The Australian Greens: Realignment Revisited in Australia

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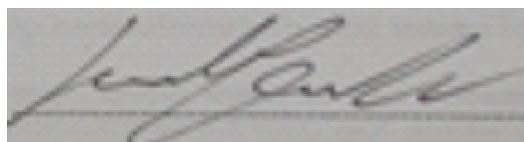
I declare that this thesis does not incorporate without acknowledgement any material previously submitted for a degree in any university or another educational institution and to the best of my knowledge and belief it does not contain any material previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made in the text.



ABSTRACT

Scholars have traditionally characterised Australian politics as a stable two-party system that features high levels of partisan identity, robust democratic features and strong electoral institutions (Aitkin 1982; McAllister 2011). However, this characterisation masks substantial recent changes within the Australian party system. Growing dissatisfaction with major parties and shifting political values have altered the partisan contest, especially in the proportionally-represented Senate. This thesis re-examines partisan realignment as an explanation for party system change in Australia. It draws on realignment theory to argue that the emergence and sustained success of the Greens represents a fundamental shift in the Australian party system. Drawing from Australian and international studies on realignment and party system reform, the thesis combines an historical institutionalist analysis of the Australian party system with multiple empirical measurements of Greens partisan and voter support. The historical institutionalist approach demonstrates how the combination of subnational voting mechanisms, distinctly postmaterialist social issues, federal electoral strategy and a weakened Labor party have driven a realignment on the centre-left of Australian politics substantial enough to transform the Senate party system. Exploratory factor analysis of divisional-level voting data from both houses between 1987-2019 is used to identify changing voting patterns. The thesis then examines Australian Election Study data between 1987-2016 to identify demographic and attitudinal bases for Greens partisanship and voting behaviour, employing multinomial logistic regression to demonstrate the significance and distinctiveness of Greens support compared to the major parties.

The institutional analysis and behaviouralist methodologies demonstrate that the Australian party system has produced a small but significant realignment that has solidified the Greens as a distinct party, especially within the Australian Senate. Realignment has come

primarily from converting former Australian Labor Party support among a cohort of young, university educated, non-religious postmaterialists with distinct attitudes on asylum seekers and the environment. While the contest for government remains framed by a two-party paradigm, multiparty dynamics have consolidated in the Senate. This has resulted in the Greens emerging as a viable component of the Australian party-system and a durable ‘third force’ that will remain for the foreseeable future.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ABC-Australian Broadcasting Corporation

ACT-Australian Capital Territory

ALP-Australian Labor Party

AEC-Australian Electoral Commission

AES-Australian Election Study

ANPAS-Australian National Political Attitudes Study

CDU/CSU*- Christlich Demokratische Union Deutschlands/Christlich-Soziale Union in Bayern/*Christian Democratic Union of Germany/Christian Social Union of Bavaria

ENP_S-Effective Number of Parties (seats)

ENP_V-Effective Number of Parties (votes)

DLP-Democratic Labour Party

GVT-Group Voting Ticket

GWA-Greens Western Australia

HR-House of Representatives

JSCEM-Joint Standing Committee on Electoral Matters

JSCER-Joint Standing Committee on Electoral Reform

LDP-Liberal Democratic Party

LNP-Liberal National Party

L/NP-Liberal/National Parties or Coalition

MLR-Multinomial logistic regression

NES-National Election Study

NDP-Nuclear Disarmament Party

NSSS-National Social Science Survey

NT-Northern Territory

NXT-Nick Xenophon Team

NSW-New South Wales

QLD-Queensland

SA-South Australia

SPD-*Sozialdemkratische Partei Deutschlands*/Social Democratic Party of Germany

TAS-Tasmania

WA-Western Australia

VIC-Victoria

Introduction

Anti-nuclear activist and later Australian Senator Jo Vallentine recalled the moment in 1983 she cemented her resolve towards formal political participation. She expressed her disappointment to Labor Prime Minister Bob Hawke about the Australian Labor Party reneging on their anti-uranium polices, particularly the Roxby Downs uranium mine; Hawke retorted ‘who else are they going to vote for?’ (Vallentine 1987, p. 55). Thirty-five years later, the answer is the Australian Greens. Emerging from polarising environmental disputes across several states dating back to the early seventies, ‘the Greens’ are the most successful new Australian political party since the Nationals emerged in 1919[1]. The Greens are a confederation of state-based political parties that contest all levels of Australian politics. Represented in almost all state and territory legislatures in Australia, the Greens slowly emerged as a ‘third force’ within Australian politics. They have been a viable party in government formation at the subnational level with both the Australian Labor Party and Liberal Party of Australia. In 2010 were part of the first federal minority government in seventy years. Further, they have held the sole balance of power across all proportionally represented legislative chambers bar one (South Australia’s Legislative Council). Consistently attaining around one in ten voters across the country, the Greens have maintained continuous representation in the federal Senate since 1990 when Vallentine successfully ran for them in Western Australia.

Part of a global ecological movement, the Greens trace their roots to several overly environmentalist political parties. The United Tasmania Group was the first explicitly green

[1] While strictly speaking the Liberal Party of Australia is the most successful new party after their emergence in 1944, they were a successor of the anti-Labor political tradition that merged a few political organisations, including the remnants of Joseph Lyons’ United Australia Party. The Greens and their antecedents were a new political force with no historical legacy dating back to Federation.

political party in the world, contesting the 1972 Tasmanian Election. The Nuclear Disarmament Party, formed in the early eighties and joined by Jo Vallentine, successfully won a Senate seat in 1984 and 1987. Supported by the high salience of environmental issues and a sympathetic Labor party, the Greens contested the federal 1990 election as separate state-based organisations. They amalgamated all their state organisations throughout the nineties until Greens Western Australia finalised the federal Greens bloc in 2003. While winning several seats in the Senate and the Division of Cunningham at a 2002 by-election, the Greens became the first entirely new party since the Nationals to win a lower house seat at a federal election in 2010. They have reached a stage where they have won Senate seats in all states on multiple occasions and look to maintain a sizeable position on any future crossbench.

The emergence and durability of the Greens in Australian politics conflicts with the traditional Australian two-party system hegemony. While several other minor parties emerged, they have ultimately failed. Multiple parties have caused dealignment and readjustment in Australian politics. Previously, the Australian Democrats appeared to be a serious contender for third force status. While they burst onto the political scene in 1977 and held the balance of power for several decades, their party's support was erratic and loose. They faltered as a political force after thirty years of continuous, but tenuous representation through a combination of leadership turmoil, weak party support and controversial policy decisions. Other short-term parties including the Democratic Labour Party and Pauline Hanson's One Nation Party appeared poised to make a long-term impact, only to burn out through rigid political goals or weak party structures. What characterises these parties is a support base comprised primarily of temporarily displaced voters from existing parties. These dealigned voters returned to the major parties or continued to protest vote for inconsequential political forces. This thesis argues that the Greens are different.

Research aim

This thesis argues that the Greens are a significant and durable political party that will remain a long-term part of the Australian party system. Their emergence and sustained electoral success represent a realignment in Australian politics, both in the House of Representatives and particularly in the Senate as they have altered the party system dynamics. Realignment refers to significant and durable change in enough voters that the party system changes (Sundquist 1983). Rather than resulting from dealignment caused by disaffected partisans temporarily deserting their partisan identity, the Greens have permanently converted both emerging voters and former partisans, mostly from the Australian Labor Party, by capitalising on a shifting political landscape. This realignment is not a national upheaval of politics as in the American sense of the term, but the degree to which voters have shifted has caused substantial upheaval in the context of the Australian party system. The Greens have left the capacity for Labor to form a majority within the Senate limited. Short of extraordinarily good electoral fortunes, Labor requires the Greens to form government in proportionally represented jurisdictions. This means that although realignment is only fractional, it challenges the traditional 'Labor versus non-Labor' two-party hegemony that has characterised Australian politics for over a century. For the first time, an electorally viable party left of Labor can consistently win support.

The observation that the Greens are a viable party with long-term prospects is not entirely new. Writers such as Lohrey (2002) predicted their ascendency quite early on similar principles. However, adopting realignment to justify this assertion is relatively unexplored territory. A recent volume examining realignment on broadly similar trends by Dalton (2018, pp. 27-30) in 'advanced democracies' does not consider Australia. Indeed, 'Australia' is not mentioned once. While his volume focuses on European cross-national data, the addition of American survey data indicates the possibility of including individual national data.

Historically, Australian scholars engaged with realignment theory in the eighties and early nineties as a response to the emergence of the Australian Democrats (McAllister 1982). They heralded the 1990 'Green' election as a potential upheaval of the existing order (Bean, McAllister & Warhurst 1990). However, as the following elections featured conventional economic issues and the evidence regarding the Australian Democrats was weak, the research dissipated. The consensus was that the Australian Democrats were on shaky electoral ground with an unstable voter coalition that the party had difficulty retaining (Ward 1997, p. 128). Even though a similar timeframe on the Australian Greens has passed and the 2010 election caused a rare minority government, there is little rigorous examination, both home and abroad, of whether realignment has occurred and whether the Greens are the beneficiaries.

The difficulty regarding realignment is that it is a classification of complex political phenomena. Scholars do not directly measure realignment but infer it through evaluating other processes such as electoral classification, voting patterns or political behaviour. While intuitively simple to understand, measuring realignment presents challenges, particularly as the theory has developed. Initially, realignment referred to a 'critical election' that was based on a mid-century observation of aggregate voting returns in Massachusetts (Key 1955). Fifteen years of methodological development later, realignment had morphed into, in its most extreme iteration, a top-down process of deliberate policy manipulation by political parties to fundamentally shake deeply held psycho-political traits and totally reset politics, occurring like clockwork every thirty-eight years (Burnham 1970). Central to this difficulty was scholars who attempted to *predict* realignment occurring when it was originally a retrospective judgement (Rosenof 2003). Thus, this thesis, in demonstrating how Greens will remain a long-term fixture of the Australian political system, revisits realignment and operationalises it for Australian political science as a retrospective classification judgement of political phenomena. While the thesis ultimately predicts that the Greens will remain a

long-term party, it justifies this by demonstrating how realignment has occurred. Further, it extends the scholarship to the Australian political system that has been undeveloped in comparison to other contexts.

Besides undertaking a re-examination of realignment scholarship, the thesis further contributes to understanding the complexities of the Australian party system. Australia's place in party system literature can be confusing. While broadly characterised as a two-party system with a majoritarian voting system, Australia's political institutions are more complicated than first assumed. Further, the role of the Australian Senate during a period of great party system fluidity has seen little work. One recently published doctoral thesis by Holloway (2019) takes a systematic examination of the Australian Greens in the Australian party system. While Holloway touches on similar themes to this thesis, he primarily focuses on the party system process. Further, he reinforces the parliamentary focus by conducting interviews with parliamentary personnel. This recently published thesis demonstrates that this area of scholarship is particularly salient for Australian political science. Further, the focus on the Australian Senate as a separate party system to the House of Representatives lends support to this project.

In contrast to Holloway, this thesis is primarily concerned with analysing the process of realignment in the Australian political context as an explanation for the Australian Greens' success and justification for the assertion that their long-term prospects are strong. To do this, the thesis examines the role of Australia's political institutions, particularly the Senate, in facilitating and maintaining a distinct party system. However, it also examines longer-term behavioural trends of Green partisan support and voting patterns to assess whether realignment has taken place.

Thesis approach

On a broader theoretical level, the thesis draws on both institutionalist and behaviouralist schools of political inquiry to understand how realignment occurs in a specific electoral context. Australian electoral and political institutions are unique among other nations in directly electing both Houses of parliament with different voting systems. The House of Representatives uses majoritarian, single-member district alternative voting[2]. whereas the Senate uses multi-member district single-transferable voting by proportional representation[3]. Both voting systems, rare for national parliamentary elections on their own, promote fundamentally different principles that are conducive to different party systems. This context is crucial to understanding the Australian party system. Other aspects such as compulsory voting and high party discipline also form a unique political culture that affects the process of realignment differently to other nations.

Institutionalism as an approach focusses on the mechanical features of a political system; the institution of politics itself, as the main driver of politics. Scholars divide institutionalism into two broad eras: the monolithic 'old' institutionalism and a broad spectrum of 'new' institutionalist approaches. The 'old institutionalist' approach primarily centres on categorisation and description of formal institutional features, particularly the legalistic frameworks of formal political power. This includes documents such as the

[2] In Australian literature and throughout this thesis, 'alternative voting' is referred to as 'preferential voting' and requires voters to rank all candidates. If no candidate wins a majority of 'first preferences', the candidate with the least first preferences is excluded and the next available preference is distributed. This process repeats until a candidate receives a majority of the vote (50%+1 vote). Some scholars refer to this as the 'primary vote', but this thesis follows Rydon's (1956, p. 78) terminology as the term can refer to votes in primary elections in America.

[3] Single transferable voting (STV) is a candidate-focussed proportional representation, in which individuals build quotas of the vote to gain election. In a normal federal election, half the Senate (six Senators per state and the two territories' Senators) are elected. Candidates need 14.3% of the total vote in a state (33.3% in a territory) to gain election. All votes surplus to this are transferred to the next available candidate. Candidates who fail to reach quota are excluded and their vote is transferred to the next preferred candidate. This occurs until all vacancies are filled.

Constitution and legislative structures. Earlier Australian accounts such as Davis' (1960) almanac of state politics are emblematic of this approach. Conversely, 'new institutionalism' extends the scope of analysis to beyond formal institutions of power. Rather than a cohesive framework, 'new' institutionalism takes several different approaches from other disciplines (Hall & Taylor 1996). Here, researchers study institutions as one element of a broad social structure to explain behaviour. Rather than taking an 'atomistic' account that looks at individual behaviour, it considers where atomistic accounts are situated; institutions are the molecules and bands on a group of atoms (Bell 2002, p. 5).

One approach from this new institutionalist school is historical institutionalism. Historical institutionalism takes a more empirical approach to studying individuals operating under institutional constraints. It is unlike rational choice institutionalism, which strips institutions and individuals to basic attributes and makes major assumptions that are sensitive to small variations (Hall & Taylor 1996, p. 950). Rather, historical institutionalism assesses the role of institutions across time by measuring observable metrics. Rather than trying to make sense of complex phenomena with a simple, deductive blueprint, historical institutionalism is inductive in searching for repeated observations (Bell 2002). As historical institutionalism developed, it became more concerned by how institutions themselves endogenously changed, with Capoccia (2016, p. 1107) concluding gradual endogenous change is more likely when the institutional culture no longer corresponds to the formal institutional rules. This observation applies to electoral reform, in which political parties that enter the institution can reform the electoral process to mould a new party system.

Party system studies analyse election results and the instrumentalist effects of voting systems (Duverger 1964; Rae 1967; Sartori 2005). Scholars apply the institutionalist approach to examine party system shift because of the rational decision-making that emerges

in the wake of national electoral system reform (Clark & Prekevičius 2003). Considering realignment through the institutional approach, the thesis contends that realignment occurs in part due to reform towards electoral institutions that has facilitated partisan shift. Australian partisan shifts have occurred thanks to major electoral changes in both state and federal politics. Although party system change and electoral reform do not perfectly correlate, the shifts these reforms have facilitated are important to the story of Australian realignment. The thesis assumes that any party competition will play out differently in both houses; ergo the evidence of realignment varies between houses. It also means the thesis analyses and evaluates political decisions that make use of this unique institutional context. Rather than just examining quantitative survey and voting data, it examines historical moments that promoted the Greens, particularly relating to electoral strategy and reform.

While historical analysis is important, realignment requires approaching the thesis from the behaviouralist perspective as well. In this approach, researchers examine individuals' thoughts, feelings and especially behaviour regarding politics. They systematically analyse how individual actors operate within a polity, operationalising several complex social phenomena into independent variables. This approach favours quantitative data and gained prominence as computing power advanced in the twentieth century and allowed for sophisticated statistical analysis of available data. Realignment emerged around the same time as behaviouralism took hold. The most popular and influential method to do this is the survey. By applying random sampling to a sample of the population and asking them to report their political behaviour and attitudes, behaviouralists construct hypotheses about the nature of politics that could apply to the population at large.

Behaviouralism primarily entered political science through the application of psychological methods to political phenomena. The Michigan School's Angus Campbell was

a social psychologist who employed the survey method to understand individuals' responses to political activity (Campbell et al. 1960). This infusion of psychological methodology reframed political science from broad descriptions and grand philosophical theories to observable attitudes and behaviour of individuals towards the political process (McAllister 1992, p. 5). American political science takes a particularly strong behaviouralist lens today. Rather than looking at the system of political institutions, behaviouralists study who participates in the system. This takes the form of operationalising political attitudes and behaviour into quantifiable measurements to determine relationships between voter and voting decision. This focus on individual actions within politics and the development of models of predicting vote decision is typical of behaviouralist approaches.

Notable in a behaviouralist approach is the relegation of institutions and broader social structures to mere background variables, if it considers the institution at all. Behaviouralism repudiates the role of past events and examines data sets that identify political behaviour in the present. Robertson (1993) contends that this ahistorical and atheoretical nature in behaviouralism emerged in part as post-war stability created a calm political environment. This meant the institutions of power were a non-factor in political development and culture. Further, as institutional factors were not easily quantifiable, they were not measured and inevitably not important. Grand philosophical theories of understanding humanity were not applicable as the hard, cold, empirical data steered the narrative of political phenomenon.

Conventional behaviouralist methods utilised in other national political science disciplines took longer to reach Australia. Although later to develop, several key thinkers including Alford (1963) Aitkin (1982), Kemp (1978) and McAllister (1992) brought the approach to the forefront of Australian political science and applied it to political 'elites' and

voters. Alford (1963) examined the link between class and party identification in both Australia and the United Kingdom, noting its salience in explaining the link between attitudes and voting. Aitkin (1982) extended this approach to party identification, collecting the first political attitudes survey data in Australia with the ANPAS. Kemp (1978) controversially argued the link between class and vote was declining and was weaker than originally assumed. McAllister (1992) continued the behaviouralist tradition, writing *Political Behaviour* (1992) and *The Australian Voter* (2011) in the same tradition as Campbell before him. These thinkers pushed political science to adopt behaviouralist methodologies to understand how Australians voted.

As the thesis primarily examines the process of realignment, understanding voting behaviour is paramount. The use of empirical behaviouralist methods is the most appropriate approach to understanding voting behaviour. Studies into realignment historically take this approach by analysing voting returns and linking realignment's durability to party identification (Burnham 1970; Key 1955; 1959). While Australian literature has engaged with these methods, it has done so in a piecemeal fashion. Research measuring realignment usually examines either voting data or survey data regarding party identification, but not both. Australian specific-studies often examine either the House of Representatives or the Senate, but not both. This lack of holistic examination undersells the breadth of available methods and the complexity of the Australian political context. Concentrating primarily on the House of Representatives underestimates the role of minor parties in Australian politics who have better-established support in the proportionally represented Senate. The thesis examines voter returns in both legislative chambers to understand how party competition plays out under different voting institutions at the divisional/district level, applying unconventional factor analysis to identify key elections. Reinforcing this, the thesis also engages with available survey data to understand partisan identity and voter choice at the

individual level, examining for differences in demographics and political attitudes using multinomial logistic regression.

Thus, the thesis takes a historical institutionalist approach towards the development of salient features of Australia's electoral institutions. Without understanding the shift in party systems facilitated by both the electoral system and subsequent reform, the development of Australian party politics is difficult. As the story of Australian realignment interweaves with significant electoral reform, it is imperative the theoretical approach can accommodate the lens that incorporates path dependency of reform. As a complicated party system, testing voting data with unconventional methods like factor analysis is necessary. However, the thesis also employs conventional behaviouralist methods to measure not just current political phenomena but also longer-term trends in both party identification and voting behaviour. This hybrid approach allows for empirically testing for commonly accepted evidence of realignment within the electorate while analysing the constraints of a unique electoral system through both robust aggregate-level voting data and individual-level survey data.

Thesis structure

To accommodate both approaches, this thesis comprises of two broad sections. Section one primarily takes an institutional approach to realignment by examining the Australian political landscape and considering salient issues that have emerged. This section spends the first five chapters taking a qualitative approach by analysing and defining four key areas the thesis explores; 'realignment', 'party systems', 'Australian party system' and 'Australian Greens'. Besides locating their origins as concepts, the first five chapters describe key conceptual features, analyse and evaluate the methodology and studies used in understanding realignment, as well as evaluating theoretical approaches used to assess them. The chapters outline the practical application historically used by Australian political science. These

chapters demonstrate how the Greens are an example of the process of realignment in the Australian party system through an institutionalist approach.

Chapter 1 serves three purposes. The first is to describe and explain realignment and its original American context with a literature review of its development as a theory, derivative concepts and international applications. This thesis defines realignment as per Sundquist (1983) as a significant and durable shift in voter support that changes a party system. While this differs from the traditionally American two-party system definition, scholars have adapted realignment across various Western democracies with mixed methodological success. The second purpose is to analyse the methodological quagmire realignment has conjured up across multiple national applications, particularly in the United States and Australia. Grappling with methodology is a recurring theme within the literature and examining it untangles what aspects of realignment transfer from the American political science to the Australian context. Lastly, the chapter defines how the thesis conceptualises and measures realignment in Australia. Previous studies of realignment in Australia were premature and lacked sufficient survey data to reliably determine whether realignment had occurred. Further, the studies primarily tried to predict realignment rather than retrospectively identify it. With the benefit of a more ideologically consistent party and a rich archive of survey data, this chapter defines realignment and how to measure it in Australia.

After explaining the concept of realignment and its use in the thesis, the institutional context is set up in chapters 2 to 4. **Chapter 2** explores the party system of 'old politics'. This chapter describes and analyses predominantly European literature on social cleavages, electoral institutions and the core texts of party system theory including Sartori (2005) and Lipset and Rokkan (1967). It outlines party identification more broadly in a party system context and shows how it has changed over time. The chapter also approaches 'new politics'

through the lens of Inglehart's postmaterialism thesis (1971, 1977). A well-known political theory, postmaterialism is an important background feature of the overall realignment thesis. The chapter explores Inglehart's original studies and examines praises and criticisms of postmaterialism. This chapter sets the historical institutionalist context that realignment has occurred under and prepares for an in-depth analysis of Australia's party system.

Moving on, the thesis explores the Australian party system specifically within chapters three and four. The thesis contends Australia's party system is characterised by a period of immense stability and one of immense change, particularly notable in the Senate. **Chapter 3** outlines the development of Australia's major parties through the social cleavages addressed by Lipset and Rokkan (1967). It considers the period of immense stability in Australian politics through 1901 to 1975. It links each major social cleavage division to both major developments in the Australian party system and contemporary political phenomena. These include the centre-periphery, labour-capital, rural-urban and church-state cleavage divisions and how they link to the Australian Labor Party, the Nationals, the Democratic Labor Party and the Liberal Party and it previous incarnations. These links to social divisions explain the immense stability that characterised Australian politics that culminated in the Dismissal of the Whitlam Labor government in 1975.

After discussing the relative stability of Australia's party system in chapter 3, **Chapter 4** contrasts this with a period of change in Australian politics. The chapter argues that the 'new politics' emerged in Australia partly as a reaction to the highly polarised two-party system in the Dismissal. The Australian Democrats exemplified new politics and heralded the beginning of a more complex and dynamic upper house that features political parties with different goals to older materialist cleavages. The chapter reviews Australian experiences of postmaterialism in the party system and chronicles the electoral institutional

reform as factors of change in the Australian politics. It examines the rise in 'minor' party votes, clarifies party system typologies in Australian political discourse, evaluates prominent minor parties, discusses the micro-party phenomenon and considers the consequences of electoral reform in the Australian Senate. These political parties are evidence of short-term dealignment within the Australian electorate. The chapter also outlines the reasoning for this dealignment of traditional major parties. By contrasting the materialist base of major parties and postmaterialist base of minor parties through this theory, the chapter establishes the institutional context that the Australian Greens emerged and operate in.

