research scope, methodology, design and speech analysis chapters.

To situate the thesis within the broader and contextually specific literature and demonstrate the thesis' originality and contribution to the field, Chapter Three (pp. 54-87) provides a literature review of the two leading methodological approaches: qualitative and quantitative. The literature review begins with the interpretative and discursively-oriented qualitative approach, discussing key areas of research on political discourse. The literature review also discusses the quantitative approach noting how studies that sit within this body of literature tend to be guided by content analysis to generate statistical data as research findings. Finally, the literature review concludes by focusing on Australian scholarship that examines political rhetoric and election speechmaking as the core sites of interest. It is argued that despite an abundance of studies that take election campaigns, political leaders, themes like national identity and leadership, and set piece political speeches as key sites of research, there still exists a lack of research that analyses political arguments in political oratory by using relevant methodologies. In all, Chapter Three uses the literature review to explore the nexus between political science and political communication research perspectives and situate the thesis' research as a meaningful contribution to this literature.

Having established the thesis' theoretical parameters and situated the research in the literature, Chapter Four (pp. 88-115) sketches the thesis' methodology and design beginning with a general discussion of qualitative research methodologies and their fundamental compatibility with studies that take the interpretation of language as the primary research space. The chapter also investigates Alan Finlayson's qualitative methodology, rhetorical political analysis (RPA). Indeed, Finlayson's methodology guides the textual analysis component of the speech analysis in Chapters Five, Six and Seven. The central features of RPA and possible areas of expansion are discussed as a rationale behind why this methodology features as the qualitative textual component of the thesis's speech analysis

method. Next, Chapter Four explains the function and application of the quantitative component of the speech analysis methodology which is conducted by the content analysis software, Leximancer. The hybrid methodological approach is quite unique in Australian and indeed international studies which marry rhetorical analyses with political speech texts, and therefore assists in demonstrating the originality of the thesis' overall research design. Chapter Four also authenticates the research design of the thesis by uniting the qualitative and quantitative methodology discussions and explaining how these are applied to the study periods as a speech analysis method to produce evidence that addresses the thesis' research questions. In addition to providing an outline of how the three speech analysis chapters are structured, Chapter Four justifies the key elements that inform the research design, including the choice of the elections, why some speeches are omitted in the analysis, and the rationale behind the hybrid methodological approach.

As the first of the three speech analysis chapters, Chapter Five (pp. 116-68) examines the language of strategy in Australian prime ministerial election campaign launch speeches in the study period of 1983-1993. Simply put, the language of strategy is a term used to capture the overarching tone and form of the rhetorical arguments and language expressed across the set piece speeches in the study periods. It captures the sustained and longitudinal use of a particular rhetorical method and style expressed across the set piece speeches. Indeed, it is key to the thesis' findings in determining to what extent rhetoric shapes political processes.

Full transcripts of six election campaign launch speeches from these election campaigns form the data set for analysis:

- The 1983 double dissolution federal election which saw a shift of incumbency from Coalition Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser to Labor Opposition Leader Bob Hawke;

- The 1984 federal election which saw an electoral victory for Labor Prime Minister Bob Hawke over Coalition Opposition Leader Andrew Peacock;

- The 1987 double dissolution federal election which saw an electoral victory for Labor Prime Minister Bob Hawke over Coalition Opposition Leader John Howard;

- The 1990 federal election which saw an electoral victory for Labor Prime Minister Bob Hawke over Coalition Opposition Leader Andrew Peacock;

- The 1993 federal election which saw an electoral victory for Labor Prime Minister Paul Keating over Coalition Opposition Leader John Hewson.

Chapter Six (pp. 169-213) investigates the language of strategy in prime ministerial election campaign launch speeches in the study period of 1996-2004. Full transcripts of five election campaign launch speeches from these election campaigns form the data set for analysis:

- The 1996 federal election which saw a shift of incumbency from Labor Prime Minister Paul Keating to Coalition Opposition Leader John Howard;

- The 1998 federal election which saw an electoral victory for Coalition Prime Minister John Howard over Labor Opposition Leader Kim Beazley;

- The 2001 federal election which saw an electoral victory for Coalition Prime Minister John Howard over Labor Opposition Leader Kim Beazley;

- The 2004 federal election which saw an electoral victory for Coalition Prime Minister John Howard over Labor Opposition Leader Mark Latham.

Chapter Seven (pp. 214-58) assesses the language of strategy in prime ministerial campaign launch speeches during the study period of 2007-13. Full transcripts of five election campaign launch speeches from these election campaigns form the data set for analysis:

- The 2007 federal election which saw a shift of incumbency from Coalition Prime Minister John Howard to Labor Opposition Leader Kevin Rudd;

- The 2010 federal election which saw an electoral victory for Labor Prime Minister Julia Gilliard over Coalition Opposition Leader Tony Abbott;

- The 2013 federal election which saw a shift of incumbency from Labor Prime Minister Kevin Rudd to Coalition Opposition Leader Tony Abbott.

If we are to understand how Australian politics works, and if we are to support and strengthen Australian democracy, then one of the things we need to do is appreciate the place within it of such political rhetoric. The scholarly study of political rhetoric can tell us much about how politics works and how people think politically. Indeed, the key findings of the thesis which are summarised and explored in Chapter Eight (pp. 259-86) demonstrate the power and function of persuasive language during thirty years of Australian federal election campaigning. In relation to how rhetoric was used in the speeches, the findings demonstrate an overall shift in election campaign speechmaking from 2007 onwards with speeches becoming shorter, more repetitive in content, and far more focused on the leader than the subject or audience. Ironically, this shift occurred within a context of growing public distrust in politicians and disinterest in *what* political leaders are saying. The thesis findings also establish that the language of strategy shapes the election campaign strategies of each study period. In particular, the use of visions, values and ethos appeals were essential elements of successful campaign communications and when used together, created a rhetorical path to leadership legitimacy. Finally, the thesis findings demonstrate that two broader language patterns exist over the thirty year period. The first pattern shows a link between arguments that appeal to three core persuasive narratives: the nation-building argument, articulating a vision, and building ethos through values, and successful bids for national leadership. The

second pattern indicates persuasive language trends associated with changes of incumbency and the rhetoric of opportunism, particularly in how successful opposition leaders frame change in positive terms.

Indeed, Australia's Westminster system organises the choice of leadership as a competition between two opposing teams that fight for the right to govern with "words instead of swords" (Brett 2007, 7). Examining how the words of political leaders are fashioned into electoral weapons and used to affect political outcomes is an important issue for Australian scholarship and is the endeavour that drives this thesis' argument.

Chapter Two: Rhetoric in theory and practice

To be persuasive we must be believable; to be believable we must be credible; to be credible we must be truthful. It is as simple as that.

Edward R. Murrow (1963)

Why should anyone bother to study classical rhetoric? What benefits can this archaic material offer? Does a collection of writing—some in the form of fragments—from 4th century BCE Greece to 2nd century AD Rome have the capacity to provide useful material for the current theorising of written and spoken discourse? This chapter seeks to address these perennial questions faced by rhetoricians and scholars of rhetoric by arguing that the theoretical and methodological paradigms of modern rhetoric maintain affinities with the classical rhetorical tradition and canon. The primary reasoning behind making this connection relates to the adaptability of the systems of classical rhetoric, and the range that classical theories of rhetoric and composition offer to any number of fields. As Martin (2014, 51) puts it:

> [Classical rhetoric] comprises a vast collection of practical techniques and terms gathered under a range of headings and applied, beyond oratory, to all forms of communication in fields such as politics, law, poetry and literature.

Effective communication is at the core of a functioning democracy. Indeed, persuasive oratory in democratic settings has prevailed as both a technical skill and subject of enquiry since the initial transformation of institutions of Athenian and Roman government into democratic forums over 2500 years ago. It was during this time that language came to be categorised as a body of principles, of which in practice could further a citizen's social status in various sites of public argumentation. Accordingly, the parallel development of democracy and literacy in the spoken and written forms created the need for, and possibility of, a strategic theory of communication: the art of rhetoric (Murphy et al. 2013, 3-4). The market demand to learn skills of argumentation for citizens to practice in democratic forums was so high that it produced a lucrative profession for those who taught the art form of rhetoric. However, the rhetorical excesses that eventuated from the paid teachings of the sophists saw critics berate them as corruptors of public morals. For the morally-driven Isocrates, Socrates and Plato, rhetoric was an evil and immoral art form that "is the art of ruling the minds of

men" (Plato 1994). As rhetoric became largely understood in moral rather than functional terms, the use of rhetoric in practical settings to less exploitative ends was left unexamined.

It was Aristotle, however, who actively applied this moral distinction in his writings on rhetoric. Aristotle conceptualised rhetoric as a technical skill of argumentation that could be used in various contexts in the *polis*: the courtroom, the legislature and the public forum. For Aristotle, rhetoric involved identifying the "available means of persuasion" in any situation (2007, 1356a). Persuasion was understood simply as a means, a question of 'how' and a question of technique. Human beings all use language somewhat instinctively, but the ancient Athenians provided the first attempts to study and understand language itself as an objective phenomenon. This element of inquiry allowed for the anatomy of language and speech to be examined, used with informed intent, and interpreted based on both subjective moral standards and impartial scholarly inquiry. Indeed, language came to be "a tool, so to speak, capable of being exploited to achieve the ends of clarity, beauty and persuasiveness" (Murphy et al. 2013, 3). Classical rhetorical theory persists as a method of literary criticism partly because it considers all of the possible uses of written and spoken language. It is precisely the adaptability of classical rhetoric to new language situations, like those that witness political change, that suggests much of its power and longevity.

In the early 20th century, the study and knowledge of rhetoric expanded and became primarily situated in the realm of linguistics. Methodologically speaking, rhetorical criticism and neo-Aristotelianism were the dominant means by which rhetoricians, sociologists and theorists engaged with and analysed the art of rhetoric. However, it was the work of Polish argumentation theorist Chaïm Perelman (with Olbrechts-Tyteca 1969; 1979) and American rhetorical theorist Kenneth Burke (1951, 1966, 1969) in the mid-20th century that extended

the scholarship and theoretical understanding of rhetoric into the realm of 'new rhetorics'.

New rhetorics took persuasive argumentation and elocution and looked further into the

subjective dynamics involved in speech contexts such as identity, culture and genre. As such,

rhetorical theory evolved to acknowledge persuasion as both a means and an end. More

recently, the work of British rhetorical scholars Alan Finlayson (2007, 2014) and James

Martin (2013, 2014) has reengaged with the classical rhetoric tradition to explore the power

and function of persuasive language and arguments as strategic elements of contemporary

political speech contexts. Finlayson and Martin's research builds off aspects of Toulmin's

(1958), Burke's and Perelman's works insofar as they craft their methodology and

application of rhetorical analysis around arguments, rather than ideas. Indeed, to understand

the theory that informs the methods and methodologies of rhetoric, the contemporary analyst,

scholar and inquisitive alike must be reacquainted with the classical rhetorical tradition

(Finlayson 2007, 546).

The central aim of this chapter is to build a theoretical framework which the thesis can draw

on to guide its research scope, methodology, design and speech analysis chapters[1]. To do this,

the chapter begins by exploring the evolution of the rhetorical tradition from its inception in

ancient Greece in 4th century BCE. Here, Aristotle's seminal work *On Rhetoric* is discussed

as is its relevance to the contemporary analysis of political rhetoric. Next, the methodological

paradigm of the rhetorical canon is discussed to situate the methodological and

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[1] As this chapter is focused on the technical nuances associated with the rhetorical tradition
and how these might be applied to practical contemporary political contexts, deeper
philosophical and epistemological considerations of rhetoric and dialectic are not engaged
with. Nor are those ideological, post-structural or discourse-based debates which mention
rhetoric in any form other than political text that one might find in the work of critical
theorists such as Jürgen Habermas (for example, 1981, 1989) or Jacques Derrida (for
example, 1997). In these works, rhetoric is first and foremost conceptualised as ideology
rather than argument and objective technique. Such perspectives therefore extend beyond the
research scope of this thesis.

epistemological practices associated with the rhetorical tradition. The space occupied by contemporary rhetorical theory and new methodological approaches to rhetorical practices, specifically rhetorical criticism and 'new rhetorics', is then examined. Finally, the chapter establishes the relationship between political rhetoric and contemporary election campaigns by highlighting the role of persuasive language in campaign oratory. Here it is argued that the use of rhetoric in election campaign speechmaking is the true nexus of rhetoric in theory and practice and further examination of this nexus reveals much about the extent to which language affects politics. In all, this chapter provides an insight into the evolution of rhetoric as an art form from ancient to modern times, the areas of departure in its study across the ages and how it is theoretically, methodologically and practically approached in the contemporary era.

The classical rhetorical tradition

The ancient Greeks were arguably the first civilisation to invent a society through the search for a purely human wisdom rather than through the study of received wisdom in texts such as the Bible or mythology. Indeed, the seeds of the "rhetorical consciousness"—an awareness of language as a strategic tool providing the speaker or writer choices through which to communicate an idea to others—were embedded in 5th century Athenian culture as a function of Greek culture, religion and politics since the time of Homer, some hundred years or more prior (Murphy et al. 2013, 24-28). One need only read excerpts of Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey* to find persuasive oratory in action. Ancient rhetorical theory was a continuous and evolving tradition by the time of Pericles' (c. 495-29 BCE) rise to power following the end of

the Persian Wars[2]. In Pericles' democracy, the practical need for ordinary citizens to acquire rhetorical skills reached dramatic proportions as citizens found themselves "immersed in a world of public discourse" (Murphy et al. 2013, 26).

By the 4th century BCE Athens had evolved from a mythic society that was created, ordered, and governed by gods into an oral and written culture characterised by its focus on 'logos', or the search for order in the universe through speech and rational argument. It should therefore come as no surprise that the study of rhetoric began in Greece alongside the advent of democratic government some 2500 years ago. During this period Athens developed into a community where freedoms previously granted by statesmen such as Pericles to artists, philosophers and citizens were directed towards the maintenance of the state (Murphy et al. 2013, 20). For an Athenian citizen, the state was more than a political machine or bureaucracy; "it was a spiritual bond" (Dickinson 1958, 71). Indeed, Aristotle later defined the state as "an association of similar persons for the attainment of the best life possible" (2000, 26). Building on the assumption that the egalitarian essence of ancient democracy meant all male, property-owning citizens had an equal right and duty to participate in their government, the ability to communicate in Athenian public assemblies was paramount. Speaking to influence public opinion became highly valued by the ancient Greeks to the extent that eloquence was "a gift prized not less highly than valour in battle" (Dobson 1919, 1).

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[2] A large part of the history of classical rhetoric from the 5th century BCE in Sicily to the late 18th century in the United Kingdom and the United States has received wide ranging treatment by George A. Kennedy in *Classical Rhetoric and its Christian and Secular Tradition from Ancient to Modern Times* (1999), and more recently in *A New History of Classical Rhetoric* (2009).

Largely in response, itinerant teachers known as 'sophists'[3] emerged and were paid to educate young male citizens on how to argue convincingly in the public forum. This came to be known as rhetoric, the skill of dividing speeches into logical parts and developing the 'art' of speaking to have a desired impact on the audience. The sophists soon dominated the Athenian public scene to the extent that training in rhetoric was considered an essential part of every citizen's pedagogy. Kennedy (1963, 7) notes:

> It is not too much to say that rhetoric played the central role in ancient education. In Hellenistic times it constituted the curriculum of what we would regard as the secondary schools and it acquired an important place in advance education.

The consensus among many 4th century Greek philosophers was that rhetoric signalled the decline of public speech into mere persuasion and demagoguery. Indeed, the sophists' claims to teach virtue and their reliance on appearances generated much of Plato's animosity against rhetoric. Both Socrates and Plato held the view that rhetoric was fundamentally corrupt, associating rhetoric and political speech with flattery and an ability to delude and 'hoodwink' unsuspecting listeners. They instead preferred political discourse be expressed in language which demonstrated elements of careful analysis and argument, as opposed to succumbing to the audience's passions and appetites (Triadafilopoulos 1999, 745). It was a combination of the polemic of these classical philosophers against the sophists and ongoing popular hostility towards their techniques that in modern times 'sophist', 'sophistry' and 'sophism' are regarded as terms of opprobrium.

It was, however, Plato's student Aristotle who synthesised the work of the sophists, confronting discourse as a productive art as well as an analytical art. Aristotle viewed the art

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[3] The word 'sophist' is derived from the Greek word '*sophos*', which means 'wise'.

of rhetoric as key to citizenship during the rise of city-states in ancient Greece. As far as the ancient Greeks were concerned, it was the art of rhetoric that enabled people to live and engage in civilised communal life (Dunmire 2012).

Aristotle and *On Rhetoric*

Aristotle's (384-22 BCE) contributions assisted in establishing the foundations of Western philosophy. He produced an immeasurable body of existing writings which traversed a wide range of disciplines including logic, ethics, biology, zoology, linguistics, politics and rhetoric. Aristotle pioneered a conception of rhetoric that is based on the entire range of human behaviour—mental, social, political, logical, ethical and psychological—utilising methods that today might be categorised as sociological and anthropological. To undertake a comprehensive study of Aristotle's published works would likely identify the patterns that led him inevitably to the conclusion that rhetoric for the *polis*-dwelling man, the *zoon politikon*, is both natural to his existence and necessary to his public existence (Murphy et al. 2013).

On Rhetoric was one of Aristotle's earliest works and forged a link between his writings on ethics and politics. Also known as 'Rhetoric', the 'Art of Rhetoric', and a 'Treatise on Rhetoric', the text is regarded by majority of contemporary rhetoricians as the most important single work on persuasion ever written (Golden et al. 2007, 67; Johnstone 1980, 1). Indeed, Aristotle's text is an essential practical handbook for the instruction of public speakers in all the techniques and tricks of the trade. Kennedy's 2007 translation of *On Rhetoric* offers perhaps the most faithful English translation of Aristotle's work, so this version is the

primary source used to examine and provide extracts from the text[4]. One important thing to remember when explaining and assessing the structure and content of *On Rhetoric* is that Aristotle apparently did not finish the book in his lifetime. Welch (2013), Kennedy (2009) and Garver (1994) all make note in their respective studies on classical rhetorical theory that it may be possible to conclude that rhetoric deals with human inter-relationships involving so many variables that not even Aristotle could devise a system to describe it as wholly 'scientific'.

In his treatises, Aristotle asserts that the key function of rhetoric is "not to persuade but to see the available means of persuasion in each case" (2007, 1355b). He also notes speakers will generally find themselves in one of three contexts where persuasion is paramount: deliberative, judicial and epideictic, with each situation requiring distinctive persuasive techniques. These three reflected the conventions used in key forums for Greek oratory. Speech that took place in the Athenian assembly related to the deliberative species where the orator either advised in favour of or warned the audience against taking action. Accordingly, the audience had to determine the probability of future occurrences and decide whether these events would cause advantage or harm to the *polis*. The modern space for Aristotle's deliberative form of public speech is parliamentary oratory and is best demonstrated through election campaign speechmaking. Speeches that were delivered in a court scenario pertained to the judicial species as the speaker either accused somebody or defended themselves or someone else. The epideictic speech served to praise or blame, describing deeds of the respective person as honourable or shameful.

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[4] References to Aristotle's words are cited according to the numbering system of the original *On Rhetoric* (1354a-1457b), while references to Kennedy's notes and comments are cited as per page number of the translated 2007 text.

In each of the speech contexts, Aristotle theorised that speakers have at their disposal three technical means of persuasion. The characteristic 'technical' implies two traits. First, technical persuasion must be founded on a method; that is, we must know the reason why some matters are persuasive and some are not. Second, technical means of persuasion must be provided by the orator as pre-existing facts, for example oaths and witnesses are non-technical since they cannot be prepared by the speaker. These three means of persuasion refer to 'logos' (i.e. the truth and reasonable validity of what is being argued), 'ethos' (i.e. the speaker's ability to convey a perception of trustworthiness), and 'pathos' (i.e. the emotions a speaker can evoke within an audience to accept the views the speaker is communicating) (Aristotle 2007, 1356a). For Aristotle, the art of rhetoric seeks to establish: those arguments for or against the question to be decided by the audience (logos), the good character of the speaker (ethos), and those factors that bring the audience into an appropriate emotional state (pathos).

Logos

> Persuasion occurs through the arguments when we show the truth or the apparent truth from whatever is persuasive in each case (Aristotle 2007, 1356a).

An advocate of observed reason, Aristotle contended that logic embodies the most powerful form of persuasion. He argues that one aim of rhetoric is to isolate facts that when communicated in the appropriate pattern for a given situation produces a convincing argument to a majority of citizens (Stockwell 2005, 41).

Ethos

> …through character when speech is spoken in such a way as to make the speaker worthy of credence; for we believe fair-minded people to a greater extent and more quickly... And this should result from the speech, not from previous opinion that the speaker is a certain kind of person (Aristotle 2007, 1356a).

Aristotle founded this persuasive audience appeal on the belief that if the orator appears to be credible, the audience is more likely to associate propositions put forward as being true and acceptable. According to Aristotle, there are three reasons why speakers are persuasive other than their ability to demonstrate a logical argument. These three characteristics of ethos are practical intelligence (*phronêsis*), virtue (*arête*), and good will, and if a speaker displays none of them the audience will doubt that he or she can offer worthy advice (2007, 1378a).

Pathos

> …through the hearers when they are led to feel emotion by the speech; for we do not give the same judgement when grieved and rejoicing or when being friendly and hostile (Aristotle 2007, 1356a).

Pathos is contingent on the emotional temperament of the audience. This method of arousing emotions has a salient advantage, namely that the orator does not have to speak outside the subject, and it is adequate to detect aspects of a given subject that are causally connected with the intended emotion.

Aristotle also claims that audiences are easily distracted by factors that do not relate to the subject, are receptive to flattery, and are influenced by the ability to increase their own advantage. He acknowledges that most of the topics that were usually discussed in public speeches did not allow for accurate knowledge and therefore left room for doubt in the minds

of the audience. In such cases, he argues, it is imperative that the speaker is perceived as a credible person and capable of empathising with the audience (2007, 1378a). It is for these reasons that Aristotle argues that affecting the decisions of juries and assemblies was a matter of persuasiveness, not of knowledge. His underlying thesis for much of *On Rhetoric* is that some people manage to be persuasive either at random or by habit, but it is rhetoric that affords speakers a method to discover all means of persuasion on any topic. By offering a complex conception of public speech that appealed to reason as well as human passions and emotions, Aristotle defended rhetoric against claims that it was simply flattery or worse still, an "artful cloak for injustice" (Triadafilopoulos 1999, 744). Indeed, Aristotle summarises four key advantages to studying rhetoric as a practical art for citizens living in a democracy (2007, 1355b): (1) to ensure truth prevails in the realm of human affairs; (2) to reveal how people are moved to action through speech; (3) to facilitate audiences to see both sides of an issue; and (4) to help one defending themselves against the arguments of others. The second point as well as Aristotle's three rhetorical appeals, logos, ethos and pathos are central features of this thesis' research methodology. Aristotle's deliberative species of speech also relates to the central speech contexts in the speech analysis chapters.

On Rhetoric was Aristotle's greatest contribution to integrate and synthesise the opposing views of Socrates, Plato and the sophists, seeing rhetoric as a practical art, but one that must also emphasise the use of reason over emotion, and of factual argument over stylistic flourishes in either words or delivery. Aristotle was perhaps the first Western philosopher to recognise that rhetoric was morally neutral; that it could be for good or to promote private interests at the expense of the truth. He also pioneered the theoretical terrain which identified the persuasive scope that rhetoric allowed a speaker. For these reasons among others,

Aristotle's theories on rhetoric remain relevant in establishing the theoretical and methodological foundations of the rhetorical tradition.

The rhetorical canon

Aristotle's study of rhetoric formed the foundations of what has come to be known as the 'rhetorical canon' in the rhetorical tradition. The rhetorical canon consolidates Aristotle's methodical approach, identifying rhetoric as a practical art that can be divided into five major categories: invention, arrangement, style, memory, and delivery. These five categories of rhetoric first appear in the oldest surviving Latin book on rhetoric, *Rhetorica ad Herennium,* which dates from the late 80s BCE[5]. Like Aristotle's *On Rhetoric*, the work in *Rhetorica ad Herennium* focuses on the practical applications and examples of rhetoric, yet provides a more structured and disciplined exposé on the uses of rhetoric in oratory. The rhetorical canon remains a salient methodological paradigm for contemporary rhetoricians and scholars of rhetoric, and its features are summarised as follows.

Invention

Derived from the Latin *invenire* 'to find', invention relates to finding ways to persuade. Invention is also linked to the rhetorical appeal of logos, being concerned with *what* a speaker would say rather than *how* this might be said. The first canon of rhetoric therefore describes the argumentative, persuasive foundation of rhetoric.

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[5] The authorship of *Rhetorica ad Herennium* is debated among scholars, with Cicero (106-43 BCE) often being acknowledged as its author. Gunderson (2009) argues this might be a result of the use of the text alongside Cicero's *De Inventione* during the Middle Ages and the Renaissance by students and teachers of rhetoric. Harry Caplan's 1954 English translation is the version referred to in this chapter.

Arrangement

A political speech involves choices over words, choices over grammatical structures, choices pertaining to the forms of argument, and over the overall structure of the text including how its elements are ordered. Accordingly, arrangement relates to organising the structure of a coherent argument in an oration. In classical rhetorical treatises like Aristotle's, arrangement referred solely to the order to be observed in an oration, however the term has since expanded to include all considerations of the ordering of discourse (Lanham 1991, 171-74). *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, for example, aligns certain rhetorical appeals with the typical structural elements of an oration, depicted in Table 1 below.

1	Introduction	*Exordium*	Captures the audience's attention	Ethos
2	Statement of facts	*Narration*	Sets forth 'the facts'	Logos
3	Division	*Division*	Sets forth points stipulated and points to be contested	Logos
4	Proof	*Proof*	Sets forth the arguments that support one's case	Logos
5	Refutation	*Refutation*	Refutes the opponent's arguments	Logos
6	Conclusion	*Peroration*	Sums up arguments and stirs audiences	Pathos

Table 1: Arrangement of a classical oration

In the *exordium* or introduction, it is necessary for one to establish his or her authority. To do this, one employs ethos appeals. In the next four parts of the oration (statement of facts, division, proof, and refutation), one mainly employs logical arguments, or logos. In the peroration or conclusion, one summarises their case by employing emotional appeals, or pathos. The elements involved with arrangement as depicted in Table 1 form part of the qualitative component of the speech analysis in Chapters Five, Six and Seven.

Style

Style accounts for the artful expression of ideas and how ideas are tailored to communicative contexts. If invention relates to *what* is to be said, style addresses *how* this will be said. Accordingly, style is often concerned with pathos since its figures of speech are often used to persuade through emotional appeals (Lanham 1999, 175-78). Given the significance of style, rhetoricians have afforded great attention to all aspects of linguistic form to the point that rhetoric has often been equated with (or reduced to) 'mere style'; superficial ornamentation. In classical and Renaissance times, however, ornamentation was far from superficial, for to ornament meant to equip one's thoughts with verbal expression appropriate for accomplishing one's intentions. The third rhetorical canon is therefore essential to rhetoric as its central assumption is that the form or linguistic means in which something is communicated is as much part of the message as is the content.

Memory

Memory was central to Athenian culture, especially in the Homeric tradition where most of it was performed, i.e. created in performance. It relied heavily on mnemonic techniques, as did much early (pre-Socratic) philosophising. Indeed, memory relates to the improvisational necessities of a speaker to memorise a complete speech for delivery, and was a vital component in the training of orators in antiquity. Memory also accounts for the practice of storing up commonplaces or other material found through the topics of invention for use as needed in any given context (Lanham 1999, 179). *Rhetorica ad Herennium* refers to memory as the "treasury of things invented" (1954, 205), therefore linking memory with the first canon of rhetoric.

Delivery

Delivery concerns itself with *how* something is said, rather than *what* is said and is generally divided into two parts: voice and gesture (Lanham 1999, 179). It originally referred to the use of oral rhetoric in a public context, but can also be viewed more broadly as the facet of rhetoric that concerns the public presentation of discourse, both oral and written. In both cases, delivery has much to do with how one establishes ethos and appeals through pathos, and in this sense is complementary to invention, which, as mentioned, is more strictly concerned with logos.

The rhetorical canon serves both analytical and procreative purposes as it provides a methodological and epistemological template for the analysis of rhetorical practices, particularly rhetoric in orations. Rhetorical treatises over the centuries have been established with these five categories in mind, although memory and delivery tend to receive less attention by rhetoricians, linguistics and political communication theorists (Lanham 1991; see also Benson and Prosser 1972). It will be shown in Chapters Five, Six and Seven that the rhetorical canon, particularly invention, arrangement and style, is a formative element of the practical method/s associated with rhetorical analysis, and can be applied to the examination of contemporary political speech texts to support qualitative research findings. Indeed, the thesis' qualitative methodology draws on the rhetorical canon to guide, situate and substantiate the analysis of rhetorical language and argumentation techniques in political speechmaking.

The revival of rhetoric

Over the next 1500 years Hellenistic rhetoric went through various methodological changes which reflected the changing societal demands of modern times, particularly the primacy of

the scientific method in relevant scholarship. The contribution of Quintilian[6] (35-100 AD)

during this evolutionary period is said to have had a decisive effect on the works of Jacques

Derrida some 1500 years later:

> …the works of Jacques Derrida on the failure of language to impart the truth
> of the objects it is meant to represent would not be possible without
> Quintilian's assumptions about the function of figurative language and tropes
> (Gunderson 2000, 38).

The point at which classical rhetorical theory ended in the literature and modern rhetorical

theory began also signalled the re-emergence of rhetoric as a field of study. Indeed, the

foundation of modern rhetorical theory is driven by the historical dichotomy between rhetoric

and dialectic, to which Aristotle infamously posited as being the counterpart to one another

(2007, 1354a). Rhetorical theory was and is philosophical—rather than political—in nature

and explores the use of logic in rhetoric and how a theory of practical reasoning can be

applied to rhetoric as a means of facilitating truth in persuasive communication (Garver 1994,

120). The first disengagement between rhetoric and dialectic, which had far-reaching

implications for rhetorical studies and popular conceptions of public persuasion, is generally

attributed to the works of 16th century humanist Petrus Ramus. According to Ramus, logic

fell into two parts: invention (treating of the notion and definition) and judgment (comprising

the judgment proper, syllogism and method). In contrast, rhetoric covered style and delivery,

having no invention nor judgment or arrangement of its own. Ramus redefined rhetoric by

establishing that dialectic presented things in a 'naked' or true state and rhetoric clothed them

with ornament (Ong 1958; see also Skinner 1996). However, contemporary rhetoricians have

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[6] Quintilian was a Roman rhetorician widely referred to in medieval schools of rhetoric and in Renaissance writing. His works including a 12 volume textbook on rhetoric, *Institutio Oratoria*, remain integral to students of speech, professional writing and contemporary rhetoric.

tended to reject Ramus's view in favour of a wider ranging understanding of the rhetorical arts as encompassing a broad range of ordinary language practices (see Jasinski 2001).

The ongoing development of modern rhetorical theory, which came to be known as 'new rhetorics', is also associated with the critiques of René Descartes, Francis Bacon and Immanuel Kant (see for example, 2007), who aimed to resolve disputes between the former empirical and rationalist approaches. Bacon (1915) agreed with Plato in arguing that rhetoric was not epistemic and instead relied on the scientific method to generate knowledge. Bacon's demand for a planned procedure of investigating all things natural marked a new turn in the rhetorical and theoretical framework for science, much of which still surrounds conceptions of rhetorical methodology today. Accordingly, changes in methodology largely informed the revival of rhetoric in the 20th century. The following section explores several of the leading contemporary methodological approaches to rhetorical theory and practice.

Rhetorical criticism and argumentation theory

In 1925, Herbert A. Wichelns published 'The Literary Criticism of Oratory' in the book *Studies in Rhetoric and Public Speaking in Honor of James Albert Winans.* Wichelns attempted to put rhetorical studies on a par with literary studies as an area of academic interest and meaningful research. He argued that oratory should be taken as seriously as literature, and should therefore be subject to "both criticism and analysis" (1925, 181-83). The significance of Wichelns' short essay to this discussion is that it led to the development of a new methodological tradition for contemporary rhetorical studies: rhetorical criticism. Rhetorical critic Edwin Black (1979, 130-31) defines rhetorical criticism as a "critical methodology applied to rhetorical discourse derived largely from classical Aristotelian theory". Put simply, rhetorical criticism is the criticism of rhetorical discourses. The subject

matter of rhetorical criticism is persuasive discourse; discourse that aims to influence human beings and criticism has no relationship with its subject other than to account for how that subject works. Like rhetorical theory, rhetorical criticism as an intellectual practice dates back to 4-5th century Greece. In Plato's dialogue *Phaedrus* (c. 370 BCE), Socrates analyses a speech by Lysias (a speech writer) to determine whether it is praiseworthy.

> Criticism is an art, not a science. It is not a scientific method; it uses subjective methods of argument; it exists on its own, not in conjunction with other methods of generating knowledge (Cited in Kuypers 2009, 14).

However, despite what might seem like similarities, where rhetorical criticism and rhetorical analysis differ is that like all forms of critical theory, rhetorical criticism involves a *critical* methodology and goes beyond identifying and examining style, form and rhetorical strategies that exist in the subject of analysis to attempt to explain the deeper interpersonal power dynamics between those involved in the speech act. For example, studies that are situated within the discipline of rhetorical criticism such as Young (2001), Hart and Daughton (2005) and Kuypers (2009) aim to reveal implied cultural values or unethical manipulations in rhetorical discourse, and in doing so reveal hegemonic power structures to expose oppressive discourses or give voice to marginalised groups. Unlike rhetorical analysis, rhetorical criticism pays no attention to the techniques of argument independent of their content, and circumscribes the assessment of effects to a discourse's impact on its immediate audience. Another key difference between the two is the site of analysis to which they are ordinarily applied; rhetorical criticism is a key methodological approach in literary studies[7], whereas rhetorical analysis features more prominently as a method of language analysis in political science and political communication scholarship. These latter studies are explored in further detail in Chapter Three.

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[7] For example, see the works of Kuypers (2005) and Foss (2006).

It was not long before rhetorical criticism and modern argumentation theory began to coexist within the discipline of modern rhetorical studies. Chaïm Perelman's works on argumentation theory significantly contributed to this mix and played a crucial role in the shifting conceptualisation of persuasive oratory as a site of research. Perelman's and Olbrechts-Tyteca's first treatise, *The New Rhetoric: A Treatise on Argumentation* (1969) was devoted to theorising argumentation as a concept and practice. The treatise on argumentation looks at the nature and structure of argumentation and deliberation from a philosophical perspective; the evolution of logic applied to argumentation. Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca's work departs from the classical rhetorical tradition and Aristotelian conventions in several ways: it did not limit the presentation of an argument to the spoken word; it did not restrict the kind of audience to a crowd gathered in a square; and it did not insist on the way communication with the audience took place. Perelman's conceptualisation of the audience, which was later theorised as the 'universal audience'[8] (1979), merged *On Rhetoric's* relativity to the audience and focus on action with dialectic's universal opinions. While the concept of the universal audience has been criticised for attempting to manufacture complete agreement (see Johnstone 1987), Perelman claims its main purpose is to steer the speaker towards reasonableness, and is a tool and constraint for the speaker. The concept aims to be a moral standard when addressing any audience, however, while still allowing for persuasion and specificity in argumentation (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca 1968).

In other less obvious ways, Perelman's work draws parallels with the classical rhetorical tradition insofar as identifying argumentation techniques in communication acts. These techniques, however, are situated within non-formal arguments and are therefore less

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[8] The universal audience refers to 'reasonable' people of all time, therefore removing the argument or speech out of the context of history. It also assumes the speaker to understand universal values and ideals throughout history.

methodical in nature to those rhetorical appeals and internal speech structures noted by Aristotle and in the rhetorical canon. Perelman's argumentation techniques instead relate to the use of quasi-logical arguments, appeals to reality, arguments that establish the 'real', and the dissociation of concepts (2001, 1396-400). As such, the strategy and methods associated with the use and analysis of these persuasive techniques in oratory are of less interest to Perelman's methodology than more conventional rhetorical practices.

British scholar Stephen Toulmin also sought to develop practical arguments which could be used effectively in evaluating the ethics behind moral issues. Influenced by Ludwig Wittgenstein, Toulmin (1958) devoted his work to the analysis of moral reasoning in argumentation, which was later found useful in the field of rhetoric for analysing rhetorical arguments (see for example, Richards 1965). However, given this thesis situates rhetoric in the realm of political analysis rather than philosophical inquiry, a more detailed account and engagement with modern rhetorical theory is not extended beyond that which is provided here. Those studies which draw on classical rhetorical theory to inform modern argumentation theory (see for example, Eemeren 2013; Rapp and Wagner 2013), and contemporary philosophical debates on the relationship between rhetoric and dialectics (Duke 2015; Vickers 1988; Wallace 1963) are some of many which contribute to a vast school of scholarly enquiry that runs parallel to, but outside of, this thesis' research scope.

Kenneth Burke and new rhetorics

Like rhetorical criticism and argumentation theory, 'new rhetorics' as a methodological approach to rhetorical theory and practice is largely the product of a significant development in Western philosophy during the mid-20th century known as the "linguistic turn" (Rorty 1967, 1991). The most important characteristic of this development can be seen in the

humanities focusing primarily on the relationship between philosophy and language (Clark 2004). As such, the linguistic turn drastically changed how modern rhetoric was theorised and practiced. Indeed, the work of notable philosophers and linguists including Ludwig Wittgenstein, Ferdinand de Saussure, Michel Foucault, Jacques Derrida and Judith Butler was instrumental in suggesting the notion that language *constitutes* reality—a divergent position to intuition and to most of the Western tradition of philosophy. It is, however, Kenneth Burke who is widely credited for distinguishing the methodological division between classical and modern rhetoric within this new research space. Burke's work ultimately consolidated the linguistic turn movement and foreshadowed the establishment of new rhetorics as another subdiscipline under modern rhetorical studies. Burke (1969, 43) defines modern rhetoric as:

> Rooted in an essential function of language itself, a function that is wholly realistic, and is continually born anew; the use of language as a symbolic means of inducing cooperation in beings that by nature respond to symbols.

Drawing from Aristotle's *On Rhetoric*, Burke (1951, 1966) oriented his writing about language specifically to its social context and was heavily influenced by modern social stratification and the way symbols allow social unification and polarisation. Similarly, he studied language as involving more than logical discourse and grammatical structure because he recognised that the social context of language cannot be reduced to principles of pure reason. In this sense it could be said that while Aristotle was more interested in constructing rhetoric, Burke was interested in demystifying it. Burke also contributed the concept of 'identification' to the rhetorical vernacular as another persuasive appeal which goes further to explain the relationship between the speaker and audience during speech acts. Identification presumes that one party must identify with the other during a rhetorical situation for persuasion to occur. That is, the one who becomes persuaded does so because they identify

with the message, character or outlook of the rhetor (Burke 1969, 47). Identification, argues Burke, provides an additional way of looking at the role of rhetoric in human relations, specifically the ways people enact social cohesion. As a means and end of persuasion, identification has long been conceptualised in varied forms in both classical and modern rhetorical theory (see for example, Kennedy 2009; Murphy et al. 2013; Jasinki 2001; Vatz 2013). Notably, it draws on the same basic premises as Aristotle's ethos appeal.

Burke also critiqued Aristotle's assumption that an audience is something given and instead argued that an orator has the means to 'carve out' his or her audience; as the commercial rhetorician looks not only for persuasive devices in general, but the topics that will appeal to a particular 'income group' most likely to be interested in the product (Burke 1969, 45). Several scholars have built on Burke's idea of identification to enhance their conceptualisation of rhetoric, including Ehninger (1975) and Bitzer (1999). Yet, some critics disagree with the changing definition of rhetoric as seen in new rhetorics including Vickers (1988, 35) who argues that modern rhetoric demeans classical rhetoric: "It first reduces its scope, and then applies it to purposes that it never dreamt of". Vickers also critiques Burke's writing on modern rhetoric, saying it is "A [rhetorical] system that rearranges the components of classical rhetoric so idiosyncratically as to be virtually unusable" (1988, 28). Indeed, new rhetorics with its focus on the external and interpersonal effects of rhetorical speechmaking departs greatly from the theoretical underpinnings of the classical rhetorical tradition, rhetorical canon, and the technical specificities involved with persuasive language and argumentation strategies. New rhetorics, like rhetorical criticism, draws on a different set of methodological assumptions than those accorded to the realm of classical rhetoric in theory and practice. That said, Kenneth Burke's work and the methodological paradigm of new

rhetorics offers much to contemporary scholarship on rhetorical theory and indeed contributes to the integration of rhetorical theory with critical approaches to discourse.

It is important to note that the intervention of other academic movements such as structuralism, semiotics and critical theory have made important contributions to a modern sense of rhetorical studies. Some scholars that support the notion of modern rhetoric offer normative models that differ from classical rhetoric. Modern rhetorical study, some say, should stress two-way communication based on mutual trust and understanding to improve the speaker's ability to persuade (Ede and Lunsford 1982). Acknowledging that all communication and symbols are rhetorical, some scholars of the field also call for a continued expansion of the objects of study to improve communicative practices and bring about more egalitarian speech. Such insights and approaches are influential when attempting to analyse and interpret political arguments and rhetorical speech forms in contemporary political oratory.

Rhetoric in contemporary political oratory

The art of using discourse to inform, persuade or motivate an audience is an important strategic tool because it maintains strong links with a central premise to the exercise of political power: winning. Classical scholars and rhetoricians understood the strategic aspect as an innate feature of the rhetorical arts. They also recognised that different contexts required different methods of persuasion, and the development of rhetorical theory in ancient Greece was motivated by the idea of a 'truth' that varied according to time, place and situation (Charteris-Black 2011, 7). That is, strategy revolved around parameters deemed

appropriate to a particular community[9], and it was the task of public speakers to align their arguments to this sense of common circumstances and behaviour so that communal needs would remain paramount in public oratory (Martin 2014, 6). The manoeuvre of modern political actors to draw on the idea of 'common sense' in forming, articulating and organising strategic political communication can likewise be understood as persuasive attempts to orient audiences towards to an issue, generate associations that trigger common reactions, and introduce ideas that heighten the appeal of certain responses. Classical rhetoric therefore extends a series of core premises that remain fundamental to the revival of rhetoric as a site of strategic communication practice and scholarly enquiry today (Garsten 2011).

The strategic element of rhetorical speechmaking is perhaps the most salient of these premises. Indeed, the political speech is the original and most powerful transmitter of persuasive language in the political sphere, having endured as an object of use and inquiry for over 2000 years (Halliday 2003; Gunderson 2009). It has also been established that rhetoric is arguably the oldest and most powerful form of political discourse and maintains its applicability to contemporary studies of political science and political communication because of its relevance for analysing persuasive language in key political speeches. This is due to two primary factors: first, rhetoric facilitates speakers who attempt to inform, persuade or motivate audiences in certain situations. Second, political speeches remain a fundamental tool utilised by leaders in election campaigns to persuade voters, and, argue Hart and Daughton (2005), rhetoric is manifested in the persuasive language techniques of these texts.

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[9] Expressed in ancient concepts such as *kairos*: the sense of appropriateness of rhetoric to time or what seemed to be true at that moment; and *statis:* the effort to determine the space of conflict around an agreed issue.

In the study of contemporary politics, argues Garsten (2011, 175), the archetypical Aristotelian mode of rhetoric is campaign rhetoric. It aims to gather support for certain politicians or, less often, for certain policies or parties. Courts and legislative assemblies do still exist as sites of rhetoric, but legal and legislative discourse are no longer the most visible or powerful sorts of rhetoric in the polity as they were in Aristotle's time. Campaigns differ from both courts and assemblies because their function does not seem to suggest any pre-defined master criterion. Politicians running for office sometimes seem to be talking about rendering a just verdict on actions done in the past, but they simultaneously talk about choosing policies for the future. Such rhetoric cannot easily be classified according to Aristotle's scheme; it is both judicial and deliberative at once, and often epideictic too. Campaign rhetoric, therefore, amalgamates all three of the speech contexts that the classical rhetorical tradition identifies as inherent to the use of persuasive oratory. To examine campaign rhetoric is to analyse how appeals to ethos, pathos and logos are employed to motivate an audience to action, frame the speaker positively and the opposition negatively, and reflect on the principles articulated and demonstrated by those involved in the contest for election victory. In this sense, campaign speechcraft forms the nexus of rhetoric in theory and practice as the theories associated with the classical rhetorical tradition that can be drawn on to explain the practical function of persuasive oratory in contemporary electoral processes.

Throughout the 20th century, election campaigns have provided a key means through which political leaders have attempted to set an agenda that aims to shape the national political culture. It is within set piece campaign speeches that specific rhetorical techniques are used to articulate national ideals, voice national aspirations and define the national image. Indeed, rhetorical devices such as metaphor, repetition and alliteration heighten the emotional impact of speeches on audiences by speaking to—and in some cases, exploiting—public aspirations

and fears. These speeches are more than just historical records; they deliberate national concerns and political obsessions, wars and drought, industry and society. The campaign speech is perhaps the most important speech of the election campaign as it is the vehicle utilised by a leader to expound their vision for the nation, plans for the future and reasons for seeking election or re-election. Indeed, the campaign launch speech has a specific rhetorical function: it is a speech which seeks to embrace the nation. It affords a significant opportunity for a government to argue for its national policy vision and to contrast its vision with the policies of its predecessors and/or the opposition. The analysis of the campaign launch speech—its structure, argument and use of rhetorical devices—is therefore essential when attempting to ascertain the extent to which persuasive language affects key political processes, like election campaigns.

One of the key ingredients for electoral victory is to demonstrate a vision for the future. This is usually done by outlining a narrative of what the future looks like, supported by the policies that "build the bridge" toward it (Reece 2015, 118). Indeed, persuasive language in political contexts, especially during election campaigns, can evoke themes of integrity and trust, and consequently, the opportunity path to political legitimacy and public approval. It is unsurprising, therefore, that political leaders attempt to utilise mechanisms of persuasive language to frame themselves as capable of offering credible leadership in hope of capturing the public sentiment and more importantly, votes (Engbers and Fucilla 2012; Lakoff 2004). The language of persuasion looks both outwards and inwards: it promises a better future—often based on what is wrong with the present—but it communicates this vision by activating ingrained ideas, values and feeling that are 'hidden' within the audience. From this perspective, Aristotle's notion of ethos remains a salient epistemological and methodological

benchmark when assessing how and why campaigning political leaders use rhetorical language to project their credibility as part of their broader political strategy.

Indeed, in politics, strategy is at the crux of public engagement and is not simply a private, rational calculation made in advance of action. Political actors invite audiences to form judgements by weighing up alternatives, anticipating outcomes and selecting what seems the appropriate option considering their goals. Strategising is therefore a distinctively rhetorical activity: "it entails formulating interpretations of a situation such that audiences are moved to respond in certain ways rather than others" (Martin 2013, 6). While it may be true that politicians have little technical understanding of the effective use of political rhetoric and rhetorical strategies, politicians are aware of the potential for rhetoric to assist them in their endeavour to achieve success in public office. In democratic electoral contests it can generally be established when a politician has affected an audience through its response: for example, by clapping (see Atkinson 1984) and chanting or cheering in face-to-face settings (Bull and Miskinis 2015). Conversely, in non-interactive situations opinion polls and voting behaviour in elections (Iversen 1994; McAllister et al., 2012) provide workable evidence to evaluate the public's outlook towards campaigning leaders. Rhetorical arguments and persuasive language strategies facilitate the communication exchange between leaders and their audience and are critical to producing such outcomes. Indeed, rhetoric reveals leadership strategies that are used in the public argument among those competing for public support (Uhr 2014, 155).

Yet, contemporary politicians often fail at this fundamental political art form; they lack the ability to shape an argument and articulate it to different audiences—something without which no 'narrative' will win any real adherents. It is this line of reasoning that Finlayson

(2014) attributes to the general decline in the art of rhetoric. Contemporary politicians seemingly display an inability to draw on the 'common sense'; public arguments which are publicly contested to which the process ends in a judgment being made and a decision taken. It is a key assumption of Finlayson's that a flourishing rhetorical culture presupposes these two elements of public speech and communication. Despite what could be interpreted as a deficit of effective rhetorical speech in modern political speechmaking (Somers-Topcu 2014; Childers 2014), it remains true that political oratory is the most fundamental means of persuasive speechcraft for campaigning leaders. Indeed, elections have far-reaching consequences for the distribution of power in society and the priorities of political decision making. So long as leaders use strategic communication to help achieve their desired ends in the democratic electoral process, rhetorical speech retains a salient place in the practitioners' toolkit and the political science and communication scholars' research scope.

The central aim of this chapter was to lay the theoretical foundations which the thesis can draw on to guide its research scope, methodology, design and speech analysis chapters. It was shown in the first section that the classical rhetorical tradition, particularly the contributions of Aristotle, provided the methodological and theoretical groundwork for the ongoing examination of political rhetoric in theory and practice. Indeed, Aristotle's work on rhetoric as a productive art and analytical art was catalytic in the development of rhetorical theory. For Aristotle and the classical rhetorical tradition, the internal side of speechmaking was seen as the primary means through which speakers could craft the art form of rhetoric, to then orate a situation in a way and to 'win others over' to also see it that way. The rhetorical canon developed the central links between persuasive audience appeals and strategic speech structuring and therefore remains a relevant feature of methods of rhetorical analysis to practitioners and researchers of political rhetoric. Indeed, Chapters Five, Six and Seven focus

on the internal side of speechmaking and draw on central features of the rhetorical canon identified in Figure 2.1 to guide the qualitative analysis of the campaign launch speeches.

