An Analysis of Climate Change Discourse in the Federal Parliament: 2000 – 2018

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Abstract

This thesis examines the way climate change discourse has changed in the Australian Federal Parliament from 2000 to 2018. The intellectual foundations and theoretical framework of this thesis are built based on Linguistics and Political Science research. Using corpus linguistics as a methodology, the term 'climate' was tracked across the aforementioned years in order to understand how politicians shape climate change discourse within the institutional framework of the Federal Parliament. The aim of this research is to address how climate change discourse has changed in the context of the Federal Parliament. Through the combination of political analysis with the linguistic data, potential political reasons why the discourse has changed were also considered. In undertaking this analysis, the thesis contributes to our understanding of climate change discourse in 21st Century Australia and its role in a contested partisan space.

Contents

1.1 Introduction 7
1.2 Research Question and Statement 8
1.3 Relevance of Research 9
1.4 Political Context within Australia 10
1.5 Structure of the thesis 13
2.1 Introduction 14
2.2 Language and political analysis 14
2.2.1 What is political speech/discourse? 14
2.2.2 Importance of language in contested discourse 19
2.2.3 The role of leaders in parliamentary speech 21
2.2.4 Why leaders act to shape rhetoric and discourse? 24
2.3 Conclusion 28
3.1 Introduction 29
3.2 Corpus Linguistics 29
3.2.1. Combination of methods 31
3.3 Corpus Construction 33
3.3.1 Corpus Documents and formatting 33
3.3.2 Corpus Type 35
3.4 Methods 35
3.4.1 Frequency Analysis 35
3.4.2 Collocation 38
3.5 Collocation workflow 40
3.6 Frequency Workflow 42
3.7 Conclusion 43
4.1 Chapter Four 44
4.2 LNP: 2000 – 2007: Howard 44
4.2.1 2000 47
4.2.2 2001 49
4.2.3 2002 50
4.2.4 2003 51
4.2.5 2004 52
4.2.6 2005 53
4.2.7 2006 54

4.2.8 2007 56
4.3 Howard Era in Summary 57
Chapter Five 61
5.1 2008 64
5.2 2009 65
5.3 2010 67
5.4 2011 69
5.5 2012 71
5.6 2013 74
5.7 The Labor Years 74
Chapter Six 78
6.1 2013 81
6.2 2014 83
6.3 2015 84
6.4 2016 87
6.5 2017 89
6.6 2018 and future 91
6.7 2018 – 2019 93
7.1 Conclusion 96
7.2 Future Research 98
Appendix One 102
References 121

Chapter One

Introduction

1.1 Introduction

This thesis analyses how political leaders through their own rhetoric or events impact climate change discourse in the Federal Parliament. Climate change has played a particular role in Australian 21st century politics. This is mainly because the debate has shifted from a factual scientific approach to a highly contested, politicised and polarised ideological partisan fight. This is also reflected more broadly in the political climate of the 21st century around the world and in Australia.

This thesis examines the way in which members of the Australian Federal Parliament have used the word *Climate* from the year 2000 to 2018, and the present day. A corpus comprised of the Hansard record of both houses of parliament makes it possible to glean an understanding of the shifts in the way this word has been used. The foundations for the social and political underpinnings of this research come from an understanding of how social change occurs across various periods. In conducting this analysis, this thesis will explore whether and how political leaders have an impact on parliamentary language around climate change in Australia. Furthermore, the analysis discusses the external factors, both domestic and internationally, and their impact on the discourse of or changes in the rhetoric by political or parliamentary leaders.

The choice to focus on climate change discourse stems from the fact that the climate crisis represents a total and existential threat to modern society. Increasingly, since the year 2000 at least, the role of climate discourse has become more important in Australia; for example the ABC during the 2010 federal election reported that "the opinion polls suggest it will go down to the wire, Julia Gillard today turned her attention to climate policy" (ABC, 2010). The evidence of the contention over climate policy has also been discussed in academics papers, with Taberner and Zorzetto writing, (2014, p. 2) "debate on national climate change legislative policy had been under way in Australia for well over two decades. For much of this period to the present day it was unclear when a decisive conclusion to the debate would occur". This sentiment is still prevalent in the Australian media, social and political sphere through 2016 and onward. As Philips argues (2016, p. 443), "Australia's elections often feature a fierce debate over climate-change policy. In recent years, arguments over whether and how to put a price on carbon emissions have even swayed voters and toppled governments".

The thesis employs corpus linguistics methods (the study of language contained within a corpus of real-world text), to develop a fuller discussion of the changes to discourse around climate change in Australia taking an empirical approach that demonstrates changes in language. Methods such as collocation and frequency analysis play a central role in the analysis within the research. Frequency

analysis makes it is possible to track the rate of use of *climate* as a term in the Federal Parliament while collocation analysis provides insights into the contexts in which it occurs.

1.2 Research Question and Statement

This thesis is concerned with two key questions:

Do political leaders impact climate change discourse in the Federal Parliament?

- Political leaders' impact climate change discourse through their own rhetoric, for a variety of reasons.

If so, *how do political leaders impact climate change discourse?*

- Through the use of rhetoric in the language they use (Hansard).

This thesis uses Hansard records from the House of Representatives and the Senate to identify evidence that changes in party, leader, domestic and global events as well as other stimuli impact climate change discourse in the Federal Parliament.

This raises a further set of questions that can be summarised as:

- Why do political leaders impact climate change discourse in the Federal Parliament?

  To attempt to reflect or sway changing public opinion.

  To attempt to reflect or oppose global/domestic trends or events.

  To advance their interests or stymie the interests of opposing actors.

  To enhance the exposure of their own ideology or pragmatic shifts in party/personal ideology.

The first two questions address the key concerns in this thesis, which is the impact that leaders have on the type of discourse stemming out of the Federal Parliament. As this research is focused primarily on a political analysis of the linguistic data, the 'how' questions are the key concern of the research. Whereas the 'why' question is regarded as a secondary focus, however it too is answered in part by the data.

1.3 Relevance of Research

The relevance of this research lies on the fact that the language used by politicians within the context of the political system and institution they are operating in can have an impact on contested discourses. Markard and Daehnke (2016 p. 814) acknowledge the power of institutional actors in their work stating "powerful actors like party board members have privileged access to the media, they are able to dominate discourses". This is particularly prevalent regarding climate change discourse, as the growing and increasing politicisation and partisan nature of the discourses that circulate these concerns have led to changes in how climate change is perceived by the public. It is therefore critical to develop an understanding of how climate change discourse is shifting and that the factors that may be responsible for that shift are understood.

Climate change is an existential threat to the world and its political/social structures. The recent bushfires in Australia, known as Black Summer (further heighted by the wildfires in North and South America, Russia and Europe) dominated media and social media coverage internationally through 2019 and 2020. The linguistic methods associated with corpus-based analysis (Brindle, 2018, Flottum 2014, Penry Williams and Stebbins n.d., Salahshour 2016) provide valuable tools to support an understanding of how the language used by Australian Federal politicians is shifting (or not) as major environmental crises occur. This highlights a secondary level of relevance for this research, that of informing the public and academia as to how the political actors and systems in Australia have used language to shape the discourse stemming from the federal parliament.

This thesis will additionally demonstrate that corpus-based methods can be used to analyse political data and provide a valuable technique for future researchers. Using corpus analysis combined with an understanding of the Australian political landscape would yield information as to how terms relating to race, religion, gender, have changed in Parliament and if this is reflective of the Australian community by comparing, for example the Hansard record with other documents including newspapers but extending to a broad range of more informal materials (Corbett 2021, Gianfreda 2019 and Mercier et al, 2018).

1.4 Political Context within Australia

A summary of the broader political situation surrounding climate change in Australia provides a useful starting point for this research. Climate discourse has played a major role in influencing the role and shape of the political sphere in the 21st century, particularly in influencing the instability around the leadership of Australia and its associated political fallout. The tumultuous years debating a national climate policy have given rise to the period known as 'Australia's Climate Wars'; defined by leaders doubling down of rhetoric and ideology on the various sides of the climate change debate (Colvin 2021). This will be further explored in the literature review through a discussion on works relating to understanding of climate change discourses and the political realities in Australia. This context supports the analysis of the data.

A number of countries around the world have been able to, with varying degrees of success, develop and implement policies to address the impacts of climate change on their countries and on people globally, such as; the UK, the EU and Chile (CCPI 2021 and Harvey 2021). This will be highlighted when discussing the international state of affairs on climate change and their impact on domestic rhetoric. Australia since 2000 has been unable to secure a bipartisan national strategy to create a legislative, social and economic framework for the advancement of climate change policies or laws. The 2007 election represented the beginning of Australia's 'Climate Wars'. This election was preceded by a Coalition Government which had been in power since 1996 under the leadership of John Howard. The signature issues of this election cycle were Industrial Relations (the new Workchoices laws had recently been implemented) and the government response to the developing global economic turmoil which developed into the Global Financial Crisis. The outcome of the election saw the ALP enter office winning 83 of the 150 seats in the House of Representatives, ending an 11-year period of Coalition Rule.

The climate change debate has in some terms become a proxy for the war on experts and academics across the western world. A review commissioned by the Rudd Government - The Garnaut Review (Garnaut, 2011) along with media outlets - summed up the ongoing threats and action required to the Australian state;

"the weight of scientific evidence tells us that Australians are facing risks of damaging climate change.…There is no doubt about the position of most reputed specialists in climate science, in Australia and abroad, on the risks of climate change.

There is no doubt about the position of the leaders of the relevant science academies in all of the major countries. The outsider to climate science has no rational choice but to accept that, on a balance of probabilities, the mainstream science is right in pointing to high risks from unmitigated climate change. There are nevertheless large uncertainties in the science. There is debate and

recognition of limits to knowledge about the times and ways in which the risk will manifest itself. Every climate scientist has views on some issues that differ from the main stream in detail (SMH, 2008)."

This review directly called upon the Australian public to accept the broad knowledge of climate scientists and academics to outline the debate on climate change. This call for "united around science" has been profoundly ignored by a large number of conservative and conservative-aligned persons and groups in positions on influence and voice in Australia. A continuous stream of high-profile politicians have consistently challenged the prevailing scientific consensus on climate change leading to a surge in climate science sceptical voters. As recently as 2020 NSW Liberal Senator Jim Molan proclaimed that he did not base his understanding of climate change on "facts", directly highlighting the dissonance between scientific consensus and broader public sentiment (ABC 2020).

From the Australian context, it is important to understand climate change as an issue which has dominated the minds and attentions of the public, the political sphere and the media since 2000. Therefore, it is credible to state that in understanding the changing nature and development of language around climate change and climate change policies in Australia will lead to a developed level of understanding in the state of democracy and social debate as it stands today.

As argued by Fredriksson and Neumayer in their work and citing the works of other researchers in the field, climate change and democracy are inexorably intertwined; "The pressure to take pollution damage (social welfare) into account also depends on the degree of political competition and accountability (Fredriksson et al., 2005; List and Sturm, 2006; Wilson and Damania, 2005). Farzin and Bond (2006) argue that interactions exist between the levels of democracy, income, income inequality, urbanization, education, and age distribution (see also Eriksson and Persson, 2003) to account for the complex and contested discourse around climate change policies. On the other hand, Barrett and Graddy (2000) and Torras and Boyce (1998) argue that democratization makes citizens better informed and better organized for protest. Bättig and Bernauer (2009) suggest that greater freedom to travel internationally, to pursue joint research, to communicate, and to exchange ideas with foreigners' leads to greater awareness of environmental issues, their risks, and their mitigation. Moreover, while democratization stimulates industry lobbying, it also encourages environmental lobbying, including on international cooperation" (2013, pp. 12).

Climate change policy and by extension, climate discourse at a national level has developed into a political problem (Australia Institute 2007, 2010, 2016, 2019). Attempts to create a significant cohesive climate policy have contributed to the end of the political careers of four to five sitting Prime Ministers (Crowley 2021). This failure of leadership in the arena of climate change policy has enflamed growing discontent between the political establishment and a majority of Australians

(discussed further below). Studies from the Australian National University (ANU) have provided evidence that climate factors and have and continue to have influenced voting patterns by the Australian public. Paul Karp (2019) and the ANU found that voters swung toward the coalition government in the final month of the election in 2019, after a concerted attack on the Labor Opposition's climate change policies.

The assumption of Climate Change and climate discourse influencing voters backed up by polls such as the ABC Vote Compass (Hanrahan 2019) and Ipsos polling (2007, 2015, 2017, 2019) which indicated that 'environment is rated as the number one issue by 29 per cent of Vote Compass respondents, a massive shift from just 9 per cent in 2016.' With the Lowy Institute 2019 Poll finding that respondents felt that "the threat posed by climate change appears to be a greater priority for Australians than either reducing household bills or power blackouts" (Lowy 2019).

Data from the Lowy Institute in 2018 found that 59% of respondents believe that "Global Warming (Climate Change) is a serious and pressing problem; "we should begin taking steps now even if this involves significant costs" (Lowy Institute, 2018 p 15). The polling data from the Lowy Institute along with other organisations shows that climate change is a significant factor in the Australian political system and influences the way that voters decide which party they will support during an election. The political relevancy of these findings emphasises the importance to the areas of undertaking this research into the way climate change discourse is being created and the shifts it has undergone in the 21st century.

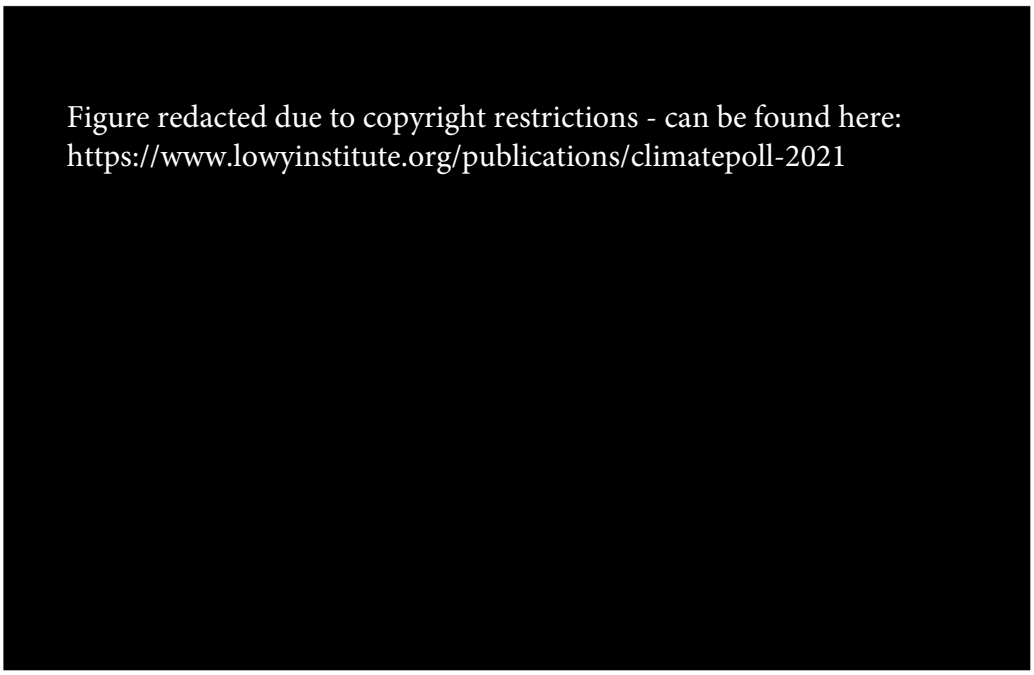


Figure 1.1 – Lowy poll ranking attitudes to climate change (Kassam and Leser 2021)

1.5 Structure of the thesis

This thesis consists of seven chapters which are summarised briefly here. Chapter 1 provides an introduction to the relevance of the research, the political context of climate change in Australia and globally, as well as provide a brief discussion and outline on each section of this thesis. Chapter 2 examines the literature relevant to this thesis with a particular emphasis on literature relating to the role of leaders in rhetoric, political dynamics or motives (internationally and domestically) and analysis. The literature review also details the historical links between political analysis and language, through classical scholarship and rhetorical studies. Chapter 3 deals with the methodological approach used in the thesis. Describing the use of frequency analysis and exploring patterns of collocation to understand the discourses in which *climate* is situated. The construction of the corpus, using data drawn from the Hansard Records is also explained. Chapters 4 through 6 presents the analysis and discussion. Each chapter represents distinct governmental/parliamentary periods, with each period covering the governing years of a political party. These Chapters includes a year to year analysis of the parliamentary language around climate change from 2000 onwards. Chapter 7 concludes by the discussion chapters four, five and six, and in doing so highlights the pathway forward to future research.

Chapter Two

Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

Chapter 2 is split into two sections relating to the two central areas of literature being discussed in this thesis. The first and larger section of the two expands upon the importance of language in politics, parliamentary discourse and the role of leaders in shaping discourse. These areas are central to the study as they inform the role that politics and leaders have on shaping the type of discourse found and analysed in the Federal Parliament.

The inclusion of the political science scholarship in this thesis is critical to addressing its research questions, as they relate to the impact of political actors (leaders) on the contested discourses of climate change within the federal parliament, through the prism of linguistic data. The thesis seeks to offer a genuine interdisciplinary approach to the topic. Whilst this is both theoretically and methodologically challenging, this perspective enriches the thesis and allows for a more comprehensive and realistic approach to climate change discourse in the Australian Parliament.

2.2 Language and political analysis

This section provides a discussion on the role of language of politicians and political discourse as it relates to climate change. Additionally, this section provides an overview of the literature differentiating how the language of parliamentary discourse and rhetoric differs significantly from typical everyday speech. It is important to the analysis in this thesis that an understanding of political rhetoric be given as it plays a crucial part in the formation of political discourse through the use of language choice, because of the possibility of political rhetoric informing perceptions of risk in relation to the issue of the incoming climate change crisis as a type of politicised language. This will be used to map out how the language choices made by politicians and the parliamentary institution have a direct impact on the way in which the issue of climate change is being understood by the Australian general public.

2.2.1 What is political speech/discourse?

The variation between everyday speech and the type of speech conducted within the federal parliament in both the House of Representatives and the Senate informs the way that this thesis undertakes the analysis of this speech. This research will ensure that there is political context provided when analysing the language of the parliament, this contextual understanding must also be directly

applied to the language of politicians. Political speech differs from casual 'day-to-day' language. They are often employing politically-charged language, using rhetorical devices and targeted speech. When discussing political speech, it is important to be aware that these people are not acting as sole agents, but rather are working within a broader institution and in a particular socio-political context. Willis discusses how "the politics and governance of climate change has been much discussed. Yet, there has been very little attention paid to a crucial group of individuals at the centre of this challenge: the politicians themselves" (Willis 2017 p. 2012).

In order to analyse these issues, this thesis discusses the aspects of parliamentary speech (discourse) that set it apart from traditional speech. One aspect is that, since political discourse reaches the broader public, the audience plays a key role in defining the way in which debate is conducted in the Federal Parliament, impacting the language being used and the type of discourse. Parliamentarians often shape their language/discourse to reach an audience through the media, and in doing so they choose language which best suits the perceptions of the issue they are trying to convey. This is deliberate: The language choices made by the leader of a political party are aimed at increasing public agreement with their policies and therefore, Clare argues that, which is critical to preserve power, "the primary motivation behind a leader's policy" (Clare 2010, p. 6). Reaching and preserving power is a strong motivator in contemporary Western democracies – it is the main motivation of leaders, and it shapes their behaviour and policies (*see* Fearon 1994, Bueno de Mesquita, Morrow, Siverson, and Smith 1999, and Schultz 2001, among others).

The way in which parliamentary debate is conducted presents an interesting case for the use of politically charged language and its impact on the trends (which will be discussed in chapters 4, 5 and 6 in the analysis of the corpus data). Whilst their content does reach the public via the media, it is also true that vast majority of parliamentary proceedings are not viewed by the Australian population. This impacts the type of language used in the parliament (particularly during *Question Time)* where politicians will used heightened language and rhetoric in order to ensure that their point, question or ideology in language is the soundbite taken to the Australian viewing audience in through the evening news or other media platforms. The type of speech used in parliament is wholly different from the type of speech experienced day to day by in a traditional context. Yet, its strength lies in the fact that it is possible through the use of corpus methods to analyse the changes in the parliamentary language, which would not be possible to with traditional speech conducted outside a controlled institution.

This returns to the idea of the continued politicisation of climate change discourse. If a politician is able to convince the public through parliament and the media that they are right, it is possible for the politician to give themselves and their ideas legitimacy and further their own ideology. The type of ideology and the strength of the politician can play an enormous role in shaping how the discourse in the Federal Parliament changes and is defined, and this discourse changes to

reflect or attempt to persuade the general public of their opinions. Shifts in parliamentary discourse on climate change and the language surrounding how climate change is discussed in parliament can be understood through the way in which politicians of a given ideological bent wish the issue to be viewed by the public.

This is explored by Kenis (2018 p. 840) who elaborates on the ideological split and the divergence of perceptions of proponents of action on climate change, stating 'the Green Economy (perception) uses an economic, technocratic and managerial, and thus often profoundly depoliticised narrative', (also echoed in Kenis and Lievens, 2015; 2016). The Climate Justice Action (perception), 'strongly politicises, and sometimes even tends to over-politicise, in the sense that it frames the whole field of environmental struggle in terms of adversaries and allies, friends and enemies (Kenis and Mathijs, 2014b). Moreover, the Green Economy 'conceals its political stakes, thereby complicating a debate about its proper aims, Climate Justice Action risks to go so far in its conflict approach that a proper debate, for instance with advocates of the Green Economy, is also not possible anymore' (Kenis, 2018 p. 840). Due to the extent that the followers of latter perception of climate change tend to be considered as enemies rather than adversaries, as argued by Mouffe, (2006), they become actors that have to be defeated instead of convinced.

Through interpreting Kenis it is possible to understand how the enhanced politicisation and ideologies have impacted the way climate change discourse is conducted and created. Work such as this seeks to highlight two of the main tenets of this thesis. The first being that the language used in parliament has a direct and tenable application towards understanding society. Parliamentary discourse can reflect the views of the public as they are being perceived by members of the institution or conversely, it is possible that the language choices made by politicians is done so to impact the perceptions of climate change in the public. Thus, the way in which parliamentary discourse is impacting on or reflecting public sentiment must be examined. Through a rigorous study of the language choices of the parliament a better understanding of that democracy can be gained.

2.2.1.1 Classical views of political speech

This section will touch on the works of classical scholars and modern political thinkers to indicate that in the context of the federal parliament and more broadly in evaluating the language of political actors (politicians), it is critical to view language through the lens of political argument and persuasion. This section will look at the classical interpretation of rhetoric as the basis for the long tradition of analysing language through a political context.

Aristotle notes that "man by nature is a political animal" arguing that all 'men' (persons) are inherently political and thus at times their language is also inherently political. Thus, it is possible to view the language of politicians as inherently political, and in doing so it can be concluded that the

aim of such political language is to persuade and to argue a point or opinion. Classical scholars also provide insight into rhetoric, which is the ability to use oratory techniques and a command of language to persuade those around you. This is an important understanding of language in settings similar to the Federal Parliament, like other similar institutions through history, such as the Roman Senate; where in controlled settings and abiding by rules and traditions, different type of actors use language to persuade those around them.

The rules of debate and Rhetoric in the classical world of the Greeks was set forth by Aristotle who argues that there three spaces for public rhetoric (Aristotle's Rhetoric (Stanford Encyclopaedia of Philosophy), 2020).

The deliberative: *Speech which takes places in an assembly (political gathering). The speaker aims to use their skills to convince an audience to undertake an action or warn against a certain path. In return the audience has to judge the events of the future and understand if the proposed path by the speaker is good or bad/advantageous or disadvantageous for the collective (State).*

The judicial: *Speech that takes place in a legally defined space (a Court of Law). The speaker has to either defend oneself from accusations or provide a substantive accusation of wrongdoing by another. It is the task of the Audience (Jury) to judge the accusations of past misconducts was fair and just, or unjust, as well as deciding if the accused actions were in contravention of set laws.*

The epideictic: *Speech directed at a person aimed at making an argument about their character. The speaker praises the qualities or derides the perceived failures in character of another individual. The audience has to discern if the deeds and character of a person are respectful and honourable or shameful.*

The types of speech focused on in this thesis are the deliberative and to a lesser extent the judicial (as the speech takes place in a legally defined setting, with rules and regulations, the Parliament). One of the defining features of deliberative speech is that in the case of a debate or parliamentary setting, language is often used in a combative and controversial way. This has been discussed in chapter 2 in relation to the language of parliament, whereby the rules and structures of the institutions enhance the contentiousness of the language. This is discussed by Aristotle as one of the key components of a language in a democratic setting whereby individuals or groups put forth their arguments and attempt to discredit those of their opponents/opposition.

2.2.1.2 Contemporary views of political speech

This short section will deal with the role of political language in a contemporary context, and will seek to highlight how these theories transfer further into the shared space of linguistics and political communication in the 21st century.

The development of language as a political mechanism has continued as the complexity of political societies have grown. This section will demonstrate how language has increased in its politicisation and that this is highly prevalent in governmental forms of language, with a particular emphasis on parliaments. A large amount of contemporary literature deals with the intersectionality of media and political, demonstrating how both are tools of persuasion and propaganda, it is not the role of this methodological section to evaluate if this a strength or a weakness to society, nor how language is used by the media, simply to the demonstrate that language is being analysed in a political context.

A variety of theories of political and media engagement centre on the issues of propaganda, politicisation and media ownership. A model proposed by Noam Chomsky (2006) in his work *Manufacturing Consent* argues that a number of elite groups (including some politicians) use their influence to shape public narratives and discourse to suit their own goals. In using this model to understand politicians all speech made by these actors, especially in the context of the parliament, is political speech and therefore critical to shaping broader discourse.

Examples of research into political communication are also found in Gilens and Hertzman (2000) who studied the way media's coverage in of a piece of Telecommunication legislation advantaged or disadvantaged the owners of the news medium. On the other hand, Semetko & Valkenburg, (2000) have analysed and speculated about the consequences of framing and the types of frames used. Meanwhile, Benoit et al. (2000), Hershey & Holian, 2000 and others have looked into election campaign speeches to see if it is possible to detect specific themes, rhetorical patterns or frames.

All these analyses rely on the understanding of language as a political construct and as tool for political communication (Harris 2019). It is therefore imperative that the understanding of contemporary political language be one that encompasses the intersectionality of language and politics as well as the continual movement of the political sphere as encompassing more and more of public and private life. This form of understanding of political language is further explored by Graber (2005, p. 1) who states that political communication can be defined as "encompasses the construction, sending, receiving, and processing of messages that potentially have a significant direct or indirect impact on politics. The message senders or message receivers may be politicians, journalists, members of interest groups, or private, unorganized citizens" and that "The key element is that the message has a significant political effect on the thinking, beliefs, and behaviours of individuals, groups, institutions, and whole societies and the environments in which they exist" (Graber, 1993, p. 305). The definition from Graber is in line with that of Chomsky, both of whom argue that political communication is an institutional exercise.

2.2.2 Importance of language in contested discourse

This section will highlight how language in relation to contested parliamentary discourse can be used to attempt to influence or reflect the perceptions of the general public or how parliamentary discourse may be used to reflect assumptions from the general public (Astor 2019). The language of parliament and political discourse stemming from the public plays an integral role in the formation of public discourse around and issue which is highly contested and politicised in nature. It is therefore crucial to an overall understanding of the Australian democratic project that the role of language and its impact in the way society understands an issue or contentious topic be analysed and understood.

The role of language in politics plays a crucial role in reflecting the attitudes and assumptions (real or perceived) of the public. This is prevalent in works such as *The Politics of Fear,* where Wodak shows that language can be manipulated in order to shift the points of focus, providing a pathway through which non-traditional or extremist views can be framed into the everyday discourses of a Western-Neoliberal democratic society. Wodak argues with reference to her earlier works (such as: Wodak & Richardson 2013, Koehler & Wodak 2011 and Fortier 2012) "In the political struggle across Western Europe, the rhetoric of 'defence of liberal values' is often used as a strategy against Islam and the 'headscarf' is appropriated as a symbol of that struggle", (2015 p. 42).

Work such as this is a particular example in relation to how analysis can be conducted in relation to politicised language as discussed earlier in this chapter. In addition to indicating the analysis may be undertaken Wodak is giving a strong example as to the importance of language choice itself in formulating discourse and reflecting ideas from society in political (or parliamentary) discourse.

The importance of language in contested politics, with a focus on the development of politicised issues plays a key role in informing how those issues are understood. This is particularly prevalent to the issue of climate change and the developing climate crisis. It is important to study the way that the parliament of Australia has used language and how it is currently using language to understand if this is reflective of the public sphere or is causing changes to the way that the public is reacting to an issue as presented by the parliament itself.

Climate change and climate change policies are subject to highlight politicised language from political discourse and through the media. For the purposes of this thesis, literature relating to the role language can play in impacting or reflecting assumptions regarding climate change is critical to further understanding the role of language in politics and parliamentary discourse. Hume (2009), delves into the various aspects of the debate. He explores how language has been used to impact the way climate change is perceived. He states that "we inevitably adopt the convenient shorthand of allowing climate to stand in for weather" (2009 p. 10) which obfuscates our perception

of large scale damage to the planets ecosystem to day-to-day weather events. This demonstrates how the different ways the impacts from an event are discussed may increase the number of differing reactions.

He also discusses how the link between morality and climate change should be addressed "If it is true that climate change is an ethical issue – and few would deny this – we have to engage with the sources of morality" (2009 p. 147). He (2009 p. 216) goes on to directly address the way climate change is framed are directly linked to "showing relationships between how the issue is presented and the intended cognitive or behavioural outcomes". Thus we see an example where language informs our perception of the political sphere and thus guides our thinking as to possible actions in specific situations. Weber (2006) additionally demonstrates how belief and fear (and inevitably language) can impact the long term perceptions of climate change (Weber 2006), indicating that it is important to understand how language may change around a contested issue in order to inform our understanding of different perceptions.

Language choices in relation to climate action and risk has become a popular method through which the role of language on behaviour can be discussed. A study by Villar and Krosnick (2011 p. 8) found that "respondents were more likely to cite climate change as the most serious problem facing the world" as opposed to global warming, indicating that it is possible for the public (voters) to change their beliefs based on language choices stemming from parliamentary discourse. Guber (2013 p. 17) encapsulates these issues by stating that "allowing political parties and other players to frame the debate over climate change, opens the door to elite manipulation of mass behaviour, a troubling implication to say the least" (Levendusky, 2019 p. 126) ".

Lujala, Lein & Roed (2014) directly address the link between perception of risk through language and other factors at play in informing perceptions of climate change. "The perception of climate-change risk is influenced greatly by affective and emotional factors (including broader vales and political preferences) and less by analytical reasoning and rational choice" (p. 4). Authors such as Leiserowitz (2006), Meyer et al., (2013), and Dessai et al. (2004 & 2010) describe the conflicting preconceptions of climate change between the two distinct perceptions, that of 'expert-based versus internal experience-based definitions of risk. A person's perception of climate change may thus be partially formed by her proximity to "danger"', an example of this would be through the personal experience of living through an extreme weather event or living in a hazard prone area'.

This reinforces the importance of understanding the way that an issue is communicated can have impacts of the way it is perceived (Stanley 2015) and through studying the time of language around (collocation) the keyword *climate* it is possible to understand the shape of the contested debate, whether it be emotional of scientific. While this argument from Guber touches on a number of

interlocked areas it raises a significant issue of external discourses informing or reflecting the way in which a member of the public reacts to or perceives an issues.

2.2.3 The role of leaders in parliamentary speech

This section discusses why leaders play a crucial role in the formation of parliamentary discourse (Fairhust 1996). The analysis deployed in chapters 4 - 6 refers to leader of a party in a particular year, while discussing the implications that their leadership within the parliament may have had on the language using the political context of the time to help inform the data. The role of leaders in setting up and creating a broader public discourse is integrated in this section with a number of examples given from the Australian context and from other nations. The role of the leader in shaping parliamentary speech is critical. In part, this is due to the rising importance of the Prime Minister in contemporary Australian politics. "In Australia, the power of the executive is increasingly seen to be symbolically encapsulated in the figure of the Prime Minister and when it comes to making their voting choice, many 'swinging' voters are more interested in who is the party leader than any other single factor." (Young 2007, p. 235). Leaders play a role in shaping an era of discourse across Western Democratic countries (and beyond), with a strong leader being able to fundamentally shape the way in which society progresses (Harkness 2012, Strating and Harkness 2018). This is further discussed in the context of the Australian political setting, as well as using examples from other countries in relation to parliamentary or political discourse.

This is done in order to show how it is possible to analyse language employed in an institution (such as parliament, Dickins 2017). It allows us to make sense how the impact of a leader can be reflected in the discourse of the time and in the shaping of the national discourse over a number of years. The importance of doing so will be evident in chapters 4, 5 and 6, with the analysis drawing heavily on the leaders of a given year (from all major political parties) to indicate why a certain change in the data may have occurred.

The leader/leaders of a political party can have a major impact in the way debate is conducted in their respective parliaments and the type of language used when conducting debate. There are two main ways in which a leader can influence the way discourse functions in parliament and thus impacting the type of language being used by the respective parties (Nethercote 2013 & Dahl 1990). A leader sets the ideological tone of a political party which will impact on the types of language being used given the rhetorical techniques at play and the way in which the political party is attempting to communicate its message. At a policy level, the types of policy and pieces of legislation being debated are set by the government of the day and therefore have a direct impact on the language being used in parliament (Stephen 2014).

If a leader or leaders highlight a certain area of policy as being crucial to the electoral success or in fulfilment of electoral promises, then it is reasonable to expect that there will be a spike in the rate of use of a word if that word is directly related to a key policy (Kertzer 1998). An example of this would be in 2006-07, where opposition leader Kevin Rudd signalled that Climate Change would be a key part of the ALP platform in the lead up to the 2007 election and would therefore play a predominant role in the language of the government and opposition in those years. This approach is summed up by Clare (2010, p.8) who states that "parties have their electoral base that they must maintain, and the preferences of their base can determine the policy positions they need to take while in the government". Thus, the language of parliament post-election can be seen as reflective of public sentiment during the election campaign, as leaders and political parties attempted to capture swing voters with policies aimed at garnering broad support. The language after an election therefore represents the majority of the Federal Parliament as the control of the Parliament goes to the party who won the election, meaning that their language is more favourably viewed by the population (Mulgan 1990 & Emy 1997).

In using a leader as a shared reference point across years, common linguistic features can be identified through the language of the Federal Parliament. This is in contrast with the notion of 'an era' as understood at a broader level, which deals with sweeping lines of history and politics, and covering a large number of years which may only share a few select aspects in common. An example of the impact a leader can have can be understood through the Australian historical context. For instance, scholars and politicians have contended that Whitlam's leadership and discourse defined two crucially distinct eras in Australia; the pre and post- Whitlam years (Keating 2015, to the extent thatCurran (2002, p. 7) highlighting "The changes made by Whitlam to some of the key symbols of Australian nationhood during his term in office".

Another example of political discourse shaping a number of consecutive years is evident in the United Kingdom, which during the 2000's experienced a post-Thatcher era of discourse. The UK's system of government were shaped by the Thatcher years and had long-term effects on British society. It is possible to argue that the rhetoric of the parliament in the years when Thatcher was a dominant leader influenced or reflected the changing sentiment of the British public, making clear the role of language and the impact of a leader at the heart of a political system. The Thatcher years (1979 – 1990) centred conservative politics and polices at the heart of the British electorate. Kritzer (2008 p. 130) writes, "Individualism played a central role in Thatcher's politics, which advocated self-reliance as an antidote to welfare dependence". The dominance of the individualist mentality went beyond the Premiership of Thatcher herself, into the late 1990s and 2000s to create the post-Thatcher era, which stands independent of the years Thatcher was Prime Minister.

The impact of 'Thatcher Era discourse' can be understood through the way the political parties of England have used language to define and market themselves from the dawn of 'New Labour' in the 1990's to the 2000's and onwards. Page (2010 p. 149) argues that in the post-Thatcher era "New Labour had made a concerted attempt to reassure a sceptical public that it had adopted sound economic principles and policies, was 'tough' on crime and its causes and was fully in tune with the core values of 'middle' England". These New Labour policies were in line with those brought to the forefront of political discourse in the Thatcher years (free market, withdrawal of government security, tough on time, etc.) all of which dominated the new centre of British politics. This highlights the way in which a strong and commanding leader can have a significant impact on the way in which discourse is moulded over time and the lasting effects that a significant realigning of consensus discourse can have on the long-term perceptions formed by the public.

In turn the Conservative party as defined by Beech, under the leadership of David Cameron "and his generation of Conservatives follow many (Euroscepticism and a steadfast belief in free-market economics) but not all of the central tenets of Thatcherism" (2011 p. 350), thus cementing the early 21st century as the post-Thatcher era. As both the Labour party under the leadership of Tony Blair in opposition and in office as Prime Minister and the Conservative party under David Cameron underwent significant changes to the way in which they communicated their perceptions of issues, in order to realign with the post-Thatcher era consensus.

Globally the late 20th and early 21st century have been defined by what is the post-Neoliberal era, wherein the vast majority of political parties (left and right) accepted the tenants of neoliberalism as the basis for policymaking. This period was defined by leaders such as Bill Clinton, Tony Blair, Ronald Reagan, Paul Keating, Bob Hawke and John Howard, all of whom across the political spectrum changed their parties to situate themselves within a neoliberal framework. This period was preceded by a number of conservative governments across the world which sought to ingrain their specific ideologies in the basis of all policy across the political spectrum.

Additionally, critical events or junctures have played a major role in becoming focal points and changing the narratives in contested climate change discourse (Lidberg 2018). One of the major events of the 21st century, 9/11 cemented itself as a focal point in the ending of one era and the beginning of a new one. Political scholars often discuss foreign affairs (particularly American foreign policy) through the context of a post-9/11 global area. "The 9/11 attacks on New York and Washington changed the world 'forever' and assertions that international terrorism constituted the defining global security challenge of the twenty- first century" (Masferrer 2012), ensuring that the world had entered a new political era from a single event occurring in the United States in 2001.

The post-9/11 period has been defined by political theorists broadly as an era where security takes precedence over rights and where the powers of law enforcement have been increased globally

to deal with any possible future acts of terror (Holland 2013). Additionally the rise of political extremism has impacted the way political discourse has been conducted in the post-9/11 world, such as the rise of extreme political parties and the introduction of their values into the mainstream of political discourse. This has served as the prism through which global affairs have been viewed in the post-9/11 era, once again illustrating that an era is not defined by a specific year or years, rather the systemic way in which institutions act over a prolonged period of time.

An example of these critical events or junctures within the context of 21st Century Australia are the Black Summer bushfires, while these events have been referred to a number of times in this thesis. The flashpoint that sparked around these fires changed the way that Australians (broadly) understood the threat and nature of climate change, from one which was abstract and far away to one which was a direct threat to their lives, security and livelihoods.

2.2.4 Why leaders act to shape rhetoric and discourse?

This section of literature explores the possible reasons why leaders/political actors act the way they do to shape their rhetoric and discourse. "An act is something undertaken (1) by an actor, (2) oriented to a specific future end; (3) in a situation that channels how this end can be reached; and (4) in a normative environment constraining how these are combined. Or so wrote Talcott Parsons ([1949] 1968)" (Martin 2017 p. 49). In moving through the thesis into the analysis chapters, these reasons for action and reaction by leaders will be highlighted in response to changes in the climate change discourse.