After qualitatively exploring the Australian political landscape, **Chapter 5** examines the Australian Greens in detail. The chapter chronicles their ideological genesis and explores the evolution of green politics across western democracies. It outlines ideological tendencies and positioning of the German Greens as a comparison to the Australian party system. The German Greens are one of the most successful Green parties. As the politics of centrality pushed centripetal force into the German party system (Smith 1982), the rise of the German Greens lends itself to parallels with the Australian Greens in expanding the ideological spectrum of their respective nations. After exploring the background literature, the chapter examines how the Australian Greens rose from an environmental grassroots movement to an established political party. The chapter also analyses all examples of minority and Coalition government at subnational and national levels in Australia to identify the electoral and political consequences of government formation. It traces their rise in support and examines literature that points towards the reasons for their increasing vote share, highlighting historical path dependency in Labor's electoral strategy and the effects of asylum seekers and climate change policy in wedging the major political parties. Through institutionalist theory, this chapter establishes the Greens as a significant, distinct and durable political party, how that came to be and how they constitute a realignment.

Where section one of the thesis explores institutional reasons for Australian party system change, the Greens' establishment and how realignment could have occurred, section two takes a behaviouralist approach to test whether this is the case. **Chapter 6** explains the methodology, data and methods that empirically test for evidence of realignment. This is primarily through the lens of behaviouralism. After exploring the use of data and their methodological applications, the chapter specifies the behaviouralist perspective to understand Australian voting behaviour. The thesis uses first preference votes at the federal division level across both Houses of Parliament for elections between 1990 and 2019. It also utilises available survey data from 1967, but particularly from the Australian Election Studies from 2001 through to 2016. The chapter describes the methods the thesis uses, how they have been used in prior research and outlines the limitations of the method and the available voting and survey data.

The thesis splits the results into two chapters that examine different aspects of measuring Greens support that broadly fit into the two data types used; voting data and survey data. **Chapter 7** describes the results from two different methods used on divisional-level voting data from 1990-2019 in the House of Representatives and the Senate. It begins with simple descriptive trends of the Greens' vote, particularly regarding public funding thresholds to determine notable changes in this. It then runs two exploratory factor analyses adopting a method developed by Wildgen (1974), with the goal to identify salient shifts in Greens' electoral support. Overall, this serves to identify critical periods for Greens support in voting data as an exploratory step to unearthing realignment.

Chapter 8 examines survey data from 1967-2016. It concentrates on the Australian Election Studies, primarily from 2001-2016. The chapter identifies demographics of both major party and Greens partisan support on salient predictors, both social-structural and

political-attitudinal. It uses survey data to analyse voting behaviour, focusing primarily on exploring the degree of consistency amongst voter decisions in both the House of Representatives and the Senate. This demographic data, as well as voting behaviour data, demonstrates how the Greens' partisan and voter identity is durable and significant.

Chapter 9 employs multinomial logistic regression on partisan identity and both House of Representatives and Senate vote choice to confirm the significance and effects of relevant demographic trends and political attitudes. A stable, identifiable base of partisan and voter identity indicates that realignment has occurred and suggests that the Greens will remain a part of Australian politics in the long-term. Both chapters 8 and 9 evaluate Greens partisan and voting strength for durability through the behaviouralist approach and reinforce the institutionalist narrative presented in section one.

Augmenting the quantitative results with qualitative developments in Australian politics, **Chapter 10** evaluates the results found and discusses the implications. By demonstrating the significance of demographic trends found in Greens partisan support, the thesis asserts that realignment has led to the emergence of a stable voter identity that will maintain Greens support. Supporting this with analysis of voting trends both in survey responses and voting data, both descriptive and factor analysed, the reinforces the idea of a realigning electorate that has emerged from a party system change. Lastly, the thesis concludes by summarising the thesis presented and asserts that the Greens have potential to remain a long-term part of the Australian party system.

Chapter 1: Realignment: Conception, Definition and Application

Realignment is the political theory that underpins this thesis. An American political theory, it generally refers to a dramatic and consistent change in political behaviour across broad sections of society. Realignment is so influential in America that one author declared that it was 'the theory that changed the way we think about American Politics' in his book's title (Rosenof 2003). The theory transcends academic discourse and enjoys mass cultural usage (Schneider 1982, p. 449). Widespread in the United States, the theory has undergone rigorous academic scrutiny for decades. Evolving from a single case study by V. O. Key (1955), scholars evoke realignment to explain a broad array of political phenomena.

Australian political science has had historically mixed success in engaging with realignment. Recent contemporary research using conventional survey data methods to identify realignment has seen little use in Australia. Despite the success of the Greens in maintaining support from an established party base and complicating the long-established party system, realignment has not been widely explored as a viable explanation for how the Greens' support emerged nor a justification for asserting their durability.

The following chapter explores realignment and its use within Australia. It analyses the conceptual development, theoretical criticism and application of the theory to partisan change, voter shifts and policy evolution in the United States. It disentangles the related ideas of dealignment and divided government from the broader theory. After uncovering the origins and methodology of realignment in American politics, the chapter outlines how scholars adopt realignment for multipartisan politics through examining contemporary European realignment literature. It reviews the application of realignment in Australia previously before outlining a holistic approach to studying realignment in Australia today.

Conceptual history of realignment

Realignment is a significant and durable shift in political behaviour. This means political party support, political party voting rates and even the political party themselves can change. The concept originated from scholars trying to answer how Harry Truman, against all available measures, won the 1948 United States presidential election (Rosenof 2003, p. 13). As a result, realignment has a distinctly American emphasis that fits with the behaviouralist approach in mid-twentieth century political science. Evolving from a brief study describing changes in aggregate-level vote share, it is historically popular in academic discourse and encompasses multiple components of the political system. This includes the electoral response of voters (Burnham 1970; Key 1955, 1959), the partisan identity and behaviour of voters (Campbell et al. 1960; Sundquist 1983) and the deliberate actions of political parties themselves (Brady 1978; Schattschneider 1960). What distinguishes realignment from short-term political change is that these shifts in support or policy maintain and even strengthen in subsequent elections. Given enough magnitude, an entirely new party system may emerge from a single election.

Realignment stems from the earlier concept of 'critical' elections. A 'critical' election is one in which there is a 'sharp and durable' change in voters between parties (Key 1955, p. 16). Key (1955) coined the term and explored notable elections in which a significant and durable change of the dominant political party emerged. To do this, he measured the mean Democrat vote from New England cities and towns particularly galvanised by the 1928 'Al Smith Revolution[4]'. He identified groups of people that switched their vote from Republican to Democrat in the 1932 election and demonstrated how this

[4] Al Smith was the Democratic Candidate in the 1928 Presidential Election. While Republican Herbert Hoover defeated him in a landslide, he won a sizeable number of votes and won in areas that were traditionally Republican, such as Massachusetts. Key (1955) identified support for Smith in 1928 as a precursor to Democrat Franklin D Roosevelt's sweeping victory in the 1932 Presidential election.

change endured well past the next election. A breakthrough work that created a broad, genre-defining political science theory, the 'theory' rested on a descriptive paper that tracked aggregate-level voting changes in New England. Ladd (1991, p. 27) once quipped such a minor beginning for such a broad theory was akin to Key sneezing and political science catching a cold. Despite the simplicity of his work, Key was influential to linking long-term electoral change to 'critical' elections.

Key's work on critical elections informed the Michigan School's conceptualisation of realignment and their election taxonomy. The Michigan School was a methodological approach to voting behaviour that emerged from the University of Michigan. The work of Campbell, Converse, Miller, Warren and Stokes (1960) in *The American Voter* was instrumental in broadening the appeal of this approach to incorporate political attitudes. A social psychologist, Campbell and his team surveyed voters to uncover if, how and whom a voter would endorse at presidential elections. Central to their approach was the Michigan School 'funnel of causality' (Campbell et al. 1960, pp. 24-28). They predicted voting decisions were the result of different factors located in a temporally constructed 'funnel', as seen in Figure 1.1 below.

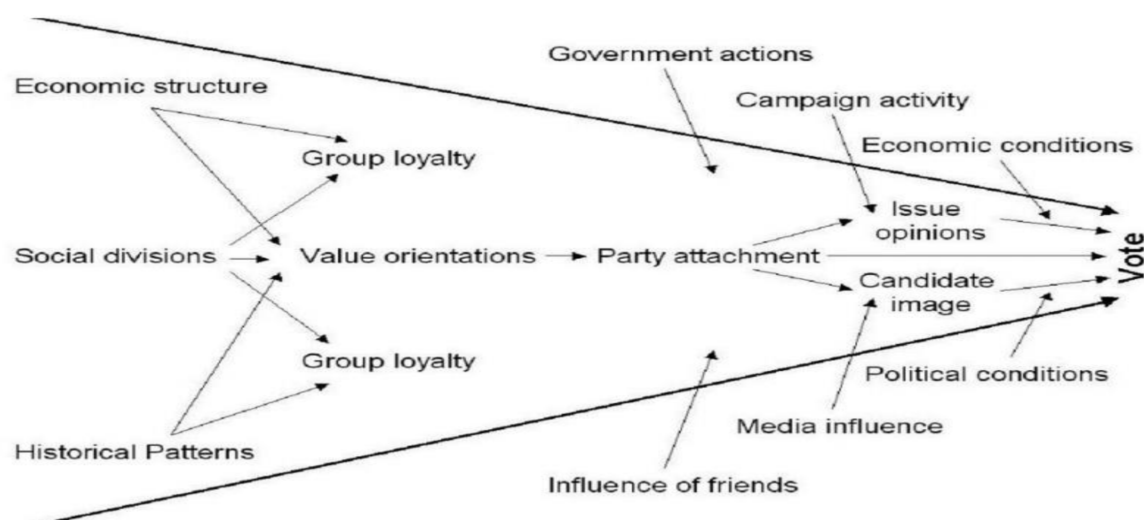

Figure 1.1: A graphical representation of the funnel of causality (Dalton 2014, p. 184)

Factors closest to the narrow end of the funnel such as leadership evaluations were more salient and apparent in the voting decision, while the more distant, social-structural factors further at the wider end of the funnel had less saliency (Wilder 2017, p. 724). This approach lends itself to multiple regression method design, in which the most distant, social variables are the first entered into a model followed by the more visible contemporary political attitudes that are 'closer' to the voting decision.

Campbell et al. (1960) used existing the University of Michigan Survey Research Centre's National Election Study (NES) survey data from the 1952 and 1956 elections to reinforce their approach towards realignment. Unlike voting data, the NES survey data could link political behaviour to individuals. In assessing predictors for voting decisions, Campbell et al. (1960, p. 132) conceived the concept of party identification: a 'profound' dimensional trait that determined voters' durable attachment to a political party. It was so profound that later work by Converse (1969) found that individual party identification generally 'transferred' to descendants.

Responding to Key's call for further work on election taxonomy (Key 1955, p. 17), Campbell et al. (1960) extended the critical election concept to a three-category election classification model. This classification system linked partisanship as a condition to distinguish realignment from other political phenomena and included realigning, deviating and maintaining elections. Campbell et al. defined a realigning or 'critical' election as one where the 'popular feeling associated with politics is sufficiently intense enough that the basic partisan commitments of a portion of the electorate change' (Campbell et al. 1960, p. 532). These changes were of such a magnitude that they resulted from extreme events within the electorate. Crewe and Denver (1985, pp. 14-15) likened realigning elections to an earthquake; 'a cause and effect of a geological shift in the landscape'. Ergo, they considered

realignment was a radical and enduring shift in national partisan allegiances in entire groups of voters that changed government. The link between stronger partisan ties and voting behaviour was an instrumental development in the scholarship of realignment.

Conversely, Campbell et al. (1960) argued maintaining and deviating elections derived from shorter-term factors. A maintaining election meant the incumbent party comfortably won with little partisan change in the electorate. Contrasting the limited volatility of a maintaining election is the highly volatile deviating election. Here, 'the basic division of partisan loyalties is not seriously disturbed, but the attitude forces on the vote are such as to bring about the defeat of the majority party' (Campbell et al. 1960, pp. 532-533). These severe short-term fluctuations displaced the 'dominant' party. The government's defeat was a temporary loss of support rather than significant change in political attitudes. This differentiation in the Michigan classification scheme stressed the attitudinal importance of party identification as the key factor in voter realignment. However, their focus on electoral outcomes explained little about how realignment occurred.

Realignment occurred through a process that involved emerging social issues and the response political parties employed. The direction of party policy is evidence of the realignment process. E. E. Schattschneider's *Semisovereign People (*1960) and James L Sundquist *Dynamics of the Party System* (1973, with a second edition in 1983) are well-known accounts on these decisions. They focussed on 'party systems'; a term that differs from the European concept that chapter 2 of this thesis explores. In American political science, 'party systems' denote periods of political history dominated by a particular pattern of party competition. Realigning elections served as the fulcrum point that demarcated these 'party systems'. Schattschneider (1960) posited that the primary driver of realignment was conflict. Conflict arose within electorates through political issues that divided existing

partisan cleavages. Emerging issues redefined the lines of conflict within society, realigned new partisan divisions, drove voters to influence the policy direction of government and reset the party system (Schattschneider 1960, pp. 62, 132-140).

Complementing Schattschneider, Sundquist explicitly outlined how this process occurred. To Sundquist, realignment occurred when the 'breadth and depth of an underlying issue' and the capacity and motivation of leaders to propose remedies played out amongst the division of partisan forces (Sundquist 1983, pp. 41-47). Established political parties influenced whether realignment occurred through their capacity to respond to both underlying and emerging issues. If they successfully reoriented their political positions to address the emerging issue, they could absorb or neutralise minor parties that arose in response. Should they be unable to, minor parties could attract enough support to either remain in the party system or displace either major party (Sundquist 1983, pp. 24-34). Such an outcome occurred as a response to the American Civil War; the Whig Party were unable to respond adequately to the emerging Republican Party and their policies towards abolition. Consequently, the Whigs collapsed and ushered in a new party system between the Republicans and Democrats.

Scholars have also examined the role of party policy evolution as evidence of realignment. Although conceptually explored by Sundquist (1983) and Schattschneider (1960), several studies linked particularly salient policy development and party cohesion to realigning elections. Burnham (1970, p. 7) was one of the first to explicitly link realignment with 'platform-writing machinery' and 'a considerable increase in ideological polarisations'. However, specific examinations of the actual process of enacting legislation came later. Sinclair (1977) and Brady (1978) used cluster analysis to identify changing Democratic positions on policies and their impact on policy direction. This grouped individual Congressmen together based on their voting patterns to create patterns. Where Brady (1978)

focussed on changing committee membership and the composition of the party, Sinclair (1977) analysed the party votes of the party divided by region. Their results indicated that partisan realignment was a circuit breaker that drove major policy reforms. House voting driven by partisanship drastically increased during the 'New Deal' party system during the Great Depression (Brady 1978, p 99). The widely accepted 'critical election' of 1932 had taken place during the Great Depression. The Great Depression incentivised the Republicans and Democrats to offer a solution to voters. As voters endorsed the state-welfare focussed New Deal, the Democrats swept to power and proceeded to implement these policies in office (Sinclair 1977, p. 948). This suggests that the realignment process created a new party composition and was a major factor in the policy direction of political parties.

Some theorists also posited this realignment process has an element of chronological regularity. Walter Dean Burnham was a proponent of this in his breakthrough work *Critical Elections and the Mainsprings of American Politics* (1970). Applying discontinuous regression and t-test statistical techniques on Presidential election results, Burnham demonstrated the process of realignment by measuring mean vote share and determining major electoral shifts within a twenty-year timeframe (Burnham 1970, p. 13-16). He examined politics at the subnational level, with a chapter dedicated to realignment within Pennsylvania. His straightforward process confirmed the consensus that 1896 and 1932 were 'critical' elections (Lawrence & Fleisher 1987). Notably, he asserted that there was a cyclical element to realignment periods and claimed that sharp, dramatic realignment occurred roughly every thirty to thirty-eight years (Burnham 1970, p. 288).

Realignment emerged as a response by both voters and political parties to changing societal dynamics. These earlier works form what scholars considered 'classic realignment'. Studied indirectly through studying either voting decision, voter identification or party

policy, classic realignment is visualised most prominently in critical elections. However, the process was specifically a product of a shift in voters' partisan affiliations after political parties respond to salient issues. It endured beyond short-term fluctuations that can lead to deviating elections and created a new majority party. The consensus was that the distinguishing feature of the realignment process is that it is a durable process of change (Sundquist 1983, p. 4). Thus, realignment, at least initially, was a process that resulted in an enduring partisan shift in response to salient social issues and voters' evaluations to existing or emerging political parties.

Theoretical criticisms

Realignment has been subject to ongoing academic criticism for decades. While widely accepted during the stable political context of the fifties, the tumultuous sixties tested realignment's application towards contemporary political events. The Civil Rights movement sharply divided the American electorate on the matter of race. The Civil Rights Act passed Congress in 1963, outspoken conservative Barry Goldwater won the Republican presidential nomination in 1964 and the Vietnam War attracted growing disenchantment throughout the decade. These dramatic events meant realignment seemed all but certain to occur. What followed instead was increasingly bloated expectations, a lack of definitional clarity, unexpected election results and the emergence of decaying partisanship. This led to criticism and alternative explanations for what was occurring in the electorate.

By the late sixties and early seventies, realignment incorporated several different criteria. The theory now explained legislative top-down influence, multiple measurements across different dimensions such as party identification, wholesale party reform and dramatic vote changes that took place like clockwork every three or so decades. Schneider (1982, p. 450) posed realignment as 'the eternal question' and outlined five criteria to what a realignment involved:

1. A new majority party being produced that;
2. Occurred suddenly because of a critical election
3. Entire social groups switching their partisan allegiance
4. Old axes of political conflict supplanted by new salient political issues
5. Only explained by changes in partisanship from Republican to Democrat and vice versa.

Due to the sprawling nature of the theory, realignment became vaguely defined and difficult to measure. Competing methodology and criticism emerged between scholars in the field over how to create a sound realignment theory. The 'term "partisan realignment" …degenerated through over-usage to refer to any decisive election result' (Crewe & Denver 1985, p. 14). Despite large databases of quantitative data, no scholars explicitly outlined a quantifiable measure to determine whether realignment had taken place. The only agreed upon realignment was after 1932 election and this formed the template for what realignment looked like.

Realignment as understood at the time failed to materialise in elections during this period. Aside from the single Presidential term of Southern Democrat Jimmy Carter, Republicans captured the White House at every election between 1968 and 1988. However, the Republicans consistently failed to make significant gains in Congress besides holding the Senate between 1980 and 1986. According to the Michigan party identification school, realignment had failed to materialise, as the Democrats remained the 'majority party' throughout this period (Wattenberg 1990). Despite this, party identification had drastically decreased, as both parties registered decreasing numbers as an increasing number of voters remained non-partisan (Beck 1984). The cyclical hypothesis also appeared to have been rejected, as Burnham's (1970) prediction of a realignment being 'due' in 1968 had failed to

occur. Although speculation occurred each election as to whether realignment had occurred, scholars maintained 1896 and 1932 were the only 'true' realigning elections. Ladd (1991) likened this expectation that each election might be 'the' critical election to 'Waiting for Godot', a play featuring two men waiting for a figure that never comes. There was widespread agreement that *something* had happened, but it was not apparent what.

In the absence of the classic realignment, other critics rejected the defining features of the concept. By loading many different criteria under the theoretical umbrella of realignment, scholars debated which of these were actually pertinent. Seminal works never explicitly defined what realignment was or why scholars labelled certain elections 'critical' (Nexon 1980, p. 54). Studies also did not demonstrate causal inference between policy outcomes and realignment. By relying on the 1932 election as a means for generalising a political phenomenon, Ladd believed '"realignment"…was always guilty of overgeneralising of a unique historical circumstance' (Ladd 1991, p. 29). The 1932 election set the template for what realignment should look like and created a classification of American politics that oscillated between cataclysmic change and business as usual (Carmines & Stimson 1981, p. 107). Shafer (1991, p. 61) likened this blunt dichotomy to a weather forecast; any election that was deemed to lead to 'no realignment' was similar in usefulness to a weather reporter forecasting 'no tornadoes', ignoring the violent weather or in this case, the unpredictable partisan environment. The inability for realignment to explain these developments in American politics ignored the historical significance of the period. Overall, there was no consensus whether realignment could explain the upheaval of American politics amidst the sixties and early seventies.

Exacerbating the lack of clear realignment emerging, supporters of the theory debated what realignment actually meant. Party identification was losing relevance as more voters

increasingly moved away from traditional party loyalties, yet Petrocik (1981) defined realignment solely by shifts in party identification in voting coalitions over majority party shifts, policy changes or election returns. Conversely, Lawrence and Fleischer (1987) replicated Burnham's (1970) methodology of identifying realignment through discontinuous regression analysis on Democrat vote totals, determining a 'mini' realignment had occurred in 1950 and 1966. Reinforcing the Michigan School, Pomper (1967) added a new classification to the Michigan model for realigning elections in which a party retained majority government as a 'converting' election, a condition later incorporated by Nexon (1980). Nexon and Pomper classified the 1964 Presidential election as a 'converting' election as while the Democrats won, their support was vastly different to prior elections (Nexon 1980, p. 61). Burnham, a pioneer of the realignment theory, asserted that a different type of realignment or 'type B realignment' (Burnham 1991, p. 116) occurred during 1968-1972. He described it as one in which there were simply 'important and enduring' changes within the political party structure. During this period, signs of realignment included the idea of a weakening of partisan loyalties gradually through divided government, personality driven politics and the idea of the 'permanent' campaign in 'postpartisan' environment (Burnham 1991, p. 125). These alterations, different approaches and even wholesale rejection of realignment highlight that classic realignment suffered from conceptual fuzziness and confusion.

On the more scathing end of criticism, Mayhew (2004) took issue with Burnham's delineating between realignment 'types'. He noted that ignoring the 'defining property' of critical elections sacrificed 'definitional constraint' (Mayhew 2004, p. 39). He thoroughly analysed decades worth of realignment 'claims' and inconsistencies. He concluded the concept of realignment was untenable and of limited capacity to understand more complex

contemporary political environments (Mayhew 2004). This demonstrated how the increasing criterion placed on realignment caused its detractors to dismiss it out of hand.

The sixties and seventies demonstrated that realignment theory had several shortcomings. The expansive list of criteria was subjective and arose from a particularly notable election. Research expanded to the point where realignment had to answer for events that encompassed the entire political process. When presented with the unexpected scenario of an incomplete Republican takeover, scholars were unable to correspond realignment to all the criteria two decades of research generated. During this period several alternative, but related concepts arose.

Alternative concepts to critical realignment

The apparent failure for 'classic' or critical realignment to explain the dramatic changes in American politics led scholars to alternative explanations. Two concepts arose during this period that possessed less onerous conditions on classifying electoral change. Still in use today, 'dealignment' and 'divided government' became alternative explanations to explain the phenomena of both the seemingly incomplete Republican government ascendency and the increasingly large proportion of independent voters. Although not explicitly critical realignment, dealignment and divided government relate to the theory by explaining change in electoral behaviour. Some scholars even perceive dealignment to be almost synonymous with a less publicised variant of realignment conceived by its architect Key (1959). Disentangling these two ideas and evaluating their relation to realignment demonstrates how realignment remains a relevant and viable theory.

Dealignment

Although there was no clear consensus as to whether a realignment had occurred since 1932, the political climate had unquestionably changed. These decades were characterised by the

politics of race and Vietnam. Unlike past political issues, these crossed established partisan lines (Lawrence & Fleischer 1987). Both Republican and Democrat identifiers affected by these issues disengaged from partisan positions. National Election Studies throughout the sixties and seventies tracked this 'deterioration in the role of political parties in American politics'; between 1952 and 1980 partisan identification rates declined by 10% (Beck 1984, pp. 240, 243). A buzzword associated with this trend during the eighties was 'electoral volatility', or less predictable patterns of partisan voting (Crewe & Denver 1985). Voters were deserting their established partisanship and vote choice without obtaining a new one.

