

Australian election slogans, 1949-2004

Where political marketing meets political
rhetoric

Sally Young

ABSTRACT *The development of election slogans in Australia over the past five decades reveals much about how electioneering practice and political rhetoric have changed. In the 1940s and 1950s, election campaigns were short-term, ad hoc, and localised, and slogans were used only sporadically but with increased professionalisation. From the 1960s to the 1980s, political parties began using official campaign slogans in a far more disciplined and centralised manner. By the late 1990s, the Labor and Liberal parties were developing slogans through a process of intensive market research. Although originally spoken, shouted, or sung, campaign strategists have adapted slogans to new forms of media and technology.*

McNair (1995, p. 4) views political communication as a relationship between political organisations, media, and citizens. In this perspective, it is the forms of communication—whether they are citizens' letters, newspaper editorials, or politicians' press releases—that define the relationships between the three actors, and it is by studying the content of these forms of communication that we can gain the most insight into political communication.

*Sally Young, Media and
Communications Program,
University of Melbourne,
Victoria, Australia*

Following McNair's perspective, this paper focuses on political parties and on one of the forms of communication that they use to

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persuade citizens during an election—their campaign slogans. Safire (1972, p. iii), the famous columnist, claims that slogans are 'designed to rally many men [sic], to destroy some, and to change the minds of others'.

According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, a slogan is a 'short catchy phrase used in advertising etc.; [a] party cry, [or] watchword.' While 'party cry' and 'watchword' are phrases 'summarising some party principle', the term 'slogan' has an older origin. It comes from the Gaelic term *sluagh-ghairm* to describe a war-cry.

Political slogans have assumed great significance in many different countries. Lu (1999, p. 487) found that, in Communist China, where sloganeering is pervasive, political slogans are 'coined to meet the changing need of social conditions as well as the need of authorities to establish control' and that the pervasive use of these slogans 'altered the face of Communist China and affected the Chinese thought pattern'.

Other studies of slogans have found that they represent important features of the political, cultural, and social context in which they are used. For example, Bertelsen (1996, p. 225) found that, in South African politics, there is a 'theme of ritual boasting' evident in the political slogans used. An analysis of the campaign slogans used in the 1996 presidential campaign in Taiwan reveals a series of prominent metaphors including war, revenge, and a journey of spirituality awakening (Wei, 2000).

For some commentators, 'oratorical flair and creative sloganeering' are seen as vibrant aspects of politics (Hunt, 1992, p. COV1). Yet, to accuse someone of 'sloganeering'—reducing complex problems into simplistic catch-all statements—has long had negative connotations. In 1934, James Bryant Conant (quoted in Safire, 1972, p. 616) argued that slogans 'are both exciting and comforting but they are also powerful opiates for the conscience: some of mankind's most terrible misdeeds have been committed under the spell of certain magic words or phrases'. Safire (1972, p. iii) also notes that some slogans have 'misled millions, blackened reputations, held out false hopes, oversimplified ideas to appeal to the lowest common denominator, shouted down inquiry, and replaced searching debate with stereotypes that trigger approval or hatred'.

In modern Australian election campaigns, despite the proliferation of messages and images delivered through media and technology, the campaign slogan is still central. Although there has been a notable lack of scholarly audience research to confirm it, political scientist Beresford (1997, p. 48) argues that, in Australia, 'Much of the public's impression of political parties is conveyed to them through the campaign slogans devised by the parties as the focal point around which advertising is built'.

As there has never been an historical study of campaign slogans in Australian politics, to discover the two major parties' slogans from 1949 to 2004, it was necessary to analyse the content of political advertisements published or broadcast during federal elections. This was an appropriate method because the parties usually included their campaign slogan at the bottom of their newspaper advertisements and, in more recent times, their slogans are also recited at the end of televised political ads. (Increasingly, slogans also appear on cloth or paper backdrops that are positioned behind the leader during media appearances.)