2.2.4.1 Pursuit of Power

"Sociologist tend to assume that there are reasons why things are the way they are" (Luhmann 1994 p. 32). Leaders are politicians, and politicians are human. While this statement may seem like an inane use of language it highlights the point that the actions of politicians are entirely human. Politics is about power, therefore politicians act the way they do to accrue the most power for themselves, their party or their movement. Politicians do not often adhere to the same logical or moral rationale that most of us live by, nor do they conform to de rigueur understandings of behaviour, it is simply about power and the utilisation of that power (although this is not always the case). This is particularly prevalent in Australian politics as former Prime Minister Paul Keating discusses power in such a way as, 'you live by the sword and die by the sword, because we all get carried out in the end' (ABC 2013).

That is not to argue the politics act in the best interests of the Nation, of their constituents or even themselves. A number of other factors directly and indirectly influence their actions and

rhetorical choices daily. In fact, most political actors or leaders make choices based on the simple prospect of political power as Peta Credlin, former Chief of Staff to Prime Minister Tony Abbott made clear, admitting "It wasn't a carbon tax, as you know. It was many other things in nomenclature terms, but we made it a carbon tax. We made it a fight about the hip pocket and not about the environment that was brutal retail politics, and it took Abbott about six months to cut through and, when he cut through, Gillard was gone" (Credlin, 2021).

In order to pursue political power, leaders can use the contested nature of climate change discourse to instil fear or division. An example of this can be in the United States where, "in 2005, the U.S. government also launched a campaign of repression, dubbed the "green scare," against environmental activists allegedly involved in the sabotage efforts of the Earth Liberation Front; this had a chilling effect on some sections of the antiauthoritarian current. In these circumstances, most struggles were defensive, and activists grappled with marginalization, demoralization, and exhaustion" (Dixon 2014, p.47). Indicating that contested discourses were occurring at all level of climate politics and that there were (and are) being utilised by political actors to shape and sway public opinion around climate action.

The historical approach to climate change rhetoric, used as a tool to either unite or divide groups, has been used by actors as a way to gain or take power from other. Backstrand and Lovbrand (2006, p.52) explain that these "discourses are embedded in power relations, as historically variable ways of specifying knowledge and truth—what is possible to speak at a given moment." Discourses as "knowledge regimes" bring us squarely to the role of science. In expert-driven global environmental change research especially, modern scientific knowledge, techniques, practices and institutions enable the production and maintenance of discourses". Climate change and all its associated discourses are inherently about power thus ensuring that, like all power it is contested by various actors attempting to wrest control.

2.2.4.2 Ideological Beliefs and Partisanship

For some scholars, political actors and leaders, their rhetoric and actions are shaped by their ideology and their desire to implement that ideology through political mechanisms. Many MPs accept and sometimes question "political communication shaped modern political practice" (Bignell 2018 p153), signifying that there is an understanding that politics is inherently based on communication, in a proactive and reactive manner. It is reactive communication as will be discussed in the analysis chapters, where political leaders and actors attempt to reflect changes to public sentiment in their language, or proactive where politicians attempt to use their rhetoric to change public sentiment.

Climate action and its consequent struggles have oft become synonymous with a class struggle, typically defined by the progressive values of politicians or leaders, with slogans such as

“system change, not climate change” becoming rallying cries for climate organisers and activists. It is impossible to delve into the nature of the climate change debate without noting that an establishment vs anti-establishment has become a prominent fixture in the climate change debate, further cementing its role as a vehicle for power. The fixation on ideological struggles becomes more and more prominent in the Australian context as political leaders attempt to shape climate action as one of ideology or partisanship.

This ideological/class/political impact on climate change discourse, is reflected in evolving narratives of who benefits from climate action. “As narratives of climate justice find their way into policy discourse, the question of whose interests are served and whose damages attain greater significance”. (Scandrett 2015 p 479). This acknowledges that under the banner of the growing climate justice approach there are a number of differing views on the type of discourse and its beneficiaries. Tramel (2018, p. 1294) posits “the issues of resource grabbing and climate change mitigation, having intersected decisively across the contemporary political landscape, have changed the political nature of relationships between agrarian and environmental/climate justice movements as they respond to and protest resulting grievances”. Underscoring again the complex and ideologically driven nature of climate change discourse as a contested space, even within the non-sceptical, non-denialist spheres of discourse.

Politicians are often motivated by ideology, from both top down and bottom-up approaches. That is, they are seeking to use their ideology to persuade voters or they are using the already simmering ideological levels in the public to enhance their electoral prospects by fermenting a classic them-and-us approach to politics and power. Bitecofer (2020 p. 31) writes about the historical uses of ideology in politics, stating “the nation (United States) and its elected leaders were divided into two sharply opposed factions, harbouring deep-seated cultural and philosophical resentments toward each other. Then, as now, each side gravitated toward intractable positions while showing little appetite for continued compromise. And then, as now, demagoguery and nativism had reached a fever pitch, political civility a new low, and conspiratorial thinking had defiantly overtaken the political mainstream. And then, as now, all these forces converged to trigger widespread institutional breakdown under the strain of political conflict”.

On the other hand, “models of network interaction and network games (Chwe 1990, 1999, 2000, 2001; Jackson 2008) have shown that the structure of network connections among agents has strong effects on the distribution of beliefs and, ultimately, choices across that group, providing some foundation for modelling how leaders can influence others and whether and how belief cascades might occur” (Ahlquist and Levi 2006, p. 15). These network interactions highlight the way in which a leader can structure the beliefs of their followers in order to pursue their own ideological agenda,

indicating that if leaders want to shape the ideological beliefs of their followers (the electorate) they have to change the way they interact with those followers through their rhetoric.

2.2.4.3 Domestic and International pressures and reactions

An example of international trends shifting climate change discourse is that of the Kyoto Protocols. For instance, Backstrand and Lovbrand (2019, p.523) argue that "The adoption of the Kyoto Protocol in 1997, this global administration of human and natural elements of life was translated into legal action. The targets and timetables for emission cuts allocated to industrialized states in the Kyoto Protocol epitomize the centralized multilateral negotiation order promoted by green governmentality and its associated techno-scientific infrastructure for carbon monitoring, reporting and management". Underlying that there was a growing international consensus approach to climate change which would only be challenged in the late 2000s. Stating again "While the political rationality of green governmentality offered the template for effective climate action throughout the 1990s and early 2000s, it was severely challenged at the Copenhagen summit in 2009. The Copenhagen Accord's focus on voluntary and 'nationally appropriate' mitigation pledges marks a significant break with the Kyoto Protocol's multilateral coordination of national carbon budgets, emission targets and mitigation techniques".

In the instance of crises internationally or domestically, the general public may look to a "charismatic leaders: extraordinary political actors able to assuage people's stress and anxiety by presenting inspiring visions and solutions for the future, so breaking the collective impasse and creating the conditions for new social orders to materialise Tortola and Pansardi (2019, p. 96) (Tucker 1968 and Pillai 1996)".

International and domestic pressure do not only come from events or crises arising, it includes the constant pressure on political parties and the government coming from the media. Dale Willman, a veteran correspondent and field producer with CNN, CBS News, and National Public Radio, has commented, "In terms of agenda-setting, the media don't tell people what to think, but they tell them what to think about" (Boykoff 2009, p. 444). Boykoff (2004, 2007, 2008a, 2008b, 2009) has consistently critically discussed the links between media reporting and climate change and the way in which leaders or states respond to these shifts in narratives.

As Mabel (2001, p.94) states "Public political rituals serve as arenas where ritual actors, both participants and observers, blur the boundary between self and other, self and nation-state" blurring the lines between the individual and the state and their actions. These examples in literature and in contemporary politics have underscored the ways in which leaders shape their rhetoric due to international and domestic pressures and events. The political realities of any given time weigh directly on the choices made by political actors within their state, alongside the international events.

Additionally, it has been directly highlighted that most political behaviour can be attributed to the desire to gain and use power, whether that be in the personal interests of the political actor or in the interest of the state is of no consequence.

2.3 Conclusion

Chapter 2 has outlined the two central areas which have informed the development and execution of the research and the subsequent analysis. The first part of this thesis explored the strengths and weaknesses of the key methodologies used in the research, while additionally highlighting the experiences of previous researchers and how they have influenced choices in this study. As noted at the onset of this chapter the methodologies will be expanded upon and put into practical terms in the third chapter as it directly relates to the application of these methods to the Hansard data. The second part of chapter 2 focused on a discussion on the role of language in politics and the types of language which can occur in a political setting. Predominantly the way in which leaders and political parties can use language change and shift to alter the patterns of public discourse is crucial to this thesis and is woven into the analysis occurring in chapters 4, 5, and 6.

Chapter Three

Methodology

3.1 Introduction

Chapter three describes the methodologies being used in this thesis and provides a background of the literature surrounding these methodologies to indicate their position and relevance to the research. This chapter will further integrate the interdisciplinary nature of the research through the discussion of the various methodologies used in linguistics and political science.

The initial section of this chapter focuses on the methods and literature relating to the practicalities of the construction of the corpora used in this thesis, including corpus structure and document formatting. These sections describe how the corpus documents were collected and sorted into the appropriate corpora.

The second part of this chapter deals with the methods of collocation and frequency analysis. These methods will be discussed in relation to their contribution to the analytical framework of this research. Literature will also be used to highlight how other researchers have used these methods.

3.2 Corpus Linguistics

"Corpus linguistics is customarily defined as a methodology that bases claims about language on usage patterns in collections of naturalistic, authentic speech or text," (Szmrecsanyi 2017 pp. 685).

Corpus Linguistics provides the methods for the data analysis conducted in this research. The strength of corpus linguistics in analysing large amounts of data (in this case speech which has been recorded as text) is that it supports the identification of macro trends in the data. Baker (2014) describes corpus linguistics in the following way: "the word corpus is Latin for body, so Corpus Linguistics refers to a body of language. This body usually consists of collections of texts, either in full, or comprising smaller excerpts from them. The key point is that these texts involve authentic cases of language use as it occurs in the 'real world', as opposed to say a made-up sentence by a linguist in order to demonstrate a particular point" (2014 pp 7, see also Baker 2012).

The relevance of corpus linguistics to this research is demonstrated through a review of how other researchers have used methodologies and techniques in relation to analyses of media, politics and policy. In addition to this, a number of perceived flaws will be addressed and discussed in the context of this thesis. This research is situated in a growing body of research which utilises increasingly easily accessible digital data to explore how language functions in relation to politicised

issues and events. Sources in this section address two key areas: the development and application of corpus linguistics to political and politicised issues, as well as previous and parallel research which has focused on understanding the language of an issue through the media sphere.

The increasing effectiveness and relevance of corpus linguistics is effectively highlighted by Davies (2015, p. 30), who argues that the broader availability of data where the situation, "five, ten, or twenty years from now, when researchers will be able to download billions of words of data every day from Facebook or other social media sites". He then argues that the raw data will further be enhanced by the use of metadata which will "show the gender, general age range, and approximate geographical location of the author". Furthermore, future advanced in technology in relation to the data processing of large corpora will mean that software may "efficiently process hundreds of billions of words of data at a rate that is hundreds or thousands of times as fast as today", in a future where a "researcher can examine the use of a particular word, or phrase, or syntactic construction – virtually in real time", while also having access to the details of the author of each word, race, gender, sexuality, age, etc.

Work relating to the role of language in the interaction between language use and politicised issues illustrates the strength of the methodological foundations for this thesis. Research has previously been completed in researching how language relates and functions in the context of a politicised issue such as healthcare. In their work on the healthcare debate in the United States, Koon, Hawkins and Mayhew (2016 pp. 807) state that language choice and use "helps shape the terrain of the debate". The way in which language shapes a contested and politicised debate is further referenced by, Hawkins and Holden 2013, who illustrate how contested ideas and subjects can be analysed and discussed through language. The works of L'Esperance 2013 (in relation to health financing), Tynkkynen et al. 2012 (tobacco), and Smith 2013b (around alcohol), all demonstrate the effects that language choice has had on an individual contested topic area.

An analysis of language choice in the media and in parliament is particularly useful where there are contested definitions of an issue which are split along ideological or partisan lines. For instance, McDonald and Morgaine (2016), delve into the contested notion of 'freedom' in healthcare during the Obamacare legislative period (2009-2010). McDonald and Morgaine (2016 pp. 10) clearly state that it is possible for language and language choice to be used "in an attempt to structure people's worldviews" by media organisations attempting to shape their viewers perceptions of an issue such as healthcare. McDonald and Morgaine state that Fox viewers see the issue of healthcare as government intervention against individual 'freedom' and that their viewers were against healthcare reforms (Obamacare). They note that there are measurable differences in the way two institutions cover a contested issue (Fox and MSNBC) from different perspectives, while both discussing healthcare or Medicare.

These examples of previous research reflect both the potential and the growing role of using corpus linguistics as a tool of analysis in the future. These examples also demonstrate that corpus linguistics and its methods enable a diverse and complex reading of the data whereby large-scale patterns can be viewed and understood within the context of political discourse and discourse analysis more broadly. Work such as McDonald and Morgaine (2016) inform both perspectives on political speech and support the development, in combination with corpus linguistics, of robust methodologies.

It is important to note that this type of research can involve critical discourse analysis insofar as that analytical practices from political science contribute to the toolkit used to analyse the corpus data. As discussed by O'Halloran (2014 pp. 784) "A key advantage of corpus-based CDA is that analysts can go beyond single texts and conveniently explore, in a quantitative manner, patterns of ideological meaning in a large number of texts. Another important advantage of corpus based CDA is that it helps analysts to avoid charges that they cherry-pick from the texts to support a pre-figured interpretation. It is the software which suggests what is significant in the texts for the analyst to examine – not the analyst. In this way, arbitrariness is reduced and methodological rigour enhanced". This is significant in the context of this thesis due to the fact that approximately twenty years of data must be taken into account in the analysis, with corpus linguistics enabling direct tracking and empirical evidence to inform any discussion of language choice and use. O'Halloran (2014 pp. 791), notes that the introduction of corpus linguistics to critical discourse analysis "substantially reduces partiality and arbitrariness in manual analysis of data. This is clearly a better state of affairs than employing 'expert judgement' on what constitutes common concerns across oppositional perspective(s), e.g. in a book, blog, newspaper article. There is always the possibility of skewed judgement and partiality – even by a topic expert."

3.2.1. Combination of methods

In order to provide a contextual analysis of the discourse regarding climate change from the Federal Parliament of Australia, a combination of quantitative and qualitative analysis will be undertaken. The approach used in this thesis "is in combining close qualitative readings with a corpus linguistics approach that uses computer software to identify frequent and salient linguistic patterns over large amounts of data. Such an approach is described by Baker et al. (2008) as a 'useful methodology synergy'" (Baker & Levon 2015 pp. 3). In this thesis political analysis and corpus linguistics work together to support a deeper understanding of parliamentary discourse with a focus on climate related issues. Researchers such as Mendikoetxea & Lozano (2018) note the strength of combining methods of linguistic analysis with other approaches.

One of the major strengths in combining qualitative methods of political analysis with the quantitative methods of corpus linguistics, such as the frequency analysis and collocation analysis use

here, is the triangulation of perspectives on the data. The rationale for the combination of qualitative and quantitative methods of analysis also "suggests a way for multimodal research to stave off the criticism about impressionistic analyses it receives by implementing triangulation and combining qualitative and quantitative analyses" (Chaidas 2018, p. 137). In order to make evaluative statements regarding the data from the point of view of the author, the introduction of quantitative methods of analysis provides a firm base to pushback at criticism as noted by Chaidas. Marchi and Taylor (2009 p. 1) argue that quantitative analysis is a "validity and reliability guarantor" and thus that its "implementation led to the enhancement of the findings" (Chaidas 2018 p. 146). For these reasons the utilisation of a combination of methods provides a strong substantive base through which the analysis can be carried out.

The quantitative analysis includes frequency analysis to show how often the word climate was used in each house of parliament across the study period and provides an indicator of political leaders' discursive strategies. Collocation provides a subtler tool for delving into the complexities of how language around *climate* is being used in a specific time period, and therefore can be used to show how subtle shifts in the use of language around *climate* occur. In order to fully understand the implications of each period and the earlier role language played within it, an analysis of the collocation for the word *climate* will be used. This analysis will be combined with a discussion of the political events of the time to provide qualitative context. Where the data suggests connections, links will be made between the changes in language and the social and political events of the day (both domestically and internationally).

Cognitive linguist and political commentator/analyst George Lakoff highlights the limitations and discusses the role of corpus linguistics in relation to providing insight into broader fields. He states that 'Corpus linguistics can only provide you with utterances (or written letter sequences or character sequences or sign assemblages). To do cognitive linguistics with corpus data, you need to interpret the data – to give it meaning. The meaning doesn't occur in the corpus data. Thus, introspection is always used in any cognitive analysis of language' ((Stefanowitsch 2020, p. 7) (Lakoff 2003, 2004, 2007, 2009, 2012, 2014)). A quote such as this reinforces the choice made by this thesis to show how a combination of methods including but not restricted to corpus linguistics provides the best possible research practice in the field of political discourse. Research conducted by authors such as Krishnamurthy (1996), Stubbs (1994), Hardt-Mautner (1995), Coffin (2004) and Magalhaes (2006) use a combination of corpus linguistic methods and methods employed by discourse analysis, including varieties such as critical discourse analysis.

The combination of methodologies has grown in recent years as scholars undertake more research relating to the intersection of language, institutions, and society. This is critical for this research as it ensures that there is a body of literature from which a sound methodological basis can

be drawn. As no language exists without a context it is crucial when undertaking an analysis of the language of anything/one (from a person to political institution) to recognise and restate that the language does not occur in a spontaneous vacuum.

A number of studies conducted by Baker (2005, 2006 and 2014), provide insight into the methods used to analyse discourse used by various social groups using corpus linguistics methods to conduct discourse analysis. In his 2006 book, Baker (2006) uses various corpus linguistics methods such as frequency and collocation tools and shows how they may be applied to discourse analysis. In prior work he examines the role language plays as a driver of discourse using of corpus linguistic methods. Examples of this type of combination of methods can be viewed through numerous works such as Mori and Neubig who (2016) use corpus linguistics as a tool to study dictionaries in the Japanese language systems; Harvey (2012) utilises corpus linguistics to discuss youth health issues related to extended activity online; Haneschlaeger and Dresler (2017) use corpus linguistics to unveil how poetics are utilised in the works of Peter Handke (Austrian Playwright and poet). These examples show the broad utility of Corpus Linguistics (CL) across a number of fields.

3.3 Corpus Construction

This section outlines the way in which the corpus used in this research was constructed. The two sections relate to the documents chosen and the software and formatting used to ensure the consistency of all the text format documents.

3.3.1 Corpus Documents and formatting

The documents used in the creation of the corpora used in this research come from the Hansard transcriptions of Federal Parliament. These documents come from the records of the House of Representatives and the Senate, excluding various committees and subcommittees of the House of Representatives and the Senate. This was done to focus the data on the type of language being used in the Federal Parliament which, as discussed previously, has a unique structure and style that reflects the binary combative style of the two chambers. In turn this has the beneficial impact of ensuring that there was a consistency of the sampling, while also keeping the scale of the project within the bounds of a Master's thesis. It is important to note that the Hansard documents from 2018 through to 2020 are not included in the corpora for this study. This is explained by the timing of data collection for the thesis. At the time of collecting the data, the complete record from Hansard was available up to the end of 2018. A number of extraordinary sittings of parliament are included in the corpora such as the National Apology to the Stolen Generations and addressed to Parliament by various high profile international figures and leaders such as President Barack Obama. This material was included since

these events occurred within the chambers of the Federal Parliament. Furthermore, it is important to acknowledge the importance that international discourse can play on shaping the perceptions of and the types of language used within the context of domestic Australian policy. As will be further discussed and developed in the analysis chapters, internationalist rhetoric and the policies of the global community or foreign governments can be reflected in the language used within the Federal Parliament.

The choice to exclude the various committees and subcommittees created by the House of Representatives and Senate was based on the fact that these committees do not reflect the most comprehensive type of language use in the Federal Parliament, additionally the news and media organisations rarely report on these committees and thus they have less impact on public opinion. These committees also do not adhere to the same types of social and linguistic rules which define the way that speech is conducted in the chamber. A program was created in order to scrape the Hansard documents from the online database in PDF format. This was done for both the House of Representatives and the Senate from the years 2000 through to 2018. A step-by-step breakdown of the creation of the program used to scrape the Hansard data has been provided below by the creator of the program:

- Scraping the Hansard documents was a simple matter of using the python web scraper 'Beautiful Soup' in order to find the urls of each Hansard pdf.
- The script simply iterated through each year of the website, going into each year and then finding all the pdf links within that year.
- The python built-in requests library was then used to download all of the pdfs found in that year.

The main challenge in completing this task was a lack of uniformity in the websites across the various years. This was countered by modifying the code depending on the year as to ensure that the variations within the website did not mean that a years' worth of data was missed.

Once the software had been used to scrape the files from the website, they were then run through additional programs to ensure their uniformity. The program chosen for this was the AntFileConverter software which was used to turn the pdf or other file types to simple txt files. Texts files were required by the software (such as LancsBox) used in the analysis.

The House and the Senate each have a different set of roles and functions, with their own procedures and their own responsiveness to the public sentiment. For this reason, each chamber was analysed individually, and the data as a whole is discussed where relevant.

3.3.2 Corpus Type

The type of corpus constructed for the purposes of this thesis is intended to be representative of political language within Parliament and thus would be classified as a specialist corpus. This corpus consists of approximately two hundred and thirty million words and the type of language being analysed is broadly representative of Australian political discourse as it is enacted within the two houses of the Federal Parliament. The choice to employ a specialised corpus stems from the fact that these type of corpora are able to demonstrate changes or lack of changes in language across a highly contextualised area of language usage (Wong, Liu & Bennamoun 2011 & Rodriguez-Ines 2013). Thus the major benefit comes from the ability to capture an understanding of a specific type of language use in this specialised domain (Picton 2011). The effectiveness of a specialised corpora is discussed by O'Keeffe (2007). He notes that 'specialised corpora are also usually carefully targeted and set up to reflect contextual features, such as information about the setting, the participants and the purpose of communication. Analysis of such corpora can reveal connections between linguistic patterning and the context of use'. Flowerdrew (2004, p. 21) provides criteria which act as a guide in defining the parameters of a specialised corpus.

- "Specific purpose for compilation, e.g. to investigate a particular grammatical or lexical item.
- Contextualisation: particular setting, participants and communicative purpose.
- Genre, e.g. promotional (grant proposals, sales letters).
- Type of text/discourse, e.g. biology textbooks, casual conversation.
- Subject matter/topic, e.g. economics
- Variety of English, e.g. Learner English."

The role and the type of corpus constructed for the purpose of this research sits within the classification of a specialised corpus across all of these definitional parameters. As noted by Durrant and Doherty (2010) 'very few corpora are likely to be representative of the language which any individual learner has encountered', however corpora are 'generally designed to represent, not individuals' experiences, but rather particular types of discourse' (Durrant 2014, p 444).

3.4 Methods

3.4.1 Frequency Analysis

Frequency analysis refers to how frequently a word appears across a dataset (corpus). Frequency analysis as a tool described by Weisser allows a researcher to "develop an understanding of

how much, but perhaps also to some extent **how little**" single words can tell us about a text or corpora (2016 p. 160). This usefully demonstrates the effectiveness of frequency analysis in the context of this thesis, as it seeks to both understand how often *climate* is being used across a number of years, additionally how little *climate* is being used in other years. 'How little" *climate* was being used in each of the years throughout the years tested, especially when analysed against the increase in interest in climate change in the media and public sphere. Analysis of how little *climate* is used will also feature in comparisons of the House of Representatives and the Senate, where it is critical the differences between the two chamber and this responsiveness to legislation and to the public are significant factors in the frequency of use of *climate*.

Frequency analysis is a valuable tool in this thesis as it allows for a broader scope to take place where the frequency of a word can be tracked across a number of years. Its wide applicability across linguistics gives strength to this method through the actions of other academics who have successfully used it and shown its efficacy. Frequency analysis can be defined as "the relative frequency of a term in a document against the reference corpus as well as the absolute number of its occurrences as the evidence of its statistical significance." (Sharoff, Rapp, Zweigenbaum, Fund (eds.) 2013, p. 121). The first type of frequency analysis is that of raw frequency, that is the number of times an item appears in the data with no context to the size of the corpus involved. The second type of frequency analysis which is utilised most in this research is that of the rate of use as a frequency, this relates to the rate of use per ten thousand words in the corpus. This method is effective in ensuring that analysis can occur in a uniform fashion wherein the changes in the number of items within each individual corpus can be accounted for and the analysis can adjust with this accounting. Given the slight variability of the size of the sub-corpora used in this research, rates of occurrence per ten thousand words provide an elegant way to express relative frequency. This section discusses how frequency analysis has been used by previous authors in a variety of studies, and in doing so demonstrates its efficacy in this thesis as key tool of analysis.

The type of frequency analysis used in this thesis is that of the rate of use per ten thousand, for two reasons: First the comprehensibility of the numbers allowed for a more cohesive discussion of the rates of use. For example it is more efficient to discuss the rate of use in the House of Representatives as 0.25 per ten thousand, than it is to discuss it as 178/7,088,762 uses. Secondly is that as noted using a rate of use metric means that minor (and major fluctuations) between the size of the corpora are accounted for. For example the size of the corpus in 2000 (7,088,762) and in 2001 (5,527,164).

Using frequency analysis as a tool of research in this thesis is useful as a way to indicate the salience of climate discourse in a year and identify the changing rates of use over a number of years or decades. In using frequency analysis we are able to identify years where the rate of use is particularly

strong and use this a method through which political theories may be triangulated. Used alone, frequency analysis is not a strong method of analysis as it does not indicate anything more than how many times a word was used within a year-corpus. Dalili and Dastjerdi (2013, pp. 40) use frequency analysis in their study relating to 'discourse markers' in political media discourse, stating and citing past studies; "the study compares the frequency of discourse markers (DMs) in a small corpus of political media discourse produced by advanced non-native Iranian journalists with a comparable corpus of texts written by American journalists. Such a comparison between non-native and native corpora can be described as a form of Contrastive Interlanguage Analysis (Granger 1993)".

Frequency analysis as a purely quantitative tool does not offer the same advantages to the researcher as when combined with evaluative judgements made of the data. Baker makes note of this weakness in discussing frequency analysis, stating "analysts would need to make decisions with regard to the point that the frequency of certain types of representation crosses a line. Potentially, each type of representation could collectively contribute towards an overall negative or positive stance" (2012 p. 254). Here Baker is categorically arguing for the hand of the researcher to intervene in helping the reader interpret the data. This position is explicitly advocated for in this thesis in demonstrating that through a combination of corpus linguistic methods and an analysis based in political theories of the leader, discourse and rhetoric it is possible to conduct a more comprehensive, better-founded analysis.

A study by Bybee (2007 p. 203) discusses how the analysis of frequency is used in her works on linguistic diffusion, "in studies of t/d deletion the words *and*, *just*, and *went* are often excluded because of their high rates of deletion. These words are clear examples of lexical diffusion conditioned by high token frequency, leading us to suspect a more general effect of word frequency on the diffusion of this change". Here Bybee directly references frequency as a critical tool for undertaking her analysis, where she goes on to discuss how she has used frequency as a central measurement tool for her analysis. One final strength of frequency analysis which is not displayed directly in this thesis is that of the ability to zoom in and out of a period of time and provide a broader and deeper analysis as needed. An example of this would be to take a single year of the corpus, e.g. 2007 and analyse the breakdown of the frequency of *climate* against each month, and undertake the analysis in the context of the day to day changes to the political landscape. This means that other researchers wishing to use this technique may apply it to larger or smaller timeframes and thus use a deeper level of political analysis in conjunction with a more specified level of frequency analysis. Moreover, authors including Sinclair (1991), Hoey (1991) and Biber (2009) advocate for frequency based approaches to be used in combination with collocation analysis, as described in the following section.

3.4.2 Collocation

Halliday (1961, p. 276) defines collocation as "... the syntagmatic association of lexical items, quantifiable, textually, as the probability that there will occur, at n removes (a distance of n lexical items) from an item x, the items a, b, c... Any given item thus enters into a range of collocation, the items with which it is collocated being ranged from more to less probable." Further discussion of definitional issues is available in Xiao (pp. 106 – 124, 2015) demonstrates how "collocation has developed into greater than random probability in its (textual) context". Halliday and Hasan (2014 pp. 287) also define collocation in the terms of lexical association, "the co-occurrence of lexical items that are in some way or other typically associated with one another, because they tend to occur in similar environments". Firth (1968), Hasan (1976) and Sinclair (1966) provide the reader with a cohesive understanding of collocation. Other definitional discussions are available in Krishnamurthy (2002) Halliday (1966) and Hoey. Hoey (1991 p. 6-7) defines collocation as significant when "a lexical item co-occurs with other items "with subsequently bankrupt or non-failed with a very high degree of accuracy". These definitions of collocation provide the basis for the working principles of this thesis which uses collocation as a tool for identifying trends in the way *climate* is being used in the Federal Parliament as opposed to simply tracking the frequency.

Firth (1957, p. 181-182) states that "collocations of a given word are statements of the habitual or customary places of that word". The notion of habitual pairing is important to this research as it considers that the word *climate* being used in a specific discursive patterns. Godby (2002 pp. 5) notes that "collocation is lexical knowledge that arises from habitual use. Words that constantly appear together in experience are eventually associated in the minds of language users and may be listed together in dictionaries and thesauri". Halliday and Hasan (1976) in turn argue, a "lexical collocation is one of the linguistic elements that transform a collection of words into a coherent discourse". The research undertaken in this thesis is concerned with what is described above as "habitual use". By considering the evolving patterns of frequency evident among the collocates of *climate* is a method through which it may be possible to analyse how discursive strategies and positions are developed consciously or subconsciously in the Parliament of Australia.

Collocation analysis is a tool which can be applied in conjunction with other methodologies is further discussed by Singerland et. al., who surmise the role that collocation plays within the broader context of triangulated methods. "Collocation analyses involve measurement of how frequently, and how closely, terms of interest occur with regard to one another in a textual corpus and inference from those measures to, typically, syntactic features of words and parts of speech, (2017 p. 7).". However much like the works of Gries 2013, Jurafsky and Martin 2015, Rohde, Gonnerman, and Plaut 2006, this thesis is 'more interested in the semantic implications of word collocation' as well as the 'natural

language semantics' surrounding a keyword such a *climate,* in a contested area of speech and discourse.

One of the most commonly discussed methods with which collocation is combined is that of critical discourse analysis (CDA). Salama discusses the role that a triangulation of CDA and collocation can have in informing broader analysis, "CDA alone cannot be useful in studying collocation, particularly when it comes to the objective identification of the collocational pairs that are amenable to ideological analysis. Corpus linguistics can do the purpose of computationally identifying co-occurring items depending on certain collocation statistics", (2011 pp. 317). It is in research such as this that the values of a multi-method approach to analysis are displayed. This is further exemplified by Stubbs who states that ", in order to do a collocational (as well as key word) analysis of the ideological representations across opposing discourses, there needs to be a synergy of corpus linguistics and CDA", (2001 p.29).

Teubert (2000), whose works on corpus linguistics provides examples as to how collocation is used in a triangulated methodology with corpus linguistics and forms of political or critical analysis, 'based on a corpus of texts downloaded from websites, Teubert develops the contrast between what he calls 'stigma' and 'banner' key words, which in Teubert's judgement highlights 'inconsistencies in the Eurosceptics' position'. For example, 'unaccountable bankers are evidence of the perfidy of Europe, whereas an independent central bank is held up as an ideal, yet both unaccountable and independent indicate institutions which do not answer to a political power' (2000 pp. 55). Work such as this creates the foundation through which it is possible for this thesis to explore the corpus data from the House of Representatives and the Senate in a way that exemplifies the most useful aspects of a number of theories and methodologies. Fairclough (2000) makes use of corpus linguistics in his analysis of the beginnings of the 'New Labour' years under incoming Prime Minister Tony Blair. His corpus which was constructed from speeches delivered by Blair allows him to focus on the changes in collocation in this time period in the context of the institution of the British Labour Party. In 2000 (pp. 40) Fairclough argued that "the word *rights* collocates with *responsibilities* and *duties* in the New Labour corpus; conversely, *responsibilities* and *duties* collocate strongly with *rights*. Whereas in the New Labour discourse both *rights* and *responsibilities* are collocationally couched in an individualistic sense (i.e. as belonging to individuals), the word *responsibilities*, in the earlier Labour discourse, is collocationally couched in a meaningfully antagonistic sense (i.e. as belonging to public authorities and other corporate bodies)".

One of the significant points raised by Fairclough (2000 pp. 166) is the way in which language can be used by a leader to inform the type of discourse being conducted around an issue (as is the case with the Labour Party); "the repositioning of `New' Labour has involved significant changes in British politics and government. It represents itself as initiating a `new politics', a politics

of the `Third Way', which transcends the division in British politics between the (`old') left and the (`new') right. There is a new political discourse which combines elements from Thatcherite Conservative discourse with elements of communitarian and social democratic discourses (a favourite way of summing this up is `enterprise as well as fairness' `enterprise' is a Thatcherite word, `fairness' is `New' Labour's preferred alternative to the social democratic `equality'). There is an attempt to `reinvent' (or `modernize') government, involving new forms of `partnership' between the Government, business, and the voluntary sector".

3.5 Collocation workflow

The first stage of the collocation testing consisted of entering the focus word (*climate*) into the LancsBox program and using the GraphColl feature in order to determine the collocations of the focus word. These are reported in tables and using network graphs that provide a visual representation of collocate data to demonstrate how each word is linked through collocation. As described by Lancaster University "The GraphColl tool identifies collocations and displays them in a table and as a collocation graph or network" (Lancaster University 2019). These graphs display the various collocates of *climate* across the years.

As discussed in the corpus construction section, the corpus was broken down into two sub-corpora, one containing the data from the House of Representatives and the other data from the Senate. Each of these two subcorpora were then further divided into their respective years. Collocations for the word *climate* were identified and counted across each of the years from the House of the Representatives and the Senate sub-corpora. This method gave rise to the top collocates of *climate* across all the years from 2000 onwards in both the House of Representatives and the Senate.

The collocation data which can be seen in the Appendix after the reference section will be referred to in chapters 4 through 6.

As seen below the collocation data has two key features, the first on the left side shows the collocates of *climate* in list form, while the right hand side shows the collocates as a net or web. In chapters 4, 5 and 6 the figures will be named A1.10, A1.12, A1.20, etc. This represents an abbreviation of Appendix one, figure one, etc.

2000

Climate

Freq: 178 Collocates: 45

Index	Status	Position	Collocate	▼ Stat	Freq (coll.)	Freq (corp...
1	O	L	the	124.0	124	490013
2	O	R	and	74.0	74	166213
3	O	R	of	66.0	66	229560
4	O	L	in	63.0	63	153791
5	O	L	a	51.0	51	126665
6	O	R	change	50.0	50	2347
7	O	L	to	38.0	38	224826
8	O	L	that	32.0	32	142778
9	O	R	for	23.0	23	83383
10	O	L	on	23.0	23	53531
11	O	R	is	17.0	17	112182
12	O	R	which	16.0	16	23651
13	O	L	this	15.0	15	54725
14	O	L	economic	14.0	14	2363
15	O	R	has	14.0	14	35638
16	O	L	by	12.0	12	36527
17	O	L	investment	12.0	12	1343
18	O	L	global	10.0	10	469
19	O	R	australia	9.0	9	14960
20	O	L	our	9.0	9	12323
21	O	R	we	9.0	9	41270
22	O	M	an	8.0	8	24970
23	O	R	be	7.0	7	50875
24	O	R	have	7.0	7	53517
25	O	R	negotiations	7.0	7	314
26	O	R	research	7.0	7	3052
27	O	M	as	6.0	6	39114
28	O	L	create	6.0	6	892
29	O	L	current	6.0	6	2458
30	O	R	growth	6.0	6	1495
31	O	M	international	6.0	6	2408
32	O	M	was	6.0	6	34139
33	O	R	where	6.0	6	7380
34	O	L	with	6.0	6	35491
35	O	R	are	5.0	5	48492
36	O	R	budget	5.0	5	3593
37	O	R	it	5.0	5	66553
38	O	L	kyoto	5.0	5	45
39	O	L	or	5.0	5	23031
40	O	L	political	5.0	5	1955
41	O	L	question	5.0	5	9559
42	O	R	right	5.0	5	3488
43	O	L	weather	5.0	5	136
44	O	L	will	5.0	5	37948
45	O	R	would	5.0	5	20662

Figure 3.2 Collocation data – House of Representatives 2000

Climate

Freq: 167 Collocates: 44

Index	Status	Position	Collocate	▼ Stat	Freq (coll.)	Freq (corp...
1	O	L	the	134.0	134	437598
2	O	R	change	99.0	99	1935
3	O	L	of	70.0	70	199414
4	O	R	and	53.0	53	146494
5	O	L	in	50.0	50	129109
6	O	L	to	50.0	50	202675
7	O	L	on	47.0	47	49878
8	O	L	a	33.0	33	107610
9	O	R	is	24.0	24	100189
10	O	L	convention	21.0	21	590
11	O	M	that	20.0	20	135126
12	O	M	this	20.0	20	56268
13	O	L	for	19.0	19	62675
14	O	R	we	18.0	18	37424
15	O	R	bill	17.0	17	15262
16	O	R	implement...	16.0	16	775
17	O	R	1999	14.0	14	4476
18	O	R	have	14.0	14	46803
19	O	R	which	13.0	13	20629
20	O	L	international	12.0	12	2166
21	O	L	warming	12.0	12	126
22	O	R	are	11.0	11	41683
23	O	R	senator	11.0	11	45726
24	O	R	australia	10.0	10	12353
25	O	R	negotiations	10.0	10	391
26	O	L	will	9.0	9	31128
27	O	R	as	8.0	8	36359
28	O	L	australia's	8.0	8	1703
29	O	M	by	8.0	8	32623
30	O	R	at	7.0	7	21801
31	O	R	has	7.0	7	31426
32	O	L	impacts	7.0	7	296
33	O	R	not	7.0	7	48549
34	O	L	about	6.0	6	15376
35	O	M	be	6.0	6	48659
36	O	L	framework	6.0	6	502
37	O	L	global	6.0	6	488
38	O	L	very	6.0	6	10968
39	O	R	also	5.0	5	8842
40	O	L	create	5.0	5	454
41	O	L	current	5.0	5	2233
42	O	L	future	5.0	5	1970
43	O	R	it	5.0	5	59863
44	O	R	where	5.0	5	6404

Figure 3.3 Collocation data – Senate 2000

3.6 Frequency Workflow

The process of generating the frequency data for this thesis was relatively straightforward. The term *climate* was entered into each of the corpora for the years 2000 through to 2018 for the House of Representatives and 2000 through 2016 for the Senate (20016 – 2018, were not fully digitised at the time at the time of research). This was done again the LancsBox program in their Whelk tool, "the Whelk tool provides information about how the search term is distributed across corpus files. It can be used, for example, to: Find absolute and relative frequencies of the search term in corpus files." (LancsBox 2021).