This phenomenon of partisan decay became dealignment. It referred to weakening party support without switching to another party (Beck 1984). The term became increasingly popular throughout the seventies and eighties as a Republican realignment failed to materialise. Inglehart and Hochstein (1972) outlined this approach through Michigan school terms. They applied Converse's (1969) model of partisan transference to French and United States electorates to demonstrate how 'crises' could disrupt this process. They found that whilst French party loyalty dramatically increased under the charismatic leadership of Charles de Gaulle, the issues facing America were less influential in partisan attainment (Inglehart & Hochstein 1972, pp. 350-354). They contended that dealignment occurred when political crises weakened existing cleavages and disrupted partisan transmission.

Classic realignment theorists had predicted the possibility of some form of dealignment. Burnham (1970) contributed the concept of 'electoral disaggregation', in which the link between party and voter continued to break. This would lead to a stage in which so many people were no longer welded to a party that it would render 'critical realignment in…the classical sense impossible' (Burnham 1970, p. 92). Carmines and Stimson (1981) considered this approach to realignment much more likely to have occurred and used this

theory as the basis of their ‘issue evolution’ thesis. Even more striking was another form of realignment posited by Key (1959); secular realignment. Here, Key analysed voting trends over a much longer period and determined that the change from one party to another could be considerably more gradual. In his words, realignment could be ‘the consequence of trends that perhaps persist over decades’ (Key 1959, p. 198). Secular realignment suggested that what appears to be dealignment might have been realignment to another party taking place very slowly. Put in this perspective, Paulson (2007, p. 20) quipped ‘dealignment is realignment by other means’.

Carmines, McIver and Stimson (1987) empirically supported the idea of dealignment as an intermediate step towards a durable shift in partisan loyalty. In their model of dealignment, Carmines et al. (1987) noted that the increase in independent voters not aligned to a party comprised predominantly of voters who rejected partisan transmission from their family, as per Converse (1969). This process was particularly salient when parties took clear diverging viewpoints on issues. When this occurred, the transmission of familial partisan attachment, seen as natural when the parties were ambiguous in their position, was more difficult. ‘Unrealised partisanship’ was realised if the inherited party’s position on salient issues was at odds with their viewpoint. These ‘unrealised partisans’, however, generally voted for their opposite party. Eventually, they would realign and vote for another party (Carmines et al. 1987, p. 397).

Divided government

Distinct from this slow process of dealignment is the concept of divided government. This relates to the institutional structure of American politics made possible by the ballot structure in elections. In some states, it is possible to vote for different parties in Congress and for President. Scholars labelled this act ‘split-ticket voting’. One of the theories presented was

that Republican majorities at the presidential level represented a realignment, but dealignment had occurred at the mass level (Lawrence & Fleischer 1987, p. 92). This persisted throughout the eighties when Democrats held Congress but the Republicans dominated the White House. From 1994, this general pattern reversed, as Republicans held majorities in Congress while Democrats Clinton and Obama controlled the White House. Although evidence suggests split-ticket voting is decreasing as American politics becomes more polarised (Donnor 2015), the phenomenon is an example of how 'divided government' demonstrates partisan weakness within the American electorate.

The most comprehensive account of how and why divided government occurs in American politics comes from Morris Fiorina (1996). Examining split-ticket voting, Fiorina determined it was a complex reaction to the reorientation of ideological positioning of both major parties. Further, it was conscientious decision by a small proportion of voters to restrain Republican presidents from interfering with equitable economic outcomes that a Democrat controlled Congress fostered (Fiorina 1996, p. 72-76; Rosenof 2003, p. 155). This was particularly visible between 1964 and 1972, in which split-ticket voting increased by over 10%. Linking the theory to Downsian (1957) notions of multiparty voting, Fiorina argued that this phenomenon was the only way to restrain two-party government in the absence of competitive third parties (Fiorina 1996, p. 124). Such a conscientious choice became increasingly popular until divided government was 'something of an alternative concept in itself' (Rosenof 2003, p. 155) in the nineties.

As divided government continued to be the norm, scholars associated it with a modified version of realignment. Ladd wrote extensively on the issue of divided government throughout the Bush and Clinton administrations (Ladd 1989, 1995, 1997). His argument was that in an increasingly post-industrial era, the notion of a party obtaining a majority was

unlikely (Ladd 1997). Any notion of realignment that factored in the criteria of a new majority party was flawed as Ladd declared the three-decade long debate over what criteria were required as 'not worth the candle'; this was a new party system that was unmatched historically (Ladd 1989, p. 18). The idea of realignment as simply a significant and enduring change in partisan competition, rather than a new majority, allowed Ladd (1995) to talk about a philosophical realignment, arising from 'post-industrial' forces that indicated a less partisan electorate voting on different issues.

These two alternative explanations for classic or critical realignment lent insight into the unprecedented historical developments in American politics. After a period of post-war stability, social upheaval drove voters to disengage from strong partisan ties. This caused the realignment theory dependent on Michigan partisanship and majority parties to be irreconcilable an era of incomplete political dominance. Thus, dealignment emerged as an explanation for party disengagement and divided government emerged as an explanation for disordered partisan expression. However, these two concepts share a similarity: slow moving but significant change in the nature of American politics. They are exemplars of a slow moving, secular realignment of voting coalitions that change the established political parties. Dealignment and divided government are effectively precursors to possible realignment within the electorate.

Realignment today

Realignment has mostly endured sustained criticism and still attracts scholarly inquiry to this day. As the events of the sixties faded from contemporary debate and entered American retrospect, scholars settled into the idea of gradual realignment across multiple elections (Knuckey 1999). It reinforced that the best application of realignment theory, particularly with the use of hard electoral data, is retrospectively. Rosenof, in his comprehensive history

of the theory of realignment, noted that the significance of the 1964-1972 period has only become apparent in recent memory. Rosenof further criticised realignment's woes in the seventies as stemming from the Michigan School reliance on party identification above all other measurements. This reliance on an additional criterion besides election results led to 'endless puzzlement and confusion' (Rosenof 2003, p. 163). He asserts that realignment theory 'retains qualities essential to the retrospective analysis of American politics' (Rosenof 2003, p. 167). Thus, the reason realignment achieved criticism was that scholars tried to predict it occurring from partisan identification alone rather than classify historical voting patterns.

Although Rosenof criticised realignment from the basis of the use of party identification, it remains a useful indicator of voter durability to their chosen party, particularly among highly aware citizens. Claassen (2011) found that party positions on social issues had less effect on realigning politically less informed Southerners than economic issues both historically and more recently. Party positions towards race are more effective at realigning politically aware citizens. While his study focussed mostly on political awareness, the use of partisanship as a measurement of realignment indicates the continued utility of party identification in realignment research.

Elite-level studies in America demonstrate how classifying realignment retrospectively occurs via policy analysis. Racial tensions divided the country between North and South on policy and voting patterns, as the Democratic Party mediated two separate factions between 1948 and 1964 (Feinstein & Schickler 2008, p. 16). Taking a top-down approach, Feinstein and Schickler (2008) utilised state party platforms as a source of policy output to demonstrate that Democrats have increasingly moved towards the left on civil rights in Northern states when compared to Republicans since 1948. The increasingly hostile

Southern Democrats became gradually more conservative, as leading Southerners pushed for merging with Republicans and Democrat Governors outright endorsed Republican President Eisenhower (Feinstein & Schickler 2008, pp. 21-22). During this period, attempting to classify realignment as this process was happening was tricky. This approach demonstrates how to assess realignment using retrospective data and how policies around major issues can realign political parties.

Using realignment to explain past electoral results rather than predict future partisan patterns reorients the focus of the theory. This becomes apparent when considering the literature. Key (1955) and Campbell et al. (1960) used past data to classify the phenomenon twenty years after it had occurred. Thus, they could observe contemporary Democrat strength and trace its origin towards the New Deal. Burnham (1970) classified elections by examining midpoints of forty-year periods; not only did he use twenty years of previous election results but twenty years of future election results to assert whether a specific election was when a realignment occurred. This logically means it is impossible to identify if a realignment has occurred without future data to compare. Relying on party identification alone to predict realignment occurring is inappropriate.

Overall, despite a substantial and sustained critique of the concept, realignment endures as a vital lens to analyse American party politics. This extends to contemporary election results; the 2016 Presidential election saw pundits arguing whether Republican nominee Donald Trump's victory heralded a realignment (Bartels 2016). Recent trends in global politics, including both far-right populist parties and green political parties have also caught the attention of realignment scholars (Dalton 2018). While there have been periods in which the concept may have overreached in trying to classify the past while simultaneously

predicting the present, it remains a useful tool to make sense of major political changes, be they in partisan identity, voting patterns or policy changes.

Realignment outside America

Studies have engaged with realignment theory for other nations outside America. The Michigan School approach has been a major export, with multiple nations emulating the survey design to assess long-term political behaviour. Other studies have examined realignment through vote shares or through the lens of specific policies. However, the application of existing methodology to assess realignment outside of America must adapt to different institutional settings. Crucial differences electoral systems, party compositions and historical development mean transmitting realignment requires flexibility from the classical approach. The lack of comparable data for the same length of time means conventional survey data methods have a limited period of use. Examining existing work within party systems in Europe and then Australia helps to understand the current gap the thesis will address.

Adopting realignment for the European political sphere presents challenges. The use of proportionally represented voting systems has a significant impact on the composition of party politics within a polity. This presents less barriers for cohesive party supporters to directly influence the electoral system. This means that aside from different coalitions of voters supporting established parties, emerging parties can capitalise on realigning forces and utilise conducive institutional arrangements to establish themselves in the party system. Due to predominantly proportionally represented voting systems, Europeans who shift their allegiance are more likely to transfer that support into parliamentary representation. However, the process is on a much smaller scale than binary choices present in two-party systems. As two-party systems are rare in Europe, the use of a single party’s vote share is

impractical to approaching realignment. With the plethora of differently organised nation-states (federations, unitary states, multiple semi-autonomous regions), comparisons across countries are also difficult. Further, the more complex party systems mean that policies from smaller parties can have substantial impact in how other parties approach certain issues. Arndt's (2018) Danish study demonstrates that multiparty system realignment occurs primarily through smaller parties polarising cultural issues. These considerations demonstrate adopting realignment for European nations requires shifting the methods to incorporate complex party dynamics.

European realignment studies adopt American methods that use survey data. Michigan School-inspired surveys such as the Eurobarometer identify voter behaviour and change. Studies generally identify a 'New Left'[5] tilt towards parties with stronger postmaterialist credentials, particularly concerning the environment (Rohrschneider 1993). In his study on European realignment during the eighties, Rohrschneider found realignment was more likely to occur if the 'old left' political parties failed to adopt adequate nuclear power policies, especially in proportional voting systems. Rohrschneider (1993) utilised survey data from the Eurobarometer questions regarding postmaterialist movements and correlated these to vote share and nuclear power policy specifically.

Whilst European new-left realignment predominantly occurred during the seventies and eighties, voting data identified that the antecedents of realignment occurred even earlier in some nations such as Denmark (Berrigan 1982). Berrigan (1982) employed a variation of factor analysis used by studies such as MacRae and Meldrum (1960) to Danish commune-level aggregate voting data. He identified that the 'sudden' shift in historical voting patterns

[5] 'New Left' differs from 'old left' in that the dimension is across cultural and social issues rather than strictly economic issues. An 'old left' issue would be the politics of wage growth, whereas 'new left' would be over the decision to allow homosexual marriage.

in 1973 was the culmination of a secular realignment that dated back to the fifties (Berrigan 1982, p. 279). McHale and Shaver (1976) also used factor analysis to identify the changing party base of Charles de Gaulle's party. Their use of factor analysis in a multipartisan context demonstrated its flexibility as a method to analyse aggregate-level voting data.

Lastly, contemporary European studies analyse realignment using policy evaluations, both from voters and party experts. Dalton (2009, pp. 167-168) uses expert opinion to understand the congruence between economic and environmental dimensions of party policy between 1989 and 2003. These two dimensions had a moderate to strong correlation with each other. While old-left and new-left parties moved closer together on economic dimensions, they remain further apart on environmental issues. Focusing on policy, Arndt (2018) approaches realignment through salient political issues in Denmark, particularly immigration. Using Carmines and Stimson's (1981) issue evolution thesis, Arndt finds that niche parties that could gain representation in proportionally represented party systems polarise salient issues to realign the electorate (Arndt 2018, p. 72). Immigration became more polarised as an issue in Denmark due to New Right parties campaigning on it. This indicates that examining parties' views on policy outcomes can help identify how realignment occurs.

These studies demonstrate how Europe has adapted measuring partisan identity, voter decision-making and party policy changes to identify potential realignment. These three approaches together demonstrate a holistic approach to understanding political behaviour. They also note the importance the electoral institution has on mediating the realignment potential. These studies provide considerable value to understanding realignment in the Australian context. While America uses first-past-the-post, the alternative voting system used in the House of Representatives is most like the French two-round runoff system. Of more interest is the Senate, which uses a system of proportional representation. These together lend

themselves to a more complex party system. Thus, a realignment in a multipartisan environment can represent a significant change in the party system, but is more complicated than the two-party American context due to the greater number of moving parts.

Realignment in Australia

Australian studies that have engaged in realignment are limited both by scope and the period they examined. These studies found little conclusive evidence of realignment but faced difficulties due to both methodological confusion and a lack of suitable political change. Early Australian studies adopted the Michigan School electoral classification models. Scholar turned Labor Minister Neal Blewett applied Campbell's model to Australian federal elections. He classified elections as 'realigning' based on swings in Labor's first preference vote that won or lost them office. Thus, he classified 1910, 1917, 1929, 1931, 1943 and 1949 as realigning elections (Blewett 1971, p. 89). Blewett's study was the first to employ this method, but its status as 'preliminary notes' make it little more than a footnote. Jaensch (1983) developed a slightly more refined classification system by updating the classification of elections and factoring in both Senate voting patterns and some early survey data. However, his classification of the 1972 and 1975 election was ambiguous, relying on whether the change in government could offset the minimal net seat movement (Jaensch 1983, p. 87). Later, Jaensch prioritised net seat movement and reclassified 1972 and 1975 as deviating elections (Jaensch 1995, p. 102). This reclassification demonstrates the benefit of hindsight for applying realignment theory.

However, Jaensch and Blewett's use of the Michigan School model was criticised from a methodological perspective. McCraw (1985) asserted national election results were inadequate to classify realignment because they did not identify the location or identity of large groups of voters, nor whether their vote was durable. He condemned Blewett's use of

national level first preference votes as they ‘cannot indicate anything about the pattern of partisan loyalty’ (McCraw 1985, p. 99). The lack of rigorous survey data that measured partisanship pushed McCraw to reject a Michigan realignment approach for an Australian electoral classification system. Rather, he proposed his own approach based on his New Zealand system that classified elections based on net vote movement of minor parties, government and opposition party (McCraw 1981; 1985). While an interesting model, its focus on just national vote movement across different elections and on the House of Representatives means it has little use in the thesis. However, it was a more appropriate use of national-level voting data than a classification schemed based primarily on party identification as voting data give zero indication of individual partisan attitudes.

One study that made better use of voting data came from Leithner (1994). Leithner demonstrated partisan politics between 1910 and 1969 were more dynamic than scholars such as Aitkin (1982) assumed. Leithner also criticised Blewett for using seats as a measure of electoral behaviour (Leithner 1994, p. 460). Using a four-cell model of realignment that incorporated the Michigan School classifications of realigning, maintaining, deviating and converting elections, Leithner concluded that there had been three major realignments of declining strength, starting with the Country Party’s arrival in 1919, the Labor expansion of federal powers in the late thirties, as well as the Liberal response to bank nationalisation in 1949. He examined aggregate voting patterns at the subdivisional level. Although an excellent use of voting data to identify realignment, as well as linking it to policy directions, the Australian Electoral Office abolished the subnational unit of analysis in the mid-seventies. Thus, Leithner’s (1994) method is incompatible with new data to identify realignment with contemporary voting patterns.

Realignment theory beyond electoral classification attracted academic interest as 'new politics' emerged. 'New Politics' is an expression for political aims like environmentalism, gender equality and transparent government and differs from 'old politics' in that economic concerns are not the focus. Chapter 2 explores new politics in more detail. New politics coincided with the arrival of the Australian Democrats. McAllister (1982) assessed the Australian Democrats potential to act as a realigning force within the Australian electorate. He examined the demographic makeup of the divisions the Democrats performed well in at the 1977 and 1980 elections. He concluded that although they attracted a distinct social base of younger, British origin and tertiary educated, they predominantly attracted protest votes in safe Coalition seats and would need to translate that into a core party base to evolve beyond a protest party (McAllister 1982). Other studies, primarily from McAllister (McAllister & Studlar 1995; McAllister & Vowels 1994), utilised survey data to identify realignment in traditional political party supporters in Australia and New Zealand. These found mixed evidence of changing voter demographics in established parties, but distinct value bases for emerging parties. It was the 'new politics' issues that led scholars to engage in measuring for realignment.

Interest in 'new politics' reached its zenith when environmentalism attracted significant attention during the 1990 federal election. Voters judged Labor as the better major party to address the environmentalist issue (Bean & Kelley 1995). To appeal to the expected partisan decay to minor parties, Labor party strategists explicitly campaigned for second preferences from postmaterialist parties. These included the Australian Democrats and the fledgling state Green parties. The result was a narrow victory to Labor and a dramatic rise in the minor party first preference vote to 17%, with the Democrats attracting one in ten voters. Strong Democrat identifiers were two to three times more likely to be postmaterialists as determined by Inglehart's scale (Papadakis 1990, p. 48). Although there were signs that a

realignment may be emerging, Papadakis considered the 1990 election a sign of dealignment due once again to the Australia Democrats lacking strongly identified voters and the environment lacking significant catalytic weight to totally realign the electorate (Papadakis 1990, p. 50).

The catalyst for revisiting realignment comes from the differences between the Australian Democrats and the Australian Greens. Historically, the Australian Democrats had weak membership numbers, underutilised direct democracy procedures and never had a particularly strong cohort of party identifiers (Marks & Bean 1992; Ward 1997). Further, this support was erratic at state level, with only a particularly strong presence in South Australia (Bean 1997, pp. 76-77). Conversely, the Greens' identifiers are significantly centralised, located in several inner-city electorates. Their strength extends to the state level in both houses, broadly matching national levels of support and showing a steady increase across the board (Miragliotta 2013, p. 711-712). Further, their experiences in minority and Coalition government mean their impact on policy is visible. This demonstrates that support for the Greens is cohesive, unified and enduring. Unlike the Australian Democrats, who advocated for a deliberately centrist position along the political spectrum, the Greens are a firmly left-of-centre party (Miragliotta 2013). This explicit position allows the Greens to enunciate specific policy platforms rather than middle-of-the-road compromises. This allows them to draw support from a specific demographic rather than a loose collection of the population.

Despite the rise of the Greens and the demise of the Democrats over the past two decades, realignment is all but absent as an explanation. Although some studies briefly use the terminology (Miragliotta 2013; Spies-Butcher 2013), there appears to have been no concerted effort to apply the theory, particularly regarding previous election results. Previous attempts to approach realignment occurred at a time when comparable survey data to

America was sporadic and irregular (Jaensch 1983) or still in its infancy in the early nineties (McAllister & Studlar 1995). Shortly after the 1990 federal election, Papadakis (1990, p. 50) considered the Democrats and the emergent Greens were evidence of dealigning traditional partisan attitudes. Although the conclusion was that realignment had failed to materialised, scholars did not have twenty-first century developments to draw upon. The sustained and largely uniform survey data that behaviouralist methodologies demand did not exist. Considering political developments, the 1990 federal election may have been the start of something more. Given that 1990 was the first federal election to feature the now entrenched Greens as an electoral force, it may well have constituted a 'turning point in the nature of political discourse in Australia' (Bean, McAllister & Warhurst 1990, p. xv).

Approaching realignment in Australia

Assessing where realignment sits in broader terms indicates that it firmly embeds itself in both institutionalist and behaviouralist schools of political thought. Realignment as a concept has been responsible for leading the way for historical institutionalism to take hold in America. Robertson (1993) credits realignment scholars situated in the behaviouralist school in helping bring history back into the study of American political science. In focussing on the change of party and voter across generations of time, well-known studies (Burnham 1970; Key 1955) fell into related field of political development (Reiter 2006, p. 614). This approach of studying changes within political parties as institutions took up part of the realignment process later (Sundquist 1983).

As party systems inexorably link to electoral institutions, national voting systems shape realignment. Should there be a majoritarian institutional background, the chances of critical realignment succeeding are more remote due to the higher threshold of support required. Although this has acted as a barrier for minor parties in the past, the Australian

Greens have been able to overcome this institutional obstacle through garnering steadily increasing support in the proportionally represented Senate. Here, the entry-level requirements for representation are substantially less dependent on highly concentrated support. This support has slowly concentrated enough that lower house victories are slowly emerging. Given Australia's responsive electoral system has been a tool for political parties to corral voters, understanding this institution through the theory of realignment is critical.

As a theory that takes historical behaviour through the lens of institutions, Robertson (1993, pp. 27-28) notes the possibility of combining both institutional and behaviouralist approaches like Brady and Stewart (1982). Brady (1978) examines realignment as a function of voting patterns in Congress. This fusion of approaches created a unique study and a new means to understand the top-down functions in the realignment process. It refers to both shifts in party identification and voting decisions within an electorate as a whole. It also explains how politicians and parties respond to potentially disruptive issues. Thus, realignment fits within the American behaviouralist tradition and Australian adoption requires measuring political behaviour.

To approach realignment in Australia requires adjusting strategies. While the survey data is different between each country, revisiting realignment through the party identification model is straightforward. One strength of the contemporary period is there is substantially more consistent survey data available. Conversely, a direct replication of American behaviouralist methodology regarding voting data ignores institutional reality and corrupts Australian voting data. As the voting systems between each nation are different, the treatment of voting data must consider the institutional consequences. A system in which the 'first preference vote' is the first part of a ranked choice vote needs a different treatment to a vote in a system that searches for simple pluralities. This means approaching the data with

knowledge of Australia's institutional background is crucial to understand how realignment occurs in Australia and what it would look like in voting data that is different to its American counterpart.

One concept from America that helps in adopting realignment in Australia is split-ticket voting. This measurement can demonstrate realigning support for established parties in Australia through examining both the House of Representatives and the Senate. Australians can vote for different parties in the lower and upper Houses at a single election. Bowler and Denemark (1993) linked the level of split-ticket voting to the process of dealignment among politically mature voters. However, literature in the area ignores Australian experiences of split ticket voting, as its specific nature does not fit neatly across either 'vertical' (across levels of government) or 'horizontal' (multiple members for the same role) forms (Burden & Helmke 2009). Several studies on the cross-national level found 'unified' government is the preferred option for the Australian Labor Party and the US Democrats (Bean & Wattenberg 1998). However, a significant proportion of Australian voters deliberately split their tickets to maximise the minor party vote in the Senate, particularly among Labor voters (Bean & Wattenberg 1998; Bowler & Denemark 1993). Recent studies found split-ticket voting rates have risen to almost one in five voters, particularly amongst Labor and Green voters (McAllister 2011, p. 14). This suggests that this phenomenon is important to understand contemporary Australian voting patterns, particularly regarding left-of-centre parties.