An analysis of over 1500 political advertisements revealed that the major parties have used at least 60 slogans in their advertising during federal election campaigns between 1949 and 2004 (see Table 1).

Table 1. Election campaign slogans used by the major Australian political parties, 1949-2004

Year	Australian Labor Party	Liberal Party of Australia
1949		'It's time for a change'
1951	'What Labor promises, Labor will do'	
1954		
1955		
1958		'Australia unlimited' & 'Keep Australia on the march'
1961	'Labor puts people first'	'Build for tomorrow'
1963	'Time for action'	'Secure your tomorrow today'
1966	'Vote ALP and end conscription' & 'What price freedom?'	'Keep Australia secure and prosperous - play it safe' & 'Let's get on with the job'
1969	'Labor. Where the action is' & 'Join the swing to Labor'	'Progressive responsible government'
1972	'It's time'	'Right today. Right for your future' & 'Not yet'

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1974	'Go ahead' or 'Give Australia the go ahead...' & 'Whitlam: He's so much better'	'Think again'
1975	'Shame Fraser, shame' & 'Advance Australia fair'	'Turn on the lights'
1977	'Get Australia working' & 'Uranium. Play it safe'	'Liberal. Doing the job'
1980	'Raise the standard'	'Lead on, Liberal'
1983	'Bob Hawke. Bringing Australia together'	'We're not waiting for the world'
1984	'Put Australia first'	'Stand up for your family. Vote Liberal'
1987	'Let's stick together. Let's see it through'	'Get in front again' & 'Incentivation'
1990	'Bob Hawke for Australia's future'	'The answer is Liberal'
1993	'Australia deserves better'	'We can do it... together' & 'Labor's got to go'
1996	'Leadership'	'For all of us' & 'Tell Labor it's not good enough'
1998	'A safe and secure future for all Australians' & 'Australia deserves better'	'Keep Australia in safe hands' & 'For a stronger Australia' & 'Don't go back to Labor. Australia can't afford it'
2001	'A secure future for all Australians' & 'That's what I stand for.'	'Keep Australia in safe hands' & 'Heading in the right direction'
2004	'Opportunity for all Australians' & 'Mark Latham and Labor. Taking the pressure off families.' & 'Ease the squeeze.'	'Protecting, securing, building Australia's Future' & 'The Howard Government delivers.' & 'If you can't run a council, how can you run the country.' & 'Don't take the risk' & 'Latham will squeeze the fees.'

This list of slogans helps us to understand the changing nature of election campaigning techniques and to begin to think about the evolution of slogans in an historical context. Pippa Norris's (2002) typology of the evolution of campaign communications is significant in this respect because it takes into account how campaign organisation and communications have developed since the mid-nineteenth century.

Slogans and the professionalisation of election campaigns

In 1949, Australian political parties were still firmly in what Norris calls the 'pre-modern' phase of election campaign communications. This was a period when preparations for campaign were short term and ad hoc, locally organised, staffed by party volunteers and centred

around public meetings and whistle-stop tours by the leaders (Norris, 2002, pp. 134-5). At this time, the notion of official campaign slogans that were disseminated from centralised campaign committees or the party's advertising agents were new to Australian politics. The Liberal Party road-tested an official slogan in pamphlets and newspaper ads in 1949.

The Liberals' willingness to be innovative that year related to the fact that the Party had a definite edge on Labor in its campaign preparations, possessing both a massive war chest of campaign funds and having triumphantly poached the ALP's usual advertising agent, Sim Rubensohn (Young, 2004, pp. 87-8). Financially, the Liberals could afford to try new methods and they also had on staff (only temporarily, as it turned out) the services of a man perceived to be the best political ad agent in the country at that time.

Labor followed suit in 1951 when it used an official campaign slogan, in a defensive capacity. To counter Liberal claims that ALP election promises were unworkable, the ALP argued that 'What Labor promises, Labor will do'. But, in the 1950s, elections and political advertising returned to a more conventional form. There was little need for innovation in campaigning techniques when the Labor Party, racked by the split that produced the breakaway Democratic Labor Party (DLP), was in no position to be a real threat to the ascendent Menzies Government.

