

“A voice cries out in the wilderness”:
The religio-political afterlife of ‘scapegoat’ and ‘messiah’ metaphors,
from the Hebrew Bible to contemporary Australian political rhetoric

PhD Dissertation

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ABSTRACT

Religion intercedes in the emotive underpinnings of politics in Australia far more than we realize. It is argued in colloquial settings that religion is only as relevant to Australian politics as it is to Australian culture which, according to census data, is increasingly irreligious. In contrast, scholars and commentators argue that religion is evident in politics through our colonial history, the ‘religious right’ and so-called ‘dog-whistle’ politics (Maddox 2001; 2005; Hindess 2014b; Lake 2018; Sheridan 2018). However, what is not known is why Judeo-Christian religious motifs and undertones are so persistent in political speechmaking and how they maintain their persuasiveness when Christianity has declined so significantly.

Accordingly, this thesis examines the Biblical Hebrew origins and translation of two important Biblical metaphors and their continued use in the so-called ‘Afterlife of the Text’ (Benjamin 1968; Sawyer 1995; Kugel 2007; Sawyer 2018). This ‘afterlife’ includes use in contemporary Australian prime ministerial speeches. Using Conceptual Metaphor Theory (Lakoff and Johnson 1980) as an analytical tool, I discuss the origins of the Biblical Hebrew metaphors of ‘scapegoat’ in Leviticus 16 and ‘messiah’ in Isaiah’s ‘Servant Songs’ (Isaiah 42:1–9; 49:1–13; 50:4–11; 52:13– 53:12). In Leviticus, the conceptual metaphor SCAPEGOAT IS ATONEMENT is evident in the Day of Atonement ritual while in Isaiah’s Servants Songs, the conceptual metaphors of MESSIAH IS GUIDE and MESSIAH IS SACRIFICE are evident. The afterlife of the metaphors evolves beyond their Hebrew Bible origins, including use in Australian prime ministerial speeches from 2000-current. This qualitative analysis focuses on significant prime ministerial speeches: the ‘scapegoat’ in John Howard’s ministerial statement about entering the war in Iraq (Howard 2003) and in Kevin Rudd’s *Apology to Australia’s Indigenous Peoples* (Rudd 2008), and the ‘messiah’ in Julia Gillard’s so-called ‘misogyny speech’ (Gillard 2012) and in Morrison’s press conference on floods, Parliament House culture and women’s safety (Morrison 2021b). This research shows how these two metaphors are part of the Australian political speechmaking landscape, though far removed from their Ancient Near Eastern origins. If we uncover use of Judeo-Christian metaphors within the political space, we will better be able to understand the use of biblical metaphors in contemporary Australian political speeches.

HDR THESIS DECLARATION

I certify that this work contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in my name, in any university or other tertiary institution and, to the best of my knowledge and belief, contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference has been made in the text. In addition, I certify that no part of this work will, in the future, be used in a submission in my name, for any other degree or diploma in any university or other tertiary institution without the prior approval of the University of Adelaide and where applicable, any partner institution responsible for the joint award of this degree.

I give permission for the digital version of my thesis to be made available on the web, via the University's digital research repository, the Library Search and also through web search engines, unless permission has been granted by the University to restrict access for a period of time.

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‘Ring the bells that still can ring
Forget your perfect offering
There is a crack in everything
That's how the light gets in’ – Leonard Cohen, *Anthem*

When I grew up in the South, I was taught that segregation was the will of God, and the Bible was quoted to prove it. I was taught that women were by nature inferior to men, and the Bible was quoted to prove it. I was taught that it was okay to hate other religions, and especially the Jews, and the Bible was quoted to prove it – John Shelby Spong.

1. INTRODUCTION

The Bible is a book which has been used as a tool to affect cultural history. The effects of this use have been positive and negative. Those taking guidance and teaching from this book have given rise to slavery and alternately freedom from slavery, the creation of charitable organisations like Anglicare, Salvation Army, Baptist Care and such as well as the need to create them through alienation and oppression of non-Christians and other ‘other’ people groups (Lake 2018, 346–69). There has even been torture and death of those who are a different kind of Christian (i.e. Protestant or Catholic), not a Christian (i.e. Muslim, Jewish, Pagan, Indigenous Spirituality) or do not follow a ‘Christian’ lifestyle (Harris 1994; Lieb, Mason, and Roberts 2011; Lake 2018; Sheridan 2018). In recent years, debates on same-sex marriage have highlighted the dichotomous nature of how being a Christian and following ‘Biblical’ principles is understood, with politicians, religious leaders and the Church on both sides of this issue (Brown 2017; Anstey 2019; Poulos 2020). These impacts on history and the associated societal behaviours, reforms and political policies have even continued though Westernised countries like Australia are facing decline in those who categorise themselves as Christians (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2013; 2017c; Pew 2015).

This thesis is titled *“A voice cries out in the wilderness”*: *The political afterlife of ‘scapegoat’ and ‘messiah’ metaphors, from the Hebrew Bible to contemporary Australian political rhetoric*. The quote in the title is taken from the book of Isaiah. The Biblical corpus used in this thesis is comprised of the book of Leviticus and the book of Isaiah. This corpus offers the origin examples of ‘scapegoat’ and ‘messiah’ metaphors, from Leviticus and Isaiah respectively, upon which the argument in this thesis is founded. From this foundation, I explore the evolution

of these concepts in translation history and use of these concepts in contemporary settings, including Australian politics. I argue that the continuing place of religious dialogue in the public sphere is partly because Western settings like Australia have been shaped by Biblical concepts but also because our language is embedded with these concepts (Howe and Hughes 2003; Kugel 2007; Lakoff 2016; Sheridan 2018). This embeddedness of terms like ‘scapegoat’, ‘messiah’, ‘a drop in the bucket’ and ‘cross I bear’ offer examples of how the language of the Bible continues to be part of English language (Dawkins 2006, 340-344; Kugel 2007). As such, I argue that the Bible is part of history making through use of Biblical phrases in contemporary political speeches. I analyse this through using Lakoff and Johnson’s *Conceptual Metaphor Theory* to study the evolution of ‘scapegoat’ and ‘messiah’ concepts from Biblical origins in the books of Leviticus and Isaiah and into the so-called ‘Afterlife of the Text’ in the two prominent English translations, the King James Version and the New International Version. This focus on the Afterlife of the Text ends with analysis of ‘scapegoat’ and ‘messiah’ metaphor use in contemporary Australian politics with particular focus on four prime ministerial speeches.

This thesis has eight chapters. The first three introduce the topic, review relevant literature in the fields of Conceptual Metaphor Theory, Afterlife of the Text and Biblical studies and explicate the method in which the topic of the political afterlife of ‘scapegoat’ and ‘messiah’ metaphors is approached. Chapters four and five are analyses of ‘scapegoat’ metaphors. Chapters six and seven are analyses of ‘messiah’ metaphors. Chapter eight is a summary of both analyses and a concluding analysis. I offer some suggestions of what future studies on this might explore as well as possible issues with the premise of my assertions.

1.2 CONCEPTUAL METAPHOR THEORY

Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) was established by George Lakoff and Mark Johnson in their seminal text *Metaphors We Live By* (Lakoff and Johnson 1980). This theory is built on the concept that ‘metaphorical thought is ordinary, and mostly unconscious and automatic’ (Lakoff 2009, 82) and ‘far more than a rhetorical or poetic device’ (Cameron and Low 1999, 78). Instead of being viewed

as a literary flourish, Lakoff states that these ‘ordinary’ metaphorical thoughts are ‘mental structures that are independent of language but that can be expressed through language’ (Lakoff 2009, 82). These ‘mental structures’ are formed by the connection of two differing conceptual domains that have corresponding elements (Kövecses and Benczes 2010, 4). When two domains, A and B, correspond with each other they form a conceptual metaphor: A IS B. The corresponding domains are referred to as TARGET and SOURCE, thus TARGET IS SOURCE. These correspondences between concepts form a ‘mapping’ where A is comprehended through B. According to Lakoff and Johnson, this connection of, or pathway between, concepts A and B within the mind is known as neural mapping or binding which is how a conceptual metaphor is formed and affirmed (Lakoff and Johnson 1999, 56-59; Lakoff 2009, 24-28). The more these mappings are used, the more the neural path is strengthened. Hence conceptual metaphors are considered to be independent of language rather than tied to it due to their often unconscious connection in the brain. As such, ‘to show that they designate concepts, not words’ (Sullivan 2019, 26), the use of SMALL CAPITALS is standard notation for conceptual metaphors (e.g. GOOD IS UP, AFFECTION IS WARMTH). This standard formatting of small capitals will be used throughout this thesis.

The following example which Lakoff and Johnson offer in *Metaphors We Live By*, explains how conceptual metaphors form mental structures that inform language use. They call these ‘linguistic expressions’.

Conceptual Metaphor: ARGUMENT IS WAR

Linguistic Expressions: Your claims are *indefensible*.

He *attacked every weak point* in my argument.

His criticisms were *right on target*.

If you use that *strategy*, he’ll *wipe you out*.

(Lakoff and Johnson 1980, 4)

CMT is explained more fully in chapter two as part of my Literature Review. I will now discuss the use of CMT in this thesis alongside Kugel’s *Afterlife of the Text*.

1.3 USE OF CMT IN THIS THESIS ALONGSIDE THE AFTERLIFE OF THE TEXT

The Afterlife of the Text is a field of investigation in which texts are studied that have a 'life' after their initial context. The term was coined by Walter Benjamin in *The Task of the Translator* (Benjamin 1923; 1968) and further expanded by James Kugel in *How to Read the Bible* (Kugel 2007, 662–89). This concept encompasses the idea that texts have a life which then may have an evolving 'afterlife' following the original life. In this regard, the 'life' is the initial instance and the 'afterlife' is anything that follows in reference to the first life. In regards to this thesis, the 'life' is the Biblical texts that contain 'scapegoat' or 'messiah' concepts. The Afterlife is evidenced through citations and allusions within later Biblical texts and through translation history as well as in the broader culture, society and politics (Benjamin 1923; 1968, 69–82; Kugel 2007, xiv–xv, 669–89). This repetition and evolution of Biblical texts can maintain usage of the initial texts and embed them in the cultural and individual subconscious. I argue in this thesis that this embeddedness can occur because Biblical conceptual metaphors are part of political speechmaking, because Biblical phrasing was established in English vernacular during English translation and Reception History of the Bible, particularly the King James Version of 1611 (van Steenberg 2011, 440). By utilising CMT to study the Afterlife of Biblical texts, it is possible to observe the ongoing use of key concepts, investigate how they have evolved from their Biblical life and analyse what effect they may have on language use and its broader social impacts. A particular area of broader social impact is in political speechmaking.

Lakoff and Johnson's Conceptual Metaphor Theory is a helpful tool to analyse how concepts evolve from 'life' to 'afterlife'. In *Don't Think of an Elephant*, Lakoff notes that 'about 98 percent of what our brains are doing is below the level of consciousness. As a result, we may not know all, or even most, of what in our brains determines our deepest moral, social and political beliefs. And yet we act on the basis of those largely unconscious beliefs' (Lakoff 2004, xii). Lakoff's application of CMT to American politics (Lakoff 2004; 2009; 2016) is particularly helpful for analysing similarities and differences of politics in Australia. However, this thesis is more than a comparative study of CMT analysis in an Australian

political context. This is because of the focus on Biblical texts as the original 'life' of concepts that are still used in contemporary Australian political speechmaking. This focus is applied to analyse the use of SCAPEGOAT and MESSIAH metaphors through CMT within their Biblical origins of Leviticus and Isaiah respectively. I will argue that these ancient metaphors that have been active for more than 2500 years, originating in the Biblical text and evolving in an Afterlife of the Text that continues into contemporary speech, including into Australian political speechmaking.

In *Philosophy of the Mind*, Lakoff and Johnson recognise that 'more than two millennia of *a priori* philosophical speculation' precede current studies on reason, 'rational' thinking and cognition (Lakoff and Johnson 1999, 3). Lakoff and Johnson's work focuses on the context of philosophy and the Western mind generally rather than Biblical concepts specifically (Lakoff and Johnson 1999, 3) though in his later writings, Lakoff discusses religion, religious metaphors and the effects of religion on politics. He specifically engages with religious and religio-political concepts in a significant way in *Moral Politics* (2016) and looks at poetic books of the Bible and their metaphor use with Mark Turner in *More than Cool Reason* (1989). His work supports the argument made in this thesis: that the political afterlife of Biblical metaphors in Australia is more powerful because of the embodied nature of Biblical metaphors and Christianity within Australian language, culture and society.

To make the above argument, I suggest that the below comment by Lakoff in *The Political Mind*, is pertinent:

The brain is not neutral... It comes with a structure, and our understanding of the world is limited to what our brains can make sense of. Some of our thought is literal – framing our experience directly. But much of it is metaphoric and symbolic, structuring our experience indirectly but no less powerfully...

Language gets its power because it is defined relative to frames, prototypes, metaphors, narratives, images, and emotions. Part of its power comes from its unconscious aspects: we are not consciously aware of all that it evokes in us, but it is there, hidden, always at work. If we hear the same language over and over, we will think more and more in terms of the frames and metaphors activated by that language. (Lakoff 2009, 14–15).

The two major metaphors that I analyse in this thesis are SCAPEGOAT IS ATONEMENT and MESSIAH IS GUIDE/MESSIAH IS SACRIFICE. At the start of their relevant chapters (chapters 4 and 6 respectively), I explain how I analyse these as complex metaphors before discussing how these metaphors are utilised within the Biblical Hebrew text of Leviticus and Isaiah respectively and beyond in the King James Version and the New International Version. The SCAPEGOAT and MESSIAH metaphors continue to be used today. I note that these metaphors have powerfully and profoundly influenced the English language (Dawkins 2006, 340-344; Kugel 2007; Lake 2018, 8-9). Analysing the influence of these metaphors is challenging. Their Afterlife has been affected by translation difficulties, interpretational bias, and cultural differences and ethnocentricity/egocentricity of the reader. In a number of places some texts or meanings have been lost or at least limited in the translation process. This thesis investigates how the sometimes difficult translation of Biblical terms, phrases and metaphors can cause problems in translation and interpretation (Kugel 2007; Ehrman 2011, 2013), which further affects contemporary use. As Sawyer argues in *The Book of Isaiah and its Readers* ‘What people believe a text means may often be more important than what it originally meant’ (Sawyer 2017, 249–62). This can be because through repetitive activation of connecting concepts that have been mistranslated or misunderstood, can establish an incorrect translation as the correct one.

It is my argument that the metaphors of the Bible are relevant to analysing political speechmaking. These metaphors have not been recognised for the influence that they might have through political speeches. They have not just ‘appeared’ without cause or due to a sense of ‘common knowledge’. Lakoff states that ‘Nothing is “just” common sense. Common sense has a conceptual structure that is usually unconscious. That’s what makes it “common sense.” It is the commonsensical quality of political discourse that makes it imperative that we study it’ (Lakoff 2016, 4). The ‘commonsensical’ quality includes Biblical metaphors.

I will now outline the framework of chapters four, five, six and seven before discussing why this topic matters, the use of sections of Leviticus and Isaiah as corpora, the parameters for this thesis and where this thesis fits in current academic settings.

1.4 OUTLINE OF CHAPTER FOUR: SCAPEGOAT IN ISAIAH

As will be investigated in chapter 4, the term SCAPEGOAT originates from and is unique to Leviticus. The SCAPEGOAT appears in Leviticus as the SOURCE of the conceptual metaphor SCAPEGOAT IS ATONEMENT. A ritual for this ‘washing away’ of SIN in Leviticus is described in the Day of Atonement ritual in Leviticus 16. This ritual requires two goats. One goat in the Day of Atonement ritual is sacrificed to atone for SIN. This ‘goat for YHWH’ is sacrificed and its blood spilled on the altar in the ‘Most Holy Place’ and the ‘tent of meeting’ as a blood sacrifice to cleanse from sin (Lev 16:15). The other goat is exiled into the wilderness after Aaron has ‘transferred’ the sins of the people onto the goat. He does this as instructed by the action to ‘lay both hands on the head of the live goat and confess over it all the wickedness and rebellion of the Israelites - all their sins - and put them on the goat’s head’ (Lev 16:21 NIV). The goat who ‘takes on’ these sins is exiled, ‘escaping’ from the community into the wilderness and cleansing the community of sin. This second goat is the goat for *azazel* or what is now known in English as the ‘scapegoat’ (Henninger 1987; OED 1993; Janowski 2012). This creature is unique to the four uses of its name in Leviticus 16. It is not used elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible.

While the ‘scapegoat’ in Leviticus is one who takes away the sins of the people into the wilderness to cleanse them, a sacrificial goat is also required as part of the Day of Atonement ritual. The dual act of atonement materialises in the act of sacrifice and the act of exile. In chapter four, I firstly analyse where these instances appear in Leviticus, how the complex conceptual metaphor is formed and then how these concepts evolve in the Biblical translations of the King James Version and New International Version and into the Afterlife of the Text.

Significantly, the concepts of SCAPEGOAT and ATONEMENT in current scholarship has become prominent in recent years through the work of Rene Girard (1986):

‘The act of scapegoating allows for a restoration of harmony and peace to a group, at least for a certain length of time; it is the concerted use of violence to keep violence (temporarily) at bay... The scapegoat mechanism is central to Girard’s theory of religion which, he maintains, legitimizes or sacralises a certain social or cultural configuration. In order that peace can be restored, victimisation and ostracism are (unwittingly) utilised to this end’ (Fleming 2002, 62).

Girard’s work on ‘the scapegoat’ has illuminated this concept particularly through the Christ figure who plays the role of ‘willing, blameless’ scapegoat. Girard’s theory incorporates the dual nature of the SCAPEGOAT: a SCAPEGOAT who may be a ‘willing, blameless victim’ or otherwise may be an ‘enemy other’. In both cases, this scapegoat atones for the wrongs of the community by being exiled while bearing the STAIN of their SIN. In chapter four I explore a number of articles which investigate the appearances of SCAPEGOAT in fields relevant to this thesis including Biblical studies and Australian Politics. This employment of SCAPEGOAT and ATONEMENT in Biblical Studies and the Afterlife of the Text is the focus of chapter four.

1.5 OUTLINE OF CHAPTER FIVE: SCAPEGOAT IN AUSTRALIAN POLITICS

In chapter five, I identify how SCAPEGOAT and ATONEMENT appear in Australian Politics. In this chapter, the examples gleaned in chapter four on how these concepts have evolved from the Hebrew Bible into English are used to analyse how SCAPEGOAT and ATONEMENT are used in a corpus of Australian political speeches. Specifically, this chapter is an investigation of contemporary Prime Ministerial speeches from 2000 to current. The research that I am proposing is qualitative research on speeches discoverable through Hansard (Parliament of Australia 2022). I am not exhaustively sampling metaphorical use of the chosen two metaphor groupings across the history of Australian politics, since Federation in 1901. There are parameters to contain and focus this research which include speaker, concepts (in this instance SCAPEGOAT and ATONEMENT) and date range

from 1 January 2000 to 31 October 2022. I will now explain why these parameters were selected before discussing the outline of chapter five.

Firstly, this timeframe was chosen to narrow the parameters of this thesis while including a number of different speechmakers. This 22 year timeframe includes leadership by seven Prime Ministers – John Howard (1996-2007), Kevin Rudd (2007-2010), Julia Gillard (2010-2013), Kevin Rudd for a second time (2013), Tony Abbott (2013-2015), Malcolm Turnbull (2015-2018), Scott Morrison (2018-2022) and current Prime Minister Anthony Albanese (2022-). These Prime Ministers represent both the Australian Labor Party (Kevin Rudd, Julia Gillard, Anthony Albanese) and the Liberal-National Coalition¹ (John Howard, Tony Abbott, Malcolm Turnbull, Scott Morrison). This number of speechmakers demonstrates an unstable time in Australian politics which resulted in a higher than precedented leadership changes. The tumult of leadership was not just between the opposing major parties of Labor and Liberal. The leadership changes noted above also indicate instability within parties.

The focus on Prime Ministers in Australia from 2000-2022 allows room for discussion of a number of different leaders and their rhetorical style and also provides a window into the dynamics of differing forms of leadership by several Christian prime ministers. The 22 year parameter includes Prime Ministers that made comments and displays of overt Christian faith (Kevin Rudd, Tony Abbott, Scott Morrison) as well as Prime Ministers that were more private as Christians (Malcolm Turnbull) and those that used their Christian heritage as a political tool (John Howard) (Maddox 2005). This timeframe also includes one Prime Minister who did not identify as Christian – atheist Prime Minister, Julia Gillard, and most recently Anthony Albanese who identifies as a ‘non-practicing’ or ‘cultural Catholic’ (Warhurst 2010; Goldsworthy 2013; Bowling 2022; Stevens 2022)².

¹ The Liberal-National Coalition is the Liberal Party and the Nationals Party and may also be referred to as the ‘Coalition’. The Prime Ministers noted above in this party are Liberal Party leaders, though are also leaders of the Coalition. None of them could be referred to as leader of the National Party without including the Liberal party in this phrasing.

² In my literature review in section 2.4.2, there is a discussion of Prime Ministers and how they identify as Christians under the parameters of ‘observant’, ‘nominal’ and ‘articulate atheist’ as laid out by Warhurst (2010). Due to the changes in leadership, since the publication of Warhurst’s article, Sheridan (2018) offers more recent insight.

Secondly, the choice to focus on Prime Ministerial speeches offers an opportunity to investigate use of SCAPEGOAT and ATONEMENT concepts at one of the highest levels of power in Australia. Further, this potential is evidenced in political change, policy making and how iconic these speeches are. Every Prime Minister from 2000-2022 has been part of the House of Representatives and thus this is largely where policy making speeches are evidenced³. However, due to COVID-19 and some changes to parliamentary practices because of this, as well as prominence of political speechmaking in the news, the search parameters include Prime Ministerial speeches in the House of Representatives and in press conference transcripts. Having now discussed why the parameters of timeframe, speakers and context have been chosen, I will now discuss the framework of chapter five.

Chapter five begins with a detailed analysis of two speeches as case studies before a discussion on the use of SCAPEGOAT concepts over the timeframe of study. The two case studies are chosen based on prominence of the speech in the Australian political landscape, such as the effect of the speech on policy or parliamentary changes as well as the use of metaphors and linguistic expressions from the Biblical text.⁴ In chapter five, these two case studies are ‘Ministerial Statement on Iraq’ (Howard 2003) and ‘The Apology to Australia’s Indigenous Peoples’ (Rudd 2008). These two speeches represent the two types of Girardian scapegoat (1986): the willing victim (Rudd) and the distinct enemy (Howard’s use of Iraq/Hussein).

Howard’s speech took place on 4 February 2003. On this date, then-Prime Minister John Howard made a Ministerial Statement on Australia’s involvement in the Iraq War, simply titled ‘Iraq’ (Howard 2003). Howard identifies Iraq and Saddam Hussein as ‘enemy’ scapegoats. I discuss this speech as a case study because of its significance in political engagement in war and the number of facets I identify as indicative of SCAPEGOAT concepts.

³ The alternative to a federal politician being in the House of Representatives or Lower House is to be in the Senate or Upper House.

⁴ See section 3.4.1 on Purposive sampling of Australian Political rhetoric for a full discussion of how this selection process occurs.

Rudd's *Apology* took place on 13 February 2008. This speech is a formal apology to Australia's Indigenous Peoples for forced removal of their children due to government policies. This apology was a formal parliamentary speech to 'say sorry to the stolen generations'⁵ (Rudd 2008, 167). This was his most significant Prime Ministerial speech (Marr 2010; Weller 2014, 192) and a completion of an election mandate (Rudd 2008, 167). I use this as a case study because of how iconic it is⁶ and the number of facets which I identify as use of SCAPEGOAT concepts and Biblical rhetoric. It contrasts with Howard's 'enemy' scapegoat and is an example of willingness to 'exile the stain' of Australia's past.

Following the analysis of SCAPEGOAT concepts in the two case studies, I investigate use of the term SCAPEGOAT in Australian political rhetoric. I do this by analysing the use of SCAPEGOAT as a term within contemporary Australian Prime Ministerial speeches in the House of Representatives and discuss how this term has evolved. To analyse these areas, I utilise the primary search terms of 'atonement' and 'scapegoat'. The purpose of identifying and analysing these primary and secondary search terms in their usage by Prime Ministers is to analyse how these concepts have evolved from Biblical Hebrew origins into contemporary political usage.

To analyse the evolution of the SCAPEGOAT metaphor grouping from Biblical origins into Australian politics, I use the analysis from the previous chapter on how SCAPEGOAT concepts evolved in the English translations of KJV and NIV and the Afterlife of the Text in Girardian theory.

Chapters four and five are coupled as a discussion of SCAPEGOAT concepts specifically focused on the Biblical origin of the term and its Afterlife. Chapter five is an expansion of the concepts and Biblical precedents and evolutions discussed in chapter four. Chapters six and seven are also coupled in the same manner but

⁵ 'Stolen Generations' is a term that describes the generations of Aboriginal children who have been forcibly removed from their parents in an attempt to naturalise them into colonial Australian culture (Harris 1994; Wilson and Dodson 1997; Philpot et al. 2013).

⁶ This speech has been added to the National Film and Sound Archive as an official Sound of Australia. The Sounds of Australian Register contains historically and socially significant sound bites (Gore and Roberts 2022).

with a different key concept. Outlined in the next two sections is the analysis of MESSIAH concepts which is undertaken in chapters six and seven.

1.6 OUTLINE OF CHAPTER SIX: MESSIAH IN ISAIAH

In chapter six, I introduce how MESSIAH concepts appear in the Biblical book of Isaiah in the so-called ‘Servant Songs’ (Isaiah 42:1-4; 49:1-6; 50:4-11; 52:13-53:12).⁷ These appear as MESSIAH IS GUIDE and MESSIAH IS SACRIFICE. The term ‘messiah’ appears in Isaiah in a noun form *mashiach* (anointed one, messiah) and a verbal form *maschach* (to anoint) which is further used to designate chosenness for leadership.

For chapter six, I analyse how the conceptual metaphors MESSIAH IS LEADER and MESSIAH IS GUIDE appear in Isaiah. This is possible through MESSIAH as TARGET being comprehended through the complex figure of GOD or GOD’S CHOSEN ONE as SOURCE, that is MESSIAH IS GOD/MESSIAH IS GOD’S CHOSEN ONE. This is a complex conceptual metaphor which is built on GUIDE being required to show the RIGHT WAY (Kuczok 2018, 7). Like ‘scapegoat’, a GUIDE is required to deal with SIN. However, instead of utilising the SIN IS STAIN conceptual metaphor, Kuczok identifies examples of conceptual metaphors like SIN IS FALLING DOWN, SIN IS IMPEDING THE PROGRESS, SIN IS GETTING LOST and SIN IS DEVIATING FROM A PATH. Restitution can be made through RIGHT LIVING and PROGRESS on the RIGHT PATH (Kuczok 2018, 7).

Two of the key conceptual metaphors that Lakoff employs are PROGRESS IS FORWARD MOVEMENT and PURPOSES ARE DESTINATIONS (Lakoff 2009). This is particularly important when considering that LIFE IS A JOURNEY or LIFE IS A MOUNTAIN. The peril of undertaking a journey, particularly on a mountain path without adequate preparation or a suitable guide embodies the fear of not reaching one’s destination (PURPOSE) or perhaps falling down (SIN IS FALLING DOWN). Not walking on the path, or getting lost is also not preferable as it is

⁷ These passages are commonly referred to as ‘songs’ but they are poems in terms of type in the Hebrew Bible literature (Brueggemann 1998; Blenkinsopp 2000; Goldingay and Payne 2006). These passages can be read in Appendix D. This includes my translation from Biblical Hebrew, the King James Version and the New International Version.

preferable to reach the destinations of one's life with efficiency such as 'getting from A to B was a breeze'. To reach the PURPOSEFUL DESTINATION, a guide is required for those who are not 'on the path' due to SIN IS OBSTACLE. In the book of Isaiah, three of the servant songs depict MESSIAH IS GUIDE. One of the servant songs depicts MESSIAH IS SACRIFICE. This song of 'sacrifice' demonstrates that sometimes the path is so filled with obstacles, the 'guide' gives up their life to clear it. This 'song' bears similarity to 'scapegoat' concepts and Day of Atonement rituals. I focus on 'messiah' metaphors in chapter six and discuss the similarities between 'scapegoat' and 'messiah' metaphors in the conclusion to this thesis in chapter eight.

As with the SCAPEGOAT concept, I utilise the English translations of the King James Version and the New International Version to analyse how 'messiah' concepts have evolved into these two translations. This chapter finishes with a discussion on how MESSIAH IS GUIDE/SACRIFICE have evolved in the Afterlife of the Text. This discussion of MESSIAH in Biblical Studies and Reception History is the focus of chapter six; Australian politics is the focus of the following chapter, chapter seven, which will be outlined next.

1.7 OUTLINE OF CHAPTER SEVEN: MESSIAH IN AUSTRALIAN POLITICS

In chapter seven, I identify how MESSIAH IS GUIDE/SACRIFICE appears in Australian Politics. In this chapter, the examples gleaned in chapter six on how these concepts have evolved from the Hebrew Bible into English usage are used to analyse how MESSIAH and LEADER are used in the narrowed corpus of Australian politics that is Prime Ministerial speeches in the House of Representatives and press conferences from 2000 to present.

Like chapter five, chapter seven includes a detailed analysis of two speeches as case studies. The two case studies are chosen based on prominence of the speech in the Australian political landscape, such as the effect of the speech on policy or parliamentary changes as well as the use of metaphors and linguistic expressions from the Biblical text. In chapter seven, these two case studies are Julia Gillard's *The Misogyny Speech* (Gillard 2012) and Scott Morrison's press conference on floods, Parliament House culture and women's safety

(Morrison 2021b). I argue that these case studies represent the two types of messiah: the ‘guide’ (Gillard and Morrison) and the ‘sacrifice’ (Morrison).

Gillard’s famous speech⁸ took place on 9 October 2012, in response to Abbott’s motion to dismiss Peter Slipper as Speaker of the House due to the ‘vile anatomical references to which this Speaker appears to be addicted in his text messaging’ (Abbott 2012, 11574). Gillard identifies a path away from misogyny while demonstrating that the Leader of the Opposition, as her antagonist for this speech, is a hypocrite. I discuss this speech as a case study because of its significance in public and media engagement in framing expected ‘good’ behaviour and a number of facets I identify as indicative of MESSIAH concepts.

Morrison’s press conference took place on 23 March 2021. This speech was delivered when he was under pressure to act on allegations of sexual assault within Parliament House. The subject of intense media analysis in the Australian press as Morrison continued to struggle to be perceived as current rather than old-fashioned and out of touch due to his overt Pentecostal faith (Hartcher 2018; Savva 2019, 345, 361, 376; Boyce 2019; 2021). I use this as a case study because of its framing of expected ‘good’ behaviour and a number of facets I identify as indicative of MESSIAH concepts. It contrasts with Gillard’s framing and is an example of willingness to sacrifice for the ‘right’ path.

Following the analysis of MESSIAH concepts in the two case studies, I investigate use of the term MESSIAH in Australian political rhetoric. I do this by analysing the use of MESSIAH as a term within contemporary Australian Prime Ministerial speeches in the House of Representatives and discuss how this term has evolved. To analyse these areas, I utilise the primary search terms of ‘messiah’. The purpose of identifying and analysing this as a search term in its usage by Prime Ministers is to analyse how MESSIAH concepts have evolved from Biblical Hebrew origins into contemporary political usage.

To analyse the evolution of the MESSIAH metaphor grouping from Biblical origins into Australian politics, I use the analysis from the previous chapter on

⁸ This speech has been added to the National Film and Sound Archive as an official Sound of Australia. The Sounds of Australian Register contains historically and socially significant sound bites (Gore and Roberts 2022).

how MESSIAH concepts evolved in the English translations of KJV and NIV and the Afterlife of the Text.

Like chapters four and five, chapters six and seven are a pair. Chapter seven is an expansion of the MESSIAH concepts, Biblical precedents and evolutions discussed in chapter six. Having discussed the framework and chapter outlines for this thesis with the exception of the concluding chapter, in the following sections I will discuss why this topic matters, the use of Leviticus and Isaiah as corpora for this topic, the parameters for this thesis and where this thesis fits in current academic settings.

1.8 WHY THIS TOPIC MATTERS

This topic is relevant to contemporary academic work as the interaction between Biblical metaphors and Australian politics has been understudied. This may be because religion in Australia is relatively understated and introverted in comparison to our American counterparts (Maddox 2005; Sheridan 2018, 211). However, Australian political policies have been shaped on the back of ‘Christian’ ideals and Australia’s political rhetoric echoes that of Biblical speeches, parables and the like (Maddox 1997; 2005; Lake 2018, 221-49; Sheridan 2018, 171-205). Christianity has provided the ‘basis for civic life by providing a common set of values and norms’ (Howe and Hughes 2003, vii). This effect is caused by the often unrecognised use of Biblical metaphors. The use of Biblical metaphors may be unrecognised due to the embeddedness of terms and phrases of in English vernacular as well as the decrease in Christianity in Australia⁹, though not in Australian Politics.

⁹ Australians in general are increasingly irreligious. Only 43.9% of Australians identified as Christian in the 2021 Census taken by the Australian Bureau of Statistics (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2022). Though some of this figure is due to multicultural movement and an increase in religions other than Christianity, the second largest identifying group is that of ‘no-religion’ at 38.9%. These figures show significant change in the past 100 years. In 1911, in the first Census, 96% of Australians reported Christianity as their religion. Minimal decline could be seen 50 years later in 1966, with 88% reporting as Christian. It is worth noting that, at this point, Aboriginal Australians were not counted in the Census.

With the European influence on Australian migration and population it is unsurprising that Christianity is still reported as the most common religion. Compared with the prior Census in 2016, the proportion of the population with a Christian affiliation decreased from 52% to 43.9%, a drop of 8.1%. In 2011, Christianity was identified at 61% of the Australian population. In the past 10 years,

Though religiosity may now be somewhat minimised, Australia has always had a Christian presence in parliament – whether in power, or in Opposition. Warhurst (2010) groups Prime Ministers into three Christian categories: observant (regular church-goers), conventional (occasional church-goers) and nominal (attendance only on formal occasions), and two non-Christian categories: articulate atheists, who speak publicly about their disbelief, and nominal agnostics (Warhurst 2010). It is thus far from irrelevant to discuss religions other than Christianity. The presence and productivity of a Christian persona and Christian rhetoric has been of service in public life to the Australian community. Over the history of the Australian parliament and its 31 Prime Ministers, 25 Prime Ministers have been and are categorically Christian; 6 are not. Thirty have been men. Of Australia's 31 Prime Ministers, nearly 80% have identified as Christian. This suggests that Christianity plays a key role in the life and vocation of the leadership of Australia (Sheridan 2018, 206-242).

Historical texts like the Bible are used in current settings despite being more than 2000 years removed from their cultural settings. Biblical metaphors are embedded in vernacular English and these concepts are embodied in Australian culture. This embeddedness occurred through the translation of the Biblical text from Biblical Hebrew and Koine Greek into English. In this translation process, phrases and words were coined and became included in English language usage beyond Biblical citations. These phrases and words from Biblical origins are utilised in political slogans, policies and speeches (Maddox 2001; 2005; Lakoff 2009; Lake 2018; Sheridan 2018). Because of this, the Bible and Christian power has been used as a tool to control and contain behaviour (Harris 1994; Lake 2018, 7-8). Whether it is recognised, SCAPEGOAT and MESSIAH metaphors are employed for political gain and may be used to validate the morality of a candidate, party or policy.

Christianity has declined nearly 20%. Alternatively, the category of 'no religion' rose 8% from 22% in 2011 to 30.1% in 2016 and again by 8.8% to 38.9% in 2022 – over 2 million people in each rise. The diversity of religion also grew, though minimally with religions other than Christianity rising 1.8% from 8.2% to 10% (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2022).

Though Australians are increasingly categorising themselves as not being religious, religion and religious rhetoric is evidenced in Australian politics today. Religion, particularly Christianity, is still engaged rhetorically to define one's standing, values and lifestyle choices (Maddox 1997; 2001, 2005; Howe and Hughes 2003; Summers 2003; Leonard and Pepper 2015; Pepper and Leonard 2016; Lake 2018; Sheridan 2018). As such, Biblical metaphors are used as persuasive devices in politics. My work analyses how SCAPEGOAT and MESSIAH metaphors have evolved from the Hebrew Bible and are used in contemporary Australian Politics. This political afterlife is informed by translation history and the Afterlife of the Text. By using CMT as an analytical tool, I discuss how SCAPEGOAT and MESSIAH metaphors form neuro-linguistic frames that are powerful, persuasive and not overtly religious in use. This use of Biblical metaphors is worth studying as it shapes political policies which affect local, national and possibly international settings. Failure to recognise the use of Biblical metaphors in Australian politics could be potentially harmful to understanding why people respond to certain speech forms, patterns and metaphors.

Having discussed why this topic matters, I will now discuss Leviticus and Isaiah as the corpora for this study, then the parameters for this thesis before concluding with the limitations of this thesis and where it sits in current settings.

1.9 LEVITICUS AND ISAIAH AS CORPORA

The *Hebrew Bible* or Christian Old Testament is most relevant in Western settings through its use as part of Judeo-Christian history. Leviticus is a book of Law and Isaiah is one of the Prophetic Books of the Hebrew Bible and Christian Old Testament (in all traditions: Catholic, Orthodox and Protestant). Biblical Hebrew concepts in Leviticus and Isaiah are made accessible to English speakers through English translations of the text. Without awareness of its Ancient Near Eastern heritage, it is easy to read the Bible in English in a Western setting without considering what may have changed in translation processes from Biblical Hebrew into English. This translation process creates an Afterlife of the Text from the Hebrew Bible which over time evolves differently from the original concepts (Kugel 2007, 2-46, 662-689; Ehrman 2011, 2013; Spong 2012).

This thesis utilises the corpus of the books of Leviticus and Isaiah as written in the *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia* (Kittel et al. 1997). I utilise these texts as corpora to identify origin texts for Biblical SCAPEGOAT and MESSIAH concepts to better analyse how they evolve in the Afterlife of the Text and whether these uses impact political speech making in Australia.

1.10 LIMITATIONS ON CORPUS AND PARAMETERS FOR THIS THESIS

The corpora in this thesis have helped to create parameters for this analysis. Within a Biblical context, this thesis only comments on use of SCAPEGOAT in Leviticus 16 and MESSIAH concepts in Isaiah's Servant Songs in Biblical Hebrew and the English translations of the KJV and NIV¹⁰. The use of these two widely sold English versions highlights the differences that can occur in the translation process which might impact use of these texts and concepts in Australian political speeches.

This thesis does not comment on SCAPEGOAT and MESSIAH metaphors in the Hebrew Bible beyond the above parameters. This thesis is not a study of Leviticus or Isaiah as Old Testament texts nor is it making theological comment. These Biblical books serve only as a literary corpus for the purpose of analysing SCAPEGOAT and MESSIAH concepts in the Afterlife of the Texts, culminating in an analysis of contemporary Australian Prime Ministerial speeches.

Biblical texts within this thesis are translated into English by the author for the purposes of this thesis unless specified. Use of other English Bible translations will be cited to include this detail (i.e. KJV, NIV etc). Hebrew and Greek characters are not necessary for the argument of this thesis. All relevant terms are transliterated into Roman alphabet and translated into English.

Further to the Biblical parameters of this thesis, only Australian Prime Ministerial speeches from 2000-2022 that utilise SCAPEGOAT and MESSIAH metaphors are analysed in this thesis (Parliament of Australia 2022).

My focus in this thesis is SCAPEGOAT and MESSIAH metaphors in Isaiah in Biblical Hebrew and the afterlife of its metaphors in Prime Ministerial speeches in

¹⁰ Only the KJV and NIV are used as English translations.

the House of Representatives from 2000-2022. While it may be possible to determine translational and interpretational issues, it is often impossible to determine whether this use was to further a personal or professional interest. This study highlights the possibility of metaphor use within the evolved SCAPEGOAT and MESSIAH concepts in the specific oratory context of Prime Ministerial speeches from 2000-2022. It does not attempt nor is it able to determine whether these are intentional misinterpretations.

1.11 THESIS IN CURRENT ACADEMIC SETTINGS

My work is the first of its kind to study how two Biblical metaphors are used in Australian Prime Ministerial speeches from 2000-2022. I argue that SCAPEGOAT and MESSIAH concepts are used in ways that might frame how people view power, equality, 'fair-go' and opportunity.

This thesis will make a substantial contribution to and critique of the relatively neglected area of use of Biblical metaphors in Australian politics. Moreover, it will add to interdisciplinary study of SCAPEGOAT and MESSIAH metaphors in Conceptual Metaphor Theory and to related fields such as politics, religio-linguistics, theology, Hebrew Bible/Old Testament, rhetoric, homiletics, and discourse studies which has become such a burgeoning area of research and exploration in contemporary academia.

1.12 SUMMARY

In this chapter I have introduced my topic, including its outline and the fields of inquiry in which it is set. Further, I have discussed the use of Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) as coined by Lakoff and Johnson in *Metaphors We Live By* to analyse two metaphors in the text of Leviticus and Isaiah respectively: SCAPEGOAT and MESSIAH. I use CMT as an analytical tool to explore how these concepts have evolved in the Afterlife of the Text and to analyse how they have become embedded in English vernacular through translation history to maintain relevance in contemporary settings. The focus of these contemporary settings is Australian Prime Ministerial speeches in the House of Representatives and press conferences from 2000-2022.

This thesis titled “‘A voice cries out in the wilderness’”: The political afterlife of ‘scapegoat’ and ‘messiah’ metaphors, from The King James Bible to contemporary Australian political rhetoric’ has eight chapters. The first three introduce the topic, review literature in the fields of Conceptual Metaphor Theory and Biblical studies, and summarise the method in which the topic of the political Afterlife of SCAPEGOAT and MESSIAH metaphors is approached. Chapters four and five are analyses of SCAPEGOAT metaphors. Chapters six and seven are analyses of MESSIAH metaphors. Chapter eight is a summary of my analysis of both SCAPEGOAT and MESSIAH metaphors and a concluding analysis on what the political afterlife in Australia is for these concepts. Having now introduced the topic of this thesis in this chapter, in the next chapter I will review literature relevant to the fields, method and corpora.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 INTRODUCTION

In this thesis, I utilise Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) to analyse how two important Biblical metaphors are used and misused in contemporary Australian Politics. I specifically analyse the ‘scapegoat’ and ‘messiah’ metaphors originating from the book of Isaiah, within the Hebrew Bible/Christian Old Testament¹¹. I will explain how these Biblical metaphors have become engrained within vernacular language in Australia by utilising CMT as a tool to investigate Leviticus and Isaiah, their translation and their evolved use within Australian political rhetoric.

This chapter firstly focuses on publications that utilise and analyse CMT, particularly Lakoff’s works. Secondly, I review how CMT has been utilised in religious and political spheres by reviewing rhetorical-political and religio-political literature, again including Lakoff’s works. Finally, I review literature that studies the so-called ‘Afterlife of the Text’ (Benjamin 1923; 1968; Kugel 2007) including a discussion thereof within Biblical studies, translation and interpretation.

In section 2.2 on CMT, I review literature from Lakoff’s main corpus. Within the context of Lakoff’s body of work, I highlight facets of CMT critical to the analysis in this thesis. These are primary and complex metaphors, embodied cognition, and conscious/unconscious thought. I also discuss challenges to CMT as a field. In the review of political literature in 2.3, I focus on political rhetoric in Australian politics from 2000 to present. Included in this section is a broader discussion on religion in public life, specifically in contemporary Australian politics. Following this, in section 2.4 on the Afterlife of the Text, I discuss the literature which highlights the role of interpretation and translation in the formation and

¹¹ I use these terms interchangeably. It is appropriate to refer to Isaiah as being part of the Hebrew Bible or *Tanakh*; it is also appropriate to refer to Isaiah as part of the Christian Old Testament (Orthodox, Catholic and Protestant). The Hebrew Bible and the Protestant Old Testament are, mostly, the same, though the ordering of the books of each differ. Within the context of this thesis, it is appropriate to use the terms interchangeably as I discuss the text of Isaiah as primarily a book written in Biblical Hebrew, yet referring to this book as a book of the Christian Old Testament is more appropriate within an Australian context due to the higher number of Australians identifying as Christians.

evolution of the Bible. Finally, I summarise the literature review and identify the key research questions which are not answered within relevant scholarship.

I will now explain Conceptual Metaphor Theory and its usage in a variety of fields.

2.2 CONCEPTUAL METAPHOR THEORY

Metaphor is for most people a device of the poetic imagination and the rhetorical flourish... a matter of words rather than thought or action... metaphor is pervasive in everyday life, not just in language but in thought and action. Our ordinary conceptual system, in terms of which we both think and act, is fundamentally metaphorical in nature. (Lakoff and Johnson 1980, 3)

Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) has enriched a number of fields of enquiry since it was coined in Lakoff and Johnson's *Metaphors We Live By* (1980). These fields include linguistics, mathematics, philosophy, politics and biblical studies. Lakoff's work on CMT in politics in the United States of America has been a significant part of academic and political dialogue in the past 20 years. However, there is limited use of CMT in analysing Australian politics. While there are similarities between American and Australian political and religious climates, the use of religious language in politics differs and has been understudied in an Australian setting. Further, there is currently no explicit use of CMT to identify and correlate Biblical metaphors with their use in contemporary Australian politics.

Biblical metaphors (and/or metaphors with a Biblical origin) are engrained in Australian vernacular but have been under-studied in this area. In this thesis I discuss how linguistic shifts through translation processes make some metaphors difficult to recognise as originating from Biblical Hebrew, the language in which the text of Leviticus and Isaiah were written. When analysed through the frame of the Afterlife of the Text, as say in contemporary Australian political rhetoric, Biblical metaphors typically lack their original linguistic sense¹² and this may lead to them not being recognised as having a Biblical origin. While the linguistic

¹² I will discuss the distinction between metaphor and linguistic expression in 2.2.1.

expressions of these metaphors might differ from traditional Biblical phrasing, it is possible to trace some of these concepts from a Biblical origin, particularly SCAPEGOAT and MESSIAH metaphors. This conceptual usage exists in spite of evident decline in Christianity. As in America, Christianity has declined significantly in the past 30 years in Australia (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2013; Pew 2015; Australian Bureau of Statistics 2022). This decline, and variation from Christianity as the norm, has fostered a perception that Australia is losing sight of the value of its 'Christian heritage' (Sheridan 2018, 2-13). However, Biblical metaphors remain part of Australian culture through the use of their concepts in Australian vernacular¹³. As such, Australian politicians use Biblical metaphors in their speeches as markers or signals of authority to legitimise or imply 'moral' judgements (Maddox 2010, 345-46; Lake 2018, 221, 238, 240, 242, 247-49).

Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT), as articulated by Lakoff and Johnson in *Metaphors We Live By* (1980), is a theory that views metaphors not as linguistic ornamentation, but as central to thought (Deignan 2005, 13). According to Cameron and Low this 'cognitive or constructivist approach' instigated by Lakoff and Johnson makes metaphor 'far more than a rhetorical or poetic device' (Cameron and Low 1999, 78). As Lakoff notes in *The Political Mind*, 'metaphors are mental structures that are independent of language but that can be expressed through language. Metaphorical thought is ordinary, and mostly unconscious and automatic' (Lakoff 2009, 82). This unconscious and automatic nature of metaphor in thought processing is one of the key tenets of CMT. These tenets, developed in and explored further since *Metaphors We Live By*, are summarised by Deignan as follows: metaphors structure thinking and knowledge, are central to abstract knowledge, are grounded in physical experience (embodiment) and are ideological (Deignan 2005, 13).

In *Metaphors We Live By*, Lakoff and Johnson explain their Conceptual Metaphor Theory (1980). In contrast to rationalistic theories and generative linguistics, Lakoff and Johnson highlight demonstrable patterns of how neural

¹³ It could be assumed that this may further extend into the values, morals and heritage, beyond matters of faith or religion but these areas are beyond the parameters of this thesis.

framing shapes our thinking and our actions. Through linguistic and philosophical perspectives, they ‘suggest that these basic metaphors not only affect the way we communicate ideas, but actually structure our perceptions and understandings from the beginning’ (Lakoff 2018). They base this theory on embodied cognition: that thought processes are informed by embodied sensations like warmth and touch which results in the body influencing the mind. In so-called ‘second generation cognitive science’, embodied cognition is the theory of how metaphors form the deep neural frames through which we unconsciously balance all matters of existence, thinking and pragmatism (Lakoff and Johnson 1999, 97, 106-111).

Metaphors We Live By was a seminal text. It was followed by further explorations by Lakoff and Johnson: *More Than Cool Reason* (Lakoff and Turner 1989), *Women, Fire and Dangerous Things* (Lakoff 1990), *Philosophy in the Flesh* (Lakoff and Johnson 1999), *Don’t Think Of An Elephant* (Lakoff 2004), *Thinking Points* (Lakoff and Rockridge Institute 2006), *Whose Freedom?* (Lakoff 2006) and *The Political Mind* (Lakoff 2009), *The Little Blue Book* (Lakoff and Wehling 2012) and *Moral Politics* (Lakoff 2016). There are also a number of other key authors on Conceptual Metaphor Theory, most notably Kövecses (2000; 2018), Kövecses and Benczes (2010), Fauconnier and Turner (1995; 1999; 2011), Gibbs (2011; 2017), Núñez, Edwards and Matos (1999), Núñez (2005; 2009; 2015), Ortony (1993) Sweetser, (1990; 1995; 2017) Dancygier and Sweetser (2005), DesCamp and Sweetser (2005), and Sanders and Sweetser (2009). Each of these authors expand on Lakoff and Johnson’s initial work and respond to critiques of CMT.

Interest in and use of CMT has spanned fields beyond linguistics into philosophy (Lakoff and Johnson 1999), biblical studies (DesCamp and Sweetser 2005; Tebbit 2013; DiFransico 2014; Lam 2016), science, mathematics and education (Rafael Núñez et al 1999; Rafael Núñez 2005; 2009; 2012; 2015), cognitive and clinical psychology (Herman 2007; Koch 2012; Cuccio 2017), artificial intelligence (Negrotti 1991; Shutova, et al 2013; Hari Narayanan 2015), and politics (Lakoff and Rockridge Institute 2006; Lakoff 2006; 2009; 2010; Lakoff and Wehling 2012; Lakoff 2016; Musolf 2016).

2.2.1 CONCEPTUAL METAPHORS AND THEIR STANDARD NOTATION

According to Kövecses (2010), conceptual metaphors are formed by a correspondence between two conceptual domains – A and B. These domains are two differing concepts with corresponding elements. When domains A and B correspond with each other they form a conceptual metaphor: A IS B. This connection is referred to as ‘mapping’. Kövecses and Benczes explain that through conceptual metaphor, A is comprehended through B and ‘to know a conceptual metaphor is to know this set of mappings’ (Kövecses and Benczes 2010, 33). Lakoff notes that this connection of concepts A and B occurs within the brain and is technically known as neural mapping (2009, 84)¹⁴. According to CMT, a neural map is the term for this connection or pathway through which correspondence travels between conceptual domains A and B. This connection of one concept to another in the brain along a neural path or map is how a conceptual metaphor is formed and affirmed. The more these mappings are used, the more the neural path is strengthened.

The standard notation for conceptual metaphors is in SMALL CAPITALS ‘to show that they designate concepts, not words’ (Sullivan 2019, 26). The formula for a conceptual metaphor is written as follows:

CONCEPTUAL DOMAIN A IS CONCEPTUAL DOMAIN B

Through the connection of the domains, conceptual domain A is clarified. This clarified domain is known as the ‘target’ domain. It is clarified by connecting it to a ‘source’ domain, noted below as conceptual domain B:

CONCEPTUAL DOMAIN A (TARGET) IS CONCEPTUAL DOMAIN B (SOURCE)

therefore:

TARGET (A) IS SOURCE (B)

¹⁴ This neural mapping is a help and a hinderance to conversing with someone from a similar or opposing point of view, which Lakoff explains extensively through political models (2004; 2009; 2016).

The target domain is an abstract concept while the source is typically a concrete concept, thus:

TARGET (ABSTRACT) IS SOURCE (CONCRETE)

therefore:

ABSTRACT (A) IS CONCRETE (B)

Though the ‘staticness of the paradigmatic A IS B formula’ might lead people to underestimate the ‘dynamic’ nature of metaphor, conceptual metaphors are present in linguistic and non-linguistic realities. According to Kövecses and Benczes, these include ‘myths, dream interpretation, the interpretation of history, cultural symbols, politics and foreign policy, morality, “moral politics”, social institutions, social practices’ amongst others (Kövecses and Benczes 2010, 72–73).

A IS B conceptual metaphors are expressed in linguistic expressions; the expressions are not the conceptual metaphors themselves (Kövecses and Benczes 2010, 45). For example, a linguistic metaphorical expression like *he lacks direction in life* is understood through the conceptual metaphor of LIFE IS A JOURNEY, as is *the future was wide open, her career was progressing well* and so on (Kövecses and Benczes 2010).

Conceptual metaphors tend to be unidirectional. This means that the above LIFE IS A JOURNEY metaphor must map as it is written, from abstract to concrete. It does not work as JOURNEY IS A LIFE as this would attempt to clarify the concrete concept ‘JOURNEY’ through the abstract one ‘LIFE’. This change of direction would disrupt the correspondence between concepts and make the metaphor less clear (Cameron and Low 1999; Kövecses and Benczes 2010, 28; Gibbs 2017).

2.2.2 PRIMARY AND COMPLEX METAPHORS

The LIFE IS A JOURNEY metaphor noted above is a primary metaphor. This is because of its correspondence between an ABSTRACT concept and a CONCRETE one (i.e. ABSTRACT IS CONCRETE). However, conceptual metaphors can also be complex. This

occurs when the conceptual domains are both abstract. A complex metaphor is mapped in the following formula: ABSTRACT IS ABSTRACT (Lakoff and Turner 1989, 97-100; Lakoff and Johnson 1999, 60-73; Lakoff 2016, 4-5). This is due to categorisation of metaphors as primary or complex which I explain below.

2.2.2.1 Primary Metaphors

According to Lakoff, a primary metaphor actualises when two different parts of the brain are activated together during certain experiences (Lakoff and Johnson 1999, 45-59). This type of metaphor is primal, preliminary and usually relatively straightforward in terms of understanding, i.e. ABSTRACT IS CONCRETE. The following is a primary metaphor:

AFFECTION IS WARMTH

The AFFECTION IS WARMTH metaphor may be linguistically expressed as:

She was a *warm* person

He had a *sunny* demeanour

Their relationship was *filled with warmth* and laughter.

Lakoff highlights how this conceptual metaphor originates in childhood through the experience of bodily warmth as a baby is held by its parents:

Two different parts of our brains... one characterizing temperature and the other affection—are activated together, day after day. Activation spreads outward along networks of neurons from those two brain centers, and eventually two paths of activation meet and form a single circuit linking those two areas of the brain. (Lakoff 2009, 83)

He notes that these primary metaphors usually ‘arise spontaneously... during childhood’ and become part of the ‘cognitive unconscious’ (Lakoff and Johnson 1999, 74-93; Lakoff 2009, 43-74;), which is a term explained below in 2.2.4.

As discussed in 2.2.1, conceptual metaphors are correspondences between two conceptual domains. In a primary metaphor, the source domain is usually

sensory or embodied¹⁵ (Cameron and Low 1999; Cuccio 2017; Deignan 2005; Hampe 2017a; 2017b; Lakoff and Johnson 1999; Lakoff 2016).

2.2.2.2 Complex Metaphors

The LIFE IS A JOURNEY metaphor noted above is a primary metaphor. This is because of its correspondence between an ABSTRACT concept and a CONCRETE one (i.e. ABSTRACT IS CONCRETE). However, conceptual metaphors can also be complex. This occurs when the target *and* source domains are both abstract (Lakoff 2016; Lakoff and Turner 1989). For example, a complex metaphor is EMOTION IS ELECTRICITY (“his anger shocked him”), which arises from the merging of two simple metaphors, EMOTION IS A LIQUID (“his anger came in waves”) and ELECTRICITY IS A LIQUID (“the electric current is flowing”). When two metaphors share a common source, one abstract concept can become the source for the other (Lakoff and Johnson 1980; Kövecses 2010).

Like primary metaphors, complex metaphors are also embodied though this may not be as immediately recognisable. Complex metaphors are also referred to as ‘compound metaphors’ (Sullivan 2019) and ‘metaphor chains’ (Kövecses and Réka Benczes 2010). Lakoff and Johnson (Lakoff and Johnson 1999, 60–63) use this example:

A PURPOSEFUL LIFE IS A JOURNEY

This is the combination of the following two primary metaphors:

PURPOSES ARE DESTINATIONS and

ACTIONS ARE MOTIONS

These primary metaphors are based on the ‘cultural belief’ that ‘people are supposed to have destinations in life, and they are supposed to move so as to reach those destinations’ which is combined with the ‘simple fact’ that ‘a long trip

¹⁵ Winter and Matlock discuss how primary metaphors may also be cultural, as an extension of embodiment (2017).

to a series of destinations is a journey' (Lakoff and Johnson 1999, 61). This combination creates a complex metaphor¹⁶.

This complex metaphor may be expressed as requiring actions as follows:

A purposeful life requires planning a means for achieving your purposes.

Purposeful lives may have difficulties, and you should try to anticipate them.

You should provide yourself with what you need to pursue a purposeful life (Lakoff and Johnson 1999, 62).

Further to the above formation of complex metaphors based on the combination or 'chaining' of two primary metaphors, Kövecses (Kövecses and Benczes discuss personification as evidence of a complex conceptual metaphor. He discusses this as utilising the primal source domain of self as a reference point. By engaging 'ourselves' as a source domain and 'personifying nonhumans as humans, we can begin to understand them [the target concept] a little better' (Kövecses and Benczes 2010, 39). In this vein, Lakoff discusses Reagan's use of the 'Welfare Queen' as a personification of 'a lazy, uppity, sexually immoral black woman who was a cheater living off of the taxpayers, driving a Cadillac paid for by taxpayers, having children just to get money for them' (Lakoff 2009, 160). 'She' was used by Reagan as 'an example in discourse as if it were the typical case' (Lakoff 2009, 160). This example uses metonymy, the name given to a word that substitutes an object, action, institution etc by denoting it with a word or phrase (Lakoff and Johnson 1980, 35-40; OED 2009). Lakoff discusses how the metonymic frame uses its 'fixed associations'. These fixed associations were used to equate welfare with race, laziness and entitlement. With the Welfare Queen, Reagan created a frame where 'eliminating welfare is giving those unworthy blacks what they deserve – nothing' (Lakoff 2009, 161).

¹⁶ This particular complex metaphor is integral to the discussion in chapters six and seven.

Fauconnier and Turner also discuss a personified complex conceptual metaphor in *The Grim Reaper* (2011). Their example employs metonymy and polysemy, a word that has multiple meanings (OED 2006). The polysemic term is 'reaper', reaper being both a person who harvests and a tool for harvesting (scythe). Metonymy is employed in *The Grim Reaper* as a substitute for 'death' or 'killer' with the *Grim Reaper* 'harvesting' life. For example, '*The Grim Reaper* visited the nursing home frequently' and '*The Reaper* loved the beach during summer time as there were so many lives to take with the tides'.

Like primary metaphors, complex metaphors are typically utilised unconsciously (Lakoff and Johnson 1999, 9-15; Lakoff 2009, 43-74). Lakoff and Johnson (1999, 16-44) argue that this is due to 'embodied cognition' as explained below.

2.2.3 EMBODIED COGNITION

In *Philosophy in the Flesh* (1999), Lakoff and Johnson point out the involvement of the 'sensorimotor system in the conceptual system'. This involvement of senses relating directly to cognition of concepts is how they explain their use of the term 'embodied cognition'. The sensorimotor system, which receives messages from the senses – hearing, sight, touch, taste, smell – links the conceptual system to the world from and with these senses. As mentioned above, this embodiment or physicality is one of the key tenets of CMT (Deignan 2005, 13). Lakoff and Johnson state that 'Metaphor allows conventional mental imagery from sensorimotor domains to be used for domains of subjective experience' like the image of something going over one's head when a person fails to attain understanding of something (Lakoff and Johnson 1999, 44-45). Lakoff refers to language as 'a mediating system in the brain' with the way we think shaping language and language shaping the way we think. This mediating system 'consists of circuits linking meaningful, embodied ideas to physical linguistic form—speech, writing, gesture, and signs in signed languages' (Lakoff 2009, 232).

The conceptual metaphor ANGER IS HEAT corresponds between the source domain of HEAT with the target domain of ANGER. As Kövecses and Benczes argue,

this correspondence is embodied through the bodily rise in temperature that occurs when a person is angry (Kövecses and Benczes 2010, 81). Thus, body temperature provides a guide on positive and negative experiences. This is how it is possible to speak of a ‘hot-tempered’, ‘warm’ or ‘cold’ person. This temperature is a gauge of metaphorical not physical temperature. The source domain of HEAT gives concreteness to the abstract term of ANGER. This may be expressed linguistically as:

They had a *heated* argument.

He was being *hot-headed*.

She had *steam* coming from her ears.¹⁷

Their frustration was *boiling over*.

Lakoff and Johnson emphasise that these embodied metaphors lead to ‘embodied realism’. They assert that ‘realism’ is not an objective, superior, ‘rational’¹⁸ way of thinking or consideration and refute the idea that metaphor is an inferior, subjective thought process. Further Lakoff and Johnson discuss how embodied realism affects the telling and reception of truth. They refer to this as ‘embodied truth’ (1999, 94-129). This ‘truth’ is neither absolutely objective, nor purely subjective; instead it is ‘truths’, shared or otherwise. They note that this is through humanity collectively holding ‘much the same embodied basic-level and spatial-relations concepts’ (Lakoff and Johnson 1999, 107).

2.2.4 CONSCIOUS AND UNCONSCIOUS COGNITION

Particularly in *The Political Mind*, Lakoff discusses the importance of understanding how embedded conceptual metaphors exist in people’s minds. It is these deep metaphors – or deep (neural) frames – that cause a person to respond unconsciously, rather than consciously (Lakoff 2009, 43-132). Lakoff argues that conscious thought or cognition can be communicated with, questioned and assessed whereas unconscious thought is unchecked by such balances (Lakoff

¹⁷ This and the following example both combine EMOTION IS A LIQUID also.

¹⁸ This idea of ‘rational’ is discussed in-depth in *Philosophy of the Flesh* (Lakoff and Johnson 1999) in opposition to Enlightenment and Neo-Enlightenment views of ‘rational’ being the key decider in intelligent thought and argumentation.