The frequency data in this thesis is presented in the way of two graphs, one representing the House of Representatives and the other the Senate. For the purposes of demonstration and discussion an example graph will be used in this section.

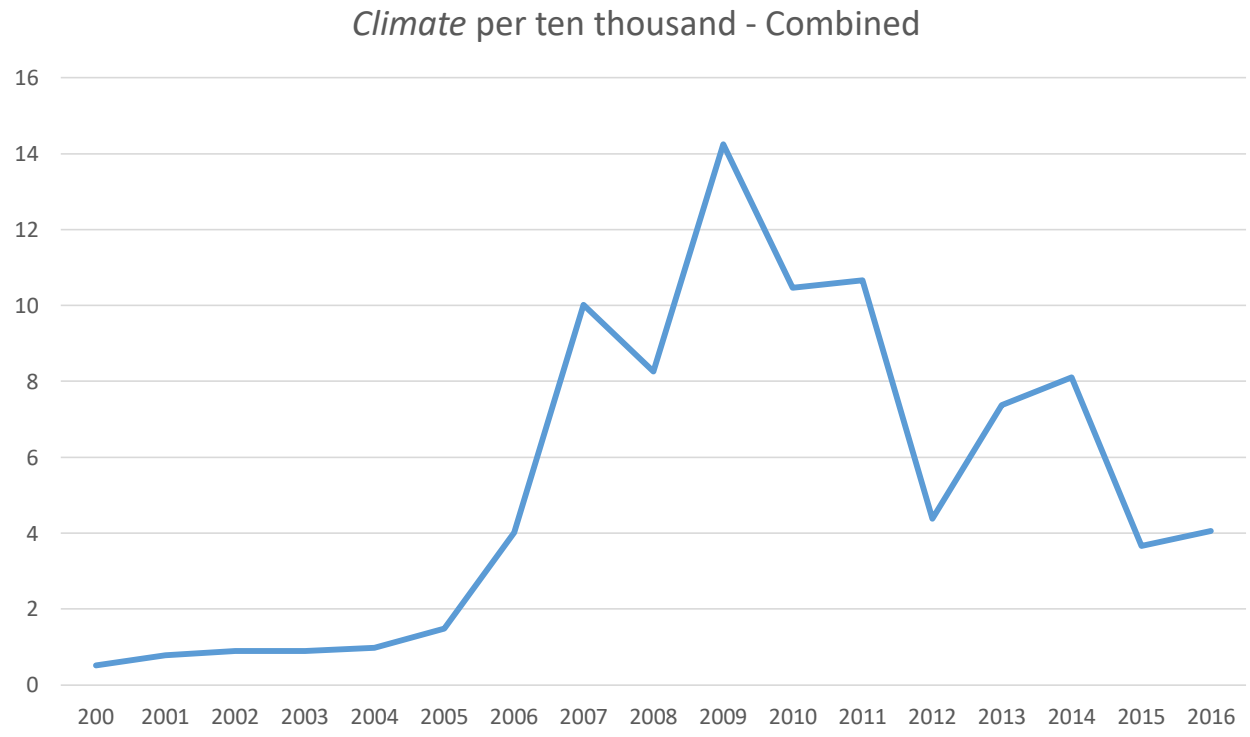


Figure 3.1 Combined use of Climate per ten thousand words in the House and the Senate. For discussion and demonstration purposes.

The frequency data will be presented like this in chapters 4 - 6. The horizontal axis shows the years from 2000 to 2016/18. The vertical axis shows the rate of use per ten thousand uses in each of

the chambers. Note, raw rate of use is not used in the analysis chapters and therefor there is no need of it to be incorporated into the graph.

3.7 Conclusion

The specialist corpus used in this research are intended to be specialised as they aim to summarize a specific type of language use within the domain of Australian political discourse around climate change and climate change policies (Wong, Liu & Bennamoun 2011). The choice to employ a specialised corpus stems from the fact that these type of corpora are able to demonstrate changes or lack of changes in language across a highly contextualised area of language usage (Rodriguez-Ines 2013). Thus, the major benefit comes from the ability to capture an understanding of a specific type of language use in this specialised domain (Picton 2011). The corpus is split into two sub-corpora, which represent the two houses of parliament and can further be analysed by year, allowing the analysis of the word *climate* over an 18-year period of Federal Parliamentary debate. The use of frequency rates in the way the data is reported allows ready comparison across the subcorpora in chapters 4 - 6. The combination of frequency data, collocation data and political analysis working together allow for a complex understanding of the political language of the Federal Parliament in the context of the political landscape in which it occurs.

Chapter Four

Introduction and, The Howard Years: End of Bipartisanship

4.1 Introduction to Analysis

Chapters Four through Six demonstrate how leaders and political parties can shape and change language based on their parliamentary and electoral situation, that is, whether they are in government or opposition. In addition to this the role of prime minister and to a lesser extent the opposition leader will be used to demonstrate how a leader or leaders' rhetoric can impact the language of the Federal Parliament. Each chapter contains the analysis of a parliamentary period as defined simply by who was in government during that period.

The discussion of each parliamentary era, begins by identifying defining features of the era, covering as the parliamentary leaders of the political parties, the salient issues of the time and a broader discussion of the state of climate discourse globally. This is important in forming the context in which the analysis of the data takes place, allowing the linguistic data to be tied to relevant political information. Frequency data is presented at the beginning of the discussion of the first era, and repeated for convenience in subsequent sections, while the data that informs the discussion of collocates of *climate* is available in the appendix. The eras have been ordered chronologically through the 21st century, using elections and changing of government or Prime Ministership as beginning and end points of the era. Where reflected in the data from each parliamentary era, critical junctures in the context of climate change policy and discourse will be discussed given their nature as pivotal shaping points for future discourse. Additionally, as noted in the literature, it may be possible to determine why the rhetoric is being changed.

4.2 LNP: 2000 – 2007: Howard

This era was characterised by a number of ideological issues having been brought to the forefront by the incumbent Liberal- National Government, such as tax cuts, industrial relations reform and changes to financial regulation. Here the salience of climate change as a major issue was reduced compared to future periods in the 21st Century, Although Howard (and later Rudd in 2007) promised an Emissions Trading Scheme, there was never a direct focus on increased action on climate change', (2007 Australian Federal Election, 2021). The later part of the Howard period was marked by a subtle shift toward a growing (if reluctant) consensus on climate change policy, as the two major political parties within Australia began to adopt similar policies.

Within Australia there was a measurable shift in the early 2000s toward a greater level of importance of climate and environment issues. This is seen in the election of Australian Greens senators in 1996 and formally in 2001 under the leadership of Bob Brown (History, 2021). This invigorated debate around the climate policies of the Federal Government and, in turn, to the Federal Parliament. This culminated in 2002 through to 2004 where the Greens became part of a number of minor parties to hold the balance of power in the Federal Senate, ensuring that further messages of climate and environmental issues were pushed into mainstream political discourse.

This section will reveal how *climate* was used in the Federal Parliament at this time, when there was a lack of focus on climate change. In this section there is an expected lower rate of use than during the period of other governments with the type of use being centred on the economic and business/employment related costs to action on climate change. It can be seen as a monetary-centred use of *climate* in relation to how action on climate change will impact the economy and thus the cost benefit of action vs. inaction.

At a global level, a shift in the way that climate change was being discussed was occurring. An example of this was the extension of the 1992 United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change into the 21st century with the implementation and subsequent ratification of the Kyoto Protocols (What is the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change?, 2021). These events are partially important to the discussion and analysis as they represent critical junctures in changing our understanding of an issue and changing the perceptions of the broader general public.

Below are figures showing a visualisation of the frequency data per ten thousand uses for each house. These figures will be referred to throughout the analysis to demonstrate the changes in frequency.

Figure 4.1 Frequency Data for the House of Representatives from 2000 to 2018.

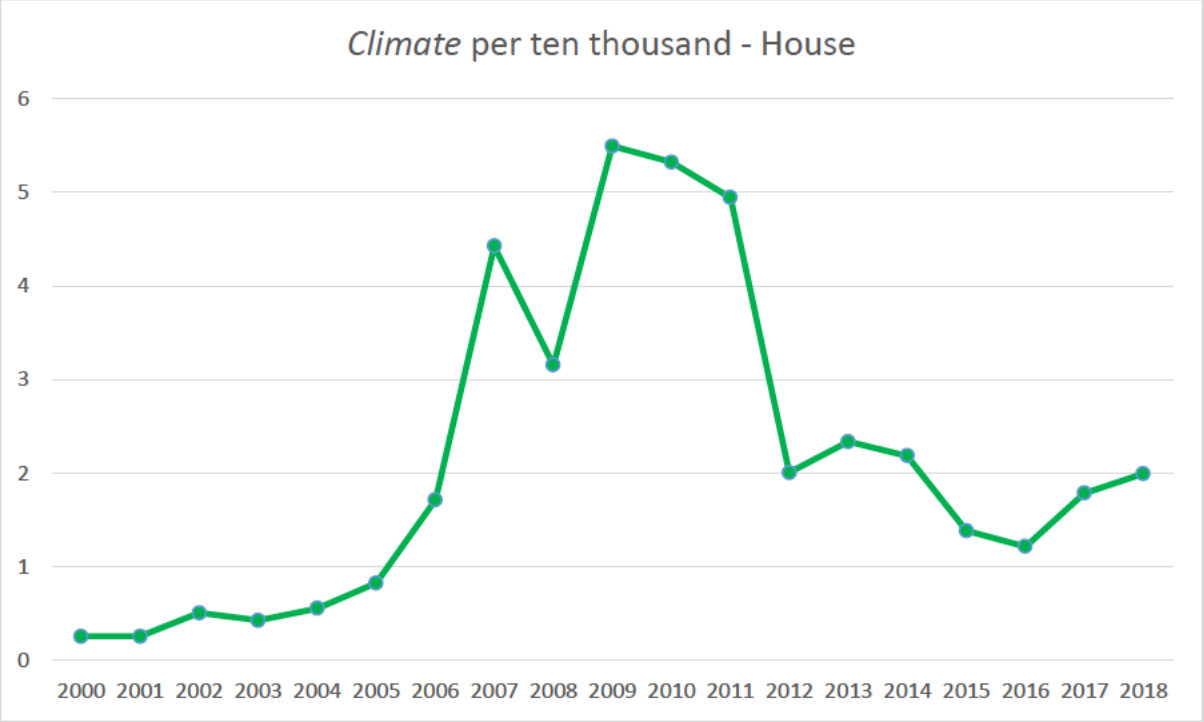
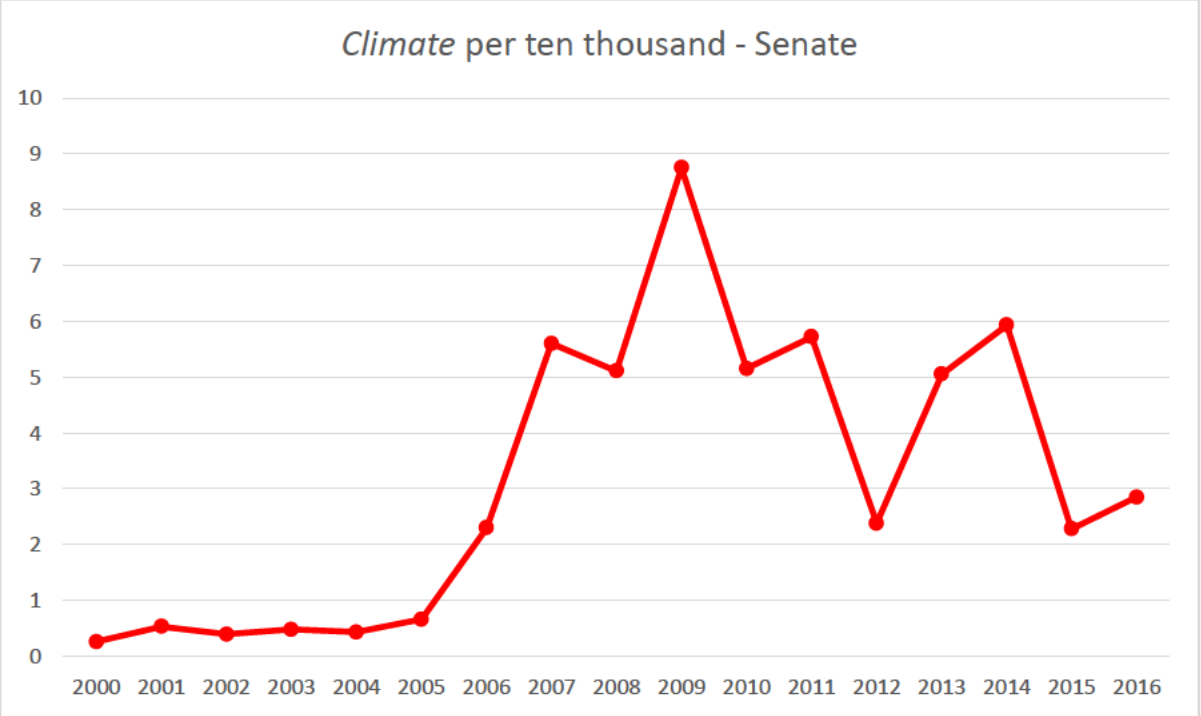


Figure 4.2 Frequency data for the Senate from 200 to 2016



4.2.1 2000

The data presented in figure 4.1, presents the changes in the frequency of use of *climate* per ten thousand words used in the Australian Federal House of Representatives over the entire study period. From the data of the House of Representatives we can conclude that there have been roughly three major eras of socio-political discourse. These eras as discussed in the literature do not directly coincide with the terms of Prime Ministers or Governments, although this is not to argue that these premierships of leaders did not have an impact in shaping the overall period in Australia. This period is defined by the gradual increase in the rate of use of the word *climate* which sits at .25 uses per ten thousand in 2000 and grows to .82 per ten thousand uses in 2005 (see figure 4.1). This represents a tripling of the rate at which *climate* is used.

The extent of the growth of use can be understood through the raw rate at which *climate* is used in the Australian parliament. In the year 2000 *climate* was used 178 times in the House of Representatives, which increased to 661 times in 2005. This indicates that there was a shifting sentiment of the role of climate change within the discourse of the Federal Parliament as to the importance of climate change to the nation. It is crucial to note that this growth did not occur over the space of a single year, rather a period of consistent growth transpired increasing the importance of climate change discourse in the broader national debate in Australia. If each year is analysed as part of this pattern of growth, it will be possible to see how language used in Parliament was critical in shaping that socio-political age in Australian history.

Climate was used at the same approximate rate in the Senate in 2000 as it was in the House of Representatives, at .26 uses per ten thousand with a raw rate of use of 167. This adds weight to the data from the House of Representatives which demonstrates that in 2000 climate change and by extension climate change policy was not a significant issue for the vast majority of members of parliament at the time. To put the data from 2000 in the context of the broader Howard period of Australian parliamentary history the rate of use for 2005 in the Senate was .66 and further in 2007 the rate of use per ten thousand was 5.6. The rate of use for both the House of Representatives and the Senate is at the lowest in 2000, underscoring again the lack of public focus on climate change policy as reflected by the language of parliamentarians that year. These changes can be seen in figure 4.2.

The low frequency of the word *climate* in the 2000 data is in line with the political context and the events taking place within Australia and to a certain extent international changes in climate change policy. One of the possible key factors for the lack of use of the word *climate* in 2000 was the reluctance of the incumbent Liberal-National coalition to tackle the issue of climate change in spite of pressure from the international community. This is particularly emphasised by the way in which the

Howard government was highly reluctant to engage in the signing and the ratification of the Kyoto Protocols which have become a cornerstone of international and national action on climate change.

Collocation data from the House of Representatives in 2000 provides further insight into the type of language being used by the Parliament and its members. The collocation data for *climate* during this time enhances the analysis of the Howard period, and the relationship between the political events and context and the type of language being used. One of the highest collocates for these years (excluding grammatical words and the word *change*, which often occurs as the highest collocate of *climate*) is *economic*. This is in line with the central argument for the role of climate change discourse in the Howard era: Much of the parliamentary debate at the time and the policy debate at the time is based on the issue that climate action and polices to that effect will have a detrimental impact on the economic outlook for Australia (shown in figure A1.0).

This type of language use around *climate* by a parliament which is dominated by a coalition majority is typical of the traditional conservative liberal approach to climate policy within Australia. The consistent use of *economic* as a collocate for *climate* is indicative of a Parliament which was controlled by the conservative Liberal party and which was attempting to attach the issue of climate change action to the issue of the economy. Another word used to locate the issue of climate change around the economy is that of *investment* which occurred as the next most frequent collocate after *economic*. Taking these two words together, the credibility of the argument that the Liberal-National controlled House of Representatives was indeed formulating a discursive focus on climate change predicated on the primacy of economic issues.

Contrasting with the economic-based approach to climate action evident in the collocation analysis, is the secondary motivation of international pressure. As was noted above, the international community (led by the United States) at this time was placing greater pressure on countries to sign and ratify international agreements to reduce greenhouse emissions (Nie, 1997 and Climate Change Policy United States (Clinton Administration, 2021). The evidence of this within the structure of the parliamentary corpus stems from the use of collocates of *climate* relating to international issues. *Kyoto, negotiations* and *international* all frequently occur around *climate* in the 2000 corpus.

Data from the Senate bolsters this interpretation of that data: words such as '*convention'*, '*implementation*', and, '*international*', all feature prominently in the list of collocates of *climate* in that year. *Implementation* occurs as a collocate 12 times in the context of the 2000 corpus, where a direct-action term such as *impacts* occurs only 7 times in the corpus (figure A1.01). Thus, there is a relative lack of focus within the Senate and by extension the House of Representatives on language which would highlight the direct action concerns over climate change. As has been stated throughout this section, this data is coherent within the political context of the time insofar as the ruling coalition was averse to major discussions around the future role climate change would have on society.

The secondary focus on international agreements within the data is consistent with the pressure from external factors facing the LNP leadership, such as the international attitude shift around climate change within the context of Australian Parliamentary discourse. It is important to note this feature in the 2000 data, given that that year experienced the lowest overall rate of use for *climate* in the 21st century. The importance of understanding the impact that international pressures may have had on the type of discourse being conducted is indicative that global attitude shifts around climate change impact perceived attitude shifts within Australia, which is then in turn reflected in the corpus data for that year.

4.2.2 2001

The state of play within Australian politics in 2001 was much the same as 2000 with no major shifts occurring in this year. Nevertheless, it is useful to examine this year in order to observe the patterns (including areas of consistency) in the linguistic data which may indicate the outline of an overarching narrative in the way language is used to reflect attitudes on climate change in the Howard era.

It is of import to note that the majority of 2001 and 2002 post September of 2001 were dominated by the coverage of the terrorist attacks on the World Trade Centre in New York. Beyond that, the coverage of the invasion by the 'Coalition of the Willing' into the Middle East dominated the majority of the media landscape in the forthcoming years. This may be an underlying reason as to why the growing calls for climate action by scientists in the international community may not have been as prominent as at other periods of time.

In 2001 there was no change to the rate of use of *climate* in the House of Representatives. With the word occurring at a rate of .25 times per ten thousand words and at a raw rate of use of 137 times in the corpus (see figure 4.1). This reinforces the conclusions found in the data and context relating to the year 2000 which indicated that there was little or no appetite in the Australian public for action on climate change and that his was being reflected in the time of Parliamentary discourse being conducted.

The collocation data from 2001 reflects the same type of language use found in the data from 2000 in the House of Representatives. The major collocates of *climate* in that year are *current, greenhouse* and *economic* (figure A1.1). This again signals the type of narrative being crafted by the language of the Parliament under the control and leadership of the Liberal-National Coalition.

Data from the Senate in relation to collocation reinforces the argument that the House of Representatives under Howard was seeking to create a linguistic link between *climate* and *economy(ic)* in some form. The Senate favours an internationally less active role for Australia to take

in the climate change policy area, with the major collocates of 2001 being *convention* (in relation to the Kyoto convention and protocols), *impacts* and *framework* (figure A1.11). Thus is it possible to argue that combining the data from the House and the Senate leads to the conclusion that the major focus of the Howard government at the time as reflected through the language of the Parliament was to act in the best interest of the Australian economy and only under duress from the international community.

Using the data from these two years it is possible to begin examining the data of the Howard period in government as part of a broader narrative, which will be developed on further at the end of the analysis of the Howard years. The language use and choice of the Parliament of the time is consistent with that of the years preceding and as will be demonstrated the same generic type of language in relation to frequency of use and the prevailing collocates will continue throughout the majority of the Howard era.

4.2.3 2002

There is little evidence to suggest in the corpus data that there was a significant shift in the way that climate change was discussed in the parliament in 2002. However, a significant change between 2001 and 2002 occurs the relative frequency in which *climate* occurs in the corpus. Data collected from 2002 shows a doubling of the relative frequency of the usage of the word, 'climate' compared with 2000 and 2001 frequencies: from 0.25/10000 to 0.5/10000(shown in figure 4.1). The doubling rate of use of *climate* is perhaps indicative of a subtle shift in the narrative of the incumbent coalition government as climate change policy begins to grow in the attentions of Australian voters and thus be reflected in the language of the parliament itself.

In looking to the broader international context for significant changes to the rate of use for *climate* within Australia, a number of shifts in international attitude may have been impacting on the domestic conversation. Events such as the publishing of major IPCC (Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change) reports in 2001, observed warming in the world's oceans and meetings held after signings of the Kyoto protocols to begin developing implementation strategies in countries across the world to reduce greenhouse emissions. These events and periods can be considered minor critical junctions in the way that climate change was discussed around the world, as nations begin to formulate practical and legislative frameworks through which emission reductions can be set. These minor critical junctures may signal an incoming paradigm shift among the international community regarding attitudes toward climate change and these shifts may be impacting Australia and thus the parliamentary language used.

Evidence from the 2002 corpus data indicates that the shifts in global trends did indeed have an impact on the type of discourse being conducted within the parliament. Collocates of *climate* in

2002 such as *current, global* and *issue,* fully indicate that there was indeed pressure from the international arena being reflected in the type of discourse being conducted in parliament (figures A1.2 and A1.21). Closer textual analysis would be required to confirm source of this pressure. It may be the case that politicians within the House of Representatives were discussing global shifts as they were stemming from the international community or perhaps these shifts were being perceived by Australian voters and thus politicians and leaders were attempting to ensure that their language reflected the changing landscape of voter's opinions.

Apart from the relative increase in the rate of use for *climate* in 2002 there were no further large scale changes to the corpus data. The data from the Senate shows little change from the previous two years and 2002. The frequency of use for *climate* in 2002 was .39 per ten thousand, down from .53 in 2001 (figure 4.2). This is further evidence that no significant changes to parliamentary discourse occurred during this time.

4.2.4 2003

In comparison with the frequency of *climate* in parliamentary discourse in preceding years, 2003 shows a slight reduction in the amount at which climate change was discussed in the House of Representatives and a slight increase in the Senate. One of the significant events of the political year in the Australian context was that the Australian Greenhouse Office (set to provide climate change policy advice at a federal level), suggested that Prime Minister Howard seek an emissions reduction target in line with the obligations of the Kyoto Protocols (which Australia had not ratified at the time). This advice was vetoed by Prime Minister Howard and thus ensured that climate change policy and the debate around it would not be a prevalent issue in the incoming election year of 2004 and the build up to it in 2003 (2004 Australian Federal Election, 2021).

The collocation data for *climate* also suggests that there was no major change to climate change policy or discourse in 2003. The major collocates for that year were *global*, *international*, and *Kyoto/Protocol*. These collocates support that argument that the majority of what little changes to climate change discourse stem from international pressure and actions rather than domestic changes, the evidence of this can be seen in figures A1.3 and A1.31. The rate of use for *climate* in 2003 was .42 uses per ten thousand in the House of Representatives. Which is a decrease of .8 uses per ten thousand from the 2002 levels of .5 uses, as seen in the slight movement in figure 4.1. This indicates that there was no increase in the rate at which climate change was discussed in the Federal Parliament in 2003 compared to 2002.

Data from the Senate shows that there was a slight increase in the rate of use between 2002 and 2003 in that chamber. The rate of use in the Senate increased from .38 uses per ten thousand in 2002 to .48 in 2003 (figure 4.2). While this contradicts the data from the House of Representatives, it

is still at a lower rate of use than most years in the 21st century. Thus, it does not contradict the argument that there was little to no attention given to climate change policies at the time of Howard's period of leadership in the Federal Parliament.

Thus, there was no major shift in the way in which climate change was discussed or in the frequency in which it was discussed between 2002, 2003 and further back. Even with the Greenhouse Emissions office seeking to push the incumbent Prime Minister to begin the discussions in cabinet and thus in the parliament for the implementation of a carbon reduction scheme, this did not translate into language changes in the parliament. In 2003 the only major factor impacting the way in which the climate was discussing in this period of Australian political history was through the context of international pressure.

4.2.5 2004

The 2004 year contained a federal election which provides a strong marker in understanding the changes in parliamentary discourse at the time, in comparison to the previous election year. While climate policies were not central to this election (see discussion on 2007), one of the undercurrent issues of the election was the ongoing and increasing Millennium Drought (2004 Australian Federal Election, 2021).

From 2000 onwards Australia had been experiencing more extreme drought conditions, and by 2004 these conditions were significantly worsening with increasing attention being placed on the impacts of the drought on Australia and Australian communities. Much like other elections, climate change was not the sole determiner of the election outcome nor its central issue. However, it did bring further to the attention of the Australian public the impacts that extreme weather events and systems will have on the Australian environment.

In the data for the House of Representatives in the Federal Parliament in 2004 there is a slight uptick in the relative frequency of use for the word *climate* by the chamber. In 2004 the rate of use for *climate* increased from .42 uses per ten thousand to .55 uses per ten thousand words. It is possible that this trend aligns with the discussion and growing angst around the drought and water levels across the country. At .55 uses per ten thousand this represents the highest rate of use for *climate* in this corpus from the year 2000, with 2002 being the second highest at .5 uses per ten thousand. This increase can be directly seen in figure 4.1.

This trend is not directly reflected in the data from the Australian Senate which saw the rate of *climate* use fall from .48 uses in 2003 to .43 uses in 2004, as demonstrated in figure 4.2. These years respectively represent the second and third highest rates of use up until that point in the context of the Senate, with 2001 exceeding these with .53 uses per ten thousand words. While this does not

directly correlate with the data from the House of Representatives, it does reflect the growing trend which is a year-on-year increase on the rate of use for *climate* overall. In contrast, changes are slower in the Senate, which, as previously noted, is also less responsive to the year-to-year changes in public sentiment, given the way that Senators are elected on a 6-year term-rotating basis.

The collocation data from 2004 in figures A1.4 and A1.41, shows *water* places at a significantly high level in terms of collocates which do not function in grammatical roles. It is possible that this can be attributed to the growing disquiet about the ongoing water crisis in regional Australia as well as the water shortages which had begun to affect the larger cities at the time (Department of Land, Water and Planning, 2016). It is here that we see that the House of Representatives sub-corpus offers insight into the way the speech within the institution reflects the sentiments of the Australian public. This is in line with the growing trend in the data that indicates that within the parliament there was an ever-increasing level of emphasis being placed on the climate change discussion.

4.2.6 2005

In discussing 2005 within the context of a 21st century timeline on climate change and climate change policy, two major events come to the foreground. The first is the event to play a major role in showing the devastation that climate events can bring to populated areas is the flooding of New Orleans by Hurricane Katrina. While at the time this event was not directly discussed in relation to climate change, since then it has become a rallying point for low lying flood-prone communities around the world to demonstrate the impacts severe weather events can have on ill-prepared communities. This event also served as critical starting point for an ongoing discussion by domestic America and the larger international community as to how best to respond to changes in the climate as the effects and severity of storms increase.

The second event to occur in the international space in 2005 was the enforcement of the Kyoto Protocol. In line with these protocols a policy shift commences in parts the Northern Hemisphere and sections of the Southern to begin the shift away from fossil fuels. This is typified in countries within the E.U., Japan and some South East Asian nations (SEA) who begin policy projects to develop their economies around green and renewable power.

Data from 2005 in the House of Representatives indicates that there is a slight increase between the 2004 and 2005 frequency in which *climate* occurred, the beginning of this change in trends can be seen in figures 4.1 and 4.2. The major events of the year discussed above are a plausible reason as to why an increase took place. While the shift itself does not drastically change the rate at which *climate* occurs in the House of Representatives it signals that there was a change in the pattern of the previous five years, which saw the frequency of use hover around .5 uses. This is contrasted

with the rate of use in 2005 where the level increased to .82 showing that there was an increase in use and which also may indicate the beginning of a trending uptick in the use of *climate* in the Federal Parliament

A deeper examination of the collocation data from 2005 enables a heightened level of understanding as to how a combination of international and domestic pressures helped shift the language of the era. There was a strong voice from the international community (with a particular emphasis on the international left) for Australia to ratify the Kyoto Protocol. Using the collocation data it is possible to measure the strength of these international pressures through domestic language use. A large number of lower tier collocates reference the international commitment that Australia has undertaken in signing the Protocols, these are exemplified by *framework, ratification, international, partnership* and *UN*.

In discussing 2005 the overall changes witnessed in the context of the broader Howard period are not drastic. However as will be discussed in relation to the political changes occurring in Australia and around the world. From 2005 onward into 2006-07 and beyond, there was a shift in public perceptions around climate change and it is expected that this shift will be reflected in the data at hand. Therefore a year such as 2005 is critical to the type of analysis being conducted as it provides a point through which the linguistic data can be discussed in relation to shifting political trends in Australia and across the world.

4.2.7 2006

2006 saw a shift in the overarching narrative of climate change and climate change policies in Australia and around the world. One of the central factors in shifting the trend toward an increased call for action on climate change was the documentary *An Inconvenient Truth*, which was created and spearheaded by former Vice President and notable climate change activist Al Gore. The release of the documentary began to persuade people (voters) around the world who would typically be apathetic to the political processes that climate change was a present and growing issue.

The secondary impact related to the release of *An Inconvenient Truth*, is the increased and increasing level of party and ideological polarisation regarding the facts and the justifiable action required to stop climate change. It is possible that this shaping on an ideological mindset will be seen in the way that the language around climate change develops, given that is has been established through the analysis and discussion of the previous five years that international events and actors can play a significant role in shaping the way that Australian politicians discuss an issue within the Federal Parliament.

Domestically the major event to shift the dialogue and discourse on climate change was the acceptance of the Howard-led Liberal National coalition of a carbon reduction scheme into their platform to be taken to the 2007 Federal Election. This signalled to the electorate for the first time (and last) that the two major political parties in Australia (Liberal-National and Labor) were bipartisan in their goal to address climate change. Both the incumbent government of the time and the main opposition party (as well as the minor Australian Greens party) signalled their support for taking climate change policies to the 2007 Federal Election (2007 Australian Federal Election, 2021).

This change in narrative can be first seen in the significant uptick in the use of *climate* in the 2006 data relating to the House of Representatives. As discussed above the rate of use in 2005 was 0.82 which is an increase from the previous years of the 21st century, however this is compounded upon in 2006 where the rate of use per ten thousand reached 1.71 uses, as shown in figure 4.1. This is in line with that was discussed in the previous years where the impacts of the international community and changes to domestic policies can be seen in the data. The shift in domestic policies of the major incumbent Liberal-National coalition to support policies to address the impact of climate change can be viewed as a substantive factor in the increase between the two years, 2005 and 2006.

In 2005 the Senate used *climate* at a rate of 0.66 per ten thousand words, which drastically increased to 2.3 uses per ten thousand words in 2006, this corresponds to the sharp increases seen in figure 4.2. This is demonstrative of the shifts in the trends experienced in the House of Representatives and which was discussed within the framework of the global and domestic changes to the way that climate change policy is being discussed. These shifts in trend can be linked to the changes experienced by the growing visibility of climate change as a destructive force in society and where its direct impacts are being seen globally through the increase in extreme weather events such as Hurricane Katrina.

The collocation data from that Senate in that year provides insight into the way in which these trends in language are shifting as a way for politicians to try and match what is likely a change in the public perception of the issue. One of the major collocates of *climate* in 2006 was *dangerous,* along with *impacts,* and *address*. These collocates present a stark and visceral change to the type of dialogue which occurred in the parliament between 2000 and 2005, which highlighted a much more internationalist and gradual approach to dealing with climate change, shown in the data by figures A1.6 and A1.61. The change from a passive internationalist approach in language to one based upon the direct impacts to Australia highlights clearly that there was a significant change between the previous group of Howard period years and the oncoming years.

It is highly probable that the change in the rhetoric of the Federal Parliament which is led by the Howard government is signalling that they believe public sentiments around the issue of climate change have substantially changed from the previous years and therefore the party must change the

type of language it is using in order to secure its electoral victory in the 2007 Federal election. The type of discourse being experienced in the data from the Senate which typifies a more active and direct response to climate change and its impacts can also be seen through the data of the House of Representatives. The major collocate for *climate* in the House of Representatives are *dangerous, issue* and *Australia*, which signify that the shift discussed previously in this section and analysed through the data from the Senate, can be corroborated with data from the House of Representatives (figure A1.7 and A1.71).

One of the notable features of analysis to come from 2006 is that there was a major change in the trends of the previous year which was seen and discussed through the two central types of analysis in this thesis, being frequency analysis and collocation analysis. The changes to the collocation data show a shift in the way that the Federal parliament addressed discourse around climate change and further, the level of frequency indicates that the issue was being raised more and more by members of Parliament. In moving through 2007 and into the Labor period of parliament this trend will be explored further as the type of discourse develops alongside changes to the international arena.

4.2.8 2007

The Federal Election of 2007 saw a marked shift in the trends in discourse regarding the frequency of use and the type of language existing around *climate.* Both major parties took to the Federal Election in this year a (notionally) bipartisan platform to introduce and legislate a clear path through which Australia would seek to lower its emissions (2007 Australian Federal Election, 2021). The election was won by the Australian Labor Party under the leadership of Kevin Rudd who vowed to introduce in that term of parliament a series of legislative measures to combat climate change. One of the major actions undertaken by the new Rudd government was to sign and to ratify the Kyoto Protocols, binding Australia to international targets to reduce climate change.

The heavy focus on climate change in the 2007 election year, both pre- and post-election can firstly be seen in the explosive increase in the frequency of use between 2006 and 2007 for *climate.* In 2006 climate was used 1.71 times per ten thousand in the House of Representatives, and in 2007 *climate* was used 4.42 times. Data from the Senate starkly highlights the political changes noted in the data from the House of Representatives. Much like the data from the House of Representatives corpus, the recorded levels of the frequency of use of the term *climate* were low from 2000 to around 2005. Which would indicate that there was a period or an era, where climate change was not an important factor in Australian political discourse at a Federal Parliamentary level. The rate of use of *climate* in the Senate in 2000 was .26 uses per ten thousand words (which is consistent with the .25 in the House of Reps), while in 2005 that rate had risen to .66 in 10 thousand.

4.3 Howard Years in Summary

The rate of use in the Senate was lower than that of the House of Representatives, which trebled its level of use, where the Senate rate increased just over double from the 2000 levels. The raw use on *climate* in the Senate increased from 167 uses in 2000 to 386 in 2005, which is a significantly lower level of use of the word than the House of Representatives in both average and raw terms (figures 4.1 and 4.2). The reason for this lower level of growth will be further explored in this section when providing the context of the politics of the time to the events of 2000 through to 2005. The increased attention toward climate change policy can additionally be witnessed in the increase in the rate of use of *climate* in the Senate in 2001, which grew to the second highest level (the highest being 2005 (.66)) of .53 uses per ten thousand words. This rate of growth is significantly higher than that of the House of Representatives which held steady at .25 uses per ten thousand in 2001, meaning that there was a greater level of focus on climate policy in the Senate in that year than in the house.

Collocation data from 2001 in the Senate (figure A1.1) begins a transition from apathy toward climate change to a mild acceptance of the need for development and the role Australia must play internationally, while remaining essentially on the conservative side of the global argument. The introduction of collocates such as *impacts* and *science* show an increased level of awareness of the calls from the scientific community for Australia to begin to address the incoming impacts of continued greenhouse gas emissions. From 2001 there is a slow transition towards the language of the Senate reflecting the increasing impacts of climate change, while not fully recognising how dramatic these impacts will be in the 21st century.

In 2001 the rate of *climate* per ten thousand words held steady at .25 uses from the 2000 levels. This indicated that there was no distinct shift in the level of climate discourse in the House of Representatives, due to a number of political factors that year which drew pressure away from climate change to other issues of the time, such as terrorism and border security. This assumption comes from the fact that there were three key border security and terror events which occurred in 2001. The first being the 9/11 terror attacks in the United States and the subsequent moves to invade the Middle East, which consumed much of the world's media and political institutions' attention. Domestically, two crises emerged in the lead to the Federal Election (at which point parliament was no longer sitting, which therefore has no material impact in the data): the Tampa and Children Overboard scandals. These resulted in a higher degree of scrutiny and political airtime being deployed to prosecuting the policies of the Government in relation to Border Security and Asylum Seekers (2001 Australian Federal Election, 2021).

To further examine this period of climate discourse in 2005 and onward a study of the collocates of *climate* may be used from the data of both the House and the Senate. Figure A1.5

(meaning Appendix Figure 1.5) represents the collocates of *climate* in 2005 (House of Reps), and it is possible to define how climate change was perceived in the end of that era. It is not possible to directly correlate the changes in the frequency of *climate* to any one particular event or period in time (though the data indicates that certain events have an impact on the way language is used). As was discussed in Chapter 3, we are able to discount a number of words from the analysis as they simply provide a grammatical function rather than adding meaning to the way in which *climate* is used.

A discussion of events which occurred in or around the start and end points of a particular era, helps to ensure a contextually appropriate analysis. The collocation of *climate* in 2000 in the House of Representatives is broadly focused around the notions of *change, investment* and *economic*. This presents a view of climate change whereby the free market and technologies can be used to provide a slow and stable transition from carbon emitting energy production to renewable energy. This view is in line with the political climate of Australia at the time which was dominated by a majority centre-right government, which containing a number of ultra-conservative elements "Howard was prepared to play to the conservative wing of his party" and was broadly centrist in its acceptance of global pressure and climate science consensus (which will be further discussed in relation to 2007 election), whereby "The moderates, who might have opposed some of the tougher welfare measures and lack of action on climate change, were bludgeoned into submission" (Davies, 2019).

Toward the end of the period, the language in the House of Representatives transitions from a focus on a slow and gradual transition to carbon neutral or negative technologies to that of international obligation. A potential reason for the greater international focus on Climate Change in 2015 is the implementation of The Kyoto Protocols, which set emissions reduction targets for the 192 signatory states. The Howard Government faced significant pressure from the Australian Labor Party (ALP) and the Greens to ratify these protocols into Australian law.

The direct impact of the Kyoto Protocols on domestic discourse surrounding climate change can be seen in the collocation data for *climate* from 2005 in the House of Representatives. Of the major collocates of *climate* for that year (excluding items with a grammatical function) *Kyoto* and *Protocol* were the third and fourth highest, preceded by *change* and *dangerous*. This would indicate that the international commitments and growing sentiment stemming from the Kyoto Protocol brought about greater interest in climate policy. This aligns with the claim made through the analysis of the frequency data between 2000 and 2005, wherein 2005 signalled a change in eras through a decrease in the apathy toward climate change as typified by the Howard Government and its rhetoric.