It was not then, until 1961, that both parties began regularly using official election slogans. This is precisely the period, which Norris identifies as the beginning of the 'modern' phase of election campaign communications when campaign organisation became a more centralised process, with greater professionalisation, more focus on media to communicate, and longer-term preparation accompanied by more specialist advisers.

From 1961 onwards, the Australian major parties were firmly committed to using official slogans and, on at least three occasions in the 1960s, even used more than one slogan when they wanted to convey different messages or focus on different aspects of their campaigns. In 1966, Labor slogans centred on the Vietnam War, promising 'Vote ALP and end conscription', but also asking more philosophically, 'What price freedom?'. These slogans contrasted with the Liberals', who asked to be left to 'Get on with the job' and, highlighting international security, cautioned voters to 'Keep Australia secure and prosperous—play it safe'.

By 1972, after the ALP had been out of office for 23 years, it had a high stake in innovating its election campaign techniques and making radical changes to the party's internal campaign organisation, fundraising practices, political advertising, and media management techniques (Ward, 2001; Young, 2004, pp. 8-28).

A key to the Labor Party's 1972 election campaign (and its victory that year) was its campaign slogan—'It's Time'—the most famous slogan in Australian political history. It was developed by the Party's ad agent, Paul Jones, who worked for Hanson Rubensohn-McCann Erickson under the supervision of Sim Rubensohn (who had returned to the Labor fold after his short stint with Menzies) (Young, 2004, pp. 87-8).

By this point in time, the creation of the slogan was no longer a simple process of party elders and ad agents suggesting catchy-sounding phrases. It was now part of the professionalisation of campaign activities and a display of the parties' new reliance on expensive processes of market research testing.

Before it was adopted, Labor's 'It's Time' slogan was put through an extensive process of market testing. In 1971-72, Spectrum International conducted 1177 street interviews in Sydney, Melbourne, Adelaide, and Brisbane and found that 'It's Time' was, according to the market researcher's notes, 'achieving its objective of providing a subtle, low-key lead for the troubled thoughts of voters' (ALP 1972).

After market research had confirmed its value, 'It's Time' was then plastered over t-shirts, buttons, badges, shopping bags, matchboxes, and all manner of ALP campaign paraphernalia (Young, 2005). It was sung in TV ads by a group of celebrities and on radio, and the jingle version was even put out as a single available for purchase in record shops.

Exit polls later suggested that the slogan resonated strongly with voters. 'It's Time', or some rephrasing of the slogan, was given by ALP voters as their reason for voting the way they had 'more than any other reason (according to the McNair/ABC election day survey)' (Jack, 1973, p. 212). Many politicians and commentators have pointed to the 'It's Time' slogan as a crucial factor in the ALP's success in 1972. Some argue it 'caught the mood of electors exactly' (Craig, 1993, p. 192). Scott Bennett (1996, p. 113) also notes that slogans became de rigueur in campaign advertisements after Labor's success with 'It's Time'.

While it was undoubtedly the most famous of all Australian election slogans, 'It's Time' was not uniquely Australian. The same slogan, or variations of it, has been used in Britain (the Labour Party used 'Time for a change' in 1992) and in Germany (the Social Democratic Party used the identical slogan 'Time for a change' in 1998). The slogan was not even entirely new in Australia when the ALP used it in 1972. In 1949, under Rubensohn, the Liberal Party had already tried the slogan 'It's time for a change'. Interestingly, three years later in the USA, when Eisenhower famously employed the slogan 'I like Ike', his other campaign slogan was actually 'It's time for a change'.

The reason for the popularity and success of 'It's Time' in Australia is that it was used in 1949 (by the Coalition parties) and in 1972 (by the ALP) at times when the public was very receptive to a message that centred on ousting the incumbent government. When the public is ready to oust the incumbent government, as Faucheux (1993, p. 28) notes, a slogan with the theme of change is 'a tough theme to beat'. The Liberal Party's initial response in 1972—the slogan 'Not yet'—was pulled during the campaign and replaced by a different slogan ('Right today. Right for your future') when it was judged to be too defensive.