It was also shown that the beginning of the 20th century signalled the revival of rhetoric in theory and practice as new methodological approaches and a reconceptualisation of argumentation reimagined the nature of persuasive oratory. As alternate methodological treatments of rhetorical speech, rhetorical criticism and new rhetorics were among this revival and offer much to contemporary scholarship on rhetorical theory, particularly critical perspectives. Indeed, it was demonstrated that despite a shift in the conceptualisation of argumentation, key features of the classical rhetorical tradition and canon remain prevalent as strategic conventions in persuasive oratory. Campaign speechcraft in modern democratic electoral contexts accounts for much of what Aristotle referred to centuries prior insofar as persuasive audience appeals, drawing on the 'common sense', and the elements of a persuasive speech in the deliberative space. This chapter argued that so long as political leaders attempt to make tailored appeals to their audiences in oratory, rhetorical arguments and persuasive language strategies like those analysed by Aristotle and featuring in rhetorical treatises since remain ever-present in understanding the extent to which rhetorical language affects political processes. Indeed, the following chapter considers the volume of literature from political communication and political science perspectives to demonstrate that the classical rhetorical tradition, despite its evolution, endures as the fundamental theoretical framework that grounds the research scope and methodology of modern scholarship on political rhetoric.

Chapter Three: Literature review and research scope

It seems, and is hard saying, but it is profoundly true, that character is the greatest of all sources of influence in speech as in act.

Alfred Deakin (1904)

Political science and political communication perspectives coincide significantly. While political scientists look at the political processes of governing and campaigning, political communication theorists examine the communicative aspects of these practices. For political communication theorists, election campaigns and politics more broadly are based primarily on 'political talk' purposely chosen to:

> [I]mpress a large audience, evoke a sympathetic response from spectators, identify the candidate with the most cherished traditions, rules and folk heroes of his party and of [the nation], and convey a sense of relevance, meaning, timeliness and appropriateness to what the candidate is saying (Nimmo 1970, 27-28).

Conversely, political scientists argue that politics is about more than 'just talk': here, election campaigns can serve as a battle of mandates and legitimacy between opposing leaders over national office, inviting participation as a confirmation of the electoral process and measuring the 'health' of a democracy (Johnson-Cartee and Copeland 1997, 20). The point at which political science and political communication perspectives intersect is where this thesis is situated on a macro level. On a micro level, scholarship that looks specifically at the function of rhetorical language in election speechmaking occupies the niche research field that accounts for the thesis' theoretical and methodological frameworks. There exists a wealth of international and domestic literature that can be categorised in the macro level, and conversely, small clusters of studies on the micro level that can be drawn on to demonstrate the originality of the thesis. As such, the chapter concentrates on those studies at the juncture between political science and political communication research and which examine the rhetorical language of political leaders during election campaigns.

This chapter fulfils two objectives: a) to situate this study within the broader and contextually specific literature, and simultaneously b) to demonstrate the thesis' originality and

contribution to the field by identifying its research scope. Although literature on political

discourse and language analysis is unsurprisingly vast, the study of arguments in political

oratory is an underdeveloped field of research within political science (Riker 1986;

Edmundson 1997; McLean 2001). Within the cross disciplinary and methodologically diverse

history of research into political language, several significant trends can be identified. These

can be separated into North American or European approaches; quantitative or qualitative

methods; or further divided into studies concerned with how language achieves political ends

with the language itself, or with the ways in which audiences/voters receive and interpret

political language. Drawing on each of these three trends and taking methodology as the focal

point, the literature review comprises three main areas: (a) the qualitative approach; (b) the

quantitative approach; and (c) Australian political science and communication research. This

enables key areas of inquiry in the study of the functional relationship between persuasive

language and politics to be identified, as well as allow analytical and methodological trends

central to the analysis of rhetorical language within the international context to be mapped

out. Narrowing the literature review to the Australian context similarly identifies leading

authorities in political oratory and rhetorical studies and further situates this research as an

original contribution to the field, both domestically and internationally.

The qualitative approach

Within the discursively-orientated qualitative approach a diverse range of methodologies for

research on political discourse are largely the product of sociological, linguistic and cultural

interpretative approaches. Ethnomethodologists[10], for example, have examined linguistic

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[10] Ethnomethodology is a sociological perspective which focuses on the way people make sense of their everyday world. People are seen as rational actors, but employ practical reasoning rather than formal logic to make sense of and function in society.

strategies in political interviews (Harris 1991; Bull 1994) and the 'tricks' through which a

speaker can win audience applause (Atkinson 1984; Heritage and Greatbatch 1986; Bull and

Miskinis 2015) to form a better understanding of communicative dialogue between political

actors and the public (see also Wetherell 1998). The work of Edelman (1977) and Geiss

(1987) similarly provide ethnomethodological interpretations of political communication acts

such as policy documents, speeches and debates to elucidate the quintessential research

question: to what extent does 'successful' political language equate to 'successful' political

outcomes. However, these studies are limited to micro-level interactions or macro-level

concerns of political science and therefore pay minimal attention to the form and content of

argumentation in political speeches, something that would appear to be essential when

assessing the effect of political campaign communications (Iyengar and Simon 2000).

Lexical semantics and linguistics have driven studies that explore 'myths' and 'symbols' to

analyse how political language constructs shared social stereotypes and assumptions (De

Landtsheer and Feldman 2000; Flood 1996). Likewise, psycho-social approaches explore the

semantics and pragmatics of discourse to demonstrate how rhetoric and political language

construct social identity and behaviour (Potter and Wetherell 1987; Potter 1996; see also Van

Dijk 1977), particularly the construction of racist (Wetherell and Potter 1992) and elitist

discourses (Clifford et al. 2015; see also Van Dijk 1993a).

These studies, however, tend to focus on the social constructivist power of political discourse

as a phenomenon as opposed to examining the technical specificities of persuasive language

in speech acts that might be contributing factors to influencing social and cultural change.

Often these frameworks lead to a methodology where research is strongly guided towards

looking for certain types of linguistic formats or strategies; an approach which can lead to a

preference for less conventional techniques that do not easily fit into traditional analytical

categories (Potter and Wetherell 1994). This creates difficulties for researchers who attempt

to assess the effectiveness and transferability of methods of analysis and produce evidence-

based[11] findings to substantiate the extent to which *persuasive* language effects political

processes. Further, the primacy of focus on the external, subjective and contextual elements

of political talk comes at the expense of concentrated examinations of the internal, technical

side of speechmaking. The intricacies involved with the close textual analysis of rhetorical

language therefore rarely feature within broader sociological, linguistic and cultural readings

of political discourse.

In the United Kingdom, qualitative work has taken on an even broader perspective of socio-

cultural studies and socio-linguistics, where research is concerned not only with political

language in and of itself, but with the way language can influence beliefs and ideas, its

potential power to change a world view, and "function as an agent of cultural or racial

domination" (De Landtsheer 1998, 7). Such studies of discourse can be categorised within the

interrelated sub-fields of critical discourse analysis (CDA) and political discourse analysis

(PDA). The predominant school of discourse analysis, critical discourse analysis, emerged in

the U.K. in the late 1970s as an interdisciplinary approach to the study of discourse that

views language as a form of social practice and focuses on the ways social and political

domination are reproduced in written and spoken forms. Norman Fairclough (1985, 1989,

1992, 1995a) is generally regarded as the most foremost scholar in this area, having also been

a prominent figure in the Lancaster School of Linguistics within which CDA found its critical

linguistics roots[12]. Work engaging in CDA generally supposes that language connects with

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[11] All references to 'evidence-based' findings throughout the thesis should be understood as denoting primarily data-driven, quantitative research results.

[12] The work of Teun A. Van Dijk (1993b, 2008) and Ruth Wodak (with Fairclough 1997; with Weiss 2003; with Meyer 2009) also contributes greatly to the critical discourse analysis literature.

the social as the primary domain for articulating ideas as well as being both a site of, and a

stake in, struggles for power (Fairclough 2013). Moreover, CDA examines and clarifies how

ideology is naturalised through discursive practices and structures (Hall 1982) and, relatedly,

studies within this field make more apparent the social determination and effects of discourse

typically invisible to discourse participants (Fairclough 1985, 739). Fairclough urges

discourse analysts to attend to the broader macro-level of social and political conditions that

give rise to micro-level interactions and behaviors. Such critical analysis should focus on the

distribution and exercise of power in social institutions and social formations (Fairclough

1985, 753-58).

Accordingly, CDA does not represent a method of discourse analysis as it does not limit its

analysis to specific structures of text or talk, but systematically relates these to structures of

the socio-political context. The weaknesses of CDA, argues Blommaert (2005, 31), reside in

its theory and method and in its capacity as a viable approach to critical language study.

Regarding method, CDA is criticised for producing biased and restrictive interpretations of

data (Blommaert 2005, 31); for collapsing semantics and pragmatics by assuming that textual

function resides in textual meaning (Blommaert 2005, 32); and for assuming, a priori, the

relevance of certain aspects of context (e.g., power) rather than identifying relevant

contextual features through systematic analysis (Blommaert 2005, 32). Critical discourse

analysis generates interesting findings but seems to presume political oratory to be simply a

"smokescreen for questionable interests and is therefore preoccupied with exposing evasions

and occlusions rather than attending to argumentative content" (Finlayson 2007, 552); relying

on a larger theory of ideological falsification for which it struggles to account.

Conversely, PDA comprises inter- and multi-disciplinary research that focuses on the linguistic and discursive dimensions of political text and talk and on the political nature of discursive practice. This research is interdisciplinary in that it recognises that discourse analysis cannot operate solely within a linguistic and discursive framework and must draw upon methods, frameworks, and contents of other disciplines to analyse adequately its object of study. According to Dunmire (2012), it is multidisciplinary in that it brings together multiple disciplines to investigate socio-political issues and phenomena pertinent to various areas of scholarship. Studies that engage with PDA seek to draw attention to the intended, unintended, real, anticipated and/or imagined effects of discourses either directly upon behaviour or indirectly (Van Dijk 1997)—on the context in which people find themselves and with respect to which they orient their behaviour and thinking. The works of Chilton and Schäffner (2002), Chilton (2004) and Potter and Wetherell (1994) contribute much in the endeavour of offering a concise and transferable methodological approach to political discourse analysis. However, it seems to be the aim of these studies to bring a much broader range of objects of analysis into the political discourse analysts' sights rather than distinguish a preferred 'method' of political discourse analysis (see also Fairclough 2003). The lack of a clear methodology or method to extract evidence-based findings in PDA means the political discourse analyst, like all critical political analysts, is challenged "to reveal the *politics* in processes typically not seen in such terms" (Hay 2013, 324).

Discourse studies do, however, make an empirical contribution to the study of metaphor. Traditionally, metaphor has been seen within the Western scientific tradition as purely a linguistic construction (Lakoff and Johnson 1980). Depending on the setting that is under investigation, metaphor studies contribute to an understanding of the social realities constructed in the areas of politics, economics, science, law and other areas of life. Howe

(1988, 87-88) argues that metaphors used in contemporary American political discourse fall into two broad categories: a) those offered to the public by politicians for the purposes of persuasion, especially during election campaigns (see Mio et al. 2005), and b) those used by politicians as part of their jargon, especially for discussing the political process (see Goatley 1997). Charteris-Black (2004), however, argues that metaphor is a prime example of how pragmatics—context-specific linguistic choices by speakers—impinges on semantics. In numerous works on metaphor analysis in political communication and rhetoric (see for example, 2006, 2009, 2011), Charteris-Black produces a discourse model for metaphor which is premised on the notion that metaphor can only be explained by considering the interdependency of its semantic, pragmatic and cognitive dimensions. His work often takes a case study approach across a range of political texts to situate the place of metaphor as a key rhetorical device in the "persuasive toolbox" of political leaders (Charteris-Black 2011, 172). George Lakoff (with Johnson 1980; 1993, 2004) has also contributed numerous works whose overarching thesis is founded on the notion that the lives of individuals are significantly influenced by the central metaphors they use to explain complex political phenomena. The essential thrust of Lakoff's work is that metaphors are primarily a conceptual construction, and indeed are central to the development of political thought. Lakoff (1980, 3) suggests "our ordinary conceptual system, in terms of which we both think and act, is fundamentally metaphorical in nature."

Although some of Lakoff's research involves questions traditionally pursued by linguists, such as the conditions under which a certain linguistic construction is grammatically viable, interpretive methodological approaches towards the use of metaphor in political text and talk highlights the role of metaphor as *the* primary rhetorical device and how its ability to frame

concepts in any number of ways brings immense value to qualitative studies on political discourse.

The bulk of studies on political discourse is about the text and talk of professional politicians, such as presidential, prime ministers and other members of government, or political institutions such as parliament or political parties. Some of the studies on politicians take a discourse analytical approach (Dillon et al. 1990; Maynard 1994; Seidel 1988, McLean 2001). In the U.S. especially, qualitative studies on presidential rhetoric are numerous (see for example, Campbell and Jamieson 1990; Snyder and Higgins 1990; Thompson 1987; Windt 1990; Zarefsky 2004) and tend to revisit classic rhetorical studies as a theoretical and methodological guide (see for example, Denton Jr. 2005; Ritter and Howell 2001). More focused rhetorical analyses of political speech acts such as set piece speeches (Charteris-Black 2006, 2013; Schäffner 1997) and campaign communication strategies (Simon 2002; Martin 2015) occupy a smaller space within qualitative methodological approaches due to their attempt to apply a more specific method to close textual analyses. So, while most if not all qualitative studies of rhetorical language concede that political rhetoric is highly persuasive and therefore a powerful instrument used by political actors to their own ends (Krebs and Jackson 2007; Martin 2013, 2014; Finlayson and Martin 2008; Finlayson 2014), identifying the functional aspects of persuasive language through a methodical approach remains an understudied space within the qualitative methodological tradition. As will be shown in the following section, quantitative methodological approaches towards political discourse and political rhetoric aim to fill this methodological void.

The quantitative approach

Given the primacy of positivism and empiricism in American political science (Morris 1999; Farr 1999), quantitative methodological approaches within the study of political rhetoric extend largely from the United States. Here, the predominant focus of quantitative studies has been on election campaign language found in speeches, debates and political broadcasts, with case study approaches used to support historical evaluations of key political events and actors. Unlike the qualitative approach with its focus on the external effects of diffuse discursive practices in political text and talk, the quantitative approach tends to concentrate on the internal specificities involved with political language and the role these play within the context in question.

Content analysis has been employed within the quantitative approach to allow for wide ranging studies across volumes of material, highlighting patterns, shifts and trends in political language. Krippendorff (2004) identifies three distinguishing characteristics of contemporary content analysis: that it is fundamentally empirically grounded, exploratory in process, and predictive or inferential in intent; that it transcends traditional notions of symbols, contents, and intents; and that it has been forced to develop a methodology of its own, one that enables researchers to plan, execute, communicate, reproduce, and critically evaluate an analysis independent of the desirability of its results. Normally, content analysis can only be applied on manifest content; that is, the words, sentences, or texts themselves, rather than their meanings. However, through mixed methodologies often common in content analysis, research can analyse data as well as its meaning—a point developed in Chapter Four.

Content analysis has been criticised for a tendency to assume the existence of distinct, quantifiable 'meanings' in a text (Stemler 2001); for being driven by predetermined ideas

about the study (Neuendorf 2002); and for analysing language use outside of the context in which it is created and perceived (Timmermans and Tavory 2012). Arguably as a response to these criticisms and as a practical means of handling large amounts of data and succinctly mapping findings, researchers involved with quantitative studies of rhetorical language (again, largely in the U.S.) have developed computer-assisted quantitative analysis techniques. In the form of computerised text analysis software such as DICTION, Nvivo and Wordsmith, these techniques enable the researcher to distance themselves from the analysis. This approach is considered:

> [M]ore objective and efficient in that it can content analyse a large mass of data quickly, comprehensively, and more precisely that can individual members of a coding panel. In addition, the quantitative results provide hard evidence for interpretative appraisals...and for accurate comparisons across different speakers and circumstances (Kabanoff et al. 2001, 89).

However, results continue to depend on subjectively developed categories and units of analysis[13], and conclusions still require some level of creative interpretation by the researcher. There is also the issue of the possible differences between the terms used in a program's database of, for example, North American political texts and their applicability to speech texts from another domestic political context. This might influence research findings that rely on a comparison between word usage in their sample and this database of texts.

Text analysis programs have been utilised to identify word frequencies and broader themes in political language to demonstrate how persuasive campaign talk 'constructs' the electorate (Hart and Johnson 1999; Hart 2009); the correlation between rhetorical skills and the success of a president's policies (Hart 1984; Cohen 1995); and to map the evolution of a particular

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[13] This critique is only relevant to manually coded software program platforms. More recent versions like Leximancer have in-built coding functions which are reflected in the software automatically developing categories and units of analysis in line with each project.

president's rhetorical style over a period of incumbency (Hart and Childers 2005; Lim 2002, 2008). Roderick P. Hart is a pioneer in quantitative content analyses of political rhetoric having developed the text analysis software, DICTION and researched extensively in the field of U.S. presidential rhetoric since the early 1980s. Central to Hart's work is the use of DICTION to track richer language patterns by means of 'lexical layering'. By paying attention to the co-mingling of word families, Hart and Lind (2014) argue that political texts can reveal much about the language of partisanship in political rhetoric and its effect on modern electioneering. While political scientists have used computer-based methods to understand party platforms (Kidd 2008; Laver et al. 2003; Yu et al. 2008), their studies have been nominal in nature, focused largely on issue positions. Hart and Lind (2014) claim that while issues are important, with nouns illuminating the 'what' of a document, their research seeks to understand the 'how' of a text, which looks beyond nouns also to adjectives, verbs and pronouns. So rather than simply an issue being identified, Hart's software has the capability of isolating things like 'partisan flavour' and 'ideological force'; a construct embedded in verbs. Hart (1984, 17) defends his computer-based method by arguing that it allows for precise quantitative measurement not possible with other critical approaches, and claiming that the critic can best extrapolate political rhetoric by analysing rhetoric at the "microstylistic level".

However, it must be noted that DICTION pays attention exclusively to word choice and the internal side of political texts, with contextual variables being secondary to the analysis. This is both the strength and weakness of computer-based quantitative research methodologies and a key argument behind the use of mixed methodologies when undertaking analyses of rhetorical language in political text and talk.

Presidential rhetoric encompasses a rich research space within the quantitative approach, with more recent studies often employing hybrid methodological approaches to analyse political texts and moments of oratory. Azari and Vaughn (2014) and Villalobos et al. (2012) have undertaken focused rhetorical analyses of different forms of presidential rhetoric, with each study identifying that the study of arguments is central to the analysis. To do this, Azari and Vaughn (2014) apply manually coded content analysis of an original data set of presidential campaign communications while being theoretically informed by the concept of mandate framing, which is essentially a qualitative reading of language effects. Similarly, Villalobos et al. (2012) ground their quantitative content analysis of presidential rhetoric in presidential-congress communications in mandate theory to identify the power of partisanship and ideology as argumentation techniques. The effect of persuasive political arguments has also been the research focus of Cobb and Kuklinski (1997) to determine what types of rhetorical arguments more strongly influence citizens' policy judgements, and Riker (1996) to determine the extent to which political persuasion played a decisive role during the 1787-1788 campaign to ratify the U.S. Constitution (see also Gross 2008; Arceneaux 2012). However, despite the array of quantitative methods and methodologies used by studies in their analysis of rhetorical and argumentation strategies, the rhetorical tradition is rarely drawn on as a theoretical and methodological guide. These works offer little to the political communication research field and as a result, there is a research disjuncture between political science and political communication perspectives within the U.S. context.

That said, several scholars have examined presidential speechmaking from a political communication perspective and through a combination of quantitative and qualitative methodologies (Smith and Smith 1994; Kernell 1997; Edwards 2009). Engbers and Fucilla's (2012) study makes a unique contribution by connecting the literature on political

communication and 'framing' to management literature on leadership. Taking the Obama presidency as the central case study, President Obama's speech is coded for policy content and framing techniques, and for the type of leadership, transforming or transactional, that the frame utilised. While most approaches to analysing presidential leadership focus on the political strategy used to disseminate persuasive communication, this study focuses on the content of the communication itself and how the president frames communication about policy issues to lead public opinion.

Beyond presidential speech, the strategic use of political rhetoric in election campaigns also encompasses a substantial research space within the quantitative approach. For example, Schroedel et al. (2013) use DICTION to explore the use and effect of charismatic rhetoric in the 2008 U.S. presidential election and the impact of partisanship and electoral context on rhetorical choices. They find differences in the elements of charismatic rhetoric used between Democrats and Republicans and between the primary and general election, and explain these types of rhetoric through theories of charismatic leadership and by drawing on a linguistic theory methodology. Schroedel et al. (2013, 212) conclude that the high usage of charismatic rhetoric is at least in part a reflection of the "professionalization of political campaigns". Although the authors do not engage with rhetorical theory to explain their research findings, this conclusion regarding charismatic rhetoric suggests the growing prevalence of rhetorical language that serves to focus on and increase political actors' ethos in election campaigns. A similar trend can be observed in this thesis and is discussed further in Chapter Eight.

The findings of Fridkin and Kenney's (2011) analysis of citizens' reactions to different types of negative election campaigns complements the conclusions proffered by Schroedel et al. (2013) insofar as demonstrating that voters' perceptions of campaigning leaders are

substantially (and negatively) affected by negative campaign messages. This means the use of rhetorical strategies to offset negative campaigning—be it in the form of charismatic rhetoric or through ethos or pathos appeals—is both necessary and increasingly salient in contemporary election campaigning. Rhetoric therefore remains a decisive and powerful feature of contemporary election campaigns. Yet like many other similar studies which methodically examine rhetorical appeals and issue framing in speech acts during subsequent U.S. presidential campaigns (see for example, Jerit 2004; Denton Jr 2005; Conway III et al. 2012), few studies draw on the rhetorical tradition to explain the function of rhetoric in and of itself, which seems incongruous. Further, such studies in the quantitative tradition elicit methodologies and findings that are defined purely by the case study in question and are not easily transferrable to, for example, cross-cultural studies or non-presidential systems.

It is therefore evident from the methodological and analytical trends associated with both qualitative and quantitative methodologies that a hybrid methodological approach would ideally mitigate the methodological shortcomings associated with both approaches. Applying a mixed methodology to the analysis of rhetorical language in political speech acts would arguably support the analysis of the internal side of speechmaking and produce evidence-based findings, as well as allow for a consideration of the external and contextual factors that contribute to the use and function of persuasive language in political discourse. A review of similar literature within the Australian political science and communication research space suggests similar conclusions.

Australian political science and communication research

Australian political oratory has long been the subject of great interest, often for its blend of native laconicism and semantic idiosyncrasies[14]. Research which examines political speechmaking as an art form within Australian political science and political communication scholarship has expanded over the past decade, arguably the result of a more diverse range of communication mediums through which a broader range of audiences can access political oratory and therefore actively and meaningfully engage with its context and content. McCabe (2013, 141-42) contends those marginalised by traditional oratory have "renewed their voices and power through 'new' media", which gives "unprecedented influence to community politics and activist movements" and provides political actors with alternatives to the traditional path to leadership (see also Ward 2002). Conversely, Blumler and Coleman (2010, 144) highlight the peripheral consequences of the expansion of interactive communication platforms on the democratic process:

> …the public has become less deferential, more culturally fractured, and volatile in its media consumption and electoral choices. As a result the political elite need to fight harder for attention, appeal more pointedly to win votes, and communicate responsively to retain them.

In other words, the shift away from traditional speechmaking—although set piece political speeches like the election campaign launch remain a conventional democratic speech act (Grube 2011)—has been the catalyst for the intensification of rhetorical speechmaking to appeal to a broadening audience and voting base. Prior to the rise of social media in the mid-2000s and its use as a campaign communication strategy by the Labor Opposition in the 2007 federal election, studies focusing on political speechmaking were isolated and infrequent,

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[14] For collected works of historical and contemporary Australian political speeches, see Menzies (1958); Cathcart and Darian-Smith (2004); Kemp and Stanton (2004); Warhaft (2004); Fullilove (2014); Manne and Feik (2014).

tending to peak according to a standout election campaign (Gillen 1989), political orator (Uhr 1995; Brett 1997) or contentious political issues such as race (Rapley 1998), gender and cultural identity (Augoustinos et al. 1999; Johnson 2005). Indeed, Australian political scientists including Dennis Grube (2010), John Uhr (2002) and John Kane and Haig Patapan (2010) have called for more scholarly attention to be paid to political speech texts to address questions relating to the interrelationship between language and politics.

Over the past decade the study of Australian political rhetoric as the primary research concern has been extended to parliamentary politics (Uhr 2014), parliamentary speech (Grube 2013; Young 2007), and policy formation and intervention (Grube 2010). The use of rhetorical techniques in Australian political talk has also been the subject of criticism for enabling inadvertent outcomes in coded messages and 'dog-whistling' (Hindess 2014), and for 'manufacturing fear' in set piece speeches (De Castella et al. 2009). Such negative assessments cultivate pre-existing sentiment surrounding the immoral nature of rhetorical speech which finds its roots in ancient Greek perceptions of sophistry. Further, Uhr and Walter (2015) assert that a general lack of rhetorical standards of public reason and methodological paradigms through which Australian political rhetoric can be systematically interpreted and compared also obscures a balanced and evidence-based assessment of the form and function of rhetoric in Australian politics (see also Rolfe 2014). However, a pivotal contribution to the subdiscipline transpired in 2014 when the Australian National University (ANU) published a collection of works entitled *Studies of Australian Political Rhetoric*. A key driver behind the collaborative project is the acknowledgement:

> Despite language use representing the core of the politician's vocation, and following its rhythms and consequences is the constant task of journalists and commentators, Australian political scientists give it little attention (Uhr and Walter 2014, 243).

The publication has reinvigorated the salience of studying political rhetoric to better understand political processes like elections, and encourages other scholars of rhetoric to contribute to and expand the subdiscipline in the Australian research field.

Speeches are a fundamental site for political action, both in terms of being driven by the desired intent of motivating an audience to action, and containing language strategies that are employed to achieve this desired intent. It follows then, that the analysis of rhetorical arguments and persuasive devices within political speeches can provide insights into the extent to which language influences politics (Corcoran 1979). The set piece political speech in its various forms has been the focus of numerous Australian studies that span the disciplines of political science, political communication and linguistics, and mainly employ qualitative interpretative approaches. The federal budget speech, for example, has been the subject of enquiry in the works of Dann (2008), Lukin (2015), Walter and Uhr (2013), and Walter (2014). Whereas the former two studies reveal different ways persuasive language has been used to create tailored messaging and narratives which subtly push the government's broader policy agenda (see also Dowding et al. 2010), the latter two suggest that 'budget talk' and rhetorical choices associated with how economic management is strategically framed can yield consequences and restraints regarding the government's economic legitimacy. The studies therefore recognise the power of rhetoric in political speechmaking to shape messages and public perception, with each author noting the often unfortunate conundrum facing political actors who readily use rhetorical language without being aware of how to use it effectively. Yet the authors stop short of offering an insight into what might comprise a more effective method of speechmaking within the budget speech. This lack of engagement with the technical side of rhetoric is also reflected in how these studies of political rhetoric engage minimally or not at all with key aspects of the classical rhetoric tradition. By not being

theoretically guided by the rhetorical tradition nor locating a specific methodology to inform

a critique regarding the efficacy of a budget speech, there exists a disconnect between

conceptual discussions of political speechmaking and textual analyses of the content of these

speeches.

The election victory speech is another set piece that is the subject of inquiry into political

speechmaking within Australian political science and political communication literature.

Rayner's (2014) comparative analysis of Labor Prime Minister's Paul Keating and Julia

Gillard's first speeches as prime minister demonstrate how rhetoric effects the legitimation of

leadership. In comparing Keating's and Gillard's speeches, Rayner's analysis reveals the

stark differences between the two across tone, content, symbolism and subtext. While

Keating's reads and sounds like a victory speech as his rhetoric eliminates any doubt about

the suitability of his rise to the nation's highest elected office, Gillard's speech is "part

justification, part apology and part bargain", raising unanswered questions about her right to

lead and fostered an "enduring legitimacy deficit" which vexed her throughout her prime

ministership (Rayner 2014, 75). What can be taken from Rayner's comparative analysis is

that poor rhetorical choices, a lack of strategic foresight and not projecting 'conviction

leadership' in set piece speeches can result in actual regressive outcomes for a prime

minister. Rayner also highlights that rhetoric is a decisive part of the foundation upon which

political legitimacy is built; "it is a tool for creating leadership as much as exercising it"

(2014, 78).

While Rayner's study demonstrates that perceptions of authenticity can be created through

the calculated use of rhetorical language, the analysis does not move beyond the comparative

approach to highlight the technical methods of rhetorical argumentation that contribute to

building a speaker's ethos. Further, although excerpts from the speech transcripts are used to illustrate the differences between Keating's successful and Gillard's unsuccessful use of rhetoric in their victory speeches, the study does not offer a methodological framework through which such judgments can be qualified and explained. Corcoran (1998) also examines the rhetoric of triumph and defeat in Australian federal election victory and concession speeches[15] from 1940-1993, but rather than analysing rhetoric as method and a product of the rhetorical tradition, Corcoran instead focuses on dramaturgy[16] and employs genre analysis to shape his study. As such, a textual analysis of the use of rhetorical language in the speeches does not feature in Corcoran's study, rather how the elocution of triumph and defeat can be classified as dramatic—therefore rhetorical according to Corcoran's definition—expressions of essential democratic meanings.

Stephen Mills (2014) has extended the qualitative examination of affective rhetoric in set piece political speeches to include what scholars such as Celermajer (2009, 14-43) refer to as 'the apology phenomenon'. Mills' article draws primarily on Labor Prime Minister Kevin Rudd's 2008 Stolen Generation apology and Gillard's 2013 apology to mothers and children affected by the practice of forced adoptions, to argue that the apology is "a new and distinctive mode of prime ministerial leadership" (2014, 29). Central to Mills' analysis of prime ministerial apology as a distinct speech genre is the extent to which the language of leadership can be categorised as performing a constitutive function[17]. Accordingly, the article seeks to respond to the overriding question and critique all speech analysts are faced: what is

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[15] For a comparable study on American concession and victory speeches in the 2000 presidential election, see Ritter and Howell (2001), or in the 2004 presidential election, see Willyard and Ritter (2005).

[16] The theory and practice of dramatic composition.

[17] A similar conclusion is drawn by Williamson (2015) regarding the role of epideictic rhetoric in Australian state parliamentary motions of condolence on natural disasters.

the significance of speech as a form of political action, and to a lesser extent, what are the virtues associated with focusing on speech as a means of understanding politics. To address these questions, Mills argues that by assessing the language of political leadership, specifically prime ministerial leadership, through apology, research can offer a space for consideration of the "critically important leadership function of providing direction" (Mills 2014, 27); that is, developing and communicating the political executive's vision. It is for this reason that Mills' study and the speech analysis undertaken in this thesis demonstrate the merits associated with focusing on political speech as a meaningful site of understanding political action.

Despite Kane and Patapan (2010, 1) arguing that the intrinsic relationship between leadership, rhetoric and the democratic process is an "artless art", meaning democratic leaders are forced to avoid fine oratory in favour of a rhetorical style that sounds "un-rhetorical, seeming to be plain factually-informative speech", several studies on prime ministerial rhetoric suggest persuasive language remains crucial in appealing to audience's emotions and increasing a leader's ethos. Both McCabe (2012) and Roan and White (2010) analyse the function of rhetoric in framing a key policy narrative of an Australian prime minister. In her analysis of Prime Minister Gillard's climate change rhetoric, McCabe (2012) presents a profile of rhetorical strategies and considers whether the predominant audience disposition had any bearing on the rhetorical appeals used by the speaker in that setting. By employing the content analysis software, Leximancer, McCabe extracts quantitative data from Gillard's speeches while the qualitative component of the analysis is founded on the principles of classical rhetorical theory. However, McCabe's chosen qualitative methodology is one of 'semantic-pragmatic analysis', meaning the results of the speech analysis findings are focused on the rhetorical effect of meaning-bearing words and sentences. So, while it is a

notable contribution to evidence-based studies on Australian prime ministerial rhetoric, it is a research piece purely on political communication and does not bridge the gap between political science and political communication perspectives.

Conversely, in their rhetorical criticism of the metaphor of evolutionary change in the Howard government's Work Choices agenda, Roan and White (2010) provide a detailed insight into the extent to which metaphors rhetorically frame liberal ideology in policy. Their argument concentrates on showing how certain rhetorical strategies that may have a 'surface fit' with the values of particular legislation but deny the substance of the legislation, ultimately serve to expose shortcomings and contradictions within the legislation. In doing so the study does not focus on the theories of metaphor as a rhetorical device, rather on its effectiveness as a strategic policy communication tool, nor does it explain in any detail the methodology informing the rhetorical criticism. Beyond specific case studies of prime ministerial rhetoric in action, works which have analysed the rhetorical styles of individual prime ministers (see Brett 1992, 2005), and examined the language of leading political parties while considering the historical and cultural context of political speeches (see Johnson 1989; Curran 2004; Fitzgerald 2014) also serve to reveal the dynamics of social structures and identity formation in Australian politics and trace shifts in narratives between periods of incumbency (Johnson 2000). These studies, however, could be categorised as studies of political discourse with political rhetoric (and its methodological and theoretical foundations) being a minor contributor to the broader cultural and ideological critiques extended.

The language of political leadership in speechmaking reaches its rhetorical climax during election campaigns. This is unsurprising given that election campaigns are essentially a contest between opposing parties and candidates to lead government, with the voting public

being the ultimate arbitrators and litmus test of success and failure. Uhr (2002) acknowledges the adversarial nature of electoral politics, noting that words play a decisive role in facilitating deliberation and argumentation. According to Grube (2011; 2013), leaders of government and the opposition within Westminster democracies undertake a series of institutionalised rhetorical tasks or a 'speech cycle' that are contained within the parameters of the federal election campaign. The very institutionalised nature of the speech cycle and the primacy of the election campaign launch within the speech cycle, argues Grube (2011; 2013), establishes election campaign speechmaking as a valuable site of examination concerning the language of leadership, and the linguistic and thematic composition of speeches to form entrenched patterns of persuasive language use. Bartlett and Rayner (2014) concur that there exists a limited number of campaign narratives in existence that Australia's major political parties employ within state and federal election campaigns. Their qualitative analysis reveals six key narratives consistent across campaign slogans and set pieces and focuses on the "stories parties tell on the campaign trail" (Bartlett and Rayner 2014, 66). Yet given that Bartlett and Rayner's qualitative methodology is loosely informed by a sociological reading of identity construction (see Somers and Gibson 1994), their study does not seek to address the role of *rhetorical* language within the campaign narratives.

Close textual analyses of election campaign language have also focused on broader themes such as national identity to understand the function and power of political rhetoric in Australian election campaigns. The work of Stephanie Younane-Brookes (2008a, 2008b, 2010, 2012) is a key contributor to this field, namely so given the unique mixed qualitative and quantitative methodological approach pioneered in her analyses of political texts. Here, Younane-Brookes takes as central the inherent relationship between political rhetoric, discourse and national identity construction. For example, her comparative analysis of the

spoken language of Opposition Leader Kevin Rudd and Prime Minister John Howard during the 2007 federal election campaign reveals that the leaders' rhetorical construction of 'Australianness' drew on and helped to construct an "implicit image of identity and belonging, privileging specific notions of the national collective" (Younane 2008a, 62-64). Further, Younane-Brookes (2010) analyses election campaign language to argue that the dominant narrative of Australian national identity from Federation is constructed through the twin discourse of inclusion and exclusion. Although Younane-Brookes has developed her framework from a media and cultural perspective and while her research therefore does not seek to contribute to the discipline of political science and political theory, her work is nonetheless significant for its hybrid methodological contribution to a niche field of scholarly enquiry (see also Gizzi-Stewart 2016).

While qualitative interpretive approaches form the dominant methodological approach in Australian studies of political speechmaking, there are several notable expectations that have instead employed quantitative content analysis of political texts to draw conclusions on the use of persuasive language. More traditional forms of quantitative analysis include Hughes and Western's (1966) panel survey study of individual policy addresses, and Brereton and Walter's (1978) study of leadership style in parliamentary question time. Both studies sought to understand the extent to which political language and leadership style impacts on audience perception, voting behaviour and public popularity. Rhetorical language, however, is not singled out as being a strategic form of political communication that plays a decisive role during these moments of oratory. McAllister and Moore (1991) also employ quantitative content analysis to ascertain longitudinal patterns relating to party strategy and change within the prime minister's and opposition leader's election policy speeches from 1946-1993. Their research provides a detailed set of data findings that reveal the changing nature of the major

parties and competition between the two, noting the increasing policy centrism. Kabanoff et al. (2001) have since initiated the use of computerised text analysis software to facilitate a quantitative content analysis of major themes in Australian political speeches. However, much like Hughes and Western's and Brereton and Walter's content analysis, McAllister and Moore (1991) and Kabanoff et al. (2001) do not examine rhetorical language in isolation, but rather thematic and communicative shifts in political speechmaking.

From the literature review of studies on political speechmaking within Australian political science and political communication research, it can be surmised that there are very few close textual analyses that engage with either qualitative or quantitative methodologies to examine the form and function of rhetorical language and arguments in election campaign speeches. Further, there exists very few attempts at combining rhetorical theory and specific methodological approaches to the analysis of political speech texts to produce evidence-based research findings. These gaps in scholarship are central to identifying and substantiating the thesis' research scope.

Research scope

Rhetoric and discourse, indeed political rhetoric and political discourse, are not synonymous terms. As discussed in Chapter Two (pp. 24-53), rhetoric is one of many forms of political discourse whose theoretical foundations extends from a rich epistemological tradition dating back to 4th century BCE. The analysis of rhetoric has varied very little since this time and still occupies the research space that devotes its focus to the mechanisms of persuasive language; the internal, technical elements of speechmaking. By its very theoretical and methodical nature, the study of rhetoric is not synonymous with the study of political discourse. The key difference between studies on political discourse and studies on political

rhetoric is that the latter tends to focus on the argumentation practices of political speechmaking, and the former on the social constructivist power of political language across cultural contexts. For example, the analysis of rhetorical language lends itself to the identification of quantifiable techniques used for shaping and presenting arguments to specific audiences on definite occasions, and in some instances, attempts to measure the calculated and uncalculated effects on that audience (Greenfield and Williams 2003, 282). Conversely, studies in political discourse demonstrate how particular language choices shape or ideologically frame political issues in a way that both enables and constrains ways of understanding and responding to an issue within a particular socio-political context (Roan and White 2010). The analysis of political discourse therefore focuses less on objectively determining method and the content and practice of speech acts, and more on subjectively postulating deeper causal factors such as the pre-existence of ideologies and power relations between the speaker and audience (Finlayson 2007, 552).

So, while studies on political discourse help explain the way language can operate as an agent of social power and cultural change, and occupy a vibrant area of research within political science and political communication scholarship, it is not the aim of this thesis to examine political discourse as a diffuse phenomenon. Rather, it examines the application of rhetorical language to specific circumstances, and substantiates through evidence-based findings how arguments are rhetorically framed. Unlike studies on political discourse, when undertaking rhetorical analyses the identities of the speaker and audience are contextual factors, and the role of concepts such as ideology and power are similarly consequential as part of the speech act rather than a focal point of discussion. Further, given that this thesis is informed by the theoretical underpinnings of the classical rhetorical tradition and engages a methodology which seeks to identify and interpret methods of rhetoric in political speechmaking, it

follows, then, that political discourse—its analysis, research focus and fundamental epistemological assumptions—will not feature within nor define the research scope of this thesis.

This point was reflected through literature within the qualitative approach when demonstrating the differences between interpretative studies on political discourse, specifically critical discourse analysis, and those methodologically focused studies on political rhetoric and rhetorical strategy in speechmaking. Further, this research focus explains why political discourse analysis does not inform the theoretical or methodological frameworks of the thesis as it was shown in the literature review that discourse analyses do not offer an objective method or unbiased interpretation of data in texts, focusing instead on subjectivities like identity, ideology and power relations to interpret language use. In contrast, distinguishing the functional aspects of political rhetoric through an evidence-based approach is at the crux of the thesis' research scope. This in turn explains the relevance of drawing on literature in the quantitative approach, specifically studies which use content analysis software, as a methodological guide to the analysis of political rhetoric in speech texts. From a methodological perspective, the research parameters of the thesis are contained within literature from the qualitative approach where studies attempt to apply a methodical approach to the interpretation of rhetoric in political speechmaking. Likewise, the thesis' scope can be situated within literature from the quantitative approach where studies use text analysis software to highlight internal language patterns in political texts. However, it is within the literature that engages with mixed methodological approaches that the research scope of this thesis is fundamentally situated. Given the rarity of these studies, as demonstrated in the literature reviews, it is here that the research demonstrates its originality and contribution to the nexus of political science and political communication perspectives.

A hurdle for researchers whose work straddles political science and political communication perspectives when carving out their research scope involves classifying the extent to which theory informs practical analysis. Chapter Two (pp. 24-53) offered an insight into the historical evolution of rhetorical theory, the methods associated with understanding rhetorical language in practice, and the extent to which the study of rhetoric contributes to a clearer understanding of how language affects politics. It was also asserted in Chapter Two that although rhetorical theory creates the theoretical parameters within which the methodology is situated, the core focus of the thesis is applying this theoretical understanding to practical contemporary political contexts. In other words, this thesis draws on rhetorical theory as an epistemological guide in the assessment of the use and function of persuasive language strategy in specific moments of contemporary political oratory. A similar theoretical focus could be seen in a small number of studies in the Australian context, that drew on the classical rhetorical tradition to guide their analysis without the overall discussion being focused on rhetorical theory. That said, one of the key criticisms of the scholarly literature within both qualitative and quantitative approaches was the tendency to acknowledge the power of rhetorical language in political text and talk without offering a deeper epistemological explanation of how this can be accounted for outside of the context in question. Rhetorical theory provides researchers with the theoretical grounding to best substantiate the source and dynamics involved with the articulation of political strategy through rhetorical arguments. It is therefore central to the research scope of this thesis and its practical reference as an epistemological guide in the study that will demonstrate its relative value for political science and political communication scholarship.

In sum, the rhetorical analysis undertaken in Chapters Five, Six and Seven is driven by the broader objectives of establishing methods of rhetoric and analysing rhetoric in practice. To

do this, it takes a conventional political speech act—the election campaign launch—and extracts from it the rhetorical arguments that comprise the speech's overall rhetorical strategy. This move distinguishes the thesis' research scope from those studies cited which instead focus on speech as talk rather than speech as action, as seen in most Australian studies on set piece political speeches. These mentioned studies fail to apply a defined methodology to their analysis of political speeches and in doing so do not analyse rhetoric as language that persuades people to action, rather rhetoric as a form of political discourse. Method and methodology are the discerning factors between the two and this thesis attempts to reduce this gap in scholarship by providing an analysis of political speech as talk *and* action simultaneously.

As the literature review on Australian political science and communication research demonstrated, little research has been undertaken within domestic scholarship that focuses on rhetorical language in political speechmaking. There have been a handful of attempts of bridging this gap in knowledge over the past decades, however political communication studies still tend to sit within the broader discipline of media and culture rather than political science. As such, there is considerable scope for studies on Australian political oratory to be based on more robust textual analysis, to make the cross disciplinary interpretation of political discourse more evidence-based rather than concept-based. The contribution that the thesis will make to domestic scholarship will therefore be most pronounced, yet the application of the mixed research methodology to the case studies to elucidate research findings seems to be quite unique when considering the international studies cited at the beginning of this chapter.

Research limitations

There are several further considerations for scholars in the field when identifying and substantiating a research scope. These potential research limitations relate to the analysis of political speeches, undertaking case study approaches of election campaign speechmaking, and offering a longitudinal study of the rhetorical language of specific political leaders.

Speech authorship

Modern political speeches are usually multi-authored texts directed by a shared rhetorical purpose of legitimising the speech maker. Any study that analyses speech texts to assert claims regarding how persuasive language is used by political leaders to achieve their desired ends in election campaigns, as this thesis does, must recognise the contribution of speech writers and advisors in the collective speechmaking process. It is through a speech that we gain access to the thoughts of an individual but also to the more general ideological assemblages at work across a party or governmental organisation (Finlayson and Martin 2008, 449; see also Myers 2000). However, the political speaker is more than a mere mouthpiece in the speechmaking process because ultimately the speaker can edit the content of the speech and improvise the delivery, which in turn can radically change the prose and influence of the speech act. So, while the thesis concedes that speeches are the product of a shared conceptual resource, it holds the speaker as the ultimate author. This echoes Wodak's (2009, 71) claim that "the person that delivers the speech is always solely responsible for its content". Not making these distinctions regarding speech authorship is a potential limitation faced by researchers.

Electoral systems

A key variable that shapes the function and form of rhetoric in campaign speechmaking is the electoral system, specifically the voting practices of the democracy in question. One of the distinctive features of the Australian electoral system, for example, is compulsory voting. Compulsory enrolment for federal elections was introduced in 1912, and compulsory voting in federal elections was introduced in 1924. From a representative perspective, compulsory voting seeks to ensure that Parliament reflects more accurately the public, or "will of the electorate" (Evans 2006, 11). Indeed, from a political perspective, compulsory voting compels governments to consider the broader electorate in policy formulation and administration. Compulsory voting also encourages candidates to focus their campaigning energies on specific issues, rather than managing a balancing act between issues and motivating voters to attend the poll (Evans 2006). What this essentially means in the Australian campaign context is the electoral system enables campaigning leaders to use rhetoric with the foremost intention of appealing to and aligning the national community with their vision. Very little effort needs to be expended on pleading for people to vote, as is the case in the United States (see for example, Conway III et al. 2012; Azari and Vaughn 2014). The type of electoral system is therefore a potential research limitation for scholars who seek to draw comparisons between the use of rhetoric in political speechmaking across countries with differing voting practices and campaign finance protocols as these variables can dilute the desired ends of persuasive language.

Rhetorical path dependency

Rhetorical choices matter as they can have decisive consequences for the future political fortunes of political leaders. Indeed, rhetorical acts have the potential to shape policy as well as the public façade of the leader. Grube (2014, 112) argues that rhetorical formulations which are successful in entrenching a policy position become ever harder to undo as

repetition and recommitment pushes a political actor firmly down a particular path. Any subsequent deviation from a rhetorical path is then seen not just as a change of policy, but as some form of 'betrayal' of a leader's entrenched rhetorical position. Building on these claims and a well-established concept in the field of policy studies, path dependency (Pierson 2000; Gains et al. 2005), Grube makes the case for the existence of 'rhetorical path dependency'. Grube (2014) argues that political leaders are caught between the desire to utilise fresh and engaging rhetoric to better explain a new policy direction, and the reality that they cannot be seen to be contradicting themselves. Politicians are effectively restricted by their own rhetorical choices, leaving them unable to start afresh easily in new rhetorical directions; "they are trapped in a gilded rhetorical cage of their own making" (Grube 2014, 1; see also Grube 2016). Path dependency applies not just to individual actors, but to bureaucratic departments, policy processes and programs.

When a political actor deviates from a rhetorical path, this moves the effects of rhetorical path dependency away from simply questions of policy consistency into deeper questions of trustworthiness and authenticity. Examples include Prime Minister Julia Gillard's semantic digression from 'carbon price' to 'carbon tax', and Opposition Leader Tony Abbott's 'stopping the boats' mantra from campaign slogan into prime ministerial policy. A change in policy language in one area therefore does not simply result in localised policy pain, but a wider loss of trust in the prime minister and the government they lead. As such, Grube (2014) claims that the challenge for political leaders is to be authentic and clear in their rhetorical choices, and accept that this involves a degree of risk that they may be derailed by the difficulties of politics or the complexity of an issue. Representative parliamentary democracy is essentially a system based on a battle of ideas and competing policies which cannot hope to be carried out through vague, nondescript rhetorical choices. Equally, however, leaders must

understand the real power that lies in the rhetorical choices they make and the political costs that come from deviating from one rhetorical path to another.

The notion of rhetorical path dependency is therefore both a research limitation and opportunity for studies on rhetorical arguments in political speechmaking. It is a limitation in the sense that it offers a theoretical framework that challenges the fundamental premises of Bitzer's 'rhetorical situation'. If a study bases its theoretical assumptions in rhetorical path dependency, it would forgo the claim that rhetoric is the product of, or can be shaped, by contextual factors. Such a study would also find it difficult to account for the persuasive element of political rhetoric and the desired intent of persuasion, instead basing the use of language on the past rhetorical path chosen by political leaders, with diversion being avoided due to a loss of authenticity. Depending on one's perspective, this very limitation might also be a research opportunity in terms of stepping outside of the more orthodox theoretical framework associated with the classical rhetorical tradition. In any case, works involved with longitudinally examining the rhetoric of political leaders in conventional speech acts should be aware of the theoretical reach and practical effects of rhetorical path dependency.