Former United States Vice President Al Gore began campaigning strongly across the globe for states to come together and combat the growing effects of the climate change and to significantly cut greenhouse gas emissions. This serves to highlight the increase in scrutiny faced by Australia from the International Community and the impacts this has on language in the Federal Parliament as an

indicator of a political era. The growing pressure from the opposition parties combined with the increase in international focus on climate change, suggests that the Federal Parliament may be responsive to the changes in international sentiment to increase the national focus on climate change in this era.

The language of the Senate in 2005 indicates an interesting counterbalance to the data of the House of Representatives from the same year, which increasingly reflects the international concern. The collocation data from that year focuses on the development role that Australia should play, both domestically and internationally in relation to reducing carbon emissions. This is reflected in the data where the major collocates were *Australia, development, partnership, change* and *global*. Indicating that while the language in the House of Representatives had broadly shifted toward the moral obligations toward the international community the Senate had retained the conservative development approach toward climate change.

Frequency data from the Senate of the same year, which while previously noted above had grown from the 2000 levels (while remaining in the same range), the frequency of *climate* in the Senate per ten thousand words had not reached the levels of the House of Representatives. It may be the case that as a political institution the Senate is less responsive to the year-to-year changes in public opinion on a particular issue, where the House of Representatives is more responsive.

There are several political and social reasons as to why this may be the case. The House of Representatives must face election every 3-4 years approximately with every member facing the election, by contrast Senators have longer sitting terms and only half the Senate must face the public each election. This means that Senators may be less reflective of changes to public sentiment as they themselves do not have to reflect the changing opinions of their state-wide electorates given that they are secure in their seats for a number of years after said election.

The limited acceptance of the pressure from the global community in 2000 can be evidenced in the data with *negotiations, global* and *international* being highly placed collocates of *climate* in that year. It is interesting to note that most collocation terms relate to the growing international sentiment on climate change rather than domestic pressure from the Australian community. This could be reflective of a number of socio-political differences between Australia and the International Community. There was no serious polling conducted in the early 2000's to supplement the linguistic data from the House and Senate, however it is possible to look at the legislative priorities of the Howard Government and argue that action on the Climate (and environment) was not a major driving force of that political era.

From the data we can measure this period as part of a single era in Australian socio-political history due to the way in which Climate Change was discussed and the level at which climate change was discussed in the Federal Parliament. In the years from 2000 to 2005 the rate of use per ten

thousand words in both chambers of the Federal Parliament did not exceed 1 in 10 thousand words. Which indicates that while there was a substantial increase in the rate between the years of that era, in the context of the 21st century as a whole, that rate was dramatically lower than other eras of this time. Furthermore, the way in which climate change was spoken about in the Parliament as discussed through the collocates of *climate* underlined how a slow and steady approach to climate change was the dominant rhetorical message stemming from the Federal Parliament.

In 2007 Howard took a bipartisan approach toward the formulation and development of climate change policies, going so far as to state on ABC Radio (Timeline of Carbon Tax in Australia, 2021) that "Implementing an emissions trading scheme and setting a long-term goal for reducing emissions will be the most momentous economic decision Australia will take in the next decade". This bipartisan approach is viewed by those in politics and in the media as a pivotal moment of the transition of climate change discourse into a mainstream policy focused debate, where it would remain for only two years into the next parliamentary term.

Chapter Five
Rudd/Gillard Years and the Beginning of the Climate Wars

ALP: 2007 – 2010 – 2013: Rudd – Gillard – Rudd.2

The second period of parliamentary leadership defined by history is the period that contains the Rudd and Gillard Governments (2007-2013) and a level of uncertainty regarding climate change policy moving forward. In terms of data this age is characterised by the broad increase in the frequency at which *climate* is used in both the Senate and the House of Representatives. If this period were to be defined in how the discourse of the parliament related to climate change it would be presented as the moral era. This is encapsulated in how Opposition Leader Kevin Rudd stated that "climate changed was the great moral challenge of our time", indicating that the rhetoric coming from his part (the ALP) would be one of moral obligation to act on climate change.

This period of climate change discourse is defined by the Rudd-Gillard-Rudd years in government as consecutive leaders of the ALP in majority and minority government. Kevin Rudd cemented climate change policy and discourse at the centre of the political platform of the Australian Labor party in the lead up to the 2007 election. Thus, this period is signified by a sense of focus and purpose in the Australian Parliament on Climate change policy and by extension climate change discourse develops further. Under the leadership of the Australian Labor Party and Kevin Rudd, legislation for an emissions trading scheme was introduced into the parliament indicating that the data should show an increase in the frequency of use of *climate* during this time.

One of the critical political events of the ALP years was the introduction and subsequent defeat of the Emissions Trading Scheme proposed by Kevin Rudd. The defeat of the legislation was the culmination of a number of political events which saw a dramatic shift in the type of discourse conducted with the Parliament. The most notable outcome was the deposing of Liberal Party Leader Malcolm Turnbull who had supported a free vote on an Emissions Trading Scheme with the appointing of Tony Abbott who halted any bipartisan discussion and agreement on climate change. This event is seen by political scholars, commentators and political journalists as one of the critical moments of a shift in climate discourse in Australian democracy.

This shift in the type of discourse surrounding climate policy will be examined in the data in the analysis section. What is expected is a change in collocation data in the type of language being used to create the context for how *climate* is used. Where there was a broad consensus previously in that need for action on climate change, what is to be expected is that more economic lexical items and lexical items relating to climate scepticism will being appearing in the parliamentary discourse.

The era ends in the end of the two term ALP government and the election of an anti-Climate LNP opposition who sought to roll back a majority of climate policies and protections. The focus of

the 2013 election campaign was directed toward the rolling back of the climate changes policies of the previous Labor government, mainly the mining tax and the carbon tax which sought to curtail emissions by taxing the largest polluters (2013 Australian Federal Election, 2021). It is also expected in the year leading up to the Federal Election of 2013 that climate change discourse once again be brought to the forefront of debate in the Federal Parliament given its status as one of the central points of contrast between Opposition leader Tony Abbott and Prime Minister Kevin Rudd.

Below are figures showing a visualisation of the frequency data per ten thousand uses for each house. These figures will be referred to throughout the analysis to demonstrate the changes in frequency.

Figure 4.3 Frequency Data for the House of Representatives from 2000 to 2018 (repeated from 4.1).

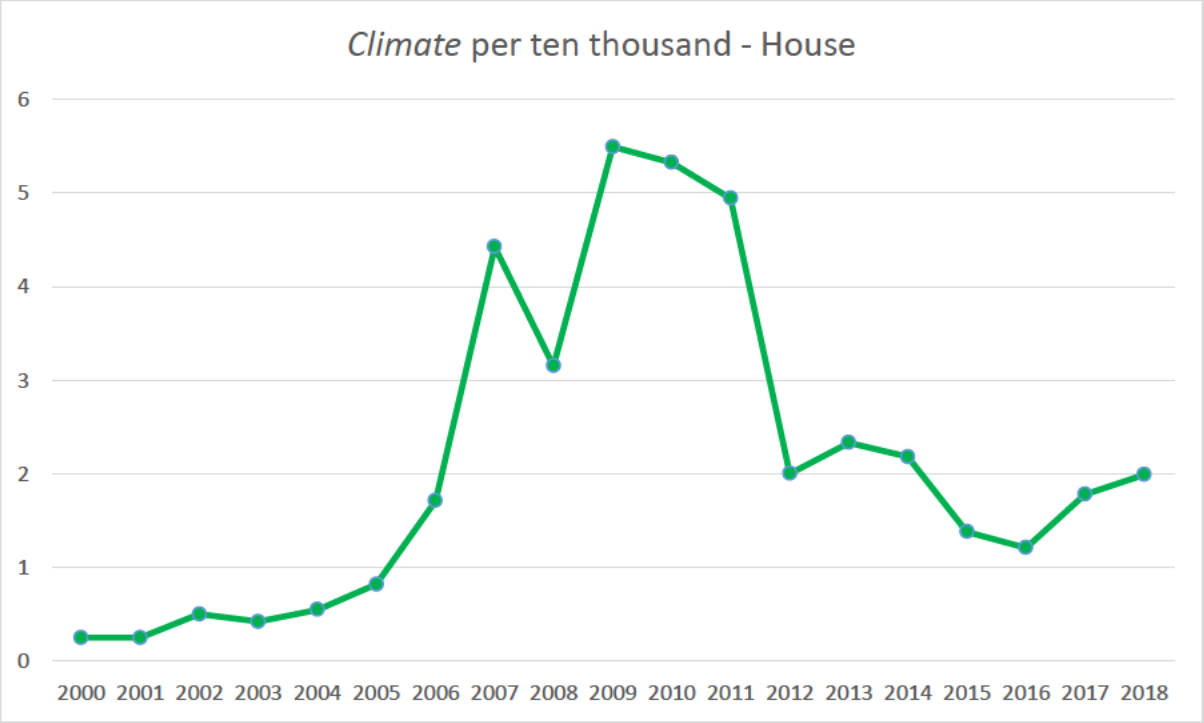
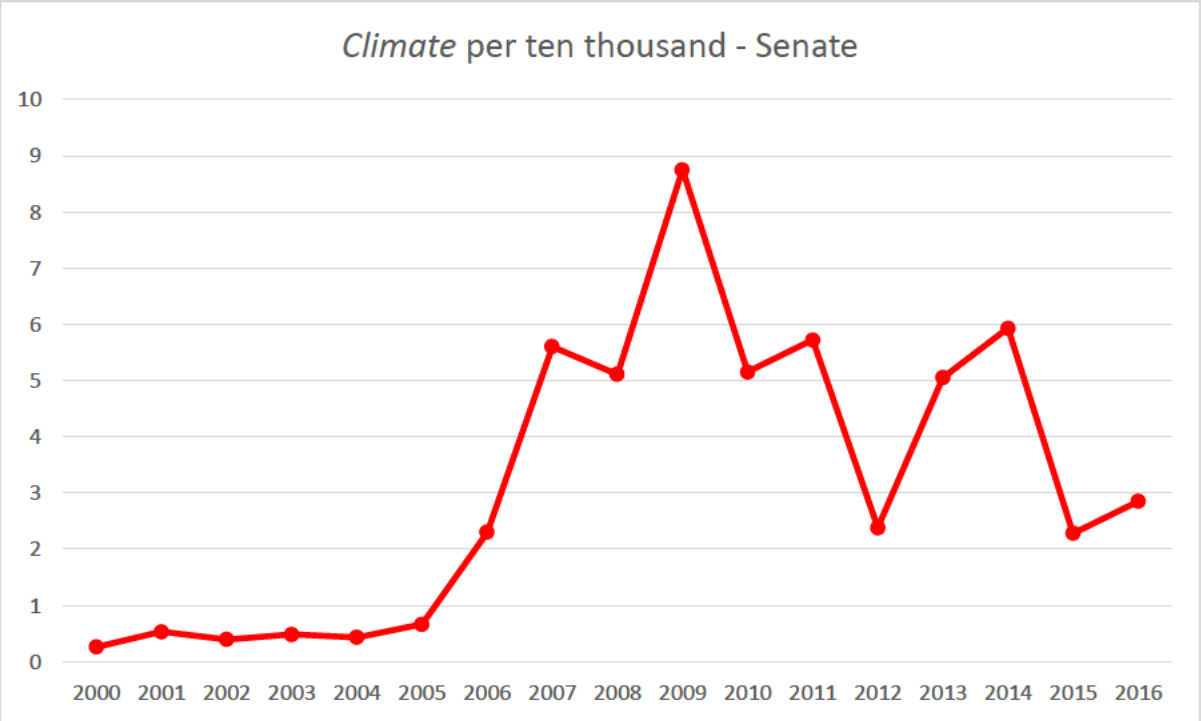


Figure 4.4 Frequency data for the Senate from 2000 to 2016 (repeated from 4.2)



5.1 2008

The first full electoral year of incumbent Labor government provides a strong baseline through which it will be possible to examine the role a change of government can play in shifting the type of discourse around energy and climate change policies. 2008 itself does not contain a vast change in the way in which climate change was spoken about in the Federal Parliament, and as such the analysis of these years is somewhat smaller than other years where major shifts occurred.

The data from the House of Representatives shows that there was a drop between the rates of use for *climate* from 2007 to 2008, shifting from 4.42 uses per ten thousand words to 3.15 uses per ten thousand words. This is within the context of the rate of use for *climate* being higher in this period than at other governmental periods in the 21st century (figure 4.3). It is important to note that between 2008 and 2009 the rate of use of *climate* significantly increased. This is typical for governments with a broad reform agenda, as they often direct significant rhetorical resources to focus on the legislation which has the top priority of the year. An example of this will be discussed further in sections relating to 2009 and 2010 as the final years of the Rudd Government were devoted more to climate and environmental legislation.

In the Senate the data also shows that there was a slight decrease in the rate of use for *climate* in that chamber between 2007 and 2008. The rate of use dropped from 5.6 to 5.11 per ten thousand words across the two years. As has been noted throughout the thesis the variation in the rate of use in the Senate is oftentimes less dramatic on a year-to-year basis than the House of Representatives. This is due to the fact that the Senate is less directly responsive to the changeable will of the voting public due to the nature of term lengths and electoral cycles.

One of the contributing factors to the slightly decreased level of use of *climate* between 2007 and 2008 can be identified as the change between a party in opposition which is campaigning and a party in government with a broad set of priorities. A major event of early 2008 was the National Apology to the Stolen Generations which grounded a large amount of political and media coverage to the issue. This is contrasted with the rhetoric of the Labor party whilst campaigning who would use the platform of the Federal Parliament as discussed in 2007 to highlight the incumbent government inaction on the issue of climate change.

This change in rhetoric and narrative focus can be seen in the collocation data from the House of Representatives in 2008. The top three collocates in this year were (aside from *change*) *minister, water, and environment* (figure A1.8). These collocates suggest that the new Labor government - which had gained control of the House of Representatives through the 2007 election - was using its control of the parliament to reshape the narrative to a competent Government implementing reforms to act on

climate change. The lack of direct action verbs in the 2008 data, corroborates the analysis which states that due to the nature of the government at the time, there were a number of other pressing issues in 2008 which overtook climate action as a top priority for the Rudd Government.

The data from the House of Representatives is mirrored by that of the Senate, the top three collocates of *climate* in that chamber were *Minister*, *water* and *Australia* (figure A1.81). This additionally highlights that there was no major legislation coming through the chamber which would significantly adjust the way in which climate change was discussed within the government or opposition rhetoric.

2008 was a turning point for climate change narratives and rhetoric in the federal parliament: while it was not a year of major disruptions to the climate narrative, it is noted as the final year of (semi) bipartisanship on tackling climate change. This will be further discussed in the section relating to 2009 which heralded the beginning of what would become the 'Climate Wars' in Australian political discourse and rhetoric.

5.2 2009

2009 presented a unique and devastating change to the rhetoric on climate change's impacts on the lives of Victorians and all Australians. On Saturday, the 7th of February, a large number of bushfires ignited across Victoria in what would become known as 'Black Saturday'. The result of this was the loss of over 400 000 hectares burnt and 173 lives lost in a matter of days. Many Victorians were left homeless and/or jobless for months and years to follow, as a consequence of this catastrophe, which represents the single largest loss of life ever caused by bushfires. The Black Saturday fires are one the major junctures in the history of the climate change debate in Australia. The Black Saturday fires put the effects of climate change starkly into the minds of all Australians and would not be replicated in their ferocity and destruction until the Black Summer Fires of 2019-2020.

In the context of the Federal Parliament and of federal parliamentary rhetoric, 2009 represents a distinct break in the language used by federal parliamentarians to discuss climate change. This year would go on to mark the start of Australia's Federal political 'Climate Wars' in which successive parties (both government and opposition) would change leaders, ramp up rhetoric and push false (or alternate) narratives around climate change and the appropriate action to combat climate change. Additionally, in 2009 the Australian Government (at the time led by the ALP and Kevin Rudd) would attempt to legislate an Emissions Trading Scheme (ETS) to combat the growing levels of carbon emissions in the atmosphere and to meet Australia's international obligations.

The international community 2009 played host to the Copenhagen Summit on Climate Change, which significantly ramped up pressure from global actors, both governmental and non-

governmental to act on climate change. From Copenhagen the summit nations around the world would begin to commit to reducing their carbon emissions and seek to limit the impact on environmental damage, however the talks failed to commit to a final binding agreement. This will be examined further upon and would be further discussed at a later year when world nations would meet to agree on the Paris Climate Accords (which would further place international pressure on the Australian Government in the late 2010's and early 2020's).

The data from the House of Representatives in 2009 shows that out of the years tested *climate* had its highest rate of use in this year, at a rate of 5.49 uses per ten thousand words. This is up 3.15 uses per ten thousand words in 2008, an increase of 2.34 uses per the thousand words (figure 4.3). The increase of *climate*'s usage as seen in the data is indicative that there was a vastly increased interest in the Federal Parliament to discuss and shape a narrative around the issue of climate change and climate change action. This aligns with the previous analysis conducted in this thesis that governments choose their language based on their priorities for that parliamentary year and correspondingly this is shown in the data where an increased rate of use indicates that there was a greater interest in the issue.

As stated in the introductory context of this section 2009 was a year where the Rudd government focused on delivering action on climate change through the introduction of an ETS. This can be seen in the collocation data for 2009 whereby the third most common collocate of *climate* in this year is *action*. The Rudd government's desire for action was so great that they sought to pre-empt international pressure through the early passage of the ETS before the UN Copenhagen Summit. In response to calls for a delay of the vote of the introduction of ETS legislation, Prime Minister Rudd stated, "an act of absolute political cowardice, an absolute failure of leadership not to act on climate change until other nations had done so" (ABC 2010). This quote indicates that the collocation data signifying a desire for *action* was also seen in the language and actions of federal parliamentarians outside of the Parliament, demonstrating the analysis of the collocation data was correct when combined with the political context of the language.

Data from the Senate shows a large surge in the rate of use per ten thousand for *climate* in 2009 when compared with its past and future rates of use. The rate of use for *climate* between 2008 and 2009 sharply increased from 2.3 uses per ten thousand to 5.6 uses per ten thousand, as seen in figure 4.4. This is a doubling of the rate of use between the two years, indicating that there was a substantial increase in the focus and attention from all the parties in the Senate. As stated throughout this section this can be attributed to the Rudd Government's introduction of ETS legislation.

Due to the Rudd government not having an outright majority in the Senate (though they had one in the House of Representatives), they were heavily reliant on crossbench support to pass any legislation. The crossbench is a term used to define members of the Senate or the House of Representatives who do not belong to either of the two major political parties and thus sit in the

middle of the chamber and vote according to their conscience and the interests of their electors. In the context of the Senate in 2009 this meant that there was a large level of contentious debate around the Emissions Trading Scheme as members of the government attempted to pass their legislation by swaying other members through their language and rhetoric.

The rate of use in the Senate increased more dramatically than that of the House of Representatives, it is here that the parliamentary context of the time can be used to explain the large variation in the data. Discussed above is the way in which the Parliament operates between the two chambers and the discrepancies experienced in voting patterns and the type of rhetoric used by Senators.

For a direct example of the negative political rhetoric experienced in the Senate, the collocation data provides a strong insight into the shape of the debate conducted. The top three collocates used around *climate* in that year were *Minister, Water* and *Australia* (figure A1.81), however the fourth most used collocate is of interest directly in this analysis, the word *wrong*. It would be possible to dismiss this collocate as an anomaly of the data, when analysed in the political context previously discussed as part of the methodology of this thesis it is possible to understand this in a different way. *Wrong* may be an attempt by both the government and other senators to frame the passing or blocking of this legislation as a moral imperative.

The analysis of *wrong* as one of the chief collocates of *climate* in the Senate can be directly contrasted with the analysis of *action* as one of the main collocates of the House of Representatives. As noted *action* as a word is being used by the government in control of the House of Representatives to frame the debate around their climate change policies as one of movement and direction, where they are taking direct 'action' to address the issue.

After a highly politicised debate around the passage of the ETS, where the Liberal party had replaced its leader and the legislation had been voted down by the Australian Greens in the Senate with the help of the newly more conservative Liberal Party, Australia would enter a new period of debate and rhetoric around climate change and climate change policies. As noted in the introduction to this section, this new age in Australian politics would come to be known as the 'Climate Wars'. The 'Climate Wars' would come to be typified by increased politicisation, polarisation, fake news and factionalism. This will be further discussed as each year progresses and more and more political and ideological rhetoric from the Federal Parliament seeps into the climate policy debate.

5.3 2010

The Federal Election occurring in 2010 presented to the public a stark contrast between the two ideological perceptions of climate change in the two major parties (2010 Australian Federal

Election, 2021). The Coalition Opposition ran their election campaign on a promise to halt action on climate change stating that it would harm the economy and halt growth of the Australian GDP. This approach would come to typify the coalition ideology through the coming decade, that of a lack of climate action in the rationale that the economy would suffer in contrast to this was the incumbent ALP government led by Julia Gillard, which had, in the lead up to the election, flagged the possibility of a carbon pollution reduction scheme: a market-based mechanism aimed at slowing the growth of carbon emissions.

A major keystone feature of the 2010 election campaign which would set the precedent for a political schism over the next decade occurred on the 16th of August 2010: five days before the Federal Election Prime Minister Gillard stated "there will be no carbon tax under the government I lead" (Butler, 2017). The following February, after gaining government for a second term, the Prime Minister stated that her government would be pursuing a market-based carbon pricing scheme. The conservative side of the Australian political spectrum - from politicians to the media - decried this as a U-turn on policy stating that the government had lied and that the ALP was the party of climate action in spite of the economy and that the Coalition parties were protecting the Australian language. Throughout this period and the next government period it is expected that we will see these trends become highly apparent with the ALP governing years focusing on climate action and the LNP governing years highlighting the perceived issues of climate action through the language of the parliament.

As noted in the opening paragraphs of this section climate change and its related issues were placed front and centre of the political debate in 2010. The focus on climate change as a way in which the major parties were attempting to persuade swing voters (voters who change their votes based on issues at each election) is noted by McCrea, Leviston, Walker, et al who state that "In the 2010 Australian federal election, climate change policy was a point of distinction between the major parties, and climate change beliefs were associated with swinging votes in the month leading up to the election" (p. 136 2015). This statement indicates that the importance of the 2010 year and its General Election were critical in defining the differences in the perceptions of climate change by the two major parties.

In looking at the data from 2010, one learns that in the House of Representatives the rate of use per ten thousand of *climate* was the second highest across all the years tested. *Climate* occurred at a rate of 5.32 uses in 2010 down slightly from its rate in 2009 which was 5.49 uses per ten thousand (figure 4.3). It is possible to claim that the attention to climate policy reached its zenith in the 21st century in this 2009-2011 era, based on the data hitherto tracked across the years it is possible that this will change with the inclusion of the 2020 and 2021 years, which include the Black Summer bushfires and the ensuing recovery period which was overshadowed and enhanced by the crisis of the Covid-19

pandemic. 2010 in the Senate is characterised by a sharp reduction in the rate of use of *Climate* between 2009 and 2010, from 8.75 uses per ten thousand to 5.15.

A reason for the decline in the rate of use for *Climate* in 2010 is that in 2009 there was a more focused legislative approach to tackling climate change, meaning that there was a greater level of debate in the chambers of parliament around the issue. For example, the ongoing negotiations between the two major parties and the introduction of the first iteration of the Emissions Trading Scheme in August 2009 (APH, 2015) to the Federal Parliament and its subsequent second reading all occurred in 2009. This is contrasted with 2010 which saw a much more externalised debate around climate change occurring in the media and in the public.

The focus on climate change action through the Federal Parliament can be seen in the collocates of *Climate* for 2010. The major collocates in the House of Representatives are, *minister, energy* and *action* (figures A1.10 and A1.101). These collocates indicate that the government of the day was attempting to use the language of the House of Representatives to shift the perception of climate change to one of action and response. This is congruent with the media analysis of the time, as well as the actions of the government as stated which were focused on pressing forward with its climate legislation due to its perceived mandate from the 2007 election in which the ALP ran on a platform of a strong response to climate change.

5.4 2011

2011 was a critical year in the timeline of Australian perceptions of climate change and a cornerstone year for the Labor governing years between 2007 and 2013. In 2011 the ALP government led by Julia Gillard passed its Emissions Trading Scheme legislation in both the House of Representatives and the Senate. In both the House of Representatives and in the Senate the rate of use for *climate* remained consistently high, this is congruent with the data from the surrounding years where climate change was a top priority.

The passage of the Carbon Pricing Mechanism by the Gillard Government (after replacing Kevin Rudd) was so momentous that the Prime Minister Julia Gillard stated that this legislation was "a win for Australia's children" (ABC 2014). As will be further discussed in the sections relating to 2012 and 2013, the passage of this legislation would reset the debate around climate change policy and further add to the division and extremism which had and has become rife in Australian climate change discourse. Data from 2011 will further expand on the type of climate change narrative which had come to the forefront of Australian politics since the early years of the Rudd government in 2008 and 2009. As such this section will feature a comparison between the Rudd-Gillard eras in its middle

stage with that of the previous Howard era, a more complete analysis of the Rudd-Gillard period with a comparison will take place in the final section of this time period.

In the frequency data from the House of Representatives the rate of use for *climate* fell slightly from 5.32 to 4.94 uses per ten thousand words, shown in figure 4.3. The decrease of 0.38 uses in 10 thousand represents a small reduction in the rate of use, indicating that while there was a reduction in the rate of use after the Clean Energy Bill 2011 passed the House of Representatives in October, there was a high level of discussion of climate change throughout the year. Therefore, it can be argued that the reduction in the rate of use stems from the passage of the bill and the subsequent ending of debate in the House of Representatives rather than a reduction in the actual rate of *climate* use.

Collocation data from 2011 also shows that there was a focus on *action* on climate change as the debate shifted to the passage of the Clean Energy Bill 2011. The main collocates for that year were *energy, efficiency* and *minister,* with *action* being the fourth most used collocate (figure A1.11). This reinforces the previous analysis that the government at the time wished to use terms such as *action* to demonstrate that it was moving to literally undertake 'action' on climate change. The data here directly corresponds with the political context and political realities of the time where the Gillard government was negotiating the passage of its climate change bill throughout the parliament.

Action as a central collocate of *climate* throughout the Rudd and Gillard governments indicates that there was a transition from the approach of the Howard government in its shaping of the narrative and rhetoric around climate change. The earlier section on the Howard government shows that there was a more prevalent passive approach being taken to the government's role in addressing climate change, predicated on technology and regulation (this will be mirrored and further analysis in the coming sections). By contrast in language and in deed the Rudd and Gillard governments sought to shape the rhetoric around climate change as one of direct government-based action which would provide solutions to this issue. A further piece of research may take this analysis and explore the way in which a political party's or leaders' ideology (free market or government intervention) can shape the way a debate is conducted.

The 2009 – 2010 – 2011 years contained the highest rates of use for *climate* across the years tested in the House of Representatives, being 5.49, 5.32 and 4.94 respectively (figures 4.3 and 4.4). These years represent the years of the Rudd-Gillard governments which were most focused on climate change and providing actions/solutions to climate change. The other comparable year was that of 2007, which, as discussed previously, can be attributed to the major parties' campaigning on climate change which increased the rate of use in the Federal Parliament.

In the broader context of this thesis 2011 provides a strong example for the argument that a combination of linguistic and other methodologies is the best way in which political language can be

analysed. This is due to the direct connection between the language being used and the actions of the government and the opposition at the time. By themselves the tools of collocation and frequency would have revealed the type of words which had occurred around *climate*, the addition of the political analysis of the time period allowed for a deeper and a more contextual discussion of the data. As discussed, the term *action* relates to the steps being undertaken by the government of the day, rather than the definition of action "a thing being done" (Merriam-Webster 2021). This further strengthens the central argument of this thesis that the combination of linguistic tools with other analysis presents the strongest possible way in which an analysis can be conducted.

5.5 2012

After the introduction of the so-called 'Carbon Tax' in 2011, the Gillard government faced an onslaught of challenges from the media and business organisations to scrap the 'tax' and return to the status quo of climate change inaction. The analysis in this section will heavily feature elements and examples from outside parliament, in order to fully present and discuss the changes occurring in the data and the relation to the sweeping change to the type of discourse being undertaken. In 2012 a new type of discourse emerging in Australia known as the 'climate wars' (which had notionally begun in 2011) fully ramps up in parliamentary and public debate. It is important to note that the full vitriol of the 'climate wars' would not be wholly seen in the public sphere until the lead up to the 2013 election.

This greater international pressure from all parts of the world impacted Australians' climate change discourse and their subsequent inability to act on the issue, which will come into full prominence during the final period of the study. The clash between ideological elements on a scientific issue stands in stark contrast to other Western Liberal Democratic states (with the exception of the hyper-polarised United States of America). The European Union Member States and the United Kingdom developed broader support across the political spectrum, often resulting in bi-partisan or semi-bipartisan approaches to climate change policies, or at a minimum a desire to act on climate change.

The parliamentary year of 2012 saw the rate of use for *climate* drastically fall from its previous three-year highs, both in the House of Representatives and in the Senate. This may be attributed to the fact that in the previous year the Gillard Government had passed its Clean Energy Bill 2011 and thus had hoped to end the ongoing parliamentary debate around climate change. Evidence from the corpus data suggests that with the rate of use declining from 4.94 uses in 2011 to 2.00 in 2012 this political calculation on the part of the Government was correct (figure 4.4). With the rate of use falling in 2012 the analysis from previous sections of this thesis helps explain the changes in the data, with the government turning its attention away from climate change as a political issue in the parliament and beginning to focus on other issues, both internal and external.

Similarly, the trend in the Senate is even more pronounced than that of the House of Representatives, with the rate of use falling from 5.72 to 2.38 uses per ten thousand (figure 4.4). As shown in Figure 4.2, this is represented visually by a significant drop from the previous data points. This further supports the analysis that the government at the time had concluded that with the passage of the Clean Energy Bill 2011 that there was little to be gained by furthering debate on climate change in either chamber.

Collocation data from the Senate furthers this analysis, with the government turning from the debate phase to the implementation phase of its discourse and of the legislation itself. This is seen in the main collocates of *climate* in 2012 which are, *minister, energy* and *efficiency*. These terms demonstrate the government of the day was turning its attention to other facets of the climate change debate. The three main collocates of *climate* in the House of Representatives were the same as those in the Senate, *energy, minister* and *efficiency* (figures A1.12 and A1.121). Through the data then the analysis becomes clear as has been stated in this section that there was a distinct shift and coalescences in the type of language being used in both chambers of the Federal Parliament. Combining the collocation data with the evidence of significant drops in the rate of use crystallises this analysis.

The frequency data from the Senate in 2012 broadly aligns with the data from the House of Representatives in indicating that there was a distinct shift in the trend between 2011 and 2012 and between 2012 and 2013. In 2011 the rate of use for *climate* in the Senate was 5.72 which is higher than the rate of use in the House of Representatives but does not represent a dramatic shift away from the trends exhibited. This pattern continues the same trend as the House of Representatives which saw a steep decline in the rate of use in 2012. The Senate experienced a drop to 2.38 uses per ten thousand words, which represents half of the level of use in the 2011 sitting year (figure 4.3). This drop in the House of Representatives and the Senate could be attributed to the pivot by the Gillard Government away from their climate policies in order to shift focus in the upcoming election. This strategy was ineffective given the type of campaign that would ensue in the following year, with the Coalition parties framing the entire election cycle around the climate change policies of the incumbent government.

Using the collocation data from the 2012 Senate year, we can correlate the argument that the government was attempting to shift the focus away from its Carbon and Mining taxes. The top three collocates are *minister, energy* and *efficiency*. This confirms that there was a clear and distinct shift away from language relating to any kind of taxation or direct government intervention in business with regard to climate change. The only major collocate from the data set in 2012 which denotes negativity toward climate change policies has a frequency of occurrence near *climate* of 37 times, compared to *change* which occurred 1106 times near the word *climate*. Collocation frequency is not the strongest barometer of how the discourse on climate change differs between years and across eras,

as discussed in the methodology chapter. However as noted it does highlight that there was as distinct lack of collocates regarding economics, taxation or business in 2012 in the Senate.

The shift between 2012 and 2013 in the frequency data of the Senate is in step with that of the House of Representatives. From 2012 there is a large jump in the rate of use from 2.38 to 5.05 in 2013. It is this year that is being discussed as the approximate beginning of a new era in political discourse around climate change. As revealed in the previous section the rate of use in 2006 was 2.3 uses per ten thousand with 2012 mirroring this with a rate of 2.38 per ten thousand. These years also correlate with the years of the Rudd-Gillard-Rudd Governments which saw an increased level of focus on climate change.

Using data from the Senate, a similar pattern develops, indicating that the analysis of the data from the House of Representatives has a strong level of merit. As has been noted a few times in this thesis, the data from the House of Representatives is relied on to a greater extent than the Senate. This is mainly due to the fact that the House of Representatives is often seen to be more reflective of the broader will of the people given it has more frequency and encompassing elections. That being said, the Senate can provide use data in understanding trends within each of the eras being discussed. A notable exception to this rule is the 2016 federal election, this is because that year Prime Minister Malcolm Turnbull called a snap double dissolution election, which meant that all members of both houses were faced with the voters at the general election. By contrast, half of the senators would stand for six-year terms in a typical federal election. This means that while discussing the data from the senate through this period it is possible that we will see a senate which may have been more responsive to public sentiments.

The literature review and analysis in this thesis identify parliamentary speech and the impact of a leader as being key prisms through which the discourse of a parliament can be analysed. In analysing the speech we see these theories have been proven correct in the context of this thesis, as the government of the day with control of the parliament was able to significantly reduce the language around climate change after the issue had passed from focus.

While the rate of use fell and the collocation data remained stable from the previous year, the rhetoric around climate change would deepen and broaden in the media in years and elections to come. It is here that the combined strength of a contextualised political analysis as a tool of this thesis can be fully understood. The rates of use of *climate* in both houses of parliament would not reach the same heights they had as in the mid Rudd-Gillard years where the government was fiercely proposing action on climate change. Thus, the analysis will draw on the data and analyse it in the view that while the level of interest in climate change in the Federal Parliament had dropped there was a concerted and growing media cacophony conducting a public trial on government policies.

5.6 2013

2013 was the final year of the Rudd-Gillard-Rudd government and the last Labor government of the 21st century (2013 Australian Federal Election, 2021). After this year Australian political discourse would become more and more deadlocked and rife with misinformation and climate change scare campaigns, which will be further discussed in the final analysis and overview of the era. The key event of 2013 was the Federal Election which would see the voters turf the incumbent Rudd-Gillard-Rudd government and vote to power the Abbott Government. This election would see a stark reversal in the type of discourse conducted in the Australian media, political and public arenas. The section will focus on the language used in the Federal Parliament, however due to the nature of the election and its importance as a critical junction of Australian politics elements of the political context and the media discourse are also crucial to the overall analysis of 2013

The majority of the data from 2013 will be covered in the 2013 section under the Coalition Government. This is mainly due to the fact that the coalition opposition set the narrative of the debate during the election cycle on climate change with its "axe the tax" slogan. From the context of climate change and climate change politics in Australia the 2013 Federal Election presented voters with a clear contrast between the two major parties. The Rudd government proposed to move ahead with the Clean Energy Bill 2011 and eventually transition to a European style free market Emissions Trading Scheme as planned. Opposing this was the Abbott-led Liberal-National coalition which wanted to 'axe the tax' (carbon tax) as one of its central election points and reverse the vast majority of climate and environmental law introduced by the previous governments.

5.7 The Labor Years

It is possible the major factors in the spike in frequency of *climate* in 2009 are the attempted introduction of an Emissions Trading Scheme by the Rudd government, and the replacement of the Malcolm Turnbull by Tony Abbott as leader of the Opposition on the basis of his (Turnbull's) support for the government's climate policy. As discussed in chapter 2, the literature highlights the impact that leaders can have on the way discourse changes in the context of the Federal Parliament. In this case the leadership change in the LNP caused a distinct rift between the government and opposition parties on bipartisan climate legislation.

The early years of this period 2007, 2008 and 2009 are typified by the significantly higher than average rate of frequency of the word *climate* in both the House of Representatives and the Senate. 2007 recorded an average rate of use per ten thousand words for *climate* in the House of Representatives of 5.6. Which is a major increase over the previous year of 2006 which recorded a

level of use of 2.3 per ten thousand words. This increase in use coincides with the policy platform of the ALP (which was noted in chapter 2) to contain provisions for the introduction of a Federal Emissions Trading Scheme and a commitment to climate action. That is not to claim that the only issue of the 2007 election and parliament was climate change, as a number of other economic and social factors influenced the outcome of the election. However, on the basis of the data *climate* received a proportionally higher than average level of use than in previous years under the Howard Government and under different opposition leaders who did not commit to as strong a stance on climate action as Kevin Rudd.

The introduction of the Emissions Trading Scheme (ETS) legislation may be the other major factor for the increase in the frequency of use of *climate*. As noted the type of discourse conducted in the Federal Parliament is predominantly set by the government of the day, as such in making ETS legislation a central part of the parliamentary year for 2009 climate discourse was brought to the foreground. This can be seen in the collocation data for the 2009 year in the House of Representatives, where the three most common collocates of *climate* were *change, action* and *minister*. Indicating that climate action, undertaken by the Minister for the Environment was a centrepiece in how climate was discussed in that year.

This analysis of the data from the House of Representative is backed up by the data from the Senate which also saw an increase in the rate of climate from its 2005 and 2006 levels. In 2005 the Senate recorded a level of use of .66 and in 2006 this increased to 2.3. In 2007 the rate increased to 5.6 uses per ten thousand words, meaning that the rate of use of *climate* doubled (and then some) from 2006 to 2007. This indicates that there was a massive shift in climate discourse in the Senate which is in line with that of the House of Representatives. White the senate did not increase as dramatically as the data from the House of Representatives, it indicates that there was a substantial increase in the rate of use of *climate* in the years preceding the 2007 election.

One key reason for this is the attempt by Kevin Rudd to place climate policy at the fore of his election pitch in the 2007 election. The data in the House is reflected by the data from the Senate, where the three main collocates of *climate* for that year are also *action, change* and *minister*. This would also suggest a degree of unity in the messaging from the government, as they seek to try and define the climate debate on their terms and around their policy. In 2009 there was a concerted effort by those members of the ALP government in the House and in the Senate to ensure that there was consistent and stable messaging through climate discourse going out to the public sphere. With regard to the literature from chapter 2 relating to the role of the audience in Parliamentary discourse, it is likely that with their unity of messaging the Rudd-Government was targeting their language at the general public through the language choices, rather than internally at the institution of the Federal Parliament itself.

This is a direct shift away from the passive economic/technology-based approach of the previous years (2000 – 2005/6), which saw a slow and gradual transition to green technologies and the lens in which climate discourse was conducted. In contrast these years are defined by a direct-action approach through government-led climate action, which is opposed to the business-led technology action of the previous years. In comparing the collocation of *climate* from both the House and the Senate in the early 2000's (as discussed in the previous section) and the collocation from 2009 the argument that there is a direct contrast in the approaches of different parties (and thus government) is backed up by the data.

