# POPULIST DISCOURSE: AN ADORNIAN RHETORICAL ANALYSIS OF THE EMOTIONAL APPEAL OF PAULINE HANSON'S ONE NATION

By

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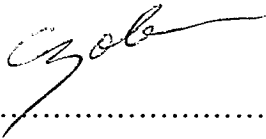requirements for the Degree of
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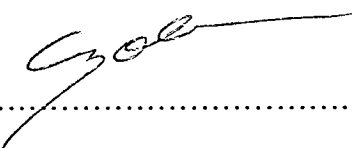
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# ABSTRACT

This thesis offers a sociological explanation for the electoral appeal of Pauline Hanson's One Nation (PHON) by performing a discourse analysis of the parties manifesto. This manifesto is comprised of the public speeches, parliamentary speeches and media releases of PHON delivered during the period of Hanson's term in the Australian Federal Parliament 1996-1998. The analysis is a synthesis of methodological approaches originated by Theodor Adorno and Erving Goffman. These approaches are rhetorical analysis and frame analysis. The combination of these approaches augmented by the simultaneous identification of key thematic domains allows the discourse analysis to be linked to issues canvassed by the Australian Election Study 1998 (AES 1998).

It is proposed in the thesis that Hanson's political style is of the populist type that is demonstrated to be increasingly prevalent in Western politics. It is the paucity of sociological explanation that focuses on the manifestos of contemporary populist politics in order to understand the mechanism of appeal of such political movements that warrants this in-depth analysis of an Australian example of the phenomena.

Firstly, the work of Adorno is revisited by considering the historical climate in which he was working in the 1930s including the development of The Frankfurt School. During this time, Adorno developed a 'Gallery of Tricks and Devices' for analysing the radio programs of the fascist Presbyterian preacher, Martin Luther Thomas. The Gallery is actually a typology of rhetorical devices that Adorno identified in the speech of Thomas. Thomas employed a populist style and is known for his emotional

appeals to his audience. This typology was then applied to the manifesto of 116 documents comprised of public and parliamentary speeches and media releases produced in Hanson's name from her election to Federal Parliament in 1996 until her defeat in 1998. The objective of this step of the discourse analysis was to assess the utility of Adorno's typology. A content analysis was also performed to ascertain the weighted means of the prevalence of the devices within each of the document categories. The results suggested that the typology required some revision to enhance its suitability for the efficient analysis of contemporary populist discourse. A Revised Typology was formulated and applied. This new typology has the potential to be useful in the analysis of the manifestos of a variety of political movements.

This rhetorical analysis gives insight into the potential impact on listeners of particular excerpts of speech. The impact is the transference of messages about particular issues and is frequently emotive in tone. The incidence of each rhetorical device is composed of one or more sentences. The key issues identified were grouped according to theme. Three key thematic domains are identified and are labelled Cultural, Social and Economic Sovereignty.

A contemporary form of Goffman's (1974) frame analysis developed by Snow and Benford (1986) informs the scrutiny of the discourse. The purpose of this step of the analysis is to ascertain what the overall potential impact of the collective effect of the rhetorical devices is on audiences. The term applied by Snow and Benford to describe the collective impact of the meaning of a particular discourse is Master Frame. It is asserted that the Master Frame of the PHON discourse is an Identity Frame. It has been suggested that a factor lacking in frame analysis generally, is the absence of the

acknowledgement of the role of emotion in attracting people to political or social movements. The incorporation into the analysis of the application of a rhetorical typology addresses this shortcoming. It also serves to identify the emotional component of the discourse that is associated with the populist political style.

The thesis claims that PHON's appeal is founded on successfully communicating its master frame to the constituency via its populist style. Furthermore that that this populist style relies heavily on emotionally charged presentations by the leader. The identification of the key thematic domains of the discourse is necessary in order to establish if there is indeed a link between the master frame of the discourse and PHON's appeal to the constituency. This is achieved by the statistical analysis of the AES 1998 data set.

The first step of this analysis was to create a reliable scale to measure respondents 'feelings' towards PHON's leader, Pauline Hanson. Ten items were selected from the data sets that address aspects of respondent's feelings towards Hanson. This scale was labelled the Emotional Energy Scale following Randall Collins' (1988b) definition of this concept.

The data set was then searched for items that addressed issues encapsulated by the thematic domains. Section D. Election Issues, E. Social Policy and G. Constitution, Rights and Minorities were found to contain items that corresponded to the thematic domains. Section D. related to Economic Sovereignty; Section E. related to Social Sovereignty and Section G. related to Cultural Sovereignty. Factor analysis was used to create scales from items within each of these sections that addressed issues that

dominated the PHON manifesto. Regression analysis was then employed. The results indicate that high levels of positive Emotional Energy for Hanson is predictive of shared attitudes towards issues by respondents with Hanson.

This suggests that there is a strong correlation between the feelings held for people towards PHON and the level of support for PHON's position on issues. These findings indicate that Hanson successfully employed populist rhetoric to achieve a remarkable level of support for her new political party. However it must be acknowledged that an audience already existed for whom the PHON message could resonate.

The demographic characteristics of PHON this audience of voters has been described at length elsewhere and this work is acknowledged. It must however be appreciated that though Pauline Hanson has experienced the inevitable decline of the charismatic leader, those who demonstrated support for her still reside in the electorate. These people may still be waiting for the right 'style' of voice to emerge on the political scene to represent them. This thesis provides an innovative approach for understanding the mechanism of populist appeal in contemporary politics. It proposes a revised typology for assessing populist rhetoric and it is the first thorough, systematic analysis of PHON's manifesto.

# ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

A piece of work like this that takes an individual so long to produce, is none-the-less a burden carried by many— partners, supervisors, parents, colleagues and friends, all of those who are in the web of the writer's social network. Now that it is finished I suspect that the only feeling that will be more overwhelming will be the one that comes with relating the outcome to the long suffering crew.

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# TABLE OF CONTENTS

# LIST OF TABLES

# LIST OF FIGURES

# Chapter One

# OVERVIEW

Despite the volume of research undertaken in order to understand electoral behaviour

nationally and internationally, the appeal of some contemporary Australian political

figures and their parties remain resistant to explanation. This thesis is an attempt to

test the usefulness of an alternative means of decoding the mechanism of appeal, by

examining one Australian political party that has broken the mould in terms of

traditional political theory – Pauline Hanson's One Nation (PHON).

This is achieved by adopting a uniquely sociological approach based upon the work of

two prominent figures in the discipline—Theodor W. Adorno and Erving Goffman—

in order to develop an alternative strategy for explaining the electoral appeal of the

populist political party, PHON.

Theodor Adorno devised a typology of 'devices and tricks' in the 1930s in order to

analyse the radio addresses of the populist fascist Martin Luther Thomas, a

Presbyterian minister. Adorno was seeking to explain how Thomas appealed to his

audience while at the same time exposing the manipulative, irrational and deceitful

nature of his propaganda. Adorno's explanation for each of the devices in the

typology, demonstrated how each technique portrayed both the leader of the

movement or the movement itself. The kind of response each is intended to elicit from

the audience is also explained. It is because of this function of Adorno's rhetorical

analysis that it is applied to the public and parliamentary addresses and media releases

of Pauline Hanson. An example of research that applies Adorno's typology in this

way was not located in literature, nor was evidence of a similar systematic analysis of a comprehensive sample of Pauline Hanson's pronouncements identified.

Goffman proposed frame analysis in the mid 1970s as a way of understanding the 'rules' that govern our appreciation of what goes on around us. He also sought to demonstrate how this appreciation allows individuals to differentiate between different sorts of reality. Goffman (1975) regarded framing as an innate property of all social processes including those that are consciously manufactured. While this original conceptualisation is problematic in terms of measurement and identification (Maher 2001: 84) , more recent scholarship, in the fields of social movement analysis and media studies, have shifted towards the conception that frames are actively selected via deliberate process in order to construct particular versions of reality (Entman 1993; D'Angelo 2002). Various types of frame analysis are discussed in the thesis, but the variation applied herein is informed primarily by Snow and Benford (Snow et al. 1986; 1988; 1992) who work broadly in the area of social movement analysis. The discourse of PHON is analysed in order to discern evidence of 'core framing tasks' or frame functions. These functions may be summarised as: diagnosis of the problems of the movement and who is to blame for them; prognosis of solutions to these problems as well as how members of the movement may undertake them and motivation of the movement members to 'do something' for the cause (Snow et al. 1986; Snow and Benford 1992).

The thesis argues that Pauline Hanson's One Nation successfully fulfilled these framing tasks, and did so by using emotive, populist, rhetorical devices to communicate the party doctrine. The synthesis of rhetorical and frame analysis

exposes the Master Frame of PHON. This Master Frame represents the overarching meaning that may be attributed to the PHON manifesto when the effect of the presentation of the key thematic domains (Social, Economic and Cultural Sovereignty) is considered. The Master Frame identified in the PHON discourse is an Identity Frame. Further, that this Identity Frame had meaning for a significant proportion of the electorate. This demonstrated by the genesis of the party itself and the level of voter support exhibited for Pauline Hanson. Hanson's notion of Australian Identity resonated with those who supported her.

All of the parliamentary speeches, public speeches and media releases delivered by Pauline Hanson during the period from September 1996, beginning with her Maiden Speech to Parliament, to her last media release in October 1998 are examined. This is a collection of some 116 documents produced by Pauline Hanson and her subsequent party. This research is essentially a case study of, Pauline Hanson's One Nation that scrutinises the point at which the party makes contact with the public. Knowledge of how PHON achieved its success and a method for understanding how it was achieved is important despite the swift downward trajectory of the party. From a sociological perspective, the examination of the case of PHON increases the potential for understanding the success of similar parties that will inevitably surface in the future in Australia and other Western societies.

PHON may be regarded as a minor party in many respects, but the impact of this party on the Australian electorate has been regarded as far more profound than most (Manne 1998b). Attempts to explain what was frequently referred to in the media as the 'Hanson phenomenon', tended to be couched in terms of the electorate's volatility,

a pervasive willingness to reject the political mainstream, a negative reaction to globalising political forces, the plea for representation by those adversely affected by economic rationalism and who felt abandoned and even betrayed by the government (see Melleuish 1997; Nile 1997; Davis and Stimson 1998; Eipper 1998; Gratton 1998; Willett 1999b). Another approach identified in the literature which relies heavily on social psychology involves examining personality, discourse or identity in relation to Pauline Hanson and her party (see Jakubowicz 1997b; Phillips 1997; Rapley 1998; Rutherford 2001).

Though significant, much of this work appears to be more in the form of responses to single events such as Pauline Hanson's Maiden Speech (Rapley 1998b; Scalmer 1999), rather than in-depth studies of a sample of parliamentary speeches or other data that may be regarded as representative of the PHON manifesto. PHON is frequently described as a populist party (Melleuish 1997; Eipper 1998; Jones 1998; Willett 1999b; Leach et al. 2000; Ward 2000). However, there is a paucity of research in relation to the investigation of populism in Australia. Rather it is discussed as a small aspect of Australian political culture (Frankel 1992). Boris Frankel (1992) makes plain the need to situate populist movements in Australia not just in terms of a cultural aberration, but as a by-product of the effect of a range of social forces including cultural, economic, political and globalising forces. This is an important aspect of the thesis as it demonstrates that while the political party Pauline Hanson's One Nation may eventually cease to exist, its sympathisers will and they will continue to seek representation.[1] Frankel's (1992; 2001) research gives insight into why it is that the Australian political climate allowed such a political movement to bloom. From the perspective of the thesis,

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[1] In October 2003, the name Pauline Hanson was dropped from the party name.

these insights assist in explaining the existence of an audience that is receptive to the message of a populist leader such as Pauline Hanson.

So, while it is possible to gauge the context of the rise of PHON and the response of various 'elites' to it, the literature does not yield a comprehensive analysis of Pauline Hanson's One Nation that investigates in an empirical way, the presentation of the leader and the party to the community. That is, no analysis of PHON has been performed that is an encompassing analysis of the packaging of Pauline Hanson as a leader and PHON as a political alternative to the existing parties in the Australian political system. Also missing is a model that explains how this presentation appealed to those that it did: one that seeks to explicate the dynamic that occurred between the party and the people that identifies the links involved. An understanding of this phenomenon may be used to explain the level of success experienced by PHON and the ongoing presence, to varying degrees, of populist parties in the Australian political landscape.

## Problems, Aims and Research Questions

This thesis will go beyond answering the questions of who voted for PHON, why and who is to blame for this surge in right wing populism. The why question has been thoroughly answered from the top down—the effects of globalisation and economic rationalism having filtered down to effect the day-to-day lives of financially marginalised people and the cultural changes that have resulted from this globalising process are meeting resistance in some quarters of society. This thesis addresses the 'why' question from the bottom up. This is performed by scrutinising the interface between Hanson and her audience. By the identification and prevalence of the

particular devices used, in which settings, and the themes encapsulated therein. This analysis gives more insight into PHON than merely describing the manifesto as populist, racist or both. This is an inclusive analysis that demonstrates how the appeal was achieved—how the issues, themes and the speaker are served up to the audience in a palatable way. The answer to the 'whose fault' question has also been discussed at length in the literature in terms of government policy, but also in terms of that government policy having been shaped by the same globalising forces mentioned above. However, by comparing the experience of contemporary Australian populism with that of Western Europe and the United States, the analysis demonstrates that populism may indeed be a global response to the changes triggered by globalisation.

Therefore the aims of this thesis are to:

- Describe the emergence of populism in the developed world with an emphasis on contemporary Australia.

- To present an overview of Adorno and The Frankfurt School in order to provide a context for understanding the potential Adorno's study of Martin Luther Thomas has for an analysis of the rhetoric of Pauline Hanson's One Nation.

- To present an overview of Goffman's work on frame analysis to provide a context for discussing contemporary forms of frame analysis.

- To discuss the utility of adopting Snow and Benford's approach to frame analysis in the thesis.

- To describe the trajectory of Pauline Hanson's political career and the political climate in which it grew in order to provide a context for understanding the

significance of the textual data in relation to both populism and populist rhetoric.

- To perform an extensive systematic analysis of a representative sample of PHON documents using Adornian Rhetorical Analysis.

- To evaluate the usefulness of Adorno's Gallery of Tricks and Devices and to formulate modifications to the Gallery if indicated.

- To identify the Master Frame of PHON by applying the Snow and Benford approach.

- To perform statistical analysis of the Australian Election Study 1998 (AES 1998) to link PHON to the constituency by formulating an Emotional Energy Scale that captures feelings respondents had for Hanson.

- To use this Emotional Energy Scale to gauge public feeling about key issues for PHON.

- To make recommendations for further research in this area based upon the findings of this thesis.


The key research questions that have arisen from the review of the literature are as follows:

- To what extent is Adorno's Gallery of (rhetorical) Tricks and Devices useful for analysing the PHON texts?

- Which rhetorical devices are used by PHON and does this alter according to context (parliamentary speech, public speech or media release)?

- What is the PHON Master Frame?

- Is there value in revising Adorno's rhetorical typology?

- To what extent is Emotional Energy predictive of shared views with PHON by the Australian constituency?

**Chapter Two**

# THE EMERGENCE OF POPULISM IN MODERN SOCIETIES

## Introduction

Populism has long been regarded as a concept that resists definition (Ionescu and Gellner 1969; MacRae 1969; Minogue 1969; Wiles 1969; Worsley 1969; Canovan 1981; Betz 1998; Canovan 1999). It has precise meanings in a number of specialist discourses, but attempts at a general theory have been problematic (Canovan 1999:3). This discussion acknowledges the diverse history of the term and describes how the term is applied in the thesis while providing an explanation for this decision.

Though the focus of this thesis is on the political right, populist declarations also emanate from the political left. Ironically, populists tend to place themselves in the political centre, in the 'mainstream'. Nor is populism limited geographically or culturally, although in some regions, during a particular era, its presence may be more pronounced than at other points of time. One can identify populist parties or movements, and of course leaders, in Australia (Grant 1997; Davidoff 1998; Leach et al. 2000), New Zealand (Spoonley 1987; Denemark and Bowler 2002), Canada (Harrison and Krahn 1995; Jenson and Papillon 1998), the USA (Canovan 1981; Canovan 1999; O'Connor 2002) and in many Western European countries (Betz and Immerfall 1998). Still others suggest that Mussolini's fascism was populist (Urbinati 1998) and many describe the Nazi drive to power in the 1920s as involving populist political discourse (Nyomarky 1967; Germani 1978; Fritzsche 1990; Westle and Niedermayer 1992).

In order to provide a background to the discussion of populism in the Australian context, the manifestation populism in Western Europe and the USA will be discussed. The review begins with an overview of the two most significant works to date on the subject of populism—Canovan's (1981) text and Ionescu and Gellner's (1969) compilation.

## Populism

In her book *Populism*, Canovan (1981) sifts through the attributes of so-called 'people's parties' from the 1800s through to the 1980s. This is in an attempt to digest the work of scholars such as those who have been included in the edited collection by Ionescu and Gellner (1969) entitled *Populism: Its Meaning and National Characteristics*.[2] The contributors to this collection examine populism from many perspectives—as an ideology (MacRae 1969), as a syndrome (Wiles 1969), as a political movement (Minogue 1969) and as a product of its social roots (Stewart 1969). While Ionescu and Gellner's 1969 compilation is now somewhat dated, it represents the first general study of populism.

In order to more clearly differentiate between the various forms of populism, it is useful to make a broad distinction between two main categories of populism— Agrarian and Political— that may then be subdivided into an array of subtypes.

In relation to agrarian populism, Eder (1993: 105) suggests that the industrialisation that facilitated the commercialisation of agriculture and the accompanying

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[2] Canovan (1981:5) notes that this collection was generated from the papers presented at the *To Define Populism* conference—the title indicating the ongoing problem of definition that the term presents.

development of parliamentarianism, that altered the cultural, social and political context that produced a suitable climate for the growth of this form of populism. There was a backlash by various social groups who were threatened by new forms of state regulation, and dominating entrepreneurs and who therefore sought to resist these changes by attempting to cling to traditional ways, values and virtues. These backlash movements composed largely of farming peasants became known as 'people's parties'. A reading of both Canovan (1981) and Ionescu and Gellner (1969) suggests that there is agreement concerning the application of the term to the Russian *narodnichestvo* of the 1800s and the People's Party of the United States in the 1890s as well as to peasant movements such as the East European Green Rising which rose up after World War I (Canovan 1981; Taggart 2000).

Despite differences, the commonality between these groups is that each was broadly a response to modernisation and the potential effects of wider, market economy on rural life. It is this focus on the agrarian rather than on the political or cultural that provides the cleavage between to the two main populist categories. Canovan (1981: 136) asserts that there are four subtypes of Political Populism. Firstly, there is the populist dictatorship of the charismatic leader who appeals directly to 'the people' at the expense of the established elite and political system. Examples include Caesarism, Bonapartism and the dictatorship of Juan Peron in Argentina from 1946-1955 (Canovan 1981; Taggart 2000). Demagogues such as these men tend to rise during times of economic crisis as did Huey Long during the Depression of the 1930s in the USA (Canovan 1981: 162). The second type of political populism is described as populist democracy. It is useful for describing forms of politics that are by most

measures regarded as democratic, yet, which tout the increased levels of direct participation of the people in government via referendum for example, as do the more socialistic or radical forms of populism (Canovan 1981: 173). Political parties that adopt populist democracy attempt to make 'government by the people' an actuality. Canovan (1981) notes that the Jacksonian movement of pre-civil war America and the People's Party of the 1890s were both examples of populist democratic movements and that a more modern example may be found in the political system of Switzerland. The Swiss not only possess facilities for initiative and referendum in their federal and cantonal constitutions, but they use these tools with remarkable regularity (Canovan 1981: 198). Reactionary populism, the third type of political populism, differs in that it seeks to once again drive a wedge between the elites and the people. This form of populism is typified by George Wallace in America and Enoch Powell in Britain during the 1960s (Canovan 1981: 226). Wallace presented himself as ordinary folk, standing on a platform that was characterised by anti-intellectualism, anti-elitism and racism and a desire to promote traditional moral values. Powell on the other hand did not have the charisma or public persona of Wallace. Though sharing many of Wallace's sentiments, Powell was seen as aloof and bookish. This changed dramatically however in 1968 when Powell revealed his racist attitudes in the English parliament when he stated anti-immigration views publicly (Canovan 1981: 228). Though cast out politically, a significant proportion of the electorate came out in support of Powell.

Finally, Canovan (1981) discusses politician's populism. This form of populism may be more accurately used as a stylistic label, rather than as a political type. That is to

say that politician's populism may be used to describe political style that claims to be representative of, or the voice of, ambiguous entities such as 'the people'. Canovan (1981: 261) notes that the hallmarks of parties characterised by politicians populism, include policy eclecticism and a catch-all approach to the mustering of support rather than targeting particular social classes or interest groups. This form of populism need not be charismatic, but it does tend to be tactical. That being the case, politician's populism is more a method of presentation than a political ideology. Contemporary populism tends to fall into this category more so than in any of the others discussed. Indeed in her later work, Canovan (1999) declares that it is more productive to consider power structures, appeals to the people, style, and mood when considering populism rather than attempting to formulate a general theory. Hence Canovan's more recent work focuses on Political Populisms and in particular those that erupted into Western mainstream politics in the 1990s.[3]

## For the People, By the People!

Populist movements are often cast as a negative challenge to democratic principles, yet members, and in particular leaders, of these movements regard themselves as being the real defenders of democracy (Ionescu and Gellner 1969; Betz and Immerfall 1998; Canovan 1999). This is because they contend that they are the representatives of the people—ordinary people who have been ignored by government, mainstream parties and the media (Canovan 1999: 2). To support such assertions, they expound the virtues of direct democracy favouring social change via referenda and popular initiative. Populism may be understood as an appeal to the 'people' by the populist

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[3] Canovan (1999: 2) regards the following movements as examples: *Front National*; the Austrian Freedom Party; the *Lega Nord*, the *Vlaams Blok*; the Swiss *Autopartie* and Tessin League; the German *Republikaner*; the Danish and Norwegian Progress Parties; Sweden's New Democracy; Alberta's Reform Party; Pauline Hanson's One Nation Party and the USA presidential bids by Ross Perot and Pat Buchanan. Also see Betz, H-G. & Immerfall, S. (1998) *The New Politics of the Right: Neo-Populist Parties and Movements in Established Democracies*, New York: St. Martin's Press.

movement that situates the people as being in a position that is oppositional to the established power structures and therefore the dominant ideas and values of the society (Wiles 1969; Wells 1997; Canovan 1999; Stokes 2000). For the populist, it follows that true authority resides with the people rather than with sectional interests such as economic class or even the academy—in fact they, amongst other elites, are the acknowledged enemy (Lowenthal and Guterman 1970; Adorno 1972; Canovan 1999). A recurring and important issue in the research regarding populism is that of identifying just who are 'the people' being referred to?

In 19$^{th}$ century Russia it was the peasantry that epitomised 'the people', while in the early 1900s in the USA, it was the farming class. In Australia, the former Prime Minister Robert Menzies referred to 'the forgotten people' (Brett 1992) while the current Prime Minister John Howard refers to 'the mainstream' or 'the battlers' (Stokes 2000: 26). Canovan (1999: 5) defines three ways in which the term 'the people' may be applied:

1. The United People - there is the notion of unification of the people against those who would seek to divide the country and this unity is often orchestrated by a charismatic leader who is adept at transmitting a message of 'united we stand, divided we fall'.

2. Our People - this is similar to the united people in that it is an appeal to unity, but it is based upon unity between kith and kin. It is a form of unity that polarises the community into them and us. 'Them' comes to represent those who do not belong and is usually drawn along lines of religion and/or ethnicity.

3. Ordinary People - here the appeal is to the common folk. Real, ordinary decent citizens, who are sick of being overridden by arrogant elites, corrupt politicians and strident minorities.[4] [5]

This mode of appeal as described originally by Canovan (1999:5) above is evocative of a particular style. A populist style that is identifiable by its treatment of target audience—the nebulous group christened 'the people' and by the way in which the movement characterises professional politicians, the allies of politicians (elites such as academics and the media), the way, according to the populist, deals are covertly and complexly completed between these groups (Westlind 1996: 203; Canovan 1999). The populist perceives secrets and mystification everywhere, while claiming that 'the people' are excluded by the dominant powers from the decision-making process, and are then presented with only unnecessarily convoluted resolutions to problems. In the eyes of the populist however, these problems require only simple solutions. Populism has been depicted as the opposite of liberal and representative democracy (Urbinati 1998: 116), as an attempt at popular democracy, based on appeal to and support from voters who perceive themselves to be invisible to the established elites.

This populist style tends to be accompanied by a specific emotional tone or 'affect', which is generated by the leader in particular.[6] A kind of evangelical zeal accompanies the delivery of the populist message. In the process, the persona of the leader and the significance of the party are held to blend into one entity. This results

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[4] See work by the Austrian populist leader: Haider, J. (1995) *The Freedom I Mean*, Pine Plains: Swan.

[5] I would suggest that this is a paradoxical aspect of populism because as Canovan (1999) rightly points out, it does add a distinctly egalitarian flavour in an otherwise right-wing pie.

[6] Canovan (1991) describes this as populist mood, but I would argue that using the term 'affect' as it is applied in psychology to refer to the tone or nature of mood, better encapsulates the essence of what is being referred to.

in the leader and the party being regarded as one unit and it is this unit that purports to be the voice of the people. The fact that this emotionalism seems to substitute for well-developed policy or feasible solutions to economic or social woes is irrelevant (Frankel 1992; Johnson 1998). What counts with respect to garnering support, is the degree to which the audience can identify with the message being proffered (Bitzer 1981).

This discussion of what is meant by the term 'the people', and the affective dimension of the populist style is useful to the thesis not only because they are subsumed within the Adornian rhetorical devices that are to be applied to textual data later in the thesis. The application of these devices to the manifesto of PHON reveals that appeals to the constituency were articulated in populist terms.

## Populism in the United States of America

In 1989, Minkenberg and Inglehart used the term 'Neoconservatism' to describe political shifts to the right that had occurred in the United States of America in the previous twenty or so years. Their conception of neoconservatism is useful to the thesis as they apply the term to the contemporary forms of right of centre conservatism in Western public opinion while distinguishing it from previous or 'old' forms of conservatism. Neoconservatism is regarded as a reaction against a fundamental change in culture and values. It does not reflect the old cleavages expressed in class and partisan lines. Instead it is based upon value change (Minkenberg and Inglehart 1989: 81).

Minkenberg and Inglehart (1989) also argue that this shift from the left to the right was observable in many Western countries during 1970s and 1980s, and that these shifts are characterised by groups that have certain attributes in common. Neoconservative groups tend to share a commitment to return to traditional values. They advocate encouraging individuals to be self reliant and independent from the government financially and are vehemently against left wing welfare policies. This call for independence plays on the nostalgic ideal of the frontiersman of the old American West and the hard-working independence of the farmers of early American agrarian populism (Argersinger 1995; Kazin 1995). In this discourse responsibility for the protection of the family unit is seen to rest on the shoulders of individuals. Yet, there is an emphasis on the importance of national military strength in order to protect the nation from external forces. These ideals are seen as appealing to those individuals who hold a strong sense of nationalistic patriotism (particularly in relation to foreign policy) and regard communism as a real threat to the nation.

The success of conservative governments in the United States has been accompanied by the growth of neoconservative and populist 'new right' movements that have succeeded in introducing new issues into the public arena for debate (Minkenberg and Inglehart 1989). The literature reveals agreement among scholars that conservatism has moved away from a defensive position in the face of liberal attacks and has increasingly dominated the agenda setting in public debate and policy. This swing to the right of politics is also seen to have bolstered the profile of right-wing religious movements in the USA, which is clearly evident in contemporary American politics (Rozell and Wilcox 1996; Lienesch 1998; Appelrouth 1999).

The new qualities of contemporary conservatism, which justify speaking of 'Neoconservatism', range from its message to its methods and mass support and must be seen in the light of fundamental social and cultural changes in Western societies (Minkenberg and Inglehart 1989). With the development of industrial capitalist societies toward a stage of post-industrialism, the exhaustion of the new welfare state, and intergenerational value change, Minkenberg and Inglehart (1989) believe a new cleavage of political conflict has emerged. It is their contention that neoconservatism is a reaction against a fundamental change in culture and values. This new political force is not seen to reflect old cleavages based in class and partisan divisions. Instead it is regarded as being based upon new cleavage forged around value change. It is seen to represent backlash in response to left libertarianism as exemplified by environmental and minority lobby groups.

Minkenberg and Inglehart (1989) stress that neoconservatism is not a revival of conservatism. They view it as a new coalition of forces that view their common enemy in the postmaterialist orientated strata of the 'new left', and their new political agenda. Neoconservatism's composition includes part of the old left (that is the more conservative or traditional component of the Democrats) who felt challenged by the new left, and traditional conservative groups (such as more progressive religion based groups). Minkenberg and Inglehart (1989) state that neoconservatism is a reaction to the erosion of traditional morals and values, which is expressed by a heightened concern with sociocultural values and issues (nationalism, law and order, family, religion, and bourgeois morality), and by support for the values of industrial capitalism.

Lienesch (1998: 233) discusses populism in the United States and labels movements such as those described by Minkenberg and Inglehart as 'neoconservative', as 'neo-populists'. They are identified as having experienced rapid growth, appearing on the political radar in the 1980s. Lienesch (1998: 233) cites the ill-fated Jerry Falwell who disbanded the one-time leading Christian Right organisation, Moral Majority (Rozell and Wilcox 1996) and the failure of television evangelist Pat Robinson in the 1988 Presidential Primaries as examples of the genre. Despite the ebbing away of these individuals however, the New Christian Right again rolled onto the crowded beach that is the American political scene in the late 1990s with a momentum that has carried their wave through into the second millennium. This wave will eventually crash—but at the present time it is maintaining its momentum by floating a raft of traditional, nationalistic values that are awash with the charisma and emotion that a significant portion of the people are happy to have flow over them. The other point of significance is that while the leaders come and go, the values to which they appeal are still harboured by potential followers who wait on the sand for a suitable vessel to be thrown up onto the beach.

It is also important to acknowledge that not all North American populism since the 1960s is based in fundamentalist Christian beliefs. O'Connor (2002) describes Richard Nixon, George Wallace and Ronald Reagan as populists that rode the wave of backlash politics. That is, Nixon, Wallace and Reagan capitalised on an increasing rejection by the American electorate, the so-called 'silent majority', of liberalist reforms that encouraged racial integration, the further promotion of civil rights for African-Americans, women and other minorities.

## The Emergence of Right-Wing Populism in Europe

During the past three decades, extreme right-wing parties have emerged in several Western European countries. Mudde (1996) refers to the phenomenon which started in the early 1980s and continues to cause confusion in the political systems of 21$^{st}$ century Europe as the third wave of right-wing extremism[7]. These populist movements have become politically important despite the fact that they are often regarded as the pariahs (von Beyme 1988; Mudde 1996; Betz and Immerfall 1998; Taggart 2000) of political systems in which they occur—as is demonstrated by the variable levels of success achieved from place to place. To illustrate this point we may look to Austria where the Freiheitliche Partei Osterreich (FPÖ) is a significant political force nationally, whereas in the United Kingdom and in Spain the extreme rightists have only been able to assert themselves as marginal protest parties.[8]

In France, the Front National has been very influential and widely examined, perhaps due to the persona of its leader Jean-Marie Le Pen—though it has never actually achieved government (Davies 2002). Founded in 1972, Front National was greatly influenced by the British National Front and Italian Movimento Sociale Italiano-Destra Nazionale (MSI-DN), which at the time were openly neo-fascist[9] (Eatwell 2000). According to Kitschelt and McGann (1995), Front National comes close to

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[7] Mudde tends not to clearly define what he considers the first two waves to be. However he alludes to the period from the emergence of Italian Fascism in the 1920s and German Nazism in the 1930s until 1945 as the first wave, followed by post World War II neo-nazi movements in Europe and Britain.

[8] See Lubbers, M., Gijsberts, M. & Scheepers, P. (2002) 'Extreme Right-Wing voting in Western Europe', *European Journal of Political Research*, 41: 345.& Eatwell, R. (2000) 'The Re-birth of the "Extreme Right" in Western Europe', *Parliamentary Affairs*, 53: 407.

[9] The terms neo-fascism and neo-nazism refer to any social or political movement which seek to revive fascism or nazism and respectively and postdates the Second World War.

being the ideal-type of the 'New Radical right' and its initial success inspired many other like-minded movements.[10]

Betz (1994) in his analysis of the political transformation of Western Europe during the 1980s acknowledges the effect that political issues of the time had on political allegiances and cleavages. The political climate was characterised by disenchantment with the major social and political institutions along with a profound distrust of the system, in which support for these institutions was decreasing while 'political fragmentation and electoral volatility' was on the rise (Betz 1994: 4). Betz uses the term 'Right-Wing Populism' to describe the political movements that tend to advocate : the rejection of current forms of government, censure of social integration of marginalised groups, a tendency towards xenophobia if not outright racism and/or anti-Semitism, and the manipulation of public anxiety and disenchantment by their appeals to 'the common sense of the common man' *(sic)*.

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[10] See also Hainsworth, P. & Mitchell, P. (2000) 'France: The Front National from crossroads to crossroads?' *Parliamentary Affairs*, 53: 443.

The majority of radical right-wing populist parties tend to blend a classical liberal position on the individual and the economy with some elements of the socio-political agenda of the extreme and intellectual New Right (and here especially the French *nouvelle droite*) and deliver it in a concentrated and simplified form to those voters who are disenchanted with their individual life chances, with the direction of societal developments, and the political system in general (Betz 1994: 4).

## Populism in Modern Australia

There is little recent scholarly work examining populism in Australia. Yet there are a number of earlier studies of populist and right-wing movements in Australian history.[11] These studies have concentrated on Jack Lang[12] or on the racist and nationalist content of populist and working class movements, as well as anti-labour movements such as the New Guard and the Australian League of Rights.[13] Other well known examples of populist style in Australian politics reported in the literature include W.M. (Billy) Hughes' call to the Australian people on conscription in 1916 and 1917, Prime Minister Robert Menzies address to the 'forgotten people' in 1942, Tasmanian Premier Robin Gray's resistance to Commonwealth pressure over the Franklin Dam in the early 1980s, and Prime Minister Bob Hawke's move to protect

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[11] See Love, P. (1984) *Labour and the Money Power: Australian Labour Populism 1890-1950*, Melbourne: Melbourne University Press. Coghill, K. (1987) *The New Right's Australian Fantasy*, Melbourne: McPhee Gribble / Penguin Books.

[12] John Thomas (Jack) Lang (1876-1975)— former Labor NSW Premier and Federal politician. Widely quoted as having said 'Anyone who is against the White Australia Policy is against the Australian nation'.

[13] See Radi, H. & Spearritt, P. (1977) *Jack Lang*, Neutral Bay: Hale & Iremonger. McQueen, H. (1970) *A New Britannia*, Ringwood: Penguin. Campbell, A. (1978) *The Australian League of Rights*, Collingwood: Outback Press. Moore, A. (1995) *The Right Road? A History of Right-Wing Politics in Australia*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Coronation Hill in 1991 in the face of strong ministerial opposition. None compare though, in terms of populist style with Queensland Premier Joh Bjelkie-Pertersen (1968-87) who railed against the powers in Canberra, or anyone else for that matter as the need arose (Singleton et al. 2000).

More recently DeAngelis' (2003) comparative study links Australian experiences to other national contexts, examining the influence of xenophobic populism in the rise of political parties in three nations. The study examines Front National led by Le Pen in France, Freedom Party led by Haider in Austria and One Nation as it was led by Pauline Hanson in Australia (DeAngelis 2003: 75). After comparing the three parties in terms of the conditions effecting the development of their support bases, beliefs, leadership style, policies and developmental path, DeAngelis (2003: 90) makes the following observation about contemporary Australian populism:

> ...Australian populism seems less economically driven and more
> motivated by symbolic, political and gender issues. Objective levels
> of immigration, racial tension and economic hardship in Australia
> are comparatively low. In contrast to France and much of Western
> Europe, in Australia neither Aborigines nor migrants have a
> sufficient presence to threaten the position of 'battlers' in housing or
> job markets.

DeAngelis (2003: 90) concludes that the Australian case has more in common with Austria than it has with France. However he believes that Hansonism is distinctive in an important way (DeAngelis 2003). One reason for this uniqueness is PHON's growth as a movement from the bottom up. That is, it grew out of a support group that

mushroomed from the electorate compost in response to the anti-elitist Hanson. Typically, populist movements develop from the top down, germinating with the assistance of elites and or intellectuals. DeAngelis (2003: 87) asserts that in Italy, Germany, France and Austria the developmental path of populism was inclusive of breakdowns at the level of the elite within those countries—that is, party development occurred from the top down. While DeAngelis (2003: 87) contends that the conditions that facilitated modern populism in Austria and Australia are similar as the growth of populism may be regarded as a response to globalising forces resulting in increased levels of unemployment that are related to voter volatility , instability and dealignment with the major political parties, in Italy populism may be traced back to the negative effects of the Treaty of Versailles for both Italy and Germany. Further, while leadership of these populist movements centred on a single charismatic leader[14], the violence experienced in Germany, Italy and to a lesser degree France, was not evident in the rise of the populist parties of Australia and Austria.

Frankel (1992) has examined right and left populist movements in Australia in his book *From the Prophets Deserts Come*, however little else is available that considers populism as a general phenomena in contemporary Australia. Research has instead tended to concentrate almost exclusively on the case of PHON.[15] This absence of research is at odds with the proliferation in the 1980s and 1990s of a number of right-wing populist movements and organisations such as The Shooter's Party, Australians Against Further Immigration Party, Australia First Party, the Citizens' Electoral Councils and, Pauline Hanson's One Nation Party (PHON).

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[14] Hitler in Germany; Mussolini in Italy; LePen in France; Haider in Austria and Hanson in Australia.

[15] For an example see Stokes, G. (2000) 'One Nation and Australian Populism' in Leach, M., Stokes, G. & Ward, I. (ed.) *The Rise and Fall of One Nation*, Brisbane: University of Queensland Press.& Melleuish, G. (1997) 'Pauline Hanson and Australian Conservative Populism', *Quadrant*, Melleuish, G. (1998) *The Packaging of Australia: Politics and Culture Wars*, Sydney: University of New South Wales Press.

PHON has attracted much scholarly attention since its inception. Apart from domination of the electronic media and the popular press, at least three edited collections, two biographies and numerous articles have been, and still are, motivated by the Hanson 'phenomenon'.[16]

## Conclusion

The literature suggests that contemporary populism across the world falls to the right of centre politics to varying degrees. In Western Europe, the parties discussed are frequently referred to as right-wing radical or extremist parties (Betz 1994; Betz and Immerfall 1998), partly due to their penchant for violence not just for their xenophobic views. In the USA, Minkenberg and Inglehart (1989) discuss neoconservativism when describing the emergence of new right-wing groups while other authors refer specifically to the New Christian Right in this context (Rozell and Wilcox 1996; Appelrouth 1999). The common factor among these groups and parties, including those in the Australian context is their rejection of liberal values. Populists believe that these liberal values are being imposed upon the ordinary citizenry by social elites.

The discussion highlighted Canovan's (1991) conceptualisation of Politician's Populism. This form of populism is characterised by particular style, affect and appeal. It is based upon a sharply antagonistic political rhetoric which over simplifies problems faced by government such as those related to the social, economic and cultural climate, then offers seemingly easy, painless, sometimes very concrete but

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[16] Pauline Hanson even made the front page of *Rolling Stone* magazine. The only other Australian politician to do so was Paul Keating— former Australian Prime Minister.

most often, very vague solutions. The populist politician presents as a common person who understands people, in contrast to the corrupt elites, who are portrayed as being incapable or unfit to govern. This style of politician claims to represent the unrepresented, to privilege the underprivileged and to give voice to those who are not heard. This populist provides an avenue of protest for those who identify with their social critique.