2009, 74). Thus, to change someone's mind, Lakoff notes, you have to change their brain and 'rewire' their neural frames. This is because 'brains change when ideas are repeatedly activated' (Lakoff 2009, 116). The impact of repetition (due to early and frequent embodiment) is why 'family metaphors' dominate political rhetoric, Lakoff argues. For example, the key metaphors that he discusses in this regard are NATION AS FAMILY, STRICT FATHER and NURTURANT PARENT (2009, 75-91; 2016, 65-140). He notes that the human brain grasps these family models more readily than 'community' type metaphors and because brains are 'not infinitely plastic', unconscious metaphors cannot be switched easily – if at all (Lakoff 2009, 4-15).

Lakoff contends that brains change most readily under conditions of trauma, as in times of war. This is perhaps why Lakoff extensively cites the terrorist incident '9/11' which occurred in the United States of America on September 11, 2001¹⁹. He refers to this as a 'national trauma of the first order' which enabled:

... the Bush administration to impose the powerful 'war on terror' metaphor... Literal wars, unlike metaphorical ones, are conducted against armies of other nations. They end when the armies are defeated militarily and a peace treaty is signed... (in contrast) terror is an emotional state. It is in us. It is not an army. You can't defeat it militarily and you can't sign a peace treaty with it... 'War on terror' means war without end (Lakoff 2009, 125-26).

This example of the 'war on terror' had immediate power due to the success of the 'war on drugs' frame under Reagan²⁰ (Muscoreil 2013). Lakoff uses this 'war on terror' metaphor to demonstrate the power of metaphor in politics and the nature of repetition to embed a phrase as a neural frame, while the emotion of it is embodied. In his analysis, the 'war on terror' has become an embodied truth in the cognitive unconscious of America (2004, 103-117; 2009, 125-132).

¹⁹ Lakoff refers to this under its common abbreviation of '9/11', which he categorises as a metaphor.

²⁰ This was followed by a secondary 'war on drugs' under Obama.

2.2.5 CHALLENGES TO CMT

It is important to understand the limitations discussed by Gibbs, as well as those raised in works by Everett (2016), González-García et al (2013), Kimmel (2010), McGlone (2007) and Winter and Matlock (2017). Gibbs (2009) highlights the difficulties that some scholars have with CMT. The particular challenges he discusses include the limitations of the A IS B model. It is thought that this formula can ‘inhibit’ a thorough interrogation of language because of the reduction of explanations to suit the formula (Gibbs 2009, 18). He goes on to discuss how even those working within CMT frameworks can find that the analysis can be too simplistic ‘in terms of metaphorical thought patterns, than discovered by traditional CMT methods’ basic tenet that CMT is unfalsifiable, and can be anecdotally based’ (Gibbs 2009, 19–21).

2.3 CONCEPTUAL METAPHOR THEORY (CMT) IN POLITICS AND RELIGION

Conceptual Metaphor Theory has been used in academic analysis in politics, religion, linguistics, philosophy and other fields (Ortony 1993). I will first discuss the use of CMT in analysing politics and political rhetoric, before discussing how CMT is being used to analyse religion and religion’s intersect with political rhetoric.

2.3.1 CONCEPTUAL METAPHOR THEORY (CMT) IN POLITICS

Lakoff’s publications in the past twenty years have focussed on politics in the United States. As a self-declared Democrat, Lakoff has written particularly for the benefit of this audience. He generally categorises Democrats as ‘progressives’ on social issues and political policies, including pro-choice, gun control, social security, accessible public education and universal healthcare. This progressive audience is often positioned in contrast to the ‘Republican’ and/or ‘conservative’ audiences who are positioned to favour pro-life, pro-guns, lowered taxes, small government and minimal welfare²¹. He speaks to the differences between

²¹ Lakoff notes that Republicans and Democrats can be both progressive or conservative on particular policies and issues. Though he generalises Democrats as progressives and Republicans

conservatives and progressives and ‘reframes the debate’ for progressives in *Don’t Think Of An Elephant* (Lakoff 2004, 1-29, 125-164), *Thinking Points* (Lakoff and Rockridge Institute 2006), *Whose Freedom?* (Lakoff 2006, 73-130), *The Little Blue Book* (Lakoff and Wehling 2012) and *Moral Politics* (Lakoff 2016, 283-309, 384-388).

Though the political system differs between the United States and Australia, the categorisation of conservative and progressive is applicable. It could be contended that Republicans are similar to the Liberal Party as ‘conservatives’, and the Democrats are similar to the Labor Party and Greens as ‘progressives’. However, similarly to Lakoff’s commentary on American politics, party politics are not always indicative of whether a conservative or progressive approach will be taken. For example, in South Australia in 2019, the Liberal Party proposed changes to Land Tax Aggregation for multi-title landholders. This was a ‘progressive’ measure as it sought to impose more taxes and opened up an opportunity to utilise these funds for public good. These changes were supported by the Greens who, as described above, are normally seen as opposing conservative policies. In contrast, the Labor Party opposed this issue largely for private rather than public interest which some argued was against their expected party values (Ogle 2019b; 2019a). In this thesis, I utilise ‘progressive’ or ‘conservative’ as categorisations rather than relying on perceived ‘typical’ party values.

2.3.2 CONCEPTUAL METAPHOR THEORY (CMT) IN RELIGION

Most notably, Lakoff’s critique of conservatives includes the way that their religious worldviews are utilised to support their political agendas. This analysis has been well utilised in the American context, and largely takes place through the previously noted familial metaphors: NATION AS FAMILY, STRICT FATHER and NURTURANT PARENT (2009, 75-91; 2016, 65-140). For conservatives, their frame or model is the STRICT FATHER (2016, 65-107); for progressives, it is the NURTURANT PARENT (2016, 108-140). Lakoff discusses the dominance and interplay of these familial metaphors in political debates like: pro-life/pro-choice (STRICT FATHER

as conservatives, he uses the terms progressives or conservatives to discuss issues and policies rather than party-politics (Lakoff 2009; 2016).

controls sexuality of the household, NURTURANT PARENT offers choices with personal freedom/consequences), gun control (STRICT FATHER has a right to bear arms to protect self and family, NURTURANT PARENT desires to protect vulnerable citizens through controlled gun laws and minimisation of guns), the purpose of the penal system (STRICT FATHER controls immoral behaviour, NURTURANT PARENT uses as rehabilitative tool), religion in schools (STRICT FATHER sees religion as moral backbone, NURTURANT PARENT sees religion as separate and personal) and more. He further points out that, ‘conservatives believe that all of the major ills of our present society come from a failure to abide by their moral system’ (Lakoff 2016, 229). This success or failure can be expressed by the following conceptual metaphors:

MORALITY AS PHYSICAL HEIGHT/WHOLENESS/HEALTH/UP

IMMORALITY AS DEGENERATION/DISEASE/DOWN (Lakoff 2016)

In *Philosophy in the Flesh*, Lakoff and Johnson table common conceptual metaphors like these as well as MORALITY IS UP and PURPOSES ARE DESTINATIONS. They highlight the embodiment of these metaphors in contemporary settings as part of Western politics and Western linguistic norms (Lakoff and Johnson 1999, 52–54). They demonstrate how often religion and/or religious ideals appear in contemporary politics. For example, when politicians publicly state their Christian beliefs, UP metaphors are often used. An UP metaphor may be utilised in a religio-political setting through conceptual metaphors like VIRTUE IS UP, SPIRITUAL GROWTH IS UP and SALVATION IS REALLY UP (Lakoff and Johnson 1980, 24). In the American political context from which Lakoff bases his political analysis, personal ‘salvation’ may be spoken of without causing too much disruption (see Lakoff 2016, 2, 245). However, in an Australian political context it is uncommon that politicians will speak publicly of ‘salvation’ or claim their policies are based on ‘Biblical precepts’ (Maddox 2005; Lake 2018, 246-247), though these mentions of faith can be seen occasionally (Kenny 2015; Smith 2018)²². Instead, they are likely to refer to

²² Former Prime Minister Scott Morrison is an anomaly to this norm. His personal faith was a very present part of his leadership. This is explored in chapter seven of this thesis in the discussion of Morrison’s speech in section 7.2. For more, see Savva’s *Plots and Prayers* (Savva 2019).

AUSTRALIAN VALUES AS UP/FORWARD and also JUDEO-CHRISTIAN VALUES (that founded Australia) AS UP/FORWARD (Sheridan 2018, 321).

This connection between religion and politics is explored further by Musolff in *Political Metaphor Analysis* (2016). Musolff demonstrates how important and problematic metaphors in politics can be. As such, he describes the relevance of CMT as an analytic tool in politics over the 25 years prior to the publication of *Political Metaphor Analysis* in 2016. He articulates the possibilities to use CMT as an analytical tool to critique political discourse and the role of religion as part of political discourse.

Having reviewed literature on CMT in politics and religion, in the next section, I review literature from the Afterlife of the Text and the Bible in Australia.

2.4 THE AFTERLIFE OF AN ANCIENT TEXT IN AN AUSTRALIAN CONTEXT

The impact and use of the Bible is important to study in perceivably secular societies like Australia, because of the inherited impacts – on laws, cultural norms and vernacular language (Maddox 2010, 346; Sheridan 2018, 96-123). I use the phrase ‘perceivably secular’ because I argue in this thesis that Biblical metaphors are used in Australian politics currently. This suggests that the Bible is embedded in Australian vernacular and thus Australian society is not removed from religious imprint. In this section, I discuss the Afterlife of the Bible in an Australian context.

2.4.1 AFTERLIFE OF THE BIBLE

Knowledge of the Bible has continued through translation, discovery of ancient supporting texts and language change (van Steenberg 2011a, 435-448). Now an established seemingly unified text, the Bible is a compiled, edited text written by numerous authors over a significant period of time²³ and has linguistic, empirical and cultural changes (Bowley 2011, 76-83). The Bible as a book is a collection of

²³ I do not delve into questions of authorship or dating in this thesis as this contentious topic has been discussed significantly by biblical scholars since the texts were written. For more on this, see (Bowley 2011).

texts written in different languages over a span of approximately 2000 years. The Biblical books, in their historical forms, are written in Biblical Hebrew, Aramaic and Greek (Bowley 2011, 74). As Kugel notes in *How to Read the Bible*, ‘the story world of the text reflects the changing cultures and languages in which it was claimed to be set’ (2007, 6). These linguistic and cultural changes reflected within the text were not the final developments or evolution of the Bible and, Kugel discusses how scholars continued to interpret and translate the Bible into their own linguistic and cultural settings, reinterpreting and revisiting the texts to better understand their world (Kugel 2007, 15).

The Bible is an interesting example of the role of interpretation in translation (Kugel 2007, 14–17). Engaging with each of the books of the Hebrew Bible in *How to Read the Bible*, Kugel discusses how the meaning of Biblical passages continues to be investigated, though cautions against disregarding ancient Biblical scholarship within this process. The chapter titled ‘The Book of Isaiah(s)’ is particularly relevant to this thesis due to its focus on Isaiah which is part of the biblical corpus that is being analysed through CMT (Kugel 2007, 538–68).

Many years before it was initially (partially) translated from Hebrew and Greek into English²⁴ by Tyndale in 1526-1531²⁵, the Bible was affected by text-discovery, linguistic change, translation and interpretation (Taylor 2007, 146-158; van Steenberg 2011, 435-448). Kugel comments that the nature of the Bible as a compiled text rather than as one book is summarised in the plurality of its original, Greek name: *ta biblia* (the books) (2007, 6). Kugel refers to the Hebrew Bible as an ‘anthology’ of texts with different kinds of writing that are less evident when considering its singular title in English – the Bible (Kugel 2007, 5). The plurality of authors and textual versions is also masked when engaging with established English versions of the Bible like the King James Version and the New

²⁴ John Wycliffe is named as the ‘great motivator and inspirer’ for the translation of the first English bible in 1380-84, which was translated from the Latin Vulgate, not the older Hebrew and Greek texts (van Steenberg 2011).

²⁵ Tyndale completed and published the New Testament by 1526 and parts of the Hebrew Bible by 1534, though it is likely that parts of his later translations were burned after he was arrested for heresy (van Steenberg 2011).

International Version, which are utilised in this thesis for comparison of the Afterlife of SCAPEGOAT and MESSIAH metaphors. A translation edition of the Bible is a text with deliberate translation efforts to achieve cohesiveness which results in a more homogeneous Afterlife (Bowley 2011, 73-76, 83). This translation and re-writing can affect the evolution of Biblical metaphors and terms and their use in the Afterlife of the Text (Kugel 2007, 24). I explain this through the SCAPEGOAT of Leviticus in chapter 4 of this thesis. The coining and establishment of the term SCAPEGOAT in English in the Wycliffe and Tyndale translations became the dominant concept. As this term continues to be translated as 'scapegoat', rather than its other possible terms in Hebrew like 'goat for a desert demon', there is a repetition of the idea that the scapegoat is able to take on and remove the sins of the people. According to CMT, this repetition of ideas can potentially be viewed as establishing frames to parameterise God's character and the human response required to it. As Lakoff puts it, this repetition engages the same synapses, through consistent, repetitive communications, which establishes and affirms neural frames (Lakoff 2009, 1-20, 22-42).

Two of Kugel's other texts of particular interest for my analysis of the use of Biblical metaphors in Australian politics are *Poetry and Prophecy* (1990) and *In the Valley of the Shadow* (2011). These books challenge expected norms in Biblical studies. They also discuss how translation and interpretation can be biased.

In *Poetry and Prophecy*, Kugel disagrees with the categorisation of prophetic books as being entirely viewed as poetry. He acknowledges the role of metaphor in these books and oracles (prophetic speeches), but explores the importance of not dismissing these as textual embellishments, similarly to Lakoff and Turner in *More Than Cool Reason* (Lakoff and Turner 1989; Kugel 1990).

With *In the Valley*, Kugel narrates with a more personal style as he comes to terms with his own cancer diagnosis. In this book, he weighs the typically 'comforting' passages of the Bible against his own confronting experiences with facing cancer (Kugel 2011, 5). He questions the nature of interpretation with the Afterlife of these 'comforting' Texts as case studies. He discusses the complexities in how the Bible has been interpreted to clarify texts to make them

more nurturing or more pointed than original linguistic versions may have been. His title acknowledges this complexity with ‘shadow’ normally associated with the traditional King James Version ‘the shadow of death’. Kugel notes that even this now well established metaphor ‘doesn’t ring true’ and that the Hebrew term is better read as a ‘synonym of “darkness”’ (Kugel 2011, 74). He comments that modern translations normally translate this more correctly as ‘darkest valley’ than ‘shadow of death’, though the KJV metaphor is perhaps more well known. This demonstrates the ability for texts to have a translated Afterlife which is not as well-utilised or well-known as a previously established life.

Further to Kugel’s work across the Hebrew Bible, Sawyer has made a number of contributions on the Afterlife of the Text of Isaiah. The first contribution is *The Fifth Gospel – Isaiah in the history of Christianity* (Sawyer 1995), followed by a chapter on Isaiah in *The Oxford Handbook of the Reception History of the Bible* (Sawyer 2011) and most recently, *Isaiah through the centuries* as part of the Wiley-Blackwell Bible Commentaries (Sawyer 2018). These contributions currently position Sawyer as a prominent author on the Reception History of Isaiah. Each of his texts point to the frequent biased use of Isaiah in the Afterlife of its Texts (Sawyer 1995, 19, 116, 229–30). Sawyer’s commentary is distinct from other Isaian commentaries which I will discuss in section 2.4.3. This is because his books focus on Isaiah within Reception History rather than within the ‘story world’ of the text in which the other commentaries are largely focussed.

In addition to Kugel and Sawyer, there are numerous academic works that discuss how the Bible has evolved from its origins. These discuss how the Bible has been an important and foundational text in the establishment of societies and cultures throughout that evolution. These include *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Books of the Bible* (Coogan 2011a; 2011b), *The Oxford Handbook of The Reception History of the Bible* (Lieb, Mason, and Roberts 2011) and Ziolkowski’s *A Handbook of Biblical Reception in Jewish, European Christian, and Islamic Folklores* (2017). The latter expands on Kugel’s framework, while focusing more on the supernatural elements of the Biblical texts in myth-making and folklore. The Oxford Handbook series in particular, which further includes *Biblical Narratives* (Fewell 2016) and

Biblical Studies (Rogerson and Lieu 2006), discuss how authorities have drawn from the Bible to decide on laws and what is acceptable behaviour in 'civil' society.

The concept of 'civil' society is discussed extensively in *A Secular Age* by Charles Taylor (2007). In his book, Taylor (2007) explores the power of religion, religious concepts and religion as hegemony throughout history. He discusses how the Bible has been an important text in building societies by examining historical changes in belief, reform, societal discipline and deism which includes the effects of Biblical reception and Christian hegemony. These changes are investigated within European 'civil' cultures and discuss the rise of civility within these cultures (Taylor 2007, 99–100). Taylor discusses the rise of civility and what is considered to be civilised society as including laws and lawful behaviour, peaceful living as opposed to fighting and distinction between those who are 'civil' and live in the cities, and those who are 'savages' and live in the forest (Taylor 2007, 99–100). These expectations of civil society have continued, though Taylor notes a decrease from religion in causation of civility. Taylor's book demonstrates a progression away from religious hierarchy as a societal norm, while exploring how religion, particularly Christianity, has shaped much of Western law and morality. As such, this text is a helpful resource in understanding how religious authority and/or religious decline impact society and its relationship to history and religion. Texts like this, that analyse the 'civil' and 'acceptable' behaviours still largely part of contemporary Australian society, are important to compare how Australian politics may use Biblical concepts.

My discussion of literature on the Afterlife of the Bible has thus far included translation and interpretation as well as discussing how the Bible has been used to create authoritative frames for society and culture through religion. The discussion in the next section reviews literature related to the specific concept of 'the Scapegoat' which has been analysed extensively in recent academic work. The study of the concept of 'scapegoat' is an Afterlife of the Text which has been developed into a philosophical theory by Rene Girard (Girard 1986).

2.4.2 GIRARDIAN SCAPEGOAT THEORY

As my thesis is focussed on SCAPEGOAT and MESSIAH metaphors, it is important to discuss scapegoat theory, as developed by Rene Girard (Girard 1986).

Girard's work has inspired scholarly work over the past forty years. Within recent years, a multivolume collection titled *Violence, Desire and the Sacred*, edited by Cowdell, Fleming and Hodge (2012; 2014) has explored Girard's theories across a number of different fields of enquiry. These fields include philosophy, religious studies and politics in Australia and America. These volumes highlight Girard's scapegoat theory and discuss how this theory, framed by 'mimetic rivalry', is applicable across these various fields. According to Girard, mimetic rivalry comes from conflict which is born of imitation and desire. This rivalry needs to be de-escalated by a third party. That party is a scapegoat. Mimetic rivalry is Girard's phrase to describe how cultures in conflict with one another imitate the violence of the other, escalating at each retribution, in an attempt to keep or obtain power (Fleming 2002). According to Girard, the only way to 'de-escalate' this rivalry is through a scapegoat. This scapegoat is required to mitigate situations of escalating mimetic rivalry as well as the role violence plays in sacred realms (Osborn 2017). A scapegoat will take one of two forms. They will either be a willing, blameless victim or an enemy to be alienated as 'other' (Cowdell et al, 2012; 2014; 2015, 215-18). Fleming (2002, 57-72; 2014, 1-13) focuses on these dual roles of scapegoat as willing victim or distinct enemy and discusses the relationship of scapegoat within Christian theology. This includes themes of sacrifice, forgiveness and the person of Jesus Christ as willing victim. One of the most pertinent chapters of these volumes for the analysis of this thesis is Anstis' *Sacred Men and Sacred Goats: Mimetic Theory in Levitical and Passion Intertext* (2014, 50-65). Anstis connects the original scapegoat ritual – the Day of Atonement in Leviticus 16 – with the 'Passion narrative' of the New Testament gospels and the relationship between Jesus and Judas. Her work highlights the similarities between the two goats (sacrificial goat and scapegoat) involved in the Levitical scapegoat ritual with the interrelated roles that Jesus and Judas play in

the New Testament scapegoat ritual of Jesus' crucifixion, noting that Judas does not normally have a positive role in traditional Christian theology. Her highlighting of this parallel, opens a narrative of intertextual scapegoat texts connecting the Old Testament law book of Leviticus, with the New Testament story of sin removal by God's actions in Jesus Christ. This offers an opportunity to view an ancient ritual through the lens of the Afterlife of the Text and perhaps raises the importance of Leviticus' scapegoat within Western politics, through the effects of Christianity. Her chapter is of particular interest to my discussion as it demonstrates the capacity to read perceivably 'evil' characters like *azazel* (the Hebrew term for 'scapegoat' in Leviticus) and/or Judas as having a role to play within the balancing and de-escalation of mimetic rivalry. The use of scapegoat in the Afterlife of the Text is rich and diverse. I explore this in chapters four and five.

In this thesis I discuss the Afterlife of Leviticus and Isaiah with the frameworks and publications of Kugel, Sawyer and Girardian theorists. These scholars create a foundation in which I further their analysis in the use of the Afterlife of Biblical metaphors in Australian politics. I will now discuss the Bible and Afterlife of the Text in an Australian context, including Australia's religious history.

2.4.2 AFTERLIFE OF THE TEXT WITHIN THE AUSTRALIAN CONTEXT

... political rhetoric in Australia has usually avoided the more religious and idealistic flourishes characteristic of the United States... As such, it can seem that the Bible has not been important to Australian political argument and conversation – especially compared with the United States. But the Bible has been a substantial source of political rhetoric and imagination. Leaders on all sides of parliament have explicitly appealed to Scripture to bolster a particular political claim, or to put forward a particular version of the Australian community, its values and its story. This is not just a past phenomenon, either: from the early to mid-2000s, there was an observable increase in religious language in federal parliament. Perhaps more importantly, leaders on all sides have made more subtle appropriations of biblical concepts and images (Lake 2018, 103).

The Bible arrived in Australia through Richard Johnson, the first prison chaplain to the new 'colony'. Johnson arrived in Botany Bay with the First Fleet in 1788 (Lake

2018, 27-28). Lake's book, *The Bible in Australia* (2018), summarises the history of the Bible in Australia, touching on politics, indigenous relations, church growth and decline, and a changing, evolving Australian culture. Her scholarship provides a helpful historical framework for the discussion in this thesis of the linguistic implications of Biblical metaphors within the Afterlife of the Text in Australian politics. Her analysis of the Bible's history within the Australian context discusses the history, breadth and cultural impact of the Bible in Australian culture beyond church attendees as well as the interaction of the Bible across the migration and integration of Europeans to Australia, and the colonisation of Aboriginal Australians. According to Lake and other authors, the Bible offered authoritative frameworks to the British Empire in its colonisation and 'Christianisation' of Australia (Harris 1994; Maddox 2010, 346; Lake 2018, 42-75; Sheridan 2018, 96-123).

According to Lake, the Bible has been used often as a tool for colonisation, the establishment of Australian culture based on Judeo-Christian principles and its affirmation of this culture (Lake 2018, 31-33, 44-47). Part of establishing this new Australian culture caused a turbulence with the First Nations people of Australia through colonisation. In 1770, Lt. James Cook declared Australia to be *terra nullius* – 'land belonging to no one' and thus establishment of Australia was deemed to be possible without any issues of prior ownership (Rowse 2003). *Terra Nullius* is considered to be inaccurate and inappropriate because it is now recognised that European colonisation and 'Christianisation' disrupted 65,000 years of Aboriginal life, language, culture and spirituality (Henderson 2014; Weule and James 2017). As a result of this, the Aboriginal population, the ownership of their lands, their spirituality and their languages have been dramatically diminished (Australian Bureau of Statistics 1994). This diminishment through colonisation and Christianisation is an important part of the analysis of Biblical metaphors in Australian politics. Australia's colonisation and the treatment of Australia's Indigenous peoples by European colonisers has been addressed in political speeches in the past twenty years and most significantly in 2008 with then Prime

Minister Kevin Rudd speaking his 'Apology to Australia's Indigenous Peoples' speech (Rudd 2008)²⁶.

Lake argues that the transport, production and proliferation of the Bible has been an important part of the colonisation of Australia discussed above (Lake 2018). Alongside the work of chaplains to penal colonies and missionaries, Christian presence was strengthened further in 1817 with the establishment of an Australian Bible Society in Sydney (Sherman and Mattingley 2017; Lake 2018, 122-123). The Bible Society has supplied and developed Bibles for Australians from various cultural backgrounds. According to their website, their role in Australian life has been more than religious: '(we) have always been closely tied to the leadership of the nation, with governors, business leaders and senior clergy featuring in the Society's history' (Bible Society 2019)²⁷. The mention of these 'close-ties' to the leadership of Australia may indicate that religious groups believe their work is able to influence Australian political leaders. These 'close-ties' may also be due to many Australian political leaders categorising themselves as Christians (Warhurst 2010; Sheridan 2018, 204), even though this religion is in decline in Australia.

Christianity is currently reported as the most common religion in Australia however there has been significant change in its religious landscape (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2013; 2017b; 2017c; 2017d; 2022). These changes include a decline in Christianity, a rise in other religions and a significant rise in people declaring themselves as atheists or non-religious. In the first Census in 1911, 96% of Australians reported Christianity as their religion. Decline was evidenced 50 years later in 1966, with 88% reporting as Christian²⁸. This figure declined further with

²⁶ I use Rudd's speech as a case study to analyse scapegoat metaphors in Australian politics in chapter 5.

²⁷ It is not certain whether this has had as much impact on members of parliament as internal interest groups or factions like the Lyon's Forum (Maddox 2005, 333, 335, 336, 340) or connections with lobby groups like the Australian Christian Lobby (Tony Abbott, Kevin Andrews and other notable politicians have spoken supportively at their fundraisers in the past 10 years).

²⁸ It is worth noting that, at this point, Aboriginal Australians were not counted in the Census. With the enforced nature of Christianity as part of survival and success within the narrow frameworks of Christian European culture, Aboriginal people have registered highly as Christians since being included in the Census. According to the 2016 Census data, Australia's Aboriginal and Torres Strait

only 43.9% of Australians identifying as Christian in the 2022 Census. Though some of this figure is due to multicultural movement and an increase in religions other than Christianity, the largest identifying group outside of Christianity is that of ‘no-religion’²⁹ (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2022). Compared with the prior Census in 2016, the proportion of the population with a Christian affiliation fell from 52%. Alternatively, the category of ‘no religion’ rose from 30.1% in 2016 to 38.9% in 2022 – approximately 2.5 million people. The diversity of religions, other than Christianity, also grew, though minimally (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2022).³⁰ Australia, like its most similar counterparts Britain and America, is far from secular,³¹ but it is continuing to move away from Christianity as its dominant religion. This decline in Christianity as the dominant religion suggests that the Bible may be less widely read. However, I argue in this thesis that Biblical metaphors continue to be used regardless of the statistical decline in Australians identifying as Christians.

While the general Australian population may be evidencing religious decline, this decline is not mirrored in Australia’s Prime Ministers, Opposition Leaders and members of parliament. On the contrary, Christian rhetoric and Church affiliation has been evident in the leadership of both the Prime Ministership and Opposition since Federation. In recent years, this has become increasingly evident (Kelly 2001; Warhurst 2010; Kane 2014; Sheridan 2018; Savva 2019). Within the past 20 years, which is the scope of the analysis of politics in this thesis, Australia has been led by seven Prime Ministers. Only one of these was an atheist (Gillard), one has positioned himself as non-practising (Albanese) and the other five positioned themselves as Christians (Howard, Rudd, Abbott, Turnbull, Morrison). Three of these Prime Ministers had notably public displays of faith

Islander population recorded a similar ratio to non-Indigenous Australians at 54% for Indigenous to non-Indigenous 52%(Australian Bureau of Statistics 2017e).

²⁹ No religion is categorized in the Census as both secular beliefs (e.g. Atheism) and other spiritual beliefs (e.g. New Age).

³⁰ Religions other than Christianity rose from 8.2% (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2022).

³¹ People identifying as Christians in the UK of 64.3% (2010) (compared with Australia’s 61%), while the US maintained a significant majority of Christians at 78.3%, according to Pew Research Center (Pew 2015).

(Rudd, Abbott, Morrison) (Rudd 2007; ABC 2010; Kenny 2015; West 2016; Kelly 2018; Smith 2018; Savva 2019).

Table 1 below displays the religious affiliation of Prime Ministers in Australia in the from 2000 to current³² to illustrate the dominance of Christian beliefs held by leaders of Australian politics.

Year	PM	Party	Denomination	Category
1996-2007	John Howard	Liberal	Methodist/Anglican	Observant
2007-10; 2013	Kevin Rudd	Labor	Catholic	Observant
2010-13	Julia Gillard	Labor	N/A	Articulate Atheist
2013-15	Tony Abbott	Liberal	Catholic	Observant
2015-2018	Malcolm Turnbull	Liberal	Catholic	Observant
2018-2022	Scott Morrison	Liberal	Pentecostal	Observant
2022- Current	Anthony Albanese	Labor	Catholic	Nominal

Table 1: Australian Prime Ministers' Religious Affiliation (Warhurst 2010; Sheridan 2018; Bowling 2022)

The above table highlights how many Prime Ministers are Christians and have religious affiliation.

Sheridan's text *God is Good for You* highlights how religious Australian politicians are. Sheridan has formed relationships with and reported on Australian politics throughout his 40 year career as a journalist (Sheridan 2018, 172). In his book, he is concerned that 'Australia is about to become, if it has not already become, a majority atheist nation' (Sheridan 2018, 2). In this book, Sheridan positions Christianity as 'vital' to Australia and humanity and interviews a number of political leaders to discuss this idea with them. Amongst that, he discusses the

³² Howard was the Prime Minister in 2000. This year is the beginning parameter of the timeframe studied in this thesis. However, his term began prior to this timeframe. The beginning of his term as Prime Minister is noted in the table above.

influence of the King James Bible to Australian culture as part of the ‘English-speaking world’ and the need to understand the ‘moral arc’ of the Old Testament rather than ‘picking and choosing’ phrases or stories without context (Sheridan 2018, 153, 166). Sheridan leans on current statistical data to support his case that Australia is becoming less religious, as is ‘the West’ (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2017c; Sheridan 2018, 3–7). ‘The West’ that Sheridan is concerned with is largely Australia, Great Britain and America (Sheridan 2018, 6). While Sheridan suggests that the Bible is perceived as having limited authority for Australian culture at large, this perception is based on use of the text as a whole, its lost role in government/public education, and its diminished presence in public settings (Sheridan 2018, 317-339). This perception does not leave room to analyse how pervasive Biblical metaphors are in vernacular English and in contemporary Australian politics.

As with Sheridan’s perception that the Bible has limited authority and diminished use in Australia, there is a common cultural perception of Australia as secular, with a non-religious government. In her book *The Bible in Australia* mentioned above, Lake discusses how the Bible has had more impact on Australian politics than any other work of literature, beginning with its role in Federation (2018, 93–94). She further argues that the Bible ‘nourished’ Nationalism which ‘left a very tangible trace on the federal Constitution: a statement noting that the people “agreed to unite in one indissoluble Federal Commonwealth ... humbly relying on the blessing of Almighty God”’ (Lake 2018, 95). Lake also notes that ‘most federal politicians’ are sworn in on the Bible from the first Commonwealth Parliament to today though ‘there is no stipulation about the specific text on which oaths must be made’ and that the Bible has played ‘a defining part in Australian society’, ‘from the details of Australia’s parliamentary procedures to the evolution of its major parties’ (Lake 2018, 103).

Further to Lake’s discussion of the Bible in Australian politics, Marion Maddox (1997; 2001; 2005; 2010; 2014) interrogates the relationship between Christianity and Australian political leadership. In *God Under Howard*, she discusses former Prime Minister John Howard’s use of God as a ‘player’ within the

‘conservative agenda’, following on from his ‘idol’, previous Prime Minister Robert Menzies (Maddox 2005, 34). She claims that Howard positioned himself as a Methodist and attributed much to ‘his upbringing’ within this denomination – particularly when arguing for social conservatism (Maddox 2004; 2005, 2). These ‘appropriations’ are discussed at length by Maddox as she comments generally on Evangelical Church culture and its relationship to religious personas and language use (2013b), specifically on Pentecostal church ‘Hillsong’ and its attraction for politicians due to capitalist theologies and rhetoric (2013a), religion in education (2014), theological conversation and policy making (1997), as well as contemporary and historical intersects of religion and politics in Australia (2001; 2015). Maddox’s works demonstrate Lake’s comments above, that though textual citations of the Bible are less utilised in Australian politics, the Bible’s metaphors, characterisations, concepts and ‘values’ are utilised (Maddox 1997; 2001; 2004; 2005).

The Bible features metaphors and phrases which continue to be used in contemporary English, such as ‘scapegoat’, ‘messiah’, ‘drop in the bucket’, ‘cross I bear’ and more. According to Lakoff’s theory, it could be argued that the consistent use of these metaphors in politics throughout Australia’s colonised history has created neural frames which are activated regularly. These ‘frames’ associate the Bible as an important and potentially authoritative book (Lakoff 2009, 24-28; van Steenberg 2011, 435-449; Dawkins 2012).

2.4.3 *THE BIBLICAL TEXTS OF LEVITICUS AND ISAIAH*

In this thesis, the Bible is treated academically as a literary work that has had and continues to have a broad ranging impact on Australian language use. This is my focus as I investigate the use and misuse of SCAPEGOAT and MESSIAH metaphors in Australian politics, and how these have evolved from Biblical Hebrew through the Afterlife of the Text.

The formation, editing, theology and context of Isaiah in particular has undergone significant scrutiny and continues to do so. It is necessary to note that robust scholarly debate has occurred as the changing empires within the story

world of the book (Assyrian-Babylonian-Persian) and the number of authors/editors within the text have been keenly studied. These studies do not affect my work however they do demonstrate that this text of Isaiah is not untouched and thus it is appropriate to ask how its translators and interpreters have used its metaphors. It further demonstrates that it has evolved within its own bounds and has continued to evolve through the Afterlife of the Text in English translation and in Australian history.

The Biblical Hebrew text of Leviticus and Isaiah are of critical importance to this thesis as I analyse how translations of Biblical Hebrew metaphors have become part of English vocabulary particularly through the King James Version. My entry point to the text is through the *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia* version (1997)³³. This is the primary version that I utilise in this thesis for Leviticus and Isaiah. To support my work with the Biblical Hebrew text, I utilise *Accordance* (OakTree Software Inc. 2019) and *Bibleworks* software (CodeWeavers 2012) as well as Holladay's *A Concise Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament* (1988), Brown, Driver & Briggs' *The Brown-Driver-Briggs Hebrew and English Lexicon* (2008) and Mounce's *Analytical Lexicon to the Greek New Testament* (1993). Further to these resources, I utilise *A Biblical Hebrew Reference Grammar* (van der Merwe, Naudé, and Kroeze 2017) as a reference tool for translation and Anstey's *BH Grammar* (2018) as the transliteration guide from Biblical Hebrew characters into the roman alphabet.

Beyond the text of the Hebrew Bible, I have used two English Bible versions to explore how the text of Leviticus and Isaiah have evolved through translation and interpretation. These include two of the most widely published English translations, the King James Version (KJV) and the New International Version (NIV). I use these versions through *Accordance* software (OakTree Software Inc. 2019). I explain why I have chosen only these two English translations in my chapter on methodology, specifically section 3.3.2.

³³ There is a more modern version of the BH text in preparation, the *Biblia Hebraica Quinta*. Though it has not been finalised at the time of my thesis, this text, when published, may impact my study of metaphor in the Bible and Australian politics, though it is difficult to anticipate any significant affects.

2.5 SUMMARY AND KEY RESEARCH QUESTIONS

CMT has been a helpful analytical tool in linguistics, politics, religion and other fields. Lakoff and Johnson are the authors primarily responsible for this burgeoning field of enquiry through their seminal text, *Metaphors We Live By* (1980). Following this initial text, Lakoff has utilised CMT to analyse politics in the United States and has identified ways in which religion consciously and unconsciously intersects with this. There has been further analysis of fields that intersect with political rhetoric like religion and religious culture (Brettler 1998; Landy 2000; DesCamp and Sweetser 2005; Hartvigsen 2012; Maddox 2013b; DiFransico 2014; Maddox 2014; Wassell and Llewelyn 2014; Andrews Jr. 2014; Bonnie Howe and Green 2014; Hastürkoğlu 2018), and media (Kimmel 2010; Masters and Thart 2012; Sweetser 2017; Kövecses 2018). While the work in this area is expansive, particularly in the context of American politics, there is limited evidence of the use of CMT as an analytical tool in studies on Australian politics.

Because of the lack of study on the Afterlife of the Text in Australia from a linguistic point of view, Kugel and Sawyer offer models of how to explore this area. Yet, as with CMT in politics, most analyses have taken place in the United States and Europe, not in Australia.

Further to the field of CMT and its usefulness as an analytical tool in recognising the intersect between politics and religion, there are a number of scholars who have recently published on religion in Australian politics though not through the lens of CMT. While Maddox's titles critique the way that religion is employed for conservative political gain, Sheridan laments the demise of Christianity's treatment in the media and the inability of politicians to speak freely of their faith for fear of retribution. Further to these two authors, Lake offers an excellent historical overview of the life and reception history of the Bible in Australia, which summarises and updates Harris' *One Blood* (1994), though with more emphasis on public life and less on ministry and church outcomes. While each of these authors discusses the role of Christianity in Australia, none specifically analyses the use of the Bible in current political rhetoric, focussing

instead on religion, faith and history. Moreover, there is only limited discussion of the effect that Biblical translation has had on vernacular English usage and metaphor development in Australian English and Australian settings. Further, there is no discussion of how Biblical Hebrew metaphors may have been translated to maintain their usefulness in a foreign, non-Semitic setting. As a colony of the British Empire, Christianity was a feature of colonisation in Australia. Since then, Christian heritage has had ongoing cultural and linguistic implications in Australia's development as a country and its politics (Lake 2018).

After having reviewed literature from the fields of CMT, religion in Australian politics and Biblical studies, I have identified a number of understudied areas. These are: the role of the Bible in contemporary Australian politics, the impact of translation on the Bible's role in Australia and the use, misuse and divergence of Biblical Hebrew metaphors as they are translated into contemporary Australian politics. As such, in this thesis I undertake an analysis of how Biblical Hebrew metaphors have evolved in an Afterlife of the Biblical Text and are used in contemporary Australian politics. I focus on two key concepts – SCAPEGOAT and MESSIAH – to examine their use, evolution and divergence from Leviticus and Isaiah to contemporary Prime Ministerial usage.

In this chapter, I have outlined what Conceptual Metaphor Theory is, explained the nature of primary and complex metaphors and discussed the embodied nature of metaphor in cognition, both conscious and unconscious. Further, I have highlighted how CMT is being utilised in current academic work, particularly in the political analyses of Lakoff and co-authors. I have also discussed the Afterlife of the Bible in Australia, including an overview of Australian religion and the utility of the Bible in positive and negative aspects of Australia's progression as a country. Finally, I noted the limitations of my work in analysing the use of the Bible in Australian political rhetoric, specifically SCAPEGOAT and MESSIAH metaphors within Prime Ministerial speeches. In the next chapter, chapter three, I explain the methodology of CMT that I employ in this thesis and the method in which I apply it in the Afterlife of the Text in Australian politics.

Friederich Nietzsche famously said that God was dead and Sigmund Freud can be rendered as having said that God was dad. And I think both of them were probably right. The concept of God is, like everything else in our vocabulary, man-made. It's an invention of human beings (Hitchens and Wolpe 2010).

3. METHODOLOGY

3.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter explains the following methodologies (1) Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) and (2) the 'Afterlife of the Text' (Lakoff and Johnson 1980; Kugel 2007). My thesis uses CMT as an analytical tool to investigate how Biblical Hebrew metaphors are used in contemporary Australian political speeches. As such, I trace the evolution of two conceptual Biblical metaphor clusters³⁴ from the Hebrew Bible through to English translations and then into four speeches of Australian Prime Ministers in the last 22 years (2000-2022). These two metaphor clusters are SCAPEGOAT and MESSIAH. I demonstrate how the varied evolution of SCAPEGOAT and MESSIAH concepts has enabled these metaphors to be of use in contemporary Australian politics in both continuity and innovation from their literary and linguistic contexts.

This chapter begins by providing an explanation of why I employ CMT to analyse the use of Biblical metaphors in the Afterlife of the Text. Following this, I discuss why I have focussed on the Biblical books of Leviticus and Isaiah as my Biblical Hebrew corpus as well as explaining how I chose the metaphors of SCAPEGOAT and MESSIAH and the transmission of these metaphors in the Afterlife of the Text. This section closes with a summary of how the Biblical metaphors of SCAPEGOAT and MESSIAH will be identified. Finally, I explain how I utilise CMT to analyse how Biblical metaphors have evolved from their Biblical origins and how they appear in Australian political speeches. I do this through purposive sampling

³⁴ The phrase 'metaphor clusters' refers to scapegoat and metaphor concepts having a number of different conceptual embodiments. Due to this variation of embodiments it is easier to refer to these metaphors as 'groupings', 'groups' or 'clusters'.

of Australian Prime Ministerial speeches in the House of Representatives over a contemporary period (2000-2022).

In the next section, I give an overview of how I use CMT to analyse how prevalent Biblical metaphors are in Australian Prime Ministerial speeches from 2000-2022.

3.2 CONCEPTUAL METAPHOR THEORY (CMT)

Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) has influenced linguistics, cognitive science, philosophy and politics since its conception by Lakoff and Johnson in *Metaphors We Live By* (1980). There is a key tenet of CMT which is particularly helpful in my analysis of Biblical metaphors in Australian politics. This is the categorisation of primary and complex metaphors. This has been discussed in chapter 2 as part of my literature review. In the next section, I discuss how this forms my methodological framework to analyse Biblical metaphorical content in Australian political rhetoric.

3.2.1 CONCEPTUAL METAPHOR THEORY (CMT) IN POLITICS

CMT is a helpful tool for analysing political rhetoric. It can also be helpful to analyse what sub-text may undergird the text of speeches. Such use of sub-text may be referred to as 'dog-whistling' (Hindess 2014b), but could also be referred to as 'virtue signalling' (Oxford 2019). 'Dog-whistling' in politics is defined as 'a statement or expression which in addition to its ostensible meaning has a further interpretation or connotation intended to be understood only by a specific target audience' (OED 2015). It is a term of popular use in Australian politics, though it is not exclusive to Australia (Hindess 2014b). 'Virtue signalling' is a newer, contested term of similar meaning. It is defined in editable online dictionaries and encyclopaedias, like the cited Oxford Living Dictionary above, as well as Urban Dictionary (Verboy 2016) and Wikipedia (Wikipedia 2019). Its use has been popularised through James Bartholomew (2015) who falsely believed that he coined the term (2018), is employed by Jordan Peterson (Mathews 2017; Panahi

2018; Thor Jensen 2018) and has roots in the linguistic field of signalling as used by Joseph Bulbulia (2010; 2012). Though there is discord in the specific definitions between the abovementioned editable resources, cited journalists and academics agree that 'virtue signalling' is behaving or speaking in a way that embodies a particular 'virtue'. This 'virtue' is then designed to attract others to it, such as operating as a signal to those who share a similar value. Both dog-whistling and virtue signalling activate neural frames in those who share the same frames (i.e. pro-life, pro-taxes), sometimes without the realisation of a broader audience (i.e. pro-life audience may identify that they are being targeted by a pro-life politician, while pro-choice audience may not recognise that pro-life frames are being used).³⁵ Dog-whistling and virtue signalling are rhetorical devices in which metaphors are used to shape political policy, views and thinking. SCAPEGOAT and MESSIAH Biblical metaphors might be used to this effect regardless of whether the audience is religious or non-religious.

3.2.2 CONCEPTUAL METAPHOR THEORY (CMT) IN BIBLICAL STUDIES

CMT has often been utilised to analyse metaphors within the Biblical text. As discussed in my literature review, authors like Brettler (1998), Landy (2000), DesCamp and Sweetser (2005), Hartvigsen (2012) and Andrews (2014) analyse metaphors within the Biblical text. There has been limited connections, if any, made between the Hebrew Bible and Australian politics in CMT publications. This is why this thesis draws upon existing studies of CMT in Biblical Studies to analyse beyond the Biblical text into the Afterlife of the Text. I take this approach so as to study how Biblical metaphors are utilised within Prime Ministerial speeches. As such, I investigate two conceptual metaphor groupings: SCAPEGOAT and MESSIAH. I argue that these two metaphors originate within the Hebrew Bible and are still in contemporary Australian political rhetoric. I will now highlight why these metaphors are significant within the Afterlife of the Text.

³⁵ I discuss framing in section 2.2 of my Literature Review.

3.3 AFTERLIFE OF SCAPEGOAT AND MESSIAH FROM LEVITICUS AND ISAIAH

The SCAPEGOAT and MESSIAH concepts originated in the Hebrew Bible. Originating in Leviticus and Isaiah, both concepts have an Afterlife.

The Messiah metaphor is important for both Jewish and Christian theology. However, their view of who this metaphor personifies are not shared. Largely in Jewish theology, the Messiah is not identified as Jesus Christ.³⁶ This is because the Messiah is not one person, as this entity has a number of vocations to fulfil including warrior, king and prophet (Brettler 1989). In the Christian tradition, the Messiah is Jesus Christ (Matthew 16:16, Mark 8:29). In Christian theology, the Messiah figure is alluded to in the Old Testament and identified as Jesus Christ in the New Testament. In Christian theology there is a sole Messiah – Jesus (Karrer 2012; Robinson 2016). In this figure is the summation of the Jewish roles, though warrior personifications are minimised in the New Testament (Andrews 2015). Theological differences have not caused a disconnect with use and understanding of messiah metaphors in contemporary spheres. Messiah metaphors are expressed linguistically in ways that are recognisable from their Biblical roots ('saviour-complex', 'he will save us', 'he thinks he's the Messiah' etc) and continue to be utilised in contemporary settings.

In Christian theology, the Messiah is one who bears sins for others to pay a debt that is not the Messiah's to pay. In this way, the Messiah can be understood in Girardian terms as a willing victim 'scapegoat' (Girard 1986). One of the prominent Isaian references that is considered in orthodox Christian theology to be an allusion to Jesus is that of the sin offering or 'willing victim scapegoat' (Isaiah 53:4-6) (Blenkinsopp 2016). The term scapegoat as coined by Tyndale in his translation of the Biblical text is rooted in sacrificial rituals of Leviticus (van Steenberg 2011, 437-438). The translation of the 'scapegoat' is a problematic one in the life of the text, as it takes different forms within Biblical translation which I discuss in chapter four. I will now explain why I chose to focus on Leviticus and Isaiah.

³⁶ Jesus is recognised as Messiah in Messianic Judaism (Wandrey 2012).

It is straightforward to focus on Leviticus as the origin of the term and concept of 'scapegoat'. The scapegoat originates from Leviticus, a Law book in the Hebrew Bible. The term *azazel* (scapegoat) is only referenced four times in the Bible, all of which are in Leviticus chapter 16 verses 8, 10 (used twice) and 26³⁷ (Wright 1992; Rudman 2004; Orlov 2011). As such, Leviticus is the origin of scapegoat. It is simple to discuss in its origin of the Day of Atonement ritual but has had a significant Afterlife, as highlighted above. Its evolution from a goat to an enemy is interesting and I discuss this evolution in chapter four.

Discussing Isaiah as an origin for the 'messiah' is less straightforward. The term 'messiah' originates in the Hebrew Bible. There is a noun form for this term in Biblical Hebrew: *mashiach* (anointed one, messiah) and a verbal form *maschach* (to anoint). These terms appear in Isaiah. The noun is translatable as 'messiah', though it is more commonly translated as 'anointed (one)'. The verb is used to denote 'chosenness' and is often translated as 'anointing'. The usage of 'messiah' terms in the Hebrew Bible is more frequent than the limited use of 'scapegoat'.³⁸ This made selecting an appropriate corpus more difficult. Instead of reviewing all uses of both noun and verb instances, I investigate how these concepts are used in the 'so-called' Servant Songs³⁹ of Isaiah (Isaiah 42:1-4; 49:1-6; 50:4-11; 52:13-53:12).⁴⁰ These 'songs' develop a characterisation of God's 'servant'⁴¹ and within classical Christian theology apply to the 'messiah' (Blenkinsopp 2016).

According to Sawyer (2018) and Blenkinsopp (2000a), Isaiah is one of the most widely cited books of the Hebrew Bible. These citations occur in the Christian New Testament, in culture and in politics. This makes Isaiah an ideal Biblical corpus to examine as a foundation for MESSIAH concepts that have an

³⁷ These passages can be read in Appendix A. This includes my translation from Biblical Hebrew, the King James Version and the New International Version.

³⁸ These terms are used throughout the Hebrew Bible *mashiach* 38 times and *maschach* 72 times. This is higher usage than *azazel* which is used four times and only in Leviticus.

³⁹ These passages are commonly referred to as 'songs' but they are not poems in the Hebrew Bible literature.

⁴⁰ These passages can be read in Appendix B. This includes my translation from Biblical Hebrew, the King James Version and the New International Version.

⁴¹ The term *aved* can be translated from the Biblical Hebrew as 'servant' or 'slave'. The Septuagint Greek uses the term *pais* which can also be translated as 'servant' or 'slave'. Traditionally, this term is translated as 'servant'.

Afterlife. The text of Isaiah has a significant Afterlife (particularly in an American context) as noted by Sawyer. Sawyer's work is particularly helpful as it demonstrates direct correlation between metaphors and linguistic expressions in Isaiah that are utilised in contemporary American political rhetoric. Academically and religiously, the book of Isaiah has been discussed broadly (section 2.4.3). I selected the book of Isaiah as my corpus because of its historically prominent reception in Christian interpretations and its continued popularity in academic, non-academic, religious and non-religious spheres.

The Old Testament books of Leviticus and Isaiah have been translated from Biblical Hebrew into an Afterlife in Koine Greek in New Testament citations. Further, they have been translated into English from the Biblical Hebrew texts of Isaiah in the Hebrew Bible as well as the Koine Greek New Testament usages of Old Testament citations. These ongoing translation processes create evolutions in the Afterlife of the Text that diverge from their Biblical Hebrew origins. In the next section I discuss how this evolution has been added to by translation into the English Bible versions of the King James Version and New International Version.

3.3.2 INVESTIGATION OF TRANSLATION IN KING JAMES VERSION (KJV) AND NEW INTERNATIONAL VERSION (NIV)

When utilised in a contemporary Australian context, the ancient texts of the Bible are far removed from their original linguistic, cultural, geographical and historical settings (Bowley 2011, 73-83). The translation process from Biblical languages requires interpretation of terms, phrases, metaphors and concepts, some of which no longer exist or do not maintain the meaning of their origin. Because of the role of interpreters in translating the Bible, translated texts can evolve: linguistically, theologically, culturally and politically (Kugel 2007, 1-46, 662-689; Ehrman 2012). The King James Version and the New International Version offer an opportunity to analyse these evolutions and how they might have been incorporated into English vernacular and Australian political rhetoric.

The King James Version (KJV) or Authorized Version of the Bible was published in 1611. It was the first full version of the Bible to be translated from

Hebrew, Greek and Aramaic into English. As well as translating from the Hebrew, Greek and Aramaic texts, the KJV used English terms and phrases utilised in earlier English translations. These include the Wycliffe Bible which was translated from the Latin *Vulgate* and published between 1382 and 1395, as well as the Tyndale Bible – an incomplete Bible published from 1526-1535 (van Steenbergen 2011, 436-438). The KJV was the ‘culmination’ of previous English translations (Editors of Britannica 2017). ‘For centuries ... the Authorised Version was *the* Bible for the English-speaking world’ (van Steenbergen 2011, 440). With the support of the King and the formation of an official Protestant church, this version of the Bible has had considerable impact on the English language. It is suggested that the KJV has had more influence over the English language than Shakespeare, with many linguistic expressions incorporated from or popularised by this text (Bolton and Crystal 1993; Dawkins 2006, 340-344). I am utilising the King James Version of the Bible because of the role it has played in shaping the English language and English versions of the Bible (van Steenbergen 2011, 440). Secondly, I use this version of the Bible as it is one of the most widely-sold versions of the Bible (ECPA 2023).

First published in 1978, the New International Version (NIV) is now the most widely sold Bible (ECPA 2023). There are two dominant reasons that account for the sales figures for this version. Firstly, the NIV uses contemporary English which made the language easier-to-read than the KJV. Secondly, the NIV entered the market when printing was more affordable and thus the product was more affordable and available. Further, the NIV entered the market in a time of significant cultural change and desire for a more contemporary alternative to the KJV following on from the Free Love movement of the 60-70s and at the end of the Vietnam War. The Christian faith could not rely on the heritage of the Bible as a book of authority or on cultural church attendance; it had to sound relevant for a new era. The NIV made the Bible readable in language closer to the kind of language people were speaking, rather than the outdated King James Version. I am utilising the NIV because it is the most widely sold version and arguably the most widely read version.

The translation and interpretation in the King James Version (KJV) and the New International Version (NIV) make ancient metaphors from Leviticus and Isaiah more accessible for English speakers. It is this accessibility that makes these metaphors more available and accessible for use within Australian political rhetoric. In the next section I will discuss how the Biblical corpora will be utilised.

3.3.3 *HOW THE BIBLICAL CORPUS WILL BE UTILISED*

The primary corpus for this thesis is the Biblical Hebrew versions of Leviticus and Isaiah. The secondary versions are the most widely sold English translations of the Bible, the Kings James Version (KJV) and the New International Version (NIV).

At the beginning of the chapters on metaphor use in Biblical settings, I explain the terms used for each metaphor and where they appear in the Hebrew Bible. I analyse and discuss these usages by researching commentary on these passages and investigating their evolution in the translation process of the *Afterlife of the Text* in the KJV and NIV.

Following the discussion of their Biblical origins, I discuss the conceptual metaphor chains that undergird these concepts. I then analyse how these metaphors have been utilised in the *Afterlife of the Text* through and beyond translation. From this, I analyse how these now-English metaphors are used in the *Afterlife of the Text* in Australian Prime Ministerial speeches from 2000-2022. In the next section, I will explain how I analyse the use of *SCAPEGOAT* and *MESSIAH* metaphors in Australian politics.

3.4 POLITICS, BIBLE AND RELIGION

In this thesis, I analyse how the heritage of the Bible in Australia's history might enable Biblical metaphors to be present in rhetoric of politicians through the *Afterlife of the Text* in English translations. By focussing on Prime Ministers in Australia from 2000-2022, my analysis includes Prime Ministers that have made comments and displays of overt Christian faith as well as Prime Ministers that are described to be more private as Christians or did not identify as Christian, such as

atheist Prime Minister, Julia Gillard.⁴² I argue that this usage of Biblical metaphors by Christian and non-Christian Prime Ministers is due to the use of these metaphors as part of English vernacular. The accessibility of these metaphors to English speakers was supported through the publication of the King James Version which was prevalent in 'Christianisation' in Australia through colonisation by the British Empire (Lake 2018, 15, 21-24, 81, 86, 341). According to CMT, neural frames activated by consistent, repetitive usage of the Bible and Christian rhetoric during colonisation can perhaps be demonstrated through linguistic expressions that have evolved from their Biblical origins such as 'traditional values' (Maddox 2005, 72-73, 185, 205, 258-59, 316), 'Judeo-Christian heritage' (Sheridan 2018, 10-11; Henderson 2014), 'civilisation' (Berryman 2015; Hindess 2014a; Henderson 2014) and 'morality' (Kelly 2001; Maddox 2005, 52, 59, 104; Uhr and Walter 2014). I attempt to link this long term usage of the Bible by those in power, to the establishment of Biblical metaphors as authoritative moral markers in Prime Ministerial speeches (Maddox 2001; 2005, 188-89, 230-32; Lake 2018).

I will now explain how I use purposive sampling to explore the how Biblical metaphors are used in contemporary Australian politics.

3.4.1 PURPOSIVE SAMPLING OF AUSTRALIAN POLITICAL RHETORIC

I analyse the SCAPEGOAT and MESSIAH metaphor groups in contemporary Australian political rhetoric through purposive sampling (Elliot et al. 2016). This purposive sampling is undertaken through Hansard, the official record of parliamentary proceedings, as available on the Parliament of Australia website (Parliament of Australia 2022). This resource has the capacity to search for linguistic expressions used in parliamentary business, speeches, media and further areas. This search engine sources results from the Australian Parliament Website, Bills and Legislation, Committees, both houses of Parliament (House of Representatives

⁴² See discussion of Prime Ministers and how they identify as Christians in my literature review in section 2.4.2.

[Lower House] and Senate [Upper House]), Library, Media, and Publications. Search parameters can be refined by date range, speaker and specific phrasing.

The research that I am proposing is qualitative research on speeches discoverable through the Hansard search engine of the Parliamentary Info website. I am not exhaustively sampling use of the chosen two metaphor groupings across the history of Australian politics, since Federation in 1901. Instead, I have three constraints: speaker, timeframe and concepts. I limit my parameters to speeches by Prime Ministers in the timeframe of 1 January 2000 to 31 October 2022. These limitations narrow to an interesting time in Australian politics. In this period of time, Christianity has declined in Australia (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2017a; 2022) yet Prime Ministers have continued to be predominantly Christian (Warhurst 2010; West 2016; Sheridan 2018, 171-242). In this timeframe, there has been seven Prime Ministers; six out of seven of these Prime Ministers identify as Christian. This timeframe and speaker range provides adequate, contemporary variations in which to discuss this claim.

I utilise ParlInfo as my key resource for Australian politics as it collects political speeches and comment contained in consistent areas, since the Parliament of Australia was established (Parliament of Australia 2022). Further to this, I engage with scholars that have studied rhetorical or historical use related to these metaphors such as Maddox and Lake as well as general studies in political rhetoric (Maddox 1997; 2001; 2004; 2005; 2010; 2015; Lake 2018). The use of Hansard to identify use of Biblical metaphors coupled with scholarly work in Australian political rhetoric, political culture and political religiosity, gives a fuller picture of how much Christianity and the Bible impacts Australian political rhetoric.

3.4.2 HOW POLITICAL RHETORIC WILL BE ANALYSED

I select two speeches for both SCAPEGOAT and MESSIAH as case studies. These speeches are selected because they feature SCAPEGOAT and MESSIAH concepts. These two speeches are chosen based on their use of the focal Biblical concepts,

their prominence in the Australian political landscape and their effect on policy or parliamentary changes.

Prominence is based on the iconic nature and/or high recognition in Australian society. This can be judged based on media, online interaction and academic attention to this speech. My focus is on the relationship between Biblical metaphors, their Afterlife and ongoing use in Australian political rhetoric. While policy and parliamentary change are an important part of the political process, it is not a dominant area in my analysis, unless it correlates with metaphorical use or prominence of the speech. Prominence of speech and use of linguistic expressions are more important in analysing rhetoric in this thesis and thus take precedence over analysis of policy change.

In investigating the Prime Ministers' use of metaphors, I identify who uses the Biblical metaphors. This provides an opportunity to analyse whether Biblical metaphor use is indicative of, or unrelated to, the religious status of a Prime Minister. Through my analysis, I discuss how particular metaphors are used and how they relate to their Biblical origin and their evolving Afterlife.

3.5 SUMMARY

In the previous chapter, I determined three key research questions that have not been answered by current literature. These are:

- (1) what is the role of the Bible in contemporary Australian politics?
- (2) how does translation impact the Bible's role in Australian politics?
- (3) how are Biblical Hebrew metaphors used and misused within contemporary Australian politics?

The method I have outlined in this chapter seeks to answer these three questions through the following means.

To answer the first question on the role of the Bible in contemporary Australian politics, I utilise Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) to discuss two key metaphor groupings from the Biblical Hebrew text of Leviticus and Isaiah. The metaphor groupings are SCAPEGOAT and MESSIAH. This use in the Hebrew Bible is

then investigated for further use in the Afterlife of the Text. Part of this investigation is in the use and evolution in two prominent English translations: the King James Version (KJV) and the New International Version (NIV) of the Bible. These two English translations were chosen because they are the highest selling versions of the Bible in English and because they were published at times of linguistic, cultural and societal change. By analysing the usage of SCAPEGOAT and MESSIAH concepts from Leviticus and Isaiah in the Hebrew Bible as well as the KJV and NIV, I create a foundation on which to analyse if the Bible appears in Australian politics and the role that it plays through metaphor.

To answer the second question on how translation impacts the Bible's role in Australia, I analyse SCAPEGOAT and MESSIAH concepts within the Afterlife of Text. Given that Australian politics is conducted almost solely in English, it is most likely that the KJV and NIV create the most accessible Biblical metaphors in Australian political rhetoric – not their Biblical Hebrew or Greek forebears.

To answer the third question of how Biblical Hebrew metaphors are used within contemporary Australian politics, I utilise Hansard as discussed in sections 3.4.1. Hansard is an online resource of the Parliament of Australia which contains details of parliamentary business. It has an inbuilt search engine for parliamentary business and political comment in Australia. I use this resource to determine the Afterlife of SCAPEGOAT and MESSIAH metaphors in Australian politics. I do this by analysing selected speeches to ascertain whether these metaphors are used with integrity to the Biblical metaphors and their linguistic expressions or whether they are expanded or entirely removed from Biblical contexts. It is difficult to assess whether this metaphorical use in Australian politics is intentionally used. It is also difficult to ascertain meaning and intent with some of the expressions of the Biblical metaphors within the context of the text. As such, I engage with Biblical commentators, broader academia and political commentary from Australia and other Western contexts where relevant.

I utilise CMT as an analytical tool to examine 'scapegoat' and 'messiah' metaphors in the Afterlife of the Text through the Biblical corpora of Leviticus and Isaiah in the Hebrew Bible, the King James Version and the New International

Version. The next chapter will focus on SCAPEGOAT in Biblical use in Leviticus and the Afterlife of the Text (chapter four), and will be followed by SCAPEGOAT in Australian Politics (5), MESSIAH in Biblical use in Isaiah and the Afterlife of the Text (6), and MESSIAH in Australian Political Rhetoric (7). A concluding chapter (8) will summarise the findings of this thesis and suggest future fields of inquiry.

For the life of a creature is in the blood, and I have given it to you to make atonement for yourselves on the altar; it is the blood that makes atonement for one's life. LEVITICUS 17:11 NIV

4. SCAPEGOAT IN THE HEBREW BIBLE

In the previous chapter, I explained the methodological basis for this thesis and the method in which I would employ it. That chapter explained how I would use Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) as ideated by George Lakoff and Mark Johnson in their seminal text *Metaphors We Live By* (1980) to examine the use of 'scapegoat' and 'messiah' concepts which originate in books of the Hebrew Bible, specifically SCAPEGOAT in Leviticus and MESSIAH in Isaiah. Further to the use of these metaphors in Leviticus and Isaiah respectively, I utilise CMT as a tool to analyse how SCAPEGOAT and MESSIAH evolve from Biblical Hebrew terms in the Hebrew Bible through translation history into the two most widely sold English translations, the King James Version (KJV) and the New International Version (NIV). The use of CMT to analyse the evolution of these metaphors in English translation history is foundational to a study of these metaphors in Benjamin's so-called 'Afterlife of the Text' (1923, 1968) as explored through Kugel's *How to Read the Bible* (2007). In this thesis, the Afterlife of the Text culminates in the analysis of SCAPEGOAT and MESSIAH metaphors in contemporary Australian Prime Ministerial speeches from the year 2000 to the present time.