From 2009 onward, there was a drop down in the level in frequency of use of *climate* in both the House and the Senate. A brief discussion of the political context of the time will enable a further analysis of the 2008 through to 2010 period, as it would have had a probative impact on the way in which political debate on climate change was conducted. 2009 saw the introduction of ETS legislation which has been noted already, however that legislation was killed by a combination of the LNP (Liberal National Coalition) and the Australian Greens, which saw the Rudd-Government shelve the ETS legislation for that year. During this time the LNP also changed leaders from Malcolm Turnbull to Tony Abbott. 2010 saw the end of the first Rudd Government due to a leadership spill by Julia Gillard after a vast majority of ALP Ministers condemned Kevin Rudd's leadership. These events precipitated a shift away from the ETS toward a different form of climate change discourse.

Finally, the Federal Election of 2010 saw Julia Gillard up against an unashamedly anti-climate action conservative LNP under the leadership of Tony Abbott, who campaigned against any form of climate change policy. This culminated in Julia Gillard proclaiming that "there will be no Carbon Tax under a government that I lead", a promise which would have ramifications on climate discourse going forward into the 2010s. This ensured that the following years of debate in the House of Representatives and the Senate would be dominated by a discussion on climate change and climate change policies.

The 2010 and 2011 sitting years in the House of Representatives represent the second and third highest peaks in the rate of use per ten thousand words in the 21st century. Between 2010 and 2011 in the House of Representatives the level of use of *climate* lowered slightly from its high of 5.32 uses per ten thousand, to 4.94 uses per ten thousand. If the data is framed in the context of the carbon tax and the 2010 federal election it is possible to conclude that one of the most salient points to politicians and to voters across the three years is climate policy.

Data from the Senate indicates that this hypothesis is true where the Senate data shows that the highest rates of use in the 21st century are 2007 through to 2011 with the peak in 2009 of 8.75 uses per ten thousand words. This is in line with the data from the House of Representatives

It is logical to conclude the period just after the peak in 2009/10, with 2011 beginning the trend downward. Through this chapter we have seen this era play out in three acts, which provide a key way to understand climate change discourse in these years. The first act from 2006 through 2008 shows the acceleration period, where climate policy first entered the national arena of discourse at the end of the Howard Government and the beginning of the Rudd Government. The second phase or act is the peak of 2009 through to 2011 which saw a number of measures passed in the parliament as well as the critical juncture of the 2010 Federal Election which was fought on climate policy (as well as a number of other significant issues) (2010 Australian Federal Election, 2021).

The final act of this period which includes the transitional phase is that of 2011 to 2012/13 which saw a steady deceleration in the salience of climate change discourse in the Federal Parliament and culminated with the Federal Election of 2013. This Federal Election signalled a political shift in the electorate of Australia away from direct climate policies proposed by the Rudd-Gillard-Rudd government toward indirect or no policies proposed by the LNP Opposition. This is a crucial critical juncture in climate change history as it denotes a clear and decisive shift in the discourse surrounding the issue of climate change. As discussed earlier in this chapter and in the previous chapter there was a focus by the ALP to enhance the rhetoric of the moral imperative of climate action rather than focusing on the costs, which culminated in the 2007 election. This paradigm shifted entirely in 2013 when a strong anti-climate LNP was elected on a platform of directly repealing the climate change policies of the previous government.

Chapter Six

The Climate Wars: A Decade of Chaos

LNP: 2013 – 2015 – 2018: Abbott – Turnbull – Morrison

The policies of the Abbott-Turnbull-Morrison government defined the way in which climate change was discussed in the Federal Parliament during the final era under analysis here. The bookends of this period in the political context are the election of 2013 which saw the end of the Rudd-Gillard-Rudd governments which had governed since 2007 and the rise of the Abbott government. This election is discussed as one which has defined the broader debate around climate policy in Australia as Tony Abbott as opposition leader and then Prime Minister directly challenged scientific and political consensus (broadly) around the desire to act on Climate Change.

This period is characterised by its high level of instability and inconsistency within internal party discourse of the Liberal National Coalition. The new government sought to reconcile a number of elements within the party from the far right to the moderate centre. This meant that the messaging coming from the government was mixed and thus lacked strong control over the parliament as a mechanism for creating discourse around climate change. The reluctance of the conservative government to discuss climate change policies within the Federal Parliament would mean that the data should show a corresponding drop off in the rate of use for *climate* within these years, in comparison to the previous ALP government.

The changes in leadership in these years would imply that the data will reveal a level of instability in the collocation context in which *climate* occurs. This will be discussed in this section with a strong focus on how the leader of a political party and by extension the leader of the Federal Parliament can impose their own ideology on how climate discourse is formed. An approach such as this will be critical in understanding how leaders impact the way language is used and will highlight how combining qualitative and quantitative analysis can prove useful in understanding the impacts on large datasets. In using the ideas' relation to leadership in conjunction with the method of collocation it will be possible to explore the impacts a change in leader can have on the way language is used within a large body, namely the Parliament of Australia.

The data from the House of Representatives indicates that there was an overarching rate of use across it. On average *climate* was used around 2 per ten thousand words in this period, with some years exceeding this and some not reaching this level. This type of data is representative of the fact that there was a distinct shift in the rate of use and thus in the salience of climate policy during this time.

At the other end of this period in Australian climate discourse is the 2019 election and the subsequent new Morrison government. Importantly, the election itself is not a critical junction in the

climate change debate as the incumbent government was returned (albeit with a small majority), with the data reflecting a change in the discourse, however the way in which *climate* was used and the rate of its use remained broadly in line with other years from this time period.

Below are figures showing a visualisation of the frequency data per ten thousand uses for each house. These figures will be referred to throughout the analysis to demonstrate the changes in frequency.

Figure 4.5 Frequency Data for the House of Representatives from 2000 to 2018 (repeated from figure 4.1).

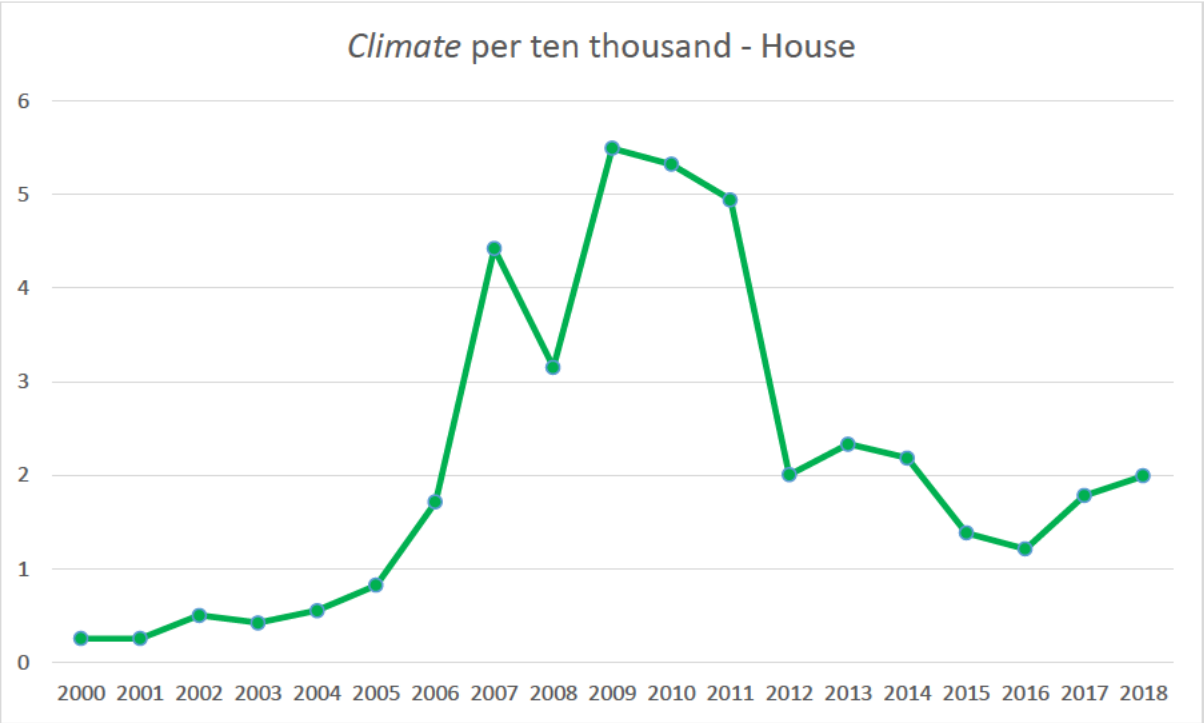
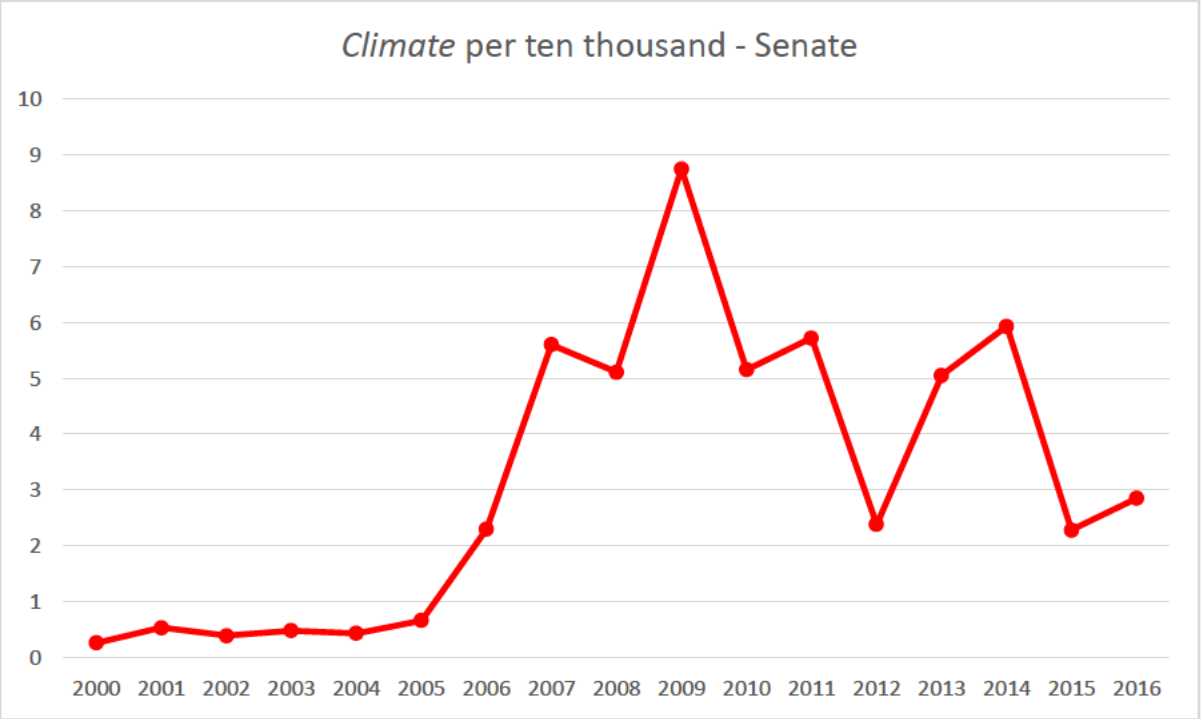


Figure 4.6 Frequency data for the Senate from 200 to 2016 (repeated from figure 4.2)



6.1 2013

2013 was the first year of a coalition government in six years since the loss of John Howard and the year Labor governments of Kevin Rudd and Julia Gillard. A notable rise above the average rate of use of *climate* is in 2013 and 2014, which can be attributed to two critical junctures or periods. The first critical period is that of the 2013 election, which saw incumbent Prime Minister Kevin Rudd (Second Term) facing opposition leader Tony Abbott. This election is central to the development of climate change discourse in Australian federal politics as the Abbott-led opposition openly advocated the repeal of a number of climate policies enacted into law by the Gillard Government. Most famous of these laws was the 'Carbon Tax' which became a key target for the Abbott opposition in their opposition of climate legislation. An example of this open opposition can be seen in the election slogan used by the Liberal-National Coalition 'Axe the Tax' (2013 Australian Federal Election, 2021).

The rate of use of *climate* in the Senate in 2013 was 5.05 uses per ten thousand. This represents a significant increase from its rate of use in 2012; 2.38 uses per ten thousand words (figure 4.5). The dramatic rise in the level of use between the two years can be linked to the election in 2013 and thereby the opposition and the government using their positions in the parliament to advance their own rhetoric and narratives around climate change. Additionally, both parties campaigned on climate change policy as one of the major issues of the campaign with the Labor Government supporting its stance on climate change and the Liberal National Opposition arguing that it would repeal the vast majority of Australia's climate policies.

This argument is supported by the frequency data from the years 2012 to 2013 which saw a small rise in frequency of *climate* from 2 uses per ten thousand to 2.33 uses. While this rate of use is markedly down from the highs of the late-Rudd and Gillard governments of around 5 uses per ten thousand, it represents a significant increase in the rate of use and a renewed focus by the Federal Parliament on climate policy after falling to 2 uses in 2012. The increase in attention could be attributed to the sitting days of the House of Representatives in 2013: The lower house sat after the election, which meant that there was pressure from the new Abbott government to quickly repeal the Carbon Tax in order to fulfil their electoral mandate.

Collocation data provides for a deeper analysis as to how the language around *climate* was used in that year. The main collocate of *climate* in 2013 was *change* followed by *minister and action* (figure A1.13). This is in line with the political context of the time which would indicate that there was pressure on both sides and their respective cabinets and shadow cabinets to produce a plan and action on climate change. For the Coalition this type of language use may represent their pivot toward

their so-called ‘Direct Action Plan’, and for the ALP this would be seen a defence of their climate plans already in place.

While the top collocates of *climate* provide interesting data in indicating how the language shifts across each of the years within an era. The collocates which occur at a slightly lower rate below the top collocates represent subtle changes to the underlying way language is changing in relation to *climate* and climate discourse. Using the context of the Coalition attacks on the Carbon Tax as being anti-business, it is interesting to see that words such as *industry, energy, innovation, efficiency* and *environment* are all among the same level in terms of rate of occurrence around *climate* (figure A1.13). This is indicative of a transition in the rhetoric coming out of the House of Representatives as it returns to the language use of the early and mid-2000’s which placed a greater emphasis on a slow-and-steady approach to climate policy and action on climate change.

In the Senate the collocation data indicates that there was no distinct shift in the type of discourse being used in this chamber. As previously noted, the chamber of the Senate is less reflective of the public and to electoral cycles than the House of Representatives. The main collocates of *climate* in this year were *change, environment, senator* and *minister* (figure A1.131), displaying that the government was firmly trying to implement its policies on climate change, rather than signal any major changes to those policies through the language of the Senate.

This data is interesting as it indicates that the more dominant language coming out of the House is that of the Coalition who at the time sought to put pressure on the incumbent ALP government for being too directly involved in the energy sector and was therefore attempting to reframe the role of government as one of supporting business action on climate rather than direct government intervention. The type of collocation data shown and the further discussion on the way in which this has an impact on how climate change is discussed is in line with the political context of the election campaigns which were gearing up at the time. The Abbott opposition was consistently pressing the government for damaging the economy and business with the climate policies and was attempting to reset the debate around a pro-business agenda.

After 2013 there was a shift in Australian political trends, for the previous six years the Labor Party had dominated debate around climate changed and had used this authority to shape the discourse around moral values and direct action to address carbon emissions. As argued in the data, for this section there was a break in this trend with the election of Tony Abbott and the Coalition parties into government as they sought to return Australia to its pre-climate policy days. The type of debate conducted in this election and in the Parliament would reflect the growing tensions in the country and between the major parties that would become the focal point of Australia’s ongoing ‘Climate Wars’.

6.2 2014

The first full year of Liberal national party government since 2006 saw a distinct break in the policies of the previous government and the new government. The section on 2013 discussed the critical role that the repeal of the carbon tax and the subsequent rhetoric on the removal of climate and environmental policies played on helping the Abbott Opposition win the Federal election. 2014 saw the Abbott Government repeal the Emissions Trading Scheme, which it had branded a Carbon Tax and thus the data should reflect a high level of debate and shape of the climate change discourse in this year.

2014 data from the House of Representatives in relation to the frequency of use of *climate*, shows that there was a slight drop in the rate in which *climate* is used. 2013 had a rate of use of 2.33 per ten thousand with 2014 dropping 2.18 uses per ten thousand (figure 4.5). Using further frequency data which will be discussed in the ongoing sections it is possible that this drop in use indicates the start of a trend away from the prominence of climate policy discourse throughout this part of the political era. This drop in frequency aligns with the changes to the government of the time after the 2013 election, where in 2014 the Abbott government was able to repeal a large number of climate policies introduced by the previous government with a particular emphasis on the Carbon Tax which was repealed in July 2014 (2013 Australian Federal Election, 2021)

In the Senate there was a high rate of use of *climate* at 5.93 uses per ten thousand, indicating that there was a high level of debate about climate related issues in this chamber (figure 4.6). This can be attributed to the fact that the government needed the support of smaller minor parties to achieve the goal of repealing the ETS and thus needed to conduct more debate in this chamber to do so. Parallel to this the government controlled the majority of seats in the House of Representatives and was able to act unilaterally to remove this policy of the previous government.

Additional data from the Senate of the collocates of *climate* show that there was a focus on the mandate and the call for action to remove the Emissions Trading Scheme. The primary collocates in that year, *change, authority, we* and *action* (figure A1.141), show that there was a distinctly strong show of unified discourse around this issue with the government determined to remove the climate change legislation. The data also illustrates that there was little in the way of discussion or debate around future policies to address climate change by the government. This can be attributed to the fact that the coalition had been elected on a platform of removing the ETS and returning Australian policies to a pre-climate change debate discourse.

In a statement to the media after legislation to abolish the ETS had passed the House of Representatives, Prime Minister Tony Abbott said it showed the Government was "keeping its promise to scrap the carbon tax", (ABC News 2013). Framing his narrative as such; “This is about the commitment of the incoming Government, this is about rectifying a fundamental breach of faith with the Australian people following the 2010 election.".

It is therefore possible to conclude through the frequency data the once the Coalition government had been able to achieve its aim to remove climate legislation there was less and less emphasis placed on the role of climate change within the House of Representatives. This can also be seen in the collocation data for the same year which underlines how there was a transition away from climate change as a topic of importance through the terms which exist as its common collocates. As previously noted there are a number of terms such as *change, environment and action*, which more often than not occur near the top of all collocates of *climate* across most years. With major changes occurring slightly further down in data, what is remarkable about the 2014 year is that there are no strong collocates which occur with *climate*. The vast majority of collocates are either of a grammatical function or they are self-referential within the parliament such as *minister, house* and *policy*.

We conclude that the collocation data back up the assumptions made using the frequency data for the 2013/14 years that there was a direct shift away from substantive discourse on climate policy within the House of Representatives. This was replaced with a procedural based discourse predicated on the repealing of the Carbon Tax by the Abbott government, which did not seek to offer its own policy proposals to fill the gap left by the absence of a larger climate policy framework to shape national discourse.

6.3 2015

2015 was a tumultuous year in Australian federal politics with the ousting of first term Prime Minister Tony Abbott and his hard right conservative ideology, by ‘moderate’ Malcolm Turnbull. Though Malcolm Turnbull was a major proponent of the Rudd Government’s Emissions Trading Scheme in his stint as opposition leader, he was unable to bring climate change policies back to the forefront of Liberal National policy platforms. As will be further discussed in relation to the changes of the climate change narrative in the future, after the loss of the leadership by Turnbull the LNP government reverted further to its pre-2007 positions of climate change. Turnbull had lost his leadership of the Liberal Party in 2009 on the issue of climate change, where he argued that the Coalition parties should vote for the Rudd Government’s CPRS, and in doing so sought the ire of hard right members of the caucus and subsequently lost his leadership.

As the media noted in reflection a future Abbott Prime Minister in the making in his first day as liberal leader with the Australian Greens "voting with him to defeat Rudd's Carbon Pollution Reduction Scheme. This short-sighted tactical manoeuvre allowed Abbott to begin to build the momentum that has hamstrung long-term climate action for almost a decade. Had the CPRS passed the parliament in 2009, an emissions trading scheme would likely have been operating for some years before Abbott was able to become prime minister. And it's likely that Abbott would not have been able to build a platform to tear down such a large reform after that time." (Butler 2017). This signalled the approach which Tony Abbott would take in his time as Prime Minister four years later in fundamentally shifting the debate on climate change.

The ascension of Malcolm Turnbull to the leadership of the Coalition Government and subsequently as Prime Minister came after a period of great unwinding of Australia's climate change policies, marginally bi-partisan approach and its refusal of the (broad) global consensus on climate change. Crosby (2017) argues clearly that; "Abbott's repeal of all of Australia's climate change laws represented the first time any country had reversed a decision to place a price on carbon. It was a heavy blow, but one that had been clearly telegraphed". By contrast the rise of Malcolm Turnbull would likely have signalled a return to the carbon reduction policies of the previous decade, as his own words in 2009 state, "I will not lead a party that is not as committed to effective action on climate change as I am." (Turnbull 2009). As such it is expected that the data would show a small or moderate increase in the rate of use of *climate* between 2014 and 2015, this however was not the case.

The rate of use of *climate* between 2014 and 2015 fell against the growing tensions surrounding climate change policies in the country and in the Liberal National Government. In 2014 the rate of use of *climate* in the House of Representatives was 2.18 uses per ten thousand, in 2015 this fell to 1.38 in ten thousand, a significant reduction from the previous year (figures 4.5 and 4.6). It is possible and will be argued in the analysis of this section that due to a number of factors the data reflects that there was little thought or voice given to the issue of climate change by the government and thus its rate of use dropped. In contrast 2014 saw the Abbott Government finally achieve its desire to abolish the Emissions Trading scheme, which led to a large amount of debate in the chamber of the House of Representatives and thus maintained a certain rate of use in that year.

The fall in the rate of use of *climate* can also be seen in the data from the Senate of the same years. In 2014 the Senate's rate of use of *climate* was 5.93 uses per ten thousand which sharply fell to 2.28 uses in 2015. The decrease is similar to the level of use experienced in 2006 where the rate of use in the Senate was 2.3 and the incumbent Howard Government was attempting to unite the party around climate policy, without giving up major ideological or moral ground to right wing members of his party and to the Labor opposition. It is likely that the government of the day was attempting to

avoid a full scale debate of climate change due to the type of the debate around climate change policies in Australia in 'The Climate Wars' period.

Collocation data from the Senate shows that the shape of the Narrative in that year was stagnant and made no reference to climate change policies past or future in the major collocate of *climate* in 2015. *Change* (as has been noted throughout this thesis is typically the primary collocate), *environment, senator and minister* were the major collocates and thus show that there are no reference to any policies, simply as has been discussed in relation to these collocates the function of government business itself in focusing in the ministers and the implementations of previous legislation (figures A1.15 and A1.151). Additionally this data shows that the impact of a leader can only affect the level and the shape of the debate and narrative if the leader has a certain amount of authority over their party and by extension over their parliament.

The House of Representatives also experienced little change in the collocates of *climate* toward demarcating any specific policies or legislation. *Change, environment and minister* were the primary collocates of *climate* in 2014 and as such support the analysis that there was no discernible shift in policies of the government of the day, nor did the change in leadership have any major impact on the type of discourse around climate change.

Due to the rise of Malcolm Turnbull as Prime Minister and leader of the Liberal National Coalition parties in 2015, the previous analysis in this thesis and literature relating to the role a leader has on shaping the narrative indicated that there would be a degree of growth in the rate of use of *climate* between these two years. This was not the case, a major political factor may be the crucial reason as to why a climate active Prime Minister was not able to reinvigorate debate around climate change, nor significantly shift the type of narrative on the issue.

The nature of the Liberal National Coalition means that there is a certain amount of tension within the party over a number of issues. Rural and regional MPs and Senators from both parties argue heavily against climate change action both publically and privately and seek to ensure that there is government support for polluting industries such as manufacturing and fossil fuel power. In contrast the suburban and urban members of the coalition are more often in favour of market-based solutions to climate change and are opposed to more polluting industries. This has contributed to the lack of discussion around climate change in the coalition years as there is little to no appetite for incumbent Liberal Prime Ministers to challenge the status quo and thus risk their positions as leader. Furthermore the toxic nature of 'The Climate Wars' has led to heightened levels of vitriolic debate which it seems that as leader Malcolm Turnbull wished to avoid by pointedly not raising the issue of climate change policies in the parliament in 2015.

6.4 2016

The 2016 year and its Federal Election were regarded by members of the public and those in the media as one of the most important political events and critical junctions in modern Australian climate politics. This is mainly due to the fact that the incumbent coalition government had been in power for six years and had failed to deliver any form of comprehensive climate or environment policies and legislation. Climate change was not at the forefront of this election due to a number of factors with the majority of the debate being focused on healthcare, education and taxes by the two major parties. This can be contrasted with other elections such as the future 2019 between Bill Shorten and Scott Morrison where the LNP government ran on a vocal anti climate action platform, or the previous 2007 election where both Kevin Rudd and John Howard ran on different forms of direct action on climate change.

For these reasons we expect to see a significantly reduced rate of use of the term *climate* in 2016 as the two major parties were beginning to campaign on other issues of the day. A further discussion of the impact of the lack of policy from the government on climate change will be addressed in a future section of this chapter, as the effects of climate change begin to grow and the LNP government grows further stagnant in its response to climate change. Therefore this section will not feature a larger than average discussion on the data itself, however the lack of use of *climate* in relation to the Federal Election will be analysed in the political context of the time in conjunction with the rate of use and the collocates of *climate.*

In the House of Representatives the rate of use of *climate* fell to its lowest point in a decade with only 2000 – 2005 and the years in between having lower rates of use than 2016, at 1.21 uses per ten thousand. This is congruent with the previous analysis in the section relating to the Howard years and the 2007 Federal Election which states that climate change was not a prevalent issue in the minds of the broader Australian voting public before 2007. It is therefore possible to conclude that the shift away from climate change rhetoric by the two major parties was a concerted effort and did impact the debate conducted in the House of Representatives. In contrast to this, the term *Medicare* (the Australian public healthcare system) was used at a rate of 2.69 uses per ten thousand, indicating that there was a significant difference in the rates between *climate* and the focal issue of the 2016 Federal Election as seen in figure 4.5.

External data can be used to corroborate that of the House of Representatives with an SBS poll finding that “Medicare appears to be gaining the most traction, with 45 per cent of those polled saying it was among the most important issues for them in deciding which party or candidate to vote for.” (SBS 2016) while other policies such as “Superannuation policies followed closely behind at seven per cent, while environment policies were considered important by only 13 per cent of voters”.

Data from the Senate further serves to indicate that there was a distinct and concerted effort to shift the debate from climate change to other issues throughout the lead-up to and during the federal election. While the Senate experienced a marginal increase in the rate of use between 2015 and 2016, from 2.28 to 2.85 per ten thousand (figure 4.6). This level of use is significantly down from previous years and was the lowest rate of use since 2006/07 when the rate of use was 2.3 uses per ten thousand. This further indicates that the external political factors and actors were instrumental in shifting debate away from climate change in both chambers of the Australian parliament and toward other issues such as climate change.

Collocation data from the Senate and from the House of Representatives indicates that the shift experienced in the rate of use also had impacts in the types of language occurring around *climate* in 2016. The three main collocates of *climate* in the Senate were, *change, shadow and minister* indicating no clear change in the rhetoric other than that of implantation of existing policies as previously discussed in other sections. The House of Representatives data from the collocation of *climate* parallels that of the Senate, with the three main collocates in the House being *change, minister* and *shadow*. This again demonstrates that there was little focus on shifting the status quo of the narrative around climate change and that the majority of discourse was focused on other issues being debated by members of the House of Representatives.

The political evidence for this shift away from climate change can be seen in a number of quotes made by leaders of the major political parties and through voter polls conducted by media organisations. Leader of the Opposition in 2016 Bill Shorted stated this in his campaign launch address in 2016, “the Liberals have never liked Medicare, and they want to tear it down again. Medicare is not just another business, it is everyone's business. It belongs to all of us. It belongs in public hands. When you are in the fight of your life, when your family member is in the fight of their life, you need a government on your side, and we will be that government.” (SBS 2016). With an SBS poll showing that the enhanced rhetoric around Medicare and away from other issues was having a substantial effect on the thoughts and perceptions of voters, “freezing of the Medicare rebate, an issue that 76 per cent said they were concerned with. The cost of private health insurance was also important, with 79 per cent polled agreeing it was an issue. Voters were more concerned with a shortage of nursing home places (68 per cent) than whether or not wealthy individuals had equal access to Medicare and pharmaceutical benefits (52 per cent).” (SBS 2016).

The data from 2016 shows the value of using the triangulation of frequency analysis, collocation and political analysis, and the significance of absences of the word *climate*. Without attention to the political context there would be no way to adequately account for the lack of use of *climate* in this year

2016 starkly revealed the effects leaders and political parties can have on shaping the types of discourse around an issue as well as how prevalent that discourse is in the minds of voters. In framing the 2016 election around the Healthcare/Medicare narrative the type of discourse conducted inside the Chambers of Parliament shifted to reflect the wills of the political leaders and thus the perceptions of the general voting public shifted (2016 Australian Federal Election, 2021).

6.5 2017

The changes to the way climate policy discourse was conducted began to occur in 2017/18, when Prime Minister Turnbull began to signal the introduction of a new climate policy which in turn led to a hardening of anti-climate rhetoric from hard right elements of Australian Politics. The changes Turnbull sought to bring to the discourse of the LNP were overruled after his demise and the return of the Liberal party to a sceptical view of climate change and renewable energy. 2017 saw then Prime Minister and other key ministers in his government begin to launch the coalition's version of a climate change policy, the National Energy Guarantee. This policy was broadly aimed at tackling rising energy prices driven by growing failures in traditional carbon-based energy sources and a massive governmental failure to capture the benefits of green energy and energy storage capabilities. The NEG was the fourth iteration of a climate policy which had been proposed by the Coalition government since its election in 2013 and came to the forefront as large parts of the country began to feel the imminent effects of global warming on their daily lives.

From the context of political history and climate change discourse this move can be viewed as an attempt by the Coalition government to recover its traditional climate change framework which relied on the perception of regulation and technological investment to address climate change. This is in line with the successful strategy of Tony Abbott as opposition leader and Prime Minister with his signature Direct Action Plan policy. Due to these factors in the broader political context of the time this section is expected to see an increase in the rate of use of *climate* from 2016 to 2017 as there was a greater increase in climate change policy after the Federal Election (2016 Australian Federal Election, 2021). The political aim of the National Energy Guarantee (NEG) was to break the deadlock and the climate wars over climate policy, however as noted by journalist Katherine Murphy "Climate and energy policy is confusing, and it's been a toxic mess for more than a decade" (Murphy 2017), and the NEG did little to alter this state of affairs.

As was discussed in the introduction and methodology chapters, there will be no analysis of the 2017-2018 years in the senate, owing to a lack of parliamentary data from that period. However, brief mention will be made of previous trends in relation to other years and in conjunction with the data from the House of Representatives that potential patterns may be noted.

From 2016 to 2017 the rate of use of *climate* increased from 1.21 to 1.76 indicating that there was an increase in the interest in climate change policy and therefore an increase in climate change discourse in the Federal Parliament (figure 4.5). The increase in the rate of use shows that as previously argued in the Rudd-Gillard sections of this chapter that an increased legislative focus on the issue of climate change can and does translate to an increase in the rate of use for the term *climate* in the Federal Parliament.

The introduction of the National Energy Guarantee into the lexicon of federal parliamentarians and the discourse of the Federal Parliament can be seen in the changes in the collocation data from 2017. *Change, shadow* and *energy* were the three main collocates of *climate* in the 2016 corpus and thus show that there was a distinct shift toward shaping the rhetoric of climate change around energy and consumer energy prices (figure A1.17 and figure A1.171). As noted in other sections relating to the Coalition years in government, there is a district type of discourse and rhetoric conducted by the LNP which seeks to create a passive framework through which action on climate change is viewed. This type of rhetoric can be evidenced in collocates of *climate* such as "energy" as it seeks to place the emphasis of climate change on energy prices and stability rather than the moral-active framework and discourse favoured by the Australian Labor Party.

While there is no data from the Senate in 2017 available to this thesis at the time of writing. It would be expected that the data followed similar trends of previous eras and follow those of the House of Representatives. An increase in the rate of use of *climate* in that chamber would be expected, as would a shift in the collocation data. It is impossible to 100% correctly predict the size and shape of these shift, though previous evidence would indicate that an increase in the rate of use in this chamber would be more pronounced than that in the House of Representatives. Additionally, the collocation data would likely follow the same pattern and move to a more energy and technology shape of discourse.

2017 begins to change the shape of the data from the previous years of the Coalition era, where climate change debate was broadly seen as a toxic issue and thus there was a systematic reduction in the use of *climate* in the Federal Parliament. This can be seen in the data between 2013 and 2016 where the rate of use of *climate* dropped from 2.33 to 1.21 uses per ten thousand. The changing trends can be attributed to a number of political factors and realities such as; an increase in global political pressure, domestic energy prices, internal LNP pressures and a change from Tony Abbott (hard right) to Malcolm Turnbull (soft right) in the LNP leadership. It is these factors that allow us to understand that the changes to the size and the shape of the data are not spontaneous events within the corpus, rather they are calculated changes made by political actors and institutions designed to reshape the narrative to suit the political goals.

6.6 2018 and future

2018 was a highly tumultuous and unstable year in Australian federal politics. The undermining and eventual coup d'état of Prime Minister Malcolm Turnbull by right-wing elements of the Liberal Party ensured a year of instability and policy fluctuations within the government. In relation to climate change and energy to the dumping of Prime Minister Turnbull and the introduction of Scott Morrison as the Prime Minister ensured that the moderate (if ineffective) NEG was dumped as the national climate change response policy. In turn the resultant ideological shift from Turnbull to Morrison, from Moderate to Right-wing of the Liberal party resulted in a more hard-line and climate-sceptical government. In this section we expect to see a number of parallels with the Howard government between 2005 and 2007 where climate change and environment policy became a rising issue.

In changing Prime Minister, the LNP government would give a greater platform to those with fringe and unscientific views on climate change, environmental science and the need to tackle climate change as an existential issue. Members of the Federal Parliament such as Craig Kelly (Member for the Division of Hughes) would use their platform to sow disinformation and use their leverage as members of a divided party and a government with a small majority to attempt to change the nature of discourse around climate change and the government's overarching policies to combat climate change and emissions.

The instability in government policy and its attempt to pass a semblance of the NEG before it was 'dumped' as official government policy can be seen in the way the government attacked energy company AGL for its closure of a power station. At the same time as this, members of the government were backing further investment into renewable energy while other members were vocally calling for the government to step in and build new coal-fired power stations. This contentious debate, following the rules and norms of previous years' analysis would indicate that there will be an increase between 2017 and 2018 in the rate of use of *climate* and that additionally there will be further shifts in the type of collocates experienced as the type of discourse changes.

In 2017 the rate of use of *climate* was 1.78 uses per ten thousand, this increased in 2018 to 1.99 uses per ten thousand, signalling a return in the level of interest in climate change policy by the coalition government (figure 4.5). As discussed, this increase can be mainly attributed to the introduction of the National Energy Guarantee and its subsequent debate in the House of Representatives. The trends experienced in 2016 – 2017 – 2018 mirror those which occurred for the Coalition government in 2005 – 2006 – 2007 where climate change policies where gaining traction in the minds of the Australian public and by extension in the media sphere.

The situation in the House of Representatives echoes that which occurred in the later years of the Howard Government, whereby a long term incumbent coalition government which had avoided climate change policy as a flagpole issue was grappling with its inability to reconcile its party wings. Examining the trend further in the context of the political stances of the time by the two major political parties, the opposition Labor party was positioning itself much the same way as it did in 2007. This position by the Labor party under the leadership of Bill Shorten presented itself as the reformist and climate tackling government-in-waiting announcing large scale investment into renewable energy and into efforts to combat climate change.

In unveiling the policy of the Labor party Bill Shorten argued that 'too much time had been lost in the climate and energy wars of the past decade and governments needed to act, not only to safeguard communities against the impact of global warming but also create the industries of the future' (Jericho 2018). The sentiment in these words echoes that of Labor in 2007 whereby they were positioned as the part of direct action on climate change, taking a direct moralistic discourse to the public, arguing for the 'great moral challenge of our time'.

The contrast in types of discourse around climate change can be seen in the response by the ten Minister for Energy and Environment Angus Taylor who states that, "If Labor is committed to those targets, they need to explain which businesses are going out of business in Australia. They need to explain which cattle, how many cattle are going to go. They need to explain which aluminium smelters and refineries are going to shut. They need to explain which fertiliser factories, which cement factories are going to shut." (Jericho 2018). Again, this shifts the discourse back to the traditional focus of the Coalition regarding climate change (which has been business- and economic-oriented) as something which will be negatively impacting businesses.

Collocation data in 2018 shows that this is reflected in the types of collocates which occur around *climate* in that year. *Change, shadow, energy and minister* were the four main collocates of *climate* in 2018, indicating that there was no distinct shift from the discourse of the previous year, with the majority of rhetorical focus going to ensuring that the discourse of climate change was shrouded in energy and the impacts on both the environment and on energy prices. This again reflects on the 2005 strategy of negating the moral and existential arguments for action on climate change where the words *protocol, Kyoto* and *avoiding* where the main collocates for that year.

While there is no data from the Senate in 2018, as noted in previous chapters it is possible to examine the previous trends and argue where those trends are moving when the data becomes available. Given the rise in the rate of use of *climate* between 2015 and 2016, it is expected that this rise would continue throughout 2017 and 2018, which would be concurrent with that of the House of Representatives. It is broadly impossible to argue which collocates would be the main collocates of

climate for that year, it is likely that given the stasis in the discourse in the House of Representatives the data from the Senate would follow the same trends and remain in line with coalition policy.

In this discussion the final year of the period under analysis, a cyclical pattern has emerged whereby the coalition parties while in government and controlling the discourse of the House of Representatives and in part the Senate, aim to shift the discourse to one of passive responses to climate change. Contrast to this is that of the Labor party while in government who attempt to frame the issue as one of moral action and of opportunity at the expense of government capital output.

In 2018 the coalition government attempted to reset its discourse around climate change and in doing so return to the Howard period approach of undertaking as little direct action as possible while attempting to use indirect strategies. After a summary of the three eras of the 21st century, a discussion of 2019 through to 2021 will take place in the next section and will detail how massive external factors impacted the changes in the discourse and the media narrative around climate change, while further international pressure throughout 2020 and 2021 would force Australia to review its stance on emissions reductions targets.

6.7 2018 – 2019

Due to the lack of full data for these years, this thesis will use the data from previous years in combination with the political events of the time to provide a brief discussion of this critical period of climate change discourse.

The 2018 - 2019 period saw a number of changes in Australia both politically and environmentally which has served to transition the type language surrounding the debate on climate action. 2018 saw the end of the Turnbull government through a Liberal leadership spill, with a number of voices in the media stating that this was due to the fact that as Prime Minister, Malcolm Turnbull had attempted to introduce new climate legislation in the form of the National Energy Guarantee (The NEG) in order to reset the type of discourse conducted regarding energy and climate policy. The transition stage of the era also contains the 2018 Liberal Leadership spill which saw the demise of the Turnbull period and the introduction of Scott Morrison as Australia's seventh Prime Minister in the 21st century. 2018 is the final year in this thesis which is covered by the Hansard data, thus after this year a discussion will occur following the previous trends and the up-to-date political analysis of the time.