Pauline Hanson's One Nation in the 1990s is a classic Australian example of this populist protest. Many commentators and academics dismissed PHON as an irrational, resentful expression of grievance, blame and protest with conspiratorial overtones to economic reform and change—opposed to multiculturalism, Asian migration, Indigenous rights and political correctness. PHON also sought to reaffirm the traditional and nostalgic dimensions of Australian life. This right-wing populism was roughly dismissed by the liberal mass media as shortsighted, right-wing, anti-intellectual, xenophobic and irrational. So how is it that we might reconcile this negative interpretation of PHON with its widespread popular appeal?

In order to identify how Pauline Hanson succeeded in promoting the appeal of PHON, we must understand how the PHON message was delivered. We must understand how it was that Pauline Hanson could persuade to a significant part of the electorate to embrace points of view that the majority of voters rejected. Theodor Adorno provides a useful way of dissecting the discourse of PHON that sheds light on Hanson's mechanism of appeal. Thus the next chapter presents an overview of The Frankfurt School in general and the work of Adorno with particular regard to his work *The Psychological Technique of Martin Luther Thomas' Radio Addresses*.

## Chapter Three

# REVISITING ADORNO

## Introduction

The intention of this chapter is to demonstrate the relevance of Adorno's work to the study of populist politics today. An overview of The Frankfurt School is presented and a brief biography of Adorno as it is acknowledged that the work of The Frankfurt School scholars was inevitably shaped by the events of the time and the places in which they lived and worked. In particular I discuss Adorno's (2000 [1975]) *The Psychological Technique of Martin Luther Thomas' Radio Addresses* is offered. In this work Adorno provides us with a method for analysing the rhetoric of populist politics.

## The Frankfurt School

According to McLaughlin (1999: 110) The Frankfurt School was a tight network of independent radical philosophers, economists and sociologists associated with the German Institute for Social Research—essentially a Marxist think tank financed by the radical son of a German millionaire grain merchant (Jay 1973; Wiggershaus 1994). The institute was founded in 1923 with the purpose of promoting the development of radical intellectual ideas not controlled by the traditional Marxist and social democratic parties or academic disciplines (Jay 1973). The group has been described as a collection of neo-Marxists who were dissatisfied with the state of Marxian theory, particularly its tendency toward economic determinism (Ritzer 1988: 248). The group was composed of an array of thinkers working in the areas of philosophy, sociology, psychology, literary criticism, musicology, economics,

political science and law (Crozier 1991: 90). During the early 1930s when it became apparent that the Nazis would achieve power, a number of the major participants of the School emigrated to the United States and continued their work at an institute affiliated with Columbia University in New York (Jay 1973; Bottomore 1984).

During World War II, Adorno, and Horkheimer went to Los Angeles while Marcuse, Lowenthal, Neuman and others worked for the US government in Washington (Crozier 1991: 91). Although Adorno, Horkheimer and Pollock returned to the German Federal Republic, a number of the researchers stayed on in the USA. Some went on to become influential teachers or, as in Erich Fromm's case, a leading member of the American Neo-Freudian School (Crozier 1991: 91).

The Frankfurt School formulated Critical Theory which is composed largely of criticisms of various aspects of social and intellectual life—firstly shaped by a critical analysis of philosophical ideas and later by critiques of the nature of the capitalist system (Farganis 1975; Ritzer 1988). With the rise of fascism in Europe, and the failure of the Soviet Union to develop a democratic socialist state, members of The Frankfurt School doubted the working class could ever achieve the role Marx had envisaged for it (Rubington and Weinberg 1995: 235). Just as psychoanalysis seeks to liberate its patients from the unconscious conflicts that entrap them, so The Frankfurt School sought to liberate and emancipate people by bringing cultural factors to the forefront of Marxian analysis. The Frankfurt sociologists sought to show how the basic assumptions of capitalism pervade all aspects of people's lives (Rubington and Weinberg 1995: 235). Given the multidisciplinary nature of the School, it is little wonder that various members and their collaborations within and beyond the group,

developed a broad intellectual (including sociology and positivism), political (including Marxian theory and the rise of fascism) and cultural (the 'culture industry') program of research (Connerton 1976).

## Theodor Adorno (1903-1969)

Theodor Wiesengrund Adorno was born in 1903. Adorno is thought to have dropped the Wiesengrund from his name, as he feared that it sounded 'too Jewish' (Jay 1973). He attended the University of Frankfurt where he studied philosophy, sociology, psychology and music, receiving a doctorate in philosophy in 1924 (Lechte 1994). Adorno studied composition under Alban Berg in Vienna and started to publish articles on music the following year (Lechte 1994). He is especially known for his work regarding Schönberg[17]. Adorno returned to Frankfurt in 1926 and in 1931 he completed a thesis entitled *Kierkegaard: The Construction of the Aesthetic*, which was published in 1933 (Lechte 1994). It was at about this time that Adorno joined the Frankfurt Institute for Social Research—Horkheimer had only just replaced Fromm as director (Jay 1973; Lechte 1994). In 1934, most of the members of the School went to Zürich to escape from Nazism, but Adorno chose to spend the next four years in England (Lechte 1994). Adorno rejoined the School, which was then located in New York in 1938 and worked with Paul Lazersfeld on the Princeton Radio Research Project. A number of projects followed, including one with Thomas Mann on the subject of *Doktor Faustus*. He also wrote the *Dialectic of Enlightenment* with Horkheimer in 1947 (Lechte 1994). The latter, along with *Minima Moralia:*

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[17] Arnold Schönberg 1874-1951, Austrian composer who resided in the USA who is famous for originating the twelve-note technique.

*Reflections on a Damaged Life* (Adorno 1974) are regarded as being among the classics of twentieth-century thought.

This discussion would not be complete without mention of the work that overshadows and yet was probably informed by *The Psychological Technique of Martin Luther Thomas' Radio Addresses* at least in its portrayal of anti-Semitism—*The Authoritarian Personality* (Adorno et al. 1950). This work had an enormous impact on American social science. It was conducted using extensive empirical research, using sociological and psychoanalytical categories. The research was concerned with analysing communication in order to understand the forces that led individuals to affiliate with or support fascist movements or parties.

Crook (1994: 1) notes that Adorno's diverse work is consistently underpinned by a concern with accounting for the powerful tendencies towards authoritarianism and irrationalism apparent in mid-twentieth century Western culture.

**Adorno and the Christian Demagogue**

Of all Adorno's writing, *The Psychological Technique of Martin Luther Thomas' Radio Addresses* (referred to hereafter as *The Thomas Essay)* must be among the more accessible to a reading audience. Jenemann (2002: 227) gives *The Thomas Essay* a chronological place in Adorno's output when he describes it as:

...[giving a] glimpse of the exiled Adorno in a mode somewhere between the most acute observations of *Minima Moralia* and the 'empirical' work of the Radio Research Project and *The Authoritarian Personality*.

However the study is mentioned infrequently alongside the more gargantuan products of Adorno's intellectual engagement within his time. This may be partly due to the fact that it was originally published in the *Gesammelte Schriften* (1975 vol.9, pt.1). It was only published as a stand-alone piece by Stanford University in 2000. Material critiquing *The Thomas Essay* written at the time of its publication was not detected and few contemporary works were discovered. Waggoner (2004) attempts to place the work as an extension of Adorno's critique of positivism and critical philosophy more generally. Waggoner (2004: 25) then proceeds to comment on what he describes as 'the only extensive analysis of the Thomas study to date, Paul Apostolidis' *Stations of the Cross: Adorno and Christian Right Radio* (2000). Apostilidis' (2000) book examines a particular series of American radio broadcasts titled *Focus on the Family* using Adorno's cultural writings including the *Thomas Essay*.[18]

Martin Luther Thomas was a fascist anti-Semitic Presbyterian preacher whose radio program was broadcast along the American West coast during the 1930s. When Adorno compared Thomas' broadcasts to the materials produced by those who in his view had similar motivations (such as Hitler and Mussolini) he was struck by the 'amazing stereotypy of all the fascist propaganda material known to us'(Adorno 1975 cited in Crook 1994: 168). Adorno observed that the 'clichés' or 'devices' employed

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[18] For a review of this work see Jeneman (2002) & Olson (2001)

by fascist agitators 'could be boiled down to no more than thirty such devices' (Adorno 1975 cited in Crook 1994: 168).

Adorno (2000) categorised these devices into four groups:

I. *The Personal Element: Self-Characterisation of the Agitator* – how the speaker describes and portrays them self

II. *Thomas' Method* – how the speaker treats the audience, modes of manipulation

III. *The Religious Medium* – how the speaker manipulates his position as a preacher to serve his agenda

IV. *Ideological Bait* – how the speaker uses political content to inflame fears of communism, Jews and the Administration.

For Adorno, the stereotypy of these devices is itself a psychologically well judged ploy (Crook 1994: 11)[19] —followers of such leaders thrive on repetition which promotes familiarity and a sense of safety. Beyond this, Adorno documents the way in which each device sets off a series of psychological resonances which will further bind the vulnerable listener to Thomas's movement (Crook 1994: 11).

Adorno was not the only member of The Frankfurt School to observe the patterns of speech that exist in fascist or demagogic discourse. In 1949, Leo Lowenthal and Norbert Guterman published the first edition of *Prophets of Deceit* as part of the Studies in Prejudice Series sponsored and published by The American Jewish Committee. In the introduction to the second edition of *Prophets of Deceit,* Max Horkheimer states that the book is a study of the demagogue in order to discover the

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[19] Adorno also saw these techniques reflected in the wider culture industry and the ritual element of fascism (Crook 1994: 11).

meaning of demagoguery, its appeals, its arguments and its personality (in Lowenthal and Guterman 1970: xi). Lowenthal and Guterman seem to be describing an agitator at the extreme end of the range of such style and behaviour. While Adorno addresses calls to violence, Lowenthal and Guterman focus on a far more destructive force than that of Martin Luther Thomas. It would also seem that certain key devices and themes used by Lowenthal and Guterman label them are very similar to those developed by Adorno. Furthermore, in *Prophets of Deceit* a small number of documents from a number of different sources are analysed. In *The Thomas Essay*, Adorno analysed several texts (radio addresses) from a single source. The utility of Adorno's method is also enhanced by the fact that he focused on a specific type of media (radio addresses) delivered by the movement's leader, over a specified period of time, as the data source.

**Rhetoric**

> '… let Rhetoric be defined as the faculty of discovering in the particular case what are the available means of persuasion' (Bailey 1965: 59).

The meaning of the term 'rhetoric' in our culture reflects a controversy spanning two millennia over its place in social and academic pursuits and that 'in its noblest sense, it is the provision of good reasons, ably stated, in behalf of a cause considered just' (Burke 1969: 421). Among its more pejorative meanings are those of flattery, exhibitionism, deception, and exploitation (Burke 1969: 421). More generally, rhetoric is attempted persuasion, the use of symbols to influence beliefs and attitudes (Burke 1969: 421).

The goal of the rhetor, or rhetorical actor, is to lead audience members to accept conclusions of the rhetor—conclusions which can ultimately become organizing principles for social action (Burns 1999: 167).[20] This is achieved by the deployment of persuasive or seductive words and phrases that generate meanings, which have the potential to elicit certain semantic and emotional effects. For rhetoric to be effective, it must be based on premises that audience members already hold true (Perelman 1979). That is to say, the rhetoric employed must resonate with the audience. It must be familiar to them, even if they have not articulated it in the same manner as the rhetor individually. The rhetor may in fact be giving voice and shape to sentiments and values that hitherto had only been vague discontents on the part of the listener. The potential for an audience of individuals to become a group is enhanced, if the rhetoric has shared meanings for them—as if they and the speaker 'speak the same language'.

When an audience shares understanding this way, the group may be said to represent a 'community of discourse' (Wuthnow 1993). Burns (1999: 168) asserts that communities of discourse arise in a similar way to any community, in that these communities are built on a foundation of shared social facts and ritual. Following Durkheim, Burns (1999) points out that social life is made possible by a set of shared symbols. Only by means of signs and symbols are human beings seen as able to communicate with one another. This sharing of signs and symbols, which constitute all forms of text and communication, allow the parties to identify with each other. In

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[20] Here Burns borrows from Weber's concept of the 'social actor' in that a rhetorical actor can either be an individual or a collective.

particular it builds the attachment of the listener to the speaker. Sornig (1989: 98)

summarises this position thus:

> This is why in my view, understanding in general, and
>
> (persuasive) communication in particular, has to do with
>
> identification: he who listens adjusts his view to that which is
>
> being insinuated; he always identifies himself to some degree
>
> with his partner (sic). This again is why persuasion works
>
> best among people who speak the same language.

Rhetorical devices are composed of words and formulaic phrases. These elements

tend to recur in texts. They are reused by speakers because of their capacity to

contribute to the proliferation of the same themes across a series of texts (Fowler

1991). In her analysis of Thatcherism, Phillips (1996a) notes that themes reproduced

by the use of these formulaic phrases, come to represent the 'macro-propositions' of a

discourse. Phillips (1996a: 215) contends that a rhetoric composed of key words and

formulaic phrases connects the world of politics to the everyday world of everyday

people. The rhetoric translates general and abstract concerns into disquiet regarding

specific and familiar issues. During the late 1930s and 1940s Adorno referred to such

key words and formulaic phrases as rhetorical devices.

## Adornian Rhetorical Analysis

Theodor Adorno (2000) devised the typology of devices and techniques in the 1930s

in order to analyse the radio addresses of Martin Luther Thomas. Adorno sought to

explain how Thomas appealed to his audience while at the same time exposing the

manipulative, irrational and deceitful nature of his propaganda. Adorno's explanation

for each of the devices demonstrated how each technique related to the portrayal of either the leader of the movement or the movement itself. Adorno also described the kind of response each rhetorical device is intended to elicit from the audience.

Although Adorno's (2000) work in this instance focuses on Thomas, he also makes reference to Hitler, Mussolini and several other populist agitators of the time when addressing the commonalities observed in the propaganda of such leaders. Adorno may be regarded as having provided in this analysis a general strategy that may be adapted for the analysis of the pronouncements of any populist movement.

The Personal Element encapsulates how the speaker refers to, describes and presents him or herself. It focuses on the characterisation of the speaker's persona. In his discussion of demagoguery, Goldzwig (1989: 96) describes the presentational style of the speaker as all important to the act of persuasion that underlies the communication between the audience and the rhetor:

> This is why persuasion must pre-eminently be seen as a
> stylistic procedure. As style is something to do with outward
> appearances, i.e. surface structure, it follows that what
> rhetoric tries to inculcate, viz. a belief in the credibility and
> trustworthiness of the rhetorician's communicative behaviour,
> can only be conjectured from the surface structure of what he
> (sic) says (Goldzwig 1989: 96).

The Personal Element: Self-characterisation may be thought of as the way in which the speaker justifies his right to say what he does. It is a way of asserting themselves as being just like one of the members of the audience. This approach enhances the

authority of the speaker to voice concerns shared by both the speaker and the listeners. Thomas used these devices to great effect to establish his credibility and promote trust with his radio audience (Adorno 2000).

The devices in Thomas' Method, describe how he presented, or packaged his doctrine for the audience—how he managed them. These devices allow the speaker to identify the enemy of the people. To expose the enemies disrespect for the people and to suggest vague solutions to the problems caused by this enemy. The identification of a common enemy has an enormously unifying effect on a receptive audience. The overall effect of the implementation of these devices is that the movement becomes defined by negativity. The emphasis is placed on identifying whom and what is not given support, who and what is not worthy of approval, and what actions should not be taken rather than those that should.

Of the four categories described by Adorno (2000), The Personal Element: Self-Characterisation of the Agitator and Thomas' Method were deemed to be appropriate to this study. The Religious Medium and Ideological Bait were not considered to be relevant. There are two compelling reasons for this. Firstly, there was no suggestion in the literature that religion was a significant issue in Hanson's discourse or that religiosity played a part in her success. Secondly, the Ideological Bait category was deemed unsuitable as it targets Jews very specifically. This category may be regarded as an extension of the religious ideology uncovered in The Religious Medium category. Though the government is attacked using some of these devices, it is done so via 'the Jewish problem'. This involves asserting that people in positions of power may be Jewish, affiliated with Jews or at least beholden to Jews—as in Jewish

moneylenders, bankers and so on. The combined effect of these two devices is the reproduction of Nazi conspiracy theory.

The Adornian categories used in the analysis and the devices that constitute them are discussed in the following section.

## Adorno's Gallery of Rhetorical Devices

The two categories that are applied in the thesis are constituted by a number of devices, which Adorno also frequently referred to as 'tricks'. Each device is described in turn drawing upon Adorno's (2000: 1-74) original text.

### The Personal Element: Self-Characterization of the Agitator

'Lone Wolf': Here Adorno (2000) states that the speaker stands alone and independent of wealthy sponsors or political allies. The appearance is of an independent voice, which is willing to speak up on behalf of others. The speaker plays up their own integrity and courage to win the confidence of those who feel that they are underdogs and are therefore marginalised or unrepresented. It plays upon their fear of manipulation by those who are in power such as politicians, powerful bureaucrats. The Lone Wolf shows that they understand that this is unfair and unequitable. Morally, power should be in the hands of 'the people' rather than in the hands of manipulative elites. This device has the potential to make listeners feel understood by the speaker who at the same time highlights the neglectful attitude of elites to them.

'Emotional Release' Device: This device sees the speaker displaying high levels of emotion rather than the dignity that is usually associated with public figures such as

politicians. Adorno (2000) asserts that the speaker is actually modelling behaviour. By modelling this behaviour, listeners may be influenced to imitate this emotionalism e.g. cry, gesticulate and so on. Once the emotional barriers are broken down, people are capable of expressing emotions they would otherwise suppress e.g. hate and anger. In this condition, Adorno (2000) states that they are more likely to be incited into action, including excessive behaviour and even violence. This emotional release is seen to act as a kind of conduit for the release of unfulfilled of desires.

'Persecuted Innocence' Device: Adorno (2000) notes that the speaker never defines themselves in terms of their qualifications for the position they are seeking in terms of training, political background or expertise. Rather they choose to be vague and talk about honesty and integrity. This capitalises on the widespread aversion Adorno (2000) believes the public has for the 'professional politician'. Thomas used this vagueness of image of himself to leave room for any kind of fantasy on the part of the audience. In this way, the speaker may appear to be whatever the listener wishes them to be. Adorno (2000) suggests that this vagueness of personality complements a vagueness of political aims. This is an efficient way to herd together diverse types of listeners who are more likely to follow blindly than those who have clearly delineated ideas regarding their preferences and attitudes to wards particular issues.

'Indefatigability' Device: This device places the emphasis on the 'long hours', tirelessness and selflessness of the speaker in their devotion to the cause. Adorno (2000) describes the appeal as being Calvinistic in tone. That is that hard work in this life requires no reward, as God will reward him who works hard in Heaven. This

device may make listeners feel that like them, the speaker is an honest, hard working soul.

'Messenger' Device: The idea here is that the speaker himself is not the saviour, but only his messenger. Adorno (2000) draws comparison with Hitler's 'Ich bin nur der Trommler' (I am but the drummer). Thus the role of the speaker is that of the prophet. The speaker is the messenger of the people. The people represent the highest authority. It is their duty to communicate the wishes of the people, to work to achieve their goals. The speaker does not convey the wishes of the people for any gain on their own part it is a selfless act. This device also works as a defence for he speaker in the face of criticism. When challenged by the opposition they state that they are merely the messenger, communicating the wishes of the people that they are willing to represent.

'A Great Little Man': In this instance, Adorno (2000) asserts that the speaker portrays himself as both weak and strong. Weak enough that members of the audience can readily identify with him. The speaker is one of them and therefore should not appear to be too strong, or rather, too superior. Strength is derived from the inherent power derived from the unification of those they address. The speaker 'walks the same paths' as the audience. They identify intimately with the speaker yet they are able to put him on a pedestal. The impression created by the speaker is that of an ordinary, small person with an extraordinary will to stand up for all people.

'Human Interest': Adorno (2000) describes this trick as being the deliberate fiction of personal closeness, warmth, and intimacy'. Thomas was apt to present himself as the

homespun philosopher, folksy, good-natured, and humble with a golden heart. This device complements 'A Great Little Man' device by extending the illusion of the speaker as being ordinary or common. The intention is to present a persona that the audience will readily identify with.

'Good Old Time': This device is also a particular form of the above. It consists of placing special emphasis on the old fashioned in one's actions and surroundings. The old fashioned and the homely are presented as the real, the genuine and the traditional – the modern or technical being mere novelties that are often inaccessible to the audience. Adorno (2000) suggests that this more traditional way of life is presented not as being lacking, impoverished or undesirable but as morally superior, virtuous and desirable. Change to this aspect of life is cast as being part of the enemy's strategy for manipulating ordinary people.

*Thomas' Method*

'Movement' Trick: This device consists of substituting the concept of the movement itself for the aim of the movement. This may be observed when a political party or movement adopts a name that is intended to be descriptive of the purpose of the party such as so-called 'Unity' parties. However details as to how this unity will be achieved tend to remain vague. Adorno (2000) explains this device in terms of a 'great movement' creating the illusion of something 'glorious' going on that both obliterates and replaces the purpose of the movement. Supporters are encouraged to have an attitude, which is against this or that, rather than for a well-specified platform. This may be appealing to members of the audience who have grievances that resonate with the negativity generated by this device.

'Flight-of-Ideas' Technique: When this device is used, there is a lack of any program or goal in the structure of the speeches. According to Adorno (2000), the logic is that if you have nothing to prove, no real conclusion is ever reached, no analysis has taken place – no actual argumentation has taken place at all. In other words, the speech tends to be a vague tirade that attacks various positions rather than statements of cogent reasoning or policy. The speaker's position is explicated in terms of examples and apparent deductions. The trouble is that the entire position is predicated on the assumption that the conclusions reached are the pre-existing convictions of those to whom the speech is delivered and directed. Despite the lack of any clearly stated goals, policies or platforms by the speaker, he appeals to the audience by establishing what he has in common with the listeners. The function of this device is very similar to that of the 'Movement' Trick. Both serve to reproduce negative ways of viewing issues couched in terms of thin argumentation and emotionalism.

'Listen to Your Leader': This device plays upon the inherent authority associated with the term Leader. The leader has the authority; the leader is the one to be followed. Adorno (2000) notes that the term leader expresses its emancipation by becoming absolute. Hitler chose to be called Fuhrer (leader) rather than to be known by his actual title Reichsprasident (President of the Reich). The term becomes fetishised. For this device to be effective, it is essential for the speaker to be authoritative enough to command allegiance from the audience.

Excursus on *'fait accompli'* Technique: When this device is used, Adorno (2000) asserts that there is no decision to be made as to whether the movement should be

supported or not. Membership is presented as if it is inevitable. The intended effect on the listener is that one may as well join up and become a part of the movement because it is clear that there is really no contest. This movement has the will of the people.

'Unity' Trick: This device presents the concept of Unity as an end in itself. Adorno (2000) notes that the speaker always praises Unity and promotes it as an ideal. The appeal to unity is always powerful. United we stand - divided we fall. This device is intended to galvanise supporters. The appeal of being as one with like-minded souls, kindred spirits is very powerful. It has an uplifting effect on supporters while at the same time promoting feelings of hope.

The 'Democratic Cloak': This device involves attacking democracy in the name of democracy. Adorno (2000) considered that this occurs when the notion that the will of the majority is expressed via government in the decision making process, is twisted slightly so that rather than the concept of majority being a principle of government, majority is a moral principle. Thus, certain traits of the population which are due to socially non-democratic processes, and antidemocratic in spirit, may be taken and propagated as the last word in democracy, simply because they are characteristics of the majority. The speaker will often cite to persons in a way that suggests that there is some affinity between they and the speaker when in fact they are diametrically opposed. This device subverts the true meaning of democracy such that democracy becomes synonymous with the intention of the movement. This intention being portrayed as the 'will of the people'.

'If You Only Knew': Under this banner, Adorno actually groups this and the next five devices that were particularly utilised by Thomas. Each relies on a 'strategy of terror' ranging from 'slight innuendo of hidden evil to the threat of impending catastrophe'. The statements that constitute these devices are negative as are the emotions they evoke. They are vague, and a sense of mystery and innuendo is fostered. The unqualified 'They' are the enemy. Though they may not be explicitly identified, the audience is addressed as if there is a common understanding that 'we all know who they are'. Followers become privy to 'special information' that would otherwise be hidden from them. This device serves to foster a sense of unity among the audience as well s making them feel that they have access to privileged information.

'Dirty Linen' Device: This device complements the previous one. Here, information that is alluded to in the course of the 'If you only new' device is revealed to the attentive faithful. The dirty linen is aired. This device relies upon the delight with which scandal is received by the masses. Adorno (2000) notes that indignation about scandal is in most cases a thin rationalisation; people actually derive pleasure from the stories. However the stories tend to be quite non-specific and not necessarily reliant upon fact or proof.

'Tingling Backbone' Device: Adorno (2000) asserts that the previous device is universally bound up with the tendency to terrorise listeners. Atrocities are revealed as dirty linen. The terror or the threat is that these dreadful things have happened to others elsewhere and that if some action is not taken they will happen to you to! Thus, people react out of fear and organise themselves to combat the threat. Another

consequence of this device is the facilitation of cohesion amongst supporters in the audience as they face a common enemy.

'Last Hour' Device: This device also follows from the 'If You Only Knew' device in that it consists of a direct or indirect assertion that a catastrophe is imminent, that the situation is desperate and has reached a peak of crisis, and that change must happen fast or else all will be lost. Join the party; join the movement if you want to save the nation. Paradoxically, the indicators of the impending doom tend to be weakly elucidated as Adorno (2000) describes it as 'apocalyptic diatribes supported by insignificant complaints'.

'Black Hand (*Feme)* Device: This device calls upon followers to be vigilant against the enemy within, to be constantly looking for and exposing traitors. This device also complements the unity trick by promoting the exclusivity of the group albeit by mutual distrust.

'Let Us Be Practical': This device notes that in order to achieve the ideals of the movement, practicalities, material in nature, must be attended too. Funds must be raised; membership numbers increased and rallies must be attended. In this way the device makes the need for action at this level explicit. A secondary consequence is that it also has an effect that contributes to promoting unity by participation in these activities.

## Conclusion

This chapter is not intended to provide an exhaustive account of Critical Theory, The Frankfurt School or the huge and diverse body of knowledge generated by Theodor Adorno. Rather it is a means by which to situate this current piece of research in terms of the classical origins informing it. It is also intended to draw attention to a piece of Adorno's writing that is frequently overlooked, and yet it would seem that it continues to have relevance today. Adorno's study of Thomas provides a method for identifying the mode and techniques used by politicians in modern societies. Adorno's Gallery of Tricks and Devices provides a means of identifying the style and cut of the verbal coats used to wrap up unfashionable issues by populists in such a way that for those who would normally only wear such a coat when they don't expect to be seen, are now happy to be seen out and about in them, reassured by the sight of others dressed the same.

**Chapter Four**

# Frame Analysis: From Goffman to the Present

## Introduction

The literature reveals that the term 'frame analysis' is applied to a variety of concepts by a number of disciplines (Fisher 1997). Frame analysis has been applied to the study of social movements (Snow et al. 1986; Gamson 1992; Tarrow 1992; Gamson and Wolfsfeld 1993; Hunt et al. 1994; Ellingson 1995; Johnston 1995; Noonan 1995), advertising (Pan and Kosicki 1993; Tucker 1998), the news media (Pan and Kosicki 1993) and by other scholars as a means of studying the discourse of daily life (Moscovici 1972). Regardless of the context in which it is used, Erving Goffman is accepted as being the architect of the term 'frame'. Goffman's development of Frame Analysis provides an approach to the analysis of social interaction that highlights how reality is structured through ritualistic performances (Goffman 1975; 1981). According to Collins (1988a), Goffman's work was influenced by such diverse theorists as John Dewey, George Herbert Mead, Ludwig Wittgenstein, and Emile Durkheim. The major thread that connects Goffman's writings is an interest in how the elements of everyday encounter structure social order (Ritzer 1988).

## Erving Goffman and the Organisation of Experience

The book *Frame Analysis* is actually an amalgamation of lectures given by Goffman (1975) in the early 1970s as the result of work he did on the subject over the previous

ten years. In this book, Goffman (1975: 13) warns the reader that he is not concerned

with 'the core matters of sociology—social organisation and social structure'. Rather,

Goffman is interested in the individual's experience of life and by what means sense

is made of it. Stated another way, Goffman wanted to understand how individuals

organise, perceive and make sense of their reality, passing events and various

situations. He coined the term 'frame' to describe the means by which this

interpretation is achieved by individuals.

Goffman (1975) defines frames as follows:

> I assume that definitions of a situation are built up in
>
> accordance with principles of organisation which govern
>
> events [...] and our subjective involvement in them; frame is
>
> the word I use to refer to such of these basic elements as I am
>
> able to identify.

In other words, frames are seen to be the basic cognitive structures that guide the

perception and representation of reality. Generally, frames are not deliberately

contrived but are automatically adopted in the course of communicative practice. At

the most fundamental level, frames delineate which parts of reality are taken notice of

by the individual. A simple example of the application of Goffman's (1975) frame

analysis would be to consider the response of individuals in an audience to watching a

theatre production of a musical. Those in the audience know that in everyday life

people tend not to communicate with song. However for the duration of the

performance they are willing to suspend this knowledge in order to enjoy the show.

They are employing a frame. The point of interest is that this frame is understood by

most individuals. The meaning of the frame is shared. Gitlin (1980: 6) explains this

capacity of frames to constitute what is expected or accepted. He suggests that frames act as principles of selection, emphasis and presentation composed of little tacit theories about what exists, what happens and what matters.

Goffman (1975) viewed frame analysis as a method for studying visual images and cultural representations. He believed that groups develop means of processing what is going on around them. This provides members with a framework or conceptual structure for making sense new information (Goffman 1975). It may be thought of as being a 'cultural wavelength' that enables members of a particular cultural group to interpret common experiences in a similar way.

Primary frameworks are the most fundamental frameworks. They reveal what is 'really happening' either in the natural or social world. Goffman (1975) suggests that cultures generate two types of primary frameworks: natural frameworks and social frameworks. Natural frameworks arise from 'purely physical' experiences which are understood as being 'due to totally, from start to finish, to natural determinants, as distinct from experiences with which people associate a wilful agent who both has the power and desire to influence at least some aspect of the experience' (Goffman 1975: 22). It follows that 'success or failure in regard to these events is not imaginable; no negative or positive sanctions are involved' (Goffman 1975: 22). In other words there is no right or wrong, they simply just are. Social frameworks by contrast are the result of will. More explicitly, 'the exertions of an intelligence, a live agency, the chief one being the human being' (Goffman 1975: 22). The difference between natural and social frameworks may be likened to the difference between innate responses to everyday events, rather like experiencing food poisoning after a restaurant meal, as

opposed to the response one may have to the person responsible for knowingly

serving a contaminated dish with the intention of causing the consumer gastric

discomfort! That is, the first response is unconscious: the individual has no control

over their physical response. However, agency is a factor in the second instance. A

conscious act has taken place in the serving of the contaminated food with the

potential of a conscious response by the consumer to the devious cook!

Goffman (1975) suggests that primary frameworks may be placed along a continuum

of ever increasing degrees of organisation and sharpness. However, regardless of the

wide variation in sophistication of primary frames, they all permit users to locate,

perceive, identify, and label a seemingly infinite number of concrete occurrences

(Goffman 1975: 21).

Goffman's (1975) work on frames is related with work he did on the idea of 'keying'.

Goffman (1975) used keying by to describe situations where primary frameworks may

be challenged. Keying happens when the meaning of a primary frame is transformed

into something patterned on, but independent of, the initial frame. For example, a

keying may convince us that what at first appears to be a fistfight may in fact be just a

play or performance. Goffman (1974:21) states, "(people are) likely to be unaware of

such organised features as the framework" and that they would "be unable to describe

the framework with any completeness if asked".

Goffman proposes five reasons why people engage in the process of keying Fisher

(1997:2.4):

- Practice for future or potential real performance for example children playing house or adults attending team building workshops

- To reaffirm cultural knowledge by practising rituals such as arranging or attending weddings, funerals, graduations and the like

- To facilitate commentary and reflection on actual events, people and objects as in art or fictional literature

- To package information into transferable commodities as the media, government or academic reports

- For deception

  - Fabrications where one person or persons trick an individual or a group

  - Illusions where a person or persons trick, or rather, delude themselves

Goffman (1979) illustrates the usefulness of frame analysis in *Gender Advertisements*. Here Goffman argued that Western stereotypical notions of gender are reinforced and reproduced by the advertising industry. These stereotypes are seen to shape the way gender is framed in modern societies. Goffman (1979) suggests that the way people frame masculinity and femininity must also impact on the way they frame their own identity and vice versa. A person who maintains a masculinity frame that encapsulates certain traits may or may not feel that they personally encapsulate these traits in their own identity just because they are biologically male. This line of reasoning challenges biological explanations of gender, as Goffman (1979:8) reasons that people are

capable of learning to 'fit into' a given social structure by adopting traits assigned to a particular category within the group as 'natural'.

Scholars interested in the dynamics of social movements have adopted frame analysis as a research tool. In this form, frame analysis tends to be used as a technique for examining the ideology of social movements with a focus on the practicalities of mobilisation.

## Frame Analysis

David Snow and Robert Benford (Snow et al. 1986; Snow and Benford 1988; Snow and Benford 1992) have greatly influenced the state of play in regard to the frame analysis of social movements. They accused the social movement literature of exhibiting a "static view of participation" (Snow et al. 1986) that concentrated on the factors that gave rise to grievances rather than on the processes by which people define and understand grievances.

> What is at issue is not merely the presence or absence of
>
> grievances, but the manner in which grievances are interpreted
>
> and the generation and diffusion of those interpretations (Snow
>
> et al. 1986)

Following Blumer (1969) and Mead (1934), Snow and Benford (1988) contend that meanings are produced in the course of interaction with other individuals and objects of attention, hence movements also generate meaning 'for participants, antagonists

and observers' (1988:198). In order to conceptualise how this is achieved, Snow and Benford borrow the term "frame" from Erving Goffman (1974:21). A frame is defined as:

> ...interpretative schemata that simplifies and condenses the "world out there" by selectively punctuating and encoding objects, situations, events, experiences, and sequences of actions within one's present or past environment (Snow and Benford 1992: 137).

Frames may be thought of as a way in which to encapsulate the sum total of all the parts of an issue, event, or grievance. This occurs in such a manner that these parts, though they may seem disparate or even contradictory, adhere together or as Gamson (1992) describes it, are 'packaged'. This is achieved by the way in which themes, stock phrases and key words are consistently linked within the frame discourse (Tucker 1998).

Frames not only serve to focus and punctuate, but also to act simultaneously as modes of attribution and articulation (Snow and Benford 1992). By 'punctuate' Snow and Benford (1992) mean that the frames serve to highlight and augment particular issues, causes or events in such a way as to make them appear more 'unjust, immoral or inexcusable' than they did previously.

The punctuated and encoded threads of information may be diverse and even incongruous, but they are woven together in such a way that what was previously

inconceivable, or at least not clearly articulated, is now meaningfully interconnected

(Snow and Benford 1992:138). So in the case of a social movement, frames are a

powerful way of bundling together or connecting sentiments and grievances upon

which participants and supporters may focus, and indeed interpret, in a shared or

common way.

Frames are successful at mobilising support when they resonate with their audience.

Resonance implies some alignment between the movement's claims and what

audiences already know, feel, or have experienced, but the concept goes beyond that

to be an expression of force (Williams and Kubal 1999). People are drawn to the

familiar.

> Generally, the alignment process is demonstrated through
>
> homology; a movement's claim is shown to have either
>
> structural or content-based similarity to extant cultural
>
> doctrine, whether that is religious belief, political culture, folk
>
> knowledge, or whatever. This speaks directly to the problem of
>
> intelligibility – audiences understand what the movement is up
>
> to because what they are hearing is in some way familiar
>
> (Williams and Kubal 1999).

Pan and Kosicki (1993), present frame analysis as a constructivist approach to examine

political discourse with the primary focus being on conceptualising political texts into

empirically operationalised dimensions—syntactical, script, thematic, and rhetorical

structures—so that evidence of the political movements framing of issues in their

manifestos may be gathered. The basic idea is to view political texts as a system of organised signifying elements that both indicate the advocacy of certain ideas and provide devices to encourage certain kinds of audience processing the texts (Pan and Kosicki 1993). More specifically:

> ...framing concepts capture two interrelated qualities of movement actors' interpretive work. One is that ideology or belief systems are interactional accomplishments that emerge from framing processes; the other is that frames are cognitive structures that guide collective action, including subsequent framing processes (Hunt et al. 1994)

It is this capacity of framing analysis to explore the actual interface between the movement and its audience (between leaders and supporters and sympathisers) that make it so ideally suited to this research. Snow and Benford (1988) assert that frames function as 'conceptual scaffolding' by which 'ordinary people make sense of public issues. Snow and Benford (1986:474-475) also claim that there are two types of frames:

- *Domain-specific interpretative frames* which organise sets of behaviours and individual lifestyles;
- *Global interpretative frames* or *master frames* which signify meaning on a broader scope and which organise sets of domain-specific frames.

Of the two types of frames it is master frames that are usually the focus of analysis in the study of social movements as they are observable at a level of the movement

discourse rather than at the level of the individual. Analysis of the discourse may be undertaken in terms of the three functions of frames – diagnosis, prognosis and motivation (Snow and Benford 1988; Snow and Benford 1992; Hunt et al. 1994).

Diagnostic framing identifies what the problems are and who is at fault. This attribution of blame is accompanied by the designation of characteristics to the object of blame and speculation as to the motives of those who are considered to be the guilty parties. In other words, it involves casting others into the role of villain, culprit, or antagonist, be they individuals or collectives (Snow and Benford 1988; Snow and Benford 1992; Hunt et al. 1994).

Prognostic framing seeks to identify the solution, specifying what should be done and by whom, including an elaboration of specific targets, strategies and tactics (Hunt et al. 1994). Motivational framing attempts to provide the potent call to arms that is required to actually spur movement participants and supporters into action. It provides the rationale for 'doing something' for the cause. The aggregate effect of these 'functions' is to identify a culpable enemy. Once the enemy is identified, previously unorganised individuals can focus their attention and energy on them. From this point, those who share the frame may seek to effect change. The result of this framing activity is that individuals who have a shared understanding of these frames is mobilisation.

Snow and Benford (1988) take pains to emphasise the need for social movements to develop frames, which have 'empirical credibility'. However, few clues are provided

to assist the social scientist to test the reliability and validity of frames (Fisher 1997:3.6).

In order to advance the discussion of frame analysis, the work of William Gamson will now be considered. Gamson is well published in the field of political and media discourse and collective action, and has contributed significantly to the development of frame analysis as a tool for explaining how people evaluate issues and world events. He is interested in using frame analysis to build understanding of how it is that certain movements may successfully appeal to people not previously motivated to action (Gamson 1988; Gamson 1992; Gamson and Stuart 1992; Gamson and Wolfsfeld 1993; Gamson 1995; Gamson and Meyer 1996). Gamson, like Snow and Benford, has used frame analysis to study social movements, defining such movements as '... a sustained and self-conscious challenge to authorities or cultural codes by a field of actors – organizations and advocacy networks – some of whom employ extra-institutional means of influence" (Gamson and Wolfsfeld 1993). Gamson (1988; 1992) asserts that frames are central ideas. They define "what is at issue" by addressing the "pattern organising aspect of meaning". Framing is regarded as a process that takes place on two levels. Firstly, the production of *cultural themes* also referred to as frames. Secondly, the production of *issue cultures*, which Gamson more frequently refers to as *packages*. Fisher (1997) notes that for Gamson, frames reflect the bigger picture—worldviews rather than specific issues whereas packages, though they contain the internal structure of a frame, are applied to a particular issue or event. That is to say that an individual's attitude to a group of specific issues may be shaped by their more general belief system or worldview. For example, issues such as immigration, multiculturalism and unemployment may become packaged together

and regarded as being one issue interpreted using one frame, for a person who holds a particular political ideology.