Realignment as a means of transforming party policies is harder to analyse. Two aspects of this transformation in America; party cohesiveness and increased turnout (Brady & Stewart 1982) are less important aspects due to Australia's political culture. Turnout is a non-issue, as compulsory voting has attracted around 95% of voters for most federal elections. Further, party cohesion is a near-certainty of the party system. All parties have a 'free vote'

besides the Australian Labor Party, but the formal binding of voting decision in the ALP effectively means party discipline has always been much stronger than other comparative democracies. Voting that contravene party positions or 'crossing the floor' is a rare occurrence in Australia. One report found between 1950 and 2004, crossing the floor occurred in 439 of the 14,243 divisions (3%) in Australian parliament, with only 53 changing the result (McKeown, Lundie and Baker 2005). Although party solidarity was less formalised in the pre-war Commonwealth, unusually strong party discipline has been a distinct characteristic of the two-party system. Thus, any realignment of policy platforms cannot cluster around party cohesion but the position parties and their supporters take on emerging issues. To understand policy's role in the realignment process, available survey data can link specific issues in Australia and their salience to voters at election time. It can also measure the efficacy voters believe political parties have in addressing these issues.

With these caveats in mind, this thesis revisits realignment by analysing the role of the Australian Greens in Australia's party system. The thesis seeks to answer whether the Greens will remain a long-term, distinct fixture of the Australian system. To determine whether realignment can explain the growth of the Greens, the thesis posits realignment as a significant and durable change in the Australian party system. Rather than attempting to determine whether realignment will happen in the future, the thesis argues that realignment has already happened or at the very least, is happening. It does not need to necessarily occur in a critical election, nor cause the displacement of established parties. However, if the Greens have altered the partisan bases, voter support or policy agenda of the party system, this implies realignment has occurred and their durability is more likely. Rather than examining partisan identification alone to predict a future realignment, the thesis considers a broader scope of available data to judge whether realignment has occurred. The thesis examines available voting data to understand how the Greens vote has developed and

changed across three decades. It revisits existing and newer survey data to understand what predictors are significant to the Greens' partisan base. Further, the thesis evaluates how major parties have responded to salient political issues that led to the emergence of the Greens through examining policy outcomes and the use of institutional features in the electoral system.

Conclusion

Realignment is a dynamic concept that has endured sixty years of academic scrutiny. Although burdened by being utilised as a predictive instrument to explain party politics, its use as a lens to understand political history has been more successful. Realignment has simplified the complex domain of American politics and traced significant shifts in partisan allegiance to 'critical' periods of American history. Although its traditional criteria emerged from a potentially unique election, the idea of enduring partisan shift expressed by voters and parties is a useful contribution to political science. Where there has been a decay of longstanding partisan identity, the concepts of dealignment and divided government help explain short-term bursts of independent and third-party support, as well as split-ticket voting. Indeed, it appears dealignment and secular realignment share many similar nuances. Realignment theory is distinctly American. International applications will always deviate from the original criteria or the idea of retrospective judgement due to a lack of pure two-party competitions. However, it is still possible to apply the theory to a different political context.

The realignment literature in Australia to date has not adequately addressed several different domains that American political science has entered. Several studies use insufficient survey data, outdated electoral data or were simply premature in trying to assess whether realignment had occurred. Although party identification in survey data provides the clearest

evidence of significant and enduring change in a party system, it presents an incomplete picture and limits the scope of analysis. Aside from several earlier studies, very few have examined the most documented data source: first preference vote totals (Leithner 1994) with adequate methods. Even fewer have considered the role of the Australian Senate. Further, although some literature explores the changes of party policy, particularly during periods of minority government (Haward & Lamour 1993), very few have linked this to realignment scholarship.

Approaching party system change through realignment largely disappeared from Australian research after the Australian Democrats' lacklustre electoral performance post-1990. Almost thirty years afterwards, hindsight is now available to researchers. The Australian Greens' successes present an opportunity to understand whether realignment in a complex party system is possible. Revisiting realignment as a theory to explain Australian political experience is now viable due to better quality survey data and clearer understanding how to approach voting data. Replicating the same studies to understand whether the Australian Greens have benefitted from realignment is an appropriate way to measure their durability. In the case of Australia, newly available survey data, appropriate uses of voting data and a better case study of a political party that has a durable support base enable an assessment whether realignment has occurred.

Chapter 2: Party Systems: Theoretical underpinnings and the postmaterialist thaw

Schattschneider (1942, p. 1) once declared that 'modern democracy is unthinkable, save in terms of the political parties'. In discussing realignment, it is imperative to discuss one domain where it is visible: the party system. Party systems are the framework that political parties form, compete and survive in in the contest for government. A visible change in how political parties fit into a party system is strong evidence of realignment. To demonstrate whether realignment has occurred in Australia, an understanding of who political parties represent, how political parties organise and how the system they exist in operates is vital. This chapter examines the salient components of the party system literature. These include the sociological factors that give birth to political parties, the institutional factors that facilitate them, the psychological factors that maintain them and the cultural factors that revolutionise them.

The Australian party system has undergone significant change emblematic of changing political attitudes from changing social groups. A legacy of institutional reform has reformulated the thresholds required for political representation and altered the dynamics of party competition. This thesis argues that institutional and cultural change in Australia's party system facilitated a political environment that fostered realignment. To address how these developments impact Australia, this chapter establishes the theoretical underpinnings of the concept of party systems. It considers the means to classify party systems and the role social cleavages have in establishing political structures. The chapter also explores how institutional factors, particularly the electoral system, facilitate and maintain party systems. From there, it traces the role of party identification in explaining the durability of individual political parties. Lastly, it demonstrates the challenges traditional party systems face from the 'silent

revolution' of values that postmaterialism has ushered in (Inglehart 1971). This predominantly European literature explains these important concepts before the thesis specifically examines the Australian party system in chapters three and four.

Party system typologies

To understand how party systems operate, reviewing the rules that determine which parties matter and how they contribute to the contest for government is vital. There are several different types of party systems that depend on the nature and number of political parties that matter. Several different ways to classify party systems exist. The earliest method of classification derived from brute arithmetic of political parties. A 'two-party' system refers to a system in which there are realistically only two parties capable of forming government (Blondel 1968, p. 184). These two parties oscillate between government and opposition, with all other political parties numerically irrelevant. Another such example is the 'three-party' or 'two-and-a-half-party' system, in which government can only come about by the influence of one prominent smaller party supporting either other party in the system (Blondel 1968, p. 185). Thus, power oscillates with some degree of restraint to attract the support of the smaller party. The other example is the 'multiparty' system. Here, fragmented parties can only form government through coalition making, a process that occurs after each election and can involve many different permutations. These party system categories account for most democratic national party systems.

Later research determined party systems were more complicated than the raw number of parties in either government or opposition. Sartori (2005) established well-known rules to determine the number of effective parties within a party system in *Parties and Party Systems: A framework for analysis* (1976). His approach addresses the lack of differentiation in both multiparty and single-party systems. He defines party systems by the number of *effective*

parties and their degree of fragmentation. For a party to be effective, it must be of notable strength, possess either the capacity to facilitate government formation (*coalition potential*), or the capacity to disrupt (*blackmail potential*) government formation (Sartori 2005, p. 110). This means the actual number of legislative victories a party gains can be irrelevant. A party with only one elected representative can have major influence in policy direction, whereas a party with over a quarter of a legislative body may exert zero influence on either government or opposition agendas. By attaching conditions to count which parties are relevant, Sartori broadens the scope of a party system to both represented and relevant political actors. Whilst Sartori still considers the number of parties important, he believes the way to count them must be more sophisticated.

A party can still affect the party system without winning representation if its voters exert considerable impact on the composition of government. Australia exemplifies this, as the alternative voting system grants parties some influence to shape government policy by endorsing preference arrangements with other parties. Whilst these parties may not win representation, they retain relevance by directing their voters to give later preferences to parties that have a viable chance of representation. This example demonstrates Sartori’s relevance threshold and highlights how his conceptualisation of party systems considers more subtle dynamics than simply brute arithmetic.

Combining the effects of arithmetic and broader engagement, Laakso and Taagepera (1979) present an index to measure the effective number of parties. This results from the following equation in Figure 2.1 below.

$$N = \frac{1}{\sum_{i=1}^{n} p_i^2}$$

Fig 2.1: Laakso and Taagepera (1979) effective number of parties index

The index above calculates the effective number of parties (ENP_V), as well as the effective number of parliamentary parties (ENP_S)[6]. These rules consider every party that contests an election and arrives at a rough value indicating the number of parties that have either coalition or blackmail potential. Criticism of the index and its possible counterintuitive results has seen refined alternatives develop (Golosov 2010; Molinar 1991). However, the effective number of parties index is well understood within party system literature. Gallagher (2016) uses both ENP_S and ENP_V among other indices for a wide number of national legislatures that allow for easy comparisons between electoral regimes. Although only one of the ways to count the number of relevant political actors more effectively, it presents a quantifiable figure of relevant political parties quickly that help classifying party systems.

Understanding the party system as a combination of dynamic political forces competing for influence in government leads to further questions. While the exact way to count the number of parties, their effectiveness and relevance is subject to debate, they describe a fully formed system. How political parties form to contest elections and enter this system is important. One prominent approach exploring how political parties emerge examines the dynamics of social conflict. The party system can be a small-scale model of national division. These divisions represent different viewpoints on salient issues that the

[6] To calculate ENP_V, divide by the sum of each party's proportion of the vote squared by one. For example, if the Labor Party receives 34% of the vote, $p^2= .034^2$. Do this to each party that receives any votes. To calculate ENP_S, sum the square of seats each party won, treating independents as single parties. Divide this result by the number of seats available in the legislature chamber squared. For example, in a situation with 100 seats, with party A winning 40, party B winning 30, with parties C, D and E all winning 10 seats each, the equation would be $100^2/40^2 + 30^2 + 10^2 + 10^2 + 10^2 = 3.57$ ENP_S. This thesis predominantly uses ENP_S.

society in question has engaged in. These viewpoints, representing a phenomenon known as social cleavages, are one approach to understanding the establishment of political parties to contest in the party system.

Social cleavages

Political parties are the essential unit in determining the national political contest. However, their support often long outlives the initial struggles that generated them. Social cleavages represent politically charged socio-cultural groups that congregate around commonalities to represent a division of conflict. This theory of party systems conceives politics as a struggle of different groups wresting power off one another. Social cleavages form the groups that political parties emerge from. Broadly developed from nation-building theories and historical analysis, particularly amongst Western Europe discourse, social cleavages re-emerged after the fall of both the Soviet Union and authoritarianism in South America (Mainwaring 1999). Ultimately, social cleavages highlight how society historically divided itself and leave echoes that represent modern political parties. Their salience in predicting party support declined during the twentieth century, but they represent an important means to identify the domains of conflict that gave birth to party systems and highlight salient issues that characterise polities.

The division of society into social cleavages historically links political processes. Whilst the actual definition of cleavage varies, generally it denotes a mobilised, social-structural group of self-aware voters such as working-class unionists (Bornschier 2009, p. 2). Not every line of societal conflict or socio-cultural group develops into a cleavage; political mobilisation transforms a social group into a social cleavage in political competition (Merkl 1969, pp. 476-477). Political parties and the resulting party system inevitably reflect these socio-cultural divisions.

The idea of division based on social groups is fundamental to sociology. It is through the realm of sociology that social cleavage theory emerged in political science (Schattschneider 1960; Zuckerman 1975, pp. 232-233). Most classic theorists discuss this in the form of 'class,' a social grouping primarily divided by economic prosperity and occupation. Whilst social groups exist, it is only when these groups actively campaign for political power that they become classes. Several interpretations of sociological theorists surmise conflicting approaches to class. Marx (Marx & Engels 1962) asserts that the difference between a social group and social class is inherently political. Weber disagrees with this requisite; he simplifies class to purely objective socioeconomic standing (Weber, Gerth & Mills 1958, p. 158). He labels what Marx calls 'class' as a 'status group' that competes in power structures linked to political action. Other scholars (Lipset & Rokkan 1967, pp. 7-8) adopt Parsons's AGIL Paradigm (Parsons & Smelser 1956) to frame their theory of social cleavages. The AGIL (adaption, integration, goal attainment and latency) Paradigm maps social interaction between social groups who operate within a national economic system. Individuals' integration into a group reinforce and legitimise themselves through goal attainment, or political objectives, within a societal context. Essentially, the process for attaining legitimacy as a political group is through achieving political goals.

Scholars credit Lipset and Rokkan (1967) with popularising 'cleavages' in political science. Underpinning their theory with Parsons's AGIL Paradigm, Lipset and Rokkan take a European approach to social cleavages by linking divisions to historical developments, particularly the Reformation and both French and Industrial Revolutions. These three major historical events created a legacy of division between centralised authority and peripheral leaders, or the *centre-periphery* cleavage, the *church-state* division, as well as primary and secondary economies that form the *rural-urban* and *labour-capital* cleavages (Lipset &

Rokkan 1967, pp. 14, 33-38). These four cleavages form the 'constellation of conflict' that underpin variations between national party systems.

These cleavage divisions characterise Western European political experience. For example, religion is a salient cleavage that has relevance in German politics. As religion has traditionally played a prominent role in society, the Christian Democratic Union (CDU) is a major political force within the *Reichstag*. In multilingual nations, parties can have regionally concentrated support. For example, the Swiss People's Party originally emerged from agrarian parties in Switzerland's German-speaking cantons. This is an example of fractionalisation, or a party system that has a diverse range of viable outlets for political support (Rae 1967). Indeed, in a highly fractionalised party system, parties might represent both religion and region simultaneously. This is most notable in the highly multipartisan party system in Belgium, where there is a Christian party for both French-speaking (*Centre démocrate humaniste)* and Flemish-speaking (*Christen-Democratisch en Vlaams)* communities. These demonstrate that the emergence of political parties often echoes conflicts within society.

National cleavage structures differ through nationally specific conflict. Given their historical development, certain cleavages that are important in one nation towards generating salient political parties are non-existent in another. For example, racial cleavages are unlikely to develop in a largely homogenous society. Conversely, race is a highly divisive cleavage in the United States. The correlation between African-American voters and the Democratic Party is highly salient, with race the most likely demographic to inform party identification (Petrocik 1981). Political conflict can take many forms, but the most common in western democracies is socioeconomic position. Analysing the United Kingdom, the United States and West Germany during the sixties, Janowitz and Segal (1967) found striking differences

between party affiliation and social cleavages. Whilst socioeconomic position was a highly relevant polarising issue in the United Kingdom and West Germany, it was less important in the United States. The authors theorised this was a legacy of colonisation. As modern American society emerged already industrialised, socioeconomic division was less disruptive compared to the high disruption the Industrial Revolution caused to established European societies (Janowitz & Segal 1967, p. 615).

Lipset and Rokkan (1967) found established party systems remarkably durable. An established national party system tends to be institutionally rigid and the number of effective parties remains constant. Lipset and Rokkan noted the consistency of party support demarcated by divisions in society. In their definitive statement, known as the 'freezing hypothesis' they famously declared that 'the party systems of the 1960's reflect, with few but significant exceptions, the cleavage structures of the 1920's' (Lipset & Rokkan 1967, p. 50). This 'freezing hypothesis' led to several investigations to clarify what had frozen; the party system that originated from earlier societal conflict from a bygone era or the actual social cleavages themselves (Bornschier 2009, p. 3). Party systems are remarkably durable because the cleavage structures that created them remain frozen.

At the time, Lipset and Rokkan (1967) grappled with why only certain social struggles crystallise to form political struggles. Examining how political parties evoke cleavages allows for clarity on the issue. Mair (1997) found the stability of the party system depends on actors within the political party space. Political elites within the party help mediate the role social cleavages have in modern party systems. Sartori (1970. p. 210) likens focusing on just cleavages within society without examining their translation to political parties to focussing on only consumers but not producers in farming. To focus on just social cleavages and not their translation to political parties takes a myopic view of politics. Thus,

political parties that arise from conflict do not just reflect but also influence the lines of division within society. Zuckerman (1975, p. 247) concludes, after considering the theoretical orientation of such a proposition, that elite and mass conflict interacted to produce not just political cleavages but the structural qualities of the regime. Parties can do this by evoking imagery of antiquated class struggles or by focusing attention on issues political parties feel they can control. Affiliation with the trade union movement relates to the level of class voting in Anglo-American democracies, while the American Democrats lack of union ties weakened the proportion of class voting (Alford 1967). Further refinement indicates political elites have more influence in influencing the development of social cleavages in a weakly institutionalised party system, as seen in Spain after 1989 (Chhibber & Torcal 1997).

Recent literature, however, suggests that both the party systems and the social cleavages that crystallised them are beginning to thaw. Using longitudinal survey analysis, Frankie, Mackie and Valen (1992) demonstrate the decline between social cleavages and voting across sixteen western nations, particularly class. They use the proportion of left-wing votes as the dependent variable and considered several social-structural variables, particularly class. Whilst there are several limitations with the methodology that understate the link between social cleavage and voting by up to ten percent in Australia, Charnock (2005) replicates the general pattern of decline between the strength of association between social structures and the Australian Labor Party vote. In contrast, Evans and Tilly (2017, p. 23) find through a longitudinal analysis of British survey data that the thawing of social cleavages, particularly class, was a deliberate strategy pursued by the political parties themselves by reforming their ideology to appeal to shifting demographics. These studies suggest that the link between common features among voters is less deterministic than in previous eras.

Despite the influence of social cleavages waning in western democracies, the influx of new democracies after the fall of the Soviet Union reenergised social cleavage theory. Whereas Lipset and Rokkan (1967) worked with long established societies, the emergence of new democratic party systems presents an opportunity to witness the genesis of social cleavages. A lack of frozen party systems in these new nations generate new opportunities to examine whether a similar pattern develops. Generally, social cleavages have weaker explanatory power in emerging democracies, as European style societal divisions failed to emerge in post-authoritarian Brazil (Mainwaring 1999, p. 59). A comparative study on east and western party systems tests this proposition further. Gijsberts and Nieuwbeerta (2000) found that Eastern European economic cleavages make some difference in social justice attitudes, but not party preferences. This suggests that new democracies do not translate divisions in society cleanly to political party divisions.

Other studies look past traditional sociological explanations to understand how social conflict is politicised into social cleavages. One common approach is to classify salient characteristics through survey data and analyse it using logistic regression. Scholars have used this method to analyse emerging social cleavages in Spain (Chhibber & Torcal 1997) and South Korea (Kim, Choi & Cho 2007). Other studies examining cleavage divisions embrace game theory (Zielinski 2002) and social identity matrices (Posner 2017). These modern conceptualisations place less emphasis on sociological tenets of identity and place greater choice in individuals using cleavage identity for maximising utility. Posner (2017, p. 2004) relegates traditional understanding of social identity to post-hoc explanations; he argues individuals seeking political power consciously pick from their available social cleavages to maximise their chances of obtaining power and status.

Ultimately, social cleavages are one means of explaining the division of society along lines of political conflict. Such a phenomenon establishes parties that contest for government. Conflict can maintain a party system and 'freeze' the political system on historical and irrelevant battlelines, but can change when new conflict realigns the party system (Schattschneider 1960). However, social conflict is not the sole factor that inform party systems. Several other political concepts can cause the creation, maintenance, modification and at its extreme, destruction of national party systems. Where social cleavages are one form of bottom-up processes, institutional factors play a major role in the shape and direction of their respective systems.

The electoral institution and maintenance of party systems

The politicisation of societal conflict allows groups to contest for representation in the national legislature. This grants certain groups that emerge from cleavages some input into political outcomes. However, the transmission from politicised struggle to effective political party is highly dependent on the institutional thresholds the electoral system imposes. Matters including party registration requirements, district magnitude, assembly size, minimum support thresholds and voting mechanisms all affect who enters, who remains, who thrives and who dies in the party system. Gaining election under single-member district electoral systems can be particularly challenging without geographically concentrated support. Conversely, proportionally represented systems can impose thresholds that prevent parties without significant widespread support from obtaining representation. Further, political representation in legislatures is a zero-sum game; new parties winning seats inevitably must replace other political parties. Thus, established players restrain the levers for political reform to maintain the existing party system. Ultimately, institutional inertia has the capacity to freeze the party system and render it unreflective of new divisions in society. Conversely, major institutional reform can fundamentally alter the political character of a nation.

Examining how institutional power interacts with party systems is a meaningful way to determine the ease new parties can affect a party system.

One of the most famous political science statements directly links the electoral and party systems together. French political scientist Maurice Duverger proclaims this link to be 'a true sociological law' (Duverger 1964, p. 217). Known as Duverger's Law, he states that first-past-the-post simple majority voting systems are conducive to forming two-party systems. An 'almost complete correlation', the exceptions are 'very rare' and caused by 'special conditions' (Duverger 1964, p. 217). Duverger was not the first to notice this correlation; Riker (1986) credits the Ashworth brothers with observing the relationship in 1900. However, he credits Duverger as 'the first to dare to claim that it was, in fact, a law' (Riker 1986, p. 43). The most prototypical examples used is the United States and the United Kingdom. An extension of Duverger's Law is 'Duverger's hypothesis', in which true proportional voting systems correlate with multiparty systems (Duverger 1964, p. 239). Recent political history challenges the validity of these observations; multipartisan politics exist in simple majoritarian nations and two-party systems operate in proportionally represented nations (Riker 1986)[7]. However, political scientists agree that party systems relate to the structure of the electoral system in some way.

The electoral system also leads to differences in the organisation of parties on ideological and policy positioning. As the electoral system affects the organisation of parties,

[7] Duverger's Law has undertaken countless reappraisals and is no longer considered 'law', at least in that, it is deterministic. Riker (1986) reduces it to a probalistic relationship that relies on both the psychological effect of two-partism and the mechanical effect this entails. This means Duverger's Law more or less holds, on a district rather than national level (Chhibber & Kollman 2004; Moser & Schiener 2012). In a cross-national comparative analysis that focusses on electoral competition on 'new' democracies, particularly mixed-member proportional voting systems, Moser and Schierer (2012) find that classic assumptions based on established democracies, particularly Duverger's Law, were not immediately met. In the single-member district components, the lack of an ingrained psychological effect meant that two-partism was not the default response. While Duverger's work is no longer monolithic, it helps to understand pattern of party competition in established democracies.

it naturally can affect the type of government that the party system naturally forms. Comparative political scientist Lijphart (1999) delineates between two broad families of government; majoritarian and consensus. Such a distinction has ramifications for the ideological character of the party system. In a two-party majoritarian government system, the party system has a *centripetal* ideological character. Both parties converge towards policies that attract the broadest support base possible (Cox 1990, Sartori 2005, pp. 306-307). As the parties alternate from government to opposition, they require the support of the less-inclined partisan identifiers in the centre. Thus, the parties temper their extreme policies to attract transient voters in the centre (Duverger 1964, p. 388). Conversely, a multipartisan consensus government system has the opposite effect. As extremist support only requires a proportion of the vote to gain seats in the legislature, the ideological poles guarantee strong positions receive a core constituency. Ergo, the system becomes *centrifugal*, or moves away from the centre (Cox 1990, Sartori 2005, p. 311). As these systems feature many parties that have a realistic chance of obtaining power, it is in a party's best interest to highlight their differences to set them apart from the multitude of other parties (Duverger 1964, pp. 338-339). Whilst this relationship between the direction of party competition and party system is not perfect, these general trends demonstrate how electoral institutions can affect the ideological composition of political parties and government within a party system.

Given the significance of the electoral system in facilitating the emergence of new political parties, electoral reform is a highly contentious policy domain. Most established democracies have rarely made major changes to their voting systems. For example, America and the United Kingdom have used first-past-the-post voting for centuries. Using his own classification system to differentiate between major and minor electoral reform in eighteen established democracies, Lijphart (1994) concludes that there were only fourteen major

electoral reforms between 1950 and 1994[8]. In part, this is due to the self-interest of politicians; changing the rules that they won office under is not politically expedient. One study indicates that there was great reluctance for reform from politicians, either in government or in opposition (Bowler, Donovan & Karp 2006). As a caveat, reforms overtly benefiting the self-interest of politicians receives condemnation by the public, particularly when blatantly a result of electoral desperation. However, electoral reform still happens due to several reasons. Katz (2005) explores the possible reasons electoral reform occurred. Some of these include parties changing the system that works against them, due to public outrage, tactical miscalculations, as part of a bargaining chip when requiring support from other parties or, rarely, due to a belief in doing the democratic thing (Katz 2005, pp. 61-69). Ultimately, electoral reform may lead to dramatically different means for parties to enter the party system.