In shifting leaders from Malcolm Turnbull - who was seen as a more moderate voice of the centre-right - to Scott Morrison - a hardliner Christian conservative, it is probable that this period will see a shift away from rhetoric on climate action towards more sceptical rhetoric toward climate change science. This is in line with the literature discussed in Chapter 2 highlighting how the change

in leaders and the relative strength of that leader can have a major impact in the conduct and thus the formation of discourse around and issue.

Data from the House of Representatives shows that there was a slight uptick in the rate of use from the levels seen in 2017, increasing from 1.78 uses per ten thousand words to 1.99 uses. As noted above it is possible that this slight rise in the rate of use can be attributed to the renewed focus on climate change policy albeit through the lens of energy policy. This shift in the data represents the beginning of a shift in the trends in the salience of climate change discourse within the House of Representatives as the rates of use experienced in 2017/18 and onward begin to rise from the low points of the previous era. In understanding this shift in the trend it is possible to view this as the beginning or transition period of a new type Australian political discourse around climate change policy.

Collocation data provides a method through which it is possible to understand the ways in which climate change discourse shifted into a new era. This period consists of dumping the National Energy Guarantee (NEG) and returning to a type of discourse which seeks to mitigate the threat of climate change and its impacts on the planet. *Change, shadow, energy and minister* were the major collocates of *climate* in 2018, highlighting that while there was a focus on energy as a prisms of climate change policy there was no real direction in the type of narrative being constructed by the government.

After his ascension to the Prime Ministership, Scott Morrison announced the NEG would be shelved from the government's agenda, with the media coverage around the issue stating that the NEG "had been shelved indefinitely because he could not proceed with it in the face of opposition from within his own party." (The Guardian 2018). A month after the shelving of the National Energy Guarantee the Prime Minister declared "The NEG is dead, long live reliability guarantee, long live default prices, long live backing new power generation", largely, we are in that position already anyway, so it's not a major shift. But we just need to put to rest any suggestion that this legislation is going ahead." (The Guardian 2018).

The combination of the political analysis through the context discussed and the corpus data it is possible to more thoroughly discuss the changes in the language of the House of Representatives and the active choices made by the government of the day to shape that language. As the Prime Minister himself stated, the NEG is dead is reflected in the type of data shown as it does not indicate that there is any shift in the narrative to create a new climate policy nor to engage that policy in any meaningful way. Only through the triangulation of the three types of analysis was it possible to gain insight into the full context of the changes to the language, as it can be seen that the three types of analysis reflect back at one another enhancing all three.

A lack of cohesive or of any major climate change policy continued throughout 2018 to 2019, with the major focus of the narrative being that the Coalition government's lack of any overall policy. This can be exemplified in the campaign of 2019 which saw the LNP parties once again (as in 2013) campaign on a platform of being anti-action on climate change to contrast themselves to the Labor party's pro climate action messaging. The extreme lack of meaningful policy was further highlighted during the unusually early opening of the 2019 bushfire season, which went on to ravage vast swathes of Australia's east coast and central tablelands. During this time [many experts] and politicians all decried the lack of climate change preparedness or policies. Due to this major critical juncture in 2019 – 2020 and others in 2020 – 2021 and onward it is impossible to predict how the trends in the data will behave, and how they will or will not respond to the perceived changes in public sentiment

Chapter Seven

The Great Climate Strawman: Technology or Taxes?

7.1 Conclusion

In concluding this thesis a discussion into the role of leaders and their rhetoric demonstrates how the research question has been answered, as well as highlighting future research which would contribute to our ongoing understanding of political and parliamentary rhetoric. The discussion will address the period of Australian political history which has become known as the 'Climate Wars', and will discuss the ongoing impact this rhetorical debate has had on the Australian political system.

The role of political leaders in Australia (i.e. leaders of political parties) is to be the main proponent of their party's message to the Australian public. In doing so, the leader must try and shape their discourse around their policies in a way that suits their political and electoral agenda. The rhetoric employed by political leaders and by extension their party members' influences the type of discourse around climate change in Australia to ultimately serve the interests of the party. As seen in this thesis through the Hansard Records, the language around climate change has shifted dramatically throughout the 21st century in Australia. Leaders have used their rhetoric to transform the language to moralist, to technological, to international pressure as the driving points of climate action/inaction. The Howard government sought to use its rhetoric as exemplified through the leader to respond to perceived and real international pressure for countries to take larger and larger steps to act on climate change. Conversely the Rudd-Gillard governments sought to get ahead of public pressure and argued that climate change was a moral issue, and it was therefore the moral duty of the Australian people to act on climate change. Turning to the later years of the first and second decades of the century, climate change became a political weapon use to divide the public, ferment culture wars and to stymie any change of climate action, so one party could retain power over another.

Using the data from the house and the senate tracking the Frequency of *climate* over the years from 2000, this section unites the analysis from the analyses deployed in the preceding chapters, showing how leaders have a direct impact on the type of discourse conducted in the Federal Parliament. The impact of leaders' rhetoric has led climate policy to become a series of battles which have become known as Australia's 'Climate Wars'. 'Climate Wars' is a term use by individuals or groups within the Australian parliamentary and political areas as a way to describe the increased factionalism and polarisation of the climate change debate. During this period, ideological struggles between the two major parties (with the Greens and the National Party contributing) has come to dominate scientific and policy-based debate as it has occurred in other countries.

As analysed in Chapters 4-6, there have been three distinct phases in the climate change debate and the type of discourse used in that debate within the context of the Australian parliamentary system. The first phase consists mainly of the Howard years and ends with the election of Kevin Rudd and the assumption of a (short lived) bipartisan approach to energy and climate change polices through an Emissions Trading Scheme.

This first phase was notable for the lack of relative importance climate changed played in the language and, indeed, the policy of the Howard government in the Parliament, as noted in the analysis contained in chapter 4. In fact, between 2000 and 2005/06 the rate of use for *climate* did not exceed one in every ten thousand uses. Moreover, Chapter 4 also noted that there was little domestic pressure for the government of the day to change the way that they discussed climate change and climate change policies or indeed the frequency to which they discussed at all.

As discussed by McDonnell (Baker, 2020) he notes that the Howard's stance on climate change significantly shifted in the lead up to the 2007 election, stating "He shifted in part, I think, in response to the climate science ... He was prepared to tackle these issues" and "Climate change hadn't become the issue so deeply entrenched in the right [side of politics] at the time, that it later was to become". It is this centrist narrative which came to dominate approximately two years of the climate change debate in Australia between 2007 and 2009.

The period from 2007 to 2013 is typified by the drastic increase in the frequency of use from the period of time between 2000 and 2007. The rate of use of *climate* peaked in 2009 for both the House of Representatives and the Senate. This was discussed in depth in chapter 5, in the context of the 'Climate War' narrative in Australian history, the 2009 crescendo occurs in parallel with the introduction and the subsequent defeat of the Emissions Trading scheme in the Federal Parliament. The rate of use for *climate* in the House of Representatives in 2009 was 5.49 per ten thousand with the Senate recording a rate of 8.75 uses per ten thousand. This is directly correlated with the high point of the early stages of the 'Climate Wars' wherein the Rudd government was attempting to pass its emissions trading legislation. After the split between the Australian Labor Party and the Liberal-National Coalition on climate change policy under Tony Abbott, the Coalition in collusion with the Greens used their numbers in the Federal Parliament to kill of the Emissions Trading scheme, which the leader of the government of the day, Kevin Rudd had received a popular mandate from the Australian public to undertake. This signalled the beginning of a transformation of the climate change debate from a bipartisan policy and mechanism based debate to one divided along the ideological grounds of the parties involved.

Subsequently, throughout most of the 2010s (i.e. the Abbott, Turnbull and Morrison governments for the Coalition), we witness a consistent slide from the highs of 2009 through peaks and troughs in the following years, to a low in the House of Representatives in 2016. The political

narrative of the time is in line with the rise of the hard-line conservatism championed by former Opposition leader (and subsequently Prime Minister) Tony Abbott, who ran on a plan in the 2013 election of abolishing a vast number of the climate and environment protections enacted by the Gillard Government and removing the Mining Super profits Tax and the Carbon Tax. It is this hard-line stance against climate action that began to fuel a consistent and vocal outbreak of climate change denialism in the Australian political and media landscape.

Throughout the 21st century, climate policy has bedevilled both major political parties in Australia. For the Labor party this has meant balancing the views and needs of their Union-oriented manufacturing base in the suburbs of the major cities and region Australia, and the ultra-urban moderate-to-high income voters. In the case of the Liberal and National parties (Coalition) the influences of more and more extreme conservative views are challenging the remanent of traditional liberalism. During its period of opposition from 2013 to the present day (2021) the Labor party has reconciled its wings of the party through a campaign of economic benefits of action on climate change as their core discourse and narrative. This sits in contrast to the Liberal and National parties, which returned to their rhetoric of past leaders in the 21st century and sought to double down on their discourse of little to no action on climate change. This means that the rhetoric of the 'climate wars' in Australian politics has not broadly changed since its start point at the beginnings of the Rudd government, and is set to continue into the future.

7.2 Future Research

Due to the timing of the research and the available data at hand, this thesis was not able to cover fully the impacts of the Black Summer fires on the type of discourse conducted in the parliament then and subsequently. While this event was covered in Chapter 4 in relation to previous trends and how these trends may change based on the events of that summer, there is no evidence as yet to analyse in terms of parliamentary discourse.

2020 was dominated by two pivotal events in the socio-political history of Australia and of the world. The first was a largely domestic event which garnered media coverage across the world, that of the Bushfires. The second event which encompassed the world was that of the Coronavirus pandemic (SARSCov-2 or Covid-19) which spread from the Wuhan province in China throughout the world. Into March and April (and beyond) 2020 the virus had its epicentres in western-Europe and the United States with Australia along with the rest of the world enacting vast and rigorous social distancing measures.

It is because of these two events that the trends discussed in the previous section might not be carried over into these years, as there was a significant shift in the socio-political context at this time.

It will not be possible for this thesis to fully dissect how these events changed the discourse around climate change, given the relative closeness to this period (which is still unfolding). The analysis of these two years takes into account the drastic changes that occurred in mid-late 2019 and into 2020 as part of the framework of the discussion, given that it will not be fully possible to determine the outcome of these events for some time. Additionally, it is important to note that the sitting year in 2020 has been severely truncated in terms of both the allotted sitting days and the number of members permitted in the chamber at each time, which will have an effect on the raw data and thus the results.

Transitioning from the staunch conservative ideology of the Abbott years and the reactionary right wing of the Turnbull years sets the stage for a new political era in climate discourse. The defining feature in climate discourse from 2019 – 2020 was the occurrence of the Black Summer series of bushfires which raged from September 2019 through to February 2020, devastating vast swathes of Australia and damaging ecosystems and ecology across the country. It is possible that the Black Summer fires will be viewed as a crucial juncture in a historical era. This is because they may signify a shift in public sentiment and political discourse on the issue of climate change, shaping a new era through which discourse is carried out. It is not possible yet to use the same corpus linguistic techniques, given that there have been comparatively very few parliamentary sitting days since the fires. Additionally, the transition to a new era of climate discourse will require a number of years of data in order to analyse whether the discourse has entered into a new era or if 2020 will be an anomaly following the fires.

The Covid-19 outbreak in early 2020 spread across the world in the months to follow and dominated every aspect of life and media. The Black Summer bushfires were predicted to be the overarching new narrative of 2020, with the lacklustre response from the Federal Government playing a large roll in how the discourse was to be shaped in the Federal Parliament. The viral outbreak has since dominated every aspect of life, thus tamping down the claims by those in political and media sphere that 2020 will be a pivotal juncture in climate history, rather, these changes to climate change discourse will most likely be overshadowed by the Covid-19 pandemic. The number of sitting days of the Federal Parliament has further been reduced due to travel restrictions implemented to slow the outbreak of the virus.

Research such as this would play an important role in understanding the rhetoric of other political systems and thus foster greater international understanding and cooperation on politically contentious issues. The use of a triangulated methodology using Corpus Linguistics methods and political analysis means that there is a wide applicability and thus this method and form of analysis has the opportunity to help researchers understand political debate in highly politicised environments. The years 2020 - 2021 had been argued by some [who] as a potential focal point of a transition to a

new way in which discourse would be carried out regarding cc. Further research will determine whether this hypothesis will hold true given the complex events of 2020 – 2021.

Appendix 1
Collocation Data
2000

Climate

Freq: 178 Collocates: 45

Index	Status	Position	Collocate	▼ Stat	Freq (coll.)	Freq (corp...
1	O	L	the	124.0	124	490013
2	O	R	and	74.0	74	166213
3	O	R	of	66.0	66	229560
4	O	L	in	63.0	63	153791
5	O	L	a	51.0	51	126665
6	O	R	change	50.0	50	2347
7	O	L	to	38.0	38	224826
8	O	L	that	32.0	32	142778
9	O	R	for	23.0	23	83383
10	O	L	on	23.0	23	53531
11	O	R	is	17.0	17	112182
12	O	R	which	16.0	16	23651
13	O	L	this	15.0	15	64725
14	O	L	economic	14.0	14	2363
15	O	R	has	14.0	14	35538
16	O	L	by	12.0	12	36527
17	O	L	investment	12.0	12	1343
18	O	L	global	10.0	10	469
19	O	R	australia	9.0	9	14960
20	O	L	our	9.0	9	12323
21	O	R	we	9.0	9	41270
22	O	M	an	8.0	8	24970
23	O	R	be	7.0	7	50875
24	O	R	have	7.0	7	53517
25	O	R	negotiations	7.0	7	314
26	O	R	research	7.0	7	3052
27	O	M	as	6.0	6	39114
28	O	L	create	6.0	6	692
29	O	L	current	6.0	6	2458
30	O	R	growth	6.0	6	1495
31	O	M	international	6.0	6	2408
32	O	M	was	6.0	6	34139
33	O	R	where	6.0	6	7380
34	O	L	with	6.0	6	35491
35	O	R	are	5.0	5	48492
36	O	R	budget	5.0	5	3593
37	O	R	it	5.0	5	66553
38	O	L	kyoto	5.0	5	45
39	O	L	or	5.0	5	23031
40	O	L	political	5.0	5	1956
41	O	L	question	5.0	5	9559
42	O	R	right	5.0	5	3488
43	O	L	weather	5.0	5	136
44	O	L	will	5.0	5	37948
45	O	R	would	5.0	5	20662

Figure A1.0 Collocation data – House of Representatives 2000

Climate

Freq: 167 Collocates: 44

Index	Status	Position	Collocate	▼ Stat	Freq (coll.)	Freq (corp...
1	O	L	the	134.0	134	437598
2	O	R	change	99.0	99	1935
3	O	L	of	70.0	70	199414
4	O	R	and	53.0	53	146494
5	O	L	in	50.0	50	129109
6	O	L	to	50.0	50	202675
7	O	L	on	47.0	47	49878
8	O	L	a	33.0	33	107610
9	O	R	is	24.0	24	100189
10	O	L	convention	21.0	21	590
11	O	M	that	20.0	20	135126
12	O	M	this	20.0	20	56268
13	O	L	for	19.0	19	62675
14	O	R	we	18.0	18	37424
15	O	R	bill	17.0	17	15262
16	O	R	implement...	16.0	16	775
17	O	R	1999	14.0	14	4476
18	O	R	have	14.0	14	46803
19	O	R	which	13.0	13	20629
20	O	L	international	12.0	12	2166
21	O	L	warming	12.0	12	126
22	O	R	are	11.0	11	41683
23	O	R	senator	11.0	11	45726
24	O	R	australia	10.0	10	12353
25	O	R	negotiations	10.0	10	391
26	O	L	will	9.0	9	31128
27	O	R	as	8.0	8	36359
28	O	L	australia's	8.0	8	1703
29	O	M	by	8.0	8	32623
30	O	R	at	7.0	7	21801
31	O	R	has	7.0	7	31426
32	O	L	impacts	7.0	7	296
33	O	R	not	7.0	7	48549
34	O	L	about	6.0	6	15376
35	O	M	be	6.0	6	48659
36	O	L	framework	6.0	6	602
37	O	L	global	6.0	6	469
38	O	L	very	6.0	6	10958
39	O	R	also	5.0	5	8842
40	O	L	create	5.0	5	454
41	O	L	current	5.0	5	2233
42	O	L	future	5.0	5	1970
43	O	R	it	5.0	5	59863
44	O	R	where	5.0	5	6404

Figure A1.02 Collocation data – Senate 2000

Collocation Data

2000

Climate

Freq: 178 Collocates: 45

Index	Status	Position	Collocate	▼ Stat	Freq (coll.)	Freq (corp...
1	O	L	the	124.0	124	490013
2	O	R	and	74.0	74	166213
3	O	R	of	66.0	66	229560
4	O	L	in	63.0	63	153791
5	O	L	a	51.0	51	126665
6	O	R	change	50.0	50	2347
7	O	L	to	38.0	38	224826
8	O	L	that	32.0	32	142778
9	O	R	for	23.0	23	83383
10	O	L	on	23.0	23	53531
11	O	R	is	17.0	17	112182
12	O	R	which	16.0	16	23651
13	O	L	this	15.0	15	54725
14	O	L	economic	14.0	14	2363
15	O	R	has	14.0	14	35538
16	O	L	by	12.0	12	36527
17	O	L	investment	12.0	12	1343
18	O	L	global	10.0	10	469
19	O	R	australia	9.0	9	14960
20	O	L	our	9.0	9	12323
21	O	R	we	9.0	9	41270
22	O	M	an	8.0	8	24970
23	O	R	be	7.0	7	50875
24	O	R	have	7.0	7	53517
25	O	R	negotiations	7.0	7	314
26	O	R	research	7.0	7	3052
27	O	M	as	6.0	6	39114
28	O	L	create	6.0	6	692
29	O	L	current	6.0	6	2458
30	O	R	growth	6.0	6	1495
31	O	M	international	6.0	6	2408
32	O	M	was	6.0	6	34139
33	O	R	where	6.0	6	7380
34	O	L	with	6.0	6	35491
35	O	R	are	5.0	5	48492
36	O	R	budget	5.0	5	3593
37	O	R	it	5.0	5	66553
38	O	L	kyoto	5.0	5	45
39	O	L	or	5.0	5	23031
40	O	L	political	5.0	5	1955
41	O	L	question	5.0	5	9559
42	O	R	right	5.0	5	3488
43	O	L	weather	5.0	5	136
44	O	L	will	5.0	5	37948
45	O	R	would	5.0	5	20662

Figure A1.0 Collocation data – House of Representatives 2000

Climate

Freq: 167 Collocates: 44

Index	Status	Position	Collocate	▼ Stat	Freq (coll.)	Freq (corp...
1	O	L	the	134.0	134	437598
2	O	R	change	99.0	99	1935
3	O	L	of	70.0	70	199414
4	O	R	and	53.0	53	146494
5	O	L	in	50.0	50	129109
6	O	L	to	50.0	50	202675
7	O	L	on	47.0	47	49878
8	O	L	a	33.0	33	107610
9	O	R	is	24.0	24	100189
10	O	L	convention	21.0	21	590
11	O	M	that	20.0	20	135126
12	O	M	this	20.0	20	56268
13	O	L	for	19.0	19	62675
14	O	R	we	18.0	18	37424
15	O	R	bill	17.0	17	15262
16	O	R	implement...	16.0	16	775
17	O	R	1999	14.0	14	4476
18	O	R	have	14.0	14	46803
19	O	R	which	13.0	13	20629
20	O	L	international	12.0	12	2166
21	O	L	warming	12.0	12	126
22	O	R	are	11.0	11	41683
23	O	R	senator	11.0	11	45726
24	O	R	australia	10.0	10	12353
25	O	R	negotiations	10.0	10	391
26	O	L	will	9.0	9	31128
27	O	R	as	8.0	8	36359
28	O	L	australia's	8.0	8	1703
29	O	M	by	8.0	8	32623
30	O	R	at	7.0	7	21801
31	O	R	has	7.0	7	31426
32	O	L	impacts	7.0	7	296
33	O	R	not	7.0	7	48549
34	O	L	about	6.0	6	15376
35	O	M	be	6.0	6	48659
36	O	L	framework	6.0	6	602
37	O	L	global	6.0	6	488
38	O	L	very	6.0	6	10968
39	O	R	also	5.0	5	8842
40	O	L	create	5.0	5	454
41	O	L	current	5.0	5	2233
42	O	L	future	5.0	5	1970
43	O	R	it	5.0	5	59863
44	O	R	where	5.0	5	6404

Figure A1.02 Collocation data – Senate 2000

2001

Climate

Freq: 137 Collocates: 37

Index	Status	Position	Collocate	▼ Stat	Freq (coll.)	Freq (corpus)
1	O	L	the	111.0	111	380929
2	O	L	in	63.0	63	118102
3	O	R	change	62.0	62	1651
4	O	L	of	45.0	45	177693
5	O	R	and	41.0	41	129006
6	O	L	a	39.0	39	96696
7	O	L	to	37.0	37	174179
8	O	R	is	26.0	26	84358
9	O	R	that	23.0	23	112538
10	O	L	on	19.0	19	42190
11	O	R	which	15.0	15	17554
12	O	R	we	12.0	12	34750
13	O	R	are	11.0	11	36790
14	O	L	current	11.0	11	1768
15	O	R	has	10.0	10	28583
16	O	R	it	10.0	10	51623
17	O	L	this	10.0	10	49365
18	O	L	as	9.0	9	29545
19	O	R	have	9.0	9	42886
20	O	M	greenhouse	8.0	8	172
21	O	R	was	8.0	8	28871
22	O	L	about	7.0	7	15160
23	O	L	an	7.0	7	20187
24	O	L	economic	7.0	7	1647
25	O	L	issues	7.0	7	2801
26	O	R	more	7.0	7	8762
27	O	L	global	6.0	6	402
28	O	R	government	6.0	6	22910
29	O	R	if	6.0	6	11072
30	O	L	like	6.0	6	5032
31	O	L	panel	6.0	6	107
32	O	R	they	6.0	6	27359
33	O	R	where	6.0	6	5434
34	O	R	be	5.0	5	36560
35	O	R	for	5.0	5	63656
36	O	L	international	5.0	5	1809
37	O	R	or	5.0	5	17630

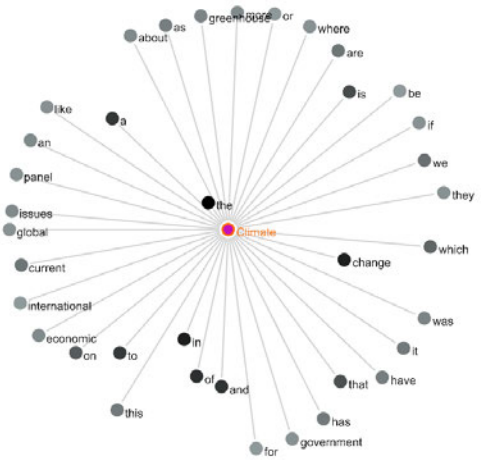


Figure A1.1 Collocation data – House of Representatives 2001

Climate

Freq: 251 Collocates: 80

Index	Status	Position	Collocate	▼ Stat	Freq (coll.)	Fre
1	O	L	the	197.0	197	328
2	O	R	change	185.0	185	155
3	O	R	and	100.0	100	112
4	O	L	of	94.0	94	150
5	O	L	to	90.0	90	152
6	O	L	on	69.0	69	382
7	O	L	in	67.0	67	991
8	O	L	a	47.0	47	800
9	O	R	is	36.0	36	717
10	O	R	that	30.0	30	991
11	O	L	convention	23.0	23	554
12	O	L	for	21.0	21	474
13	O	L	impacts	19.0	19	241
14	O	R	australia	17.0	17	106
15	O	L	about	15.0	15	107
16	O	L	with	15.0	15	235
17	O	R	science	13.0	13	635
18	O	L	be	12.0	12	354
19	O	R	as	11.0	11	266
20	O	L	framework	11.0	11	508
21	O	L	issue	11.0	11	392
22	O	L	this	11.0	11	408
23	O	L	address	10.0	10	127
24	O	R	community	10.0	10	375
25	O	L	global	10.0	10	366
26	O	R	government	10.0	10	196
27	O	R	it	10.0	10	436
28	O	L	kyoto	10.0	10	305
29	O	R	there	10.0	10	151
30	O	R	we	10.0	10	276
31	O	M	world	10.0	10	196
32	O	L	current	9.0	9	170
33	O	R	greenhouse	9.0	9	63
34	O	R	issues	9.0	9	302
35	O	L	political	9.0	9	156
36	O	R	senator	9.0	9	322
37	O	R	but	8.0	8	126
38	O	L	by	8.0	8	251
39	O	M	has	8.0	8	235
40	O	R	have	8.0	8	351
41	O	L	international	8.0	8	191
42	O	L	protocol	8.0	8	421
43	O	R	an	7.0	7	178
44	O	L	australia's	7.0	7	161
45	O	R	bill	7.0	7	127
46	O	R	its	7.0	7	661

Figure A1.11 Collocation data – Senate 2001

2002

Climate

Freq: 360 Collocates: 113

Index	Status	Position	Collocate	▼ Stat	Freq (coll.)	Freq (corp.
1	O	L	the	264.0	264	497734
2	O	R	change	193.0	193	2288
3	O	L	of	134.0	134	230336
4	O	R	and	127.0	127	172719
5	O	L	to	123.0	123	229218
6	O	L	in	106.0	106	151958
7	O	L	a	81.0	81	125208
8	O	R	that	69.0	69	140955
9	O	R	is	67.0	67	108542
10	O	L	on	52.0	52	52832
11	O	L	for	41.0	41	85233
12	O	R	it	32.0	32	65024
13	O	R	we	27.0	27	45237
14	O	L	this	26.0	26	64988
15	O	R	have	24.0	24	53207
16	O	R	i	22.0	22	65544
17	O	L	an	21.0	21	25149
18	O	L	current	20.0	20	2594
19	O	L	global	20.0	20	623
20	O	R	has	20.0	20	34425
21	O	R	as	19.0	19	39586
22	O	L	issue	19.0	19	5280
23	O	R	not	18.0	18	45772
24	O	R	will	18.0	18	33590
25	O	L	with	18.0	18	37293
26	O	L	be	17.0	17	48889
27	O	L	our	17.0	17	17003
28	O	L	about	16.0	16	17826
29	O	L	government	14.0	14	26547
30	O	R	are	13.0	13	48588
31	O	L	impact	13.0	13	1615
32	O	L	protocol	13.0	13	392
33	O	R	at	12.0	12	25061
34	O	L	industrial	12.0	12	1603
35	O	L	kyoto	12.0	12	399
36	O	R	was	12.0	12	33308
37	O	R	action	11.0	11	2737
38	O	R	australia	11.0	11	14922
39	O	L	do	11.0	11	16245
40	O	R	greenhouse	11.0	11	566
41	O	L	tackle	11.0	11	140
42	O	R	which	11.0	11	21420
43	O	L	cities	10.0	10	339
44	O	L	international	10.0	10	2849
45	O	R	protection	10.0	10	2338
46	O	R	they	10.0	10	32186

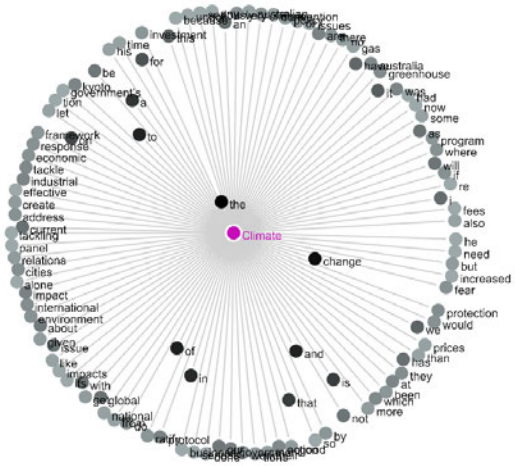


Figure A1.2 Collocation data – House of Representatives 2002

Climate

Freq: 218 Collocates: 69

Index	Status	Position	Collocate	▼ Stat	Freq (coll.)	Freq (corp.
1	O	L	the	168.0	168	375247
2	O	R	change	136.0	136	1549
3	O	L	of	97.0	97	177571
4	O	R	and	73.0	73	131526
5	O	L	in	73.0	73	112156
6	O	L	on	56.0	56	43831
7	O	L	to	49.0	49	181222
8	O	L	a	40.0	40	96453
9	O	R	that	34.0	34	118517
10	O	R	is	23.0	23	96328
11	O	R	it	18.0	18	52767
12	O	R	for	15.0	15	57352
13	O	L	this	15.0	15	49022
14	O	R	are	14.0	14	35495
15	O	L	convention	14.0	14	537
16	O	R	as	13.0	13	32206
17	O	R	by	13.0	13	27770
18	O	L	current	13.0	13	2208
19	O	M	australian	12.0	12	11569
20	O	L	no.	11.0	11	4225
21	O	R	or	11.0	11	21037
22	O	L	was	11.0	11	25186
23	O	L	environment	10.0	10	1945
24	O	L	impacts	10.0	10	299
25	O	L	kyoto	10.0	10	120
26	O	R	variability	10.0	10	14
27	O	R	we	10.0	10	32786
28	O	R	australia	9.0	9	10620
29	O	L	economic	9.0	9	1252
30	O	L	effects	9.0	9	371
31	O	L	framework	9.0	9	579
32	O	L	from	9.0	9	19279
33	O	L	global	9.0	9	431
34	O	L	meeting	9.0	9	1358
35	O	R	be	8.0	8	44156
36	O	R	fear	8.0	8	274
37	O	M	national	8.0	8	4869
38	O	L	political	8.0	8	1924
39	O	L	question	8.0	8	3953
40	O	L	industry	7.0	7	4958
41	O	L	not	7.0	7	41685
42	O	R	over	7.0	7	4960
43	O	R	very	7.0	7	9356
44	O	R	will	7.0	7	25225
45	O	R	with	7.0	7	28855
46	O	R	workshop	7.0	7	63

Figure A1.21 Collocation data – Senate 2002

2003

Climate

Freq: 349 Collocates: 101

Index	Status	Position	Collocate	▼ Stat	Freq (coll.)	Freq (corp...
1	O	L	the	259.0	259	552336
2	O	R	change	183.0	183	2469
3	O	L	of	145.0	145	270984
4	O	R	and	117.0	117	200337
5	O	L	to	106.0	106	258503
6	O	L	in	98.0	98	172865
7	O	L	a	89.0	89	142210
8	O	R	that	73.0	73	157240
9	O	R	is	72.0	72	125318
10	O	L	on	66.0	66	60941
11	O	R	we	41.0	41	47137
12	O	R	have	29.0	29	58569
13	O	L	this	26.0	26	72444
14	O	R	for	23.0	23	96746
15	O	L	global	23.0	23	871
16	O	R	it	22.0	22	73151
17	O	L	an	19.0	19	29542
18	O	R	are	19.0	19	53661
19	O	R	has	19.0	19	42121
20	O	L	international	19.0	19	3858
21	O	R	as	18.0	18	43399
22	O	L	by	17.0	17	40578
23	O	L	current	17.0	17	3174
24	O	L	kyoto	17.0	17	211
25	O	L	protocol	15.0	15	350
26	O	R	there	15.0	15	26330
27	O	R	which	15.0	15	23863
28	O	R	with	15.0	15	42195
29	O	L	about	14.0	14	20761
30	O	R	australia	13.0	13	17446
31	O	R	be	12.0	12	54324
32	O	L	government	12.0	12	32837
33	O	L	our	12.0	12	18497
34	O	R	at	11.0	11	28654
35	O	R	i	11.0	11	66141
36	O	R	not	10.0	10	53660
37	O	L	panel	10.0	10	191
38	O	L	from	9.0	9	28973
39	O	R	good	9.0	9	4223
40	O	R	more	9.0	9	13876
41	O	R	through	9.0	9	7930
42	O	R	will	9.0	9	39404
43	O	L	australian	8.0	8	18543
44	O	R	business	8.0	8	5028
45	O	M	climate	8.0	8	349
46	O	L	convention	8.0	8	483
47	O	L	do	8.0	8	17838

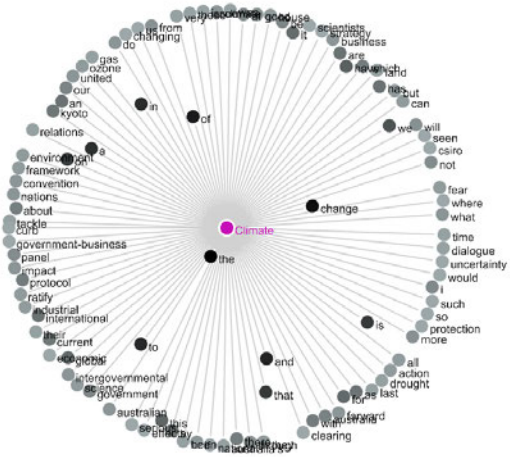


Figure A1.3 Collocation data – House of Representatives 2003

Climate

Freq: 316 Collocates: 105

Index	Status	Position	Collocate	▼ Stat	Freq (coll.)	Freq (corp...
1	O	L	the	223.0	223	445428
2	O	R	change	185.0	185	1984
3	O	R	and	119.0	119	159297
4	O	L	to	109.0	109	207675
5	O	L	of	89.0	89	207951
6	O	L	in	83.0	83	128255
7	O	L	a	68.0	68	111216
8	O	R	is	62.0	62	97049
9	O	L	on	60.0	60	52776
10	O	R	that	53.0	53	129298
11	O	R	for	32.0	32	58944
12	O	L	this	32.0	32	54122
13	O	M	with	22.0	22	33938
14	O	L	international	18.0	18	2808
15	O	R	action	17.0	17	3032
16	O	R	australia	17.0	17	13681
17	O	R	it	17.0	17	58287
18	O	M	climate	16.0	16	316
19	O	L	global	16.0	16	848
20	O	R	has	16.0	16	33146
21	O	R	are	15.0	15	41193
22	O	R	have	14.0	14	45402
23	O	R	we	14.0	14	35902
24	O	R	an	13.0	13	22648
25	O	R	be	13.0	13	48377
26	O	L	current	13.0	13	2897
27	O	R	was	13.0	13	29093
28	O	R	as	12.0	12	35370
29	O	M	will	12.0	12	29458
30	O	L	australia's	11.0	11	2457
31	O	R	i	11.0	11	50282
32	O	R	which	11.0	11	18418
33	O	L	greenhouse	10.0	10	524
34	O	L	panel	10.0	10	290
35	O	M	practical	10.0	10	424
36	O	L	protocol	10.0	10	447
37	O	L	world's	10.0	10	237
38	O	R	by	9.0	9	33269
39	O	L	kyoto	9.0	9	290
40	O	R	not	9.0	9	46722
41	O	L	paper	9.0	9	1228
42	O	R	there	9.0	9	19123
43	O	R	through	9.0	9	5828
44	O	R	where	9.0	9	6133
45	O	L	impacts	8.0	8	338
46	O	L	our	8.0	8	10091

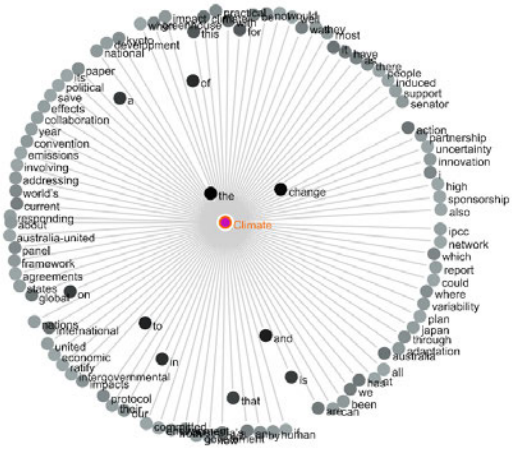


Figure A1.31 Collocation data – Senate 2003

2004

Climate

Freq: 357 Collocates: 121

Index	Status	Position	Collocate	▼ Stat	Freq (coll.)	Freq (cor
1	O	L	the	272.0	272	434929
2	O	R	change	260.0	260	2164
3	O	L	of	126.0	126	210348
4	O	R	and	109.0	109	156900
5	O	L	to	99.0	99	201335
6	O	L	in	91.0	91	135746
7	O	R	is	71.0	71	99219
8	O	R	that	69.0	69	128234
9	O	L	a	60.0	60	113974
10	O	L	on	60.0	60	47999
11	O	R	this	31.0	31	57242
12	O	R	for	29.0	29	79422
13	O	R	we	28.0	28	38605
14	O	R	i	23.0	23	55993
15	O	R	it	22.0	22	59215
16	O	R	have	21.0	21	47176
17	O	M	by	20.0	20	30696
18	O	M	climate	20.0	20	357
19	O	R	as	19.0	19	33696
20	O	R	will	19.0	19	31268
21	O	R	water	18.0	18	3375
22	O	L	about	17.0	17	16778
23	O	L	our	17.0	17	14074
24	O	R	australia	16.0	16	13165
25	O	R	has	16.0	16	31240
26	O	M	not	16.0	16	42497
27	O	R	which	16.0	16	19511
28	O	L	with	15.0	16	32120
29	O	R	are	15.0	15	42170
30	O	R	from	15.0	15	23188
31	O	L	kyoto	14.0	14	259
32	O	L	environment	13.0	13	1661
33	O	L	global	13.0	13	534
34	O	L	international	13.0	13	2070
35	O	L	no	13.0	13	9735
36	O	R	action	12.0	12	17165
37	O	L	an	12.0	12	22944
38	O	L	issue	12.0	12	4222
39	O	R	issues	12.0	12	3322
40	O	R	be	11.0	11	42576
41	O	L	more	11.0	11	11233
42	O	L	protocol	11.0	11	293
43	O	L	current	10.0	10	2270
44	O	R	government	10.0	10	27571
45	O	R	strategy	10.0	10	799
46	O	R	they	10.0	10	30182