In this chapter, I analyse the 'scapegoat' metaphor grouping. The overarching complex conceptual metaphor is SCAPEGOAT IS ATONEMENT. I argue that this complex conceptual metaphor is expressed through the blending of primary metaphors SIN IS DIRT and ATONEMENT (THE REMOVAL OF SIN) IS WASHING AWAY which lead into complex metaphors such as DEATH IS REMOVAL and SACRIFICE IS ATONEMENT within the Biblical book of Leviticus as well as in the Afterlife of the Text. This Afterlife of SCAPEGOAT has become prevalent in contemporary academia through the work of René Girard and is further evidenced in more 'every day' settings like media and politics.

The parameters of this chapter are: SCAPEGOAT in Leviticus in the Hebrew Bible, the evolution and translation of this concept into the KJV and NIV and the Afterlife of this concept as elucidated in a contemporary setting in Girardian scapegoat theory (Girard 1986; Cowdell et al 2012; 2014; Osborn 2017; Hart 2017). To do this I will first discuss the Biblical origin of the ‘scapegoat’ and the translation of this concept. I will then discuss the formation of the conceptual metaphor grouping of SCAPEGOAT IS ATONEMENT and then demonstrate how a Hebrew Bible ‘goat’ that ‘carries sin’ and ‘makes atonement’ evolves into a modern ‘victim’ to ‘remove’ blame from others.

4.1 THE BIBLICAL ORIGIN AND EVOLUTION OF THE TERM ‘SCAPEGOAT’

The SCAPEGOAT originates from Leviticus, a Law book in the Hebrew Bible. The term ‘scapegoat’ is a translation of the phrase ‘goat for Azazel’. Azazel was a desert demon that is only referenced four times in the Bible, all of which are in Leviticus chapter 16 verses 8, 10 (used twice) and 26 (Wright 1992; Rudman 2004; Orlov 2011). When reviewing Leviticus 16 in the Hebrew Bible, the text itself is clear that two goats should be set aside for the Day of Atonement ritual. One goat is to be a sacrifice for YHWH (the Sacred Name/LORD) and one goat for azazel (a desert demon). This specific term ‘scapegoat’ is first translated in place of ‘for azazel’ in Leviticus 16:8 as part of the instructions for the Day of Atonement:

Leviticus 16:8 (my translation)

And Aaron will cast lots for two goats – one lot for YHWH and one lot for azazel.

While there are two goats in the Day of Atonement ritual, only one is the ‘scapegoat’. This (scape)goat for Azazel is ‘sent out’ or ‘escapes’ with the sins of Israel. Both goats are required in this ritual for the exile of sin (azazel) as well as the washing away of sin via bloodletting (goat for YHWH):

Leviticus 16:10 (my translation)

And the *goat* which has come out with the lot for *azazel* will be placed alive in front of *YHWH* for atonement, and will be sent towards *azazel* in the desert.

This ‘sending out’ is further depicted in verse 26 alongside instructions for purification following the releasing of the ‘scapegoat’:

Leviticus 16:26 (my translation)

And he that sends the *goat* to *azazel* must wash his clothes and wash his body in the waters and then, after, may come into the camp.

In the setting of Leviticus 16, two entities are appeased through the Day of Atonement ritual (Henninger 1987; Janowitz 2011; Janowski 2012; Dawson 2013). Those two entities are *YHWH* and *azazel*. The goat for *YHWH* is killed; the so-called ‘scapegoat’ – the goat for *azazel* – is not. This goat for *azazel* is sent into the desert, taking with it the ‘sins’ of the people. This Biblical Hebrew term and its definition as a demon (Holladay 1988) has not been translated consistently in translation history. When translated into English this second goat for *azazel* is typically translated as a ‘scapegoat’,⁴³ though there are some English translations that treat this term as a proper noun – ‘Azazel’⁴⁴ (Dawson 2013, 1). This term is a

⁴³ Rudman notes that there are other ways to translate the Hebrew aside from ‘goat for azazel’ but argues that this is the strongest of translations. As Rudman writes in *A Note on the azazel-goat Ritual*, there are four dominant translations or interpretations for the term *azazel*: (1) the name of a demon, (2) a topography, (3) an abstract noun for ‘destruction’ or ‘entire removal’, and (4) a corruption of *az azel* meaning ‘something like “goat that goes away”’ (cf. KJV, NIV: scapegoat)’ (Rudman 2004, 396, 397). The use of the ‘entire removal’ definition has been more prevalent in translation history. This could be because this alternate definition of ‘entire removal [of sin]’ (Brown, Driver, and Briggs 2008) fits well with the etymology of the term (the goat [on which the sins are put] ‘escapes’ with the sins, hence they are entirely removed from the [offending] community, hence [e]scape+goat).

⁴⁴ While usage of the term *azazel* may be minimal within the Hebrew Bible, in the Afterlife of the Text particularly extra-biblical literature and non-canonical literature, *azazel* is an important evil character, as Orlov notes, within the ‘divine struggle’ between good and evil (2011). Orlov discusses how in Jewish mythology, *azazel* works alongside a figure more familiar to Christian theology – *satan* (Orlov 2011; Gershon 2019).

blend of escape+goat, which is generally attributed to Tyndale's translation of Leviticus (OED 1993; Dawson 2013):

Leviticus 16:10 Tyndale's Version

The goote (goat) on which the lotte (lot) fell to scape (escape), he shall sett (send) alyue (alive) before the Lorde to recocyle (reconcile) with ad (and) to let him goo (go) fre (free) in to the wildernesse.

In early versions of Leviticus beyond the Hebrew Bible, this 'scapegoat' creature is not 'azazel'. Instead, in the Septuagint (early Greek version) this is the 'carrying away goat'. In the Vulgate (early Latin version), this is the 'emissary goat'. This goat is simply 'sent out' into the desert. Azazel is not mentioned in these versions. The King James Version (KJV) and New International Version (NIV) English translations have followed the Hebrew and Greek translations, rendering this term as 'scapegoat' from Tyndale's coining of this phrase (the [e]scape goat). In translations following the Hebrew Bible, this phrase evolved into what is now established in English translations as 'scapegoat'. The KJV and NIV translate these 'scapegoat' verses as follows:

Leviticus 16:8 KJV

And Aaron shall cast lots upon the two goats; one lot for the LORD, and the other lot for *the scapegoat*.

Leviticus 16:8 NIV

He is to cast lots for the two goats—one lot for the LORD and the other for *the scapegoat*. (italics mine)

Leviticus 16:10 KJV

But the goat, on which the lot fell to be the *scapegoat*, shall be presented alive before the LORD, to make an atonement with him, and to let him go for *a scapegoat* into the wilderness.

Leviticus 16:10 NIV

But the goat chosen by lot as the *scapegoat* shall be presented alive before the LORD to be used for making atonement by sending it into the wilderness as *a scapegoat*. (italics mine)

Leviticus 16:26 KJV

And he that let go the goat for the *scapegoat* shall wash his clothes, and bathe his flesh in water, and afterward come into the camp.

Leviticus 16:26 NIV

The man who releases the goat as a *scapegoat* must wash his clothes and bathe himself with water; afterward he may come into the camp. (italics mine)

Though the term ‘scapegoat’ originates from the Hebrew Bible, its etymological history between the Biblical Hebrew root and its entry into the English language appears to rely more on its latter translations in Greek and Latin than on Biblical Hebrew (OED 1993). There is similarity between the Koine Greek term for ‘scapegoat’, *apompaiou* (carrying away [goat]) used in the Septuagint version (from approximately 1st Century B.C.E) and the Latin Vulgate’s *caper emissarius* (the emissary goat) (Baltussen 2019). The etymological path from Greek into Latin is straightforward, as it is from Latin into English translation history.

The etymology of the word ‘scapegoat’ precedes Tyndale’s [e]scape+goat, though it is most easily recognizable in its current English form from Tyndale’s translation. The Wycliffe Bible, published in the late 1300s (van Steenbergen 2011, 436-437) utilises the idea of an ‘emissary/carrying away goat’ with ‘the goat that shall be sent out’. The Wycliffe Bible was translated into English from Jerome’s Latin *Vulgate* version (4th Century CE). The concept of ‘scapegoat’ was introduced into English through the Wycliffe version, though the term ‘scapegoat’ was formalised in Tyndale’s translation and more formally accepted into English through the 1611 King James Version (OED 1993). The term *azazel* appeared in English versions in the Revised Version of the Bible in 1884 as a proper name, with

‘dismissal’ noted in the margin as a suggested translation (OED 1993; Dawson 2013, 1).

The term ‘scapegoat’ is a straightforward translation when translating the Latin (emissary/sending away goat) into English ([e]scape goat) translation. The translation from Biblical Hebrew (a goat for *azazel*) into Greek (sending away goat) is less clear. When considering this term from the Biblical Hebrew, it is uncertain as to how the Biblical Hebrew term used in Lev 16:8, 10, 16 – *azazel* ‘desert demon’ (Holladay 1988; CodeWeavers 2012) – came to be translated as scapegoat. This translation of ‘scapegoat’ is more understandable when considering early Greek and Latin renderings, and their use of the definition of ‘goat for *azazel*’ as ‘goat for “entire removal” (of sins)’ (Brown et al 2008; OakTree Software Inc. 2019).

In the Afterlife of the Text, the concept of scapegoat dominates in English translations and consequently vernacular language. This goat is Tyndale’s [e]scape+goat and not a goat set aside for a desert demon named *Azazel* as per the Biblical Hebrew origin.

Unlike the evolution of the *Azazel* into the ‘scapegoat’, the other goat set aside for *YHWH* is viewed consistently from the Biblical Hebrew version of Leviticus into translation history as a goat given as a ritual sacrifice to the God of Israel (Janowitz 2011):

Leviticus 16:9 KJV

And Aaron shall bring *the goat* upon which the LORD's lot fell, and offer him *for a sin offering*.

Leviticus 16:9 NIV

Aaron shall bring *the goat* whose lot falls to the LORD and sacrifice it *for a sin offering*. (italics mine)

Leviticus 16:15 KJV

Then shall he *kill the goat of the sin offering*, that is for the people, and bring his blood within the veil, and do with that blood as he did with the blood of the bullock, and sprinkle it upon the mercy seat, and before the mercy seat.

Leviticus 16:15 NIV

He shall then *slaughter the goat for the sin offering* for the people and take its blood behind the curtain and do with it as he did with the bull's blood: He shall sprinkle it on the atonement cover and in front of it. (*italics mine*)

Though two goats appear in Leviticus in Biblical Hebrew for the Day of Atonement ritual, this dual characterisation has not remained as an important distinction in the Afterlife of the Text. It could be said that the scapegoat instead embodies both exile and sacrifice, rather than being just the 'escape goat'. I discuss how and why this duality mostly disappears in the following section (4.2) on the construction of the conceptual metaphor SCAPEGOAT IS ATONEMENT before discussing this contemporary Afterlife of the SCAPEGOAT in Girardian theory in section 4.3.

4.2 CONCEPTUAL METAPHOR GROUPING OF SCAPEGOAT

As explained in section 2.2 of this thesis, Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) is a theory articulated by Lakoff and Johnson in their seminal work, *Metaphors We Live By* (1980). This theory has enriched a number of fields including linguistics, Biblical studies and political studies with the viewpoint that metaphors are 'mental structures' that are central to thought, grounded in physical experience (embodiment) and should not be viewed only as literary tools or linguistic ornamentation (Deignan 2005, 13; Lakoff 2009, 82). As such CMT provides an opportunity to explore how metaphors form the deep neural frames through which all matters of existence, thinking and pragmatism are unconsciously balanced (Lakoff and Johnson 1999, 118-136; Lakoff 2016, 3-7). In this section, I discuss how the SCAPEGOAT as a conceptual metaphor grouping affects contemporary life beyond its Hebrew Bible origins. This effect is caused by

continued usage of Girard's so-called 'scapegoat mechanism' (Girard 1986; Cowdell et al 2012; 2014; Osborn 2017; Hart 2017). In the next chapter, I will discuss how these effects occur specifically in Australian politics but the purpose of this section is to express how the conceptual metaphor grouping of 'scapegoat' has evolved from the Hebrew Bible into contemporary English usage. I discuss this evolution through an analysis of its appearances in the Afterlife of the Text. This section firstly covers the blending and accumulation of primary metaphors to form the overarching complex metaphor of SCAPEGOAT IS ATONEMENT. Following this, I discuss the evolution of SCAPEGOAT in the Afterlife of the Text, specifically through the lens of Girardian scapegoat theory.

The overarching metaphor that is analysed in this chapter is SCAPEGOAT IS ATONEMENT. SCAPEGOAT IS ATONEMENT is a complex metaphor because both the TARGET and SOURCE are 'abstract' concepts. This can be represented in CMT as:

ABSTRACT (TARGET) IS ABSTRACT (SOURCE) which is
SCAPEGOAT IS ATONEMENT

This complex metaphor may be expressed in linguistic expressions like:

'Once he was fired, the organisation could move on from its sins.'

'She would take the blame and absolve every one of the team's indiscretions.'

Formation of the above complex metaphor occurs through the blending and accumulation of primary metaphors. These primary metaphors form pathways that are more readily understandable as they function from a 'concrete' source like warmth:

ABSTRACT IS CONCRETE⁴⁵
AFFECTION IS WARMTH

⁴⁵ Examples of this are explored in section 2.2.

‘He had a sunny demeanour.’

‘Her presence warmed the crowd.’

For the complex metaphor *SCAPEGOAT IS ATONEMENT*, a chain of primary metaphors connect to form the neural frame of the complex metaphor. Primary metaphors are required to establish the complex metaphor for the *SOURCE* as *ATONEMENT*, so that this complex concept is simplified and so that the *TARGET* of *SCAPEGOAT* can be understood as *ATONEMENT*. According to the OED, *ATONEMENT* comes from a compound including the verb ‘atone’ which is an act ‘to make reconciliation or propitiation (a) for the offender or (b) for the offence’ (OED 2021). Further to this, the OED describes how ‘atone’ has come from the combined form of ‘at one’ which represents a shortened phrase of to ‘set or make at one’ and was used in compounds such as ‘at-one maker’, ‘at-one making’.

These were:

Assisted by the prior existence of the verb ‘to one’ v. = make one, put at one, unite, Latin *unire*, French *unir*; whence ‘onement’ was used already by Wyclif. From the frequent phrases ‘set at one’ or ‘at onement,’ the combined atonement began to take the place of onement early in 16th cent., and atone to supplant one verb about 1550. Atone was not admitted into the Bible in 1611, though atonement had been in since Tyndale (OED 2021).

To be ‘at one’ is a harmony with fellow humankind but also ‘at one’ with God. Being ‘at one’ with God is key to the Biblical use of this term by Wyclif, Tyndale and the KJV in 1611. Further, to be ‘at one’ with God is the purpose of the Levitical scapegoat ritual. In Leviticus 16, this removal of sin occurs in two different acts of atonement. One goat is exiled into the desert ‘to Azazel’ (a desert demon) and one goat is sacrificed (to YHWH). The exiled goat has evolved to become the ‘scapegoat’. The goat that is sacrificed has not been as famously coined as the ‘sacri-goat’ or similarly blended as has the ‘scapegoat’. However, the concept of the ‘removal’ of ‘sin’ that the *SCAPEGOAT* has achieved since the

Levitical origin absorbs both ways to remove sin.⁴⁶ This ritual exiles one goat (the scapegoat) once the sins of God's people have been placed upon it. This ritual restores the community to being 'at one' with God. Hence, SCAPEGOAT can be understood through the conceptual metaphor SCAPEGOAT IS ATONEMENT. In the Afterlife of the Text, such a restoration in turn creates or restores order within the community. I will now explain how this complex metaphor is constructed from primary metaphors.

Restoration or 'at-one-ment' occurs because of the removal of sin from the community. To remove 'sin' requires understanding of what 'sin' is and how it can be removed. To explore 'sin' in terms of a primary metaphor, 'sin' constitutes the ABSTRACT concept. Metaphors for 'sin' in the Hebrew Bible include SIN IS DIRT, SIN IS STAIN and SIN IS IMPURITY (Anderson 2009; DiFransico 2014; 2015; Wassell and Llewelyn 2014; Lam 2016). To 'atone' or be 'at one (with God)', this 'dirt', 'stain' or 'impurity' must be removed.

While SIN IS DIRT, STAIN or IMPURITY is used in contemporary settings, SIN IS STAIN is uncommon in the Hebrew Bible according to Lam (Lam 2016, 161). Below are examples from Leviticus and Isaiah as discussed by Lam⁴⁷ (2016, 179–206). Instead of using Lam's translations, the below examples are taken from the KJV and NIV as the focus of this thesis on these two versions:

Leviticus 18:24-25 KJV

Defile not ye yourselves in any of these things: for in all these the nations are defiled which I cast out before you: And the land is defiled: therefore I do visit the iniquity thereof upon it, and the land itself vomiteth out her inhabitants.

Leviticus 18:24-25 NIV

⁴⁶ This eliminates the potential complexities that appeasing a demon could cause as part of interpreting the Day of Atonement ritual. Especially in translations which establish Satan as 'arche' demon, the exile of Azazel from these texts enables a focus on only one main opposing force to YHWH which is Satan (Cowdell et al 2012).

⁴⁷ As this thesis focuses on SCAPEGOAT in Leviticus and MESSIAH in Isaiah, I only utilise Lam's examples from these books. Lam's discussion of SIN as STAIN or IMPURITY in the Hebrew Bible is exhaustive and includes verses beyond Leviticus and Isaiah. For an exhaustive discussion of this, see Lam, 2016.

Do not defile yourselves in any of these ways, because *this is how the nations that I am going to drive out before you became defiled. Even the land was defiled*; so I punished it for its sin, and the land vomited out its inhabitants. (italics mine)

Isaiah 1:15-16 KJV

... your hands are full of blood. *Wash you, make you clean*; put away the evil of your doings from before mine eyes; *cease to do evil*.

Isaiah 1:15-16

Your hands are full of blood! *Wash and make yourselves clean*. Take your evil deeds out of my sight; *stop doing wrong*. (italics mine)

Isaiah 1:18 KJV & NIV (no difference in translation)

... though your *sins be as scarlet*, they shall be as white as snow. (italics mine)

Isaiah 59:2-3 KJV

But your iniquities have separated between you and your God, and your sins have hid his face from you, that he will not hear. For your *hands are defiled with blood*, and your *fingers with iniquity*; your lips have spoken lies, your tongue hath muttered perverseness.

Isaiah 59:2-3 NIV

But your iniquities have separated you from your God; your sins have hidden his face from you, so that he will not hear. For your *hands are stained with blood*, your *fingers with guilt*. Your lips have spoken falsely, and your tongue mutters wicked things. (italics mine)

These uses in the Hebrew Bible as highlighted by Lam indicate the use of SIN IS STAIN alongside ATONEMENT IS WASHING AWAY. The pathway between these two primary metaphors is based on understanding ‘atonement’ as the removal of sin. Thus, to become ‘at-one’ with God and community is through the ‘removal’ of sin. When ‘sin’ is embodied as a ‘stain’, ‘dirt’ or ‘impurity’, the removal of sin can be embodied as:

ATONEMENT IS WASHING AWAY

ATONEMENT IS CLEANSING

ATONEMENT IS PURIFYING (BY FIRE)

Difransico uses STAIN and WASHING AWAY metaphors (2014; 2015) and discusses ‘washing’ as a metaphor for ‘atonement’ and ‘future atonement’. Like Lam, Difransico also explores the precursor to Lam’s noted Isaiah 1:18 reference:

Isaiah 1:16 KJV

Wash you, make you clean; put away the evil of your doings from before mine eyes; cease to do evil.

Isaiah 1:16 NIV

Wash and make yourselves clean. Take your evil deeds out of my sight; stop doing wrong. (italics mine)

She also discusses ‘fire’ as a cleansing agent:

Isaiah 4:4 KJV

When the Lord shall have washed away the filth of the daughters of Zion, and shall have purged the blood of Jerusalem from the midst thereof by the spirit of judgment, and by the spirit of burning.

Isaiah 4:4 NIV

The Lord will wash away the filth of the women of Zion; he will cleanse the bloodstains from Jerusalem by a spirit of judgment and a spirit of fire. (italics mine)

This reference from Isaiah 4:4 which depicts WASHING as REMOVAL depicted above also includes 'fire' as a vehicle for purification and removal of sin. This is further expressed in Isaiah 6:6-7:

Isaiah 6:6-7 KJV

Then flew one of the seraphims unto me, *having a live coal in his hand*, which he had taken with the tongs from off the altar:

And he laid it upon my mouth, and said, '*Lo, this hath touched thy lips; and thine iniquity is taken away, and thy sin purged.*'

Isaiah 6:6-7 NIV

Then one of the seraphim flew to me *with a live coal in his hand*, which he had taken with tongs from the altar.

With it he touched my mouth and said, '*See, this has touched your lips; your guilt is taken away and your sin atoned for.*' (italics mine)

Difransico introduces the conceptual metaphor of ATONEMENT IS FIRE from a reference from Malachi which connects the concept of washing with 'fire' as a cleansing agent:

Malachi 3:2 KJV

But who may abide the day of his coming? and who shall stand when he appeareth? for *he is like a refiner's fire, and like fullers' soap*:

Malachi 3:2 NIV

But who can endure the day of his coming? Who can stand when he appears? For he will be *like a refiner's fire or a launderer's soap*. (italics mine)

Further to the examples of SIN IS STAIN and ATONEMENT IS WASHING AWAY from the Hebrew Bible, these primary metaphors are recognizable beyond the

Hebrew Bible. Their use in translation history and into the Afterlife of the Text can be evidenced in phrases such as expressed famously in Shakespeare's tragedy *Macbeth* as she comes to term with her complicity in her husband's 'sin' of murder:

(rubbing her hands) Come out, damned spot! Out, I command you! One, two. OK, it's time to do it now.—Hell is murky!—Nonsense, my lord, nonsense! You are a soldier, and yet you are afraid? Why should we be scared, when no one can lay the guilt upon us?—But who would have thought the old man would have had so much blood in him?... will my hands never be clean? (Shakespeare 1623)

This tragedy was published soon after to the publication of the King James Bible. The below examples depict modern vernacular use:

'I need to be cleansed of my past.'

'The transgression stained them all.'

'The secret diseased the community.'

'She needed to wipe the slate clean.'

'You should wash your mouth out.'

'Clean up your act!'

'The rules refined the company's culture.'

'They had to burn away the past to make way for the future.'

The above examples demonstrates that SIN IS STAIN and ATONEMENT IS WASHING AWAY is an established frame in and beyond the Hebrew Bible, into literature in the era of the King James Version of the Bible and into modern vernacular usage. The conceptual link in Lam and Difransico's use of SIN IS STAIN and ATONEMENT IS WASHING AWAY is around REMOVAL. This is REMOVAL of DIRT, STAIN or IMPURITY. While 'washing' is an associated concept with cleansing, for the majority of cultures death is understood as an ultimate form of removal. For this experience of death, there is the primary metaphor of DEATH IS REMOVAL with

'death' depicted as WASHING AWAY/CLEANSING OF LIFE. This idea of DEATH as REMOVAL is synonymous with the sense of FIRE as a REMOVAL of SIN. Understandably, the complex metaphor DEATH IS ATONEMENT emerges in many cultures, including ancient Israel in the shedding of blood:

Leviticus 17:11 KJV

For the life of the flesh is in the blood: and I have given it to you upon the altar to make an atonement for your souls: for it is the blood that maketh an atonement for the soul.

Leviticus 17:11 NIV

For the life of a creature is in the blood, and I have given it to you to make atonement for yourselves on the altar; it is the blood that makes atonement for one's life. (italics mine)

In cultic contexts then, DEATH IS REMOVAL becomes the complex metaphor SACRIFICE IS REMOVAL OF SINS, thus SACRIFICE IS ATONEMENT. In the taking of the life of an animal (or person), the sins of an individual or community are removed. Atonement is a purification ritual. It is necessary for God's people as GOD IS CLEAN while SIN IS NON-CLEAN (Krötke 2012, 19; DiFransico 2014; Lam 2016). For God's people to belong as 'clean' people, they must purify themselves through specified rituals like *Yom Kippur* (Day of Atonement).

Therefore, the conceptual metaphor SIN IS STAIN is relevant to forming the complex metaphor SCAPEGOAT IS ATONEMENT. From blending ATONEMENT IS REMOVAL and DEATH IS REMOVAL, the metaphor DEATH IS ATONEMENT becomes an evident link in the chain of primary metaphors which create the complex metaphor SACRIFICE IS ATONEMENT. SACRIFICE IS ATONEMENT is the last key metaphor to complete the complex metaphor SCAPEGOAT IS ATONEMENT. Therefore, the metaphor chain is as follows:

SIN IS STAIN

ATONEMENT IS WASHING AWAY (OF SIN)

ATONEMENT IS REMOVAL

DEATH IS REMOVAL/WASHING AWAY

DEATH IS ATONEMENT

SACRIFICE IS ATONEMENT

The above chain of metaphors form the conceptual framework which is embodied in the Day of Atonement cultic liturgy in the book of Leviticus. In this ritual, the scapegoat is the exiled vehicle which takes away the sins/stain of the people, to atone for these sins through their removal. The goat for YHWH is sacrificed to complete the ritual. So we arrive at the conceptual metaphor in this chain:

SCAPEGOAT IS ATONEMENT

This SCAPEGOAT originally embodies ATONEMENT within the cultic law rituals of *Yom Kippur* (Day of Atonement). The evolution of SCAPEGOAT within the Bible begins in Leviticus where the ‘function of the “scapegoat” ritual is clearly purgative: evil... conceived of as a substance, is removed from the precincts of the sanctuary by means of a living substitute’ (Janowski 2012, 462). Dawson notes this as the scapegoat being a ‘transporter of impurity’ and a necessary entailment (Dawson 2013, 4). Sin, removal of sin and atonement are important concepts in the Hebrew Bible (Lam 2016), which appear far more frequently as a concept than SCAPEGOAT does. As Lam notes, ‘while etymologies can shed some light on word usage, they are not always reliable indicators of the contextual meanings of the words whose histories they encapsulate’ (Lam 2016, 3). SCAPEGOAT and SIN are linked conceptually as the SCAPEGOAT is the one who takes on [others’] sins. The SCAPEGOAT has become somewhat of a ‘literal token’⁴⁸ for one who ‘contains’ sin/evil or one who must take blame for [others’] sins (Lam 2016, 8). Thus, the account of the ‘scapegoat’ within the book of Leviticus establishes the rites and rituals associated with atonement and the removal of sins. In Leviticus, the

⁴⁸ Lam discusses how ‘metaphorical construal of meaning involves *ad hoc* conceptualization by means of the literal token’ (Lam 2016, 8).

‘scapegoat’ is exiled. In the next section I will discuss how this concept of the SCAPEGOAT evolves as not only a ‘vehicle’ for sin removal through exile but that the Afterlife of Leviticus’ scapegoat may express the removal of sin through death, essentially absorbing the role of both exile and death that the Day of Atonement goats embody. I also discuss Girard’s two types of SCAPEGOAT which have evolved significantly from the concept of the Levitical scapegoat. These two SCAPEGOATS are ‘willing victim’ and ‘evil other’.

4.3 SCAPEGOAT IN THE AFTERLIFE OF THE TEXT

There is no way Tyndale could have anticipated the linguistic destiny of the Scapegoat that, a little over a century after it is coined, abandons the pulpit to become a secular metaphor—a distinctively restricted denominator of human violence (Dawson 2013, 132).

Dawson’s *Flesh Becomes Word* (2013) offers an interesting history of the use of the term ‘scapegoat’. Dawson notes Tyndale as the coiner of the phrase and refers to its Latin root of *caper emissarius* rather than its Biblical Hebrew origin. He argues that the term had a theological underpinning rather than a direct etymological one. Dawson argues that the English term of ‘scapegoat’ is a blend of [e]scape+goat which appears to be formally established in the King James Version of 1611 (Dawson 2013, 1). From there scapegoat ‘exploded’ in use in publications (Dawson 2013, 126).

It is important to ask the question: how does an ancient Israelite ritual such as the use of a ‘scapegoat’ in the Day of Atonement morph into a ubiquitous metaphor used daily in the news, politics and vernacular language all around the world?

A compelling answer to this comes from the revolutionary work of Rene Girard who ‘on his election to L’academie francaise... was acclaimed by Michel Serres as the “Charles Darwin of the human sciences”’ (Cowdell 2015). Like Lakoff with Conceptual Metaphor Theory, Girard’s ‘Scapegoat’ theory has had impact in disciplines beyond his field of philosophy:

Beginning from literary criticism and ending up with a general theory of culture, through an explanation of the role of religion in primitive societies and a radical re-interpretation of Christianity, René Girard has completely modified the landscape of the social sciences. Ethnology, history of religion, philosophy, psychoanalysis, psychology and literary criticism are explicitly mobilised in this enterprise. Theology, economics and political sciences, history and sociology—in short, all the social sciences, and those that used to be called moral sciences—are influenced by it (Hart 2017, 9).⁴⁹

The key areas of Girard's work for this thesis are 'The Scapegoat Mechanism', mimesis and mimetic rivalry. The 'Scapegoat Mechanism' involves:

the strange process through which two or more people are reconciled at the expense of a third party who appears guilty or responsible for whatever ails, disturbs or frightens the scapegoaters. They feel relieved of their tensions and they coalesce into a more harmonious group. They now have a single purpose, which is to prevent the scapegoat from harming them, by expelling and destroying him (Girard, *Girard Reader*, 12 cited in Hart 2017, 14).

Fleming discusses this as the act of a victim 'absorbing the projection of hostilities' to restore harmony (2014, 4, 12). This 'scapegoat' victim is 'exiled' and 'othered' to become an 'outsider' who 'carries blame for the social unrest' (Fleming 2014, 4, 12).⁵⁰

The SCAPEGOAT 'removes' SIN for the 'at-onement' of the community. The SCAPEGOAT may be an individual who is, or a collective who are, unable to retaliate and can only accept their role as victim. The inability to escape the consequence of sin is part of the 'scapegoat or victimage mechanism' in Girardian theory. This theory is based on a victim who 'takes on [others'] sins' to absolve increasing hostilities and bear the punishment due for wrongdoing.^{51,52} The murder or exile of

⁴⁹ (Paul Dumouchel, ed. *Violence and Truth: On the Work of René Girard* (London: Athlone, 1988), 23, (*Violence et Vérité: autour de René Girard*, Paris: Grasset, 1995) cited in Hart 2017, 9)

⁵⁰ Fleming correlates 'scapegoat' victim with the French *victime* (victim) and German *Opfer* (victim) terms as endorsements of the identity of a victim involved in sacrifice (Fleming 2014, 4, 12).

⁵¹ For a fuller discussion of Girardian scapegoat theory see (Girard 1986)

⁵² The idea of sacrifice as being implicit within victimhood is a sound representation of the Day of Atonement rite with one goat slaughtered for YHWH and one goat as the scapegoat – the one banished for *azazel*. In the Day of Atonement, one goat takes on the [communal] sins (and 'escapes' from death, though the consequence is exile) and one makes restitution (through

this scapegoat brings atonement as the ‘victim ceases to be seen only as the bringer of disharmony, and becomes simultaneously the bringer of peace’ (Hart 2017, 14, 15).

Girard discussed how a scapegoat arises because of similarity between opposing parties which he refers to as ‘mimesis’. This ‘imitative desire’ ‘places humans in perpetual competition with each other... acquisitive behaviour will escalate and continue to be reflected from one to the other... Two people who are locked in mimetic rivalry will reflect each other more and more’ (Hart 2017, 12–13). If neither party is able to de-escalate or ‘step back’ from this rivalry, violence will increase and threaten the community as a whole. By sacrificing a scapegoat, therefore, this violence is removed from the community setting as the scapegoat serves as victim and ‘antidote’ to the rivalry.

Hart acknowledges that Girard found solutions to the human issue of mimetic rivalry in the Bible and ‘as a result of his work on mimesis and scapegoat violence, Girard began to acknowledge the role of the Bible in repudiating sacred violence’ (Hart 2017, 10). The Hebrew Bible/Old Testament represented ‘the early and incomplete revelation of the mimetic cycle’ in which ‘he found a growing awareness of the innocence of the victim’. Hart refers to Girard’s findings from within the Hebrew Bible that the scapegoat could be used for dissolution of conflict through collective violence of ‘all-against-one’ (‘one’ being the scapegoat). Further, in the Hebrew Bible there was also the development of prohibitions and rituals to prevent chaotic all-against-all violence and to determine the nature of what constitutes a sin or could bring discord to the community (Hart 2017, 31). While the scapegoat mechanism and its necessary victimisation is not desirable, Girard argues that ‘without the scapegoat, humanity would have died amidst the horrors of all-against-all violence’ (Hart 2017, 33).

The key personified image of a ‘scapegoat’ is identified in the ‘Servant Songs’ of Isa 52:13-53:12. The nameless person is referred to as ‘my servant’ (*avdi* slave/servant+1MS) ‘in the discourse of Yahweh God at the beginning and end’

sacrifice). In this, these two goats represent a totality of the victimage mechanism through sin removal and the completion or negation of sin’s consequence.

(Blenkinsopp 2016, 1). Though the 1MS (First Masculine Singular) suffix on 'servant' nominates God as the one to whom the servant belongs, it is also God who was 'pleased to crush him' (53:10) and who 'struck' and 'afflicted' him, further laying on the servant the 'iniquity of all' and making him the 'scapegoat' (Blenkinsopp 2016, 1–2).⁵³ The scapegoat appears as a willing, blameless victim, who embodies the punishment due for a guilty collective – a Girardian scapegoat mediating to end an escalation of mimetic rivalry and place the violence onto one recipient (Osborn 2017). Blenkinsopp notes that this mediation takes place through sacrifice, though this has been resisted in scholarship in recent years (Blenkinsopp 2016, 8). As Blenkinsopp describes, this may be because the 'sacrificial' identity of *avdi* in 'early Christian writings expressed the meaning of the life and death of Jesus' (Blenkinsopp 2016, 14) and thus the sacrifice element is minimised while the benefit is maximised.

As discussed above, the scapegoat in Leviticus is exiled. Beyond this setting, the scapegoat is not only exiled but may also be killed. In extrabiblical accounts, the scapegoat is killed by being thrown from a cliff in the desert (Henninger 1987, 93; Janowitz 2011, 19). Such accounts of killing the scapegoat typically include metaphorical language of ATONEMENT IS DEATH. 'Atonement' is achieved for the sinner by the 'removal' of 'sins' through the 'vehicle' of the scapegoat as a 'transporter of impurity'. The sinner thus escapes from punishment but there is no escape from sins or death for the substitute-sinner – the SCAPEGOAT. For Blenkinsopp, it is important to view the suffering and death of *avdi* in Isaiah 52:13-53:12 as an act of cultic sacrifice not just bloodless intercession (Blenkinsopp 2016, 9). In this aspect, the ritual described in Isaiah 52:13-53:12 is more in line with the immolation of the Levitical goat for YHWH rather than the (scape)goat sent into the desert for *azazel* (Janowitz 2011, 18-19)⁵⁴. Blenkinsopp notes that Isaiah 53 is appropriated initially as an interpretation in Daniel 11-12. Though the 'Servant of the Lord' title is 'never used explicitly' it has an Afterlife in

⁵³ This text is also discussed within MESSIAH in chapters six and seven.

⁵⁴ See 4.1.1 'Scapegoat in Leviticus' for a full discussion of the two goats in the Day of Atonement ritual from which the scapegoat originated.

the character of Jesus in the New Testament, first in the Gospels (Matthew, Mark, Luke, John) and then into other New Testament books (Blenkinsopp 2016, 11–13).

Girard's work is a contemporary explanation of how the Biblical concept of 'scapegoat' relates to thinking beyond religious spheres, such as within Australian politics. For an example of how prevalent this concept is, just searching for the term 'scapegoat' in Google News on 11 July 2021 elicits approximately 226,000 results (Google 2021). This search offers the following as top headlines:

- 'Raheem Sterling – from scapegoat to national icon' (Walker-Khan 2021)
- '54% say Harsh Vardhan made a scapegoat' (Vellore Institute of Technology 2021)
- 'Witness K became a scapegoat of the powerful' (Connelly 2021)
- 'June Benefield: Guess who's the scapegoat' (Benefield 2021)
- 'St John being made "scapegoat" for WA Health crisis' (Ramsey 2021)
- 'How postmodernism became the universal scapegoat of the era' (Seymour 2021)
- 'No One is Falling for Scapegoating Rumors That Good Girls Ended because of Manny Montana' (Weekes 2021)
- 'Oliver Holt: It's hard to believe the days of scapegoats and missed penalties may come to an end' (Holt 2021)

This 'scapegoat' is used in the news examples above as an 'innocent' victim. In each of these stories, the SCAPEGOAT is not guilty of any crime, but is blamed for the problems of the group. In the first instance, a sportstar is nominated as scapegoat (Walker-Khan 2021), but redeems himself through excellence, mirroring Girard's acknowledgement that the SCAPEGOAT can be recognised through a messianic triumph over the sins in which it is stained. Largely though, these news titles highlight that a SCAPEGOAT will be sacrificed for unity and progress that suits the will of politicians or the community. In some ways, they are depicted as having transgressed the prohibitions or rules laid out for them or have not adhered to rituals in which they could absolve themselves of

sins. Another example is with news items on COVID-19, where it would seem that SCAPEGOATS are sought so that a collective may be absolved. This is evidenced in an Indian politician being SCAPEGOATED (Vellore Institute of Technology 2021) as well as an ambulance service to be SCAPEGOATED to deflect from issues with the public health system (Ramsey 2021).

The dominant removal mechanism for SIN is that of the SCAPEGOAT. While the term and concept has evolved from Hebrew Bible through the KJV to today's vernacular, the 'scapegoat' continues to be conceptualized as SCAPEGOAT IS ATONEMENT.

In Leviticus, 'sacrificing' an actual goat as part of the Day of Atonement ritual cleanses the community of Israel and makes them 'at-one' with God through the REMOVAL of SIN. In 2021, 'sacrificing' a scapegoat (an innocent victim) cleanses a community, organisation, political party or religious group. In the Hebrew Bible, two goats are required for the Day of Atonement ritual. Both goats are sacrificed for the ritual though one is sacrificed through blood-letting and the other through removal of sin from the community. The dual goats disappear in the Afterlife of the Text and the SCAPEGOAT evolves to take on the roles of both Day of Atonement goats as REMOVAL of SIN, ATONEMENT and as CURE.

In effect, through Girardian theory any ideas of DIRT/STAIN/IMPURITY/DISEASE/POISON can be linked to the concept of SIN. As these concepts can be linked to the concept of SIN, it follows that the REMOVAL of SIN can be mapped to ATONEMENT. This removal can occur through exile or death which can both be considered SACRIFICE. Girard develops this in his idea that SIN IS POISON and subsequently that SCAPEGOAT IS ANTIDOTE. In this he reflects on the Greek words *pharmakon/os* meaning 'antidote/poison' to highlight the conceptual connection between antidote and poison in Greek thinking. The concept of two goats within the Day of Atonement suggests that a scapegoat is more like a *pharmakoi* – a ritualistic carrier of evil designated as the agent on which sin is removed (Henninger 1987, 94). Astell discusses Girard's definition of *pharmakoi* as the scapegoat being 'both poison and the antidote for poison, both sickness and

cure' (Astell 2014, 139, 145).⁵⁵ Astell further comments that Girard's identification of the scapegoat as *pharmakon* (poison/antidote) depicts this character as one who has a dual effect on the community it is to transform.

Based on this, SCAPEGOAT evolves in the Afterlife of the Text to be conceptualized as follows:

SCAPEGOAT IS CURE

This is because the scapegoat is required not only to remove or wash away the sins of the community; the scapegoat is also to heal the community of sins or provide an ANTIDOTE to the POISON of their sins. This CURE is applied ritually in the Day of Atonement, but fulfilled according to the New Testament and Girardian theory by Jesus Christ as SCAPEGOAT.

If in the Day of Atonement there was only one goat, which had sins laid upon it and was then immolated, this would correlate with the Isaiah 53 narrative discussed above as well as Girardian scapegoat theory of an innocent victim who is destroyed for the sins of others. This victim is both scorned and burdened, 'surrounded by a quasi-religious aura of veneration' in which the ritualistic victim affects violence into harmony through its role as sacrifice on behalf of the community (Astell 2014, 139, 145). Astell notes this mechanism in a number of Biblical references including Job, complaint Psalms and as mentioned above Isaiah 53 before its forward trajectory into the New Testament 'Passion narratives' with the Christ figure as the 'messianic' SCAPEGOAT. Dawson further discusses how Christ as the 'satisfaction of divine vengeance' is the theological underpinning of scapegoat theory (Dawson 2013, 96).

The evolution of 'scapegoat' through its translation and interpretation in the Afterlife of the Text offers productive and imaginative renderings. In the Afterlife of the (Levitical) Text, the rivalry can be depicted by Jesus versus evil and evil can be personified by Satan/Devil. However, they also can both be depicted as SCAPEGOATS – one who is sacrificed to remove evil, one who embodies all evil and

⁵⁵ Citations from Rene Girard, *Violence and the Sacred* (1972, *La Violence et le sacré*), trans. Patrick Gregory (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1977), 95, 292.

must be warred against. It is possible that the translation of the Biblical Hebrew term *azazel* ([goat] for Azazel) into scapegoat in English was a deliberate attempt to eliminate the ambiguous demon from this ritual. There is a complexity in having the two divine entities being appeased within the same ritual in Christian theology. By featuring a named demon (*azazel*) alongside YHWH in a cultic ritual as important as the Day of Atonement, this suggests that they both have power and are required within an atonement ritual. This complexity would have created challenges for translators of the KJV and the NIV. Kugel and Sawyer discuss how there was a concerted focus within the work of early Christian fathers to determine Christological allusions within the Old Testament (Kugel 2007, 17-21; Sawyer 1995, 29, 31, 58; 2018, 2-5, 308-321). These allusions would have included allusions within the sacrifice of the Day of Atonement. The removal of conflicting phrasing disambiguates the atonement ritual (Fleming 2014, 9, 13). The prevalence of SCAPEGOAT as necessary in atonement has continued from Leviticus into an Afterlife in New Testament use and beyond.

Girardian scapegoat theory emphasizes the duality of scapegoat character (being both saviour/sacrifice and evil/exile) and that the scapegoat has necessary functions in atonement in contemporary society. This provides two further conceptualisations of the ‘scapegoat’ from within the Biblical Afterlife, post-Leviticus:

SCAPEGOAT IS WILLING VICTIM

and

SCAPEGOAT IS EVIL OTHER

I will first discuss the ‘scapegoat’ as ‘willing victim’ before discussing ‘scapegoat’ as ‘evil other’ as I discuss both of these scapegoats as being evidence in Australian political speeches in chapter five. In Girardian theory and the Afterlife of the Text, Jesus is interpreted as the ‘cure’ for ‘sin’ as a willing, blameless victim who would take on the sins of the world:

Hebrews 10:10 KJV

By the which will we are sanctified through the offering of the body of Jesus Christ once for all.

Hebrews 10:10 NIV

And by that will, we have been made holy through the sacrifice of the body of Jesus Christ once for all. (italics mine)

The SCAPEGOAT concept has evolved through the theology of Christ in the Afterlife of Biblical interpretation. Christ as SCAPEGOAT takes on the 'sin' of humankind as blameless, willing victim. This is an act that Dawson notes as 'cosmic' and 'universal' (Dawson 2013, 57). Even though Christ is positioned as a SCAPEGOAT in the New Testament, Dawson notes that there are no explicit references to Day of Atonement goats (one for YHWH, one for *azazel*) and the rites of sacrifice. However, SCAPEGOAT IS ATONEMENT begins to take root in the New Testament, is more evident in the second and third centuries and is further evidenced into current Christian theology (Dawson 2013, 18). This Christ-SCAPEGOAT appears as a distant rendering of the 'sacrifice, substitution, and certain rites of purification' of the Day of Atonement ritual as the scapegoat in Leviticus is released into the desert (Henninger 1987, 92). Henninger (1987, 93) confirms a re-interpretation of the Levitical rite as being connected to the confession of sins, and restitution being made through that act, similar to Dawson's rendering of this as a cosmic act. Henninger (1987, 93) comments that the Levitical account was a 'once purely magical rite of elimination' but has been reinterpreted through post-Biblical sources in a non-magical fashion. That is, that the initial account of a goat for YHWH and a goat for *azazel* would atone for the sins of the people in a two-fold, 'magical' or 'enchanted' manner (Taylor 2007, 25-26, 28, 29-43).

Anstis (2012) suggests that the New Testament offers a clear allusion to the Day of Atonement/*Yom Kippur* goats. She argues that this is depicted in the person of Jesus. She argues that Jesus as 'typological scapegoat' is a sacrifice

(Anstis 2012, 50, 60). Jesus is a 'victim' in the 'scapegoat mechanism' and participates in a de-escalation of violence, Anstis argues. She also introduces the notion of a scapegoat as 'sacred' which is attributed to Jesus due to his sacrificial duty of death (Anstis 2012, 60). In this she acknowledges that, 'Girard began to acknowledge a positive understanding of the term "sacrifice"' (Anstis 2012, 56, 64). This adjustment, Anstis notes, was previously not acknowledged by Girard but is of critical importance to the scapegoat narrative of Christian theology as:

Girard has come to regard the term as not only an action of violence and a result of mimetic rivalry, but as a positive and divine invention. This has resulted in a positive reading of the self-sacrifice made by Jesus as he rejects guilt and breaks the violent mimetic cycle. (Anstis 2012, 56, 64)

It is this identification of Jesus which suggests the valent nature of SCAPEGOAT and MESSIAH concepts. I explore MESSIAH concepts further in chapters six and seven and summarise the valent duality of SCAPEGOAT and MESSIAH concepts in the concluding chapter of this thesis.

This duality is further explored through the metaphor, SCAPEGOAT IS EVIL OTHER. This concept is shaped significantly as a theory by Girard and takes life through personification and mimetic rivalry. In Christian theology this is emphasized in the mimetic rivalry of Jesus and Satan.

Satan is a character of limited use in the Hebrew Bible.⁵⁶ In these texts, Satan's power is limited to that of a subordinate being (such as an 'angel') and only utilised with God's permission (such as to test Job in Job 1:6, 7*2, 8, 9, 12*2, 2:1, 2*2, 3, 4, 6, 7). However, in the New Testament and post-Biblical passages he becomes an evil rival. Fleming argues that this positions Satan against God, good and humankind (Fleming 2014, 9, 13). Fleming further suggests that in the Biblical account Satan is both the originator of evil and ruler of this world because of that power (Fleming 2014, 9). In this pairing, Satan plays the role of SCAPEGOAT as 'enemy':

⁵⁶ There are 17 mentions of Satan which appear in Zech 3:1, 2*2, Job 1:6, 7*2, 8, 9, 12*2, 2:1, 2*2, 3, 4, 6, 7 (OakTree Software Inc. 2019)

1 Peter 5:8 KJV

your adversary the devil, as a roaring lion, walketh about, seeking whom he may devour

1 Peter 5:8 NIV

Your enemy the devil prowls around like a roaring lion looking for someone to devour.

Good versus evil as a mimetic rivalry continues in the Afterlife of the Biblical Text. This mimetic rivalry of good versus evil is further emulated in situations of war. I discuss 'scapegoat' in war in chapter five in John Howard's speech about entering the Iraq war and this war-narrative lens is discussed by some Fleming and other Girardian scholars.

With the violence of wars within the twentieth century, Fleming comments that there was no 'adequate scapegoat mechanism' to effectively restrain the 'escalation of conflict' (Fleming 2014, 10, 13). In these scenarios, both sides considered to have 'Gott mit uns/God with us' (from Isaiah 7:14 use of 'Immanuel'). This sense of both sides having God with them and thus a sense of righteousness, gave rise to apocalyptic conditions in the Girardian sense of 'the acknowledgment of humanity's capacity to limit its own violence' but without choosing to create such a limitation (Fleming 2014, 10, 13). In prosecuting war crimes, international criminal law has focussed on individual guilt or corporate guilt, personified as an individual (Kensey 2014, 72, 78). This enabled a personification of scapegoat as a singular entity through which guilt can be absolved. Without this absolution, violent rivalry increases as evidenced in the lead up to and during both World Wars and in the Cold War years (Stork 2012, 208, 216). The language used in this military mimesis is echoed in broader settings, including Christian rhetoric in the public sphere.

Drews Lucas notes, that these 'calls to arms... re-sacralize violence' for the sake of a 'righteous cause in the service of a righteous God' (Drews Lucas 2014, 61, 65). This war is not reserved only for Christians; indeed it is part of a 'holy war'

that Christian nations are involved in (General William Boykin in Hedges 2007, 58). This style of war rhetoric is utilised beyond the above cited American settings. Sheridan (2018, 13, 324–25) freely admits to using this militant style of language, made familiar and useful to him from within an Australian Christian context. Lakoff argues that engagement within war rhetoric activates the frame of war, its lack of civil rules and its freedoms for atrocity (2009, 125–32). According to Lakoff, the use of militant language and engagement with the war ‘frame’ means that normal rules of civil society no longer apply because only war rules apply when living within a situation of ‘war’⁵⁷(Lakoff 2004, 103–17).

War requires both ‘sacrificial heroes’ (willing victim) and a SCAPEGOAT as ‘othered’ enemy who must be eliminated or sent away. Those who control the war narrative make clear their role as those who will cause atonement through ‘just’ pursuit of the SCAPEGOAT as enemy. Girard notes that this is one of the complexities of Christianity’s historical use of the term ‘sacrifice’, a fluidity between sacrifice as a loving choice (to lay down one’s life within the heroism of war per se) and sacrifice as a ritual required for atonement (Anstis 2012, 52, 63).

While Jesus has become a dominant figure in the Afterlife of the Text as a ‘willing victim’ SCAPEGOAT, Fleming comments that the ‘Judaic principle of retributive equivalence [an “eye for an eye”]’ (2002, 66, 72) precedes this in de-escalating violence by creating direct parameters on how justice should be meted out. While there is no SCAPEGOAT as such in eye for an eye justice, Fleming notes that this ‘often criticized’ principle offers judicial procedures of ‘moral judgement’ in ““positive feedback loops”, spiralling upward in ever-increasing amounts’ (Fleming 2002, 66, 72).

Girardian theory of mimetic rivalry argues that a SCAPEGOAT is required to end mimetic rivalry between two warring parties. This SCAPEGOAT is sacrificed or exiled to deal with the escalation of tensions and restore peace and order. The SCAPEGOAT is not only the goat who carries away the STAIN or BURDEN of SIN in the Hebrew Bible. In the Afterlife of the Levitical Text, the SCAPEGOAT evolves to

⁵⁷ See Lakoff’s extensive discussion of this in *Don’t Think of an Elephant* (Lakoff 2004, 103–17).

become the CURE for the DISEASE of SIN. It offers this ‘cure’ by the scapegoat playing the role of WILLING VICTIM or EVIL OTHER. In both cases, the ‘sins’ of the community are removed by a SCAPEGOAT who must either be exiled from the community, or killed.

4.4 SUMMARY

The focus of this chapter is the origin and evolution of the term and concept of SCAPEGOAT. The term ‘scapegoat’ originated through translation of the Day of Atonement ritual in Leviticus 16, evolving from a ‘goat for *azazel*’ which has been discussed within this chapter as the name of a desert demon in the Biblical Hebrew. The term *azazel* is utilised four times in the Hebrew Bible, all within Leviticus, a Law book in the Hebrew Bible. The term ‘scapegoat’ is translatable from the phrase ‘goat for *Azazel*’ in Leviticus. Those uses are in Leviticus 16:8, 10, 26. However, *Azazel* is not relevant in contemporary translations of these passages as in translation history this ‘goat for *azazel*’ instead emerges as the ‘scapegoat’. This scapegoat bears the sins of the people and is sent out into the desert with them, never to return. This ritual atones for the sins of the people through the transmission of their guilt onto the goat as a guiltless party.

From the Hebrew Bible it entered English translation history through Tyndale’s translation of Leviticus became the established term for the translation of Leviticus 16 in the King James Version and henceforth in almost all English translations.

In a contemporary setting, the term ‘scapegoat’ is a common noun in English vernacular meaning ‘one who is blamed or punished for the sins of others’ (OED 1993). It is also used verbally ‘to make a scapegoat of (someone); to subject to scapegoating’ (OED 1989). While ‘scapegoat’ is commonly in use in English language, it was far less common in its originating language of Biblical Hebrew.

The conceptual metaphor SIN IS STAIN is relevant to forming the complex metaphor examined in this chapter: SCAPEGOAT IS ATONEMENT. SIN IS STAIN is the beginning of a chain of primary metaphors which map to create the complex

metaphor SACRIFICE IS ATONEMENT which is the last key metaphor to complete SCAPEGOAT IS ATONEMENT. The metaphor chain is as follows:

SIN IS STAIN

ATONEMENT IS WASHING AWAY (OF SIN)

ATONEMENT IS REMOVAL (OF SIN)

DEATH/EXILE IS REMOVAL/WASHING AWAY

SCAPEGOAT IS DEATH/EXILE (OF SIN)

therefore

SCAPEGOAT IS ATONEMENT

Jesus as SCAPEGOAT and the SCAPEGOAT role as both positive, sacred and a necessary model of de-escalating mimetic rivalry, has been studied extensively within Girardian theory beyond the scope of my discussion within this chapter. Girard's idea of a SCAPEGOAT that is a 'willing victim' or an 'evil enemy' demonstrates the complexity of the SCAPEGOAT mechanism, a complexity which is evidenced in Leviticus through the complex conceptual metaphor of SCAPEGOAT IS ATONEMENT.

This complexity is discussed in the broader context of Australian political rhetoric in chapter five. In this chapter, I have analysed how SCAPEGOAT metaphors have been utilised in translation history and the Afterlife of the Text, culminating in contemporary Girardian scapegoat theory and its applications to society, war and politics. In the next chapter, I will explain how the metaphor grouping of SCAPEGOAT appears in Australian prime ministerial speeches from 2000-2022.

[T]here comes a time in the history of nations when their peoples must become fully reconciled to their past if they are to go forward with confidence to embrace their future. Our nation, Australia, has reached such a time. That is why the parliament is today here assembled: to deal with this unfinished business of the nation, to remove a great stain from the nation's soul and, in a true spirit of reconciliation, to open a new chapter in the history of this great land, Australia (Rudd 2008, 167).

5. SCAPEGOAT IN AUSTRALIAN POLITICS

In this chapter, I analyse how the conceptual metaphor grouping of 'scapegoat' has appeared in Australian Politics in the past 22 years through a corpus of Prime Ministerial speeches in the House of Representatives.⁵⁸ 'Scapegoat' is understood through the complex conceptual metaphor SCAPEGOAT IS ATONEMENT. In chapter four, I analysed how this metaphor originated in the Biblical book of Leviticus. I investigated how SCAPEGOAT concepts have evolved from the ancient Biblical text in Biblical Hebrew (Old Testament) into English translation history. I did this by investigating the translation and interpretation of the Afterlife of these texts through analysing translations of SCAPEGOAT metaphors in the most widely sold English translations of the Bible, the King James Version (KJV) and the New International Version (NIV). Following this, I examined how scapegoat concepts evolved in the Reception History of the Bible as well as through the lens of Girardian scapegoat theory. In this chapter, I focus on the use and evolution of these concepts within Prime Ministerial speeches from 2000 to present⁵⁹.

To analyse the SCAPEGOAT in contemporary Australian political rhetoric, I have selected two speeches to discuss as case studies. These speeches were selected because they feature a prominent high use of SCAPEGOAT concepts. The use of SCAPEGOAT concepts was investigated through using the search engine feature of the Parliament of Australia's Hansard reporting of parliamentary

⁵⁸ My focus on the past 22 years of Australian politics is discussed in section 3.4.1 as part of my methodology.

⁵⁹ For further information on the parameters of this thesis, see chapter 3, section 3.4.

proceedings (Parliament of Australia 2022) and as a result I selected two speeches as case studies. These two speeches were chosen based on their use of SCAPEGOAT concepts, their prominence in the Australian political landscape and their effect on policy or parliamentary changes (Garran 2004; Maddox 2005; Brett 2007; King and Wells 2009; Howard 2010; Marr 2010; Rudd 2011; Weller 2014):⁶⁰ former Prime Minister John Howard's speech *Iraq* (Howard 2003) and former Prime Minister Kevin Rudd's speech *Apology to Australia's Indigenous Peoples* (Rudd 2008). I propose that these case studies represent typical examples of how Biblical metaphors are included in contemporary Australian political speeches. Further, I argue that these two speeches represent the two types of Girardian scapegoat that have been discussed previously in this thesis in section 4.3: the distinct enemy and the willing victim (Girard 1986; Howard 2003; Rudd 2008; Fleming 2014; Hart 2017).

5.1 CASE STUDY 1: THE DISTINCT ENEMY – HOWARD'S IRAQ

The ultimate nightmare for us all must be that weapons of mass destruction fall into the hands of terrorists. The more the world leaves unchecked either the possession of such weapons by rogue states or the spread of those weapons, the more likely it becomes that terrorists will acquire and use them (Howard 2003).

The first case study speech that I analyse for SCAPEGOAT and ATONEMENT concepts took place on 4 February 2003.⁶¹ On this date, then-Prime Minister John Howard made a Ministerial Statement on Australia's involvement in the Iraq War, simply titled 'Iraq' (Howard 2003). I argue that escalation from Howard is evidenced in this speech through identifying Iraq and Saddam Hussein as 'enemy' SCAPEGOATS. I discuss this speech as a case study because of its significance in politically engaging Australia in war and the number of facets I will outline below that can be categorised as SCAPEGOAT and ATONEMENT concepts through the complex conceptual metaphor SCAPEGOAT IS ATONEMENT. This analysis will occur through

⁶⁰ For more detail on how a speech is categorised as prominent or highly effective, see section 3.4.2.

⁶¹ Howard's full speech is available in Appendix B.

examining the speech from start to finish, identifying the conceptual metaphors that undergird it as well as analysing the delivery of the speech in its phrasing and rhetorical devices. I will then summarise how this speech is a salient example of SCAPEGOAT IS ATONEMENT as well as an important speech in contemporary Australian politics.

Mr Speaker, my purpose today is to explain to the House and through it to the Australian people the government's belief that the world community must deal decisively with Iraq. Iraq's continued defiance of the United Nations and its *possession of chemical and biological weapons* and its *pursuit of a nuclear capability* poses a real and *unacceptable threat* to the stability and security of our world; why the matters at stake go to the very credibility of the United Nations itself; why the issue is of direct concern to Australia and why, therefore, the Australian government has authorised the forward positioning of elements of the Australian Defence Force to the Persian Gulf (Howard 2003, 10642). (italics mine)

In the first paragraph of his speech, Howard introduces the four major points of his speech which are undergirded by the conceptual metaphor IRAQ IS DEFIANT. This 'defiance' is positioned against the United Nations which includes countries in a 'community' which Iraq is outside of, due to its defiance. Thus, the 'world community' must deal with Iraq. Howard defines Iraq and Saddam Hussein as violent outliers who are seeking to use violence against peace loving countries like Australia. Iraq must be dealt with because they are not 'at-one' with the world community. Howard defines Iraq as a 'outlier' and 'threat' who is marked as such by the keeping and using 'unacceptable' weaponry. If Iraq is not dealt with, world governance will be compromised which will affect Australia. The end result of Iraq being 'outside' of the 'world community' and holding violent power is that Australia is ready for war, to force them back into the 'acceptable' rules of the community.

The above opening paragraph introduces the structure and substance of Howard's speech. In it are the three main characters discussed throughout the speech: Iraq, Australia and the United Nations. All other nations and people mentioned within his speech are categorised within one of these three, for example Saddam Hussein and Iraq are synonymous; Australia, United Kingdom and the United States are aligned together. The United Nations is positioned

throughout as a community that contains nations that agree to ‘acceptable’ behaviour or are willing to exile their SCAPEGOATS to be keep the world community in harmony. Iraq from the beginning paragraph is unwilling to be compliant. The response to Iraq’s defiance is war.

In Howard’s second paragraph, he makes his feelings on war clear. For him, it is unifying and abhorrent:

Although there is considerable debate about the best course of action to resolve this crisis I want, for a moment, to focus on the *one thing that unites us all—and that is a common abhorrence of war* (Howard 2003, 10642). (italics mine)

In the third paragraph, this war is discussed as necessary, even though every effort will be made to avoid it. As with the prior paragraph, Howard states that he does not want war. In this way, he makes himself an ‘every-man’ who understands the will of the Australian people:

I know that in this I speak for *every member of this House, every Australian*. We, all of us, hope that it will still prove possible to find *an outcome acceptable to the international community without military force being used*. *The government will not make a final decision to commit to military conflict unless and until it is satisfied that all achievable options for a peaceful resolution have been explored* (Howard 2003, 10642). (italics mine)

While he says he does not want a war, the following paragraph points clearly to Howard’s belief that Iraq does ‘want’ war:

The other point of agreement shared by members in this House, by our community and by the community of nations is that *Iraq must not be allowed to possess weapons of mass destruction—for the security and stability of our world, it must be disarmed* (Howard 2003, 10642). (italics mine)

Iraq’s ‘desire’ for war is present because of its possession of ‘weapons of mass destruction’. In the above paragraph Howard undergirds his words with the metaphors that PEACE IS DISARMAMENT (OF IRAQ) and WAR IS (IRAQ) ARMAMENT. Keeping and producing weapons of mass destruction means that Iraq cannot be part of the world community, because the WORLD IS A (SMALL) PLACE OR THE WORLD IS ACCESSIBLE. Holding onto these weapons means they cannot be in the (SMALL)

PLACE, nor have ACCESS to be at-one with the community of nations, though the community has tried:

For years the *nations of the world have sought to persuade Iraq to abandon these most offensive of weapons*. The Iraqi President, *Saddam Hussein*, has *refused to comply* and now the weight of the world's attention has fallen on him (Howard 2003, 10642). (italics mine)

This paragraph is the first time that Saddam Hussein has been mentioned. It is now not only Iraq that is defiant –Saddam Hussein specifically carries the burden of non-compliance. The world's 'heavy gaze' 'falls on him' to see how he will deal with the defiance of his country for the sake of atonement with the world.