Gamson (1992; 1995) specifies three types of frames in his analysis of social movements:

1. *Aggregate frames* cast social issues as social problems and serve to motivate people who are open to the message of the frame to take action in response to the problem as individuals

2. *Consensus frames* are actually strategies for defining a social problem as one that can only be resolved by collective action. There is a strong sense of identity for those who are drawn to the cause, galvanising them into action. However, the identity of the party or parties responsible for the problem remains indistinct.

3. *Collective action frames* are composed of three sub-frames. Each of these sub-frames must be perceived to be present by the movement participants for collective action to occur:

    a. Injustice Frame

    b. Agency Frame

    c. Identity Frame

*Injustice frame*: In this case the issue is defined as a problem that is inherently wrong, and blame is attributed to an identifiable actor. It is proposed that essential to this frame is the emotional and intellectual expression of moral indignation. A number of studies acknowledge the necessity of the consciousness of injustice, be it suffering or

oppression in whatever form (McAdam 1982; Turner 1988; Moore 1995) to the

mobilisation of collective action. Gamson (1992:31) declares that:

> Most contemporary analysts treat it as no simple matter to explain how
> the indignities of daily life are sometimes transformed into a shared grievance
> with a focused target of collective action. Different emotions can be stimulated
> by perceived inequities – cynicism, bemused irony, resignation. But injustice
> focuses on the righteous anger that puts fire in the belly and iron in the soul.
> Injustice, ... is a hot cognition[21], not merely an abstract intellectual judgement
> about what is equitable.

Here Gamson is highlighting the fact that what may be regarded as petty or of little

consequence at the macro level, may be of utmost importance to those who are

directly affected at the micro level.  At this level, people who feel that they have been

'hard done by' may become emotionally aroused—experiencing the fire in the belly

referred to by Gamson above.


The key factor in the crystallization of an injustice frame is the identification of a

concrete target. Without a defined target for anger, resentment or indignation, these

feelings may remain vague and unfocused. An enemy binds them. The target may take

the form of corporations, government agencies, or specific groups rather than

individuals (Gamson et al. 1992). Nor do these agents need to be autonomous. They

may be depicted as constrained by past actions of others and by more abstract forces –

as long as they have some role as agents in bringing about or continuing the wrongful

act or injury (Gamson et al. 1992)

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[21] See Zajonc, R. B. (1980) 'Feeling and Thinking- Preferences Need No Inferences', *American Psychologist*, 35: 151. for *hot cognition* – one that is laden with emotion.

The integrity of injustice frames are vulnerable to two strategies that may be utilised by the social movement's opposition. The reification of the problem which shifts the focus of anger to a faceless entity such as 'the system'; 'the economy'; 'the government' (Gamson 1995). The emotional negativity of the movement participants may be redirected towards another target agent such as from the present Prime Minister or President to the previous incumbent (Gamson 1995).

*Agency frame*: This frame highlights an adversarial relationship between the members of the social movement and the agents responsible for the problem; that is 'us' and 'them'. There is a consciousness among those who share the frame that it is possible to effect change via collective action. The participants are empowered by this knowledge that constructs them as potential agents of their own destiny and therefore history. They suggest not merely that something can be done but that "we" can do something (Gamson et al. 1992).

*Identity frame*: This frame establishes and demarcates the boundaries between 'us' and 'them'. That is, it defines the 'we' in opposition to some 'they' who have different interests or values. In the absence of this adversarial component, the potential target of collective action is doomed to remain an abstraction such as poverty, disease, or hunger. "Collective action requires a consciousness of human agents whose policies or practices must be changed and a 'we' who will help to bring the change about (Gamson et al. 1992).

Gamson's most important contribution to the field is his use of frame analysis as a method for studying media discourse. Gamson sees the media as not only a central tool in the production of meaning, but also as a site at which social movements may seek to influence public policy or perceptions (Fisher 1997).

> Movement activists are media junkies, media discourse
>
> provides them with weekly, daily, sometimes hourly triumphs
>
> and defeats (Gamson 1995: 235).

Johnston is also concerned with how participants in social movements conceptualise grievances. However, his work is differentiated from that of Snow, Benford, and Gamson, by his emphasis on questions of reliability. Johnston (1995a) argues that framing occurs largely in the 'black box' of the mind and therefore traditional frame analysis relies too heavily on assumptions about what and how people think. The result can be "too much loose interpretation taking place too far from the data". Johnston (1995a) argues for the value of the analysis of words and phrases that indicate frames. He describes this method as 'micro-frame analysis'. This technique "involves approximating the hierarchical relationships that constitute frames and scripts appropriate to typical or crucial situations in a movement career" (1995a: 237). In developing this approach, Johnston (1995a: 245) claims to achieve three methodological ends:

1. A systematic approach to the content of social movement frames which allows other researchers to duplicate findings;

2. Minimisation of misinterpretation and

3. Increased validity by confronting the fundamental problem of analysing textual materials i.e. the propensity for being shaped by the impact of cultural, organisational and interactional factors.

Of the approaches to frame analysis discussed thus far, Johnston's may be seen as advocating the most systematic and detailed examination of the components of texts. The key to micro-frame analysis lies in collecting a small set of texts from 'critical junctures' in the life of the object of study (Johnston 1995a).

## Summary

Working at the level of social interaction, Goffman's structural viewpoint of everyday life is made up of delineated social worlds or frames, with special meaning. The structure of the frame, unlike that of the situation, is fixed and not dependent on day to day events. Goffman's conceptualisation of 'framing' provides the rules and principles, which guides one towards understanding the meaning of experienced events. Frames are principles of organisation that govern events, especially social ones, and our subjective involvement in them. Frames are subject to reworking as we move from one frame to another, thereby providing different perspectives of events. Thus Goffman's approach for understanding social life at the micro level has provided the basis of contemporary framing analysis applied to the study of social movements.

I suggest that the key purposes of Snow and Benford's and Gamson's approaches to frame analysis are fundamentally the same. Also, that each approach could be enhanced by taking on board Johnston's call for higher levels of reliability and validity in the application of frame analysis. Table 1 demonstrates the commonalities between the two approaches to frame analysis. Snow and Benford (Snow et al. 1986;

Snow and Benford 1988; Snow and Benford 1992) refer to Master Frames when

discussing social movements. They assert that for frames to be successful in

promoting the social movement, it must perform three functions. Gamson (Gamson

1988; Gamson et al. 1992; Gamson 1995; Gamson and Meyer 1996) refers to the

frames used by social movements and states that there are three types. For a social

movement to be successful in its appeal for support, it must be able to construct all

three of these frames. The purpose of each frame as described by Gamson can be seen

as being essentially the same as the three functions of frames described by Snow and

Benford.

| SNOW & BENFORD | | GAMSON |
|---|---|---|
| ⬇ | | ⬇ |
| Master Frames | | Social Movement Frames |
| ⬇ | | ⬇ |
| Three Key Functions | PURPOSE | Three Types of Frames |
| Diagnosis ➡ | Identification of Problems and Grievances | ⬅ Aggregate Frames |
| Prognosis ➡ | Perception of Unity Enhanced by Shared Identity | ⬅ Consensus Frames |
| Motivation ➡ | Action to Support the Cause | ⬅ Collective Action Frames |

**Table 1 Identification of the Shared Purposes of Frames According to Snow & Benford vs Gamson**

The next chapter introduces Pauline Hanson to the reader. A synoptic biography is presented which outlines Hanson's life prior to politics and the trajectory of PHON in the context of the wider Australian political vista.

**Chapter Five**

# AN ORDINARY PERSON: A SYNOPTIC BIOGRAPHY OF PAULINE HANSON

## Introduction

This chapter provides an overview of Pauline Hanson's political career from when she first participated in Queensland Local Government (1994), her victory in the state seat of Oxley (1996) to the formation of One Nation (1997) through to her electoral loss in the Federal seat of Blair 1998. Though no longer a central political figure[22], Pauline Hanson remains in the wings of the media stage, showing up in the spotlight from time to time. These performances tend to be in relation to allegations of mismanagement, chiefly in relation to PHON financial matters, or in regards to speculation that her return to politics is imminent. At one time she made a brief series of appearances in the media when linked to a fashion label that apparently was interested in her design advice.

Following is a brief biography of Pauline Hanson's life prior to entering the political arena in order to provide some sense of her metamorphosis from anonymity to notoriety. The transmutation of Hanson's status from Liberal Party reject, to object of adoration of a support movement to national political party leader is described against the backdrop of the Australian political landscape in the 1990s.

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[22] At the time of writing.

## Pauline Hanson: Humble Beginnings

Pauline Lee Seccombe was born in 1954 to English parents in Brisbane, Queensland. She was the fifth child of seven siblings with three sisters and three brothers. In Dodd's (1997) biography, the young Hanson is described as having a strong sense of family commitment, is hard working, athletic and gifted in the area of 'home economics'. She attended public schools and upon graduation worked in the family business, a café, as a waitress. Eventually she gained a clerical position at a wholesale pharmaceutical company in Brisbane, Queensland. While employed there she met her first husband, Walter Zargorski. Zargorski was a Polish immigrant who subsequently gained employment on the Blackall oilfields, and so in 1971 they married and moved to the oilrigs for some months before moving to Adelaide, also in order for Zargorski to continue working in the oil industry. More moves ensued, with the couple eventually settling on the Gold Coast in 1975. It was here that the marriage started to deteriorate with their divorce becoming finalised in 1977. The move to Ipswich came about in 1980 during her second marriage to Mark Hanson, a self-employed tradesman. The former Mrs Zargorski had two children by her previous husband, and was to have two more to Mark Hanson. That marriage subsequently failed, and as a result of the settlement process, Hanson had the means to buy and operate a fish and chip shop in Ipswich.[23] Ipswich is a rural, working class town with its major employment opportunities stemming from coal mining, Queensland Rail repair shops, and power generation from the Swanbank Power Station. It is against this backdrop, that Hanson initially entered politics at the level of local government.

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[23] It is worth noting that Hanson in her Maiden Speech to Parliament, described herself as 'just a fish and chip shop lady', with the effect of diffusing media ridicule of her occupation.

## Political Roots

Local Government in Ipswich has an ALP dominated history. However, the incumbent Labor Mayor in 1993, Alderman Dave Underwood introduced a series of reforms and restructuring processes that alienated all of his supporting alderman, the local branch of the ALP, and trade unions. As a result he was expelled from the ALP for disloyalty. Consequently he contested the 1994 local government election as an independent. Apparently Hanson sympathised with Underwood and, according to her biographer (Dodd 1997), she had friends in common with him. Despite this, it seems that neither he, nor any other candidate wanted to take advantage of her offer to stand with them on an independent ticket. Instead, Hanson stood alone adopting the slogan 'The Real Independent', and in her first political test ousted the sitting ALP alderman, Wayne McDonnell whose campaign funds, experience and savvy would have been expected to outstrip the newcomer's. It is quite possible that the unrest within the Labor Party at grass roots level impacted so negatively on the electorate that voters opted to give Hanson, a local identity via her fish and chip shop, a chance. Just one year later, things changed. Hanson lost this position as a result of new council elections that were called in March 1995 to accommodate the Electoral and Administrative Review Commissions *Review of Government Boundaries 1994* recommendations to amalgamate a number of councils in Queensland. Hanson then abandoned her independent status and joined the Liberal Party the following August. By November she had secured endorsement as the Liberal Party candidate for the federal seat of Oxley.

However Hanson's association with the Liberal Party was to be short lived as she was soon disendorsed as a candidate amidst accusations of racism. This charge was made in

response to views expressed in a letter to *The Queensland Times* newspaper regarding Aboriginal imprisonment and government funding for indigenous peoples (see Appendix 1). The subsequent media coverage of her defiant position in relation to this particular issue and others concerning Aboriginal affairs further alienated her from the Liberals. Unfazed Hanson stood as an independent candidate and continued to campaign on these issues and others such as welfare, unemployment and immigration.

Former Labor Leader of the Opposition and Governor-General, Bill Haydn had held the traditionally safe ALP seat, Oxley, from 1961 – 1988. Following Haydn's resignation from Oxley, the seat was occupied by the ALP's Les Scott (1988 – 1996). However this long Labor tradition was not protection enough from the rising star of Pauline Hanson.

In the Federal Election of March 1996, Pauline Hanson achieved a nineteen per cent swing and almost forty-nine per cent of the primary votes in one of the country's safest Australian Labor Party seats. Just over two years later, Hanson was the leader of her own political party, Pauline Hanson's One Nation (PHON), whose Queensland candidates achieved what has been described as possibly the greatest electoral upset ever in Australian political life.

## Evolution from Movement to Party

> She was vulnerable. I think she still is. We built this group as a
>
> gesture of gratitude. When I heard her first speech I nearly wept
>
> because it was what I was trying to do years ago (Bruce Whiteside,

Pauline Hanson's Support Movement founder, October 1996 in

Dodd 1997: 72).

A unique feature of the genesis of PHON is that it originated out of the desire of

individuals to offer Hanson support. These individuals, who were personally unknown

to Hanson, banded together with this intention. The first supporter's group was

founded by Mr Whiteside in his garage on the Gold Coast. It has been claimed by

Hanson (Dodd 1997) that the number of support groups grew to twenty-eight by

December 1996 with over 5000 members across Australia. Hanson responded to this

show of goodwill with confidence and launched Pauline Hanson's One Nation in

April 1997. Those members of the various support groups, who were supportive of the

formation of a formal party, were offered associate party membership. To become full

members with voting rights within the party, they had to apply formerly and pay fees.

However, not all of the original 'grass-roots' supporters were impressed with

Hanson's choice of advisers. This was to be an ongoing problem for Hanson who

seemed to have a talent for attracting personalities that were perceived to be

controlling and manipulative.

## Movers and Shakers

While other women have stood as candidates for PHON, it is the male advisors or

'team members', as Hanson preferred to call them, which have drawn the most

attention. At the time of the formation of PHON, Hanson's advisor was John

Pasquarelli. It seems that he was referred to her by Graeme Campbell, a former ALP

member, former Federal Member for Kalgoorlie and founder of the Australia First

party in Western Australia.[24]

Pasquarelli is a colourful character, who among other things has been a crocodile

hunter and Member of the Papua New Guinea Parliament. He has held a number of

advisory/administrative positions with politicians in Australia. After his acrimonious

dismissal by Hanson in December 1996, and the out of court settlement of his ensuing

unfair dismissal case, he wrote *The Pauline Hanson Story by the Man Who Knows*

(Pasquarelli 1998). Then book has a forward written by the former State President of

the Victorian Branch of the Returned Services League of Australia, Bruce Ruxton. In

it he describes Pasquarelli thus:

> I have known John Pasquarelli for years. There is certainly no one
>
> else around like him – a huge-framed man with a fierce and ugly
>
> appearance and a round, bald head that has gained him the nickname
>
> of 'Kojak'. He was nothing short of the ideal person to look after
>
> Pauline Hanson. Pasquarelli is a genuine political animal, and has
>
> been 'out there' in the real world (Bruce Ruxton in Pasquarelli
>
> 1998:vi).

Though Ruxton was a prominent public figure in Australia, his advancing age has

curtailed his media appearances in which he frequently expressed profoundly

conservative views. His opinions regarding Asian immigration mirror those of Pauline

Hanson. It is difficult to find evidence that he supported Hanson outright. However it

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[24] It is interesting to note the similarities between One Nation's and Australia First's policy objectives (See Appendix 2). Though the two parties appear to be standing on very similar platforms, Australia First and Graeme Campbell have never experienced anywhere near the electoral success of PHON. Campbell and his party seem to have slipped quietly off the political radar.

is fair to say that his comments may have been interpreted by many as being sympathetic to Hanson's cause.

> I encountered similar experiences to Hanson myself, in the 1980s when the RSL spoke out on immigration. The mere raising of the subject brings 'grubs out of the woodwork'—the sort of 'grubs' that will do Pauline Hanson no good. (Bruce Ruxton cited in Pasquarelli 1998: vi).

Pasquarelli has a very well developed sense of self and self-importance. It is clear from his book that he credits himself with being the reason Hanson won the state seat of Oxley in 1996. Despite his domineering nature, it seems that his relationship with Hanson chiefly suffered due to disagreements over speech and press release content. An examination of Pasquarelli's (1998) book and Dodd's (1997) biography suggests the last straw may have been disagreements over the content of Hanson's Maiden Speech. It is a fact that Hanson wanted several changes, including the deletion of references to homosexuality, despite Pasquarelli's insistence that it be retained.[25]

Following Pasquarelli's departure, the first of three 'Davids' joined the PHON camp. David Thomas became Hanson's adviser and press secretary for the interim period to May 1997. He had been in the air force, worked in the insurance and investment industries, owned a restaurant and eventually ended up in the newspaper business. Thomas had some success with this venture and by the time he sold the business he was operating three local newspapers and a newspaper for the Royal Australian Air Force (RAAF). He used this success and experience in the media to gain the position of press

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[25] Prior to Hanson's intervention, the third paragraph of her Maiden Speech read: *We now have a situation where a type of reverse racism is applied to mainstream Australians by those who promote political correctness and those who control the various taxpayer funded 'industries' that flourish in our society, servicing Aboriginals, multiculturalists, homosexuals and a host of other minority groups.*

secretary for Bob Katter (the then federal National Party member for Capricorn). Thomas describes himself as being 'right-wing' (in Dodd 1997: 79), and therefore attracted to Pauline Hanson's views. It does not appear however that he exerted any significant formative influence on Hanson during this time. This leaves David Etteridge and David Oldfield.

David Etteridge was the National Director of PHON. He is credited with formulating the name and logo of the party. Dodd (1997) suggests that Etteridge was drawn to Pauline Hanson as a result of her maiden speech, which galvanised the self-professed 'entrepreneur and risk taker' into the political sphere. Whiteside, the movement founder took a dim view of Etteridge. Whiteside claims that Etteridge was responsible for hijacking the support movement and the political party.

> ...(he) [Etteridge] came along and told me he was going to market
> her [Hanson] and he was going to package her (Whiteside in Kapel
> 1997: 99).

David Etteridge worked in tandem with the other David, David Oldfield. Oldfield replaced David Thomas and came on staff with Hanson in May 1997. His employment history is sketchy, but he does claim to have been a diving champion and professional underwater photographer. Prior to his appointment with Hanson, he had been Private Secretary and Portfolio Advisor to the Liberal Federal Member for Warringah, Tony Abbott. Along with Etteridge, Oldfield appears to have had a central role in founding PHON over the top of the already existing supporter's movements (Ward 2000). Unlike Etteridge, Oldfield basked in media attention and vocalised his desire and intention to eventually stand as a candidate for the party early on and eventually he did so.

From this point on, the relationship between the party and the various groups that constituted the supporters movement, began to sour. PHON was structured more like a business than a political party, meaning that Hanson, Etteridge and Oldfield directly controlled the organization's financial affairs. Despite this tension recruitment of potential candidates and members appeared to progress well. However exact membership numbers were never revealed publicly.

Many social commentators have portrayed Hanson as being the puppet of these two men. Undoubtedly they influenced Hanson to some degree. All politicians rely heavily on their support staff. I would suggest however that the attitudes and views expressed in Hanson's name after their arrival on the scene do not differ significantly from those she expressed in her letter to the editor printed in the *Queensland Times* (see Appendix 1) or to those sentiments expressed in her Maiden Speech. Both documents were composed prior to their involvement.

**Wake Up Australia – The Maiden Speech**

Hanson's Maiden Speech to the Australian parliament attracted more comment and publicity than perhaps any other debut parliamentary speech since federation. Many scholars and public intellectuals responded to it, some in quite emotionally charged prose (Benford 1997; Grant 1997; Manne 1998a; Rapley 1998; Scalmer 1999). Hanson expressed opposition to immigration, multiculturalism and foreign aid. Hanson sought the abolition of the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission (ATSIC); she opposed the granting of Native Title and what she referred to in her maiden speech as *reverse racism*. She also sought to repeal The Family Law Act and

was opposed to the privatisation of industry, but she was in favour of compulsory National Service for male and female youth for a period of twelve months.[26]

From the beginning, it was made abundantly clear what Hanson did *not* stand for. Her justification for her position in relation to all of these issues was to reduce unemployment and to create a 'united Australia'. Given Hanson's electoral success it would seem that her policies did resonate with at least some parts of the community. Her failure to produce policy, platform or program, and her tendency to polarise issues, did not hinder her political rise. Further, despite opinion polls that estimated her level of support at just three per cent six weeks prior to the 1998 Queensland state election, her team managed to field 79 candidates to contest the 89 seats, winning eleven of these seats. This was to be the electoral pinnacle for PHON, winning the vote of one in four Queenslanders. Yet, the October Federal Election was to prove to be the beginning of the end for Pauline Hanson when she unsuccessfully stood for the new seat of Blair.

## The 'Witch' from Blair

In a media release on 28th February 1997 the Electoral Commissioner, Mr Bill Gray, made a statutory determination concerning the number of members Queensland was entitled to in the House of Representatives. That determination resulted in the level of representation in the House for Queensland rising from twenty-six to twenty-seven members. This process of redistribution of boundaries is a normal event post federal election and is intended to maintain the numbers of electors within certain levels

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[26] World events such as 9/11 (2001) and the Bali Bombings (2003) have motivated the RSL to also call for the resumption of National Service for Australian youth.

proportionate to the state average (Jaensch 1996). As a result, the Division of Blair was proposed and a line was drawn through the former division of Oxley—Pauline Hanson's seat. According to Dodd (1997) both Hanson's electoral office and residence were then in the new division of Blair. Ironically given Hanson's attitude to Indigenous people, Blair was actually named after Harold Blair (1924-1976), an Aboriginal tenor and activist who once stood unsuccessfully as the Labor candidate for the seat of Mentone in the 1964 Victorian state elections (Harrison 1975).

Despite leading all three major party candidates with thirty-six per cent of first preference votes, Pauline Hanson was finally defeated by the Liberal candidate Cameron Thomas after the distribution of Labor preferences. It is important to note that the party faired quite well overall given its status as a minor party. This may be illustrated by observing that the PHON vote exceeded the Australian Democrats vote by just over three per cent though they ran nine fewer candidates.

Data collection for this study ceased at this point. From this point on, no further transcripts of public speeches were obtainable and all press releases after this time were not produced in Hanson's name. However, I have included a time-line of key events that terminates August 2003 so that the reader may appreciate the fortunes of the Party up until 1998 (see Table 2). PHON was torn apart by internal conflict. Inexperienced PHON senators made poor decisions that proved to be destructive to the party and party financial dealings culminated in legal action against Hanson and Ettridge for fraud that resulted in jail terms that were subsequently overturned!

**Table 2: The Rise and Fall of Pauline Hanson**

## The Rise and Fall of Pauline Hanson

### 1994

March - Hanson elected to Ipswich City Council after campaigning against a library being built because it was a waste of ratepayer money.

### 1995

January – Howard replaces Downer to again become the leader of the Liberal Party.

Aug - Joins the Liberal Party.

Nov - Endorsed as the candidate for the federal seat of Oxley in Queensland.

### 1996

Feb 14 - Dumped from the Liberals after her comments about Aborigines.

March 2 - Wins seat of Oxley as an independent with a massive swing of more than 23 per cent.

End of 13 years of Labor government – John Howard becomes Prime Minister.

Sept 10 - Makes headlines with her maiden speech in parliament warning Australia is being 'swamped by Asians'.

### 1997

Feb 23 - Forms *Pauline Hanson's One Nation* with David Ettridge and David Oldfield.

March 18 - Pauline Hanson's One Nation registered as federal party with Australian Electoral Commission.

April 11 - Pauline Hanson's One Nation party is launched.

December 4 - Hanson registers One Nation in Queensland with Ettridge.

### 1998

June 13 - One Nation wins 11 seats in the Queensland election - 23 per cent of Queenslanders vote for the party.

Oct 3 - Hanson loses the Queensland seat of Blair in the 1998 federal election. One Nation polls eight per cent of the vote and fails to secure a lower house seat. Queensland One Nation candidate Heather Hill wins a Senate seat.

Oct 4 - One Nation MP Charles Rappolt resigns from Queensland parliament, citing media pressure, triggering a by-election in his north Queensland seat of Mulgrave. He later kills himself.

Dec 1 - Sydney businessman Chuck Hong launches legal action against Senator-elect Hill's eligibility for election because of her apparent failure to renounce her British citizenship.

### 1999

Feb 5 - Three Queensland One Nation MPs quit the party after their demands were ignored for One Nation directors Pauline Hanson, David Ettridge and David Oldfield to step down to face democratic elections.

June 23 - High Court rules Hill is unable to take her seat in federal parliament because she failed to renounce her British citizenship before the election. Len Harris eventually gets the Senate seat.

Aug 19 - One Nation party is officially deregistered as a political party in Queensland. The Queensland Electoral Commission (QEC) immediately promises to recover the $500,000 in electoral funds paid to the party after the 1998 state election.

Dec 13 - Queensland One Nation parliamentary leader Bill Feldman announces he and four of his colleagues have registered One Nation Queensland as a separate, state-based political party.

Dec 22 - The five breakaway One Nation MPs announce they will call their new party City Country Alliance after legal threats over the name.

### 2000

Jan 15 - Ettridge quits the party's leadership to pursue business interests.

May 19 - One Nation is deregistered in NSW.

Oct 4 - Oldfield quits One Nation, 18 months after winning a NSW upper house seat for the party.

Dec 29 - Hanson's plans to settle her debt with the Queensland Electoral Commission (QEC) are foiled when she is locked out of its Brisbane city office, closed for the Christmas holidays. She later sends the outstanding amount electronically.

### 2001

Jan 23 - One Nation is reregistered in Queensland, allowing it to field candidates in the looming state election.

Feb 10 - The party captures 9.6 per cent of votes in the Western Australian election.

Feb 17 - PHON wins three seats in the Queensland election.

July 31 - Hanson pleads not guilty to three charges of fraud in Brisbane Magistrates Court.

Nov 10 - One Nation's overall vote is halved in the federal election. The party fails to secure a seat in either house and Hanson loses her bid for a Queensland Senate seat.

### 2002

Jan 14 - Hanson quits as president of One Nation.

May 25 - In the middle of a committal hearing on electoral fraud charges, Hanson is charged with dishonestly applying over $20,000 to herself from a fighting fund set up to pay back the electoral commission.

May 27 - Hanson is committed to stand trial with Ettridge for fraudulently registering One Nation in Queensland. They plead not guilty. Hanson also pleads not guilty to dishonestly claiming almost $500,000 in electoral reimbursements.

**2003**

March 22 - Hanson stands for the NSW upper house.

April 17 - After campaigning on law and order and admitting to having no idea who the NSW police commissioner was, Hanson is defeated by Shooters Party's John Tingle for the last vacancy.

May 8 - Hanson is committed to stand trial over ripping off contributors to her fighting fund but maintains she did not take 'one cent inappropriately'.

July 15 - Hanson and Ettridge face four-week trial in Brisbane's District Court over fraudulently registering One Nation in Queensland.

Aug 20 - Hanson and Ettridge are found guilty on all charges.

Nov 6 - Hanson and Ettridge released from prison, decision overturned by the Supreme Court of Queensland.

- AAP

Table 2 *Adapted from;* http://www.theage.com.au/articles/2003/08/20/1061261206338.html

## Meanwhile, Back in Canberra

To put Hanson's entrance into politics into context, it is necessary to note the situation of the national political scene. At about the time Hanson was fighting for her seat on the Ipswich council, John Howard, had resumed the leadership of the Liberal Party in January 1995. This followed a disastrous eight months under the leadership of Alexander Downer. Downer and Peter Costello had succeeded Dr. John Hewson early in 1994 and were touted as the leaders of the new-generation Liberals (Singleton et al. 2000). In the end, the party opted for the seasoned Howard. Perhaps this was an acknowledgement that he was the only one left standing after a decade of party infighting.

The next significant event on the horizon was to be the 1996 Federal Election. Howard approached the campaign with a determination to present as small a target as possible. Throughout 1995, he refused to detail specific policy proposals. By 1996, however, it was clear that the electorate had tired of the Labor government and Paul Keating in particular. 'The recession we had to have' line resonated with deadly force throughout the electorate, although Keating also attracted much support and adoration from supporters attracted by his republicanism and internationalist approach to Australia's future (Singleton et al. 2000).

Meanwhile in Ipswich, Hanson had joined the Liberal Party and had been endorsed to sit as the Liberal candidate for the federal seat of Oxley. Though disendorsed by the Liberals, Hanson was victorious as was Howard in the seat he has held since 1974, Bennelong, on Sydney's North Shore. The 1996 Federal election brought an end to thirteen years of Labor Government under Bob Hawke and Paul Keating. The ALP lost 31 seats to the coalition and lost 6.1% of its primary vote from 1993. Its 38.8% primary vote was the lowest recorded by the ALP since 1934 (Warhurst 1997).

Hanson delivered her first parliamentary speech 10th September that year and began her love-hate relationship with the Australian public. Those who loved her unconditionally started a movement to support her, while those who did not approve were acerbic in their attacks. By April 1997 she was no longer a lone voice—Pauline Hanson's One Nation party was launched (Grant 1997).

Some eighteen months later, Hanson once again had to fight for her job. The Federal election of 3rd October 1998 was held six months earlier than required by the

Constitution. Prime Minister John Howard made the announcement following the launch of the coalition's GST policy launch and a 5 week advertising campaign. The ensuing election was almost entirely dominated by the proposed ten per cent Goods and Services Tax (GST) and proposed income tax cuts (McAllister and Bean 1997).

The Howard government entered the campaign with a forty-seat majority. The government suffered a nationwide swing of approximately five per cent against it and the loss of nineteen seats in the House of Representatives. The Liberal-National coalition was returned with a twelve-seat majority. At the final count, the government was re-elected with forty-nine per cent of the two-party-preferred vote, compared to fifty-one per cent for the Australian Labor Party.

Whilst polling around eight per cent of the national vote, the One Nation party lost its leader. Pauline Hanson was defeated on preferences by the Liberal candidate in the Queensland electorate of Blair. One Nation won no seats in the lower house, but Heather Hill, the PHON candidate for the seat of Ipswich gained a Senate seat in Queensland at the expense of the National Party's Bill O'Chee. She was subsequently disqualified under Section 44 of the Constitution, as she had not renounced her British citizenship. Electoral candidates can only be Australian citizens, they can not hold dual citizenship (Money 1999: 14; Chesterman 2000: 135).

As a result of the election, the balance of power in the Senate reverted to the Australian Democrats after July 1, 1999. The Democrats increased their numbers from seven to nine, including the election of the second Aboriginal Member of Parliament, Senator Aden Ridgeway, in New South Wales.

The ALP made the single biggest gain by an Opposition party following an election

defeat. The swing was sufficient in all states to deliver government to the ALP, but

the uneven nature of the swing denied Kim Beasley, the federal leader of the Labor

Party, and former Defence Minister under Keating, the extra few seats necessary to

command a majority in the House. The end result left the Howard government

holding ten seats by a margin of less than one per cent (Singleton et al. 1998).

Hanson entered the political arena at the end of the Labor Party's federal term (1983-

1996) and the beginning of a Liberal term that continues into 2004. The prior federal

government under Labor's Keating sought to not only cultivate cultural and economic

ties with Asia, but to develop a public awareness of these relationships (Johnson

1998). The Howard Liberal government has been less overt in this idea of promoting

Australia as part of Asia. Economic rationalist policies are associated with both

parties and both have implemented or supported public-sector cutbacks, deregulation,

corporatisation and privatisation (Johnson 1998: 212).

Since taking office, the Howard government has been highly critical of Aboriginal

land rights and is seeking to dismantle the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander

Commission. Funding for a number of special interest groups has been decreased and

immigration policy for 'cracking down' on illegal entry into Australia has been

introduced.

Hence a political climate emerged where left libertarian parties and groups were

struggling to maintain their position while some former supporters of the mainstream

parties were also left feeling at risk. Sustained high levels of unemployment, downsizing and substantial real wage cuts, the effects of free-market policies on small business combined with a fear of an ill defined multicultural society created a disgruntled under-tow in the electorate (Moore 1997; Johnson 1998).

## Conclusion

Hanson is a descendant of English migrants. She has been married twice – once to an Eastern European migrant. This is noteworthy in so far as it gives some insight into Hanson's criteria for successful assimilation that include speaking English and having a well developed work ethic. The greater part of her working life prior to politics has been in small business in regional Australia. Neither Hanson nor any of her significant advisors have had a university education. All are on record as having been either dumped by, or have dumped, the Liberal Party of Australia. It seems that the Liberal Party was no longer 'right-wing' enough for Hanson and her team, or indeed for many of those who were to support her.

Hanson's arrival into politics has been described as: '...a shooting star that blazed spectacularly across Australia's political skies...' (Leach et al. 2000: 1) and her fall from grace was just as spectacular. Timing is everything in comedy and politics and while Hanson's exit may have been a disaster, her entrance was extraordinary by any measure.

It is little wonder that this short career has attracted so much attention from so many quarters. The next chapter discusses the analysis of PHON in the sociological and socio-political literature. An attempt is made to scrutinize the existing work. In

particular, attention will be paid to research that has focused on the political rhetoric

and discourse of PHON.

## Chapter Six

# PLEASE EXPLAIN: RESPONSES TO HANSONISM

## Introduction

The Australian political landscape has traditionally been dominated by the two major parties: the Liberal Party of Australia (LPA) and the Australian Labor Party (ALP). However, as Jaensch (1996) notes, several minor parties have participated in Australian elections since the 1850s. 'Very few have won seats in a parliament and very few have been relevant in the party system ... some disappearing after only one election' (Jaensch 1996:146).

Relevance is generally measured by electoral success in terms of number of seats contested and won; the ability of parties to influence electoral outcomes by acting as effective lobby groups that challenge major parties and by the distribution of their preferences to major parties. In the event that even numbers of seats are acquired by the major parties, the balance of power may lie with a lone representative of a minor party or indeed with an independent member (Jaensch 1996; Smith 1997; Singleton et al. 2000).

Political science texts tend to offer explanations of the Australian political party system that focus on party ideologies, organizational structure and disciplinary mechanisms and policy generating processes (Jaensch 1996; Smith 1997; Singleton et al. 2000). Voting behaviour since the 1950s has been largely explained by partisanship which was in turn strongly related to social class (McAllister and Bean 1997). A key argument here is that the ideology of the Australian Labor Party is

palatable to the working class while that of the Liberal Party tends to appeal more to the middle and upper classes. Demographic variables such as gender and ethnicity have been regarded as having some explanatory power (e.g. women are more likely to vote LPA than men are; Southern European and Asian immigrants are more likely to vote ALP than they are Liberal). Other theories that seek to explain voting behaviour also relate to aspects of social location. Theories of generational change have asserted that when people reach voting age, they are more likely to support the party that is in power federally than for the party that is in opposition, (McAllister and Bean 1997). Theories of religion have mooted that people with certain Christian beliefs are more likely to support right-wing or centre parties than those regarded as the political left (van Deth 1998).

It follows that explanations of party appeal also tend to reside within these theories, such that the degree of familiarity that a person feels towards a particular party increases its appeal for them. A 'first time voter', with nascent political awareness, is more likely to have had exposure to the face and machinations of the party in power than they are to the party in opposition. More recently it has been suggested that political configurations in Western democracies have changed, with the result that explanations of political allegiance based upon aspects of social location are proving to be less useful than they once were. In response to this, Inglehart (1977; 1990) has theorised that changing personal priorities have resulted in shifts in persons value systems. These transformations have thought to have effected modes and levels of political participation, and led to new forms of political conflict (van Deth 1998). In this way, people are seen to be drawn to political parties whose platforms reflect their own value systems. The growth of 'green' or environmental politics may be attributed

to the increased importance citizens today place on environmental issues in terms of what they consider to be issues of high priority socially (Pakulski and Crook 1993; Tranter and Pakulski 2000).

The response to Hanson by academics and political commentators was unparalleled in Australian political history (Sheehan 1998; Leach et al. 2000). Her infamous Letter to the Editor[27] caused a mere hiccup compared to the reaction evoked by her Maiden Speech. Paul Sheehan describes it thus (1998: 151-152):

> Pauline Hanson spoke for twenty minutes, concluding her
>
> speech at 5.35 pm. Within minutes, the switchboard at
>
> Parliament House began to light up. People were calling
>
> asking for copies of Hanson's speech. The density of the
>
> phone traffic was highly unusual and unprecedented for a
>
> political novice. The news media's immediate reaction was to
>
> fixate on the sentence: *I believe we are being swamped by*
>
> *Asians.*

This statement was similar in tone to many other comments proclaimed in that speech and in many other speeches and press releases to follow. In modern Australia controversial statements from politicians are a rarity. This is particularly so in relation to issues of race relations such as immigration or Aboriginal Affairs. This may be attributed at least in part to a fear of transgressing the constraints of political correctness. Pauline Hanson's proclamations were therefore seen by many as absolutely extraordinary (Sheehan 1998; Goot 2000). For many commentators, both

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[27] See Appendix 1

academic and from the media, it evoked not so much a response, but a vitriolic

retaliation. A law of the physical sciences is that for every action, there is an opposite

and equal reaction. It was as if those groups that Hanson would describe as elites,

could simply not believe their eyes or ears. They reflected back at her a laser of

negative emotion.[28] There was a rush to understand the level and speed of Hanson's

electoral success and to be able to distinguish who would vote for such an overt

'racist'. What had caused it? How can it be explained? Whose fault is it?

This chapter offers a critique of the literature provoked by the political phenomenon

that was 'this redheaded woman' from regional southeast Queensland. Firstly I will

present an examination of the three most prominent edited collections, and then I will

discuss related articles, chapters and other materials. This strategy serves to

differentiate between the refereed journal articles and the non-refereed collections as

well as demonstrating the diversity of the people motivated to either seek an

explanation of PHON or at least to formerly register their opposition to PHON.

**Pooled Resources: Edited Collections**

The collection edited by Bligh Grant (1997) *Pauline Hanson: One Nation and*

*Australian Politics* was the first to hit the shelves. Given that Hanson only entered

parliament in March 1996, this was quite an achievement in publishing terms. All ten

of the contributors, plus Grant, were at the time academics working in Australia,

mostly in political science but also in history, law, philosophy, and international

relations. Grant (1997: 7) states that the aim of the book is neither to condemn nor

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[28] 'If I'd known she was in there, I'd have blown the place up: she's got a head like a broken arsehole.' *Customer leaving shop as Hanson enters* – back jacket of Kingston, M. (1999) *Off the Rails: The Pauline Hanson Trip,* Adelaide: Allen & Unwin.

dismiss Hanson, nor merely to respond with curiosity or identification with Hanson, 'rather it is arranged in thematic chapters analysing specific aspects of the Hanson phenomenon in the context of Australian politics'.