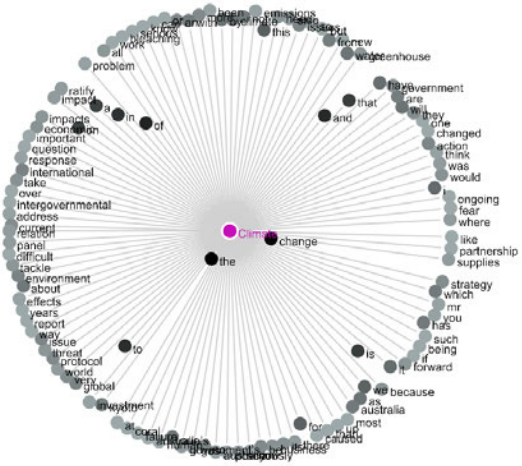


Figure A1.4 Collocation data – House of Representatives 2004

Climate

Freq: 221 Collocates: 62

Index	Status	Position	Collocate	▼ Stat	Freq (coll.)	Freq (corp
1	O	R	change	162.0	162	1685
2	O	L	the	128.0	128	345321
3	O	R	and	87.0	87	122765
4	O	L	of	79.0	79	160110
5	O	L	to	70.0	70	162028
6	O	L	in	58.0	58	100621
7	O	R	is	51.0	51	76451
8	O	L	on	46.0	46	41229
9	O	L	a	42.0	42	85275
10	O	R	that	32.0	32	101944
11	O	R	it	20.0	20	46447
12	O	L	are	16.0	16	32599
13	O	R	as	16.0	16	28339
14	O	R	for	15.0	15	53914
15	O	L	global	15.0	15	391
16	O	L	an	13.0	13	18482
17	O	R	we	13.0	13	30416
18	O	L	with	13.0	13	25616
19	O	L	about	11.0	11	12180
20	O	L	address	11.0	11	1407
21	O	R	i	11.0	11	38027
22	O	L	environment	10.0	10	2201
23	O	R	not	10.0	10	38418
24	O	R	this	10.0	10	43398
25	O	R	australia	9.0	9	11441
26	O	R	its	9.0	9	7301
27	O	R	which	9.0	9	15237
28	O	L	convention	8.0	8	533
29	O	L	framework	8.0	8	545
30	O	R	have	8.0	8	35348
31	O	R	issues	8.0	8	3206
32	O	R	government	7.0	7	22166
33	O	L	our	7.0	7	8038
34	O	R	senator	7.0	7	27654
35	O	L	united	7.0	7	2427
36	O	R	water	7.0	7	1737
37	O	R	world	7.0	7	1976
38	O	L	action	6.0	6	1931
39	O	R	australia's	6.0	6	2144
40	O	M	be	6.0	6	37914
41	O	M	climate	6.0	6	221
42	O	L	efforts	6.0	6	360
43	O	L	nations	6.0	6	512
44	O	R	no.	6.0	6	4189
45	O	L	risk	6.0	6	998
46	O	L	adaptation	5.0	5	9

Figure A1.41 Collocation data – Senate 2004

2005

Climate

Freq: 661 Collocates: 194

Index	Status	Position	Collocate	▼ Stat	Freq (coll.)	Freq (corp.
1	O	R	change	490.0	490	2716
2	O	L	the	431.0	431	516334
3	O	R	and	202.0	202	196679
4	O	L	of	197.0	197	252555
5	O	L	to	172.0	172	237555
6	O	R	is	144.0	144	113001
7	O	L	a	140.0	140	135208
8	O	L	in	123.0	123	166677
9	O	L	that	120.0	120	142990
10	O	L	on	109.0	109	57913
11	O	L	for	60.0	60	98451
12	O	L	dangerous	52.0	52	314
13	O	R	are	51.0	51	60376
14	O	R	protocol	50.0	50	491
15	O	R	kyoto	48.0	48	535
16	O	L	avoiding	45.0	45	104
17	O	R	it	45.0	45	65959
18	O	R	we	41.0	41	43544
19	O	R	as	39.0	39	40338
20	O	R	bill	37.0	37	16932
21	O	R	i	36.0	36	62711
22	O	R	not	36.0	36	49254
23	O	L	our	36.0	36	16411
24	O	L	by	35.0	35	37325
25	O	M	climate	34.0	34	661
26	O	L	with	31.0	31	38878
27	O	L	global	29.0	29	967
28	O	R	this	28.0	28	66958
29	O	L	•	28.0	28	1707
30	O	R	be	27.0	27	49569
31	O	L	convention	26.0	26	443
32	O	L	framework	25.0	25	684
33	O	L	un	25.0	25	1808
34	O	R	will	25.0	25	38764
35	O	R	have	24.0	24	53966
36	O	L	address	23.0	23	2483
37	O	R	australia	23.0	23	16545
38	O	R	ratification	23.0	23	66
39	O	R	but	22.0	22	29296
40	O	R	has	22.0	22	16256
41	O	R	there	22.0	22	23910
42	O	R	which	22.0	22	21394
43	O	L	about	21.0	21	19442
44	O	L	international	21.0	21	2578
45	O	L	clean	20.0	20	299
46	O	L	partnership	20.0	20	433

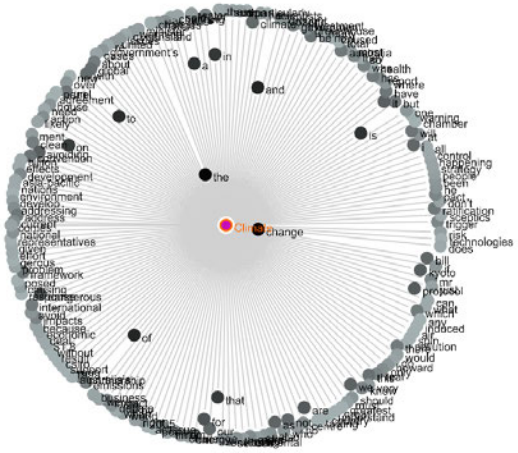


Figure A1.5 Collocation data – House of Representatives 2005

Climate

Freq: 386 Collocates: 124

Index	Status	Position	Collocate	▼ Stat	Freq (coll.)	Freq (corpu
1	O	R	change	268.0	268	1973
2	O	L	the	239.0	239	377543
3	O	L	to	133.0	133	181714
4	O	R	and	124.0	124	148985
5	O	L	of	126.0	126	180165
6	O	L	in	99.0	99	113978
7	O	R	is	79.0	79	96792
8	O	L	a	77.0	77	97527
9	O	L	on	71.0	71	45335
10	O	L	that	55.0	55	115090
11	O	L	for	42.0	42	53715
12	O	R	it	27.0	27	51807
13	O	L	as	24.0	24	31451
14	O	R	will	24.0	24	28375
15	O	R	are	23.0	23	36140
16	O	R	we	23.0	23	34069
17	O	R	senator	22.0	22	31735
18	O	R	australia	21.0	21	13162
19	O	L	with	21.0	21	29361
20	O	L	partnership	20.0	20	302
21	O	R	this	20.0	20	48944
22	O	L	by	19.0	19	27103
23	O	L	development	18.0	18	2099
24	O	R	not	18.0	18	41981
25	O	L	clean	16.0	16	209
26	O	R	be	15.0	15	41212
27	O	R	i	15.0	15	47738
28	O	L	an	14.0	14	20561
29	O	R	has	13.0	13	26132
30	O	R	have	13.0	13	41348
31	O	L	convention	12.0	12	376
32	O	L	global	12.0	12	513
33	O	R	which	12.0	12	16035
34	O	L	address	11.0	11	1568
35	O	L	framework	11.0	11	504
36	O	L	senate	11.0	11	20482
37	O	R	was	11.0	11	26169
38	O	L	world	11.0	11	2220
39	O	L	addressing	10.0	10	330
40	O	L	impacts	10.0	10	208
41	O	R	into	10.0	10	7322
42	O	L	minister	10.0	10	21719
43	O	R	pact	10.0	10	88
44	O	L	about	9.0	9	14142
45	O	L	at	9.0	9	18979
46	O	L	from	9.0	9	19521
47	O	R	its	9.0	9	7806

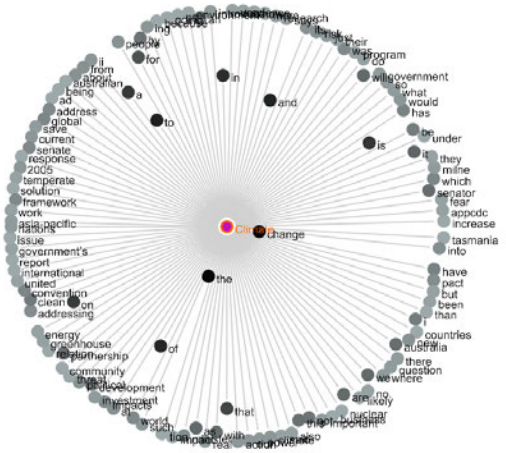


Figure A1.51 Collocation data – Senate 2005

2006

Climate

Freq: 1,401 Collocates: 409

Index	Status	Position	Collocate	▼ Stat	Freq (coll.)	Freq (corp.
1	O	R	change	1214.0	1214	3599
2	O	L	the	881.0	881	533131
3	O	L	to	436.0	436	249385
4	O	L	of	434.0	434	264609
5	O	R	is	374.0	374	123386
6	O	R	and	370.0	370	200892
7	O	L	in	258.0	258	171407
8	O	L	on	250.0	250	59552
9	O	L	a	244.0	244	140200
10	O	L	that	238.0	238	154496
11	O	R	it	132.0	132	72499
12	O	R	we	125.0	125	48999
13	O	R	are	89.0	89	53102
14	O	R	this	89.0	89	73944
15	O	R	not	85.0	85	52522
16	O	L	about	80.0	80	20853
17	O	L	for	78.0	78	102817
18	O	R	have	77.0	77	58851
19	O	R	will	70.0	70	39791
20	O	R	as	67.0	67	42910
21	O	R	has	67.0	67	38641
22	O	R	i	67.0	67	71537
23	O	R	mr	66.0	66	25018
24	O	M	climate	64.0	64	1401
25	O	L	government	62.0	62	33269
26	O	R	be	61.0	61	54546
27	O	L	dangerous	59.0	59	516
28	O	R	our	59.0	59	19151
29	O	R	australia	52.0	52	18161
30	O	M	by	52.0	52	38985
31	O	R	which	51.0	51	23263
32	O	L	issue	49.0	49	5364
33	O	L	with	49.0	49	40077
34	O	L	global	48.0	48	1145
35	O	L	from	45.0	45	28253
36	O	L	action	44.0	44	1922
37	O	R	was	40.0	40	34362
38	O	R	but	39.0	39	22095
39	O	L	address	37.0	37	2489
40	O	L	impact	37.0	37	1966
41	O	R	an	36.0	36	28934
42	O	L	at	34.0	34	28415
43	O	R	there	34.0	34	25844
44	O	L	avoid	33.0	33	407
45	O	R	he	32.0	32	18132
46	O	L	when	31.0	31	13409

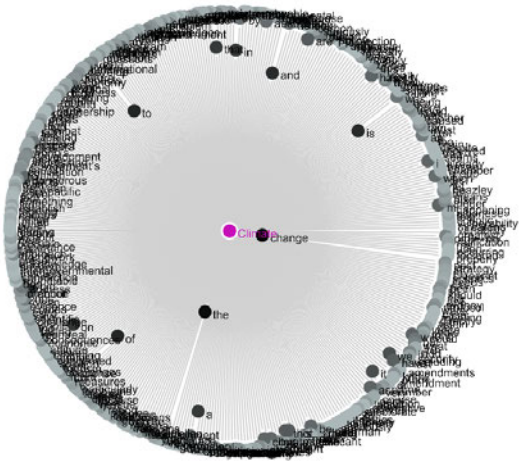


Figure A1.6 Collocation data – House of Representatives 2006

Climate

Freq: 1,391 Collocates: 383

Index	Status	Position	Collocate	▼ Stat	Freq (coll.)	Freq (corpus)
1	O	R	change	1218.0	1218	3203
2	O	L	the	818.0	818	389294
3	O	L	to	496.0	496	187361
4	O	L	of	463.0	463	185227
5	O	R	and	430.0	430	149697
6	O	R	is	313.0	313	90159
7	O	L	on	272.0	272	45760
8	O	L	a	239.0	239	100434
9	O	L	that	239.0	239	120130
10	O	L	in	238.0	238	116816
11	O	R	we	155.0	155	35101
12	O	L	with	110.0	110	30556
13	O	R	it	108.0	108	53965
14	O	L	not	105.0	105	42925
15	O	L	about	92.0	92	14835
16	O	R	are	91.0	91	38059
17	O	L	for	91.0	91	66474
18	O	R	have	89.0	89	41315
19	O	L	as	75.0	75	31999
20	O	R	has	72.0	72	26660
21	O	R	i	69.0	69	49833
22	O	L	dangerous	67.0	67	373
23	O	R	senator	66.0	66	31115
24	O	R	be	65.0	65	42921
25	O	L	our	59.0	59	9251
26	O	L	address	58.0	58	1736
27	O	R	will	54.0	54	27009
28	O	M	energy	52.0	52	2259
29	O	R	they	51.0	51	22993
30	O	L	impacts	50.0	50	429
31	O	R	this	50.0	50	50349
32	O	L	action	47.0	47	2037
33	O	R	you	46.0	46	14523
34	O	L	by	44.0	44	29465
35	O	L	if	43.0	43	12357
36	O	M	climate	42.0	42	1391
37	O	L	issue	42.0	42	4525
38	O	R	australia	41.0	41	12917
39	O	R	or	40.0	40	21231
40	O	L	government	39.0	39	24475
41	O	R	what	39.0	39	15792
42	O	R	which	37.0	37	17065
43	O	L	its	36.0	36	14749
44	O	L	global	36.0	36	718
45	O	R	policy	36.0	36	3362
46	O	L	serious	36.0	36	1360
47	O	R	there	35.0	35	18959

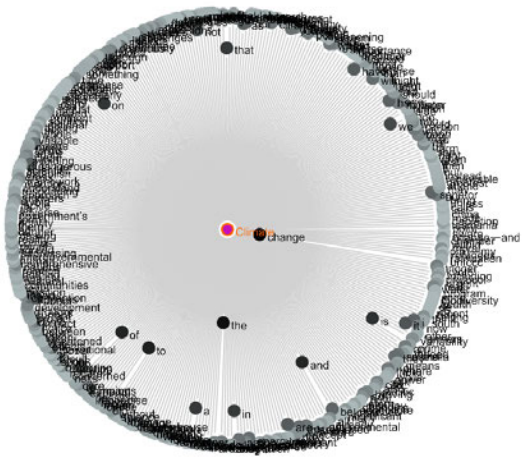


Figure A1.61 Collocation data – Senate 2006

2007

Climate

Freq: 2,565 Collocates: 685

Index	Status	Position	Collocate	▼ Stat	Freq (coll.)	Freq (corp
1	O	R	change	2403.0	2403	4013
2	O	L	the	1541.0	1541	378114
3	O	L	of	826.0	826	181149
4	O	L	to	795.0	795	176159
5	O	R	and	771.0	771	142257
6	O	L	on	565.0	565	41089
7	O	R	is	505.0	505	87399
8	O	L	a	419.0	419	98154
9	O	L	that	412.0	412	109167
10	O	L	in	404.0	404	120735
11	O	L	for	281.0	281	74643
12	O	R	we	233.0	233	35758
13	O	R	it	198.0	198	51223
14	O	L	about	169.0	169	14720
15	O	R	not	162.0	162	36197
16	O	R	are	152.0	152	37422
17	O	R	have	146.0	146	42569
18	O	M	climate	144.0	144	2565
19	O	R	has	143.0	143	28693
20	O	R	this	140.0	140	48951
21	O	L	government	137.0	137	25338
22	O	R	as	136.0	136	29161
23	O	L	with	135.0	135	29041
24	O	R	mr	127.0	127	15888
25	O	R	I	121.0	121	47638
26	O	L	minister	115.0	115	20001
27	O	R	will	110.0	110	30234
28	O	R	be	106.0	106	37317
29	O	R	by	105.0	105	26636
30	O	L	issue	93.0	93	3567
31	O	R	water	86.0	86	4601
32	O	R	was	81.0	81	24770
33	O	L	global	78.0	78	1112
34	O	R	our	76.0	76	12913
35	O	L	do	71.0	71	13190
36	O	R	they	69.0	69	25448
37	O	L	address	67.0	67	1705
38	O	R	which	67.0	67	16192
39	O	L	australian	66.0	66	13247
40	O	L	challenge	66.0	66	639
41	O	R	an	65.0	65	19538
42	O	R	there	64.0	64	18552
43	O	L	action	63.0	63	1467
44	O	R	at	62.0	62	19933
45	O	R	australia	62.0	62	14489
46	O	R	pm)—my	62.0	62	899

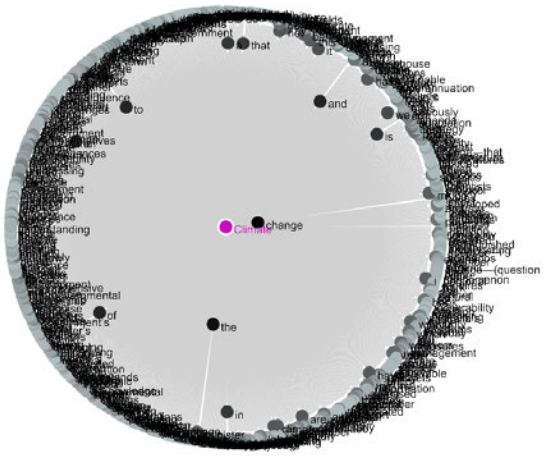


Figure A1.7 Collocation data – House of Representatives 2007

Climate

Freq: 2,471 Collocates: 642

Index	Status	Position	Collocate	▼ Stat	Freq (coll.)	Freq (cc
1	O	R	change	2258.0	2258	3677
2	O	L	the	1523.0	1523	288212
3	O	L	of	895.0	895	132787
4	O	L	to	825.0	825	140647
5	O	R	and	787.0	787	111093
6	O	R	is	543.0	543	66934
7	O	L	on	521.0	521	33421
8	O	L	that	486.0	486	88411
9	O	L	a	394.0	394	73518
10	O	M	in	392.0	392	84249
11	O	R	we	232.0	232	26956
12	O	L	for	217.0	217	49186
13	O	R	it	206.0	206	39848
14	O	R	are	198.0	198	28862
15	O	R	not	194.0	194	30448
16	O	L	about	170.0	170	11259
17	O	R	has	164.0	164	19888
18	O	L	as	147.0	147	23847
19	O	L	with	136.0	136	22874
20	O	R	have	131.0	131	30272
21	O	R	be	130.0	130	33279
22	O	R	will	128.0	128	22374
23	O	R	this	126.0	126	37059
24	O	L	government	119.0	119	20101
25	O	R	I	119.0	119	34515
26	O	R	senator	115.0	115	22099
27	O	L	by	109.0	108	20939
28	O	L	issue	106.0	106	3418
29	O	L	impact	102.0	102	1352
30	O	R	our	86.0	86	7111
31	O	L	minister	77.0	77	15179
32	O	L	impacts	76.0	76	377
33	O	R	but	73.0	73	11506
34	O	R	they	73.0	73	17034
35	O	L	global	71.0	71	764
36	O	R	which	68.0	68	12627
37	O	L	from	67.0	67	14476
38	O	M	climate	66.0	66	2471
39	O	L	action	64.0	64	1403
40	O	R	he	62.0	62	8595
41	O	L	address	61.0	61	1251
42	O	R	ment	60.0	60	3895
43	O	R	an	59.0	59	15586
44	O	R	there	59.0	59	13897
45	O	L	been	58.0	58	12210
46	O	R	refugees	58.0	58	206

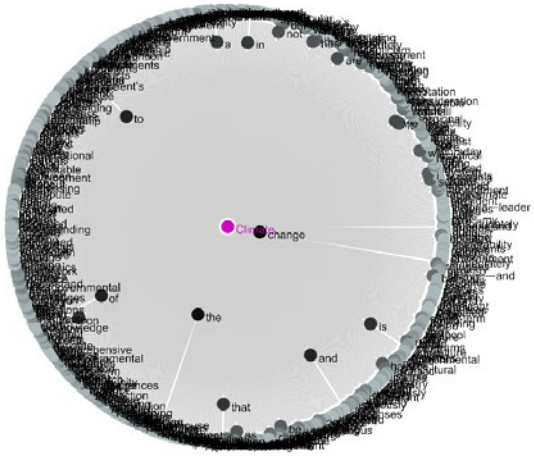


Figure A1.71 Collocation data – Senate 2007

2008

Climate

Freq: 2,568 Collocates: 635

Index	Status	Position	Collocate	▼ Stat	Freq (coll.)	Freq (corp...
1	○	R	change	2296.0	2296	4672
2	○	L	the	1778.0	1778	542965
3	○	R	and	1083.0	1083	219486
4	○	L	of	930.0	930	261157
5	○	L	to	820.0	820	252667
6	○	L	for	501.0	501	102734
7	○	R	is	491.0	491	121971
8	○	L	in	483.0	483	173223
9	○	L	on	435.0	435	62405
10	○	L	that	381.0	381	154731
11	○	L	a	357.0	357	145648
12	○	L	minister	346.0	346	23116
13	○	R	water	272.0	272	4566
14	○	R	we	268.0	268	58176
15	○	R	it	181.0	181	74615
16	○	R	i	180.0	180	74248
17	○	R	are	167.0	167	53071
18	○	L	with	157.0	157	42806
19	○	L	about	153.0	153	22116
20	○	R	this	130.0	130	73566
21	○	R	have	125.0	125	57924
22	○	L	not	123.0	123	45583
23	○	R	environment	121.0	121	2003
24	○	R	as	120.0	120	43226
25	○	R	be	96.0	96	51913
26	○	L	by	96.0	96	36095
27	○	L	our	96.0	96	22813
28	○	L	science	95.0	95	941
29	○	R	will	93.0	93	46993
30	○	L	global	86.0	86	3198
31	○	R	they	86.0	86	40101
32	○	L	research	85.0	85	1938
33	○	L	government	82.0	82	37728
34	○	M	climate	80.0	80	2568
35	○	L	shadow	79.0	79	5251
36	○	R	has	78.0	78	33965
37	○	R	which	78.0	78	23455
38	○	L	from	73.0	73	28730
39	○	R	was	72.0	72	41835
40	○	R	mr	71.0	71	18494
41	○	L	issue	67.0	67	4337
42	○	L	challenge	65.0	65	1178
43	○	L	tackling	64.0	64	295
44	○	L	tackle	62.0	62	485
45	○	R	an	58.0	58	27912
46	○	L	challenges	57.0	57	1567
47	○	R	but	56.0	56	21678

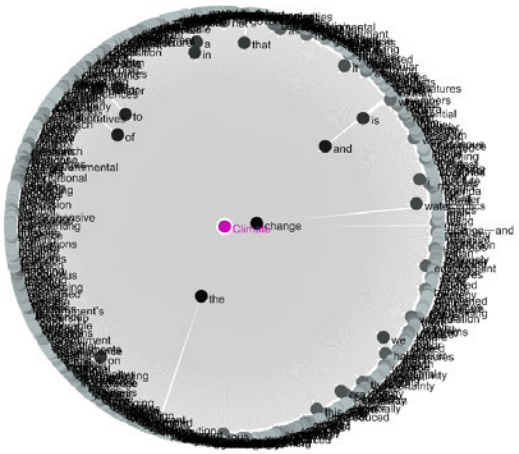


Figure A1.8 Collocation data – House of Representatives 2008

Climate

Freq: 2,610 Collocates: 586

Index	Status	Position	Collocate	▼ Stat	Freq (coll.)	Freq (cor
1	○	R	change	2323.0	2323	3989
2	○	L	the	1531.0	1531	331470
3	○	R	and	1306.0	1306	130796
4	○	L	to	838.0	838	160572
5	○	L	of	830.0	830	151716
6	○	L	for	778.0	778	57738
7	○	L	minister	619.0	619	16280
8	○	R	water	568.0	568	4727
9	○	R	is	414.0	414	73642
10	○	L	on	391.0	391	41031
11	○	L	in	369.0	369	99534
12	○	L	wong	352.0	352	1015
13	○	L	that	343.0	343	100815
14	○	L	australia	293.0	293	12244
15	○	L	a	280.0	280	85988
16	○	L	south	277.0	277	3822
17	○	R	we	255.0	255	35567
18	○	R	senator	228.0	228	31542
19	○	R	are	162.0	162	33214
20	○	R	it	149.0	149	44345
21	○	R	be	124.0	124	37011
22	○	L	with	124.0	124	29267
23	○	L	as	123.0	123	28176
24	○	R	have	119.0	119	36096
25	○	R	will	117.0	117	28090
26	○	R	pm)—i	111.0	111	2168
27	○	R	not	110.0	110	33024
28	○	L	by	106.0	106	23435
29	○	R	i	101.0	101	47687
30	○	R	this	101.0	101	43463
31	○	L	action	84.0	84	1531
32	○	L	department	80.0	80	2643
33	○	R	environment	79.0	79	1598
34	○	R	has	79.0	79	20057
35	○	L	about	77.0	77	12720
36	○	L	government	77.0	77	22938
37	○	R	they	72.0	72	22091
38	○	L	science	71.0	71	1033
39	○	L	research	68.0	68	1814
40	○	L	global	66.0	66	1497
41	○	L	our	66.0	66	9551
42	○	R	notice	65.0	65	2873
43	○	R	was	61.0	61	22959
44	○	L	shadow	58.0	58	3203
45	○	L	from	57.0	57	17337
46	○	R	an	55.0	55	15896

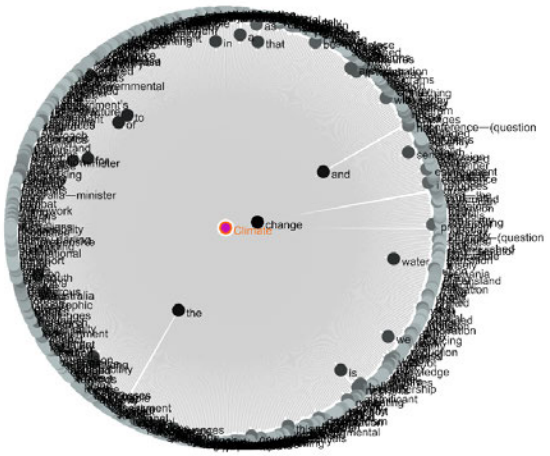


Figure A1.81 Collocation data – Senate 2008

2009

Climate

Freq: 4,622 Collocates: 965

Index	Status	Position	Collocate	▼ Stat	Freq (coll.)	Freq (corp...
1	O	R	change	4028.0	4028	6712
2	O	L	the	3444.0	3444	549140
3	O	R	and	1479.0	1479	222243
4	O	L	of	1461.0	1461	265264
5	O	L	to	1362.0	1362	259619
6	O	L	on	1064.0	1064	82134
7	O	L	for	963.0	963	106660
8	O	R	is	937.0	937	128963
9	O	L	in	835.0	835	181121
10	O	L	minister	773.0	773	23890
11	O	L	that	717.0	717	161012
12	O	L	a	617.0	617	144789
13	O	R	we	366.0	366	60736
14	O	R	are	339.0	339	59463
15	O	R	it	333.0	333	74999
16	O	R	water	313.0	313	3696
17	O	R	I	302.0	302	75728
18	O	L	action	287.0	287	2883
19	O	L	with	280.0	280	44220
20	O	R	this	278.0	278	78545
21	O	R	not	255.0	255	47522
22	O	R	will	225.0	225	52491
23	O	R	have	223.0	223	51751
24	O	R	as	220.0	220	45834
25	O	L	about	209.0	209	22769
26	O	L	by	187.0	187	38233
27	O	R	mr	178.0	178	18818
28	O	L	assisting	171.0	171	995
29	O	R	environment	166.0	166	2020
30	O	L	science	165.0	165	1507
31	O	R	has	164.0	164	35773
32	O	R	be	162.0	162	55188
33	O	L	secretary	161.0	161	3664
34	O	L	our	154.0	154	23029
35	O	R	they	144.0	144	42538
36	O	L	from	142.0	142	31407
37	O	R	there	136.0	136	27656
38	O	L	global	128.0	128	4804
39	O	L	impact	118.0	118	2968
40	O	R	at	117.0	117	29415
41	O	R	an	114.0	114	28265
42	O	L	impacts	114.0	114	557
43	O	R	was	114.0	114	37704
44	O	L	research	108.0	108	1917
45	O	R	government	105.0	105	33034
46	O	L	australian	102.0	102	15847
47	O	R	which	100.0	100	24030

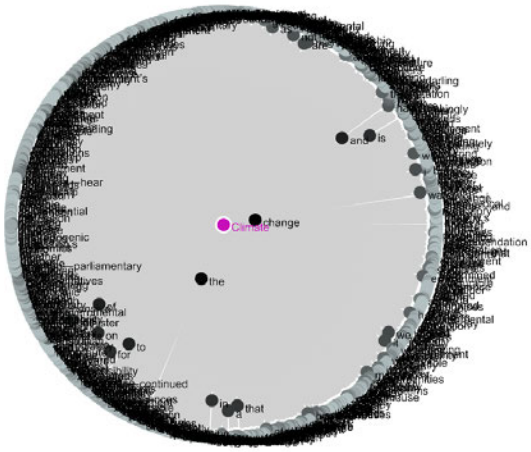


Figure A1.9 Collocation data – House of Representatives 2009

Climate

Freq: 4,953 Collocates: 1,003

Index	Status	Position	Collocate	▼ Stat	Freq (coll.)	Fr
1	O	R	change	4375.0	4375	61
2	O	L	the	2924.0	2924	366
3	O	R	and	1945.0	1945	14
4	O	L	to	1403.0	1403	17
5	O	L	of	1398.0	1398	162
6	O	L	for	1327.0	1327	63
7	O	L	minister	1075.0	1075	291
8	O	L	on	995.0	995	465
9	O	R	is	927.0	927	841
10	O	R	water	860.0	860	309
11	O	L	that	674.0	674	105
12	O	L	in	668.0	668	104
13	O	L	australia	615.0	615	136
14	O	L	wong	615.0	615	145
15	O	L	south	522.0	522	414
16	O	L	a	513.0	513	895
17	O	L	action	415.0	415	231
18	O	R	we	366.0	366	395
19	O	R	senator	318.0	318	356
20	O	R	not	288.0	288	380
21	O	R	it	287.0	287	482
22	O	R	are	285.0	285	377
23	O	R	have	253.0	253	392
24	O	M	climate	244.0	244	495
25	O	R	I	237.0	237	475
26	O	R	this	220.0	220	498
27	O	R	as	208.0	208	286
28	O	R	pm)—I	199.0	199	213
29	O	R	will	199.0	199	316
30	O	L	with	199.0	199	280
31	O	L	about	192.0	192	134
32	O	L	by	191.0	191	261
33	O	L	2009	188.0	188	215
34	O	R	has	171.0	171	234
35	O	L	global	170.0	170	286
36	O	L	australian	169.0	169	132
37	O	R	they	168.0	168	231
38	O	L	be	165.0	165	411
39	O	L	science	151.0	151	145
40	O	L	our	149.0	149	100
41	O	R	bill	137.0	137	131
42	O	L	do	136.0	136	146
43	O	R	an	128.0	128	186
44	O	R	policy	126.0	126	378
45	O	R	what	116.0	116	164
46	O	L	department	111.0	111	374

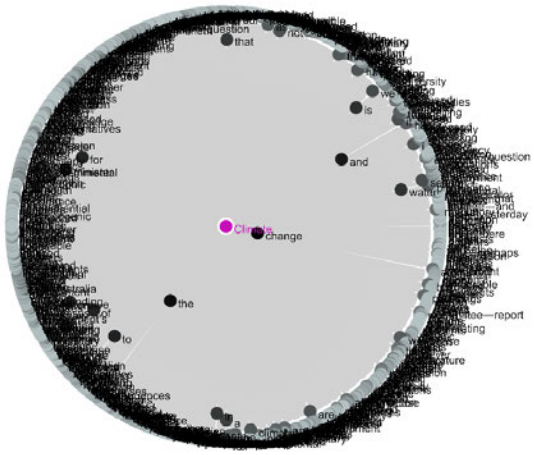


Figure A1.91 Collocation data – Senate 2009

2010

Climate

Freq: 2,934 Collocates: 651

Index	Status	Position	Collocate	▼ Stat	Freq (coll.)	Freq (corp.
1	O	R	change	2455.0	2455	4838
2	O	L	the	1923.0	1923	443836
3	O	R	and	1240.0	1240	182283
4	O	L	of	892.0	892	213737
5	O	L	to	844.0	844	209880
6	O	L	for	687.0	687	86181
7	O	R	is	633.0	633	102412
8	O	L	on	571.0	571	51847
9	O	L	that	511.0	511	126851
10	O	L	minister	500.0	500	19945
11	O	L	in	431.0	431	143169
12	O	L	a	402.0	402	118982
13	O	R	energy	288.0	288	3015
14	O	L	action	272.0	272	2500
15	O	R	it	224.0	224	60207
16	O	R	efficiency	223.0	223	806
17	O	R	we	190.0	190	48409
18	O	L	with	173.0	173	35533
19	O	R	i	154.0	154	62295
20	O	R	as	151.0	151	36472
21	O	L	about	150.0	150	18029
22	O	R	not	142.0	142	37859
23	O	L	shadow	142.0	142	5005
24	O	R	this	136.0	136	60591
25	O	R	are	133.0	133	44444
26	O	L	science	129.0	129	1261
27	O	R	have	125.0	125	48764
28	O	R	has	121.0	121	29535
29	O	R	policy	115.0	115	4307
30	O	R	environment	114.0	114	1722
31	O	R	they	112.0	112	31919
32	O	L	by	110.0	110	31322
33	O	R	water	108.0	108	2431
34	O	L	secretary	107.0	107	3197
35	O	R	will	105.0	105	38523
36	O	L	assisting	104.0	104	605
37	O	L	parliament	101.0	101	3818
38	O	R	was	96.0	96	31162
39	O	R	be	88.0	88	43810
40	O	R	he	87.0	87	15095
41	O	L	committee	82.0	82	8823
42	O	R	con	82.0	82	3308
43	O	L	our	82.0	82	20841
44	O	M	climate	78.0	78	2934
45	O	L	department	76.0	76	1889
46	O	L	human	76.0	76	2073
47	O	R	there	74.0	74	22655

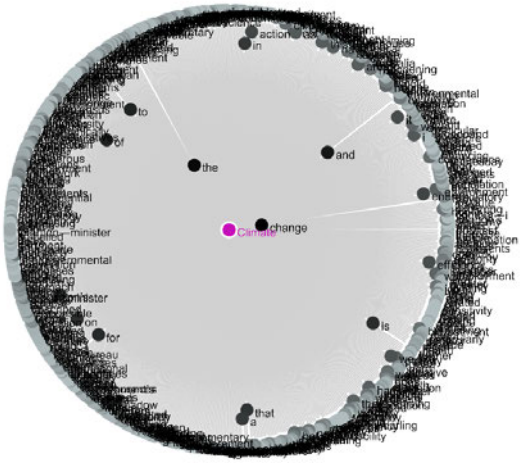


Figure A1.10 Collocation data – House of Representatives 2010

Climate

Freq: 4,953 Collocates: 1,003

Index	Status	Position	Collocate	▼ Stat	Freq (coll.)	Fr
1	O	R	change	4375.0	4376	61
2	O	L	the	2924.0	2924	566
3	O	R	and	1945.0	1945	143
4	O	L	to	1403.0	1403	173
5	O	L	of	1398.0	1398	162
6	O	L	for	1327.0	1327	63
7	O	L	minister	1075.0	1075	291
8	O	L	on	995.0	995	466
9	O	R	is	927.0	927	841
10	O	R	water	860.0	860	309
11	O	L	that	674.0	674	105
12	O	L	in	668.0	668	104
13	O	L	australia	615.0	615	136
14	O	L	wong	615.0	615	145
15	O	L	south	522.0	522	414
16	O	L	a	513.0	513	899
17	O	L	action	415.0	415	231
18	O	R	we	366.0	366	395
19	O	R	senator	318.0	318	356
20	O	R	not	288.0	288	380
21	O	R	it	287.0	287	482
22	O	R	are	285.0	285	375
23	O	R	have	253.0	253	392
24	O	M	climate	244.0	244	495
25	O	R	i	237.0	237	475
26	O	R	this	220.0	220	486
27	O	R	as	208.0	208	286
28	O	R	pm)—i	199.0	199	211
29	O	R	will	199.0	199	315
30	O	L	with	199.0	199	280
31	O	L	about	192.0	192	154
32	O	L	by	191.0	191	261
33	O	L	2009	188.0	188	215
34	O	R	has	171.0	171	234
35	O	L	global	170.0	170	286
36	O	L	australian	169.0	169	132
37	O	R	they	168.0	168	251
38	O	L	be	165.0	165	411
39	O	L	science	151.0	151	145
40	O	L	our	149.0	149	100
41	O	R	bill	137.0	137	131
42	O	L	do	136.0	136	140
43	O	R	an	128.0	128	186
44	O	R	policy	126.0	126	378
45	O	R	what	116.0	116	164
46	O	L	department	111.0	111	374

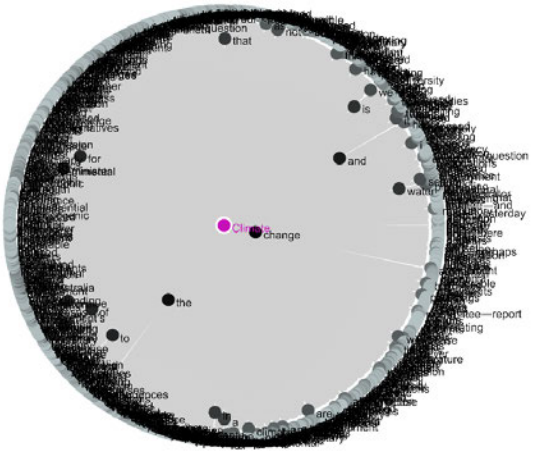


Figure A1.101 Collocation data – Senate 2010

2011

Climate

Freq: 4,247 Collocates: 852

Index	Status	Position	Collocate	▼ Stat	Freq (coll.)	Freq (corp
1	O	R	change	3567.0	3567	6272
2	O	L	the	2714.0	2714	560746
3	O	R	and	1728.0	1728	232140
4	O	L	to	1241.0	1241	271961
5	O	L	of	1167.0	1167	269364
6	O	R	is	1029.0	1029	133293
7	O	L	for	978.0	978	106643
8	O	L	on	848.0	848	66937
9	O	L	that	811.0	811	165492
10	O	L	in	643.0	643	174785
11	O	R	energy	641.0	641	5607
12	O	L	a	556.0	556	154032
13	O	R	efficiency	507.0	507	1089
14	O	L	minister	502.0	502	25303
15	O	R	we	418.0	418	67599
16	O	L	action	398.0	398	3184
17	O	R	it	309.0	309	79742
18	O	R	are	257.0	257	59112
19	O	R	i	250.0	250	79295
20	O	R	have	249.0	249	64504
21	O	R	this	246.0	246	85913
22	O	L	with	245.0	245	46794
23	O	L	about	235.0	235	23153
24	O	R	not	226.0	226	51205
25	O	R	will	217.0	217	51708
26	O	L	as	205.0	205	46543
27	O	L	secretary	189.0	189	3762
28	O	R	they	188.0	188	45657
29	O	L	science	186.0	186	1711
30	O	L	by	183.0	183	39275
31	O	R	real	179.0	179	2471
32	O	L	mr	171.0	171	19726
33	O	R	hon.	158.0	158	10683
34	O	R	has	152.0	152	37342
35	O	L	parliament	151.0	151	5486
36	O	R	carbon	134.0	134	11351
37	O	L	our	134.0	134	26542
38	O	R	committee	133.0	133	12534
39	O	R	he	133.0	133	20550
40	O	L	tourism	133.0	133	1381
41	O	M	be	132.0	132	54799
42	O	L	department	128.0	128	2915
43	O	R	environment	128.0	128	2153
44	O	R	was	126.0	126	40389
45	O	M	climate	124.0	124	4247
46	O	L	do	121.0	121	21043