Now that Howard has made the 'sins' clear, his speech details that Iraq has power to stop the war that is 'pre-positioned'. In this statement, he further distances himself from an 'abhorrent' desire for war while positioning Iraq as one who is currently desiring war for as long as they opt not to 'choose peace':

Only one nation can determine whether force will be necessary or not. *Only one nation, acting alone, can make the choice for peace. That nation is Iraq* (Howard 2003, 10642). (italics mine)

From this paragraph, Howard continues to discuss how Iraq can 'make the choice for peace' and has power to self-determine if force is 'necessary':

If the world turns its back on the threat posed by Iraq, if the community of nations gives up because it is all too hard, then Saddam Hussein will not reward us all with benign behaviour. Such weakness, such an abject failure of international will... be treated with contempt. Iraq will not only keep her current weapons but add to them. Saddam Hussein will not abandon his chemical and biological weapons programs. He will keep striving to build a nuclear capacity. And he will almost certainly, at some time in the future, use these weapons to fulfil his ambition to dominate his region (Howard 2003, 10642). (italics mine)

A choice for peace can occur through Iraq/Hussein acknowledging their possession of weapons and exiling its weapons to the control of the United Nations. He states that the world must ensure that Saddam Hussein atones, or else war will ensure. Again, Saddam Hussein and Iraq are positioning for war with increasing intensity and the world community must be strong in dealing with this threat. They must stay 'front-facing' and not 'give up' to be strong enough to defeat Iraq.

According to Howard, Hussein's ambition is domination by any means. This ambition is stated through the accumulation of weapons in increasing number and power. Howard positions Hussein as having power, and assures Australia it must maintain power over Hussein to remove the weapons in an effort to maintain peace. He then discusses how showing 'weakness' to Hussein will result in escalating violence in Iraq's surrounds geographically and also in Iraq's status as an outlier:

... who could blame his neighbours, when faced with an Iraq allowed to keep... weapons of mass destruction, if they decided that their own security necessitated a corresponding arsenal.
Worse still, other rogue states observing the world community's failure to deal with Iraq will be encouraged to flout the international conventions on arms control and develop their own chemical, biological and even nuclear weapons (Howard 2003, 10642). (italics mine)

Howard's speech has thus far established that war is likely because of Saddam Hussein's unwillingness to comply with the rules of the world community. While he states that Iraq has the power to choose peace instead of war, the world must not accept a peace in which Iraq has weapons of mass destruction. In allowing Iraq to keep weapons of mass destruction, this further increases the risk of terrorism as a norm:

We should all be deeply concerned about a world in which weapons of mass destruction become the norm. The more nations that possess these weapons, the greater the risk there is that they will be used. The likelihood of them falling into the hands of terrorists multiplies as their numbers proliferate. Proliferation of these weapons will make the world a much more dangerous place for all of us (Howard 2003, 10643). (italics mine)

This paragraph is the beginning of Howard's framing of Saddam Hussein as a terrorist. His use of 'weapons of mass destruction' states that the kind of weapons Hussein and Iraq have are 'not ordinary weapons'. They are weapons to annihilate and they are the kind of weapons that terrorists use. He utilises this frame throughout his speech.

Howard returns to the need to 'deal' with Iraq. In the past, the 'world' failed to deal with Iraq 'once and for all':

The world has developed over time a series of treaties, conventions, protocols and control regimes both to prevent the proliferation of chemical,

nuclear and biological weapons and, where possible, to *eliminate such of these weapons* as may now exist (Howard 2003, 10643). (italics mine)

According to Howard, lack of action to ‘deal with Iraq’ over the 30 years prior to this speech has undermined international conventions on nuclear, biological and chemical weapons. These types of weapons are described collectively as ‘weapons of mass destruction’. They are listed collectively and singularly throughout the speech to depict Iraq as holding these weapons and wanting more of them. While Iraq ‘wants’ more of these weapons, the ‘world’ is ‘against’ such weapons in general. Further, as part of the world community (WORLD IS FAMILY), Australia in particular is completely against such weapons, as proven by not possessing them:

Australia is *vehemently opposed* to the proliferation of chemical, biological and nuclear weapons. *We do not possess these weapons* and we wish to ensure that they *do not become an acceptable part* of every nation's arsenal (Howard 2003, 10643). (italics mine)

Howard states that Australia does not possess these weapons because of the size of their ‘unacceptable’ killing power. Weapons of mass destruction are not conventional or ordinary, which are acceptable, though terrible. Weapons of mass destruction are ‘too dangerous’, more so than ordinary weapons:

They are *too dangerous*. Their destructive power is *hundreds of times greater than that of conventional weapons* —terrible as they may be. Their *destructive force is not easily contained or controlled* and their *effects can span the generations*. These are *no ordinary weapons* (Howard 2003, 10643). (italics mine)

While the world and Australia are against these weapons, Howard implies that Iraq is undermining the collective power of the world community and making the world more dangerous:

Every time *a nation* is allowed to *undermine the international treaties and agreements* put in place to restrict or prohibit the spread of chemical, biological or nuclear weapons, *the world becomes more dangerous* for all nations (Howard 2003, 10643). (italics mine)

Further to Iraq, and unlike Australia, Howard states that ‘too many nations’ have weapons of mass destruction. While Howard does not agree with ‘any’ nation holding these, he categorises two nations as particular outliers in breach of

the international conventions. One is Iraq and the other is North Korea. They are 'accused of breaching the Nuclear Non Proliferation Treaty'. He further personifies Iraq as a petulant child, 'thumbing its nose' at the responsible adult (United Nations) 'persistently and publicly for 12 years' (Howard 2003, 10643). While North Korea's errant behaviour with the Treaty is recent, they also must 'be brought back into compliance' – 'both must be dealt with' as 'both pose great threats to world security' and to Australia (Howard 2003, 10643).

While condemning the behaviour of 'Iraq', Howard implores Australians to offer compassion and support to those of Middle Eastern background who are living in Australia, including Iraqis. This is because they 'could be torn between seeing Saddam brought to account and the possible dangers facing their families in Iraq' (Howard 2003, 10643). He only spends one paragraph on this need for compassion before returning to establishing Iraq as a worldwide threat.

Iraq as a worldwide threat is rooted in Iraq and Hussein as threats to its neighbours. Howard refers to Iraq/Hussein as a 'constant threat', aggressive, coercive and intimidating (Howard 2003, 10644). This is later personified as a country/leader who 'without provocation' is an invader, a bully, threatener and extorter (Howard 2003, 10645). While this had been contained in the past through the punitive action of sanctions, illegal activities by Hussein have subverted the 'righteous' rules of the United Nations:

The old policy of containment is eroding. Saddam Hussein has increasingly been able to subvert the sanctions. Smuggling of oil from Iraq and the illegal importation of proscribed goods into Iraq have increased dramatically in the past few years (Howard 2003, 10644).

Despite efforts to correct Iraq's sinful behaviours, 'Iraq has still been able to hang on to most of the knowledge and equipment it needs. Inspectors have never been able to eradicate Iraq's weapons of mass destruction programs—at best they slowed their development' (Howard 2003, 10644). Because of this, nations in the Middle East remain unstable and unbalanced. According to Howard, they will do so until 'Iraq is disarmed of its weapons of mass destruction—totally and permanently'. The benefits to the Middle East will be 'enormous' and 'widely welcomed'.

There is an interesting few paragraphs within Howard's speech at this point which almost appear to feature as an aside. Howard digresses from his consistent focus on Iraq. He interrupts his focus on Iraq with a discussion of the complexities of the ongoing Israel/Palestine conflict (Howard 2003, 10644). In doing so, he suggests that Iraq's disarmament may help to bring peace to this most notorious Middle-Eastern conflict. Within this section of Howard's speech, the West is positioned 'as a genuine friend' to Israel saying that it has 'no stauncher ally than Australia' though Howard also supports creation of a 'viable independent Palestinian state' (Howard 2003, 10644). Up until this point, and continuing on after, this speech has focussed on clear outlaws – Saddam Hussein and Iraq. North Korea is mentioned in a couple of paragraphs, but it is made clear that North Korea is being dealt with by the international community, with 'Australia playing a leading role', while Iraq is not in a relationship of conversation and change (Howard 2003, 10643).

However, in these few paragraphs, Howard adds Palestine to the list of outlying communities. In what seems to be an aside of directives to Israel and Palestine amongst the indictment of Saddam Hussein, Howard likens Palestine to Iraq in its use of terrorism and suicide bombing:

'Disarming Iraq will bring enormous benefits to the Middle East ... however, the *international community must redouble its efforts to resolve the seemingly intractable Israeli-Palestinian conflict*. The Australian government again calls on both sides to bring an end to the violence ... *Israel has no stauncher ally than Australia* in its pursuit of the right to exist ... Australia strongly supports the creation of a viable independent Palestinian state ... *As a genuine friend of Israel's...* take whatever opportunity might reasonably arise to engage the Palestinian Authority in constructive peace discussions. ... Can I, however, say this to *the members of the Palestinian Authority*. How can the Prime Minister of Israel be expected to do these things while ever *the murderous pattern of suicide bombing continues to be inflicted on the people of Israel?* (Howard 2003, 10644). (italics mine)

Howard creates a link between Iraq and Palestine as being outliers. He establishes them as engaging in terrorist activities. Palestine is a threatener like Iraq and North Korea. Its shared country of Israel is not only threatened by Palestinian attacks, Israel and other neighbouring nations are threatened by Iraq also

(Howard 2003, 10645). Palestine is able to threaten Israel because of Iraq's support:

Iraq also has a long history of training and supporting regional terrorist groups. It supports Palestinian suicide bombers who have caused such death and destruction within Israel (Howard 2003, 10644).

Alternately, Israel is aligned with the West, who are part of the world community. No Israeli violence is mentioned and the Prime Minister of Israel is encouraged to engage in peace discussions though he is justified in not doing so 'while ever the murderous pattern of suicide bombing continues to be inflicted on the people of Israel' (Howard 2003, 10644).

After the few paragraphs focussed on the Israel/Palestine conflict, Howard's focus returns to Iraq and its possession of weapons of mass destruction. He continues his frame that connects Iraq with terrorism, and Iraq as a supplier of conventional weapons and weapons of mass destruction to terrorist organisations. Thus, by restricting Iraq from holding weapons of mass destruction, the world is safer from the threat of terrorism:

The ultimate nightmare for us all must be that weapons of mass destruction fall into the hands of terrorists. The more the world leaves unchecked either the possession of such weapons by rogue states or the spread of those weapons, the more likely it becomes that terrorists will acquire and use them (Howard 2003, 10645). (italics mine)

This terrorism can be and must be 'checked' by enforcing the resolutions of the Security Council of the United Nations which Iraq has 'flouted'. Howard is adamant that Iraq has weapons of mass destruction and that it wants to develop more. Their destructive power will also increase from biological and chemical to nuclear levels. He makes his case for this based on published dossiers of British and American intelligence to which 'Australia has contributed' which 'points overwhelmingly to Saddam Hussein having acted in systematic defiance of the resolutions of the Security Council'. If the council does not act to 'ensure full compliance' it will 'risk crippling its own authority' (Howard 2003, 10645). He reminds the House of Representatives of the history of Iraq's defiance, dating back 12 years:

In 1991, the *United Nations Security Council* wanted to ensure that *the Iraqi President was no longer in a position to launch any more unprovoked attacks on his neighbours. It resolved that Iraq must declare and then destroy all its chemical and biological weapons and any materials or facilities connected with Saddam's attempt to achieve nuclear capability. Iraq was prohibited from ever again possessing such weapons* (Howard 2003, 10645). (italics mine)

This was agreed to and hostilities against Iraq ceased conditionally. These conditions included the commitment to no longer hold, use or develop weapons of mass destruction. Economic sanctions were put in place to ‘ensure compliance’ (Howard 2003, 10646). Howard lays out how Iraq has been given opportunities to meet these conditions for 12 years. He does this by a triplicate use of ‘for 12 years’. In each of these, the community has supported ‘individual’ Iraq:

For 12 years the community of nations has tried to cajole and encourage Iraq to comply with the Security Council resolutions.

For 12 years the international community has tried to contain his ambitions and limit his capacity to keep or manufacture weapons of mass destruction.

For 12 years Australian navy personnel have supported the Multinational Interception Force in the Persian Gulf, which enforces sanctions against Iraq (Howard 2003, 10646). (italics mine)

Howard describes how Hussein obstructed his containment for eight years and refused scrutiny for four years. While given every opportunity to comply, Iraq has refused. Howard includes a final ‘12 years’ in his summary of Iraq’s non-compliance:

Iraq has not complied with 24 out of the 27 provisions contained in successive Security Council resolutions. Over the last 12 years the Security Council has passed no fewer than nine resolutions condemning Iraq's non-cooperation with weapons inspectors. Iraq has had a lot of time and plenty of opportunities to get it right (Howard 2003, 10646).

Further, metonymically the Australian ‘government’ has ‘argued’ that this threat of Hussein’s violence and non-compliance with the world community must be dealt with. Howard has argued for this to occur with proper process and alongside the WORLD FAMILY. This process and working with the United Nations is a sign of Australia’s desire for peace and diplomacy:

The government has consistently argued that the United Nations needs to deal with Saddam Hussein's continued defiance of the Security Council's authority. This was the view I put to President Bush... I then argued to him *the merits of working through the United Nations.*

That has been the steady theme of a *strong diplomatic effort by Australia...* We have supported a leading role for the United Nations in addressing this threat. Our close relationship with and our ready access to the US administration have meant that our views are heard and respected.

We approached Security Council members ... *to encourage a constructive resolution.* We recently sent an envoy to South-East Asia to consult key partners in the region and inform them of Australia's position (Howard 2003, 10646). (*italics mine*)

Due to Iraq's non-compliance, the Security Council response escalated with resolution 1441 which 'put Iraq on notice—the consequences of noncompliance would be serious'. Howard asserts that this most recent resolution (made only a few months prior to this speech) must be enforced. Otherwise, 'the Security Council's deeds will have failed to match its rhetoric and serious long-term damage will have been done to the United Nations'. This failure will make the Security Council and the United Nations out to be hypocrites. If these world bodies are hypocrites, 'righteous nations' like Australia and the United States will not be able respect them as readily and will be less willing to participate in coordinated world efforts (Lakoff 2009, 69-74). This damage will have been born out of Hussein's ambitions to hold and use weapons of mass destruction. These ambitions will have been endorsed by the 'world' as 'too trusting... in its dealings with the Iraqi President'. While 'Iraq has not changed... we have' (Howard 2003, 10646).

For Howard, that trust has completely disappeared. It has done so because 'after the events in Bali and those of 11 September 2001... we are living in a world where unexpected and devastating terrorist attacks on free and open societies can occur in ways that we never before imagined possible' (Howard 2003, 10646–47). Howard's speech leans into the frame he began when talking about Palestine – that Iraq's flouting of the rules of the 'world community', as set by the Security Council of the United Nations, is akin to and encourages terrorism. He states that September 11 and Bali changed how the world deals with each other, and how

Australia is very much affected by this. This integrated effect is because THE WORLD IS AN ACCESSIBLE PLACE:

The atrocity in Bali demonstrated something Australia had never fully understood until then—that we are truly vulnerable. In light of this we have reappraised the way we view and deal with the threat of terrorism. We understand the danger of leaving threats unaddressed (Howard 2003, 10647).

Because the world is accessible by anyone at any time, Howard states that he is not alone in his concern of the gravity and conjoined nature of these issues. Then-British Prime Minister Tony Blair is referred to as a leader who speaks clearly on these matters who said that if both weapons of mass destruction and the challenge of international terrorism ‘were not dealt with they would sooner or later come together with terrifying consequences for the world’ (Howard 2003, 10647).

Both Howard and Blair’s points of views are used to demonstrate that the situation with Iraq is urgent as attacks have increased in severity and proximity to their own countries. Iraq had been given a final chance to cooperate and rejoin the world community. Its response according to Howard is ‘impudence’ (Howard 2003, 10647). As far as Howard is concerned, Iraq must now immediately comply with resolution 1441 and demonstrate their compliance through disarmament. He lists Iraq’s arsenal that he notes as previously unaccounted for and declares that these weapons must be accounted for. This accountability is said to be achievable through Hussein’s openness and transparency to being disarmed (Howard 2003, 10647–48). Unlike other countries who have undertaken voluntary disarmament processes (South Africa, Ukraine and Kazakhstan), Iraq cannot be trusted to undertake this process without supervision from the international community. They have proven their untrustworthiness over the past 12 years. That is why, after all ‘softer options’ have been attempted, Australia is to hold Hussein accountable through force:

*Now is not the time to relieve the pressure on Iraq.
And there is only one form of pressure that Saddam Hussein understands—
the threat of military force (Howard 2003, 10648). (italics mine)*

In this latter portion of the speech, Howard refers to Saddam Hussein more than Iraq as the perpetrator of immoral and unethical behaviour. He has 'rorted', 'violated', 'evaded', 'smuggled', and 'sold illegally'. Howard describes the Iraqi President through the metaphor HUSSEIN IS A WAR MONGER. Because he is a war monger, he must be brought to justice. Howard argues that this justice will only be achieved through 'the threat of military action' which must be followed up with 'applied military pressure' as this is the 'most effective, and perhaps the only, means of attracting President Hussein's attention' (Howard 2003, 10648). Australia is not alone in being ready to take military action. Military action was supported by Kofi Annan, then-Secretary-General of the United Nations, the United States and the United Kingdom which is 'one of the reasons why elements of the Australian Defence Force are being pre-positioned in the Persian Gulf' (Howard 2003, 10648). This pre-positioning has the support of key members of the 'world community' and it has precedence:

Mr Speaker, this is not the first time that Australia has pre-positioned forces in the gulf, both to apply diplomatic pressure against Saddam Hussein and in anticipation of possible military action against Iraq.

In 1998... the government pre-positioned Special Air Service forces We did so in the absence of any new, specific Security Council authorisation and on the understanding that a final decision to commit to military action had not been taken at the time of deployment. The aim then, as now, was to put pressure on Saddam Hussein. The circumstances of the pre-positioning of forces in 1998 are so similar as to be nearly identical (Howard 2003, 10649). (italics mine)

The similarity in the situation in 1998 and the situation again in 2003 adds weight to Howard's argument that Iraq has had adequate time and warning about the need to return to the world community and its rules for peace. Further, Howard claims that the criticism that Australia and the United States have received in regards to this military action is unjustified. Howard justifies this action because, like he and Blair, the 'United States' is concerned about the 'twin evils' of weapons of mass destruction and terrorism:

I have no doubt that the driving force behind American policy towards Iraq now is that, in the wake of the events of 11 September, they have a justifiable concern that the twin evils of weapons of mass destruction, in the hands of rogue states, and international terrorism will come together with horrific consequences (Howard 2003, 10649). (italics mine)

This paragraph of Howard's speech is important in garnering the collective experience, pain and outrage of recent collective trauma (Lakoff 2009, 125–26). In the period of time between when Australia and America last pre-positioned military forces in 1998 and the timing of this speech in 2003, both countries have experienced collective trauma due to terrorism. For America this is predominantly through September 11, 2001; for Australia, though shocked by the events of September 11 it felt the effects more directly through the Bali bombings in 2002. Howard has mentioned both events earlier in the speech in regards to terrorism (Howard 2003, 10646, 47). Howard's purposeful use of the term 'twin evils' engages the collective memory of the Western world watching the 'twin towers' fall on September 11, and engaging the emotion of collective national/international trauma. In doing this, he reminds Parliament and broader Australia of the horror felt at that time, particularly felt because America is an ally and shares similar cultural norms and values to Australia.

Howard defends the actions of President Bush and the United States, noting that 'the issue of Iraq is now before the Security Council precisely because of the actions and pressure of the United States'. In pursuing this course of action, the United States is demonstrated to have acted on behalf of the United Nations to enforce 'its own decisions'. As such, they continue to push the Security Council to take action. To further Howard's collegiality towards the United States and his belief in the righteousness of their actions, he has shared 'Australian-sourced materials' to be used by the United States to promote further compliance with resolution 1441 (Howard 2003, 10649). What he has previously implied in regards to Australia's support for the United States, he now makes explicit as allyship and partnership. The use of the term 'ally' is a frame to remind listeners of Australia being one of the 'Allies' in World War II. This is made explicitly clear:

Australia is a close ally of the United States. No nation is more important to our long-term security. Australians will never forget the vital assistance given to us by the United States during World War II (Howard 2003, 10650).
(italics mine)

As mentioned above, the ally-ship is enhance by shared values and similarities:

Our *value systems* while far from identical *are nonetheless similar*. We share *common democratic values* (Howard 2003, 10650). (italics mine)

These shared values and way of life are further expressed in relation to a shared approach to terrorism and weapons of mass destruction:

We have made *common cause in the fight against terrorism*.
Australia and the United States have a *common interest in preventing the spread of chemical, biological and nuclear weapons* (Howard 2003, 10650). (italics mine)

As nations that value democracy and seek to control others' unfettered power, Howard declares that Australia's alliance with the United States has historically been, and is currently, important. Further it should be maintained as such into the future:

Australia's alliance with the United States has been and will remain an important element in the government's decision making process on the Iraqi issue.
The *crucial long-term value of the United States alliance should always be a factor* in major national security decisions taken by Australia.
In an increasingly globalised and borderless world, *the relationship between Australia and the United States will become more and not less important* (Howard 2003, 10650). (italics mine)

As he begins to summarise his argument, he returns to his opening premise that 'no-one wants war' (Howard 2003, 10650). However, even though 'no-one wants war', the act of only 'threatening imminent military action' may result in a continuing of the 'past intransigent attitude of Iraq'. Howard states that MORALLY CORRECT ACTION IS CLEAR, and must be decisive and unambiguous because:

The greater the hesitancy, the greater the blurring at the edges, the more likely it is that *Iraq will again dismiss world opinion* (Howard 2003, 10650). (italics mine)

While Australia and its allies, the United Kingdom and the United States will continue to discuss this with other leaders, Howard states that military action is not yet necessary. It is phrased to imply that military action would be necessary but that it is not yet necessary. This allows him to discuss that the time for military action would be taken with and alongside the support of the international

community. This support would need to take the form of being authorized to use force in military action against Iraq. He has stated throughout that there is sufficient evidence to believe that Iraq will not comply with the international community, that there has been sufficient action taken by the international community to endorse an escalation to military action and more so that because of these historical actions, military action is legal. He clarifies that there is a legal right to consider military action, even if the Security Council does not completely agree to this. While Howard is willing to take action regardless of total support, the Leader of the Opposition will not support military action unless the entire council has agreed (Howard 2003, 10650). Howard states that he is prepared to take action, even if the Security Council is not in complete agreement:

If the Security Council produces a grey rather than a black or white outcome, *choices on final action and commitments will need to be made by many nations, including Australia* (Howard 2003, 10651). (italics mine)

He says that he does this in confidence that previous 'right' decisions have been made for the world community without 'direct Security Council authorisation'.

To again assure Parliament and broader Australia that he does not desire war, Howard paints a picture of the world he desires. It is peaceful. It is one in which peace has been achieved without resorting to military force:

Our goal is disarmament. We want to see a renewed commitment to the principle of nonproliferation. We want to see Iraq free of weapons of mass destruction. We want to see the sanctions lifted. We want Iraq back in the community of nations—because it would be good for the world, good for Australia and, most particularly, good for the people of Iraq. Most of all we want the conflict resolved without resort to military force (Howard 2003, 10651). (italics mine)

If this goal is not achieved, Howard makes it clear again that violence and the capacity for weaponry development will escalate in Iraq and other 'rogue states'. This escalation will occur in 'mockery' of all previous efforts at peace:

If the international community does not act now to disarm Iraq, it will have made *a mockery of years of effort* to stop the spread of weapons of mass destruction. It will have *encouraged others to mimic Iraq*. It will make

dealing with North Korea almost impossible. And, most importantly, failure to act will gravely compromise the authority of the United Nations (Howard 2003, 10651). (italics mine)

Howard's words indicate the probability of global discord if Iraq is not disarmed. If this peaceful world cannot be achieved without military force, Howard states, again, that though all hate war 'in any form' and 'recoil from it', 'the realities of the world in which we now live do not permit us that luxury' (Howard 2003, 10651). He reiterates that no action at this critical juncture will result in 'infinitely greater cost'. He leans on history as an indicator of this:

We all know that *history is replete with examples of the community of nations retreating from difficult decisions through fear of the immediate consequences only to find that those difficult decisions must ultimately be addressed and at an infinitely greater cost* (Howard 2003, 10651). (italics mine)

This 'cost' is human life. He utilises the idea of 'counting costs' to undergird his statements based on the metaphor LIFE IS MONEY (Lam 2016, 114-155). In this, someone has to pay the cost. The world will either pay the cost with their lives or with their freedoms, or the sinner will pay for their sin. Either way, the 'financial books' have to be 'balanced' through a related balance – the scales of justice.

Those who will count the cost first are those deployed to do 'their duty', the Australian Defence Force. Howard endorses these 'men and women' as great examples of Australian courage:

Finally, our thoughts must turn to the men and women of the Australian Defence Force on deployment doing their duty and maintaining a long tradition of courage and professionalism in the service of Australia. Whatever may be their role in the weeks and months ahead, we admire them, we support them and we wish them well. We are united in our prayers and our hopes for their safety and their wellbeing (Howard 2003, 10651).

In his final paragraph noted above, he reiterates that he is not endorsing military action at this point. However if it does occur, Australia is prepared and those who 'count the cost' for Australians are 'lifted up'. He undergirds his concluding paragraph by acknowledging the 'courage and professionalism' of military forces who are buoyed by 'our prayers and hopes'.

Howard's 'Iraq speech' is a salient example of SCAPEGOAT IS ENEMY in Australian prime ministerial speeches. In this speech he demonstrates that Saddam Hussein and Iraq are currently exiled from the world community because they hold weapons of mass destruction. Until they can return to the rules of the world community, Iraq is an outlier that is lead into its outlying by Saddam Hussein. This speech utilises rhetoric that bears similarity in conceptual metaphor and phrasing to the Biblical origin of 'scapegoat' metaphors, however It is more akin to the Afterlife of these concepts beyond Leviticus. As discussed in chapter four, the Day of Atonement rituals in Leviticus 16 are framed by the SCAPEGOAT IS ATONEMENT conceptual metaphor. As discussed in chapter four, the Afterlife of the SCAPEGOAT which originated in Leviticus 16 has been studied significantly through the lens of Rene Girard. The Howard speech shares the desire for dealing with sin that Leviticus 16 has, specifically:

Leviticus 16:21-22 (NIV)

He is to lay both hands on the head of the live (scape)goat and confess over it all the wickedness and rebellion of the Israelites—all their sins—and put them on the goat's head. He shall send the goat away into the wilderness in the care of someone appointed for the task. The goat will carry on itself all their sins to a remote place; and the man shall release it in the wilderness.

The weapons of mass destruction that Saddam Hussein and Iraq are tarnished by, need to be acknowledged and disposed of. As explored in chapter four, extrabiblical texts discussed how in some narratives, the 'scapegoat' would be destroyed, even though in Leviticus 16 it is exiled, not sacrificed. To deal with Hussein and Iraq's defiance of holding weapons of mass destruction, the world community has behaved according to the claims of Girard of the 'three great moments' in the Hebrew Bible. As noted by Hart, these are dissolution in conflict, the all-against-one of collective violence and the development of prohibitions and rituals (Girard, *Things Hidden*, 141–142 as cited in Hart 2017, 31). In Howard's speech, the 'world community' is against (the 'one' of) Hussein, seeking for dissolution in conflict and having developed prohibitions and rituals for how the world community behaves. In this instance, Iraq is prohibited from having

weapons of mass destruction and they must comply with relinquishing these. To atone, Hussein must release the weapons and submit to the prohibitions and rituals of the Security Council and the international community. In this, he will have washed away his past sins and the sins of Iraq, and be able to rejoin the world community. By doing this, Iraq will stop the violence that America and Australia are 'pre-positioned' to administer. If Hussein does not atone, violence will increase and Iraq will be at war. As discussed in chapter four, death and sacrifice are also cleansing activities to atone for sins; death and sacrifice are part of war. If nothing else, Hussein's current status in exile from the world community positions him as one who is carrying sins in the wilderness.

In Howard's speech, he identifies both Saddam Hussein and Iraq as 'evil other scapegoats'. To do this, he establishes their 'otherness' and 'casts them out'. One of the most dominant linguistic devices Howard utilises to do this is repetition. This repetition serves to activate and affirm a SCAPEGOAT who is an enemy engaged in world-threatening 'sin' (Howard 2003, 10642). This 'sin' is a 'disobedience' which threatens public safety of 'obedient' countries (Howard 2003, 10642, 43, 49).

Iraq creates 'disorder' in the global community. Howard engages the titles 'Iraq' and 'Saddam Hussein' to repeatedly link their names with violent behaviour. This links Saddam Hussein and Iraq with identities who are 'dirty', 'evil', 'war-mongers' and carriers of 'sin' (Howard 2003, 10642, 44, 46, 48, 49, 50). These uses are in contrast to how the global 'community' and 'nations of the world have attempted to bring Saddam Hussein and Iraq to order (Howard 2003, 10642, 46).

Howard argues that Saddam Hussein and Iraq as SCAPEGOAT 'deserve' to be exiled or destroyed because they will not comply with community order and are a threat to the 'stability and security of our world' (Howard 2003, 10642, 43, 44, 45, 46). If they are not successful in restoring world order, Howard says that violence will continue to escalate locally with Iraq and its neighbours as well as internationally (Howard 2003, 10642, 44, 50, 51). Further, related evil entities (those that oppose the Western alliance) are referred to as 'rogue states'. Howard asserts that these 'rogue states' will follow the leadership of Iraq, if Saddam Hussein is not dealt with (Howard 2003, 10642, 43, 45, 51). As

'disobedience' escalates, it manifests in 'foreign terrorism' and escalate in these efforts if left unchecked (Howard 2003, 10643, 44, 45, 46, 47, 49).

To restore order, and de-escalate mimetic rivalry, a SCAPEGOAT is required. This SCAPEGOAT is established as Saddam Hussein in Howard's speech, not Iraq as a whole nation. Australia 'wants' Iraq back 'in community' however due to the disobedience and STAIN on Iraq because of Saddam Hussein's continual defiance, his leadership must be destroyed. This will make atonement for his sins against his people, his neighbours and the world. If Saddam is destroyed or exiled, he will take on the SINS of Iraq and atone for the SINS he is perceived as causing to create. Then, Iraq can be 'at-one' with the 'global community' which is depicted as being led by the United States, United Kingdom and Australia as a key alliance within the United Nations (Howard 2003, 10646, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51).

Howard states that Hussein's escalation from biological and chemical weapons of mass destruction to 'nuclear' is in distinct disobedience to the Nuclear Non Proliferation Treaty (Howard 2003, 10642, 43, 45, 46, 47, 48, 51). These 'biological, chemical and nuclear' weapons are 'weapons of mass destruction' (Howard 2003, 10642, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 49, 51) and not 'conventional' or 'ordinary' weapons or force (Howard 2003, 10643, 46). By having these, Iraq is a present, increasing danger to world order (Howard 2003, 10642).

Iraq's disobedience is contrasted to the obedience and 'moral alliance' of the United States, Australia and the United Kingdom (Howard 2003, 10651). This 'moral alliance' is a 'community'. This alliance appears as a trinity on two occasions, once by nation name (Howard 2003, 10648) and once inferred by the metonymy of the respective Prime Ministers (Tony Blair, United Kingdom/President George W. Bush, United States) (Howard 2003, 10650). Howard indicates that Australia is an integral part of this alliance. Howard declares that Australia must 'pre-position' forces for the sake of 'defence'. Atonement and sacrifice are not mentioned. In their stead are 'disarmament' and 'peace'. Howard utilises qualifications and precursors to further explain the allies desire for peace as part of the moral international community. It is made clear by Howard that Australia is interested in the 'collective good' as part of the Western

alliance trinity and his depiction of a 'unified' international community. To demonstrate the unity of the international community, Howard references the United Nations. This unity has been formed around living in peace with one another; the opposite to that is what Hussein 'wants' according to Howard – war. I argue that Howard also utilises mimetic rivalry as a reason to escalate violence to endorse his and Australia's willingness to go to war if Iraq does not submit. Howard asserts that Saddam Hussein *wants* war (named as either Saddam Hussein or President Hussein). This desire is positioned as an immoral act to desire such an 'abhorrent' idea (Howard 2003, 10642). Saddam Hussein is stained with the sins of terrorist acts with allusions to September 11 and the Bali bombings. The stain of such SIN must be atoned for through REMOVAL of Hussein's power, REMOVAL of him as President and DEATH of Iraq's 'weapons of mass destruction'. While Howard mentions the possibility of Iraq returning to the community, he does not mention redemption for Saddam Hussein. Hussein is the SCAPEGOAT who must be EXILED or DESTROYED for the 'good' of the 'world'.

Hussein is not a 'willing, innocent victim' SCAPEGOAT. He is an 'evil other' SCAPEGOAT. This is illustrated by Howard's depictions that Hussein has 'refused to comply' and will 'not abandon... weapons' (10642), has shown 'aggression', continues to 'subvert... sanctions' (10644), has used weapons against 'his neighbours... his own people', 'without provocation... invaded... bullied, threatened and extorted' (10644), 'acted in systematic defiance' (10645), 'continued defiance' (10646), 'brutal treatment... of his own people' and 'orted... to finance his weapons program' (10648). Howard argues that 'there is only one form of pressure that Saddam Hussein understands—the threat of military force' (Howard 2003, 10648). This is why 'the world community must deal decisively with Iraq ... and why, therefore, the Australian government has authorised the forward positioning of elements of the Australian Defence Force to the Persian Gulf'(Howard 2003, 10642).

The events that led to Howard's speech are only 18 months after the terrorist attack on the World Trade Center in New York. At this time 9/11, as this event came to be known, is fresh in the memories of the Western world (Lakoff

2016). Further, he also includes the Bali bombings of 12 October 2002 to remind Australians of a terrorist attack closer in time and location to Australians. By linking the idea that Iraq has weapons of mass destruction to foreign terrorism which strikes Australians and their American ‘neighbours’, Howard activates and cultivates a fear-frame and the frame of Bush’s *War on Terror* (Bush 2002).

Howard reflects heavily on the relationship and rhetoric of American politics throughout his speech. As part of this he activates the frame of a past, ‘righteous’ war in which Australia was victorious with the United States: World War II. ‘Australia is a close ally of the United States. No nation is more important to our long-term security. Australians will never forget the vital assistance given to us by the United States during World War II’ (Howard 2003, 10650). This vital assistance was in the form of servicemen and women. Similarly to Bush, as noted in *Framing the Iraq War Endgame* (King and Wells 2009), Howard activates a hero frame for the Australian Defence Forces (Howard 2003, 10651).

Howard’s Ministerial Statement on entering into a war with Iraq is carefully constructed to endorse peace as the primary objective. Howard’s desire for peace differs from the persistent ‘evil’ of Iraq in its harbouring ‘weapons of mass destruction’ against the instructions of the ‘international’ community. Iraq is noted as a unique and rare kind of evil due to the evil leadership of Saddam Hussein, who not only uses ‘biological and chemical weapons’ against other countries, but also against his ‘neighbours’ and ‘his own people’ (Howard 2003, 10644). Bringing Iraq under the submission of the Western ‘trinity’ (‘disarming Iraq’) is highly desirable and ‘will bring enormous benefits to the Middle East’ which will be ‘widely welcomed’ (Howard 2003, 10644). A disarmed Iraq would bring peace to Iraq, its neighbours as well as to Western countries currently under its threat because of Iraq’s stated and framed links with foreign terrorism. To achieve this peace, the ‘Australian government has authorised the *forward positioning of elements* of the Australian Defence Force to the Persian Gulf’ (Howard 2003, 10642) (italics mine). Howard’s words are careful: Australia is not instigating war but is prepared to respond with force in the likely case that Iraq will instigate it.

Howard does not borrow from New (or Old) Testament phrasing. The largest similarities between Howard's speech and the Day of Atonement is that there is an enemy SCAPEGOAT who must be exiled and a rite for atonement in which this must be made. That rite is the surrender of weapons and the sacrifice of not remaining as 'independent' outliers to the United Nations.

Whether Howard sought to employ the Day of Atonement as an overarching theme, his employment of morality, distinct rights and wrongs as well as a clear, distinct outlaw offers a compelling case study. Howard's intention to 'move forward' and 'pre-position' will force the exile of Hussein as 'distinct enemy' of the WORLD FAMILY until he is willing to live under the rules of the family. I will now discuss the second case study of the scapegoat metaphor grouping: Kevin Rudd's *Apology*.⁶²

5.2 CASE STUDY 2: THE WILLING VICTIM – RUDD'S APOLOGY

The second case study speech that I analyse for its SCAPEGOAT concepts took place on 13 February 2008.⁶³ This speech is a formal apology by then-Prime Minister Kevin Rudd to Australia's Indigenous peoples for the forced removal of Aboriginal children from families and the oppression suffered during colonisation (Australian Government 2015). Rudd's speech was his most significant Prime Ministerial speech (Marr 2010; Weller 2014) and was a completion of an election mandate (Rudd 2008, 167). The *Apology* was a formal parliamentary speech to 'say sorry to the stolen generations' (Rudd 2008, 167). It was an important moment in Australian history: 'thousands attended public broadcasts; workplaces and schools organized mass screenings of the apology; and a further 1.3 million Australians watched from home' (Philpot et al. 2013, 35). Rudd's iconic *Apology* speech is a suitable case study for this thesis as it initiated a change in policy and political rhetoric about Australian history and its demonstrable impact is commemorated annually on 13 February as an 'Anniversary of National Apology

⁶² Lakoff notes with the terrorist events of September 11, 2001 that this is known as 9/11. Like this, the *Apology to Australia's Indigenous Peoples* is known as the 'Apology'.

⁶³ Rudd's full speech is available in Appendix C.

Day' or 'Sorry Day' (Philpot et al. 2013). I argue that this speech utilises SCAPEGOAT metaphors to depict the 'removal' of 'sins' and the beginning of a 'new chapter'. While Rudd's *Apology* is recognised as an iconic speech in Australia's history, it is not recognised as one that is filled with religious rhetoric. It is also not recognised as being similar to the Day of Atonement ritual and the Levitical rites of dealing with SIN IS STAIN through the exile of a scapegoat, or in post-Levitical works as the destruction of a scapegoat. I discuss this as a case study because of its iconicity as well as the number of facets which I identify as use of SCAPEGOAT concepts and Biblical rhetoric.

In contrast to Howard's speech which highlights an escalating conflict, Rudd's speech offers a de-escalation through engagement of a 'willing victim' scapegoat. The facets I will outline below that can be categorised as 'scapegoat' and 'atonement' concepts through the complex conceptual metaphor SCAPEGOAT IS ATONEMENT. This analysis will occur through examining the speech from start to finish, identifying the conceptual metaphors that undergird it as well as analysing the delivery of speech in its phrasing and rhetorical devices. I will then discuss how this speech is a salient example of SCAPEGOAT IS ATONEMENT as well as an important speech in contemporary Australian politics.

This speech followed from former Prime Minister John Howard's reticence to deliver an apology:

I have frequently said, and I will say it again today, that present generations of Australians cannot be held accountable, and we should not seek to hold them accountable, for the errors and misdeeds of earlier generations. Nor should we ever forget that many people who were involved in some of the practices which caused hurt and trauma felt at the time that those practices were properly based. To apply retrospectively the standards of today in relation to their behaviour does some of those people who were sincere an immense injustice, and I think that is understood by most people within the Australian community (Howard 1999, 9207).

I have never been willing to embrace a formal national apology because I do not believe the current generation can accept responsibility for the deeds of earlier generations and there's always been a fundamental unwillingness to accept in this debate the difference between an expression of sorrow and an assumption of responsibility and I think we have (Howard 2007, 4). (italics mine)

The comments and speeches that were against making a formal apology used words that were sympathetic yet unwilling to take on the sins of the past. This unwillingness to apologise was emphasised through speeches made by other Liberal Party members:

I emphasise those words: 'Australians express their sorrow and profoundly regret the injustices of the past'. This is in addition to the many occasions on which the Prime Minister⁶⁴ himself has said that he feels personally sorry for what has happened before. The Prime Minister said on 10 May: I am sorry for the injustices of the past but *I do not apologise for them because I was not responsible* (Ruddock 2000, 16541). (italics mine)

This unwillingness to apologise was not shared by all Liberal party members. The belief of former Liberal Prime Minister, Malcolm Fraser⁶⁵, that an apology would be timely and useful was reflected on almost a decade prior to Rudd's Apology:

'We were largely told that Australia was an empty land with a few Aboriginals in some places. That is not the way it was. The report on the Stolen Generations⁶⁶ challenged our notions of ourselves... We can't undo the past but we can, in an apology, recognise that many actions did a grave injustice to the Aboriginal population' (Fraser, 1999 as cited in Butler and Bond 2021, 77).

Further, the Labor Party was consistent in its drive towards an apology. This is evidenced in Rudd's campaign to become Prime Minister, but also with previous Labor Party leader, Kim Beazley. He highlighted Howard's reticence to apologise:

Prime Minister [Howard] used the analogy of a journey. He said it was a journey in which he went halfway and in which members of the Aboriginal community went halfway and they arrived at a motion that all could agree upon (Beazley 1999, 9209).

As Leader of the Opposition, Beazley pressed Howard to make an apology as a necessary step towards atonement and reconciliation:

⁶⁴ The Prime Minister at the time was John Howard.

⁶⁵ Malcolm Fraser was Prime Minister from 1976-1983.

⁶⁶ Wilson and Dodson 1997

I am afraid, Prime Minister, that *the task before us is to take that journey all the way*. The obligation is on us, not on the Aboriginal people as far as this issue is concerned...

We are dealing not with far past history; *we are dealing with contemporary history. These are things on which we must make atonement if we are to move on* (Beazley 1999, 9209). (italics mine)

Beazley subsequently reflected the mood of the Australian people that there was a need for Howard and the government to apologise:

They know that a reconciliation process where injustice has been done requires an apology and an atonement to be made. They understand instinctively that *a critical element of the reconciliation process is that that should occur*. It is the Prime Minister's stubbornness which prohibits it—nothing else (Beazley 2000, 16537). (italics mine)

Though Beazley never became Prime Minister, Rudd as Labor Leader continued on with Beazley's opposition to Howard in regards to an apology. It was part of Rudd's election mandate to apologise formally.

Rudd's speech discusses Australia's past. This past is laid out clearly and addressed with pathways forward. In his first paragraph he begins the speech with an honouring of the subject of his speech:

That today we honour the Indigenous peoples of this land, the oldest continuing cultures in human history (Rudd 2008, 167). (italics mine)

He then reflects on the purpose of his *Apology*:

We reflect on their *past mistreatment*.

We reflect in particular on *the mistreatment of those who were Stolen Generations*—this *blemished chapter* in our nation's history (Rudd 2008, 167). (italics mine)

Rudd's beginning comments utilise both PAST IS MISTREATMENT and MISTREATMENT IS STAIN conceptual metaphors. He then turns to how the future will differ from the past. It will 'move forward' by 'righting the wrongs of the past':

The time has now come for the nation to *turn a new page* in Australia's history by *righting the wrongs* of the past and so *moving forward* with confidence to the future (Rudd 2008, 167). (italics mine)

He then goes on to 'right the wrongs' by naming the 'wronges' that have 'stained' Australia's past. He does this by acknowledging what the 'sins' were and apologizing for them:

We apologise for the *laws and policies* of successive Parliaments and governments that have *inflicted profound grief, suffering and loss* on these our fellow Australians.

We apologise especially for the *removal of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children from their families*, their communities and their country.

For the *pain, suffering and hurt of these Stolen Generations*, their descendants and for their families left behind, we say sorry.

To the mothers and the fathers, the brothers and the sisters, *for the breaking up of families and communities*, we say sorry.

And *for the indignity and degradation thus inflicted on a proud people* and a proud culture, we say sorry.

We the Parliament of Australia respectfully request that this apology be received in the spirit in which it is offered *as part of the healing of the nation* (Rudd 2008, 167). (italics mine)

Triplicates and duplicates as used above repeat exact replications of words. These repetitions are used in conjunction with differing subsequent phrases to broaden and deepen the subject content surrounding the repeated word. Rudd's use of triplicates in the above paragraphs include collective apologies of 'we apologise' and 'we say sorry'.

The past laws and policies which have inflicted pain and 'stained Australia' included a misrepresentation of the colonisation of Australia and its impacts on Aboriginal people. As such, Rudd apologised through this speech as one of his first acts as Prime Minister (Rudd 2008):

We the Parliament of Australia respectfully request that this apology be received in the spirit in which it is offered as part of the healing of the nation (Rudd 2008, 167).

Having said sorry, and acknowledged the past, Rudd turns to a time of healing and a better future. Rudd uses the conceptual metaphor of LIFE IS A BOOK to embody this:

For the future we take heart; resolving that *this new page in the history of our great continent can now be written* (Rudd 2008, 167). (italics mine)

For Rudd, he was willing to sacrifice the past to heal Australia which is akin to the Girardian use of the term *pharmakon*.⁶⁷ Howard had never been willing to sacrifice the past. By sacrificing or exiling the past this removes past sins from a future in which all are equal. Here Rudd uses LIFE IS A JOURNEY to depict this. The way he uses this is as follows:

We today *take this first step* by acknowledging the past and *laying claim to a future* that embraces all Australians (Rudd 2008, 167). (italics mine)

It is reminiscent of the first steps of man landing on the moon which alludes to the shift in what can be achieved with a 'first step':

That's one small step for man, one giant leap for mankind (Waxman 2019).

This past that has been exiled must be banished forever through parliamentary action, legislation and policy change. Rudd makes this clear by beginning his next five sentences with the phrase 'A future...':

A future where this Parliament resolves that the injustices of the past must never, never happen again.

A future where we harness the determination of all Australians, Indigenous and non-Indigenous, to close the gap that lies between us in life expectancy, educational achievement and economic opportunity.

A future where we embrace the possibility of new solutions to enduring problems where old approaches have failed.

A future based on mutual respect, mutual resolve and mutual responsibility.

A future where all Australians, whatever their origins, are truly equal partners, with equal opportunities and with an equal stake in shaping the

⁶⁷ See my discussion of Girardian *pharmakos* in 4.3.

next chapter in the history of this great country, Australia (Rudd 2008, 167). (italics mine)

Rudd's engages the conceptual metaphor PROGRESS IS FORWARD MOVEMENT. He expresses that Australia will take its 'first step' in this speech to 'acknowledge the past' (Rudd 2008, 167). In acknowledging the past, Australians could 'lay claim to [the] future'. This future, in which a 'claim is to be laid', creates an identity for all Australians that could create a sense of nostalgia for non-Indigenous peoples – the 'claims' of early mining pioneers. This pioneer identity, that of Australians who work hard to do something new and exciting, who win against challenging circumstances and a harsh landscape, creates a sentimentality that could make Australians believe that all who are willing to engage in the metaphorical sweat of their brow will create a new future. However, within the ideal of a new future the claim is not one that is exploitative of Indigenous peoples but rather, together, pioneering a new future where all share the 'gold' that is laid 'claim' to.

Following the formalities of acknowledging past sins and presenting the 'way forward' or the 'next chapter', Rudd sets the scene for why this time is the right time for an overdue Apology:

Mr Speaker, there comes a time in the history of nations when their peoples must become fully reconciled to their past if they are to go forward with confidence to embrace their future. Our nation, Australia, has reached such a time (Rudd 2008, 167).

In such 'a time', Rudd is ready to 'finish business' and 'clean' the 'soul of Australia'.

This next paragraph refers to INACTION IS STAIN:

That is why the parliament is today here assembled: to deal with this unfinished business of the nation, to remove a great stain from the nation's soul and, in a true spirit of reconciliation, to open a new chapter in the history of this great land, Australia (Rudd 2008, 167). (italics mine)

Rudd then proclaims his honour and integrity. He states that he is a Prime Minister who follows through on his commitments and 'finishes business'. This depicts him as trustworthy:

Last year I made a commitment to the Australian people that if we formed the next government of the Commonwealth we would in parliament say

sorry to the stolen generations. Today I honour that commitment. I said we would do so early in the life of the new parliament. Again, today I honour that commitment by doing so at the commencement of this the 42nd Parliament of the Commonwealth (Rudd 2008, 167). (italics mine)

Rudd uses inclusive language ‘all peoples, all peoples, all citizens’ to depict the togetherness required to ‘build’ a future. He undergirds this with NATION IS A HOUSE and NATION IS FAMILY:

Because *the time has come*, well and truly come, for all peoples of our great country, for all citizens of our great Commonwealth, for all Australians — those who are Indigenous and those who are not—to come together to reconcile and together *build a new future* for our nation (Rudd 2008, 167).⁶⁸ (italics mine)

He follows this discussion of ‘time’ with a case study which personalises the pain of Australia’s past sins. This is his first of two historical expositions. He utilises the name, personality and pain of an Aboriginal woman who was a child of the stolen generations. He shows his respect and fondness for her as an Elder with the term ‘Nanna’ and notes himself as having personal knowledge of her life, her early ‘warm’ days and then the telling the horror of her being stolen from her family:

Let me begin to answer by telling the parliament *just a little of one person’s story—an elegant, eloquent and wonderful woman in her 80s, full of life, full of funny stories, despite what has happened in her life’s journey*, a woman who has travelled a long way to be with us today, *a member of the stolen generation* who shared some of her story with me *when I called around to see her just a few days ago. Nanna Nungala Fejo... remembers the love and the warmth and the kinship of those days long ago... around 1932, when she was about four, she remembers the coming of the welfare men... They brought a truck, two white men and an Aboriginal stockman on horseback cracking his stockwhip. The kids were found; they ran for their mothers, screaming, but they could not get away. They were herded and piled onto the back of the truck. Tears flowing, her mum tried clinging to the sides of the truck as her children were taken away... all in the name of protection* (Rudd 2008, 168). (italics mine)

⁶⁸ This paragraph and use of ‘time has come’ could be said to echo a well-known Australian song from 20 years prior. That song is Midnight Oil’s *Beds are Burning* and is about reconciliation and the return of lands to Aboriginal people as part of reconciliation:

The *time has come* to say fair's fair. To pay the rent, to pay our share. The *time has come*, a fact's a fact. It belongs to them, let's give it back (Midnight Oil 1987).

Rudd continues with his retelling of Nanna Fejo's story which was filled with further sadness. He ends it by mentioning the cost to the Fejo family:

Nanna Fejo never saw her mum again. After she left the mission, her brother let her know that her mum had died years before, a broken woman fretting for the children that had literally been ripped away from her (Rudd 2008, 168).

Rudd makes it clear that Nanna Fejo is not just a number or a statistic from the Stolen Generations. She is a real person, with a real family and real pain, as are the many other members of the Stolen Generations. In doing this, Rudd highlights how every member of the Stolen Generations has a past, a family and the future. He leverages this personal story and its echoed pain amongst others to engage peoples' horror at the past. Rudd utilises Nanna Fejo's story as an example of policy failure and the need for an apology:

Nanna Fejo's is just one story. There are thousands, tens of thousands, of them: stories of forced separation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children from their mums and dads over the better part of a century.

Some of these stories are graphically told in 'Bringing them home', the report commissioned in 1995 by Prime Minister Keating and received in 1997 by Prime Minister Howard. There is *something terribly primal about these firsthand accounts. The pain is searing; it screams from the pages. The hurt, the humiliation, the degradation and the sheer brutality of the act of physically separating a mother from her children is a deep assault on our senses and on our most elemental humanity (Rudd 2008, 168).* (italics mine)

He takes this horror further to call on peoples' empathy and declare the need for a more compassionate humanity as a reason for this apology. He buttresses this against the inaction of past Parliaments:

These stories cry out to be heard; they cry out for an apology. Instead, from the nation's parliament there has been a stony and stubborn and deafening silence for more than a decade; a view that somehow we, the parliament, should suspend our most basic instincts of what is right and what is wrong; a view that, instead, we should look for any pretext to push this great wrong to one side, to leave it languishing with the historians, the academics and the cultural warriors, as if the stolen generations are little more than an interesting sociological phenomenon. But the stolen generations are not intellectual curiosities. They are human beings; human beings who have

been damaged deeply by the decisions of parliaments and governments. But, as of today, the time for denial, the time for delay, has at last come to an end (Rudd 2008, 168). (italics mine)

Rudd circles back to 'the time has come' language use from earlier in his speech. He positions this following an explicit discussion of previous failures of the prior governments. This increasingly tense debate highlighted a further 'sin' which requires atonement. This sin was the unwillingness of previous Prime Ministers, governments and parliaments to accept responsibility for the wrongdoing of the past and atone for this in a ritual as per Rudd's speech. The previous Prime Minister John Howard refused to atone for the past. He did not recognise that it was his place to apologise for the acts of oppression on Australia's Indigenous Peoples. He believed that these were an historical act and beyond his responsibility. Rudd says that this is not a historical issue and that now is the time to 'move forward'.

The next paragraph in Rudd's speech is undergirded by PROGRESS IS FORWARD MOVEMENT, and using history to remind of how 'Australia' has failed to do show 'human decency' due to the past (PAST MISTREATMENT IS STAIN):

The nation is demanding of its political leadership to take us forward. Decency, human decency, universal human decency, demands that the nation now step forward to right a historical wrong. That is what we are doing in this place today. But should there still be doubts as to why we must now act, let the parliament reflect for a moment on the following facts: that, between 1910 and 1970, between 10 and 30 per cent of Indigenous children were forcibly taken from their mothers and fathers; that, as a result, up to 50,000 children were forcibly taken from their families; that this was the product of the deliberate, calculated policies of the state as reflected in the explicit powers given to them under statute; that this policy was taken to such extremes by some in administrative authority that the forced extractions of children of so-called 'mixed lineage' were seen as part of a broader policy of dealing with 'the problem of the Aboriginal population'(Rudd 2008, 168–69). (italics mine)

Failed policies form Rudd's next main point and second historical exposition. As with Nanna Fejo's story, Rudd uses emotive language. Alternately to Nanna Fejo's story, Rudd returns to the idea of 'protection' which he used at

the end of the personal story of Nanna Fejo from the viewpoint of the ‘protectors’. In this section, he establishes the historical problem by using comments from ‘stained’ policies:

One of the most notorious examples of this approach⁶⁹ was from the Northern Territory *Protector of Natives*, who stated: Generally by the fifth and invariably by the sixth generation, *all native characteristics of the Australian aborigine are eradicated. The problem of our half-castes... will quickly be eliminated by the complete disappearance of the black race, and the swift submergence of their progeny in the white ...* The Western Australian Protector of Natives expressed not dissimilar views, expounding them at length in Canberra in 1937 at the first national conference on Indigenous affairs that brought together the Commonwealth and state protectors of natives (Rudd 2008, 169). (italics mine)

This 1937 conference affirmed ‘the policies of previous decades, resolved that “the destiny of the natives of Aboriginal origin, but not of the full blood, lies in their ultimate absorption by the people of the Commonwealth, and it therefore recommends that all efforts be directed to that end”’ (Butler and Bond 2021, 202). Rudd uses these policies of past governments to prove that this was not an isolated issue that is relevant to only a few ‘sinners’. The so-called protection of Aboriginal people, by seeking to eradicate them, was a problem driven by coordinated government policy. Rudd acknowledges the discomfort of the ‘stained’ past, but states that these things must be ‘brought into the light’:

These are uncomfortable things to be brought out into the light. They are not pleasant. They are profoundly disturbing. But we must acknowledge these facts if we are to deal once and for all with the argument that the policy of generic forced separation was somehow well motivated, justified by its historical context and, as a result, unworthy of any apology today (Rudd 2008, 169).

In the final sentence of this paragraph, Rudd dispels previous parliamentary refusals to issue an apology. While this has been a historical issue as discussed in both the Nanna Fejo story and the protection exposition, Rudd now establishes

⁶⁹ This ‘approach’ refers to the ‘broader policy of dealing with “the problem of the Aboriginal population”’ as Rudd uses in the previous paragraph (Rudd 2008, 169).

the current issue of naming the previous failures to apologise at a parliamentary level:

Then we come to the *argument of intergenerational responsibility*, also used by some to *argue against giving an apology* today. But let us remember the fact that *the forced removal of Aboriginal children was happening as late as the early 1970s*. The 1970s is not exactly a point in remote antiquity. *There are still serving members of this parliament who were first elected to this place in the early 1970s. It is well within the adult memory span of many of us*. The uncomfortable truth for us all is that *the parliaments of the nation, individually and collectively, enacted statutes and delegated authority under those statutes that made the forced removal of children on racial grounds fully lawful* (Rudd 2008, 169). (italics mine)

In this paragraph, Rudd highlights how racist laws and policies affected Australian history and present. He noted that this establishment of racist laws, established by parliaments, were within the ‘adult memory span of many of us’. In this, he highlights how racism might be potentially still an issue in the minds of current parliamentarians. He establishes that the present generation is responsible through acknowledging these connections. Rudd continues in his exhortation for an apology based on the ‘true’ Australia:

There is a further reason for an apology as well: it is that *reconciliation is in fact an expression of a core value of our nation—and that value is a fair go for all* (Rudd 2008, 169). (italics mine)

The ‘fair go’ is an Australian vernacular phrase which embodies the value that people should all be given an opportunity to succeed. He acknowledges how this core value has not been extended to Aboriginal Australians:

There is a deep and abiding belief in the Australian community that, *for the stolen generations, there was no fair go at all* (Rudd 2008, 169). (italics mine)

Following this recognition of the lack of the ‘fair go’, Rudd returns to ‘the time has come’ phrasing to ‘put right’ the wrongs, which I argue is akin to a call for atonement (Lohrey 2006, 59-60). He again uses emotive terms like ‘outrageous’ and ‘human decency’:

There is a *pretty basic Aussie belief* that says it is time to *put right this most outrageous of wrongs*. It is for these reasons, quite apart from concerns of

fundamental human decency, that the governments and parliaments of this nation must make this apology—because, put simply, the laws that our parliaments enacted made the stolen generations possible (Rudd 2008, 169). (italics mine)

He again addresses the issue of current personal responsibility for parliaments in general as they were the law-makers which enacted the policies of the stolen generation:

We, the *parliaments of the nation*, are ultimately responsible, not those who gave effect to our laws. *The problem lay with the laws themselves* (Rudd 2008, 169). (italics mine)

Rudd references the global movements towards reconciliation as being discussed in other ‘settler societies’ outside of Australia. He does this with the PAST

MISTREATMENT IS BURDEN conceptual metaphor:

As has been said of settler societies elsewhere, we are the bearers of many blessings from our ancestors and therefore we must also be the *bearer of their burdens* as well (Rudd 2008, 169). (italics mine)

Rudd’s use of ‘blessings from our ancestors’ echoes Deuteronomy 30:5 (NIV):

He will bring you to *the land that belonged to your ancestors*, and you will take possession of it. He will make you *more prosperous and numerous than your ancestors*. (italics mine)

Rather than only enjoying the blessings of ancestors, Rudd says that the burdens of past sins must be lifted by ‘our nation’. He relays how this should occur through again using LIFE IS A BOOK as an undergirding conceptual metaphor:

Therefore, for our nation, *the course of action is clear*, and therefore, for our people, the course of action is clear: that is, to deal now with what has become *one of the darkest chapters in Australia’s history*. In doing so, we are doing more than contending with the facts, the evidence and the often rancorous public debate. In doing so, we are also wrestling with our own soul (Rudd 2008, 169). (italics mine)

He has discussed the ‘core value’ of ‘our nation’ which is a fair go. He has referred to the nation’s soul (Rudd 2008, 167), and now to ‘our own soul’. This makes Rudd’s speech about more than present practicalities. This speech and this ‘stain’ affects the innermost part of the spirit of Australia and Australians. He has followed with a discussion of the required action for our nation. Rudd emphasises the timeliness to make an apology by using repetition. He also implies that an

apology is necessary to move forward with reconciliation. He states that this apology must include confronting the truth of the past:

This is not, as some would argue, a black-armband view of history; it is just the truth: *the cold, confronting, uncomfortable truth*—facing it, dealing with it, moving on from it. *Until we fully confront that truth, there will always be a shadow hanging over us* and our future as a fully united and fully reconciled people. *It is time to reconcile. It is time to recognise the injustices of the past. It is time to say sorry. It is time to move forward together* (Rudd 2008, 169). (italics mine)

Rudd uses the term ‘black-armband view of history’ as this had been used in debate around the issues of discussing Australian history. This ‘view’ was said to imply that Australia’s history needed to focus less on Indigenous suffering (i.e. wearing a black armband to symbolise mourning), and more on ‘collective Australian’ history. Particularly Howard was prominent in his view that ‘white Australians had an undue sense of guilt about the impact of settlement on Indigenous Australians... His intention was to “return the pendulum to the centre”’ (Howard, 1997 as cited in Butler and Bond 2021, 37). This is why Howard would not apologise on behalf of the role of Prime Minister, the Government or the Parliament of Australia (Beazley 1999; 2000; Ruddock 2000). In stark contrast, Rudd is willing to apologise on behalf of those titles and institutions.

As at the beginning of his speech, Rudd offers an apology. He offers a personal apology in his role as the leader of Australia in the repetition of ‘I am sorry’. In this speech he personally says sorry for himself and also for past Prime Ministers, present and past governments as well as present and past parliaments:

To the stolen generations, I say the following: *as Prime Minister of Australia, I am sorry. On behalf of the government of Australia, I am sorry. On behalf of the parliament of Australia, I am sorry. I offer you this apology without qualification* (Rudd 2008, 169). (italics mine)

His apology is general in the first instance before he goes on to name specific ‘sins’ that need to be cleansed from Australia’s past:

We apologise for the hurt, the pain and suffering that we, the parliament, have caused you by the laws that previous parliaments have enacted. We apologise for the indignity, the degradation and the humiliation these laws embodied. We offer this apology to the mothers, the fathers, the brothers, the sisters, the families and the communities whose lives were ripped apart

by the actions of successive governments under successive parliaments
(Rudd 2008, 169). (italics mine)

He specifically addresses those most deserving of the apology. Those are members of the stolen generation, who were hearing this speech across Australia:

In making *this apology*, I would also like to *speak personally to the members of the stolen generations and their families*: to those here today, so many of you; to those listening across the nation—from Yuendumu, in the central west of the Northern Territory, to Yabara, in North Queensland, and to Pitjantjatjara in South Australia (Rudd 2008, 169–70). (italics mine)

Rudd addresses people near and remote to speak personally to those affected, and to prove how far reaching the effects of the stolen generation have been.