A clear example of electoral reform leading to party system reform is New Zealand. Formerly the most quintessentially two-party system in the world, New Zealand morphed into a multiparty system. This change emerged when the National Party called a successful referendum to change the electoral system from first-past-the-post to mixed member proportional (MMP) for the 1996 election. Since this election, National and Labour have always required coalition support amongst several smaller parties. These include the New Zealand Green party, Unity, Alliance, Maori Party and New Zealand First. Although there had been parties that had received significant support[9], they remained largely outside the party system due to the electoral system facilitating a two-party system. Proportionally represented seats meant new parties entered the system and facilitated coalition building as

[8] Lijphart (1994) considers increasing the number of districts or assembly size by 20%, changing the ballot structure or the voting mechanism as a 'major change'.

[9] One notable example was Social Credit, who received 20.1% of the vote and won two seats in 1981.

found in Europe. This has fundamentally altered the New Zealand party system. Using the effective number of parties' index by Laakso and Taagepera (1979) demonstrates that the system's ENP_S has increased from 2.14 in 1993 to 2.98 in 2014, transforming New Zealand from a near perfect two-party system to a muted multipartisan nation[10].

Ultimately, the electoral system is a filter for societal division to be politicised (Moser & Schiener 2012). It formulates the conditions that influence the shape of the party competition and ultimately the cleavages represented through political parties. Although the establishment of political parties originates from conflict in society and the system can help maintain their presence, durable political parties continue to exist even when the conflict can be resolved. Such a phenomenon is a dynamic process that factors in electoral strategy, policy direction and presenting a cohesive image. Inevitably, political parties continue to exist only if they receive enough support from voters. Party support takes several forms, but one of the more prominent and durable is the idea of psychological attachment in the form of party identification.

Party identification

Although party identification is central to realignment as seen in the previous chapter, it also plays a substantial role in maintaining existing party systems. A junction of psychological attachment and political attitudes, party identification is a dominant explanation in the maintenance of political parties over decades within the party system. Despite the ubiquity of political parties, party identification has no universal definition. As political culture can be vastly different across nations, the concept of partisanship has many definitions, most of which factor in different measurements (Wattenberg 1990, p. 7). However, the most widely

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[10] The ENP_V is even higher, but the electoral threshold of 5% dilutes the number of parliamentary parties. Vowles (2018, p.154) calculated the ENP_V throughout New Zealand's history and shows it reached a low of 2.0 during the fifties to a high of 4.5 in the nineties after the electoral reform.

used conceptualisation comes from the Michigan School's *The American Voter* (Campbell et al. 1960). Scholars credit Campbell's team with defining party identification by linking the realm of politics to the methods of psychology (Belknap & Campbell 1951). This understanding of partisanship as an individual psychological factor that serves as an anchor that influences their political decision-making is widely accepted as a means of maintaining party support in the party systems.

Linking party allegiance to attitudinal salience was a notable development to political science. The ease of measurement through randomly sampled surveys of voting populations drove a wide number of international studies to adopt the Michigan School methodology. At the forefront of methodology, the Michigan School's Survey Research Centre developed the National Election Study survey as a means of identifying individual-level political behaviour within the American electorate. By aggregating individual results, general observations and predictions about American politics were possible. Under this approach, scholars measure party identification by presenting this simple question to participants;

> Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent, or what?

Extending on this, questions regarding strength of the party allegiance are asked to measure the strength and direction of party identification within an electorate. These questions were adapted to measure partisan identification and intensity in other Western Democracies including Britain (Butler & Stokes 1969), Australia (Aitkin 1982; McAllister & Mugham 1987) and Canada (Johnson 1992). It has also been adapted, albeit with some international variation in wording caused by linguistic differences and greater party choice to the Eurobarometer studies (Sinnott 1998). This widespread influence suggests that whilst there

may be some ambiguity, the Michigan School is the most generally accepted means of measuring party identification.

Party identification leads to any vote outside expected party groups to be ‘deviant’. Converse (1966) conceptualises the notion of the ‘normal vote’ as an assumed level of party support based upon voters’ social group and their typical party allegiance. He operationalises it by separating turnout and short-term defection rates and determining the long-term vote by interpolating where defection rates were equal between Republicans and Democrats. Converse applies this to groups such as Protestants to determine the ‘normal’ vote social groups were ‘expected’ to give to their respective parties. This fundamentally assumes that party identification is a long-term, predictable factor that suggested that short-term factors such as particular candidates ‘deviated’ from the ‘normal’ vote underpinned by party loyalty. Under this approach, partisan intensity sufficiently explains ongoing party success.

As the twentieth century progressed, however, the theory became less convincing. During the heightened civil unrest of the sixties and seventies, there was global evidence that party identification weakened. The Michigan Survey Research Centre’s quadrennial voter survey found average rates of American reported partisanship declined ten percent between 1964 and 1972 (Wattenberg 1990, p. 24). Rather than conventional switching of party identifiers, the number of respondents who reported being ‘Independent’ sharply increased (Carmines et al. 1987). Further, the number of ‘strong’ party faithful also declined. As social upheaval occurred, voters began to question their loyalty to increasingly changing parties. Such a phenomenon was globally apparent, with European studies tracked a similar decline (Schmitt 2006).

Several reasons have been advanced to explain why this was the case. One such theory put forward by Converse (1969) involved the disruption of traditional partisan loyalty.

He asserted that traditional partisan loyalty was declining in the United States, as newer generations were not adopting their parents' party identification as readily and opting to remain independent. Such a trend indicated that youth were being politicised from sources besides familial exposure. Inglehart and Hochstein (1972) outlined such sources could include rapid and dramatic social upheaval. In sharp contrast to America, the French political system became increasingly partisan during the sixties. Whilst the Gaullist party sharply mobilised partisan allegiance during student demonstrations, similar civil unrest was unable to excite much party identification within America.

Another more salient point of view was that party identification was simply not as dominant an explanation regarding voter choice as the Michigan School had purported. Closer examination of the Survey Research Centre refuted the idea of a unidirectional causal relationship between party identification and voter choice. Party identification caused some long-term voter choice, but in the short-term, voter choice led to party identification (Meier 1975). Further, its stability was considerably less than what the Michigan School had reported; Franklin and Jackson (1983) found that partisans were much more attuned to changing party platforms and effective leaders than first imagined. Indeed, party identification was much more pliable to short-term political events and leaders than first thought (Franklin & Jackson 1983, p. 970). This short-term change could even be over the course of a single election, making short-term factors such as leaders and issue evaluation considerably more important to voting decision than first expected (Brody & Rothenberg 1988).

Although the trends evidently point to declining identification rates, question-wording effects found slight alterations to survey questions might have some influence. When transposing the original measurement of party identification, wording inevitably changes to

fit local partisan environments. However, introducing more categories into the measurement dilutes the number of reported partisans. Canada's rate of uncommitted voters increased by ten to twelve percent after the introduction of a 'none of these' category (Johnson 1992). Such a change was associated with the 1993 Australian Election Study, in which introducing a 'no party' category increased the decline of partisanship by seven percent, with this increased coming predominantly from 'other' and 'don't know' categories (Charnock 1996, p. 265). Sometimes merely changing the wording can have some unintended consequences; Bean (1996, p. 141) believes that changing the British Election Study party identification from simply 'usually call yourself' to just 'calling yourself' partly caused a fifteen percent decline in major party identification rates.

Despite the less than assumed stability and durability of party identification, it is still widely accepted as a predictor of voting intention. Many of the studies still report that despite the short-term fragility, 'strong partisans remain strong' (Brody & Rothenberg 1988, p. 464). It retains attitudinal capacity that 'exerts a significant brake on shifts in party preferences' (Franklin & Jackson 1983, p. 968). Further, its use in survey analysis is still apparent in decade-long national political attitude surveys across the globe. Although no longer seen as a lifelong belief that rarely changes, party identification is a worthwhile measurement of political attitudes relative to political parties. Partisans help maintain strong, durable support of parties within the party system. However, the waning predictive power of party identification segues into one of the most influential theses of twentieth-century political science; postmaterialism.

Postmaterialism and value change in party systems

Ronald Inglehart's breakthrough work *The Silent Revolution* (1977) offers an influential explanation regarding traditional partisan decline and the rise of new social cleavages derived

from changing cultural values. This cultural and value change in a proportion of the population help identify a group that is receptive to realigning their political support long-term. Postmaterialism explains the cultural landscape that a 'green' political party could exist under. Taking a cross-national approach, Inglehart is interested in shifting political culture. Using survey data, he links the decline in traditional partisan views with the shift towards an increased proportion of voters expressing 'post-bourgeois' values (Inglehart 1971). This later changed to 'postmaterialist' as Inglehart wanted to incorporate material security rather than just economic concerns (Inglehart 1977, p. 28). Inglehart links his own theory to Abraham Maslow's hierarchy of needs (Maslow 1943), in which base needs such as hunger and security take priority over existential concerns. He argues voters that satisfy their base needs prioritise quality of life matters such as greater civic engagement and broader human rights (Inglehart 1977, p. 22). Economically secure voters with satisfied materialist concerns desire hierarchically higher ideals. In essence, 'the groups calling for change were no longer the economically deprived but the affluent' (Inglehart 1977, p. 261). He identifies this is particularly prevalent amongst voters who were born after 1945. Although the original survey classified postmaterialist status based on responses to a four-item survey, his scope, instruments of measurement and number of cases gradually increase throughout the decade.

Inglehart's theory and the school of criticism make heavy use of survey data and are a staple of political behavioural research. Measuring postmaterialism is simple and categorical. In the most common postmaterialist index, Inglehart (1971, p. 994) asks participants to make a hierarchical decision, ranking two of four issues as the 'most desirable'. These include:

1. Maintain order in the nation
2. Give people more say in important government decisions
3. Fight rising prices
4. Protect freedom of speech

Options 1 and 3 represent traditional 'materialist' issues of law and order and the economy. Conversely, options 2 and 4 represent 'postmaterialist' concerns about the less tangible realm of 'higher order needs' of participatory democracy and greater liberties. Participants are 'postmaterialist' if they select options 2 and 4, whereas 'materialist' status is conferred for participants who select options 1 and 3. Choosing a combination of each leads to a 'mixed' classification and is the most common category. The treatment of 'mixed' respondents differs in later literature by sometimes differentiating by respondents' first option, but Inglehart tends to use three categories in his research. However, researchers often discard 'mixed' respondents from the sample, effectively halving the amount of available cases (Inglehart 1977; Savage 1985). Regardless, a plethora of global surveys includes the postmaterialist index as a measurement of political attitudes.

At the time of his first publication, criticism towards postmaterialism centred on classification relying only on the four-item measure, but Inglehart refined his theory with additional measurements. By 1977, he had added an additional eight items to his response (for example 'more say on job', 'less impersonal society', 'stable economy'), employing factor analysis to confirm their reliability as a measurement of both materialist and postmaterialist options (Inglehart 1977, pp. 40-41). One reason was that the seventies were characterised by inflation, ergo 'fighting rising prices' may have been selected due to its salience at the time, irrespective of value changes. Additional items meant greater precision for determining postmaterialist status. It also meant individual items that took on greater importance due to contemporary political times were less important individually. These additional items are usually absent from most surveys that tap postmaterialism levels.

Inglehart's postmaterialist thesis also lends insight to the declining role of party identification and social cleavages as indicative of political support. At the heart of this is the

role of education. The twentieth century was characterised by the unprecedented rise in global education. In 1900, 54,000 university degrees were awarded worldwide. By contrast, one million graduates attained their degrees in 1950, leading to a phenomenon Inglehart labels ‘cognitive mobilisation’ (Inglehart 1977, p. 297). As education levels rises, the self-perceived efficacy of voters to influence the political system also increases. The lines between political elite and voter blur, as elites can no longer corral the uneducated masses to behave like their prior social cleavage. This also means that voters more carefully consider the issues parties discus, decreasing the automatic translation of party support to the vote (Inglehart 1977, p. 309). Given the concentration of highly educated voters among younger cohorts in the twentieth century, traditional party loyalties weaken, as does the control of political elites to direct the narrative. Dalton (1984) traces this development by identifying highly educated, highly politically interested ‘apartisans’ as a cohort distinct from less interested ‘apolitical'. These apartisans are emblematic of postmaterialist ideology supplanting old partisan identity. Dalton (2007, p. 284) declares that, due to the changing nature of apartisans into a highly cognitively mobilised cohort ‘the electorate described by Campbell and his colleagues no longer exists’.

Inglehart’s work had major implications for understanding European politics and made implicit conclusions for Anglo-American democracies. He found a similar, albeit subdued shift of political support for voters who espoused postmaterialist values in Britain (Inglehart 1971, pp. 999-1001). Although due in part to the weakening economic position of Britain, he also concluded it might be due to the lack of ideological distance between the two major parties (Inglehart 1971, p. 1016). The convergence of major parties around the ideological centre strongly correlates with majoritarian voting systems (Duverger 1964; Lijphart 1999). Follow up studies that demonstrated a gradual increase in the number of

‘post-materialists’ (Inglehart 1977; 1990) indicate that this prediction of a ‘silent revolution’ of partisanship was accurate.

The impact postmaterialism has on conventional left-right ideological divisions is unclear. Studies have reached different conclusions over whether traditionally left-wing or right-wing parties are affected by the shift in cohort values. In Inglehart’s initial study (1971, p. 1009), postmaterialism was linked primarily to the rise of ‘New Left’ in British, Dutch and French samples, with postmaterialists more likely to support leftist parties. Testing this, Savage (1985) explores postmaterialists who identify as right-wing based on left-right ideological placement. Using Inglehart’s own surveys and conducting multiple regression, he determines right-wing postmaterialists, although lower in proportion and education level, are more satisfied with democracy. Savage’s findings ultimately criticise the prediction that postmaterialism would supplant traditional social cleavages Inglehart (1977). In the same journal issue, Inglehart (1985, p. 488) praises Savage’s examination. He suggests that, given postmaterialism largely emerged from economically secure populations, right-wing postmaterialists are unremarkable. What this suggests is that postmaterialism is a phenomenon that affects both the left and right, albeit to different extents.

Although highly influential, some question the utility of the postmaterialist thesis. Abramson (2011) collates an exhaustive account of four decades worth of criticism to Inglehart’s postmaterialist writing, alongside rebuttal from Inglehart and his associates. This account summarises forty-eight critiques of Inglehart’s work and eighteen rebuttals that cross several themes. Some critiques comment that postmaterialism is less applicable an explanation of value change compared to a ‘traditional-liberal' dimension in nations outside the original analyses, particularly Japan (Flanagan 1979; Ike 1973) and Norway (Hellevik 1993; Lafferty & Knutsen 1985). Other critiques assert that it is a product of its times. As

'new politics' declined in relevance during the nineties, the postmaterialism index demonstrates diminished exploratory power (Rossteutscher 2004). On the environment, Cotgrove and Duff (1981) conclude through a combination of survey data and interviews with British environmentalists and trade unionists that other sources of values besides postmaterialism mediate the relationship between environmentalism and postmaterialism. Others question whether 'postmaterialist' concerns require a separate paradigm to 'materialist' concerns. The prototypical 'postmaterialist' concern of the environment is 'is merely a new reminder of a very old message; the distribution and use of resources' (Battin 1997, p. 273). Placing these issues in the context of materialist economic concerns reduces their novelty and the necessity for a new category of issues that are beyond the classic division of society along resource distribution.

Regardless, the notion of postmaterialist value change is a powerful explanation for modern political trends. The emergence of new left-wing parties in affluent urban areas with less materialist goals such as Green parties, as well as parties that incorporate increased direct democracy like the Australian Democrats indicate changing values within society. Applying the postmaterialist index to these emerging parties demonstrates a much higher proportion of postmaterialist voters identifying with them (Miragliotta 2013; Papadakis 1990). Thus, the role of postmaterialism as an agent of change is an important component of the overall thesis towards realignment not just of European party systems but Australia's as well.

Conclusion

Party systems provide an important framework for understanding political culture and changes within. They are the most visible domain that realignment can take form in. Acting as a constellation of relevant political interests that contest for power, the party system is a microcosm of various phenomena. Political parties represent moments in history in which

conflict emerged within society and froze into political action. However, the capacity for these social cleavages to develop beyond movements depends in part to the institutional thresholds they must overcome. How many votes translate into a seat in the legislative chambers can facilitate or impede this movement's evolution into a political force. The system exists to preserve former cleavage lines, which in turn encourage echoes of old political battles. Yet, the existence of political parties is also dependent on their capacity to maintain dedicated support through voters psychologically identifying with them. This breakdown of party identification has led to the link between a voter and their party weakening, shaking the party system.

One of the ways that traditional political battles have lost their predominant capacity to feed the party system is the role of postmaterialist value change. Many modern democratic national party systems formed from established cleavages such as class or religion. Today, an increasing number of voters have entered the electorate without considering these old divisions. While these social cleavage lines still play an important role in most national party systems, the postmaterialist thawing has weakened their relevance and a growing contingent of parties now carve out a niche in their respective party systems. Although they may never overtake the old materialist struggles, the party systems must now accommodate additional lines of division. Facilitated and maintained by both institutional electoral systems and emerging partisan identities, these new lines of division in party systems foster an environment perfect for realignment to transpire. The thesis argues the Greens have undertaken this process in Australia. Taking these political theories, the following chapters will apply these structures to the Australian political system. From a party system that emerged on deliberately divisive lines of cleavage to the institutional permissiveness of the Senate, the concept of party systems helps explain several trends in Australia and demonstrate how Australia's party system is a suitable climate for realignment.

Chapter 3: The Australian Party System Part I: Stability (1901-1975)

In his seminal volume *Stability and Change in Australian Politics* (1977; second edition in 1982), Don Aitkin declared upfront:

> The shape of Australian politics has been largely unchanged since 1910…the causes of this stability are to be found in the adoption, by millions of Australians then and since, of relatively unchanging feelings of loyalty to one or other of the Australian parties (Aitkin 1982, p. 1).

This characterised the Australian party system as one of immense stability between Labor and non-Labor political parties and their supporters. Jaensch reiterated Aitkin's characterisation in *Election! How and Why Australia Votes* (1995). Yet by the second edition of Aitkin's volume in 1982, the Australian Democrats had recorded notable vote share and won several seats in the Senate. While Aitkin (1982; 1985) wrote them off as ephemeral like the Democratic Labor Party before them, the Australian Democrats were the precursor of shifting a long-established party system. Forty years after the publication, recent political events have demonstrated notable change in the Australian party system.

Australia is a unique case study that demonstrates how institutional reform can alter the political character of a nation. To understand how Australia's party system operates, the thesis addresses Australia's electoral and political institutions. The unique use of alternative voting for the lower house marginally complicates the two-party system. Only used in a small number of non-general elections elsewhere, this national electoral system blurs the number of effective parties. As voters must rank all parties on the ballot paper, votes for parties with no legislative influence can still play a major part in the overall result through their voters' additional ranked choices. Thus, parties can exert significant blackmail potential into the formation of government within a two-party system.

Of more significance is the simultaneous use of proportional representation in the Australian Senate. Here, representation is much easier to obtain and parties can restrain the largely two-party conducive preferential voting system. This institutional feature facilitates a unique party system dynamic in which both houses of parliament demonstrate fundamentally different patterns of party competition. Partly due to the lower institutional threshold, parties with postmaterialist aims can obtain greater representation through the Senate and shape the political process. This has allowed smaller parties like the Greens to win seats and provide a pathway for realignment in Australian politics.

To understand how the Greens have realigned the Australian party system, a comprehensive examination of the Australian party system is vital. The following two chapters explore the Australian party system and unearth how it operated during this period of stability and how it operates today. Chapter 3 analyses the emergence and evolution of the ‘two-party system’ through the lens of Lipset and Rokkan’s (1967) social cleavage theory. It focusses on the period between 1901 and 1975 but also considers contemporary examples of the centre-periphery, labour-capital, rural-urban and church-state cleavage divisions in modern politics. This is the politics of stability and considers historical patterns of party identification. This approach also examines several contemporary phenomena using this framework to demonstrate how these classic components of Australia’s party system retain salience in specific examples.

The year 1975 was the climax of a highly polarised political environment that culminated in the dismissal of the Whitlam Labor Government. The Dismissal centred on Governor-General Sir John Kerr revoking Labor Prime Minister Gough Whitlam’s commission to govern after he was unable to pass supply in the Senate. Kerr granted commission to govern to Liberal Malcolm Fraser, who won the subsequent 1975 election in a

landslide. This was due to a hostile Senate controlled by the Coalition refusing to pass any legislation as an obstructionist tactic. As it remains the most polarised event in Australian political history, it acts as the demarcation point between chapters 3 and 4.

Traditional political parties in Australia

Australia's two largest political parties have demonstrated remarkable resilience and capacity to remain relevant. The centre-left Australian Labor Party (Labour until 1912) has remained a central part of the party system. Existing before the inaugural Australian federal election in 1901, it is usually the largest single party in parliament and has been instrumental in steering the direction of Australia's party system. Conversely, the centre-right components of the party system have been consistently more fluid. Going through earlier iterations and compositions of other political parties, notably the Free Traders and Protectionists (1901-1909) Liberal Fusion (1910-1918), Nationalist (1918-1931) and United Australia Party (1931-1943), the current Liberal Party of Australia formed during World War II in 1944. Together with the National (formerly Country) Party, who emerged towards the end of World War I, 'the Coalition' enjoyed uninterrupted government for twenty-three years between 1949 and 1972.

Both party groupings are 'major' parties in Australian nomenclature. The Liberal and National party's coalition is essentially permanent. Replicated at the state level in New South Wales and Victoria, the partisan groupings of Labor versus a large Liberal/small National party Coalition is most prominent at the federal level. Tasmania, South Australia and the ACT feature just Labor and Liberal parties as the Nationals no longer exists in any meaningful party form. In Western Australia, they are more independent of the Liberal party and a coalition is not immediate. Historically, Queensland inverted this pattern. The Queensland National party was the senior Coalition partner to a smaller Liberal party,

sometimes governing in their own right. The two parties amalgamated in 2008 to form the Liberal-National Party (LNP). This merger occurred much earlier in the Northern Territory, with the Country-Liberal Party (CLP) reflecting the party's earlier title. These two party groupings underpin the 'two-party system' that characterise Australian politics, with elections conceived as a 'Labor versus non-Labor' contest for simplicity.

Examining the four cleavage divisions Lipset and Rokkan (1967) identified for party system formation demonstrates sharp insight into the Australian experience. The origins of Australia's electoral institution demonstrably link to the consequences of these social divisions. These social cleavages also frame some contemporary political phenomena. The following section discusses the impact the centre-periphery, labour-capital, rural-urban and church-state cleavage divisions have had on the Australian party system. It discusses major political parties that have emerged from these classic societal divisions and institutional reform that has maintained these political parties' existence. While this discussion primarily considers Australia's party system development, the four cleavages are useful to frame modern political events. This discussion explains the dynamics that have emerged in Australia's political party system and frames contemporary events through these four cleavages. The chapter concludes by outlining why 1975 represents the end of this period of Australian politics.

Centre-periphery: The federal compromise and small state tensions

The centre-periphery division was fundamental to the development of Australia's federal institution. The federation debates of the late nineteenth century were not between subnational units but six autonomous colonial powers. However, the population size and wealth of New South Wales and Victoria meant they had disproportionate influence on any government formation. These debates took the characteristic of the largest central colonies against the remaining colonies on the periphery. The fear that the two largest colonies would

dominate the four smaller colonies in the parliament permeated federation discussions. This was also implicit in the first major issue that characterised the party system; free trade versus protectionist trade policy. Whereas the largest colony was a strong proponent of free trade, the smaller colonies and Victoria were staunchly protectionist. Colonial politicians were present from other colonies, but the federal political parties emulated New South Wales groupings of Labour, Free Trade and Protectionist. Whilst the lower house was proportionate to the size of each colony, section 24 of the Australian Constitution mandated a minimum size to prevent Tasmania and Western Australia from insufficient representation.