After 1972, both parties' advertising agents were assigned the task of carefully working through a series of alternative slogans to find the right theme and words. The Liberal Party's archives in the National Library hold the original notes from their advertising agent for the 1983 campaign and reveal that the agent and party officials brainstormed twenty different alternatives before settling on the slogan 'We're not waiting for the world' (Liberal Party of Australia, 1984).

Yet, the Liberals' 'We're not waiting for the world' election slogan is roundly considered to be the worst in Australia's history. It failed the test of simple, clear language that is considered to be a key for a successful slogan: its meaning was unclear. In media reports, the slogan was described by one advertising agent as 'the most inappropriate he had seen' and by another as 'completely wrong' (Eccleston, 1983). In the post-analysis after their election loss, the Liberals' slogan and advertising were identified as major issues (Eccleston, 1983). Revealing the importance with which slogans are imbued, Labor powerbroker Graham Richardson (1994, p. 122) has revealed that 'from the first time I heard that the Liberals' campaign slogan would be "We're not waiting for the world", I knew we had the chance not just to beat Fraser but to slaughter him'.

By the early 1990s, the Australian parties entered what Norris (2002) calls the 'post-modern' era of electioneering, when they moved into a state of perpetual research and planning known as the 'permanent campaign' (Blumenthal, 1980). Reliant on regular opinion polls, focus groups and even more professional consultants, their slogans and all other facets of their campaign strategies were laboriously tested, analysed, and evaluated.

In this 'post-modern' campaign era, slogans are the domain of hired advertising agents rather than party loyalists. They have a consumer and market-oriented focus (what works well for the focus groups they are tested on) rather than an origin in an ideological exposition of party principles, goals, or visions. This is why, especially after 1993, the parties have used several different slogans simultaneously: to slice and dice the overall campaign theme into discrete messages that can be directed at different target groups, or to evoke different moods or perceptions.

In particular, and again, especially since 1993, there has been a trend towards using at least one positive slogan and one negative one. For example, in 1993, the Liberal Party's positive slogan was 'We can do it...together' and its negative slogan was 'Labor's got to go'. In 1996, the 'positive' slogan 'For all of us' was paired with the negative slogan 'Tell Labor it's not good enough'. Having two slogans allows the parties to use both types of appeals.

In 2004, however, the major parties used a much larger number of slogans in their national advertising than we have ever seen previously in Australia. The Liberal Party used at least five different slogans ranging from the positive—'The Howard Government delivers'—to negative slogans that focused on the opponent Labor Party leader, Mark Latham: 'If you can't run a council, how can you run the country' and, in response to Latham's much quoted promise that the ALP would 'Ease the squeeze', the Liberal Party retorted that 'Latham will squeeze the fees'.

This use of multiple slogans is a major departure from the way slogans were employed in the 1960s and 1970s. We no longer see the parties develop one official slogan that is used in all major advertising throughout the campaign. Instead, slogans are now fragmented, multiple, and, if assessed as being unsatisfactory, during the campaign will be quickly discarded, replaced, adapted, or changed. In January 2004, when Mark Latham entered the Labor Party conference, the ALP

slogan read 'Opportunity for all' but, as Metherell (2004) has pointed out, by August 2004, 'the election motto had been expanded—or limited, depending on your citizenship—to "Opportunity for all Australians"'.

This sort of nationalist emphasis has been particularly evident in public discourse in Australia post 11 September 2001 (Poynting & Noble, 2003) and the lexical style used in this Labor Party slogan serves to reproduce categories of 'us' and 'them'. This is part of the way in which language can be used to reproduce exclusion, power, and dominance, and, more specifically, to perpetuate racism (see Allan, 1999; van Dijk, 1993; van Dijk, 2000).