He goes on to acknowledge that this apology could not undo the past:

I know that, *in offering this apology on behalf of the government and the parliament, there is nothing I can say today that can take away the pain you have suffered personally*. Whatever words I speak today, *I cannot undo that*. Words alone are not that powerful; grief is a very personal thing. I ask those *non-Indigenous Australians* listening today *who may not fully understand why what we are doing is so important to imagine for a moment that this had happened to you*. I say to honourable members here present: *imagine if this had happened to us. Imagine the crippling effect*. Imagine how hard it would be to forgive. My proposal is this: if the apology we extend today is accepted in the spirit of reconciliation in which it is offered, *we can today resolve together that there be a new beginning for Australia*. And it is to such a new beginning that I believe the nation is now calling us (Rudd 2008, 170). (italics mine)

He asks those who do not understand the importance of acknowledging the past sins, to ‘imagine’ that it happened to them. This inclusion of non-Indigenous Australians within the speech creates a sense of a collective apology from all non-Indigenous Australians, not just the current Prime Minister and government. The gives the apology broad utility to acknowledge past ‘sins’ as well as to ‘exile’ these kind of sins from current and future policies.

Rudd also uses the phrase ‘new beginning’, which is again based on the LIFE IS A BOOK metaphor. In this instance it is AUSTRALIA’S FUTURE LIFE IS A NEW BOOK:

Australians are a *passionate* lot. We are also a very *practical* lot. For us, *symbolism is important* but, *unless the great symbolism of reconciliation is accompanied by an even greater substance, it is little more than a clanging*

gong. It is not sentiment that makes history; it is our actions that make history. Today's apology, however inadequate, is aimed at righting past wrongs (Rudd 2008, 170). (italics mine)

The 'new beginning' of this book is initially discussed by echoing the Bible in 1 Corinthians 13:1 (NIV):

If I speak in the tongues of men or of angels, but do not have love, I am only a resounding gong or a clanging cymbal.

Rudd employs well-known Biblical rhetoric that is used to describe what love looks like. He implies that the 'greater substance' of reconciliation is in actions and not just in words. He uses this exact phrase four years later when talking about the *Apology* and why it required action to be taken beyond the words:

An apology without action is meaningless. Unless we commit ourselves to a programme of action with our Indigenous brothers and sisters, the apology will be nothing but a sounding gong or clanging cymbal. It had to be accompanied with a practical programme of action to close the gap in disadvantage between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians. We called it Closing the Gap (Rudd, 2012 as cited in Butler and Bond 2021, 199). (italics mine)

Rudd goes on in his *Apology* to remind the listeners of why a new beginning is needed which will be achieved by 'righting past wrongs'. The *Apology* begins with words and is given further weight by new policies as described above in 2012 to be a 'practical programme of action'. This programme of action was aimed to utilise Australia's 'passionate' and 'practical' natures. This programme was aimed to be a combination of saying sorry and acting to 'Close the Gap'. Rudd's speech here and the title of the policy is undergirded by the concept that Australia's cultures are 'split' by a 'chasm'. To 'close the gap', a bridge must be built and utilised:

It (Close the Gap) is also aimed *at building a bridge* between Indigenous and non- Indigenous Australians—a *bridge based on a real respect* rather than a thinly veiled contempt. Our challenge for the future is to now *cross that bridge* and, in so doing, to embrace a new partnership between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians—embracing, as part of that partnership, expanded Link-Up and other critical services to help the stolen generations to trace their families if at all possible and to provide dignity to their lives (Rudd 2008, 170). (italics mine)

Rudd further discusses how this bridge can ‘close the gap’ by ‘righting past wrongs’ which continue to disadvantage Indigenous Australians. These disadvantages include lower life expectancy, higher infant mortality and a ‘widening gap in literacy, numeracy and employment outcomes and opportunities’ (Rudd 2008, 170). Instead of continuing on with ‘old approaches’, a ‘new beginning’ requires a ‘new’ approach:

... a new beginning, a new partnership, on closing the gap with *sufficient flexibility* not to insist on a *one-size-fits-all* approach for each of the hundreds of remote and regional Indigenous communities across the country but instead allowing flexible, *tailored*, local approaches to achieve commonly agreed national objectives that lie at the core of our proposed new partnership; a new beginning that draws intelligently on the experiences of new policy settings across the nation (Rudd 2008, 170). (italics mine)

To make the changes required there needs to be direction. This is PURPOSE ARE DESTINATIONS:

However, unless we as a parliament *set a destination* for the nation, we have *no clear point to guide* our policy, our programs or *our purpose*; we have no centralised organising principle (Rudd 2008, 170). (italics mine)

Part of reaching the destination will be to see all Australians flourish, particularly from a young age. In his next two paragraphs, Rudd talks about two types of children. The first is Indigenous children:

Let us resolve today to *begin with the little children*—a fitting place to start on this day of apology for the stolen generations. Let us resolve over the next five years to have every Indigenous four-year-old in a remote Aboriginal community enrolled... *Let us resolve* to build new educational opportunities... *Let us resolve* to use this systematic approach to building future educational opportunities... (Rudd 2008, 170). (italics mine)

The second type of children he refers to are politicians. He states that the following required actions are ‘simple’ if politicians can be ‘adults’ who believe in a ‘fair-go’:

The *mood of the nation is for reconciliation* now, between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians. *The mood of the nation on Indigenous policy and politics is now very simple*. The nation is calling on us, *the politicians*, to *move beyond our infantile bickering, our point-scoring and our mindlessly partisan politics* and elevate this one core area of national responsibility to a rare position beyond the partisan divide. Surely this is the unfulfilled

spirit of the 1967 referendum⁷⁰. Surely, at least *from this day forward*, we should give it a go (Rudd 2008, 170). (italics mine)

He uses this again to press on the ‘time is now’ for an apology. To ‘give it a go’ is another version of ‘fair go’. This is to address again the need for ‘forward moving’ politics. He further addresses those who may accuse him of ‘point scoring’ by being ‘practical’. Rudd suggests that the way forward is war, not childish arguments or games:

Let me take this one step further, and *take what some may see as a piece of political posturing* and make a *practical proposal to the opposition* on this day, the first full sitting day of the new parliament. I said before the election that the nation needed a kind of *war cabinet* on parts of Indigenous policy, because the challenges are too great and the consequences too great to allow it all to become a *political football*, as it has been so often in the past (Rudd 2008, 170–71). (italics mine)

Rudd’s comment that the ‘nation needed a kind of war cabinet on parts of Indigenous policy’ alludes to the need for serious action and resources (Rudd 2008, 170). In this, Rudd’s suggestion is akin to the gathering of a committee to make radical decisions that go beyond the purview of peacetime activities (Lakoff 2009, 126). This is the only military metaphor within Rudd’s speech. This ‘war cabinet’ that Rudd mentions, would end the ‘point-scoring’ of a game of ‘political football’ as a war cabinet exists outside of regular activities and has authority over all areas of political life. This mixing of metaphors is helpful to depict the way reconciliation has previously been treated as a game in which both parties can be perceived as having equal opportunity to win. A war cabinet determines that the time for games is over. As such, he proposes a shared leadership for the shared future as the ‘time has come’ for ‘working constructively’ and ‘it is time for fresh ideas to fashion the nation’s future’ (Rudd 2008, 171).

The final section of Rudd’s speech returns to the language of ‘righting wrongs’. The collective way that Rudd discusses this indicates that parliament,

⁷⁰ The 1967 referendum repealed 2 sections of the Constitution, Section 51 (xxvi) and Section 127. This enabled the Australian Parliament to: make special laws for First Australians and include First Australians in the national census. They had not previously been included in the census as they were considered part of the flora and fauna, not people to be counted (AIATSIS 2021).

when working together, can be ‘heroes’ of the Australian people rather than ‘bickering’ children:

Today *the parliament has come together to right a great wrong* (Rudd 2008, 171). (italics mine)

To ‘right’ a ‘wrong’, atonement for the past must be made so that the destination of the future (PURPOSES ARE DESTINATIONS) can be reached. Rudd states that this is why everyone is together on this day:

We have *come together to deal with the past* so that we might *fully embrace the future*. We have had *sufficient audacity of faith to advance a pathway to that future*, with arms extended rather than with fists still clenched (Rudd 2008, 171). (italics mine)

The ‘race’ or ‘pathway’ will require action and Rudd presses on the urgency of this ‘new’ action, not just words (WORDS WITHOUT ACTION ARE CLANGING CYMBALS). By doing this, reconciliation will be realised so that Australia can be at-one:

So let us seize the day. Let it not become a moment of mere sentimental reflection. Let us take it with both hands and allow this day, this day of national reconciliation, to become one of those rare moments in which we might just be able to *transform the way* in which the nation thinks about itself, whereby *the injustice administered to the stolen generations* in the name of these our parliaments *causes all of us to reappraise*, at the deepest level of our beliefs, *the real possibility of reconciliation writ large: reconciliation across all Indigenous Australia; reconciliation across the entire history* of the often bloody encounter between those who emerged from the Dreamtime a thousand generations ago and those who, like me, came across the seas only yesterday; *reconciliation which opens up whole new possibilities for the future* (Rudd 2008, 171). (italics mine)

To ‘open up whole new possibilities’, Rudd again uses LIFE IS A BOOK. In this book, HISTORY IS A CHAPTER (TO BE CLOSED) and FUTURE IS A NEW CHAPTER:

It is for the nation to *bring the first two centuries of our settled history to a close*, as we *begin a new chapter* (Rudd 2008, 171). (italics mine)

This new ‘chapter’ will be one of great appreciation of Aboriginal peoples rather than the old chapter of oppression and past injustices:

We embrace with *pride, admiration and awe these great and ancient cultures* we are truly blessed to have among us— cultures that provide a unique, uninterrupted human thread linking our Australian continent to the most ancient prehistory of our planet. *Growing from this new respect, we see our Indigenous brothers and sisters with fresh eyes, with new eyes,*

and we have our minds wide open as to how we might tackle, together, the great practical challenges that Indigenous Australia faces in the future (Rudd 2008, 171). (italics mine)

The future for Australia is togetherness and community. It is one in which Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples 'tackle... the great practical challenges'. This togetherness is expressed throughout this speech through the LIFE IS A BOOK conceptual metaphor.

Rudd indicates that a 'new page' with 'clean' behaviours is to be turned, and exiling the 'stain' of past 'sins' is necessary to do this. This 'new page' would start a 'new chapter' of a 'clean' future due to Rudd's atonement for the 'blemished chapter' (Rudd 2008, 167, 171). This 'new page in the history of our great continent can now be written' including both the 'oldest continuing culture' (Indigenous Australians) and non-Indigenous Australians, (Rudd 2008, 167, 171). This 'new chapter' will close the 'old chapter' which included the injustices of the past (Rudd 2008, 171):

Let us turn this page together, Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians, government and opposition, Commonwealth and state, and write this new chapter in our nation's story together. First Australians, First Fleeters and those who first took the oath of allegiance just a few weeks ago—let us grasp this opportunity to craft a new future for this great land, Australia. Mr Speaker, I commend the motion to the House (Rudd 2008, 171). (italics mine)

The togetherness is emphasised through the use of related pairs or triplicate. These include Indigenous/non-Indigenous Australians, government/opposition, Commonwealth/state, First Australians/First Fleeters/new migrant citizens. This use makes it apparent that all are involved in 'turning the page' in the future 'chapter' of Australia. By turning the page together, a new future can be 'crafted'. Rudd concludes with the standard commendation of the motion to the House.

Having discussed the speech from start to finish, I will now summarise my discussion of Rudd's *Apology*. To be able to 'move forward' and make 'good progress', Rudd sought to atone for the past in which 'bad' behaviour existed by making a formal apology. This 'bad' behaviour could also be rendered as 'sins' and would be noted as such in Biblical settings (Lam 2016). In this speech, Rudd

provides Australia with FORWARD MOVEMENT and PROGRESS. As Lakoff notes, the conceptual metaphor of PURPOSES ARE DESTINATIONS/DESIRED OBJECTS undergirds an understanding of ‘moving forward’ as important in discussing change (Lakoff 1999, 52-53).

Rudd uses peaceful metaphors. He gathers the ‘sins’ of the past and ‘sends them away’ from a future Australia. Instead of having the sins of the people placed on him through the laying on of hands as a Levitical scapegoat would, Rudd acknowledges the sins of the past verbally and offers verbal atonement. By being willing to apologise, he uses ‘sorry’ as a marker of atonement and he de-escalates an increasingly tense debate about the prior treatment of Australia’s Indigenous Peoples. As such, Rudd de-escalates what Girard calls mimetic rivalry (see Chapter 4, section 4.3) and attempts to reconcile Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians through use of the word ‘sorry’ as a vehicle to carry the past STAIN of SIN. The *Apology* is a ‘step forward to right a historical wrong’ of ‘past mistreatment’ of clean peoples by unclean peoples (Rudd 2008, 167, 68).

Rudd’s iconic speech is an ideal case study for SCAPEGOAT metaphors. The *Apology* speech founded a change in policy and political rhetoric about Australian history and is commemorated annually on 13 February as ‘Anniversary of National Apology Day’ (Philpot et al. 2013; Butler and Bond 2021). Further, this speech established Rudd as a Prime Minister who would be a willing to acknowledge and exile the past to make recompense for the oppression of Australia’s Indigenous Peoples. Rudd’s willingness is further enhanced by the prior willingness of his political party (Labor) to atone for the ‘sins’ of the past (Burgess, Spinks, and Sharma 2017). This collective ‘willing victim’ announced their role in atonement through repeated use of the term ‘sorry’ (Rudd 2008, 167).

I argue that Rudd’s *Apology* is akin to a SCAPEGOAT ritual. This is because through his speech Rudd seeks ‘atonement’ for the past atrocities of non-Indigenous Australians. Unlike the Levitical scapegoat, Rudd is not exiled. Instead, he uses the word ‘sorry’ to carry away the ‘sins’ of the people and Rudd ‘cleanses himself’ and Australia (as a metonymy for all non-Indigenous Australians) of its past by saying ‘sorry’. Rudd offers words of apology as the device which ‘carries

away' the sins of the people. The 'sins' which must be atoned for are 'past mistreatment' and 'wrongs of the past', primarily the oppression, forced removal and genocide of Australia's Indigenous peoples. These 'past wrongs' which require apology include laws and policies which inflicted grief, suffering and loss (Rudd 2008, 167).

This speech highlighted a further 'sin' which required atonement. This sin was the unwillingness of previous Prime Ministers, Governments and Parliaments to accept responsibility for the wrongdoing of the past and atone for this in a ritual as per Rudd's speech. The previous Prime Minister John Howard refused to be a 'willing victim'. He did not believe that it was his place to apologise for the acts of oppression on Australia's Indigenous Peoples. He believed that these were an historical act and beyond his responsibility (Howard 2007, 4). As such, he would not apologise on behalf of the role of Prime Minister, the government or the Parliament of Australia (Beazley 1999; 2000; Ruddock 2000). In comparison, it was part of Rudd's election mandate to apologise formally.

Rudd utilises repetitions to reiterate the need for apology and his willingness to apologise. The speech articulates the need for and capacity to fulfil atonement and reach the 'destination' of 'reconciliation' (Rudd 2008, 167, 169, 170, 171). Repetitions are used in conjunction with differing subsequent phrases to deepen the subject content surrounding the repeated word. Rudd's use of triplicates includes 'sorry', both 'we say' and 'I am' (Rudd 2008, 167, 169), 'this apology' (Rudd 2008, 169–70), apologise (Rudd 2008, 167, 169) 'mutual' (Rudd 2008, 167), 'all' (Rudd 2008, 167), 'equal' (Rudd 2008, 167), 'fully' (Rudd 2008, 169) and 'decency' (Rudd 2008, 168), 'reflect' (Rudd 2008, 167), 'never' (Rudd 2008, 167), 'great' (Rudd 2008, 167, 168, 170, 171), 'proud' (Rudd 2008, 167), 'history' (Rudd 2008, 167, 169, 170, 171), 'policy' (Rudd 2008, 168, 169, 170, 171), 'Commonwealth' (Rudd 2008, 167), 'honour' (Rudd 2008, 167) and 'mood of the nation' (Rudd 2008, 170). Other important terms are 'wrong/s' (Rudd 2008, 167, 168, 169, 171) and its pair, 'right/ing' (Rudd 2008, 167, 168, 169, 171).

Further to the lexical repetition in double and triple usage, Rudd also utilises parallelisms. Parallelisms do not rely on exact replication but utilise

mirroring of semantic content to repeat the sentiment of an idea without requiring a matched semiotic (LeMon and Strawn 2008). Rudd's use of parallelisms highlight linked relationships including mothers/fathers, brothers/sisters, families/communities (Rudd 2008, 167), mothers/fathers, families (Rudd 2008, 169), a totality of numbers such as families/communities (Rudd 2008, 167) and Commonwealth/state (Rudd 2008, 169) as well as binaries such as Indigenous/non-Indigenous^{13/4/2023 9:04:00 am}, government/opposition (Rudd 2008, 171), policy success/failure (Rudd 2008, 170), Commonwealth and state (Rudd 2008, 171) and theory instilled in praxis (new beginning/partnership (Rudd 2008, 170), equal partners/opportunities/stake (Rudd 2008, 169), outcomes/opportunities (Rudd 2008, 170), passionate/practical) (Rudd 2008, 170).

Further to these parallelisms, Rudd deepens the emotion expressed through use of triplicate synonyms. These are utilised similarly to the triplicate repetitions, but instead of exact lexical items, the semantic similarity achieves repetition. I group these instances as 'emotional', 'cultural/collective' and 'descriptive'. The 'emotional' triplicates are pain, suffering and hurt (Rudd 2008, 167), grief, suffering and loss (Rudd 2008, 167), hurt, pain, suffering (Rudd 2008, 169), and indignity, degradation, humiliation (Rudd 2008, 167,169). The 'cultural/collective' triplicates are their families, their communities and their country (Rudd 2008, 167), Stolen Generations, their descendants and for their families (Rudd 2008, 167), First Australians, first Fleeters, first took oath of allegiance a few weeks ago (Rudd 2008, 171). Finally, the 'descriptive' triplets are respect, resolve, responsibility (Rudd 2008, 167), elegant, eloquent, wonderful (Rudd 2008, 168), infantile bickering/point-scoring/mindlessly partisan politics (Rudd 2008, 170).

Further to the above structural elements of repetition and parallelism, Rudd engages 'clean' and 'unclean' metaphorical framework to categorise good and bad behaviours. In the Biblical setting of Leviticus, SIN is depicted as a STAIN that must be WASHED AWAY or a BURDEN to be LIFTED/REMOVED (Lam 2016). In Rudd's *Apology*, SIN is depicted as a STAIN. Rudd depicts this clearly when he states that parliament is gathered on this occasion to 'remove a great stain from the nation's

soul' (Rudd 2008, 167). This speech acknowledges past failures so there can be an 'at-one' future.

Rudd's intention does not appear to be to shame those who engaged in past 'sins' whether due to ignorance or because they appeared to systematically intend to wipe out Indigenous Australians (AIATSIS 2017). Regardless of behavioural intent from participating parties, Rudd's apology is for all past mistreatments.

The 'old chapter' has an old scapegoat which 'othered' Indigenous Australians as 'the problem of the Aboriginal population'. The scapegoat included those charged with the title of 'Protector of Natives'. This 'Protectionist' model was embedded in 'laws and policies of successive Parliaments and governments' within 'the parliaments of the nation, individually and collectively' (Rudd 2008, 169). As Prime Minister, he is a symbol or figurehead of the government and parliament. As such, he can take on this 'moral burden' of prior and present governments. Through the words of this speech, he takes on the SIN of the PAST as a 'moral burden', and utilises the word 'sorry' as a vehicle to REMOVE it.

To remove this moral burden and to make atonement, Rudd begins with 'this Parliament resolves' to 'come together to reconcile' and 'deal once and for all' (Rudd 2008, 169). As Prime Minister in the '42nd Parliament of the Commonwealth' Rudd asserts that 'governments and parliaments of this nation must make this apology' (Rudd 2008, 171) and that they together 'deal with the past so that we might fully embrace the future' (Rudd 2008, 171). In saying it is 'time to put right this most outrageous of wrongs' (Rudd 2008, 169) he is 'righting past wrongs' (Rudd 2008, 170) and that finally after years of it being asked of previous governments and parliaments, 'today the parliament has come together to right a great wrong' (Rudd 2008, 171). Regardless of whether prior governments and parliaments wished to be part of this apology, Rudd's phrasing includes them as 'past' and the associated behaviours can be construed as 'sins'.

5.3 SUMMARY

In this chapter I have analysed how the SCAPEGOAT conceptual metaphor SCAPEGOAT IS ATONEMENT is utilised in two Australian prime ministerial speeches. This analysis was discussed through two case studies which highlight both Girardian SCAPEGOATS (DISTINCT ENEMY/EVIL OTHER and WILLING VICTIM).

The two case studies which I selected to analyse SCAPEGOAT concepts in Australian political rhetoric featured a high use of ATONEMENT and SCAPEGOAT concepts. As such, I suggest that they represent typical examples of how Biblical SCAPEGOAT metaphors are included in contemporary Australian political speeches. These case studies were former Prime Minister John Howard's speech *Iraq* (Howard 2003) and former Prime Minister Kevin Rudd's *Apology to the Australia's Indigenous Peoples* (Rudd 2008). These two speeches were chosen based on their use of ATONEMENT and SCAPEGOAT concepts, their prominence in the Australian political landscape and their effect on policy or parliamentary changes (Garran 2004; Brett 2007; King and Wells 2009; Howard 2010; Marr 2010; Rudd 2011).

As discussed in the previous chapter, the concept of ATONEMENT requires rites in Leviticus. In Australian political rhetoric an 'apology' is often the expected primary action rather than behaviour change, sacrifice or other consequences. As such, 'apology' is used more frequently than the term 'atonement'. I analysed Rudd's *Apology* to investigate the idea that an apology is an Australian political equivalent for atonement. Within this context, Rudd acknowledges the 'sins' of Prime Ministers of the past, governments present and past, and Parliaments present and past. He personally says sorry to Australia's Indigenous peoples for all of the oppression they had suffered through colonisation, most specifically those removed from their families as part of the Stolen Generations. Rudd offers a de-escalation of mimetic rivalry, a rivalry buoyed by the refusal of his predecessor Howard say 'sorry'. Rudd's speech is rich in Biblical allusion.

In opposition to Rudd's de-escalation of mimetic rivalry is Howard's speech on *Iraq*, announcing that Australia is ready for war. Rather than embodying a 'willing victim' SCAPEGOAT, Howard scapegoats Saddam Hussein and Iraq as an agent and nation of violence. They are a 'distinct enemy' SCAPEGOAT. In this role,

Hussein and Iraq are interchangeable. They engage with 'rogue states' and hold 'weapons of mass destruction'. According to Howard's speech, they bear sins which are numerous and include violations against their own people. One of their sins is their perceived aggression to the ordered, Western allies of the United States, United Kingdom and Australia. Because of this aggression, there is no choice but for Australia to be prepared as a rival military force. Australia is depicted as part of a moral 'alliance' whose 'security' is threatened by the immoral, chaotic behaviour of Iraq. As such, Saddam Hussein must be destroyed as a leader to achieve 'at-onement' for the United Nations. This rite of exiling Hussein from the 'world community' brings atonement to the world community through the elimination of Iraq's 'sins'.

Though both Prime Ministers are known as Christians, Howard as a Methodist and Rudd as a Catholic, Rudd postures his faith in a more overt manner than Howard. This may account for the more overt Biblical nuances within Rudd's phrasing. However, this could also be accounted for by the nature of the speech. Given that Rudd's speech is engaging with ideas of forgiveness and reconciliation, perhaps it was perceived that the Bible might offer more fruitful allusions for this task. This may be due to what Sheridan discusses as Australians broader acceptance of a 'social justice Jesus' rather than Howard's re-ordering through power (Sheridan 2018, 225). Howard's speech was not directed towards forgiveness, but instead to 'righteous' anger. While there are a multitude of Biblical allusions which may have suited this task, he did not rely on those familiar tropes. Instead, it appears that he opted for a palatable 'Australian' moralism, a pride in sense of self and a reliance on the 'true' Australian spirit of the war hero. To do this, he activates a frame of prior righteous warfare, camaraderie and alliance in World War II which further hinges on prior righteous umbrage at 9/11. Further to this, he concludes his speech with an acknowledgement of the potential future war heroes who are currently serving in the Australian Defence Force. While Howard is not involved in an 'enchanted' or 'spiritual' battle of good and evil, his speech positions this battle in that way – that now is the time for intervention and for society to return to order from chaos.

In the previous chapter, I analysed how the term ‘scapegoat’ originated in the book of Leviticus, evolved in the Afterlife of the Text in the English translations of the King James Version and New International Version and has been analysed further through Girardian scapegoat theory. In this chapter I identified and analysed SCAPEGOAT concepts in two contemporary Australian Prime Ministerial speeches. In the next two chapters, I will apply the same method to investigate how the term ‘messiah’ and concept of MESSIAH is utilised within the Biblical Hebrew book of Isaiah and the Afterlife of the Text in chapter six and within Prime Ministerial speeches from 2000 to 2022 in chapter seven.

This is what *YHWH* says to his anointed one, to Cyrus, whose right hand I take hold of to subdue nations before him and to strip kings of their armor, to open doors before him so that gates will not be shut. ISAIAH 45:1 (*my translation*)

6. MESSIAH IN THE HEBREW BIBLE

In the previous two chapters (chapters four and five), I analysed *SCAPEGOAT* concepts. The overarching complex conceptual metaphor that I analysed in these chapters was *SCAPEGOAT IS ATONEMENT*. I argued that this complex conceptual metaphor is expressed through linguistic terms and the blending of primary metaphors such as *SIN IS DIRT* and *ATONEMENT (THE REMOVAL OF SIN) IS WASHING AWAY* which lead into complex metaphors such as *DEATH IS REMOVAL* and *SACRIFICE IS ATONEMENT*. In chapter four, I discussed how *SCAPEGOAT IS ATONEMENT* originated within the Biblical book of Leviticus before analysing its evolution in the so-called ‘Afterlife of the Text’. I discussed how the Afterlife of *SCAPEGOAT* as a concept has become prevalent in contemporary academia through the work of René Girard and is used in contemporary non-religious settings like media and politics. Following on from this analysis of the origin and evolution of the term ‘scapegoat’ in the Hebrew Bible and the Afterlife of the Text, I demonstrated how *SCAPEGOAT IS ATONEMENT* continues to be used in contemporary Australian Prime Ministerial speeches, using case studies from speeches by former prime ministers, Kevin Rudd and John Howard. The pairing of chapters four and five aims to affirm the main argument of this thesis: that Biblical metaphors continue to be utilised in contemporary Australian political rhetoric for the purposes of making convincing, authoritative speeches.

In this chapter and the next, I analyse the ‘messiah’ metaphor grouping. The overarching complex conceptual metaphor is predominantly *MESSIAH IS GUIDE*, yet *MESSIAH IS SACRIFICE* is also utilised. As with chapter four, I argue that this complex conceptual metaphor is formed through the blending of primary metaphors and expressed in language use. The primary metaphors include *LIFE IS A JOURNEY*, *PURPOSES ARE DESTINATIONS*, *FALLING DOWN IS PAIN* and *GETTING LOST IS DARKNESS* which lead into complex metaphors like *SIN IS DEVIATING FROM THE PATH*,

SIN IS IMPEDING PROGRESS, A GOOD LIFE IS PURPOSEFUL JOURNEY and GOD IS GUIDE (Lakoff and Johnson 1999, 60-63; Kuczok 2018, 7). I discuss how these appear within the Biblical book of Isaiah and the Afterlife of the Text to depict the concept of ‘messiah’. This mirrors my investigation in chapter four of the complex concept of SCAPEGOAT.

The parameters of this chapter are: ‘messiah’ in Isaiah in the Hebrew Bible, the evolution and translation of this concept into the KJV and NIV and the Afterlife of this concept as elucidated in contemporary settings. To do this I will first discuss the Biblical origin of ‘messiah’ and the translation of this concept. I will then discuss the formation of the conceptual metaphor grouping of MESSIAH IS GUIDE and MESSIAH IS SACRIFICE, then explore how a Hebrew Bible ‘anointed one’ that ‘guides’ and ‘suffers vicariously’ evolves into a modern ‘hero’ to ‘save’ others.

6.1 THE BIBLICAL ORIGIN AND EVOLUTION OF THE TERM ‘MESSIAH’

The term ‘messiah’ originates in the Hebrew Bible. There are a noun forms for this term in Biblical Hebrew: *mashiach* (anointed one, messiah) and a verbal form *maschach* (to anoint). All of these terms appear in Isaiah. The nouns are both translatable as ‘messiah’, though they are more commonly translated as ‘anointed one’ and ‘saviour’ respectively. The verb is used to denote ‘chosenness’ and is often translated as ‘anointing’. The usage of ‘messiah’ terms in the Hebrew Bible is much higher than the limited use of the term ‘scapegoat’. Thus, it can be said that ‘messiah’ is more commonly used in the Hebrew Bible than ‘scapegoat’. Instead of reviewing all uses of both noun and verb instances, I investigate how these concepts are used in the so-called Servant Songs⁷¹ of Isaiah (Isaiah 42:1-4; 49:1-6; 50:4-11; 52:13-53:12)⁷². These poems develop a characterisation of God’s

⁷¹ These passages are commonly referred to as ‘songs’ but they are poems in the Hebrew Bible literature.

⁷² These passages included here are my translations from the Biblical Hebrew. A comparison of relevant translations can be read in Appendix D. This includes my translation from Biblical Hebrew, the King James Version and the New International Version. Largely, the differences in texts are less varied than with translations of *azazel* (scapegoat).

‘servant’⁷³ and are arguably the definitive example of ‘messiah’ in the Hebrew Bible (Blenkinsopp 2016). The songs depict the need for God’s people to ‘return’ to God because they are lost (from God’s path), rebelling from God, or walking in darkness. The people are depicted as struggling because they are weak or lost:

Isaiah 42:3 (my translation)

A bruised reed he will not break, a faint wick he will not quench, in truth he will bring forth judgment.

Isaiah 50:11 (my translation)

*Behold all you who kindle fire,
that equip yourselves with torches.
Walk in the light of your fire,
and with the torches you have kindled.
This will come from my hand;
you will lie down in sorrow.*

Isaiah 53:6 (my translation)

*We are all as sheep who have gone astray,
we have turned each one to our own way.*

According to the narrative of these songs, the people need a guide to return to the path. The ‘servant’ in the Servant Songs is depicted as a guide. This can be rendered as the conceptual metaphor SERVANT IS GUIDE. This role of ‘guide’ is necessary to guide those who have ‘strayed from the path’ and are ‘lost’, rebelling or in darkness. In this section I will discuss how the ‘servant’ in the Servant Songs is gifted, chosen and special. These ideas are represented

⁷³ The term ‘*aved*’ can be translated from the Biblical Hebrew as ‘servant’ or ‘slave’. The Septuagint Greek uses the term *pais* which can also be translated as ‘servant’ or ‘slave’. Traditionally, this term is translated as ‘servant’.

differently throughout the songs. This is represented directionally as being ‘up’ or ‘high’, relationally as being known and created by God and educated by God, vocationally as one who speaks law or judgement, who is a light in the dark or as a guide to lead others to turn or return to God. Finally, the servant is represented as a SACRIFICE for the transgressions of others or, as Girard puts it, a ‘willing victim’ SCAPEGOAT (Girard 1986)⁷⁴.

First I will discuss the directionality and relational nature of the servant before discussing the role as guide, and then how the servant willingly becomes a SACRIFICE.

In the first and last Servant Songs, the servant is ‘up’. This use of ‘up’ and ‘high’ in these two verses are linguistic expressions of the primary conceptual metaphor GOOD IS UP (Lakoff and Johnson 1980, 16):

Isaiah 42: 1 (my translation)

Behold my servant, whom I *uphold*,
my chosen, in whom my soul is pleased;
I have put my spirit upon him,
he will bring judgment to the nations.

Isaiah 52:13 (my translation)

See my servant will be wise,
he will be *exalted and lifted up*,
he will be *very high*.

For the purpose of this thesis because GOOD IS UP and SERVANT IS UP, this can be blended as SERVANT IS GOOD. As well is being ‘up’, the servant is described as

⁷⁴ This concept belongs in this chapter as it fits within the concept of a ‘scapegoat messiah’. The Servant Songs are undergirded by MESSIAH concepts and demonstrate the valency between SCAPEGOAT and MESSIAH in Biblical origins and the Afterlife of the Text.

having been crafted and educated by YHWH/God personally in the following excerpts:

Isaiah 49:5a (my translation)

... YHWH,
that *formed me in the womb* to be his servant ...

Isaiah 50:4-5 (my translation)

The YHWH God has *given me a learned tongue...*
he *awakens my ear* to hear as one who is taught.
Lord YHWH *opened my ear*,
I did not rebel and I did not turn back.

These two verses are linguistic expressions of the abstract conceptual metaphors GOD IS CREATOR/GOD IS LIFE-GIVER and GOD IS TEACHER respectively. Within the context of the Hebrew Bible and the afterlife of the Christian New Testament, these conceptual metaphors are GOD IS TEACHER (OF GOOD). This is because GOD IS UP, so GOD IS GOOD. God as an 'up' entity indicates the positivity of God's behaviour and his 'right-ness' (Lakoff 1999, 30).

The above verses demonstrate that the servant is known, exalted and educated by God. This positions the servant as someone who is qualified to guide those who are 'lost'. The following excerpts depict that the servant guides through judgement and law (LAW IS RIGHT PATH/JUDGMENT IS A MAP), through using his voice (VOICE IS FORCE) or as a light to lead in darkness (LIGHT IS GOOD/ LIGHT IS SEEING CLEARLY, DARKNESS IS BAD/DARKNESS IS BLINDNESS). The following excerpts depict the servant as guiding through judgement and law:

Isaiah 42:1 (my translation)

... I have put my spirit upon him, *he will bring judgment* to the nations.

Isaiah 42:3b-4 (my translation)

... in truth he will *bring forth judgment*.

He will not grow faint and he will not be discouraged *until he has set judgment on the earth; the coastlands will wait for his law*.

I argue that these verses utilise 'judgment' as a guiding act. This judgment is a form of guidance because it forms boundaries in which to take 'the right path', that is, to no longer be lost. This can be rendered as the conceptual metaphor JUDGMENT IS A MAP, which helps to know that SIN IS DEVIATING FROM THE PATH (Kuczok 2018, 7-8; Lam 2016, 156-78).

For those who are not 'on the right path', the servant uses his voice to demand attention or to encourage them to continue to the path:

Isaiah 49:1 (my translation)

Listen to me coastlands, and pay attention you people from afar...

Isaiah 50:4 (my translation)

The YHWH God has *given me a learned tongue*,
to know how to *sustain him that is weary with a word...*

Isaiah 50:8 (my translation)

He who justifies me is near.
Who will contend with me?
Let us stand up together.
Who is my accuser?
Let him confront me.

Isaiah 50:10 (my translation)

Who is among you that fears YHWH,
that obeys the voice of his servant
who walks in darkness and has no light?

Let him trust in the name of YHWH and rely upon God.

These examples are linguistic expressions of the conceptual metaphor VOICE IS POWER/FORCE. The voice of the servant is to be listened to and obeyed so that the people can find the right path; it is also powerful enough to ‘sustain’ those who are weary of the journey.

Finally, the servant chosen to guide, showing where the path is and directing with his voice, is also depicted as a light:

Isaiah 49:6 (my translation)

I will also make you a light to the nations,
that my salvation may reach to the ends of the earth.

As a ‘light to the nations’, the servant is able to show the path to those who are lost. In the above excerpt this path of salvation is made visible by SERVANT IS LIGHT. This is because LIGHT IS SEEING CLEARLY.

While the servant’s guidance is depicted in different forms, the reason it is required is the same: the people, whether it is Israel or the nation, are not on the correct path. The servant is called to return them to God. The following excerpts depict the servant as one who will return or raise Jacob up or cause ‘him’ to return to God’s ways⁷⁵:

⁷⁵ ‘Jacob’ is used in parallelism to Israel. Jacob is not one biblical person in this piece, it is a personification of the unredeemed Israel, used in parallelism to redeemed Israel. This parallelism is based on the narrative scene in Genesis 32:22-32 where Jacob wrestles with God. After he bests ‘the angel’ in this scenario he is redeemed from his sins and is renamed Israel. The Jacob/Israel parallelism is used throughout Isaiah to represent the totality of human beings and communities.

Isaiah 49:5a, 6 (my translation)

And now, says YHWH,
that formed me in the womb to be his servant/slave,
to bring Jacob back to him; though Israel is not gathered to him...

He [God] says, it is easy to be a servant to me,
to raise up the tribes of Jacob,
and to preserve Israel.

I will also make you a light to the nations,
that my salvation may reach to the ends of the earth.

The above verses depict a 'servant' who guides 'up' through voice, light and guidance. This is required because people are lost and need to return to God. Ultimately, the servant becomes a sacrifice for this purpose in the last Servant Song (Isaiah 52:13-53:12):

Isaiah 52:14-15 (my translation)

As many were appalled at you,
so marred was his appearance, more than any man,
his form more than humankind:
So he will sprinkle many nations,
kings will shut their mouths because of him

Isaiah 53:3-5 (my translation)

He is despised and rejected by men,
a man of sorrows, acquainted with grief.
We hid our faces from him, he was despised and not esteemed.
Surely he has carried our griefs and borne our sorrows,
but we did not esteem him, stricken, smitten of God and humiliated.

He was *pierced for our transgressions, crushed for our iniquities*, the chastisement that brought us peace was upon him and *by his wounds we are healed*.

Isaiah 53:7-12 (my translation)

He was *oppressed and afflicted*, yet he did not open his mouth; *like a lamb that is led to the slaughter*, and as a sheep that is silent before its shearers, so he did not open his mouth.

From oppression and judgment he was taken away. Who of his generation considered him? For he was cut off from the land of the living, *stricken for the transgression of my people*.

He *made his grave with the wicked*, and with the rich in his death, though he had done no violence and there was no deceit in his mouth.

YHWH delights to crush him, to put him to grief. When he makes *his soul a guilt offering*, he will see his offspring, and prolong his days; through him the will of *YHWH* will prosper in his hand.

From anguish his soul will see light and he will find satisfaction. Through his knowledge, the righteous one, my servant, *will bear their many iniquities*.

Therefore I will give him a portion with the great, and he will divide the spoils with the mighty; because *he poured himself out unto death*, and numbered with the transgressors, *he bore their many sins and interceded for the transgressors*.

In the passages above, the servant intercedes to remove the sins of those who are inhibited by them. In this, we see that SIN IS AN OBSTACLE that must be overcome. The servant is the remover of the sins, and on behalf of the sinners, the servant is an offering. This offering atones for their sins. This can be rendered as SERVANT IS SACRIFICE, as was the 'scapegoat' as discussed in chapter four. This sacrifice is depicted in the above Biblical example with the terms, which correlate with verses from Leviticus, cited in chapter four, to describe the rituals of the Day of Atonement. These are listed below in their correlating examples which I identified between Isaiah's 'messiah' Servant Songs and the 'scapegoat' passages in Leviticus:

Example one:

Isaiah 52:15 (my translation)

So he will *sprinkle many nations...*

Which correlates with:

Leviticus 16:15 NIV

He shall then slaughter the goat for the sin offering for the people and take its blood behind the curtain... *He shall sprinkle it on the atonement cover and in front of it. (italics mine)*

Example two:

Isaiah 53:5 (my translation)

He was *pierced for our transgressions, crushed for our iniquities*, the chastisement that brought us peace was upon him and *by his wounds we are healed.*

Isaiah 53:10 (my translation)

YHWH delights to crush him, to put him to grief.
And though he *makes his soul a guilt offering,*

he will see his offspring, and prolong his days;
through him the will of YHWH will prosper in his hand.

Which correlates with:

Leviticus 16:9 NIV

Aaron shall bring the goat whose lot falls to the LORD and *sacrifice it for a sin offering*. (italics mine)

These two examples show similarities between the ‘suffering servant’ in Isaiah and the ‘goat for YHWH’ in Leviticus. As such, this connects the concepts of Day of Atonement rituals with both ‘scapegoat’ and ‘messiah’ due to the correlation of the two goats in Leviticus (goat for *Azazel* and goat for YHWH). The ‘scapegoat’ as studied in chapter four is exiled in the Levitical text, while the goat for YHWH is sacrificed. Both are important in the atonement ritual. In Isaiah, the ‘servant’ takes on the sins of the people. Instead of being exiled, the servant is sacrificed to atone for their sins.

In the Servant Songs, the servant is an ambiguous character referred to as ‘the servant’ or ‘my servant’. The evolution from the Biblical origins of the servant in the Servant Songs maintains this ambiguity in the KJV and NIV translations. However, in the book of Isaiah, the messiah has other names:

Isaiah 45:1 (my translation)

Thus says YHWH to his *messiah* (KJV & NIV anointed), Cyrus, whose right hand I have taken hold of to beat down nations before him and I will loose the loins of the kings to open before him the gates which will not be shut.

Isaiah 61:1 (my translation)

The spirit of Lord YHWH is upon me because YHWH *anointed me* (KJV & NIV do not differ) to bring good news to the poor . He has sent me to bind the broken hearted and to proclaim liberty to the captives and release from darkness for those who are bound.

Further to this, in the New Testament Afterlife of the (Old Testament) Text, the servant becomes known as Jesus. This idea of Jesus as the servant, also makes Jesus the messiah. Unlike the ‘scapegoat’ which evolved outside of the Biblical text, ‘messiah’ is a term that can have multiple meanings and evolved within the Biblical text. In the Servant Songs, MESSIAH IS SERVANT, SERVANT IS GUIDE and SERVANT IS SACRIFICE. I discuss how and why this is possible in the following section (6.2) on the construction of the conceptual metaphor MESSIAH IS GUIDE before discussing the Afterlife of the MESSIAH in section 6.3.

6.2 CONCEPTUAL METAPHOR GROUP OF MESSIAH

As explained in section 2.2 of this thesis, Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) is a theory articulated by Lakoff and Johnson in their seminal work, *Metaphors We Live By* (1980). This theory has enriched a number of fields including linguistics, Biblical studies and political studies with the viewpoint that metaphors are ‘mental structures’ that are central to thought, grounded in physical experience and should not be viewed only as literary tools or linguistic ornamentation (Deignan 2005, 13; Lakoff 2009, 82). In this section, I discuss how ‘messiah’ concepts affect contemporary life beyond Hebrew Bible origins. The purpose of this section is to express how the conceptual metaphor grouping of ‘messiah’ has evolved from the Hebrew Bible into contemporary English usage. I discuss this evolution through an analysis of its appearances in the Afterlife of the Text. This analysis is shaped by CMT and discussed through the formation of conceptual metaphors (i.e. correspondence between two conceptual domains – A and B). This section firstly covers the blending and accumulation of primary metaphors to form the overarching complex metaphor of MESSIAH IS GUIDE. Following this, I discuss the evolution of ‘messiah’ in the Afterlife of the Text.

The overarching metaphor that is analysed in this chapter is MESSIAH IS GUIDE. MESSIAH IS GUIDE is a complex metaphor because both the TARGET and SOURCE are ‘abstract’ concepts. This can be represented in CMT as:

ABSTRACT (TARGET) IS ABSTRACT (SOURCE) which is

MESSIAH IS GUIDE

This complex metaphor of MESSIAH IS GUIDE may be expressed in linguistic expressions like:

‘Her ability to succeed was twofold: seeing a positive way forward and being able to show everyone the way.’

‘He was like a sherpa as he navigated the tough terrain of office politics. No matter how heavy the load, how difficult the path or the incline, he managed to reach the summit with all team members to share the view.’

The formation of the above complex metaphor occurs in the brain through the blending and accumulation of primary metaphors (Lakoff and Johnson 1999, 60-73). These primary metaphors form pathways that are more readily understandable as they function from a ‘concrete’ source such as warmth, or in this case, cleanliness:

ABSTRACT IS CONCRETE⁷⁶

GOOD IS CLEAN

His background was squeaky clean.

Her behaviour was spotless.

Primary metaphors require ‘concrete’ concepts which illicit embodied cognition and primal understanding (Lakoff and Johnson 1980; 1999). For the complex metaphor MESSIAH IS GUIDE, a chain of primary metaphors connect to form the neural frame of the complex metaphor. Primary metaphors are required to establish the complex metaphor for the SOURCE as GUIDE, so that this complex concept is simplified and so that the TARGET of MESSIAH can be understood in its neural pathway to GUIDE. According to the Oxford English Dictionary, a GUIDE is ‘one who leads or shows the way, esp. to a traveller in a strange

⁷⁶ Examples of this are explored in section 2.2.

country; *spec.* one who is hired to conduct a traveller or tourist (e.g. over a mountain, through a forest, or over a city or building) and to point out objects of interest' (OED 2022a). Further, the verbal use of guide is defined as 'To act as guide to; to go with or before for the purpose of leading the way: said of persons, of God, Providence, and of impersonal agents, such as stars, light, etc. Also to *guide the way* (cf. *lead v.*.)' (OED 2022b).

I argue that the concept of God *guiding* through *leading the way* is an important attribute in the Biblical use of the concept of MESSIAH. In Isaiah, this guidance has been discussed above in the Servant Songs with having voice, light and judgment to guide. These methods of guidance command, lead or provide framework for how to lead a good life that it at-one with God. Ultimately, the 'guide' is also a sacrifice as the 'servant' intercedes on behalf of those who

A 'guide' is necessary because LIFE IS A JOURNEY and PURPOSES ARE DESTINATIONS. Some paths are GOOD (PURPOSEFUL) and some are BAD (UNPURPOSEFUL). These paths may be understood further in the Biblical context as MORALITY IS GOOD PATHS and SIN IS BAD PATHS. This metaphoric contrast between good and bad paths is borne out in passages such as:

Proverbs 2:9

KJV Then shalt thou *understand* righteousness, and judgment, and equity; yea, *every good path*.

NIV Then you will *understand* what is right and just and fair—*every good path*. (italics mine)

Hosea 14:9b

KJV *the ways of the LORD are right; The righteous walk in them, But transgressors stumble in them.*

NIV *The ways of the LORD are right; the righteous walk in them, but the rebellious stumble in them.* (italics mine)

To explore 'guide' in terms of a primary metaphor, 'guide' constitutes the ABSTRACT concept. Metaphors for 'guide' in the Hebrew Bible include PEOPLE ARE LOST, PEOPLE NEED A PATH and SERVANT IS GUIDE.

These primary metaphors are formed as:

TARGET (ABSTRACT) IS SOURCE (CONCRETE)

This would be rendered in this instance as:

PEOPLE ARE LOST

Lakoff and Johnson discuss how LIFE IS A JOURNEY is a primary metaphor that articulates purpose and enjoyment (Lakoff and Johnson 1980; 1999; Lakoff 2009). If a person is having a good life, this may be used as follows:

He always found his feet, strolling through life with no impediments.

She was always headed in the direction she needed to go.

These examples of a 'good' life, demonstrate life as straightforward or purposeful. Lakoff and Johnson render this as A PURPOSEFUL LIFE IS A JOURNEY (Lakoff and Johnson 1999, 60-63). Thus, it could be said that a 'bad' life is aimless or purposeless, such as A BAD LIFE IS AN AIMLESS JOURNEY OR A BAD LIFE IS ON A ROUGH PATH. The following examples depict this:

She was heading the wrong way to have a good outcome.

He was on the road to nowhere.

In regards to this thesis and the idea of LIFE IS A JOURNEY in the Hebrew Bible, the conceptual metaphor of PEOPLE ARE LOST, means that they will not have a 'good life' because they are not on a 'purposeful journey'. To have a 'good life':

GOOD LIFE IS ON A PATH

(LOST) PEOPLE NEED A PATH

These primary metaphors are used in the Hebrew Bible as well as in contemporary settings. Alongside Isaiah 53:6 noted in the previous section, below are further examples from the KJV and NIV where people are depicted as ‘lost sheep’:

Psalm 119:176

KJV I have gone astray like a *lost sheep*; seek thy servant; for I do not forget thy commandments.

NIV I have strayed like a *lost sheep*. Seek your servant, for I have not forgotten your commands. (italics mine)

In this Psalm, the lost person is a lost sheep and the servant is a shepherd. This servant ‘shepherd’ here is also a ‘messiah’.

Jeremiah 50:6

KJV My people hath been *lost sheep*: *their shepherds have caused them to go astray*, they have turned them away on the mountains: they have gone from mountain to hill, they have forgotten their resting place.

NIV My people have been *lost sheep*; *their shepherds have led them astray* and caused them to roam on the mountains. They wandered over mountain and hill and forgot their own resting place. (italics mine)

In the above passage from Jeremiah the people are again depicted as lost sheep. The shepherds in this scenario are not messiahs – they assist in leading the sheep astray or neglecting to lead them. In contrast to the ‘shepherd’ in the Psalm, these shepherds are bad shepherds who do not know the path or do not seek to use it.

To find the path, and therefore to have a purposeful journey (PURPOSES ARE DESTINATIONS + LIFE IS A JOURNEY), the conceptual metaphor evolves:

PEOPLE ARE SHEEP

PEOPLE NEED A SHEPHERD (FOR PEOPLE)

SHEPHERD IS ON A PATH OR

SHEPHERD HAS A MAP OR

SHEPHERD IS A GUIDE (WHO IS ON THE PATH OR HAS A MAP)

This guide is a special person as they know how to have a 'good life'. They are set apart and given the role through their knowledge and behaviour of how to live with purpose. In short, they are a 'messiah' or 'chosen/anointed one' for such a task. This can be described by the following metaphors:

GUIDE IS MAP-READER/MAP-MAKER

GUIDE IS PATHMAKER

Ultimately:

GUIDE IS ON THE RIGHT PATH FOR A PURPOSEFUL JOURNEY

Psalms 23:3b

KJV *he leadeth me in the paths of righteousness* for his name's sake.

NIV He *guides me along the right paths* for his name's sake. (italics mine)

'His name's sake' constitutes a purposeful journey as it leads to atonement with God and a harmonious community. The purposeful journey as guided by God is depicted as a good path:

Isaiah 26:7

KJV *The way of the just is uprightness: thou, most upright, dost weigh the path of the just.*

NIV *The path of the righteous is level; you, the Upright One, make the way of the righteous smooth.* (italics mine)

And as a path that is created, under God's stipulations, so that there is a good path for a purposeful journey:

Isaiah 40:3

KJV The voice of him that crieth in the wilderness, Prepare ye the way of the LORD, *make straight in the desert a highway* for our God.

NIV A voice of one calling: 'In the wilderness prepare the way for the LORD; *make straight in the desert a highway* for our God'. (italics mine)

The 'good' and 'bad' paths are more than right or wrong. They form the path to death or life:

Jeremiah 21:8

KJV And unto this people thou shalt say, Thus saith the LORD; Behold, I set before you the *way of life, and the way of death*.

NIV This is what the LORD says: See, I am setting before you *the way of life and the way of death*. (italics mine)

To find the 'way of life', a guide who knows the way is essential. As discussed above in 6.1, this guide is the 'servant' referred to in the 'Servant Songs':

SERVANT IS GUIDE

As the servant in these passages is perceived as a messiah, this makes it:

MESSIAH IS SERVANT

MESSIAH IS GUIDE

While the first three servant songs depict the messiah as a 'guide', the fourth is very different. In the final of the servant songs, Isaiah 52:13-53:12, the servant is sacrificed so that 'lost people' can access the path to a 'good life'. In this final servant song, this is rendered conceptually as:

SERVANT IS SIN-REMOVAL

SIN-REMOVAL IS SACRIFICE

MESSIAH IS SACRIFICE

Isaiah 52:13-15a

KJV Behold, my servant shall deal prudently, he shall be exalted and extolled, and be very high.

As many were astonished at thee; his visage was so marred more than any man, and his form more than the sons of men:

So shall he sprinkle many nations;

NIV See, my servant will act wisely;

he will be raised and lifted up and highly exalted.

Just as there were many who were appalled at him —

his appearance was so disfigured beyond that of any human being

and his form marred beyond human likeness—

so he will sprinkle many nations. (italics mine)

Isaiah 53:7

KJV He was *oppressed*, and he was *afflicted*, yet he opened not his mouth: he is brought as a *lamb to the slaughter*, and as a sheep before her shearers is dumb, so he openeth not his mouth.

NIV He was *oppressed* and *afflicted*,

yet he did not open his mouth;

he was led like a *lamb to the slaughter*,

and as a sheep before its shearers is silent,

so he did not open his mouth. (italics mine)

While the accumulation of metaphors to create MESSIAH IS SACRIFICE is part of the Servant Songs, it differs in how ‘guidance’ is represented. This final Servant Song indicates that more than guidance is necessary to return people to the path.

Sacrifice may be required. This is the ‘willing victim’ guide which Girard would view as a SCAPEGOAT. As discussed in chapter four of this thesis, ATONEMENT IS SACRIFICE and ultimately, SCAPEGOAT IS ATONEMENT.

Isaiah 53:4

KJV Surely he hath *borne our griefs, and carried our sorrows: yet we did esteem him stricken, smitten of God, and afflicted.*

NIV Surely *he took up our pain and bore our suffering,*
yet we considered him *punished by God, stricken by him, and afflicted.* (italics mine)

Further, as with SCAPEGOAT IS ATONEMENT, according to the verse above then MESSIAH IS SACRIFICE/ATONEMENT:

Isaiah 53:12b,c

KJV he hath *poured out his soul unto death: and he was numbered with the transgressors; and he bare the sin of many, and made intercession for the transgressors.*

NIV he *poured out his life unto death,*
and was numbered with the transgressors.
For *he bore the sin of many,*
and *made intercession for the transgressors.* (italics mine)

This fourth Servant Song of Isaiah, in which MESSIAH IS SACRIFICE/ATONEMENT can also be explained by the conceptual metaphor SCAPEGOAT IS MESSIAH. This Servant Song shares parallels with the Day of Atonement as in Leviticus 16:7-10. Above in the Isaiah reference, the servant ‘made intercession’ (to remove sin) and ‘bore our suffering’. In the Leviticus reference below, the ‘scapegoat’ ‘bears’ sins and carries them into the wilderness (to remove sin):

Leviticus 16:21, cf Isaiah 53:4 (noted above)

KJV And Aaron shall *lay both his hands upon the head of the live goat*, and confess over him all the iniquities of the children of Israel, and *all their transgressions in all their sins*, putting them *upon the head of the goat*, and shall send him away by the hand of a fit man *into the wilderness*:

NIV He is to *lay both hands on the head of the live goat* and confess over it all the wickedness and rebellion of the Israelites—*all their sins*—and put them on the goat's head. He shall send the goat away *into the wilderness* in the care of someone appointed for the task. (italics mine)

The 'goat for YHWH' dying to make intercession for transgressors as in Isaiah 53:12 has been discussed above. It is referenced again here to demonstrate correlation. This section can be seen as including the 'sprinkling blood':

Isaiah 52:15a

KJV So shall He *sprinkle many nations*.

NIV so he will *sprinkle many nations*. (italics mine)

This parallels with the Day of Atonement ritual:

Leviticus 16:15, 19

KJV Then shall he *kill the goat of the sin offering*, that is for the people... and *sprinkle it* upon the mercy seat...

And he shall *sprinkle of the blood* upon it ... *and cleanse it*, and hallow it from the uncleanness of the children of Israel.

NIV He shall then *slaughter the goat for the sin offering* for the people ... He shall *sprinkle it on the atonement cover* and in front of it;

He shall *sprinkle some of the blood on it* ... to cleanse it and to consecrate it from the uncleanness of the Israelites. (italics mine)

As discussed in chapter four, blood sacrifice has power to cleanse from sin, which in this chapter has been discussed as making it possible to have a good life, guided on the right path because:

Leviticus 17:10

KJV *For the life of the flesh is in the blood: and I have given it to you upon the altar to make an atonement for your souls: for it is the blood that maketh an atonement for the soul.*

NIV *For the life of a creature is in the blood, and I have given it to you to make atonement for yourselves on the altar; it is the blood that makes atonement for one's life.* (italics mine)

These uses in the Hebrew Bible indicate the use of PEOPLE ARE LOST (IN/BECAUSE OF SIN) alongside SIN IS (BAD) GUIDE/PATH and GOD IS (GOOD) GUIDE. The pathway between these two metaphors is based on understanding 'sin' as the 'wrong direction' and 'God' guiding 'lost people' to the 'right path'. Thus, to be on the good path will lead to a more 'purposeful' and 'moral' journey. When LIFE IS A JOURNEY, taking the 'right' path can be embodied as:

LIFE IS REACHING THE SUMMIT

while

SIN IS GETTING LOST/DEVIATING FROM THE PATH

According to Biblical passages described thus far in this chapter, this conceptual metaphor chain is based GOD IS A GOOD GUIDE (WHO SAVES PEOPLE FROM BEING LOST) (Kuczok 2018, 7). Thus God's 'servant' in the Servant Songs can be understood as interceding for God, understanding the path and seeking to guide:

SERVANT IS GUIDE

MESSIAH IS SERVANT

MESSIAH IS GUIDE

When LIFE IS A JOURNEY, and the path is impeded due to the obstacles of 'sin', a guide may help to navigate around these obstacles. However, in the Hebrew Bible, a 'toll' may be required. In these instances, a 'sacrifice' is required to return a person to the path, or to make taking that path possible. In these instances, the metaphor chain continues from above to be:

MESSIAH IS GUIDE (WHO PAYS)

MESSIAH IS PAYMENT

MESSIAH IS SACRIFICE

Other conceptual metaphors which support MESSIAH IS GUIDE are blended from LEADERSHIP IS UP and LEADERSHIP IS FORWARD MOVEMENT. LEADERSHIP IS UP & FORWARD is a mixed conceptual metaphor derived from GOOD IS UP and PROGRESS IS FORWARD MOVEMENT. The kind of leadership that a messiah embodies in the Servant Songs is purposeful and authoritative. Because a MESSIAH in Isaiah's Servant Songs is 'from above' or 'anointed (from above/heaven/by God)', they are perceived to be 'up' which is 'good' (Meier et al. 2007). 'Messiah' is both good and leads to good/better social norms. These result in a return to (God's) order (or laws/precepts). This is based on LAW/ORDER IS A CONTAINER and RIGHTEOUSNESS IS A PATH. This is a positive use of the idea of leadership, which is the kind of leader a 'Messiah' is. This is not an ordinary leader, this is someone who is from on-high, or ABOVE (UP IS GOOD).

In this section I have discussed how the conceptual metaphor of MESSIAH IS GUIDE and MESSIAH IS SACRIFICE are formed. This begins with the primary metaphors LIFE IS A JOURNEY and PURPOSES ARE DESTINATIONS. This means that A GOOD LIFE IS A PURPOSEFUL JOURNEY which can be depicted in the Hebrew Bible as being on a good path. Further, I discussed how being on a good path could be depicted as being helped, disciplined or taught by MESSIAH IS GUIDE. In the final example of 'messiah' texts from the servant songs in Isaiah (Isaiah 52:13-53:12), the path to a good life, requires a toll to be paid, not just guidance. In this passage, MESSIAH IS

SACRIFICE. In the next section I will discuss how ‘messiah’ concepts have evolved from the Hebrew Bible in the Afterlife of the Text.

6.3 MESSIAH IN THE AFTERLIFE OF THE TEXT

The title and concepts of MESSIAH and messianism originated in the Hebrew Bible for both Judaism and Christianity. However, over time MESSIAH has evolved from this origin. This evolution ‘overran and altered their Old Testament basis, primarily through association with eschatological and apocalyptic expectations that are not covered by ... use of the title’ (Waschke 2012, 291). In Hebrew Bible origins, Waschke discusses that the use of *mashiach* as concept and as a title was ‘decisively shaped by the anointing of kings’ as referred to in the Hebrew Bible and with the ‘promise’ of an eternal Davidic dynasty. The title of *mashiach* is used frequently in the Psalms and earlier narrative books of the Hebrew Bible known as the Former Prophets (Joshua, Judges, Samuel and Kings I & II) but is not used to suggest a future saviour. The ‘messiah’ in the ‘so-called messianic prophecies’ of Isaiah 45:1 and Habbakuk 3:13 (known as Latter Prophets), suggests the ‘expectations of a renewal or restoration of the Davidic dynasty found expression’ (Waschke 2012, 291). The background of ‘messiah’ is to do with the ritual anointing of a king as per Hebrew Bible tradition. ‘From the very outset, the title had theological connotations: it is always used in conjunction with YHWH (the anointed of YHWH, my/his anointed). This usage, coupled with the Jerusalem royal theology gave the title its significance as an encapsulation of religious hopes of salvation’ (Waschke 2012, 291).

There are other ways to consider ‘messiah’ and ‘messianism’ within the context of Judaism. Within this Judiastic context (excepting a small sect of Judaism – Messianic Judaism), the Messiah is still yet to arrive and is not Jesus Christ. In this associated context, the ‘age’ of the Messiah or messianic times has also been associated with Zionism (Myers 1991, 3-10). It was believed that ‘The Father would send the anointed one, the Messiah, as the deliverer’ and that the ‘claims of the Nazarean party (Jesus)’ were to be rejected (Robinson 2016, 147). There has been much scholarship on the identification of Jesus as the Messiah

within Judaism and Christianity. It is important to note that this has been a contentious issue in religious, social and political spheres though the scope of this discussion is largely beyond the purview of metaphor as discussed in this thesis.

What began as the ritual anointing of a king, changed in the history of early Christianity. While Judaism had been 'normally unwilling to identify a concrete historical figure as the expected Messiah', Christians referred to Jesus as the Messiah from within New Testament contexts onwards. He was called Jesus Messiah which occurred possibly on occasion during his lifetime, but quite generally shortly after his death (Waschke 2012, 291). This Messiah, Jesus, positions himself as a 'guide', and is quoted in John 14:6 as saying 'I am the way and the truth and the life'.

From a religious point of view, it is difficult to avoid discussing the afterlife of the Messiah within the context of MESSIAH IS JESUS CHRIST. While the term originates from the Biblical Hebrew term *mashiach*, it is not translated as 'messiah' in the KJV or NIV translations of the Hebrew Bible. However, in the New Testament, the name 'messiah' is used to describe Jesus Christ. The term 'Christ', from the Koine Greek *christos* can also be translated as 'messiah'. In the Biblical Afterlife of the New Testament, there is no Messiah other than Jesus Christ. According to Waschke, the name Messiah 'appears in every book with the exception of 3 John, which is so short that its absence is understandable and may even be accidental. Early Christianity can be called the first great messianic movement within Judaism, until – as often happens with messianic movements – it split from the parent religion' (Waschke 2012, 291). This use of the name Jesus Christ has led scholars and believers to read back into and reinterpret Hebrew Bible references to the Anointed One (the term that is used in most English Biblical translations for *mashiach*) as pointing to Jesus as the one who would be The Messiah.