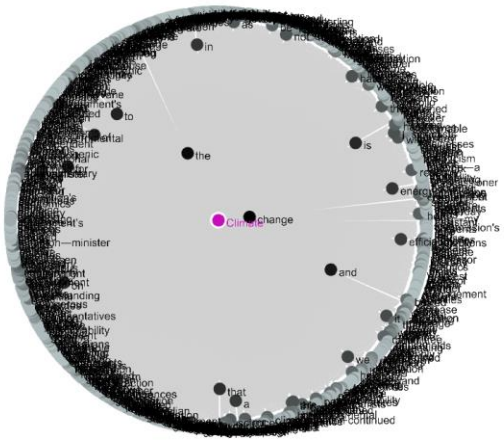


Figure A1.11 Collocation data – House of Representatives 2011

Climate

Freq: 3,289 Collocates: 688

Index	Status	Position	Collocate	▼ Stat	Freq (coll.)	Freq (cor
1	O	R	change	2765.0	2765	4384
2	O	L	the	2217.0	2217	376160
3	O	R	and	1256.0	1256	151280
4	O	L	to	1010.0	1010	180551
5	O	L	of	905.0	905	170052
6	O	R	is	735.0	735	86756
7	O	L	for	734.0	734	65383
8	O	L	on	681.0	681	49862
9	O	R	that	652.0	652	111565
10	O	L	minister	579.0	579	23561
11	O	R	energy	533.0	533	4274
12	O	L	in	466.0	466	106860
13	O	L	a	431.0	431	96447
14	O	R	efficiency	372.0	372	890
15	O	R	we	328.0	328	40497
16	O	L	action	324.0	324	2207
17	O	R	senator	288.0	288	41799
18	O	L	not	268.0	268	39403
19	O	R	it	227.0	227	58923
20	O	R	are	223.0	223	38623
21	O	R	will	205.0	205	33019
22	O	R	i	193.0	193	54449
23	O	L	with	184.0	184	38738
24	O	R	have	172.0	172	42340
25	O	R	has	169.0	169	24312
26	O	R	this	165.0	165	52715
27	O	R	hon.	157.0	157	7190
28	O	L	do	151.0	151	15344
29	O	L	as	144.0	144	29823
30	O	L	about	141.0	141	15506
31	O	R	authority	138.0	138	1511
32	O	R	be	138.0	138	39642
33	O	R	they	130.0	130	26552
34	O	L	by	124.0	124	26134
35	O	L	our	121.0	121	11491
36	O	L	tourism	119.0	119	791
37	O	L	representing	115.0	115	1447
38	O	M	climate	114.0	114	3289
39	O	L	2011	112.0	112	20685
40	O	L	department	112.0	112	3526
41	O	L	believe	109.0	109	2619
42	O	R	committee	101.0	101	9810
43	O	R	was	97.0	97	25099
44	O	R	an	90.0	90	17901
45	O	L	who	89.0	89	12254
46	O	R	policy	88.0	88	4676

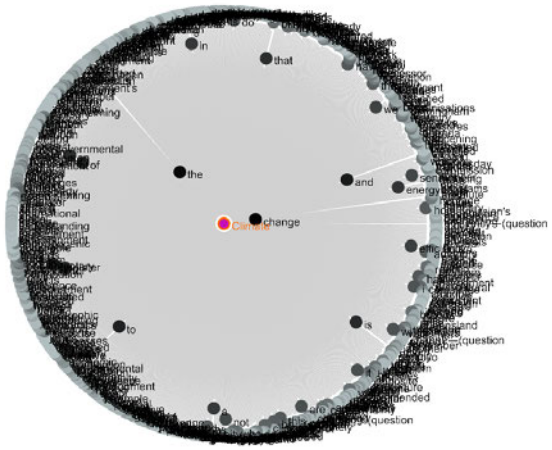


Figure A1.112 Collocation data – Senate 2011

2012

Climate

Freq: 1,721 Collocates: 355

Index	Status	Position	Collocate	▼ Stat	Freq (coll.)	Freq (corp...
1	O	R	and	1376.0	1376	229798
2	O	R	change	1374.0	1374	4312
3	O	L	the	1108.0	1108	567512
4	O	L	for	715.0	715	109626
5	O	R	energy	627.0	627	4452
6	O	R	efficiency	595.0	595	1186
7	O	L	minister	524.0	524	27585
8	O	L	of	512.0	512	267002
9	O	L	to	422.0	422	267733
10	O	R	is	297.0	297	135127
11	O	L	on	248.0	248	68302
12	O	L	in	247.0	247	173162
13	O	R	that	222.0	222	165583
14	O	L	parliament	214.0	214	5336
15	O	L	secretary	193.0	193	4056
16	O	L	a	180.0	180	153914
17	O	R	environment	126.0	126	2592
18	O	R	action	121.0	121	1999
19	O	L	innovation	111.0	111	1146
20	O	R	we	103.0	103	66050
21	O	R	it	89.0	89	82195
22	O	L	with	86.0	86	47845
23	O	R	this	79.0	79	87115
24	O	L	department	76.0	76	2662
25	O	R	are	71.0	71	61594
26	O	L	shadow	71.0	71	6071
27	O	L	committee	69.0	69	8801
28	O	R	has	68.0	68	38728
29	O	L	as	66.0	66	46385
30	O	R	senator	65.0	65	4305
31	O	L	by	62.0	62	38050
32	O	L	women	62.0	62	2917
33	O	R	I	61.0	61	80638
34	O	R	marise	61.0	61	155
35	O	R	have	60.0	60	65168
36	O	L	about	57.0	57	24624
37	O	L	tourism	51.0	51	1350
38	O	R	will	51.0	51	49243
39	O	R	carbon	47.0	47	8365
40	O	R	not	44.0	44	51813
41	O	R	arts	43.0	43	607
42	O	L	isaacs—ca	40.0	40	58
43	O	R	they	40.0	40	47527
44	O	L	standing	39.0	39	3601
45	O	L	from	38.0	38	31844
46	O	R	which	37.0	37	24064

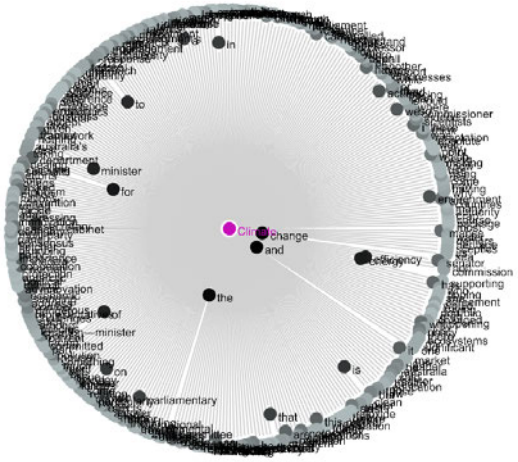


Figure A1.12 Collocation data – House of Representatives 2012

Climate

Freq: 1,451 Collocates: 355

Index	Status	Position	Collocate	▼ Stat	Freq (coll.)	Freq (corp
1	O	R	change	1106.0	1106	3087
2	O	L	the	1001.0	1001	404918
3	O	R	and	791.0	791	163391
4	O	L	for	441.0	441	69183
5	O	L	minister	428.0	428	24871
6	O	L	of	420.0	420	180613
7	O	R	energy	404.0	404	3150
8	O	L	to	362.0	362	190171
9	O	R	efficiency	346.0	346	1077
10	O	R	is	240.0	240	91203
11	O	L	on	215.0	215	50663
12	O	R	that	211.0	211	118944
13	O	L	in	200.0	200	116274
14	O	L	a	141.0	141	101848
15	O	R	senator	136.0	136	37513
16	O	L	parliament...	124.0	124	4826
17	O	R	action	109.0	109	1509
18	O	L	representing	89.0	89	1443
19	O	R	we	88.0	88	42044
20	O	R	it	87.0	87	53813
21	O	R	not	81.0	81	39917
22	O	L	with	74.0	74	32306
23	O	R	are	72.0	72	40939
24	O	R	environment	70.0	70	2803
25	O	R	has	70.0	70	25782
26	O	L	secretary	69.0	69	3925
27	O	R	this	67.0	67	54501
28	O	M	as	62.0	62	32546
29	O	R	I	62.0	62	55142
30	O	L	shadow	59.0	59	4340
31	O	L	about	52.0	52	16179
32	O	R	heritage	52.0	52	686
33	O	L	department	49.0	49	3808
34	O	R	have	49.0	49	42753
35	O	M	climate	48.0	48	1451
36	O	R	they	47.0	47	27301
37	O	L	by	44.0	44	27557
38	O	L	from	43.0	43	20909
39	O	L	our	43.0	43	12892
40	O	L	cash	42.0	42	1348
41	O	L	michaelia	41.0	41	181
42	O	R	will	40.0	40	31578
43	O	R	was	39.0	39	26915
44	O	L	impacts	37.0	37	959
45	O	L	tourism	36.0	36	622
46	O	R	hon	35.0	35	6782

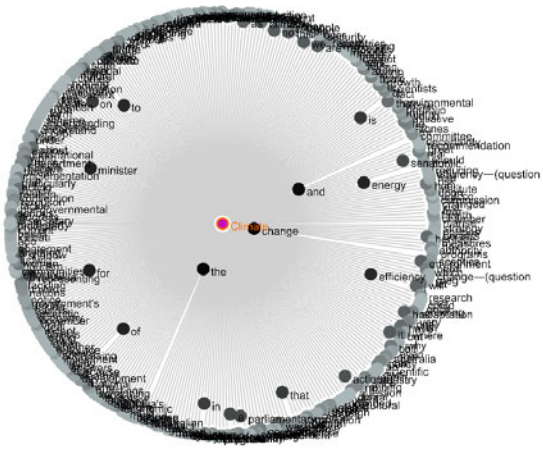


Figure A1.121 Collocation data – Senate 2012

2013

Climate

Freq: 1,418 Collocates: 352

Index	Status	Position	Collocate	▼ Stat	Freq (coll.)	Freq (corp.
1	O	R	change	1155.0	1155	3380
2	O	L	the	947.0	947	400394
3	O	R	and	663.0	663	166450
4	O	L	of	437.0	437	185667
5	O	L	to	373.0	373	190233
6	O	L	for	330.0	330	78567
7	O	R	is	306.0	306	95677
8	O	L	on	257.0	257	46290
9	O	L	that	255.0	255	117917
10	O	L	in	205.0	205	123131
11	O	L	a	197.0	197	110283
12	O	L	minister	174.0	174	21341
13	O	L	action	127.0	127	1560
14	O	R	we	122.0	122	50634
15	O	R	environment	112.0	112	1894
16	O	R	industry	112.0	112	6339
17	O	R	energy	109.0	109	1869
18	O	R	innovation	109.0	109	741
19	O	R	efficiency	101.0	101	526
20	O	R	are	87.0	87	42703
21	O	L	with	86.0	86	34917
22	O	R	it	82.0	82	58318
23	O	L	science	82.0	82	1026
24	O	R	not	78.0	78	36181
25	O	L	secretary	77.0	77	3145
26	O	R	this	76.0	76	59914
27	O	R	I	73.0	73	59879
28	O	L	parliament	70.0	70	4104
29	O	R	authority	69.0	69	1125
30	O	R	as	67.0	67	31966
31	O	R	have	66.0	66	47848
32	O	L	our	57.0	57	19847
33	O	M	climate	56.0	56	1418
34	O	R	will	56.0	56	32395
35	O	L	about	55.0	55	16826
36	O	L	combet	53.0	53	260
37	O	L	shadow	53.0	53	4778
38	O	R	hon	52.0	52	4593
39	O	R	they	52.0	52	33313
40	O	R	senator	50.0	50	2964
41	O	L	2013	48.0	48	15634
42	O	R	real	48.0	48	1871
43	O	R	bill	47.0	47	15735
44	O	L	by	46.0	46	26723
45	O	R	mr	46.0	46	15225
46	O	L	carbon	44.0	44	4045

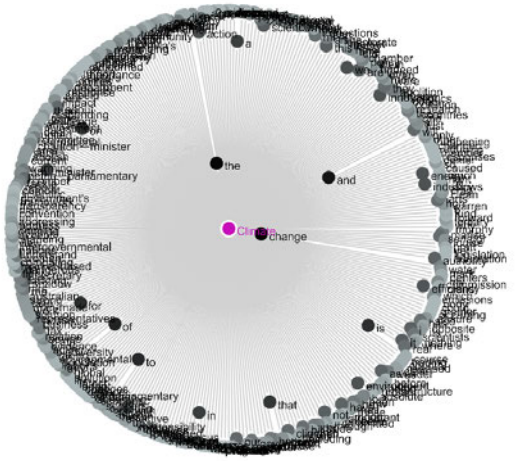


Figure A1.13 Collocation data – House of Representatives 2013

Climate

Freq: 1,848 Collocates: 481

Index	Status	Position	Collocate	▼ Stat	Freq (coll.)	Freq (corp
1	O	L	the	1426.0	1426	243386
2	O	R	change	1415.0	1415	2915
3	O	R	and	678.0	678	99418
4	O	L	of	557.0	557	110451
5	O	L	to	518.0	518	115070
6	O	R	is	401.0	401	54285
7	O	L	on	357.0	357	29805
8	O	L	in	353.0	353	70070
9	O	R	that	339.0	339	72068
10	O	L	for	269.0	269	41904
11	O	L	a	245.0	245	62708
12	O	R	authority	226.0	226	1192
13	O	R	we	180.0	180	28439
14	O	R	it	163.0	163	32161
15	O	L	not	149.0	149	22629
16	O	R	are	128.0	128	24654
17	O	L	minister	123.0	123	15401
18	O	R	I	122.0	122	33726
19	O	R	energy	111.0	111	2144
20	O	R	this	111.0	111	33913
21	O	L	action	108.0	108	1230
22	O	L	science	99.0	99	794
23	O	R	as	95.0	95	19036
24	O	L	with	93.0	93	18941
25	O	R	have	92.0	92	26381
26	O	R	has	86.0	86	15342
27	O	L	about	82.0	82	10075
28	O	R	they	78.0	78	17304
29	O	R	efficiency	76.0	76	436
30	O	R	will	76.0	76	17276
31	O	L	99	75.0	75	3276
32	O	L	by	74.0	74	16615
33	O	L	our	73.0	73	9073
34	O	R	policy	70.0	70	2602
35	O	R	be	69.0	69	24042
36	O	L	environment	68.0	68	1962
37	O	R	senator	68.0	68	22781
38	O	M	climate	64.0	64	1848
39	O	L	government	62.0	62	20552
40	O	R	was	62.0	62	16492
41	O	R	abolition	59.0	59	202
42	O	L	parliament...	59.0	59	3209
43	O	R	2013	55.0	55	13437
44	O	R	you	54.0	54	12388
45	O	L	from	53.0	53	12385
46	O	R	industry	53.0	53	3948

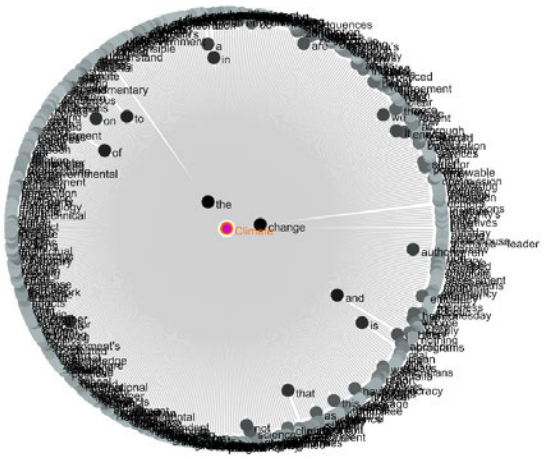


Figure A1.131 Collocation data – Senate 2013

2014

Climate

Freq: 1,890 Collocates: 494

Index	Status	Position	Collocate	▼ Stat	Freq (coll.)	Freq (corpu...
1	O	R	change	1421.0	1421	4355
2	O	L	the	1234.0	1234	556432
3	O	L	to	595.0	595	274817
4	O	L	of	544.0	544	258321
5	O	R	and	536.0	536	228638
6	O	R	is	408.0	408	138421
7	O	L	on	377.0	377	65466
8	O	L	that	330.0	330	163565
9	O	L	in	327.0	327	174488
10	O	L	a	297.0	297	154468
11	O	L	for	274.0	274	111794
12	O	R	hon	221.0	221	3754
13	O	R	we	200.0	200	75886
14	O	L	environment	186.0	186	3205
15	O	L	action	163.0	163	2560
16	O	R	it	153.0	153	82961
17	O	L	not	146.0	146	51778
18	O	R	this	136.0	136	84908
19	O	L	minister	131.0	131	30990
20	O	L	with	112.0	112	45613
21	O	R	have	110.0	110	63470
22	O	R	as	108.0	108	43897
23	O	R	are	105.0	105	53323
24	O	L	by	100.0	100	37342
25	O	L	house	96.0	96	25810
26	O	R	i	94.0	94	78379
27	O	R	water	91.0	91	1324
28	O	L	science	90.0	90	1007
29	O	R	they	90.0	90	51046
30	O	L	about	88.0	88	25241
31	O	R	has	87.0	87	35202
32	O	L	shadow	87.0	87	7353
33	O	R	policy	82.0	82	4846
34	O	R	mark	81.0	81	1080
35	O	L	government	80.0	80	42370
36	O	L	parliamentary	80.0	80	5343
37	O	L	secretary	79.0	79	4478
38	O	L	our	78.0	78	30821
39	O	R	warren	76.0	76	764
40	O	R	mp	68.0	68	8356
41	O	R	snowdon	68.0	68	658
42	O	R	authority	64.0	64	902
43	O	L	be	63.0	63	50712
44	O	L	do	61.0	61	22420
45	O	L	from	60.0	60	32021
46	O	R	an	57.0	57	28315
47	O	R	will	55.0	55	52356

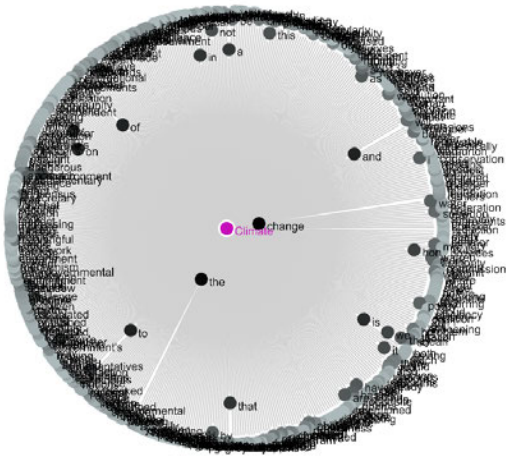


Figure A1.14 Collocation data – House of Representatives 2014

Climate

Freq: 3,560 Collocates: 816

Index	Status	Position	Collocate	▼ Stat	Freq (coll.)	Freq (corp...
1	O	R	change	2772.0	2772	4733
2	O	L	the	2606.0	2606	388792
3	O	L	to	1180.0	1180	196695
4	O	R	and	1042.0	1042	153341
5	O	L	of	1029.0	1029	175918
6	O	R	is	830.0	830	93909
7	O	L	on	793.0	793	48031
8	O	L	that	678.0	678	124371
9	O	L	in	574.0	574	115471
10	O	L	a	464.0	464	103562
11	O	R	authority	445.0	445	1270
12	O	R	we	410.0	410	50478
13	O	L	for	354.0	354	67308
14	O	R	it	311.0	311	55618
15	O	R	not	268.0	268	42098
16	O	L	action	266.0	266	2461
17	O	R	are	245.0	245	43013
18	O	R	i	223.0	223	61564
19	O	R	have	216.0	216	45759
20	O	R	this	213.0	213	57024
21	O	L	our	188.0	188	16950
22	O	L	with	184.0	184	30902
23	O	L	environment	178.0	178	2949
24	O	R	they	177.0	177	31063
25	O	L	about	174.0	174	17447
26	O	R	will	170.0	170	31607
27	O	R	as	158.0	158	29274
28	O	M	climate	154.0	154	3560
29	O	R	has	154.0	154	24382
30	O	L	by	152.0	152	26771
31	O	L	science	152.0	152	1101
32	O	R	was	152.0	152	27554
33	O	R	hon	150.0	150	6344
34	O	R	policy	146.0	146	4094
35	O	R	an	139.0	139	18830
36	O	L	minister	138.0	138	24796
37	O	R	be	137.0	137	39383
38	O	L	from	132.0	132	21514
39	O	L	do	115.0	115	17204
40	O	L	government	106.0	106	33318
41	O	R	real	103.0	103	1565
42	O	M	at	102.0	102	19358
43	O	R	australia	101.0	101	17909
44	O	R	senator	94.0	94	42177
45	O	R	water	93.0	93	1818
46	O	R	bill	89.0	89	14233
47	O	L	global	89.0	89	1430

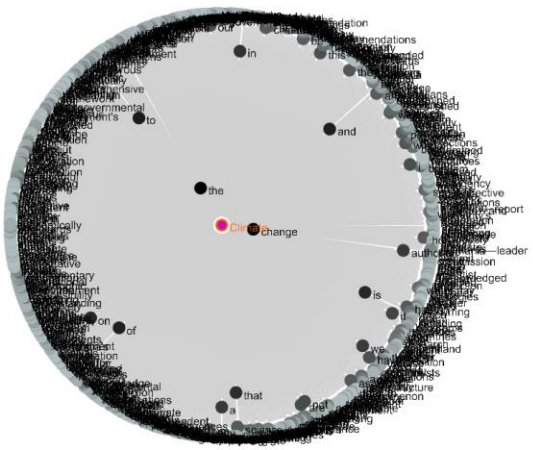


Figure A1.141 Collocation data – Senate 2014

2015

Climate

Freq: 1,226 Collocates: 334

Index	Status	Position	Collocate	▼ Stat	Freq (coll.)	Freq (corp...
1	O	R	change	948.0	948	4318
2	O	L	the	716.0	716	551241
3	O	R	and	378.0	378	244063
4	O	L	to	369.0	369	276634
5	O	L	of	281.0	281	267590
6	O	L	for	260.0	260	115639
7	O	L	in	231.0	231	182827
8	O	L	on	229.0	229	65980
9	O	R	is	209.0	209	139746
10	O	L	environment	164.0	164	2989
11	O	R	that	157.0	157	165462
12	O	L	a	144.0	144	159746
13	O	L	minister	133.0	133	32394
14	O	R	we	109.0	109	79372
15	O	R	hon.	108.0	108	9499
16	O	L	action	100.0	100	2138
17	O	L	shadow	99.0	99	7615
18	O	R	hon	98.0	98	4434
19	O	R	it	95.0	95	84234
20	O	L	this	82.0	82	87777
21	O	L	about	78.0	78	25571
22	O	L	parliament...	77.0	77	5049
23	O	L	secretary	76.0	76	4265
24	O	R	policy	72.0	72	4633
25	O	R	water	67.0	67	3652
26	O	L	house	66.0	66	26230
27	O	R	as	63.0	63	47532
28	O	L	with	63.0	63	49481
29	O	R	are	62.0	62	65811
30	O	R	have	61.0	61	67121
31	O	L	not	60.0	60	49082
32	O	R	I	57.0	57	83271
33	O	R	mark	57.0	57	1221
34	O	R	our	57.0	57	35232
35	O	M	climate	56.0	56	1226
36	O	R	mp	56.0	56	9406
37	O	R	snowdon	56.0	56	530
38	O	R	warren	56.0	56	796
39	O	R	mr	55.0	55	25378
40	O	R	they	52.0	52	49835
41	O	R	has	48.0	48	37054
42	O	R	will	48.0	48	49573
43	O	L	paris	44.0	44	418
44	O	R	he	41.0	41	23028
45	O	L	government	40.0	40	38533
46	O	L	by	38.0	38	36423
47	O	L	be	37.0	37	50576

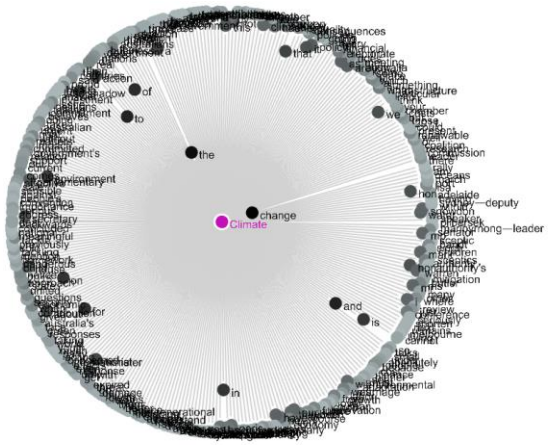


Figure A1.15 Collocation data – House of Representatives 2015

Climate

Freq: 1,310 Collocates: 365

Index	Status	Position	Collocate	▼ Stat	Freq (coll.)	Freq (corpus)
1	O	L	the	896.0	896	368719
2	O	R	change	878.0	878	3184
3	O	L	to	445.0	445	186792
4	O	R	and	435.0	435	150721
5	O	L	of	366.0	366	170247
6	O	R	is	237.0	237	89308
7	O	L	on	234.0	234	43776
8	O	R	that	225.0	225	120469
9	O	L	for	202.0	202	66883
10	O	L	in	198.0	198	112060
11	O	L	a	173.0	173	100754
12	O	R	we	141.0	141	46098
13	O	L	environment	139.0	139	2325
14	O	R	senator	123.0	123	39051
15	O	R	hon.	112.0	112	7330
16	O	R	it	106.0	106	52540
17	O	L	minister	79.0	79	24989
18	O	L	this	78.0	78	55933
19	O	R	water	78.0	78	2398
20	O	R	are	74.0	74	41848
21	O	L	not	74.0	74	39474
22	O	R	have	72.0	72	43360
23	O	L	our	67.0	67	15941
24	O	L	about	64.0	64	15666
25	O	R	I	63.0	63	57525
26	O	L	parliamentary	63.0	63	3574
27	O	L	shadow	62.0	62	5172
28	O	R	singh	62.0	62	545
29	O	L	secretary	61.0	61	3084
30	O	R	has	60.0	60	23500
31	O	L	house	60.0	60	1842
32	O	R	lisa	60.0	60	136
33	O	R	warren	60.0	60	292
34	O	R	as	59.0	59	29452
35	O	L	action	58.0	58	1605
36	O	R	will	57.0	57	29664
37	O	L	with	57.0	57	29376
38	O	L	by	52.0	52	25793
39	O	R	policy	52.0	52	3263
40	O	R	authority	47.0	47	890
41	O	R	be	47.0	47	39088
42	O	L	from	45.0	45	20618
43	O	L	government	42.0	42	30327
44	O	R	science	41.0	41	1272
45	O	R	was	41.0	41	24738
46	O	R	at	39.0	39	18294
47	O	L	an	38.0	38	18837

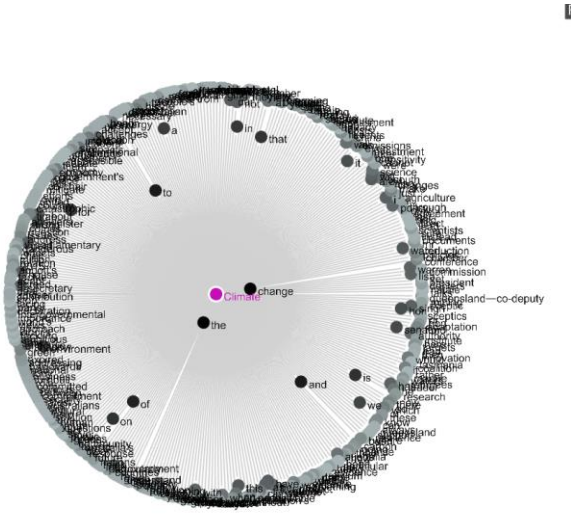


Figure A1.151 Collocation data – Senate 2015

2016

Climate

Freq: 705 Collocates: 198

Index	Status	Position	Collocate	▼ Stat	Freq (coll.)	Freq (corp
1	O	R	change	545.0	545	2831
2	O	L	the	443.0	443	361318
3	O	R	and	245.0	245	164304
4	O	L	of	192.0	192	171353
5	O	L	for	188.0	188	77572
6	O	L	to	172.0	172	181569
7	O	L	shadow	162.0	162	5786
8	O	L	on	157.0	157	44060
9	O	L	minister	149.0	149	23812
10	O	L	in	123.0	123	116526
11	O	R	is	120.0	120	90465
12	O	L	a	107.0	107	102963
13	O	L	that	103.0	103	105967
14	O	R	energy	78.0	78	1592
15	O	L	action	60.0	60	1484
16	O	L	environment	53.0	53	1383
17	O	L	assistant	51.0	51	2453
18	O	L	not	49.0	49	33891
19	O	R	hon	48.0	48	5278
20	O	R	we	46.0	46	50346
21	O	R	as	41.0	41	29992
22	O	R	have	41.0	41	43994
23	O	R	it	39.0	39	54411
24	O	R	policy	39.0	39	3895
25	O	L	with	37.0	37	31662
26	O	R	he	36.0	36	15229
27	O	L	about	34.0	34	16520
28	O	R	will	34.0	34	30718
29	O	L	mp	32.0	32	7022
30	O	R	are	29.0	29	43110
31	O	R	has	29.0	29	24762
32	O	R	this	28.0	28	54289
33	O	R	science	27.0	27	1433
34	O	L	by	26.0	26	23485
35	O	R	lisa	25.0	25	194
36	O	R	our	25.0	25	21960
37	O	L	secretary	25.0	25	1478
38	O	R	senator	25.0	25	3617
39	O	R	singh	25.0	25	65
40	O	R	they	25.0	25	32960
41	O	L	parliament	24.0	24	2296
42	O	L	state	24.0	24	3917
43	O	R	i	23.0	23	57466
44	O	L	government	22.0	22	23528
45	O	R	be	21.0	21	33360
46	O	R	equality	21.0	21	934

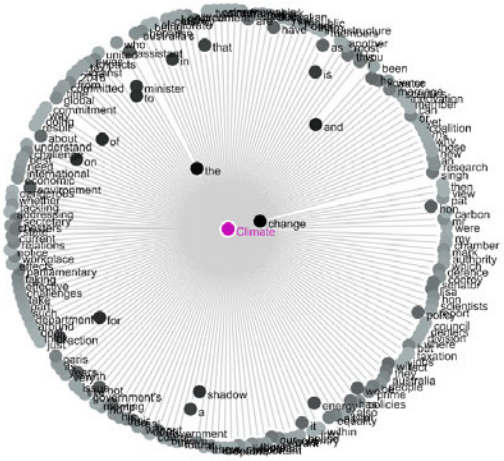


Figure A1.16 Collocation data – House of Representatives 2016

Climate

Freq: 1,265 Collocates: 385

Index	Status	Position	Collocate	▼ Stat	Freq (coll.)	Freq (corpus)
1	O	L	the	818.0	818	284797
2	O	R	change	787.0	787	2433
3	O	R	and	454.0	454	117470
4	O	L	of	394.0	394	130785
5	O	L	to	352.0	352	143378
6	O	R	is	272.0	272	68198
7	O	L	in	253.0	253	85130
8	O	L	on	220.0	220	34799
9	O	L	that	219.0	219	90884
10	O	L	for	195.0	195	50472
11	O	L	a	194.0	194	76943
12	O	R	we	149.0	149	35157
13	O	L	shadow	127.0	127	4190
14	O	L	minister	118.0	118	17223
15	O	R	it	116.0	116	39791
16	O	R	science	102.0	102	977
17	O	L	are	93.0	93	31288
18	O	L	our	83.0	83	12056
19	O	R	has	80.0	80	18116
20	O	R	i	74.0	74	46047
21	O	R	not	73.0	73	30540
22	O	R	have	67.0	67	34801
23	O	L	with	64.0	64	23778
24	O	L	action	62.0	62	1044
25	O	R	senator	59.0	59	35198
26	O	R	as	57.0	57	22288
27	O	R	energy	57.0	57	1464
28	O	R	this	57.0	57	43102
29	O	L	about	55.0	55	12821
30	O	L	environment	54.0	54	1259
31	O	R	research	52.0	52	1395
32	O	L	global	48.0	48	745
33	O	R	by	46.0	46	19786
34	O	L	impacts	46.0	46	458
35	O	L	mp	46.0	46	4521
36	O	R	was	45.0	45	20452
37	O	L	at	44.0	44	14161
38	O	M	climate	44.0	44	1265
39	O	L	do	43.0	43	12393
40	O	R	will	43.0	43	20966
41	O	L	from	40.0	40	15175
42	O	L	government	40.0	40	21797
43	O	R	hon	39.0	39	2837
44	O	L	paris	39.0	39	132
45	O	R	scientists	39.0	39	235
46	O	L	assistant	36.0	36	1692
47	O	R	he	36.0	36	10055

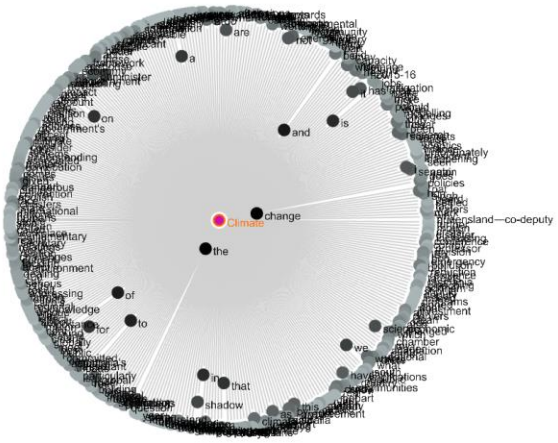


Figure A1.161 Collocation data – Senate 2016

2017

Climate

Freq: 1,409 Collocates: 329

Index	Status	Position	Collocate	▼ Stat	Freq (coll.)	Freq (corp.
1	O	R	change	1355.0	1355	3871
2	O	L	the	776.0	776	480652
3	O	R	and	507.0	507	218746
4	O	L	of	462.0	462	229916
5	O	L	to	428.0	428	252288
6	O	L	for	263.0	263	106807
7	O	L	shadow	251.0	251	6783
8	O	R	energy	226.0	226	6933
9	O	L	from	211.0	211	30683
10	O	L	that	209.0	209	145146
11	O	M	climate	206.0	206	1409
12	O	L	on	201.0	201	57981
13	O	L	minister	197.0	197	29467
14	O	R	is	178.0	178	119730
15	O	L	in	169.0	169	158354
16	O	L	impacts	155.0	155	614
17	O	L	a	147.0	147	143825
18	O	L	harmful	136.0	136	241
19	O	L	severe	127.0	127	399
20	O	R	this	124.0	124	81565
21	O	R	citizens	118.0	118	1389
22	O	R	as	117.0	117	39369
23	O	L	assistant	114.0	114	3290
24	O	R	petition	109.0	109	752
25	O	L	action	107.0	107	2029
26	O	R	policy	86.0	86	5051
27	O	R	we	86.0	86	54119
28	O	R	more	83.0	83	16548
29	O	R	health	78.0	78	7194
30	O	L	threat	75.0	75	660
31	O	R	it	73.0	73	72414
32	O	L	urgent	72.0	72	347
33	O	R	such	71.0	71	4741
34	O	R	poses	67.0	67	111
35	O	L	about	64.0	64	23443
36	O	R	are	64.0	64	59548
37	O	R	concerned	61.0	61	1304
38	O	L	mp	60.0	60	8846
39	O	L	by	54.0	54	32250
40	O	L	our	54.0	54	29048
41	O	R	I	52.0	52	68704
42	O	R	defence	48.0	48	3924
43	O	L	workplace	48.0	48	1102
44	O	L	relations	47.0	47	857
45	O	R	have	46.0	46	56747
46	O	L	not	43.0	43	42967

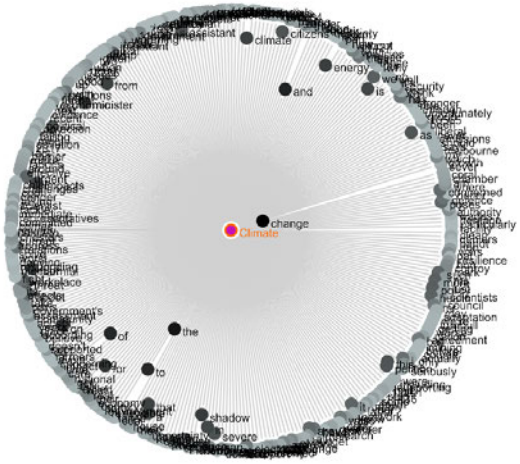


Figure A1.17 Collocation data – House of Representatives 2017

2018

Climate

Freq: 1,409 Collocates: 329

Index	Status	Position	Collocate	▼ Stat	Freq (coll.)	Freq (corp.)
1	O	R	change	1355.0	1355	3871
2	O	L	the	776.0	776	480652
3	O	R	and	507.0	507	218746
4	O	L	of	462.0	462	229916
5	O	L	to	428.0	428	252288
6	O	L	for	263.0	263	106807
7	O	L	shadow	251.0	251	6783
8	O	R	energy	226.0	226	6933
9	O	L	from	211.0	211	30683
10	O	L	that	209.0	209	145146
11	O	M	climate	206.0	206	1409
12	O	L	on	201.0	201	57981
13	O	L	minister	197.0	197	29467
14	O	R	is	178.0	178	119730
15	O	L	in	169.0	169	158354
16	O	L	impacts	155.0	155	614
17	O	L	a	147.0	147	143825
18	O	L	harmful	136.0	136	241
19	O	L	severe	127.0	127	399
20	O	R	this	124.0	124	81565
21	O	R	citizens	118.0	118	1389
22	O	R	as	117.0	117	39369
23	O	L	assistant	114.0	114	3290
24	O	R	petition	109.0	109	752
25	O	L	action	107.0	107	2029
26	O	R	policy	86.0	86	5051
27	O	R	we	86.0	86	54119
28	O	R	more	83.0	83	16548
29	O	R	health	78.0	78	7194
30	O	L	threat	75.0	75	660
31	O	R	it	73.0	73	72414
32	O	L	urgent	72.0	72	347
33	O	R	such	71.0	71	4741
34	O	R	poses	67.0	67	111
35	O	L	about	64.0	64	23443
36	O	R	are	64.0	64	59548
37	O	R	concerned	61.0	61	1304
38	O	L	mp	60.0	60	8846
39	O	L	by	54.0	54	32250
40	O	L	our	54.0	54	29048
41	O	R	I	52.0	52	68704
42	O	R	defence	48.0	48	3924
43	O	L	workplace	48.0	48	1102
44	O	L	relations	47.0	47	857
45	O	R	have	46.0	46	56747
46	O	L	not	43.0	43	42967

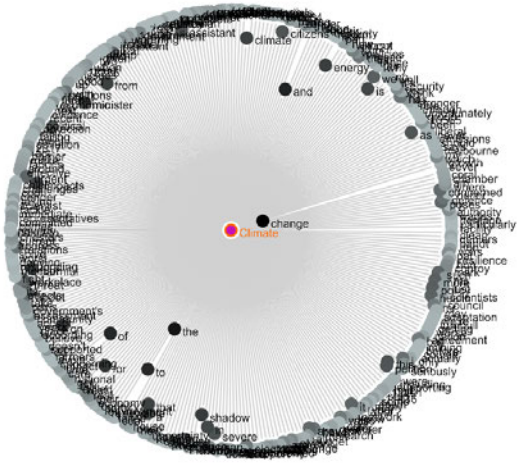


Figure A1.18 Collocation data – House of Representatives 2018

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