Slogans and political rhetoric

In the political marketing terms used by advertisers and marketers, but also by academics such as Scammell (1999) and Lees-Marshment (2001), political parties are really trying to project a unique 'brand' by using different slogans and logos. In particular, campaign slogans are a key element of the parties' attempts to differentiate themselves from their competitors in an era when many voters say they do not know what the parties stand for anymore. The 2004 Australian Election Study, for example, found that most respondents did not see major differences between the Liberal and Labor parties.

However, the importance of slogans extends beyond their immediate impact, during the campaign, on voters, supporters, and opponents. Slogans are also important artifacts of social history, political language, and behaviour. While election campaigning evolution provides an important historical and political context, slogans must also be understood in terms of how they function as a component of political language. In other words, it is also important to analyse slogans as part of the 'campaign talk' that occurs during an election (Hart, 2000). As Condren (2002, pp. 147-8) points out, 'political activity is inescapably linguistic' and '[e]lection language has a logic of its own...'.

The slogan is often the only key element of the campaign that is determined well in advance. However, because it is difficult to find a truly effective slogan, the parties not only change slogans if they find that they are not working, but also frequently repeat, copy, or adapt successful slogans from the past. Plagiarism is both national—with slogans borrowed from state election campaigns—as well as international. For example, in 1998, the Labor Party adopted the

slogan 'Australia deserves better', which had already been used by the British Labour Party the year before (as 'Britain deserves better').

Despite the changes in how slogans have been used over the past five decades, and, in particular, their increasing fragmentation into multiple messages, close analysis of the discourse reveals that there are some important and, sometimes, long-standing, themes in Australian slogans, including themes of progress and advancement, a focus on the future, and, particularly in recent times, a preoccupation with safety and security.

Language, meaning, and interpretation

Some campaign slogans are so general that, ultimately, they seem to have no clear meaning or they are so vague and ambiguous as to have several potential meanings. This is a criticism that has not only been made of the Australian parties' slogans but also internationally, for example, in relation to slogans such as Al Gore's 'Practical Idealism' and George W. Bush's 'Compassionate Conservatism' in 2000. Kathleen Hall Jamieson argues that the candidates 'want to...let everyone hear what they want in the campaign and for nobody to hear what they don't want'. This means that slogans give 'a considerable amount of latitude [for people] to invent their own meaning' (Solomon, 2000, p. 2552).

An example of this was the Liberals' 1996 election slogan, 'For all of us', described by Noel Pearson as racist. Pearson stated that it was not an inclusive statement as it appeared on the surface but rather was 'tapping an undercurrent of racism in Australia' ('Liberals: Racist Slogan Claim Is Outrageous', 1996). Arguably, it was intended to invoke the converse perception, held by some voters, that the Keating Labor Government had given 'special treatment' to 'minority groups' such as Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders and the Arts community. The Liberal slogan pitched this message so that it could be heard and understood by those who shared its sentiment but was still non-overt enough that it would not necessarily be interpreted in this way by others (hence the claim that it was part of a strategy of 'dog whistle' politics). As Bennett (2005, p. 126) argues, effective 'slogans invite people to bring their own meanings to a situation. Thus, an image is an impression anchored partly in symbolic suggestion and partly in the feelings and assumptions that people have in response to that suggestion'.

Promissory/bribes

As election promises are a key part of campaigning, a number of slogans have centred on making promises to voters—whether specific or implied. The Liberals promised voters in 1963 that they would ‘Secure your tomorrow today’ and, in 1961, focusing on the theme of progress and the future, the Liberals’ slogan was ‘Build for tomorrow’. The ALP made a more specific promise in 1966 to ‘Vote ALP and end conscription’. In 1977, employment was a major theme in both parties’ campaign slogans. While the incumbent Liberal government used the slogan ‘Liberal. Doing the job’, the ALP promised to ‘Get Australia working’.