This chapter highlighted the importance of methodology in informing how the analysis of political rhetoric might be functionally undertaken. It was argued in the literature review of qualitative interpretative approaches that the fundamental strength of these types of studies is their focus on culturally-specific elements of speech acts like ideology and identity, and in doing so pave the way for broader conceptual critiques of political power and how it is wielded through language. That said, qualitative interpretations tend to focus more on the external effects of political discourse at the expense of close, methodical analyses of political texts. The literature review also discussed the quantitative approach, noting how studies that

sit within this body of literature tend to be guided by content analysis, often supported by computerised software, to generate statistical data as research findings. Here, findings are shaped less by external conceptual factors and more by the internal characteristics of the texts. In all, it was argued that the research limitations of studies that are situated within the qualitative and quantitative approaches respectively comprise the strength and key research focus of the other, therefore making a case for a hybrid methodological approach. With these conclusions in mind it is now time to turn to Chapter Four to explore the thesis methodology in more detail.

Chapter Four: Research methodology and design

The art of politics is above all, how to persuade a self-governing people to accept and loyally observe. It is in relation to public affairs, to provide exposition, persuasion and inspiration, or to create a firm, and understanding public opinion.

Sir Robert Menzies (1943)

This chapter sets out with three broad aims: a) to provide a clear picture of how the thesis intends to undertake the speech analysis in Chapters Five, Six and Seven; to b) offer a deeper insight into the mechanics of the thesis' research composition; and c) to rationalise the key research questions that form the basis of the thesis' central argument. The chapter is divided into three sections accordingly: research methodology, research design, and central questions.

The first section begins with a general discussion of qualitative research methodologies and their fundamental compatibility with studies that take the interpretation of language as the primary research space. Drawing on the works of Bevir and Rhodes (for example 2004, 2006), who have written extensively on qualitative research approaches in political science, it is shown that a qualitative methodological approach is the most appropriate for analysing rhetorical language, interpreting the research findings, and coalescing both with the theoretical framework that informs the thesis. Building on this discussion, the section then presents a detailed examination of the specific qualitative methodology, Finlayson's rhetorical political analysis (RPA), that Chapters Five, Six and Seven draw on to guide the textual analysis component of the speech analysis. The central features of RPA are identified and then situated within the scope of the thesis, with suggestions about how the thesis intends to extend Finlayson's proposed working model. Here it is argued that RPA is a valuable methodological contribution to focused textual analyses of political rhetoric, yet there remains some ambiguity as to how some of its features might be applied to specific case studies. To address this ambiguity, the section highlights several key areas of departure from the rhetorical political analysis methodology which the speech analysis chapters seek to pioneer for added specificity in the interpretation of data and assertion of findings. Next, the section explains the function and application of the quantitative component of the speech analysis methodology. It was shown in Chapter Three (pp. 56-68) that studies which analyse

political language sometimes combine qualitative interpretative methodologies with quantitative content analysis software to ensure the research limitations of both are moderated and to provide a more comprehensive data set from which to draw conclusions. Indeed, alongside RPA the research methodology of this thesis is also informed by the use of quantitative content analysis software, Leximancer. As such, this section concludes by detailing what Leximancer is and how it works within the scope of the thesis.

The second section of the chapter authenticates the research design of the thesis, and provides a comprehensive outline of how the three speech analysis chapters are structured. This section unites the qualitative and quantitative methodology discussions and maps out exactly how these methodologies are applied as a speech analysis method to produce evidence that addresses the thesis' research aims. Further, this section justifies the main decisions that inform the research design, including the choice of the elections, why some speeches are included and omitted in the analysis, and the rationale behind the hybrid methodological approach. The third and final chapter section concludes with a reiteration of the central research questions and aims that were first mentioned in Chapter One (p. 16-18). Indeed, the key questions seek to consolidate the theoretical framework as per Chapter Two, the research scope offered in Chapter Three (pp. 78-82), and the research methodology and design detailed in this chapter.

Research methodology

Research that engages in the close analysis and interpretation of language to ascribe meaning and provide deeper insights outside of the obvious direct intention of the message/s sits within the broad umbrella of qualitative methodology. As discussed in Chapter Three (pp. 56-62), qualitative methodologies in political science research encompass those studies which

seek to interpret language as a form of social practice to enhance the understanding of everyday political processes. Given the thesis's claims regarding the impact of rhetorical speechmaking on political processes based on interpretative findings, the overarching methodological approach is informed by a qualitative research approach, specifically an interpretivist method as developed by Bevir and Rhodes (2004).

Bevir and Rhodes (2006) argue that political science is an interpretive art because the starting point of enquiry is to unpack the meanings, beliefs and preferences of actors so that we can then make sense of understanding actions, practices and institutions. They point to the need to interpret meaning in texts, primarily because interpretation plays a fundamental role in analysing concepts and ideas. As such, interpretive analysis is an appropriate methodological approach because it does not suggest how one's data sources should be created but rather "prescribes a particular way of treating any type of data" (Bevir and Rhodes 2004, 157). This approach does not assume that meaning is given, either by what contributors say or by the text in documents. Several concepts are central to Bevir and Rhodes' interpretivism—one of many approaches to interpret meaning. These include narrative, tradition and dilemma. The first and most applicable to the research methodology, narrative, is understood to be an "organising principle"; a map that explains (Bevir and Rhodes 2003, 26). The authors argue that narratives explain human actions by reference to the beliefs and preferences of the relevant individuals; narratives encompass the maps, questions, languages and historical stories used to explain whatever might be at issue. Bevir and Rhodes therefore argue that narrative is a mode of explanation which the political analyst produces *and* something produced by political actors which analysts seek to explain. Put another way, narrative appears to be a way of explaining things *and* the thing the analyst is explaining. This, notes Finlayson (2007), is typical of hermeneutic methodologies. Bevir and Rhodes also conceive

of rhetoric as essentially instrumental to their interpretivist methodological approach. They argue that the analyst can examine moments of rhetoric then explain both the original belief and the other beliefs that led to it being shaped in a particular way for purposes of public communication (Bevir and Rhodes 2006, 23). While tradition and dilemma are relevant and significant areas of interest in studies on political discourse elsewhere (for example, Bevir 1999, 174-264; Greenleaf 1983; Hall 1993; Hay and Rosamund 2002), they do not feature in the methodological design of this thesis as they are outside of its research scope. Narratives, however, are a central characteristic of the qualitative methodology that informs the qualitative component of the speech analysis, and will therefore be discussed in further detail below.

Bevir and Rhodes' interpretivist research approach informs the logic behind using a conceptual framework based within rhetorical theory as the theoretical basis of the thesis' argument. It also justifies the choice of the speech analysis methodology, the way the speech analysis is conducted and the primacy of interpreting themes, concepts and meanings within language in gathering and assessing the speech analysis findings. Interpretive political analysis explores the thinking that takes places within and on the basis of traditions as individuals create narratives that explain their surroundings to their audiences (Hay 2002, 258). However, often when normative standards become contested in the political arena, there is a further need to look to the specificity of political 'reasoning' and the necessity of certain kinds of argumentation. It is at this juncture that Finlayson's rhetorical political analysis—itself an interpretivist approach—provides the methodological framework to examine the strategy and techniques associated with political arguments. Bevir and Rhodes indeed lay the foundation for Finlayson's more specific research approach. Rhetorical

political analysis therefore forms the qualitative textual component of the speech analysis undertaken in this thesis.

Qualitative textual analysis

Rhetorical analysis is a methodological approach to rhetorical discourse. When the object of examination is a type of discourse, such as a speech, poem or newspaper article, the aim of rhetorical analysis is not simply to describe or critique the claims and arguments advanced within the discourse, but to identify the specific semiotic strategies employed by the speaker to accomplish specific persuasive goals. Rhetorical analysis directs attention to forms of argument and reasoning that exceed the structures of the syllogism[18] yet manifestly operate and function in real-world contexts of argument (Toulmin 1958; Perelman and Olbrects-Tyteca 1969). While rhetoricians have analysed political argumentation (see for example, McGee 1980, 1982; Campbell and Jamieson 1990; Medhurst et al. 1990; Chilton 1996), their approaches are yet to be fully integrated into the scope and concerns of political science. Further, given the limitless variables in terms of corpus and context associated with rhetorical analysis as well as its variant interdisciplinary use, there is no foundational methodology for studies that undertake analyses of political rhetoric.

Indeed, Finlayson (2007, 1) argues that the methods of political analysis concerned with ideas, beliefs and meanings need to be "supplemented by an approach attuned to the specific nature of political action". To bridge this gap in knowledge and enquiry, Finlayson asserts that what is required is a 'rhetorical political analysis' as a way of understanding the nature

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[18] A kind of logical argument (defined and explored by Aristotle) that applies deductive reasoning to arrive at a conclusion based on two or more propositions that are asserted or assumed to be true.

and formulation of the objects under analysis and accounting for the conceptual tools one can use to examine rhetoric. Given that rhetoric in political speechmaking acts is the central site of examination in the speech analysis chapters, it follows that a method of political analysis that focuses on argument form and style to identify language strategies is both applicable and appropriate. The rhetorical political analysis methodology therefore informs the close textual examination of the election campaign speeches in Chapters Five, Six and Seven. To the author's knowledge, this is the first systematic academic enquiry into Australian political speechmaking that has engaged Finlayson's rhetorical political analysis.

Rhetorical political analysis

> If we begin with a clear and distinct concept of politics as the 'arena' within which we see expressed the irreducible and contested plurality of public life, the ineradicable contestation of differing world-views, then it is clear that what is distinct in politics is not the presence of beliefs but the presence of beliefs in contradiction with each other, not decisions about courses of action but of dispute over decisions and courses of action. *It then follows that ideational and interpretative analysis have tended to examine the wrong object, which ought to be not ideas but argument: their formation, effects and fate in the activity known as persuading. The study of such argument and persuasion necessitates the development of Rhetorical Political Analysis* (Finlayson 2007, 552, emphasis added).

In contrast to Bevir and Rhodes' interpretivism, Finlayson's rhetorical political analysis focuses on the formation and reformation of arguments and the elements of which they are composed. Finlayson (2007, 553) is quick to point out that RPA is a working model, a "general overview" which notes the areas of direct interest in the endeavour to analyse and interpret political arguments in contemporary spaces while also considering the contributions of the classical rhetorical tradition. Indeed, Finlayson outlines five broad characteristics of rhetorical political analysis: the rhetorical situation, argument form (including framing and the internal elements of a speech), rhetorical style (including narrative), rhetorical appeals

(including commonplaces), and metaphors. Without detracting from the significant contributions Finlayson's RPA has brought to the intersection of political science and political communication studies and the subdiscipline of rhetorical analysis, the thesis suggests there are other areas of relevance that should be considered when using this methodology to undertake comprehensive interpretative analyses of political rhetoric. These auxiliary areas are also outlined below, however a deeper examination of their place within an expanding rhetorical political analysis methodology is offered in the concluding chapter of the thesis (pp. 280-84) following their tangible incorporation into the speech analysis in Chapters Five, Six and Seven.

The first stage of methodically examining political rhetoric as a way of understanding and explaining political actions and events involves identifying a corpus of argument for analysis. A corpus may include, but is not limited to, speeches, parliamentary debates and policy documentation. In agreement with the importance of context in establishing the causal factors that contribute to speech acts, it follows that these texts must then be located in their 'rhetorical situation': a notion coined by 20th century rhetorician, Lloyd Bitzer who wrote that rhetorical discourse is called into existence by a situation, and as such, the context of relations in which it takes place is central to the analysis and interpretation of persuasive language (Bitzer 1999 [1968]). The rhetorical situation identifies the role and effect of formal processes, conventional functions, and 'rules of engagement' as well as locates the identities of those involved in the exchange (Bitzer 1999, 222-25). For Bitzer, rhetoric is the product of a situation, for without an exigency there is no impetus to employ persuasive language strategies, nor is there anything to be gained. In 1973, Richard E. Vatz critiqued Bitzer's objectivist 'situation creates rhetoric' thesis and led the opposing argument that rhetoric defines a situation. Vatz (1973) argued that because the context of events and choices of

events could be forever described, persuaders must select which events to make part of the agenda. In the process of choosing certain events and not others and deciding their relative value or importance, Vatz argued that a certain 'salience' is created. Take the example of a government advocating a particular policy agenda; because of this decision and the use of rhetoric to promote the policy as being important, the advocated policy area becomes salient in public discourse. Both Bitzer and Vatz identify the influence of context in defining rhetoric and vice versa, however the applicability of their arguments to a methodology lacks precision as they do not identify specific sources of influence, rather they offer hypothetical and theoretical platitudes. This critique is a precursor to an area which would offer tangibility to how the rhetorical situation and its impact might be determined in real circumstances. More will be said about this in Chapter Eight.

Next, RPA acknowledges that within the rhetorical situation an argument takes place—but what an argument contains is not always clear. This is so at the level of both form: the type of argument and point of controversy, and content: the subject under dispute—i.e. campaigning for election or re-election (Finlayson 2007, 554). Roman rhetorical theory understood this through 'statis theory' identifying four points of argument: if a thing is (conjecture), what a thing is (definition), what kind of thing it is (quality), and whether it is a thing we should be arguing about at all (place) (see Finlayson 2005). It is therefore the task of the rhetorical analyst to determine the argument form and to then identify the techniques used within the argument to achieve its desired ends.

Connections between particular and general policy domains are often forged by very general ethical presumptions that connect to entrenched political ideologies and ontologies. The point of much political argument, especially within the policy forming process and in leading a

case for election in campaign speechmaking, is to make such connections possible, credible and natural. Indeed, the argument form often manifests in the 'framing' of issues within political texts (see Charteris-Black 2006, 2009, 2011; Lakoff 2004; Lakoff and Johnson 1980). Phenomena can be problematised in different sorts of ways. Political arguments often concern the posing of economic, social and political problems in distinctive ways that specify particular things as the necessary object of policy and lead to particular prescriptions in whatever context the argument is taking place. Problem specification may also involve the creative redefining of a problem to redraw the constituencies concerned with it and extend the range of possible solutions (Finlayson 2007, 555). Understanding how arguments frame issues is therefore a critical feature of rhetorical political analysis as the product of framing can radically shift the impact of the overall rhetorical strategy. Indeed, identifying instances of framing in political texts allows the rhetorical analyst to explain why particular themes or narratives are consistently adhered to and are effective during a political event, like an election campaign.

Part of the process of characterising an argument is to grasp its form, and noting how the framing of issues shapes argument form also extends to examining other internal structural features of the text. As such, it is the aim of RPA to identify the generic features of government policy documents and speeches (for example) including introductory statements, kinds of sentence and syntax, the use of pronouns, and numbered paragraphs (Finlayson 2007, 556).

The third component of rhetorical political analysis is rhetorical style, and Finlayson (2007, 557) isolates the arrangement of the narrative as the central aspect of rhetorical style. Narrative is an effective technique to assist human beings in understanding events and the

meaning behind human actions and their effects. For Finlayson (2007, 557), political events produce specific stories, but there are also "broader and subtler narratives by which leaders explain how they, or their party, or the country, came to face a certain situation, demanding certain sorts of change or transformation". Narratives of many kinds can be found across policy documents, speeches and a range of political arguments. Specific political events may reveal very specific narratives, but there are also broader and subtler narratives by which politicians explain how they, or their party, or the country, came to face a certain situation, demanding certain sorts of change or transformation. As will be shown in the following three chapters, election campaign speeches and indeed election campaigns often construct a specific narrative which enables one party to project a more favourable leadership proposition than the other. Narratives are therefore an important feature of rhetorical style that enable the rhetorical analyst to identify the way a text orders facts, integrates them into a presentation of beginning, middle and end, and naturalises sequences of event, of causes and effects, to impose a generalised order. Indeed, the rhetoric of where a speech act is going, of the implied end of a narrative sequence, can be very important—particularly in an election campaign speech where the speech's 'pitch' and desired intent is to persuade the audience into voting in favour of the speaker.

Another component of rhetorical political analysis, 'commonplaces', relates to the central concern of rhetorical strategy: the appeal. Commonplaces depend on everyday common-sense values of what is just or unjust, honourable or dishonourable; generally approved of principles (see Skinner 1996, 111-20) and commonly accepted ways of arguing. RPA is concerned with identifying what these are and their usage. For example, the analysis of political ideologies suggests that different sets of commonplaces are drawn on in liberal and conservative arguments (see Freeden 1998). It is the task of RPA to identify how

commonplaces become accepted and employed in the reasoning processes of political actors and in the arguments they then employ with others. An appreciation of what Aristotle called *doxa*—common opinion of what most people think—is relevant here. For much of the classical rhetorical tradition *doxa* is the distinctive feature of rhetoric. It recognises that in public life good and successful arguments incorporate and make use of premises or propositions that come from the 'common sense' of the people one is addressing.

Increasing the appeal is arguably the most fundamental objective of the rhetorical strategy. For classical rhetoricians there were three primary modes of persuasive appeal: to ethos, logos and pathos. These were discussed in Chapter Two (pp. 33-34) regarding Aristotle's *On Rhetoric*, however, determining the role ethos, logos and pathos play as rhetorical appeals in rhetorical political analysis is relevant to the development of the speech analysis method discussed in the second section of this chapter. Appeals based on logos are those concerned with offering logical justifications. For example, one party leader may claim that a rival cannot be trusted with rule because he or she has changed their position in a short space of time. The logical argument here suggests that people who change their minds often cannot be trusted. This chain of reasoning rests on commonplace assumptions such as "good leaders are those who are resolute and do not change their minds" (Finlayson 2007, 558). Appeals to ethos rely on the character of the speaker, on their honesty, for example, or their authority. Such appeals to the character of the orator may be based on implicit claims to authority, or perhaps sympathy, and may be attempts to encourage an audience to identify with the speaker or to see them 'just like us'—very similar to Kenneth Burke's concept of identification discussed in Chapter Two (pp. 44-47). Political actors may also seek to encourage 'affective rationality', to play on our emotions, moving us to anger, pity or fear to provide the motivation for action: also known as pathos. Indeed, some level of emotional involvement is

arguably central to any appeal that seeks to motivate others to act (Finlayson 2007, 558). It is unlikely that a rhetorical analyst will find all these appeals used to the same degree in all forms of rhetoric, so it is their task to identify where and when they are used, and to what extent they draw on commonplaces to further the rhetorical appeal.

The fifth facet of rhetorical political analysis is premised on the notion that the heart of rhetoric resides in a creative process, the construction or legitimation of a premise, and in doing so depends on the use of images or 'figures'. Aristotle, for example, drew attention to the way in which one might seek to show that a particular virtue is in fact its opposition, how an act of courage could be made to look like recklessness or cowardice like wisdom. For rhetoric is greatly concerned with definitions or re-descriptions of terms, phenomena and actions (see Skinner 1996, Ch. 4). Metaphors are a central aspect of this process. Lakoff and Johnson (1980, 3) have shown that metaphors pervade everyday life, thought and action, arguing our "ordinary conceptual system [is] fundamentally rhetorical in nature". Metaphors involve "co-present thoughts", a "borrowing between and intercourse of thoughts" that opens new considerations, causing terms to interact such that certain features are drawn out and emphasised, 'organising' our conceptions (Richards 1936, 94). Rhetorical devices like metaphor lie quite deep, often organising our thoughts and shaping our judgements as we formulate them, therefore like rhetorical appeals, the use and function of metaphors in political texts are a central concern of rhetorical political analysis.

At the core of RPA is the argument that there is more to rhetorical communication than the words that are spoken because the rhetoric is at one and the same time constitutive and formative of the ideas that are expressed through those words (Grube 2016). Importantly, ideas can only be accessed by studying the arguments made for or against them by political

actors employing political rhetoric. Studying rhetoric is, in reality, studying the creation, shaping and re-shaping of political ideas, through the arguments that are being made for or against those ideas (Uhr 2014, 253). The study of rhetoric becomes, instead of the close study of language use, a study of politics itself.

Indeed, Finlayson's rhetorical political analysis is a huge contribution to what is otherwise a complex and disjointed methodological terrain within political science and political communication studies. It offers a strong and comprehensive foundation for scholars to apply to their own research and build on to further finesse the working model in terms of its practical application. Regarding the latter point, there are four key areas that this thesis suggests are worthy of inclusion into an expanded, yet more specific in detail, version of RPA. These correspond to rhetorical form, rhetorical style, rhetorical appeals, and metaphor respectively.

Concerning rhetorical form, Finlayson's RPA correctly recognises that the ways political texts frame issues have a decisive impact on the form of the argument being asserted. Framing is what can make a speech fundamentally inspiring or adversarial in nature, which in turn shifts the audience's perception of the issues being framed, the core messages of the speech, and often the character of the speaker. Similarly, RPA identifies that internal structural features can also change the argument's form and accordingly should be of interest to the rhetorical analyst. Yet Finlayson stops short of explaining how one might interpret the internal structural features of specific political texts, despite the classical rhetorical tradition being fixated on the internal form of arguments. What classical studies of oratory such as *Rhetorica ad Herennium* claim as the typical structural elements of speeches, or rhetorical canon, was outlined in Chapter Two (p. 37). It will be shown in the following three chapters

that election campaign speeches largely adhere to an identifiable speech structure or template that initially engages the audience, narrates the facts, refutes the opposition, states its case, and then sums up the argument with stirring language; an internal argument form that strategically builds and prosecutes a case for election or re-election. This template is arguably interchangeable across other political speech texts and should therefore be asserted more prominently as one definitive method of identifying and interpreting the internal structural features of political texts in an expanded RPA methodology. Further, a closer engagement with the classical rhetorical tradition should feature more prominently when analysing rhetorical form.

Second, Finlayson points out that narratives are a central feature of rhetorical style as they equip the orator with the tools to express their core message more explicitly and with greater effect. However, Finlayson is not specific in explaining how a rhetorical analyst might interpret narratives within the context of the speech text. This is a real omission from RPA as narratives feature predominantly in political speeches and often form the basis of a leader's personal rhetorical style across a range of speech acts. For this reason, narrative is the central organising facet of the speech analysis in Chapters Five, Six and Seven. In these three chapters it will be shown that adopting a wide ranging view of narratives in election campaign speeches over an expanse of time offers an insight into the language of strategy specific to a defined study period. In other words, a longitudinal examination of narratives reveals a grander narrative regarding the use and function of rhetorical language. The longitudinal reading of narratives across static situations of political rhetoric is therefore an additional area of inclusion in an expanded version of RPA.

Third, regarding commonplaces, Finlayson notes that these are standard kinds of proof that are generally informed by commonly held values. In doing so, Finlayson indicates how a rhetorical analyst might identify generic commonplaces in texts, however he does not extend commonplaces to be also determined by contextual commonly held values. For example, liberal and conservative arguments draw on fundamental commonplaces, however liberal and conservative arguments within Australian or American speech contexts would be informed by vastly different, contextually specific commonplaces. While generic commonplaces are of importance to the rhetorical analyst when examining political texts, commonplaces specific to a nation's history and culture are equally as significant in shaping the rhetorical strategy. As such, commonplaces should extend to those values or idiosyncrasies that are unique to a community, or indeed a nation; features that comprise a nation's—often stereotypical—identity. It will be shown in the speech analysis chapters that Australian election campaign speeches often draw on commonplaces that are an extension of what is assumed to be the quintessential Australian national identity to enhance the rhetorical appeals in the speech. This inclusion to an expanded RPA is particularly important given contextual commonplaces are often bipartisan, therefore supporting the argument that the examples are derived from commonly held values and beliefs. Further, the interpretation of commonplaces should more seriously engage the classical rhetorical tradition insofar as using Aristotle's ethos, pathos and logos to form a better understanding of why some contextual commonplaces are used more frequently than others, and why these commonplaces remain powerful over time.

Fourth, Finlayson highlights the significance of metaphor in the creative construction and legitimation of a premise within a rhetorical argument, however he does not extend this claim to consider alternate rhetorical devices such as simile, alliteration and climax. Indeed, all

rhetorical devices are language techniques implemented by the orator within political texts to persuade the audience toward the speaker, his or her political party and policy agenda. Further, alternate rhetorical devices can also conjure a negative persuasive effect on the audience; that is language techniques can reflect the speaker's competitive intentions and persuade the audience against the opposing speaker and political party through means such as demonstrating or emphasising antagonistic traits. This thesis therefore argues for an expanded RPA to address all rhetorical devices, not just metaphor[19]. It will be shown in the three speech analysis chapters that a variety of rhetorical devices play different and equally significant roles within rhetorical arguments. The practical application of the four suggestions for an expanded rhetorical political analysis can be seen in the textual analysis components of the forthcoming speech analysis chapters. Additionally, how they add significant value to the speech analysis method is discussed in the research design section below.

Quantitative content analysis

One need only consider the specificities associated with close textual analyses of political texts informed by qualitative interpretative methodologies like rhetorical political analysis to identify the need for an alternative methodological approach that conversely supports breadth over depth. Quantitative analysis champions this alternate methodological approach by accounting for studies which undertake comprehensive content analyses of political texts. It was mentioned in Chapter Three (pp. 63-66) that content analyses primarily find their place in a rich quantitative methodological tradition in American political science scholarship. The predominant focus of quantitative studies in this field is election campaign language found in speeches, debates and political broadcasts, with projects often undertaking wide ranging studies across huge volumes of material. This methodological approach brings with it the

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[19] For an extensive list of fundamental rhetorical devices see Stockwell (2005, 43-44).

benefit of quickly and efficiently identifying similarities and differences in language use over an expanse of time, and reduces the likelihood of the rhetorical analyst to attribute, consciously or subconsciously, bias during the interpretation of data, which would then skew the research findings.

However, it was also noted in Chapter Three (p. 64) that content analysis has been criticised for a tendency to assume the existence of discrete, quantifiable 'meanings' in a text; for being driven by predetermined ideas about the study; and for analysing language use outside of the contexts in which it is created and perceived in. In response to these criticisms and as a practical means of handling large amounts of data and succinctly mapping findings, researchers involved with quantitative studies of political rhetoric have adopted computerised text-analysis software. To complement the qualitative textual analysis of the election campaign speeches using the RPA methodology detailed above, the quantitative content analysis component of the speech analysis in this thesis used the software, Leximancer.

Leximancer (2016) argues for its value in textual analyses on the premise that language is dynamic and complex, often so much so that the close reading and interpretation of texts cannot, by nature, produce unbiased and multi-layered statistical findings. Traditional attempts had automated analysis of text struggle, as they relied upon predefined dictionaries and demanded rigorous grammar and structure. Leximancer asserts its difference by countering these difficulties; it requires no onerous set-up or previous definition, but uses word proximity and correlation in the text. Therefore, the meaning is emergent from the text itself, and not predetermined with the potential for researcher bias.

A key strength of Leximancer is that it allows a researcher to map the quantitative nature of the linguistic characteristics of a corpus of texts, and to use this conceptual mapping to examine the results qualitatively (see also Gurney 2014). Leximancer analyses texts by extracting concepts and themes. According to the Leximancer website (2016), people write and speak using imaginative clusters of related words around a topic, and such clusters of terms travel around together throughout the text to form 'concepts'[20], and often the meaning or the sentiment is implied by the context. A 'concept' is a group of related words (terms) that travel together in the text. Leximancer concepts begin with seed words for coding, either automatically discovered by the software or manually specified by the researcher. The Leximancer software learning process then develops the concept seed definitions into a full thesaurus. Concepts can be word-like, or name-like (proper names, such as Peter). This process builds concept families around words which the software then uses to code or classify each two-sentence block with the presence of multiple concepts. Leximancer counts whole two-sentence segments which contain a concept, not repetitions of words.

In terms of how Leximancer is used within the speech analysis chapters, each speech is analysed individually by the software to produce a graphical word cloud. The word cloud depicts broad concepts and then more specific themes within each concept family. In conjunction with the graphic, the corresponding statistics panel is summarised and commented on to highlight word frequencies, thematic and conceptual connections and anomalies, if any. No manual coding is undertaken. Essentially, the results of the quantitative analysis are used to compare against the qualitative textual analysis to verify, question and

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[20] This definition of 'concept' is derived from Leximancer's self-prescribed metrics and is to be used only within the context of the work of the software. It therefore differs from the more orthodox definition/s of 'concept'.

build on the interpretative results. The benefits of this hybrid methodological approach are discussed in further detail in the following section.

Research design

Considering the proposed hybrid research methodology discussed in the former section, its application to the speech analysis chapters is as follows. Chapters Five, Six and Seven correspond to three successive time periods that cover thirty years of contemporary Australian political history, with the parameters of each chapter drawn according to major changes in national leadership: 1983-1993; 1996-2004; 2007-13. Each chapter works chronologically through the federal election campaigns that occurred during its study period, with the set piece campaign launch speech of the prime minister, and opposition leader in elections that see a change of leadership, featuring as the core site of analysis and application of the hybrid research methodology. In total, 16 speeches are examined. Indeed, the analysis of the speech itself, rather than the election campaign, the leaders involved, or the broader policy and social contexts specific to the periods dictates the content and organisation of the chapters, as it is the findings of the speech analysis that inform the thesis' argument and addresses the central research questions. These other facets are nonetheless important for matters related to context, however they are secondary research concerns and as such, less examination and emphasis is allocated when discussing these details.

The internal structure of each of the speech analysis chapters follows a three-part template that brings together the election campaign context, speech transcript, and qualitative and quantitative methodologies. Drawing on central features of rhetorical political analysis, the first section of the speech analysis provides an outline of the rhetorical situation of the speech: the election campaign. What is essentially a discussion of context, the rhetorical

situation identifies campaign strategies, opinion polls and the socio-economic political environment of the election campaign to situate effectively and account for the rhetorical arguments and language used in the corresponding campaign launch speeches of the prime minister (and the opposition leader in the cases of leadership change). The first section is labelled according to a key election campaign slogan[21]. The second section builds on other features of RPA, notably, narrative, argument form, and rhetorical appeals to identify the central narrative within each set piece, its internal structure, frequently-used rhetorical devices and audience appeals. Particularly relevant excerpts from the speech transcripts are included throughout the qualitative discussion to illustrate the argument being asserted, however these inclusions are not exhaustive due to word limit restrictions. This second section is labelled according to the central speech narrative. The third section offers a graphic snapshot from the Leximancer software and summarises the main findings of the quantitative analysis of the same speech. In sum, the speech analysis method is as follows:

- Rhetorical situation: election campaign summary

- Qualitative textual analysis: central narrative, internal speech structure, rhetorical devices and appeals

- Quantitative content analysis: Leximancer word cloud graphic and summary of key highlights

This process works chronologically for each election campaign before the overall results and summary of each study period is compiled at the conclusion of the chapter.

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[21] Many of these were sourced from Sally Young's (2006) comprehensive study of Australian election slogans from 1949-2004.

In summary, the analysis provided in each chapter produces findings which map a particular rhetorical method and behaviour in prime ministerial speechmaking—the language of strategy—unique to each study period. These patterns of persuasive language reveal the frequency of certain audience appeals, with the central narratives of the campaign launches sharing a similar projection of values and visions. Campaign launch speeches are indeed the moment where national leaders project their vision for the future to persuade the audience that they can lead the national building project. The speech analysis undertaken in each chapter illustrates which rhetorical mechanisms are used to achieve this. On a secondary level, each chapter also comments on the extent to which the rhetorical situation shapes the use of rhetoric in political speeches, therefore identifying the factors that influence the strategy behind prime ministerial speechmaking and the outcomes of these speech acts.

Research design considerations

Sourcing the speech transcripts

The unabridged transcripts of the 16 campaign launch speeches were sourced from the Museum of Australian Democracy (MoAD) website[22], which is a project by MoAD at Old Parliament House, Canberra. The website offers a comprehensive collection of every federal election campaign speech transcript from both the prime minister and opposition leader from 1901 through to present day. It is therefore an excellent open access archive for researchers and subject matter enthusiasts. Each speech was downloaded and saved in the author's personal archive for analysis. More recent speech transcripts can also be found on the *PM Transcripts*[23] website, which is administered by the Department of the Prime Minister and

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[22] http://electionspeeches.moadoph.gov.au/
[23] http://pmtranscripts.pmc.gov.au/

Cabinet, and various digital and hardcopy versions made available by the National Library of Australia[24] and National Archives of Australia[25].

Choice of elections and speeches

Regarding the choice of elections, it was an initial aim of the thesis to provide a more comprehensive rhetorical analysis of Australian election campaign speeches, spanning as far back to the first federal election campaign held in 1901. However, given the lengthy discussion that comes with the close textual analysis of a speech transcript, this venture proved well outside of the word constraints of this project. Indeed, the value of a close textual analysis is the depth of examination it proffers. Expanding the research parameters to include additional study periods would therefore come at an expense to the qualitative methodology—a case of breadth over depth. The 1983-2013 timeframe is therefore the product of pragmatism, where the research scope and data can be given the depth of analysis needed to adhere to the word limits and qualitative research methodology. The specific study periods in each chapter are defined by the change of incumbency event for purposes of overall structural coherency and continuity.

Another consideration for the research design related to the choice of speeches, specifically why the analysis does not include all opposition leader speeches and only those which result in electoral victory. This project is essentially a study of prime ministerial speechmaking and although an argument can be made that, by nature, such a study precludes speeches by opposition leaders even when they result in electoral success, it is an assumption of the thesis' argument that the language of the opposition leader during shifts in leadership takes

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[24] http://www.nla.gov.au/collections
[25] http://www.naa.gov.au/collection/search/

on a form which is less like that of a campaigning opposition leader and more like that of a campaigning prime minister, i.e. visionary, personable and focused on articulating a plan for future government. Hence those opposition leaders who went on to win elections can be considered as Prime Ministers in waiting, and it is appropriate to consider their speeches as part of the thesis's wider concerns with the language of strategy. That is not to say that the campaign launch speeches of the eight opposition leaders[26] who did not have electoral success were devoid of persuasive language techniques. Rather that because the focus of the thesis is with demonstrating the overarching claim that the use of rhetorical language is a contributing factor to electoral success, campaign launch speeches by those opposition leaders who did not go on to win their respective elections would not have added usable data to that being considered by the thesis. In a differently designed study with a focus on campaign launch speechmaking regardless of the outcome achieved by the incumbent party leaders, then the inclusion of such speeches would be appropriate. Traditionally, the language and strategy of a campaigning opposition leader in Westminster democracies is adversarial, takes the offensive and is focused purely on eroding the credibility of the prime minister. As will be shown, in each of the cases of Opposition Leader Hawke in 1983, Opposition Leader Howard in 1996, Opposition Leader Rudd in 2007, and Opposition Leader Tony Abbott in 2013, there existed a clear vision, a nation-building project and attempts at authenticating the leader as one capable of leading the nation.

Hybrid methodological approaches

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[26] Coalition leaders Andrew Peacock in 1984, John Howard in 1987, Andrew Peacock in 1990, and John Hewson in 1993; Labor leaders Kim Beazley in 1998 and 2001, and Mark Latham in 2004; and Coalition leader Tony Abbott in 2010.

As already mentioned in this chapter and in Chapter Three, qualitative and quantitative treatments of political language in texts bring respective methodological limitations. Naturally, these limitations—regarding context, bias and predetermined research assumptions—are common features of the alternate approach, therefore making the case for the value of a hybrid methodological approach as a counterbalance mechanism. Hybrid approaches allow for the context of a speech text to be considered during the analysis, conversely a key criticism of computerised content analysis which analyses a text according to the functions of the software rather than the text's context. As such, hybrid approaches ensure the interpretation of quantitative analyses can take into consideration the context already established through the qualitative examination, and in doing so the researcher is better equipped to explain what might have initially seemed difficult to account for as a stand-alone statistical finding. Mixed methodological approaches also mitigate the potential for the researcher's biases to skew research findings by offering the statistical data from the quantitative analysis to compare and challenge those resulting from the qualitative interpretation.

Further, the volume of data resulting from a hybrid methodological approach meant there was more scope for the researcher to substantiate their argument and produce research findings of a richer and more balanced depth and breadth. Accordingly, this expands the possibility for other researchers in the field to interpret the data using alternate methodologies and produce their own findings. Mixed approaches elicit research findings that can be shared and re-interpreted without being predisposed to biases or particular worldviews, as is the case with critical discourse studies, for example. Studies that fall under the latter subdiscipline produce findings that are difficult to be shared or re-interpreted by those who hold alternative assumptions, or indeed no assumptions at all, regarding power and ideology. Qualitative and

quantitative methodologies that are concerned with objective method rather than subjective ideology have greater potential to be engaged with by a broader array of scholars, and to produce works that are not dictated by the orthodox left-right spectrum. For rhetorical language finds its power primarily in argument, with ideology being a contextual feature. Hybrid methodological approaches within political science and political communication studies therefore need to be considered and adopted by more researchers whose work bridges these fields not only for knowledge-sharing purposes but to also increase the visibility and legitimacy of this niche field of scholarship.

Consulted materials

In addition to the speech transcripts, core primary source material and a range of secondary sources, newspaper articles and opinion polls feature predominantly as consulted material in the speech analysis chapters. One may question the scholarly quality of newspaper articles given the often obvious ideological biases of the publication and journalist in question. However, newspaper articles can provide valuable non-academic accounts of political events with a degree of subjectivity that is usually omitted from research-based scholarly texts. Indeed, Chapters Five, Six and Seven, particularly when discussing the rhetorical situation of each election campaign, frequently cite newspaper articles to provide first-hand accounts and added context. The thesis has attempted to include articles from an array of leading Australian broadsheets to reduce the potential for selection bias, however this was limited at times due to their online digitised accessibility[27].

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[27] The online digitised newspaper collections administered by the National Library of Australia was the primary site that the newspaper articles were sourced from.

Similarly, Newspoll opinion polls are frequently cited in the speech analysis chapters when discussing the rhetorical situation specific to each election campaign. Opinion polls offer a unique snapshot of public opinion towards the major parties, leadership preference and leader perception. Like newspaper articles, polls can extend and expand on academic narratives through the raw statistics to result from a collective polling sample. Newspoll and Roy Morgan Research two-party preferred and better prime minister polls therefore feature regularly in the speech analysis chapters. These specific data sources were chosen pragmatically due to the open availability of their poll results as far back as the 1983 election campaign.

Central questions

One of the key research objectives of this thesis is to consider the function of political rhetoric in campaign speeches within the wider language of political discourse. Indeed, the thesis seeks to examine the use of rhetorical language by Australian prime ministers and victorious opposition leaders alike in a conventional genre of political speech that is fundamental to the functioning of a liberal democracy: the election campaign launch speech. There are two levels of research questions that direct the argument in the thesis in line with these broad research objectives. On a macro level, the thesis seeks to address the following questions: a) how was rhetorical language used in Australian election campaign speeches in the period 1983-2013; b) in what ways, if at all, did political rhetoric contribute to the broader election campaign strategies of the study periods; and c) to what extent, if at all, are there patterns of persuasive language in Australian election campaign speeches, and what do these reveal about the language of Australian political discourse. On a micro level, each of the speech analysis chapters were driven by a central research question: what was the language of strategy in prime ministerial election campaign launch speeches in the study

period. Underpinning this question are three subsidiary lines of enquiry: a) to what extent did the rhetorical situation dictate the rhetoric used in each set piece; b) to what extent did rhetorical commonplaces and appeals transcend leader, party and linear contexts; and c) to what extent was there a continuity in themes, concepts and narratives across qualitative and quantitative speech analysis findings.

In sum, these research questions are theoretically informed by the classical and contemporary rhetorical tradition discussed in Chapter Two and are approached methodically by the hybrid qualitative RPA methodology and content analysis software, Leximancer. The theoretical and methodological frameworks have been chosen for their shared capacity to analyse rhetoric in theory and in practice simultaneously, and, as will be shown in Chapter Eight, the nexus of the two produced findings that informed the answers to the central research questions.

Rhetoric is more than verbal "window dressing" (Rayner 2014, 63). Indeed, rhetoric can shape public perceptions and mould the public narrative regarding politics. The following three chapters aim to substantiate the claim that rhetoric has a far greater and more meaningful role in political contexts than being the vehicle for meaningless manipulation, spin and empty messages. Quite the contrary, by drawing on central features of Finlayson's rhetorical political analysis as adapted to the hybrid methodology outlined above to analyse the Australian election campaign speech transcripts, the following chapters show the function and power of rhetoric in constructing a perceived right to rule, authenticating leaders through socially constructed systems of norms, values and beliefs unique to Australia, and framing a narrative that legitimises the call to action articulated in the set piece speeches. Rhetoric constructs political outcomes even as it seeks to explain or exaggerate them, and is therefore an important focus for ongoing study.

Chapter Five: The language of consensus and conviction, 1983–1993

It refers to a gift with which Hawke was endowed and which, in an intangible spiritual fashion, embraced and embodied the Australian nation and people. Hawke belonged to everyone everywhere.

Stephen Mills (1993)

Chapter overview

Prime ministerial leadership is not just a matter of personality, style and skill. It is always co-dependant: "on colleagues, on followers, on stakeholders—their favours won, their trust gained, their enmity contained, their needs fulfilled" (Strangio et al. 2013, 1). It could be said that effective leaders, and indeed successful leaders, are those who have the same aspirations, motives and values as those they seek to lead. The way these similarities are communicated is vital to leaders establishing and building a sense of rapport and loyalty with the public. The mutual dependency between leaders and followers can be reduced to the effectual communication of "excellent" ideas and a sense of mission: a vision (Cronin 1989, 48). In this sense, when articulating the ultimate bid for leadership, it is within the electoral interests of political leaders to make rhetorical choices and offer rhetorical arguments that are seen by the electorate as authentic and sincere. The strategy involved with achieving these ends have been described by Aristotle as appeals to 'ethos', and by Kenneth Burke as 'identification' (1969). Australia's longest-serving Labor Prime Minister Robert 'Bob' Hawke fits this mould of "democratic mutuality" with the Australian public in the early 1980s (Bramston 2003, 62). Indeed, Hawke's most decisive leadership quality was his ability to engender trust. Hawke remains the most consistently popular national political leader since opinion polling began in Australia[28].

The beginnings of Bob Hawke's language of strategy can be seen in his maiden speech to Federal Parliament on 26 November 1980. What was needed, argued Hawke, was a government prepared to act "on the basis of mutual understanding, to bring the legitimate elements of our society cohesively together" (Hansard 1980, 101-02). The consensus

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[28] For an overview of Hawke's opinion poll ratings during his time in office, see McAllister et al. (1997, 282-88).

narrative persisted through to the 1983 election campaign when, as Labor Opposition Leader, Hawke's asserted capacity to 'Bring Australia Together' was as much a statement about Coalition Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser's negatives as it was about Hawke's positive attributes (Mills 1993, 34). Indeed, the consensus theme came to be Hawke's most defining rhetorical weapon against opponents as it was framed as an extension of Hawke's mission, leadership style and persona. So natural was this rhetorical argument that opponents in successive elections throughout the 1980s could not compete with the level of ethical credibility projected by the Prime Minister.

During his eight years in office Hawke led an ambitious agenda of economic reform, which was primarily conceived and driven by his Treasurer, Paul Keating. The combination of Hawke's populist appeal and Keating's policy nous is described by Rayner (2014, 65) as "one of the best political pairings of modern Australian politics". However, Keating did not frame his political leadership style within narratives of compromise or consensus, "particularly if (his) own political authority was at stake" (Tate 2014, 452). Instead, after becoming prime minister in 1991, Paul Keating primarily adopted a democratic, albeit passionate tone. In his mission to prove the tangibility and legitimacy of his 'big picture' vision, Keating's rhetorical style effectively captured conviction rhetoric. Conviction rhetoric is grounded in ethical appeals and has the innate ability to arouse emotions (Charteris-Black 2011, 10). The 1993 election campaign saw Keating implementing conviction-based arguments that rarely departed from message despite facing years of polling that named him as the most unpopular Australian prime minister in modern times.

The following chapter examines the language of strategy in prime ministerial election campaign launch speeches in the study period of 1983-1993. It identifies the strategic

implementation of Hawke's rhetoric of consensus as opposition leader and prime minister, and Keating's discourses of conviction as prime minister. It also considers the rhetorical arguments of Coalition Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser when he opposed Hawke in the 1983 federal election. In determining the form and function of rhetorical language in these set piece political speeches, the chapter evaluates aspects of the rhetorical political analysis methodology. It poses the questions: to what extent did the rhetorical situation dictate the rhetoric used in each set piece; to what extent did rhetorical commonplaces and appeals transcend leader, party and linear contexts; and to what extent did there exist a continuity in themes, concepts and narratives across qualitative and quantitative speech analysis findings.

Full transcripts of six election campaign launch speeches from these election campaigns between and including 1983 and 1993 form the data set for analysis:

- The 1983 double dissolution federal election which saw a shift of incumbency from Coalition Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser to Labor Opposition Leader Bob Hawke;

- The 1984 federal election which saw an electoral victory for Labor Prime Minister Bob Hawke over Coalition Opposition Leader Andrew Peacock;

- The 1987 double dissolution federal election which saw an electoral victory for Labor Prime Minister Bob Hawke over Coalition Opposition Leader John Howard;

- The 1990 federal election which saw an electoral victory for Labor Prime Minister Bob Hawke over Coalition Opposition Leader Andrew Peacock;

- The 1993 federal election which saw an electoral victory for Labor Prime Minister Paul Keating over Coalition Opposition Leader John Hewson.

Working chronologically through these election campaigns, the speech analysis first establishes the rhetorical situation, which includes the campaign strategies, opinion polls and socio-economic political environment leading up to and during the formal campaign. The issues and events highlighted in this contextual section are not exhaustive, but are selected to situate and account for the rhetorical moves within the corresponding election campaign launch speech/es. Indeed, the connection between the rhetorical situation and the choice and use of rhetorical language in the set piece is a noteworthy relationship, particularly when the prime minister is doing well in the polls. It is also shown that election campaigns which involve a relative degree of uncertainty in terms of the electoral outcome manifest in a significant change in rhetorical strategy in the campaign speech despite a continuity in leader and party. It both instances it becomes apparent that determining the rhetorical situation is a crucial component of rhetorical political analysis in identifying the link between the use and intent of rhetorical language.

Next, the set piece campaign launch speech of the prime minister, and opposition leader in the case of the 1983 election, is qualitatively analysed according to the other central features of the rhetorical political analysis methodology. Grounding this textual analysis is the central narrative of the speech, as well as key audience appeals, rhetorical devices and argumentation moves. The qualitative analysis also follows the six internal elements of a speech outlined in Chapter Two (p. 37): exordium, narration, division, proof, refutation and peroration. After the qualitative discussion and findings is a brief section that visually depicts and discusses the quantitative content analysis results. This section summarises the themes, concepts and word frequencies extracted by Leximancer and draws links, if any, between the qualitative and quantitative findings. The chapter concludes by comparing the overall findings of the qualitative and quantitative components of the speech analysis. Significant patterns and

anomalies in the use of rhetorical devices are highlighted as are the thematic form of narratives and the internal structure of rhetorical arguments.

It is argued that the language of strategy during the study period can be reduced to three demonstrable and interconnected suppositions in the election campaign set piece speech: a) vision and ethos; b) ethos and narrative; c) narrative and vision. Vision and ethos refers to the orator projecting a clear vision for the nation through ethos-based persuasive language. Ethos and narrative refers to the ability of the argument to then link these appeals to the central speech narrative. Narrative and vision refers to the consistency between the central narrative and the nature of the vision proposed. It is shown that these three features are essential to determining the nature of the language of strategy and its persuasive reach within the broader context of these election campaigns.

Discussion and findings

1983: 'Bob Hawke. Bringing Australia together'

The unforeseen elevation of Bob Hawke to the leadership of the Australian Labor Party (ALP) at effectively the same time as Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser drove to Yarralumla[29] to seek an election set the pace for "a frenzy that was unusual" (Summers 1983, 67) in the lead up to the 1983 federal election campaign. According to Summers (1983, 11) it was "no secret in Canberra that Fraser would try for a double dissolution if he judged the political climate to be favourable". The election was to be held on March 5; the Prime Minister's initial plan had been for March 12, but when it became clear that the Labor leadership was moving into crisis, Fraser strategically brought the date forward a week, effectively gambling

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[29] The Canberra suburb that the Governor-General's residence is located. Writs for election are issued by the Governor-General.

on Labor being unable to affect a clean change of leadership. Conversely, Labor ran the risk of replacing a leader with ministerial experience[30] with a man who had been in the Parliament for a little over two years. It could therefore be surmised that Fraser and his government were fairly confident that calling the 1983 federal election for March would work in the Coalition's favour.

In an ALP campaign committee strategy meeting held shortly after Hawke became leader, the party's advertising agency briefed the committee on research among swing voters; specifically, the characteristics of Hawke which made him more 'attractive' than Fraser. According to the brief, both leaders were perceived to be "strong and tough", but Hawke was seen as a "unifier and bridge-builder" (Summers 1983, 70). At his press conference in Brisbane the day prior, the Opposition Leader had unilaterally added the phrase 'national reconciliation' to his description of Labor's economic plan for national reconstruction and recovery. The theme was tendered in the committee meeting and a phrase was chosen: 'Bob Hawke. Bringing Australians together', which effectively became the ALP's central campaign slogan (The Canberra Times 1983a). It was also agreed that the campaign would have Hawke as the centrepiece; the "conciliator, Australia's most popular public figure" (The National Times 1983). A trademark of the remodelled ALP under Hawke was its restrained and reassuring language.

In the first Gallup poll after Hawke became leader of the opposition, 49 per cent of respondents said Hawke would make a better prime minister than Fraser, while 38 per cent said the contrary (The Canberra Times 1983b). Further, a Morgan poll (Roy Morgan

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[30] Bill Hayden was leader of the Labor opposition from 22 December 1977–3 February 1983, and Treasurer for the latter half of 1975 in the second Whitlam-led Labor government (1974-75).