Essentially this has been achieved, though at times it seems that the various authors have found their object of study to be irresistibly emotive and therefore have had difficulty suspending their subjectivity, allowing it to bubble up through the text, betraying their feelings in regard to the subject matter. To illustrate this point a couple of examples follow. In regard to the impact that Hanson's intention to do away with the Family Law Act as it exists, Grant (1997: 14) writes that he finds this to be personally repugnant. Other contributors are more subtle. Ruth Bohill (1997: 63) was a lecturer in law when she wrote her contribution for the collection. She challenges Hanson's view that High Court decisions concerning Mabo and Wik have been racially divisive for Australia.[29] Bohill's (1997: 63) response is '...Pauline Hanson is very, very wrong'. Bohill (1997) then goes on to unpack her response to Hanson, but the tone it set from the beginning and maintained with the pointed use of quotation marks for words such as 'facts' and 'researched' when used to describe the basis of Hanson's argument. This should not be regarded as a criticism of the work, but rather an acknowledgement of the powerful and affective nature of populist politics. It may be that a lot of the latent ire is the result of simple disbelief of the fact that a politician was making such proclamations at a time when other politicians and society leaders (Hanson would say elites) were espousing the virtues of multiculturalism and the necessity of reconciliation for a better nation. Bohill (1997) goes on to dismantle Hanson's position on equality and Native Title, piece by piece. This was achieved by

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[29] High Court judgments: *Mabo v Commonwealth (No 2)* (1992) 175 CLR 1; *Wik Peoples v State of Queensland* (1996) 141 129.

autopsying, with surgical precision, statements that appear in Hanson's infamous book *The Truth* (Hanson 1997), and in associated material.

The capacity of Pauline Hanson's populist style to evoke hostility both within her own ranks and in those who would oppose her is explored in the chapter by David Wells (1997: 18) in which he describes populism as the 'politics of gut feeling'. Using contemporary examples, Wells (1997) demonstrates the differences and similarities between Hansonism and the politics of the American Right, while also discussing the possible impact of this style on Australian politics generally.

Lynch and Reavell (1997) present a history of the term 'political correctness'. They explain how it is that this originally judicial term has been used and misused by various social groups over time to become the pejorative expression it now tends to be. In so doing, they successfully highlight the difficulties that the Howard government faces in dealing with the politically incorrect Hanson, given that her position often bears an uncomfortable resemblance to his own.

Immigration is tackled by Atchison (1997). Rather than addressing Hanson's policy on immigration specifically, Atchison (1997: 101-102) chooses to illuminate the debate by discussing the three discourses he has identified in relation to it—the 'long range' view based on history and population projections; the institutional discourse of immigration policies and the academic discourse regarding immigration issues. Atchison (1997: 112) emphasises the untapped potential that the academic discourse about immigration has for informing policy and historical discourses, in order to

promote meaningful discussion and indeed understanding of, immigration 'in light of the Hanson statements'.

The collection also has a section that discusses the effect of PHON on Australia's relationship with Asia. von Stokirch and Low-O'Sullivan (1997) present a discussion that offers an explanation for the Howard response to Hanson on the issue of Asian immigration, and the treatment of that by the Asian media. von Stokirch and Low-O'Sullivan (1997: 127) conclude that clearly, the federal government's failure to actively oppose Hanson's stance on immigration has come at a cost, and was motivated by an ill-considered intention to wait until 'the popularity of some of her proposals had been tested and confirmed in the public domain'.

Hanson's economic policy is dealt with by Moore (1997: 50) who refers to it as 'economic nationalism'. It is Moore's (1997: 50) contention that Hanson's appeal, at least in part, can be attributed to the fact that 'many mainstream Australians' feel a sense of 'betrayal' and 'deep resentment towards what has been done in the name of the so-called free market'. Moore efficiently examines economic issues in terms of One Nation and the current and previous federal government's economic policy.

Hughes (1997) offers an insightful assessment of Pauline Hanson's One Nation's electoral fortunes (prior to the Queensland state election), while Ellison and Deutchman (1997), speculate on Hanson's prospects giving special consideration to her gender. It is Ellison and Deutchman's (1997: 141) assertion that Hanson's inevitable demise will be orchestrated by the men of the far Right, '...these men of the far Right don't tolerate a woman at all well'.

The significance of the Hanson phenomenon is interpreted by Archer (1997: 88) in 'symbolic and mythical terms', the use of which he emphases in the formulation and analysis of political discourse. In this instance he applies his analysis to the reactions to Hansonism, particularly by the Prime Minister John Howard. Archer (1997) regards Howard's pragmatic approach as a failure to fully appreciate the profound effect of the symbolism of the likes of Wik or the Report on the Stolen Generation. In a similar vein, Phillips (1997) is interested in the ramifications of the intensity of the Hanson debate, which he addresses in terms of a discussion of identity.

*Two Nations* (Davidoff 1998) is an anthology of work collected from an eclectic mix of seventeen contributors. Among this group are four political scientists, an anthropologist, an historian, seven journalists plus a photographic essay, a politician, a parliamentary secretary and a former prime minister. As is the case in Grant (1997), there is not an essay included by someone who identifies as a sociologist. Willett (1999a: 440) in his review states that 'all of the names will be familiar and most of the arguments as well'. The efforts of the journalists (Adams 1998; Kelly 1998; Kingston 1998; Sheridan 1998; McGuinness 1999) are predictably lacking in any real analysis, however their observations of the impact of Hanson on the political scene and descriptions of PHON as populist party are consistent with the conclusions reached by many scholarly authors.[30] Meares' (1998) collection of thirteen photographs of Hanson is entertaining enough and perhaps would provide fodder for an interesting exercise in textual analysis. Hanson is depicted, quite sympathetically, with a smiling

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[30] See Grant, B. (1997) *Pauline Hanson: One Nation and Australian Politics*, Armidale: University of New England Press.

female shopper of Asian appearance, scooped up into the arms of a pig farmer, good-naturedly serving up a plate of fish and chips for the camera.

Former Liberal Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser's (1998: 48) article takes the opportunity to attack racism and to call for a bipartisan approach to oppose 'the obscenity of racism'. Goot (1998) analyses Morgan Poll data to reveal the demographic characteristics of PHON voters—male, blue collar, rural or regional residency, likes to watch commercial television, older rather than younger. Goot (1998: 72 ) wisely cautions, however, against constructing 'identikit' picture of the PHON voter, given the tremendous variation that can occur outside of the modal category.

The third edited collection for review is *The Rise and Fall of One Nation* (Leach et al. 2000). It is composed of fourteen chapters, all written by academics with one exception the 'Hanson, A Murri Perspective' by Sam Watson (2000). According to the 'List of Contributors' (Leach et al. 2000: xi), Watson is a member of the Biri-Gubba and Munnenjarl nations—he is a writer, film maker and activist for Aboriginal rights. Peter Jull (2000) examines the Hanson attitude to Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders by analysing Hanson's controversial Letter to the Editor in the *Queensland Times* (see Appendix 1) and also Hanson's Maiden Speech to Parliament. Very valid sources of data, but Jull's (2000) analysis is limited to his particular issue of interest—Indigenous matters.

Goot (2000) again makes an interesting contribution to the collection, this time discussing the extent to which the media is responsible for the Hanson phenomenon.

Three theories are evaluated (Goot 2000: 115)—that Hanson was fuelled by the sheer volume of publicity afforded her; that the more the elites attacked Hanson in the media, the more support was mobilised in her favour; that it wasn't down to these media critics, but rather attributable to media support in the form of that genre of radio entertainment, the 'shock-jocks' that are responsible. Goot (2000: 127) concludes that while each theory may have something to offer debates concerning the rise of Hansonism, their explanatory power is limited.

Clive Bean (2000) provides an analysis of the Australian Election Survey 1998 in order to report on the level of support PHON achieved in the 1998 Federal election. Demographic characteristics of PHON voters are presented resulting in a profile that suggests that men are twice as likely to vote for PHON than are women and are aged between middle and old age—the eldest voters being the least likely to vote for PHON.

Leach (2000) explores the 'identity rhetoric' evident in the discourse of PHON and concludes that it is symbolic of Australian identity and that it is racist by nature. Leach (2000) acknowledges the appeal to nostalgia inherent in the material he analysed and discusses the 'aboriginal question' in some detail. My concern with this chapter is the source of the text analysed in that he has relied almost exclusively on the content of *The Truth* (Hanson 1997). Leach (2000) attributes authorship of this document to the Pauline Hanson Support Group, however, the publication bears Hanson's name. The truth is that the authorship of *The Truth* has never been satisfactorily resolved. It is regarded as unlikely that Hanson wrote any of it, and that it is likely that the term 'Support Group' is closer to the reality. The point is that it is

usually better to seek out documentation for analysis that is not accompanied by doubts regarding its origin and therefore its authenticity—or at least to acknowledge that this is the case upfront.

Stokes (2000) writes about PHON and populism—he also draws upon *The Truth* (Hanson 1997) to illustrate his point of view, and also cites examples of Hanson's pronouncements from newspaper reports. Once again, in terms of textual analysis, these sources are acceptable, if not comprehensive. Still on the theme of the character and origins of PHON, Rae Wear (2000) has produced a very satisfying piece that traces the history of right-wing populist groups in Queensland by concentrating on the three most prominent—the League of Rights, the Citizens' Electoral Councils and the Confederate Action Party. Wear (2000: 69,70) concludes that PHON is not a 'novelty', that the right wing tradition is not new, and that the major parties must come to terms with that fact—particularly the National Party in Queensland.

The effect of Hanson on Australia's international reputation is dealt with by Marianne Hanson (2000). Hanson (2000) asserts that the importance of Australia maintaining a good reputation on the international stage should not be underestimated and she offers a critique of the Howard government for not seeking to actively redress the damage done at the time.

Overall this collection is strong and its contributors capitalise well on the benefit of hindsight concerning the results of the 1998 Federal Election at both the national and state levels.

The review of these three books gives an overview of the form, quality and depth of the bulk of the literature associated with Hansonism. The next section discusses other significant material that relate to the two central propositions of the thesis—that understanding of the mechanism of appeal of PHON can be significantly augmented by examining the PHON discourse and that rather than creating the audience, PHON simply resonated with those who already had an affinity for the PHON stance in relation to a number of key issues.

## Significant Works

Political scientists have focused on analysing the Australian Election Study 1998 data in similar ways, depending on how they have framed their research. This data-set has been supplemented with Australian Constitutional Referendum Survey 1999 data and in some cases Australian Bureau of Statistics data (1996 Census) or market research data (Morgan or Newspol) (Goot 1998; Bean 2000; McAllister and Bean 2000; Goot and Watson 2001a; Goot and Watson 2001b). Jonathan Kelley (2001) analysed the 1999/2000 International Social Science Surveys Australia (IsssA) and effectively presents evidence in the form of Feeling Thermometers to make his case. Collectively these studies seek to explain PHON by identifying the typical characteristics of a PHON voter so that the social and economic circumstances of that group may be extrapolated. Therefore if we consider the profiles described in the previous section (Goot 1998; Bean 2000), attributes of PHON voters included lower levels of education, semi-skilled or unskilled occupations or unemployment, that is the economically marginalised.[31] However, there seems to be general agreement amongst

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[31] For interesting alternative view that measures voter support for PHON geographically see Davis, R. & Stimson, R. (1998) 'Disillusionment and disenchantment at the fringe: explaining the geography of the One Nation Party at the Queensland election', *People and Place*, 6: 69  And another using spatial modelling, Brennan, G. & Mitchell, N. (1999) 'The logic of spatial politics: The 1998 Queensland Election', *Australian Journal of Political Science*, 34: 379.

the authors of these quantitative studies that the variable with the most explanatory power regarding support by voters for PHON is attitudes to immigrants and Aborigines. That is to say, issues of race and ethnicity, including multiculturalism.[32]

The issues of race, ethnicity and migration are approached differently by Jeannette Money (1999). The impact of 'xenophobia and xenophilia' on the PHON vote is assessed by Money (1999:19). This is achieved by measuring PHON support by electoral division in the 1998 federal election and by focusing on immigrant electoral behaviour. It is Money's (1999) contention that the non-xenophobic voting behaviour of immigrants has a damping down effect on the expression of xenophobic traits in the voting behaviour of non-immigrants.

Another point of consensus identified in the literature concerns agreement in the academic community and amongst commentators in the popular media, that PHON exhibits characteristics of a populist political party. This thesis clearly agrees with this assertion, however little empirical evidence is presented in the literature to support the claim.

Another aspect of the literature is work that focuses on examples of PHON discourse such as *The Truth* (Hanson 1997)—as did Stokes (2000), Bohill (1997) and Melleuish (1997) or on Hanson's Maiden Speech to parliament. Jull (2000: 208), Archer (1997: 93) and Nile (1997) refer to the Maiden Speech to illustrate their point in regard to the identification of racist statements within it, but they do not offer a complete analysis of the text.

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[32] See also Gibson, R., McAllister, I. & Swenson, T. (2002) 'The politics of race and immigration in Australia: One Nation voting in the 1998 Election', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 25: 823.

The social psychologist, Mark Rapley (1998), has focused on Hanson's Maiden Speech as the unit of analysis for a study of political rhetoric, as has Sean Scalmer (1999) in his discussion of the Maiden Speech as a 'Founding Event' and Adam Shoemaker (1997) who reads Hanson as a throwback from the Australia of the 1950s.

Of these works, it is Rapley's (1998) that most inspires this thesis. Rapley (1998) is interested in exploring the way political rhetoric can play on emotions and how the speaker defines, categorises, or constructs their self-identity as it is central to the process of mass social influence. Rapley's (1998) analysis of Hanson's Maiden speech finds that the key to understanding her appeal has to do with the way she uses 'ordinary talk' to appeal to 'ordinary Australians'. Specifically Rapley (1998: 325) examines the way in which Hanson self-categorises in order to construct a version of herself that exemplifies 'ordinary Australian-ness' (sic). Rapley notes that this is a rhetorical device that facilitates feelings of identification with her in people with whom her message resonates. Thus Rapley's (1998) conceptualisation of self-categorisation has something in common with the Adornian rhetorical device known as 'the great little man' where the speaker castes themselves as being just like a member of the audience with a unifying effect. Adorno (2000) places this device in the section he termed *The Personal Element: Self Characterisation of the Agitator*.

**Review Summary**

This review of the literature demonstrates that the three most frequently asked questions by researchers in regard to PHON are who voted for Hanson, why did they vote for her, and whose fault is it that a right wing populist could attract such support.

Findings by a number of political scientists, but most notably Goot (Goot 1998; Goot and Watson 2001a; Goot and Watson 2001b), Bean (Bean et al. 1997; Bean 2000) and McAllister (McAllister and Bean 2000) and their associates profile PHON voters who are suffering economically at the grass-roots level because of globalising change and that this change is due largely to the economic rationalist policies of governments under the present and previous two or three prime ministers Another side effect of globalisation has been a perceived increase in the number of migrants and an increased awareness of human rights issues, which have highlighted Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander affairs such as land rights (Jakubowicz 1997a; Jackman 1998; Jakubowicz 1998; Watson 2000). There is evidence that there is a consensus among public intellectuals and media social/political commentators as to the characteristics of the PHON support base and there is also a case for suggesting the majority of this group reject the PHON platform. The exceptions are the 'shock-jocks' of talk-back radio who are regarded as PHON friendly (Goot 2000). Eva Cox (1998) advances this view a little further by suggesting that these social changes have stimulated increasing distrust in government.

Proof of Hanson's racist agenda has been derived largely from a very small number of textual sources of varying quality. Few have been conducted using rigorous research methods. Further, many studies describe PHON as populist and a few seek to locate PHON within a context of Australian populism (Wells 1997; Wear 2000), or regard it as symptomatic of a surge of right-wing populism across the developed world (Johnson 1998). However I was unable to locate a study in the literature that was inclusive of all of these factors and examines how they coalesce in order to achieve an in-depth understanding of how populist political rhetoric can galvanise 'sleepers'. By

sleepers I mean people who harbour unfashionable political views, but who for the most part, quietly allow themselves to be carried along by the tidal movement of the existing major parties. However, they tend to find themselves stranded in the littoral zone of the political shoreline—that place on the sand that is exposed to the air and light when the tide is out, but under water when it comes in. Populist leaders throw them a life preserver that unfortunately tends not to stay afloat for extended periods of time.

## Conclusion

The previous five chapters serve to construct a scaffold of background information that supports the research that follows. Populism as a concept and political style has been explored internationally and nationally. The origins of The Frankfurt School and a brief biography of Adorno follow to illustrate the parallels between his experiences of right-wing populism and the conditions under which the object of his study, Martin Luther Thomas, emerged are described. A synoptic biography of Pauline Hanson and the genesis of her Party have been presented to provide a context in which to place the emergence of PHON in terms of Australian politics and to promote understanding of the response PHON evoked from the majority of academics, commentators and indeed voters. As was illustrated in this chapter, it is unlikely that any other neophyte politician in Australian history, been the motivation for such a diverse, and intense response from so many different quarters. It is interesting to note that despite the brevity of Hanson's career, three essentially biographical accounts of Pauline Hanson were produced between 1997 and 1999— Dodd (1997) and Pasquarelli (1998) and one that earns a mention in a the thesis via a footnote only is an account of Hanson's

1998 federal election campaign by Margo Kingston (1999) cleverly entitled *Off the*

*Rails: The Pauline Hanson Trip.*

The next chapter outlines how the two different streams of the analysis—that is the

identification of themes and rhetorics flow together to enable the frame analysis to

take place. This textual analysis

## Chapter Seven

# TRICKS AND DEVICES: APPLYING ADORNO AND IDENTIFYING THEMES

## Introduction

Thus far the thesis has presented contextual information that has been running in a parallel fashion while the stories of the two main elements of the thesis have been appraised—the populist politician Pauline Hanson and the political climate in which PHON thrived. The underpinnings of rhetorical and frame analysis have also been presented. This exercise has been necessary in order to lay the foundations for the analysis to follow. The other building blocks have been the descriptions of the emergence of populism as an international occurrence and how that informs discussions of Hanson's place in politics and Adorno's potential utility in terms of explaining this phenomenon. The literature that has been reviewed reveals that research methods used to investigate PHON to this juncture may largely be accounted for by classifying them as either quantitative survey analyses, or interpretative studies that are rather spare. The analysis that follows is therefore innovative in its depth and comprehensiveness.

The rhetorical analysis identifies not only how applicable Adorno's typology is to this case, but also the particular devices used by Hanson to transmit her political message to those whose antennae had been bristling with anticipation, waiting for the right messenger to respond to. The analysis also reveals which issues have been broadcast in this manner.

## The Manifesto Exposed

One of the aims of the thesis is to gauge the utility of Adorno's rhetorical devices. The exclusion of these categories should not be seen as a failure of the whole Gallery of Tricks and Devices. The first two categories of devices (The Personal Element and Thomas' Method) are generic enough to be applied in the study of PHON. The Religious Medium and the Ideological Bait categories of devices are overly specific. Adorno has formulated the devices in these categories specifically to study the nature of populist political discourse in the 1930s. In the Australian situation, the analysis of the discourse of PHON does not reveal anti-Semitism. However, it does reveal an irrational ethno-centrism and a negative view of Indigenous Australians and Asian immigrants.

In order to identify PHON's mechanism of appeal, data was required that allowed access to the discourse of the party and therefore its public face. Documents and transcripts generated by PHON and produced in Pauline Hanson's name were deemed to be the most valid source of this type of material. An archive of PHON's media releases and transcripts of public speeches was located on the PHON website[33], as were extracts from the Weekly House Hansard. This is the official printed report of the debates and proceedings of the Australian parliament. All documents retrieved from these sources covering the time period from Pauline Hanson's parliamentary Maiden Speech in September 1996 through to her defeat in October 1998, were included in the analysis (see Table 3 for summary and Appendix 3 for complete

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[33] PHON website http://www.gwb.com.au/gwb/news/onenation/html accessed 31/07/97

listing of documents).

| Public Speeches | Parliamentary Speeches | Media Releases | Total Number of Documents |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| 5 (4.3%) | 17 (14.6%) | 94 (81%) | 116 (100%) |

Table 3: Summary of documents analysed

Though the parliamentary speeches are far fewer in number than the media releases, and the public speeches fewer still, inclusion of the speeches allows for a comparison to be made between pronouncements that were delivered to a 'live audience', (e.g. parliament or at a public rally), as opposed to those that were produced for the media. The speeches occur in arenas of differing degrees of formality and congeniality. The media releases may or may not have been used by either the print or electronic media.

**Public Speeches**

These documents represent the five public speeches delivered by Pauline Hanson that were posted on the PHON website[34]. Pauline Hanson gave many more public speeches, but verbatim transcripts of these are not readily available. Those speeches for which transcripts are not available were not ignored by the website builders— rather commentaries of the events are presented which include extensive praise for Hanson and withering appraisals of any anti-Hanson protestations. Accompanying

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[34] The list of public speeches available is contained in Appendix 3.

these reports are photographs of Hanson at the lectern and mingling with her supporters.

The first of these speeches took place at Ipswich Queensland in Hanson's electorate of Oxley on the occasion of the launch of Pauline Hanson's One Nation Party 11/04/97. It is a very emotional speech that attacks political correctness, multiculturalism, the media, the government, indigenous people and migrants. Approximately a month later, Hanson delivered a similar message to an audience in Newcastle, New South Wales. The content of this speech also included very specific references to the problem of increasing unemployment in the area due to changes in the structure of a significant employer, BHP. Hanson blames the government and the former Labor government for the problem. They are described as colluding with multinationals at the expense of Australian people. The following July, a rally was held for the launch of the Gold Coast, Queensland branch of PHON. Again high levels of negativity were expressed. Particular emphasis was placed on ABSTUDY (a program to assist Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people access education). The program was described as being divisive, racist and inequitable. Hanson frequently called for the abolition of government programs that are designed to assist indigenous people. Two months later in October 1997, Hanson spoke at the Prosper Australia Rally, Brisbane Queensland. The next speech for which a transcript was available was in Longreach. This event took place nearly a year later. The content of both of these speeches as presented in the transcripts was consistent with the other three orations.

Rallies, fundraisers and branch launches for which transcripts could not be obtained were held in all the state capital cities. A branch launch also took place in the nation's

capital, Canberra. These events also took place in many regional centres around the country from Ulverstone in Northern Tasmania to Queanbeyan, Australian Capital Territory, to far North Queensland during the three-year period from September 1996 until October 1998.

## Parliamentary Speeches

The seventeen parliamentary speeches analysed here were not Hanson's only contribution to parliament. The other instances where Hanson contributed to proceedings are in the form of 'questions without notice'. As such they are directed at particular ministers regarding an aspect of their portfolio. The Speaker of the House allocates questions and given that only forty-five minutes is allocated at a sitting to questions, a member may or may not have the opportunity to ask a question they have composed. The decision to exclude questions from the analysis was based upon the fact that they largely represent dialogue between the members of the House. These exchanges are usually brief and not necessarily dominated by the object of study. Questions to a member are frequently provoked by their speeches or statements to parliament or by statements made publicly outside of the parliament (Tiffen 1989). Therefore it is unlikely that significant issues would be overlooked by not analysing such interactions. Issues addressed in the parliamentary speeches were discerned from the discourse analysis. The parliamentary speeches are more formal and they tend to be less emotive than the public speeches. Due to the nature of the parliamentary process, members are often constrained in terms of the issues they discuss. This is because most speeches given are in response to issues before the house that are proposed by the government (see Appendix 3).

## Media Releases

Whether or not a media release is utilised by any form of the media depends largely on its timing in relation to competing news, and the degree of interest there is in the topic or the amount of controversy associated with the issue addressed (Tiffen 1989: 74-75). Each media release is a brief statement usually addressing one issue. They are often quite emotional in tone. The issues covered are very diverse. An insight into the extent of this diversity is easily discerned by a perusal of the titles e.g. *Unlike Cheryl, I will not be sleeping with the enemy (22/10/97); Hanson calls for candidates for One Nation (30/10/97); You can count the good guys on one hand (30/10/97).* A complete list of the media releases comprising the data set is provided in Appendix 3.

Adorno does not analyse texts that are comparable to modern media or press releases.

## Data Analysis

The documents in each category were assigned an identification number based on the date of its delivery. The content of each document was then coded by simply numbering each sentence sequentially. The Adornian rhetorical devices were applied on the basis of several re-readings of the documents. The documents were closely scrutinised for the presence or absence of the array of devices described by Adorno. The data produced by this analysis was recorded in spreadsheet format.

For each of the 116 documents, a count was made of the frequency of each of the devices. Fifteen devices were used in this coding exercise. Six of the devices identified by Adorno were collapsed into one device. This modification of the coding

scheme was undertaken in accordance with Adorno's (2000) observation that the last six devices of Thomas' Method are sub-categories of the 'If you only knew' device[35]. The mean frequency of usage was calculated for each device across the three document types—public speeches, parliamentary speeches, media releases. The weighted means for each device overall was calculated by summing the means and dividing by 3 (number of document types). It is these weighted means that are reported in Table Six.

The usage of devices within documents is counted by each instance of the device. When a device is identified, it counts as one, regardless of the number of sentences it is comprised of. Single sentences may be components of more than one device. In that way, devices may 'overlap'. For example, the emotional release device was used 25 times in the 5 public speeches, 10 times in 17 parliamentary speeches and 9 times in the 94 media releases. Thus the mean occurrence of this device for each type of document analysed was 25 / 5 = 5.00, 10 / 17 = 0.60 and 9 / 94 =0.10 respectively. Note that the means have been rounded off to two decimal places. From these calculations, the overall weighted mean for each device can be calculated by dividing the sum of the means for a particular device by the number of document types. Hence, for this example, the mean occurrence of emotional release is the sum of 5.0, 0.6 and 0.1 divided by 3 (the number of types of document), which provides a weighted mean of 1.9. This weighted mean then allows the devices to be ranked in order of their relative frequency of usage in the texts of PHON. The results are presented in Table 4.

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[35] See Chapter 3 page 42.

**Table 4: Device Frequencies by Type of Document**

| Rank | Device | Public Speech (5) | Parliamentary Speech (17) | Media Release (94) | Weighted x |
|------|--------|-------------------|---------------------------|--------------------|------------|
| 1 | If You Only Knew | 5.0 | 1.4 | 0.7 | **2.4** |
| 2 | Emotional Release | 5.0 | 0.6 | 0.1 | **1.9** |
| 3 | Unity | 5.0 | 0 | 0.1 | **1.7** |
| 3 | Democratic Cloak | 5.0 | 0 | 0.06 | **1.7** |
| 5 | Great Little Man | 1.8 | 0.2 | 0.3 | **0.8** |
| 6 | Human Interest | 1.6 | 0 | 0.4 | **0.7** |
| 7 | Good Old Time | 1.6 | 0.2 | 0.1 | **0.6** |
| 8 | Messenger | 0 | 1.1 | 0.4 | **0.5** |
| 9 | Flight-of-Ideas | 1.0 | 0.05 | 0 | **0.4** |
| 10 | Lone Wolf | 0.2 | 0.5 | 0.09 | **0.3** |
| 10 | Persecuted Innocence | 0 | 0.6 | 0.1 | **0.3** |
| 10 | Indefatigability | 0.6 | 0.2 | 0 | **0.3** |
| 11 | Movement | 0.4 | 0 | 0.1 | **0.2** |
| 12 | Fait Accompli | 0.2 | 0 | 0 | **0.1** |
| 13 | Listen to Your Leader | 0 | 0 | 0 | **0** |
| | **x** | **1.7** | **0.3** | **0.2** | |

Weighting was necessary in order to allow comparisons to be made regarding the degree to which Hanson used each of the devices, as the difference in the sample sizes of the three types of document was so large. It is interesting to note that I found that to interrogate the textual data in this way had the effect of damping down the affective components of it. This in turn assisted in the maintenance of some personal distance from the text. The excerpts included in the thesis should help the reader to appreciate how provocative much of the material is—it has the capacity to stimulate both anger and amazement and sometimes amusement in the reader.

In order to assess the level of reliability of the application of Adorno's (2000) typology, an independent assessment of a sample of documents was commissioned. A Masters candidate from another discipline who is familiar with content analysis but not the substantive topic of research analysed a public speech, a parliamentary speech and four media releases. The level of inter-rater reliability was high and consistent for prevalence of devices and for identification of rhetorical devices.

As Table 6 demonstrates, the most commonly used device overall is from the Thomas' Method category (TM category) — If You Only Knew ($1^{st}$). The second most commonly used device was from the Personal Element: Self-Characterisation category (PE category), and is the Emotional Release Device ($2^{nd}$). Unity and Democratic Cloak ($3^{rd}$) both from TM category are followed by the Great Little Man ($5^{th}$) of the PE category, as is the Human Interest ($6^{th}$) and Good Old Time ($7^{th}$) devices. As we move down the list there are diminishing differences in levels of usage

of the devices. The Listen to Your Leader device of the TM category was not detected in any of the documents.

The results also show that Hanson was far more likely to use rhetorical devices of the kind explicated by Adorno (2000) at public rallies than in parliamentary speeches or media releases. In fact Hanson is approximately five times more likely to employ the Adornian rhetorical devices in public interactions than in the other contexts. In terms of the public speeches, four devices were used with equal frequency: Emotional Release, Unity, Democratic Cloak and If You only Knew. The most frequently used device in the parliamentary speeches and in the media releases was the If You Only Knew device.

The following discussion is organised according to the frequency with which each rhetorical device was used. Excerpts are provided from each document type as appropriate, and are identified for the reader in terms of date (yy/mm/dd) and type (parl=parliamentary speech, public=public speech and media=media release). The category of origin is also indicated—self=The Personal Element: Self-Characterisation, method=Thomas' Method. Sentences that are linked by an arrow (→) are indicative of the fact that they flowed that way in the original document. This also indicates that in the content analysis, this paragraph would have been counted as one instance of a device. Where there is no arrow connecting text the reader may assume that is because the sentence is presented alone, though it is from the same document, and would have been counted as one instance. It should be noted that spelling and grammatical errors have not been corrected from the original.

*1. If You Only Knew* (method): This device is the most frequently used in each of the document types. Adorno (2000) saw it as serving to identify the enemy—'them', often vague and faceless but omnipresent. For PHON this group is composed of other politicians, multiculturalists, internationalists, academics—in other words, the elite.

**097.04.11 Launch of One Nation (public)**

- Ladies and Gentlemen, chances are fleeting, they must be held tightly, and so tonight more than celebration, is a time for resolve, for if we fail, all our fears will be realised, and we will lose our country forever, and be strangers in our own land. →

- As it stands, the future is one where the majority of Australians will become second class citizens in their own country, under a government who panders to minority interests and denies the majority their right of decision. →
- This is already happening.

- The few politicians who care enough to recognise the situation will not speak out, because the politically correct multiculturalists, and sections of the media will call them names, their colleagues will distance themselves, and their party will destroy them. →
- In my own case, when I said what we all know to be the truth, the Liberal Party disendorsed me, and used me as an example to others of what will happen if you break ranks and speak the truth.

- The truth is frightening, and must not be spoken, because the truth is:- →
- In 1961, unemployment stood at 2.6%, and yet in 1996, even after creative accounting it was 8.4%.→
- Today it is even higher, despite the promises of the current government. →
- There are at least 1.5 million Australians out of work. →

- But these real figures are hidden by the method used to calculate unemployment, because if you work one hour a week, you are considered to have a job.

- Will the government then import even basic crops, perhaps rice, to get us more used to it? →
- Think of the difference some of the more than Au$30 Billion given to ATSIC would have made if used to help Australian farmers, rather than being unaccountably squandered, with no apparent improvement to the plight of indigenous Aborigines.

- The years of band aid policies and questionable objectives have left us with a great deal to do. →
- The interests of the Australian people, and the future of our country must be determined by Australians themselves, not by the governments of other countries, and not by the United Nations, and not by trade agreements that benefit everybody except us. →
- We must recognise the truth, and no longer allow ourselves to be imperilled by governments whose sole objective is re-election, at any price, to stay in power, at any price, not for our benefit, but for their own. ·

## 097.05.30 (public) Newcastle Speech

- Tonight's exercise in freedom of speech is costing us $16,500. →
- Tonight's exercise in freedom of speech has required the protection of 350 police. →
- Tonight's exercise in freedom of speech has drawn protesters from all over the country, and include one particularly unsavoury group who follow me everywhere, a socialist group called Resistance.

- You might ask if we are so wealthy where is all the money going, and if we are to be Asianised who is it that stands to gain, us or them? →
- What will the union leaders do as in the sense Australia is pushed closer and closer culturally and financially to adopting the practices of our Asian neighbours? →
- What will the union leaders do as Asianisation is forced upon us? →

- If we are to become part of Asia how long will it be before Australian workers are forced to compete for jobs with Asian conditions and Asian wages? →
- How long have the interests of the Australian worker been corrupted by Labor's leaders?

- What was happening to your wages and your standard of living while Hawke and Keating were running the country and becoming multi-millionaires at the same time?
- The people of Newcastle are stuck with the fact that the Liberal Party won't try very hard because they know they can't win this seat, and the Labor Party won't try very hard because they don't think they can lose this seat.

## 097.10.04 Prosper Australia Rally (public)

- You can be certain the various communist groups and their allies in the ACTU have been doing this for a long time.
- The movements behind the rabble out front here today honed their skills abusing and assaulting our diggers as they returned to what should have been a heroes' welcome.

- It is worth noting one Sydney Newspaper's report which cited that while this bullying and bickering was going on, our foreign debt rose 765 million, 540 small businesses went broke, 1500 full-time jobs disappeared, 60 women died of breast cancer and 58 Australians committed suicide.
- Ask what the Liberals and Labor are doing. →

- I can tell you they are doing nothing other than looking after themselves and their pensions.

### 098.09.11 Longreach Speech (public)

- In August 1997 the House of Representatives Standing Committee on Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Affairs considered that:
- The new form of regional self-government coming into affect in 1999 for the Indigenous Inuit in Northern Canada offered a possible international model.
- Indeed the process of creation of the new Inuit Territory of Nunavut has some similarities with developments in the Torres Strait region.
- I highlighted this report in the House of Representatives but the government denied its existence and I was ridiculed by the Prime Minister who said I was, verging on the deranged.

### 096.09.10 (parl) Maiden Speech

- We now have a situation where a type of reverse racism is applied to mainstream Australians by those who promote political correctness and those who control the various taxpayer funded 'industries' that flourish in our society servicing Aboriginals, multiculturalists and a host of other minority groups.
- In response to my call for equality for all Australians, the most noisy criticism came from the fat cats, bureaucrats and the do-gooders.

### 096.12.10 (parl) Migration Legislation Amendment Bill (No.3)

- Migrant crime gangs have flourished over the last 20 years, with drugs and money laundering, something we rarely used to hear about.
- The New South Wales Police Commissioner, Peter Ryan, recently arrived from Britain, was only pointing out the obvious when he said that New South Wales crime is horrific with strong links to ethnic groups.

- Of course, the professional multiculturalists, both Labor and Liberal, do not want this said, even though it is common knowledge.

## 097.11.18 (parl) Migration Legislation Amendment (Strengthening Provisions relating to Character and Conduct)

- The Australian people are suffering terribly from the mismanagement of past and present governments and are tired of the intolerable waste of public money on foreign miscreants and parasites who, in many cases, receive better clothing, food, housing and legal aid than the law abiding taxpayers footing the bills.
- As the following examples demonstrate, the good nature and generosity of the Australian people have been shamelessly exploited by criminals and the legal vultures whose profiteering makes a mockery of our immigration and legal system.
- Australian taxpayers recently funded an action by a convicted sex offender to win the right to stay in Australia permanently on the grounds that he was a person of good character.

## 096.12.16 (media) Hanson welcomes electorate spending probe

- Mr Jull might like to investigate claims that have been made to me by members of the public of MPs running their own businesses out of their electorate offices, political parties being run almost entirely at taxpayers' expense from electorate offices, jobs for Party officials posing as staffers, and a myriad of other alleged abuses of the system that have been brought to my notice, Ms Hanson said.
- I have been told of cases where it has been alleged that not a single penny of electorate allowance is spent on electorate business by certain MPs, and all of these allegations probably are based on a much truth as these pathetic attempts at revenge that I am being subjected to at the moment.

**097.08.12 (media) Australia cannot afford loan to Thailand**

- It is clear Japan has a considerable stake in Thailand and therefore it is in their interests to mobilise various aid organisations to bail out the Thai economy, but the benefit for Australia being involved is highly questionable.

- It the Australian government can find $1.35 billion to loan Thailand then most Australians would question this happening at a time when many of our own people are in dire need of help.


- Our own people suffer from continually growing unemployment with youth unemployment in particular at an all time high and many turning to substance abuse and crime.

- Despite these and many other local problems, our selectivity philanthropic government, that cannot create a single job, is going to make this huge loan which may never be repaid and simply quietly written off somewhere down the track.


**098.01.21 (media) The MAI**

- Today's press conference is more than just a matter of news, it is a very serious matter of national interest and it is only through yourselves that Australians can be effectively informed of the treacherous nature of their government's intentions to sign away the future of Australia by selling us out completely.

- The Multilateral Agreement on Investment (MAI) is the brainchild of the OECD and is an attack on everything Australian.

- In fact it poses the same threat to many countries and various groups around the world are conducting their own fight just as we must.

- Currently, the government is negotiating the treaty in secret and it is expected to be ready for signature in April or May this year.

This device has particular appeal for those who harbour a distrust of politicians and their motivations. The impression given is that scandal permeates the Government's treatment of 'the people' and of Hanson. The Government is regarded as being a self-serving interest group that is ruining ordinary people financially by allowing

unemployment to run unchecked and by pandering to the interests of minority groups such as Asians and Aboriginals. The flames of fear are fanned by this device as it is revealed that the Government cannot be trusted, Australia is being sold out to the OECD (Organisation for the Economic Cooperation and Development) via the Multilateral Agreement on Investment. The emotionalism discussed in the next device, Emotional Release, is often apparent when If You Only Knew is used.

*2. Emotional Release* (self): Of all the devices I found this to be the most awkward as it is difficult to pin down in just a sentence or two. All of the public speeches were permeated with a sense of emotionalism. However an effort was made to dissect particular examples out—often these excerpts could also be interpreted as examples of other devices. The device categories are not mutually exclusive. This device was often apparent when the speaker asked questions of the audience, stirring them to participate and express themselves.

### 097.04.11 Launch of One Nation (public)
- My friends, my constituents of Oxley, my fellow Australians, tonight there is cause for celebration.
- We, all of us here tonight, and millions of people across Australia can celebrate, at last there is the chance for change.
- The chance to finally rid ourselves of the inequity that has grown from years of political correctness, where we have not been able to speak our mind, or express our views without being called names intended to make us look backward, intolerant or extremist.
- The chance to stand against those who have betrayed our country, and would destroy our identity by forcing upon us the cultures of others. →
- The chance to turn this country around, revitalise our industry, restore our ANZAC spirit and our national pride, and provide employment for all Australians

who have given a fair break would seize the opportunity for a better way of life, for themselves, and for their families. →

- The chance to make sure the Australia we have known, loved and fought to preserve will be inherited intact, by our children, and the generations that follow them.

**097.05.30 Newcastle Speech (public)**
- Your town is a steel town. →

- For you, the making of steel has been a tradition that has been passed down from father to son, and fed local families for generations. →

- Steel is in your blood. →

- How betrayed you must feel as your lives are rusted away by the dollars demanded by shareholders with no regard for the workers who made BHP what it is today.

**098.09.11 Longreach Speech (public)**
- Does an Aborigine who is the same age as I am and was born here as I was, have anymore feel for the land or cherish its beauty and ruggedness more than you and I do? →

- Would an Aborigine fight any harder to defend Australia than you or I would? →

- Does anyone think migrants who have become loyal Australian citizens have less claim or love for this country than someone of Aboriginal descent? →

- We Australians are a people of multi-racial origins but we must stop this division by race. →

- The political bleeding hearts and others who seek to line their pockets through greed will only destroy our nation and our people. →

- They will never make us one by dividing the land into two.

- You cannot claim more attachment to a place because your ancestors were here first.

- You cannot claim a greater sense of belonging because your relative was here before the relative of another.

- You cannot claim to be more Australian than those who have lived here just as long as you have.