Sawyer discusses how this idea is established in the New Testament book of Luke. In this book, Sawyer notes how 'Jesus' public ministry begins when he comes to Nazareth "in the power of the spirit" (Luke 4:1-16) and reads this passage in the synagogue: Today, he said, this passage has been fulfilled in your

hearing (Luke 4:21)'" (Sawyer 2018, 370). This reference in Luke 4:21 refers to Jesus reading in Luke 4:18-19 from Isaiah 61:1-2a (in the Septuagint):

The Spirit of the Lord God is upon me; because the Lord hath anointed me to preach good tidings unto the meek; he hath sent me to bind up the brokenhearted, to proclaim liberty to the captives, and the opening of the prison to them that are bound;
To proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord.

The reference to the 'spirit of God being upon him' is referred to by Jerome in 11C because of the dove in the baptism story (Luke 3:22). Here, he says, 'the "anointing" makes the reference to Christ explicit' which Luther concurs, reminds 'us that he is the Messiah, both king and priest' (Jerome and Luther in Sawyer 2018, 370). This afterlife of the Isaian text establishes Jesus as the Messiah in both Luke and the book of Matthew (cf 11:5). Sawyer discusses how:

The Luke passage follows the Septuagint closely with good news to the 'poor' rather than 'meek' (Authorized Version) or 'afflicted' (Revised Standard Version) or 'poor in spirit' (cf. Matt 5:3), and it adds 'recovery of sight to the blind', both variations that highlight ways in which Christ fulfils the prophecy (cf. Luke 6:20; 7:21-22) (Sawyer 2018, 370).

To fulfil the prophecy, Calvin notes that the Messiah is 'anointed' with:

'the gifts of the spirit which dwell in him (Rom 8:22; cf. 1 Cor 12:4)... the Church Fathers observe that the tasks assigned to the prophet nicely correspond to Christ's teaching, for example, the Beatitudes: "Blessed are the poor in spirit" (Matt.5:3) ... "those who mourn" (Matt.5:4) "those who weep" (Luke 6:21)' (Calvin, Eusebius and Jerome in Sawyer 2018, 370).

These Bible verses and subsequent teachings establish Jesus as the Messiah. This religious figure is anointed to not only guide towards atonement with God, but to make it possible to atone with God through the sacrifice of his blood.

It is this concept of blood sacrifice in which Anstis' article, *Sacred Men and Sacred Goats* (2012), can be revisited after my initial discussion of this in chapter four in regard to the Afterlife of the SCAPEGOAT (section 4.3). In this article she

discusses how Jesus is sacrificed to save humanity, and is thus sacred to this role. He is both a ‘willing victim’ scapegoat as well as the ‘goat for YHWH’. Jesus as Messiah, is both SCAPEGOAT (i.e. one who takes on others sins and removes them for at-onement with God) and saviour (i.e. through his blood sacrifice, Jesus completes the ritual of atonement)⁷⁷. While Girardian scapegoat theory renders Jesus as such, it is far more common to hear Jesus discussed as MESSIAH than as SCAPEGOAT.

This pointing to Jesus as the Messiah is further established beyond Biblical texts in George Frederic Handel’s *Messiah*. Handel’s *Messiah* is perhaps the most famous Afterlife of MESSIAH as a religious figure.

The love affair that British classical music audiences have with this oratorio [Handel’s *Messiah*] is quite phenomenal. The rousing ‘Hallelujah’ Chorus is one of the most famous pieces of Baroque choral music, and by far the most widely-known section of the work. Handel’s ability to capture the mood – from passionate rage to serene pastoral moments – is what makes this one of the most enduring choral works of all time (Classical FM 2022).

In its 52 movements, the lyrics Handel’s *Messiah* uses numerous Bible verses from the King James Version. These verses include many from Isaiah (7:14; 9:2, 6; 35:5, 6; 40:1-5, 9, 11; 52:7; 53:3-6, 8; 60:1)⁷⁸. The musical work is a jubilant celebration of the coming of the Messiah as depicted in the person of Jesus Christ. This song features repetitive use of the Hebrew exclamation of praise ‘Hallelujah! Hallelujah! Hallelujah!’ which is translatable as ‘Praise YHWH’ or ‘Praise the Lord’ and culminates in lyrical reference to Revelation 5:12-13. These verses from Revelation describe how the ‘Lamb’ (Jesus Christ the Messiah), has saved us by sacrifice through the shedding of blood. These verses bring together motifs of the MESSIAH as depicted in the suffering servant of Isaiah 52:13-53:12 as well as the use of the ‘goat for YHWH’ in the Day of Atonement ritual 16:15-19:

⁷⁷ In the concept of the MESSIAH, Judas, who is depicted by Anstis’ as the other ‘goat’ (the SCAPEGOAT) is unnecessary. In the Christian narrative, Judas is viewed as a betrayer of Jesus and not integral to the atonement narrative.

⁷⁸ Only three of these verses are from the servant songs (53:3-6) which I discuss in this chapter as an example of Hebrew Bible use of ‘messiah’ concepts.

Worthy is the Lamb that was slain, and hath redeemed us to God by His blood, to receive power, and riches, and wisdom, and strength, and honor, and glory, and blessing. Blessing and honor, glory and power to be unto Him that sitteth upon the throne and unto the Lamb, for ever and ever. Amen (Rev. 5:12-13 KJV).

This famous work, like discussing the MESSIAH in the Jewish or Christian context, is also contentious. According to some scholars, ‘there is scant reason to interpret *Messiah* as intentionally anti-Jewish’ even though ‘British Christians of Handel’s time had plenty of ingrained prejudice... Jews were held responsible for the death of Jesus, and their continuing refusal to embrace Christianity was regarded as willful defiance’ (Roberts 2010, 46). Further to this suggestion of ingrained prejudice, scholars argue that ‘Handel’s ubiquitous work... a choral masterpiece much celebrated for bringing together people of diverse backgrounds... was designed to teach contempt for Jews and Judaism’ (Marissen 2007, 169). This teaching was through Jennen’s use of ‘adapted’ versions of the King James Bible and the translations in the 1662 Book of Common Prayer⁷⁹. ‘Jennens made many small changes in the source texts. Sometimes he adopted variants found in biblical commentaries... more often he abridged and adapted as he saw fit’ (Roberts 2010, 47). It is argued that Jennens, who provided Handel with the texts, was influenced by conservative readings and typology:

The type (the event depicted in the OT) is accepted literally but at the same time is believed spiritually to prefigure its antitype. Indeed, antitypes are considered better than their types, and so the relationship is sometimes alternatively labeled [sic] one of ‘shadow’ versus ‘substance.’ This typological thinking is the driving force behind Kidder’s treatise and Jennens’s choices as well as the juxtaposition of OT and NT passages in his *Messiah* libretto (Marissen 2007, 170).

Even if one is to note the role of Jennens in inciting and structuring an anti-Jewish sentiment, Handel cannot be excused from being tarred with this sentiment also. Brown reveals the great care Handel took with his libretti, ‘squabbling’ over details with Jennens (Brown 2022, 466). Whether or not the intention of Handel

⁷⁹ The 1662 Book of Common Prayer was the principal service book of the Church of England.

or Jennens was to teach anti-Jewish sentiment through *Messiah*, as with the differences between the Jewish and Christian messiah, this is not the focus of this thesis. It is worth discussing, as it does serve to highlight that terms of Biblical origin can be utilised and have an afterlife beyond their Hebrew Bible origins, evolved again in the New Testament and then can undergo further changes due to evolutions under differing interpretations. According to Roberts, these texts can be adapted to suit the users' purposes for the users' reasons, just as Jennens did (2010, 47).

The discussion on MESSIAH in this section has thus far focused on religious areas⁸⁰. However, the Biblical concept of 'messiah' continues its Afterlife within spheres well beyond its original context, such as in Australian politics. It is important to ask the question: how does a religious saviour become a figure of note in sports, politics and other areas in a contemporary setting? Unlike SCAPEGOAT and its contemporary scholarship through Girardian Scapegoat theory, the MESSIAH concept does not have a particular theorist or theory to explain the evolution from Ancient Near Eastern 'servant' or king, via a Jewish preacher turned sacrifice into a modern saviour. This concept takes many forms in contemporary usage. For an example of how prevalent this concept is, just searching for the term 'messiah' in Google News on 11 June 2022 about 68,400 results (Google 2022). This search offers the following as top headlines in Australia, featured in their order on this day:

- No messiah, but we can rely on Albo for now (*The Australian* 2022)
- #Auspol: rinse and repeat (Scammell 2022)
- Sydney ex-member of religious sect Providence claims last 10 years of her life was a 'waste' (Turner-Cohen 2022)
- 'Extraordinary... the Messiah': Messi fires FIVE goals in 'astonishing' 80-year first (*Fox Sports* 2022)
- Modern cars can be a headache (Curry 2022)

⁸⁰ Though Handel's *Messiah* is a beloved feature of classical music programs, I argue that it should still be categorised as being a religious piece because of its content.

- Painted Dog Research poll reveals few West Australians think Peter Dutton should lead Liberal Party (Spagnolo and Law 2022)
- As the Albanese government moves into office, it's sending important signals about what Australians can expect of it (Tingle 2022)
- Christianity's return to the national history curriculum (Hastie 2022)
- Chris Bowen: Australia's New Minister For Climate Change And Energy (Bloch 2022)
- The image that sums up how Michael Voss has helped unite Carlton after 'so many false starts' (Waterworth 2022)

Half of these headlines focus on the Australian political election that had been held on 21 May 2022. These articles included the incoming Prime Minister of Australia, Anthony Albanese (Labor Party), being acceptable but 'no messiah' (*The Australian* 2022). Albanese is a leader within a party with 'no Messiah complex' (Tingle 2022). It is further affirmed that the Labor party has 'no Messiah complex', when Chris Bowen 'offers some real hope' in his portfolio as Energy Minister for the Labor party but is 'not the Messiah' (Bloch 2022). Beyond the headlines related to the Labor party, the Spectator refers to the 'the Teals'⁸¹ success as 'tactical, not messianic' (Scammell 2022). Further, in the Liberal Party after their recent election defeat and the subsequent resignation of former Prime Minister, Scott Morrison, incoming leader Peter Dutton is not viewed as a 'messiah' for his now-Opposition party (Spagnolo and Law 2022).

The other headlines vary in topic. Two are religious, two are sports-related and one is about electric cars. In the two religious ones, one refers to the 'messiah' of a religious sect being held to account for improprieties (Turner-Cohen 2022) while the other refers Christianity returning to national history curriculum in Australia, referring explicitly to Jesus Christ as 'Messiah' (Hastie 2022). Two further articles note 'the Messiah' as football related. The first refers to Lionel

⁸¹ Teal candidates is a vernacular term which is used to describe 'Independent candidates who ran on a strong climate platform in formerly safe Liberal party seats ... because they represent a voting base with conservative fiscal politics – blue is the traditional colour of the centre-right Liberal party – combined with green views on climate' (Wahlquist 2022).

Messi, a soccer player for Argentina (Fox Sports 2022), and the second to coach Michael Voss, from Australian football team Carlton (Waterworth 2022).

Finally, the last title in these headlines relates to another ‘non-messiah’. This article includes comments from newspaper readers. One writer emphatically writes that ‘electric vehicles are not the future’, which is sub-titled by the author as ‘Not the Messiah’ (Curry 2022).

Of these top headlines, the political articles refer to people who are ‘not the messiah’ and have not achieved ‘messianic’ actions. Both of these ideas position a ‘messiah’ as a supreme being or beings who will guide to assured success or ‘save’ Australia from current poverties or sins. These articles featured above point to political figures as people who are unlikely to ensure success or ‘save’ Australia, though they may do a good job in their new role. Doing a good job is not enough to be a ‘messiah’. The article on electric cars follows suit with a negation of messiah, with electric cars not adequate to ‘save’ the world (Curry 2022). This negation of messiah is used further in reference to a false or ‘so-called messiah’, a former leader of a religious sect who is now a convicted and incarcerated rapist who had abused his self-proclaimed role as ‘messiah’ to seduce women (Turner-Cohen 2022).

The headlines that do refer to people as ‘a messiah’ or ‘the messiah’ without a negative qualifier or precursor are positive about this character. The two sports articles utilize the ‘messiah’ term for a champion who has guided their team to victory with exceptional skill and/or leadership (Waterworth 2022; Fox Sports 2022). The national history curriculum article, which is the only article to explicitly refer to the Christian messiah or Jesus Christ is the only article to honour a religious figure and leader as a continuing and ongoing ‘messiah’ who is able and willing to guide all to be saved.

This ‘messiah’ concept in these news headlines demonstrates the currency of the term in religious and non-religious settings today, including in Australian politics. This section has discussed how MESSIAH concepts have evolved from a term which originated in the Hebrew Bible, evolved through the New Testament to become attached to the person of Jesus and have been further enmeshed in

every day usage through the popular classical piece, Handel's *Messiah*. The prominence of the MESSIAH as a good figure, as a leader, as a saviour also faces the issue of someone who takes on this title and has unfettered power to use for themselves, as in the case of the Providence article noted above (Turner-Cohen 2022)⁸².

6.4 SUMMARY

As discussed at the end of chapter four, SCAPEGOAT and MESSIAH metaphors share some similarities within the Afterlife of the Text, particularly through Girardian Theory and the image of crucified Christ. While these two concepts may commonly be depicted with SCAPEGOAT as a 'villain' and MESSIAH as a 'hero' in the Afterlife of the Text, these concepts are not straightforward in the book of Isaiah nor in their evolution in the Afterlife of the Text. By examining the use of these concepts within their Biblical setting in Isaiah in the Servant Songs (Isaiah 42:1-4; 49:1-6; 50:4-9; and 52:13-53:12), I have analysed the Biblical Hebrew origin of these concepts before discussing how they evolve in English translation history and the Afterlife of the Text.

MESSIAH is an important concept which is identifiable in Isaiah and can be comprehended through the conceptual metaphor MESSIAH IS GUIDE but also, MESSIAH IS SACRIFICE. This chapter initially explored how this conceptual metaphor is depicted in the Servant Songs. Following this, I analysed how the conceptual metaphor of MESSIAH is formed, including examples from other sections of the Hebrew Bible. Finally, I discussed how MESSIAH evolved in Afterlife of the Text, particularly in the New Testament in the person of Jesus as well as its Afterlife in Handel's *Messiah* and further into Australian media and political use.

⁸² Further to this 'false' messiah, within living history of the writer of this thesis, is David Koresh (taken from the Hebrew form of Cyrus, the messiah/anointed one of Isaiah 45:1) who took on the role of 'Messiah' for the 'Branch Davidians' in Waco, Texas, and performed a mass murder of his followers rather than stop being a MESSIAH. Messiah's like those mentioned in regards to Providence and Branch Davidian cults fulfil the conceptual metaphor of MESSIAH IS GUIDE (arguably this is FALSE MESSIAH GUIDES ON A BAD PATH), but are unwilling to fulfil the role of MESSIAH IS SACRIFICE. It could be argued that they create their own boundaries for atonement of sins which include acts of service, including marriages and sexual service to the 'leader'.

In the Hebrew Bible origins, SCAPEGOAT and MESSIAH both have roles to play in atonement and the ability for 'sinners' to have 'good' lives. However, in the Afterlife of the Text, these two concepts may appear with SCAPEGOAT as a 'villain' and 'messiah' as a 'hero'. The simplistic parallels (SCAPEGOAT IS VILLAIN; MESSIAH IS HERO) are further enhanced in contemporary Australian politics which I discussed in chapter five on the concept of SCAPEGOAT and will discuss in chapter seven on the concept of MESSIAH. I have suggested in previous chapters that this duality of the SCAPEGOAT is reflected in the concept of the MESSIAH. This duality is evidenced within the Biblical setting as discussed in this chapter and previously in chapter four. This duality was discussed in the context of Australian political rhetoric with a focus on SCAPEGOAT in chapter five and will now be discussed with a focus on MESSIAH in chapter seven. I have analysed how MESSIAH metaphors have been utilised in Isaiah and the Afterlife of the Text, culminating in contemporary usage and its applications to religion, music, cults, sports and politics. In the next chapter, I will explain how MESSIAH IS GUIDE appears in Australian Prime Ministerial speeches from 2000-2022.

“He was convinced that his way ahead was the right way...” (Pyne recalling his first impressions of Turnbull in Savva 2019, 311)

7. MESSIAH IN AUSTRALIAN POLITICS

In this chapter, I analyse how the conceptual metaphor grouping of ‘messiah’ has appeared in Australian Politics since 2000 by analysing Prime Ministerial speeches. This term ‘messiah’ is understood through the complex conceptual metaphor MESSIAH IS GUIDE or alternately, MESSIAH IS SACRIFICE. In chapter six, I analysed how this metaphor appears in the Biblical book of Isaiah in the so-called ‘Servant Songs’ (Isaiah 42:1-4; 49:1-6; 50:4-11; 52:13-53:12).

To analyse the MESSIAH in contemporary Australian political rhetoric, I have selected two Prime Ministerial speeches to discuss as case studies. These speeches were selected because they feature MESSIAH concepts. The use of MESSIAH concepts was investigated through using the search engine feature of the Parliament of Australia’s Hansard reporting of parliamentary proceedings (Parliament of Australia 2022). Through the use of Hansard to identify usage of MESSIAH and related concepts as discussed in the prior chapter in section 6.2, I selected two speeches because of their use of MESSIAH concepts, their prominence in the Australian political landscape and their effect on policy or parliamentary changes. These two speeches are former Prime Minister Julia Gillard’s speech colloquially known as *The Misogyny Speech* (Gillard 2012) and former Prime Minister Scott Morrison’s press conference speech on floods, Parliament House culture and women’s safety (Morrison 2021b). I argue that these speeches represent typical examples of how Biblical metaphors are included in contemporary Australian political speeches. Further, I argue that these two speeches represent the two types of MESSIAH that appear in Isaiah’s Servant songs, the GUIDE and the SACRIFICE that have been discussed previously in chapter six of this thesis. These speeches offer case studies of Gillard as GUIDE and Morrison as both GUIDE and offering SACRIFICE.

In this chapter, MESSIAH metaphors are analysed, which mirrors the previous analysis in chapter five of SCAPEGOAT metaphors in Australian politics. At

the end of this chapter, I summarise my findings and discuss how the MESSIAH metaphor grouping has evolved in contemporary Australian political rhetoric in ways that follow or vary from Biblical precedents. I will now discuss the first case study of the messiah metaphor grouping: Julia Gillard's *Misogyny Speech* (Gillard 2012).

7.1 CASE STUDY 1: GUIDING AWAY FROM MISOGYNY – GILLARD'S 'MISOGYNY SPEECH'

I will not be lectured about misogyny by this man, I will not... (Gillard 2012, 11581)

The first female prime minister of Australia, Julia Gillard, held office from 2010 to 2013 and led, arguably, one of the most productive governments in Australian history (Evershed 2013). Gillard was 'other' in every way to previous Prime Ministers. Not only was she the first female Prime Minister, she took on this role as an unmarried woman in a defacto relationship. She had no children. She was also an atheist (Goldsworthy 2013, 14). One of the key areas in which Gillard did not differ from the majority of her predecessors, and indeed her successors, was in being a white Australian of European descent. Because of her otherness, she faced challenges and criticisms that other Prime Ministers did not face. Her challenges were not solely due to this. Gillard had also replaced then Prime Minister, Kevin Rudd, due to significant issues within the party attributed to Rudd's 'megalomaniac' and 'micromanaging' leadership style (AAP 2015). This 'leadership spill' was capitalised upon by the Tony Abbott's Opposition, who case her as duplicitous, which was further exacerbated by the nickname of 'Ju-liar' which was coined and used mercilessly (Kwek 2011; Attard 2012; Edis 2014). As indicated in the *Misogyny Speech*, Gillard and then Opposition Leader, Tony Abbott, had different ideas on what kind of 'path' or 'guide' was right for a purposeful, forward moving journey. What is also evident is the personal attacks that Gillard received by Abbott as well as his lack of awareness that he was not

well-perceived amongst women as holding their best interests at the forefront of a future Australia.

Julia Gillard's *Misogyny Speech* (2012) resounded with the Australian public in a significant way (Goldsworthy 2013, 4), as well as with international audiences: 'Within a week... the speech was reportedly viewed more than a million times on YouTube (The Sydney Morning Herald, 16 October 2012). The speech and its public reception were the subject of intense media analysis and commentary in the Australian press as well as being widely reported in British and North American media (Megalogenis 2012; Summers 2013; Wright and Holland 2014; Donaghue 2015; Clark 2016; Worth et al. 2016). The speech has now been viewed on YouTube 3.8 million times, and has over fifty-five thousand 'likes' (ABC News 2012, figures current when accessed on 16 Nov 2022).

As the first female Prime Minister in Australian history, Gillard continuously faced criticism due to her gender (Goldsworthy 2013; Summers 2013; Chapple 2014, 7; Wright and Holland 2014, 15; Clark 2016, 79). This speech is indicative of this gendered criticism. While the words of the speech were powerful, part of the power of Gillard's speech was in the anger and emotion of delivery. However, this delivery was not well-received by all. It seemed to 'violate' norms for women in leadership and confirmed for some the 'stereotypes of women as too emotional for the rigours of high office' (Wright and Holland 2014 as cited in Donaghue 2015, 168). Concurrently, this anger coupled with eloquence 'was identified by commentators as crucial factors in "riveting" the audience' (Donaghue 2015, 168)

In this section I will analyse Julia Gillard's *Misogyny Speech* (Gillard 2012). Gillard's speech is in response to, then Leader of the Opposition, Tony Abbott's motion to dismiss Peter Slipper as Speaker of the House due to the 'vile anatomical references to which this Speaker appears to be addicted in his text messaging' (Abbott 2012, 11574). The speech has three main points and this analysis will occur through examining the speech from start to finish, identifying the conceptual metaphors that undergird each section as well as analysing the delivery of speech in its phrasing and rhetorical devices. I will then discuss how this speech is a salient example of MESSIAH IS GUIDE as well as an important speech in contemporary Australian politics.

In the first paragraph of the speech, Gillard physically stands up to make her response to Abbott's speech. This is parliamentary standard. However, she also notes verbally that she is doing this with the phrase 'I rise':

I rise to oppose the motion moved by the Leader of the Opposition, and in so doing I say to the Leader of the Opposition: I will not be lectured about sexism and misogyny by this man. I will not. The government will not be lectured about sexism and misogyny by this man—not now, not ever. The Leader of the Opposition says that people who hold sexist views and who are misogynists are not appropriate for high office. Well, I hope the Leader of the Opposition has a piece of paper and he is writing out his resignation, because if he wants to know what misogyny looks like in modern Australia he does not need a motion in the House of Representatives; he needs a mirror. That is what he needs (Gillard 2012, 11581). (italics mine)

Gillard's use of the phrase 'I rise' is common in use when a speaker is rising to speak in Parliament. Though common, the use of 'up' is indicative of speakers taking an 'up' or 'good' path which situates the speaker on 'higher ground'. Here it depicts her as above Abbott on a moral level. This phrasing is drawn from the conceptual metaphor GOOD IS UP. The 'up' path that Gillard wants to lead Australia on is away from 'sexism and misogyny'. As discussed above, Abbott has just finished moving a motion for the dismissal of another minister, then Speaker of the House, Peter Slipper, who was 'now on the public record as part of a sexual harassment allegation. Abbott was sufficiently outraged by the "vile, anatomically specific language" to move to have Slipper sacked' (Goldsworthy 2013, 4). In moving to have Slipper sacked, Abbott accuses Gillard of failing to act on Slipper because it suits her political interest. In contrast, he positions himself as being more concerned about the moral compass of this member of parliament, and also implies his concern with the moral compass of parliament and, metonymically, of Australia. Abbott further accuses Gillard of sexism if she fails to act according to his motion and dismiss Slipper. Gillard does not acknowledge Abbott as having a capacity to speak on this issue as he is also on a 'bad path' with Slipper – a path of sexism and misogyny.

In this opening paragraph, Gillard labels Abbott as sexist, misogynistic and hypocritical. This is her first main point. She claims that Abbott is a hypocrite to move that Slipper should be removed from his 'high office' due to Slipper's sexual

improprieties and sexist remarks. Her speech highlights Abbott's sexism and hypocrisy through utilising previous sexist remarks made by Abbott. She dismisses him as being unable to make any comment on others' sexist behaviour due to his inability to recognise his own. She declares that he needs to analyse his own actions (as a sexist) rather than attempting to vilify and scapegoat others (Slipper and Gillard) for his political gain. In Abbott's view, political gain in this regard would see Gillard losing the respect and support of the House of Representatives and establishing himself as the one who can lead Australia on the right path, that he is MESSIAH IS GUIDE. Gillard rebukes this notion. She does this by demonstrating what a poor guide Abbott is in regards to equality.

As Prime Minister, Gillard had experienced extreme, well-documented sexism from parliament, ministers, media and the public (Summers 2013). This had also come directly from the Opposition leader, Tony Abbott. Prior to the misogyny speech, Donaghue states that she had 'barely acknowledged this sexism. In this sense, Gillard was a model post-feminist woman, "choosing" to show herself as beyond the reach of sexism by, as Anna Goldsworthy (2013) puts it, "just getting on with it"' (Donaghue 2015, 164). This speech indicates that she will no longer put up with sexism.

Within the first paragraph, Gillard utilises emphatic pronouns and prohibitives: '*I will not... be lectured about sexism and misogyny by this man. I will not.*' She then broadens the subject to a collective noun, '*The government will not be lectured...*' before calling for a response – Tony Abbott to resign – citing that, 'if he wants to know what misogyny looks like in modern Australia *he does not need a motion in the House of Representatives; he needs a mirror. That is what he needs*' (italics mine). Her further use of repetition in triplicate, echoes the earlier triplicate prohibitive regarding lecturing (Gillard 2012, 11581). In this opening paragraph she relies on the idea that Abbott is unfit to GUIDE. According to this speech, he is an 'unfit guide' because he is sexist and hypocritical. 'The Australian people were told not to trust Abbott... a man who was misogynistic, out-of-touch and a social conservative (sotto voce, Catholic)' (Kane 2014, 11).

Gillard begins her second paragraph by noting Abbott's 'repulsive double standards'. In this paragraph she highlights how Abbott has said that women are inferior and do not belong in power:

In a discussion about *women being underrepresented in institutions of power* in Australia, the interviewer was a man called Stavros and the Leader of the Opposition said: *'If it's true, Stavros, that men have more power, generally speaking, than women, is that a bad thing?'* Then a discussion ensued and another person being interviewed said, 'I want my daughter to have as much opportunity as my son,' to which the Leader of the Opposition said: 'Yes, I completely agree, *but what if men are by physiology or temperament more adapted to exercise authority or to issue command?'* Then ensues another discussion about women's role in modern society, and the other person participating in the discussions says, 'I think it's very hard to deny that there is an underrepresentation of women,' to which the Leader of the Opposition says, 'But *there's an assumption that this is a bad thing.*' This is the man from whom we are supposed to take lectures about sexism! And it goes on (Gillard 2012, 11581). (italics mine)

Gillard continues to discuss his 'double standards' about sexist comments by quoting him on abortion, which points to Abbott's belief that women need their sexuality controlled by men is in accord with Lakoff's STRICT FATHER⁸³ mode of leadership (Lakoff 2016, 65-107):

I was very offended personally when the Leader of the Opposition as minister for health said, 'Abortion is the easy way out.' I was very personally offended by those comments. He said that in March 2004, and I suggest he check the records (Gillard 2012, 11581).

The above comment on abortion that Gillard cites is not an isolated example of Abbott's views on women's sexuality. The social conservative was at other times described as being 'mad as a cut snake' about abortion (Wallace 2008). The idea of an unwanted child that is 'murdered' is in direct opposition to Abbott's Catholic beliefs. The way to avoid abortion is in his mind, through control of a woman's sexuality (Lakoff 2009, 266-69, 440-41). Abbott has spoken about sexuality in out-of-date ways previously. His position on sexuality is made evident in comments such as virginity 'is the greatest gift you can give someone' (Rodgers 2010; O'Brien 2014) and 'I think there does need to be give and take on both sides, and this idea

⁸³ I discuss STRICT FATHER and NURTURANT PARENT models in chapter 2, sections 2.2 and 2.3.

that sex is kind of a woman's right to absolutely withhold, just as the idea that sex is a man's right to demand I think are both, they both need to be moderated, so to speak' (ABC 2009). These comments reveal a conservative attitude towards human sexuality. Gillard goes on to detail more comments which indicate Abbott's perceivably sexist views on women.

She continues to highlight Abbot's hypocrisy and sexism by citing his belief that women could only be concerned about carbon pricing due to their roles as housewives:

I was also very offended on behalf of the women of Australia when in the course of the carbon pricing campaign the Leader of the Opposition said, '*What the housewives of Australia need to understand as they do the ironing.*' Thank you for that painting of women's roles in modern Australia! (Gillard 2012, 11581) (italics mine)

With Abbott as a guide, the household roles are MAN IS STRICT FATHER, WOMAN IS HOUSEWIFE. In these roles, the man controls the fiscal, moral and sexual aspects of the house while the woman attends to the domestic duties under the guidance of her husband. Her role is to serve the house and the husband. Gillard says that this is not the future of Australia. Instead of leaning on the 'traditional' Australia of Howard and Abbott, Gillard draws on Rudd's idea of a future Australia as discussed in chapter five of a new future for Australia with better equality, in this instance a 'modern Australia' for modern women.

Gillard discusses further evidence of the importance of these traditional roles to Abbott through his personal attacks on her as an unmarried woman:

Then, of course, I am offended by the sexism, by the misogyny, of the Leader of the Opposition catcalling across this table at me as I sit here as Prime Minister, 'if the Prime Minister wants to, politically speaking, *make an honest woman of herself*'—something that would never have been said to any man sitting in this chair (Gillard 2012, 11581). (italics mine)

Gillard then attacks the Leader of the Opposition's enablement of the sexist language of others:

I was offended when the *Leader of the Opposition* went outside the front of the parliament and *stood next to a sign that said 'Ditch the witch'*. I was offended when the Leader of the Opposition *stood next to a sign that described me as a man's bitch*. I was offended by those things. *It is misogyny, sexism, every day from this Leader of the Opposition*. Every day, in

every way, across the time the Leader of the Opposition has sat in that chair and I have sat in this chair, that is all we have heard from him (Gillard 2012, 11581). (italics mine)

While Howard utilised the ‘terrorism’ ‘dog-whistle’ for validation for the entry to the Iraq war as discussed in chapter five, Abbott’s dog-whistling was achieved by angry public voices. This was a technique that Howard had used before him, giving room for ‘the people’ to speak in ways that he would endorse by failing to condemn them in a timely fashion, if at all (Maddox 2005, 145-150). The example that Gillard has spoken of above was Abbott responding to media at an anti-carbon tax rally in 2011 in front of posters like ‘Ju-liar, Bob Brown’s bitch’ and ‘Ditch the Witch’ (Woodley and Colvin 2011). While Abbott expressed regret a day later with: ‘I think a few people went over the top’, Gillard could not understand why this was not a ‘career-ending moment for Tony Abbott’ (Massola 2015). She was not alone in this. Other ministers reported that they ‘felt like vomiting... “Ditch the Witch” is bad enough but, “Ju-liar”, “Bob Browns bitch” is so deeply and utterly offensive’ (Craig Emerson as cited in Massola 2015).

Following these former comments about women’s inability to self-govern their sexuality, their inappropriateness to lead, their roles in modern Australia, and his lack of concern with other peoples’ sexist slurs, Gillard summarises her belief that Abbott is not only a sexist and a misogynist. He is also a hypocrite. These personal characteristics are her first main point. She states that he should not be listened to on issues of sexism due to his sexist track record:

Apparently he has woken up, *after this track record and all of these statements*, and has gone, 'Oh dear, there is this thing called sexism; oh my lord, there is this thing called misogyny. Who is one of them? The Speaker must be because that suits my political purpose.' *He does not turn a hair about any of his past statements; does not walk into this parliament and apologise to the women of Australia; does not walk into this parliament and apologise to me for the things that have come out of his mouth—but he now seeks to use this as a battering ram against someone else. This kind of hypocrisy should not be tolerated, which is why this motion from the Leader of the Opposition should not be taken seriously* (Gillard 2012, 11581). (italics mine)

After summarizing the reasons why HYPOCRITE IS BAD GUIDE and why Abbott should not be taken seriously on this matter, Gillard adds another layer to his hypocrisy – his love of talking *about* responsibility, but seeming unwillingness to take responsibility. His lack of responsibility is her second main point:

Second, the Leader of the Opposition is always wonderful at walking into this parliament and *giving me and others a lecture about what they should take responsibility for*. He is always wonderful about *everything that I should take responsibility for*, now apparently including the text messages of the member for Fisher⁸⁴. *He is always keen to say others should assume responsibility, particularly me* (Gillard 2012, 11581–82). (italics mine)

She accuses him of not taking responsibility for his actions, his words or the actions of others which he should have responded to by referring to specific instances of him ignoring ‘vile’ remarks or actions:

Can anybody remind me whether the Leader of the Opposition has taken any responsibility for the conduct of the Sydney Young Liberals and the attendance at their event of members of his frontbench? Has he taken any responsibility for the conduct of members of his political party and members of his frontbench, who apparently when *the most vile things were being said about my family raised no voice of objection... No-one walked out of the room, no-one walked up to Mr Jones and said that this was not acceptable*. Instead, it was all viewed as good fun—until it was run in a Sunday newspaper, and then the Leader of the Opposition and others started ducking for cover. He is big on lectures on responsibility; very *light on accepting responsibility himself for the vile conduct of members of his political party* (Gillard 2012, 11582). (italics mine)

The event that Gillard is referring to occurred in 2012. It was a \$100-a-head Sydney University Liberal Club President's dinner held at the Waterfront Restaurant at the Rocks. Notorious talkback host, Alan Jones, was the keynote speaker at a ‘packed’ Liberal Party event in which he said: ‘Every person in the caucus of the Labor Party knows that *Julia Gillard is a liar, everybody...* The old man⁸⁵ recently *died a few weeks ago of shame. To think that he has a daughter who told lies every time she stood for Parliament*’⁸⁶. Recordings of the speech included laughter from

⁸⁴ The ‘member for Fisher’ is a metonymy for Peter Slipper, cf. Speaker of the House, the Speaker et al.

⁸⁵ The ‘old man’ is Julia Gillard’s father, John Gillard.

⁸⁶ These kind of comments by Jones were not isolated. He had previously used violent and insulting language towards Gillard including ‘I’m putting her into a chaff bag and hoisting her into the Tasman Sea’, ‘her behaviour in imposing the carbon price “borders on the treasonous”’, and in

the crowd. He went on to say that the Liberal party was ‘weak’ in regards to Gillard ‘because they’ve been brainwashed by the media to “oh back off, she’s a woman, go easy”’. His speech was heralded by the club as ‘brilliant’ and Jones as ‘the nation’s most influential broadcaster!’ (Goldsworthy 2013, 9).

Following the event, when the comments were published in *The Sun Herald*, Liberal Party and University Liberal Club members claimed they ‘did not hear’ the comments regarding the ‘old man’ (Aston 2012). Abbott’s reply took a similar level of responsibility to his previous ‘people got a bit carried away’ with ‘I didn’t hear that [comment]’. He excused himself from responsibility personally and at a broader Party level. He did not comment on whether he agreed with Jones – he avoided it. In this, he does not take on the ‘stain’ of the ‘sin’ of hearing and not challenging Jones’ comment. Though he claimed ‘not to hear that comment’, he echoed the phrase of ‘died of shame’ in his motion to remove Slipper as speaker, a point which Gillard reflects on later in the speech with clear passion. Before she does this though, Gillard discusses Abbott’s prior support of Slipper.

Abbott’s personal flaws of hypocrisy, sexism, lack of responsibility and ‘bad path’ behaviour are further highlighted by Gillard through the previous personal history of Abbott with Slipper. Abbott’s personal relationship with Slipper, not Slipper’s present indiscretions, is the focus of Gillard’s third main point. Slipper had been favoured in preselection by the Coalition for elections from 1984-2010:

I turn to the third reason... Let me remind the opposition, and the Leader of the Opposition particularly, about their track record and association with the member for Fisher. I remind them that the National Party preselected the member for Fisher for the 1984 election, that the National Party preselected the member for Fisher for the 1987 election, and that the Liberal Party preselected the member for Fisher for the 1993 ... 1996 ... 1998 ... 2001 ... 2004 ... 2007 ... and then for the 2010 election. Across many of those preselections Mr Slipper enjoyed the personal support of the Leader of the Opposition (Gillard 2012, 11582).

agreement with a caller to his radio show (regarding Gillard) ‘Yeah, that’s it. Bring back the guillotine!’ (Aston 2012).

Gillard notes that prior to this day Abbott had also spoken highly of Slipper and referred to him as a personal friend:

I remind the Leader of the Opposition that on 28 September 2010, following the last election campaign when Mr Slipper was elected as Deputy Speaker, the Leader of the Opposition ... went on:
... the member for Fisher will serve as a fine complement to the member for Scullin in the chair. I believe that the parliament will be well served by the team which will occupy the chair in this chamber ... I congratulate the member for Fisher, *who has been a friend of mine for a very long time* who has served this parliament in many capacities with distinction ...

They are the words of the Leader of the Opposition on record about his personal friendship with Mr Slipper and on record about his view of Mr Slipper's qualities and attributes to be the Speaker (Gillard 2012, 11582). (italics mine)

In this regard, the Speaker has gone from 'friend' in Abbott's previous comments to 'enemy' in his present motion. Gillard also 'reminds' Abbott and the House of Representatives that even though he is now 'unable to work with' Slipper, the extent of Abbott's personal relationship with him is indicated by his attendance as an invited guest at Slipper's wedding:

I remind the Leader of the Opposition, who now comes in here and speaks about Mr Slipper and apparently his inability to work with or talk to Mr Slipper, that he attended Mr Slipper's wedding. Did he walk up to Mr Slipper in the middle of the service and say he was disgusted to be there? Was that the attitude he took? No, he attended that wedding as a friend (Gillard 2012, 11582). (italics mine)

Gillard pushes her point further by implying that Abbott would have known of Slipper's sexist behaviours, yet had failed to bring these to light before it suited his political interests:

The Leader of the Opposition is keen to lecture others about what they ought to know or did know about Mr Slipper but, with respect, I would say to the Leader of the Opposition that, *after a long personal association, including attending Mr Slipper's wedding, it would be interesting to know whether the Leader of the Opposition was surprised by these text messages. He is certainly in a position to speak more intimately about Mr Slipper than I am and many other people in this parliament are, given this long personal association (Gillard 2012, 11582). (italics mine)*

In all of these comments, Gillard makes it clear that Abbott is complicit in the stain of Slipper's 'sin'. Drawing again from Abbott's phrasing, Gillard makes it particularly clear that he is happy to be friends with controversial people until it does not suit him. In this, she refers to the previous comments from Jones which Abbott has employed in his motion – the phrasing 'die of shame':

Then, of course, the Leader of the Opposition comes into this place and says:

'And every day the Prime Minister stands in this parliament to defend this Speaker will be another day of shame for this parliament; another day of shame for a government which should already have died of shame' (Gillard 2012, 11582). (italics mine)

She directly recalls Jones' comments and rebuts both Jones' and Abbott's comments. She denies that she, her father or her government should be ashamed. Instead, it is Abbott who should be ashamed:

I indicate to the Leader of the Opposition that the government is *not dying of shame—and my father did not die of shame*. What the Leader of the Opposition should be ashamed of is his performance in this parliament and the sexism he brings with it (Gillard 2012, 11582). (italics mine)

Goldsworthy comments that while 'Tony Abbott claimed to have used the word shame in parliament at least seventeen times before the Jones incident', his use of the phrase 'died of shame' in the prior motion was a clear citation of Jones's comment (Goldsworthy 2013, 10). Further, Goldsworthy notes this use of 'shame' to also be a pointed attack at Gillard as 'the shame of original sin was the shame of a woman' which has been employed by Jones, Abbott and key members of the Opposition (Goldsworthy 2013, 9). This 'shame' of a woman' has previously been referenced by Gillard in this speech in Abbott's sledges of her needing to become an 'honest woman' instead of 'living in sin' in her de facto relationship. Goldsworthy calls this 'a coded reminder of the prime minister's marital status. The expression "honest woman" thus serves a double purpose, as it reinforces Abbott's branding of Gillard as a liar' (Goldsworthy 2013, 10).

Though Abbott has attempted to shame Gillard to compliance as well as 'stain' Gillard with Slipper's 'sins', Gillard makes it clear that Abbott's sexism and

hypocrisy, as described throughout this speech, does not diminish the offence of Slipper's actions:

On the conduct of Mr Slipper and on *the text messages which are in the public domain*—I have seen the press reports of those text messages and *I am offended by their content*. I am offended by their content because *I am always offended by sexism*. I am offended by their content because *I am always offended by statements which are anti women* (Gillard 2012, 11583). (italics mine)

She again compares the offence of Slipper's actions which are on public record, with the offence of Abbott's comments which are also on public record but have not faced equal interrogation or action:

I am offended by those things in the same way I have been offended by things the Leader of the Opposition has said and no doubt will continue to say in the future—because if this, today, was an exhibition of his new feminine side, I do not think we have much to look forward to in terms of changed conduct (Gillard 2012, 11583). (italics mine)

While Abbott has levelled Slipper's impropriety to act in this role due to his 'moral' indiscretions, Gillard debates from the side of proper parliamentary and legal order. This debate over 'the political norms expected of the constitutional leader of the House of Representatives (the Speaker)' is referred to by Uhr as a 'rare rhetorical contest' (Uhr 2014, 156). This 'contest' is not the 'appropriate path' for this discussion according to Gillard. Gillard continues to discuss the 'appropriate path' which is to let the judicial process come to a conclusion and to make parliamentary decisions once the legal proceedings are completed, rather than to excuse Slipper based on Abbott's motion:

I am offended by those text messages but I also believe that, in making a decision about the speakership, this parliament should recognise that *there is court case in progress and that the judge has reserved his decision*. Having waited for a number of months for the legal matters surrounding Mr Slipper to come to a conclusion, this parliament should see that conclusion. I believe *that is the appropriate path forward* and that people will then have an opportunity to make up their minds with the fullest information available to them (Gillard 2012, 11583). (italics mine)

Following her discussion of appropriate 'path' for dealing with Slipper, she again condemns Abbott as a hypocrite with 'double standards' who is unfit to act as judge on these matters, because he is 'peddler' of 'double standards':

... what I will not stand for—what I will never stand for—is *the Leader of the Opposition coming into this place and peddling a double standard*. I will not stand for him *peddling a standard for Mr Slipper* he would not set for his himself, *peddling a standard for Mr Slipper* he has not set for other members of his frontbench or *peddling a standard for Mr Slipper* which has not been met by the people—such as his former shadow parliamentary secretary, Senator Bernardi—who have been sent out to say the vilest and most revolting things. *I will not ever allow the Leader of the Opposition to impose his double standards on this parliament* (Gillard 2012, 11583). (italics mine)

Gillard again contends that sexism and hypocrisy are the main issues, not Slipper's conduct, as she begins the concluding statements of her speech. She restates that sexism is unacceptable no matter who the proponent is:

Sexism should always be unacceptable. We should always conduct ourselves in such a way as to make it clear that *it is unacceptable* (Gillard 2012, 11583). (italics mine)

She notes Abbott as a proponent who holds and professes sexist attitudes:

The Leader of the Opposition says, 'Do something.' He could do something himself if he wanted to deal with sexism in this parliament. *He could change his behaviour, he could apologise for all his past statements and he could apologise for standing next to signs describing me as a witch and a bitch—terminology now objected to by the frontbench of the opposition. He could change standards himself* if he sought to do so. (Gillard 2012, 11583). (italics mine)

Again, she paints him as a hypocrite with 'double standards':

But we will see none of that from the Leader of the Opposition, because on these questions he is incapable of change. *He is capable of double standards but incapable of change* (Gillard 2012, 11583). (italics mine)

In Gillard's perception, Abbott's disregard for order, for Gillard in her role as sitting prime minister is also unacceptable. The next phase of Gillard's speech points to a different path in which respect for proper process and women in general is of high importance. In this she contrasts Abbott is a 'bad guide', with herself as 'good guide', and positioning herself in the conceptual frame of 'messiah'. To achieve this, she suggests that 'sense and proper process' should be the governing parliamentary principle, rather than Abbott's path of hypocrisy and abuse:

His double standards should not rule this parliament.

Good sense, common sense and proper process are what should rule this parliament. That is what I believe is the path forward for this parliament, not the kinds of double standards and political game playing imposed by the Leader of the Opposition, who is now looking at his watch because, apparently, a woman has spoken for too long—I have, in the past, had him yell at me to shut up (Gillard 2012, 11583). (italics mine)

As a summary of the speech, Gillard rejects Abbott's motion to remove Slipper as she deems Abbott as incompetent to judge fairly. He is incompetent to judge what constitutes sexist behaviour because Abbott is sexist. Further, as a friend to Slipper, Abbott cannot now divorce himself from his own complicity in Slipper's sexist remarks and attitudes. Instead, Abbott should reflect on his own attitudes and take responsibility for his own actions and comments:

But I will take the remaining seconds of my speaking time to say to the Leader of the Opposition that I think the best course for him is to reflect on the standards he has exhibited in public life, on the responsibility he should take for his public statements, on his close personal connection with Peter Slipper and on the hypocrisy he has displayed in this House today (Gillard 2012, 11583). (italics mine)

Ultimately, Gillard claims that women in public life and in Australia in general are entitled to a better standard than what Abbott provides, indicating that she knows what that standard is, and has spent her speaking time guiding towards it:

On that basis, because of the Leader of the Opposition's motivations, this parliament should today reject this motion, and the Leader of the Opposition should think seriously about the role of women in public life and in Australian society—because we are entitled to a better standard than this (Gillard 2012, 11583). (italics mine)

In this final line, Gillard's speech returns to her initial conceptual metaphor of GOOD IS UP. A better standard is a higher standard. Abbott is offering a standard of sexism and hypocrisy according to Gillard's speech. With her as guide she states that Australia will rise above this. Having discussed the 'misogyny speech' from start to finish, I will now discuss why this is an example of MESSIAH IS GUIDE in Australian politics as well as its importance in the Afterlife of contemporary Australian politics.

Gillard's 'misogyny speech' is a salient example of MESSIAH IS GUIDE in Australian Prime Ministerial speeches. In this speech she offers a clear path for a

better future for Australia. This speech utilises rhetoric that bears similarity in conceptual metaphor and phrasing to the biblical origin of MESSIAH metaphors. As discussed in chapter 6, the Servant Songs in Isaiah are framed by SERVANT IS GUIDE. In Gillard's misogyny speech, she positions herself as being 'up' through phrases like 'I rise' and describing her opposer, Abbott, as being of low in regards to sexism due to his double 'standards' and hypocrisy. This is akin to two passages from the Servant Songs from the NIV translation (see below). In the first, Gillard's call to be heard by the House of Representatives above Abbott as a better 'guide' away from sexism, is similar to Isaiah's proclamation:

Isaiah 49:1

Listen to me, you islands;
hear this, you distant nations:

In the second, her confrontational language stating that 'every day' in 'every way' Gillard has received Abbott's sexism and misogyny and mocks his desire to 'be taken seriously'. She confronts him directly as a sexist, rather than in allusion. This style of confrontation bears similarity to the following passage:

Isaiah 50:8

Who then will bring charges against me?
Let us face each other!
Who is my accuser?
Let him confront me!

Beyond these two verses noted above, there are further similarities between her speech phrasing from the Hebrew Bible beyond the Servant Songs. Gillard's speech is reminiscent of Isaiah 41:10 in her solidarity with any and all who have experienced sexism from Tony Abbott or others:

So do not fear, for I am with you;
do not be dismayed...
I will strengthen you and help you;
I will uphold you with my righteous right hand.

She establishes herself through the speech as someone who has experienced sexism and misogyny. She has stood strong in the face of this and offers Australian women a path away from this – with her as guide, rather than with Abbott the hypocrite. Further her disgust in Abbott’s hypocrisy, her positioning of him as a bad ‘guide’ echoes Amos 5:21-23:

I hate, I despise your religious festivals;
your assemblies are a stench to me.
Even though you bring me burnt offerings and grain offerings,
I will not accept them.
Though you bring choice fellowship offerings,
I will have no regard for them.
Away with the noise of your songs!
I will not listen to the music of your harps.

Abbott’s apparent desire to be ‘taken seriously’ are a ‘stench’ to Gillard as his claimed disdain for sexism and misogyny is false and should not be listened to.

The above is not claiming that Gillard is flawless. Nor is the above claiming that Gillard is ‘the messiah’ or ‘a messiah’. What I have argued thus far in this chapter is that Gillard uses language that is girded by the conceptual metaphor of MESSIAH IS GUIDE. As Gillard is pointing to herself as a ‘good guide’ and Abbott as a ‘hypocrite’ and ‘bad guide’, I have exemplified echoes of the characteristics of the Biblical concept of MESSIAH that correlate with Gillard’s speech. Following on from her speech, Gillard was both seen as a ‘powerful hero’ and as ‘conniving, weak and unscrupulous by disingenuously accusing her detractors of sexism for base political purposes’ (Donaghue 2015, 175). The difference between these two understandings is in the recipients’ framing to either accept Gillard as guide and ‘messiah’, or to reject her as an ‘anti-messiah’ who is not leading or guiding for a purposeful future for Australia.

While Gillard’s misogyny speech is girded by the conceptual metaphor MESSIAH IS GUIDE, the following speech by Scott Morrison is girded by both this and the alternate ‘messiah’ metaphor in Isaiah’s Servant Songs: MESSIAH IS SACRIFICE. I

will now discuss Scott Morrison's press conference speech which touches on similar issues to Gillard's misogyny speech but from a differing view.

7.2 CASE STUDY 2: SACRIFICE IN PARLIAMENT – MORRISON, FLOODS AND BRITTANY HIGGINS

But for me and my house, the House I work in here, then we must take responsibility. It is our problem here, it is our responsibility here, and I'm committed to dealing with that. We must do better in this place, all of us, and in our country we must do better (Morrison 2021b, 4).

Scott Morrison's press conference on 23 March 2021 (Morrison 2021b) was delivered when he was under pressure to act on allegations of sexual assault within Parliament House. The speech and its public reception were the subject of intense media analysis in the Australian press as Morrison continued to struggle to be seen as current, rather than old fashioned, and out of touch due to his overt Pentecostal faith. Morrison's speech came following a number of 'gaffes' in how he spoke about women and their safety (Savva 2019, 359). As one of the most performatively devout Christian Prime Ministers in Australian political history, criticism of Morrison often implied that his poor performance or backwards ideas were due to his faith (Hartcher 2018; Savva 2019, 345, 361, 376; Boyce 2019; 2021). This speech by Scott Morrison suggests someone who is concerned with justice and is willing to take responsibility for errors in judgment that he, and those under his leadership, have made. This press conference lacked the emotional intensity of Gillard's *Misogyny* speech and has not garnered the same level of media attention that the *Misogyny* speech did. As such, there are no academic resources published in forums outside media coverage comment on this press conference. What has been studied, and likely will continue to be studied, is the presence of Morrison's faith in his political life as well as his character as a politician prior to and while being prime minister.

In this section I will analyse the transcript of Scott Morrison's press conference on 'floods; ADF assistance; recovery operations; financial support; Parliament House culture; women's safety; quotas; and Phil Gaetjens report' which occurred on 23 March 2021 (Morrison 2021b). For the purposes of easily

referencing this speech, I will henceforth refer to this as ‘Morrison’s speech’ or the ‘press conference’. Further, the focus of my following analysis will be on floods and the intertwined topics of Parliament House culture and women’s safety as these are the two focal points of the speech. As such, I complete the analysis at the end of Morrison’s formally prepared speech, prior to questions from the press core.

Morrison’s speech is in response to significant flooding in northern New South Wales in early 2021 as well as allegations of the rape of a Liberal party staffer named Brittany Higgins, by another Liberal party staffer, in the office of a Liberal party minister. The analysis of Morrison’s speech will occur through examining the speech from start to finish, identifying the conceptual metaphors that undergird each section as well as analysing the delivery of speech in its phrasing, Biblical referencing and rhetorical devices. I will then discuss how this speech is a salient example of MESSIAH IS GUIDE and MESSIAH IS SACRIFICE as well as an important speech in contemporary Australian politics, particularly in regards to religio-political rhetoric.

In his opening paragraph, Morrison makes it clear that his speech will address two points which he positions as ‘taking action’ by the phrasing ‘do two things’:

I wanted to do two things this morning. I want to address again the rather disturbing and continuing serious situation with the floods occurring across the eastern seaboard of Australia and the further reports I’ve received from Emergency Management today. And I wanted to address, following that, the rather disgusting and shocking reports that were brought to my attention last night in those reports (Morrison 2021b, 1). (italics mine)

In this first paragraph he speaks plainly about addressing the seriousness of the floods and positions himself as an authority due to his up to date information from emergency services. He then speaks euphemistically about the allegations of rape while positioning them as a ‘bad path’. This bad path needs to be ‘cleaned up’ so it can be a ‘good path’. In joining these two ideas, he acknowledges that LIFE (FOR AUSTRALIA) IS A JOURNEY, that is currently on a path clogged by obstacles. This impeded path is dangerous and deadly in regards to flooding and similarly, dangerous in regards to the ‘stain’ of bad, sexual behaviour. In both aspects,

Morrison is both willing to warn of the dangers and willing to make the clean-up possible, because GOOD IS CLEAN.

With his first topic, the clean-up of flooded areas, he makes it clear he is taking it seriously because it is a serious situation. He spends time discussing the gravity of the situation:

First of all, though, let me address the *very serious situation* that is being confronted... I'm advised that the rain and flood situation does remain dynamic and *extremely complex*. This is a *complex weather event* and *becoming more complex*... *Flood and severe weather warnings have been issued across the country*... A trough on the east coast has merged with a trough extending from the Kimberleys to the east coast, *causing heavy rain and inland flooding*. This is moving to being *not just a coastal event*... the floodwaters remain persistent ... inland flooding... heavy rain and that is causing flash flooding (Morrison 2021b, 2). (italics mine)

The above section depicts disaster. The flooding is pervasive and includes coastal, inland and 'flash' (i.e. sudden) events. Morrison uses the first descriptive paragraph to set a mood of urgency in the need to deal with the severity of these weather events. Because of this severity, he sets out prohibitions on behaviours to stay on a 'good path' of safety, personal and collective:

If it is flooded, forget it. Don't go out for a surf... Don't do it. You are putting not only yourself at risk but you are putting those who would have to come to your assistance at risk also and we urge you to follow the instructions of the local authorities on all of these matters (Morrison 2021b, 2). (italics mine)

These local authorities are positioned as trustworthy. The wording alludes to these authorities being the ones coming to the aid of those who step off of the 'good path' and take prohibited actions. This is so that people adhere to Morrison's prohibitions. It also demonstrates that Morrison has the 'best' guides to lead from this disaster:

We have *very competent agencies* in our states. They do an *excellent job in these situations*... I want *Australians to feel confident*, particularly those in the affected areas, that *the state agencies and authorities* who are tasked with these responsibilities *are very, very good at their job*. They are *world-class* (Morrison 2021b, 2). (italics mine)

The 'responsibilities' mentioned are to ensure that people are kept safe and that the floods will be cleaned up. The physical paths will be cleared so that towns and

communities can once again resume their ‘purposeful journeys’. Morrison makes it clear that he is ‘hands-on’ and controlling this process and liaising with all leaders who are involved:

I will be meeting with the Defence planners today and Emergency Management later this morning to run over the plans for the deployment of those supporting cleanup operations, so we are in a position to give a swift response to the New South Wales Government as we possibly can (Morrison 2021b, 2–3). (italics mine)

Morrison is proving that he is capable of leading in times of disaster. This is important, as Morrison has previously been significantly criticised for his mishandling and absence during the disaster of bushfires in December 2019 (White 2019).⁸⁷ In this speech, with this disaster, he depicts himself as capable of dealing with this kind of disaster and will guide people on or to a good path. He, or established authorities, will remove obstacles from the good path, so that they can return to living their normal active ‘good path’ Australian lives, once again enjoying hobbies like surfing. Either way, Morrison is here to clean up. This sets a scene of him as a capable MESSIAH IS GUIDE.

Following his discussion of flooding, he establishes that he is also capable and willing to clean up the ‘disaster’ in Parliament House. It is important to note that while Morrison refers unambiguously to flooding and heavy rains, he does not use the word ‘rape’, ‘sex’ or ‘assault’. His speech changes from specific language to euphemism:

Now to the other rather disturbing events of those further reports last night. I am shocked and I am disgusted. It is shameful. It is just absolutely shameful. I was completely stunned, as I have been on more than one occasion over the course of this last month. All of this has been shocking, it has been disgraceful (Morrison 2021b, 3). (italics mine)

The ‘rather disturbing events’ and ‘reports’ that Morrison refers to are the alleged rape of a Liberal staffer named Brittany Higgins. Higgins had reported that she was sexually assaulted by a colleague, Bruce Lehrmann, in March 2019 while she

⁸⁷ The bushfires continued from Dec 2019-March 2020. Morrison was on holiday in Hawaii when the bushfires began and did not end his vacation to lead. When criticized, he said ‘I don’t hold a hose, mate, and I don’t sit in a control room’ and it was ‘unfortunate’ that the fires coincided with his family holiday (White 2019).

was drunk and asleep in the office of a government minister in Parliament House, Canberra⁸⁸. Though this case was a catalyst for Morrison's speech, he acknowledges that there are more reports of the Coalition being on a 'bad path' of sexism in which the journey is full of obstacles. Unlike with the floods, where the path is clogged by disaster, these 'events' have clogged the 'path'. According to Morrison, these reports have been occurring for one month and are problems faced by all parties and their staffs. It is a house in chaos and out of order. Over the past month, Morrison has recognised that his 'house' needs cleaning up. This uses the conceptual metaphor GOVERNMENT IS A HOUSEHOLD:

It has been *a month* of such reports. Indeed, reports involving the conduct of staff and of Coalition Government members and ministers, but as you know, reports of equally disgraceful and despicable activities anonymised of those working in other parties. *We must get this house in order. We must put the politics aside of these things and we must recognise this problem, acknowledge it, and we must fix it. This has been a very traumatic month* (Morrison 2021b, 3). (italics mine)

He includes himself in the trauma of the past month. He plans to take action and 'get this house in order'. He alludes that this house is out of order because of 'politics' creating chaos as well as because of problems being unrecognized and allowed to fester. For Morrison, Higgins' alleged assault, or 'revelations' as he puts it was a trigger for the 'traumatic month'. He uses linguistic expressions drawn from the conceptual metaphor SEXUAL ASSUALT IS GARBAGE/FAECES:

It began with Brittany Higgins and her revelations of what took place in this very building. I remember that day very well, I was equally shocked and stunned at receiving that news also. These events have triggered, right across this building, and indeed right across the country, women who have put up with this rubbish and this crap for their entire lives, as their mothers did, as their grandmothers did. It has been going on, we have been talking about it in this place for a month, they have been living with it for their entire lives. And the women listening to me today know that to be true (Morrison 2021b, 3). (italics mine)

Throughout the speech, Morrison continues to speak of his emotions and the event as 'electricity', that is, from the conceptual metaphor, EMOTION IS ELECTRICITY. By engaging terms like 'shocked' and 'stunned', Morrison indicates he

⁸⁸ This case has concluded. For further details and an example of the coverage from during the case see Khalil and Atkinson 2022. For analysis about the conclusion of the case, see Byrne 2022.

was startled by these reports. It depicts him as being unaware of how ‘out of order’ his house was while also acknowledging that women have been ‘triggered’ by these ‘events’. He does acknowledge that while this is a ‘disgraceful act’ which is a ‘topic of discussion’, these kinds of assaults are something that women have lived with throughout history, and he specifically discusses this in terms of Australian women:

So as much as it has been *a topic of discussion here*, and around the country specifically in relation to these disgraceful acts, *it is something that has been the lived experience of Australian women* for a very long time, and I welcome the spotlight that has now been placed on this. (Morrison 2021b, 3). (italics mine)

With a ‘spotlight’ on the ‘problems’, they can be acknowledged and ‘fixed’. Rather than explaining how this ‘spotlight’ which has shown problems will help to ‘fix’ the issue and ‘save’ Australia, Morrison begins to acknowledge that his personal responses may have added to the sense he did not understand how serious Higgins’ allegations were:

I acknowledge that *many have not liked or appreciated some of my own personal responses* to this over the course of the last month, and I accept that. Whether that was seeking to openly share how I try and deal with such traumatic events, *people mightn’t like the fact that I discuss these with my family... No offence was intended by me saying that I discuss these issues with my wife*. Equally, that is *in no way an indication that these events had not already dramatically affected me* already at that point (Morrison 2021b, 3). (italics mine)

Morrison’s discussion with his wife which had not ‘intended’ to ‘cause offence’ had done so because he had to be instructed to think about rape victims as human beings, or specifically, as if it were his own daughter. This was a ‘helpful’ way of Morrison’s wife ‘clarifying things’ so that he now understood the rape allegations to be serious (Crellin 2021). Further to needing his wife to explain that rape allegations required serious action and empathy, Morrison mentions a further serious ‘gaffe’ within the same paragraph:

Equally, I accept that *many were unhappy with the language that I used on the day of the protests*. No offence was intended by that either. I could have chosen different words (Morrison 2021b, 3). (italics mine)

Morrison evades an apology by ‘acknowledging’ that people did not ‘appreciate’ his recent comments on the ‘day of the protest’. The comments he refers to here took place eight days earlier on 15 March 2021. They were his reflections on the March4Justice rallies occurring around in Australia as a sign of Australia’s ‘vibrant democracy’ but were not well received. He seemed to praise the activities of those protesting about violence against women, while implying that he did not need to take further action than upholding democracy. Those protesting violence against women were told:

Not far from here, such marches, even now, *are being met with bullets* — but not here in this country. It is a triumph of democracy when we see these things take place. (Morrison 2021a, 2195). (italics mine)

The idea that the protesters who were protesting gendered and sexual violence, did not receive violence as a response from authorities was called ‘so out of touch it’s astounding’ (Julian Hill MP as cited in AAP 2021). Adam Bandt, a Greens senator tweeted ‘Scott Morrison to marchers today: be glad we didn’t shoot you. Unbelievable. He just doesn’t get it’ and echoed by fellow Green, Sarah Hanson Young, ‘The Prime Minister thinks women should be grateful that we weren't shot for rallying for our own safety and respect at rallies across the country today’ (AAP 2021). Morrison’s admission that he ‘could have chosen different words’ do not detract from him being perceived as out of touch with the real issue (violence against women) and a real response (his suggestion that bullets are not unreasonable to deal with protestors). Despite these comments and how poorly they were received, Morrison claims to be ‘dramatically impacted’ by ‘these events’. Again Morrison includes himself in this ‘traumatic’ event, adding into it that he is also distressed by women feeling like he did not ‘hear’ them. He is more concerned about the latter than the former, according to the following section:

But what I am *even more concerned* about, *even more importantly*, I acknowledge that many Australians, especially women, *believe that I have not heard them*, and that *greatly distresses me*. I have been doing a lot of listening ... but not for the first time... the keen interest I have shown in these issues... But particularly on these issues over the last month, I have been listening carefully... (Morrison 2021b, 3) (italics mine)

He then goes on to show the knowledge he has gained through his ‘listening’ and returns to the topic of women, violence and Australian culture. He uses a similar formula to his discussion of floods. He firstly describes the issue, then prescribes a prohibition. Instead of ‘don’t do it’ as with the floods, now it is ‘that is not ok’:

Let me tell you what I have heard. *Women are too afraid to call out bad behaviour* for fear of losing a job or being intimidated in the workplace. *That is not OK*, and it is not their fault, it is the environment we have allowed to be created. *Women who are afraid to walk to their car from the train, and they carry their keys in their hand like a knife for fear of being attacked. That is not OK.* That is not acceptable that in this country, a country as great as Australia, women walk daily in that fear. I have heard that *women are overlooked, talked over*, by men, whether it is in boardrooms, meeting rooms, staff rooms, in media conferences, in cabinets, or anywhere else. *Overlooked and treated like they have nothing valuable to contribute.* I have heard about being *marginalised*, women being *intimidated*, women being *belittled*, women being *diminished*, and women being *objectified*. *That is not OK.* I have heard that *women, when offered a job, take the salary offered* because they do not feel they can ask for more, whereas the blokes do and they get it. *That is not OK* (Morrison 2021b, 3–4). (italics mine)

The guideline of what is and is not ‘ok’ is weaker than his flood prohibitions of ‘don’t do it’. The above paragraph appears to acknowledge that woman facing issues of safety are less deadly, than flooding and are not as severely prohibited. Following the ‘not ok’ guidelines, Morrison does strengthen the prohibition and prescribes the correct path, positioning himself as a ‘guide’ for the ‘good path’:

Whether this is unconscious deafness and blindness, or whether it is wilful malevolence, that is behind all of this, *it must be acknowledged, it must be called out, and it must stop* (Morrison 2021b, 4). (italics mine)

He goes on to implore everyone to join with him on this good path. Like floods and natural disasters, ‘this’ can be fixed by being cleaned up. Instead of roadways and structures, it is society that will be fixed through the prohibitions of bad paths, and a good path clearly laid out by cleaning away the obstructions, collectively:

That is all our job. It is my job, it is my Minister’s jobs, it is my Members and Senators jobs, it is your job. This is not something that is of a scale that any government can simply change, it is something *we must change as a society* because we know it happens all over this country (Morrison 2021b, 4). (italics mine)

While Morrison does not claim to be a STRICT FATHER for the whole country, he will be this for ‘his house’. He plays on ‘house’ as a location of family (house) in which the father still largely has power (cf Lakoff 2016, 65-107), and a metonymy for Parliament House (House) in which the Prime Minister has power (GOVERNMENT IS HOUSEHOLD; PRIME MINISTER IS FATHER [OF GOVERNMENT]). In both houses, he is a STRICT FATHER who wants the country to reach its destination of ‘doing better’:

But for me and my house, the House I work in here, then we must take responsibility. It is our problem here, it is our responsibility here, and I'm committed to dealing with that. We must do better in this place, all of us, and in our country we must do better (Morrison 2021b, 4).