Research) of the two-party preferred (TPP) voting intention towards the latter stages of the campaign placed Labor at 53.2 per cent and the Coalition at 46.8 per cent. Hawke's behaviour during the campaign mirrored his and his party's performance in the polls; publicly he showed no sign that he contemplated the prospect of *not* being accepted by the Australian public. During the second week of the election campaign Hawke acted as if he had already won; he spoke without embarrassment of "my government", "my ministers", and even on one occasion of "my Labor Party" (Summers 1983, 85).

Indeed, the words and themes the Hawke campaign expressed were in large part in reaction to the research on swinging voters, and accordingly reflected the values of significant sections of the Australian population. As demonstrated in the 1983 election campaign launch and other informal and formal moments of oration, Hawke offered a human and humane description of the problems faced by ordinary people, showing he understood and identified with them. Projecting credible, authentic and trustworthy leadership was therefore essential to Hawke's inevitable mandated ascension as Prime Minister of Australia. The final election result saw Labor win power with a 24-seat swing; the largest electoral defeat since 1949. The Coalition was reduced to fifty seats and Fraser immediately resigned as leader of the Liberal Party.

Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser's campaign launch speech

Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser delivered his campaign speech at the Malvern Town Hall in Melbourne, Victoria on February 15, 1983. The relatively short 3000-word campaign launch speech offered little rhetorical flair or stirring persuasive appeals to sway voters in favour of future Coalition leadership with Fraser as prime minister. Consequently, the opportunity to draw attention to Fraser's ethos as a leader was neglected, allowing instead a vacuum for

prior public discontent with the Prime Minister to manifest and amass throughout the remainder of the election campaign. This lost rhetorical opportunity was particularly damning due to Hawke's ethos-rich consensus campaign strategy and leadership style. The lack of an inspirational and clear persuasive narrative in Fraser's campaign launch might be interpreted as a signal of early defeat due to Hawke's strong performance in the polls (Davison 1983). However, while there is value in this line of argument, there are several other extenuating circumstances that contributed to the Prime Minister's lacklustre oration.

Summers (1983, 63) argues that by the end of 1982 the government's "obsession" with securing re-election meant their campaign strategy did not effectively address the interest rate burden voters had tolerated for the preceding 18 months. Further, notes Summers (1983, 64), the government's cynicism towards the electorate, as demonstrated by the view that votes could in effect be "bought" with the wage pause, prevented it from the noticing the growing disillusionment of a nation faced with higher unemployment, inflation and continually high interest rates. Another decisive element of the rhetorical situation that had an impact on the arguments extended in Fraser's set piece was the ghost of his role in the 1975 constitutional crisis[31] and subsequent landslide election win. Despite the sweeping victory, Kelly (2010, 356) suggests Fraser paid a punitive price— "the hostility of the pro-Labor vote and much of the opinion-making elite". The 1975 crisis defined how most people saw Fraser. In fact, the Prime Minister's trustworthiness was a personal attribute pursued by the media during the 1983 election campaign. Fraser was called a liar to his face during several television interviews; for example, George Negus, a seasoned Australian journalist and television presenter, asked as his first interview question on *Sixty Minutes* on Sunday 27 February:

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[31] For a technical exposition of this event see Bach (2003, 83-119), or for a narrative account see Kelly and Bramston (2015).

With a week to go to polling day, there are probably hundreds of thousands of people out there who believe that ultimately they can't trust you; that when the political chips are down, you are just a little liberal with the truth. In fact I have heard people say that they think that on the hustings you have told lies. How does that leave you feeling?

Fraser simply responded: "Well, it doesn't happen to be correct" (cited in Summers 1983, 130).

The 'building Australia' narrative

We are building Australia with our policies. We are building Australia with our vision. We are building Australia with the determination of Australians. We are not waiting for the world (Fraser 1983).

The Prime Minister's campaign launch pursued a modestly liberal argument for "preserving and building a free society", with the themes of choice, stability and responsible governance comprising the overall rhetorical strategy and characterising the small clusters of rhetorical devices. Rhetoric of protection, security and recovery framed the 'building Australia' narrative during the *exordium*. The Liberal Party's campaign mantra, 'We're not waiting for the world' featured consistently, however its intended message of a progressive vision and assertive leadership was obscured by its use and placement in the speech. As a result, the slogan seemed somewhat incoherent, insincere and detached from everyday life. This latter point is critical given public perceptions of Fraser and his inability to forge an authentic connection with the public (see Weller 1989). It was precisely Hawke's natural ability to "identify totally with—and in essence, was—one of those ordinary Australians to whom his political program was ultimately dedicated" (Mills 1993, 4) that further exacerbated Fraser's incongruous campaign rhetoric.

Rhetorical devices operated sporadically throughout the *division* to put a negative spin on Labor's pre-election leadership spill, and attempted to erode Opposition Leader Hawke's ethos with the public. In unison, the 'building Australia' narrative legitimised the need for a continuation of stable Coalition leadership, especially given the Fraser government's proactive response to the early 1980s recession (Brett 2003). As such, the Coalition's credentials for economic management were argued by Fraser in the *proof* to supersede the "spend, spend, spend philosophy of Labor", and provided the Fraser government with an enduring mandate to "increase the confidence and security that will underlie economic recovery". The following *refutation* both explicitly and by inference alluded to the internal instability within the Labor Party as evidenced in the recent leadership change from Hayden to Hawke: "Australia can't afford the turmoil and insecurity of the Federal Labor Party". Further, Labor was repeatedly described as "divisive": "this nation is too great to be shackled by Labor's divisiveness and irrelevance", with synonymous words featuring more than six times throughout the *refutation*. As an antithetical strategy to juxtapose this instability in favour of the Coalition, the Prime Minister's speech used contrasting phrases such as "Australia must have a government of prudent managers with stability", and "no one wants a return to the chaos and instability of the Whitlam years".

> Strong, reliable economic management is the heart of effective government in today's difficult world (Fraser 1983).

The rhetorical framing of the government's past record and future vision ultimately sought to balance appeals to logic and emotion. Providing leadership that demonstrated the capacity for effective policy-making was, arguably in Fraser's mind, of utmost importance.

Masked as a broad appeal to "typical Australian families" as well as the Liberal Party faithful, there was an emphasis on traditional Liberal Party values including the family unit

and home ownership in the *peroration*. Indeed, in one of the only instances of a pathos appeal, a metaphor was used to lend a sentimental touch to the stable governance narrative: "the family is the rock on which our future will be built". Mention of the Australian "ideal of mateship" was another attempt at connecting with what could be considered an archetypal commonplace of Australian cultural identity (see McAllister 1992; Dyrenfurth 2007). However, Summers (1983, 104) notes the concept of mateship was not one the public could associate with an "individualistic, and at times, autocratic prime minister". Egalitarianism as an extension of the 20th century national character (see Thompson 1994) was emphasised by Fraser to articulate further and justify logically the Coalition's policies, "our concern for fairness led us to stamp tax avoidance". Indeed, the premises "we must" and "we are" were successively repeated several times after this statement during the final stages of the *peroration* to sum up the overall 'building Australia' argument and further persuade the audience that the Coalition's policy initiatives and plan for governance was both pragmatic and responsive.

Figure 1: Content analysis results - Fraser 1983

As per the Leximancer concept map (Figure 1), each bubble is a concept family, meaning there were nine concept families identified in Fraser's 1983 campaign launch speech. The bolded word in the centre of the bubbles is the concept, and each concept contains a group of related terms that travel together in the text. These smaller words inside the bubbles refer to the themes specific to each concept. The size of the bubble is commensurate with the frequency of 'hits' and relevance percentage of the concept in the speech transcript. The linking nodes are a tool to help illustrate how each concept family connects with one another, often showing an overlap due to shared themes and terms. A dispersed set of concept families may therefore be indicative of a fragmented speech in terms of topics and narrative. A closely linked grouping of concept families conversely demonstrates a more consistent theme across a speech, even to the point of repetition.

Figure 1 identifies the five central concepts (in descending order) in Fraser's 1983 campaign launch speech: people, Australia, Australians, government, and the future. The five most used words in descending order were: 'Australia' (used 46 times); 'government' (used 32 times); 'Australians' (used 26 times); 'help' (used 25 times); and 'program' (used 19 times). There exists no obvious anomalies in the themes within each concept family—by nature these should be synonymous—however it should be noted that there are no linking nodes between the three main concept families. Considering the central 'building Australia' narrative identified in the qualitative analysis, this quantitative finding demonstrates a disconnect between the intended narrative of the speech and the concepts drawn on to frame that narrative. There also exists a lack of clear thematic representation of a plan or policy agenda in the quantitative findings, further establishing a divide between the projected narrative and raw content of the speech.

In sum, Fraser's 1983 election speech was narratively focused on aligning the nation and government to the Australian people and a future program, and was done through a logos-based argument. The qualitative results also reveal the central narrative was primarily articulated through appeals to logos in the extensive *proof*. The content of the rhetorical argument therefore did not utilise the rhetorical appeals that are essentially targeted at stirring emotion with the audience and building the ethos of the leader. Given the election loss, the combined results of the speech analysis suggest Fraser's speech failed to articulate its message persuasively because it did not employ the appropriate rhetorical appeals or establishing a meaningful link between the purpose and content of the speech's argument. As a result, the pre-existing rhetorical situation filled the vacuum and caused further detriment to an already tenuous position for the Prime Minister.

Opposition Leader Bob Hawke's campaign launch speech

February 16, 1983 marked Labor's official campaign launch which was held at the Sydney Opera House, a day after the Prime Minister's campaign launch. Addressing a full auditorium, Hawke began the speech with a plea for unity. The core of the Opposition's argument in the campaign launch speech—which by extension was a microcosm of their campaign strategy—was contained within three overarching narratives: of change, consensus and nation-building. These narratives ultimately sought to unite the Australian public around the common goal and mission of "national reconciliation, national recovery and national reconstruction". The calculated use of antithesis and crisis rhetoric in the first narrative, collective pronouns, metaphor and alliteration to frame the 'consensus' narrative, and an emphasis on rhetoric of growth to symbolise Labor's nation-building agenda demonstrated the primacy of appeals to logic and emotion to persuade the audience towards a transition to new leadership. However, what is most imperative for the trajectory and impact of these rhetorical devices was the positive framing of ethos, specifically the collectivist and decentralised nature of the Opposition's vision for the nation.

Change through consensus

The *exordium* opens with the Opposition Leader making an impassioned commitment to fulfil "the one great goal—to reunite this great community of ours…to bring Australia together". This early articulation of both mission and vision was then situated amid the backdrop of a perceived national crisis brought about by the "policies of the past" and "men of the past". In response, Hawke offered himself as a saviour, a solution prior to the problem being overtly identified. In doing so, the use of antithesis and crisis rhetoric formed the foundations of the 'change' narrative. To a lesser extent, the commitment intended to

establish Hawke's leadership ethos firmly within a mandate to govern for the future; a future far removed from the prior eight years of "stark and grim" Fraserism.

The following *narration* cultivated the change narrative with an emphasis on admonishing the current state of affairs as tainting the "true, decent, Australian way of life". A metaphor was used to increase the emotional appeal of these claims: "…the politics of division, the politics of confrontation, which *threaten to poison the very well-springs of national life*" (emphasis added). Change was therefore framed within an antithetical argument—a choice between "the vicious cycle of confrontation" or "long term national solutions and a genuine cooperative approach between governments, business and unions". Henderson (2003) and O'Brien (1985) argue that Fraser often brandished an autocratic style of leadership and decision-making, and his aloofness and disengagement with the Australian public matured alongside his prime ministership. Indeed, the way the Opposition's campaign speech extended the logical proposition of solution via a leadership transition, Hawke's drive for consensus governance, and his emotionally-measured vision for the nation directly addressed the qualities Fraser allegedly lacked. As such, the speech built a momentum enjoining the possible adverse effects to result from not implementing a change of government. It was also inferred that stable government would be a direct consequence of leadership change.

Yet this section of the speech cautiously balanced appeals to pathos with appeals to logos so as not to over-dramatise or trivialise the crisis and solution rhetoric and subsequent framing of change. Hawke made it clear that despite his argument for change, and the questionable conduct and legacy of the Fraser government, a note of "caution and realism" must be proffered. It would be counterintuitive to lead an antithetical argument into the realm of

negative connotations and fear tactics if neutralising "the scandals" and "past politics of confrontation" was central to the speech's strategy of positive change and growth.

> We offer no miracles. We offer no overnight solutions for the immediate problems we face or the deep-seated problems we must face together.
>
> For let there be no mistake – there can be no economic recovery, there cannot be a beginning towards recovery, until there is a national effort towards national reconciliation. And that effort must begin with the national leadership and the national government (Hawke 1983).

This transparent language, coupled with the repetition of collective pronouns "we" and "our" positioned Hawke as a leader who advocated consensus and collectivist decision-making. In doing so, the consensus rhetoric sought to appeal to the traditional ALP voting base. Hawke's capacity for pragmatic and decisive leadership also reached out to the 'Shame Fraser Shame'[32] network (Henderson 2003, 43). Another metaphor was used to reinforce Hawke's 'in-touch', colloquial persona (see Freudenberg 2003): "I offer no fistful of dollars to be snatched back after the election". This metaphor effectively moderated scepticism regarding the ALP's fiscal irresponsibility, particularly given the budget deficit criticisms that plagued the Whitlam government (Johnson 1989, 76-77). Indeed, Hawke reinforced this point later in the speech by noting "we will not be able to just spend our way out of this mess: we must work our way out of it, together." Again, in instances where the argument adopted antithesis or a form of passive negativity towards the social and economic failures of the Fraser government, these rhetorical devices were buttressed against a positive, albeit stoic mantra of collective will and national recovery.

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[32] Following the controversial circumstances surrounding the 1975 constitutional crisis, Labor campaigners expressed their rage and distrust in the Coalition Government through the slogan 'Shame Fraser, Shame'.

Hawke's vision for the nation was narrated with careful yet stately language. As the speech moved towards the *proof,* Hawke repeatedly referred to the "new path" for Australia after March 5—should he be elected as prime minister—and in doing so evoked the sentiments of former Labor Prime Minister Ben Chifley's 'light on the hill' Labor conference speech of 1949[33]. Hawke gestured toward feeling the "mood" for national reconciliation, furthering his pathos appeals and increasing his leadership authenticity in seeming to share a level of synchronicity with the Australian community. Although the final section of the speech sounded authoritative in framing the nation-building narrative, the rhetorical devices presented Hawke as a consensus leader; a leader of a team. The *peroration* summed up the argument by referring to Labor war-time Prime Minister John Curtin. Indeed, this allusion in the speech finale solidified Hawke's new leadership case—that like Curtin he too could lead Australia from crisis to triumph by bringing Australia together[34]. Hawke's deep conviction that Australia needed a change of government to address future issues relating to the economy, employment and the standard of living was emphatically framed as those things all Australians deserve—the "Australian way of life". Unity, strength and a common mission towards national rebuilding and reconstruction therefore embodied Hawke's leadership ethos, and the rhetorical strategies in the speech.

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[33] A full transcript of this speech can be found here: http://www.chifley.org.au/the-light-on-the-hill/

[34] Former Labor Prime Ministers Curtin (PM from 1941-45) and Chifley (PM from 1945-49) were idolised by Hawke (see Hawke 1996).
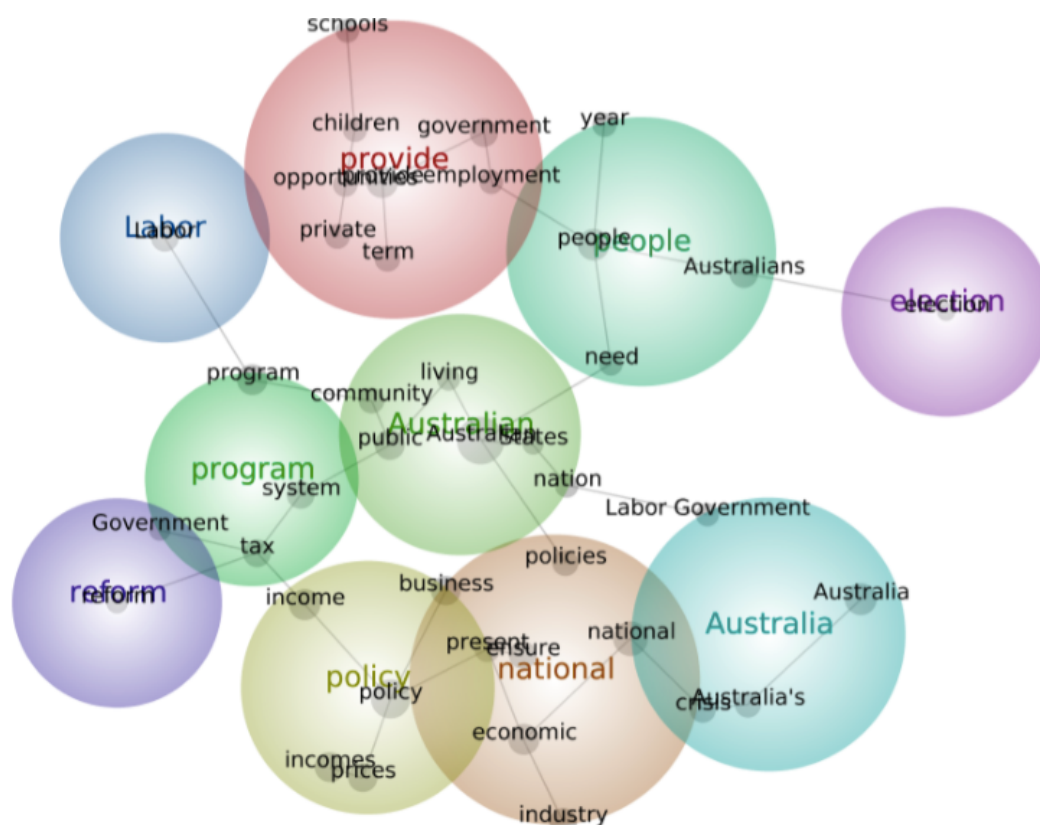
Figure 2: Content analysis results - Hawke 1983

The concept map in Figure 2 shows a tight cluster of concept families, with the 'election' concept family being the sole outsider. The consistent overlap is indicative of the pervasiveness of the consensus narrative and the thematic integration of the government's role, Hawke's vision and the Australian public within the speech (i.e. subject, speaker and audience). The concept map also displays the relativity of the concepts, 'reform', 'program' and 'policy' which all relate to the new national agenda promoted by Hawke. Similarly, the concepts of 'Labor', 'provide' and 'people' are closely aligned which further indicates the source and logic of the mission underpinning Hawke's vision in the speech. The five most used words in descending order are: 'Australian' (used 75 times); 'government' (used 69 times); 'Australia' (used 55 times); 'Labor' (used 52 times); and 'national' (used 48 times).

The results from the qualitative analysis established the central narrative in Opposition

Leader Hawke's 1983 speech as 'change through consensus', and that this rhetorical

argument was made using primarily ethos-based rhetorical appeals in the *proof*. This

narrative sought to project Hawke's credibility as preferred prime minister as well as outline

his vision of a future where a consensus approach to governing would help establish a more

vibrant democracy. As such, the findings of both quantitative and qualitative analyses

complement one another in terms of the use and frequency of common themes, concepts,

terms and the utilisation of rhetorical appeals, framing and commonplaces to sustain the

rhetorical argument. The speech capitalises on the rhetorical situation, with the use of

rhetorical language in the speech assisting to deliver a successful election outcome for the

Opposition Leader. Compared to Fraser's speech where the rhetorical situation dictated the

rhetoric due to a lack of consistency in rhetorical strategy, Hawke's 1983 election speech

demonstrated the effective use of rhetorical language in shaping intended outcomes.

1984: 'Put Australia first'

The newly-elected Prime Minister Bob Hawke called the 1984 election on October 8 with

polling day to be held on the first day of December. In formal correspondence to the

Governor-General Sir Ninian Stephen, Hawke (1984a) justified the election being held 18

months ahead of time to bring the elections for the House of Representatives and Senate back

into line following the double dissolution election a year earlier. After the 1983 election

result and Malcolm Fraser's resignation from Parliament, Andrew Peacock[35] defeated John

Howard for the vacant Liberal Party leadership by 36 votes to twenty (Henderson 2003, 43).

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[35]Andrew Peacock assumed Robert Menzies' seat of Kooyong in early 1966. According to
Henderson (2003, 46) Peacock's problems as Liberal Opposition Leader, particularly the
leadership challenges by then Treasurer John Howard, was that economics dominated the
policy debate in the 1980s and early 1990s. Peacock's expertise was international relations.

As Opposition Leader, Peacock led an effective albeit largely negative campaign, and

perhaps most importantly came out fairly equal in the leader's televised debate[36] held before

polling day on 1 December. According to Henderson (2003, 47), in view of the low

expectations surrounding Peacock's performance, "a draw was as good as a victory".

In a *Sydney Morning Herald* survey[37] (1984a) released a week after the election was called,

the Prime Minister's performance was seen as 'good' or 'very good' by 64 per cent of

participants. The popularity of the Opposition Leader in contrast slumped to its lowest level;

only 14 per cent of voters thought Peacock was doing a 'good' or 'very good' job. Six weeks

later, another *Sydney Morning Herald* survey (1984b) reported 88 per cent of Australians

believed Labor was going to win, and only 6 per cent nominated an Opposition victory. By

contrast, an Australian National Opinion Poll (ANOP) found 51 per cent tipped Labor, and

35 per cent of those polled were expecting the Coalition to regain office. A little over a week

later, a Morgan Gallup Poll registered the ALP on 53 points, and the Liberals up from 33 to

41. According to senior Liberal Party sources, the rise in Peacock's approval rating

"principally reflected the favourable response to his [Peacock's] television campaign launch

last Thursday" (Short 1984).

Qualitative research undertaken by the Liberal Party also suggested the ALP was seen by the

bulk of the electorate as the party that could best manage the economy, and indicated the

electorate had put a large amount of faith in the Prime Minister's ability to protect their

interests (Short 1984). The Morgan poll also confirmed the government's level of support

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[36] The first televised leaders' debate in Australia.
[37] The Herald Survey was conducted for *The Sydney Morning Herald* by Irving Saulwick and
Associates, in conjunction with SRG Australia Pty Ltd and the Department of Political
Science at Melbourne University.

had returned to where it was before the election was called (McGregor 1984). Accordingly, the results of the election surprised many commentators; the expectation was the Prime Minister, who had been polling a record approval rating of 75 per cent on the eve of the election, would win by a significantly larger margin. Instead, Labor suffered a two-point swing against it and had its majority cut from 25 to 16. Hawke blamed the result on the changes to Senate vote cards, which he believed confused people regarding their House of Representatives votes and contributed to the relatively high informal vote: "On the best surmise the bulk of the informals were Labor votes" (Hawke 1996, 275-76).

Prime Minister Bob Hawke's campaign launch speech

The proximity of the 1983 and 1984 election campaigns and Hawke's sweeping success in 1983 foreshadowed the nature of the rhetorical strategies implemented in Labor's campaign launch. Delivered in Sydney on November 13, 1984, the speech was part visionary and part pragmatic. According to Steketee (1984), the campaign launch was notable for the "sparseness of its promises, reflecting both Labor's dominance in this campaign and the Hawke style". At the end of the lengthy speech—which emphasised the personal stamp he was putting on the direction of the Labor government— the Prime Minister's voice "cracked with emotion and a tear glistened in the corner of his eye" (Steketee 1984). This observation reflects both the central narratives of the oration and persuasive projection of 'consensus leadership' by means of pathos rhetorical appeals[38]. In this sense, Labor's 1984 launch was distinguishable from the largely pragmatic and ethos-driven campaign style and strategy in the 1983 election campaign.

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[38] Hawke's emotional state during the speech could also be attributed to one of his daughter's drug problems, which had started in the 1970s, and how difficult he found it to fight an election while dealing with the emotional impact of this personal matter. See D'Alpuget 2010.

The 'trust and consensus' narrative

The themes of consensus and trust dominated the Prime Minister's campaign launch speech. During the *exordium*, rhetoric of stoicism and determination carried the consensus leadership narrative to extend Hawke's argument for consensus-driven governance. Here, synonyms relating to 'support', 'unity', and 'participation', and repetitious references to "mutual respect" framed the speech's predominantly pathos-based rhetorical devices. Hawke made several digressions in reflecting on his satisfaction and pride from the 1983 election, particularly his prime ministership signifying a growing unity among the Australian people. These emotional appeals also extended to the paralleling nation-building narrative.

> …we Australians could be brought together, could work together; we could,
> together beat back the crisis, restore hope, restore growth, confidence and a
> sense of united purpose to this nation. And together, we have done it (Hawke
> 1984b).

Throughout the binary *narration* and *proof,* the visionary nation-building narrative was manifest in the government's "new national approach" to several main policy areas. Key to this vision was a perpetuation of Hawke's choice alliteration "national reconciliation, national recovery and national reconstruction" from the 1983 campaign slogan. However, in this election, the rhetorical framing of the slogan was far more emotionally-charged, confident and visionary, departing from the Prime Minister's more pragmatic language in previous oratory. It could be said this was a strategy to offer a human element to offset the Opposition's "cold and callous" negative campaign (Kelly 1984, 45). This narrative also aimed to align traditional Labor Party ideology and elements of the "Australian spirit", therefore furthering the case for continued Labor leadership and emotionally appealing to the national audience. Indeed, the vision of the nation became an extension of Hawke's vision of himself and his conduct as national leader.

> It is on the basis of that confidence in ourselves that we now have an unparalleled opportunity to build an even better, fairer Australia.
>
> A nation where each of us, irrespective of background, origin, faith, age or sex, will have undiminished title to the proud name of Australian (Hawke 1984b).

Using rhetorical devices including stirring metaphors, antithesis and fear-based rhetoric, Hawke's vision for nationalisation invoked Prime Minister Ben Chifley's post-war rhetoric of national recovery and national reconstruction. National crisis rhetoric adopted by Chifley's predecessor, John Curtin, during the Second World War was also drawn on by Hawke in 1984 to frame negatively the Liberal Opposition and to offer his government as the only team capable of leading the nation into the 21st century. The Liberal Opposition was personified as having deep inter-party divisions, a 'crisis' in their capacity for economic management, and an inability to demonstrate strong leadership.

> We pledged ourselves to…end that sense of despair and frustration that was beginning to engulf thousands upon thousands of young people seeking their own homes.
>
> Theirs is a recipe for economic disaster.
>
> Our nation was then in a deep crisis – the worst economic crisis for more than fifty years; and a searing crisis of the national spirit, after a decade of confrontation and division (Hawke 1984b).

Rhetorical arguments underpinned by the notion of trust was a proxy rhetorical strategy within the *peroration* to erode the Opposition's ethos. Indeed, this strategy resonated from an economic policy angle. After the 1983 election it became public knowledge that it was not until election night eve in 1983 that the Liberal Party became aware that the projected deficit for 1983-84 was $9.6 billion (Kelly 1984). The oversight discredited the former government and its Treasurer, John Howard. And so, aside from the passive smear by Hawke of the Opposition's capacity for economic management in his 1984 campaign speech, this made it possible for the new prime minister to discard virtually all of Labor's promises and offer

instead a renewed and comprehensive policy platform more tailored to the premature election climate. In sum, the narratives of trust, consensus and nation-building logically inferred that continuing the Labor government's mandate was in the best interests of the national culture, economy and quality of governance.

Figure 3: Content analysis results - Hawke 1984

Figure 3 shows a theme-heavy concept map with a larger number of concept families compared to 1983: 14 in total. The map is a concentrated network despite an array of concepts, particularly the core concepts carried over from Hawke's 1983 speech as Opposition Leader— 'Australia', 'national' and 'program'. The most obvious deviation is the

inclusion of the second largest concept 'community' which exists as somewhat of a nucleus within the map. There is also a thematic crossover in several smaller concept families, with 'support', 'given' and 'increased' all synonymous with a benevolent and social democratic style of government. The five most used words in descending order are: 'governments' (used 96 times); 'Australian' (used 78 times); 'national' (used 71 times); 'Australia' (used 71 times); 'years' (used 48 times); and 'continuing' (used 41 times). The high-volume use of the term 'continuing' suggests the degree of emphasis placed on a continuation of Labor leadership in Hawke's first campaign speech as prime minister.

The overall qualitative and quantitative results of Hawke's 1984 speech demonstrate the perpetuation of Hawke's rhetorical strategy from the 1983 election, albeit more emphatic in rhetoric and comprehensive in policy. The qualitative speech analysis found the 'trust and consensus' narrative to be primarily articulated through pathos appeals and featured most predominantly in the *peroration*. Looking at the use of rhetorical techniques and the nature of the argument led, what Hawke was trying to achieve in the speech was a consolidation of leadership ethos previously articulated in his 1983 speech. Indeed, public trust in Hawke's leadership and vision was mandated through this electoral success. Continuity in narrative and rhetorical strategy was further compelled by Hawke's high level of popularity in opinion polls. The Prime Minister's 1984 campaign speech therefore took advantage of the rhetorical situation in the lead-up to the election. Pathos appeals were key to heightening the 'trust and consensus' narrative and framing Hawke as capable of driving a long-term vision for the nation.

1987: 'Let's stick together. Let's see it through'

Although the Hawke government had experienced a decisive win in the 1983 election and secured re-election the following year—albeit with a decreased majority—it could not be ascertained in the lead-up to the 1987 election that the ALP was set for another clear victory. A combination of the government's failed tax summit[39] in May 1985 and declining terms of trade[40] shed a bittersweet light on the ambitiously reformist agenda the Prime Minister and Treasurer Paul Keating had steered since given its first electoral mandate in 1983. Accordingly, the Liberal National Opposition led the opinion polls for much of the latter stages of the 1984-87 term, indicating a possibility that the Coalition could regain office. Data provided by Newspoll ('Voters intention' 1986) showed that in September 1986, the government was trailing the Opposition by 10 points. Six months later, when the Prime Minister called the 1987 election, the same poll indicated that when the Prime Minister called the 1987 election, the government and Opposition were on par ('Voters intention' Jan-Feb 1987). However, in the months leading up to polling day, the government's popularity was reignited, with data showing a strong lead in the polls: 52 to 41 several days prior to polling day ('Voters intention' July 1987).

Publicly known infighting in the Coalition ranks, particularly surrounding the destabilising efforts of Queensland State Premier Joh Bjelke-Petersen[41] played a significant role in the shifting opinion polls throughout the course of the formal election campaign. Indeed, the

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[39] In which tax reform and a consumption tax were at the forefront of the Treasurer's economic agenda.

[40] Which Treasurer Keating infamously said while speaking to John Laws on Radio 2GB on May 14, 1986, would threaten to reduce Australia to the status of a "banana republic" unless tough measures were taken to correct the balance of trade.

[41] Bjelke-Petersen's open criticisms of the Liberals damaged the Opposition Leader John Howard's personal credibility as well as that of his party, heightening the internal divisions within the conservative ranks of the Coalition.

election was called six months early by Prime Minister Hawke to capitalise on the disunity in the Opposition (Johnson 1989, 111). Newspoll data ('Better prime minister' 1987) remained unchanged and heavily in favour of Bob Hawke; from early June to late July Hawke's rating never got below 57. Opposition Leader John Howard, in contrast, ranged between 22 and 29. Ultimately, Labor won the 1987 election with a reduced overall vote, but with a 24-seat majority in the House of Representatives.

Prime Minister Bob Hawke's campaign launch speech

The Prime Minister's 1987 campaign launch was held on June 23 in Sydney. Among the overall impressions Hawke tried to project in the campaign launch was a government delivering responsible economic policies while also caring for the most impoverished sections of the Australian community. The Liberals were therefore in a difficult position of having some of their traditional economic ground occupied by the centre-right wing Labor government. According to Johnson (1989, 111) the Liberal Party's attempt to distance itself from Labor policies strengthened the influence of the New Right[42] in the party and contributed to the visible factional disputes which inevitably damaged the Opposition's credibility.

The 'strength and conviction leadership' narrative

There was an emphasis on strength, namely decisive leadership and stable government in the *exordium, proof* and *peroration* of the campaign launch, with metaphors, repetition and alliteration featuring among the most prominent rhetorical devices. The *exordium* opened

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[42] For an in-depth discussion of the rise of the New Right and its impact on political discourse and political culture see Cahill (2001), Hindess and Sawer (2004), and Maddox (2005).

with a statement that empowered voters by extending the importance of democratic choice

and their vote in securing Australia's future.

> Never in peace-time has Australia's future depended so much on a single
> decision – your decision on the 11th of July… It is a decision about what kind
> of people we are. It is a decision about what kind of nation we are going to be
> (Hawke 1987).

An example of pathos, these introductory remarks set the rhetorical standard for the

following speech. Indeed, the campaign launch comprised an ethos-based case that

encouraged voters to reflect inwardly and outwardly on the importance of national stability

and unity, and vote accordingly for the party that could best secure these outcomes. A series

of repetitious statements beginning with "It is a decision about" framed the conviction case

for a continuation of strong leadership. Rhetorical questions and collective pronouns

conveyed both the uncertainty a change of government could produce and the 'strength in

unity' pledge of the Hawke government over its successive four year term.

> Are we to continue to unite together in the great task of national renewal,
> reconstruction and revitalisation, for which we have been working so hard
> together, and on which the success of our country depends? Are we to go
> forward with strength and stability, stability in government, stability in our
> society? (Hawke 1987).

The government's record was a crucial rhetorical tool employed in the *narration* to justify the

"belief and faith" of Hawke's vision and mission for the future. References to making tough

decisions, "we would not shirk the hard decisions" and "I would rather risk electoral defeat

than take the soft options" further demonstrated the use of pragmatic and conviction rhetoric

to frame Hawke's strong leadership narrative. Frequent usage of synonyms relating to

strength, a metaphorical alignment between strength and stability, and battle rhetoric framed

the government's social and economic policy agenda to further juxtapose Labor's leadership

prowess against the Opposition. Hawke's use of idioms and metaphors represented the

Opposition as perpetrators of economic and social negligence, and disconnected intuitively and economically from the broader Australian community.

> Interest rates are again falling and under Labor will continue to fall. Inflation is again falling and under Labor will continue to fall.
>
> We have smashed the tax avoidance industry. We have cut out wasteful privileges and windfalls for the few.
>
> …their economic vandalism. Or the wholesale vandalism they propose against the social framework of this nation. They have long been the parties of social division. Now they stand as the parties of social devastation (Hawke 1987).

Consensus and the three 'R's, reconstruction, recovery and reconciliation, were the foundations upon which the Hawke government first launched its nation-building project in 1983. However, in the 1987 speech, "national reconstruction" was the central rhetorical slogan of the *proof*. This vision was captured in highly inspirational and emotive audience appeals to increase the persuasiveness of this narrative. Australia's place in the globalised world and the domestic future of the nation was articulated by words connotative of positive renewal, progression and economic growth. Hawke's personal enthusiasm and optimism heightened the pathos appeal of this rhetorical language.

> We stand together on the threshold of the third century of one of the most remarkable experiments in nation-building ever attempted in the course of human history…and sure, we have Australian achievements, splendid achievements, to celebrate.
>
> So let's use this election as a springboard to the future, towards the promise of the future (Hawke 1987).

Hawke also claimed in the speech that his government's nation-building mission of national reconstruction and reconciliation effectively resulted in the ALP having "successfully ended the confrontation and division which tore at the national fabric under the last Liberal government". This reference sought to generate a sense of fear surrounding a change in government, while simultaneously underscoring the positive efforts of Hawke in

consolidating his party, and the ALP in displaying unified government since gaining office in 1983.

The government's policy agenda was similarly framed with persuasive devices that used both logos and pathos appeals to articulate the nation-building mission. Tax, family benefits, employment and national security comprised the core policy initiatives highlighted in the speech. And although pragmatic and measured language conveyed the agenda, "building on the basis of restraint and responsibility", there were several standout assertions that reminded the audience of the innate values and ideology driving the Hawke government's leadership style. Indeed, the emerging neoliberal policy framework was countered by an impassioned emphasis on the social democratic and consensus approach behind Hawke's mandate to national leadership. The human element of the nation-building project can be seen in repeated references to the "fair go", language that resonated with values of fairness, and the vision capturing all Australians; "for all members of this great Australian family". According to Johnson (1989, 111), the speech painted a somewhat 'rosy' picture of the government's record on social welfare[43].

The *peroration* contained the most emotive assertion of the speech and best encapsulated the bridge between pursuing a more conservative economic policy framework and achieving a social democratic consensus: "By 1990 no Australian child will be living in poverty". Here, the campaign launch effectively projected a positive image of a nation "in mid-course" and led by a leader asking for a mandate to "make absolutely sure that Australia is not blown off

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[43] Including increases in government pensions to 24.4 per cent of average weekly earnings and increases in childcare places from 46,000 to 60,000 since coming to office.

course". Indeed, the ship metaphor and allusion of a captain never abandoning his ship sought to mirror Hawke's strength and conviction leadership narrative.
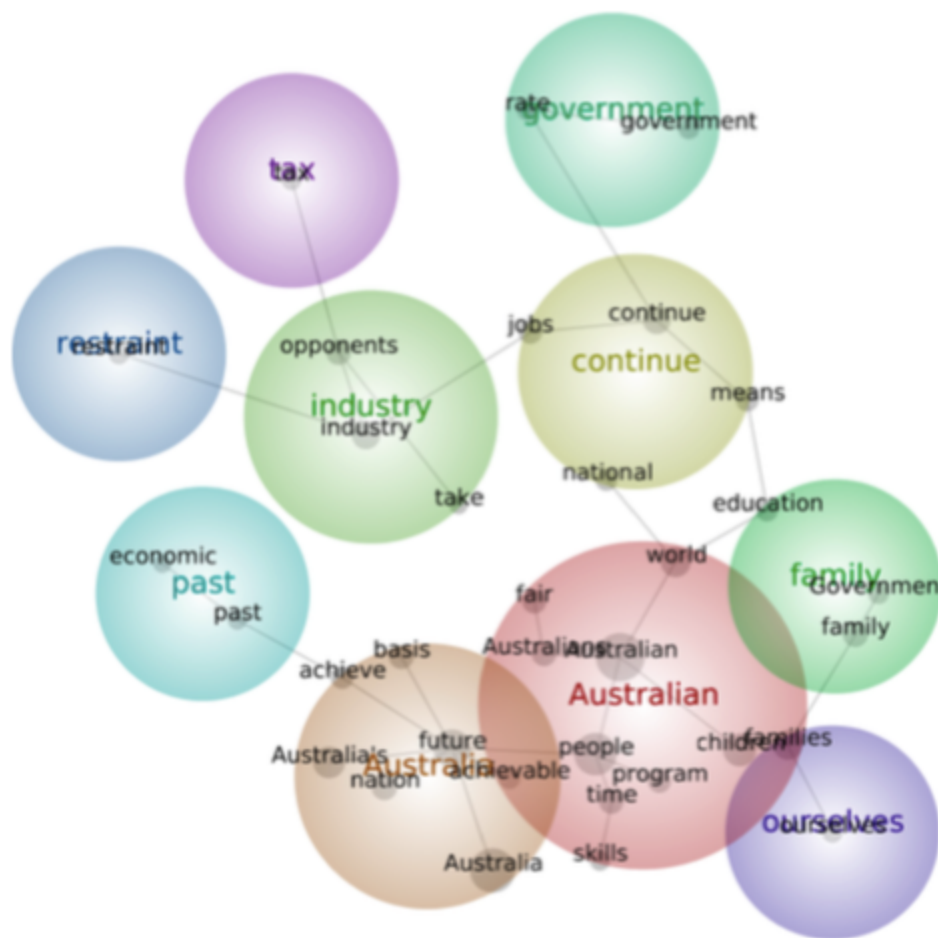
Figure 4: Content analysis results - Hawke 1987

Figure 4 illustrates a thematically-disconnected concept map. It also shows a reduced number of concept families, and aside from the two largest, 'Australian' and 'Australia', each concept family contain few terms. This indicates that references to key concepts were not treated with much depth and did not form part of the overall speech narrative. The most noticeable variance is the distance of the concept 'government' from the rest of the concept families and the terms included within this concept. The quantitative analysis results therefore demonstrate key policy areas and the recipients of these policies being fairly disengaged from one another. That is, Hawke's vision sat outside of the policy agenda projected in the

campaign speech. The five most used words in descending order are: 'Australian' (used 49 times); 'Australia' (used 47 times); 'families' (used 26 times); 'people' (used 24 times); 'government' (used 24 times); 'years' (used 24 times); and 'nation' (used twenty times).

The rhetorical situation of the 1987 election was a far more difficult terrain for the government to navigate than the prior two elections. Yet despite declining support for the Prime Minister, the Coalition Opposition was far more unpopular and therefore never posed a real challenge to the government in terms of electoral success. The qualitative speech analysis results indicated the 'strength and conviction leadership' narrative was adhered to throughout Hawke's campaign launch through ethos appeals, mainly in the *peroration*. The shift in focus from previous narratives to be on the Prime Minister rather than his government's vision suggests two points. First, that the consensus narrative had an inevitable expiry date; and second, that in times of diminishing public support, ethos appeals manifest themselves inwardly on the strength of the leader rather than outwardly on the leader's vision (as seen during times of rising popularity). The results from both qualitative and quantitative analyses show the strategic use of rhetoric in times of a leadership approval deficit. Rhetorical techniques sought to highlight the objective strength of Hawke's leadership conviction while a dominant policy agenda was offered to similar ends.

1990: 'Bob Hawke for Australia's future'

Having called the election on February 15, 1990 for polling day to be held on March 24, the Prime Minister campaigned for a fourth term in office by using similar rhetoric and campaign strategies that had brought the ALP election success in the 1983, 1984 and 1987 campaigns. Central to Labor's campaign strategy was proving it had a credible plan, largely built around the economy and the environment. The plan, and rhetoric used to package the plan, sought to

emphasise the stability, strength and unity of Labor's leadership under Hawke (Mills 1993, 127). One of the most telling lines of the ALP's campaign was "if you can't govern your party…then you can't govern the country". This allusion aimed to highlight the years of Coalition infighting and cast doubt on the Coalition's capacity for national leadership after internal leadership struggles between John Howard and Andrew Peacock.

Labor's own campaign had the advantage of being able to capitalise on the government's achievements. A consequence was managing the decline in popularity after making a series of tough economic decisions—especially regarding high interest rates and the financial crisis in Victoria—to maintain a healthy flow of trade and imports (A Current Affair 1990). According to Hogg (2003, 99) the seven long years of reforming the economy had "alienated" influential sub-sections of the party's electoral base. Indeed, the party's research and opinion polls showed Labor's traditional base had deserted them for minor parties such as the Australian Greens or Democrats. The Labor team responded with what was potentially an electoral disaster; they adopted a radical strategy of appealing over the head of minority parties directly to those voters who were going to vote Democrat, Green or Independent. Hogg (2003, 102) explains further:

> They prepared an advertising campaign that boldly stated that if you are going to vote Democrat, Greens or Independent, make sure you put the Liberals last. The feel of the ads was simply this: we understand you are upset with us, but make sure you don't wake up on Sunday morning with Peacock as Prime Minister and say bugger, I didn't mean that to happen.

Yet as Mills (1993, 128) notes, even with the "baggage" they had accumulated in office, the government's re-election strategy was built around Hawke and his strengths as a leader in comparison with those of Andrew Peacock. Labor's campaign slogan, 'Bob Hawke for Australia', captured this strategic focus.

Regarding quantifiable perceptions of leadership during the election campaign, the better prime minister poll taken by Newspoll (1990a) found that throughout March, between 52 and 55 per cent of respondents nominated Bob Hawke. In contrast, between 22 and 24 nominated the Coalition Opposition Leader Andrew Peacock. In terms of satisfaction that the Prime Minister was doing his job properly, another Newspoll (1990b) found that between the time the Prime Minister called the election and polling day, respondents' satisfaction was steady at 42 per cent. Dissatisfaction ranged between 49 and 52 per cent. Comparatively, satisfaction with the Opposition Leader during this period ranged between 24 and 27, with dissatisfaction between 62 and 64 (Newspoll 1990c). It was therefore the case that ALP research and opinion polls indicated doubt surrounding the Coalition's ability to win the primary vote or preferences during the campaign. The polls did, however, tell the government that winning a fourth term would be difficult. Yet as Hogg (2003, 99) notes, Hawke's ability to "face up to our parlous electoral standing was an important asset when there was no room for wishful thinking".

Although the Democrats won 11 per cent of the overall election votes, the 1990 election campaign was decided on the preferences of the Democrats and Greens. Indeed, federal voting intention results (Newspoll 1990d) best demonstrate the role of the Democrats' preferences in securing ultimate victory for the ALP, with the Coalition sitting between 41 and 43.5 and the ALP between 42 and 39.4. In the end, Labor narrowly failed to secure most of the TPP vote: 49.9 to the ALP and 50.1 to the Coalition (Roy Morgan Research). As a result, Labor's majority was reduced from 24 seats to nine. It is reasonable to suggest that the 1990 victory was not achieved because Hawke inspired Labor's loyalists, but because "he won over the respect, the grudging admiration, sometimes even the love, of middle Australians" (Mills 1993, 137).

Prime Minister Bob Hawke's campaign launch speech

Labor's 1990 campaign speech was delivered on March 8 at the Lyric Theatre in the Queensland Performing Arts Complex, Brisbane. Hawke's demeanour throughout the entirety of the 1990 election campaign was calm and dignified, his answers to media polite. During the televised leaders' debate weeks prior, the Prime Minister was not the "buoyant, argumentative Hawke" that viewers had seen before (Mills 1993, 134). Indeed, the behavioural strategy sought to accentuate Hawke's discipline and experience as a leader under pressure. It also allowed Labor to highlight the differences between the two parties and to force the seemingly disillusioned electorate to choose. Accordingly, it was an almost solemn Bob Hawke who delivered the campaign launch, with previously profound rhetorical appeals being discarded for a clear argument—a strong vision for Australia's future. Hawke began the speech by attacking the Opposition Leader Andrew Peacock for his "glib" comments in his own campaign launch regarding Australia's future being a relatively easy path.

> And anyone however glib or smooth who tells the people of Australia that the future lies at the end of an easy road is not fit to be your prime minister (Hawke 1990).

In doing so Hawke set the antithetical tone of Labor's case for re-election. The case was manifest in his government's pragmatic vision for the future; one that was motivated by a balance of hard decisions, determination and internal and external strength. Indeed, the key narrative within Labor's 3500-word speech foregrounded the notion of statesmanship, articulated through rhetoric of mission. The vision of building a "clever country" further extended the rhetorical projection of Hawke's desire for a progressive and innovative policy agenda to best secure Australia's path into the 21st century.

The 'statesmanship and mission' narrative

Appealing to a sense of leadership ethos and statesmanship can be seen in the prevalent use of conviction-based rhetorical devices throughout the speech. Rhetoric of pragmatism and reassurance framed both the *exordium* and *peroration* of the speech, and was reinforced by language that connoted strength and toughness. Rhetoric of stoicism underpinned the appeals to strong leadership and stable government during the *narration*, while rhetoric of hope created a sense of optimism surrounding the leadership choice during the *proof*.

> The message I bring to you today is a message of confidence in the future of Australia, and a renewed commitment to a better, fairer future for all Australians. It is a message based firmly on realism.
>
> It is a time for leadership. It is a time for substance. It is a time for realistic policies. It is time for real answers (Hawke 1990).

This language sought to appeal to quintessential commonplaces in Australian culture, namely the values of "opportunity, fairness and security". It was also used as a form of identification[44] to mirror Hawke's own leadership style and mandate to seek re-election. The use of colloquialism alongside a series of impassioned pledges made by Hawke within the *proof* further demonstrated this point:

> But I make my pledge for the 1990s with confidence because we have already done much of the hard work, laid the enduring foundations, taken many of the tough decisions in the 1980s…Because only Labor has the plans, the vision, *the guts* and   the leadership to assure our country's future (Hawke 1990, emphasis added).

Using rhetoric of mission and duty to maintain Hawke's capacity for conviction leadership was also central to the primary narrative within the campaign launch. Hawke continually made references to the "tough decisions" and "rigorous policies" his government had taken to

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[44] See the work of rhetorical theorist Kenneth Burke (1966, 1969).

ensure strong economic growth. He simultaneously acknowledged the short term social and economic cost using collective pronouns: "none of us has enjoyed that" and "we know who would suffer". These examples furthered the process of identification and heightened leadership authenticity between Hawke and the public. Indeed, the core policy area in the speech was the promise to parents to keep young children in school for longer. Given the pathos appeal associated with the family unit, and Hawke continuously asserting children as the key to Australia's future, this policy initiative complemented the speech's mostly logical case regarding a future Labor government being the gatekeeper of Australia's future.

By stark contrast, and by using the rhetorical devices antithesis, metaphor and climax, the *refutation* saw Hawke attack the policy agenda and proposed decision-making process of the Coalition. By alluding to the idiom "recipe for disaster" through a series of repetitive statements, Hawke framed the Coalition's economic policy agenda negatively to appeal to the public dissent already expressed towards high interest rates and unemployment.

> Theirs is a recipe for a wages explosion, for runaway inflation, for massive unemployment. It is a recipe to feed higher and higher interest rates. It is a recipe to destroy the award restructuring (Hawke 1990).