Overall, however, the promises contained in Australian political slogans are quite subtle and are certainly not in the same league as the famous slogan used by Herbert Hoover when running for the US presidency in 1928 that he would provide ‘A Chicken in Every Pot and a Car in Every Garage’. Nor do they really compare to the famous American campaign slogan promising ‘Forty Acres and a Mule’.

Warnings

Australian political slogans seem more often to try to evoke fear and provide warnings rather than make specific promises. The ALP’s 1977 slogan—‘Uranium. Play it safe’—evoked the dangers of uranium mining. The Liberal Party aimed at core family values when it used the 1984 slogan ‘Stand up for your family. Vote Liberal’. This slogan implied that the family was in danger and required protection. It also worked on a sense of individual responsibility—that parents should ‘stand up for’ their families.

In the 1990s, the Liberal Party’s rhetoric grew stronger, warning voters that ‘Labor’s got to go’ (1993) and ‘Don’t go back to Labor. Australia can’t afford it’ (1998). General statements of warning had given way to more specific identification of the Labor Party as the threat.

What party?

The words the parties choose for slogans tell us much about their priorities. Only four Labor slogans have ever used the word ‘Labor’ and these were all before 1972. However, since 1972, three slogans have included the party leader’s name (in 1974, 1983, and 1990) and even the opposition party leader’s name (Malcolm Fraser in 1975). While the Liberal Party has included its party name in four slogans since 1949, all

of these were before 1993. This seems to suggest that, as in broader political rhetoric, individual leaders are increasingly prominent.

In recent years, the parties have de-emphasised party labels in their slogans. However, as we have noted, the Liberals have included the name of the Labor Party in their slogans twice, very recently, in 1996 and 1998. This demonstrates the de-emphasis of party except where the opponent party is concerned. Party name (especially for Labor) is considered a liability in today's politics where there are fewer partisan voters and party loyalty is not as strong. Therefore, the parties avoid mentioning their own party name but may emphasise their opponents'.

The use of obscenities

Craig (1993) argues that, apart from 'It's Time', 'other election slogans in other years have been largely forgettable' in Australia. However, there is at least one other slogan that is well known in Australia—the Australian Democrats' slogan: 'Keeping the bastards honest'. Originally, this was not an official campaign slogan but was uttered as an off-the-cuff statement by Democrats' founder Don Chipp when describing the role of the Democrats as a minor party. The 'bastards' he was referring to were the two major parties who dominate Australian politics and this slogan was informally associated with the Democrats for many years before it was used as the party's official campaign slogan in 1996: 'Democrats. Keeping the bastards honest'.

There was some criticism of the Democrats for using a slogan that contained an obscenity, but Cheryl Kernot, then leader of the Democrats, argued that the word reflected Australian culture, including the use of colourful expressions and a penchant for honest, straight talking (Armstrong, 1996). However, part of the nature of slogans is that they can become a tool of mockery and parody. In 2001, during a period of instability and internal conflict in the Democrats following their role in brokering deals with the Coalition government on controversial legislation, the Australian Greens capitalised on a perception of the Democrats as being too closely involved with the major parties when it adopted the slogan 'Keep the Democrats honest'.

Alliterative slogans

The Australian parties' slogans have not been as artistic or creative as some of the famous US alliterative slogans such as 'I like Ike' and 'We want Willie'. It seems that the best the Australian parties can do is

to repeat words: 'Right Today. Right for your future' (Liberals, 1972); 'What Labor promises, Labor will do' (ALP, 1951), 'Shame Fraser, shame' (ALP 1975), 'Let's stick together. Let's see it through' (ALP, 1987).

The incumbent's appeal versus the challenger's challenge

There are some interesting differences in the way that incumbents, as opposed to challengers, use slogans. Incumbents often make an appeal to 'stick with us' and not 'change horses in mid-stream' (as Bob Hawke argued when incumbent in 1987). Their slogans are often about reassuring and soothing voters and, in particular, seek to reassure voters that everything is on track. They often refer optimistically to a bright future. In this category are incumbent slogans such as 'Keep Australia on the march' (Liberal 1958); 'Liberal. Doing the job' (1977); 'Keep Australia in safe hands' (Liberal 1998 and 2001); 'Heading in the right direction' (Liberal 2001); 'Lead on Liberal' (1980); and 'Let's stick together. Let's see it through' (ALP 1987).