If Morrison can ‘clean house’ in the ‘House’ that rules the country, he can get the country onto a good path. Morrison’s phrase ‘as for me and my house’ mirrors words from the Hebrew Bible in Joshua 24:15b (NIV):

But as for me and my household, we will serve the Lord.”

This phrasing is potentially a dog-whistle for Christians. It is an interesting choice as it moralises the need to ‘take responsibility’. He goes on to talk about forgiveness and indulgences – two further loaded terms from a religious point of view. Forgiveness ‘dog-whistles’ directly to the Christian narrative of the forgiveness of sins and the grace that is required for this to be done. ‘Indulgences’ is a key part of Catholic doctrine with capacity to purchase forgiveness. In one sentence he states and repeats his request for forgiveness, within the context of this being an ‘indulgence’. The indulgence he wants granted is that of equal rights for women:

Now, forgive me the indulgence, forgive me this indulgence. I want women to have at least the same opportunities and the same voice and the same safety as men in this country (Morrison 2021b, 4). (italics mine)

But why would he require forgiveness for this? Because, as he states (see below) it is a ‘vested interest’. He wishes to be forgiven for promoting women’s rights and safety because of his wife and daughters, who he expresses collectively as ‘girl’ which is based on a conceptual metaphor of WOMEN ARE CHILDREN. He admits

that he speaks primarily on behalf of his familial 'house'. It personalises the issue for him:

I have the deepest of vested interests. Criticise me if you like, for speaking about my daughters, but they are the centre of my life. My wife is the centre of my life. My mother, my widowed mother, is the centre of my life. They motivate me every day on this issue. They have motivated me my entire life, they have taught me the values and the faith that sustains me every single day in this job, which is why I am here. I owe them everything. And to them, I say to you girls, I will not let you down (Morrison 2021b, 4). (italics mine)

His phrasing of 'criticise me if you like' subtly positions himself in the place of victim. This 'victim' type of speech can be viewed as an attempt to engender sympathy in an attempt to avoid criticism.

He then speaks to his other 'House' – Parliament House. However, he does not ask for forgiveness on this nor does he request equality. Instead, his language suggests that he is a man who listens and acts:

To the many other women who are in this place, who have shared their stories with me, I thank you for your feedback, your honesty, your support, your counsel, and your courage. I know there are plenty of women who work in this building today, whether they be Members or Senators or Ministers, shadow ministers, staff, journalists, who say why should I bother? Why should I bother? Why shouldn't I just walk away? There has never been a more important time for women to stand in this place. I want to see more women in this place. I have done many things to get more women in this place and I intend to do more. I have put more women in my Cabinet than any other Prime Minister ever has before, and I look forward to doing more. I need women to stand with me as we go about this, as we stand together, I need them to stand in this place, I need them to stand right where they are, I need them to continue to blaze the trail right here this place. I admire their courage and I call on it (Morrison 2021b, 4). (italics mine)

His language is that of one who is acting on behalf of, or doing things for women. His self-referential language positions him as subject/agent. These phrases include 'I have done', 'I want to see', 'I intend to do more', 'I have put', 'I look forward', 'I need women', 'I need them', 'I need them', 'I admire' and 'I call'. As his speech concludes, Morrison changes from being a 'guide' to the 'good path' to being a leader who will 'sacrifice' to make the 'good path' possible. This is not the first time Morrison has alluded to being persecuted. In 2016 when legislation about

same-sex marriage was under discussion, Morrison referred to himself as empathising with the LGBT community due to also ‘having been exposed to hatred and bigotry for the views I’ve taken’ (AAP 2016). His comments were in response to a speech by Labor senator Penny Wong who implied that ‘straight politicians don’t understand the level of abuse same-sex people cop’ (AAP 2016). To stay ‘strong’ on the issue of women’s equality, Morrison calls on women to stand with him. This will support him as ‘victim’, as he is ‘persecuted’ by those who say he is out of touch and those who say equality is not necessary.

In Morrison’s speech he discusses two disasters. The first is flooding and he speaks about this clearly, plainly referring to floods, closed roads and prohibited use of beaches and waterways. The second disaster he frames ambiguously. He speaks about sexual harassment and rape by referring to them as ‘events’ and ‘reports’ that are ‘disgraceful’, ‘disgusting’, ‘disturbing’. While he does mention Brittany Higgins specifically, he acknowledges the ‘issue’ more broadly as a women’s issue of safety and positions himself as an advocate for women. He becomes an advocate through ‘cleaning house’ and through wanting equality for his wife and daughters. He is clear that his house comes first, and he will take care of his familial house, just as he will take care of the Parliament House. He is a STRICT FATHER and leader of his house, and The House. As such he is strong as a guide who will save those states who are flooded by guiding them to safe practices. He continues on as guide when beginning his discussion of Brittany Higgins in particular and women’s safety in general. However, he takes on more than the role of guide towards the end of the speech. He is willing to sacrifice to guide people which then is undergirded by the conceptual metaphor MESSIAH IS SACRIFICE. The sacrifices he makes will be to ‘clean’ Parliament house. This may require the sacrifice of staffing changes, personal changes and more. Whether Morrison is willing to follow through on this sacrifice of ‘house-cleaning’, his speech offers himself and his House up to serve a better Australia.

Aside from the previously noted overt biblical reference in regards to ‘me and my house’, Morrison’s speech bears similarities the Servant Songs in Isaiah. I discussed these in the prior chapter as representing a salient exemplar of messiah metaphors in the Hebrew Bible. These four ‘songs’ are undergirded by the two

messiah metaphors that I have discussed in Morrison's speech, MESSIAH IS GUIDE and MESSIAH IS SACRIFICE. I will now discuss the correlations.

Firstly, he has been given a position of power. In this, he is servant who will speak out to guide onto a good path. He is speaking out as an anointed guide, speaking out in judgment by saying 'I say that to people... I say to you' (Morrison 2012, 2, 4, 6), similar to:

Isaiah 42:1, 3b-4 (my translation)

... I have put my spirit upon him, he will bring judgment to the nations.

... in truth he will bring forth judgment.

He will not grow faint and he will not be discouraged until he has set judgment on the earth; the coastlands will wait for his law.

Morrison is like the Servant, who is listening 'I have been doing a lot of listening... listening carefully' (Morrison 2021b, 3), and committed to guiding forward 'I will not let you down', 'we must do better' (Morrison 2021b, 4, 8):

Isaiah 50:4-5 (my translation)

The YHWH God has given me a learned tongue...
he awakens my ear to hear as one who is taught.
Lord YHWH opened my ear,
I did not rebel and I did not turn back.

Morrison is unafraid to contend with people who disagree with him. He will address their disagreements with prohibitions. In his speech, he firstly prohibits endangering behaviour with flooding with the repeated words 'don't do it'. Secondly, in regards to 'bad' behaviour with women, his contention is made clear through the repeated phrase 'that is not ok'. In Isaiah, the Servant welcomes the opportunity to confront people on a 'bad path':

Isaiah 50:8 (my translation)

He who justifies me is near.
Who will contend with me?
Let us stand up together.
Who is my accuser?
Let him confront me.

This confrontation, ultimately, requires sacrifice to bring healing. With Morrison, it is sharing in the collective trauma for the sake of healing ‘this has been a very traumatic month’ (Morrison 2017, 3, 5, 8). In Isaiah, his physical body faces trauma for the sake of collective healing:

Isaiah 53:5 (my translation)

He was pierced for our transgressions, crushed for our iniquities, the chastisement that brought us peace was upon him and by his wounds we are healed.

Morrison has called for healing by cleaning House for the sake of women, and cleaning up roadways for the sake of flood victims. In this, he has positioned himself as a guide who can lead parliament and Australia on a good path.

In this section, I have discussed Morrison’s press conference covering floods, Parliament House culture and women’s safety. In this speech he utilises similar framing to describe how he will clean up from flooding and natural disaster as well as clean up his ‘House’ from poor cultures relating to women. He is overt in dealing with flooding but he is less overt in discussing the ‘disgusting events’ including rape, sexual assault and oppression of women. He uses direct religious rhetoric ‘me and my house’, as well as undergirding his speech with MESSIAH IS GUIDE and MESSIAH IS SACRIFICE metaphors.

7.3 SUMMARY

In this chapter, I have analysed the afterlife of the term ‘messiah’ and concept MESSIAH in Australian politics, specifically in prime ministerial speeches from the year 2000 to the present setting. This followed from last chapter in which I analysed the MESSIAH metaphor grouping that originated in the Biblical book of Isaiah in the Servant Songs (Isaiah 42:1–4; 49:1–6; 50:4–11; 52:13–53:12). The overarching complex conceptual metaphor in that chapter was MESSIAH IS GUIDE and MESSIAH IS SACRIFICE which created the framework for the discussion of prime ministerial speeches in this chapter. I argued that these complex conceptual metaphors are expressed through the accumulated blending of primary metaphors related to lost people needing a clear path or being steered

away from the sin (SIN IS DEVIATING FROM THE PATH and LIFE IS A PURPOSEFUL JOURNEY in which GOD IS GUIDE). In both of these chapters I have discussed the evolution of MESSIAH from its Biblical origins in Isaiah into the so-called Afterlife of the Text. In these two chapters I have demonstrated that MESSIAH has evolved from their Biblical origins and are used contemporary non-religious settings like Australian politics.

In this chapter, I analysed MESSIAH in contemporary Australian political rhetoric, primarily through two speeches which I utilised as case studies. These two speeches were chosen based on their use of MESSIAH concepts, their prominence in the Australian political landscape and their role as turning points in the public perceptions of both leaders. These two speeches were former Prime Minister Julia Gillard's speech colloquially known as *The Misogyny Speech* (Gillard 2012) and former Prime Minister Scott Morrison's press conference speech on floods, Parliament House culture and women's safety. These case studies represent typical examples of how Biblical metaphors are included in contemporary Australian political speeches. Further, I argued that these two speeches represent the two types of messiah that appear in Isaiah's Servant songs, the 'guide' and the 'sacrifice' that have been discussed previously in this thesis. In this chapter I argued that Gillard used language that is girded by the conceptual metaphor of MESSIAH IS GUIDE. Gillard pointed to herself as a 'good guide'. While Gillard's misogyny speech is girded by the conceptual metaphor MESSIAH IS GUIDE, the speech by Scott Morrison is girded by both this and the alternate 'messiah' metaphor in Isaiah's Servant Songs: MESSIAH IS SACRIFICE. In this speech he utilises similar framing to Gillard, to describe how he will both clean up from flooding and natural disaster as well as clean up his 'House' from poor cultures relating to women. He is overt in dealing with flooding, he is less overt in discussing the 'disgusting events' including rape, sexual assault and oppression of women. Unlike Gillard, he uses direct religious rhetoric and ultimately the MESSIAH IS SACRIFICE metaphor; like Gillard he girds his speech with the MESSIAH IS GUIDE metaphor.

'Messiah' is a term that originated in the Hebrew Bible. I explored that term in the context of Isaiah's Servant Songs and the Afterlife in the Bible in chapter six within the context of the conceptual metaphors MESSIAH IS GUIDE and MESSIAH IS SACRIFICE. In this chapter, I explored how the conceptual metaphors that undergird the Servant Songs have continued to have an Afterlife beyond religious settings to be not only useful but also powerful in contemporary prime ministerial speechmaking.

8. CONCLUSION

Even Australians, sceptical as we are of American Messianic rhetoric, crave something more than *stuff getting done*. We want to believe in something, evinced by how readily so many of us embraced the heady promises of Kevin '07. The politicians the public rallies around – Obama, Hawke, even Rudd – are those with a strong enough sense of self to exude magnetism. Unfortunately for the female politician, our culture rewards female narcissism above female egotism. And charisma is not available to the egoless (Goldsworthy 2013, 14).

8.1 INTRODUCTION

With a decline in Christianity in Australia, it could be expected that the Bible is no longer a relevant text within vernacular and civil settings. However, I have discussed in this thesis how Biblical rhetoric, Biblical allusion and metaphors have been used beyond the Biblical era and are still used in contemporary settings, including politics. This investigation was undertaken through using Lakoff and Johnson's Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) as an analytical tool. I have argued that Australia is not post-Biblical, even if religious status is in decline (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2013; 2017c; 2022b). I have argued this through investigating two important metaphors which originated in the Hebrew Bible. Those metaphors feature characters of ongoing interest. They are 'scapegoat' and 'messiah', from Leviticus and Isaiah respectively. I investigated them within the context of their Biblical origins, in translation history and in the Afterlife of the Text. This investigation culminated in a discussion of how SCAPEGOAT and MESSIAH concepts are in use in contemporary Australian Prime Ministerial speeches.

The Bible is an important book in literary and religious histories. It has offered frameworks for positive and negative history making. I highlighted in the introduction to this thesis how this has occurred through slavery and anti-slavery, creation of caring charities as well as the need to create these due to alienation and oppression of people groups that the care groups were designed to support. Further the Bible has been used to support significant conflict between different religions, different denominations of Christianity and those not deemed to be following a 'Christian' lifestyle (Harris 1994; Lieb, Mason, and Roberts 2011; Lake 2018; Sheridan 2018). In recent years, this has included debates on same-sex

marriage (or better, marriage equality), abortion, Indigenous rights and the environment (Lohrey 2006; Lakoff 2016; Brown 2017; Poulos 2020; Anstey 2019). These debates, policy discussions and societal impacts have continued, even though Australia and other Westernised countries face continuing decline in those who categorise themselves as Christians (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2013; Pew 2015; Australian Bureau of Statistics 2017c; 2022b).

This thesis is titled “‘A voice cries out in the wilderness’”: The political afterlife of ‘scapegoat’ and ‘messiah’ metaphors, from the Hebrew Bible to contemporary Australian political rhetoric’. The quote is taken from Isaiah 40:3 which calls for the ‘way’ to be prepared for YHWH⁸⁹, the sacred name for God in Judaism. Though this verse is not cited in the thesis body, it is a fitting quote to title this thesis as it encompasses the wilderness or desert location akin to where ‘sins’ are removed or exiled through the vehicle of a ‘scapegoat’ in the Levitical Day of Atonement. It also encompasses a ‘way’ or ‘path’ being made for the Judeo-Christian God, who is ‘returning’ to ‘save’ the people. This act of saving is the act of a ‘messiah’. These interlinked ideas of the ‘scapegoat’ and ‘messiah’ metaphors, from Leviticus and Isaiah respectively are discussed in this thesis. I have explored the evolution of these concepts from their origins in Leviticus chapter 16 in the Day of Atonement ritual and in the Servant Songs of Isaiah (Isaiah 42:1-4; 49:1-6; 50:4-9; and 52:13-53:12). Using these origins in the Biblical Hebrew text of the Hebrew Bible or Christian Old Testament as a foundation, this thesis is an examination of these texts in translation history, the Afterlife of the Text and beyond into contemporary Australian politics. As part of this discussion, I have demonstrated that religious or quasi-religious dialogue has continued in the public sphere, regardless of whether the settings and speakers are religious or not. I have argued that this is partly because Australia has been shaped by Biblical laws and concepts but also because our language is embedded with these concepts (Howe and Hughes 2003; Kugel 2007; Lakoff 2016; Lake 2018; Sheridan 2018). Though the laws, concepts and language are far from their Ancient Near

⁸⁹ The sacred name in the Hebrew Bible does not have Masoretic pointing as traditionally, the name of God is not to be said aloud as it is too sacred. Some have added vowels in to make it easier to read. This may be written in the work of others as ‘Yahweh’ or ‘Jehovah’.

Eastern settings, the embeddedness of terms like ‘scapegoat’, ‘messiah’, ‘drop in the bucket’ and ‘cross I bear’ demonstrate how the language of the Bible continues to be present in contemporary English, including in politics. This occurs in a number of ways but the primary avenue of discovery for this thesis has been in the analysis of Biblical rhetoric in contemporary political speeches. I analyse this history and evolution through using Lakoff and Johnson’s Conceptual Metaphor Theory as an analytical tool to study the evolution of SCAPEGOAT and MESSIAH concepts from Biblical origins in the books of Leviticus and Isaiah and into the ‘Afterlife of the Text’ in two prominent English translations, the King James Version and the New International Version. This focus on the Afterlife of the Text culminates with analyses of SCAPEGOAT and MESSIAH use in contemporary Australian politics.

This thesis is comprised of eight chapters. The first three introduced the topic, reviewed literature in the fields of Conceptual Metaphor Theory, the Afterlife of the Text and Biblical studies as related to the books of Leviticus and Isaiah and summarised the method in which the topic of the Biblical and political Afterlife of SCAPEGOAT and MESSIAH metaphors is approached. Chapters four and five are analyses of SCAPEGOAT metaphors. Chapters six and seven are analyses of MESSIAH metaphors. This final chapter, chapter eight, is a summary of my analysis of both SCAPEGOAT and MESSIAH metaphors and a concluding analysis on what the political Afterlife in Australia is for these concepts. Within this chapter, I continue to discuss how SCAPEGOAT and MESSIAH are valent concepts that are important to understanding how the ‘removal’ of the ‘stain’ of ‘sin’ is expressed in contemporary politics. I also offer a summary of where future studies on these areas of inquiry may eventuate before making my concluding comments.

The main body of this thesis (chapters 4-7) is structured in interrelated pairs. Chapters four and six are similar as examinations of Biblical origin and Afterlife; chapters five and seven are similar as examinations of contemporary Australian Prime Ministerial speeches. They also function as conceptual pairs: four and five are analyses of SCAPEGOAT from the Hebrew Bible to contemporary Australia politics; six and seven are analyses of MESSIAH from the Hebrew Bible to contemporary Australia politics. The conceptual correlation occurs through the

examination of SCAPEGOAT and MESSIAH from Biblical origin through to political Afterlife. The execution of the discussions across the pairings differed. I will firstly discuss the similarities in analysis of the Biblical origin pairing of four and six, and explain how and why they differ in execution. Secondly, I will discuss the similarities in the analysis of the political pairing of five and six, and explain how and why they differ in execution.

In both chapters four and six, I have examined a concept of Biblical origin in its Hebrew Bible setting and discussed evolution of the usage within English language of SCAPEGOAT and MESSIAH concepts. In chapter four, I focussed on the Levitical ‘scapegoat’ whose ultimate metaphorical expression is in SCAPEGOAT IS ATONEMENT. In chapter six, I focussed on the ‘servant’ in Isaiah who is understood as a ‘messiah’ figure. The dominant expression for this is in MESSIAH IS GUIDE, though it also is expressed as MESSIAH IS SACRIFICE. They follow the same method of beginning with study of the Biblical Hebrew texts, their translation history and the Afterlife of the Text. However, the term ‘scapegoat’ is used minimally, only four times in the Hebrew Bible and all within the Biblical corpus of Leviticus 16. The translation of this term between Biblical Hebrew and English has a number of differences. Further, the Afterlife of SCAPEGOAT has been studied intensely in contemporary academia in Girardian scapegoat theory. Alternately, the term ‘messiah’ is used widely in the Hebrew Bible as well as in the New Testament, though often through the Greek word *christos* (Christ). As the term is more widely used, a corpus was selected from the book Isaiah. This corpus was the ‘Servant Songs’ which are arguably MESSIAH texts. The translation of ‘messiah’ as a word is not as diverse or corrupted in its evolution from Biblical Hebrew to English as the term ‘scapegoat’ is, so diversity of translation has constituted less focus within the chapter on MESSIAH. The Afterlife of MESSIAH has also not had a similar level of scrutiny in contemporary academia as SCAPEGOAT has. In summary, while the same method has been applied, the outcome is a paired chapter and not a replicated one.

In both chapters five and seven, I have analysed how concepts that originated in the Hebrew Bible are utilised in contemporary Australian politics. I have done this through qualitative study of the key terms ‘scapegoat’ and

‘messiah’ as well as through the interrogation of four important speeches by Prime Ministers. I have endeavoured to cover important speeches in Prime Ministerial speeches since the year 2000. However, in analysing four speeches by four different politicians in different years on different topics has meant that the analyses differ in length and engagement. In both political chapters, there is one speech by a Liberal Prime Minister and one by a Labor Prime Minister. The Labor Prime Ministers are both pushing for significant cultural change; the Liberal Prime Ministers are not. The dynamic of these speeches is different. As such, the analysis is not equal. Like the speeches, the analyses differ in length, content, aim and delivery. The aim of these political chapters is to study the use of SCAPEGOAT and MESSIAH concepts and not make an argument for quality of policy, politician or political party. Any perceived bias as such is coincidental and due to unconscious cognition of the author.

8.2 FUTURE STUDIES

Biblical metaphors may be engrained in Australian vernacular but have been understudied for their role in this area. In this thesis, I have discussed how linguistic shifts through translation processes make some metaphors difficult to recognise as originating from Biblical Hebrew, the language in which the text of Leviticus and Isaiah was written. When used in the Afterlife of the Text, such as in contemporary Australian political rhetoric, Biblical metaphors may lack their expected linguistic expressions and this may lead to them not being recognised as having Biblical origin. Christianity has faced significant decline, with Christianity no longer the ‘norm’. This has fostered a perception that Australia is becoming a secular nation. In contrast to this perception it is my argument that Biblical metaphors remain part of Australian culture through the use of their concepts in Australian vernacular.

For future studies, the parameters of the study could be expanded to include more speeches by more politicians across a broader timeframe. It would be interesting to analyse whether certain concepts like SCAPEGOAT and MESSIAH have increased or decreased in their use across Australian political speeches and

whether they have historically been closer to the Biblical text. It has been my argument that these concepts are used as authoritative, moral markers because of Australia's Christian heritage. Further qualitative and quantitative study across different parameters could expand on this argument. The study could also be expanded to discuss how Australian political speeches may correlate with other concepts from within the Biblical texts, such as the personification of GOD IS FATHER in the Hebrew Bible with fatherhood in the Australian context.

8.3 CONCLUDING REMARKS

Speech is the essential tool of offence, defence and justification, but political speech, in a world where an ill-chosen word can invite censure or even calamity, must be carefully judged and sometimes carefully crafted. (Kane 2014, 9)

This thesis has investigated a narrow range of speeches within a relatively large scope of political activity. This investigation has focussed on SCAPEGOAT and MESSIAH concepts from the Biblical Hebrew contexts of Leviticus and Isaiah and discussed their evolution across more than 2000 years of history to analyse their role in contemporary Prime Ministerial speeches. Far away from their original settings in cultic Ancient Near Eastern practices for the 'scapegoat' and a diasporic Israel in Babylon and surrounds for the 'messiah', these concepts are useful and powerful in Australian vernacular and in Prime Ministerial speeches. As a colony of the British Empire, Christianity has been part of colonisation in Australia. As such, Christian heritage has had ongoing cultural and linguistic implications in Australia's development as a country and its politics (Lake 2018, 221-249). It has been my argument that SCAPEGOAT and MESSIAH concepts have been key to this development, regardless of whether Australians believe in God, Satan, Azazel or the importance of goats to save us from our sins.

APPENDIX A – SCAPEGOAT TEXTS IN LEVITICUS

Leviticus 16:8

My Translation	King James Version	New International Version
And Aaron will cast lots for two goats – one lot for YHWH and one lot for <i>azazel</i> .	And Aaron shall cast lots upon the two goats; one lot for the Lord, and the other lot for the <i>scapegoat</i> .	He is to cast lots for the two goats—one lot for the Lord and the other for the <i>scapegoat</i> .

Leviticus 16:10

My Translation	King James Version	New International Version
And the <i>goat</i> which has come out with the lot for <i>azazel</i> will be placed alive in front of YHWH for atonement, and will be sent towards <i>azazel</i> in the desert.	But the goat, on which the lot fell to be the <i>scapegoat</i> , shall be presented alive before the Lord, to make an atonement with him, and to let him go for a <i>scapegoat</i> into the wilderness.	But the goat chosen by lot as the <i>scapegoat</i> shall be presented alive before the Lord to be used for making atonement by sending it into the wilderness as a <i>scapegoat</i> .

Leviticus 16:26

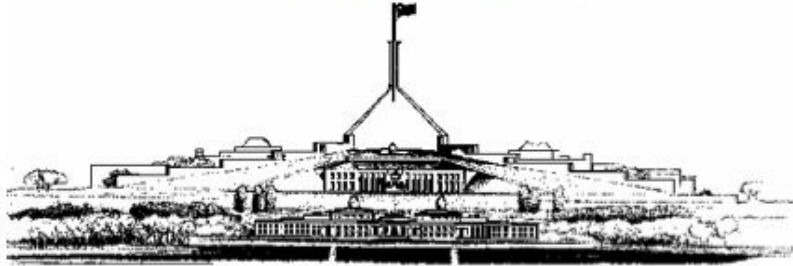
My Translation	King James Version	New International Version
And he that sends the <i>goat</i> to <i>azazel</i> must wash his clothes and wash his body in the waters and then, after, may come into the camp.	And he that let go the goat for the <i>scapegoat</i> shall wash his clothes, and bathe his flesh in water, and afterward come into the camp.	The man who releases the goat as a <i>scapegoat</i> must wash his clothes and bathe himself with water; afterward he may come into the camp.

APPENDIX B – HOWARD'S IRAQ SPEECH



COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA

PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES



HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

MINISTERIAL STATEMENTS

Iraq

SPEECH

Tuesday, 4 February 2003

BY AUTHORITY OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

SPEECH

Date Tuesday, 4 February 2003 Page 10642 Questioner Speaker Howard, John, MP	Source House Proof No Responder Question No.
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Mr HOWARD (Bennelong—Prime Minister) (2.49 pm)—Mr Speaker, my purpose today is to explain to the House and through it to the Australian people the government's belief that the world community must deal decisively with Iraq; why Iraq's continued defiance of the United Nations and its possession of chemical and biological weapons and its pursuit of a nuclear capability poses a real and unacceptable threat to the stability and security of our world; why the matters at stake go to the very credibility of the United Nations itself; why the issue is of direct concern to Australia and why, therefore, the Australian government has authorised the forward positioning of elements of the Australian Defence Force to the Persian Gulf.

Although there is considerable debate about the best course of action to resolve this crisis I want, for a moment, to focus on the one thing that unites us all—and that is a common abhorrence of war.

I know that in this I speak for every member of this House, every Australian. We, all of us, hope that it will still prove possible to find an outcome acceptable to the international community without military force being used. The government will not make a final decision to commit to military conflict unless and until it is satisfied that all achievable options for a peaceful resolution have been explored.

The other point of agreement shared by members in this House, by our community and by the community of nations is that Iraq must not be allowed to possess weapons of mass destruction—for the security and stability of our world, it must be disarmed.

For years the nations of the world have sought to persuade Iraq to abandon these most offensive of weapons. The Iraqi President, Saddam Hussein, has refused to comply and now the weight of the world's attention has fallen on him.

Only one nation can determine whether force will be necessary or not. Only one nation, acting alone, can make the choice for peace. That nation is Iraq.

Full disclosure by Iraq of its chemical, biological and nuclear weapons programs and immediate and total cooperation by Iraq with the provisions of resolution 1441 of the Security Council will remove the need for military action.

In his report to the Security Council, Dr Hans Blix, the head of the United Nations weapons inspection body for Iraq, made it clear where he believed that the responsibility for the current terrible impasse lay, and I quote:

Iraq appears not to have come to a genuine acceptance—not even today—of the disarmament, which was demanded of it and which it needs to carry out to win the confidence of the world and to live in peace.

Of at least one thing we can all be absolutely certain—if the world turns its back on the threat posed by Iraq, if the community of nations gives up because it is all too hard, then Saddam Hussein will not reward us all with benign behaviour.

Such weakness, such an abject failure of international will, will—as in the past—be treated with contempt.

Iraq will not only keep her current weapons but add to them. Saddam Hussein will not abandon his chemical and biological weapons programs. He will keep striving to build a nuclear capacity. And he will almost certainly, at some time in the future, use these weapons to fulfil his ambition to dominate his region.

Given his aggressive history, who could blame his neighbours, when faced with an Iraq allowed to keep, through the default of the international community, weapons of mass destruction, if they decided that their own security necessitated a corresponding arsenal.

Worse still, other rogue states observing the world community's failure to deal with Iraq will be encouraged to flout the international conventions on arms control and develop their own chemical, biological and even nuclear weapons.

CHAMBER

We should all be deeply concerned about a world in which weapons of mass destruction become the norm. The more nations that possess these weapons, the greater the risk there is that they will be used. The likelihood of them falling into the hands of terrorists multiplies as their numbers proliferate. Proliferation of these weapons will make the world a much more dangerous place for all of us.

Through failure to deal once and for all with Iraq, the world will have effectively given a green light to the further spread of these weapons and will have further undermined the Nuclear Non Proliferation Treaty and the conventions on chemical and biological weapons which the world—and not least Australia—has worked so hard to build over the last 30 years or more.

At the heart of this debate must be a recognition of the threat posed to the security of the world through the progressive breakdown of the international covenants against proliferation of nuclear weapons and the spread of chemical and biological weapons.

The world has developed over time a series of treaties, conventions, protocols and control regimes both to prevent the proliferation of chemical, nuclear and biological weapons and, where possible, to eliminate such of these weapons as may now exist.

Australia is vehemently opposed to the proliferation of chemical, biological and nuclear weapons. We do not possess these weapons and we wish to ensure that they do not become an acceptable part of every nation's arsenal. They are too dangerous. Their destructive power is hundreds of times greater than that of conventional weapons—terrible as they may be. Their destructive force is not easily contained or controlled and their effects can span the generations. These are no ordinary weapons.

Every time a nation is allowed to undermine the international treaties and agreements put in place to restrict or prohibit the spread of chemical, biological or nuclear weapons, the world becomes more dangerous for all nations.

Australia—under both coalition and Labor governments—has been a staunch supporter and active proponent of multilateral action to stop the spread of these weapons.

We, therefore, have a direct and lively interest in ensuring that the international order against the spread of such weapons is not eroded but rather reinforced.

It is true that too many nations already include weapons of mass destruction in their armouries. Other nations have developed nuclear weapons—but only two stand accused of breaching the Nuclear Non Proliferation Treaty: Iraq and North Korea.

Iraq has been thumbing its nose at the United Nations persistently and publicly for 12 years. In North Korea's case the extent of its breach of international commitments has only recently become apparent.

The international community, with Australia playing a leading role, has begun to deal with North Korea. The security of our region and that of the broader world demands that North Korea be brought back into compliance with the Nuclear Non Proliferation Treaty.

It is ludicrous to suggest, as some have, that because Australia wants the Iraqi issue resolved, then we are passive or indifferent about North Korea. Both pose great threats to world security. Both are of intense interest to Australia. It is not a question of choice—both must be dealt with.

I pose the simple question. What hope does the world have of dealing peacefully and effectively with North Korea if the Security Council is seen to deal supinely with Iraq?

Just as we accept without reservation that stability in North Asia is crucial to our economy and our security, we must recognise that the Middle East is not remote or irrelevant to Australia.

Australia is home to several hundred thousand people of Middle Eastern background. Some are from Iraq, and we appreciate the contribution of all of these people to our nation. Many of them could be torn between seeing Saddam brought to account and the possible dangers facing their families in Iraq. During this time, they will need our compassion and our support, and I hope that all Australians will ensure that this is offered.

For almost 20 years, Iraq has been a constant threat to its neighbours. If Iraq emerges from its current confrontation with world opinion with its arsenal of chemical and biological weapons intact, the potential for

Saddam Hussein's aggression against his neighbours to be renewed will be greatly enhanced. Iraq will again feel free to coerce and intimidate countries in the region.

The old policy of containment is eroding. Saddam Hussein has increasingly been able to subvert the sanctions. Smuggling of oil from Iraq and the illegal importation of proscribed goods into Iraq have increased dramatically in the past few years.

Despite the efforts earlier of the weapons inspectors—who destroyed far more of Iraq's weapons programs than Saddam Hussein ever expected—Iraq has still been able to hang on to most of the knowledge and equipment it needs.

Inspectors have never been able to eradicate Iraq's weapons of mass destruction programs—at best they slowed their development.

There will be no stability—no security—for the nations of the Gulf until Iraq is disarmed of its weapons of mass destruction—totally and permanently.

Disarming Iraq will bring enormous benefits to the Middle East and will be widely welcomed.

Clearly, however, the international community must redouble its efforts to resolve the seemingly intractable Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

The Australian government again calls on both sides to bring an end to the violence affecting Israelis and Palestinians. Neither side should make the mistake of alienating, through violence, those who are willing and ready to negotiate a settlement.

Israel has no stauncher ally than Australia in its pursuit of the right to exist within secure and internationally recognised boundaries.

Australia strongly supports the creation of a viable independent Palestinian state.

It remains a great tragedy that the courageous efforts of Ehud Barak, the former Prime Minister of Israel, who offered the Palestinians the great bulk of their demands, were ultimately repudiated by the Palestinian Chairman, Yasser Arafat.

As a genuine friend of Israel's, I urge Ariel Sharon to use the authority of his re-election to take whatever opportunity might reasonably arise to engage the Palestinian Authority in constructive peace discussions.

He should facilitate all bona fide international attempts to bring the parties together.

Can I, however, say this to the members of the Palestinian Authority.

How can the Prime Minister of Israel be expected to do these things while ever the murderous pattern of suicide bombing continues to be inflicted on the people of Israel?

In the end result, however, any action taken against Iraq must be justified on its own merits. It will not and cannot be predicated on whether or not other challenges to world security have been addressed.

The overriding concern about Iraq is its record of aggression and willingness to use weapons of mass destruction. Saddam Hussein clearly does not see them as weapons of last resort. He has used them against his neighbours. He has used them against his own people.

This is a doleful distinction, which Iraq shares with no other country.

Iraq has form. Saddam Hussein has without provocation invaded Iran and Kuwait. He has fired missiles at Saudi Arabia, Israel, Bahrain and Qatar. He has bullied, threatened and extorted Syria, Jordan and the Gulf States.

Who knows what other horrors might have been perpetrated on the Kurds or the Shia Muslims if not for the no-fly zones which Britain and the United States have enforced for these last 12 years.

Iraq also has a long history of training and supporting regional terrorist groups. It supports Palestinian suicide bombers who have caused such death and destruction within Israel.

Iraq's history of relationships with and support for terrorist organisations magnifies our concerns. The rise of international terrorism adds a new and frightening dimension to the threat posed by the proliferation of chemical, biological and nuclear weapons.

The ultimate nightmare for us all must be that weapons of mass destruction fall into the hands of terrorists. The more the world leaves unchecked either the possession of such weapons by rogue states or the spread of those weapons, the more likely it becomes that terrorists will acquire and use them.

It cannot be stressed too strongly, Mr Speaker, that all of this is added to the fact that Iraq has flouted with impunity the resolutions of the Security Council of the United Nations.

The Australian government knows that Iraq still has chemical and biological weapons and that Iraq wants to develop nuclear weapons.

We share the view of many that, unless checked, Iraq could, even without outside help, develop nuclear weapons in about five years.

Even before the report of the head of the United Nations weapons inspection body there was compelling evidence to support these beliefs within the published detailed dossiers of British and American intelligence.

On the basis of the intelligence available, the British Joint Intelligence Committee judged that:

- Iraq has a useable chemical and biological weapons capability, which has included recent production of chemical and biological agents;
- Iraq continues to work on developing nuclear weapons—uranium has been sought from Africa that has no civil nuclear application in Iraq;
- Iraq possesses extended range versions of the Scud ballistic missile in breach of Security Council resolutions, which are capable of reaching Cyprus, Turkey, Teheran and Israel;
- Iraq's current military planning specifically envisages the use of chemical and biological weapons. In its view, Saddam Hussein is determined to retain these capabilities.

The analysis provided by the Director of the US Central Intelligence reached similar conclusions, namely:

- Iraq is reconstituting its nuclear weapons program;
- it has begun renewed production of chemical warfare agents, probably including mustard, sarin, cyclosarin and VX;
- all key aspects—R&D, production and weaponisation—of Iraq's offensive biological weapons program are active and most elements are larger and more advanced than they were before the Gulf War in 1991.

The intelligence material collected over recent times, to which Australia has contributed, points overwhelmingly to Saddam Hussein having acted in systematic defiance of the resolutions of the Security Council, maintained his stockpile of chemical and biological weapons and sought to reconstitute a nuclear weapons program.

Given the strong and critical language of the Blix report, the nations which comprise the Security Council face a stark and difficult choice.

The council must either act to ensure full compliance by Iraq with resolution 1441 or, through either excessive delay or indifference, risk crippling its own authority.

To emphasise the weight of responsibility which rests upon the current members of the Security Council, it is worth recalling to the House some brief history of this matter.

In 1991, the United Nations Security Council wanted to ensure that the Iraqi President was no longer in a position to launch any more unprovoked attacks on his neighbours. It resolved that Iraq must declare and then destroy all its chemical and biological weapons and any materials or facilities connected with Saddam's attempt to achieve nuclear capability. Iraq was prohibited from ever again possessing such weapons.

Saddam Hussein agreed to disarmament—to allow the United Nations to supervise and record the destruction of his arsenal of chemical and biological weapons and his nuclear capacity.

On this basis, and this basis alone, the world community agreed to cease hostilities against Iraq in April 1991. Iraq was allowed to maintain a conventional force—no-one questions Iraq's right as a sovereign nation to protect itself by maintaining conventional defensive weapons.

The cease-fire effectively was conditional on Iraq continuing to comply with the terms laid down by the Security Council—including, and importantly, the commitment to renounce weapons of mass destruction. To ensure compliance, the United Nations determined to continue economic sanctions against Iraq.

For 12 years the community of nations has tried to cajole and encourage Iraq to comply with the Security Council resolutions.

For 12 years the international community has tried to contain his ambitions and limit his capacity to keep or manufacture weapons of mass destruction.

For 12 years Australian navy personnel have supported the Multinational Interception Force in the Persian Gulf, which enforces sanctions against Iraq—the crew of HMAS *Kanimbla*, which was farewelled on 23 January, are our most recent contribution to this important operation.

For eight years the Iraqi President obstructed the weapons inspection teams, who were charged with verifying his compliance with the UN resolutions. And for the last four years, until December 2002, he refused the inspectors entry to Iraq.

Iraq has not complied with 24 out of the 27 provisions contained in successive Security Council resolutions. Over the last 12 years the Security Council has passed no fewer than nine resolutions condemning Iraq's non-cooperation with weapons inspectors. Iraq has had a lot of time and plenty of opportunities to get it right.

The government has consistently argued that the United Nations needs to deal with Saddam Hussein's continued defiance of the Security Council's authority.

This was the view I put to President Bush shortly before his address to the General Assembly of the United Nations, in September last year. I then argued to him the merits of working through the United Nations.

That has been the steady theme of a strong diplomatic effort by Australia, ably led by the Minister for Foreign Affairs.

We have supported a leading role for the United Nations in addressing this threat. Our close relationship with and our ready access to the US administration have meant that our views are heard and respected.

We approached Security Council members in capitals and in New York to encourage a constructive resolution. We recently sent an envoy to South-East Asia to consult key partners in the region and inform them of Australia's position.

The foreign minister's consultations in Europe last week demonstrated we are not alone, neither in our concern, nor in our preparedness, ultimately to act if necessary.

On 8 November last year, the Security Council passed resolution 1441. The nations which comprise the council, large and small, from all the regions of the world, of almost every faith and political persuasion, decided, unanimously, that Iraq had been, and remained, in breach of its obligations. In particular they drew attention to Iraq's failure to cooperate with United Nations weapons inspectors and to complete the required disarmament actions.

The resolution put Iraq on notice—the consequences of noncompliance would be serious.

If the compelling terms of this last resolution are not enforced, then the Security Council's deeds will have failed to match its rhetoric and serious long-term damage will have been done to the United Nations.

In hindsight the world has been too trusting—not careful enough in its dealings with the Iraqi President. But the situation is different now. Iraq has not changed—but we have. We now understand, after the events in Bali

and those of 11 September 2001, that we are living in a world where unexpected and devastating terrorist attacks on free and open societies can occur in ways that we never before imagined possible.

There is a new dimension to international relations and we cannot ignore it. The atrocity in Bali demonstrated something Australia had never fully understood until then—that we are truly vulnerable. In light of this we have reappraised the way we view and deal with the threat of terrorism. We understand the danger of leaving threats unaddressed.

As the British Prime Minister, Mr Tony Blair—whose leadership on this issue, domestically, in his own country, has been very impressive indeed—said last Saturday there are two grave issues the world must now confront: the problem of weapons of mass destruction and the challenge of international terrorism.

He said that if both were not dealt with they would sooner or later come together with terrifying consequences for the world.

On 8 November, the Security Council decided to—and I will use the words of resolution 1441—'afford Iraq a final opportunity to comply with its disarmament obligations'.

The Security Council has given the Iraqi President one last opportunity to demonstrate his willingness to fulfil the commitments he gave in 1991. The terms of the resolution are explicit and prescriptive. Iraq is required to demonstrate compliance. The onus is not on the inspectors to find prohibited weapons or programs. It is on Iraq to prove it has destroyed its weapons and dismantled its programs.

And how has Iraq responded?

The weapons inspectors have given their first comprehensive report. They have been very critical of Iraq's attitude—in Dr Blix's view Iraq has cooperated on process but not on substance. The studied impudence of Iraq to the rest of the world has again been on display.

Without Iraq's active and sincere cooperation the weapons inspectors are wasting their time. Inspectors can assist Iraq disarm, they can verify to the world community that Iraq is disarming—they cannot, simply by their presence, achieve disarmament.

Dr Blix did not expressly ask for more time. He did, however, ask for more cooperation. Those who argue that the key issue is to give the inspectors more time have missed the point.

The inspectors do not need time. They need Iraq's cooperation. If Iraq were demonstrating full compliance, I would argue they be given all the time in the world. But this is demonstrably not the case.

At the end of last month, Dr Blix reported to the Security Council that all the questions concerning disarmament of Iraq remain outstanding.

The resolution had posed two important tests by which Iraq could demonstrate compliance—the provision of a full and accurate declaration of the regime's weapons of mass destruction and active cooperation with the inspection process.

Dr Blix reported that Iraq has failed both tests.

The point must clearly be understood that, following its defeat in the Gulf War, Iraq admitted to possessing chemical and biological weapons and to developing a nuclear program. In those circumstances the overwhelming imperative is that Iraq demonstrates to the world that it has destroyed those weapons and disbanded those programs. That, in fact, is what this debate is all about.

The world demands to know precisely what happened to Iraq's pre-1998 weapons and material. Iraq claims to have destroyed them—but Dr Blix is right to demand proof.

There are 6,500 chemical bombs—including 550 shells filled with mustard gas; 360 tonnes of bulk chemical warfare agent—including 1.5 tonnes of the deadly nerve agent VX; 3,000 tonnes of precursor chemicals—300 tonnes of which could only be used for the production of VX; and over 30,000 special munitions for the delivery of chemical and biological agents—all unaccounted for.

In 1995, the international community was confronted by Iraq's massive program for developing offensive biological weapons—one of the largest and most advanced in the world.

Despite four years of intensive inquiries and searches, the weapons inspectors did not even know of its existence until Saddam Hussein's son-in-law, Hussein Kamal, defected. Faced with its duplicity Iraq finally admitted to producing aflatoxin, which causes cancers, the paralyzing poison botulinum and anthrax bacteria.

It admitted to manufacturing 8,500 litres of anthrax. A single gram is enough for millions of fatal doses. Dr Blix wants proof that the anthrax has been destroyed—and so do we.

Iraq must account for the large quantity of undeclared growth media for biological weapons and for all its Scud B ballistic missiles. It must explain why it has rebuilt equipment and facilities destroyed by previous inspection teams.

It must allow the unfettered, unrestricted reconnaissance flights so relevant data can be collected and analysed. And it must allow the inspectors unsupervised access to relevant members of the Iraqi science community.

Other countries have, in the recent past, volunteered to undertake a disarmament process—South Africa, Ukraine and Kazakhstan. Disarmament can involve complex technical checks and processes—but it is still relatively simple provided there is a high-level political commitment to disarm, sound planning and most importantly full cooperation and transparency with weapons inspection teams.

The transparent, openly cooperative behaviour of those three countries in disarming could not present a more vivid contrast with the stubborn, deceitful behaviour of Iraq, which has all the hallmarks of a nation which is clearly hiding something.

The world community is not asking the Iraqi regime to prove the impossible. It is asking for straightforward answers to a series of very serious questions.

Now is not the time to relieve the pressure on Iraq.

And there is only one form of pressure that Saddam Hussein understands—the threat of military force.

We have tried sanctions and containment. Sanctions can be a very powerful instrument of persuasion but have little influence over a dictator who cares nothing for the wellbeing of his people.

The brutal treatment by Saddam Hussein of his own people can be seen through his cruel and cynical manipulation of the oil for food program developed by the United Nations.

For the last 12 years Iraq has been able to trade its oil for humanitarian goods—food and medicines—under United Nations supervision.

Tragically for the Iraqi people, Saddam Hussein has rorted the program, violated its provisions and evaded its constraints. A significant portion of the humanitarian goods is re-exported from Iraq for cash, and oil is routinely smuggled out and sold illegally so that Saddam Hussein can finance his weapons program.

It is the threat of military action which has proved to be the most effective, and perhaps the only, means of attracting President Hussein's attention.

The Secretary-General of the United Nations has recognised the value of this strategy. Kofi Annan has stated publicly that, in his opinion, if the Americans had not applied military pressure through the build-up of forces in the Gulf the weapons inspectors would not now be in Iraq. There can be no stronger statement of the diplomatic value of the military deployment. There could be no more explicit rejection of America's critics.

The Australian government has the same view. Like the Secretary-General, we recognise the value of this strategy and we do not consider that the burden of it should fall to the United States and the United Kingdom alone.

That is one of the reasons why elements of the Australian Defence Force are being pre-positioned in the Persian Gulf.

Mr Speaker, this is not the first time that Australia has pre-positioned forces in the gulf, both to apply diplomatic pressure against Saddam Hussein and in anticipation of possible military action against Iraq.

In 1998, in the lead-up to Operation Desert Fox, the government pre-positioned Special Air Service forces—some 150 of them—and two refuelling aircraft with British and American forces in the gulf. We did so in the absence of any new, specific Security Council authorisation and on the understanding that a final decision to commit to military action had not been taken at the time of deployment. The aim then, as now, was to put pressure on Saddam Hussein. The circumstances of the pre-positioning of forces in 1998 are so similar as to be nearly identical.

In 1998, the then Leader of the Opposition, the Member for Brand—a former defence minister—recognised the value of the strategy, when he said:

... part of the reason why we have supported the Government in giving our approval to the steps that they've taken thus far, has been to assist in putting pressure on Saddam Hussein. And there's no doubt in my mind if there had not been pressure coming in from those who are prepared to be part of a coalition, the energising of the UN Security Council and the energising of a couple of members of the UN Security Council—Russia and France—to try and find solutions, simply wouldn't have occurred.

In deciding to pre-position our troops, we were also responding to advice from the Australian Defence Force that if, at some time in the near future, we wish to participate in military action our troops would be advantaged by having the opportunity to prepare and acclimatise.

Mr Speaker, over the past few months there has been sustained criticism from some quarters, both here and abroad, regarding the role of the United States on this whole issue.

So much of that criticism has been either wrong, unfair or downright prejudiced.

No criticism is more outrageous than the claim that US behaviour is driven by a wish to take control of Iraq's oil reserves. Self-evidently, if cheap oil supplies were America's dominant motive, then years before now the United States would have done a deal with Iraq to lift the sanctions in return for plentiful supplies of low-priced oil.

I have no doubt that the driving force behind American policy towards Iraq now is that, in the wake of the events of 11 September, they have a justifiable concern that the twin evils of weapons of mass destruction, in the hands of rogue states, and international terrorism will come together with horrific consequences.

Mr Latham—They've never done anything wrong!

The SPEAKER—The member for Werriwa is warned!

Mr HOWARD—The United States has also been falsely accused of acting unilaterally and thus in contemptuous disregard for the role of the United Nations.

The issue of Iraq is now before the Security Council precisely because of the actions and pressure of the United States.

For almost four years the Security Council had left Iraq in the too-hard basket. On 12 September 2002, President Bush addressed the General Assembly and reminded the United Nations of its responsibility to deal with Iraq's repeated defiance of Security Council resolutions.

Unless, therefore, it is regarded as provocative and contemptuous of the United States to charge the United Nations with the obligation of enforcing its own decisions, this allegation against the United States is without any substance.

The issue of Iraq will again be before the Security Council tomorrow, 5 February, at the express request of the United States. And its Secretary of State, Colin Powell, will present some new material to council members.

I have authorised the use of some Australian-sourced material in that presentation, which will include material from a number of countries. So as to protect sources, it is not possible for me to be specific as to what material has been sourced in Australia. I am sure that the House will understand this.

It can barely be denied by anyone that all the actions of the United States, at present, are designed to ensure that the Security Council acts to compel compliance with its own unanimously adopted resolution 1441.

Australia is a close ally of the United States. No nation is more important to our long-term security. Australians will never forget the vital assistance given to us by the United States during World War II.

Our value systems while far from identical are nonetheless similar. We share common democratic values. We have made common cause in the fight against terrorism.

Australia and the United States have a common interest in preventing the spread of chemical, biological and nuclear weapons.

Australia's alliance with the United States has been and will remain an important element in the government's decision making process on the Iraqi issue.

The crucial long-term value of the United States alliance should always be a factor in major national security decisions taken by Australia.

In an increasingly globalised and borderless world, the relationship between Australia and the United States will become more and not less important.

The most intense desire of us all is that this challenging issue is resolved without war. No-one wants war. We all hope it can be avoided.

Given the past intransigent attitude of Iraq, it is very difficult to conceive that even the full weight of Security Council opinion, unanimously expressed and threatening imminent military action, will induce Saddam Hussein to comply with his international obligations.

The only hope of a peaceful solution will be if the Security Council acts clearly, decisively and unambiguously.

The greater the hesitancy, the greater the blurring at the edges, the more likely it is that Iraq will again dismiss world opinion.

These are some of the views I will put next week in my discussions with President Bush, the British Prime Minister, Mr Blair, the Secretary-General of the United Nations and others.

I will make it clear that, if military action does become necessary, Australia's strong preference is that it takes place pursuant to a new Security Council resolution.

This is not because Australia believes, as a matter of international law, that a new resolution is required.

It is because the passage of a new resolution, authorising the use of force, will bring forth the greatest level of international support for, and involvement in, military action against Iraq.

There is a very strong argument that the terms of 1441, when coupled with all the previous resolutions passed by the Security Council about Iraq, provide a sufficient legal basis for military action, without the express need for a further resolution.

In fact in 1998, if I can return to that again, the government agreed to the deployment I canvassed earlier—with the support of the then opposition, under a different leader—in the clear knowledge that those personnel deployed could be involved in action against Iraq, believing that adequate legal authority existed for that deployment and any subsequent military action under then existing resolutions of the Security Council.

I have said frequently that the outcome from the Security Council may not be a black or white one.

The sense of the Security Council could be that it acquiesces in, or acknowledges the need for, military action without giving it direct sanction.

It is possible that the majority of the council members could vote for military action but the resolution could subsequently be vetoed by a permanent member.

That proposition clearly was in the mind of the Leader of the Opposition, when on 15 January he said:

We won't support any military action outside the authority of the UN ... The exception to this position might occur in the case of overwhelming UN Security Council support for military action, but where support for such action was subject to veto ... In other words, we might need to assess such a situation in light of the circumstances of the veto.

If the Security Council produces a grey rather than a black or white outcome, choices on final action and commitments will need to be made by many nations, including Australia.

In reaching its final decision the Australian government will be influenced not only by our powerful desire to stop the spread of chemical, biological and nuclear weapons and our alliance with the United States, but also importantly by the past practice of nations which have taken collective military action in the interests of world or regional security.

For example, the NATO countries conducted bombing attacks against Serbia in 1999 without any kind of direct Security Council authorisation. That authority was never sought because of an apprehended Russian veto.

A subsequent joint Sino-Russian motion condemning the NATO action was defeated. There the matter rested. The Security Council was taken to have acquiesced in the NATO action.

Our goal is disarmament. We want to see a renewed commitment to the principle of nonproliferation. We want to see Iraq free of weapons of mass destruction. We want to see the sanctions lifted. We want Iraq back in the community of nations—because it would be good for the world, good for Australia and, most particularly, good for the people of Iraq. Most of all we want the conflict resolved without resort to military force.

If the international community does not act now to disarm Iraq, it will have made a mockery of years of effort to stop the spread of weapons of mass destruction. It will have encouraged others to mimic Iraq. It will make dealing with North Korea almost impossible. And, most importantly, failure to act will gravely compromise the authority of the United Nations.

Clearly the pre-positioning of Australian forces and the contingency planning with the United States military—to which ministers and I have referred frequently over recent months—have put Australia in a position where it can effectively, and in circumstances providing the best assurances of safety for our forces, contribute to a military operation against Iraq, should a final decision be taken for this to occur.

The moment for that final decision has yet to arrive. That decision ultimately will be guided by the judgment which the government makes as to where Australia's national interest lies.

This issue poses great and difficult choices for Australia. We all hate the very thought of war in any form. Our natural instinct is to recoil from it. The temptation to turn our backs on the problem and hope it will go away is great.

Yet the realities of the world in which we now live do not permit us that luxury.

We all know that history is replete with examples of the community of nations retreating from difficult decisions through fear of the immediate consequences only to find that those difficult decisions must ultimately be addressed and at an infinitely greater cost.

Finally, our thoughts must turn to the men and women of the Australian Defence Force on deployment doing their duty and maintaining a long tradition of courage and professionalism in the service of Australia.

Whatever may be their role in the weeks and months ahead, we admire them, we support them and we wish them well. We are united in our prayers and our hopes for their safety and their wellbeing.

I present a copy of the statement.

Mr ABBOTT (Warringah—Leader of the House) (3.43 p.m.)—I move:

That the House take note of the paper.

Question agreed to.

Mr ABBOTT (Warringah—Leader of the House) (3.43 p.m.)—by leave—I move:

That so much of the standing and sessional orders be suspended as would prevent Mr Crean (Leader of the Opposition) speaking for a period not exceeding 53 minutes.

Question agreed to.

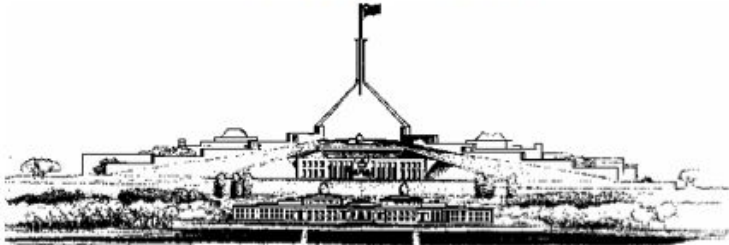
CHAMBER

APPENDIX C – RUDD’S APOLOGY SPEECH



COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA

PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES



HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

**APOLOGY TO AUSTRALIA'S
INDIGENOUS PEOPLES**

SPEECH

Wednesday, 13 February 2008

BY AUTHORITY OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

SPEECH

Date Wednesday, 13 February 2008 Page 167 Questioner Speaker Rudd, Kevin, MP	Source House Proof No Responder Question No.
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Mr RUDD (Griffith—Prime Minister) (9.00 am)—I move:

That today we honour the Indigenous peoples of this land, the oldest continuing cultures in human history.

We reflect on their past mistreatment.

We reflect in particular on the mistreatment of those who were Stolen Generations—this blemished chapter in our nation's history.

The time has now come for the nation to turn a new page in Australia's history by righting the wrongs of the past and so moving forward with confidence to the future.

We apologise for the laws and policies of successive Parliaments and governments that have inflicted profound grief, suffering and loss on these our fellow Australians.

We apologise especially for the removal of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children from their families, their communities and their country.

For the pain, suffering and hurt of these Stolen Generations, their descendants and for their families left behind, we say sorry.

To the mothers and the fathers, the brothers and the sisters, for the breaking up of families and communities, we say sorry.

And for the indignity and degradation thus inflicted on a proud people and a proud culture, we say sorry.

We the Parliament of Australia respectfully request that this apology be received in the spirit in which it is offered as part of the healing of the nation.

For the future we take heart; resolving that this new page in the history of our great continent can now be written.

We today take this first step by acknowledging the past and laying claim to a future that embraces all Australians.

A future where this Parliament resolves that the injustices of the past must never, never happen again.

A future where we harness the determination of all Australians, Indigenous and non-Indigenous, to close the gap that lies between us in life expectancy, educational achievement and economic opportunity.

A future where we embrace the possibility of new solutions to enduring problems where old approaches have failed.

A future based on mutual respect, mutual resolve and mutual responsibility.

A future where all Australians, whatever their origins, are truly equal partners, with equal opportunities and with an equal stake in shaping the next chapter in the history of this great country, Australia.

Mr Speaker, there comes a time in the history of nations when their peoples must become fully reconciled to their past if they are to go forward with confidence to embrace their future. Our nation, Australia, has reached such a time. That is why the parliament is today here assembled: to deal with this unfinished business of the nation, to remove a great stain from the nation's soul and, in a true spirit of reconciliation, to open a new chapter in the history of this great land, Australia.

Last year I made a commitment to the Australian people that if we formed the next government of the Commonwealth we would in parliament say sorry to the stolen generations. Today I honour that commitment. I said we would do so early in the life of the new parliament. Again, today I honour that commitment by doing so at the commencement of this the 42nd Parliament of the Commonwealth. Because the time has come, well and truly come, for all peoples of our great country, for all citizens of our great Commonwealth, for all Australians—those who are Indigenous and those who are not—to come together to reconcile and together build a new future for our nation.

CHAMBER

Some have asked, 'Why apologise?' Let me begin to answer by telling the parliament just a little of one person's story—an elegant, eloquent and wonderful woman in her 80s, full of life, full of funny stories, despite what has happened in her life's journey, a woman who has travelled a long way to be with us today, a member of the stolen generation who shared some of her story with me when I called around to see her just a few days ago. Nanna Nungala Fejo, as she prefers to be called, was born in the late 1920s. She remembers her earliest childhood days living with her family and her community in a bush camp just outside Tennant Creek. She remembers the love and the warmth and the kinship of those days long ago, including traditional dancing around the camp fire at night. She loved the dancing. She remembers once getting into strife when, as a four-year-old girl, she insisted on dancing with the male tribal elders rather than just sitting and watching the men, as the girls were supposed to do.

But then, sometime around 1932, when she was about four, she remembers the coming of the welfare men. Her family had feared that day and had dug holes in the creek bank where the children could run and hide. What they had not expected was that the white welfare men did not come alone. They brought a truck, two white men and an Aboriginal stockman on horseback cracking his stockwhip. The kids were found; they ran for their mothers, screaming, but they could not get away. They were herded and piled onto the back of the truck. Tears flowing, her mum tried clinging to the sides of the truck as her children were taken away to the Bungalow in Alice, all in the name of protection.

A few years later, government policy changed. Now the children would be handed over to the missions to be cared for by the churches. But which church would care for them? The kids were simply told to line up in three lines. Nanna Fejo and her sisters stood in the middle line, her older brother and cousin on her left. Those on the left were told that they had become Catholics, those in the middle Methodists and those on the right Church of England. That is how the complex questions of post-reformation theology were resolved in the Australian outback in the 1930s. It was as crude as that. She and her sister were sent to a Methodist mission on Goulburn Island and then Croker Island. Her Catholic brother was sent to work at a cattle station and her cousin to a Catholic mission.