Indeed, the terms 'explosion', 'massive', 'higher' and 'destroy' increased the sensationalised pathos appeal of this rhetorical device. Labor's fight to protect Australia's economic interests was further expressed through an antithetical metaphor:

> We will never accept the proposition that some Australians are expendable, to be dropped through a *trap door* and forgotten. We offer instead a *safety net* of training and re-training for the unemployed (Hawke 1990, emphasis added).

This rhetorical technique captured elements of Labor's social democratic ideology. It also extended ethos appeals by promoting Hawke as a statesman; pathos appeals by framing

Hawke as a protector of those who were most affected by economic downturns; and logos
appeals in effecting the case for re-election around the notion of "a real choice". By "leading
the fight" in these areas, the argument for Hawke's conviction as a leader reached its totality
by the end of the speech.

Figure 5: Content analysis results - Hawke 1990

Hawke's 1990 campaign launch speech presents the most dispersed concept map compared
to those from the former three elections. That said, there is an increase in concept families
and a wider breadth of concepts drawn on. These concept families tend to focus on issue-
based policies such as superannuation, industry and education rather than broad visionary

targets previously captured by the 'government' concept. The nucleus of the concept map, however, frequently overlaps, with the three primary concept families sharing a range of core terms. The five most used words in descending order are: 'Australians' (used thirty times); 'Australia' (used 29 times); 'national' (used 25 times); 'years' (used 19 times); 'care' (used 16 times); and 'work' (used 16 times).

Considering the central 'statesmanship and mission' narrative found in the qualitative analysis, declining support for the government due to widespread economic issues, and ethos appeals being the most prevalent rhetorical techniques in the set piece, both qualitative and quantitative results demonstrate the strategic fusion of vision, narrative and ethos to achieve the desired ends of re-election. The binary articulation of Hawke's inward leadership authenticity and outward policy agenda was framed within an overarching narrative of mission, furthering the ethos appeal and consolidating the speech's rhetorical argument despite the tenuous rhetorical situation.

1993: 'The sweetest victory of all'

Increasing disillusionment with Hawke and absence of faith in his leadership leant support for a change of party leadership strongly in Keating's favour towards the end of 1990 (Carew (1992, 300). Indeed, a Newspoll (1991) taken in April 1991 showed Hawke's approval rating with the public reached a record low, with dissatisfaction at 62 points. Two months later, a second Labor leadership challenge produced a ballot of 56–51 votes in favour of the former treasurer, Paul Keating. Keating became Australia's 24th prime minister in a harsh political climate; indeed, no post-war prime minister had taken over in such dire political and

economic circumstances[45] (Gordon 1993, 185). Leadership popularity was also an issue for the new prime minister as many sections of the public associated the extent to which Australia was affected by the recession with the policy agenda Keating led as treasurer in the mid- to late 1980s[46] (Carew 1992, 308). Indeed, in an opinion poll taken only weeks after his ascension to the prime ministership, the electorate voted Keating the most unpopular national leader in fifty years (Newspoll 1991).

Meanwhile, Labor's opponents appeared united behind their leader, John Hewson, a Professor of Economics who assumed the Liberal Party leadership on April 3, 1990. The Coalition seemed equally committed to elements of the Opposition Leader's hard-line Fightback![47] agenda. The Fightback! manifesto contained not only an overhaul of the tax system, it was also a portfolio of reformist ideas that "captured people's imagination" (Carew 1992, 307). Public polls and media commentary throughout mid-1992 suggested the mood was for change (Kitney 1992). Hewson, according to Carew (1992), caught the mood. That said, O'Brien (2015) pointed out the political downside of Fightback! was that it advocated the most radical plan for change ever presented to Australian voters.

However, the polls and commentary shifted in the latter months of 1992 with sources claiming Hewson's "quirky" views and his attacks on people who rented undermined his

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[45] The early 1990s saw a period of economic recession, with several financial institutions around Australia including the State Bank of Victoria, the State Bank of South Australia, and the Teachers Credit Union of Western Australia collapsing in debt. For a detailed analysis of the Government's economic policy agenda during this time, see Fenna (2013).

[46] Further, in a press conference in November 1990 Keating claimed that "this is a recession that Australia had to have" (Keating 1991).

[47] Fightback! included a 15 per cent Goods and Services Tax (GST), cuts to Medicare, and radical changes to industrial relations. For a deeper insight into Hewson's tax reform agenda, see Hewson (2014).

appeal to voters as a potential prime minister (Kitney 1992). Indeed, the Newspoll published in *The Australian* on November 10, 1992 showed primary support for the Keating government at 45 per cent, four points ahead of the Coalition (Newspoll 1992). It was Labor's highest level of support since May 1989 and the first time the government was ahead of the Coalition since the 1990 election. Yet, Labor's positive place in the polls shifted again as Hewson announced the decision to revamp the Fightback! Manifesto—a response to the Coalition's deteriorating position in opinion polls. Launched 10 days later, the manifesto replaced the "language of economic rationalism with the language of compassion and intervention" (Gordon 1993, 227). Consequently, Keating announced the 1993 election to a public whose perception of the government was of a government waiting for an election it was widely expected to lose.

Labor's inverted election campaign strategy focused on the radical policies of the Opposition just as Keating had done so successfully before the softening of Fightback! Indeed, it sought to turn the debate from the responsibility for the unemployment levels to the question of which party was better placed to address the issue. Keating implemented this strategy in the first of the two televised leader's debates, which was, according to scoring journalists, a "clear victory" for the Leader of the Opposition (Gordon 1993, 238). That said, the debate gave the first indication of Hewson's difficulty in handling detailed probing on the GST. It also elevated the tax as the prime topic of conversation and allowed Keating to create a "climate of anxiety" around the GST (O'Brien 2015, 585; see also Bean 1994). Within 24 hours of the Coalition's campaign launch, media focus was back on the GST with Hewson appearing "uncomfortable and unconvincing" when pressed on the detail of the tax during a radio interview with John Laws (Day 2015, 384). Within 48 hours, Hewson was unable to

offer a simple response when asked by *A Current Affair*'s Mike Willesee how his tax would affect the cost of a birthday cake[48].

With Labor's private polling and most commentary pointing to a crushing loss in the final weeks of the campaign, a defiant Keating refused to surrender when questioned by journalists at his last National Press Club address:

> Let me give you the oldest advice in the world to people who are contemplating the big jump. Don't do it. For your own sake, don't do it. For Australia's sake, don't do it. For your kids' sake, don't do it (Keating 1993b).

However, in a rapid change of events that led to Keating's assertion "this is the sweetest victory of all…this is a victory for the true believers" (1993c), the election-eve Newspoll (1993) reported the Coalition on a 50.5 per cent two-party-preferred vote. Polling day ultimately resulted in a Labor victory, with the government securing eighty seats. According to Liberal Party research, the 'undecideds'—a large proportion of who were women aged 25-49—broke 42/58 against the Coalition in the last few days of the campaign (Hogg 1993).

Prime Minister Paul Keating's campaign launch speech

Launched in Keating's hometown, Bankstown, to capitalise on his pre-existing rapport with the "relatively loyal electorate" (Day 2015), Labor's campaign speech was directed by the Australian film maker, Baz Luhrmann[49]. Keating also agreed to use an autocue machine to further improve his speech delivery, which could be at times "predictably desultory" according to his speechwriter Don Watson (2002, 330). The Prime Minister used the

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[48] See https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WndWM71-jSQ for a video excerpt of this interview.
[49] Luhrmann also had responsibility for the creative direction and set design of the campaign launch.

campaign launch to explain in personal terms the evolution of his own vision for Australia as both a "creative country" and "so-called lucky country" (Keating 1993a). Regarding policy offerings, swinging voters were pitched promises framed by rhetoric of care and protection. Indeed, 'care' was the fourth most-used word in the speech, mentioned 24 times in total. The array of policy initiatives[50] also intended to influence the orthodox Labor base, namely through an ideological emphasis on the strong role for national government and the view that government plays a critical role in ensuring fairness within the Australian community (Labor's National Platform 2015). The themes of reassurance and paternalism were therefore central to the rhetorical argument. Antithetical rhetoric that juxtaposed measured change and a comprehensive social policy under Labor and social dislocation to result from the GST under the Coalition were similarly vital features of the central 'big picture vision' narrative pitched by the Prime Minister.

The 'Big Picture vision' narrative

Keating's antithetical case for re-election was framed by rhetorical devices that conjured both optimism and fear, hope and doubt. Labor was strategically associated with the former connotations, the Coalition with the latter. The *exordium* led with a stark reminder of the importance of the 1993 election in determining the future of the Prices and Incomes Accord[51]. Here, protecting unemployment rates, the cultural sustainability of "Australian

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[50] Including free dental care for the poor; child care support for parents; a subsidy for employers to provide jobs for the long-term unemployed; and access to the ABC rock station, Triple J for young people in rural areas.

[51] The Accord was an agreement reached in February 1983 between the Australian Council of Trade Unions (ACTU) and the Australian Labor Party. Unions agreed to restrict wage demands and the government pledged to minimise inflation while also protecting the social wage. The Accord was seen as a method to reduce inflation without reducing the basic standard of living. See Singleton (1990).

traditions of fairness and equity", and the essential need for "good government of care, support, and cooperation" in an era of rapid social and economic change were key premises of the argument in favour of Keating's vision. Having identified the potentially bleak post-election reality and "problems to solve" regardless of which party was elected to government, Keating speculated about the subsequent social and economic effects of an elected Coalition government to heighten the negative rhetorical framing of choice and consequence. Specifically, a series of climactic statements and fear-based metaphors acted as pathos appeals. On a secondary level these rhetorical devices also served to depict the Opposition Leader as "zealous", "radical", and generally "hostile to fundamental Australian beliefs and Australian institutions".

> But if the Coalition is elected, within six months there will be no Accord –
> instead discord – no universal health system, no safety net. And there WILL
> BE a GST (capitalisation in original transcript).
>
> There really never has been a clearer choice, between the Australian traditions
> of fairness and equity, and the economic and social jungle of Reaganism and
> Thatcherism which other countries have just abandoned (Keating 1993).

Accordingly, the challenge and foe that the *narration* and *division* rhetorically constructed was aligned with the Coalition. The negative framing focused specifically on Hewson's allegedly aloof leadership, fiscally imperilling policy agenda, and "un-Australian" vision for the future if elected to become Australia's national leader.

In contrast, rhetoric of progressive transformation, positive change and opportunity was employed in the *proof* to frame the policy agenda and national vision of the Keating government. A largely logical argument was used to outline Labor's proposed policy initiatives before the speech engaged a range of pathos appeals to increase the persuasiveness of Keating's case for a continuation of Labor leadership. Indeed, after the Prime Minister drew on Labor's social safety net of policies, he directly acknowledged the problem of

unemployment in a display of leadership authenticity, framing it within the rhetoric of

paternalism and protection to highlight the need for "nurturing leadership". Keating referred

to the innate "faith" held by the ALP faithful in challenging times, expressing the importance

of cooperation and consensus between government and the Australian people through the

Labor catch-cry: "unity is strength". In doing so, Keating engaged in identification in

aligning his own personal value system as leader and citizen within this rhetorical

framework. There was also a faint echo of ANZAC legend patriotism in this expression of

fundamental Labor values of faith, comradery and stoicism[52]. Further, this emotive language

aimed to shift Keating's ethos to reinforce his status as a leader of the people, rather than as

the once unpopular treasurer who championed economic rationalist policies in the 1980s.

> Every time Australians cooperate, every time they form a partnership, every
> time they agree on a common goal, every time they combine their ideas and
> their energy, they make Australia stronger (Keating 1993).

The overwhelming use of pathos-based rhetorical techniques in Keating's direct appeal to the

"spirit" and "fearlessness" of Bankstown towards the *peroration* demonstrated a Burkean

identification at work to further increase his leadership credibility. Keating anecdotally

acknowledged the strength of the locale as a microcosm of the Australian nation. He also

shared his observations of the changing nation during his time as a young politician in the

1970s, as treasurer in the 1980s, and as prime minister in the 1990s. The anecdotes served to

illustrate Keating's political wisdom in identifying what the nation needed to embrace to

ensure its future as a "creative country", while maintaining the "things which bore the stamp

of Australian work and genius". Indeed, Keating was constructing an image of the new nation

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[52] See Dyrenfurth (2014) and Bongiorno et al. (2014) for a deeper discussion of the Labor
Party's relationship with the so-called Anzac legend.

to mirror his big picture vision. This rhetorical technique justified Keating's move towards

increased trade with Asia and also framed change and innovation as matters of national

necessity that only the ALP could understand, support and sustain in national office. The

exordium's narrative pace and tone of dynamism further intended to persuade the audience in

favour of Keating's trade prospects in Asia.

> Bankstown has drawn on its people, it has drawn on its community spirit, it
> has drawn on its sense of justice and fairness – on those traditions common to
> all Australians – to make the transformation from one world to another
> (Keating 1993).

Pathos appeals were used to draw on the commonplace "Australian spirit". Indeed, the Prime

Minister consistently alluded to the "Lucky Country" (Horne 1971), the parallels between the

nature of the Australian people as being united and cohesive, and the egalitarian mindset

traditionally held within the Labor Party. These rhetorical techniques were significant in

framing the argument for Keating's vision. Further, Labor's endeavour to support Australia's

positive economic and cultural transformation was captured in Keating's final impassioned

plea for enduring cohesion, national pride and wisdom come polling day.

> It is because we have the wisdom both to succeed in the world and to live
> together in Australia. And in the end I think that is at the heart of our pride,
> and why we love Australia. And why we must make sure that the ties that bind
> us are never broken (Keating 1993).

Figure 6: Content analysis results - Keating 1993

Figure 6 depicts a dense concept map featuring equally dense concept families. The concept

families are almost equal in volume and frequency throughout Keating's 1993 election set

piece, demonstrating a content-rich speech with consistent and coinciding messaging.

Concepts span both big picture and small target issues with central themes such as

'Australians', 'Labor' and 'care' being inextricably linked with one another and this range of

issues. One could view Figure 6 without having read or heard Keating's speech and

justifiably assume the breadth and depth of content covered. A particularly interesting feature

of the quantitative findings is the proximity of the concept 'faith' to the concept 'success' and

their respective linking nodes. This indicates both an outward and inward projection of

Keating's confidence in his big picture vision and its ability to resonate with the audience.

The five most used words in descending order are: 'Australian' (used 44 times); 'Australia' (used 37 times); 'Labor' (used 25 times); 'care' (used 24 times); and 'people' (used 23 times).

The qualitative findings revealed the central 'big picture vision' narrative to be primarily articulated through a logical argument within an extensive *proof*. Indeed, the speech was wide ranging in its content, something affirmed by the results of both analyses. The quantitative analysis demonstrates the centrality of the narrative to Keating's rhetorical strategies, with domestic issues such as the GST and healthcare being peripheral issues to the broader narrative. This proximity was felt by the electorate and reflected in opinion polls. That said, the unpopularity of the Opposition Leader and his birthday cake interview allowed for Keating's rhetorical strategy to overcome the potentially risky variables of the rhetorical situation. In this instance, the rhetorical situation and the rhetorical strategy followed in the Prime Minister's speech equally contributed to achieving the desired ends of electoral success and to a lesser extent, a clear expression of conviction leadership.

Summary of analysis

The qualitative discussion and findings are summarised in Table 2 and 3 below. The rhetorical appeal refers to the most used rhetorical appeal, while the speech element refers to the section of the speech that the rhetorical argument featured most predominantly.

Election	PM	Central narrative	Rhetorical appeal	Speech element
1983*	Fraser	'Building Australia'	Proving (logos)	*Proof*
1984	Hawke	'Trust and consensus'	Pleasing (pathos)	*Peroration*

1987	Hawke	'Strength and conviction leadership'	Authenticating (ethos)	*Peroration*
1990	Hawke	'Statesmanship and mission'	Authenticating (ethos)	*Proof*
1993	Keating	'Big Picture vision'	Proving (logos)	*Proof*

Table 2: 1983-1993 qualitative results – prime minister

*Period of transition

Election	**OL**	**Central narrative**	**Rhetorical appeal**	**Speech element**
1983	Hawke	'Change through consensus'	Authenticating (ethos)	*Proof*

Table 3: 1983-1993 qualitative results – opposition leader

Chapter conclusions

The qualitative component of the speech analysis identified the central narrative of each speech, the primary rhetorical proof through which this narrative was argued, and the section of the speech that the argument featured most predominantly. Overall, the analysis found narratives relating to trust, duty and credible leadership as common thematic foundations of each text's rhetorical argument. Hawke's speeches as prime minister best demonstrated the use of such narratives. Rhetorical commonplaces underpinning these narratives proved to transcend leaders and party lines as Fraser, Hawke and Keating each drew on similar cultural metaphors, anecdotes and colloquialisms in their bid to retain the prime ministership. Ethos and logos equally featured as the key rhetorical proof. Hawke's rhetorical style was naturally framed by ethos appeals and therefore articulated the central tenets of the consensus argument in his campaign launch speeches with heightened conviction. Regarding logos,

Fraser's seemingly predestined loss in 1983 and Keating's first election as prime minister in 1993 may account for the 'proving'—as opposed to 'pleasing'—approaches taken in their respective speeches.

Interestingly, half of the speeches demonstrated the *proof* as the main space the rhetorical argument was made, and in the instances where this was not the case, *peroration* succeeded. This finding could be a product of the need to prove and establish the leadership case as opposed to consolidating and cultivating already positive public approval ratings. The latter was the case for Hawke in 1984 and 1987. Further, the only instance where the rhetorical situation noticeably dictated the use of rhetoric in a campaign launch, regardless of its objective persuasiveness, also resulted in an electoral defeat (for Fraser). That is, the circumstances leading up to the election campaign proved decisive in shaping the election outcome despite the nature of Fraser's campaign strategy and rhetoric. Whether there is a causal link between these two factors can only be determined through further analysis. The qualitative examination of the speech transcripts therefore provides an insight into the reach of the persuasive argument in each speech, and the extent to which rhetorical usage is shaped by contextual variables (and vice versa).

By most accounts the quantitative component of the speech analysis supports the qualitative findings. The 1983 campaign speeches best demonstrate concurrences across the methodological approaches. As mentioned, the qualitative analysis of Fraser's speech identified the rhetorical situation noticeably shaping the use of rhetoric, therefore resulting in a disconnect between narrative, rhetorical argument and the broader electoral context. The quantitative results mirrored this insight, noting an overall disconnect between the projected narrative and substance of the speech. By contrast, the qualitative and quantitative readings of

Hawke's 1983 campaign launch speech complement one another in terms of the use and frequency of common themes, concepts and terms, and the utilisation of rhetorical appeals, framing and commonplaces to sustain the rhetorical argument. Similarities across analysis results also occur in the 1984, 1987 and 1990 election speeches. A key observation to make here relates to the consistency in Hawke's messaging and rhetorical style over the course of his prime ministership, despite the external pressures of the rhetorical situation surrounding each campaign and speech. Indeed, whether this consistency could account for the successive electoral successes is a possibility.

Considering the combined results of the speech analysis, the language of strategy during the study period is the rhetoric of consensus and conviction. The language of strategy can be reduced to three interconnected rhetorical suppositions in the election campaign set piece speech: a) vision and ethos; b) ethos and narrative; c) narrative and vision. Depicted in Figure 7 below, the three features point to the interconnected relationship between those rhetorical techniques, appeals and speech structures identified in the speech analysis results. Figure 7 also suggests that a unison between the three components in a campaign launch results in a persuasive argument. As mentioned, key areas of congruence can be seen across all of Hawke's speeches (to varying degrees) and that of Keating, while the main areas of departure can be seen in Fraser's 1983 speech. Deviations from this model, conversely, reveal the effects of an inconsistent rhetorical argument within the set piece.
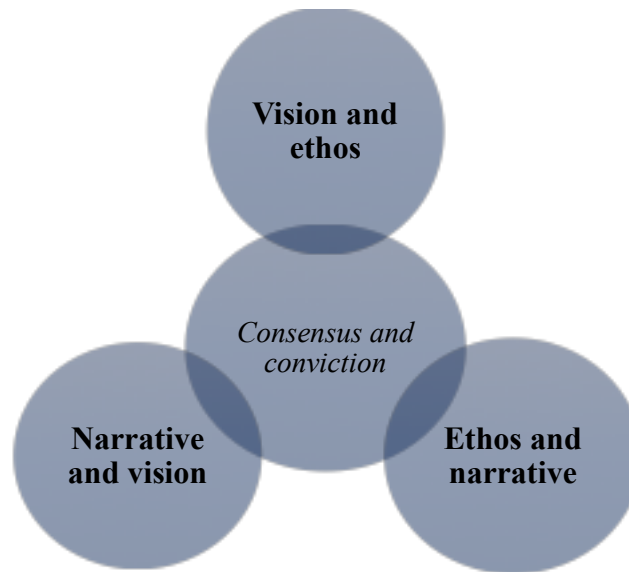
Figure 7: The language of strategy: 1983-1993

The decade spanning 1983 to 1993 in Australian federal politics was shaped by Hawke's consensus mission and Keating's passionate vision for Australia as it moved towards the 21st century. Indeed, the two leaders are as well known for their policies as they are for their command of rhetoric and its use within broader campaign strategy (Little 1997). The language of strategy reveals the effective use of persuasive language during this period as resonating with the voting population, capitalising on the broader election context, and eventuating in electoral success. When attempting to determine the extent to which language, specifically rhetorical language, effects political outcomes, isolating the language of strategy is an appropriate approach. Chapter Six continues this approach to establish the language of strategy in the study period of 1996-2004.

Chapter Six: The language of strength and stoicism, 1996–2004

Howard's command of the often banal idiom of everyday Australian life has been one of his greatest political assets because it is the language he speaks naturally, it never fails him.

Judith Brett (2005)

Chapter overview

The communication of a 'vision' in political campaign speeches seeks to satisfy the hopes and desires of the voting public by offering an imagined solution to imagined leadership problems (Charteris-Black 2006, 7). This vision manifests in the nation-building project and provides the benchmark against which political leaders are compared and judged. For this reason, there generally exists an inherent importance for campaigning parties and leaders to articulate a vision for the nation. Visions are particularly powerful if they align with broader campaign narratives that draw on conviction rhetoric and commonplace social norms. Indeed, voters or followers will only believe in visions if they appear compatible with their value system (Charteris-Black 2011, 1). Establishing the synergy between how visions and values are conveyed in political speeches can therefore provide a way of accounting for how effectively a leader's nation-building project resonates with their audience. More broadly, this also addresses the question determining the extent to which persuasive language impacts on election outcomes. The Australian prime ministerial campaign speeches in the federal elections held between 1996 and 2004 provide an opportunity to further examine these claims.

In the 1996 election, the Coalition Opposition led by John Howard successfully defeated the Labor government led by Prime Minister Paul Keating, therefore bringing an end to the Australian Labor Party's 13 years of incumbency. During this election, John Howard seized the opportunity to integrate his 1988 'Future Directions'[53] policy platform into the

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[53] Future Directions was a policy blueprint whose principles were based in the Coalition's "crusade" for the primacy of the family, the 'dream' of home ownership, the importance of law and order, the need for hard work to be rewarded, an education system that taught literacy and numeracy rather than 'social awareness', and the importance of private enterprise. During its official launch in Sydney's "working-class west" in December 1988, the then Leader of the Opposition painted the opposition as the party for the "plain-thinking, honest, ordinary Australians". See Taylor (1988).

Coalition's broader electoral mandate to build a better nation—guided by classical liberal ideals and traditional Anglo-Australian values—for those who came to be known as "Howard's battlers" (Dyrenfurth 2005). Howard's ability to draw on the Liberal Party's ideological foundations, infuse these ideals within his government's policy framework, and orate the corresponding value system in the rhetoric of 'everyday Australia' were essential features of the language of strategy during the study period of 1996-2004.

Howard was a seasoned Liberal Party politician who had served as Treasurer in the Fraser government from 1977-1983, and as opposition leader from 1985-89. However, the John Howard who faced the 1996 election was seen as "tougher, wilier, better positioned and much more confident" than the John Howard of the two previous decades (Grattan 2010a, 449). Howard had seemingly learned from the Hewson experience in the lead up to the 1993 election. That is, Hewson's release of Fightback! over 18 months before the 1993 election had given the Labor government ample time to erode the policy agenda. Instead, Opposition Leader Howard unveiled an abundance of non-threatening, 'small target' policies during the 1996 campaign to reduce the time and opportunity for the same attacks to occur from both the Keating government and the media. In addition, Howard broadened the traditional target from the organised labour movement to a range of special interest groups (Brett 1997, 27-29). Both strategies worked in Howard's favour.

The 1998 election tested the new prime minister's capacity to respond to a variety of competing social and political interests. During this election, Howard juggled his ability to offer statesmanlike leadership to Australia's culturally and racially-mixed population, the independent candidate Pauline Hanson, and the consequences of the Coalition's 1996 campaign where Howard had adapted "well-worn patterns of Liberal Party grievance against

Labor" to contemporary circumstances (Brett 1997, 26). The centenary year did not initially carry the political advantage Howard had hoped for (Grattan 2010a, 451). Howard was criticised for poor speeches including the Centennial Ceremony address (2001a) and Federation address (2001b) in Sydney, as they failed to offer a tangible blueprint and path for the future (see Kelly 2009). Yet a series of events towards the end of 2001 ultimately legitimised Howard's political vision and consolidated what became his rhetorical weapon: the language of strength and paternalism. Indeed, the 2001 and subsequent 2004 federal elections resulted in Howard's fourth term of government, making him Australia's second longest-serving prime minster.

The following chapter examines the language of strategy in prime ministerial election campaign launch speeches in the study period of 1996-2004. It identifies the strategic implementation of Howard's rhetoric of stoicism and protection as opposition leader and prime minister, and considers the rhetorical arguments of Labor Prime Minister Paul Keating when he opposed Howard in the 1996 federal election. In determining the form and function of rhetorical language in these set piece political speeches, the chapter evaluates aspects of the rhetorical political analysis methodology. It poses the questions: to what extent does the rhetorical situation dictate the rhetoric used in each set piece; to what extent do rhetorical commonplaces and appeals transcend leader, party and linear contexts; and to what extent does there exist a continuity in themes, concepts and narratives across qualitative and quantitative speech analysis findings.

Full transcripts of five election campaign launch speeches from these election campaigns between and including 1996-2004 form the data set for analysis:

- The 1996 federal election which saw a shift of incumbency from Labor Prime Minister Paul Keating to Coalition Opposition Leader John Howard;

- The 1998 federal election which saw an electoral victory for Coalition Prime Minister John Howard over Labor Opposition Leader Kim Beazley;

- The 2001 federal election which saw an electoral victory for Coalition Prime Minister John Howard over Labor Opposition Leader Kim Beazley;

- The 2004 federal election which saw an electoral victory for Coalition Prime Minister John Howard over Labor Opposition Leader Mark Latham.

Following the same speech analysis format used in Chapter Five, this chapter works chronologically through these election campaigns, beginning with establishing the rhetorical situation specific to each campaign. Next, the set piece campaign launch speech of the prime minister, and opposition leader in the case of the 1996 election, is qualitatively analysed according to the other central features of the rhetorical political analysis methodology. Following the qualitative discussion and findings is a brief section that visually depicts and summarises the quantitative content analysis results. The chapter concludes by comparing the overall findings of the qualitative and quantitative components of the speech analysis.

It is argued that the language of strategy revealed in the speeches in question can be reduced to three demonstrable and interconnected suppositions: a) nation-building and ethos; b) ethos and narrative; and c) narrative and nation-building. Nation-building and ethos refers to the orator projecting a nation-building project through ethos-based persuasive language. Ethos and narrative refers to the ability of the argument to then link these appeals to the central speech narrative. Narrative and nation-building refers to the consistency between the central narrative and the nature of the nation-building project proposed. It is shown that these three

features are essential to determining the nature of the language of strategy and its persuasive reach within the broader context of these election campaigns.

Discussion and findings

1996: 'Enough is enough' for Howard's 'battlers'

The 1996 Australian federal election campaign was defined by leadership, popularity and credibility. Prime Minister Paul Keating's "controversial" leadership style, his "vote of confidence in himself" (Bean et al. 1997, 9) and his 'big picture' agenda had a significant impact on the government's approach to the 1996 campaign. Dyrenfurth (2005, 186-87) argues the Prime Minister's message of a new international Australian identity, particularly through enhanced engagements with Asia, conveyed the need for speed in bringing about change and consequently produced anxiety in the electorate. An insight into Keating's alleged obsession with Asia can be seen in his address to a campaign function in Richmond, Sydney:

> When the Liberals say I'm obsessed about Asia - too right I'm obsessed about Asia. Because I'm obsessed about Australian security, Australian jobs and Australian living standards (Reuters News - Australia 1996).

Having been re-elected leader of the Liberal Party in 1995, Opposition Leader John Howard countered the Prime Minister's big picture rhetoric with language that emphasised traditional conservative values and idealised independence, picturing autonomous families living the egalitarian dream (Lague 1996). As a result, Howard's leadership ethos and the Coalition's program resonated with those middle Australians disenfranchised by Keating's future vision (see Brett 2003, 2005). Also central to the Coalition's campaign was the slogan, 'For all of us' as it epitomised Howard's emphatic commitment to represent all sections of the Australian community irrespective of race, gender, nationality or religious beliefs. The catch-cry aimed to counteract the sense of social division; "that there were people who had an in,

and people who were on the outer" that Howard (1996) argued had developed over Labor's

13 years in government. On a secondary level, the campaign slogan sought to integrate new

forms of citizenship and sources of identity that had resulted from increasing globalisation

and multiculturalism, and the divisive 'culture wars' of the early 1990s (see Stokes 1997;

Moran 2005). The Coalition's campaign messaging therefore effectively repackaged

Keating's big picture into a more subtle and palatable social agenda.

Labor's and Keating's leadership credibility was considerably damaged by a series of errors

throughout the campaign including the Opposition Leader asking for up-to-date deficit

figures in a televised debate[54], which the Prime Minister could not provide. Further, Labor's

campaign launch speech was unsuccessful in convincing the electorate that it was sufficiently

different from the Coalition, therefore neglecting to offer a more viable plan for Australia's

future (Sydney Morning Herald 1996). Labor's final week in the campaign was also impaired

by Treasurer Ralph Willis' release of apparently damaging correspondence between the

Opposition Leader and Victorian Premier, Jeff Kennett[55]—called a "defining moment" of the

Keating government (The Age 1996). The event was particularly damaging in a climate of

"low voter esteem" for the credibility of politicians (Bean and McAllister 1997, 9). Despite

this, a Better Prime Minister poll taken during the final week of the campaign placed Keating

at 45 per cent and Howard at 37 per cent (Newspoll 1996). Conversely, in the six months

leading up to polling day the two-party preferred voting poll pegged the ALP between 41.5

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[54] The transcript to this can be found on the *ParlInfo* database.

[55] In the week before the election, Labor Treasurer Ralph Willis received an envelope which contained what he considered as the information that would result in Opposition Leader John Howard's defeat. Mr Willis called a press conference to display the letters but it was quickly established that the correspondence was fake, and that Mr Willis had not consulted Prime Minister Paul Keating before releasing them. See Kelly (2009) for an extensive discussion of this political scandal.

and 46.4 per cent, and the Coalition between 53.5 and 58.5 per cent (Roy Morgan Research). The polling revealed Keating's popularity as preferred prime minister up until the final days of the election campaign despite the Coalition being the preferred party to elect as government.

Victory for the Coalition brought an end to the ALP's 13 years in power. Labor also registered a 38.8 per cent primary vote, the lowest recorded since 1934 (Australian Electoral Commission 1996). Although the five per cent two-party preferred swing was not a large swing in and of itself, Labor lost 29 seats, including 13 in New South Wales and 11 in Queensland. In terms of seats lost, this was the second-worst defeat ever of a sitting government in Australian history.

Prime Minister Paul Keating's campaign launch speech
Prime Minister Keating launched Labor's campaign on February 14, 1996 at the World Congress Centre in Melbourne, a strategic move as Labor aimed to make their greatest gains in Victoria (Watson 2002). The speech was retrospective in its strategic approach, focusing on old rather than new policies, and crafting its narrative around the government's record. At its core was an antithetical argument which attacked the Opposition and depicted Howard as a hazardous leadership choice. Part of this argument involved presenting Howard's key cabinet members including Shadow Minister for Trade Tim Fischer, Shadow Minister for Foreign Affairs Alexander Downer, and Shadow Treasurer Peter Costello within rhetoric of risk: "a truly disconcerting prospect" (Keating 1996a). It was in this context that the particularly outlandish and embarrassing past affairs of these potential ministers were highlighted as a ploy to erode the Coalition's leadership credibility. The largely logical argument within the speech additionally emphasised the potential impact of a non-Labor government on

Australia's ability to harness imperative economic opportunities, particularly in Asia. This was an important rhetorical move by the Prime Minister to legitimise, by inference, his own foreign and trade policy agenda. Rhetoric linking the notions of mandate and trust also played a crucial role in projecting Keating's ethos as prime minister, especially given the antithetical framing of vision and leadership throughout the speech.

> The fact is, while Labor has a vision for Australian in the 21st century, John Howard's vision extends no further than 2 March 1996 (Keating 1996a).

The 'mandate and Big Picture' narrative

Central to establishing the big picture narrative in the lengthy *narration* was an emphasis on the theme of opportunity. This logos-based case repetitively communicated why harnessing the unprecedented economic opportunity in East Asia was critical to ensuring Australia's prosperous future, its unique identity and guaranteed income growth for all Australians. Indeed, the *narration* framed the case to instil within the audience both a sense of necessary momentum and fear of the ramifications of not harnessing this opportunity. The former was communicated through language connoting speed, "So long as we move quickly", and "If we move quickly we can create a major new Australian industry". While the latter was demonstrated in a series of metaphors which referred to the Coalition's dubious leadership capabilities and Howard's conflicting advocacy of conservative politics.

> The truth is Mr Howard has never been able to drag his feet from the sands of the past...But if Mr Howard and his colleagues dither—if they drop the baton we have carried for the past for years—the race will be over. And Australia will be the loser (Keating 1996a).

In addition to the potential consequences of not taking on the opportunity in Asia being communicated by the race metaphor, a fire metaphor was also used and continued throughout the Prime Minister's subsequent set piece campaign speeches (see for example, Keating

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1996b). The fire metaphor essentially represented Australia's prosperity, with the fire going out or lasting alluding to a change or continuation of the Labor government respectively.

> ...for if the fire goes out, not only is it unlikely to be re-lit, but the opportunity will be lost and we will repent in leisure (Keating 1996a).

Associating the Opposition with the inability to grasp opportunities abroad and the resulting negative impact for Australia demonstrated the ultimate pervasiveness of logos and the rhetorical device, antithesis throughout the *narration*. Indeed, the dual logical arguments aimed to portray the Opposition as incapable, inexperienced and unsuccessful in terms of its leadership and ability to provide a tangible nation-building project.

The establishment of the Prime Minister's and Labor's ethos centred on listing the government's accomplishments and delivered promises within rhetoric of mandate, trust and continuity. The *proof* contained 14 repetitive sentence statements beginning with "I asked" followed by every major policy area that Keating aimed to address and had successfully addressed during his prime ministership. Use of the term "mandate" eight times, "entrust" four times and "trust" twice throughout the sentences communicated the notion of duty. Allusions to notions of reliability and responsible leadership within this promise and deliverance sub-narrative validated Keating's ethos by subliminally reminding the audience of their collective wisdom in electing the Keating government in 1993.

> We aimed at 500,000 new jobs and we have delivered 714,000, 500,000 of them in small business. We aimed at sustainable economic growth and we are now benefiting from the longest period of sustained growth in Australia's history (Keating 1996a).

The *peroration* of the campaign launch reiterated rhetoric of duty and trustworthy leadership as a final demonstration of the government's virtue. In continuing the fire metaphor, Labor's track-record was used to validate its vision and corresponding nation-building project.

> Labor's vision never burned so brightly, we were never more determined.
> Never was the sense of mission stronger (Keating 1996a).

Further, the *peroration* drew on several pathos appeals to consolidate elements of the big picture narrative alongside the emphasis on trust and mandate rhetoric. First, Keating's inherent drive to improve the lives of Australia's Indigenous population was demonstrated with reference to Labor's success in giving legal expression to the High Court Mabo judgement by enacting the *Native Title Act* (1993). This historical legislation was communicated within a rhetoric of pride on behalf of the Prime Minister therefore appealing to the audience's emotions regarding the collective need to address the dark legacies of Indigenous dispossession and neglect.

> The next term of a Labor government will see an unprecedented effort to solve
> the distressing problems of Aboriginal health and morale (Keating 1996a).

Second, there are multiple emotive references to "our future, our kids, the Australians of next generation", and the older generation, "the heroic generation who defended our liberty and freedom everywhere". Linking the sense of sacrifice and acknowledging those who fought for Australia in World War Two with future generations of Australians served to stir a sense of nationalism, collective identity and belonging within the audience.

Figure 8: Content analysis results - Keating 1996

There are 10 concept families in total within Keating's 1996 campaign launch speech. Figure

8 demonstrates the five central concepts (in descending order) in the speech are:

'Australians', 'environment', 'world', 'economic', and 'country'. The five most used words

in descending order are: 'Australians' (used 53 times); 'Australia' (used 31 times); 'years'

(used 29 times); 'asked' (25 times); and nation (used 24 times). It is interesting to note that

majority of the main concept families are closely linked, often overlapping. This

demonstrates the central focus of Keating's speech, particularly the consistency of the

narrative and its framing as a logical argument. The content of these concept families all

relate to 'big picture' issues, with Australia's future place in the world being a core message

to come out of the overall Leximancer findings. Notably, the only domestic policy issue identified in the concept map, Medicare, is not only disconnected from this core message, it is also one of the smallest and most isolated concept families.

Keating's 1996 election speech was narratively focused on seeking a mandate for his big picture vision, and this was done through a logos-based argument. The qualitative results also reveal the central narrative was primarily articulated through appeals to logos in the *peroration*. Considering the central 'mandate and big picture' narrative identified in the qualitative analysis, the quantitative findings suggest why Keating's rhetorical argument was not self-reinforcing. Indeed, the fact that Keating's focus and vision was on global rather than internal matters to some extent points to why the Australian public did not extend him a mandate. And while Keating's speech articulates the big picture vision as imperative to ensuring domestic security and prosperity, this aspect of his vision was not presented to the audience as a distinctly *nation*-building project. Although the qualitative and quantitative findings indicate an agreement in the messaging, the lack of a domestic policy agenda, a leader who was perceived as out-of-touch, and an increasingly disenfranchised electorate contributed to the electoral failure of the ALP and the Prime Minister. In this instance, Keating's rhetorical arguments fell outside of, rather than responded to, the rhetorical situation surrounding the election campaign.

Opposition Leader John Howard's campaign launch speech

The Opposition Leader delivered the Coalition's 1996 campaign launch on February 18 in Ryde Civic Centre, Sydney. The "no-frills" launch (McGregor 1996) was held in front of a banner stating 'For all of us'. Indeed, the theme of inclusiveness was further amplified by the presence of Aboriginal activist Burnum-Burnum, who hugged Howard in a spontaneous

gesture of fraternity just prior to Howard starting the address. This theme also responded to the surrounding election context, particularly the polls, that suggested a change of government was desired to refocus the policy agenda on citizenship and domestic employment (Bean and McAllister 1997). For this reason, the rhetorical argument proposed in Howard's speech balanced logos and pathos appeals: logos in making a justified case for a change in leadership, while pathos appeals drew on conservative family values and commonplaces specific to the Australian way of life to resonate with a broad base of Liberal, Labor and swing voters of varying demographics and ethnicities. The oratorical style asserted by the Opposition Leader was significant when considering the central narrative, audience appeals and rhetorical moves featured throughout the speech. Underscoring the rhetorical strategies was the fact that Howard spoke without notes, with "verve and passion" and was "evangelical", promising immediate redemption and a return to trust in government (Hewett 1996).

Change through inclusion

Howard's speech capitalised on Keating's unpopularity, emphasising the need for a change of government by outlining the Coalition's plan "to build a better Australia and a better future for all Australians". The speech employed rhetorical devices including antithesis and climax[56] to logically frame the change narrative in favour of the Opposition Leader's vision and nation-building project. Indeed, the *exordium* built the case against future Labor leadership under Keating and demonstrated why Australia "needs emphatically a change of government" by using rhetoric of stagnation. A comparison between foreign debt in 1996 and when Labor came to power in 1983 further established the economic nature of the attack on Labor's

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[56] Arrangement of words, phrases, or clauses in an order of ascending power. See Stockwell (2005).

leadership credibility.

> When Labor came in to power Australia owed the rest of the word about $23,000
> million. We now owe the rest of the world $180,000 million. Nothing, my friends,
> symbolises absolutely, completely and comprehensively more than that disgraceful
> figure the total failure of Labor's economic management over the last 13 years
> (Howard 1996).

This component of the argument conveyed the notion that the economy would not improve

and would most likely continue to worsen under a future ALP government given Labor's

proven unwillingness to make necessary economic changes. Further, Labor's unchanging

industrial relations policies were simultaneously attacked and contrasted with the Coalition's

industrial relations reforms, which emphasised greater productivity and aimed to rebuild the

strength of the economy.

> When it comes to industrial relations, we are the Party of the future Australia;
> Labor is the party of the failed past (Howard 1996).

The *narration* focused on the Coalition's nation-building agenda and Howard's endeavour to

restore trust between politician and public—trust lost under the Labor government—through

a change of government. Rhetoric of values and democracy regarding the traditional

democratic role of politicians underpinned Howard's inherent commitment to offer righteous

leadership, further emphasising the ethos appeal.

> It's an old truism but it's still very relevant that governments are the servants
> of the people...the only obligation we will owe is to all of the people of
> Australia (Howard 1996).

The *proof* continued the ethos-based language to appeal to middle Australia by capturing the

Coalition's core policy agenda and its connection with traditional Liberal Party values. The

strategy was communicated in the speech through a combination of the Opposition's small

business-focused industrial reforms and $1 billion family tax package. Rhetoric relating to

accountability and reassurance illustrated the ethical framework of the Coalition's small

business initiatives—particularly in communicating the initiative's provision of relief for those who had voiced to Howard their fear of hiring staff in the context of Labor's unfair dismissal laws, and members of regional Australia who depended on the small business sector for economic survival. An allusion to Howard's small business background further demonstrated the Opposition Leader's ethos through his commonality and essence as a fellow middle class 'battler'.

> All my life I have believed in the importance and the place of small business within our community. I came from a small business background and I have remained ever grateful through my life that my father had part of that Australian dream at the time (Howard 1996).

The tax package embodied Howard's fundamental belief in strengthening the role of the family in the community and his commitment to effectively blending work and family responsibilities. Persuasive language emphasising the Opposition's support of families, particularly low and middle income families, and Howard's loyalty to traditional conservative values of the family unit, portrayed the ethical foundations of the Coalition: "it is from our families that we draw our greatest emotional and spiritual nourishment". By subtly building Howard's traditional beliefs and corresponding agenda onto the Liberal Party's conventional family and individual value system—reminiscent of Menzies' 'Forgotten People'[57]—the Opposition Leader's ethical credibility appealed specifically to Australia's middle class. Persuading the audience through rhetoric relating to community, national identity and belonging further demonstrated use of pathos appeals in the *peroration*. Historical references to World War Two in conjunction with the locality of the campaign

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[57] The *Forgotten People* is a famous 1942 speech and campaign slogan by former Prime Minister Sir Robert Menzies, which emphasises his links to ordinary non-elite citizens. The full speech transcript can be found here: https://menziesvirtualmuseum.org.au/transcripts/the-forgotten-people/59-chapter-1-the-forgotten-people. See also Brett (1992) for a compelling psycho-social analysis of Menzies' political language and the culture he represented.

launch[58] evoked the spirit of community and commonplaces of Australian national identity. Indeed, the latter characteristic of the speech location was effectively used to represent the Liberal Party's successful contribution to nation-building post-WWII and to expound the Party's associated multicultural heritage.
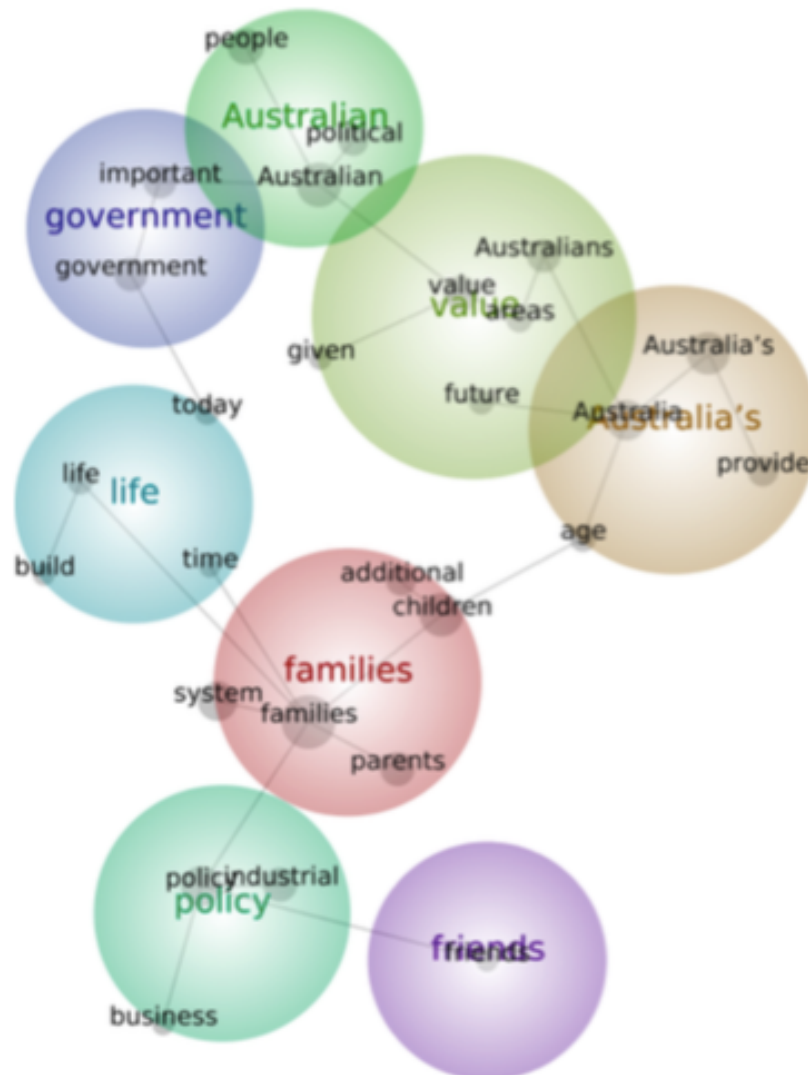
Figure 9: Content analysis results - Howard 1996

The concept map in Figure 9 shows a relatively proximate grouping of eight concept families. Aside from the 'values' concept family being the obvious largest, the remaining seven are comparable in size. This finding alone demonstrates the primacy of values, specifically

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[58] Ryde was located in Howard's electorate and for some period also contained the largest number of returned service personnel than any other community in Australia.

Australian, family and Liberal party values being central to the rhetorical argument. It also suggests the equal balancing of all other aspects of the narrative; a rhetorical unity between government, policy, families, and the way of life for all Australians. In this instance, the speech crafted the nation-building project as being manifest in all social and political infrastructure—a vision of both ideological and human measure. The five most used words in descending order are: 'families' (used 22 times); 'Australia' (used twenty times); 'years' (used 19 times); 'Australian' (used 13 times); and 'policy' (used 12 times).

The results from the qualitative analysis established the central narrative in Opposition Leader Howard's 1996 speech as 'change through inclusion', and that this rhetorical argument was made using primarily ethos-based rhetorical appeals in the *narration*. This narrative sought to project Howard's credibility as preferred prime minister as well as outline his nation-building project where an inclusive, 'home-grown' approach to governing would establish a richer representative democracy. As such, the findings of both quantitative and qualitative analyses complement one another in terms of the use of frequency of common themes, concepts, terms and the utilisation of rhetorical appeals, framing and commonplaces to establish the rhetorical argument. The speech capitalised on the rhetorical situation, with the use of rhetorical language in the speech assisting to deliver a successful election outcome for the Opposition Leader. Compared to Keating's speech where the rhetorical situation overwhelmed the rhetorical arguments due to a misaligned rhetorical strategy, Howard's 1996 election speech demonstrated the effective use of rhetorical language to shape intended outcomes.

1998: 'A stronger Australia'

John Howard's first election campaign as prime minister was characterised by the increased

presence of minor parties, the promotion of the Goods and Services tax (GST) reform, and

risked a "mildly disgruntled electorate"[59] (Warhurst 2000, 1). In many ways, the 1998 federal

election campaign echoed the 1993 election campaign, as tax reform in the form of a GST

was the central campaign battleground. Such was the dominance of tax that other salient

issues including race—which had once threatened to be the trigger for a double dissolution

election[60]—industrial relations and immigration were pushed to the periphery of the

campaign narrative. Taxation also dominated the first televised leaders' debate which was

held during week three of the campaign. By this point in the campaign tax had become

Howard's code for vision and planning. Yet, in other ways the 1998 election was held in

circumstances which distinguished it from preceding elections. These included the

uncertainties surrounding the likely success of the newest force in Australian politics, Pauline

Hanson's One Nation Party, the new, multicultural Unity Party, and independent MPs

attempting to maintain their positions.