- Does an Aborigine who is the same age as I am and was born here as I was, have anymore feel for the land or cherish its beauty and ruggedness more than you and I do?
- Would an Aborigine fight any harder to defend Australia than you or I would?
- Does anyone think migrants who have become loyal Australian citizens have less claim or love for this country than someone of Aboriginal descent?
- We Australians are a people of multi-racial origins but we must stop this division by race.
- The political bleeding hearts and others who seek to line their pockets through greed will only destroy our nation and our people.
- They will never make us one by dividing the land into two.

## 097.07.01 Gold Coast Launch (public)

- Many programmes need to be reviewed, but anyone who has suggested this has been attacked and tagged as a racist and a bigot.
- I say again, Criticism is not racism.
- Does anyone seriously believe it is uniting Australia to spend over 10 million dollars helping new Australians maintain their native language?
- How does this help us to communicate and live together as Australians?
- Is this what multiculturalism is about?
- Who comes up with these ideas?
- Is this what the government should be doing with our taxes?

## 097.10.04 (public) Prosper Australia Rally

- While Korea may have been called the forgotten war Vietnam was certainly the first war where our diggers came home to verbal and physical assault.
- The rampant lunatics of the day called them rapists and murderers.
- They spat on them and hurled red paint at them and even as I say this now I wonder how those brave Australians could ever forgive their country for the way they were treated.

- Perhaps the diggers know the people who treated them like that were not representative of the way Australians think. →
- They were a rabble of mindless creatures who did not deserve to be called Australians, and not unlike their modern day counterparts who have turned out to attack the decent ordinary Australians who chose to come here and listen today.

### 098.06.02 (parl) The UN Draft Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples
- This treaty is a treacherous sell-out of the Australian people.
- It is a document of such social impact it would be unimaginable to most Australians.
- It will tear the heart out of our country and deliver that heart to one of our very smallest minority groups.
- This treaty is the initiative of internationalists with no loyal commitment to our country or the future of our people.

### 098.01.14 (media) It's SUPER how Labor and the Coalition are working together
- I cannot overstate my sense of outrage at these parasites on the public purse who have the hide to put themselves forward as honest representatives of the people.
- Australians will not easily forget this attempted robbery, nor will they forget how these 'so called' representatives work together when the outcome is the lining of their own pockets.

The ability of Hanson to stir up emotions on a grand scale is in no doubt even though this analysis is restricted to texts that are not accompanied by sound or pictures. Nostalgic appeals to the ANZAC spirit, traditional values and Australian identity pepper the public speeches in particular. A live audience of both supporters and detractors is more likely to be receptive to emotionally charged speech, albeit in oppositional tones. Further as Adorno (2000: 4) noted that emotional expression by the leader, encourages or permits, emotional expression by the followers. At the peak of PHON's popularity in the late 1990s, the was a resurgence in the expression of 'politically incorrect' views by members of the public in forums such as talk-back

radio (Singleton et al. 1998), letters to the editor in newspapers (Manne 1998b) and by postings by Hanson supporters on the party website. For Adorno (2000), shared emotion can have a unifying effect on audiences, which augments the impact of the following device.

*3. The Unity Device* (method): It is not surprising that the call to band together and stand united was one of the most prominent of the devices used in the public speeches. It is during these public speeches or public rallies that Hanson is in closest proximity to her audience. This rhetorical device tends to play on anger and fear. Fear for the future of the country should the enemy continue to be successful with their conspiracy to sacrifice Australia and Australian identity to the will of global forces. Anger that the 'powers that be' allow it to be so. Once again, Australian identity is portrayed as being under threat. To survive it must be reclaimed by 'real Australians'. The audience is urged to make a stand and to demonstrate a loyalty to and love of their country. The words are often emotionally stirring and militaristic in tone, with a view to inciting listeners into action. Prompting them to join the party, vote for the candidate, or at least into supporting the solutions offered by the leader. As Adorno (2000) states, the appeal of being as one with like-minded souls, is very powerful and uplifting. When this device is used, the sentences characteristically tend to begin with 'We'.

**097.04.11(public) Launch of One Nation**

- We can win, we can make the difference, we can be the best place, but we must · learn the lessons of the mistakes made by so many other countries.
- We must stop our government repeating these mistakes, before we become like all the other places everyone wants to leave.

- We cannot continue pursuing the failures of multiculturalism.
- We cannot just give away what we all know to be so valuable.
- If you want to live here permanently, you must want to be an Australian.
- We must stand together to make these changes, or eventually be dragged down by the conspiracy of divisiveness that has been encouraged by our governments, and let loose upon the people of Australia without their permission.

- We must stand up.
- We must all pull together.
- We must win this battle, or lose the war.

**098.09.11(public) Longreach Speech**
- We should sit down as a nation and talk through these issues not as Aboriginals and non-Aboriginals, but as Australians.
- We should speak without hate and greed and guilt and not of the past, but with understanding of our need to be one people and the future we must forge together.

**097.07.01 (public) Gold Coast Launch**
- We will fight together against whatever odds are stacked against us and we will win, because we are Australians, and Australians will never give up their country.
- Never have, never will.
- Australians, fellow Queenslanders, thank you for taking the time to hear me this evening.

The interconnectedness of the devices may bolster their rhetorical effect though the arguments are not well developed in terms of fact or rationality. For a receptive audience the devices when combined may be even more persuasive particularly when identifying a target for discontent.

*4. Democratic Cloak* (method): By subverting the official discourse relating to race and multiculturalism, Hanson succeeded in making claims that are essentially

incongruent with democracy. This tendency to redefine democracy to suit the agenda of the party is frequently observed in populist discourse (Canovan 1999). The Democratic Cloak device was manifest in talk about 'reverse racism', pleas for equality and claims that the majority of Australians want this brand of equality.

### 097.04.11 (public) Maiden Speech

- We must remove from our laws and from our actions the instruments of division.
- The Australian constitution allows the Federal Government to make special laws on the basis of race.
- This power, perhaps well intended originally, has been abused by governments and has entrenched reverse discrimination and the misappropriation of taxpayers' funds.
- If we are to truly have equality for all Australians and treat everyone equally, assistance must be on a needs basis.
- We must rid ourselves of policies based on skin colour.
- We must remove the power that allows governments to treat people differently by race and this will mean an amendment to remove the race power clause from section 51 of our Constitution.
- Given the chance, Pauline Hanson's One Nation will initiate a referendum to amend this race based section of the Constitution.

### 097.07.01 (public) Gold Coast Launch

- As I have moved around our vast country, it has been very disturbing to bear witness to the fact that many of the freedoms enjoyed by Australians are more than under threat.
- In particular, freedom of speech and freedom of assembly are under attack from extremists whose 'ends justify the means' approach, must be a concern for all Australians who believe in democracy.
- In the last few weeks there have been many incidents that can only be described as an assault on the Australian way of life.

## 097.05.30 (public) Newcastle Speech

–   We must get across the message that criticism is not racism, that to call for all Australians to be treated equally is not racism, to say that to be considered disadvantaged should be based on individual circumstances, not on race or cultural background, is not racism.

–   None of these things I have called for have anything to do with racism because they do not in anyway infer that one race is superior, rather what they do, and is recognised the successive governments, both Liberal and Labor, have given us policies that have divided Australia.

–   They have given us policies that instead of recognising needs on an individual basis for all Australians, they have singled out certain groups for special benefits.

–   ABSTUDY is a perfect example of a policy that divides us.

–   It puts the case that aboriginals have special problems not faced by other either Australians, but in truth what it does is determine benefits by race rather than individual need.

–   What we need is policies which are not based on race.

–   We need a student assistance program that instead of having particular advantages for Aboriginal Australians, recognise special circumstances relating to disadvantages faced by all Australians.

–   This does not mean that anyone truly in need will lose their benefits.

## 098.09.11 (public) Longreach Speech

–   We must remove from our laws and from our actions the instruments of division.

–   The Australian constitution allows the Federal Government to make special laws on the basis of race.

–   This power, perhaps well intended originally, has been abused by governments and has entrenched reverse discrimination and the misappropriation of taxpayers' funds.

- If we are to truly have equality for all Australians and treat everyone equally, assistance must be on a needs basis.
- We must rid ourselves of policies based on skin colour.
- We must remove the power that allows governments to treat people differently by race and this will mean an amendment to remove the race power clause from section 51 of our Constitution.
- Given the chance, Pauline Hanson's One Nation will initiate a referendum to amend this race based section of the Constitution.

**098.04.09 (media) One Nation – One year on**
- We reject globalisation, mass immigration, the destruction of our industries, the export of our jobs, the sale of Australia and the planned ruination of the rural sector and our standard of living.
- We are proud to be dedicated and patriotic nationalists.

This device assists in eliciting support for one of the most controversial of Hanson's principles: the rejection of multiculturalism, immigration and special programs for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders. Hanson continually and consistently gave voice to mantras of 'criticism is not racism' and 'reverse racism' defending them as a call for equality for all Australians. Adorno (2000) observes that this device may be used to address issues in such a way that previously unacceptable propositions according to the democratic conventions of society may appear reasonable to receptive groups in society.

*5. Great Little Man* (self): With this device Hanson is able to play up to her self-characterisation as being someone that people identify with, somehow weak like them, yet strong enough to prevail in the face of adversity. Adorno (2000) associates this device with leaders such as Hitler, Stalin as well as Martin Luther Thomas. When

deemed necessary, each presented an image that suggested that their only interest in public life was to benefit people.

## 096.09.10 (parl) Maiden Speech

- I do have concerns for my country and I am going to do my best to speak my mind and stand up for what I believe in.
- As an independent I am confident that I can look after the needs of the people of Oxley and I will always be guided by their advice.
- It is refreshing to be able to express my views without having to toe a party line.
- It has got me into trouble on the odd occasion, but I am not going to stop saying what I think.


- I consider myself just an ordinary Australian who wants to keep this great country strong and independent, and my greatest desire is to see all Australians treat each other as equals as we travel together towards the new century.

## 097.04.11 (public) Launch of One Nation

- When the Liberal party sought to silence the truth by disendorsing me, they thought they would finish me.
- They were wrong.
- After my maiden speech when sections of the media, the multiculturalists, and the aboriginal industry tried to portray me as a simple fish and chip shop lady, and an uneducated, uniformed race bigot, they thought they would finish me.
- Now they think I can't do it, they think I don't have your support, they rely on Australians remaining apathetic.
- They think Australians will just lay down and see their country disappear before their eyes.
- Are they right?
- No they are wrong again.
- Because if we let ourselves be stopped now, who will be left to take up the fight?

**097.05.30 (public) Newcastle Speech**

- Well I have a message for Liberal and Labor, there is a new girl on the block, and she intends to give them hell.

**097.07.01(public) Gold Coast Launch**

- Fellow Australians.
- This job, that I suppose in many ways has been thrust upon me, provides a wonderful opportunity to meet decent patriotic Australians who come from all walks of life.
- Ordinary people, just like me.
- They come up to me in the street, in restaurants, at Parliament House, in airports, on aeroplanes and at functions everywhere and they ask to just keep going.

**098.09.11 (public) Longreach Speech**

- I have been dishonestly referred to as a racist and other names just as dishonest and just as ineffective in stopping me from voicing the views of many Australians who have for so long gone unheard and unhelped.

- The names are only political slurs and insults without substance meant to confuse and mask my simple nationalistic message of equality for all Australians and my patriotic desire for us to truly be One People under One Flag living and working together as One Nation.

- Our freedom of speech in Australia had all but gone unless of course your view was approved as politically correct until perhaps in an almost nervous way, I rose to speak the thoughts of many of my fellow Australians.

This device because requires a fine balance between appearing vulnerable, yet tough; ordinary enough to understand, yet special enough to stand up. This device serves to

cast Hanson as 'one of the people'. The speaker appeals to the audience, as they are able to see her as one of them, someone with the same problems and desires. While a hallmark of populist leadership style, this device is used by those seeking to marshal support in diverse fields.

*6. Human Interest* (self): This device overlaps somewhat with *Great Little Man.* It implies the presence of a relationship between the speaker and the people. It suggests a closeness that Adorno (2000) described as good natured, humble and folksy. This device was not identified in the parliamentary speeches. It was four times more likely in public speeches than in media releases.

### 097.04.11 (public) Launch of One Nation

- My friends, my constituents of Oxley, my fellow Australians, tonight there is cause for celebration.
- For all of us here tonight, and millions of people across Australia can celebrate, at last there is the chance for change.
- The chance to finally rid ourselves of the inequity that has grown from years of political correctness, where we have not been able to speak our mind, or express our views without being called names intended to make us look backward, intolerant or extremist.
- The chance to stand against those who have betrayed our country, and would destroy our identity by forcing upon us the cultures of others.

### 097.05.30 (public) Newcastle Speech

- Ladies and Gentlemen, This is not the Australia we grew up in, it is not the Australia so many found when they first decided to make this place their home,

and I will do my best to make sure that the problems we face today will not be the same problems that our children face tomorrow.

**097.07.01 (public) Gold Coast Launch**

- It doesn't really matter where you came from.
- To those of you who love our country as I do, and want to save our country as I do, I say thank you, and I salute you.
- The fight ahead will need us all, for our children and the generations of Australians who follow them, will inherit either our success, or our failure.
- No matter how many threats, no matter how much slander and no matter what lies they tell, they must not stop what we have begun.

**098.09.11 (public) Longreach**

- We Australians are a young people and our nation relatively new when compared to others but our love of this land is as great as anyone's love of their place.

This device functions as a means of strengthening the relationship between Hanson and her supporters by suggesting a high level of closeness and understanding in the relationship between the speaker and the audience. The pronouncements often have an 'us against them' tone which Adorno (2000) describes as being a deliberate fiction of warmth and intimacy.

*7. Good Old Time* (self): This device is described by Adorno (2000) as being related to the *Human Interest* device, but the focus is more on appealing to a desire for tradition and nostalgia. This desire is one that the speaker purports to have in common with the audience. Hanson used this device in her public speeches to the same degree she used the *Human Interest* device. This device was barely represented in the parliamentary speeches or the media releases.

**097.04.11 (public) Launch of One Nation**

- The chance to turn this country around, revitalise our industry, restore our ANZAC spirit and our national pride, and provide employment for all Australians who have given a fair break would seize the opportunity for a better way of life, for themselves, and for their families.

- The chance to make sure the Australia we have known, loved and fought to preserve will be inherited intact, by our children, and the generations that follow them.

- Ladies and Gentlemen, chances are fleeting, they must be held tightly, and so tonight more than celebration, is a time for resolve, for if we fail, all our fears will be realised, and we will lose our country forever, and be strangers in our own land.

**097.10.04 (public) Prosper Australia Rally**

- Fellow Australians, ours is a great Nation.

- Some might say it is not as great as it was, but at least we are not yet at the stage of referring to our country as a 'once great Nation'.

- Australia has a proud history of courage, determination and sacrifice, and there is perhaps no better example than that which is embodied in the spirit of ANZAC.

- While ANZAC in particular relates to the members of the Australian and New Zealand Army Corps who landed at Gallipoli on that terrible and fateful morning of 25 April 1915, we have had a tendency to apply the name ANZAC to all who have served since, because they all carry the spirit and courage of those FIRST ANZACs who carved forever Australia's place in military history.

- The knockers have not yet begun to openly ridicule those who fought at Gallipoli but they are waiting their turn so we must be forever vigilant, and prepared to respond, for the destruction of all that Australians hold dear is well advanced.

- The time will come when the Internationalists, who are like parasites preying on our heritage, will assault the memory of those who served and those who made the ultimate sacrifice for our country.

- It is our responsibility to make sure young Australians do not fall for the politically corrected view of history of the Internationalists.

- My own grandfather was wounded at Gallipoli and while I was not fortunate enough to know him, it is with a great deal of pride I hear the stories of so many who served.
- You can be sure my children will know of their heritage, and the price paid to preserve it.

### 096.12.10 (parl) Migration Legislation Bill (No. 3)
- What are these things that Councillor Seng values about Australia?
- The same things that Australians of Anglo-Celtic and European origin value: a fair go, fighting against corruption and community spirit.
- Along with these goes a commitment to Judaeo-Christian values and ethics, an honest system of justice and government, and education based on English law.
- Councillor Seng said that Australia should stay as it has always been: a free country with a fair go for everyone.

### 097.10.01 (parl) National Firearms Program Implementation Bill
- Australians have always had reasonable access to firearms, and law abiding citizens have always had an understandable expectation that individual ownership would continue, as indeed would the facility for them to pursue their sporting pastime.
- This reasonable expectation has lost ground daily.

*Good Old Time* is often complemented greatly by the Emotional Release device. Longings for another time in history when the ANZAC spirit was born and the country's citizenry was overwhelming Christian and Anglo-Saxon are openly expressed. The irrationality of lusting after a time past is completely glossed over and simplistic methods for turning back the clock are contingent on 'real Australians' taking up the fight.

*8. Messenger* (self): This device casts Hanson as merely the conduit for expressing the will and opinions of the people of Australia in true populist style—The Voice of the People. This device overlapped greatly with the *Unity* and *Human Interest* devices, particularly in the public speeches.

### 096.09.10 (parl) Maiden Speech

- I will fight hard to keep my seat in this place, but that will depend on the people who sent me here.
- Mister Acting Speaker, I thank you for your attention and trust that you will not think me presumptuous if I dedicate this speech to the people of Oxley and those Australians who have supported me.
- I salute them all.

### 096.12.02 (parl) Grievance Debate: Right to Free Speech Multiculturalism

- I am not a racist; I am a realist. →
- A truly multicultural society can never be strong and united. →
- United States President Bill Clinton pointed out when he was in Australia that the world is littered with the bodies of people killed in failed and tragic attempts at multiculturalism. →
- As far as I am concerned, all I am doing is representing fairly the views of the great majority of my constituents. →
- This is part of my responsibility to the people of Oxley.
- I am speaking for everyone who is supporting me. →
- Thousands of people have rung me, spoken to me and rallied to support my views. →
- As a citizen, the right of free speech under the law is fundamental to our nation and way of life.

### 096.12.10 (parl) Migration Legislation Amendment Bill

- Australia is a uniquely tolerant society. →

- Most Australians do not care where you come from as long as you fit in and act like an Australian. →
- This includes learning Australia's common language, English.

**97.10.01 (parl) National Firearms Program Implementation Bill 1997**

- Be assured that the firearm owners of Australia are tired of unwarranted and unjustified interference. →
- They are tired of being used as political scapegoats and of being the victims of United Nations treaties. →
- You can be assured that Australia's firearm owners have adopted the Liberal National coalition slogan because that is exactly how they feel, that enough is enough. →
- Always remember, outlaw firearms and only outlaws will have them.

**097.08.29 (media) Commitment on tariffs means commitment to Australian jobs**

- The Australian people will not stand for more of the government's destructive agenda of globalisation - enough is enough.

The *Messenger* device was found to be connected to the *Great Little Man* device. The people that matter know she is simply a mouthpiece for them and she continues to perform this duty because the people ask her to.

*9. Flight-of-Ideas* (method): This device did not appear in the media releases and was barely visible in the parliamentary speeches. Its use in the public arena was also limited. However its absence may be due to the restrictive way in which Adorno (2000) defines the device[36]. A less restrictive definition may reveal that it is so that Hanson's material is very short on well developed programs though simplistic plans are offered frequently as illustrated in the excerpt below. In essence, this device is about adopting speech content that is extremely vague and negative in tone without ever really making a concrete point. According to Adorno (2000), if the speaker does

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[36] See Chapter 3 page 56 for discussion of the Flight of Ideas device.

not state a clearly formulated solution to a problem, they cannot ever be held responsible for not achieving it.

**097.05.30 (public) Newcastle Speech**
- All we ask is that you do not bring your ancestral problems with you.
- Leave them behind, or this place will become like the place you left.

- When I speak of the problem of Asian gang related crime, in particular, drug trafficking, this does not mean that all Australians of Asian background are criminals and drug traffickers, it simply acknowledges that the majority of these problems come from one section of the community.

*10. Persecuted Innocence* (self): This device was the third least used of the devices. This is related to the way Adorno (2000) defines it. Adorno (2000) asserts that it may be detected when the speaker is being vague about their credentials to do the job. Dim justifications of their ability to represent the people in terms of having political experience or training are offered. While Hanson does her best to differentiate herself from other politicians, she has no qualms about describing her background and limited political experience. On the contrary, Hanson often describes herself in humble terms such as wife, mother and fish and chip shop owner. She wears it as a badge of honour. This device was not detected in the public speeches. Yet, it was more likely to be used in parliament than in the media releases. In the second example, Hanson is demonstrating her difference from other politicians who are only concerned about political point scoring rather than their electoral responsibilities.

**096.09.11 (parl) Maiden Speech**

- Mister Acting Speaker, in making my first speech in this place, I congratulate you on your election and wish to say how proud I am to be here as the Independent member for Oxley. →

- I come here not as a polished politician but as a woman who has had her fair share of life's knocks. →

- My view on issues is based on commonsense, and my experience as a mother of four children, as a sole parent, and as a businesswoman running a fish and chip shop.


**097.03.04 (media) The Magnificent Battle of the Piece of Paper Scorecard**

- Following today's brouhaha regarding the alleged use of a single piece of her electorate letterhead to get an urgent notice to Ipswich City Council, Independent MP for Oxley Pauline Hanson has turned the tables on her accuser, Ald. Paul Tully, saying that his blatantly political point scoring attempted ploy has cost the Australian taxpayer so far $420.41.

- The cost of Ms Hanson's alleged 'sin' is 0.3029 cents (1 sheet of paper: 0.0329c + 1 fax call: 0.27c). On top of five and half hours of time he could have spent dealing with looking after the people of my electorate, my senior adviser has had to spend dealing with this storm in a teacup at a total cost of $201.46, Ms Hanson said.

- I have spent just over one hour directly involved, which I cost out at $38.95.

This device also allows Hanson to demonstrate that she has to battle personal attacks on her integrity by hypocritical accusers.

*11. Indefatigability* (self): This device was not identified in the media releases, but was three times more likely to be used in the public, than in the parliamentary speeches. Yet, to put the data into perspective, the device was approximately eight times less likely to be used than any of the four most commonly used devices in the public speeches. It would seem that Hanson tended to not comment publicly about her workload. Hanson was more likely to mention difficulties created by external forces, or to comment on unsuccessful attempts to wear her down.

**097.04.11 (public) Launch of One Nation**

- When the Liberal party sought to silence the truth by disendorsing me, they thought they would finish me.
- They were wrong.
- After my maiden speech when sections of the media, the multiculturalists, and the aboriginal industry tried to portray me as a simple fish and chip shop lady, and an uneducated, uniformed race bigot, they thought they would finish me.

**097.05.03 (public) Newcastle Speech**

- Ladies and Gentlemen, I cannot begin to describe the difficulties that have been associated with my being here tonight.
- Suffice to say, the protesters, the Newcastle Council, the Labour Party, and I suspect various minority groups and multiculturalists as have done their best to stop me from speaking to you here this evening.
- Clearly, they have failed, but beating them has been a huge cost both in time and money, not to mention the stress for all concerned including the State and Federal Police.
- I certainly hope that the next time I visit Newcastle, we don't face same barriers to freedom of speech we faced on this occasion.

**097.07.01 (public) Gold Coast Launch**

- Ordinary people, just like me.

- They come up to me in the street, in restaurants, at Parliament House, in airports, on aeroplanes and at functions everywhere and they ask to just keep going.
- They find hope by putting their faith in me, and sometimes I wonder if I can do this, but always it is the knowledge that Australians everywhere, think as we do, that keeps me going.

**096.12.02 (parl) Grievance Debate: Right to Free Speech Multiculturalism**

- This campaign of intimidation is nothing more than an attempt to shut me up.
- Well, I won't shut up.
- I will speak out both as a citizen and as a parliamentarian.
- The worst recent slander against me was by Mr Cousins, the Chief Executive Officer of Optus Vision, who said my remarks were evil and who tried to draw a parallel between Hitler and me.

This device works to fortify the speaker's construction as an ordinary person working hard and selflessly for the people. The device also works synergistically with the *Great Little Man* device by portraying the speaker as battling against their own human frailty for the advancement of the cause.

*12. Lone Wolf* (self): This device serves to amplify similarities between the leader and the constituency, while at the same time attempting to sharply contrast her against the opposition. Adorno (2000: 14) describes the leader as being portrayed as standing apart from the influence of sponsors or elites. The leader is seen as aligned with 'the people' in whom 'true power' resides. Hence, Pauline Hanson as leader of Pauline Hanson's One Nation, is presented as exemplifying 'ordinary Australian-ness' and the 'anti-political politician'. Even in the 1930s, certain agitators realised there was mileage in presenting oneself as a non-politician, reflecting the widespread aversion

on the part of the public to the 'professional politician' (Adorno 2000: 21). This self-categorization device promotes anti-political, anti-intellectual and anti-media themes. The party's political rhetoric emphasizes the ordinariness, reasonableness and commonsensical mass appeal of her views (Rapley, 1998: 325). This device was used most commonly in the Parliamentary speeches and least frequently in the Media Releases.

### 96.09.10 (parl) Maiden Speech

- I come here not as a polished politician but as a woman who has had her fair share of life's knocks.→
- My view on issues is based on commonsense, and my experience as a mother of four children, as a sole parent, and as a businesswoman running a fish and chip shop.
- I consider myself just an ordinary Australian who wants to keep this great country strong and independent, and my greatest desire is to see all Australians treat each other as equals as we travel together towards the new century

### 096.12.02 (parl) Grievance Debate – Right to Free Speech Multiculturalism

- Ever since I made my maiden speech in this House there has been a vicious, non-stop campaign of abuse and insults against me organised by some sections of the print and electronic media, academic snobs, backroom editors hiding behind their reporters, some loud mouthed taxpayer funded minority groups and of course the Liberal and Labor parties.
- I have been accused of being a bigot, a racist, a bad wife and mother and an evil person.
- There are many other hurtful things said about me that I will not bother to repeat, because it will only give these cowards--all anonymous, I might add--the opportunity to gloat.

- Apart from these things, I have been hounded by letters from the Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission and its Race Discrimination Commissioner.
- They have demanded explanations of statements attributed to me by the media, most statements of which have been distorted and taken out of context.
- Some talk show hosts have attributed statements to me I have never made and put words in my mouth, even though I have sent them copies of my speeches to set the record straight.
- Even my staff have been publicly abused in this House, with false accusations that the member concerned would not dare repeat outside this chamber.
- The national solicitor for the National Aboriginal and Islander Legal Service Secretariat even wanted to start a challenge to my right to take the oath as a properly elected member of this House.
- All this has been designed to shut me up.
- The professional multiculturalists have abused me and tried to intimidate me.
- That campaign will fail.

## 97.11.19 (parl) Tourism

- I must say, with my tongue firmly in my cheek, just how amazing it is that one small red headed Australian woman from Ipswich could in such a small space of time destroy our trade, foreign relations, exports, jobs and, of course, tourism, to name but a few. →
- Next year I am planning to make it rain for 40 days and 40 nights, so I suggest the members of this House start building their arks and gathering their animals two by two.

## 097.11.20 (parl) White Paper on Foreign and Trade Policy

- I suspect that the government has confused national interest with international interest.
- I will demonstrate that the government's policy to internationalise us is flawed and will destroy Australia and the lifestyle of the Australian people.

## 97.07.01 Speech at the Gold Coast Launch (public)

- Ordinary people, just like me.

**98.09.11 Speech - Longreach Speech (public)**

– My simple points, over what some believe to be complex issues were only the commonsense you would hear from any ordinary Australian and no amount of slur, insult or physical threat will ever stop me from giving those ordinary Australians a right to an opinion and a right for that opinion to be heard.

*13. Movement* (method): When this device is used, it is as if the aims of the party and the party itself become merged into one. The absence of reference to tangible policy or its implementation is presented as feasible. A good example of this device can be found in the texts, but rather in the party's name—'Pauline Hanson's One Nation'. The name might be seen to imply that Pauline Hanson is the party and that the party and the nation will become one! What could be simpler than that? This device was not evident in the parliamentary speeches and was barely visible in the media releases. This device was found to appear alongside the *Unity* device.

**097.05.30 (public) Newcastle Speech**

– We welcome anyone who comes here with a genuine wish to better themselves, to be law abiding citizens, and to give their undivided loyalty to this country.
– We want everyone to be Australians, and to join us by being a part of One Nation, not one of many parts of a divided nation.
– We must be united as one people, under one flag and with one set of rules.
– We must stand strongly together.
– We must be One Nation.

*14. Fait Accompli* (method):

This device was barely discernable in the documents. Adorno (2000) describes the

device as creating a feeling that one might as well join the movement because its

success and rise to power is a foregone conclusion. Adorno (2000) formulated this

device with Hitler's Nazi propaganda in mind.


**097.04.11 Launch of One Nation**

- Tonight we start to push back.

- It's a mammoth task that lies ahead, but we cannot step lightly, even though we

  tread where our enemies are waiting.


- We must be resolute and unflinching.

- We must not be slowed by the many obstacles that will be thrown in our path.

- Ladies and Gentlemen, who of you would not join this fight?

- Who of you would not stand up for your country?


*15. Listen to Your Leader* (method): The rhetorical analysis did not identify the

presence of this device in any of the documents. I would assert that this is both one of

the primary differences between the populist styles of Hanson and Martin Luther

Thomas. Yet, it may also be a contributing factor in Hanson's success. Hanson does

not command the audience in the fashion of Hitler or Mussolini. She is known for her

quaking voice and femininity.


The excerpts of text presented above, illustrate what the major issues for PHON were.

However, during the rhetorical analysis, notations were made progressively of the

substantive issues that were being addressed in the documents. This layer of analysis

was necessary in order to identify the nature of the themes that are communicated by

the rhetorical devices. The following section discusses thematic analysis in broad terms and presents the results of the frame analysis.

## Thematic Analysis

Themes are semantic structures with clearly understood references to familiar and publicly discussed events, social categories and interpretations. Thematic analysis is a process rather than a method. In the context of this research it is a technique that allows qualitative information to be translated into a form of data that involves the mustering of the text into units of analysis that may be categorised. The category formation relies on the interpretive skills of the researcher who seeks to make their decision making process transparent (Boyatzis 1998: 6).

The identification of themes is achieved by immersion. This process involves an in-depth reading and re-reading of the text. This enables the researcher to identify patterns in the topics and issues addressed as well as the nature of the views expressed about them. This inductive approach allows for relationships between issues to be revealed that may not necessarily be apparent from a superficial examination (Boyatzis 1998: 4).

Given that the thesis is examining texts generated by a political party, PHON, the manifest expression of issues made the interpretative process of identifying related topics under thematic umbrellas less arduous than it would have been if more subtle texts were being considered.

The identification of themes augments the frame analysis by making explicit the key domains of PHON's political agenda that are not articulated overtly. It is also links the rhetorical analysis to the frame. The rhetorical analysis provides insight into how these themes are presented to a target audience.

Themes relate to familiar and publicly discussed events, social categories and interpretations. In the context of this research they are often related to public policy or the controversy generated by contentious public policy. Themes tend to be widely familiar, but specific interpretations are dependent on the social perspective of the individual. The presence of the themes in the discourse are indicated by the various issues that are presented in it.

The core themes identified in the Pauline Hanson's One Nation material are; 1) Cultural Sovereignty; 2) Social Sovereignty; 3) Economic Sovereignty. In this research, themes are treated as higher-level concepts than issues. Issues may represent different facets of the same theme. Sovereignty is used to here to refer to the independent power or authority that PHON believes the people wish to exert over these national domains. They wish to contest the views held by the government, multiculturalists, internationalists, academics, and the media. For them, these groups together constitute the elite. I illustrate these themes by presenting appropriate excerpts of text from the PHON discourse.

**Cultural Sovereignty**

By cultural sovereignty I mean the perceived right of citizens to defend and preserve national culture. The theme of cultural sovereignty is built around the policy of

multiculturalism. Issues include Asian immigration, cultural tolerance in all its forms and criteria for Australian citizenship. For PHON, multiculturalism is a divisive social policy that promotes the dilution of what it is to be 'Australian' and the erosion of 'Australian Culture'. The following excerpts of text are illustrative of this theme:

— A truly multicultural society can never be strong and united. (Parliamentary Speech 02/12/96 & Maiden Speech 10/09/96)

— I believe we are in danger of being swamped by Asians. (Maiden Speech 10/09/96)

— Most Australians do not care where you come from as long as you fit in and act like an Australian. This includes learning Australia's common language, English. (Parliamentary Speech 10/12/96)

— Anything Australian that does not fit in with different cultures is a target for elimination. (Media Release 31/12/97: 'Multiculturalists banning Santa Claus is just the beginning')

— Not only are we expected to accept the many cultural conflicts being caused by multicultural policies that highlight division and difference and discourage assimilation, but these people whom we gave new hope now repay our generosity by expecting us to change our ways to fit in with theirs. (Media Release 31/12/97: 'Multiculturalists banning Santa Claus is just the beginning')

Even prior to the launch of PHON, Hanson displayed her determination to create a 'united Australia'. Unity is a key theme in what PHON stands for. Multiculturalism

clearly is seen as antithetical to this goal. As demonstrated by the *If You Only Knew* device in the rhetorical analysis, multiculturalism and multiculturalists are regarded as enemies of 'the people'.

**Social Sovereignty**

This is arguably the most controversial of PHON themes. The PHON position has been widely interpreted as blatant racism. This theme manifests via issues related to the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission (ATSIC), Native Title, The Stolen Generation and other issues related to the welfare of Indigenous Australians. PHON claims that government policy and the push for 'political correctness' has resulted in 'reverse racism'. Social inequalities are seen as being perpetuated by policy that privileges Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander (ATSI) peoples and discriminates against non-ATSI people. This situation is perceived to be exacerbated by the fact that 'political correctness' acts as a censure on debate. Therefore, associated policies are not challenged. Political correctness and Aboriginal policy are seen as divisive and so are not only threats to unity but to the ideal of equality. The following examples demonstrate this:

- We now have a situation where a type of reverse racism is applied to mainstream Australians by those who promote political correctness and those who control the various taxpayer funded 'industries' that flourish in our society servicing Aboriginals, multiculturalists and a host of other minority groups. (Maiden Speech 10/09/96)

- When government hand-outs are considerably more generous towards Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders than non-Aboriginal Australians it is little wonder more

people are willing to hitch their welfare wagons to the Aboriginal gravy train. (Media Release 28/07/97: 'Population explosion')

- The fact is Aborigines continue to be given more than other Australians - Native Title is simply another scam perpetuated against non-Aboriginal Australians. (Media Release 04/12/97: 'Aboriginal land grab was the object of a shameless PR campaign')

- ATSIC is a corrupt organisation run by Aboriginal Mafia. (Media Release 13/02/98: 'Pauline Hanson re-affirms her resolve to abolish ATSIC)

- All Australians must be treated equally and the same. (Parliamentary Speech 02/06/98)

**Economic Sovereignty**

This theme is constituted by issues associated with the effects of globalisation. Sustained levels of high unemployment, decreases in the number of manufacturing industries, increases in levels of foreign investment and government moves embracing economic rationalism and the privatisation of public companies. It contributes more subtly to the construction of the PHON agenda. For example, the closure of an industry such as steel manufacturing in the city of Newcastle obviously leads to a significant increase in blue-collar unemployment in that city. PHON weaves this story in with that of the other themes so that a seamless account that identifies all of the social problems of the area and who and what is to blame. So, government policy that has no concern for 'the people' is to blame for the closure. Increasing levels of Asian

immigration are seen to contribute to unemployment. Because of 'reverse racism', the abandoned workers of Newcastle can't expect a fair deal in terms of welfare from the government unless they can claim to be Aboriginal. To top it all off, it is not just the jobs of these people that have gone, but also a part of their Australian heritage. Several such connections are spun like webs in the texts of PHON. Excerpts from 'The Newcastle Speech' 30/05/97 are particularly instructive.

- When I say I want to stop immigration, I do so to save Australian jobs.

- When I speak of the need for tariff protection for Australian manufacturing, I do so because of the need to reverse the decline of industry that has been brought about by the so-called free trade policies of both Liberal and Labour governments.

- We must get Australia manufacturing again, and we must damn this government for its inhumane pursuit of economic rationalism. →

- Steel is in your blood. →

- How betrayed you must feel as your lives are rusted away by the dollars demanded by shareholders with no regard for the workers who made BHP what it is today.

- What will the union leaders do as in the sense Australia is pushed closer and closer culturally and financially to adopting the practices of our Asian neighbours? →

- What will the union leaders do as Asianisation is forced upon us?

If this government wants to be fair dinkum, then it must stop kowtowing to financial

markets, international organisations, world bankers, investment companies and big

business people. (Maiden Speech 10/09/96)


**Conclusion**

This chapter demonstrates that while the Adornian typology had a greater degree of

utility for examining the public speeches, than for examining the parliamentary

speeches. It was of less effective still for analysing the media releases. The media

releases were often very factual in their content, very brief—on average composed of

approximately fifteen sentences and only ever appear as written texts, that is, they are

never delivered as orations. It should also be said that the frequency of devices is not

related to their impact. The excerpts presented demonstrate that in some cases, three

short lines can have as much impact as several more dense paragraphs.


The parliamentary speeches are of course delivered in the hostile arena of the

parliamentary chamber. In fact, when Hanson first appeared in parliament, no one

would sit next to her. Eventually a female Labor member extended an olive branch

and occupied the seat adjacent to Hanson.


It is in the public forum that Hanson's populist style comes to the fore. It is apparent

that the closer Hanson was to 'the people' the more likely the use of rhetorical devices

became. As the excerpts demonstrate, the less constrained forum of the public speech

appeared to be more conducive to colourful interactions and appeals for unity,

equality, honesty and trust. It should also be noted that the most frequently used

devices in the public speeches are in the Thomas' Method category and are those that

particularly call for unity and those that portray the government and elites most negatively. The most commonly adopted device from the Personal Element: Self-Characterisation category was that of Emotional Release. Hanson was not afraid to show emotion—anger, passion, and sentimentality were on display for all to see. These devices are the key I believe to PHON's appeal. By casting the enemy so effectively, tapping into the well-known cynicism with which Australians regard politicians, and throwing her soul into it had a galvanising effect on that part of the community who was ready to receive the message. This combination allowed her to drag taboo subjects such as racism, into the public arena.

However it is claimed that the effect of Hanson's rhetoric as measured by her electoral success during the years under investigation and certainly the level and intensity of the negative response to the PHON discourse would suggest that the application of the devices as formulated by Adorno has failed to capture the true extent of the impact of the PHON manifesto.

It is asserted that a problematic aspect of Adorno's Gallery of Tricks and Devices (2000) is that they are very much a product of their time. It is not so much that they are not useful, but rather that they require modification to be apt for contemporary analysis. That is to say that they could be used as an effective springboard from which to develop a more appropriate tool. A revised typology is presented in chapter Eight.

## Chapter Eight

# A Revised Typology of Rhetorical Devices

## Introduction

A revised rhetorical typology is presented in this chapter that seeks to re-formulate

those Adornian (2000) devices that were germane to the material. This typology,

while shaped by Adorno's (2000) gallery, better captures the core elements of a

contemporary populist party. Perhaps the most fundamental characteristic of populist

rhetoric is that ultimate authority is considered to reside with the people and that this

central notion is supported by appeals to nostalgia. Adorno's (2000) devices of terror

that were melded under the If you Only Knew Device, are recast to explicitly

recognise the enemy and the enemies veiled agendas. The way in which Adorno's

typology has been reinterpreted is presented and textual excerpts are provided from

the public and parliamentary speeches. At least for its supporters, PHON packaged

their discontents and grievances and gave them form, identified who shared these

feelings and who was to blame for them. It also provided simplistic, non-technical

interpretations if not viable solutions, to these problems.

This analysis identifies six devices that have been ascribed to three categories. They

represent a synthesis of Adorno's work with more recent literature on political

communication and rhetoric. To analyse the rhetoric of a movement such as Pauline

Hanson's One Nation is to analyse the direct interface between the movement and its

potential constituency.