The most prevalent compromise of the centre-periphery cleavage was the institutionalisation of equal representation in the Senate. As per section 24 of the Australian Constitution, the membership of the Senate is constitutionally mandated, as the number of Senators operates under a nexus to the lower house and requires equal representation of membership in each state. This means any increase in representation in the lower house is matched, as nearly as practicable, in the Senate equally across all states. Initially the Constitution provided for six Senators in each state, but major increases in 1948 and 1984 mean there are now twelve Senators per state[11]. This cleavage division had little practical legacy on actors within the party system, but would be instrumental in establishing the parliamentary framework that the party system developed under.

The first major national division that affected the party system was the role of trade tariffs. The decision was whether to embrace free trade or legislate protectionist tariffs. Alfred Deakin singled this issue from the outset of federation discussions as the ‘lion in the path’ that would ‘be killed or kill’ federation (Australasian Federation Conference 1890, p.

[11] Territories receive two Senators each, but their representation comes from the Commonwealth Electoral Act 1918.

23). The first political parties explicitly named themselves after this debate. Reflecting a broader desire to locate the newly established federation's place in the world, most of the first decade of Australia's party system was characterised by the debate between Free Traders and Protectionists, with Labour uncertain of its position on the issue. The Free Traders and Protectionists had to negotiate with either each other or the Labour party to form government. As no party had a majority, the first decade of Australian politics was also temperamental, with several governments defeated on the floor of parliament as the parties jostled for political status. However, the issue was resolved in favour of national protectionism with tariffs introduced in 1906 and 1908. Whilst not explicitly represented in the party system, this tariff debate exemplified the centre-periphery cleavage division that federation addressed.

Despite the centre-periphery concerns, the party system did not continue to develop along this line of cleavage. To use Merkl's (1969) terminology, the centre-periphery was highly politicised, but did not become partisised (Jaensch 1994, p. 49). Political parties took on a national character, with only marginal differences between states. However, there have been some moments in which state concerns have had federal impact. Regional issues, such as the location of the national capital, reduced party unity on the floor of parliament in favour of state divisions (Godbout & Smaz 2016, pp. 491-492). There have been some examples where state affiliation has had some effect. In particular, the 'frontier' states of Western Australia and Queensland historically have had Senators who have occasionally spoken about 'states rights' as part of their job (Brenton 2014). Western Australia has always harboured residual resentment towards Canberra, with secessionist movements constantly present (Kagi 2017). This suggest that this cleavage maintains some residual salience in specific circumstances, but little direct influence in the party system.

In recent years, proportional representation of the Senate has helped spur a revival of explicitly state-centred political parties. These come from the smallest two states (South Australia and Tasmania), in which constitutionally-mandated equal representation has allowed for notable personalities to win Senate representation with only a fraction of the votes required in larger states. Self-described centrist Nick Xenophon emerged from his explicitly South Australian-centric ethos in 2007 and pitted 'east coast elites' against South Australian concerns with the Nick Xenophon Team. He renamed the South Australian branch SA Best, highlighting his primary focus was the concern of his periphery against the federal centre. Of recent note is Tasmanian Jacqui Lambie. Taking inspiration from Tasmanian maverick Senator Brian Harradine, her Jacqui Lambie Network unashamedly utilised this cleavage line to maximise their support at recent elections, with the Tasmanian state map a prominent part of their logo. These state-based movements, limited mostly to the Senate in smaller states, echoed the initial lines of small state concerns against the large federal government. Xenophon left politics after the failure of his SA Best party to win seats in the 2018 South Australian election. Jacqui Lambie was re-elected in 2019, consolidating her Tasmanian focus by only running in Tasmania.

Besides these recent developments, the centre-periphery cleavage laid the institutional foundation for the party system to develop. The largest colony's party system became the federal starting point across an issue that divided the largest colony against the rest. The compromise of mandated representation across the states was a significant factor to the development of the party system and future electoral reform. However, the centre-periphery cleavage did not generate political parties beyond the first decade of Australian federalism.

Labour-capital: The two-party system solidified

In contrast, the divide between labour and capital has historically been the most prominent

cleavage in Australian politics. This is due to the role of the union-affiliated Australian Labor Party. Established in 1891, the Australian Labor Party is one of the oldest union-affiliated political party in the world. It is also the oldest political party in Australia and usually the single largest party in the House of Representatives. Formed by working-class unionists as a reaction to economic downturn in the 1890s, the party galvanised working-class political sensibilities. Given its union origins, the parliamentary representation represents only one part of its apparatus. Parliamentarians are required to 'pledge' loyalty towards the 'movement', with decisions made in the extra-parliamentary and parliamentary Caucuses binding on all members. This means party solidarity and discipline within the Labor party are almost absolute. Dissent towards Caucus decisions carries with it threat of expulsion from the party. Established at the beginning of Labor's history, this decision has had momentous centripetal force in the party system.

The centripetal force of Labor's immense party discipline in the Australian political system reached its zenith 1910 when the Free Traders and Protectionists merged to form the Commonwealth 'Fusion' Liberals. The first decade of Australian politics was characterised by negotiation between the 'three elevens' of Labor, the Free-Traders and Protectionist parties[12]. However, the consolidation of three parties into two was born from Labor policy and strength. At the 1906 election, Labor doubled its vote to 36.6 percent. With the tariff question that had characterised Federation politics settled by 1908, leader George Reid renamed the Free Traders the Anti-Socialist party to present a clear opposition to Labor policy (Richardson 2009, p. 14). The rivalry between Reid and Protectionist leader Alfred Deakin meant Labor held a kingmaker position in parliament and weakened the

[12] Popular colonial sports including cricket and rugby union feature teams putting eleven members on the field, often referred to as the 'first XI'. Ergo, the 'three elevens' refer to treating the political parties like sporting teams, with three parties of roughly equal strength.

Protectionists. Once Reid retired and Joseph Cook assumed control of the Anti-Socialists, Deakin and Cook agreed to merge the Free Traders and Protectionists to form the Commonwealth Liberals, or the 'Fusion' Party. This response to Labor's party discipline for the 1910 election was the beginning of Australia's two-party system.

The emergence of the Commonwealth Liberals 'Fusion' was a defining moment in Australia's party system. The Free Traders and Protectionists despised each other yet amalgamated to oppose Labor. Several factors drove this centripetal development. The first was electoral necessity. The Protectionists were the primary losers of Labor's electoral gains, with the party relentless in running nominations against Protectionist ministers (Brett 2009, p. 31). Without Fusion, Deakin's Protectionists would wither away. However, ideologically, both parties had their issues with Labor. The Free Traders and Labor were completely incompatible and no electoral alliance would ever eventuate between the two (Scalmer 2009, p. 49). Whilst the Protectionists broadly agreed with Labor's policy agenda, they were a liberal, middle class and mostly Protestant party ideologically opposed to mass party Caucus-bound decisions. Such was their opposition that plank eight of the Commonwealth Liberals' platform was 'to oppose the Caucus methods and extreme aims of the Labor Party' (Brett 2009, p. 35). Further, both the Free Traders and Protectionists were middle class with only paternalistic concerns for the working class; Labor represented themselves as the true representatives of the working class (Richardson 2009, pp. 15-16). The fusion between two rival parties was the only way to remain politically relevant against the Labor machine.

This development changed the character of the party system to one of initiative versus resistance. Scholars have vigorously debated this classification in Australian politics (Mayer 1956; Simms 2009). However, between 1909 and 1917, the Fusion Party emerged explicitly to resist Labor policies. Whilst the shape of the party system was roughly the same as the

British party system, the party positioning was different. Unlike the British party system, the Australian Labor party strength overwhelmed the two classic or 'small l' liberal parties. Rather than remaining a distant third as they were in Britain at the time, Labor took the mantle of the party of initiative. Consequently, the Commonwealth Liberals had to become the party of resistance to attract support (Loveday 1977, p. 481). As such, 'small l' liberalism had to be tempered and the Commonwealth Liberals embraced conservatism. Nineteenth century politician and author Benjamin Disraeli believed a conservative government was 'Tory men and Whig measures' (Disraeli 1844), meaning conservative man with liberal policies. In contrast Richardson (2009, p. 16) asserted this development meant the 'Liberals' were 'Whig men and Tory measures' or liberal men forced to take conservative policies. Whilst there was little history of classic conservative ideology in Australia, the centripetal force Labor extolled on the party system transformed the Liberal parties into a broadly conservative political party out of necessity to survive.

Labor's impact in the party system came not just from successfully driving centripetal force into the system but also failing to remain united towards emergent issues. The centre-right Nationalists and United Australia Party[13] both emerged from an amalgamation of previous non-Labor forces and Labor dissidents. These splits briefly destabilised the party system. The first, a result of Labor Prime Minister Billy Hughes's divisive conscription efforts during World War I, resulted in twenty-three former Labor members and Joseph Cook's Commonwealth Liberals merging to form the Nationalists in 1917[14]. They governed until Stanley Bruce's government collapsed at the 1929 election.

[13] Not to be confused with Clive Palmer's United Australia Party (despite Palmer's best attempts)

[14] Conscription for overseas military service during World War I was an extremely divisive issue from Australia. While technically Hughes could enforce conscription with existing legislation, he sought a popular mandate from Australians through a compulsory plebiscite in October 1916. The vote produced a narrow

The second split occurred amidst the Great Depression. Reactions against the 1931 Premier's Plan resulted in a small but significant number of Labor parliamentarians splitting from the party with the fiscally conservative former Tasmanian Labor Joseph Lyons[15]. Lyons and his followers joined the weakened Nationalists to form the United Australia Party and governed between 1931 and 1939. However, the additional split from New South Welshman Labor Premier Jack Lang's radicals into 'Lang Labor' resulted in a severely weakened Labor party on both its left and right. Whilst Lang Labor eventually returned to the fold, the UAP continued to govern against Labor until a vote of no confidence against the Coalition amidst internal party tension during World War II granted government to Labor's John Curtin in 1941.

The third major split occurred in 1954 amidst great unrest with communist influences in the trade union from Labor's Catholic wing. This led to the first prominent minor party in the Democratic Labour Party, although the effect was felt most in Queensland and especially Victoria. These splits recast the Labor Party, electorally damaged their capacity to govern for long periods and reoriented the social cleavages that supported Labor and right-of-centre parties.

The labour-capital cleavage division has been the most researched social division through numerous studies of class within the Australian political system. As the Labor party emerged through the trade union movement as a voice for unionised workers, class was a significant cleavage within Australian politics from the beginning. The division between labour and capital came to characterise the party system as little other lines of social division

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majority opposing Conscription. The aftermath was instrumental in the Labor party split that formed the Nationalists party.

[15] The Premier's Plan was a co-ordination of state and federal government responses to the Great Depression in February 1931. The plan promoted reducing wages and expenditure to pay government loans (Millmow 2010, p. 89). Disagreement with the plan split Labor into Lang Labor, Labor and the United Australia Party.

were visible within Australia[16]. The research into the relationship between class and party systems stretches over fifty years to Alford (1963), whose index came to represent the class cleavage of political parties[17]. Class had more explanatory power to voting behaviour in Australia than either America or Canada (Alford 1967). This was due to a lack of strong union affiliation with either American Democrats or the Canadian Liberals. It seemed the connexion between class and party was a fact of Australian politics.

However, the evidence is less clear than presumed. Questioning the assumption, Kemp (1978, pp. 136-137) controversially argued after regressing census data to federal divisions that the nexus between class and voting preferences had been declining since 1946 through urbanisation. He called this process 'embourgeisement'. Whilst working-class ALP voters were particularly high in inner-suburban electorates, the relationship was considerably more nebulous in the outer suburban boundaries. Aitkin (1982) further examined the relationship with the use of the Australian National Political Attitudes Study (ANPAS). He concluded that although the perception was that working-class voters were certain to vote Labor, the relationship between middle class voters and the Liberal party was greater (Aitkin 1982, p. 133). He believed this perception came from Labor's evocative appeals with working-class imagery, reversing the relationship and creating the class identity (Sartori 1969). Surmising this line of argument, Aitkin (1982, p. 142) labelled Australian politics as 'the politics of parties, not of classes'. Whilst not dismissing the relationship entirely, class did not explain the relationship as well as the mythology suggests.

[16] Historically, race was only a small line of cleavage and religion was increasingly unimportant; class was king (Aitkin 1982, p. 119).

[17] The Alford Index (1963) takes the proportion of voters with one characteristic who voted for the left-wing party and then subtracts the proportion of voters with another characteristic who voted for the left-wing measure. This is historically associated with 'class voting'. For example, McAllister (2011, p. 152) takes the proportion of manual workers who voted for Labor and subtracts the proportion of non-manual workers who voted for Labor to reach a figure for each year.

Regardless of how strong class predicted voting behaviour in the past, the salience of class on voting behaviour is weakening. Survey data from the AES have demonstrated that the link between class and voting is declining (McAllister 2011, p. 147). McAllister (2011, p. 150) found class composition had drastically altered between 1967 and 2010, with the proportion of 'blue-collar' workers declining as 'white collar' workers have increased. In effect, the link between the working class and Labor has also declined as the absolute number of working-class voters has declined. Such a decline is consistent with global trends, with Charnock (2005) confirming Frankie et al.'s (1992) conclusion of a decline in Labor's vote from working-class voters.

Despite this decline, there are strong vestigial elements of class voting within the party system. The relationship between trade union membership and Labor voting has been immensely durable. The role of unionism has declined as the need for manual labour has diminished due to technological advancement and the rise of service industries. Although the number of trade union members has decreased from 2.5 million in 1976 to 1.5 million in 2016 (Gilfillan & McGann 2018), approximately two thirds of all union members consistently voted Labor between 1966 and 2004 (Leigh 2006). Indeed, Leigh asserts that holding the union membership rates constant at 50% of the workforce would have resulted in Labor winning the 1998, 2001 and 2004 elections (Leigh 2006, p. 549). Further, the self-placement of class has remained a question on the AES and occasionally is significant. As the thesis demonstrates in chapter 9, class was a significant predictor of party identification during the 2007 'WorkChoices' election[18], with self-identified working-class voters more likely to identify as Labor. This election exemplified the cleavage division between labour

[18] WorkChoices was a Howard Coalition government policy that weakened several existing Industrial Relation laws in Australia. Howard introduced the policy after obtaining a majority of both the House of Representatives and the Senate. WorkChoices galvanised the trade union movement and featured prominently in the 2007 election. Labor's victory under Rudd is credited partly to the overwhelming opposition to WorkChoices.

and capital, with labour recording a decisive victory. However, the strong union campaign embraced by the ALP suggest that they evoked residual working-class sentiment to divide the electorate on the most visible cleavage in Australian politics. This suggests that although the labour-capital division has declined in importance, it is an essential feature to understand Australia's major parties.

Rural-Urban: The Coalition and institutionalised agrarianism of The Nationals

Increasing urbanisation has rapidly eroded the salience of the rural-urban cleavage division globally. Australia is one of the most urbanised nations in the world. With almost 85% of its population living in urban areas, the United Nations World Urbanization Prospect placed Australia in the top thirty of urbanised nations in the world (United Nations 2018). However, the nature of Australia's party system means the rural-urban cleavage continues to maintain salience through the role of the Nationals. Known by a variety of names such as the Country Party (1920-1975), National Country Party (1975-1982) and the National Party, the Nationals are the second oldest political party in Australia. Today, they represent regional and rural Australians (The Nationals 2018). They emerged in 1918 as various state-based political organisations as a response to both the perceived lack of rural representation and hostility towards the formation of the Nationalists. Successful at obtaining support immediately, Leithner (1994, pp. 472-479) found they were the beneficiaries of substantial realignment in Australia during their first decade. They drastically affected the electoral institution by using their blackmail potential to push the Nationalists into adopting preferential voting. Today they have much less influence, but the Nationals remain essential for the Liberal Party to form government. Consequently, the Nationals maintain the existence of the rural-urban cleavage through their party rhetoric and policy agenda.

Historically, the best expression of this social cleavage is the unique phenomena promulgated by the Nationals known as ‘countrymindedness’. Whilst the credit for coining the expression is unclear, Aitkin (1988) outlines countrymindedness as an ideology that directed Nationals policy. Countrymindedness stipulates that primary producers are the champions of a true national Australian identity that society depends upon, whereas urban populations are ‘parasitical’ and trapped in sterile debates about class that necessitates a country party for ‘true’ Australians (Aitkin 1988, p. 51). This ideology explicitly divides society divided between hard-working country populations and lazy urbanites. It inexorably links itself to the ‘ANZAC legend’ and calls upon nineteenth century romanticisation of the bush through Banjo Paterson and Henry Lawson (Botterill 2009, p. 11; Wear 2009, p. 84). Historically, it drove agrarian subsidies and maintained electoral malapportionment that gave greater weight to country voters[19]. Queensland state parliamentarian Tom Aitkins best surmised countryminded sentiment in 1971 when debating the controversial electoral zoning practices in Queensland.

> My party believes, that the electoral districts in the State should be assessed not on the basis of people…but on the basis of the wealth produced in each area and the calibre of the people in each area… All the "floozies", all the female impersonators... all the "queens"…on the South Coast and elsewhere were to be given the same electoral representation in this State as the men out in the back country who pour wealth into the coffers of the State (Queensland Parliamentary Debates 1971, p. 3232).

Countrymindedness lost some of its hegemonic currency when the Whitlam Labor Government reduced subsidies, tariff protection and electoral malapportionment; Aitkin (1988, p. 57) declared it ‘finished as an ideology’ by the mid-eighties. However, this decline

[19] Malapportionment in Australian politics refers to electoral divisions with unequal voting numbers. Queensland under National Party Premier Sir Joh Bjelke-Peterson was notorious for having the worst in the country.

appears isolated to 'sea-change' divisions on the New South Wales North Coast (Duncan & Epps 1992). Recent studies have demonstrated an empirical basis for agrarian sentiment as a single dimension found in rural populations (Berry et al. 2016). This suggests that the retreat of rural populations has not eroded a distinctly 'country' ethos but has strengthened countrymindedness in remaining rural populations.

Precursory state political parties such as the Victorian Farmers Union (VFU) and Farmers and Grazers Association were the catalyst that entrenched alternative voting in the federal sphere. Hostile towards former Labor Prime Minister Billy Hughes's wartime rationing policies and later his leadership of the Nationalists, these precursory parties contested several by-elections. During the three 1918 by-elections in the Divisions of Flinders, Swan and Corangamite, the split conservative vote became apparent. Known as the 'Flinders Deal', the Victorian Farmers Union candidate John Hall withdrew from the May race for Flinders, assured by the Nationalists they would introduce alternative voting (Winton 1918, p. 16). However, the government were unable to achieve this before the Division of Swan by-election in October. As the Country Party refused to withdraw, Labor unexpectedly won the Division of Swan under first-past-the-post voting with 34.4 percent of the vote after the conservative vote split in a 'three-cornered contest'. Preferential voting was hastily introduced in time for the December Corangamite by-election, in which the preference flows between the Victorian Farmers Union and Nationalists prevented future Labor prime minister James Scullin from winning and allowed the first Nationals candidate to win. This century-old change was influential in developing the relationship between both non-Labor parties but also the nature of the electoral system.

The Nationals' continued existence owes much to both this longstanding electoral arrangement but also the coalition arrangement with the Liberal Party. The Nationals contested the 1919 federal election as separate state-based organisations and immediately

won eleven seats with 9.24 percent of the vote, mostly at the expense of the Nationalists. By 1920, these state organisations had formed the then-titled Country Party[20]. After the 1922 election, the Nationalists were unable to govern alone against Labor. Country Party leader Earle Page suggested a formal power sharing arrangement with the Nationalists if they dismissed Hughes as leader. Consequently, the Coalition formed under Stanley Bruce (Jupp 1968, p. 155). In 1924, the Bruce-Page arrangement solidified the Coalition electoral pact. This prevents intra-Coalition electoral contests against sitting members. Both parties are only able to contest an election after the defeat or retirement of the sitting member if they are unable to agree on the best candidate (*Anti-Labour Parties; agreement reached* 1924, p. 9). The Nationals's pressure on the voting system and this historic arrangement ensure their presence in the party system.

While state-based National Parties have had varying fortunes, the Coalition has remained remarkably durable at the federal level. Its brief breakdowns are often associated with tensions between the two parties on leadership matters. The Country Party did not serve in the UAP government under former Tasmanian Labor Premier Joseph Lyons in 1931, nor did they serve under Robert Menzies leadership in 1939. There were also brief periods in 1974 and 1987 in which the Coalition formally dissolved in part due to leadership tension and the abortive 'Joh for PM' campaign (Woodward & Costar 1988, p. 90)[21]. These were largely inconsequential to the formation of government as Labor went on to win the elections in 1974 and 1987. The Liberal Party has continuously maintained the Coalition, even when it has

[20] Historically the Nationals have been called the Country Party (1920-1975), National Country Party (1975-1982) and the National Party of Australia (1983-2003). They have gone by the Nationals since 2003.

[21] Sir Joh Bjelke-Peterson was a colourful and controversial Premier of Queensland from 1969-1987. His attempt to transition into federal politics was the beginning of his downfall.

been mathematically unnecessary for government formation such as 2013. This suggests besides extraordinary circumstances; the Coalition is a durable factor in Australian politics.

The presence of the Nationals presents a fundamental ambiguity regarding the Australian party system in the literature. The Nationals complicate whether Australia is really a two-party system. The two-party label is popular as they are in a near permanent coalition federally with the Liberal Party of Australia. Consequently, scholars characterise Australia's party system as a contest between Labor and 'non-Labor' parties. In practice, analysts and pundits treat the Coalition as a single party on election night. Whether this denotes a 'two-party' system has been the subject of debate. As most nations determine coalitions post-election, a pre-election coalition is very unusual. This long-term stability confuses the party system literature that focusses on post-election coalition building. There have been moments of formal dissolution of the Coalition, particularly at the state level. Indeed, historically there have been periods where the Nationals have been in Coalition with Labor in Victoria (under Albert Dunstan in the 1940s) and South Australia (Griffith 2010, p. 25). Although the Coalition endures, they are still separate parties with individual aims.

Several scholars have commented specifically on this curious example of Coalition government. Barbalat (1975) treats the Nationals separately by referring to 'tri-partism' as a distinct factor, crediting their 'stabilisation' to preferential voting. However, Sartori (1970, p. 323) argues that although Australia may not be a two-party system class, it functions as a two-party type system as the Labor party can win majority government alone. In his work on comparative government, Lijphart (1999) singles out the Liberal and National Party relationship. Describing the Australian example as 'striking', he treats the Coalition as a 'party and a half'; 'not the most elegant solution' (Lijphart 1999, p. 71), but better than treating them as a single party or multiple parties. The thesis examines both perspectives in

different analyses, with this discussed further in Chapters 6 to 8. When examining the Australian party system, how to treat the Coalition is an important decision.

Despite Australia's increasing urbanisation, the remnants of this agrarian cleavage remain in the Nationals. Their existence means rural interests still matter in the party system. Their emergence in 1919 realigned and mobilised voting coalitions of previously disaffected regional voters who were tired of urban political games. Graham (1966, p. 296) calculated that 'one-sixth of the Australian people were brought back into a political system from which they felt excluded.' The drift of large swathes of the population from the country to the city has resulted in the Nationals consolidating their support in these areas (Aitkin 1982, p. 197). However, their proportion of parliamentary representation has severely weakened, partly by the loss of independence in Queensland (the Nationals strongest state) but also due to the decline in agricultural and farming as major players in Australian society. Although the proportion of rural Australians continues to decline, the Coalition has entrenched the role of agrarian interests and maintained the social cleavage as part of the Australian party system.