The initial phases of the campaign involved the Liberals announcing their positive plan for

'A Stronger Australia', alongside the negative advertisement, 'Don't Go Back to Labor:

Australia Can't Afford it'. According to Liberal Party strategist Lynton Crosby (2000, 64),

the whole focus of the Liberal Party's national advertising campaign was to remind voters of

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[59]Warhurst argues further that underlying the entire campaign was "citizen distrust of the political process". In large part, argues Warhurst, this distrust manifested itself in the One Nation Party.

[60] Due to the *Native Title Amendment Act* 1998 (Cth), also commonly referred to as the '10 Point Plan'. This law was created by the Howard government in response to the 1996 Wik Decision by the High Court of Australia. The legislation was opposed by the Labor Party and the Democrats, and the final legislation was amended to gain the support of Independent Senator Brian Harradine, whose vote was required for the bill to pass.

Labor's record, specifically how they had not changed and would do the same again if given the opportunity. Conversely, Labor's vision was captured in the message, 'Fair Enough But Not Good Enough', and the campaign slogan, 'Australia Deserves Better' (Warhurst 2000; see also Young 2006). In terms of preferred prime minister, Howard and Labor Opposition Leader Kim Beazley were within five per cent of one another from the second week of the campaign onwards (Newspoll 1998).

The final week of the campaign saw both the Prime Minister and Opposition Leader implement a stream of negative attacks and scare tactics. Beazley warned that "tax police would roam the streets demanding people show receipts for items as small as ice-cream under a re-elected Howard government" (Malakunas 1998). Whereas Howard's interpretation of Beazley in his final National Press Club address sought to resonate with the Labor Party faithful.

> And you will, in fact, end up with the worst of all worlds, if the Labor Party wins on taxation. You'll have increased indirect taxes. You'll have changes in that area but it, it will be done in such an ad hoc and clumsy way that it will add further Band-Aids to an already failing and antiquated system (Howard 1998b).

The Coalition was returned to office with an overall majority of 13 seats. Indeed, the victory for the Coalition in the House of Representatives was a more extreme mirror image of the 1990 election; the party with the majority of the two-party preferred vote failed to win a majority of the seats. According to Crosby (2000), part of the Coalition's win can be attributed to the potency of its negative campaign against Labor's record. In terms of polling and voting research commissioned by the Liberal and Labor parties respectively, Labor began the campaign ahead of the Coalition (Crosby 2000). Of the 16 per cent who were not locked into support for any specific party and who made their minds up before the election was

called, 52 per cent opted for Labor and only 28 per cent for the Coalition. Of the 19 per cent

of people who made up their minds in the last few days of the campaign, 39 per cent chose

the Coalition while 35 per cent chose Labor. Most significantly, of the 8 per cent who

decided to vote at the booth on polling day, 46 per cent voted for the Liberal Party and 24 per

cent opted for Labor on a primary basis (Australian Electoral Commission 1999; Goot 2000).

Prime Minister John Howard's campaign launch speech

The Liberal Party officially launched its campaign in Parramatta, Sydney with the speech

situating economic reform and economic opportunity as the defining characteristics of the

election. The purpose of the campaign launch was to use the tax agenda to frame the Liberals

as the party of the future and Labor as the "party of the past" (Henderson 1998). In this

context, specific emphasis was placed on the Howard government's strategic navigation of

the "great economic challenges" left by Labor (Howard 1998a). This antithetical argument

was captured by a narrative that sought to depict economic competency as the central

battleground for leadership ethos, and purport economic vision as being fundamental to the

nation-building project. On a secondary and more emotive level, rhetorical devices were

employed to appeal to patriotism and egalitarianism, with Howard calling on voters to ask

themselves "what is good for Australia, not what is good for you or me". Persuasive language

that expressed pride and hope was also emphasised in the campaign launch, with optimism

cited as a central tenet of the Coalition's governance mentality.

> Optimism about the capacity of Australian individuals and enterprises to make
> the most of expanding global opportunities, and our unique assets as a nation
> (Howard 1998a).

Indeed, in an article published in *The Australian* the day following the campaign launch,

Howard's rhetoric was described as "heartening also in its embrace of change, again a

contrast not only to other political leaders but also to previous incarnations of Mr Howard himself" (*The Australian* 1998).

The 'paternalism and patriotism' narrative

Given the primacy of tax reform in the campaign agenda and the quantifiable public interest in taxation as the primary election issue[61], leading with the tax package and asking voters to see the "national interest" ahead of their "fears or concerns or doubts" was a strategic move by Howard to align the GST—and the party best suited to manage it—with the nation's economic progression (see also Simms and Warhurst 2000). A word frequency search on the speech finds 'tax' as the fourth most used word, featuring 26 times. Nation-building discourse was rhetorically articulated through an overarching battle metaphor in which Howard projected himself as leading the mission amid a world of "great economic turbulence" with rhetoric of strength and paternalism. The importance of solidarity and mateship within Howard's broader mission to secure Australia's economic future created the rhetorical parameters of the *exordium* and *peroration*.

> If you ever get into a political trench, make sure Tim Fischer is there beside you because he's the best.
>
> Rather let it be the sum of the commitment that all of us have to building a stronger and better Australia so that together we can move confidently into the 21st century (Howard 1998a).

It was on this rhetorical platform that the *narration* outlined Howard's vision for Australia's shift into the 21st century. Rhetorically-associative phrases such as "we have become the

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[61]A post-election study by Bean and McAllister (2000) on voting behaviour in the 1998 federal election found that issues rather than leaders had a greater influence on voting decisions. For the third election in a row, taxation recorded the biggest impact on electoral choice among the issues measured in the analysis (see also Bean 1994; Bean and McAllister 1997).

economic strongman of Asia", "if we are to survive the challenges of international economic circumstances", and "political parties must be judged on their performance and not on their rhetoric" appealed to both logic and emotion. Logos in assuming the audience's capacity to reason that the proponents of the tax reform were best equipped to provide the economic insight and infrastructure needed for interest rates and inflation to remain low, and to ensure higher levels of business investment and job growth. Appeals to emotion were manifest in the moralistic framing of the GST in balancing "fairness and incentive" and rewarding "the honest law-abiding citizen". Indeed, the risks associated with maintaining the current tax system were juxtaposed with antithetical metaphors that were connotative of justice and efficiency.

> The cash or the black economy runs rampant. The introduction of the goods and services tax will drag the cheats into the net.
>
> A goods and services tax will sweep away the ten inefficient Commonwealth and States taxes we have now.
>
> But they're isolated, lonely, I believe increasingly vulnerable, since the Australian Labor Party stubbornly saying, no the present system's perfect, once you fix caviar and orange juice (Howard 1998a).

Rhetorical devices were also used in the *proof* to associate the philosophical principles underlying the Howard government's advocacy of the principle of mutual obligation, and the "Australian way" of being a "decent, compassionate and caring community" to further humanise the tax reform agenda. In doing so, the tax package was framed as a democratic necessity modelled on commonplaces of Australian national identity, rather than being the product of or for sectional interests. The strategy behind this persuasive discourse aimed for the notion of economic reform to become positively synonymous with the forward progression, strength and virtue of the Howard government's nation-building project.

The *peroration* pursued pathos appeals as an act of personal identification; a statement of faith in the Australian people. Further, there was a declaration that the Prime Minister believed it was possible for the political class to have a rational dialogue with voters about the future of the country and convince them of the need for reform (Shanahan 1998).

> I have never, in 24 years in public life, been more certain than I am today that I am doing the right thing by Australia in pursuing the cause of taxation reform.
>
> It is, above everything else, a question of choice of what is good for Australia, not what is good for you or me or one or other group (Howard 1998).

Here, personal anecdotes were frequently used to highlight the Prime Minister's ethos and emphatic personal commitment to lead the economic case for leadership. Rhetoric of optimism shrouded the Coalition's future policy agenda, as well as Howard's personal pride in the nation and its capacity for innovation and progression. Indeed, the phrase "my love for Australia" began a series of six climactic sentences in the lead up to the final paragraph of the speech. Each of these sentences professed Howard's nation-building project in a powerful display of rhetoric, particularly due to the preceding premise that "political leaders are about saying what they think our society should be". Given the rhetorical association of the tax reform package with future change, Howard's case for leadership from both an economic and populist perspective was encompassed in his duty to address the "interests of securing a stronger and better future" for the nation.
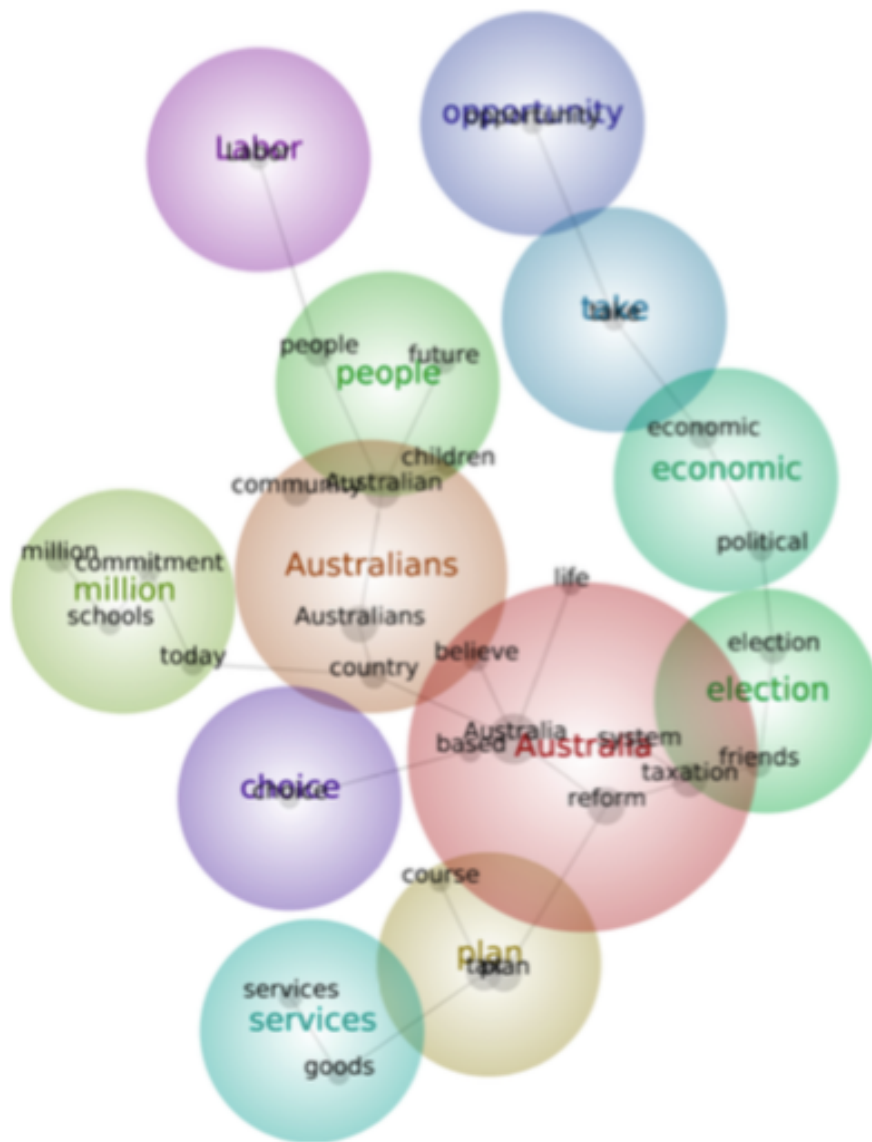
Figure 10: Content analysis results - Howard 1998

Figure 10 shows a theme-heavy concept map with a large number of concept families

compared to 1996: 12 in total. The map is a concentrated network despite an array of

concepts, with the two largest being 'Australia' and 'Australians'. The other 10 concept

families are comparable in size and all concept families are closely linked, aside from the

'Labor' bubble. Similarly, the five most used words in descending order are: 'Australian'

(used 52 times); 'Australia' (used forty times); 'years' (used 35 times); 'tax' (used 26 times);

and 'good' (used 21 times). The concept map demonstrates messaging of an overall

economic nature, and this message is framed within the classical liberal ideals of 'choice' and 'opportunity'.

The overall qualitative and quantitative results of Howard's 1998 speech demonstrate a shift in Howard's rhetorical strategy from the 1996 election, albeit more emphatic in rhetoric and comprehensive in policy. The former 'need for inclusion' narrative was extended and framed as something achieved but needing to be consolidated through an economically strong and ideologically patriotic leadership and policy agenda. Indeed, the qualitative speech analysis found the 'paternalism and patriotism' narrative to be primarily orated through ethos appeals and featured most predominantly in the *peroration*. Looking at the use of rhetorical techniques and the nature of the argument led, what Howard was trying to achieve in the speech was a consolidation of leadership ethos previously sought in the 1996 speech. The Prime Minister's 1998 campaign speech therefore took advantage of the Coalition's negative campaign against Labor by framing Howard as being a champion of the Australian nation-building project and equally capable of driving long-term economic vision. In this sense, the rhetorical strategy effectively addressed the rhetorical situation.

2001: 'Keeping Australians in safe hands'

A series of events towards the end of 2001 provoked and defined the narratives, slogans and policy themes in the subsequent federal election campaign. This worked largely to the benefit of the Coalition which was trailing Labor in opinion polls throughout the first half of the year (Roy Morgan Research). Indeed, Opposition Leader Kim Beazley was consistently rated as preferred prime minister from February to May (Newspoll 2001a). The first of these events occurred in late August with the rescue of asylum seekers by the Norwegian cargo ship, the Tampa. What came to be known as the 'Tampa Affair' fuelled a frenzy of debate over

refugee policy and led to a parliamentary confrontation between the government and the

Opposition. Immigration and border protection consequently remained the dominant

campaign issues right up until the day of the election. The government's response to the

Tampa Affair, including the introduction of the *Border Protection Bill* (2001) to the House of

Representatives and the 'Pacific Solution'[62] raised questions regarding Australia's human

rights responsibilities and the morality of the government (Marr and Wilkinson 2004). Two

weeks later, the events of September 11 demonstrated the lethal combination of anti-Western

sentiment and the tenacity to attack from within, albeit in a country which prided itself on its

defence capabilities. Indeed, in a time of global panic and uncertainty the Australian public

and international community looked to decisive and reassuring leadership to neutralise

increasing fear surrounding future attacks against the West. It is therefore unsurprising that

polls swung strongly toward the Coalition after the Tampa controversy and September 11

attacks (Kelly 2001; McAllister 2003). The so-called 'Children Overboard' event in October

further exacerbated political and public debate around the issues of border protection and

national security.

Prime Minister John Howard called the federal election on October 5, announcing a five

week long campaign with an election to be held on 10 November. The short speech

emphasised Howard's commitment to "lead a government that governs for the interests of the

entire Australian community" fought against the background of "immense security and

economic challenges" (2001a). In keeping with the wider campaign narratives of strength and

---

[62] This involved making amendments to the *Commonwealth Migration Act* (1958) and essentially redefined the area of Australian territory that could be landed upon and then legitimately used for claims of asylum. It also allowed for the removal of any intercepted people to other countries for processing with the aim of deterring future asylum seekers from making the dangerous journey to Australia by boat.

protection, the ALP's campaign slogan 'A Secure Future For All Australians' to a large extent echoed that of the Coalition's 'Keep Australia In Safe Hands'. The centrepiece of the Coalition's campaign was an emphasis on Howard's leadership record and his infamous assertion of "we will decide who comes to this country and under what circumstances" (Howard 2001d). In terms of campaign style, the 2001 campaign was the first in Australia to adopt an American presidential style, with a strong mediatised focus on the personal leadership characteristics of the candidates rather than their respective parties (Denemark et al. 2007). Indeed, this style contributed to the impact of rhetoric of strength and resilience that infused the Coalition's set piece speeches.

On election eve Howard's rating as national leader peaked at 56 per cent, with Beazley's reaching its lowest at 26 per cent (Newspoll 2001a). Newspoll (2001b) also reported the Coalition on a 53 per cent two-party preferred vote, and the election results confirmed the Howard government's return with an increased majority. The two per cent swing to the government in two-party preferred vote terms was the largest swing to an incumbent government since 1966 and only one of five times that a positive swing to a government had occurred since 1949. Swings to the government were recorded in all states except Tasmania and the Northern Territory. The election, however, was one of contrasting results for the Coalition partners: 69 Liberal Party members were elected to the House of Representatives, the third largest number ever elected, while 13 National Party members were elected, the second smallest number in the post-war period. Conversely, the ALP recorded its lowest primary vote since 1934 (see Barber and Johnson 2014).

Prime Minister John Howard's campaign launch speech

Prime Minister Howard officially launched the Coalition's campaign on October 28, 2001 in the Sydney Recital Hall. The campaign launch speech embodied an overarching narrative of the strength and resilience of the Australian nation and its people—one of Howard's habitual speechmaking commonplaces. The narrative was logically argued alongside an economically-responsible policy platform to comprise the broader nation-building project. It also featured flourishes of emotive rhetoric that highlighted the Prime Minister's spirited fervour toward achieving these nation-building objectives. This language sought to increase Howard's ethos and "likeability" with the audience and wider community (Dyrenfurth 2005). In effect, the rhetorical argument created a crisis and solution scenario which placed Howard as the source of protection and reassurance.

Policy initiatives appeared in the following order: defence; science, technology and innovation; welfare; education; and health. Indeed, the placement of the first two policy initiatives supported the narrative of strength and resilience amid security unrest. Interestingly, a colloquialism was used to validate the second listed policy area:

> (our plan) is going to continue to allow this nation to do something it has always done and that is *punch above its weight* in the area of science and research (Howard 2001d, emphasis added).

This rhetorical technique is an example of what the 1930s New South Wales Premier Jack Lang referred to as 'cutting the heads off tall poppies', and what Thompson (1994) labels as the spirit of egalitarianism that underpins Australian political culture. By aligning the Prime Minister's ethos with core elements of the 'Australian spirit', the argumentative moves within the speech emphasised Howard's ability to protect national interests and assets—both tangible and immaterial—under threat from broader global circumstances. Further, the

speech reached out to middle Australia by offering a $1.2 billion baby bonus, a scheme called the First Child Tax Refund. It also outlined "fresh" projects in aged care and the battle against drug abuse as a subsequent strategy to counter Labor's promise of GST cuts to nappies and other household bills (Farr and Dunlevy 2001).

The 'strength and resilience' narrative

> National security is therefore about a proper response to terrorism. It's also about having a far sighted, strong, well thought out defence policy. It is also about having an uncompromising view about the fundamental right of this country to protect its borders…But we will decide who comes to this country and the circumstances in which they come.
>
> I am comforted by the fact that we have achieved an internal economic and social strength that enables us to face the future with conviction and strength (Howard 2001d).

The *exordium* first reminded the audience of the extent to which the context of possible threats to national security required decisive and reassuring leadership; conviction and authenticity. Here, Howard emphasised classical liberal rights of freedom and sovereign rights to advance his personal mission for "a military response and wise diplomacy" against the perceived threats. Yet the following *narration* was careful not to convey rhetoric of dependency, rather rhetoric of empowerment and national collectivism; a common mission against a common foe. Indeed, the militant style of rhetoric used by Howard in the *narration* echoed language used by Prime Minister Robert Menzies in his *Forgotten People* broadcasts. Accordingly, Howard spoke directly to the Australian temperament of struggle and perseverance—a derivative of Howard's "beloved" ANZAC legend (Dyrenfurth 2007)—in the 2001 campaign launch. In any case, both prime ministers used their oratory to appeal to a legacy of national belonging, to offer a story of 'Australianness', and to garner public support.

The *proof* balanced an antithetical case for the continuation of stable, predictable and strong leadership against the threat posed to the nation by international crime and terrorism. Rhetoric of hopeful stoicism aimed to imbue the audience with a simple, affective message: "we'll see it through because of our *spirit*" (emphasis added). The Prime Minister identified this spirit as his leadership muse; "the thing that drives me the most in public life is the spirit of the Australian people". This rhetorical argument assisted in humanising Howard's leadership style as stemming from the desire to represent the needs of the national community. Further, use of emotive synonyms including "dedication", "energetic" and "enthusiasm", and consistently repeating poignant phrases such as, "I am comforted by two great things", "we have a wonderful story to tell", and "the framework of decency for which Australians have always been renowned" indicated the interplay of ethos and pathos audience appeals. After periods of outlining the "dangerously difficult strategic and economic circumstances" the nation faced, Howard premised each facet of the Coalition's positive plan and policy path for the future with, "the good news is". Not only did this juxtaposition illustrate Howard's acknowledgement of the reality of national security issues, it also conveyed to the audience that the Prime Minister's ethos as a leader *and* as a policy initiator were qualities accountable to one another.

Rhetorical strategies including metaphor and personification were employed in the *refutation* when attacking the economic performance of the Opposition. The products of Labor's past policy shortcomings were framed as "we have revived from its *death throes* private health insurance" (emphasis added), and "private health insurance was allowed to *bleed to death* under Labor" (emphasis added). Such visceral rhetoric attempted to erode the leadership ethos of the ALP by painting the party as synonymous with slaughterers; albeit of policy rather than people. The use of this rhetoric invoked two possible intended effects as an

antithetical strategy. First, in associating the ALP with deadly connotations, the Coalition

asserted itself as the viable and safer leadership option. Second, the use of antithesis was a

rhetorical strategy which sought to fulfil the strategic ends of the idiom, 'mud sticks'.
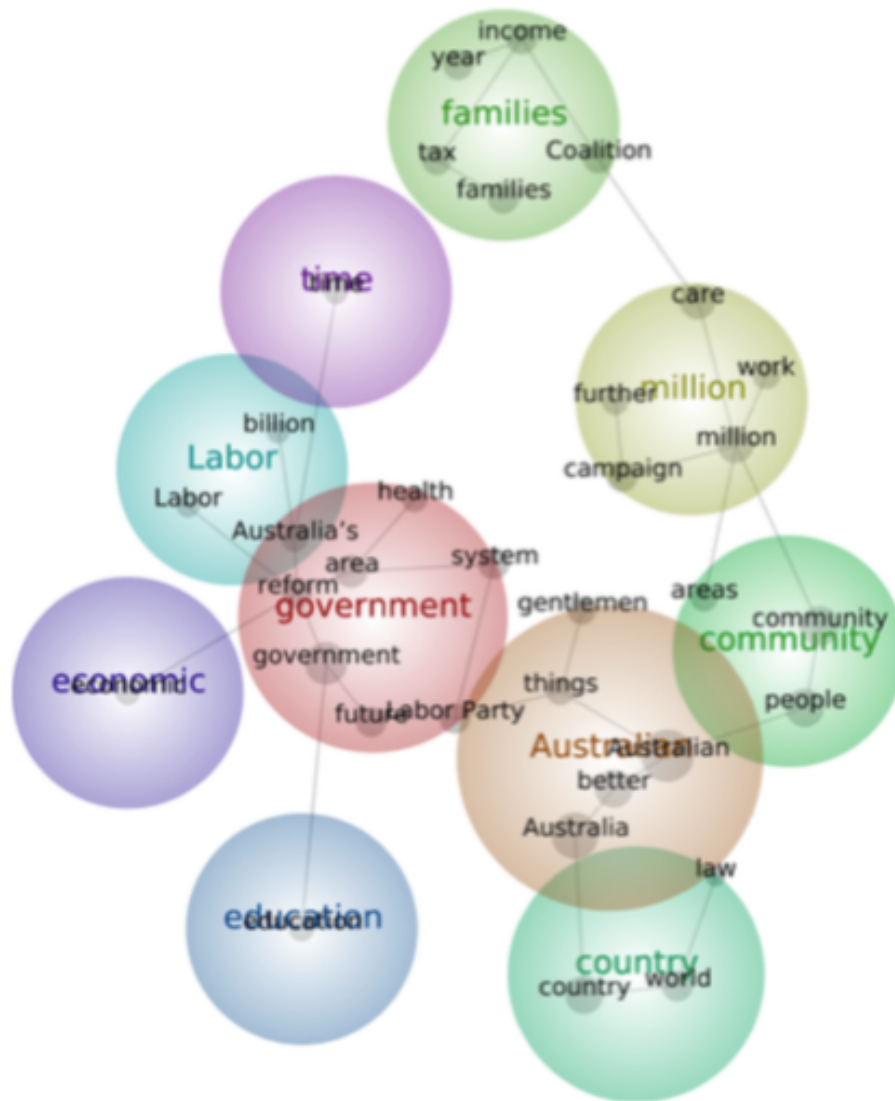
Figure 11: Content analysis results - Howard 2001

Figure 11 illustrates a slightly more thematically-disconnected concept map, with a reduced

number of concept families compared to Howard's 1998 campaign speech. That said, the two

largest concept families, 'Australian' and 'government' contain a large number of terms.

Further, the key areas of overlap with proximate concept families indicates the conceptual

primacy of global affairs in terms of policy focus, community impact and the government's

nation-building project. The fact that two of the smaller concept families, 'families' and 'education' are located the most distant from the nucleus of the concept map also demonstrates the prioritisation of themes relating to the nation and its place in the world. The five most used words in descending order are: 'years' (used 65 times); 'Australia' (used 46 times); 'Australian' (used 46 times); 'government' (used 39 times); and 'Labor' (used 26 times).

The qualitative analysis established that the 'strength and resilience' narrative was adhered to throughout Howard's campaign launch through ethos appeals, mainly in the *proof*. Indeed, this narrative capitalised on the rhetorical situation in the months leading up to the election, albeit at the expense of a domestic policy agenda. Instead, the rhetorical strategy engaged in this speech focused on framing Howard's ethos as central to the nation-building project. Without strong and decisive leadership, argued Howard, the nation would not have the infrastructure needed to govern in the period of global instability. The quantitative angle also revealed two things: a) Howard's nationalistic rhetoric—'government' and 'Australian'— particularly within the broader themes of nation and security emphasised the potential of the centralised power of government against domestic security threats. And b) continuous references to the past and future— 'years'—sought to build hope and trust in the record of the Coalition, therefore justifying its mandate for another term in government.

2004: 'Who do you trust?'

Campaigning for a fourth term in government against an opposition which had changed leaders three times since the previous federal election gave the Coalition and the Prime Minister significant rhetorical mileage in his set piece speeches. The 2004 election also saw the emergence of telephone messaging and email as new means of delivering packaged

political messages to Australian voters. Boyd (2006, 21) argues that the expansion of communication platforms to implement campaign strategy accelerated the development of a "PR state". This extended to challenge the caretaker government convention and mount government advertising campaigns during the formal campaign period. From Howard's election announcement on August 29, 2004 until voting day, the campaign centred on two antithetical themes: trust and fear. When calling the election, the Prime Minister posed to the public a series of rhetorical questions: "Who do you trust to keep the economy strong and protect family living standards?", "Who do you trust to keep interest rates low?", and "Who do you trust to lead the fight on Australia's behalf against international terrorism?" (Howard 2004a). These messages contributed to the Coalition's overarching campaign strategy of pitting Howard's demonstrated capacity as a leader against the comparatively inexperienced Labor Opposition Leader Mark Latham[63].

The Coalition's campaign slogan 'Protecting, Securing and Building Australia's Future' further emphasised the Howard government's demonstrated experience in managing the economy domestically while also cultivating Australia's diplomatic relationships in the West's 'war on terror'. That said, the war in Iraq and Australia's alliance with the United States were not explicitly mentioned in the Prime Minister's initial election announcement. There was also only one reference to national security—a radical departure in narrative from the previous election campaign. This shift indicated the campaign was to be fought in "Australia's backyards" rather than on international issues (Ruse 2004). The early stages of

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[63] On December 2, 2003, less than 10 years after entering Parliament, Latham won the vote for the leadership of the Australian Labor Party by 47-45 votes against Kim Beazley.

the election campaign saw Labor leading the two-party preferred vote 52 per cent to the

Coalition's 48 per cent (Newspoll 2004a).

During a press conference in Sydney half an hour after Howard's election announcement,

Latham welcomed the election saying the main issue would be 'truth' in government. "We've

had too much dishonesty from the Howard Government", he said; "The election is about

trust. The government has been dishonest for too long" (Latham 2004). Most election

campaigns drive the 'trust' narrative explicitly or implicitly—the stability of the incumbent

versus the unpredictability of the alternative, the fear of the unknown. In 2004, however, the

irony of the bipartisan adherence to rhetoric of trust was that Latham—who although popular

represented something dangerous and reckless to the electorate—assisted the Coalition's pro-

Howard leadership campaign. Indeed, the Liberal Party's negative advertising campaign was

designed to turn Latham into a negative brand proposition. The L-plate mnemonic central to

the Coalition's campaign narrative represented Latham's inexperience, and slogans claiming,

"that if you can't run a council, you can't run a country" reinforced doubts about Latham's

ability to handle the Australian economy (Sinclair and Maiden 2004).

Although polling from *The Age*, *The Australian*, *The Sydney Morning Herald*, and the Nine

Networks' 'worm' debate performance gauge indicated the ALP was outperforming the

Coalition in the latter stages of the campaign (see Newspoll 2004b, 2004c), a brief interaction

between the Opposition Leader and the Prime Minister on the final day of the election

campaign—infamously known as the 'handshake'—consolidated the Coalition's rhetoric of

trust and fear. Their messaging was effectively legitimised. The Liberal Party campaign

director, Brian Loughnane later said this incident generated more feedback to Liberal

headquarters than anything else during the six week campaign, and it "brought together all

the doubts and hesitations that people had about Mark Latham" (Australian Broadcasting Corporation 2004). The overall election results saw the Howard government elected for a fourth term with a two per cent swing on a two-party preferred basis. The Coalition increased its majority in the House of Representatives by claiming 87 Lower House seats against Labor's sixty seats. The strong support for the government also flowed through to the Senate where the Coalition gained control of the Upper House; the first time a government had held a majority in both houses since 1980.

Prime Minister John Howard's campaign launch speech

The Prime Minister's campaign launch speech on September 26, 2004 at the Brisbane City Hall was broadcast live on Sky News. Channel Seven also assembled an audience to watch his speech and tracked their responses using 'the worm'. Howard's 65-minute long address highlighted his time in office as prime minister and as a Member of Parliament and the vision of Australia he had campaigned for throughout his political career. Moreover, the set piece emphasised the need to continue his mission of delivering "security to the nation and security to the nation's families". The speech told the story of "an Australia bound together by the common bonds of egalitarianism and mateship", utilising persuasive language techniques to engage in a self-reinforcing identification process with the Australian public. Specifically, this rhetoric expressed Howard's paternalistic pride and enduring "journey" of service to the people.

The 'strong leadership and Australian values' narrative

> Without a strong economy, you cannot sustain a growing investment in roads.
> Without a strong economy, you cannot afford to adequately defend the nation.
> Without a strong economy, you cannot deliver security and certainty to
> Australian families so that they can live their lives in peace and plan carefully
> for their future (Howard 2004b).

The *exordium* of the speech established a powerful, pathos-driven argument with the core message relating to the Prime Minister's gratitude in being given three successive mandates to share "the hopes and aspirations and the dreams and the achievements of my fellow Australians". Howard's acknowledgement of the "privilege" and "honour" of office was then followed by a list of national and international tragedies including those in Port Arthur and Bali. These allusions sought to construct the Prime Minister's case for a continuation of strong and experienced leadership, particularly against a perceived context of security instability. In a series of repetitious statements premised with "I have tried to feel the pain", the Prime Minister openly revealed how these experiences reminded him of the "real Australia". This rhetorical technique acted as a platform to reinforce his own values as an Australian. Further, the 'strength through adversity', 'courage through hardship' theme aimed to appeal to the Australian commonplace of the ANZAC spirit of mateship. The pathos appeals and identification tactics within the narrative of strength and resilience therefore portrayed Howard as a paternalistic leader.

This pathos-driven narrative extended to the *narration*, presenting a strong appeal to a battler blue-collar vote and was arguably a direct attempt to capture traditional Labor voters. Terms used to express archetypal Australian values including "tough", "direct", "laconic", "warm", and "compassionate" were framed with positive connotations. Indeed, rhetoric emphasising the Prime Minister's 'middle-of-the-road' essence was key to the construction of Howard's ethos in the speech. For example, metaphor, personification and repetition were predominantly used in three different situations throughout the *proof*. The first involved Howard evoking a Churchillian rhetorical tone to address the threat of terrorism:

> Terrorism has cast a dark cloud over the world…challenge best repulsed by us being determined to live the lives of a free and democratic society. It will be a

long fight and a difficult fight, and we must do it in cooperation with our
friends all around the world (Howard 2004b).

Strength in diplomatic relationships, mainly between Australia and the United States, was

another facet of the *proof* and *peroration* that contributed to the story of mateship and

resilience. Second, Howard intentionally made a connection between pragmatic alliances,

national security and economic growth to further elucidate his argument against electing a

Labor government. Under a Labor government, argued the Prime Minister, interest rates

would be higher and cumulative debts would mean cuts to defence spending. Of the ALP's

capacity to build allies and allegiances Howard noted, "the Coalition has been better friends

of the workers of Australia than Labor could ever dream of being". Finally, Howard

heightened his rhetorical attack against the Opposition by alleging the type of federal

governance the ALP would drive: "they (the public) don't want a behavioural policeman as a

Prime Minister". As such, the logical association between economic prosperity, choice and

freedom alongside the Coalition's record further demonstrated the classical liberal value

system underpinning the Prime Minister's nation-building project.

Figure 12: Content analysis results - Howard 2004

Figure 12 depicts a dense concept map featuring equally dense concept families. Outside of the two largest concept families, 'Australian' and 'industrial', the other concept families are almost equal in volume and frequency. This demonstrates a content-rich speech with consistent and coinciding messaging. Concepts tend to have a small target issue focus, with central themes such as 'Coalition', 'business', and 'government' being inextricably linked to one another and this range of domestic issues. Interestingly, the concept map also indicates the government's industrial relations agenda as being a consistent message across the speech. The five most used words in descending order are: 'government' (used 49 times);

'Australian' (used 47 times); 'years' (used 43 times); 'Labor' (used 33 times); and 'coalition' (used 31 times).

The qualitative findings revealed the central 'strong leadership and Australian values' narrative to be primarily articulated through pathos appeals in the *exordium*. Indeed, the speech also continued the ethos-based argument led in the 2001 campaign speech in framing Howard's leadership through rhetoric of strength. Where the 2004 speech differs, however, is that it combines the strong leadership narrative with a pathos-based argument that has parallels with the Prime Minister's value system which he first presented as Opposition Leader in his 1996 campaign launch speech. Indeed, the merger of the two arguments alongside the rhetorical situation makes for a rhetorical strategy that presented Howard's nation-building project as being one founded within leadership strength and authenticity; an expression of conviction leadership. The Prime Minister's campaign launch therefore presented an argument that more effectively addressed the overall campaign theme of 'who do you trust'.

Summary of analysis

The qualitative discussion and findings are summarised in Table 4 and 5 below. The rhetorical appeal refers to the most used rhetorical appeal, while the speech element refers to the section of the speech that the rhetorical argument featured most predominantly.

Election	PM	Central narrative	Rhetorical appeal	Speech element
1996*	Keating	'Mandate and Big Picture'	Proving (logos)	*Narration*

1998	Howard	'Paternalism and patriotism'	Authenticating (ethos)	*Peroration*
2001	Howard	'Strength and resilience'	Authenticating (ethos)	*Proof*
2004	Howard	'Strong leadership and Australian values'	Pleasing (pathos)	*Exordium*

Table 4: 1996-2004 qualitative results – prime minister

*Period of transition

Election	OL	Central narrative	Rhetorical appeal	Speech element
1996	Howard	Change through inclusion	Authenticating (ethos)	*Narration*

Table 5: 1996-2004 qualitative results – opposition leader

Chapter conclusions

The qualitative component of the speech analysis identified the central narrative of each speech, the primary rhetorical proof through which this narrative was argued, and the section of the speech that the argument featured most predominantly. Overall, the analysis found narratives relating to strength and protection as common thematic foundations of each text's argument, aside from that of Keating's in 1996. Instead, Keating's rhetorical strategy sought to persuade the public towards a different type of nation-building project; a 'new' Australia that readily embraced its shifting globalised national identity. The articulation of Keating's vision in his last speech as prime minister was essentially a call to action which asked for more than a vote for Labor. It urged Australians to trust a new economy through its Asia-Pacific ties, to consider domestic issues such as the environment as being at the forefront of

government action, and to reflect critically on some aspects of white Australian history. Consequently, Keating's case for change alienated many demographics outside of the cosmopolitan urban cities. The qualitative analysis further confirmed this effect, showing how the speech failed to balance the change narrative with one that acknowledged the value in retaining core elements of Australian culture and national identity. Added to a rhetorical situation where leadership popularity in Keating had reached a record low, Keating's ethos did not sufficiently augment his nation-building discourse. This resulted in his big picture narrative not conveying the power it intended. Conversely, Howard's speech as opposition leader in the same election campaign took the counter approach by focusing its nation-building vision inwards (domestically) rather than outwards (internationally). In doing so, Howard's speech seized narratives of leadership strength, national values and regional protection and was therefore able to deploy a rhetorical strategy that both empowered and reassured its audience.

The qualitative analysis also demonstrated that rhetorical commonplaces underpinning the core narratives were specific to party and leader as the point raised above also indicates. It should, however, come as no surprise that Keating's and Howard's use of cultural metaphors, anecdotes and colloquialisms were markedly dissimilar given their equally dissimilar ideological outlooks. Ethos featured as the key rhetorical proof. Indeed, Howard's rhetorical style was naturally framed by ethos appeals given his emphasis on traditional conservative values such as the family unit and home ownership. The central tenets of the paternalism discourse in his campaign launch speeches were therefore argued with heightened conviction. Regarding the primary speech element in each set piece, these varied so significantly that no clear pattern or conclusion of value can be offered. Further, the only instance where the rhetorical situation noticeably dictated the use of rhetoric in a campaign launch, regardless of

its objective persuasiveness, also resulted in an electoral defeat for Keating. That is, the circumstances leading up to the election campaign proved decisive in shaping the election outcome despite the nature of Keating's campaign strategy and rhetoric. The same conclusion resulted from the analysis of Prime Minister Fraser's 1983 speech in the previous chapter. As such, a case can start being made regarding the link between a rhetorical strategy that does not consider the rhetorical situation, and electoral failure. Howard's 2001 speech demonstrated the converse side of this case as the rhetorical strategy employed in the speech was a by-product of the rhetorical situation leading up to the election campaign. The qualitative examination of the speech transcripts therefore provided an insight into the reach of the persuasive argument in each speech, and the extent to which rhetorical usage was shaped by contextual variables (and vice versa).

By most accounts the quantitative component of the speech analysis supports the qualitative findings. Howard's 1998 and 2004 campaign speeches best demonstrated concurrences across the methodological approaches. In the former, the speech continued the successful rhetorical strategy from the 1996 election, but broadened the nation-building narrative by emphasising domestic policy and cultural values. While the 2004 campaign speech capitalised on the broader campaign theme of trust to frame Howard's tenure and response to international crisis as demonstrating the necessary leadership qualities. Indeed, the quantitative and qualitative results of all Howard's speeches complement one another in terms of the use and frequency of common themes, concepts and terms, and the utilisation of rhetorical appeals, framing and commonplaces to sustain the rhetorical argument. A key observation to make here relates to the consistency in Howard's messaging and rhetorical style over the course of his prime ministership, despite the external pressures of the rhetorical

situation surrounding each campaign and speech. Indeed, whether this consistency accounts for the consecutive electoral successes is a possibility.

Considering the combined results of the speech analysis, the language of strategy during the study period is the rhetoric of strength and stoicism. The language of strategy can be reduced to three demonstrable and interconnected suppositions in the election campaign set piece speech: a) nation-building and ethos; b) ethos and narrative; c) narrative and nation-building. The three features depicted in Figure 13 below point to the interconnected relationship between those rhetorical techniques, appeals and speech structures identified in the speech analysis results. Figure 13 also suggests that a unison between the three components in a campaign launch results in a persuasive argument. As mentioned, key areas of accord can be seen across all of Howard's speeches (to varying degrees), while the main areas of departure can be seen in Keating's 1996 speech. This was mainly due to Keating's ethos appeals not having persuasive impact given his low public popularity and the focus of his nation-building narrative.
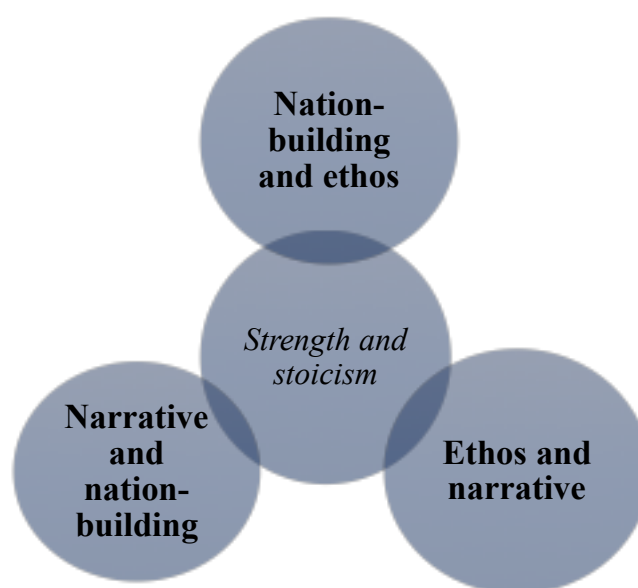
Figure 13: The language of strategy: 1996-2004

The electoral discourse of the decade spanning 1996 to 2004 in Australian federal politics was shaped by Howard's reassuring and paternalist language. Indeed, the nature of this rhetoric provided the vehicle which allowed identification to occur from the onset of Howard's prime ministership. That is, the consistent allusion to specific commonplaces and rhetorical devices effectively framed Howard's mission to continue representing working-class middle Australians—Howard's 'battlers'. The language of strategy therefore reveals the effective use of persuasive language during this period insofar as resonating with the voting population, capitalising on the broader election context and eventuating in electoral success. As was the outcome of Chapter Five (pp. 165-67), when attempting to determine the extent to which language, specifically rhetorical language, effects political outcomes, isolating the language of strategy is an appropriate approach. Chapter Seven continues this approach to establish the language of strategy in the study period of 2007-13.

Chapter Seven: The language of authenticity and values, 2007–13

Rudd put a fresh gloss on Labor's fading canvas. He made Labor respectable and even fashionable—no mean feat. To enable Rudd to overcome voter suspicions about Labor, the party voted on a presidential campaign that exceeded that of Hawke in 1983. Labor gave Rudd its soul.

Paul Kelly (2014)

Chapter overview

It is rarely claimed that political leaders 'play nice' when their leadership future is called into question. Indeed, the basic instinct to ensure one's political survival is never stronger than during election campaigns. Politicians are often condemned for engaging in "scare campaigns" and "Machiavellian tactics" (Jaensch 2016) to help facilitate safe passage of their electoral success. As a result, there exists low levels of credibility in Australian electoral politics which mirror the increasing disillusionment of the Australian public with the fundamental democratic function (Grattan 2016). Yet, despite the consensus pointing to the increasingly "cynical" and "ruinous" nature of electoral politics in Australia (Rayner and Wanna 2015; see also Dyrenfurth 2010), it is to be expected that the opposition will lead a more antagonistic campaign than the incumbent; the Westminster system of government cultivates adversarial politics. It would therefore be peculiar if, during an election campaign, an opposition engaged a rhetorical strategy which focused primarily on projecting their leader's personal authenticity, with attacking the government a second priority. This was the case for the Labor Opposition in the 2007 federal election campaign[64]. Here, the rhetoric of Opposition Leader Kevin Rudd aimed to humanise his moral code of conduct and align it with the traditional value system of the labour movement. The outcome of the 2007 Australian election will be remembered as one of few examples that disproves the often-cited claim that 'oppositions do not win elections, governments lose them'. It is at this juncture in Australian federal and electoral politics that this chapter begins.

By 2007 John Howard had become Australia's second longest serving prime minister, occupying the position for nearly 12 years. In major polls throughout 2006 and in early 2007,

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[64] The same might be said to a lesser extent about the Coalition Opposition's 1996 campaign strategy and the Labor Opposition's 1983 campaign strategy. More will be said on this topic in the coming chapter.

Howard was considered to be far better-placed than the Labor Opposition to "understand the major issues". The polls determined that Howard had the capacity to be "decisive and strong" and had far more experience in general (Newspoll 2007a). Despite this, Howard's ethos reached damning levels in the lead up to the 2007 election due to two factors: WorkChoices and his plans for retirement. In contrast to the aging Prime Minister, Labor Opposition Leader Kevin Rudd entered the campaign with a catchy slogan, 'Kevin07'. Most importantly, however, Rudd had a revolutionary vision for Australia which involved a commitment to abolish WorkChoices. The Opposition Leader's community focus, emphasis on the value of collective responsibility, and aptitude for foreign policy from being Shadow Minister for Foreign Affairs were also contributing factors behind his surging approval ratings. Indeed, these characteristics solidified Labor's ethical and leadership credibility and created an irreconcilable schism in perceptions of Howard as being the preferred leader. Voters did not reject the Howard government, they simply found Labor "more attractive" (Williams 2008, 125).

Following a global economic crisis in 2008 and popularity in opinion polls not seen since the early Hawke years, Rudd's accession as prime minister ended with comparable sensationalism and swiftness. According to Grattan (2010b, 470) Kevin Rudd's extraordinary "political execution" in June 2010 was driven primarily by opinion polling. When the numbers fell dramatically in early 2010, the shock at the prospect that a first-term government was staring at defeat—and perhaps a heavy one—made the Labor Party "frightened and unforgiving" (Grattan 2010b, 470). The unprecedented circumstances surrounding the change of Labor leadership which saw Deputy Leader Julia Gillard elevated to the prime ministership detrimentally impacted on her legitimacy and authenticity during the 2010 federal election campaign, which was held shortly after. As a result, Prime Minister

Gillard was compelled to lead a case that first and foremost intended to build her own ethos. An emphasis on values and 'positive' politics encompassed the persuasive language used by the Prime Minister during this election.

Another unprecedented chain of events in early 2013 climaxed on June 26 and resulted in the Labor leadership switching once more from Julia Gillard back to Kevin Rudd. Held several months later, the 2013 federal election gave the Coalition Opposition and its leader, Tony Abbott a substantial rhetorical war chest to unleash on the Labor party and prime minister. Abbott countered Rudd's adversarial battle rhetoric with a simple and transparent argument for change and in doing so shifted the rhetorical standard from the highly emotive appeals used since 2007 to more traditional logical arguments. The 2013 election resulted in an end to Labor's six years of office and marks the final speech analysis case study in this thesis.

This chapter examines the language of strategy in prime ministerial campaign launch speeches in the study period of 2007-13. It identifies the strategic implementation (or lack) of Rudd's rhetoric of values as opposition leader and prime minister, and Gillard's discourses of authenticity as prime minister. It also considers the rhetorical arguments of Coalition Opposition Leader Tony Abbott when he opposed Rudd in the 2013 federal election. In determining the form and function of rhetorical language in these set piece political speeches, the chapter evaluates aspects of the rhetorical political analysis methodology. It poses the questions: to what extent did the rhetorical situation dictate the rhetoric used in each set piece; to what extent did rhetorical commonplaces and appeals transcend leader, party and linear contexts; and to what extent was there a continuity in themes, concepts and narratives across qualitative and quantitative speech analysis findings.

Full transcripts of five election campaign launch speeches from these election campaigns between and including 2007 and 2013 form the data set for analysis:

- The 2007 federal election which saw a shift of incumbency from Coalition Prime Minister John Howard to Labor Opposition Leader Kevin Rudd;

- The 2010 federal election which saw an electoral victory for Labor Prime Minister Julia Gilliard over Coalition Opposition Leader Tony Abbott;

- The 2013 federal election which saw a shift of incumbency from Labor Prime Minister Kevin Rudd to Coalition Opposition Leader Tony Abbott.

Following the same speech analysis format and methodology used in Chapters Five and Six, this chapter works chronologically through these election campaigns, beginning with a discussion of the rhetorical situation specific to each campaign. Next, the set piece campaign launch speech of the prime minister, and the opposition leader in the case of the 2007 and 2013 elections, is qualitatively analysed according to the other central features of the rhetorical political analysis methodology. Following the qualitative discussion and findings is a brief section that visually depicts and summarises the quantitative content analysis results. The chapter concludes by comparing the overall findings of the qualitative and quantitative components of the speech analysis and highlights significant patterns and anomalies in the use of rhetorical devices, the thematic form of narratives and the internal structure of rhetorical arguments.

It is argued that the language of strategy during the study period can be reduced to three demonstrable and interconnected suppositions in the election campaign set piece speech: a) values and logos; b) logos and narrative; c) narrative and values. Values and logos refers to the orator projecting an image of personal moral authenticity through logos-based persuasive

language. Logos and narrative refers to the ability of the argument to then link these appeals to the central speech narrative. Narrative and values refers to the consistency between the central narrative and the nature of the authenticity image initially proposed. It is shown that these three features are essential to determining the nature of the language of strategy and its persuasive reach within the broader context of the election campaigns.