**Revised Typology of Populist Rhetorical Devices**

The Revised Typology is constructed of three device categories that are labelled in terms of the purpose each serves—Prognostic Devices, Diagnostic Devices and Motivational Devices. These particular labels have been chosen to emphasise an important aspect of the thesis. It is asserted that the functions of frames as defined by Snow and Benford (1986; 1988; 1992) may be achieved via the use of rhetorical devices in political discourse. The category labels encapsulate the overarching function of the rhetorical devices they are composed of. The devices are discussed and applied to the PHON discourse and textual examples are given.

1. Prognostic Devices

    a. The Leader's Identity Device

    b. The Enemy's Identity Device

2. Diagnostic Devices

    a. Conspiracy Device

    b. Reverse Racism Device

3. Motivational Devices

    a. Reclamation Device

    b. Simple Solutions Device

# 1. Prognostic Devices

The first two devices are described as prognostic devices as they work to construct the identity of PHON and its targeted opposition. This identification of the enemy is presented by the leader via the party discourse. The identity categorisation of the leader is arguably the most potent of the devices discussed, as it is consistent with a populist style of political party—a leader who is of the people for the people.

## a. The Leader's Identity

Rapley (1998) refers to 'a similar concept when he applies 'self-categorisation' in his analysis of Pauline Hanson's Maiden Speech to parliament entitled *Australia Wake Up!* This analysis, which uses self-categorisation theory, is primarily concerned with identifying the construction of 'new racist' rhetoric in Hanson's utterances. Rapley (1998: 335) asserts that this is achieved by her self-categorisation as an ordinary Australian, and by the way she manipulates the discourse of race by claiming that she is seeking equality for all, not just for some. Self-categorisation theory as applied by Rapley (1998), is a blend of self-categorisation theory with rhetorical/discursive psychologies which has been developed by Reicher and Hopkins (1996b; 1996a) in their studies of the speech of former British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and of speech used to address a 'medical audience' by an anti-abortionist.

The identity of the leader of PHON is the core component of the party's appeal such that at least one academic has labelled it 'The Pauline Hanson One Person Party' (Nile 1997). This device serves to amplify similarities between the leader and the constituency, while at the same time attempting to sharply contrast Hanson against the opposition. This tactic closely resembles the 'Lone Wolf' device described by Adorno

(2000: 4), in which the leader is portrayed as standing apart from the influence of sponsors or elites. Thus the leader aligns themselves with 'the people' in whom 'true power' resides. Hence, Pauline Hanson as leader of Pauline Hanson's one Nation, is presented as exemplifying 'ordinary Australian-ness' and the 'anti-political politician'. At least from the 1930s, certain agitators realised there was mileage in presenting oneself as a non-politician, given the widespread aversion on the part of the public to the 'professional politician' (Adorno 2000: 21).

It follows then that this self-categorisation not only promotes anti-political themes, but also anti-intellectual and anti-media themes. The party's political rhetoric is precisely constructed in order to emphasise the ordinariness, reasonableness and commonsensical mass appeal of Hanson's views (Rapley 1998). Following is a selection of excerpts from Pauline Hanson's One Nation speeches that illustrate this dimension of the Leader's Identity Device.

**Maiden Speech 10/09/96**
– I come here not as a polished politician but as a woman who has had her fair share of life's knocks.
– My view on issues is based on commonsense, and my experience as a mother of four children, as a sole parent, and as a businesswoman running a fish and chip shop.
– I consider myself just an ordinary Australian who wants to keep this great country strong and independent and my greatest desire is to see all Australians treat each other as equals as we travel together towards the new century.

**Speech at the Gold Coast Launch 01/07/97**
– Ordinary people, just like me.

**Parliamentary Speech - Tourism - 19/11/97**

- I must say, with my tongue firmly in my cheek, just how amazing it is that one small red headed Australian woman from Ipswich could in such a small space of time destroy our trade, foreign relations, exports, jobs and, of course, tourism, to name but a few. →

- Next year I am planning to make it rain for 40 days and 40 nights, so I suggest the members of this House start building their arks and gathering their animals two by two.

**Speech - Longreach Speech - 11/09/98**

- My simple points, over what some believe to be complex issues were only the commonsense you would hear from any ordinary Australian and no amount of slur, insult or physical threat will ever stop me from giving those ordinary Australians a right to an opinion and a right for that opinion to be heard.

Rapley (1998) in his analysis of Pauline Hanson's One Nation follows the work of Reicher and Hopkins 2000) in the development of a theory of 'mobilization discourse' and the development of self- and social categories in political rhetoric. In two notable papers[37], Reicher and Hopkins (1996a) contend that for mobilization to take place, in-groups and out-groups must be defined and 'that the ways in which self-categories are defined may be central to the process of mass social influence'. Here I have referred to this process as one in which the party and its leader seek to identify with the target constituency while achieving differentiation from the opposition. Rapley (1998: 328) summarises Reicher and Hopkins' (1996a; 1996b) findings regarding the conditions necessary for social influence to occur as:

1. The salience of the social identity of the target group.

2. The perceived relevance of the political message to the salient social identity

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[37] Both published in 1996, one discusses the role of self-categorization in an analysis of anti-abortionist rhetoric, the other in a comparative analysis of Thatcher's and Kinnock's speeches during the 1984-5 British miners strike. See references.

3. The success of the speaker in presenting themselves as representing the relevant social identity.

It also follows from Reicher and Hopkins' position that the way in which a speaker defines, categorises, or constructs their self-identity is central to the process of mass influence (Rapley 1998). This capacity to make the constituency believe that they can identify with the leader is extremely important. It is an integral component of the process whereby creation of constituency resonance and the maintenance of the leader's identity by their stance on particular issues, which in turn contribute to the reproduction of the key themes. The message is made very clear. The leader is saying 'I am like you, I think like you, I know what you want, and I will stand up for you, because we are the same'. Thus the political landscape is simplified into two opposing camps - one composed of Pauline Hanson and her supporters, the 'true Australians', the other, the rest. It is the other camp needless to say, that includes corrupt politicians, multiculturalists, internationalists and the politically correct. Pauline Hanson's One Nation speeches work to diminish differences between the leader and her constituency. Adorno (2000: 34) refers to the 'Human Interest' device in which the leader implies a personal closeness and intimacy with the constituency while presenting themselves as humbled by the experience. 'We' statements are frequently employed throughout the rhetoric that is built on the assumption that the audience is already in agreement. This is particularly interesting in terms of the parliamentary speeches, as of course, the constituency is not actually present. However, the texts still read as if the speaker is not a member of the chamber, another politician, but rather as the untainted voice or 'Messenger' (Adorno 2000: 25) of 'the people'. Following is a selection of excerpts from Pauline Hanson's One Nation speeches, which illustrate this dimension of the identity categorisation of the leader device.

**Speech - Launch of One Nation - 11/04/97**

- My friends, my constituents of Oxley, my fellow Australians, tonight there is cause for celebration. →

- We, all of us here tonight, and millions of people across Australia can celebrate, at last there is the chance for change.

- When next you hear them call me a racist and a bigot, remember it is not just me they speak of, but everyone who believes in these things of which I speak. →

- It is an insult shared by millions of decent patriotic Australians.

- Ladies and Gentlemen, it is with a great sense of Purpose, Pride and Patriotism, that I officially launch the voice of the people, the Party of Truth, Fairness and Equality for all Australians, Pauline Hanson's One Nation.

**Speech at the Gold Coast Launch 01/07/97**

- They find hope by putting their faith in me, and sometimes I wonder if I can do this, but always it is the knowledge that Australians everywhere, think as we do, that keeps me going.

- To those of you who love our country as I do, and want to save our country as I do, I say thank you, and I salute you.

**Parliamentary Speech – Foreign and Trade Policy 20/11/97 & Parliamentary Speech - White Paper on Foreign Trade and Policy - 20/11/97**

- I will always stand up for the Australian people first and foremost and put their jobs, needs and wishes before anything else.

**Speech - Longreach Speech - 11/09/98**

- I have been dishonestly referred to as a racist and other names just as dishonest and just as ineffective in stopping me from voicing the views of many Australians who have for so long gone unheard and unhelped. →

- We Australians are a young people and our nation relatively new when compared to others but our love of this land is as great as anyone's love of their place.

In his analysis of Pauline Hanson's Maiden Speech to Parliament[38], Rapley (1998:330) contends that the speech functions as a wider mobilization discourse, rather than as an attempt to secure local and parliamentary acceptance, as would normally be the case. I concur with Rapley and contend his analysis supports my assertion that the meaning of what it is to be Australian, as constructed by PHON is central to the party's appeal.

> The speech demonstrates that she is primarily concerned with establishing an *external* constituency of 'ordinary Australians' - and crucially, her entitlement to membership in, and representation of, that constructed category. Further, she seeks to establish the facticity of her position *by virtue of* her membership in that social category; the veridical warrant for her position is her claim that her personal identity and the social identity 'ordinary Australian' are isomorphic (Rapley 1998:330).

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[38] 10/09/96 - title Australia, Wake Up!

## b. The Enemy's Identity Device

Work done to establish rapport with the target constituency also involves defining who is the enemy, or in Reicher and Hopkins' (1996) terms, the out-group. In order to promote cohesion among supporters, it is necessary to clearly specify who is to blame for the social and political ills and against whom anger and resentment may be focused. It is obvious from the following excerpts that PHON is against the government and the other major parties, the media, the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission, and less clearly defined groups described variously as multiculturalists, internationalists, and exponents of political correctness. More specifically, government ministers and members of the opposition are described as 'liars'; 'smug professionals', self serving untrustworthy proponents of policy that only serve their own interests and the interests of the 'Aboriginal Industry', 'big business' and the 'forces of globalisation'. They are cast as being the antithesis of Pauline Hanson and therefore as the antithesis of true Australians. Immigration policy is frequently attacked, as is the United Nations, all in the name of protecting ordinary, real Australians.

### Maiden Speech 10/09/96

- I may be only 'a fish and chip shop lady', but some of these economists need to get their heads out of the textbooks and get a job in the real world.

- I and most Australians want our immigration policy radically reviewed and that of multiculturalism abolished.

- This is why I am calling for ATSIC to be abolished. It is a failed, hypocritical and discriminatory organisation that has failed dismally the people it was meant to serve.

- I and most Australians want our immigration policy radically reviewed and that of multiculturalism abolished.

## Parliamentary Speech - Aboriginal Affairs Immigration - 02/12/96

- I am appalled that the government and the opposition moved a motion which was clearly directed at me and indirectly at the Australian people.

## Parliamentary Speech - Migration Legislation Amendment Bill - 10/12/96

- Writing about Slim Dusty, who is a fine Australian, one Melbourne journalist said:
- Few countries have a past they are as rightly embarrassed about as we do. →
- What trendy, politically correct rubbish

## Speech - Launch of One Nation 11/04/97

- The chance to finally rid ourselves of the inequity that has grown from years of political correctness, where we have not been able to speak our mind, or express our views without being called names intended to make us look backward, intolerant or extremist. →
- The chance to stand against those who have betrayed our country, and would destroy our identity by forcing upon us the cultures of others.

- The few politicians who care enough to recognise the situation will not speak out, because the politically correct multiculturalists, and sections of the media will call them names, their colleagues will distance themselves, and their party will destroy them. →
- In my own case, when I said what we all know to be the truth, the Liberal Party disendorsed me, and used me as an example to others of what will happen if you break ranks and speak the truth.
- After my maiden speech when sections of the media, the multiculturalists, and the aboriginal industry tried to portray me as a simple fish and chip shop lady, and an uneducated, uniformed race bigot, they thought they would finish me.

### Speech - Newcastle 30/05/97

- Suffice to say, the protesters, the Newcastle Council, the Labour Party, and I suspect various minority groups and multiculturalists have done their best to stop me from speaking to you here this evening.
- ABSTUDY is a perfect example of a policy that divides us.

### Speech - Gold Coast launch - 01/07/97

- Now Australians everywhere once again feel free to talk about the issues that political correctness had expelled from public debate, the misguided and dangerous enemies of all we hold dear are popping up to oppose the freedom of speech and the freedom of assembly of anyone who has a different view.
- And above all, remember that for real change we need new faces with real influence, not tired old career politicians whose policies are lies for re-election rather than plans for recovery. →
- With the same old parties and the same old politicians, regardless of what they say to get your vote, they will finish up giving you the same old policies, or they will change the score after the game has played. →
- Don't be fooled by their smug and professional meandering.

### Parliamentary Speech - Migration Legislation Amendment: Strengthening of Provisions Relating to Character and Conduct - 18/11/97

- Under the proposed legislation the minister can revoke or refuse a visa on character grounds, but this decision can be overridden if the person applies for a protection visa in accordance with the United Nations refugee convention. →
- Once again, we see how the power of the United Nations has the potential to endanger the Australian population, in this case by allowing the possibility of international gangsters to fight their way into Australia under the guise of refugee status.

### Parliamentary Speech - Tourism - 19/11/97

- If I have done nothing else in this House, at least I have allowed our politicians to hone their skills as liars, and their practices of sinking lower than any normal person would believe possible in their efforts to distract the Australian public from

the ever mounting evidence of the failures of successive Liberal and Labor governments.

**Parliamentary Speech - White Paper on Foreign trade and Policy**

- The government barely succeeds in hiding its disdain for Australian nationalism, describing it as inward looking regionalism.

The Enemies Identity device is intertwined with the Conspiracy Device, as the actions of the enemy are depicted as being conspiratorial in nature at every opportunity. Here the applicability of the 'strategy of terror' that Adorno(2000: 53) identified in the speeches of Thomas may be appreciated (see Table 4, xv -xx). It should be noted however that the 'enemy' for Thomas was portrayed more vaguely than it is for PHON. Though the nebulous 'they' is referred too often (eg. multiculturalists, internationalists, big business), certain organisations and groups are singled out (for example the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission, United Nations, Asian immigrants). The rhetoric employed identifies the enemy and shows them to be corrupt, immoral, untrustworthy and underhanded. It also effectively contributes to the generation of the negative themes that are characteristic of the style of PHON.

## 2. Diagnostic Devices

This label has been chosen to describe the Conspiracy Device and the Reverse Racism device as both ultimately seek to reveal the nature of the divisive and inequitable schemes that the elites have plotted at the expense of real Australians. The source of the problem is diagnosed. While the Conspiracy device has a broad target that is constituted of all groups, organisations and political parties that have agendas that are

offensive to PHON, the Reverse Racism has a narrow one. In this instance, the target group is composed of Indigenous Australians and Asians.

### a. Conspiracy Device

This rhetorical device works to present the actions and deeds of the enemy as corrupt, divisive of the Australian community, threatening to the future of Australia and indeed to Australian culture and identity. Many of the examples presented here could have easily been assigned to the Enemy device, the two frequently embodying both the perceived problem and the culpable agent. This device further elaborates the negativity of Pauline Hanson's One Nation, and works to portray key issues such as those relating to Asian immigration, Aboriginal affairs, unemployment and others, as problematic and attributable to unscrupulous elites. Furthermore, as is typical of populism, attacks on the leader are construed as attacks on 'the people', as the two are indistinguishable according to the rhetoric of the party. It is easy to imagine when reading these excerpts, a vision of Hanson throwing up her hands and saying in Adornianesque fashion 'If you only knew'. The following are examples of the Conspiracy Device.

**Maiden Speech 10/09/96**

- I have done research on benefits available only to Aboriginals and challenge anyone to tell me how Aboriginals are disadvantaged when they can obtain 3 and 5 % housing loans denied to non-Aboriginals.

- Those who feed off the Aboriginal industry do not want to see things changed.
- Anyone with a criminal record can, and does, hold a position with ATSIC.

**Parliamentary Speech - Aboriginal Affairs Immigration - 02/12/96**

- I have never personally attacked Aboriginals or Torres Strait Islanders. →

- I have only ever attacked the system--the system that has failed them so miserably; the system that has had billions of dollars spent on it; the system that is, in effect, killing them. →

- Why, with all the billions of Australian taxpayer dollars that have been spent on it, are the majority of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people worse off now than they were 20 years ago?

## Parliamentary Speech - Grievance Debate Member for Oxley: Right to Free Speech Multiculturalism - 02/12/96

- Ever since I made my maiden speech in this House there has been a vicious, non-stop campaign of abuse and insults against me organised by some sections of the print and electronic media, academic snobs, backroom editors hiding behind their reporters, some loud mouthed taxpayer funded minority groups and of course the Liberal and Labor parties. →

- I have been accused of being a bigot, a racist, a bad wife and mother and an evil person. →

- There are many other hurtful things said about me that I will not bother to repeat, because it will only give these cowards--all anonymous, I might add--the opportunity to gloat. →

- Apart from these things, I have been hounded by letters from the Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission and its Race Discrimination Commissioner. →

- They have demanded explanations of statements attributed to me by the media, most statements of which have been distorted and taken out of context. →

- Some talk show hosts have attributed statements to me I have never made and put words in my mouth, even though I have sent them copies of my speeches to set the record straight. →

- Even my staff have been publicly abused in this House, with false accusations that the member concerned would not dare repeat outside this chamber. →

- The national solicitor for the National Aboriginal and Islander Legal Service Secretariat even wanted to start a challenge to my right to take the oath as a properly elected member of this House. →

- All this has been designed to shut me up. →

- The professional multiculturalists have abused me and tried to intimidate me. →
- That campaign will fail.
- Second, this campaign has been designed to shut me up--to stop me, as a member of parliament, saying the things I said during the election campaign and which helped me win the seat of Oxley, which has been neglected by every Labor government because they took the people of Oxley for granted, just like they took the working men and women of Australia for granted.

- I would venture to say that the content of those publications in 1955 was far less intimidating of the parliamentarian concerned then than the persistent, wicked and unprincipled campaign waged against me by a vocal, self-interested minority.

- Stopping free speech will lead in the end to a totalitarian society, ruled by dictators, where no-one will have the right to disagree.

- The worst recent slander against me was by Mr Cousins, the Chief Executive Officer of Optus Vision, who said my remarks were evil and who tried to draw a parallel between Hitler and me. →
- As Mr Cousins announced his resignation soon after he attacked me, I can only wonder at his motives.

**Speech - Gold Coast launch - 01/07/97**

- It is a great honour to have the opportunity of being able to speak to you in person rather than simply have you hear or see what is often a distorted media view of what I've said or done.
- In the last few weeks there have been many incidents that can only be described as an assault on the Australian way of life.

- The recent impediments to the formation of the first One Nation Branch in Canberra smacks of deliberate obstruction by local authorities. →
- Would you believe one council in Sydney even tried to declare a Pauline Hanson free zone. →

- In Adelaide we were forced to go to the Supreme Court to uphold our booking after approaches by shadowy figures had brought pressure to bear. →

- They say we are to become part of Asia, that we are to be Asianised. →
- Who will gain from this, or more importantly, who will lose?

**Parliamentary Speech - Music Industry: Free Trade - 01/10/97**
- We should be wary of this government's intentions for the music industry. →
- If it is the first step to a broader approach including patents and the like, we will all yet again feel the darkness of the shadow of our old enemy, the United Nations and its Lima declaration.

**Parliamentary Speech - Timber - 17/11/97**
- The native hardwood industry has become the victim of an extremist and unrelenting conservation agenda allied with the federal government hell bent on globalisation, regardless of the resulting misery and destruction.

- Mr Prime Minister, you have steered the ship on to an iceberg, your engine room has flooded and our neighbours to the north are already bidding over the rights to salvage the wreck of the once good ship Australia. →
- Your sacrifices on the altar of free trade may pay homage to your lords the internationalists, but they reduce your own people to a life of bitterness and in some cases poverty.

**Parliamentary Speech - Migration Legislation Amendment: Strengthening of Provisions Relating to Character and Conduct Bill - 18/11/97**
- The Australian people are suffering terribly from the mismanagement of past and present governments and are tired of the intolerable waste of public money on foreign miscreants and parasites who, in many cases, receive better clothing, food, housing and legal aid than the law abiding taxpayers footing the bills.

**Parliamentary Speech - White Paper on Foreign Trade and Policy - 20/11/97**

- More and more people are waking up and realising that the policies of free trade are helping other countries, not Australia. →

- More and more Australians are seeing that the people they elected are working for the internationalists, not the Australian people. →

- Successive Liberal and Labor governments, including this current group of treacherous self seekers, have worked for the interests of just about everyone except the Australian people who elected them and pay them. →

- The United Nations, in particular, have been outrageously successful in having our government dance to their tune, which in turn is a death march for our own people and our Australian way of life.

- But all of these things are just the deception of smoke and mirrors meant to hide the movement of the internationalists.


- By every measure which the average Australian can use to judge success, globalisation is a total disaster. →

- These are the fruits of globalisation, and unless we rid ourselves of this cult like obsession with free trade, Australia will cease to exist as an independent sovereign nation. →

- The greatest advocates of free trade in the world, besides the Australian government, are multinational companies.


**Speech - Longreach Speech - 11/09/98**

- The political bleeding hearts and others who seek to line their pockets through greed will only destroy our nation and our people. →

- They will never make us one by dividing the land into two.


The Conspiracy examples are peppered with talk of destruction, division, references to enemies and shadowy figures. Note that in the Parliamentary Speech - White Paper on Foreign Trade and Policy - 20/11/97, it actually refers to the'... death march for our own people and our Australian way of life'. Adorno's gallery of devices discusses

the use of fear as a rhetorical manoeuvre. As Augoustinos and colleagues (1999: 99) have noted, the fear of an Asianised society is a very old fear in Australian history.

> In connecting economic with racial and cultural
>
> protectionism, One Nation is appealing to long-standing and
>
> extremely resilient strains in white Australian political culture
>
> that many in other parties have largely abandoned
>
> (Augoustinos et al. 1999: 356)

## b. Reverse Racism

This rhetorical device is illustrative of what Augoustinos et al (1999) and Rapley (1998) refer to as 'modern racism'. They assert that this modern racism is more subtle and complex in form than 'Old-fashioned' or 'blatant' racism (Augoustinos et al. 1999: 352).

Modern racism is conceived as a resentment towards non-white people which is imbedded within a broader neo-liberal/economic-rationalist discourse of 'rugged individualism', exemplified by a set of moral values such as the so-called 'protestant work ethic', self-reliance, individual achievement and self-discipline (Augoustinos et al. 1999: 352).

However, as Hopkins, Reicher, and Levine (1997) note, a number of commentators have referred to the emergence of the 'new racism'. The subtlety referred to above is derived from the fact that the exponents of new racism deny that they are racists, if by racist you mean someone who discriminates against another because of their skin

colour or race. They claim to make no presupposition that one race is more superior to the other.

> In common with the supremacist versions, 'new racism' takes 'race' as a natural and inevitable way of categorizing people and characterizes the 'racial' other as necessarily a problem for the 'racial' in-group (Hopkins et al. 1997: 310).

New racists deflect attacks by adopting a rhetoric that portrays their attitude to non-whites as simply an acknowledgment of human diversity. They consistently deny that they are racist, and that they are merely airing the concerns of the majority of the population that feel unable to broach the subject. Bainbridge's (1998) interpretation of PHON is that 'race' is less significant than the party's opposition to plural forms of identity and its perceived threat to 'national loyalty'. I would suggest that this view illustrates the delicacy of the new racism referred to by Hopkins, Reicher and Levine (1997: 306). It is evident that Pauline Hanson's One Nation rejects the cultivation of 'plural identities' via multiculturalism in favour of a single, true 'Australian' Identity constituted by 'equal' treatment for all. However the themes of 'equality' and 'sameness' that are reproduced in the analysed texts reveal that these themes represent an appropriation of earlier arguments used in the anti-racist debates of the 1950s and 1960s in Australia (Curthoys and Johnson 1998). Rather than these arguments being used as they were originally intended, to fight the White Australia Policy and to secure the Constitutional recognition of Aboriginal people in the Referendum of 1967, Pauline Hanson's One Nation appropriates them to champion the so-called cause of 'reverse racism'.

Curthoys and Johnson (1998:100) note that 'the notion of 'same' or 'equal' treatment was once the basis of anti-racist politics, the politics of those who now oppose One Nation vigorously'.

> After the signing of the UN Declaration on Human Rights in
>
> 1948, those fighting for a more racially egalitarian and
>
> diverse Australia spoke for several decades in a language of
>
> non-discrimination, on the basis of 'equal', by which they
>
> usually meant 'same' treatment. The idea was repeated again
>
> and again that people should not be treated differently
>
> because of the colour of their skin, or their racial origin. They
>
> should be treated as human beings, as abstract individuals, as
>
> equals (Curthoys and Johnson 1998).

Following is a selection of excerpts from PHON speeches that utilise the Reverse Racism Device which relies heavily on skewed interpretations of equality and sameness.

**Maiden Speech 10/09/96**

- I won the seat of Oxley largely on an issue that has resulted in me being called a racist.→
- That issue related to my comment that Aboriginals received more benefits than non-Aboriginals. →
- We now have a situation where a type of reverse racism is applied to mainstream Australians by those who promote political correctness and those who control the various taxpayer funded 'industries' that flourish in our society servicing Aboriginals, multiculturalists and a host of other minority groups. →
- In response to my call for equality for all Australians, the most noisy criticism came from the fat cats, bureaucrats and the do-gooders. →

- They screamed the loudest because they stand to lose the most - their power, money and position, all funded by ordinary Australian taxpayers. →
- Present governments are encouraging separatism in Australia by providing opportunities, land, moneys and facilities available only to Aboriginals. →
- Along with millions of Australians, I am fed up to the back teeth with the inequalities that are being promoted by the government and paid for by the taxpayer under the assumption that Aboriginals are the most disadvantaged people in Australia. →
- I do not believe that the colour of one's skin determines whether you are disadvantaged.

**Parliamentary Speech - Grievance Debate Member for Oxley: Right to Free Speech Multiculturalism**

- Let me make one thing clear: I am not a racist by any definition of that word. →
- None of my remarks in their proper context could be fairly regarded as racist. →
- I am not opposed to any person or group because of their race, colour, or national or ethnic origin. →
- I do not think that anyone is superior or inferior to anyone else because of their origin or background. →
- But I am opposed to, and so are the vast majority of Australians, discrimination in favour as well as against any person or group. →
- I want equal treatment for all Australians. →

**Parliamentary Speech -Migration Legislation Amendment Bill - 10/12/96**

- Australia is a uniquely tolerant society. →
- Most Australians do not care where you come from as long as you fit in and act like an Australian. →
- This includes learning Australia's common language, English. →

- Some people have said that I am a racist.
- This is rubbish. I am not a racist; I am a realist. →

- I want a fair go for all Australians, no matter where they or their parents come from. →
- All I want is an Australia for Australians. →

## Speech - Launch of One Nation - 11/04/97

- We now have Aboriginal Australians, and Indonesian Australians and other ethnic minorities. →
- We want everyone to think of themselves simply as Australians, and to be Australians. →
- If you came here for a better life then live that better life with us. →
- Be with us, be one of us, be a part of One Nation, not one of the many parts of a divided nation.

## Speech - Newcastle Speech - 30/05/97

- We must address the breakdown of our right to free speech. →
- We must get across the message that criticism is not racism, that to call for all Australians to be treated equally is not racism, to say that to be considered disadvantaged should be based on individual circumstances, not on race or cultural background, is not racism. →
- None of these things I have called for have anything to do with racism because they do not in anyway infer that one race is superior, rather what they do, and is recognised the successive governments, both Liberal and Labor, have given us policies that have divided Australia. →

- ABSTUDY is a perfect example of a policy that divides us. →
- It puts the case that aboriginals have special problems not faced by other either Australians, but in truth what it does is determine benefits by race rather than individual need. →
- What we need is policies which are not based on race. →

- I say again, criticism is not racism.

- Ladies and Gentlemen, There is no group in this country that has a monopoly on poverty or hunger or unemployment. →
- There is no group in this country that has a monopoly on the insecurity, lack of safety, or the lack of hope felt in our community. →
- There is no group that has a right to either be treated, or expected to be treated any differently from any individual Australian. →
- We must help those who are less fortunate. →
- We must stand up for those who have fallen by the way, and lift them up once again, so that they may join us, and be proud of themselves, and of their country. →
- But we must do this on the basis of the needs of individuals, and not to continue to pursue policies that set us apart. →
- I call for fairness and equality for all Australians. →
- We must be united as one people, under one flag and with one set of rules. →
- We must stand strongly together. →
- We must be One Nation. →

**Speech - Gold Coast Launch - 01/07/97**

- We must address our immigration problems and the culture of crime associated with a segregated society. →
- We must get across the message that criticism is not racism, that to call for all Australians to be treated equally is not racism, to say that to be considered disadvantaged should be based on individual circumstances, not on race or cultural background, is not racism. →
- None of these things I have called for have anything to do with racism because they do not in any way infer one race is superior, rather what they do, is recognise that successive governments, both Liberal and Labor, have given us policies that have divided Australia. →
- They have given us policies that instead of recognising needs on an individual basis, have singled out certain groups for special benefits. →

**Parliamentary Speech - The UN Draft Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples - 02/06/98**

- ATSIC have endorsed it and released their own version of it. →

- And we cannot afford to deny the collusion of Aboriginal separatists, the United Nations and the disloyal and self-seeking globalists in our own midst. →

- For many years the activists of the Aboriginal industry and those who help peddle their lies have preyed on the collective conscience of other Australians. →

- We have seen the distortion and blame-filled confrontation of the so-called stolen generations, sorry days, sorry books and the list goes on. →

- We are witnesses to the ongoing PR campaign aimed not at reconciliation but at remuneration.


- This endless PR campaign was never intended to raise the acceptance of Aboriginal Australians; rather it was and is a carefully coordinated assault on the conscience of other Australians for the express purpose of producing guilt so as to extract monetary compensation. →

- I say again: it is about not reconciliation but remuneration. →

- No one group of Australians must be given rights over another. →

- All Australians must be treated equally and the same. →


- The Racial Discrimination Act 1975 is supposed to guarantee that no-one will be disadvantaged on the basis of race. →

- Unfortunately, the loophole in the act is the provision to discriminate positively. →

- Having this loophole and using it to discriminate positively for one group results in negative discrimination against others. →

- Whereas pastoralists are only compensated for lost production from mining on their leases, Aboriginals are tremendously advantaged by having the right to negotiate with miners for a share of the profits. →

- This creates insurmountable barriers to investment, jobs and family financial security unless you are an Aboriginal.

**Speech - Longreach Speech - 11/09/98**

- I have been dishonestly referred to as a racist and other names just as dishonest and just as ineffective in stopping me from voicing the views of many Australians who have for so long gone unheard and unhelped. →

- The names are only political slurs and insults without substance meant to confuse and mask my simple nationalistic message of equality for all Australians and my patriotic desire for us to truly be One People under One Flag living and working together as One Nation.

- We must remove from our laws and from our actions the instruments of division. →

- The Australian constitution allows the Federal Government to make special laws on the basis of race. →

- This power, perhaps well intended originally, has been abused by governments and has entrenched reverse discrimination and the misappropriation of taxpayers' funds. →

- If we are to truly have equality for all Australians and treat everyone equally, assistance must be on a needs basis. →

- We must rid ourselves of policies based on skin colour. →

- We must remove the power that allows governments to treat people differently by race and this will mean an amendment to remove the race power clause from section 51 of our Constitution. →

- Given the chance, Pauline Hanson's One Nation will initiate a referendum to amend this race based section of the Constitution. →

- Under One Nation policy the issue of Aboriginality would no longer exist as benefits by virtue of race would no longer exist. →

- Policies such as ABSTUDY and organisations such as ATSIC would be absorbed into existing agencies with all benefits based solely on individual need. →

- I believe this will not only save funds but make certain that funds reach those Aboriginal Australians who truly and desperately need help but currently suffer

the consequences of mismanagement and what many Aboriginal Australians call the Aboriginal Mafia.

This revised typology acknowledges the key factors of Adorno's (2000) typology but also relates back to the characteristic elements of political populist discourse as asserted by Canovan (1999)—namely style, mood (affect), appeals to people and power structures. Though fashioned around Pauline Hanson's One Nation, this typology could be applied to any politician currently strutting the Australian political stage.

## 3. Motivational Devices

The next two devices, Reclamation and Simple Solutions are described as Motivational Devices as together they serve to inspire people to make a move, to band together to reclaim what is rightfully theirs in the knowledge that it can be done. This party, PHON, has the answers that the others are afraid to implement.

### a. Reclamation

This rhetorical device tends to play on anger and fear. Fear for the future of the country should the enemy continue to be successful with their plot to sacrifice Australia and Australian culture to the will of global forces. Once again, Australian identity is portrayed as being under threat. To survive it must be reclaimed by 'real Australians'. The audience is urged to make a stand: to demonstrate a loyalty to, and love of, their country. The words are often emotionally stirring and militaristic in tone, with a view to inciting listeners into action, or at least into supporting the solutions offered by Hanson. The analysis revealed many examples of this rhetorical

device. However presenting the excerpts from just two speeches - the Maiden Speech and the Launch of One Nation Speech demonstrates the undeniable presence of a push to reclaim Australian identity in the idiom of Pauline Hanson's One Nation.

**Maiden Speech 10/09/96**

- Mister Acting Speaker, time is running out.

- We may have only 10 to 15 years left to turn things around.

- Wake up, Australia, before it is too late.

**Speech - Launch of One Nation - 11/04/97**

- Ladies and Gentlemen, chances are fleeting, they must be held tightly, and so tonight more than celebration, is a time for resolve, for if we fail, all our fears will be realised, and we will lose our country forever, and be strangers in our own land. →
- As it stands, the future is one where the majority of Australians will become second class citizens in their own country, under a government who panders to minority interests and denies the majority their right of decision.

- They think Australians will just lay down and see their country disappear before their eyes. →
- Are they right? →
- No they are wrong again. →
- Because if we let ourselves be stopped now, who will be left to take up the fight? →
- Some may believe it is almost too late, but we've come too far to be stopped, and we won't be stopped. →
- We will reclaim our country, and the future of our children. →
- We have been pushed far enough. →
- Tonight we start to push back. →

- It's a mammoth task that lies ahead, but we cannot step lightly, even though we tread where our enemies are waiting. →
- We must be resolute and unflinching. →
- We must not be slowed by the many obstacles that will be thrown in our path. →
- Ladies and Gentlemen, who of you would not join this fight? →
- Who of you would not stand up for your country?
- Be with us, be one of us, be a part of One Nation, not one of the many parts of a divided nation.
- We must stand together to make these changes, or eventually be dragged down by the conspiracy of divisiveness that has been encouraged by our governments, and let loose upon the people of Australia without their permission.

- We must stand up. →
- We must all pull together. →
- We must win this battle, or lose the war.

- We must recognise the truth, and no longer allow ourselves to be imperilled by governments whose sole objective is re-election, at any price, to stay in power, at any price, not for our benefit, but for their own.

- We must not now allow our country to be taken from within.

- Please join us, work with us, so that we can recover what we have lost, and once again be the proud nation, the One Nation, we once were.

Hanson again frequently uses 'we' statements, promoting an affinity with the people under attack, suggesting cohesion with and amongst the audience. It is an 'us against them' scenario in which the leader of 'the people' is attempting to galvanize force against a clear and formidable enemy. Their conspiracy has been exposed like never before. Yet, the solutions offered are simple.

### b. Simple Solutions

Pauline Hanson's One Nation tends not to offer solutions to problems in terms of policy or program. In fact most solutions consist of merely abolishing the offending group, treaty or trade agreement such as the Family Law Court, ATSIC or the MAI. These suggestions are often accompanied by calls for unity, equality and a return to Australian values. This requires citizens to demonstrate loyalty to the country, which in the case of Immigrants and Indigenous people translates as assimilation. There are often suggestions that Australians should have more say in government via referendums and direct consultation with their representative - Pauline Hanson. This desire for a closer and more direct interaction between people and government, especially by referendum, is frequently observed in populist style politics. This aspect of the Simple Solutions rhetorical device is reminiscent of Adorno's 'Democratic Cloak' device (see Table One xiv). Adorno (2000) describes a tactic where the concept of democracy is skewed so that rather than the concept of majority being a principle of government, majority is a moral principle. The 'people' are regarded as the majority and therefore the direct representation of their will is democratic.

**Maiden Speech 10/09/96**

- To survive in peace and harmony, united and strong, we must have one people, one nation, one flag. .

- Governments must give to all those who have hit life's hurdles the chance to rebuild and have a future.

- Australia must review its membership and funding of the UN, as it is a little like ATSIC on a grander scale, with huge tax-free American dollar salaries, duty-free luxury cars and diplomatic status.

- If this government wants to be fair dinkum, then it must stop kowtowing to financial markets, international organisations, world bankers, investment companies and big business people.

- I am going to find out how many treaties we have signed with the UN, have them exposed and then call for their repudiation.

- The government should cease all foreign aid immediately and apply the savings to generate employment here at home.

- Abolishing the policy of multiculturalism will save billions of dollars and allow those from ethnic backgrounds to join mainstream Australia, paving the way to a strong, united country. →
- Immigration must be halted in the short-term so that our dole queues are not added to by, in many cases, unskilled migrants not fluent in the English language.

- Such schemes would be the building of the Alice Springs to Darwin railway line, new roads and ports, water conservation, reafforestation and other sensible and practical environmental projects. →
- Therefore I call for the introduction of national service for a period of 12 months, compulsory for males and females upon finishing year 12 or reaching 18 years of age.

**Parliamentary Speech - Aboriginal Affairs Immigration - 31/10/96**
- Mainstream Australia must be allowed to have a say in how this country will look in 100 years time. →
- We owe this to future generations. →
- If the members of this House are so confident that they are echoing the views of mainstream Australia, they should let mainstream Australia have its say. →
- I call on the government to have a referendum on immigration and multiculturalism.

**Speech - Launch of One Nation - 11/04/97**

- Our immediate goals:-

- To stop all immigration except that related to investment that will lead to employment, and for this to continue until Australia's unemployment is solved. →

- To treat all Australians equally, and in so doing, abolish divisive and discriminatory policies such as those related to aboriginal and multicultural affairs. →

- To restrict foreign ownership of Australia, repeal the Native Titles Act, abolish ATSIC, and reverse WIK and MABO. →

- To restore tariff protection, revitalise Australian manufacturing, and help small business and the rural sector. →

- To take positive action on such matters as taxation reform, education, health, crime, and the discrimination created by political correctness. →

- The years of band aid policies and questionable objectives have left us with a great deal to do. →

- The interests of the Australian people, and the future of our country must be determined by Australians themselves, not by the governments of other countries, and not by the United Nations, and not by trade agreements that benefit everybody except us.


**Speech – Gold Coast launch – 01/07/97**

- In the case of such serious crimes being committed by non Australian citizens, we should pursue treaties with other countries so that when our authorities catch these criminals, we try them, we convict them and we sentence them, but then we send them back to their own country to serve out the term of their sentence.


- I don't pretend to have all the answers, and I certainly don't want to tell you what is best for you. →

- In fact I support the concept of Referendums.

## Conclusion

When one considers the results of the application of the Revised Typology, a sense of the mechanism of contemporary populist appeal emerges. PHON succeeded in taking issues that seemed unrelated and fused them in such a way that people who were responsive to the PHON perspective—a populist, rightwing perspective—came onside. Further, Hanson only had to transmit the message, the audience already existed. Evidence of the pre-existence of such an audience was described in Chapter Five where the unsolicited formation of the Pauline Hanson Support Group which formed prior to the foundation of the party proper is described. However, Hanson's personal appeal cannot be disregarded. Graeme Campbell of the Western Australian based Australia First Party was a contender in the 1996 Federal Election and failed. Yet Campbell's party policies are indistinguishable from PHON's and he is a seasoned politician who previously was a member of the Australian Labor Party (see Appendix 2). Campbell was not able to present the same messages in a manner that was able to stimulate the level of support that Hanson was able to elicit.