Despite the survival of distinctly country values and a favourable Coalition deal, their fortunes have markedly declined. The Nationals remain politically current, but they are a declining breed. Survey data indicated that in 1967, twelve percent of the population were farmers or in agriculture. By 2010, this had reduced to one percent (McAllister 2011, p. 150). Compounding this decline in rural populations was the reduction of electoral tolerance. Before 1974, the maximum variance between enrolled elector figures in federal divisions was twenty percent either side of the determinate number. This meant the number of regional and rural divisions was greater than strict equality would permit. However, one of the six bills

passed during the Joint Sitting[22] reduced it to ten percent. This had the immediate effect of reducing the number of seats the Nationals could win.

Declining population and sea-change movements towards coastal regions interacting with fewer seats mean the number of winnable contests for the Nationals has sharply declined. Cockfield (2009, p. 64) identified nineteen seats between 1972 and 2008 that the National Party lost to other parties. Although they reclaimed six of these between 2010 and 2019, they have still seen some decline. Their support has declined from eleven percent of the first preference vote in 1972 to only six percent in 2007. With the party officially amalgamated with the Liberals in Queensland, the decline of the Nationals' distinctive countrymindedness represents lost support and a weakening of the cleavage. This has left them with 4.8% of the vote in 2019. However, the rural-urban social division remains a part of Australian politics through the Nationals and would appear to be so for some time.

Church-state: Keeping the bastards out and the Democratic Labour Party

While peripheral compared to Western Europe, religion has occasionally entered the Australian party system. Contrary to Europe, Australia's religious institutions established themselves in an already industrialised nation, with the division between Protestants and Catholics already formed. Thus, the church-state cleavage never formally partisised between Catholics and Protestants in the same way it had occurred in post-Reformation Europe (Lipset & Rokkan 1967). However, religious division played out as a secondary factor expressed through policy issues or leadership capabilities. Catholics were mostly working-class and hence supported Labor, whereas Protestants were more likely to be middle-class

[22] A Joint Sitting of both of Australia's legislative chambers occurs when a Bill fails to pass both Houses after a Double Dissolution election. A double dissolution is an election that is caused by the Senate rejecting a bill twice in six months and involves the entire Senate being up for election rather than half. This lowers the quota required for election. The only Joint Sitting in Australian history occurred in 1974 after the Whitlam government was unable to get several bills through the Senate following the 1974 double dissolution election.

and likely to support the non-Labor side of politics. This balance changed several times, most notably when Labor split over issues regarding conscription and especially communist influences in trade unions. Today, Australia is predominantly a secular rather than sectarian nation. However, religion continues to play a background role, particularly regarding support for right-wing parties.

The first Labor party split occurred partly on sectarian lines. This split occurred after wartime Labor leader Billy Hughes pushed for Conscription. The issue split the Labor Party and lead to the establishment of the Nationalists in 1917. Although the two-party system preserved, the Nationalists drained a significant proportion of Protestant leaders towards the right and left a republican sentiment within the Labor Party (Jupp 1968, p. 8). This left the Labor parliamentary party with disproportionately higher Irish and therefore mainly Catholic ancestry (Love 2005, p. 2). Apart from a few brief periods, this arrangement effectively meant despite a realignment of party support and a shift in the party system, it still effectively remained a two-party contest between parties roughly divided into Protestants and Catholics.

The most explicit example of a religious cleavage was the emergence of the Democratic Labour Party (DLP). An unpopular party vehemently disliked by Labor partisans, Aitkin (1982, p. 68) labelled the DLP as 'the bad boy of Australian politics'. They emerged when Labor split for a third time in 1954. The Labor split primarily between the Catholic 'Groupers' rejecting communist influences in trade unions and others in the party, with influential Catholics B.A Santamaria and Reverend Daniel Mannix involved. There has historically been debate whether the DLP were a 'church party' or not. Reynolds (1979) avowedly dismissed this claim. Warhurst (2005) refuted Reynolds, citing Aitkin's (1982, p. 177) finding that for those who remember voting DLP in 1967, 'virtually all of them were regular churchgoing Catholics'. Jaensch (1994, p. 64) took the view that 'the DLP was a

party of Catholics. It was never a Catholic party.' Whilst this was true from a long-term perspective, Warhurst (2005, p. 305) noted the formal dissolution of B.A Santamaria's Catholic Social Studies Movement by the Vatican indicated an overt link between church and political party.

While their parliamentary strength was small and they never won a lower house seat at a federal election, the influence they exerted on election results was noticeable. The DLP explicitly campaigned to keep Labor out of office. The modus operandi of the DLP was to prevent Labor taking office or, to adapt a well-known Australian political motto,[23] 'keep the bastards out'. Historically, the DLP stymied the Labor Party by directing their voters' preferences to keep the Coalition in power. This extended to purposefully finding candidates that appeared earlier in the ballot paper than their respective Labor candidates would (Benn 1970, p. 232)[24]. Crisp (1970) noted that the Coalition won the 1969 election on DLP preferences; they won twelve seats from second place thanks to DLP preferences. However, their explicit aims also meant they had little meaningful role in the Senate. While they held the balance of power for periods between 1961 and 1972, they never supported Labor in the Senate. This guaranteed their support for the Coalition. While they were a new party that did shift the party competition in the Senate, their ideology and political aims meant they were little more than a more conservative wing of the Coalition. Their blackmail potential for government formation meant the Coalition had to consider their needs to some degree, but they maintained no long-term capacity to remain in the party system.

[23] The Australian Democrats motto was to 'keep the bastards honest'. Chapter 4 discusses this in more detail.

[24] Before 1984, the ballot paper organised candidates alphabetically. The DLP would purposefully find candidates whose surnames came before the Labor candidates to benefit from 'donkey votes', or voters who listed their preferences from top to bottom of the ballot paper (Benn 1970, p. 232).

While it has sharply declined in terms of cultural importance, religion has surfaced as a potent component of the Liberal Party. Despite a brief revival in the 2010 Senate election and retaining an existence in their Victorian heartland, by 1974 the DLP had largely extinguished as a prominent political force. They lost all their seats at the 1974 election. Despite this, recent AES data from 2016 demonstrate religion is a significant predictor of party identification, with Liberal party identifiers far more likely to be broadly religious. Eighty percent of Liberal identifiers declared a religious affiliation. Whilst Australia has become less religious, the cleavage is rapidly becoming important to the Coalition. Former Minister Martin Ferguson once proclaimed that Labor had to convince voters that 'God isn't a wholly owned subsidiary of the Liberal Party' (Strangio 2005, p. 365). However, Donovan (2014) found that religious attendance has become a significant predictor to both Liberal party support and other centre-right parties globally. While religion has never divided the party system explicitly, it historically had a background role in multiple party splits. It continues to have some background influence in right wing politics today.

Conclusion

Overall, the four cleavage divisions Lipset and Rokkan (1967) identified as formative to western political party systems are a useful framework for Australia. The centre-periphery cleavage, whilst not explicitly partisised, was instrumental in driving the institutional design of the Federation. From there, the labour-capital cleavages emerged from the division between Labor and all other political forces, sharply driving the party system built upon economic and liberal disagreements towards a two-party contest of initiative and resistance. This sharply polarised contest alienated rural voters, who took matters into their own hands when Labor dissidents formed the Nationalists and exploited the urban-rural cleavage line to form the now-titled Nationals. This led to the hastening of alternative voting and formalised a Coalition of non-Labor forces. Finally, the growing dissatisfaction with militant unionist ties

within Labor caused the religious cleavage to emerge in its most explicit form with the appearance of the Democratic Labour Party.

Australian party system stability during this period stands in contrast to other countries. A lack of comparable survey data makes this a little difficult to compare to before 1967, but surveys from 1967, 1969 and 1979 ask about party identification strength and direction. In examining the stability of the party system, Aitkin (1982, p. 142) declared Australian politics to be 'the politics of parties, not of classes'. Available survey data indicated that Australian partisan rates remained stable as other national political party support sharply declined (Wattenberg 1982). In contrast to comparable democracies, Australian political parties maintained remarkable capacity to retain party support, with research a decade later indicating only a marginal decline (McAllister 1992). Compulsory voting helped maintain this link between voter and party. Although uninterested voters exist in Australia, they maintain their voting behaviour due to compulsory voting (Young 2010) Although there was a decrease in the intensity of political identification, people still identified with a political party at relatively stable rates as partisan rates declined across the western democratic world between 1967 and 1990. This caused traditional parties born from social cleavages to retain substantial influence in the party system.

This chapter concludes the period of stability at this point because the 1975 federal election demonstrated the most overt example of Australia's two-party system since pre-World War II. Laakso and Taagepera's (1979) Effective Number of Parliamentary Parties Index demonstrates an ENP_S score of 1.68 when treating the Coalition as one party in the House of Representatives; this is the lowest figure on record[25]. Examining economic and social goals for ideological content demonstrates 1975 was the most polarised ideological

[25] Figures 4.3 and 4.3 on pages 108 and 109 show the Effective Number of Parties (seats) for all elections.

division between both major parties on social issues since 1958 and the most polarised on economic issues on record (McAllister 1992, pp. 121-122). The election also saw the highest proportion of votes towards Labor and the Coalition since 1954, with only 4.11% of the electorate voting elsewhere in the lower house. No election has matched this rate since. This sharply polarised electorate would lead to one Liberal parliamentarian to break away and front a growing movement towards a 'third way'. It is here that Australian politics and the party system, whilst still heavily derivative of these four cleavages and the major parties they created, takes an altogether different shape.

Chapter 4: Australian Party System Part II: Change (1976-2019)

If the period before the 1975 post-Dismissal election was characterised by stability, the period after the 1975 election has been characterised by change. Since the 1977 election there has been a proliferation of influential political parties outside Labor and the Coalition. The Greens have emerged in this post-Dismissal period of Australia's party system. However, they were not the first evidence of change within the party system. Chapter 5 examines the Greens in more detail. This chapter examines how and why change has occurred in Australia's party system more broadly. A combination of major party fragmentation, broader social movements and electoral reform has generated various ephemeral political actors. This period of change reached a climax when a period of minority government occurred between 2010 and 2013 in the House of Representatives. While majority government returned in 2013, governments since 2016 have held slim margins, with party resignations and an unprecedented number of by-elections forcing another period of minority government in 2018. Although the two-party system has remained largely intact in the House of Representatives, it survives on declining popular support.

Conversely, the two-party system has eroded in the Senate. Before 1981, effective government majorities in the Senate were relatively common. Since 1981, there has only been one period of majority rule in the Senate (the Coalition between 2005 and 2007). More common today is a splintering of political representation across a broader ideological spectrum known as the crossbench. This reached a climax between 2013 and 2019, where the crossbench reached record numbers. Wielding varying levels of influence, the change from preferential block voting to single-transferable voting in the Senate in 1949 has facilitated and maintained these political forces. Reforms in 1984 and 2016 have also facilitated differences in the political parties elected.

The current party system originated from several key moments that arose from the Whitlam Dismissal. The first of these was the emergence of the Australian Democrats in 1977. The second was major reforms to the Electoral Act for the 1984 federal election that lowered the threshold for Senate representation. These reforms provided for the group voting ticket (GVT) mechanism. GVTs were crucial to successors and failures of emerging parties and are discussed throughout this chapter. The last factor was the emergence of new issues to the federal realm and the development of postmaterialist politics, as well as the reaction against them. The seeds from the 'new politics' transformed the Senate and impacted longstanding assumptions of Australian politics. Yet most political actors that emerged from new politics have been unable to maintain significant and durable support. While they played a part in Australia's changing party system, they did not maintain durable support and thus were unable to realign the Australian electorate.

Unlike the conventional social cleavage structures that partisised the national party system, parties emerging post-1975 including the Australian Democrats have largely emerged from the 'new politics' of the latter twentieth century. Linked to postmaterialism (Inglehart 1977), these include several issues that transcend conventionally materialistic concerns, such as the women's movement, gay rights, anti-nuclear protest, the environment and the reaction to these movements. These parties possess the capacity to cross both existing social cleavages and established partisan lines. Jaensch (1994, p. 71) predicted that the new politics would supplant traditional cleavages as a means of dividing political parties. Although traditional social cleavages in the pre-Dismissal party system maintains significant currency in the post-Dismissal party system, alternative political parties also matter.

This chapter examines the recent changes in the Australian party system in several steps. First, the chapter outlines recent voting and party identification trends. This justifies the

assertion that the period after 1975 is one of change. It analyses the role of electoral reform in this development. From there, the chapter examines historically prominent players in the party system, their role in Australia's political history and their support base. It examines the legacy of the Australian Democrats and other prominent minor and micro parties at the federal level. This includes their origins and demise. The chapter ties these parties to the lens of postmaterialism and briefly explains why parties mentioned here do not represent a realignment of Australian party system, before moving to the Greens in chapter 5.

The picture of change

The Australian electorate has undergone a gradual transformation since the Democrats entered the Senate in 1977. To demonstrate evidence of changing patterns of political support in the Australian electorate, several different measures are used. Figures 4.1 and 4.2 on the next page demonstrate how electoral support for major parties has declined from 1977 to 2019 in both houses of parliament while votes for other parties has markedly increased.

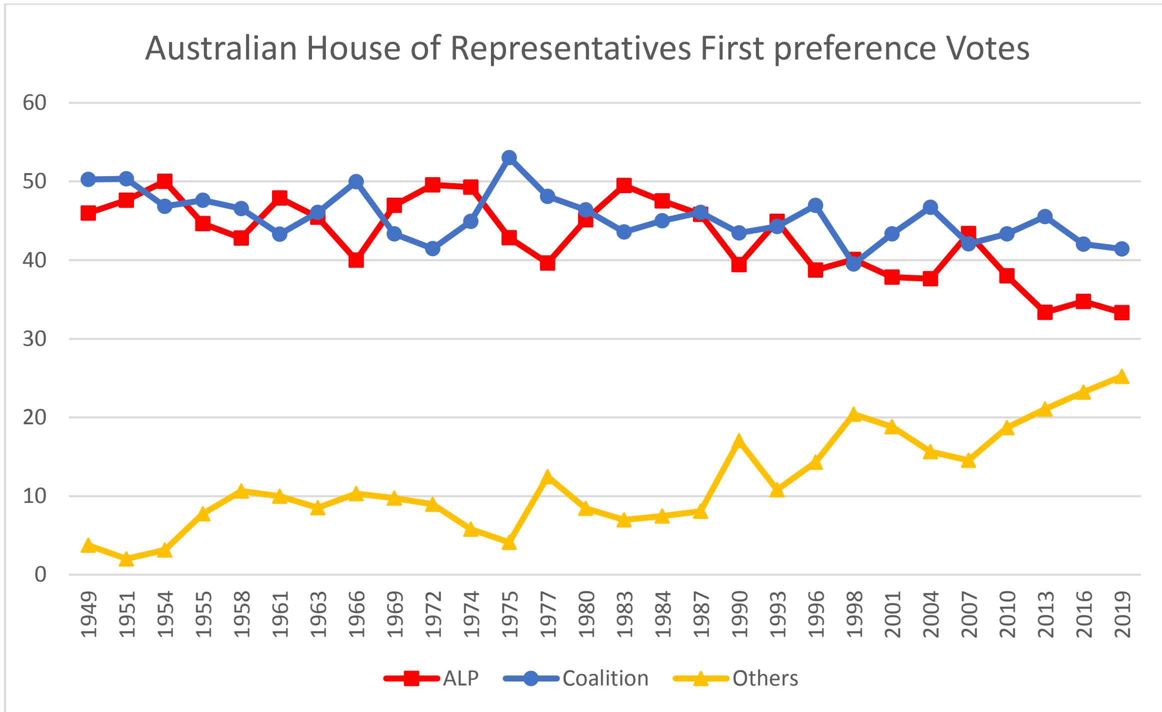

Figure 4.1: Australian House of Representatives first preference votes between 1949-2019

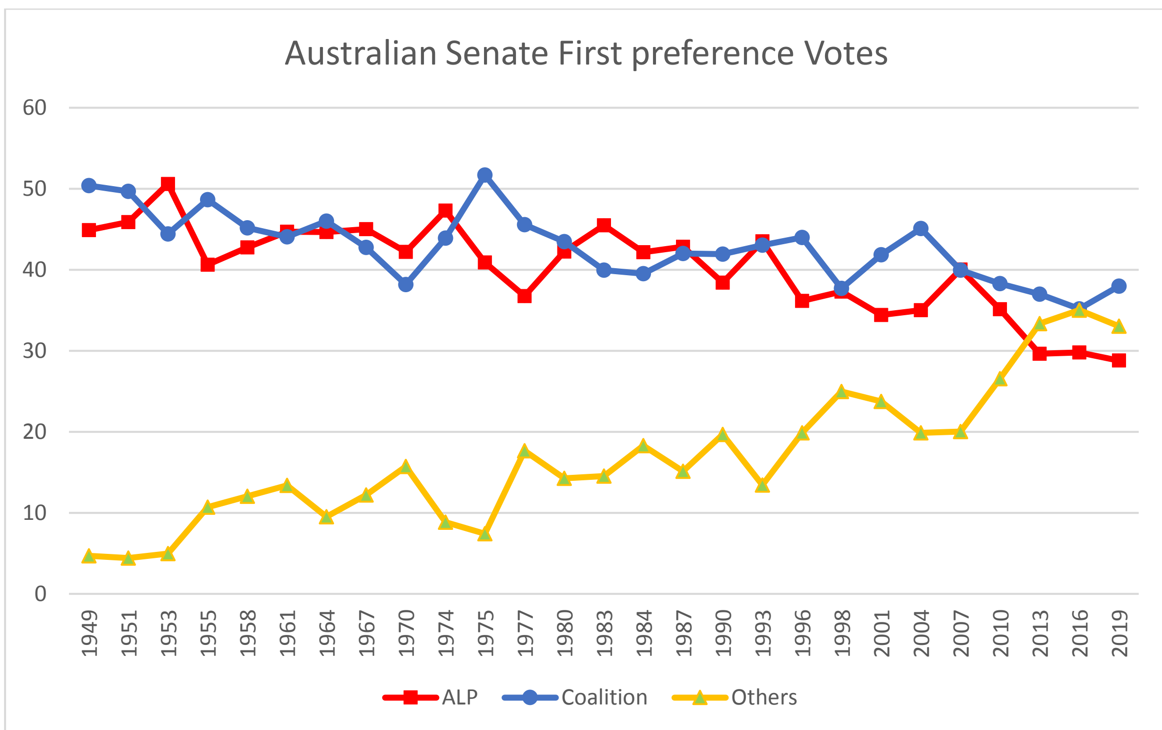

Figure 4.2: Australian Senate first preference votes between 1949-2019

Figure 4.1 and Figure 4.2 graph vote percentages at the national level between 1949 and 2019. Figure 4.1 demonstrates that the number of voters who vote for either Labor or the Coalition is declining, particularly since 2010. A record one in four voters did not vote for either of them at the 2019 election. Despite this high level of non-major party voting, few candidates have succeeded at election. As of 2019, the House of Representatives has a crossbench of six members in a membership of 151[26]. This matches the record of six non-major party candidates elected in 2010. While a record number of crossbenchers, the low success of minor parties in the lower house means the two-party system largely holds.

While the minor party vote is growing, several institutional factors ensure that major parties still obtain disproportional influence in the lower house. The primary factor is the nature of single-member districts. As single-member districts favour concentrated rather than dispersed electoral support, Labor and the Coalition continue to win disproportionately more seats than their vote share suggests. A subtler factor is the widespread acceptance of the 'two-party preferred vote'. The two-party preferred vote is a concept that assumes that all divisions, after exhausted preferences, are a contest between Labor and the Coalition (Mackerras 1972, p. 275). This means that the model treats first preference votes as a vote for either Labor or Coalition based on which of these parties the voter ranks earlier. This maintains the idea of Australia's rigid two-party system at a cultural level. Further, the Australian Electoral Commission conducts a 'two-party preferred' count across every division to arrive at a national two-party preferred vote for statistical purposes. This creates an institutional assumption that all other parties vying for election in the lower house are meaningless, entrenching the two-party system. It over-exaggerates the influence of Labor

[26] The 'crossbench' of six after the 2019 election includes Bob Katter (Katter's Australia Party), Adam Bandt (Australian Greens), Rebekha Sharkie (Centre Alliance, formerly Nick Xenophon Team) and Independents Andrew Wilkie (elected since 2010), Helen Haines (succeeding Independent Cathy McGowan) and Zali Steggel.

and the Coalition at the expense of other parties and independents by reducing minor party votes to whether they preference Labor or the Coalition first. The electoral system and this influential statistical concept combine to maintain a two-party system.

Despite the narrative regarding Australia's two-party system driven by the two-party preferred vote, this has increasingly become questionable. The central tenant to this assumption is that only Labor and Liberal/National parties can form government. Despite this, minority and coalition governments have become increasingly common on both sides of politics. The ALP, originally the only party that could regularly form government in their own right, has increasingly entered into coalition agreements with the Greens in subnational jurisdictions (notably in the ACT and Tasmania). Other parties, although incapable of government formation or coalition building, have the capacity to influence legislative decision-making by sitting on the crossbench in the Senate.

The 2016 federal election featured a record number of non-traditional two-party preferred contests. Known as 'two-candidate preferred' contests, these violate the central assumption underlying the Mackerras two-party preferred vote. In two-candidate preferred contests, at least one of the last two candidates in the count for a seat are not the traditional Labor or 'non-Labor' parties. Whilst there are several divisions where this breakdown is nominal at best due to a party receiving a majority before preference distribution, the 2016 federal election featured a record seventeen seats where a two-party preferred count was inappropriate. In six of these, the Greens finished in at least second place, winning one seat (Melbourne) and coming close in two others (Batman and Wills). Four seats finished with an Independent in second place, with two Independents winning their seats with an increased majority (Andrew Wilkie in Denison and Cathy McGowan in Indi). Four featured the Nick Xenophon Team (now Centre Alliance), all within South Australia, where they won the

Division of Mayo and came close in the Division of Grey. The remaining three were Murray (National versus Liberal), Maranoa (One Nation versus LNP) and Kennedy (Bob Katter versus LNP) in Queensland and Bob Katter's own party. The 2019 federal election had a slightly lower number of two-candidate preferred seats, but still featured fourteen contests. The higher number of two-candidate preferred seats indicates greater volatility in the House of Representatives. Despite this, the two-party system largely holds in the House of Representatives due to the electoral realities of the system.

While the two-party system largely holds in the House of Representatives, the Senate is another story. Figure 4.2 on page 101 demonstrates the decline of major party support in the Senate, particularly Labor. In recent elections, one in three voters endorse non-major parties. Unlike the House of Representatives, the electoral system awards multiple parties seats based on the state-wide vote. The 2016 double-dissolution election resulted in the highest number of crossbench Senators elected in history, with twenty crossbench Senators. Split into eight different party groups and several independents, the double dissolution halved the threshold for election from 14.3% to 7.7%[27]. Under a Sartori classification system, the Senate is balanced between moderately and polarised plural party system (Sartori 2005, p. 111). This is due to number of relevant parties exerting centrifugal force and the highly polarised ideological spectrum, with parties representing left, centre, right and far-right ideological poles. Unless there is bipartisan support in the lower house for legislation between Labor and the Coalition, the Senate operates under a multiparty system where the government must negotiate with other parties. As of the 2019 election, the crossbench has reduced in size down to sixteen members across five different political groupings. This

[27] See footnote 22 for an explanation on double dissolution elections

reduction still requires negotiations across several diverse groups to pass legislation, but is less complex than the 2016-2019 Senate.