Conversely, the challenger calls for change or argues that they can do better. 'It's Time' is the classic example of a call for change, but also the Liberals' 1993 slogan 'Labor's got to go' and their call to 'Get in front again' by voting Liberal (1987). As a party out of government for over twenty years between 1949 and 1972, the ALP used many call for change slogans such as 'Time for action' (1963). It also used 'Raise the standard' (1980) and 'Australia deserves better' (1998) to express claims of superiority within calls for a change of government.

Setting it to music

In the 1970s and 1980s, the slogan as jingle was very popular in Australian politics. 'It's Time' would also be the most famous example of the use of slogans set to music, but the Liberals' 1975 'Turn on the lights', and the ALP's 'Let's stick together' ads in 1987 also used jingle-slogans. In the mid to late 1980s, the slogan ad became much less popular when questions were raised about whether jingles had begun to seem false and unrealistic. However, the importance of this type of ad and its function is revealed in an internal Liberal Party document, which recommended in 1980 that, 'if jingles have dated, a new method of "uplifting" the voters needs to be found' (Eggleton, 1980, p. 6). This may help to explain why the Liberal Party used a slogan-as-jingle ('For all of us') as recently as 1996.

Progress, winning, nationalism

There is a series of common themes in party slogans in Australia. One common image is of movement, progress, the future, and going ahead. The words 'forward', 'ahead', 'advance', 'future', 'action', 'march', 'tomorrow', and 'front' are common. This seems to work on a liberal individualistic and capitalist desire for constant economic growth and the post-enlightenment emphasis on 'advancement' and 'progress'. Another common theme in Australian campaign slogans is the image of the 'winner', reflected in the use of words such as 'better', 'stronger', 'first', and 'in front'. This may also reflect the use of a sporting metaphor in a country where many citizens are passionate about sport and would share the cultural reference point.

Australian campaign slogans also reveal an emphasis on living the 'good life', on being safe, prosperous, and secure. Nationalism is also a consistent and major theme with fifteen slogans from 1949 to 2001 using the word 'Australia'. These nationalistic references attempt to appeal to patriotism, national unity, and a sense of patriotic pride. In recent years, there has been a desire to appear inclusive with slogans such as 'We can do it...Together' (Liberal 1993) and Labor's 1998 slogan 'A safe and secure future for all Australians'. In 2001, the ALP used the same slogan but dropped the word 'safe' and used: 'A secure future for all Australians'. This use of the term 'all Australians' seems an overt attempt to deny any capture by special interests.

Security and safety in troubled times

As both major parties seek to be as non-offensive, broad, and non-specific as possible in their campaign slogans, their slogans are increasingly similar. In particular, in recent years, slogans have tried to tap into a desire for greater security and certainty. The words 'safe', 'secure', 'strong' and 'stronger' are particularly noticeable. In recent elections, the rhetoric used by the parties in their slogans has, at times, been nearly identical. Labor has used the slogan 'A safe and secure future for all Australians' (1998) and 'A secure future for all Australians' (2001), while the Liberals have used 'Keep Australia in safe hands' (1998 and 2001).

The Liberal campaign slogan 'Keep Australia in safe hands' focused on a theme that the party used quite heavily during the 2001 election by focusing on defence and national security (in a post-11 September 2001 environment). The party's slogan also built on the incident of the MV Tampa in August 2001. The Tampa was a Norwegian vessel

that picked up 433 asylum-seekers from a boat sinking in international waters between Australia and Indonesia just before the 2001 federal election. The Howard government ordered the Tampa not to enter Australian waters and the asylum seekers were eventually processed off-shore in other countries, in what was called 'the Pacific Solution', in order to fulfil the Prime Minister's promise that none of the asylum seekers would be allowed to 'illegally' enter Australia. The Tampa has since been viewed as a manufactured crisis forcing public concern about border control and immigration as security issues (see Ward 2002, pp. 21-39).