The results of this analysis clarify the means by which PHON's key themes— Cultural, Social and Economic Sovereignty[39]— were packaged for delivery to the audience. It is unlikely that overt pleas for the protection of sovereignty by ordinary Australians, according to the Hanson definition of that group, would be appealing. Rather the message that aspects of Australian culture, social structure and economy are under threat. The Identity Construction category devices identify who is threatening ordinary Australian's way of life; the Exposure Devices reveal what

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[39] See Chapter 7, page 157 to revisit the thematic analysis.

aspects of Australian life are under threat and the Motivational Devices suggest what should be done about it.

The next step of the analysis involves demonstrating how the three functions of framing—diagnosis, prognosis and motivation (Snow et al. 1986; Benford and Snow 2000)—are achieved by interpreting the Rhetorical Device Categories in tandem with the domains of sovereignty identified in the thematic analysis.

## Chapter Nine

# SYNTHESISING THE ANALYSIS: RHETORICAL CATEGORIES, THEMES AND FRAMING

## Introduction

In Chapter Four the original formulation of frame analysis as proposed by Erving Goffman was presented as was a discussion of various conceptualisations of the frame concept and kindred processes. It was also noted that researchers in many fields apart from the study of social movements and collective action, claim to be using this strategy. The particular approach adopted for this research is that of Snow and Benford (1986) which focuses on the three functions or core tasks of framing that are: diagnosis, prognosis and motivation. The resultant product of this framing activity is recognised by Snow and Benford (1986; 1988; 1992; 2000) as collective action. It should be noted that Snow and Benford use the term collective action (1986; 1988; 1992; 2000) when referring to their objects of study, which are social movements rather than political parties. Groups such as religious groups, protest groups in the fields of peace or justice or nuclear disarmament or worker uprisings are the usual focus of their attentions (Snow and Benford 1988; Benford 1993; Hunt and Benford 1994; Benford and Valadez 1998; Snow 2000). Each of these functions or tasks of framing will be identified in the PHON manifesto by the interpretation of the themes that are presented by the use of the rhetorical devices of the Revised Typology.

## Diagnostic Framing

As discussed in Chapter 4, diagnostic framing serves to focus blame or responsibility for the problems that exist from the movement's point of view. In the case of PHON, evidence that this framing task has been achieved is provided by the Diagnostic Devices of the Revised Typology. Beginning with her Maiden speech to parliament, Hanson repeatedly brands the Federal Government, major opposition parties, multinationals, multiculturalists, academics, Indigenous Australians, Asian immigrants and advocates of political correctness among others as the adversaries of ordinary Australians. Hanson successfully amalgamated all of these groups together despite their considerable breadth into one target providing a mutual focus for the disgruntled. In keeping with the populist mood described by Canovan (1999: 6), criticisms of these enemies are also delivered by the Exposure Devices, particularly by the Conspiracy Device with almost revivalist vim and vigour. This is not an ordinary form of politics. It is a mode of energy charged populism that attracts normally non-politically expressive people like moths to a flame. The identity construction of Hanson herself as an anti-politician is the natural corollary for a leader who relies heavily on their own persona; that of a vulnerable, yet hard working woman who isn't afraid to stand up for the rights of folk like herself. Hanson's style is also characteristically populist following Canovan (1999: 5) because it is aimed at the people and the simplicity and directness of this style is a source of pride for Hanson and her supporters. It is this emotionally arousing element of the discourse that is not normally accommodated in frame analysis (Benford and Snow 2000) that the rhetorical analysis provides.

## Prognostic Framing

Prognostic framing involves the expression of a solution to the problems created by the enemies identified by the task of diagnostic framing. There needs to be a plan of attack and ideally, a set of strategies for carrying out these plans. Once again the rhetorical analysis reveals that this function of framing has also been achieved by the PHON discourse. The two Prognostic Devices, The Simple Solutions Device, and to some extent the Reclamation Device, articulate PHON's proposals to counter the enemy attack expressed by the Diagnostic Devices. For PHON, the essence of Australian society is under threat and the people must respond by standing united. The only problem is that the unity espoused by PHON excludes Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people, Asian immigrants and other non-English speaking people. It would also see Australia withdraw from several international bodies including the United Nations and the withdrawal of any foreign investment in Australia. Australia would once again be the isolated, peripheral state that it was in the 1950s. An age seemingly yearned for by Hanson.

A large amount of energy is expended in the refutation of the logic or efficacy of the solutions proposed by others, for example the federal Government which according to Benford and Snow (2000: 617) is typical of prognostic framing activity. Frequently the impression gained from reading and re-reading the documents is that Hanson more clearly defined what was not a solution rather than what was. This negativity is a common thread throughout the discourse and serves to fill the void that an established party would normally fill with policy and program.

## Motivational Framing

Of the two Motivational Devices identified in the discourse of PHON, the Reclamation Device most clearly fulfils the function of this framing task. It embodies the typical 'call to arms' noted by Benford and Snow (2000: 617) to be the defining characteristic of this framing task, but it is also typical of populist rhetoric (Canovan 1981; Canovan 1999). Pauline Hanson urges her audience to make a stand to reclaim Australia, and the future of Australian children. It is a call to action, which in this case, is a demonstration of support by casting a vote in favour of a PHON candidate, joining the party and by publicly expressing support via the party's web site, attending support rallies and meetings or by participating on talk-back radio perhaps. The naked violence called for by populist leaders of the ilk of Hitler is not voiced here. Canovan (1999: 6) notes that the level of irrationality incited and manipulation exhibited by such demagogues is unlikely to occur in mature, well established democratic systems such as Australia, despite the level of emotionalism involved. None the less, important aspects of Australian society were identified as being under threat, and it is the thematic analysis that pinpoints just what those aspects are.

## Domains of Sovereignty: Interpreting the Master Frame

Thus far the analysis has demonstrated how the rhetorical devices formulated in the Revised Typology serve to enhance the themes or latent meanings of the PHON discourse, while acknowledging the particularity of the receptive audience. The same rhetorical analysis also verified the presence and successful execution of the core tasks of framing in the PHON discourse as proposed by Snow and Benford (1986).

The next step involves interpreting the collective meaning of this analysis. That is, the next step is to identify a Master Frame.

It is the contention of this thesis that by interpreting the Domains of Sovereignty: Cultural, Social and Economic, in the context of the frame analysis that PHON's Master Frame is an Identity Frame. It is argued that inherent in the PHON discourse is a call for a return to traditional values. According to PHON the current state of affairs is eroding essential aspects of Australian life that may be categorised as cultural, social and economic. This is largely attributed to the effects of globalisation.

It is also the contention of this thesis that these three domains are actually dimensions of identity when considered collectively. Also, that the domains are not necessarily discreet categories. To illustrate this point, the reader is guided through an analysis of a document, which is examined in light of the functions of framing and thematic domains. Following this, a Model of Appeal that is a schematic representation of the analytical process is presented.

The example is a media release that expresses Hanson's outrage over the suggestion that Santa Claus be banned from visiting a kindergarten on religious grounds.

**097.12.31 (media) Hanson: multiculturalists banning Santa Claus is just the beginning**

1. The disgusting action of minority groups in South Australia applauding the ban on Santa Claus is just the beginning, just the thin edge of the wedge - Australians must see this is only the start.

2. Anything Australian that does not fit in with different cultures is a target for elimination.

3. Given any chance, these extremists will encourage the supporters of multicultural policies to liquidate public reference and celebration of Easter, Christmas and even Australia Day and ANZAC Day.

4. We have extended our generosity to people from all over the world and welcomed them with open arms yet rather than be grateful, many abuse what we have given them.

5. Not only are we expected to accept the many cultural conflicts being caused by multicultural policies that highlight division and difference and discourage assimilation, but these people whom we gave new hope now repay our generosity by expecting us to change our ways to fit in with theirs.

6. This particular case of banning Santa from visiting kindergartens is a perfect example of something which no reasonable person would uphold.

7. Most people, especially children would not associate Santa with religion and even if they did you would expect those who demand we tolerate everything could at least extend to us the courtesy of understanding this tradition as mostly a time of fun and adventure for children.

8. The fact is, Wali Hanifi is a good example of a meddler who should be damn grateful he has been given a place in Australia.

9. How dare this representative of the South Australian Islamic Society be critical of the traditions of a country that has offered him and others so much - I hope not all Muslims feel as he does.

10. There is nothing to stop anyone doing what they like and celebrating any belief they have but if they are not offended by something as simple and unobtrusive as Santa Claus then it would be best if they go back from whence they came.

11. I will not stand by and watch our Australian way of life destroyed piece by piece by these people who do not deserve the right to call themselves Australians.

12. One Nation will abolish multiculturalism, and promote integration into mainstream Australia instead - it is the policy we have had from the start and it is the only way we can truly be One Nation, and I look forward to speaking further on this when I visit South Australia in February.

13. Further, the billions of dollars spent on the divisive policies of multiculturalism will be re-directed to benefit all Australians not the minority interests whose funded existence continues to assist in dividing us and breaking down all of the things which made Australia the country migrants saw as a place of hope.

14. Australia must not be allowed to become like the places so many have tried to escape.

**Framing Functions**

- Diagnostic: In this document the enemy is described as variously being an extremist minority group, multiculturalism and a particular individual who is described as a representative of the South Australian Islamic Society (1), (3), (5), (9), and (13).

- Prognostic: The solution to the problem is simply to abolish multiculturalism and promote integration into mainstream Australia (12). No suggestions as to how this might actually be achieved are offered in this document or in any other that was analysed, other than to say that the money saved will be used to benefit all Australians (13).

- Motivation: In this particular document, the call to arms is less direct than it is in many other instances. It may be discerned however, from statements that suggest that Hanson will not stand by while the Australian way of life is destroyed or that Australia must not become like the place so many have

escaped from (11), (14). The inference is that Australia must be protected from divisive multiculturalism and minority groups.

**Thematic Domains**

- Cultural Sovereignty: Direct references are made to the threat to Australian culture posed by the suggestion that Santa Claus be banned and the flow on effect that such a ban if enforced might have on other Australian traditions. It is also noted that the challenge to this Australian tradition comes from a non-Christian source.

- Social Sovereignty: On another level, the idea that a minority group could meddle with the running of a social structure such as education is rejected. It is lamented that despite the open arms with which Australia greets people from overseas, they abuse the privilege—its rude behaviour. They should go back to where they come from.

- Economic Sovereignty: While this domain is not dominant in this particular example, it is alluded to. It is asserted that the money spent on multiculturalism serves only to reproduce the divisiveness of this policy. Australian money is being misused to divide and breakdown those things about the country that were valued in the past. In other documents this domain is expressed in terms of the effect of globalisation on Australian industry. The specific effect being increased unemployment for Australians.