Discussion and findings

2007: 'I'm Kevin. I'm here to help'

Labor's re-emergence after almost 12 years in opposition represents one of the most dramatic electoral reversals in Australian political history (Williams 2008, 105). Indeed, the 2007 Australian federal election campaign represented a significant shift in policy and political debate as well as a historic shift in leadership. The campaign, more than many other Australian electoral contests, was a 'presidential' race where the personal traits, integrity and future visions of the major party leaders came under unprecedented scrutiny. This was perhaps most applicable to the Prime Minister. John Howard used his tenure against the Opposition to argue that the Coalition's core policies, specifically the drive for full employment, would be less achievable under a Labor government. Aside from full employment, the Coalition's campaign emphasised Howard's vision of a new Australia as an 'opportunity society'. The opportunity society narrative featured throughout the Prime Minister's set piece speeches, especially toward the end of the campaign. Indeed, it embodied an image of Australian identity that "removed explicit markers of class, ethnicity, gender and religion" (Younane 2008a, 75). This image of a diverse and connected national identity was highly comparable to the Coalition's 1996 federal election mantra, 'For all of us'. Despite questions being raised regarding Howard's age and successor, the Deputy Leader and

Treasurer Peter Costello, Howard's public approval ratings remained ahead of Labor Opposition Leader Kim Beazley's in the latter months of 2006 (Newspoll 2007a).

Shortly after Kevin Rudd replaced Kim Beazley as ALP leader on December 4, 2006, the new Opposition Leader launched Labor's bid for office with a media conference that promised a "new style of leadership" (Rudd 2006). Along with an emphasis on new leadership, Labor's central campaign theme was centred on working families. Indeed, Rudd led an unwavering campaign to develop and expound the image of Australian families working hard to give their children opportunities. The 'working families' narrative was argued by many commentators as a thinly veiled synonym for 'Howard's battlers' who, having deserted Labor and Paul Keating in 1996, had to be won back if Labor was to take office. Labor exploited the theme of financially-stressed families, mocking John Howard's declaration in early 2007 that "working families in Australia have never been better off" (Australian Broadcasting Corporation 2007a) to extend the proposition of their party being far more responsive to the working middle class. A key contributor to Rudd's popularity was linking the Labor ethos of collective responsibility and social equality with narratives of egalitarianism and the 'fair go' (Younane 2008a, 79). In other words, Rudd created and sustained a rhetorical argument that framed him as the ultimate social justice warrior, somewhat akin to Howard's style in opposition during the 1996 election campaign. Rudd was also a self-declared 'economic conservative' who alleged he could be trusted to manage, among other portfolios, Australia's economy. In this sense, 'soft' Coalition voters could switch to Labor, safe in the knowledge that Rudd posed little or no risk to Australia's economic management.

In terms of preferred prime minister, Rudd narrowed the gap to just three points: 36 per cent to Howard's 39 per cent (Newspoll 2007b). However, Labor's campaign strategy of promising to abolish WorkChoices and offer of new and sustained leadership caused significant damage to Howard's ethos. To counter Labor's promise of generational change, Howard dropped a bombshell on the ABC's *7.30 Report* on September 12 when he finally declared that, if re-elected, he would retire sometime during his fifth term (Australian Broadcasting Corporation 2007b). The Prime Minister's statement backfired causing substantial damage to the Coalition's national campaign and to Howard's own campaign in Bennelong. Indeed, voters were faced with a divisive issue: why they should bother re-endorsing a prime minister—irrespective of his past accomplishments—who would not complete his term.

The 2007 election resulted in Rudd securing a 5.4 per cent two-party swing, with the ALP making a net gain of 23 seats and securing a 16-seat majority. John Howard became the second sitting prime minister and the third party leader since Federation to be defeated in his own electorate[65]. A Newspoll post-election survey found that 53 per cent of voters reported having decided their vote choice more than six months before polling day, the highest level of early deciders since before 1996 (2007c). Conversely, only twenty per cent of respondents claimed to have reached their vote choice in the campaign's last week—the lowest level since 1996 (Newspoll 2007c). Given more than half of voters made up their minds long before the parties rolled out their policy platforms, this strongly suggested leadership featured heavily in their decision-making. It also suggests change was inevitable and actively sought after. Interestingly, the same Newspoll (2007c) reported that 56 per cent of electors made their

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[65] Prime Minister Stanley Bruce and National Party leader Charles Blunt lost their seats in 1929 and 1990 respectively.

choice because of their 'liking of the party'—the highest rate since before 1996. This suggests that voters' principal motivation for switching was because they were drawn to Rudd and the ALP rather than intent on 'punishing' the Howard government (see also Bean and McAllister 2009).

Prime Minister John Howard's campaign launch speech

On November 12, 2007, Prime Minister Howard launched the Coalition's election campaign at the Queensland Performing Arts Centre in Brisbane. The 4400-word address primarily focused on Howard's accomplished tenure, future vision, and the enduring strength of the Liberal National Coalition. Central to the argument was the rhetorical device antithesis which strengthened the claim for future Coalition leadership by addressing Labor's inexperience, past economic mismanagement, and the obscurity of Rudd's core beliefs. The strength and solidarity of the Coalition and the correlation between Howard's plan for Australia—the 'opportunity society' narrative—and traditional Liberal Party ideals were the secondary elements of the rhetorical strategy used in the campaign launch. Appealing to the national audience through the narrative was further emphasised by emotive audience appeals and allusions to commonplaces of Australian identity, specifically, the Australian bush, the Indigenous community, and the service of Australian Defence Force personnel.

The 'opportunity society' narrative

> I want to be Prime Minister again so that we can build an even stronger and greater Australia. We in the Coalition believe that the best years of this nation lie ahead. I want to complete the transition of this nation from a welfare state to an opportunity society (Howard 2007).

There was a discernible departure from the previous narratives of strength and stoicism led by the Coalition in the 2001 and 2004 elections to include the government's new policy

approach to small business, families and the individual: what Howard called the 'opportunity society'. Pitched in the *exordium*, the 'opportunity society' referred to the transition of Australia from a welfare state to a nation where power was in the hands of individuals and families, rather than governments and bureaucracies. The inherent role of families in society, the desire for a good job, and endeavour to obtain home ownership characterised the Prime Minister's egalitarian vision. This narrative was central to the strategy of projecting Howard's leadership ethos and the authenticity of the Coalition, as was the previously-used rhetoric of strength, endurance and liberal values. As such, the *exordium* portrayed the government's tenure through language connoting stability and solidarity to distinguish elements of the Coalition's character. A brief metaphorical allusion to war, the "fighting spirit", depicted the tenacity of Coalition leadership embodied in Howard and the desire to continue the opportunity society vision into the next term.

The opportunity society narrative evoked key elements of the Australian Liberal creed, namely those voiced in former Prime Minister Robert Menzies' *Forgotten People* speech of 1942.

> …Menzies' memorable evocation of homes material, homes human and homes spiritual… and what unites our creed of optimism is the belief that the Australian people do not need governments instructing them about virtue (Howard 2007).

The Menzies allusion was echoed in rhetoric throughout the *narration* which illustrated the principled characteristics of the opportunity society to highlight the plan's personification of quintessential values at the heart of the "Australian experience". Further, by building the values of the opportunity society onto traditional Liberal ideology, the government's ethos captured both ends of Australia's generational spectrum, particularly young Australians who

were identified as the primary beneficiaries of Howard's vision. Both the Liberal National base and swing voters, therefore, were targeted rhetorically.

The following *proof* led a logical and antithetical argument which operated on multiple levels to authenticate the essential claim that the Coalition should be re-elected. First, Howard outlined his government's major economic accomplishments over its 11 year tenure in conjunction with the Prime Minister's endeavour to continue maintaining these successes. The strength of Australia's foreign alliances, the unemployment rate reaching a 33 year low, and the halving of housing interest rates compared to those reached under the previous Labor government were highlighted among the government's achievements. Second, the *proof* underscored Howard's drive for his continuing leadership by expressing the need for the "right leadership" to manage the nation's rising economic challenges. Subliminally, the rhetorical argument inferred that a change of government would compromise the national prosperity previously achieved by the Coalition, and Australia's path to a bright future. The purpose of the *proof* was to establish the important choice faced by the audience and the potential consequences.

> There are storm clouds gathering on the horizon when it comes to economic management, and if we get it wrong, the prosperity we've enjoyed over the last 11 and a half years will be severely compromised (Howard 2007).

In a final attempt to arouse a sense of national identity in the *peroration*, Howard adopted emotive rhetorical language that faintly echoed similar flourishes in previous set piece election speeches. Rural Australia, "our beloved bush", was asserted as an enduring part of the fabric of the nation to evoke the inherent connection between the Australian and Indigenous community and the land, reminiscent of Dorothy Mackellar's iconic 'My

Country' poem[66]. The Coalition's approach to Indigenous policy also demonstrated the use of pathos in acknowledging the status of the "first Australians" and their integration into the Australian community. Rhetoric of national pride regarding the service of Australian Defence Force personnel and subtle allusions to the ANZAC spirit further emphasised the sentiment-based audience appeal.
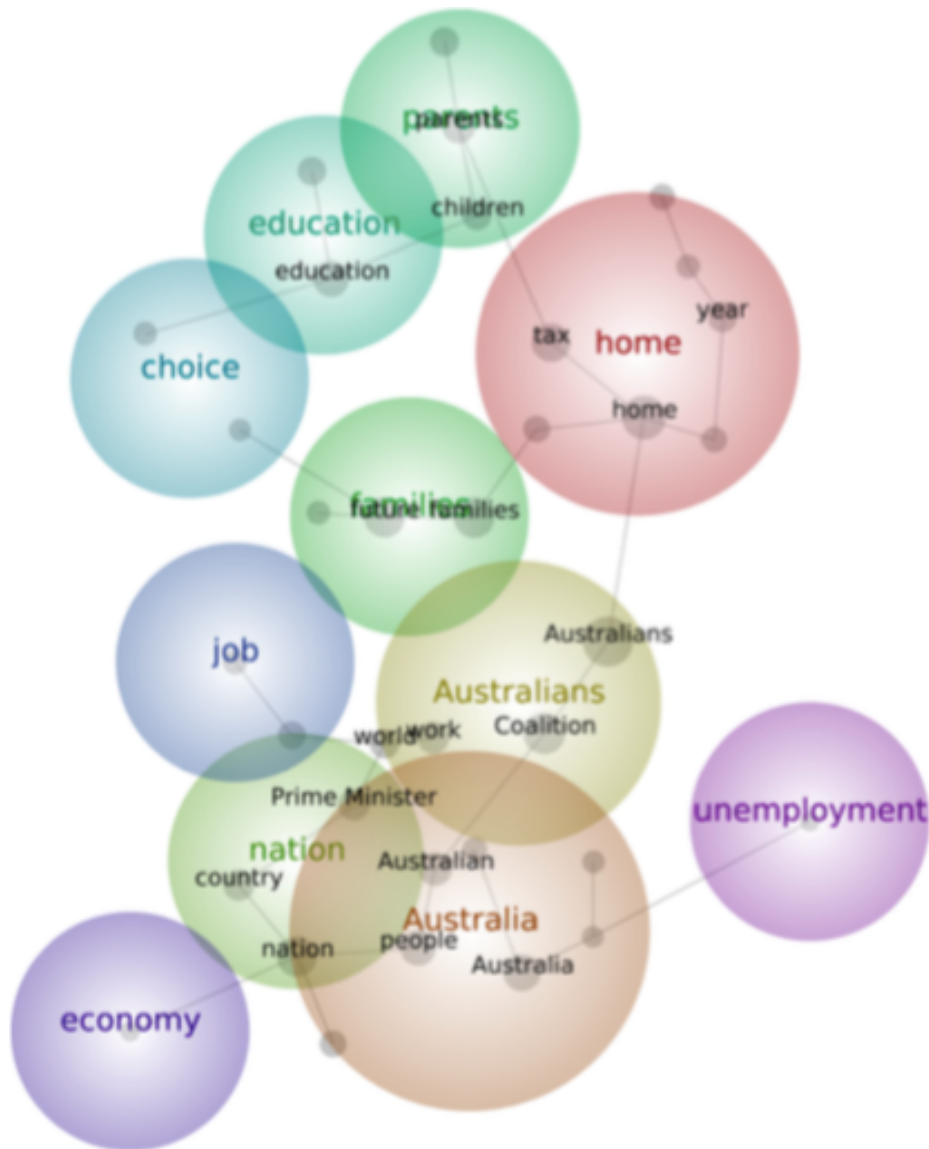

Figure 14: Content analysis results - Howard 2007

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[66] A paean to Australia's rural foundations that aimed to evoke memories of their school days in older Australians.

The concept map in Figure 14 illustrates 11 concept families in Howard's 2007 campaign speech with few overlapping aside from the central 'Australia', 'Australians', 'families' and 'nation' bubbles. Despite the themes mirroring the traditional Liberal values that reinforced Howard's 'opportunity society' narrative, the quantitative results indicate a disparate articulation of the key concepts underpinning these themes. That is, while the concepts are present in the speech, the meanings underpinning these concepts were not communicated in such a way to establish the core narrative. What appears to be the central message of the speech instead is the relationship between the nation, the Prime Minister and the Coalition. Indeed, this attempt at identification came at the expense of drawing on those policy areas and social issues promised by the Coalition as being core to their nation-building project. The five most used words in descending order are: 'Australians' (used 41 times); 'want' (used 36 times); 'years' (used 28 times); 'families' (used 25 times); and 'home' (used 23 times).

The results from the qualitative analysis established the central narrative in Prime Minister Howard's 2007 speech as the 'opportunity society', and that this rhetorical argument was made using mainly pathos appeals in the *exordium*. This narrative sought to reinvigorate Howard's credibility as a leader, particularly given his tenure and retirement plans, and reassert his government's forward-thinking and inclusive agenda for the nation. However, the quantitative results suggest that while there are arguments made in the speech in support of this narrative, the underlying concepts of these arguments lacked synergy. Further, the rhetorical situation indicated a move towards change, new leadership and a reprioritisation of key socially-democratic policies such as education and healthcare. As a result, the rhetorical situation overcame the rhetorical arguments of Howard's speech and was a contributing factor in the government's election loss.

Opposition Leader Kevin Rudd's campaign launch speech

On November 14, 2007, Opposition Leader Kevin Rudd delivered Labor's campaign launch at the Queensland Performing Arts Centre. The essence of the speech was an antithetical case of past and future leadership framed as a positive argument to persuade the audience towards new Labor leadership. Rhetorical devices pertaining to logos developed Rudd's claim that Australia was in urgent need of a change of government. This claim rested on persistent references to the government's 2004 WorkChoices legislation and the Prime Minister's plan for retirement. Labor's ethos in contrast was highlighted through Rudd's plan to reawaken the values of the working middle class and his revolutionary nation-building agenda, if elected. References to Rudd's personal life and his endeavour to be prime minister for all Australians embodied pathos audience appeals. These emotive language techniques framed the 'change through revolution' narrative in the campaign launch speech. Accordingly, the Opposition's ethical character was illustrated through rhetoric of values, community and collective responsibility.

Change through revolution

The *exordium* opened with Rudd welcoming the audience to his "home state of Queensland and home town of Brisbane", and acknowledging his "local community here on Brisbane's southside". This introduction strategically evoked the spirit of commonality to consolidate the community focus of the Opposition's campaign discourse. Indeed, the initial propositions of the argument established Rudd's emphasis on the distinctive role of communities in the construction of Australia's identity, and Labor's corresponding nation-building plan. Values were an enduring rhetorical theme in Opposition Leader Rudd's 2007 campaign speech, specifically in relation to Australia's need for new leadership distinguished by values of fairness, decency and respect.

The *exordium* then changed tone to lead the speech's central argument for change; the need for a new government as per Labor's 'New Leadership' campaign slogan.

> On November 24, Australians will face a stark choice: a choice between the future and the past. Today the case I put before the Australian people is that if we are to secure the future for our families, for our communities and for our nation - the government of Australia must now change (Rudd 2007).

The crisis and solution rhetoric that underpinned the change narrative in the *narration* also employed persuasive audience appeals that framed the leadership credibility of the Opposition Leader with rhetoric of authenticity and newness. Also central to the development of Labor's leadership ethos in the launch were rhetorical devices articulating the Opposition's acknowledgment of the importance of community standards and collective responsibility.

> And the importance of planning for the future. For me, these are enduring values. The values that have built Australian families and communities throughout our history. And these are the values that as Prime Minister I would bring to our nation's future challenges (Rudd 2007).

Various digressions to Rudd's personal life, namely growing up in rural Queensland, throughout the *narration* continued the argument's development of Rudd's ethos through pathos-based rhetorical devices. The use of emotive language to reveal to the audience aspects of Rudd's private journey aimed to decrease the boundaries between the Opposition Leader and the Australian public, and consequently increase his humanity and normality.

Rudd's central nation-building vision and comprehensive plan to tackle Australia's future challenges if elected, the 'education revolution', comprised the *proof*. This plan was articulated via a rhetoric of revolution and reform to reinforce Labor's virtuous fervour to provide opportunities for future generations. The case against a future Coalition government

and for a change of government was bolstered by offering the audience a solution to the leadership contention: a new prime minister with "fresh ideas to meet the challenges of the future". Through oppositional language, the argument subliminally positioned the audience towards the newness of Labor—a new leader, new policies and new hope for a better future. In addition, the *proof* highlighted the concerns of the potential lack of fairness and decency in the workplace under a future Coalition government. The alleged unethicality of the government's WorkChoices legislation was compared to the Opposition's promise of a better future for working families, a future characterised by those values demoralised by WorkChoices.

Another central feature of the *proof* was the consistent and antagonistic portrayal of the Prime Minister through a rhetoric of debilitation. Rhetorical devices communicated accusations of Howard being "stuck in the past" and having "lost touch" with the needs of the community because of being in office for so long. Based on these claims, the *proof* proposed that the Prime Minister lacked the ability to manage the contemporary challenges of the future, such as climate change, the digital economy, and the economic rise of China and India. This was a strategic logos appeal given Rudd's previous shadow portfolio in Foreign Affairs and commitment to signing the Kyoto Protocol if elected as prime minister. Howard's inability to provide a feasible plan for Australia's future was further emphasised through sarcastic references to his publicly-known plan for retirement.

> Mr Howard has no plans for the future because he's not going to be there to deal with the challenges of the future. It's official – Mr Howard's retiring (Rudd 2007).

Further, based on their respective leadership approaches to industrial relations, Rudd portrayed Howard as having lost sight of basic Australian values and working families. In

comparison, Rudd portrayed himself as a passionate supporter of a "fair go". The
juxtaposition of the leaders' core ideological differences symbolised the overall purpose of
the persuasive appeal, logos in the *peroration*. It emphasised the need for a change of
government to manage Australia's future proactively and enunciated the pending expiry of
the Howard government. The Rudd team was therefore positioned as the credible and
appropriate leadership choice.

Figure 15: Content analysis results - Rudd 2007

Despite Figure 15 depicting the concept family 'education' on the top parameter of the
concept map, the themes within the central bubbles are foundational to Rudd's overall

'change through revolution' narrative. Further, the centralisation of the largest bubble 'national' and the proximity of the connecting nodes indicates the synchronicity and continuity in the speech's core message within this narrative. It is interesting to note that the positioning of the concept families on the north and south poles of the map reflects the antithetical argument present in the speech and the conceptual disconnect between the Prime Minister and the Opposition's nation-building agenda. The five most used words in descending order are: 'Australia' (used 51 times); 'Howard' (used 48 times); 'national' (used 35 times); 'future' (used 31 times); 'education' (used 26 times).

The results from the qualitative analysis established the central narrative in Opposition Leader Rudd's speech as 'change through revolution', and that this rhetorical argument was made using mainly logos appeals in the *proof*. Although the speech contained a stereotypical antithetical argument to frame the government as being ill-equipped to move into the next term, the narrative, rhetorical techniques and concepts were all used to project a positive nation-building project. What heightened the impact of this attempt at 'playing nice' was Rudd leveraging his youth, community-focused ideology and rational approach to the economy. One should never underestimate the power of positive arguments in political speech, especially when the campaign narrative is aligned with the rhetorical situation and when a positive approach becomes synonymous with a 'fresh' approach. Indeed, this consistency in Rudd's rhetorical arguments and appeals in the set piece speech was a decisive factor in securing Labor's 2007 victory.

2010: 'Moving forward' with the 'real Julia'

The 2010 Australian federal election had several characteristics that set it apart from its predecessors. Principally, Labor's popularly-elected Prime Minister Kevin Rudd was

dismissed from office by his own party just two months before the election was held. This was the first time in Australian political history that the Labor Party had discharged a prime minister during their first term. A common theme prevailed among the many reasons commentators and scholars highlighted as being the cause of the Rudd government's short lifespan. Rudd was accused of not providing a coherent strategy or "guiding thread" to his government (Burchell 2008). In deliberately escalating policy expectations at an uncharacteristic rate for a first term government, Rudd made governing a "high-wire act, with all the risks associated with such performances" (Simms and Wanna 2012, 2). Labor's primary vote had fallen to forty per cent as it entered the 2010 election year (Newspoll 2010a).

In mid-June, Rudd was replaced by his Deputy Leader Julia Gillard, who in turn, made history by becoming Australia's first woman prime minister. The circumstances surrounding Rudd's removal was seen by many as a "political assassination" (Blewett 2010) —a representation that provoked conflicting judgements of Gillard's character. This was particularly damaging for Gillard given that voters often hold stereotypical views that "handicap women seeking political office" (Denemark et al. 2012, 564). Just over three weeks after the leadership change, Gillard called an early election. There had been widespread speculation that the election would be called soon after Rudd's departure mainly to capitalise on the short honeymoon period that every new prime minister relishes. In the election-calling press conference the Prime Minister emphasised her rationale for seeking a mandate in her own right; she wanted to be an "elected prime minister" (Gillard 2010a). Indeed, the proximity of Rudd's ousting placed added pressure on Prime Minister Gillard to seek a mandate through the democratic process rather than through the ALP's factions. Labor's instability and Gillard's authenticity therefore formed the backdrop of the 2010

election campaign and were the source of attacks for the Coalition Opposition and its leader, Tony Abbott.

Labor led the Coalition in the first preference vote by a small margin in the first two weeks of the election campaign (Roy Morgan Research), whereas the better prime minister poll had Gillard at fifty per cent and Abbott at 34 (Newspoll 2010b). Despite leadership preferences, Labor's repetitive emphasis of the 'moving forward' slogan proved unpopular with voters. In her election announcement, Gillard repeated the phrase no less than 24 times in five minutes leading to the criticism that she was "talking down" to voters (Australian Broadcast Corporation 2010). By early August Labor was trailing in the polls, prompting a change in tactics which saw the 'moving forward' slogan discarded. Gillard also increased her ethos-based rhetoric to proclaim that "it's time for me to make sure that the *real* Julia is well and truly on display" (The Australian 2010, emphasis added). The Prime Minister's rhetoric of authenticity framed a largely optimistic narrative of trust which continued for the remainder of the campaign. Indeed, the use of this rhetoric can be seen during the televised town hall leaders' debates[67] where the Prime Minister (and Opposition Leader) attempted to project authenticity and connect with the public through the unscripted and seemingly unpredictable nature of the forums.

Polling day resulted in the first hung parliament since 1940. Labor and the Coalition each

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[67] The election episodes of two News Limited People's Forums, televised on the 24 hour subscription news channel Sky, saw the Prime Minister and Opposition Leader answer questions from live audiences. What was significant was not the use of a single new technology or communication style in isolation, but the development of something more complex, where converging technologies offered a new public space for dialogue between politicians and voters. See Younane-Brookes (2011).

secured 72 seats in the House of Representatives, four short of what was needed to form majority government. After 17 days of negotiations with four Independents and the Greens, Labor eventually formed a minority government and was sworn in on 14 September 2010. It is important to note that Gillard won Labor more votes than she lost the party; this was vital in a closely fought ballot that took weeks of post-election preference counting to decide (Denemark et al. 2012). In a post-election study, Bean and McAllister (2012, 352) note that the leadership factor was the most crucial component of the election given both parties approached the election with leaders who were "relatively inexperienced, untried and who lacked popularity within the electorate". Their findings suggest that had the Coalition gone to the 2010 federal election with a leader who was viewed more favourably across the electorate, the outcome probably would have been a narrow victory for the Liberals.

Prime Minister Julia Gillard's campaign launch speech

Prime Minister Julia Gillard officially launched Labor's campaign on August 16, 2010 at the Brisbane Convention Centre with a far more conservative show than her predecessor's three years earlier. Given the rhetorical situation following the Rudd leadership change and increased public cynicism towards party politics and "broken promises" (Walker 2010), Gillard took a down-to-earth, warm tone in the campaign launch speech to please and persuade the Australian public. This rhetorical strategy was steeped in emotive audience appeals and bolstered its legitimation case by building on the foundations of authenticity established by former Labor prime ministers. Persuasive language was also employed to frame change as a promising forward-moving journey which was largely a technique to offset a relapse of the ALP's inopportune reception of the 'trust' theme in the 2004 election campaign. The use of the 'moving forward' tagline in Gillard's set piece speech offered an unanticipated contrast against Opposition Leader Tony Abbott's 'stop the boats' mantra in

the Coalition's campaign launch a week earlier (Abbott 2010). That is, the Opposition Leader's slogan implied stagnation and a largely negative message, while the Prime Minister's slogan evoked a positive message of advancement and affirmation.

The 'authenticity and consensus' narrative

The *exordium* opened with a familial tone which acknowledged Labor's reputation of passionate, progressive and memorable leadership in recent decades. Standing only metres away from the Prime Minister was the popular 1980s prime minister and Labor party legend, Bob Hawke. Gillard attached positive connotations to the concept of legitimate leadership change early in the piece, "… you can make big change with strong leadership and by striving for consensus", before paying respect to former Labor Prime Ministers Kevin Rudd, Paul Keating and Gough Whitlam, her Deputy Prime Minister Wayne Swan, and Queensland's Labor Premier Anna Bligh. Eight days prior, the Coalition's campaign launch directed a relentless attack against the Labor government's ethos and party solidarity which sought to remind the public they were voting for the party rather than the new prime minister (Abbott 2010). And so, for Gillard in Labor's campaign launch speech, a rhetorical emphasis on solidarity, consensus and camaraderie was paramount to shifting negative perceptions of the party, particularly with swing voters. Further, the central authenticity narrative was established from the outset of the speech by framing consensus leadership with pathos-based allusions to Gillard's family upbringing and personal value system. This rhetorical strategy intended to present Gillard as candid, exposed and fundamentally guided by a moral compass. Indeed, the projection of vulnerability aimed to counterbalance prior concerns of her capacity for Machiavellian politicking seen during the Rudd leadership change.

> Friends, today I want to speak to you from my heart, I want to speak to you about my values and my vision for this country. Friends, I have believed all of my life in the power of hard work, in the importance of work, in defining a life

in the importance of work… all of my life I have believed that we can move forward with confidence. That our best days lie in front of us not behind us (Gillard 2010b).

Prime Minister Gillard's vision for the nation in the *narration* departed from the often combative, retrospective arguments surrounding the need for strong government. Instead, the vision argument used rhetorical devices which framed a new nation in a new era that, under her leadership, would be guided by core labour values and a grass-roots approach to governance. The use of collectivist language and inclusionary phrases such as "our best days lie in front of us", "we meet on the lands of indigenous Australians", and "look what we achieved together" further facilitated the rebuilding of the Labor party's cohesion in the public psyche. It also mirrored Gillard's vision for a new culture within the party. The persistent highlighting of Labor values and fundamental ethos of a 'fair go', hard work and shared prosperity was evident in specific rhetorical devices and frequently used words. For example, Gillard appealed to the key audience of the speech, young voters and young families, and used a series of metaphors and alliteration to commend the Labor government's ability to navigate the 2008 global financial crisis and ensure jobs were largely protected.

We know in past economic downturns that young people who come of age in the economic downturn may never get their foot on the first rung in the ladder of life. They never get a job. Never get an apprenticeship and show that disadvantage five, 10, 15 years later. So when the global financial crisis threatened this country, we said we were for jobs and I am proud of it. I am proud we did that (Gillard 2010b).

These audience appeals fit within the broader strategy of establishing Labor's demonstrated track record of providing effective leadership and protecting the domestic economy during the global financial crisis. The arguments also opened a dialogue in the *division* for an antithetical attack on the Opposition: its politics, campaign slogans and "divisive" leader. Despite the Prime Minister condemning Abbott's "fear campaign", the way she compared

Labor's plan for jobs, infrastructure and achieving collective prosperity as opposed to "Mr

Abbott splashing money around during the election" can also be classified as a fear-based

rhetorical tactic; just slightly more passive in tone to sustain the optimistic nature of the

speech's argument.

The *proof* took two areas of policy and ideological strength traditionally associated with the

Liberal National Coalition—the economy and families—and argued that the Labor Party with

Gillard as leader was best placed to manage the tasks of education, industrial relations and

healthcare reform. This argument was framed by humanising language and rhetoric of

optimism, and supported the narrative of authenticity as a precursor to the *peroration*.

> Friends, all of my life I've believed in work, I've believed in the power of
> education, I've believed that we show decency and respect by turning to each
> other with care and concern… The best days of this country are in front of us,
> not behind us. I am an optimist. I am so hopeful about this country's future
> (Gillard 2010b).

The Prime Minister's final attempt at appealing to the national audience in the *peroration*

involved referring to two leaders who hold immense respect for their reformist power in

government. First, Gillard payed homage to post-World War Two Labor Prime Minister Ben

Chifley and the legacy of hope and trust in the labour movement that followed his 1949 'light

on the hill' party conference. In addition, the inspirational mantra of former U.S. Democratic

President Barack Obama, 'yes we can', premised the series of sentences leading up to the

conclusion of Gillard's speech.

> Yes we will move forward with confidence and optimism. Yes we will keep
> our economy growing stronger day by day…Yes we will work together and
> tackle the challenge of climate change...Yes we will close the gaps between
> indigenous and non-indigenous Australians and we will recognise the first
> Australians in our Constitution. Yes we will move forward together (Gillard
> 2010b).

This was used as a rhetorical technique to draw parallels between the ethos of these two leaders' core messages and the nature of the national project Gillard also sought to lead. Gillard's 'moving forward together' message therefore told the Australian public that the Prime Minister intended to lead a nation where optimism and consensus overtook negativity and centralised decision-making, as previously seen in the Coalition Opposition. The statements were also a form of citizen empowerment in reminding the public that the decision was theirs as a collective; a national community that Labor and Gillard actively identified with and belonged to. In this sense, Gillard's vision of the nation was a macro model of the party's vision for itself.

Figure 16: Content analysis results - Gillard 2010

Figure 16 illustrates a dense concept map with every concept family aside from 'Mr Abbott'

relating to the Labor government's optimistic campaign focus on education and jobs. The

themes within the five central concept families— 'Mr Abbott', 'work', 'jobs', 'future' and

'Australians'—are largely intertwined and all indicate a similar ideological message: that the

government's nation-building project aimed to bring families and children the economic

benefits of a strong social welfare policy agenda. The five most used words in descending

order are: 'want' (used 44 times); 'works' (used 44 times); 'Abbott' (used 32 times); 'future'

(used 32 times); and 'friends' (used 31 times). Indeed, the quantitative results are

representative of an emotive speech where arguments were framed by language whose purpose was to make the audience feel connected and cared for. As a result, this rhetoric identified the speaker as being authentic and genuine. The language was particularly persuasive for Gillard as Australia's first woman prime minister.

The qualitative results of the speech analysis established the central narrative of Prime Minister Gillard's campaign launch as 'authenticity and consensus', and that this rhetorical argument was made using mainly ethos appeals in the *narration.* The speech was in essence a story; a story that aimed to reveal Gillard's personality and values. Indeed, the campaign speech was less a re-election pitch for the Labor government and more so a plea for acceptance from the Prime Minister. Given the rhetorical situation, acceptance would ensure a mandate and Gillard's legitimacy as a democratically-elected leader, and, in turn, mediate negative perceptions of her to result from the Rudd leadership change. As a further appeal to seek acceptance, the speech leveraged the orthodox Labor ideological theme of consensus and commonplace values of work and family within a largely positive rationale for continuity rather than change. The rhetorical strategy adopted in this campaign speech, then, successfully juxtaposed against the negative campaign messaging of the Opposition and the unpopularity of the Opposition Leader. The battle of personalities—which was also a microcosm of the battle of ideologies—was more effectively orchestrated using emotional appeals to authenticity and values.

2013: 'A new way'

Shortly after winning the 2010 election, the Gillard government entered into an alliance with the Greens and was destabilised by breaking an election promise not to introduce a 'carbon tax'. Leadership rivalry and a lack of numbers to push some controversial legislation through

the Parliament further eroded the Prime Minister's legitimacy in her party. The carbon tax issue was argued by many commentators as a sign of weakness for the Labor government. Shanahan (2011) claims that it was not Labor policy at the 2010 election but was "forced on Labor by the Greens" because of the minority government arrangements. Following the announcement of the carbon tax, support for Gillard and Labor dropped to record low levels with Labor at 41 on the two-party preferred vote (Newspoll 2011). The policy announcement also significantly undermined the legitimation and authenticity narrative Labor and Gillard campaigned for during the 2010 election. Nevertheless, the crossbench alliance continued to operate and though facing declining poll support and firm opposition from the Coalition, in October 2011 the government passed its *Clean Energy Bill* (2011). The Gillard government worked tirelessly throughout early 2013 to address the negative framing of minority government in populist discourse which lingered in the wake of the 2010 Greens alliance and subsequent carbon legislation (McDougall 2014, 290).

After a series of leadership spills throughout 2011 and 2012, on 26 June 2013 Gillard called a ballot for leader and deputy leader of the Labor Party. Backbencher and former Prime Minister Kevin Rudd announced that he would challenge Gillard. Shortly after at the ALP caucus meeting, Rudd was elected Leader of the Labor Party, with the caucus voting 57–45 in his favour. Rudd was sworn in as prime minister the following day and so began his second period in office almost three years to the day since he was deposed. Rayner (2014) makes the connection between how the negative nostalgia of the 1991 Hawke/Keating back bench 'coup'[68] trickled into political discourse in the lead-up to the 2013 campaign. During his first Question Time confrontation with Opposition Leader Tony Abbott, the new prime

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[68] See section 1993: 'The sweetest victory of all' in Chapter Five (pp. 155-64).

minister advocated the politics of hope rather than "the old politics of negativity" and in doing so set the tone of Labor's 2013 election campaign agenda (Hansard 2013).

Against this backdrop, the 2013 federal election campaign was essentially a long-overdue personal battle between leaders. The campaign strategy guiding the ALP was fixated on reshaping public perceptions of the party's inherent instability and "apparent lack of internal checks on factional power" (Johnson 2015, 35-37). As such, the Labor Party launched its campaign by focusing on national leadership to reconnect with their successful 'New Leadership' campaign in 2007. In leading the new image and advertising campaign Rudd promised "a better way, a smarter way, a new way to secure Australia's future" (Australian Labor Party 2013). However, the 'New Way' slogan was quickly dropped when commentators drew attention to Rudd's central role in the ALP turmoil during the previous three years (Ergas 2013; Snow 2013). What replaced the campaign narrative was an unsympathetic and adversarial attack on the Opposition Leader summed up in five words: 'If Abbott wins, you lose'.

Conversely, Opposition Leader Tony Abbott reminded voters of Labor's internal schisms that resulted in the Rudd-Gillard-Rudd leadership changes, and embarked on a relentless rhetorical warpath which emphasised the Coalition's strong and united leadership during the same period. Despite Labor's persistent disunity and dysfunctionality continuing as a key theme in the election campaign, something that worked to the government's advantage after Rudd was reinstalled was Tony Abbott's very low personal standing with the electorate, particularly among female voters. The Liberal Party in reaction embarked on a "charm offensive" with Abbott's female family members and chief of staff moving to the forefront of the Coalition's campaign (Rayner and Wanna 2015, 24). The ploy proved fairly effective in

rehabilitating Abbott's image and his approval ratings between January and the final week of the campaign (Newspoll 2013a). Following the two campaign launches, a better prime minister Newspoll had the Opposition Leader leading on 45 per cent to Rudd's 43 per cent (2013b).

In what Bean and McAllister consider an "inevitable" election loss for the government (2015), the outcome of the election resulted in Labor leaving national office with its lowest first preference vote share since 1904. Indeed, the Labor Party only remained competitive in the 2013 election through strong preference flows from an enlarged pool of votes from electors who first voted for minor parties and Independents. Overall, Labor's vote share slid from 43.4 per cent in 2007 to 38 per cent in 2010 and 33.4 per cent in 2013 (Green 2015, 393). A sharp increase in early voting also indicated voter's apathy with the campaign (Australian Electoral Commission 2013).

Prime Minister Kevin Rudd's campaign launch speech

Prime Minister Kevin Rudd officially launched the ALP's campaign on September 1, 2013 in Brisbane. The 3000-word, largely repetitive speech comprised a predominantly logical narrative: the fight to protect Australia's future and values. Within this narrative, commonplaces which positioned core Labor beliefs as synonymous with the everyday needs of Australian families, and the rhetorical framing of nation-building were highlighted by various rhetorical devices and audience appeals. The fighting narrative also performed a secondary purpose as an antithetical strategic ploy to persuade the audience that a vote against Labor was illogical and dangerous.

The 'fight and family values' narrative

The *exordium* of the speech employed a combination of antithesis, metaphor and fear-based rhetoric to frame the election campaign and the choice between Labor and the Coalition as a battle of life and death, good versus evil; the ultimate fight to protect Australia's future.

> In this election we are now engaged in the fight of our lives. It is a fight about the values which underpin Australia's future (Rudd 2013).

By aligning the election campaign with the battle metaphor and stressing the Prime Minister's personal commitment to see the fight through, "and for those who say that the fight is up, I say they haven't seen anything yet", the speech attempted to build an image of Rudd's capacity and tenacity to provide strong national leadership. During the *narration*, Rudd's combative rhetorical style alluded to the fighting spirit of the 'Australian legend', often drawing parallels to what Smith (2001) and Frankel (1992) refer to as the enduring sense of optimism in the face of hardship that is a distinctively Australian commonplace. Here, Rudd's language personified the binary rhetoric of fortitude and hope to form the basis of an argument that intended to (re)build his leadership ethos.

Running parallel to the fighting narrative in the *narration* was rhetorical language that aimed to draw a logical connection between Labor values and the commonplace of families as the most important unit for nation-building. In doing so, Labor was framed as identifying with families on an ideological level, and then guided by the morals underpinning social democratic values in establishing a policy agenda. Included in this associative tactic was an emphasis on the importance of small business. This audience appeal was crafted to capture Labor-left voters who were drifting to the Greens and more conservative voters who might have been contemplating a switch to the Coalition.

The *narration* also framed the theme of nation-building and leadership vision in the form of a house metaphor. In addition to this metaphor, the pathos-language told two stories. The first was a reminder that Labor built the foundations of the house (the nation) and subsequently endeavoured to continue the nation-building project. The second story unfolded the rhetorical technique that sought to depict the Prime Minister as possessing attributes as a builder, nurturer, even a saviour; a progressive protector of the Australian dream.

> Because we are in the business of *building the house up*. The conservatives have always been in the business of *tearing the house down* (Rudd 2013, emphasis added).

The house metaphor was therefore a micro-metaphor for the nation but also satisfied the true meaning of the word, and as such sought to appeal to the audience on two levels. The metaphor was used again in the *proof* to connect the Prime Minister's vision for the nation with proposed education reforms.

> We have been building this vision – *brick-by-brick* over the last five years…we must nurture the best educated, best trained, best skilled workforce of anywhere in the world (Rudd 2013, emphasis added).

The fight narrative continued throughout the *peroration* when the Prime Minister attacked the Coalition's plan for Australia's future. Here, the speech used the rhetorical device, antithesis to construct a negative image of the secrecy surrounding the Coalition's agenda. The technique then attempted to capitalise on the seed of doubt to juxtapose the Coalition's plan against Labor's policy transparency and Rudd's version of his policy agenda.

> Our plan for building Australia's future is clear. Mr Abbott's plan for cutting the future to ribbons remains hidden...Never, ever, ever, underestimate my fighting spirit as your Prime Minister (Rudd 2013).

The fighting narrative was also evident in commonly used phrases and words such as, "I believe we can prevail", "we will fight for our vision", and "we will fight for our project".

The outward expression of this language was steeped in positive connotations of collectivist progression and endurance against the rival Opposition and their vision for the nation. The ANZAC tradition and egalitarian sentiment was alluded to in the concluding statements as a final attempt to identify Prime Minister Rudd further with the audience and vice versa: Kenneth Burke's (1966, 1969) identification appeal at work.

> The truth is there is so much worth fighting for... So we will fight this election until the last vote is cast next Saturday night. I believe we can prevail and I believe in the end we will prevail (Rudd 2013).
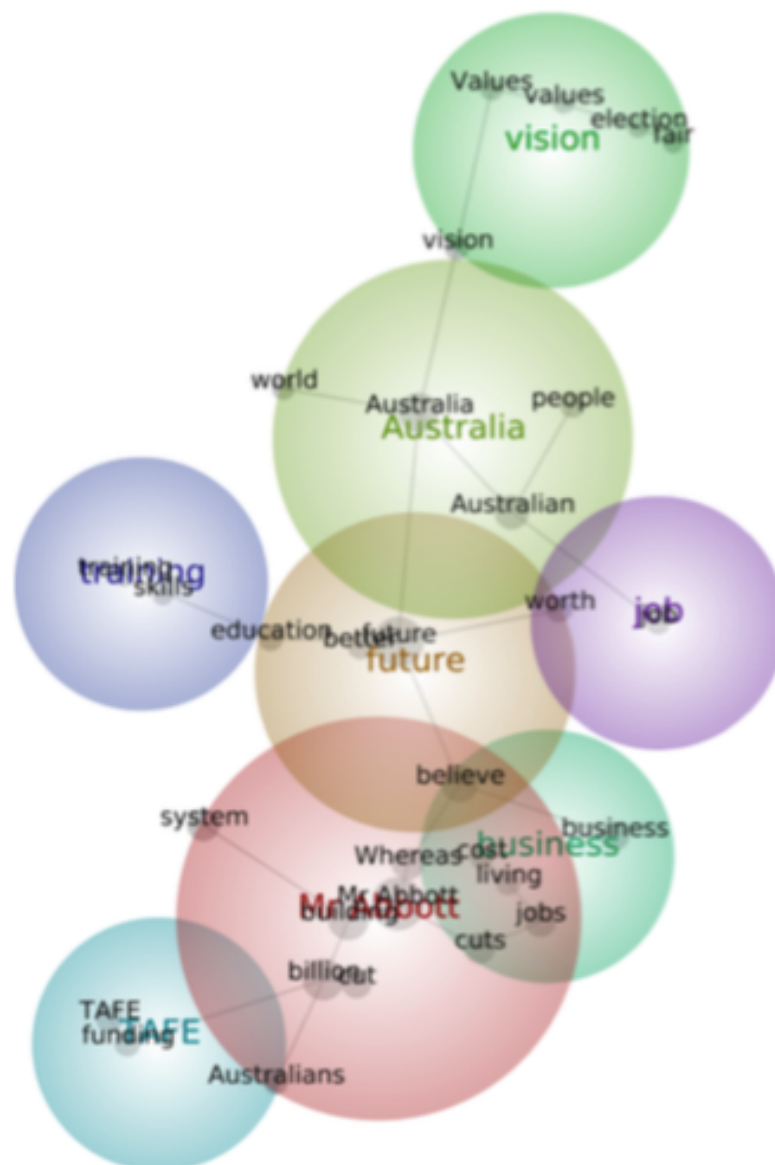

Figure 17: Content analysis results - Rudd 2013

Figure 17 depicts a concise yet concentrated concept map consisting of eight concept families—the smallest concept maps of all the speeches analysed in this thesis. This is symptomatic of a speech that was repetitive and focused on a few small target messages. Indeed, the visibly largest concept family, 'Mr Abbott', confirms the proportion of mentions of this concept and related themes in addition to singular mentions throughout the speech. The proximity and size of the 'vision' concept family further demonstrates that at the conceptual heart of this speech was an antithetical argument; a case intended to attack as opposed to a nation-building proposal or appeal for re-election. The five most used words in descending order are: 'Australia' (used 45 times); 'future' (used 32 times; 'jobs' (used 31 times); 'Abbott' (used 26 times); and 'Australian' (used 26 times). 'Fight' and variations of this term was used 39 times.

The qualitative results of the speech analysis established the central narrative of Prime Minister Rudd's campaign launch as 'the fight and family values' and that this rhetorical argument was made using mainly logos appeals in the *peroration.* The commonplace of Australian values was indeed so predominant that the term 'values' is used 23 times. However, while the speech drew on values as one of its key rhetorical techniques, the adversarial nature of the speech superseded these ethos and pathos appeals. What was left was a logos-based attack; a strategy implemented at the expense of reframing Rudd's own personal mission as prime minister irrespective of the events that saw him reinstated as leader of the Labor government. Within a rhetorical situation which pointed to an almost certain loss for Labor and low popularity levels for the Prime Minister, taking a negative campaign strategy therefore proved counter-productive, particularly as the pre-election polls indicated voters were repelled by adversarial campaigning.

Opposition Leader Tony Abbott's campaign launch speech

Held at the Queensland Performing Arts Centre in Brisbane on August 25, 2013, the Coalition Opposition's campaign launch speech was argued through appeals to reason and utilitarianism. Persuasive language techniques framed a narrative of reassurance with the intention of building Opposition Leader Tony Abbott's ethos and the public's trust in his ability to govern the country. In the "supremely confident" speech (Taylor 2013), Abbott ignored Labor's demands for policy costings and proposed minor spending promises. He also urged Australia to "choose change" based on the need for sensible and predictable leadership. To support this argument, a morality-based metaphorical juxtaposition positively identified the Coalition with a "fair dinkum" case; one founded on the endeavour to obtain an electoral mandate via transparent processes. Conversely, Prime Minister Kevin Rudd and the Labor Party were rhetorically framed as devoid of the morals and values expected of trustworthy and stable government. Indeed, allusions to community trust and democratic values were captured within rhetoric of newness, while the narrative of reassurance was embodied in building and infrastructure metaphors to symbolise and solidify the Coalition's broader nation-building campaign discourse.

Change through transparency

The structural parameters of the Opposition's campaign launch comprised a logical and antithetical argument that contrasted the leadership issues faced within the Labor Party against the Coalition's unobstructed plan to lead the nation. Logos extended to the *narration* and was exhibited through the consistent use of one sentence statements that summarised key features of the Opposition's policy agenda, Abbott's pledge to provide new leadership, and the values upon which the Coalition's team founded their vision for Australia's future. Although this internal composition reduced the scope for depth of discussion particularly in

the policy areas, it strategically communicated the Opposition Leader's core message as offering a blend of 'no-fuss' and decisive leadership. Abbott presented a simple message "largely devoid of policy detail, but it was coherent and consistent" (Strangio and Walter 2015, 54). The short, authoritative statements also articulated Abbott's rationale for a change of government based on the lack of solidarity and leadership professionalism displayed in the Labor Party ranks. Yet, for the most part the *division* attacked the Rudd government by implication and in terms of leadership choice. This resulted in the speech not being as adversarial and combative as Rudd's and consequently, Abbott came across as more positive and statesmanlike than his opponent. Abbott promised that if elected he would not "talk down to people"—something Rudd was openly criticised for doing to colleagues and staffers (Kelly 2014).

Accordingly, the secondary message to voters in the *division* was a thematic one aimed at their choice on polling day.

> This election is the most important in a generation. It pits the Liberal and National parties' positive plans for the future against more of the same from a confused and chaotic Labor Party (Abbott 2013).

Such alliterative statements demonstrated the argument extended by Johnson (2015, 37) who notes Abbott's key strategy involved first "encouraging feelings of anxiety then providing and encouraging feelings of reassurance". Indeed, the Liberal's campaign strategy focused on suggesting that they had a positive vision of, and plan for, the direction Australia should take (see Loughnane 2013), and this was articulated through disciplined and consistent rhetoric. Rhetoric of newness captured this positive vision, while a narrative of fixing was embodied in building, business and infrastructure metaphors.

> We'll build the roads of the 21st century because I hope to be an infrastructure prime minister who puts bulldozers on the ground and cranes into our skies.
>
> I want us to be a better country, not just a richer one, but you don't build a better society by issuing a press release.
>
> From day one, it will be obvious that Australia is under new management and once more open for business (Abbott 2013).

According to Taylor (2013), the Opposition Leader raised an especially loud cheer from the crowd when he declared the most important deficit facing the nation was "a deficit of trust". Indeed, the antithetical quality of the overarching 'change through transparency' narrative was emphasised through appeals to leadership credibility. The rhetorical framing of the notion of trust was similarly central to the argument.

> For the past three years, the Coalition has had the same strong, united team and the same clear plans. You could trust us in opposition and you will be able to trust us in government.
>
> You don't expect miracles; just a government that is competent and trustworthy and a prime minister who doesn't talk down to you (Abbott 2013).

A sequence of rhetorical questions during the *proof* increased the antithetical nature of the case for leadership change and acted as a strategy of positive identification with the Coalition and against Labor.

> Who do you trust to reduce power prices and gas prices? Trust the party that will abolish the carbon tax, not the one that inflicted it on you.
>
> Who do you trust to get debt and deficit under control? Trust the party that left you $50 billion in the bank, not the one that squandered your inheritance (Abbott 2013).

Here, the change through transparency narrative also extended to the Opposition Leader's morally-sound vision for the nation, of which was ideologically and rhetorically framed by pathos appeals within core Liberal Party values.

My vision for Australia is not that big brother government knows best; it's that our country will best flourish when all of our citizens, individually and collectively, have the best chance to be their best selves.

We understand, deep in our DNA, that you can't have a strong society and strong communities without strong economies to sustain them and you can't have a strong economy without profitable private businesses. We know that a stronger economy is not about picking winners but about helping everyone to get ahead (Abbott 2013).