Slogans as speech

In 2004, Mark Latham's rhetoric as ALP leader was particularly interesting because he seemed to go beyond the use of official slogans in pamphlets and advertising material to incorporate slogan-like phrases into his personal rhetoric. Burgmann (2003) has critiqued Latham's repetition of the phrase 'ladder of opportunity', for example, as a 'tired old metaphor historically associated with 1950s British conservatism', while Johnson (2004) has examined the ideological tenets of Latham's rhetorical style.

Conclusion

In 1949, when the Liberals used the slogan 'It's time for a change', it was used irregularly in only a handful of newspaper advertisements, whereas, in later years, slogans are used in a far more consistent and centralised manner. By the 1990s, both major parties used slogans and they often had two, or even three, each. Slogans are an integral part of their election campaigning as, potentially, they are one of the defining vision statements the parties articulate and the hook on which their campaign advertising and campaign message hang.

An analysis of slogans used in Australian election campaigns between 1949 and 2001 reveals a linguistic view of political history that offers some insights into the use of political rhetoric in Australia. Australian campaign slogans show an increasing personalisation of politics, a focus on party leaders, and a downplaying or de-emphasis of political parties. They show that the parties are increasingly using similar rhetoric, ideas, and language. They also reveal that there are some Australian idiosyncrasies in slogans, including a focus on advancement and winning and, lately, a sense of anxiety and dismay that has promoted our leaders to try to reassure us with themes of safety, security, and strength.

Along with analysis of campaign evolution and political rhetoric, we should also note that methods for communicating slogans have changed over time and continue to change as media and technology develop. Originally, before mass media, slogans were spoken, shouted, or sung. Later, they were printed on banners and other types of printed material such as posters and handbills. From the 1960s, they appeared in radio and TV advertisements including appearing as jingles. Now, new media and technology are changing the ways in which slogans are communicated.

In 2001, the Australian Greens' website offered supporters the chance to download bumper stickers, T-shirt slogans, and official posters from the party's website to use on their own site. The Labor Party also placed its merchandise on its website for supporters to purchase including T-shirts, caps, and coffee mugs promoting the campaign slogan. While slogans have for some time been worn on t-shirts, written on posters, and carried on signs, they can now be downloaded as a screensaver and put on a home computer. They can also be e-mailed to friends or distributed via mobile phone .

Overall, what has occurred in the development of slogans over the past five decades is a microcosm of broader developments in the changing nature of election campaigning, the evolution of media and technology, and the use of political language and rhetoric which, in the form of campaign slogans, is designed, as Safire (1972, p. iii) has pointed out, to 'crystallize a mood and turn it to action...[to capture] the essence of an abstraction and mak[e] it understandable to millions'.

Notes

1. A slogan was originally a name or phrase shouted in battle by Scottish clans (as famously represented in the Mel Gibson movie *Braveheart*). Indeed, the single most popular word used in political slogans over nearly 200 years has been 'war' (Blake and Morton Newman, 1984, p. xiii).
2. See also Smith, 2001.
3. See Mills, 1986; Mayer, 1973; Oakes 1972 and Oakes and Solomon, 1973 For later interpretations of the 1972 campaign see Hull, 2000; Pristel, 1996; Walker, 1987; Ward, 1995 and Young 2004.
4. With 48.7 per cent saying there was only 'some difference' between them (Dodson, 2005).
5. This same phenomenon has also been found in relation to the content of television and newspaper political advertisements (Young, 2004, pp. 231-50).

6. In a move to allow supporters a more active role in slogan creation, in 2001 in the UK, the Labour Party invited activists to send in suggested slogans for the election campaign via SMS (mobile phone text messaging). The slogans had to be pro-Labour and anti-Conservative and the winner reportedly got a £100 prize (Ward, 2001).

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Author/s:

YOUNG, SALLY

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