Nanna Fejo's family had been broken up for a second time. She stayed at the mission until after the war, when she was allowed to leave for a prearranged job as a domestic in Darwin. She was 16. Nanna Fejo never saw her mum again. After she left the mission, her brother let her know that her mum had died years before, a broken woman fretting for the children that had literally been ripped away from her.

I asked Nanna Fejo what she would have me say today about her story. She thought for a few moments then said that what I should say today was that all mothers are important. And she added: 'Families—keeping them together is very important. It's a good thing that you are surrounded by love and that love is passed down the generations. That's what gives you happiness.' As I left, later on, Nanna Fejo took one of my staff aside, wanting to make sure that I was not too hard on the Aboriginal stockman who had hunted those kids down all those years ago. The stockman had found her again decades later, this time himself to say, 'Sorry.' And remarkably, extraordinarily, she had forgiven him.

Nanna Fejo's is just one story. There are thousands, tens of thousands, of them: stories of forced separation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children from their mums and dads over the better part of a century. Some of these stories are graphically told in *Bringing them home*, the report commissioned in 1995 by Prime Minister Keating and received in 1997 by Prime Minister Howard. There is something terribly primal about these firsthand accounts. The pain is searing; it screams from the pages. The hurt, the humiliation, the degradation and the sheer brutality of the act of physically separating a mother from her children is a deep assault on our senses and on our most elemental humanity.

These stories cry out to be heard; they cry out for an apology. Instead, from the nation's parliament there has been a stony and stubborn and deafening silence for more than a decade; a view that somehow we, the parliament, should suspend our most basic instincts of what is right and what is wrong; a view that, instead, we should look for any pretext to push this great wrong to one side, to leave it languishing with the historians, the academics and the cultural warriors, as if the stolen generations are little more than an interesting sociological phenomenon. But the stolen generations are not intellectual curiosities. They are human beings; human beings who have been damaged deeply by the decisions of parliaments and governments. But, as of today, the time for denial, the time for delay, has at last come to an end.

The nation is demanding of its political leadership to take us forward. Decency, human decency, universal human decency, demands that the nation now step forward to right a historical wrong. That is what we are doing in this place today. But should there still be doubts as to why we must now act, let the parliament reflect for a

moment on the following facts: that, between 1910 and 1970, between 10 and 30 per cent of Indigenous children were forcibly taken from their mothers and fathers; that, as a result, up to 50,000 children were forcibly taken from their families; that this was the product of the deliberate, calculated policies of the state as reflected in the explicit powers given to them under statute; that this policy was taken to such extremes by some in administrative authority that the forced extractions of children of so-called 'mixed lineage' were seen as part of a broader policy of dealing with 'the problem of the Aboriginal population'.

One of the most notorious examples of this approach was from the Northern Territory Protector of Natives, who stated:

Generally by the fifth and invariably by the sixth generation, all native characteristics of the Australian aborigine are eradicated. The problem of our half-castes—

to quote the Protector—

will quickly be eliminated by the complete disappearance of the black race, and the swift submergence of their progeny in the white ...

The Western Australian Protector of Natives expressed not dissimilar views, expounding them at length in Canberra in 1937 at the first national conference on Indigenous affairs that brought together the Commonwealth and state protectors of natives. These are uncomfortable things to be brought out into the light. They are not pleasant. They are profoundly disturbing. But we must acknowledge these facts if we are to deal once and for all with the argument that the policy of generic forced separation was somehow well motivated, justified by its historical context and, as a result, unworthy of any apology today.

Then we come to the argument of intergenerational responsibility, also used by some to argue against giving an apology today. But let us remember the fact that the forced removal of Aboriginal children was happening as late as the early 1970s. The 1970s is not exactly a point in remote antiquity. There are still serving members of this parliament who were first elected to this place in the early 1970s. It is well within the adult memory span of many of us. The uncomfortable truth for us all is that the parliaments of the nation, individually and collectively, enacted statutes and delegated authority under those statutes that made the forced removal of children on racial grounds fully lawful.

There is a further reason for an apology as well: it is that reconciliation is in fact an expression of a core value of our nation—and that value is a fair go for all. There is a deep and abiding belief in the Australian community that, for the stolen generations, there was no fair go at all. There is a pretty basic Aussie belief that says it is time to put right this most outrageous of wrongs. It is for these reasons, quite apart from concerns of fundamental human decency, that the governments and parliaments of this nation must make this apology—because, put simply, the laws that our parliaments enacted made the stolen generations possible. We, the parliaments of the nation, are ultimately responsible, not those who gave effect to our laws. The problem lay with the laws themselves. As has been said of settler societies elsewhere, we are the bearers of many blessings from our ancestors and therefore we must also be the bearer of their burdens as well.

Therefore, for our nation, the course of action is clear, and therefore, for our people, the course of action is clear: that is, to deal now with what has become one of the darkest chapters in Australia's history. In doing so, we are doing more than contending with the facts, the evidence and the often rancorous public debate. In doing so, we are also wrestling with our own soul. This is not, as some would argue, a black-armband view of history; it is just the truth: the cold, confronting, uncomfortable truth—facing it, dealing with it, moving on from it. Until we fully confront that truth, there will always be a shadow hanging over us and our future as a fully united and fully reconciled people. It is time to reconcile. It is time to recognise the injustices of the past. It is time to say sorry. It is time to move forward together.

To the stolen generations, I say the following: as Prime Minister of Australia, I am sorry. On behalf of the government of Australia, I am sorry. On behalf of the parliament of Australia, I am sorry. I offer you this apology without qualification. We apologise for the hurt, the pain and suffering that we, the parliament, have caused you by the laws that previous parliaments have enacted. We apologise for the indignity, the degradation and the humiliation these laws embodied. We offer this apology to the mothers, the fathers, the brothers, the sisters, the families and the communities whose lives were ripped apart by the actions of successive governments under successive parliaments. In making this apology, I would also like to speak personally to the members of the stolen generations and their families: to those here today, so many of you; to those listening across the nation—from

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Yuendumu, in the central west of the Northern Territory, to Yabara, in North Queensland, and to Pitjantjatjara in South Australia.

I know that, in offering this apology on behalf of the government and the parliament, there is nothing I can say today that can take away the pain you have suffered personally. Whatever words I speak today, I cannot undo that. Words alone are not that powerful; grief is a very personal thing. I ask those non-Indigenous Australians listening today who may not fully understand why what we are doing is so important to imagine for a moment that this had happened to you. I say to honourable members here present: imagine if this had happened to us. Imagine the crippling effect. Imagine how hard it would be to forgive. My proposal is this: if the apology we extend today is accepted in the spirit of reconciliation in which it is offered, we can today resolve together that there be a new beginning for Australia. And it is to such a new beginning that I believe the nation is now calling us.

Australians are a passionate lot. We are also a very practical lot. For us, symbolism is important but, unless the great symbolism of reconciliation is accompanied by an even greater substance, it is little more than a clanging gong. It is not sentiment that makes history; it is our actions that make history. Today's apology, however inadequate, is aimed at righting past wrongs. It is also aimed at building a bridge between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians—a bridge based on a real respect rather than a thinly veiled contempt. Our challenge for the future is to now cross that bridge and, in so doing, to embrace a new partnership between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians—embracing, as part of that partnership, expanded Link-Up and other critical services to help the stolen generations to trace their families if at all possible and to provide dignity to their lives. But the core of this partnership for the future is the closing of the gap between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians on life expectancy, educational achievement and employment opportunities. This new partnership on closing the gap will set concrete targets for the future: within a decade to halve the widening gap in literacy, numeracy and employment outcomes and opportunities for Indigenous Australians, within a decade to halve the appalling gap in infant mortality rates between Indigenous and non-Indigenous children and, within a generation, to close the equally appalling 17-year life gap between Indigenous and non-Indigenous in overall life expectancy.

The truth is, a business as usual approach towards Indigenous Australians is not working. Most old approaches are not working. We need a new beginning—a new beginning which contains real measures of policy success or policy failure; a new beginning, a new partnership, on closing the gap with sufficient flexibility not to insist on a one-size-fits-all approach for each of the hundreds of remote and regional Indigenous communities across the country but instead allowing flexible, tailored, local approaches to achieve commonly agreed national objectives that lie at the core of our proposed new partnership; a new beginning that draws intelligently on the experiences of new policy settings across the nation. However, unless we as a parliament set a destination for the nation, we have no clear point to guide our policy, our programs or our purpose; we have no centralised organising principle.

Let us resolve today to begin with the little children—a fitting place to start on this day of apology for the stolen generations. Let us resolve over the next five years to have every Indigenous four-year-old in a remote Aboriginal community enrolled in and attending a proper early childhood education centre or opportunity and engaged in proper preliteracy and prenumeracy programs. Let us resolve to build new educational opportunities for these little ones, year by year, step by step, following the completion of their crucial preschool year. Let us resolve to use this systematic approach to building future educational opportunities for Indigenous children and providing proper primary and preventive health care for the same children, to beginning the task of rolling back the obscenity that we find today in infant mortality rates in remote Indigenous communities—up to four times higher than in other communities.

None of this will be easy. Most of it will be hard, very hard. But none of it is impossible, and all of it is achievable with clear goals, clear thinking and by placing an absolute premium on respect, cooperation and mutual responsibility as the guiding principles of this new partnership on closing the gap. The mood of the nation is for reconciliation now, between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians. The mood of the nation on Indigenous policy and politics is now very simple. The nation is calling on us, the politicians, to move beyond our infantile bickering, our point-scoring and our mindlessly partisan politics and elevate this one core area of national responsibility to a rare position beyond the partisan divide. Surely this is the unfulfilled spirit of the 1967 referendum. Surely, at least from this day forward, we should give it a go.

Let me take this one step further, and take what some may see as a piece of political posturing and make a practical proposal to the opposition on this day, the first full sitting day of the new parliament. I said before the election that the nation needed a kind of war cabinet on parts of Indigenous policy, because the challenges are too great and the consequences too great to allow it all to become a political football, as it has been so often in

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the past. I therefore propose a joint policy commission, to be led by the Leader of the Opposition and me, with a mandate to develop and implement—to begin with—an effective housing strategy for remote communities over the next five years. It will be consistent with the government's policy framework, a new partnership for closing the gap. If this commission operates well, I then propose that it work on the further task of constitutional recognition of the first Australians, consistent with the longstanding platform commitments of my party and the pre-election position of the opposition. This would probably be desirable in any event because unless such a proposition were absolutely bipartisan it would fail at a referendum. As I have said before, the time has come for new approaches to enduring problems. Working constructively together on such defined projects I believe would meet with the support of the nation. It is time for fresh ideas to fashion the nation's future.

Today the parliament has come together to right a great wrong. We have come together to deal with the past so that we might fully embrace the future. We have had sufficient audacity of faith to advance a pathway to that future, with arms extended rather than with fists still clenched. So let us seize the day. Let it not become a moment of mere sentimental reflection. Let us take it with both hands and allow this day, this day of national reconciliation, to become one of those rare moments in which we might just be able to transform the way in which the nation thinks about itself, whereby the injustice administered to the stolen generations in the name of these our parliaments causes all of us to reappraise, at the deepest level of our beliefs, the real possibility of reconciliation writ large: reconciliation across all Indigenous Australia; reconciliation across the entire history of the often bloody encounter between those who emerged from the Dreamtime a thousand generations ago and those who, like me, came across the seas only yesterday; reconciliation which opens up whole new possibilities for the future.

It is for the nation to bring the first two centuries of our settled history to a close, as we begin a new chapter. We embrace with pride, admiration and awe these great and ancient cultures we are truly blessed to have among us—cultures that provide a unique, uninterrupted human thread linking our Australian continent to the most ancient prehistory of our planet. Growing from this new respect, we see our Indigenous brothers and sisters with fresh eyes, with new eyes, and we have our minds wide open as to how we might tackle, together, the great practical challenges that Indigenous Australia faces in the future.

Let us turn this page together, Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians, government and opposition, Commonwealth and state, and write this new chapter in our nation's story together. First Australians, First Fleeters and those who first took the oath of allegiance just a few weeks ago—let us grasp this opportunity to craft a new future for this great land, Australia. Mr Speaker, I commend the motion to the House.

Honourable members applauding—

APPENDIX D – MESSIAH TEXTS IN ISAIAH

Isaiah 42:1–4 (Afterlife in Matthew 12:15-21)

My Translation	KJV: The Lord's Chosen Servant	NIV: The Servant of the LORD
1. Here is my servant/slave, whom I uphold, my chosen, in whom my soul delights; I have put my spirit upon him, he will bring judgment to the nations.	Behold my servant, whom I uphold; mine elect, in whom my soul delighteth; I have put my spirit upon him: he shall bring forth judgment to the Gentiles.	“Here is my servant, whom I uphold, my chosen one in whom I delight; I will put my Spirit on him, and he will bring justice to the nations.
2. He will not cry out or lift up his voice or make it heard in the street.	He shall not cry, nor lift up, nor cause his voice to be heard in the street.	He will not shout or cry out, or raise his voice in the streets.
3. A bruised reed he will not break, a faint wick he will not quench, in truth he will bring forth judgment.	A bruised reed shall he not break, and the smoking flax shall he not quench: he shall bring forth judgment unto truth.	A bruised reed he will not break, and a smoldering wick he will not snuff out. In faithfulness he will bring forth justice;
4. He will not grow faint and he will not be discouraged until he has set judgment on the earth; the coastlands will wait for his law.	He shall not fail nor be discouraged, till he have set judgment in the earth: and the isles shall wait for his law.	he will not falter or be discouraged till he establishes justice on earth. In his teaching the islands will put their hope.”

Isaiah 49:1–6

My Translation	KJV: You are My Servant	NIV: Salvation Reaches to the End of the Earth
1. Listen to me coastlands, and pay attention you people from afar; YHWH called me from the womb, from the belly of my mother he named me.	Listen, O isles, unto me; and hearken, ye people, from far; The LORD hath called me from the womb; from the bowels of my mother hath he made mention of my name.	Listen to Me, O islands, And pay attention, you peoples from afar. The LORD called Me from the womb; From the body of My mother He named Me.
2. He made my mouth like a sharp sword, in the shadow of his hand he hid me, he made me as a polished arrow and concealed me in his quiver.	And he hath made my mouth like a sharp sword; in the shadow of his hand hath he hid me, and made me a polished shaft; in his quiver hath he hid me;	He has made My mouth like a sharp sword, In the shadow of His hand He has concealed Me; And He has also made Me a select arrow, He has hidden Me in His quiver.
3. And he said to me, ‘You are my servant, Israel, in whom I will be glorified.	And said unto me, Thou art my servant, O Israel, in whom I will be glorified.	He said to Me, “You are My Servant, Israel, In Whom I will show My glory.”
4. Then I said, ‘I have laboured in vain; in emptiness and futility I have spent my strength. Surely my judgment is with YHWH, and my work is with God.’	Then I said, I have laboured in vain, I have spent my strength for nought, and in vain: yet surely my judgment is with the LORD, and my work with my God.	But I said, “I have toiled in vain, I have spent My strength for nothing and vanity; Yet surely the justice due to Me is with the LORD, And My reward with My God.”

My Translation	KJV: You are My Servant	NIV: Salvation Reaches to the End of the Earth
5. And now, says YHWH, that formed me in the womb to be his servant/slave, to bring Jacob back to him; though Israel is not gathered to him, I will be honoured in YHWH's eyes and God will be my refuge.	And now, saith the LORD that formed me from the womb to be his servant, to bring Jacob again to him, Though Israel be not gathered, yet shall I be glorious in the eyes of the LORD, and my God shall be my strength.	And now says the LORD, who formed Me from the womb to be His Servant, To bring Jacob back to Him, so that Israel might be gathered to Him, (For I am honored in the sight of the LORD, And My God is My strength),
6. Hes says, it is easy to be a servant/slave to me, to raise up the tribes of Jacob, and to preserve Israel. I will also make you a light to the nations, that my salvation may reach to the ends of the earth.	And he said, It is a light thing that thou shouldest be my servant to raise up the tribes of Jacob, and to restore the preserved of Israel: I will also give thee for a light to the Gentiles, that thou mayest be my salvation unto the end of the earth.	He says, "It is too small a thing that You should be My Servant To raise up the tribes of Jacob and to restore the preserved ones of Israel; I will also make You a light of the nations So that My salvation may reach to the end of the earth."

Isaiah 50:4-11 (Afterlife in Matthew 27:27-31; Mark 15:16-20; Luke 22:63-65; John 19:1-15)

My Translation	KJV: The Servant's Obedience	NIV
4. The YHWH God has given me a learned tongue, to know how to sustain him that is weary with a word: Morning by morning he awakens, he awakens my ear to hear as one who is taught.	The Lord GOD hath given me the tongue of the learned, that I should know how to speak a word in season to him that is weary: he wakeneth morning by morning, he wakeneth mine ear to hear as the learned.	The Sovereign LORD has given me a well-instructed tongue, to know the word that sustains the weary. He wakens me morning by morning, wakens my ear to listen like one being instructed.
5. Lord YHWH opened my ear, I did not rebel and I did not turn back.	The Lord GOD hath opened mine ear, and I was not rebellious, neither turned away back.	The Sovereign LORD has opened my ears; I have not been rebellious, I have not turned away.
6. I gave my back to those who struck me, and my cheeks to those who plucked out my beard; I did not hide my face from disgrace and spitting.	I gave my back to the smiters, and my cheeks to them that plucked off the hair: I hid not my face from shame and spitting.	I offered my back to those who beat me, my cheeks to those who pulled out my beard; I did not hide my face from mocking and spitting.
7. Lord YHWH helps me, thus I will not be humiliated, Therefore I have set my face as flint and I know that I will not be ashamed.	For the Lord GOD will help me; therefore shall I not be confounded: therefore have I set my face like a flint, and I know that I shall not be ashamed.	Because the Sovereign LORD helps me, I will not be disgraced. Therefore have I set my face like flint, and I know I will not be put to shame.
8. He who justifies me is near. Who will contend with me? Let us stand up together. Who is my accuser? Let him confront me.	He is near that justifieth me; who will contend with me? let us stand together: who is mine adversary? let him come near to me.	He who vindicates me is near. Who then will bring charges against me? Let us face each other! Who is my accuser? Let him confront me!

My Translation	KJV: The Servant's Obedience	NIV
9. It is Lord YHWH that will help me; who will condemn me? Behold they will all wear out as garments; the moth will eat them up.	Behold, the Lord GOD will help me; who is he that shall condemn me? lo, they all shall wax old as a garment; the moth shall eat them up.	It is the Sovereign LORD who helps me. Who will condemn me? They will all wear out like a garment; the moths will eat them up.
10. Who is among you that fears YHWH, that hears/obeys the voice of his servant who walks in darkness and has no light? Let him trust in the name of YHWH and rely upon God.	Who is among you that feareth the LORD, that obeyeth the voice of his servant, that walketh in darkness, and hath no light? let him trust in the name of the LORD, and stay upon his God.	Who among you fears the LORD and obeys the word of his servant? Let the one who walks in the dark, who has no light, trust in the name of the LORD and rely on their God.
11. Behold all you who kindle fire, that equip yourselves with torches. Walk in the light of your fire, and with the torches you have kindled. This will come from my hand; you will lie down in sorrow.	Behold, all ye that kindle a fire, that compass yourselves about with sparks: walk in the light of your fire, and in the sparks that ye have kindled. This shall ye have of mine hand; ye shall lie down in sorrow.	But now, all you who light fires and provide yourselves with flaming torches, go, walk in the light of your fires and of the torches you have set ablaze. This is what you shall receive from my hand: You will lie down in torment.

Isaiah 52:13–53:12 (Afterlife in Philippians 2:5-11; Matthew 26:57-68; Mark 14:53-65; John 18:19-24; 1 Peter 2:21-25; Matthew 27:57-61; Mark 15:42-47; Luke 23:50-56; John 19:38-42)

My Translation	KJV: The Servant Exalted	NIV: The Suffering and Glory of the Servant
52:13 See my servant will be wise, he will be exalted and lifted up, he will be very high.	Behold, my servant shall deal prudently, he shall be exalted and extolled, and be very high.	See, my servant will act wisely; he will be raised and lifted up and highly exalted.
52:14 As many were appalled at you, so marred was his appearance, more than any man, his form more than humankind:	As many were astonished at thee; his visage was so marred more than any man, and his form more than the sons of men:	Just as there were many who were appalled at him ^ε — his appearance was so disfigured beyond that of any human being and his form marred beyond human likeness—
52:15 So he will sprinkle many nations, kings will shut their mouths because of him, for that which had not been told to them, they will see, and that which they had not heard, they will understand.	So shall he sprinkle many nations; the kings shall shut their mouths at him: for that which had not been told them shall they see; and that which they had not heard shall they consider.	so he will sprinkle many nations, and kings will shut their mouths because of him. For what they were not told, they will see, and what they have not heard, they will understand.
53:1 Who believed our report? And to whom has the arm of YHWH been revealed?	The Suffering Servant Who hath believed our report? and to whom is the arm of the LORD revealed?	Who has believed our message

		and to whom has the arm of the LORD been revealed?
My Translation	KJV	NIV
53:2 For he will grow up before him like a tender plant, and like a root from dry ground. He has no form or majesty, and when we see him, there is nothing in his appearance that we should desire him.	For he shall grow up before him as a tender plant, and as a root out of a dry ground: he hath no form nor comeliness; and when we shall see him, there is no beauty that we should desire him.	He grew up before him like a tender shoot, and like a root out of dry ground. He had no beauty or majesty to attract us to him, nothing in his appearance that we should desire him.
53:3 He is despised and rejected by men, a man of sorrows, acquainted with grief. We hid our faces from him, he was despised and not esteemed.	He is despised and rejected of men; a man of sorrows, and acquainted with grief: and we hid as it were our faces from him; he was despised, and we esteemed him not.	He was despised and rejected by mankind, a man of suffering, and familiar with pain. Like one from whom people hide their faces he was despised, and we held him in low esteem.
53:4 Surely he has carried our griefs and borne our sorrows, but we did not esteem him, stricken, smitten of God and humiliated/afflicted.	Surely he hath borne our griefs, and carried our sorrows: yet we did esteem him stricken, smitten of God, and afflicted.	Surely he took up our pain and bore our suffering, yet we considered him punished by God, stricken by him, and afflicted.
53:5 He was pierced for our transgressions, crushed for our iniquities, the chastisement that brought us peace was upon him and by his wounds we are healed.	But he was wounded for our transgressions, he was bruised for our iniquities: the chastisement of our peace was upon him; and with his stripes we are healed.	But he was pierced for our transgressions, he was crushed for our iniquities; the punishment that brought us peace was on him, and by his wounds we are healed.
53:6 We are all as sheep who have gone astray, we have turned each one to our own way; YHWH has laid all our iniquities upon him.	All we like sheep have gone astray; we have turned every one to his own way; and the LORD hath laid on him the iniquity of us all.	We all, like sheep, have gone astray, each of us has turned to our own way; and the LORD has laid on him the iniquity of us all.
53: 7 He was oppressed and afflicted, yet he did not open his mouth; like a lamb that is led to the slaughter, and as a sheep that is silent before its shearers, so he did not open his mouth.	He was oppressed, and he was afflicted, yet he opened not his mouth: he is brought as a lamb to the slaughter, and as a sheep before her shearers is dumb, so he openeth not his mouth.	He was oppressed and afflicted, yet he did not open his mouth; he was led like a lamb to the slaughter, and as a sheep before its shearers is silent, so he did not open his mouth.
53:8 From oppression and judgment he was taken away. Who of his generation considered him? For he was cut off from the land of the living, stricken for the transgression of my people.	He was taken from prison and from judgment: and who shall declare his generation? for he was cut off out of the land of the living: for the transgression of my people was he stricken.	By oppression ^a and judgment he was taken away. Yet who of his generation protested? For he was cut off from the land of the living; for the transgression of my people he was punished.

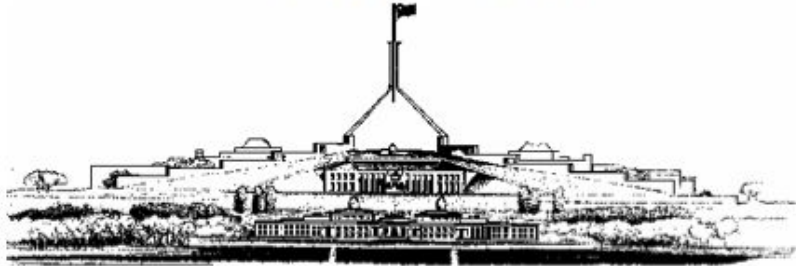
<i>My Translation</i>	<i>KJV</i>	<i>NIV</i>
<p>53:9 He made his grave with the wicked, and with the rich in his death, though he had done no violence and there was no deceit in his mouth.</p>	<p>A Grave Assigned And he made his grave with the wicked, and with the rich in his death; because he had done no violence, neither was any deceit in his mouth.</p>	<p>He was assigned a grave with the wicked, and with the rich in his death, though he had done no violence, nor was any deceit in his mouth.</p>
<p>53:10 YHWH delights to crush him, to put him to grief. When he makes his soul a guilt offering, he will see his offspring, and prolong his days; through him the will of YHWH will prosper in his hand.</p>	<p>Yet it pleased the LORD to bruise him; he hath put him to grief: when thou shalt make his soul an offering for sin, he shall see his seed, he shall prolong his days, and the pleasure of the LORD shall prosper in his hand.</p>	<p>Yet it was the LORD's will to crush him and cause him to suffer, and though the LORD makes ^e his life an offering for sin, he will see his offspring and prolong his days, and the will of the LORD will prosper in his hand.</p>
<p>53:11 From anguish his soul will see light and he will find satisfaction. Through his knowledge, the righteous one, my servant, will bear their many iniquities.</p>	<p>He shall see of the travail of his soul, and shall be satisfied: by his knowledge shall my righteous servant justify many; for he shall bear their iniquities.</p>	<p>After he has suffered, he will see the light of life ^d and be satisfied ^e; by his knowledge ^f my righteous servant will justify many, and he will bear their iniquities.</p>
<p>53:12 Therefore I will give him a portion with the great, and he will divide the spoils with the mighty; because he poured himself out unto death, and numbered with the transgressors, he bore their many sins and interceded for the transgressors.</p>	<p>Therefore will I divide him a portion with the great, and he shall divide the spoil with the strong; because he hath poured out his soul unto death: and he was numbered with the transgressors; and he bare the sin of many, and made intercession for the transgressors.</p>	<p>Therefore I will give him a portion among the great, ^g and he will divide the spoils with the strong, ^h because he poured out his life unto death, and was numbered with the transgressors. For he bore the sin of many, and made intercession for the transgressors.</p>

APPENDIX E – GILLARD’S MISOGYNY SPEECH



COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA

PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES



HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

MOTIONS

Speaker

SPEECH

Tuesday, 9 October 2012

BY AUTHORITY OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

SPEECH

Date Tuesday, 9 October 2012 Page 11581 Questioner Speaker Gillard, Julia, MP	Source House Proof No Responder Question No.
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Ms GILLARD (Lalor—Prime Minister) (14:42): I rise to oppose the motion moved by the Leader of the Opposition, and in so doing I say to the Leader of the Opposition: I will not be lectured about sexism and misogyny by this man. I will not. The government will not be lectured about sexism and misogyny by this man—not now, not ever. The Leader of the Opposition says that people who hold sexist views and who are misogynists are not appropriate for high office. Well, I hope the Leader of the Opposition has a piece of paper and he is writing out his resignation, because if he wants to know what misogyny looks like in modern Australia he does not need a motion in the House of Representatives; he needs a mirror. That is what he needs.

Let's go through the opposition leader's repulsive double standards when it comes to misogyny and sexism. We are now supposed to take seriously that the Leader of the Opposition is offended by Mr Slipper's text messages, when this is what the Leader of the Opposition said when he was a minister under the last government—not when he was a student, not when he was in high school but when he was a minister under the last government. In a discussion about women being underrepresented in institutions of power in Australia, the interviewer was a man called Stavros and the Leader of the Opposition said: 'If it's true, Stavros, that men have more power, generally speaking, than women, is that a bad thing?'

Then a discussion ensued and another person being interviewed said, 'I want my daughter to have as much opportunity as my son,' to which the Leader of the Opposition said: 'Yes, I completely agree, but what if men are by physiology or temperament more adapted to exercise authority or to issue command?' Then ensues another discussion about women's role in modern society, and the other person participating in the discussions says, 'I think it's very hard to deny that there is an underrepresentation of women,' to which the Leader of the Opposition says, 'But there's an assumption that this is a bad thing.' This is the man from whom we are supposed to take lectures about sexism!

And it goes on. I was very offended personally when the Leader of the Opposition as minister for health said, 'Abortion is the easy way out.' I was very personally offended by those comments. He said that in March 2004, and I suggest he check the records. I was also very offended on behalf of the women of Australia when in the course of the carbon pricing campaign the Leader of the Opposition said, 'What the housewives of Australia need to understand as they do the ironing.' Thank you for that painting of women's roles in modern Australia! Then, of course, I am offended by the sexism, by the misogyny, of the Leader of the Opposition catcalling across this table at me as I sit here as Prime Minister, 'if the Prime Minister wants to, politically speaking, make an honest woman of herself—something that would never have been said to any man sitting in this chair.'

I was offended when the Leader of the Opposition went outside the front of the parliament and stood next to a sign that said 'Ditch the witch'. I was offended when the Leader of the Opposition stood next to a sign that described me as a man's bitch. I was offended by those things. It is misogyny, sexism, every day from this Leader of the Opposition. Every day, in every way, across the time the Leader of the Opposition has sat in that chair and I have sat in this chair, that is all we have heard from him.

Now the Leader of the Opposition wants to be taken seriously. Apparently he has woken up, after this track record and all of these statements, and has gone, 'Oh dear, there is this thing called sexism; oh my lord, there is this thing called misogyny. Who is one of them? The Speaker must be because that suits my political purpose.' He does not turn a hair about any of his past statements; does not walk into this parliament and apologise to the women of Australia; does not walk into this parliament and apologise to me for the things that have come out of his mouth—but he now seeks to use this as a battering ram against someone else. This kind of hypocrisy should not be tolerated, which is why this motion from the Leader of the Opposition should not be taken seriously.

Second, the Leader of the Opposition is always wonderful at walking into this parliament and giving me and others a lecture about what they should take responsibility for. He is always wonderful about everything that I should take responsibility for, now apparently including the text messages of the member for Fisher. He is always

CHAMBER

keen to say others should assume responsibility, particularly me. Can anybody remind me whether the Leader of the Opposition has taken any responsibility for the conduct of the Sydney Young Liberals and the attendance at their event of members of his frontbench? Has he taken any responsibility for the conduct of members of his political party and members of his frontbench, who apparently when the most vile things were being said about my family raised no voice of objection.

Government members interjecting—

The DEPUTY SPEAKER (Ms AE Burke): Order! Ministers on the front bench are not assisting.

Ms GILLARD: No-one walked out of the room, no-one walked up to Mr Jones and said that this was not acceptable. Instead, it was all viewed as good fun—until it was run in a Sunday newspaper, and then the Leader of the Opposition and others started ducking for cover. He is big on lectures on responsibility; very light on accepting responsibility himself for the vile conduct of members of his political party.

I turn to the third reason why the Leader of the Opposition should not be taken seriously on this motion. The Leader of the Opposition and the Deputy Leader of the Opposition have come into this place and talked about the member for Fisher. Let me remind the opposition, and the Leader of the Opposition particularly, about their track record and association with the member for Fisher. I remind them that the National Party preselected the member for Fisher for the 1984 election, that the National Party preselected the member for Fisher for the 1987 election, and that the Liberal Party preselected the member for Fisher for the 1993 election, then for the 1996 election, then for the 1998 election, then for the 2001 election, then for the 2004 election, then for the 2007 election and then for the 2010 election. Across many of those preselections Mr Slipper enjoyed the personal support of the Leader of the Opposition. I remind the Leader of the Opposition that on 28 September 2010, following the last election campaign when Mr Slipper was elected as Deputy Speaker, the Leader of the Opposition referred to the member for Maranoa, who was also elected to a position at the same time, and went on:

... the member for Maranoa and the member for Fisher will serve as a fine complement to the member for Scullin in the chair. I believe that the parliament will be well served by the team which will occupy the chair in this chamber ... I congratulate the member for Fisher, who has been a friend of mine for a very long time who has served this parliament in many capacities with distinction ...

They are the words of the Leader of the Opposition on record about his personal friendship with Mr Slipper and on record about his view of Mr Slipper's qualities and attributes to be the Speaker. There is no walking away from those words—they were the statements of the Leader of the Opposition then.

I remind the Leader of the Opposition, who now comes in here and speaks about Mr Slipper and apparently his inability to work with or talk to Mr Slipper, that he attended Mr Slipper's wedding. Did he walk up to Mr Slipper in the middle of the service and say he was disgusted to be there? Was that the attitude he took? No, he attended that wedding as a friend. The Leader of the Opposition is keen to lecture others about what they ought to know or did know about Mr Slipper but, with respect, I would say to the Leader of the Opposition that, after a long personal association, including attending Mr Slipper's wedding, it would be interesting to know whether the Leader of the Opposition was surprised by these text messages. He is certainly in a position to speak more intimately about Mr Slipper than I am and many other people in this parliament are, given this long personal association. Then, of course, the Leader of the Opposition comes into this place and says:

And every day the Prime Minister stands in this parliament to defend this Speaker will be another day of shame for this parliament; another day of shame for a government which should already have died of shame.

I indicate to the Leader of the Opposition that the government is not dying of shame—and my father did not die of shame. What the Leader of the Opposition should be ashamed of is his performance in this parliament and the sexism he brings with it.

Opposition members interjecting—

Ms Macklin: You used those words. It is a quote.

Ms GILLARD: That is a direct quote from the Leader of the Opposition, so I suggest those groaning have a word with him.

CHAMBER

On the conduct of Mr Slipper and on the text messages which are in the public domain—I have seen the press reports of those text messages and I am offended by their content. I am offended by their content because I am always offended by sexism. I am offended by their content because I am always offended by statements which are anti women. I am offended by those things in the same way I have been offended by things the Leader of the Opposition has said and no doubt will continue to say in the future—because if this, today, was an exhibition of his new feminine side, I do not think we have much to look forward to in terms of changed conduct.

I am offended by those text messages but I also believe that, in making a decision about the speakership, this parliament should recognise that there is court case in progress and that the judge has reserved his decision. Having waited for a number of months for the legal matters surrounding Mr Slipper to come to a conclusion, this parliament should see that conclusion. I believe that is the appropriate path forward and that people will then have an opportunity to make up their minds with the fullest information available to them.

But, whenever people make up their minds about those questions, what I will not stand for—what I will never stand for—is the Leader of the Opposition coming into this place and peddling a double standard. I will not stand for him peddling a standard for Mr Slipper he would not set for his himself, peddling a standard for Mr Slipper he has not set for other members of his frontbench or peddling a standard for Mr Slipper which has not been met by the people—such as his former shadow parliamentary secretary, Senator Bernardi—who have been sent out to say the vilest and most revolting things. I will not ever allow the Leader of the Opposition to impose his double standards on this parliament.

Sexism should always be unacceptable. We should always conduct ourselves in such a way as to make it clear that it is unacceptable. The Leader of the Opposition says, 'Do something.' He could do something himself if he wanted to deal with sexism in this parliament. He could change his behaviour, he could apologise for all his past statements and he could apologise for standing next to signs describing me as a witch and a bitch—terminology now objected to by the frontbench of the opposition. He could change standards himself if he sought to do so. But we will see none of that from the Leader of the Opposition, because on these questions he is incapable of change. He is capable of double standards but incapable of change. His double standards should not rule this parliament.

Good sense, common sense and proper process are what should rule this parliament. That is what I believe is the path forward for this parliament, not the kinds of double standards and political game playing imposed by the Leader of the Opposition, who is now looking at his watch because, apparently, a woman has spoken for too long—I have, in the past, had him yell at me to shut up.

But I will take the remaining seconds of my speaking time to say to the Leader of the Opposition that I think the best course for him is to reflect on the standards he has exhibited in public life, on the responsibility he should take for his public statements, on his close personal connection with Peter Slipper and on the hypocrisy he has displayed in this House today. On that basis, because of the Leader of the Opposition's motivations, this parliament should today reject this motion, and the Leader of the Opposition should think seriously about the role of women in public life and in Australian society—because we are entitled to a better standard than this.

APPENDIX F – MORRISON’S FLOODS & BRITTANY HIGGINS SPEECH



The Hon. Scott Morrison MP
Prime Minister

**TRANSCRIPT
PRESS CONFERENCE
AUSTRALIAN PARLIAMENT HOUSE, ACT
TUESDAY 23 MARCH 2021**

EO&E...

PRIME MINISTER: Good morning everyone. I wanted to do two things this morning. I want to address again the rather disturbing and continuing serious situation with the floods occurring across the eastern seaboard of Australia and the further reports I've received from Emergency Management today. And I wanted to address, following that, the rather disgusting and shocking reports that were brought to my attention last night in those reports.

First of all, though, let me address the very serious situation that is being confronted by Australians in New South Wales but also in South East Queensland and increasingly in other states. I'm advised that the rain and flood situation does remain dynamic and extremely complex. This is a complex weather event and becoming more complex. 100mm of rain is forecast across saturated catchments today. Flood and severe weather warnings have been issued across the country, extending from South East Queensland to the Victorian border. A trough on the east coast has merged with a trough extending from the Kimberleys to the east coast, causing heavy rain and inland flooding. This is moving to being not just a coastal event. Severe weather, high winds, damaging surf and heavy rain is forecast for the east coast today and the system is causing heavy rain from Batemans Bay to the Victorian border as this storm moves south. The system is expected to ease by late Wednesday but the floodwaters remain persistent for sometime. Western New South Wales, north-eastern South Australia, south-western Queensland and east and west Australia have been affected by inland flooding. Brisbane and the Gold Coast have been impacted by heavy rain and that is causing flash flooding.

In terms of the response, 1,700 SES volunteers are responding to this event, supported by the New South Wales Rural Fire Service and Fire and Rescue Services. 18,000 people have been impacted by evacuation orders. 16 evacuation orders for 24 locations. 20 further evacuation warnings with 18 evacuation centres operating. I do note that particularly those evacuation centres in the Sydney metropolitan area have not been used to the extent that New South Wales authorities thought they may. People have largely gone to be supported by people in their own homes and the evacuation process in New South Wales and support for those individuals has been working extremely well, and I commend both those who are directly impacted and those who are helping them in their time of need and the excellent planning that has been done by New South Wales authorities. I spoke to the Premier again this morning following my updates from Emergency Management Australia today. As difficult as this issue is, people are remaining calm. We

need to see them continuing to follow the instructions that are out there. If it is flooded, forget it. Don't go out for a surf. I say that to people including in my own electorate when I had reports of people going out there yesterday. Don't do it. You are putting not only yourself at risk but you are putting those who would have to come to your assistance at risk also and we urge you to follow the instructions of the local authorities on all of these matters.

Rainfall is expected to be worse along the south coast, as I said earlier, with isolated falls of 300mm possible. Rain and associated flooding will begin to cover a wider area of central New South Wales. Initial moderate warnings for catchments near Bathurst and Dubbo. At this point, I don't have advice that we are looking at an inland event that were similar to what occurred in North Queensland which destroyed the North Queensland livestock industry which has taken us the last two years to recover from. But we are watching that very closely. The potential for major flooding in the Murray Darling Basin catchment is anticipated and major flooding may continue in the Hawkesbury and Nepean until Friday due to forecast rainfall and Western Sydney remains the area of greatest concern. Warragamba Dam is expected to spill over for another seven days at least. Telco impact assessments have not been completed in all areas but several hundred homes have been flooded, roads damaged, livestock and wildlife lost, telecommunications and power outages across the flooded areas have been reported. Telcos and power companies are standing by to re-establish power and communications. New South Wales have requested assistance for two search and rescue helicopters and that has already been activated from the ADF and right now they are assisting with evacuations from Colo to RAAF at Richmond. A request for assistance has also been put in by the New South Wales Government and is currently being assessed and planned for by Defence which would see somewhere between 500 and 1,000 ADF personnel deployed and engineering support to assist with the clean-up. The Premier and I discussed this this morning. I am expecting a CAT-C request to come through today which will be actioned immediately and the Premier and I will be working on that clean-up effort. We want this clean-up effort to be done swiftly and effectively to try and get these communities back on their feet as quickly as we possibly can.

No lives, thankfully, to this point have been lost and we pray that will continue to be the situation and we still have no persons reported missing as well. So amongst all of this terrible tragedy and loss that is there, thankfully we have not seen that as yet. Resilience NSW is planning for cleanup and early recovery operations when floodwaters recede, and I am advised that 9,000 insurance claims have been received to date, and are on standby to start assessments, that is when the insurance industry, when they can get access to the flooded areas. Services Australia processed 2,579 claims up to 8.00pm last night for financial support, and already \$3.5 million has gone out the door. There are a further more than 1,000 claims that are being worked on right now. If you are in one of those areas and you acquire that assistance, those are \$1000 payments for eligible adults, \$400 payments for eligible children, you can get access to that on 180 22 66. That number again, 180 22 66. Your claim will be processed on the phone, there will not be a need to fill out all these forms at that point and go through all those administrative processes, just as we did during the bushfires. You will get access to that as soon as possible. Services Australia have surged their support in their call centres and other places to ensure they can meet the demand that comes through.

We have very competent agencies in our states. They do an excellent job in these situations. Where they need additional support, it will come, and it will flow quickly, but I want Australians to feel confident, particularly those in the affected areas, that the state agencies and authorities who are tasked with these responsibilities are very, very good at their job. They are world-class. You have the world's best out there looking after you today, and they will continue to be supported by the world's best federal agencies to ensure that you're getting every assistance that is needed. I will be meeting with the Defence planners today and Emergency Management later this morning to run over the plans for the deployment of those

supporting cleanup operations, so we are in a position to give a swift response to the New South Wales Government as we possibly can.

Now to the other rather disturbing events of those further reports last night. I am shocked and I am disgusted. It is shameful. It is just absolutely shameful. I was completely stunned, as I have been on more than one occasion over the course of this last month. All of this has been shocking, it has been disgraceful. It has been a month of such reports. Indeed, reports involving the conduct of staff and of Coalition Government members and ministers, but as you know, reports of equally disgraceful and despicable activities anonymised of those working in other parties. We must get this house in order. We must put the politics aside of these things and we must recognise this problem, acknowledge it, and we must fix it. This has been a very traumatic month. It began with Brittany Higgins and her revelations of what took place in this very building. I remember that day very well, I was equally shocked and stunned at receiving that news also. These events have triggered, right across this building, and indeed right across the country, women who have put up with this rubbish and this crap for their entire lives, as their mothers did, as their grandmothers did. It has been going on, we have been talking about it in this place for a month, they have been living with it for their entire lives. And the women listening to me today know that to be true.

So as much as it has been a topic of discussion here, and around the country specifically in relation to these disgraceful acts, it is something that has been the lived experience of Australian women for a very long time, and I welcome the spotlight that has now been placed on this. I acknowledge that many have not liked or appreciated some of my own personal responses to this over the course of the last month, and I accept that. Whether that was seeking to openly share how I try and deal with such traumatic events, people mightn't like the fact that I discuss these with my family. They are the closest people in my world to me. That is how I deal with things, I always have. I have grown up in a loving and supportive family, and I discuss these things with my family and those who are closest to me. No offence was intended by me saying that I discuss these issues with my wife. Equally, that is in no way an indication that these events had not already dramatically affected me already at that point. Equally, I accept that many were unhappy with the language that I used on the day of the protests. No offence was intended by that either. I could have chosen different words. I have already explained those matters in the House.

But what I am even more concerned about, even more importantly, I acknowledge that many Australians, especially women, believe that I have not heard them, and that greatly distresses me. I have been doing a lot of listening over this past month, but not for the first time, now is not the time for me to run over whether as a Minister for Immigration or a Treasurer or a Minister for Social Services, the keen interest I have shown in these issues. I'm not going to do that today. But particularly on these issues over the last month, I have been listening carefully. I have had many colleagues, I have had many friends and others that I have regular contact with, talk with me openly about the issues and the traumatic things that they have had to deal with over their lifetimes and members of their family. Let me tell you what I have heard. Women are too afraid to call out bad behaviour for fear of losing a job or being intimidated in the workplace. That is not OK, and it is not their fault, it is the environment we have allowed to be created. Women who are afraid to walk to their car from the train, and they carry their keys in their hand like a knife for fear of being attacked. That is not OK. That is not acceptable that in this country, a country as great as Australia, women walk daily in that fear. I have heard that women are overlooked, talked over, by men, whether it is in boardrooms, meetingrooms, staff rooms, in media conferences, in cabinets, or anywhere else. Overlooked and treated like they have nothing valuable to contribute. I have heard about being marginalised, women being intimidated, women being belittled, women being diminished, and women being objectified. That is not OK. I have heard that women, when offered a job, take the salary offered because they do not feel they can ask for more, whereas the blokes do and they get it. That is not

OK. Whether this is unconscious deafness and blindness, or whether it is wilful malevolence, that is behind all of this, it must be acknowledged, it must be called out, and it must stop. That is all our job. It is my job, it is my Minister's jobs, it is my Members and Senators jobs, it is your job. This is not something that is of a scale that any government can simply change, it is something we must change as a society because we know it happens all over this country. But for me and my house, the House I work in here, then we must take responsibility. It is our problem here, it is our responsibility here, and I'm committed to dealing with that. We must do better in this place, all of us, and in our country we must do better.

Now, forgive me the indulgence, forgive me this indulgence. I want women to have at least the same opportunities and the same voice and the same safety as men in this country. I have the deepest of vested interests. Criticise me if you like, for speaking about my daughters, but they are the centre of my life. My wife is the centre of my life. My mother, my widowed mother, is the centre of my life. They motivate me every day on this issue. They have motivated me my entire life, they have taught me the values and the faith that sustains me every single day in this job, which is why I am here. I owe them everything. And to them, I say to you girls, I will not let you down. To the many other women who are in this place, who have shared their stories with me, I thank you for your feedback, your honesty, your support, your counsel, and your courage. I know there are plenty of women who work in this building today, whether they be Members or Senators or Ministers, shadow ministers, staff, journalists, who say why should I bother? Why should I bother? Why shouldn't I just walk away? There has never been a more important time for women to stand in this place. I want to see more women in this place. I have done many things to get more women in this place and I intend to do more. I have put more women in my Cabinet than any other Prime Minister ever has before, and I look forward to doing more. I need women to stand with me as we go about this, as we stand together, I need them to stand in this place, I need them to stand right where they are, I need them to continue to blaze the trail right here this place. I admire their courage and I call on it. Questions?

JOURNALIST: You say it's your responsibility, that you're responsible for the culture in this place and you're committed to dealing with it. What concrete measures are you actually going to take to try and address these problems?

PRIME MINISTER: A couple of measures. First of all, you are aware of the changes we've already introduced for the direct counselling support that is available, and I suspect particularly for women in this building. I'm pleased to know that that support service is already being used by women in this place, and men in this place, it is also being used by those who are seeking support for how they deal with these issues, and I think that has been a very useful service that has been put in place and the additional resources and support. In addition to that, of course the Jenkins review, Kate Jenkins will be speaking in my party room this morning, and I am looking forward to the multi-party outcomes that come from that process. But I am not waiting for the report to come back. I have asked for the Deputy Secretary Department of Prime Minister and Cabinet to come back for me. She is still working on that report and she has asked for some further time on the report to get it right, and that would be, in particular, putting in place a more robust and independent complaints mechanism for staff and members and senators to be able to have access to, to ensure that we can deal with that more fully. I am speaking to all Coalition staff later today. Good people come and work in this building, you all know that. There are some people who have done some despicable things in this place. These things are just so foreign to me that I can hardly process them, as I am sure I would hope that most people would be in a similar situation. And most people who come to work in this place, I want to assure Australians, do not come here and behave in that way. But there are people who do and that needs to be addressed, and if people have information on that conduct then I implore them to come forward as that is the only way that I can deal with those issues. But it is not just a responsibility for me. I am the leader of the Liberal Party and I'm the Prime Minister of the

country and leader of the Government, but we have many people in this building who have responsibility for how this place operates. Whether it is the leaders of other parties, and whether it is those who are presiding officers over these chambers in this place, the many others who support in senior roles the staff around this building, and indeed in the gallery, yourselves, and the leadership within your own organisations have responsibilities here in terms of how things occur in this place as well. We all work in this building, we all have those responsibilities. I am taking mine and I call on others to take theirs.

JOURNALIST: One of the things that would make women feel a lot safer right now would be if you could make it compulsory for harassment...

PRIME MINISTER: I couldn't quite hear over the cameras, I'm sorry.

JOURNALIST: ...compulsory harassment and misconduct training for all office staff and MPs in this building, that is something you can do right now, will you commit to that? And do commit to a zero tolerance policy with regards to any of the other individuals involved in the report last night that they will be sacked if they are identified?

PRIME MINISTER: On the latter point I think we have already demonstrated our resolve on that issue and you can expect us to follow through on it in exactly the same way. That sort of behaviour has no place here, it has absolutely no place there. It is disgusting. In terms of the other recommendation, that is one that I entirely expect the Deputy Secretary to come forward with. So I'm not expecting that to take much longer but I would like to act on all of those recommendations and I anticipate that is one such recommendation that will come forward in that report and one that I would strongly support.

JOURNALIST: Prime Minister, you say you want more women in this place. This morning Karen Andrews said that she thinks the Liberal Party should seriously consider quotas. Is that something you would consider now and if not why?

PRIME MINISTER: My colleagues know that I have been open to that conversation for some time.

JOURNALIST: Prime Minister, two things. There will be women listening to your comments this morning wondering why it took you a month to get to their lived reality that they started with on the day where Brittany Higgins came forward. Can you explain why it took you a month to get to this position? And another thing, just following on from the 4 Corners report last night, the security guard who was interviewed on camera said there was no security breach in relation to the staffer who was alleged to have committed the sexual assault on Brittany Higgins. Now, the Government says that staffer was terminated for a security breach. What was the security breach?

PRIME MINISTER: I'm happy to take you through that. On the other issue, Katharine, this has been a terribly difficult month. I was shocked and appalled when I learnt of the situation involving Brittany Higgins. And I have been shocked and appalled by all of the other matters that have come forward since. But as the month has progressed and as I have engaged with so many women, what has become the issue, and rightly, is that this is not just about the terrible things that have happened to one woman in this place. We moved immediately to start addressing issues around that particular case but this is far bigger than that and I think that is the voice that has arisen over the course of this past month. This was a shout about what is happening across Australia, not just the specific events. If we were to just continue to focus on the events that happen in this place - and we will, and must, as I said - there is something much bigger here that has been illuminated, thankfully, by these rather traumatic reports that have gone right across

the spectrum here. We are all human beings, Katharine, and what I have sought to do today is just be very honest with people. Please don't think that these events haven't created great turmoil for me over the course of the past month. At the same time, as the Prime Minister, when I am dealing with many other issues at the same time, also very significant, whether it is floods or vaccines or COVID pandemics, international issues, Australians also expect me to be focusing on those as well. So that is my honest answer. It is processed, I have heard, I have listened and I will have a lot more to say about this in the next month about further action. But today is not a day for me to list out a list of further actions. I've listed some in response to direct questions. Today, Australian women in particular, but Australians more broadly because it is not just Australian women who have identified this over the past month, Australians need to know that this place has heard them and that I have heard them and I want to assure you that I have. Sorry, on the other matter. I did see that interview last night. Obviously the security guard in question doesn't have the full information about this case and other contributing incidents that preceded this case. Senator Reynolds has previously confirmed to the Senate there was a security breach involving unauthorised access to her office and I have been advised this followed an earlier security breach by the male staff member that related to the handling of classified documents in what is clearly a highly sensitive portfolio area. Consequently, this was considered serious misconduct in relation to the statements of standards for ministerial staff. So in other words, he had some form when it came to the security issues regarding that office and this was the final straw. Obviously, the security guard in question would not have been familiar with those aspects. We are dealing with an office that had and was dealing with quite sensitive material. It was the Defence Industry Minister's office at the time and so there was some prior issues here and this final event was the one that triggered his dismissal.

JOURNALIST: Prime Minister, if you're the boss at a business and there had been an alleged rape on your watch and this incident we heard about last night on your watch, your job would probably be in a bit of jeopardy, wouldn't it? Doesn't it look like you have lost control of your ministerial staff?

PRIME MINISTER: I will let you editorialise as you like, Andrew, but if anyone in this room wants to offer up the standards in their own workplaces by comparison I would invite you to do so.

JOURNALIST: Well, they're better than these I would suggest, Prime Minister.

PRIME MINISTER: Let me take you up on that. Let me take you up on that. Right now, you would be aware that in your own organisation that there is a person who has had a complaint made against them for harassment of a woman in a women's toilet and that matter is being pursued by your own HR department.

JOURNALIST: I am not aware of it.

PRIME MINISTER: You are not aware of it. So let's not all of us who sit in glass houses here start getting into that.

JOURNALIST: [Inaudible]

PRIME MINISTER: What I am suggesting to you is that there are serious issues here that no one individual can be overwatch on every single inch of this place every second of the day and I don't think any Australian has that reasonable expectation. As far as I'm aware, the incident that was reported last night occurred long before I was Prime Minister of this place. So it is not a matter that occurred while I was even Prime Minister. That goes to a long-standing culture of despicable behaviour in this place. So that is not

something that I could be directly held accountable even when I wasn't in the role. What I am held accountable is what I do now and that is what I am outlining to you today. So you are free to make your criticisms and to stand on that pedestal but be careful.

JOURNALIST: You said in your opening remarks on this subject about the forces that have been at work here over the past month and the sort of surge amongst women in Australia and all of these issues raised by this. Does it change your thinking on your handling of the allegations against Mr Porter in terms of the there will be no inquiry as to his fitness to remain in the ministry? Or are you still of the view that the way you're handling that is correct?

PRIME MINISTER: As I indicated, I was getting advice from the Solicitor-General. I have received that advice and I am now taking advice through the Department regarding how that sits with the ministerial standards and I will be making further decisions on that matter and I will alert you to those when they are made.

JOURNALIST: Do you think that your so-called star chamber needs to improve its vetting of potential staff? And secondly, have you responded to Russell Broadbent's suggestion of a gathering of representatives of women's organisations nationally, and if you haven't, what is your thinking?

PRIME MINISTER: On the latter, such a process is already under way. As we go forward to the next National Action Plan, it is already part of that National Action Plan, and the process for developing it to bring forward such a summit or gathering or whatever term you would like to use. So that is already an initiative that is in train and being pursued by the Minister for Women and I am looking forward to that. So I will have more to say about that in the weeks ahead. So that is another area of activity that is already happening and what I have noted in the course of this past month, there have been many excellent suggestions. Some have already been implemented and more will be and I welcome them. I particularly welcome them from people as experienced as Russell is in this place and I have a great deal of respect for. Just remind me on the other point, Michelle?

JOURNALIST: The star chamber.

PRIME MINISTER: This is a process in which people might not be aware of this process but when it comes to appointment of people in ministerial offices, there is a minister and a group of other senior staff involved in vetting the applications, not unlike what you would see in a HR department or something like that for important appointments across any corporate. So that is just using that similar process to what occurs in other workplaces. I think it is a helpful process and in particular I would want to be sure that when they meet and they consider these things, these very serious matters that have arisen over the course of the past month, would continue to be included in how they assess these things. I am aware that as that group has operated in the past, it has acted to ensure that where there have been concerns about this in the past that those concerns are followed through when considering these appointments. So I see it, Michelle, I think as a positive contribution to the process to provide further protection.

JOURNALIST: Did the staff member in last night's report receive termination payments and or references from your Government?

PRIME MINISTER: I would have to refer you to the Minister on that one. But they have been terminated. For one termination. I am still not aware of who the other individuals are and we have taken steps to

reach out to the person who allegedly knows who these individuals are and we are very keen to hear from them.

JOURNALIST: Prime Minister, on that the whistleblower claims that the sacked staffer would be able to shed a great deal of light on the other staffers, including those currently in the building as well as the allegations around sex workers being let into the building. Will any effort be made to reach out to the sacked staffer to see if he is willing to go into some detail about that? And just another one, if I can, is it accurate that before the last election, you were genuinely interested in the concept of quotas, going back to that question? Was it something you contemplated as a way to try to increase the number of women in your ranks, not just in your ministry, and if so or even if not, is it time to look at that?

PRIME MINISTER: On the second point, I will give you the same answer. My colleagues know well that I am very open to these questions. I have had some frustrations about trying to get women preselected and running for the Liberal Party to come into this place. I have had those frustrations for many years going back to the times when I was a state director where I actively sought to recruit female candidates, whether it was for state or Federal Parliament. I remember one who got preselected during my time and she has gone on to do a pretty amazing job leading the state of New South Wales right now at a time of a crisis. There are many others that I have sought to encourage into this place and I was greatly supported by an amazing female president in the Liberal Party NSW, Christine McDiven, who went on to become federal president, who I know of no greater champion for women in the Liberal Party at an organisational level than Chris. She blazed a trail and I am looking for others in the organisation, Danielle Blain over in Western Australia I know is doing an amazing job to do the same thing. I want to give them every support I can. But I am making it pretty clear that when it comes that issue, I don't hold the same reservations that others do. Why? And I think many Liberals have been coming to this view over time. We tried it the other way and it isn't getting us the results we would like to see so I would like to see us do better on that front. On the other issue, yes of course, we will seek to gain as much information about that matter by those who know about it, as much as possible. I would ask given the sensitivity of this issue, and I know you understand this, Peter, that these are very traumatic events and we have people at the moment you are on a close watch for their own personal safety and so I would just simply ask for people to be aware of that. You all have your normal protocols for how you report these things and how you include in your stories the appropriate call numbers and things like that. So I am not making a criticism, I want to be clear about that, but I would just ask people that it is a very sensitive time here in this building. This place has seen events, before my time, under pressure, Mark, you will remember them, as will others experienced in the gallery, Michelle, and others, Chris. Let's just be careful in the weeks ahead. We are going to deal with this but we want to make sure we do things as carefully and sensitively as we can.

JOURNALIST: The statements you have made today, Prime Minister, is this the speech you should have given in front of the women who rallied in front of Parliament last Monday?

PRIME MINISTER: I believe I provided the opportunity to meet with those who had come on that day. I applaud, as I said on the day, it was right to come and right to do that and I was right to provide the opportunity to meet with me. It is not my habit, as you know, to go out to rallies and things like that that come to Parliament House. In the course of my programme, I am very happy to provide an opportunity for people to come in that way and come and meet with me. I have met with numerous groups. On that very day I was meeting with people in the entertainment sector who were happy to meet with me and talk about the issues. I have been very open about those sorts of things. What I am saying and I have said it before today, I acknowledge that there have been people who haven't been happy with how I have responded in every single way to this over the course of the last month. I acknowledge that absolutely. I

am setting about to put that right. Those issues that people have had concerns about, they occurred in good faith, in the best of faith. But you learn a lot from all of that.

JOURNALIST: Prime Minister, can I ask you about your comments last week about Phil Gaetjens...

JOURNALIST: If I can just finish my question, Andrew. In terms of the concrete steps that you can take, you have said you might introduce quotas, which is fascinating and there is a lot of focus on women in this building. But what about women outside this building in regional Australia, in outer suburban areas, would you give any consideration to putting more money into rape crisis centres so women get the counselling they need, are you interested in the idea of more consent education in schools, what concrete steps are you rolling around in your head?

PRIME MINISTER: All of the above, and more, and if you go across the fourth national action plan and as Social Services Minister I had responsibility for earlier national action plans, and they include all of these things. It is important to remember that these action plans are done together with the states and territories and many of the services delivered are also delivered by the states. So this is something we genuinely have to do together, and we have been doing together. Today I am not going through a shopping list of the additional measures particularly that will be needed to provide further protection for women against violence, against them and their children. But we will be, as we have in the past, over \$1 billion committed, almost half of that in the last year or so, much of that going into during the COVID period when we were very worried about the increase in the incidence of domestic violence that would occur during the COVID period. Again, we put in additional resources, hundreds of millions, to support particularly women and families in those difficult times. So there has been no hesitation on that, Sam, and there will not be going forward. But I would urge that the path we have to go down is one that we have to go down together. This is not an issue that should be the subject of partisan contest, it really shouldn't. That will slow us down, that will not get the outcomes that I want to see, and I'm sure every member of this Parliament wants to see, and I think it is time to get focused on those things, Sam, deal with the issues in our House here. Outside of this House, there are plenty of other houses that need to be fixed up, and I'm sure Australians will take proper responsibility for those. But this issue goes far beyond what happens here, but I acknowledge what is happening here and the need for us to deal with things that are happening here.

JOURNALIST: Prime Minister, I just want to pick up on what you said to Andrew before. How is it that you did not know about the alleged rape of Brittany Higgins in Linda Reynolds office, yet you know about some incident that has happened in the media or among journalists, and have aired that publicly despite the maybe being against the wishes of the victim, we don't know?

PRIME MINISTER: That was brought to my attention late last night, and the issue of Brittany Higgins was only brought to my attention on 15 February as I have said. The suggestion was made by a member of the press gallery that things like this do not happen in the media and I think that would be unfair.

JOURNALIST: Prime Minister, can I ask you about the comments that you made about Phil Gaetjens report yesterday. Do you concede that you misled Parliament by omission when you said you had not received an update when in fact, you had more than received an update, you had received an email through the PMO, he had spoken to you personally about the fact that he was putting his inquiry on ice, and what efforts have you made personally to work out what five or six of your members of staff actually knew?

PRIME MINISTER: Two things, first of all, you have mischaracterised what I said in the House, and that is why I don't agree with your assessment. I said that I hadn't been updated on when I had received the report, and I hadn't been updated when I had received the report, and I said subsequently...

JOURNALIST: But you had been.

PRIME MINISTER: No I had not. There was no finishing date provided to me by the Secretary, because he could not provide me with one. I was asked in the House about when I would receive it, and that is what I responded to. I also made it clear that it was the Secretary that was undertaking this at arms length, it is the Secretary that is undertaking that at arms length, and I know that there were further interviews being conducted even at that point. What he was referring to is that he was not in a position to finalise the report, and provided to me, based on the advice that he had received from the Commissioner of Federal Police which was also clarified yesterday. So what I would ask is that these statements not be mischaracterised. I expect my political opponents to do that, that is politics, that is part and parcel of this process. I will deal with those matters as I have appropriately in the House, but no, I don't accept that, that is a mischaracterisation of what has occurred, and so I don't accept that. Finally, Chris.

JOURNALIST: PM, you started by talking about your daughters. After the last month, what would you tell them about a life in the public service, what pitch would you make to any young girl in Australia about why they would want to be in federal politics?

PRIME MINISTER: Because they want things to be better, and they have something to contribute to that. I believe in my girls, I believe in all the women of Australia. Thank you very much.

[ENDS]

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