Terms such as 'DNA' or 'values' were often used to refer to underlying ideological differences about, for example, the respective roles of government and the market. Indeed, the roles of ideology and emotion were closely intertwined in the case of Abbott's rhetoric in the campaign launch speech (Johnson 2015, 44). While devoid of any stirring or emotive rhetoric, the *peroration* contained a specific attack on the Prime Minister which portrayed him as a "fake" who was "running the most dishonest campaign in the nation's history", therefore concluding the adversarial yet logical argument for a change of government.

Choose change, and there are few problems that cannot be improved (Abbott 2013).

Figure 18: Content analysis results - Abbott 2013

There are 10 concept families depicted in Figure 7.6 with each relating to either the

Opposition's policy agenda, case for transparency, or vote of confidence in the strength of the

Liberal Party. The prominence of the trust theme and the rhetorical appeals to community and

the democratic will are likewise visible in the content analysis results. Indeed, the linking

nodes beginning with 'government' in the centre of the concept map and connecting 'strong',

'Liberal', 'trust' and 'party' at the top parameter of the concept map demonstrate the

conceptual interconnectedness of the Opposition Leader's campaign launch speech. The

centralisation of the largest concept family 'people' and the amount of crossover with 'government' further indicates the pervasiveness of the core argument and related rhetorical language. The five most used words in descending order are: 'government' (used 33 times); 'people' (used 32 times); 'trust' (used 19 times); 'years' (used 18 times); and 'Labor' (used 16 times). In all, the content analysis shows a logical case framed by ethos appeals; a case for change leveraged on goodwill established by the Coalition's cohesion. A mandate, then, was sought on the promise of stable leadership rather than focused on the Opposition Leader himself.

The qualitative results of the speech analysis established the central narrative of Opposition Leader Abbott's campaign launch as 'change through transparency' and that this rhetorical argument was made using mainly logos appeals in the *narration.* Despite Abbott's low personal popularity in the polls, repetition of the 'trust' rhetorical techniques and the logical case put forward was persuasive, particularly in comparison to the Prime Minister's campaign launch speech. Based on their speeches alone, Abbott's campaign launch offered more than simply an attack, it offered vision in conjunction with a proven track record of stability therefore increasing the likelihood for Opposition's campaign strategy to effectively promote the rationale for change.

Summary of analysis

The qualitative discussion and findings are summarised in Table 6 and 7 below. The rhetorical appeal refers to the most used rhetorical appeal, while the speech element refers to the section of the speech that the rhetorical argument featured most predominantly.

Election	PM	Central narrative	Rhetorical appeal	Speech element
2007*	Howard	'Opportunity society'	Pleasing (pathos)	*Exordium*
2010	Gillard	'Authenticity and consensus'	Authenticating (ethos)	*Narration*
2013*	Rudd	'The fight and family values'	Proving (logos)	*Peroration*

Table 6: 2007-13 qualitative results – prime minister

*Period of transition

Election	OL	Central narrative	Rhetorical appeal	Speech element
2007	Rudd	Change through revolution	Proving (logos)	*Proof*
2013	Abbott	Change through transparency	Proving (logos)	*Narration*

Table 7: 2007-13 qualitative results – opposition leader

Chapter conclusions

The qualitative component of the speech analysis identified the central narrative of each speech, the primary rhetorical proof through which this narrative was argued, and the section of the speech that the argument featured most predominantly. Overall, the analysis found narratives relating to values and authenticity as common thematic foundations of each text's argument. Indeed, the rhetorical commonplace of values—personal, party and ideological— defined the persuasive appeals in each speech. Alluding to values is closely associated with ethos and pathos appeals and a speaker generally does this to establish integrity of character and arouse the audience's emotions respectively. Drawing on the notion of values to make logos appeals is, then, less common given that logos appeals are inherently persuasive for

their use of deductive and inductive reasoning. That is, logos appeals rely less on conceptual or abstract references and instead on a logical argument based on a series of premises (also known as an enthymeme[69]). In the cases of Opposition Leader Rudd in 2007, Prime Minister Rudd in 2013 and Opposition Leader Abbott in 2013, the concept of values was used as a reasoning technique within the respective campaign speeches. This is a significant trend between these three speeches because the imperative of values was used as an argumentation strategy as opposed to an adjective or verb to frame a policy proposal, personal ethics or nation-building agenda; it established the rationale of the speech. As a result, reason and credibility of message were rhetorically aligned. Abbott's speech in 2013 framed the need for a change of government within this strategic use of value-based deductive reasoning. Change, then, was argued as reasonable (logos appeals) and ethical (ethos appeals).

The prevalence of the rhetorical commonplace of values underpinning the core speech narratives, and the fact that the use of this commonplace differed little across party and leaders demonstrates a shift in rhetorical strategy from previous decades. Indeed, the qualitative analysis results show that the rhetorical techniques used by the major parties in their campaign set pieces drew on the same fundamental appeals. The shift in strategy suggests the major parties perceived the constituency as being primarily swing voters or at least highly susceptible to centric messaging. Further, with the rise of social media in the 2007 federal election as another medium to connect with voters, particularly young voters, campaign rhetoric needed to become more direct and pragmatic in its content. The qualitative analysis therefore provides evidence of why logos featured as the key rhetorical proof. In

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[69] An enthymeme is a three part deductive argument, or rhetorical syllogism, used in oratorical practice. Originally theorised by Aristotle, there are four types of enthymeme, at least two of which are described in Aristotle's work.

addition, the analysis results also indicate why, within the rhetorical situation of successive leadership changes between 2010 and 2013, the need to establish authenticity and public trust overtook campaign rhetoric. The focus of this language, however, came at the expense of advocating the party's ideological foundations and a nation-building vision—both core elements of ethos appeals. Opposition Leader Abbott's 2013 campaign speech in part defied this trend by campaigning on the authenticity of party stability and ideology as well as offering a nation-building agenda.

By most accounts the quantitative component of the speech analysis supports the qualitative findings. In the instances of electoral victory for Rudd in 2007 and Abbott in 2013, the quantitative data demonstrates the campaign speeches developed their core campaign narrative by emphasising a nation-building agenda based on ideological values, as well as responded to the surrounding rhetorical situation. In contrast, Rudd's speech in 2013 focused heavily on attacking the Opposition and gave little attention to asserting a case for leadership. While Howard's speech in 2007 and Gillard's in 2010 demonstrated vision and values, the rhetorical situation of these campaigns undermined their attempts to demonstrate their authenticity as leaders.

Considering the combined results of the speech analysis, the language of strategy during the study period is the rhetoric of authenticity and values. The language of strategy can be reduced to three interconnected rhetorical suppositions in the election campaign set piece speech: a) values and logos; b) logos and narrative; c) narrative and values. Depicted in Figure 19 below, the three features point to the interconnected relationship between those rhetorical techniques, appeals and speech structures identified in the speech analysis results.

Figure 19 also suggests that a unison between the three components in a campaign launch results in a persuasive argument.
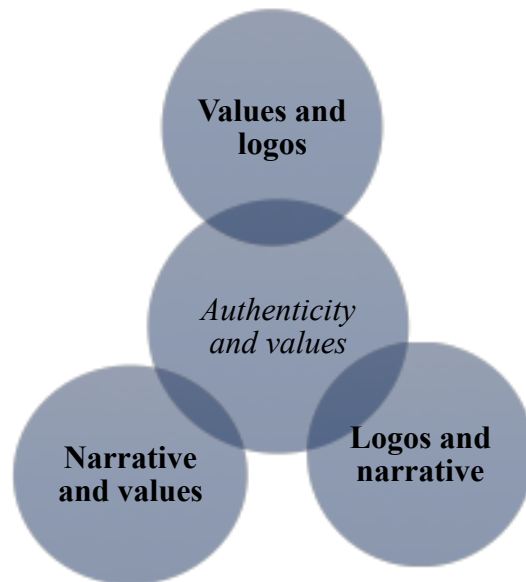
Figure 19: The language of strategy: 2007-13

As mentioned, key areas of accord can be seen in Rudd's 2007 speech and to lesser extents, within Gillard's speech in 2010 and Abbott's in 2013, while the main instance of departure can be seen in Rudd's 2013 speech. This was mainly due to his ethos appeals not having persuasive impact given his low public popularity and the lack of vision within his nation-building narrative.

The language of strategy implemented in the 2007, 2010 and 2013 general elections differs from that seen in the previous speech analysis chapters. Among these reasons include a lack of period of incumbency seen in previous decades, the impact of social media and the rise of undecided voters. Paul Kelly (2014, 498-500) argues that the cause behind the changes in federal politicking, campaigning and prime ministerial conduct during the study period of 2007-13 is systemic:

Australian politics is (now) dominated by a poll-driven culture. It empowers negative campaigns, privileges sectional and special interest over the national interest, struggles with a fragmented media less equipped to facilitate sensible debate and confronts a conflict between long-run policy and short-term tyranny of the polling and media cycle.

Volatility and fragmentation are the new driving forces. People are more impatient. Politics has become far more competitive and brutal on a daily basis. This demands faster responses and those responses are invariably negative.

Indeed, a key factor that accounts for the shift in rhetoric relates to the 'baggage' brought by Gillard in 2010 and Rudd in 2013 which affected the rhetorical situation in such a way that gave primacy to the long term context rather than the immediate context leading up to the election campaigns (as per Grube's (2016) idea of 'rhetorical path dependency' at pp. 85-86). The overall impact of rhetorical path dependency and those other stated reasons have on the use and function of rhetoric in election campaigns will be discussed in further depth in the following chapter.

Chapter Eight: Conclusion

One of the responsibilities of national leaders is to clarify a country's rhetoric and define, or redefine, the way in which a nation sees itself.

Michael Gordon (1993)

This final chapter brings together the findings from the three analytical chapters and uses these longitudinal results to address the research questions first identified in Chapter One (p. 17). These are: a) how was rhetorical language used in Australian election campaign speeches during 1983-2013; b) in what ways, if at all, did political rhetoric contribute to the broader election campaign strategies of the study periods; and c) to what extent, if at all, were there patterns of persuasive language in Australian election campaign speeches, and what do these reveal about the language of Australian political discourse. As such, the chapter is divided into two main sections, with the first section addressing the thesis findings according to the three research questions. In particular, section one explains the importance of these results in relation to the questions of what makes this language effective and similarly, to what extent might persuasive language affect political processes. The second section of the conclusion reflects on the use of the rhetorical political methodology and the importance of studying rhetoric, and in doing so highlights future paths of enquiry for similar research that seeks to investigate the function and power of rhetorical speechmaking in contemporary Australian politics.

Thesis findings (A) – how rhetorical language was used

The following findings are presented according to the qualitative and quantitative speech analysis results. Tables 8 and 9 below combine the summary of analysis tables presented in Chapters Five (pp. 164-75), Six (pp. 208-09) and Seven (p. 254).

Election	PM	Central narrative	Rhetorical appeal	Speech element
1983	Fraser	'Building Australia'	Proving (logos)	*Proof*

1984	Hawke	'Trust and consensus'	Pleasing (pathos)	*Peroration*
1987	Hawke	'Strength and conviction leadership'	Authenticating (ethos)	*Peroration*
1990	Hawke	'Statesmanship and mission'	Authenticating (ethos)	*Proof*
1993	Keating	'Big Picture vision'	Proving (logos)	*Proof*
1996	Keating	'Trust and mandate'	Proving (logos)	*Narration*
1998	Howard	'Paternalism, pride and patriotism'	Authenticating (ethos)	*Peroration*
2001	Howard	'Strength and resilience'	Authenticating (ethos)	*Proof*
2004	Howard	'Strong leadership and values	Pleasing (pathos)	*Exordium*
2007	Howard	'Opportunity society'	Pleasing (pathos)	*Exordium*
2010	Gillard	'Authenticity and consensus'	Authenticating (ethos)	*Narration*
2013	Rudd	'The fight and family values'	Proving (logos)	*Peroration*

Table 8: 1983-2013 qualitative results – prime minister

Election	OL	Central narrative	Rhetorical appeal	Speech element
1983	Hawke	Change through consensus	Authenticating (ethos)	*Proof*
1996	Howard	Change through inclusion	Authenticating (ethos)	*Narration*
2007	Rudd	Change through revolution	Proving (logos)	*Proof*
2013	Abbott	Change through transparency	Proving (logos)	*Narration*

Table 9: 1983, 1996, 2007, 2013 qualitative results – opposition leader

Building on the rhetorical canon, classical rhetorical theory, and the work of Aristotle, the most common rhetorical appeal refers to which Aristotelian technique—logos, ethos, and pathos—was most favoured in each speech. Put another way, the rhetorical appeal captures the focus and nature of the speech's argument; be it to make a definitive case and prove a point (logos), to please and entertain the audience (pathos), or to authenticate the speaker's character (ethos). As noted numerous times throughout this thesis, each rhetorical appeal traditionally corresponds to the three key elements of a speech: the speech, the audience, and the speaker. So, if the most used rhetorical appeal in a speech is logos, it follows that the focus of the speech is its content and the purpose is to prosecute a case. Similarly, if ethos is most prominent one can expect the speaker to be focusing on themselves or their political party with the intent of demonstrating authenticity. Examining the prominence of rhetorical appeals in speech acts is important as it defines the underlying strategy informing the speech, and is therefore a key element in establishing how rhetorical language is used.

Of the 12 prime ministerial speeches analysed qualitatively, ethos featured five times and was the most prominent rhetorical appeal, while logos featured four times, and pathos featured three times. Of the four speeches of the opposition leaders analysed qualitatively, ethos and logos featured equally as the most prominent rhetorical appeal. These results illustrate several points. First, the political party did not seem to be a deciding factor in the use of rhetorical appeals as there is no evidence to suggest that the Labor Party or Liberal National Coalition gravitated toward a particular persuasive appeal to 'sell' its argument. Second, leadership style was also not a deciding factor for rhetorical appeals in the speeches as those prime ministers who had more than one term in government did not consistently adhere to any one appeal. Certainly, each speaker brought to the speech lectern their own communication idiosyncrasies and ideological passions which naturally shaped the messages they were articulating[70]. Despite these unique rhetorical behaviours and given the campaign speech is the product of not just the speaker but also a speechwriter and team of political and media advisors, the persuasive techniques within the speeches were to a greater extent contextually reactive in nature. In sum, the use of rhetorical appeals in the speeches was more a reflection of the level of political volatility surrounding the election campaign and the popularity of the leader during that time rather than being an extension of party or personality.

Regarding the relationship between the use of rhetorical appeals and the speech element that the underlying argument featured in most, the results are more illustrative of personal style and were to a lesser extent shaped by contextual factors. While a speech is effectively a pre-written argument, the articulation of a speech cannot be scripted, and although some leaders engage specialist consultants to stage manage the campaign launch event, how messages are

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[70] See Strangio et al. (2013) for an in-depth analysis and discussion of prime ministerial performance in Australia, the United Kingdom, New Zealand and Canada, and an evaluation of to what extent this performance affects leadership style.

communicated in the moment is ultimately at the mercy of the speaker. In other words, the speaker either consciously or unconsciously has the autonomy to place added emphasis and heightened emotion in sections of the speech that, for example, they have a personal interest in. The correlation of the internal speech structure, scripted rhetorical appeals and messaging therefore reveals indicators of personal rhetorical behaviour. Indeed, Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser was known for delivering speeches methodically and prescriptively (Summers 1983), while Prime Minister Bob Hawke has been described as a "passionate and emotional orator" (Mills 1993, 36), and these personal styles are supported by the findings in Tables 8 and 9. If a researcher in the political communication field was examining the interplay between leadership styles and rhetorical speechmaking, a helpful starting point would be to look at the use of rhetorical appeals in conjunction with identifying where in the speech the argument featured most.

The qualitative speech analysis results pertaining to the speech element in the prime ministerial speeches found *peroration* and *proof* featured four times each, and *narration* and *exordium* featured twice respectively. The speech of the opposition leader featured *proof* and *narration* equally. As per the description of each speech element in Chapter Two (p. 37), *proof* sets forth the arguments that support one's case and is therefore generally associated with logos appeals. *Peroration* relates to the conclusion of the speech and sums up arguments and stirs emotions, meaning pathos appeals are most commonly associated with this speech element. The main point of difference that can be surmised by the results in Table 8 and 9 is that ethos appeals were substituted for traditional pathos appeals to conclude the central argument of the speech. This indicates that there was an increased need to authenticate leadership rather than simply invoke emotional sentiment within the audience. Indeed, the rhetorical canon, particularly invention, arrangement and style, is a formative element of the

practical tools associated with rhetorical analysis and these thesis findings demonstrate that it can be applied to the examination of contemporary political speech texts to produce and support qualitative research findings.

Bringing all the qualitative results together and assessing them with respect to the overarching narrative in each speech demonstrates several points. First, there exists a link between the political party and the central narrative used in the speech. Regarding victorious Labor prime ministers, the campaign rhetoric of Hawke, Keating, Rudd and Gillard drew almost exclusively on narratives of vision and values. The consistent trend across these narratives was their external rather than internal focus. That is, the narrative focused less on the speaker's own self and leadership and more on their policy agenda and *relationship* with the public. Comparatively, the central narratives used by Howard and Abbott mainly revolved around leadership strength where the focus was on the personal attributes of the speaker. Indeed, rhetoric in this sense was more a product of party ideology than the result of a reaction to the election context. This was perhaps most apparent during shifts of incumbency when the speakers based their arguments on fundamental social democratic ideology in Labor's case, and classical liberal ideology in the Liberal Party's case. The only speech that did not align with the ALP's core messaging was Rudd's 2013 campaign speech. Instead, Rudd's speech was an extension of the rhetorical situation with little grounding in appealing to the traditional voting base. The use of rhetoric to frame narratives in the speeches, then, was a function of the party machine in the first instance, then further shaped by the corresponding leadership style: autocratic for Liberal Party leaders and collectivist for Labor Party leaders (see also Masters and Uhr 2017, 18-28).

Indeed, the results of the quantitative textual analysis are supported by those of the quantitative content analysis. Figures 20 and 21 below capture how rhetoric was used in successful prime ministerial speeches across the first two study periods of 1983-1993 and 1996-2004 according to the quantitative speech analysis results. The third study period of 2007-13 is omitted due to insufficient data for sampling as the 2007 and 2013 elections resulted in a shift of incumbency and the 2010 election resulted in a minority government situation. Figure 23 presents the combined quantitative results for successful opposition leader speeches that resulted in a shift of incumbency. Instances of election loss have not been analysed given this focus falls outside of the thesis' parameters. The data in the three figures has been collated without a consideration of party, speaker and general contextual variables in keeping with the fundamental character of quantitative content analysis.

Figure 20: Combined quantitative results for successful prime ministers - 1984-1993

The results in Figure 20 support the qualitative results concerning the conclusion that Labor prime ministers exhibited outwardly focused rhetorical language and argumentation techniques. Indeed, 'community' and 'people' are the two main concept families followed by 'government' and 'Australia'. The messaging was so outwardly fixed in the speeches that 'Labor' is the smallest and most isolated concept family, followed by 'business' and 'tax'—arguably key Liberal Party rhetorical markers. The themes within the main three concept families further support this key finding, with ethos-based language that concentrated on narratives of vision and values being most represented. Further, the concept map demonstrates overlapping messaging which is indicative of a logically consistent argument.
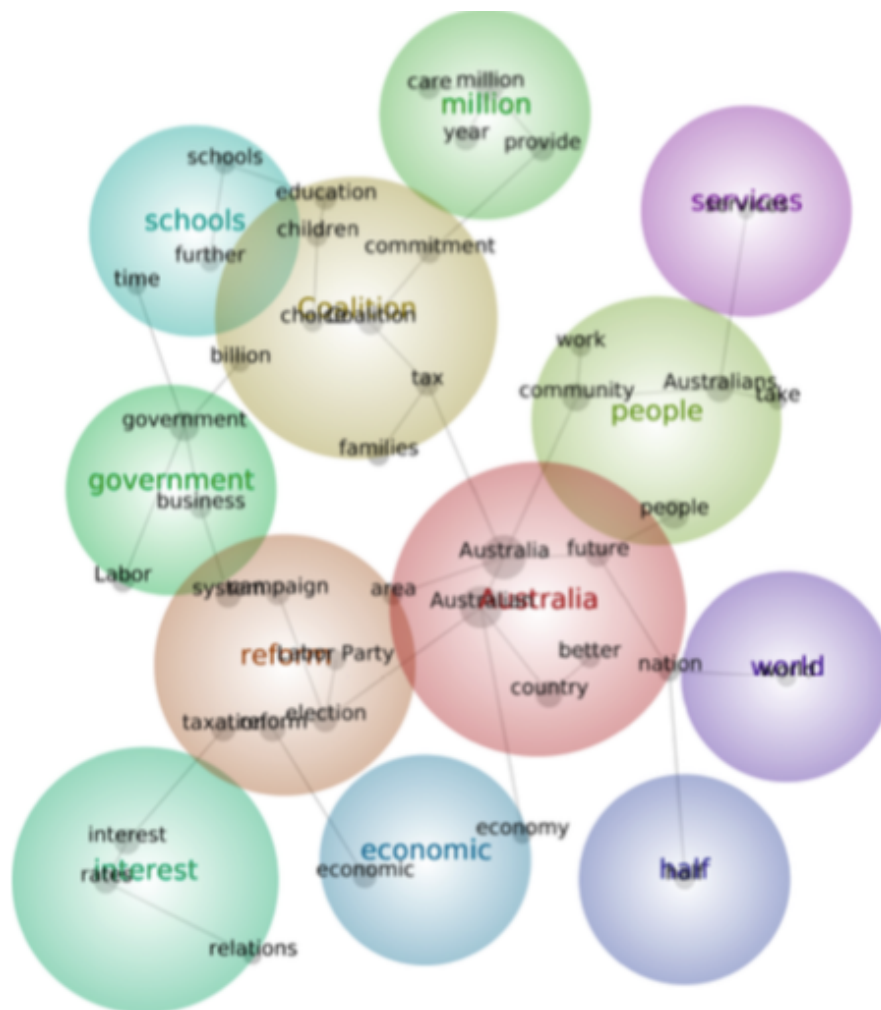
267

Figure 21: Combined quantitative results for successful prime ministers - 1998-2004

Figure 21 also supports the qualitative findings and conclusion regarding the inward rhetorical techniques of Liberal Party leaders and corresponding speech narratives. 'Coalition' is the largest concept family followed by 'Australia' and 'interest' (which can be interpreted from an economic angle due to the other visible themes, 'rates' and 'relations'). Overall, the messaging was not as consistent given the lack of overlapping concept families, and unlike Figure 20, there is no mention of community as a concept. Instead, there is a stronger focus on small target policy objectives, largely economic in nature. The terms within the largest concept family capture this omission; the speech covered topics relating to community but only with respect first to the party and speaker.

Figure 22: Combined quantitative results for successful opposition leaders – 1983, 1996, 2007, 2013

The results depicted in Figure 22 are naturally dispersive due to no consistent trend across the

four speeches outside of them being delivered by the opposition leader and resulting in a shift

of incumbency. Having said that, what can be concluded from the combined quantitative

speech analysis results for successful opposition leaders is that the messaging aspect of the

speechmaking was neither inward nor outward, but rather centred on the election campaign

itself and affecting change for the nation's future. The change messaging was therefore

shaped by contextual factors, but the fact the arguments were aimed at persuading voters

towards change rather than other key factors like the speaker or party is unique to this form of speech.

From the overall thesis findings on how rhetoric was used in the speeches, it can be concluded that there was an identifiable shift in campaign rhetoric in 21st century Australian politics, beginning in 2007. Regardless of their political persuasion, prime ministers and opposition leaders were delivering speeches that were far more leader-centred than their predecessors in decades past. Election orations are now more about the performance than the people or the policy; the soundbite than the debate. Indeed, prime ministers are increasingly required to be compelling public storytellers, crafting narratives of themselves and their governments. This points to a phenomenon of leader-centred politics which also encapsulates the impact of increased support apparatus and remorseless internal and external pressures (Strangio et al. 2017, 5). Considering Burke's identification thesis (pp. 44-47) where a person will more likely be persuaded if they identify with the speaker, in a climate of growing distrust of politicians, bipolar opinion polls and leader-centred rhetoric in election campaign speechmaking, the identification process was significantly impacted on to the detriment of the intended outcome of the speechmaking. This observation is supported by the findings regarding the extent to which political rhetoric contributes to election campaign strategies.

Thesis findings (B) – campaign speechmaking strategies

The desired intent for any political actor and party campaigning at an election is simple: to win. Indeed, as the previous section demonstrated the techniques employed on the campaign trail are multifarious with written, visual and spoken persuasive communication being the nucleus of all rhetorical strategies. Central to the argument and findings in this thesis is the concept of the 'language of strategy', which captures the sustained and longitudinal use of a

particular rhetorical method and style expressed across the set piece speeches. As summarised in Chapters Five (pp. 167-68), Six (p. 212) and Seven (pp. 256-57), the language of strategy exhibited in the three study periods respectively was established through a rhetorical method consisting of three demonstrable and interconnected suppositions in the election campaign set piece speech. Shown in Figures 23, 24 and 25 below, the classical rhetorical tradition, particularly Aristotle's ethos, logos and pathos appeals, is a key component embedded within the rhetorical strategies.
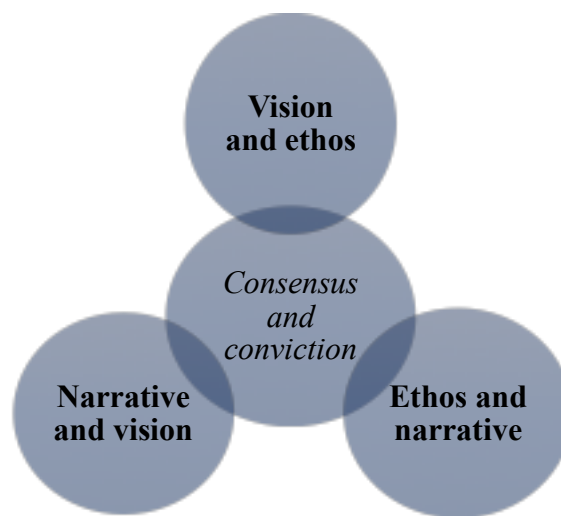
Figure 23: The language of strategy: 1983-1993
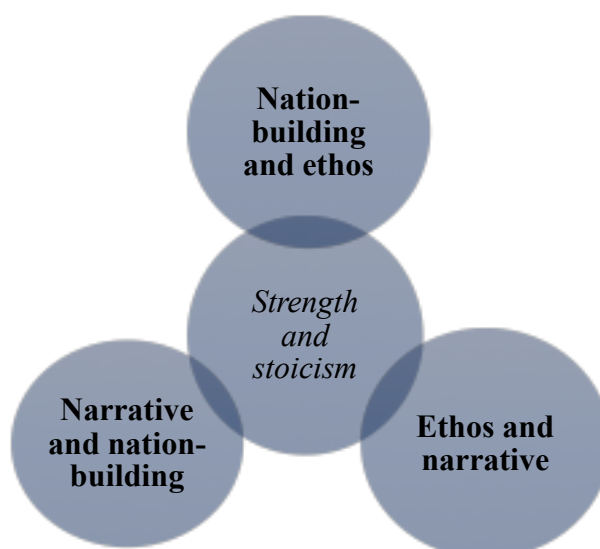
Figure 24: The language of strategy: 1996-2004

271
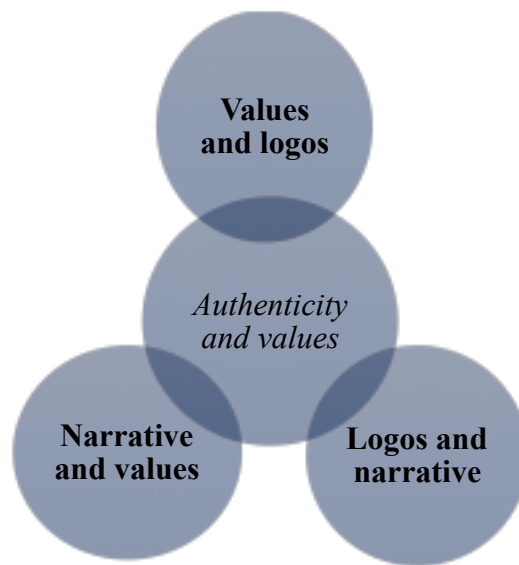
Figure 25: The language of strategy: 2007-13

The language of strategy and corresponding rhetorical method depicted in Figures 23, 24 and

25, although different, each tell the same story. That is, visions, values and ethos appeals

were essential components of election campaign speechmaking strategies across the thirty

year study period. For a campaign speech to satisfy its most basic requirement to persuade,

and for the political leader articulating the arguments within the speech to reach their

audience effectively in such a way that their words are taken as credible and legitimate, a

vision supported by values is vital. Indeed for political leaders, their office provides them

with various platforms—the campaign launch speech included—to generate a set of

meanings that form the basis of social action (Charteris-Black 2006, 3). On the campaign

trail, leaders satisfy and express their own psychological needs as well as those of their

followers. As such, leadership equally concerns the inner values of leaders and the social

values of followers (Walter 2008; see also Little 1985). The inner values of leaders can be

aligned with Aristotle's ethos, as without the persuasive projection of these values the leader

risks lacking credibility and authenticity in their outward manifestation of leadership. In the

main, successful politicians are those who have "credible stories to tell, who can involve us in the drama of the present" by explaining in simple terms what is right and wrong and who can convince us that they are better than their opponents (Charteris-Black 2011, xiv).

For Opposition Leader Bob Hawke in Labor's 1983 campaign launch speech, the projection of ethos and conviction was captured by an emphasis on the word 'trust' and the far-reaching use of pragmatic language. Indeed, the very language of Hawke's speech was designed to reassure, and that reassurance was reinforced by his "low-key" style of delivery (Summers 1983, 110). Projecting credible, authentic and confident leadership was essential to building Hawke's ethos which was a defining feature of the rhetorical method and resulting language of strategy for 1983-1993: consensus and conviction. Prime Minister Paul Keating further demonstrated this rhetorical language during his election campaigning while in office. The speech analysis results also showed an emphasis on values and conviction rhetoric to build trust, authenticity and leadership ethos, particularly in speeches where an opposition leader was making their case for change. Indeed, family values and community sentiment were among the core values drawn on by Hawke and Keating to build and project their ethos and lead the conviction narrative as per Figure 23. Given the importance of values in motivating human behaviour (Charteris-Black 2011, 1), in moments of opportunism the opposition leader needs to be in touch with the public's beliefs and value systems because the absence of any convergence would risk their visions failing to motivate and persuade the national audience.

The speech analysis results also demonstrated the importance of nation-building as a rhetorical move on the path to legitimacy, specifically within the study period of 1996-2004 as per Figure 24. For opposition leaders who went on to become prime ministers, like John

Howard, articulating a clear vision for the nation during opportunistic bids for leadership was effective and especially useful when the vision aligned with the values and conviction narrative. Evidently, it is essential for opposition leaders to have visions that they can communicate effectively to convey a superior understanding of the current and future state of affairs, and offer tangible ways to correct and better the nation's place domestically and abroad. Howard's speeches framed his nation-building vision in both practical and theoretical terms, yet the consistent factor between these speeches was the importance of providing a vision that directly addressed the downfalls and critiques of the opposition. Indeed, Howard adopted rhetorical strategies attuned to those who were to be mobilised, and targeted those he could never win over as the 'elite' enemies of common aspirations.

Values were also an enduring component of the language of strategy and rhetorical method identified in Figure 25. Indeed, the 2007, 2010 and 2013 election campaigns saw values used as a persuasive concept mainly to support the narrative of Australia's need for new (or continued in the case of the 2010 election) leadership distinguished by principles of fairness, decency and respect. Like putting forward a case that demonstrates the vision of the speaker and their party, the articulation of values within the context of the leader's personal ethos and the ideological value system underpinning the political party was and remains a central and necessary requirement of Australian election campaign speechmaking.

Further, the results of the speech analysis suggest a shift in the language of strategy across the three study periods. Initially persuasive language that asserted a vision was reinforced by ethos appeals and in doing so the strategy focused on *how* the arguments in the speeches were being transmitted by the speaker. The peak and subsequent turning point for this trend occurred in 2007 when Kevin Rudd moved from opposition leader to prime minister. Rudd's

campaign speech revealed a strong emphasis on personalisation and autonomous leadership which echoed his presidential style of campaigning, a style that has now been recognised by a number of scholars as a turning point in Australian politics (see for example, Strangio et al. 2017, 237; Kelly 2014, 497-510). From 2007 onwards, the vision, ethos and values components of the language of strategy made way for a different rhetorical method prompted by a series of leadership changes. Because ethos was no longer a viable rhetorical technique to draw on within a climate of leadership instability and questionable ethical behaviour, the rhetorical strategy became less about how messages were being argued and more about the core message itself, which was supported by logos appeals. The message was also scaled back significantly to ingratiate the rise of new media and sound bite PR, which resulted in a move to shorter, less value-rich and more personality-focused campaign speeches. This key finding echoes those of other scholars in the field (see for example, Strangio et al. 2017, 271, 288; Younane-Brookes 2011; Uhr and Walker 2014).

Indeed, the findings of the final study period of 2007-13 indicated that the then Opposition Leader Tony Abbott, successfully used the rhetorical recipe of values and logos appeals. Although Abbott's personal popularity was quite low leading up to and during the 2013 election campaign, particularly in comparison with political leaders in the first two study periods, the fact that the rhetorical strategy had shifted from ethos and vision to logos and values to ground legitimacy was of no negative consequence for the outcome of the election campaign, indeed the opposite. As shown in Chapter Seven (pp. 248-51), Abbott's campaign speech repeated and amplified the message—though it refrained from providing detail—he had been presenting for the three years of his leadership of the opposition. A research project that examines the 2016 Australian federal election campaign speeches using the same hybrid

methodology in this thesis would be valuable in further demonstrating or debunking this finding.

Every three years when the democratic process presents the question of federal leadership to the Australian public, leaders have the double-edged task of proving *and* persuading: projecting authenticity and conviction. Expressing a leadership style of authenticity and conviction simultaneously, however, is no small feat by any means. Given the primacy of political rhetoric as being "part of the foundation upon which political legitimacy is built" (Rayner 2014, 78), and providing the devices to "frame communication about policy issues in order to lead public opinion" (Engbers and Fucilla 2012, 1129; see also Lakoff 2004), the scholarly analysis of political rhetoric is paramount. Identifying the rhetorical method that comprises the language of strategy produces further evidence to indicate how political rhetoric contributes to broader election campaign strategies. Importantly, the language of strategy also reveals cultural, historical and behavioural aspects specific to the study period, political environment and political leadership and is therefore a formative line of enquiry for other scholars of rhetorical political speech analysis.

Thesis findings (C) - rhetorical patterns

The thesis findings presented in the former two sections offered sufficient evidence to conclude that there exists a number of rhetorical patterns within and across the 16 analysed campaign speeches. In addition to these findings there are broader patterns of language at play over the thirty years of Australian politics from 1983-2013, specifically in relation to prime ministers and electoral success, and opposition leaders and changes of incumbency. These rhetorical patterns reveal particular characteristics of the language of Australian political discourse, and importantly demonstrate (in conjunction with the former two findings

sections) that rhetoric affects political outcomes. The first pattern suggests that public policy and political issues, for example, do not provide the definitive framework for political rhetoric in election campaign contexts, rather personal style and more recent changes in the media landscape shape rhetorical use. While the second pattern reveals that there are constraints on what a government and opposition can rhetorically do at different stages of incumbency. Indeed, opposition leaders running against long term incumbents must run on their future agenda because they have no track record they can practically draw on.

Prime ministerial performance and electoral success

The speech analysis results indicate how prime ministers achieved electoral success through the medium of oratory shifted significantly over the thirty year study period. The first two decades—1983-1993 and 1996-2004—dealt with a sustained period of party leadership headed by the one leader for at least three successive elections. Such continuity allowed Prime Ministers Bob Hawke and John Howard to create, develop and sustain a narrative commensurate with their personal leadership style and policy advocacy. Accordingly, the language of strategy in the respective time periods is to a large extent a legacy specific to these two prime ministers. Given the central role Paul Keating played during the Hawke prime ministership, the same conclusions might be drawn in relation to his term in office and subsequent language of strategy which was embedded in conviction rhetoric. The first two study periods also covered election campaigns that did not involve social media as part of the campaign communication platforms. As a result, engaging in personality politics and implementing populist rhetoric as the primary means to connect immediately with the public was not a *necessary* component of the campaign strategies in elections prior to 2007.

As is widely accepted, the political context now includes what amounts to a 24 hour media cycle. This places significant strains (and constraints) on how prime ministers and leaders of opposition parties develop their language of strategy for campaign set speeches. The emphasis is on the here and now with little time for reflection as leaders are expected to respond and exercise their claims to legitimacy continuously. This is one of the key reasons, if not *the* key reason, for the preoccupation with translating campaign promises into 'announceables'—a trend that started showing itself in campaign speechmaking from the 2007 election onwards. Indeed, 21st century citizens ask: 'What have they done for us lately?', and with the power of social media at their disposal can respond instantly and, more often than not, drive home their dissatisfaction in ways that can undermine the appeal and image of the leader in question. In addition to balancing the performance element in election campaigns, prime ministers are compelled to become 'performers' in the sense of *public meaning-making*: looking and sounding competent, human and credible. This point is markedly evident in the shift in the language of strategy between the first and third study periods where the emphasis became almost exclusively concerned with the twin problems of message and image control. Indeed, the thesis findings demonstrate that all prime ministers since Howard have been caught up in what Strangio et al. (2017, 302-03) have termed a "self-negating bind", and that those who are successful in their campaign communication are likely to be electorally successful.

The overall patterns to result from the speech analysis also demonstrate that successful prime ministers frame broader narratives of national identity in their campaign communications. Further, the rhetorical language and audience appeals used to articulate and invoke nationhood within these narratives signal both shifts and continuities in the discourses of Australian national identity in 21st century prime ministerial speechmaking**.** Across the

second and third study periods in particular, the findings indicate a rhetorical shift from strength to optimism, manifest in the efforts of Prime Ministers Howard and Rudd to persuade the national audience towards their new vision for the nation. However, as the prime ministers each invited voters to see themselves reflected in their party's version of 'Australianness' through various persuasive appeals, continuities in commonplaces were also evident. These commonplaces were embedded in what could be considered as quintessential Australian values, and the articulation of these values—combined with other elements— translated into successful electoral outcomes when they were part of a broader display of optimism and positivity (see also Gizzi-Stewart 2016). This conclusion is equally if not more relevant to the rhetorical pattern associated with opposition leaders and changes of incumbency.

Opposition leaders and the rhetoric of opportunism

While the change narrative is an obvious rhetorical weapon for any opposition leader on the election battleground, both the qualitative and quantitative analysis results indicate that framing change in positive terms was particularly useful in affecting electoral success. In the 1983, 1996, 2007 and 2013 elections, the argument for change was captured in semi-synonymous narratives: consensus, inclusion, revolution, and transparency. While these narratives were at times antithetical in technique, they articulated a broader vision of optimism and progression especially in comparison to the political climate and shortcomings of the prime minister at the time. For example, Prime Minister Fraser, although a savvy operator, was often regarded as withdrawn and aloof, which juxtaposed strongly against Hawke's 'change through consensus' narrative. Hawke preferred to explain, to persuade and to allow all stakeholders to have input in the reconstruction process. Indeed, Fraser's skill was no match for the shift in elite and public opinion that demanded a new era in the

dominant ideology of government and he became a "prisoner of his own politics"—no longer able to provide solutions to emerging problems, but also unable to repudiate the falling regime (Strangio et al. 2013, 92). Similarly, revolution for Rudd in 2007 and transparency for Abbott in 2013 created a sharp contrast against the aging Howard government and tumultuous Rudd/Gilliard/Rudd years between 2010-13. While the rhetorical situation in each of these instances presented the public with an appetite for change, the strategic use of communication throughout the respective campaigns and election campaign stump speeches was decisive in further casting a wedge and increasing the likelihood of a change of incumbency based on the promise of a more positive future. Rhetoric in this sense is both a unique form of political discourse and contributes to the broader public discourse that informs perceptions of politicians and political governance.

While electoral success may never be entirely guaranteed through the strategic use of language, it is evident in situations of likely transitions from long term incumbency that rhetoric and persuasive language strategies offer campaigning opposition leaders a heightened advantage in their bid for leadership. The rhetoric of opportunism is most effectively demonstrated when the integrity of a political leader is projected through common values, when they articulate a clear nation-building vision, and when change and new leadership are offered as both a logical and emotive decision-making process. It is peculiar, given the adversarial nature of the Westminster system, for an opposition during an election campaign to engage a rhetorical strategy which focuses primarily on projecting the leader's personal integrity as was the case (in differing levels of engagement) in 1983, 1996, 2007 and 2013. This finding, then, is one that would be of value to further academic enquiry over a larger time period to further illustrate language patterns at play and their impact.

The future language of strategy in Australian prime ministerial campaign speechmaking

A broader question remains as this thesis concludes: what is the next chapter in the language of strategy in Australian prime ministerial campaign speechmaking? On many occasions the thesis has highlighted areas for further enquiry that other scholars could pursue to elevate the research and analysis of persuasive communication in political science to higher prominence and academic regard. To further assist future research of a similar nature, this section reviews the applicability of the thesis' methodology, research limitations, and the significance of studies on Australian political rhetoric.

The qualitative methodology guiding this thesis' overarching methodological approach, Finlayson's rhetorical political analysis (RPA), was instrumental in giving the three analytical chapters structure and a benchmark rationale, and has ultimately produced revelatory data. Indeed, rhetorical political analysis characterises the very nature, objectives and findings of the thesis. Having said that, the application of Finlayson's methodology to the Australian case studies has revealed aspects of RPA that could be further expanded to increase the likelihood of obtaining meaningful findings for similar research projects, specifically with respect to the rhetorical situation, and interpreting commonplaces and rhetorical appeals. It was mentioned in Chapter Four (pp. 95-96) that the two leading scholars of the rhetorical situation, Bitzer and critique, Vatz identified the influence of context in defining rhetoric and vice versa, however the applicability of their arguments to a defined methodology lacks precision. The rationale behind this claim was that neither Bitzer nor Vatz provided specific sources of influence. As an alternate method of identifying the rhetorical situation when applying the RPA methodology to a case study, this thesis has identified two areas of expansion that could increase tangibility: newspapers and polls. Indeed, these are

valuable contextual resources for assessing how the rhetorical situation and its impact might be determined in real circumstances. This would enable researchers to develop more precise understandings of the extent to which context defines rhetoric by grounding those understandings on primary source material.

As was shown in Chapters Five, Six and Seven, articles written by journalists of all political persuasions present first-hand insights into the political climate at specific points in time. Their observations and analysis establish important historical context that retrospective books and studies tend not to capture. Similarly, opinion polls are barometers of segmented popular opinion that bypass the biases that individual journalists subconsciously and consciously bring to their writing. Granted, opinion polls are often commissioned by the party machine or a newspaper enterprise with their own political agenda to pursue (either explicitly in the case of political parties and less so with particular newspapers), but they too provide a rhetorical analyst with the means to achieve a better understanding of the motivations behind the use of a particular narrative or rhetorical appeal in campaign communication strategy. A speech is not given in a vacuum; the words tell a story, and the story's context is worth considering if a rounded and objective analysis is desired. This is why being able to identify and assess the rhetorical situation is important, and as shown in this study, newspaper clippings and opinion polls might facilitate a more nuanced understanding of it.

Finlayson (2007) identifies commonplaces and rhetorical appeals, in addition to narratives and metaphors, as key components of rhetorical political analysis, but he does not offer any guidance to illustrate how a rhetorical analyst might identify and assess commonplaces or rhetorical appeals as techniques of argumentation in communication artefacts. The application of RPA to the speech analysis in this thesis has demonstrated the potential of

commonplaces to provide evidence of socio-cultural and ideological change that would be especially useful for discourse studies. Indeed, commonplaces should be elevated to a higher position of scholarly importance particularly for those research projects which aim to draw a link between, for example, persuasive language and cultural norms, nationalism and critical approaches to rhetorical analysis. With regards to rhetorical appeals, the classical rhetorical tradition and the work of Aristotle remains salient and should therefore continue as a benchmark canon and methodology to inform the theoretical framework underpinning the interpretation of rhetorical appeals in political argumentation.

Several of the conclusions to arise from the speech analysis in this thesis also indicate the limitations of the RPA methodology in accounting for the disparity between contextual variables in Chapters Six and Seven, specifically a rapidly changing media landscape and shifting trend to a higher turnover of federal leadership between election campaigns, and the impact of these variables on the speech analysis method. A study that spans three decades of vast political, cultural and social change is unsurprisingly susceptible to encountering research limitations. While these limitations do not impede the analysis of the study periods being examined in isolation, they do make cross study period analysis challenging.

Indeed, the current state of the Australian political climate has an impact on the use of rhetoric and, in turn, the impact of rhetoric on the electoral process. During the most recent decade a "disturbing" trend has set in where leaders now struggle to exercise effective leadership. Despite prime ministers having more resources at their disposal than ever, since 2007 they have struggled to resolve major policy problems, and all experienced serious erosion of their personal popularity and political authority remarkably quickly after achieving office. This trend is so distinctive and all-encompassing that understanding its impact on

political rhetoric is a new and unavoidable factor for consideration when analysing Australian prime ministerial speechmaking in a digital age. Why this is significant and a research limitation is because political leaders not only bring with them significant personal and party 'baggage', but the intense focus on maintaining short term public popularity has resulted in the increasing use of pre-determined rhetoric. As a result, political communication and speechmaking becomes less strategic and more repetitive which further erodes public trust in political leaders and what they say, and trivialises the election campaign process.

As mentioned in Chapter Seven (pp. 256-58), the 2010 and 2013 elections saw a shift in rhetoric which to an extent related to the baggage brought by the Labor prime minister and opposition leader respectively. That is, the long term context rather than the immediate context leading up to the election campaign affected the rhetorical situation, and in turn, the speech analysis. The focus of the analysis was less on the content and arguments within the speech, and more on the leadership rifts of the preceding years. Grube (2016) characterises this as 'rhetorical path dependency', and has long argued that there are rhetorical cycles that are as real and fixed as electoral cycles, and in many ways more important. These repetitive patterns of speech create the sense that political leaders are "talking in circles", leading to the common perception that people have "heard it all before" (Grube 2013, 5). Having said that, what one English scholar has written about the British prime ministership similarly applies to its Australian counterpart: "the job … is a product of history. History deals each incumbent a certain hand, the bundle of customers, practices and expectations that go with the office. The role is essentially 'organised by history'" (Hennessy 2000, 36). Yet, Grube's point about "talking in circles" is salient for this thesis because repetitious rhetoric makes political leaders sound inauthentic, and this perceived lack of authenticity in turn feeds the growing popular distrust of politics and politicians. In 2016, the Australian Election Survey revealed

that trust in government had reached an all-time low of 26 per cent; 74 per cent of respondents believed that people in government "look after themselves", and only 12 per cent thought government was run for "all the people" (Cameron and McAllister 2016, 75-76). The seemingly new way that political rhetoric is being used not only has important consequences for trust in government, it also brings limitations to rhetorical analysis. The analysis of prime ministerial leadership relies on three pillars: personalities, institutions and context, and it is in this third pillar that there have been vast changes over the last decades, changes that have made the job of prime minister progressively more challenging (Strangio et al. 2017, 299-301). These challenges include the struggle of policy regime exhaustion, party change and party fragmentation, and the mass media. Indeed, the focus of a 24-7 media cycle and the superficiality of 'gotcha' journalism has meant that prime ministers are given little leeway for rhetorical changes of heart. Once prime ministers have launched a rhetorical foray, it becomes enormously difficult to adopt entirely fresh or new rhetoric without being seen to abandon the old (Grube 2013, 10). As the Australian party system becomes more volatile and the prime ministership is equally the result of internal leadership challenges and democratic elections, swing voters are the ultimate battleground for campaign strategy, further diluting already repetitive rhetorical language.

However, these research limitations do not entirely inhibit future research in this field—quite the contrary. Further developing a methodology that has scope to overcome these limitations will only expand what is currently a small but vibrant strand of Australian work that has taken political language as a primary concern. This is not to say, however, that there has been *no* academic research in this area in Australia—and looking beyond the electoral studies sub-section of the field demonstrates this. Working in disciplines from political science and communication to media studies, linguistics, cultural studies or history (to name a few),

attention has been paid to both campaign and broader political language. The value of these language-based studies is in their ability to complement and challenge other strands of research into Australian politics, applying and extending historical and theoretical work by paying close attention to language in the context of ground breaking previous scholarship. Indeed, it is the desire of this thesis that by employing a broad, integrated cross disciplinary approach to studying political language, the findings of the study will allow discursive research in the Australian field to complement and extend previous work. It will hopefully expand scope for new questions to be considered that look past traditional political actors and election campaigns to find new material to be studied, and study political language in depth and in context. Here, language analysis is important not just in examining words and rhetorical strategies, or to explain why one party won an election and the other did not. Rather, it can contribute by working with an awareness of the complex and dynamic role that political language plays in debates about the nature of Australian society, and can highlight its role in broader issues, responding to and constructing national concerns and priorities.

Indeed, in a world of accelerated disengagement with the political system and distrust of its representatives, the use and study of rhetoric is now more important than ever. What voters say they crave is authenticity— the 'real deal'. Encouragements towards different rhetorical approaches are already there, but political leaders are yet to embrace them. To be known as such a leader—a leader of vision and values—would undoubtedly bring powerful political rewards.

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