Figure 1: Model of Appeal

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┌──────────────────┐          ┌──────────────────┐
│  Textual Data    │          │   Survey Data    │
└──────────────────┘          └──────────────────┘
          ⇩                            ⇩
     ┌───────────────────────────────────────┐
     │           Issues & Themes             │
     └───────────────────────────────────────┘
          ⇩                            ⇩
┌──────────────────┐          ┌──────────────────┐
│   Rhetorical     │          │    Emotional     │
│    Devices       │          │     Energy       │
└──────────────────┘          └──────────────────┘
          ⤵        ┌──────────────────┐       ⤶
                   │  Identity Frame  │
                   └──────────────────┘
```
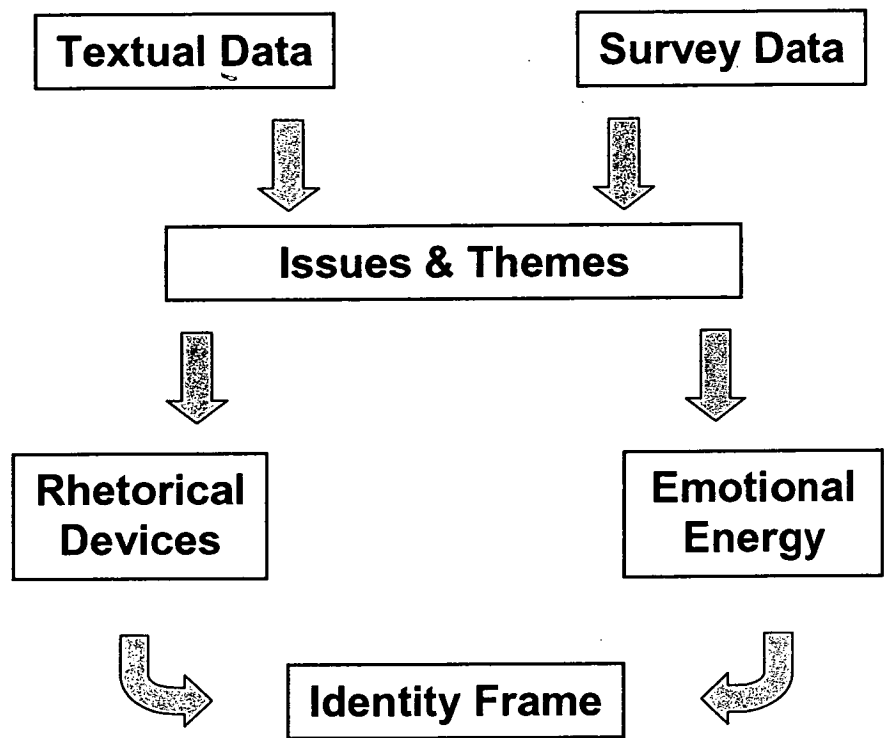
## The Model of Appeal

A key motivation for the thesis was to provide a sociological account of PHON's

mechanism of appeal. The research strategy that has been used is depicted in The

Model of Appeal (see Figure 1)


The data for the study comprised the public speeches, parliamentary speeches and the

media releases generated in Hanson's name. These documents were subjected to an

Adornian Rhetorical Analysis. The utility of this form of analysis was assessed. In

order to deal with the shortcomings of the Adornian Rhetorical Analysis, an

alternative typology was developed and labelled the Revised Typology.

The result of the rhetorical analysis provided insight into the emotional component of Hanson's populist style. Conducting the rhetorical analysis also provided an opportunity to discern the dominant thematic domains that were present in the discourse. Once these were established, the data were examined for evidence of the primary functions of framing. According to Snow and Benford (1986; 1988), these functions are prognosis, diagnosis and motivation. The successful identification of these framing functions demonstrated that the use of rhetorical devices in the discourse assists in the fulfilment of the functions of framing. The analysis also demonstrates that the PHON position in relation to the thematic domains (Cultural, Social and Economic Sovereignty) is enhanced by the use of rhetorical devices and the successful application of the functions of framing. It is asserted that the overarching meaning of the PHON message, or Master Frame, was a particular version of Australian identity that is characterised by nationalistic discourse that at the same time purports to be championing a unified, egalitarian, tolerant society.

This finding is consistent with research examining national identity by Jones (1996; 1998) and Phillips (1996b). Both authors have found that there are groups within Australian society who have a strong attachment to the symbolic boundaries of the national community and who are less supportive of multiculturalism, ethnic diversity, of assistance to Aboriginal Australians, and of republicanism than members of other groups within society (Jones 1996; Jones 1998; Phillips 1996b). Conceptualisations of national identity may be complex, adopting different typologies according to the orientation of the author. However Phillips' (1996: 116) typology of

symbolic boundaries (Figure 2) is useful to this discussion as it casts social groups as being internal or external along one axis and friend or enemy along the other.

**Figure 2 The Positioning of a Selection of Social Groups & Nations Within the Typology: An Australian Example**

|  | FRIEND | ENEMY |
|---|---|---|
| INTERNAL | Middle Class<br>Working Class<br>Aussies<br>Christians<br>Australia | Greenies<br>Feminists |
| EXTERNAL | Americans<br>Great Britain<br>USA<br>South Africa | Japan<br>Soviet Union<br>Indonesia<br>China |

*Source:* Australian National Social Science Survey, 1984-85

When interpreting Figure 2, it should be noted that the data is from the 1980s. Society's views may not have remained static over the last twenty years or so. Groups identified as friends or enemies may have varied. Still, the demarcations may still have some relevance. It is asserted that the discourse analysis demonstrates that PHON's notion of what constitutes an Internal/Friend is consistent with the typology. Working, Christian Australians may be read as 'ordinary' Australians or 'mainstream Australia'. 'Greenies' and 'Feminists' may still be regarded as Internal/Enemies by some, but might be joined by other socially conscious members of society such as the 'politically correct' and 'multiculturalists. Membership of External/Friends is likely to remain with international political allies as long as their 'Multinationals' do not take action that reduces Australian ownership of local enterprise or increases unemployment. The External/Enemy, from PHON's point of view at least, would

remain in Asia, though currently closer to the nations of South East Asia rather than China or Japan.

PHON's Master Frame is likely to be appealing to people who are seduced by Hanson's populist style and her construction of Australian Identity that is traditional, exclusionary, ethnocentric and resistant to change. The next chapter seeks to provide evidence for this position by analysing the Australian Election Study 1998 data set.

**Chapter Ten**

# EMOTIONAL ENERGY: ANALYSIS OF THE AUSTRALIAN ELECTION STUDY 1998

## Introduction

This chapter proceeds in a number of sections. First the advantages and disadvantages of secondary data analysis are briefly discussed. I then describe the data set chosen for analysis and offer a justification for selecting the Australian Election Study 1998 (AES 1998) over other surveys. Following this I present a brief discussion of the concept of Emotional Energy and its utility as a concept in the context of this research.

The statistical procedures are described beginning with the construction of a scale to measure positive as opposed to negative feelings towards Hanson. Then some descriptive findings which examine respondent's sentiments regarding the thematic domains in relation to the phenomenon labelled Emotional Energy are presented. I then use a series of factor analyses to arrive at a set of scales to operationalise each thematic domain. Finally, using regression techniques, I investigate the extent to which these independent variables explain the variation in Emotional Energy.

## Secondary Data Analysis – Advantages and Disadvantages

The further analysis of any existing data set which presents interpretations, conclusions, or knowledge, additional to, or different from, those presented in the original report on the data collection and its results is termed secondary data analysis (Marshall 1994: 466).

The benefits of using pre-existing data are many and include time effectiveness. The collection of primary data, especially for large datasets is very time consuming and labour intensive. It is also very cost effective as secondary data is often comparatively cheap or as in this case, incurs no cost at all. Issues orf reliability and validity will have already been dealt with in most cases and as the researcher has no contact or involvement with the respondents, ethical issues are minimised.

Problems may arise if the data is of poor quality in the first place. In this instance the AES data sets are well established, regularly conducted national surveys that use probability sampling designs and cover a wide range of topics. However, no matter how reliable the data set it is important to acknowledge that compromises may have to be made as the collection instrument may not include a question that sufficiently probes your topic of interest sufficiently for your initial needs. Hence, the survey design must respond to and accommodate the data as it is.

**Australian Election Study 1998**

The data file of the Australian Election Study 1998 (AES 1998) was accessed via the Social Science Data Archives located at the Research School of Social Sciences at the Australian National University. The AES 1998 was the fifth survey in a series of studies timed to coincide with Australian Federal elections. These surveys were designed to provide a long-term perspective on stability and change in political attitudes and behaviour within the Australian electorate.

Primarily, AES surveys investigate the changing social characteristics of Australian politics as the economy and society modernise and change behaviour (Bean, Gow, and McAllister 1999). These studies also focus on issues prevailing in specific elections. The AES 1998 questionnaire addressed topics related to the constitution, rights and minorities. There were also specific questions regarding opinions on various aspects of social policy including immigration, euthanasia, abortion, firearms, sex discrimination and government assistance to Aborigines. Views regarding political affiliations and party leaders were also studied. There was a particular emphasis placed on electors' opinions of Kim Beazley (Leader of the Opposition), John Howard (incumbent Prime Minister), and Pauline Hanson (leader of PHON). The fact that data was collected about respondents feelings towards party leaders, combined with the items that explore such a wide variety of opinions and attitudes, which make this data set appropriate for this research.

The AES 1998 survey was a random sample of the electorate, representative of all States and Territories. It was conducted immediately after the October 1998 federal election. The survey was based on a self-completion questionnaire that yielding 1,897 completed responses. This represents an effective response rate of 58% (Bean, Gow, and McAllister 1999).

**The Concept of Emotional Energy**

Emotional Energy is a concept most frequently associated with the work of Randall Collins (1988; 2004) concerning the nature of rituals. Unlike many other social theorists, Collins seeks to explain the social world from the bottom up. That is, he favours using micro structures to explain what is going on at the macro level, rather

than the converse. This means that for Collins, interactions between people are mediated by exchange of resources and rituals (Turner 1991). Though a discussion of exchange theory is beyond the scope of this thesis, a brief discussion of the role of emotional energy in human encounter is warranted. Collins (2004) labels such encounters as Interaction Ritual and that the social structure may be conceptualised as Interaction Ritual Chains. That is, they are repeated by people over and over. Collins (1988) asserts that if interactions between people occur again and again then there is a structure to their interaction. Emotional energy is a key factor in the ritual process.

The specific aspect of this conceptualisation that relates to the thesis is the basic elements of Collins' (2004) theory. These elements are the necessary conditions that allow the initiation of interaction ritual and the main outcomes of these interactions. Conditions for Interaction Ritual (Collins 2004: 48):

1. Group Assembly - two or more people must be together in the same place. It does not matter whether they are aware of each others presence or not.

2. Barrier to Outsiders - Boundaries exist so that people are aware of who is in and who is out of the group or gathering.

3. Mutual Focus of Attention – When people are engaged with a common object or activity, they become aware of each others focus.

4. Shared Mood – As a result of the above, participants share a common experience or mood.

Examples of these conditions may exist at the level of an engrossing conversation between two or more people or at the level of a full sports stadium watching the home team. Collins (2004: 48) describes the summative effect of this as 'Collective Effervescence'.

Outcomes of Interaction Ritual (Collins 2004: 49):

1.  Group Solidarity - The feeling of membership or belonging for the
    participants.

2.  Emotional Energy – Individuals may experience feelings of confidence,
    elation, strength, enthusiasm, and initiative in taking action.

3.  Sacred Objects – There are symbols that represent the group. Emblems
    (flags, team colours, mascots) and words or gestures (national anthems,
    team songs, special handshakes). People aroused by feelings of group
    solidarity treat these 'sacred objects' deferentially. They are moved to
    guard and protect these symbols from outsiders. Nor will they allow
    disrespect from renegade insiders or traitors.

4.  Standards of Morality – Participants experience a feeling of justness. A
    sense of the rightness of belonging to the group. Defending the group,
    guarding its symbols is the right and proper thing to do. Transgressions
    and violations evoke righteous anger.

Many aspects of interaction ritual chains resonate with the emotional aspects of
PHON's discourse. Populist political style tends to encourage similar outcomes from
its discourse. This has been demonstrated by the rhetorical analysis in particular.
However the concept of emotional energy has the capacity to represent the potential
aggregate effect of the scale created to measure respondent's feelings towards
Hanson. It is proposed that respondents who have high levels of Emotional Energy
towards Hanson will be more likely to share PHON's views on issues than those who
have low levels of Emotional Energy towards her.

## Descriptive Statistics

The data set was examined to identify items that concerned issues dealt with by PHON in the party discourse. These issues represent aspects of each Thematic Domain. The items were then used to construct scales to measure the different dimensions of each Thematic Domain. The Domains are dealt with in turn. Though this section presents the frequency distributions for the selected items, each part begins with the relevant scale construction. This is so that the relationship between the items and the Thematic Domains may be more easily appreciated. It also serves to give an insight into the attitudes to the Thematic Domains of the whole Australian electorate.

## Cultural Sovereignty

Principle component analysis revealed that Cultural Sovereignty has three dimensions:

1. Tolerance of Ethnic Cultures

2. Tolerance of Immigrant Culture

3. Tolerance of Aboriginal Culture

The items selected for this domain are listed in Table 5. All of these items are from Section G. Constitution, Rights and Minorities of the AES 1998. Orthogonal rotation revealed three components that represent the three dimensions of Cultural Sovereignty. The reliability coefficients are also reported and they indicate that a high level of internal stability exists for each scale or dimension.

**Table 5 Rotated Component Matrix[a]**

| | Component | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| People mind if boss is an Aborigine | .818 | | |
| People mind if relative marries Aborigine | .800 | | |
| People mind if boss is an Asian | .793 | | |
| People mind if relative marries Asian | .784 | | .124 |
| Special cultural protection for Aborigines | | .849 | |
| Recognise aspirations of Aborigines | | .808 | -.112 |
| Aborigines right to self government | | .758 | -.171 |
| Migrants should celebrate Aust heritage | | -.100 | .907 |
| New Austs should try harder to fit in | | | .906 |

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis. Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization.
[a] Rotation converged in 4 iterations.

### Tolerance of Ethnic Cultures

This dimension is composed of four items. Two relate to tolerating either an Asian or Aboriginal person for a boss and two relate to tolerating either an Asian or Aboriginal person as a family member. In each case, the majority of respondents would mind a little or a lot if an Asian or Aboriginal person were appointed their boss (see Tables 7 & 8). The attitudes of respondent's to having a close family member marry either an Asian or Aboriginal person was similar (see Tables 9 & 10). Approximately two thirds stated that they would mind a little or a lot if they had an Asian boss or an Asian family member. Aboriginal bosses were viewed slightly more favourably. Yet marriage to an Aboriginal person was the most disapproved of attribute if the frequency for 'Mind a lot' and 'Mind a little' are aggregated. Less than a third of respondents said that they would not mind at all if a family member married an Aboriginal person. The data suggest that tolerance of difference was not common with only 28 percent of respondents saying they did 'Not mind at all' if an Aboriginal

person married into the family as opposed to 32 percent endorsing marriage to an

Asian person.

**Table 6 Reliability Coefficient for Tolerance of Ethnic Cultures**

| Reliability Coefficients | |
|---|---|
| N of Cases = 1749 | N of Items = 4 |
| Alpha = 0.8123 | |

Do you think most people in Australia would mind a lot, a little, or not at all if a suitably qualified person of Asian background was appointed their boss?

**Table 7 People mind if boss is Asian**

| | Frequency | Percent |
|---|---|---|
| Mind a lot | 340 | 17.9 |
| Mind a little | 802 | 42.3 |
| Not mind at all | 673 | 35.5 |
| Total | 1815 | 95.7 |
| Missing = | 82 | 4.3 |
| N = | 1897 | 100.0 |

And how about someone of Aboriginal background?

**Table 8 People mind if boss is an Aborigine**

| | Frequency | Percent |
|---|---|---|
| Mind a lot | 412 | 21.7 |
| Mind a little | 665 | 35.1 |
| Not mind at all | 730 | 38.5 |
| Total | 1807 | 95.3 |
| Missing = | 90 | 4.7 |
| N = | 1897 | 100.0 |

Do you think most people in Australia would mind a lot, a little, or not at all if one of their close relatives were to marry a person of Asian background?

**Table 9 People mind if relative marries Asian**

|  | Frequency | Percent |
|---|---|---|
| Mind a lot | 245 | 12.9 |
| Mind a little | 973 | 51.3 |
| Not mind at all | 607 | 32.0 |
| Total | 1825 | 96.2 |
| Missing = | 72 | 3.8 |
| N = | 1897 | 100.0 |

And how about someone of Aboriginal background?

**Table 10 People mind if relative marries Aborigine**

|  | Frequency | Percent |
|---|---|---|
| Mind a lot | 447 | 23.6 |
| Mind a little | 834 | 44.0 |
| Not mind at all | 531 | 28.0 |
| Total | 1812 | 95.5 |
| Missing = | 85 | 4.5 |
| N = | 1897 | 100.0 |

## Tolerance of Immigrant Culture

This dimension is composed of two items. They both ask people to respond to statements using a five point Likert Scale. The first relates to the celebration of Australian heritage and letting go of 'old ways' (see Table 11). The second seeks opinions about whether immigrants should try harder to be more like 'other Australians' (see Table 12). Over two-thirds of respondents Agree or Strongly Agree that Migrants should celebrate Australian culture rather than 'cling to their old ways'. Less than fifteen percent took the opposing view (see Table 11). Nearly half thought that new Australians should try harder to fit in (see Table 12). Nearly a quarter did not commit themselves while the remaining quarter Disagreed or Strongly Disagreed. The data suggest that many Australians may support policies that promote assimilation.

Table 11 Tolerance of Immigrant Culture

| Reliability Coefficients | |
|---|---|
| N of Cases = 1835 | N of Items = 2 |
| Alpha = 0.8031 | |

How much do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements?

While it is good to celebrate one's heritage, it is more important for new migrants to learn what it is to be Australian than to cling to their old ways.

Table 12 Migrants should celebrate Australian heritage

| | Frequency | Percent |
|---|---|---|
| Strongly agree | 426 | 22.5 |
| Agree | 809 | 42.6 |
| Neither | 350 | 18.5 |
| Disagree | 211 | 11.1 |
| Strongly disagree | 49 | 2.6 |
| Total | 1845 | 97.3 |
| Missing = | 52 | 2.7 |
| N = | 1897 | 100.0 |

People who come to live in Australia should try harder to be more like other Australians.

Table 13 New Australians should try harder to fit in

| | Frequency | Percent |
|---|---|---|
| Strongly agree | 323 | 17.0 |
| Agree | 625 | 32.9 |
| Neither | 469 | 24.7 |
| Disagree | 350 | 18.5 |
| Strongly disagree | 74 | 3.9 |
| Total | 1841 | 97.0 |
| Missing = | 56 | 3.0 |
| N = | 1897 | 100.0 |

## Tolerance of Aboriginal Culture

This dimension is composed of three items. Once again respondents were asked to agree or disagree with the statements. While more than half of the respondents Agreed or Strongly Agreed that it is important to recognize the aspirations of Aboriginal people (see Table 15), only about one third Agreed or Strongly Agreed that there

should be special cultural protection for Aborigines (see Table 14). The notion of self-government for Aborigines was poorly supported (see Table 17). Less than fourteen percent Agreed or Strongly Agreed with this proposition. These items revealed a significant number of fence sitters with 25 to 30 percent of respondents neither agreeing nor disagreeing with the statements. The data suggests that while a majority of respondents held positive sentiments about Aborigines, it did not translate into action. The two items that would make a tangible difference to Australian society and Aboriginal culture were not well supported.

**Table 14 Tolerance of Aboriginal Culture**

| Reliability Coefficients | |
|---|---|
| N of Cases = 1825 | N of Items = 3 |
| Alpha = 0..735 | |

How much do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements?

As the first Australians, Aborigines should have special cultural protection that other groups don't have.

**Table 15  Special cultural protection for Aborigines**

| | Frequency | Percent |
|---|---|---|
| Strongly agree | 138 | 7.3 |
| Agree | 509 | 26.8 |
| Neither | 497 | 26.2 |
| Disagree | 508 | 26.8 |
| Strongly disagree | 192 | 10.1 |
| Total | 1844 | 97.2 |
| Missing = | 53 | 2.8 |
| N = | 1897 | 100.0 |

It is important for the well-being of Australian society that the aspirations of Aborigines be recognised.

**Table 16  Recognise aspirations of Aborigines**

|  | Frequency | Percent |
|---|---|---|
| Strongly agree | 225 | 11.9 |
| Agree | 854 | 45.0 |
| Neither | 488 | 25.7 |
| Disagree | 192 | 10.1 |
| Strongly disagree | 82 | 4.3 |
| Total | 1841 | 97.0 |
| Missing = | 56 | 3.0 |
| N = | 1897 | 100.0 |

The constitution should specifically recognise the right of Aborigines to self-government.

**Table 17  Aborigines right to self-government**

|  | Frequency | Percent |
|---|---|---|
| Strongly agree | 77 | 4.1 |
| Agree | 183 | 9.6 |
| Neither | 570 | 30.0 |
| Disagree | 665 | 35.1 |
| Strongly disagree | 341 | 18.0 |
| Total = | 1836 | 96.8 |
| Missing | 61 | 3.2 |
| N = | 1897 | 100.0 |

## Social Sovereignty

Principle component analysis revealed that Social Sovereignty has one dimension: Changing Social Policy. This dimension is composed of five items (see Table 18) and they are listed in Table 19. All of these items are from Section E. Social Policy AES 1998. Respondents were asked to say whether they thought that social changes in Australia had gone too far, not gone far enough or were about right.

Half of the respondents believed that equal opportunity was About Right for migrants. Nearly one third thought that it had Gone Too Far or Much Too Far. Only just over

ten percent thought that there was room for improvement (see Table 20). Regarding the number of migrants that were allowed into Australia at the time, less than twenty percent thought that the numbers entering the country should be increased (see Table 22). Approximately equal proportions thought that the numbers were About Right or were excessive. The data suggests that while the majority of people are in favour of social policy that benefits migrants, approximately one third disapprove of assistance for migrants.

More than half of the respondents felt that links with Asia were About Right. Approximately a quarter thought that links with Asia should be developed further, with less than twenty percent regarding the existing links as being too close (see Table 24). The data suggests that people who reject closer ties with Asia are in the minority with the majority exhibiting a positive attitude to developing relationships with Asia.

The remaining two items enquired after people's views regarding social support for Aborigines in the form of government assistance. More than half of the respondents felt that Aboriginal Land Rights had Gone Too Far or Much Too Far. Less than twenty percent felt that more should be done in terms of Aboriginal Land Rights (see Table 21). These figures are mirrored in Table 23 which concerns government help for Aborigines. Again, about one quarter felt that change was About Right in terms of Land Rights and government assistance for Aborigines with more than fifty percent considering that it had Gone Too Far or Much Too Far. The data suggest that social policy that increases benefits for Aboriginal people specifically is supported by the minority of Australians.

**Table 18 Changing Social Policy**

| Reliability Coefficients | |
|---|---|
| N of Cases = 1741 | N of Items = 5 |
| Alpha = 0.8174 | |

**Table 19 Component Matrix[a]**

| | Component 1 |
|---|---|
| Government help for aborigines | .814 |
| Aboriginal land rights | .809 |
| Equal opportunities for migrants | .769 |
| No. of migrants allowed into Australia | .750 |
| Building closer links with Asia | .659 |

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.
[a] 1 components extracted.
Rotated Component Matrix
[a] Only one component was extracted. The solution cannot be rotated.

The statements below indicate some of the changes that have been happening in Australia over the years. For each one, please say whether you think the change has gone too far, not gone far enough, or is it about right?

**Table 20 Equal opportunities for migrants**

| | Frequency | Percent |
|---|---|---|
| Gone much too far | 234 | 12.3 |
| Gone too far | 368 | 19.4 |
| About right | 964 | 50.8 |
| Not gone far enough | 194 | 10.2 |
| Not nearly far enough | 37 | 2.0 |
| Total | 1797 | 94.7 |
| Missing = | 100 | 5.3 |
| N = | 1897 | 100.0 |

Aboriginal land rights?

**Table 21 Aboriginal land rights**

|  | Frequency | Percent |
|---|---|---|
| Gone much too far | 464 | 24.5 |
| Gone too far | 525 | 27.7 |
| About right | 437 | 23.0 |
| Not gone far enough | 261 | 13.8 |
| Not nearly far enough | 112 | 5.9 |
| Total | 1799 | 94.8 |
| Missing = | 98 | 5.2 |
| N = | 1897 | 100.0 |

The number of migrants allowed into Australia at the present time?

**Table 22 Number of migrants allowed into Australia**

|  | Frequency | Percent |
|---|---|---|
| Gone much too far | 365 | 19.2 |
| Gone too far | 419 | 22.1 |
| About right | 826 | 43.5 |
| Not gone far enough | 148 | 7.8 |
| Not nearly far enough | 44 | 2.3 |
| Total | 1802 | 95.0 |
| Missing = | 95 | 5.0 |
| N = | 1897 | 100.0 |

Government help for Aborigines?

**Table 23 Government help for aborigines**

|  | Frequency | Percent |
|---|---|---|
| Gone much too far | 433 | 22.8 |
| Gone too far | 545 | 28.7 |
| About right | 478 | 25.2 |
| Not gone far enough | 248 | 13.1 |
| Not nearly far enough | 98 | 5.2 |
| Total | 1802 | 95.0 |
| Missing = | 95 | 5.0 |
| N = | 1897 | 100.0 |

Building closer links with Asia?

**Table 24 Building closer links with Asia**

|  | Frequency | Percent |
|---|---|---|
| Gone much too far | 157 | 8.3 |
| Gone too far | 214 | 11.3 |
| About right | 993 | 52.3 |
| Not gone far enough | 364 | 19.2 |
| Not nearly far enough | 78 | 4.1 |
| Total | 1806 | 95.2 |
| Missing = | 91 | 4.8 |
| N = | 1897 | 100.0 |

## Economic Sovereignty

Principle component analysis revealed that Economic Sovereignty has two dimensions:

1.  Power of Big Business

2.  Power of Trade Unions

The items selected for this domain are listed in Table 27. All of these items are from Section D. Election Issues of the AES 1998. Orthogonal rotation revealed two components that represent the two dimensions of Economic Sovereignty. The reliability coefficients are also reported. They indicate a satisfactory level of internal stability for the Power of Big Business scale (see Table 25). A high level of reliability is indicated for the Power of Trade Unions scale or dimension (see Table 26). Both of these dimensions are composed of two items. All of the items ask people to respond to statements using a five point Likert Scale.

## Power of Big Business

The first item asks people to rate the extent to which they perceive government to be run by 'big interests'. More than half the respondents felt that the government is Mostly or Entirely run for the benefit of 'big interests' (see Table 28). Less than twelve percent felt that it was run Mostly or Entirely for Benefit of All. However, approximately one third felt that the split was fifty / fifty between big business and everyone else. The results are more negative towards big business in Table 29. Nearly 70 percent of respondents either Agreed or Strongly Agreed that big business have too much power. Barely six percent took the opposing view. In this instance less than 23 percent held a neutral view about the power of big business. Overall, the data suggest that the majority of Australians might believe that Big Business in Australia is too influential.

## Power of Trade Unions

More than half of the respondents expressed the opinion that trade unions are too powerful and require further regulation (see Tables 30 & 31). Roughly one quarter were non-committal in regard to both items. However trade unions were regarded as less powerful than big business by nearly 17 percentage points. The data set does not include an item that asks about regulating business enterprises.

**Table 25 Power of Big Business**

| Reliability Coefficients | |
|---|---|
| N of Cases = 1809 | N of Items = 2 |
| Alpha = 0.5000 | |

**Table 26 Power of Trade Unions**

| Reliability Coefficients | |
|---|---|
| N of Cases = 1820 | N of Items = 2 |
| Alpha = 0.8485 | |

**Table 27 Rotated Component Matrix[a]**

| | Component | |
|---|---|---|
| | 1 | 2 |
| Stricter laws to regulate trade unions | .926 | |
| Trade unions have too much power | .926 | |
| Big business has too much power | .105 | .843 |
| Government run by big interests | -.218 | .788 |

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.   Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization.
[a] Rotation converged in 3 iterations.

Would you say the government is run by a few big interests looking out for themselves, or that it is run for the benefit of all people?

**Table 28 Government run by big interests**

| | Frequency | Percent |
|---|---|---|
| Entirely run for big interests | 277 | 14.6 |
| Mostly run for big interests | 693 | 36.5 |
| Half and half | 659 | 34.7 |
| Most run for benefit of all | 205 | 10.8 |
| Entirely run for benefit of all | 15 | .8 |
| Total | 1849 | 97.5 |
| Missing = | 48 | 2.5 |
| N = | 1897 | 100.0 |

Please say whether you strongly agree, agree, disagree or strongly disagree with each of these statements.


Big business has too much power.

**Table 29  Big business has too much power**

|                   | Frequency | Percent |
|-------------------|-----------|---------|
| Strongly agree    | 568       | 29.9    |
| Agree             | 726       | 38.3    |
| Neither           | 422       | 22.2    |
| Disagree          | 99        | 5.2     |
| Strongly disagree | 14        | .7      |
| Total             | 1829      | 96.4    |
| Missing =         | 68        | 3.6     |
| N =               | 1897      | 100.0   |


Trade unions have too much power.

**Table 30 Trade unions have too much power**

|                   | Frequency | Percent |
|-------------------|-----------|---------|
| Strongly agree    | 446       | 23.5    |
| Agree             | 530       | 27.9    |
| Neither           | 423       | 22.3    |
| Disagree          | 335       | 17.7    |
| Strongly disagree | 108       | 5.7     |
| Total             | 1842      | 97.1    |
| Missing =         | 55        | 2.9     |
| N =               | 1897      | 100.0   |


There should be stricter laws to regulate the activities of trade unions.
+

**Table 31 Stricter laws to regulate trade unions**

|                   | Frequency | Percent |
|-------------------|-----------|---------|
| Strongly agree    | 360       | 19.0    |
| Agree             | 610       | 32.2    |
| Neither           | 499       | 26.3    |
| Disagree          | 273       | 14.4    |
| Strongly disagree | 85        | 4.5     |
| Total             | 1827      | 96.3    |
| Missing =         | 70        | 3.7     |
| N =               | 1897      | 100.0   |

## Applying the Emotional Energy Scale

This section presents the Emotional Energy Scale. The scale is composed of items

from Section C – The Candidates, from the AES 1998. The items are listed in Table

32. Respondents were asked to respond to each of the attributes using a four point

Likert Scale. No neutral option was given. The following question preceded the list:

Now thinking about Pauline Hanson, in your opinion how well does each of these

describe her – extremely well, quite well, not too well, not well at all. The reliability

coefficient is reported and it indicates that a very high level of internal stability exists

for the Emotional Energy Scale (EES). A high level of EES indicates a high level of

positive regard for Hanson. A low level of EES indicates negative regard for Hanson.

The EES has been cross-tabulated with the variables that represent the most common

demographic characteristics of PHON voters as reported in previous studies[40]. These

are sex (men more likely than women to support PHON); location of residence (non-

metropolitan voters more likely to support PHON than metropolitan voters); Age

(middle to older age more likely to support PHON than younger or elderly voters);

income (lower incomes rather than higher income voters support PHON) and

occupation (those on lower incomes such as semi or unskilled workers). Due to

difficulties in coding occupation due to the very large number of cells that would be

generated, this analysis has used education (highest qualification obtained since

leaving school). As the measure of occupation used in the original study lacked

appropriate reliability and validity it was excluded as a poor quality measure. Being at

the mercy of the original researchers design is a problem often encountered during

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[40] See Bean (2000); Goot (1998; 2001); McAllister & Bean (1997; 2000); Davis & Stimson (1998).

secondary data analysis. The purpose of this exercise is to run an analysis that uses a

measure of support for Hanson as the dependent variable rather than vote for Hanson.

**Table 32 Component Matrix [a] Emotional Energy**

|  | Component |
| --- | --- |
|  | 1 |
| Pauline Hanson dependable | .878 |
| Pauline Hanson reliable | .870 |
| Pauline Hanson sensible | .853 |
| Pauline Hanson moral | .824 |
| Pauline Hanson intelligent | .821 |
| Pauline Hanson knowledgeable | .801 |
| Pauline Hanson honest | .799 |
| Pauline Hanson compassionate | .790 |
| Pauline Hanson provides strong leadership | .725 |

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.
[a] 1 components extracted.

Following De Vaus (1995) an ordinal ranking scale was formulated to interpret the

relative intensity of expressed Emotional Energy: high, medium and low. In essence

this means that the third highest scores were placed in the high category, the middle

third in the medium category and the lowest in the low category (see Table 34).

Collapsing categories in this way has the advantage of letting the data define what is

low, medium and high rather than imposing some external, unrealistic definition (De

Vaus 1995: 281).

**Table 33 Emotional Energy**

| Reliability Coefficients | |
|---|---|
| N of Cases = 1664 | N of Items = 10 |
| Alpha = 0.9439 | |

**Table 34 Level of Emotional Energy by Sex**

| | | | Sex | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Male | Female |
| **Level of Emotional Energy** | High | % within Sex | 35.6% | 29.4% |
| | Medium | % within Sex | 35.6% | 33.8% |
| | Low | % within Sex | 28.9% | 36.8% |
| N=1664 Missing Cases = 233 | | % within Sex | 100.0% | 100.0% |

The data indicates that males are more likely than females to experience high levels of Emotional Energy (EE) for Hanson (see Table 34). Over one third of the male respondents have high EE for Hanson compared to less than thirty percent of females. There was little difference between the sexes in terms of medium EE with approximately one third of both males and females falling into this category. The difference between males and females at the low end of the EES was eight percent. These findings are consistent with those found in previous research.

PHON has often been associated with rural and farm settings. Ipswich, the place where Hanson herself resided at the time of this survey may be described as a larger country town. The data in Table 35 suggest that the further away one moves from a metropolitan area, the higher the level of EE. 45 percent of rural/village dwellers express high levels of EE while the proportion falls to 38 percent of those residing in larger country towns and to fewer than 27 percent of those living in major cities.

Again the proportion of respondents expressing medium EE for each location is

approximately one third. This finding is in keeping with the general consensus in the

social science literature regarding the relationship between place of residence and

vote.

**Table 35 Level of Emotional Energy by Location of Residence**

| | | | Location of Residence | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Rural/ village | Small country town | Larger country town | Large town | Major city |
| Level of Emotional Energy | high | % within Location | 45.0% | 38.4% | 38.0% | 35.0% | 26.8% |
| | medium | % within Location | 30.4% | 33.1% | 34.3% | 32.1% | 36.9% |
| | low | % within Location | 24.6% | 28.5% | 27.7% | 32.9% | 36.2% |
| N= 1633 Missing Cases=264 | | % within Location | 100.0% | 100.0% | 100.0% | 100.0% | 100.0% |

Age was recoded from the dataset from the item I2 Year of birth. The ages were then

collapsed into manageable categories as presented in Table 36. The age categories

with the highest levels of EE are 35-50 and 51-64 years. The youngest respondents

had the lowest proportion of high EE. This finding is congruent with previous studies.

However, the 51-64 years category has a significantly higher proportion of high EE

respondents compared to all the other categories. This category has a proportion of

high EE that is 8.5 percentage points higher than the 35-50 year olds and nearly

twenty percentage points higher than the proportion of 18-24 year olds.

**Table 36 Level of Emotional Energy by Age**

|  |  |  | Age Categories |  |  |  |  |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
|  |  |  | 18-24 yrs | 25-34 yrs | 35-50 yrs | 51-64 yrs | $\geq$ 65 yrs |
| Level of Emotional Energy | high | % within Age Cat. | 23.6% | 33.1% | 34.7% | 43.2% | 30.3% |
|  | medium | % within Age Cat. | 34.8% | 36.9% | 34.2% | 31.0% | 30.3% |
|  | low | % within Age Cat. | 41.6% | 30.0% | 31.1% | 25.8% | 39.4% |
| Missing = 142 |  | % within Age Cat. | 100.0% | 100.0% | 100.0% | 100.0% | 100.0% |
| N = 1688 |  | % of Total | 24.3% | 34.5% | 21.7% | 13.6% | 5.9% |

Gross annual income was recoded from the AES 1998 data set in order to increase cell sizes (see Table 37). The results of this cross-tabulation shows little variation across income categories until the >$50, 001 level. The difference between the proportion of high EE respondents in this category and the category that has the highest proportion of high EE ($20, 001- 35,000) is fourteen percentage points.

**Table 37 EMOTEREC * Gross Annual Income in $**

|  |  |  | Income |  |  |  |  |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
|  |  |  | <5 000 – 20 000 | 20 001 – 35 000 | 35 001 – 50 000 | >50 001 | Missing |
| EMOTEREC | high | % within Income range | 36.9% | 39.0% | 32.0% | 24.9% | 31.7% |
|  | medium | % within Income range | 27.6% | 32.6% | 38.9% | 40.5% | 28.2% |
|  | low | % within Income range | 35.4% | 28.4% | 29.0% | 34.6% | 40.1% |
| Missing = 142 |  | % within Income | 100.0% | 100.0% | 100.0% | 100.0% | 100.0% |

| N = 1688 | | range<br>% of Total | 23.6% | 19.6% | 18.0% | 30.5% | 8.4% |

The most interesting result regarding highest qualification obtained since leaving school is observed in the postgraduate category (see Table 38). Approximately 25 percent of postgraduates surveyed expressed high EE. This result is similar for those with a bachelor degree (twenty percent). There is also little difference between these two categories at the medium level of EE (bachelor 42.2 percent and postgraduate 45.0 percent). Yet when the proportions at the low level of EE are examined, the proportion of bachelors with low EE is over eight percentage points greater than the proportion of postgraduates at this level. The category with the highest proportion of high EE is the trade or diploma qualification category (35.9 percent). Other studies have identified blue-collar workers as being more likely than white-collar workers to support PHON and these results are in accord with those.

Table 38 Level of Emotional Energy by Highest Qualification Obtained Since Leaving School

| | | | Level of Qualification | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | no quals | trade, diploma, etc | bachelor | postgrad | missing |
| EMOTEREC | high | % within Qual. level | 32.5% | 35.9% | 20.0% | 24.6% | 37.1% |
| | medium | % within Qual.level | 30.8% | 34.8% | 42.2% | 45.9% | 24.7% |
| | low | % within Qual. Level | 36.7% | 29.3% | 37.8% | 29.5% | 38.1% |
| Missing = 97<br>N =1688 | | % within QUAL | 100.0% | 100.0% | 100.0% | 100.0% | 100.0% |
| | | % of Total | 30.8% | 45.3% | 11.0% | 7.2% | 5.7% |

## Regression Analysis

The following tables summarise the results of the analysis of variance. Each of the scales created to measure the dimensions of the Thematic Categories are treated as dependent variables against Emotional Energy (the predictor or independent variable). I use a main effect ANOVA design to measure relationships between the independent variables and the categorical predictor variable (Emotional Energy). For designs such as one-way ANOVA or simple regression designs, the whole model test by itself may be sufficient for testing general hypotheses about whether or not the single predictor variable is related to the outcome (Statsoft 2002: 70). In essence I have run the Emotional Energy Scale against each of the scales constructed for the Domains of Sovereignty (Cultural, Social, and Economic).

## Cultural Sovereignty

The low value of the F statistic and the Sig. value of 0.817 suggest that high Emotional Energy is not predictive of low Tolerance of Ethnic Culture (see Table 39). Given the results of the cross-tabulations which suggested high levels of intolerance in Australian society, the result may be attributable to a lack of appropriate items in the data set. However Table 40 paints a different picture. In relation to Tolerance of Aboriginal Culture there is a high F statistic and a probability of less than .0005 as indicated by the Sig. value. This is interpreted as there being less than five chances in 10,000 of obtaining sample mean differences so far apart by chance alone. A similar result was found for the Tolerance of Immigrant Culture (see Table 41). High levels of EE were found to be predictive of low levels of Tolerance of Immigrant and Aboriginal Culture.

**Table 39 ANOVA Tolerance of Ethnic Culture**

| Model | | Sum of | df | Mean | F | Sig. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|

| | | Squares | | Square | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Regression | .286 | 1 | .286 | .054 | .817 |
| | Residual | 8481.192 | 1589 | 5.337 | | |
| | Total | 8481.478 | 1590 | | | |

a Predictors: (Constant), emotional energy
b Dependent Variable: Tolerance of Ethnic Culture

**Table 40 ANOVA Tolerance of Aboriginal Culture**

| Model | | Sum of Squares | df | Mean Square | F | Sig. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Regression | 443.110 | 1 | 443.110 | 70.668 | .000 |
| | Residual | 10333.497 | 1648 | 6.270 | | |
| | Total | 10776.607 | 1649 | | | |

a Predictors: (Constant), emotional energy
b Dependent Variable: Tolerance of Aboriginal Culture

**Table 41 ANOVA Tolerance of Immigrant Culture**

| Model | | Sum of Squares | df | Mean Square | F | Sig. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Regression | 548.759 | 1 | 548.759 | 156.312 | .000 |
| | Residual | 5803.112 | 1653 | 3.511 | | |
| | Total | 6351.871 | 1654 | | | |

a Predictors: (Constant), emotional energy
b Dependent Variable: Tolerance of Immigrant Culture

## Social Sovereignty

This analysis also demonstrates a highly significant result (see Table 42). Again the high F statistic and Sig. value of .000, indicate that high levels of EE are predictive of low approval for social change.

**Table 42 ANOVA Changing Social Policy**

| Model | | Sum of Squares | df | Mean Square | F | Sig. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Regression | 4378.230 | 1 | 4378.230 | 338.113 | .000 |

|  | Residual | 20601.872 | 1591 | 12.949 |  |  |
|  | Total | 24980.102 | 1592 |  |  |  |

a Predictors: (Constant), emotional energy
b Dependent Variable: Changing Social Policy

## Economic Sovereignty

Firstly dealing with Power of Trade Unions dimension, the results depict a highly significant relationship between the two variables (see Table 43). This indicates that high levels of EE are predictive of low levels of support for Trade Unions. A slightly different scenario is revealed in terms of the Power of Big Business Dimension (see Table 44). In this instance a lower F statistic has been obtained and the Sig. value is 0.046. This is acceptable however as it is less than 0.05. The interpretation being that the likelihood of this variation being due to chance is less than five percent.

**Table 43 ANOVA Power of Trade Unions**

| Model |  | Sum of Squares | df | Mean Square | F | Sig. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Regression | 68.768 | 1 | 68.768 | 15.024 | .000 |
|  | Residual | 7534.201 | 1646 | 4.577 |  |  |
|  | Total | 7602.968 | 1647 |  |  |  |

a Predictors: (Constant), emotional energy
b Dependent Variable: Power of Trade Unions

**Table 44 ANOVA Power of Big Business**

| Model |  | Sum of Squares | df | Mean Square | F | Sig. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Regression | 8.585 | 1 | 8.585 | 4.005 | .046 |
|  | Residual | 3506.812 | 1636 | 2.144 |  |  |
|  | Total | 3515.397 | 1637 |  |  |  |

a Predictors: (Constant), emotional energy
b Dependent Variable: Power of Big Business

## Conclusion

The statistical analysis supports the findings of the discourse analysis. In the majority of cases it was found that Emotional Energy has a high degree of predictive power. This analysis also provided a conceptual link between PHON and the response in terms of emotion, of the constituency. Emotion has been a thread throughout the thesis. Emotion is an important aspect of the populist style. The rhetorical devices have emotional impact on the audience. The functions of framing are enhanced by acknowledging the role of emotion and the attitudes of Australians to Hanson have been measured in emotional terms and a link has been established via the statistical analysis to the Thematic Domains of the PHON discourse.

## Chapter Eleven

# CONCLUSION

### Theoretical Frameworks

The thesis described the history of populism and the nature of contemporary populism

in Western Europe, USA and in Australia. This discussion was deemed to be

important to the thesis as populism is a highly contested concept that resists definition

(Ionescu and Gellner 1969; Canovan 1981). The classic text on the subject was

reviewed (Ionescu and Gellner 1969) but the more recent work by Canovan (1981;

1999) was deemed appropriate to the study. Canovan (1981; 1999) describes a form

of populism termed Politician's Populism. It accommodates more contemporary

forms of populist politics as it appears in established and relatively stable

democracies. International comparisons demonstrated that the advent of a right wing

Populist Party in Australia was in keeping with global political trends.


A discussion of Adorno and The Frankfurt School ensued in order to provide a

context for the application of Adorno's Rhetorical Typology to the PHON manifesto.

This discussion served to situate the research in terms of the classical origins

informing it.


The work of Goffman regarding frame analysis was introduced and reviewed. His

theoretical contribution to the analysis of social interaction is pivotal. The result of

this review is the selection of the approach put forward by Snow and Benford (1988;

2000) that is based upon the concept of the production of a Master Frame that is

constituted by three functions of framing. This decision was based upon the logical

sequence of processes presented by Snow and Benford, for identifying these core framing functions of prognosis, diagnosis and motivation and the conceptualisation of master frames.

## Contextual Background and Responses to PHON

Chapter Five provides an overview of Pauline Hanson's formative years and political career. This discussion provides a backdrop for the review of the social science literature that emerged in response to the advent of PHON. The chapter also sought to locate PHON in the overall Australian political landscape of the time.

The review revealed that a number of scholarly studies have concentrated on explaining voting behaviour. This has involved examining the characteristics of PHON voters. Research has also sought to analyse the political message of PHON. This kind of work has tended to examine one or two speeches—most commonly Hanson's Maiden Speech to Parliament.

## Analysis and Findings

The Adornian typology was discussed in detail. An account of thematic analysis was also given. The research strategy for undertaking the discourse analysis was outlined and applied. The results were reported. They demonstrated that while the Adornian typology had some merit when analysing the public speeches of PHON, it had limited value for the parliamentary speeches and media releases. Textual data was presented to illustrate each device.

As a result an alternative typology was formulated and applied—the Revised Typology. While grounded in the work of Adorno, the new typology sought to better capture the features of contemporary populist rhetorical devices.

The application of the Revised Typology also revealed the major themes of PHON.

PHON via the personal appeal of Hanson sought to tap into pre-existing national

attitudes encapsulated in three thematic domains: Cultural Sovereignty, Social

Sovereignty and Economic Sovereignty. The next step of the analysis required an

assessment of the data for evidence of the core framing tasks of diagnosis, prognosis

and motivation. It was apparent that PHON's discourse was consistent with the

criteria for the achievement of these functions. In sum, the layered approach to data

analysis enabled the generation of a series of findings:

- The assessment of the applicability of Adorno's Typology to a contemporary

  case. It was found that this typology provided some useful insights into the

  PHON discourse. Deficits in its utility may be attributed to its being a

  reflection of the times in which it was formulated. Adorno analysed the radio

  addresses of Martin Luther Thomas exclusively. In the 1930s, radio was the

  dominant media. Its role in the distribution of political propaganda was great.

  Today, the relationship between politics and the media has widened to include

  many forms of electronic communication. Though formerly a major distributor

  of information to the public, radio must now compete with television, the

  Internet and relatively cheap publications (Ward 1991; McQuail 1992). As a

  result, communications such as media releases have increased in importance.

  They may be distributed with vision and sound via television or the Web,

  rather than just via the radio, and also in newspapers and popular magazines

  (McQuail 1992). Hence, an attempt was made to review the existing typology

  to enhance its utility for contemporary analysis.

- The formulation of a new typology based upon that of Adorno. The Revised Typology was formulated and applied to the PHON discourse. The revision allowed for the deletion of redundant Adornian rhetorical devices and the modification of those that proved useful. The rhetorical analysis highlighted the affective components of the discourse. This kind of emotionally charged communication style is typical of contemporary populist style. A benefit of the recognition of this emotional element is that it enhances the frame analysis. Frame analysis has been critiqued for not accommodating the affective component of discourse. It is proposed that this Revised Typology could be used to analyse other contemporary populist parties.

- The identification of the key thematic domains of the PHON discourse was undertaken. This was performed whilst the rhetorical analysis was being done. The key issues that were addressed in the discourse were noted and examined. It was found that they could be grouped into three main categories that were termed Domains. These domains were labelled Cultural, Social and Economic Sovereignty.

- Frame analysis was performed that applied an approach suggested by Snow and Benford (1986, 1988). This approach seeks to identify the dominant ideal of a social movement. This ideal may be thought of as an umbrella under which the various attitudes and opinions of the group are amalgamated. This amalgamation results in the production of a single, overall meaning that encapsulates the essence of the group or party. This umbrella term is known as a Master Frame. The Master Frame identified for PHON was termed an Identity Frame.

- The analysis also demonstrated that the functions of the frame were fulfilled in the discourse. This was identified as being achieved to a large degree by the use of rhetorical devices in the discourse. It was also shown that the rhetorical devices help PHON to express the party's attitude to the issues that constitute the Thematic Domains. This approach for conducting frame analysis was illustrated with a schematic model (see Chapter Nine).

- The synthesis of rhetorical and frame analysis overcame the problem of reconciling the relationship between framing functions and emotions. The incorporation into the analysis of a thematic analysis facilitated the construction of a link between the discourse analysis and the audience. That is it facilitated an appropriate analysis of the AES 1998 data by providing a set of issues that were found to be addressed by this data set.

- AES 1998 Section C. The Candidates, contained a number of items that asked respondents about their feelings towards candidates. Ten items in all were selected. A scale of Emotional Energy was constructed. The reliability coefficient of this scale was 0.94.

- The term Emotional Energy was adapted from Collins (1988b). Emotional Energy is one component of Collins' (2004: 48) model of Interaction Rituals. Put very simply, Collins proposes that all human interaction is governed by certain rituals. Collins discusses interaction at the micro level and seeks to use it to inform his work on Exchange Conflict Theory at the macro level of society. Expressed parsimoniously, emotional energy is composed of the level and type of affect, feeling, and sentiment that individuals can, or will, mobilise in a situation (Turner 1991: 234). The Emotional Energy Scale used here

measures levels of high (positive) emotional energy towards Hanson and low

levels (negative) emotional energy towards Hanson.

- Frequency distributions of Emotional Energy by variables deemed explanatory

  in previous research was undertaken.

- Factor analysis was used to construct scales representing each of the Thematic

  Domains.

## Summary

The research offers a way of looking at contemporary populist political discourse.

Rhetorical devices can be seen as being the 'tools of seduction' (Kirk Whillock 1994).

These devices engage the audience, leaving them open to the transmission messages.

The leader, Pauline Hanson, projects a persona that positions her as 'an ordinary

Australian' rather than as a 'polished politician'. Certain grievances are aired publicly,

problems are identified, and blame is attributed. Breathtakingly simple solutions to

these problems are offered, the logic of which can surely be understood by anyone.

'Simple', 'truthful' representation is promised by an ordinary Australian, to those

Australians who feel politically orphaned. The rhetorical devices provide a canvas

upon which the Party can project its key themes. These themes work to integrate

many of the key issues for PHON with emotion and sentiment, rather than with

political ideology or party platform. The frame analysis revealed that the overarching

significance of the PHON discourse was a master frame that was termed Identity

Frame. The form of Australian Identity that is latent in PHON's discourse is one that

is traditional, exclusionary and ethnocentric.

The analysis also supported the contention that PHON is a populist party exhibiting

many of the features of Politician's Populism (Canovan 1981) concerning as

discussed in Chapter Two. PHON directs its ire not just at the political and economic

establishments but also at those who influence opinion from the academy and the

media (Canovan 1981).

The statistical analysis demonstrated a significant positive relationship between those

who express high levels of Emotional Energy for Hanson and support for the PHON

Identity Frame. This was measured by the scales constructed from items in the

pertinent sections of the AES 1998, related to the issues that are encapsulated by the

Thematic Domains.

The chief finding of the study is that the version of Australian Identity held by PHON,

and communicated via the emotionally charged rhetoric of Hanson's political

populism, appealed to people who held similar views regarding Australian Cultural,

Social and Economic Sovereignty. The statistical analysis supports this contention and

highlights the impact of emotional factors in the formation of support for Pauline

Hanson.

A key strength of the research is that it is the first study of PHON that has made an

attempt to analyse the discourse systematically using a representative number of

documents. The thesis evaluated a classic sociological approach in the form of

Adorno's rhetorical typology, objectively stated the findings and offered a revised

typology. This Revised Typology was then applied to the same data.

## Future Directions

Many avenues for further research have been generated by this project. The next step should entail an evaluation of the Revised Typology to rate its applicability for the analysis of the manifestos of other political organisations. A retrospective study that compared the portfolio of evidence amassed here with that generated from major parties of the time would be useful. A comparative study of a North American, European and British Populist Party is indicated to test the robustness of the tool in terms of its ability to tap populist sentiment.

Whilst researching the origins of The Frankfurt School and Critical Theory, I was struck by the number of times Adorno and his colleagues were described as pessimistic. Pessimistic in terms of the limited ability of critical theory to perforce change in the social world, the inevitability of domination and heteronomy in a capitalist society dominated by mass culture. The result being, from the perspective of the School members, empowerment and emancipation virtually unachievable in the 'totally administered society' (Ritzer 1988; Crozier 1991; Turner 1991). However, by revisiting one small piece of Adorno's work, at least increased understanding, if not unbridled optimism can be achieved with regard to one aspect of political life.

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## Appendix 1

**Equal Justice for All**

Black deaths in custody seem to be Robert Tickner's late or political grandest outcry. Pity that as much media coverage and political grandstanding is not shown for white deaths in custody.

As for Mr Tickner's statement that Aborigines should not go to jail because apparently it is not working: imagine what type of country this would be to live in if Aborigines did not go to jail for their crimes. One of these men was serving a 12-year sentence and it wasn't just for a speeding fine. Can you imagine then if we had equality, then we would have no prisoners at all.

The indigenous people of this country are as much responsible for their actions as any other colour or race in this country. The problem is that politicians in all their profound wisdom have and are causing a racism problem.

I would be the first to admit that, not that many years ago, the Aborigines were treated wrongly but in trying to correct this they have gone too far. I don't feel responsible for the treatment of Aboriginal people in the past because I had no say, but my concern is for now and the future.

How can we expect this race to help themselves when governments shower them with money, facilities and opportunities that only these people can obtain no matter how minute the indigenous blood is that flows through their veins, and this is what is causing racism. Until governments wake up to themselves and start looking at equality not colour then we might start to work together as one.

Pauline Hanson, Ipswich.

## Appendix 2

| Australia First: 'Core Policies'<br>(<http://www.ozmail.com.au/ ~hiway/ausfirst/core_pol.htm l>31/07/97) | One Nation: 'Political Goals'<br>(<http://www.gwb.com.au/onenation/policy.html> 30/07/97) |
|---|---|
| • An industry policy to re-establish the Australian manufacturing industry. Without this there will be no jobs for our kids and no end to foreign debt. We recognise that a thriving small business sector is fundamental to this policy.<br><br>• Heal widening rifts between country and city.<br><br>• Cut immigration numbers<br><br>• Scrap the Government funded and institutionalised policy of multiculturalism.<br><br>• Promote policies that strengthen the traditional family.<br><br>• Bring foreign ownership and investment back under control.<br><br>• Introduce Citizens Initiated referenda.<br><br>• Guarantee our sovereignty and develop adequate defence capability | • To restore tariff protection, revitalise Australian manufacturing and initiate financial support for small business and the rural sector.<br><br>• To take positive action on such matters as taxation reforms, education, health, unemployment, crime and the discrimination created by political correctness.<br><br>• To stop all immigration except that related to investment until Australian unemployment is solved.<br><br>• To treat all Australians equally and abolish divisive and discriminatory policies, such as those attached to aboriginal and multicultural affairs.<br><br>• To restrict foreign ownership of Australia, repeal the Native Titles Act, abolish ATSIC and reverse WIK. |

# Appendix 3

## Parliamentary Speeches

| No. | Date | Title | Place | Code |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 10/09/1996 | Australia, Wake Up! | Parliament, Canberra | 096.09.10maiden |
| 2 | 31/10/1996 | Aboriginal Affairs Immigration | Parliament, Canberra | 096.10.31par |
| 3 | 4/11/1996 | Private Members Business Pledge of Commitment as a Citizen of the Commonwealth of Australia | Parliament, Canberra | 096.11.04par |
| 4 | 5/11/1996 | Child Care Legislation Amendment Bill 1996 | Parliament, Canberra | 096.11.05par |
| 5 | 2/12/1996 | Right to Free Speech Multiculturalism | Parliament, Canberra | 096.12.02par |
| 6 | 10/12/1996 | MIGRATION LEGISLATION AMENDMENT BILL (No. 3) 1996 | Parliament, Canberra | 096.12.10par |
| 7 | 3/09/1997 | MIGRATION LEGISLATION AMENDMENT BILL (No. 4) 1997 | Parliament, Canberra | 097.09.03par |
| 8 | 3/09/1997 | Customs Tariff Amendment Bill | Parliament, Canberra | 097.09.03par(a) |
| 9 | 22/09/1997 | Rescue of the Thai Economy | Parliament, Canberra | 097.09.22par |
| 10 | 30/09/1997 | NATIONAL FIREARMS PROGRAM IMPLEMENTATION BILL 1997 | Parliament, Canberra | 097.10.01par(a) |
| 11 | 1/10/1997 | Music Industry: Free Trade | Parliament, Canberra | 097.10.01par |
| 12 | 17/11/1997 | Timber: Grievance Debate | Parliament, Canberra | 097.11.17par |
| 13 | 18/11/1997 | MIGRATION LEGISLATION AMENDMENT (STRENGTHENING OF PROVISIONS RELATING TO CHARACTER AND CONDUCT) BILL 1997 | Parliament, Canberra | 097.11.18par |
| 14 | 19/11/1997 | Tourism | Parliament, Canberra | 097.11.19par |
| 15 | 20/11/1997 | White Paper on Foreign and Trade Policy | Parliament, Canberra | 097.11.20par |
| 16 | 9/03/1998 | MAI: Grievances debate | Parliament, Canberra | 098.03.09par |
| 17 | 2/06/1998 | UN Draft Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples | Parliament, Canberra | 098.06.02par |

## Public Speeches

| No. | Date | Title | Place | Code |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 11/04/1997 | Launch of One Nation | Ipswich, Queensland | 097.04.1pub |
| 2 | 30/05/1997 | Launch of One Nation | Newcastle, New South Wales | 097.05.30pub |
| 3 | 1/07/1997 | Launch of One Nation | Gold Coast, Queensland | 097.07.01pub |
| 4 | 4/10/1997 | Prosper Australia Rally | Brisbane, Queensland | 097.10.04pub |
| 5 | 11/09/1998 | Pauline Hanson's Speech | Longreach, Queensland | 098.09.11pub |

## Media Releases

| No. | Date | Title | Code |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 6thJune1996 | Equal Justice for All | 096.06.6 |
| 2 | 16thDecember1996 | Hanson welcomes electorate spending probe | 096.12.16 |
| 3 | 17thDecember1996 | Hanson comments on Dr Mahatir | 096.12.17 |
| 4 | 4thFebruary1997 | RAAF Base Amberley Visit | 097.02.4 |
| 5 | 7thFebruary1997 | People's Convention | 097.02.7 |
| 6 | 10thFebruary1997 | Work for the dole means black/white equality | 097.02.10 |
| 7 | 10thFebruary1997 | Hanson slams tabloid coverage of fish shop sale | 097.02.10a |
| 8 | 4thMarch1997 | The Magnificent Battle of the Piece of Paper Scorecard: | 097.03.04 |
| 9 | 4thMarch1997 | Sugar industry sold out...what's left? | 097.03.04a |
| 10 | 4thMarch1997 | Hanson slams her creator as petty | 097.03.04b |
| 11 | 5thMarch1997 | Hanson does not support local govt candidates | 097.03.05 |
| 12 | 14thApril1997 | Wide-ranging consultation for Hanson policies | 097.04.14 |

| 13 | 15thApril1997 | Labor trots out its fall-guy Soorley | 097.04.15 |
| 14 | 21stApril1997 | Aboriginal call for trade sanctions treasonous | 097.04.21 |
| 15 | 21ndApril1997 | I have nothing to hide | 097.04.21a |
| 16 | 22ndApril1997 | Number one policy consultation | 097.04.22 |
| 17 | 2ndMay1997 | Big Australian slams little Aussie | 097.05.02 |
| 18 | 6thMay1997 | Hanson 'Send them Back!' | 097.05.06 |
| 19 | 7thMay1997 | Howard a hypocrite! | 097.05.07 |
| 20 | 8thMay1997 | Howard has Amnesia! | 097.05.08 |
| 21 | 19thMay1997 | AntiHanson Rally peaceful, thanks to us | 097.05.19 |
| 22 | 11thJune1997 | Press conference Adelaide | 097.06.11 |
| 23 | 18thJune1997 | I speak of jobs, Howard speaks of me | 097.06.18 |
| 24 | 26thJune1997 | Freedom of speech, freedom of assembly and freedom of the press | 097.06.26 |
| 25 | 2ndJuly1997 | One Nation Registration, Branches and Candidates | 097.07.02 |
| 26 | 10thJuly1997 | Labor's Five Clicks to Beazley's Anarchy | 097.07.10 |
| 27 | 11thJuly1997 | Australia, Feed North Korea NOW! | 097.07.11 |
| 28 | 16thJuly1997 | So Called antiracism committee plots personal assault on Hanson | 097.07.16 |
| 29 | 22ndJuly1997 | McNamara having a slow day | 097.07.22 |
| 30 | 28thJuly1997 | Population explosion | 097.07.28 |
| 31 | 30thJuly1997 | Government knew Ervin was coming | 097.07.30 |
| 32 | 30thJuly1997 | Ipswich Council Hypocrites | 097.07.30a |
| 33 | 12thAugust1997 | Australian cannot afford a loan to Thailand | 097.08.12 |
| 34 | 13thAugust1997 | We will reindustrialise Australia | 097.08.13a |
| 35 | 13thAugust1997 | Credit Union services get political | 097.08.13b |
| 36 | 14thAugust1997 | North Korean men, women and children are starving to death send Australian food now. | 097.08.14a |
| 37 | 14thAugust1997 | Ervin can't take a hint. | 097.08.14b |
| 38 | 20thAugust1997 | Australia must act on war crimes allegations. | 097.08.20 |
| 39 | 29thAugust1997 | Commitment on tariffs means commitment to Australian jobs. | 097.08.29 |
| 40 | 3rdSeptember1997 | Black Spot funding good news for Ipswich. | 097.08.12 |
| 41 | 30thSeptember1997 | Hanson: So called anti-racists are nothing but socialist thugs | 097.09.30 |
| 42 | 1stOctober1997 | We must extinguish Native Title | 097.10.01 |
| 43 | 22ndOctober1997 | Unlike Cheryl, I will not be sleeping with the enemy. | 097.10.22 |
| 44 | 29thOctober1997 | My innocence could have been proven in 5 minutes, but it took 18 months. | 097.10.29 |
| 45 | 30thOctober1997 | Hanson calls for candidates for One Nation | 097.10.30 |
| 46 | 30thOctober1997 | You can count the good guys on one hand. | 097.10.30a |
| 47 | 31stOctober1997 | Suharto should bail out his own people | 097.10.31 |
| 48 | 19thNovember1997 | Hanson announces direction of One Nation's Citizenship Policies | 097.12.19 |
| 49 | 20thNovember1997 | why should only English speaking Australians pay? | 097.11.20a |
| 50 | 20thNovember1997 | Hanson announces One Nation will fund tourism promotion of Australians seeing Australia. | 097.11.20b |
| 51 | 27thNovember1997 | Government hides like people who owe money they don't want to pay. | 097.11.27 |
| 52 | 4thDecember1997 | Aboriginal land grab was the object of a shameless PR campaign. | 097.12.04 |
| 53 | 7thDecember1997 | Flashpoint, Howard must call for peace. | 097.12.7a |
| 54 | 7thDecember1997 | Don't start the RACE without me | 097.12.7b |
| 55 | 31stDecember1997 | multiculturalists banning Santa Claus is just the beginning. | 097.12.31 |
| 56 | 12thJanuary1998 | Democrats believe that children should be out all night. | 098.01.12 |
| 57 | 14thJanuary1998 | Hanson, 'Its SUPER how Labor and the Coalition are working together.' | 098.01.14 |
| 58 | 21stJanuary1998 | Hanson, 'on The MAI.' | 098.01.21 |
| 59 | 3rdFebruary1998 | Public pays the price for prisons of profit. | 098.02.03 |
| 60 | 4thFebruary1998 | Indonesian bailout should be linked to East Timorese pullout. | 098.02.04 |
| 61 | 5thFebruary1998 | Tony Abbott's 30 pieces of silver will be paid on Howard's fall. | 098.02.05 |

| 62 | 6thFebruary1998 | Stott Despoja wrong again. | 098.02.06 |
| 63 | 13thFebruary1998 | Pauline Hanson vs. The Liberal Party. | 098.02.13a |
| 64 | 13thFebruary1998 | Pauline Hanson reaffirms her resolve to abolish ATSIC. | 098.02.13b |
| 65 | 26thFebruary1998 | Uniting Church must scrap coverage of Sydney Gay and Lesbian Mardi Gras. | 098.02.26 |
| 66 | 27thFebruary1998 | It's Blair. | 098.02.27 |
| 67 | 5thMarch1998 | Laurie's Labor Lies. | 098.03.05 |
| 68 | 8thApril1998 | Polls show Hanson is the most in touch parliamentarian, yet again. | 098.04.08 |
| 69 | 9thApril1998 | One Nation. One Year On | 098.04.09 |
| 70 | 16thApril1998 | Pratt, 'Community Based Referendum will give power back to the people.' | 098.04.16 |
| 71 | 26thApril1998 | News on Hanson polls stops at the Queensland border | 098.04.26 |
| 72 | 29thApril1998 | Pork Producers - more rural Australians sacrificed by Coalition policies | 098.04.29 |
| 73 | 1stMay1998 | MAI wounded but not dead | 098.05.01 |
| 74 | 7thMay1998 | Howard's promise to deliver more bad news | 098.05.07 |
| 75 | 29thMay1998 | Did Howard's answer mean the cost of building a house just went up 10%? | 098.05.29 |
| 76 | 6thJune1998 | 60 minutes' Fairytales | 098.06.06 |
| 77 | 19thJune1998 | Statement on Foreign Ownership | 098.07.19 |
| 78 | 7thJuly1998 | Pauline Hanson's One Nation Immigration Policy | 098.07.07 |
| 79 | 15thJuly1998 | Aboriginal voting and the 1967 Referendum | 098.07.15 |
| 80 | 16thJuly1998 | Unmarried mothers' welfare costs | 098.07.16 |
| 81 | 17thJuly1998 | I will resign (if ATSIC is found to be free of corruption) | 098.07.17 |
| 82 | 19thJuly1998 | Hanson - statement in response to Peter Costello | 098.07.19 |
| 83 | 28thJuly1998 | Just Another Attack on Pauline Hanson's One Nation | 098.07.28 |
| 84 | 31stJuly1998 | Petrol deregulation will enrich big business and destroy small business | 098.07.31 |
| 85 | 9thAugust1998 | Calls for Wool Industry Revamp | 098.07.09 |
| 86 | 10thAugust1998 | Rejection by Youth Suicide Forum Organisers Saddens me | 098.07.10 |
| 87 | 3rdSeptember1998 | One Nation tax policy | 098.07.11 |
| 88 | 10thSeptember1998 | Howard's Tax Reform Package hides Assets Tax and Death Duty which will disadvantage the battlers | 098.07.12 |
| 89 | 18thSeptember1998 | RFA's will restore the balance to forest management | 098.09.18a |
| 90 | 18thSeptember1998 | Family Law Court / Child Support Scheme | 098.09.18a |
| 91 | 27thSeptember1998 | Military Chief takes a shot at Hanson | 098.09.27 |
| 92 | 1stOctober1998 | Liberal and Labor lie about preferences | 098.10.01 |
| 93 | 14thOctober1998 | One Nation to form independently audited trust to administer Electoral funds | 098.10.14 |
| 94 | 29thSeptember1998 | Liberals and Nationals lump law abiding firearm owners in with paedophiles | 098.09.29 |

*Well no one told me about her*
*The way she lied*

*Well no one told me about her*
*How many people cried*

*Well it's too late to say you're sorry*
*How would I know, why should I care*
*Please don't bother trying to find her*
*She's not there*

*Well let me tell you 'bout her*
*The way she looked*
*The way she acted, the colour of her hair*
*Her voice was soft and good*
*Her eyes were clear and bright*
*But she's not there*

*No one told me about her*
*What could I do?*
*Well no one told me about her*
*Though they all knew*



<http://www.gwb.com.au/gwb/news/onenation/gold/hansflwr.jpg>

*('She's Not There' – released August 1964 by the Zombies: Written by Rod Argent)*
*(Jakubowicz 1997b)*

*Well no one told me about her*
*The way she lied*

*Well no one told me about her*
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*Well it's too late to say you're sorry*
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