The upper house has grown increasingly proportional due in part to institutional reform. Proportional representation came from Chifley's Labor Government decision to adopt single transferable voting for the Senate in 1949. While it conveyed some partisan benefits, attempts to create a proportionally represented chamber exist both before and just after Federation (Uhr 1999). New parties did not emerge immediately, but the Democratic Labour Party was the first minor party to win seats in the Senate in 1955, followed by the Democrats in 1977. This accelerated after the introduction of 'above-the-line' voting. Described as a 'list' system by the Joint Standing Committee on Electoral Reform (1983, p. 64), the Senate paper was redrawn for the 1984 election to allow voters to fill in a single box above a black line that would count as a formal vote. Submitted 'lists' from the political parties automatically filled voters ballot paper from pre-arranged preferences. Known as 'group voting tickets' or GVTs, this option was preferred by the Australian Electoral Office and the Liberal Party over optional preferential voting (JSCER 1983, p. 64). This made voting for minor parties less arduous and drastically reduced high informal voting rates.

The other important change in 1984 was the second major expansion of both houses of parliament. In this change, the House of Representatives increased to 148 seats, with the Senate increased accordingly from 64 to 76 seats[28]. Each state increased from ten senators to twelve on recommendation by JSCER (1983, p. 145). They suggested that the increase in the Senate would lead to major parties gaining majorities (JSCER 1983 pp. 144-145) due to a 7-5 split. This has proven mostly unfounded, as no party has gained a majority in the Senate apart

[28] As per the Australian Constitution, the House of Representatives must be 'as nearly as practicable' twice the number of Senators. This 'nexus' means increases in either House necessitate a change in both.

from the Coalition in 2004. This is because no single party has gained more than three Senate seats in any state due to the higher number of votes (57.2%) required (Green 2014). This also lowered the initial quota from 20% of the vote to 14.3%, making it theoretically easier to elect minor parties.

These different voting systems in the House of Representatives and the Senate lead to the observation that Australia currently maintains more than one national party-system. As Australia employs majoritarian and proportional voting systems within the same parliament, the lower threshold for legislative victory in the Senate has resulted in a gradual proliferation of parties and individuals outside of the major two-party system players. Scholars note such a system in which two party systems operate simultaneously as almost unique to Australia (Carty 1997, p. 105). Studies and survey data indicate voters use deliberate split-ticket voting strategies between Houses of Parliament (Bowler & Denemark 1993). This suggests that voters may be strategically voting in the two-party dominant lower house but expressing a more nuanced vote in the proportionally represented upper house. Where the two largest parties win overwhelming majorities in the single-member district House of Representatives through centripetal force, they have increasingly lost influence in the proportionally represented Senate through centrifugal force, requiring support from a diverse crossbench.

The use of Laakso and Taagepera's (1979) effective number of parliamentary parties index lends strong evidence for the concept of separate party systems within one parliament. The formula calculates a figure that represents the number of parties that effectively participate in the role of government. One scholar who has applied the effective number of parliamentary parties index to Australia is Gallagher (2016), who has collated an impressive database of national effective number of parties. While one of many measures, determining how to 'count' the Coalition factors into the decision. Australia is a difficult case in which to

employ the formula. Harking back to the ambiguity of the Liberal and National Coalition, treating each party from the Coalition as a different party arrives at a different result. Further, Gallagher (2016) has only calculated the House of Representatives, neglecting the potential difference the Senate may entail. By using the index to calculate the number of effective parties in both Houses of Parliament, either treating the Coalition as one party or four separate parties (Liberal, Nationals, Liberal-National and Country-Liberal Parties), Figures 4.3 and 4.4 demonstrate a graphical representation of the effective number of parliamentary parties Australia's party system throughout its history[29].

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[29] For the Senate, the figure calculated was based on the seats won. Half the Senate is up for election in a normal election, unless it is a double dissolution, where the whole Senate is elected. Victorious Independents were considered a separate party in the House of Representatives and the Senate, with their vote totals extracted from the 'Independents' column. There is some confusion with earlier election results due to the Senate voting system in place between 1901-1949, casual vacancy provisions until 1977 and uncontested House of Representative seats until 1955. The thesis consulted a combination of *Psephos* (Carr 2019), University of Western Australia's Election Database (2018) and the Australian Electoral Commission to obtain election results, although the ENP calculations are sensitive to variations of political parties entered. The ENPs is the least sensitive to these variations, hence it was used.

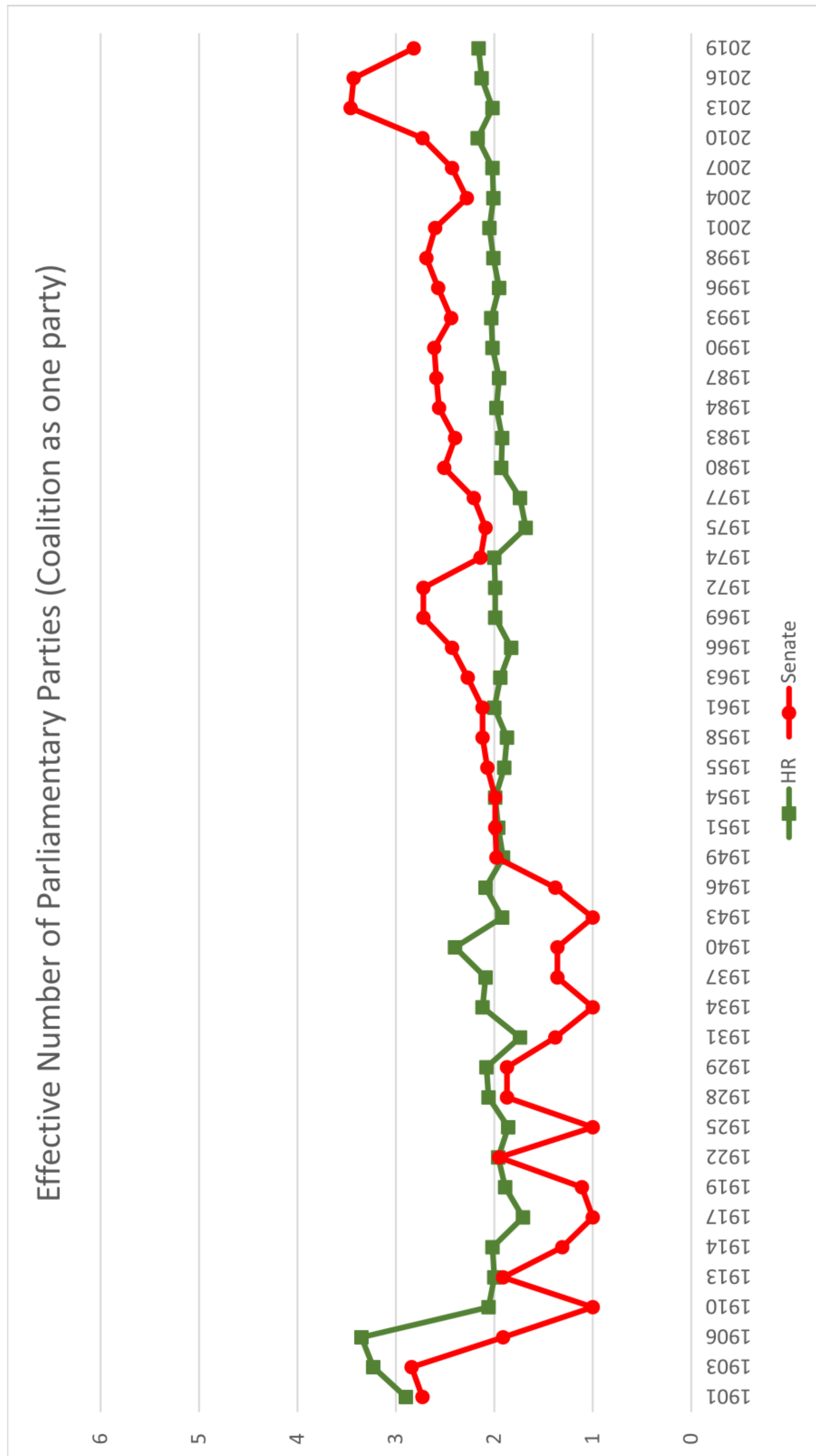

Figure 4.3: ENPs of Australia's parliament 1901-2019 with the Coalition treated as one party

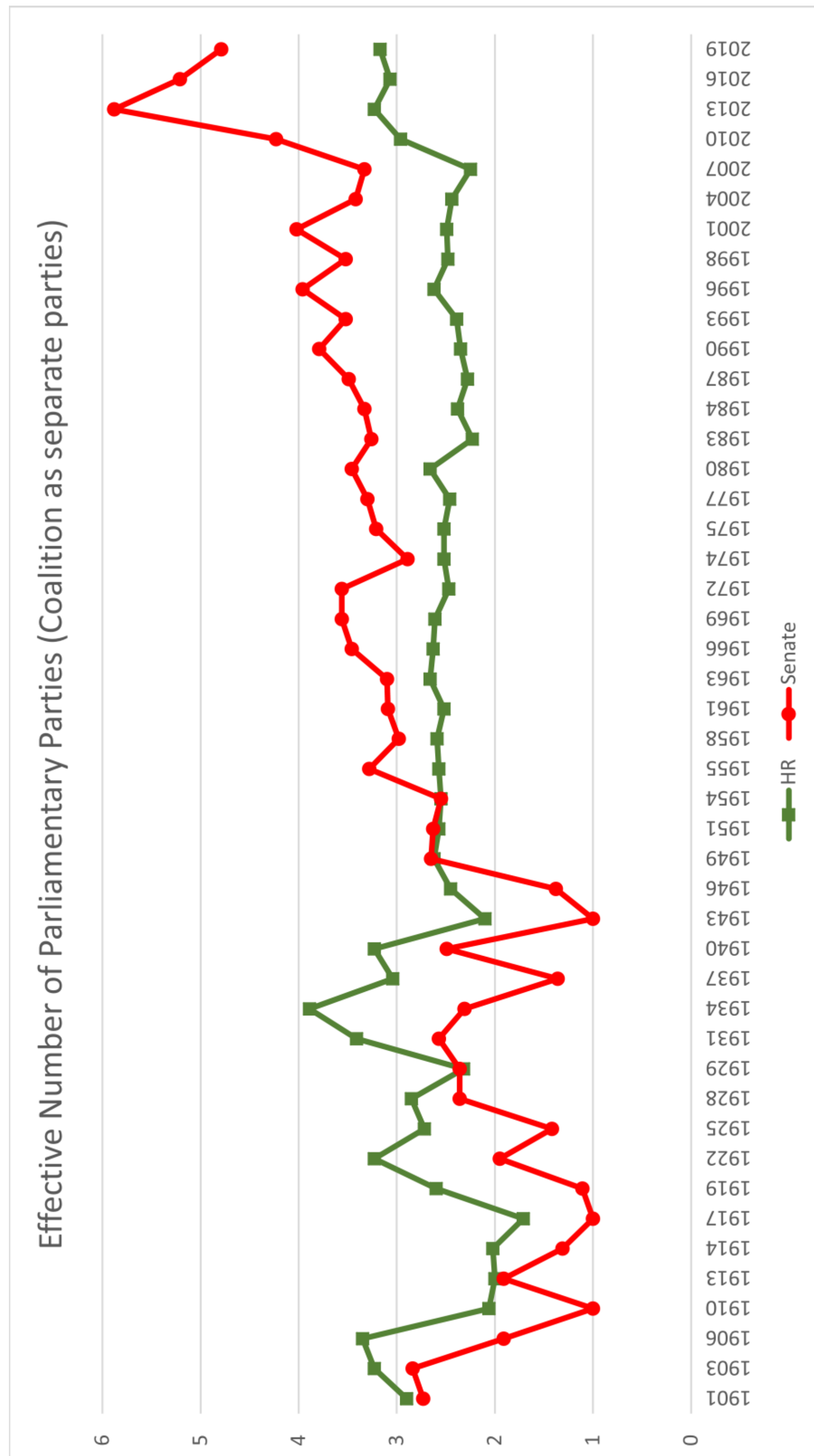

Figure 4.4: ENP_S of Australia's parliament 1901-2019 with separate Coalition parties

These figures show the number of effective parliamentary parties, or ENP_S in both houses of Australian parliament from 1901. This show how many parties are 'effectively' in parliament after each election. Treating the Coalition as one party highlight 1917, 1931 and 1975 are the strongest points for the two-party system in the House of Representatives. Two of these coincide with splits in the ALP. Both figures highlight that the two-party system developed after the 1949 election shortly after the Liberal Party formed from several non-Labor political actors. Before proportional representation, the Senate was comically unrepresentative, with single parties winning all the seats on offer multiple times. Since the introduction of STV-PR in 1949, the Senate has gradually moved from a two-party system towards muted multipartisan politics, ramping up from the 1987 double dissolution and increasing sharply in 2013 to record levels. This effect magnifies exponentially if treating the Coalition as four distinct parties, with the difference of effective number of political parties over 1.5 (4.79 in the Senate and 3.17 in the House of Representatives in 2019). The 2016 double dissolution increased the number of seats in play and led to a high ENP_S. The 2019 election featured a lower ENP_S for the Senate, but still among the highest in Australian history. These figured demonstrate that different numbers of parties operate in both houses of parliament, suggesting two distinct party systems. It also highlights the role of the Coalition in maintaining two-party hegemony.

Reinforcing major parties electoral decline, survey data from the Australian Election Study and previous surveys demonstrates decline in major party identification. The thesis examines Australian Election Study data in more detail in chapters 7 and 8. However, Figure 4.5 below provides evidence of changing party system dynamics. Australia has traditionally been characterised for remarkably stable party identification rates. Party identification held strong during periods of civil unrest compared to countries such

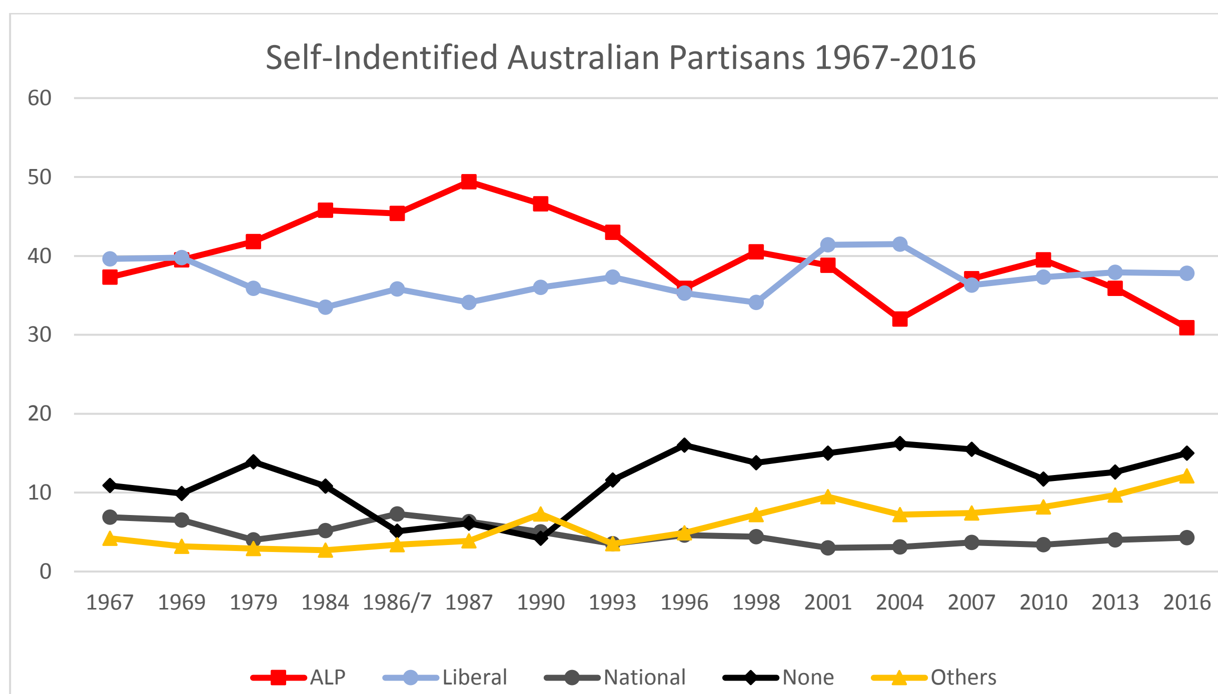

Figure 4.5: Party identification rates from Australian survey data 1967-2016

as the United States (Wattenberg 1990). However, while consistent party identification rates exist only after 1987, survey data since 1990 has demonstrated decline in party identification.

Figure 4.5 above shows fifty years of survey data tracing the same general question regarding party identification rates. This takes data from the ANPAS, NSSS and AES surveys[30]. Based on the Survey Research Centre's National Election Study in the United States, the general trend is one of quite strong stability. Large-scale surveys indicate the importance of Australian party identification is waning. Further, the link between party identification and vote has seen some decline (Marks 1993). The Australian Election Study survey question 'generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as Liberal, Labor, National or what?' directly taps into party identification. Between 1967 and 2016 (the period where survey data has been conducted, albeit irregularly before 1987), Liberal identifiers

[30] Australian National Political Attitudes Survey (1967-1979), National Social Sciences Survey (1984-1986/7) and the Australian Election Study (1987-2016). These instruments are described in more details in Chapter 6.

have remained relatively stable, whereas ALP partisans has declined by over ten percent. What was also notable is that the actual impact party identification had in determining voting intention weakened between 1967 and 1990 (Marks 1993). Since 1993, there has been a jump in the number of unaligned partisans, as well as a gradual increase in the 'others' category (this includes Greens, Democrats, as well as other political parties listed). This coincided with declines in party identification in both Labor and Liberals, but especially Labor.

This disengagement from political parties is also apparent outside survey data. There has been a severe decline in formal political party membership. Precise numbers are sometimes difficult to obtain due to political parties remaining tight-lipped, but *Crikey* reporter Cathy Alexander's (2013) compilation of available data concludes that party membership is around forty to fifty thousand members for major parties. Conversely, Gauja and Jackson (2016, p. 377) noted the Australian Greens had exactly 10,076 members at the time of their publication. Cavalier (2011) asserts that from a peak of 92,000 members in 1911, the New South Wales ALP branch is down to only 15,389 members. Although formal membership of a political party is not a prerequisite for party identification, it is the most explicit indication of supporting a political party. This century-long trend demonstrates the declining importance of political party affiliation within modern society.

These figures demonstrate that since 1975, Australia has been going through a period of change that breaks with the previous stability that characterised Australian politics. To qualify this statement, Labor and the Coalition are still the predominant political parties. Government formation will inevitably focus around them and just over two thirds of voters still vote for them. However, from obtaining 95% of the vote in 1975, this proportion of major party support has sunk to under 75% and even lower in the Senate. Party identification rates show signs on decline, with formal party membership particularly weak. With weakened

party membership and lower thresholds for entry into the Senate, the Australian political institution has facilitated multiple parties emerging. Today, Australia operates separate party systems across its bicameral legislature and beyond that, has more than two political parties that exert influence in both party systems.

Australian party classifications

Before examining these new parties, it is important to understand which parties are pertinent to discuss. Australian political discourse considers several models to classify Australian political parties. Most academic research characterises political parties in terms of size and differentiates between *major* and *minor* parties. In the media landscape, the term *micro* party is also used. Each label carries assumptions about the capacity of the party to deliver on policy aims, as well as the level of tolerance and legitimacy within the party system. *Major* parties refer to parties with a realistic chance of forming government alone and dominating the lower house (Kefford 2017, p. 102). Parties that exist here are the Australian Labor Party and the Liberal/National Coalition (itself a collection of four different parties that vary on a state-by-state basis). In contrast, *minor* parties are smaller parties with no realistic capacity to form government, but a very real possibility of exerting substantial influence on policy (Kefford 2017, p. 102). In exceptional cases, they have powerful blackmail or coalition potential towards major parties. They exert this strength in proportionally represented legislatures such as the Senate or with influential preference potential. Historically, the three most prominent minor parties are the Democratic Labour Party, the Australian Democrats and the Greens, who have maintained prominent roles in the Senate for an extended duration (Ghazarian 2015)[31].

[31] The Nationals, when treated as a distinct party, easily fall into this category. Commentators tend to group them with the Liberals at the federal level.

How academic literature treats minor parties is notable. Their place in Australian politics is historically contentious. Opinions surrounding them vary from being full members of the Australian party system (Ghazarian 2015) right down to simply vehicles for disgruntled protest voters sending a message to major parties, or even just a 'nark' or a distraction from the real contest (Crisp 1970, p. 63). Before the Australian Democrats, 'major party chauvinism' showed in the literature that only examined minor parties purely by how their preference deals affected major parties (Mayer 1980, p. 352). The Democrats obtaining the balance of power mollified some of the derision, but it took time for established voices to take them seriously as a party (Macklin 1996). In examining minor parties, Jaensch (1994, pp. 8-9) generated a typology that is of some utility today and seen below in Table 4.1. He split minor parties primarily by their means of establishment and their policy goals, allowing parties that received two percent of the national vote over two successive elections into the model.

Table 4.1: Jaensch (1994) minor party typology

Party Type	Description	Examples
Doctrinal	Dogmatic conviction to certain ideology. Tends to remain in the system despite low support	Christian Democrats Australian Communist Party
Issue	Based around specific issue needs, tend to be transient and dependent on contemporary issues to mobilise	Nuclear Disarmament Party
Secessionist/fragmentary	A split from a parent major party over disagreements with policy or ideology that slowly disappear as the party resolves the disagreement	Democratic Labour Party Liberal Movement Australian Democrats
Protest	Reactions to specific economic, cultural or religious issues; can be post-industrial or purely economic	Palmer United Party One Nation Party

While major and minor parties are well established in the literature, micro parties are a little more ambiguous. The pejoratively titled *micro* parties are parties with inconsequential support who obtain representation through a combination of highly pragmatic use of the voting systems and voter disenchantment (Economou 2016). Having occurred at the state and federal level, the term entered the political lexicon after the 1999 New South Wales 'tablecloth' election[32] and attracted significant attention after the 2013 federal election. The list of 'micro parties' is quite long. These parties use attention-grabbing titles such as the Science Party, No Carbon Tax Party or A Better Future for Our Children. Parties can win seats by negotiating preferable and strategic GVTs between each other to ensure they can obtain enough votes to win a seat. This process became known as 'preference harvesting' and parties emerged to explicit participate in this practice (Green 2014; Manning & Phiddian 2015).

Jaensch's model has strong utility in being able to characterise even micro-parties through their manifestoes. As most 'micro-parties' tend to be 'single issue' or named after a specific policy (No Carbon Tax Party), they fit into the issue category. While this explains their constitution, it fails to consider their explicit purpose in preference harvesting, something Liberal Democratic Party's former Senator David Leyonhjelm and 'preference whisperer' Glenn Druery[33] have freely admitted to engaging in (JSCEM 2014). Parties that fall under the micro party distinction can also fail Jaensch's criterion of attraction two percent of the vote over two successive elections. A party that can win a six-year Senate term without

[32] In the 1999 NSW election, the Legislative Council ballot paper contained 81 parties with 264 candidates. This meant the ballot paper measured 100cm by 70cm and resembled a small tablecloth

[33] Glenn Druery or the 'preference whisperer' is responsible for organising the pragmatic preference deals in his Minor Party Alliance that have seen several micro parties elected. He has been organising these since the 1999 NSW 'tablecloth' election.

attracting two percent of the vote suggests Jaensch did not register them as part of his minor party typology.

There is some disagreement about using the term micro party due to the pejorative connotations and conceptual ambiguity between minor and micro parties when employing party system models. The line between genuine minor party and pragmatic micro party is difficult to establish. Such a distinction between minor and micro discredits the latter as obtaining representation through 'illegitimate' means. (Kefford (2017) argues the term micro party is too Australian-specific, conflates multiple party system typologies and blurs the lines with minor parties. He instead calls for the term 'peripheral party' and empirically defines them as parties that have no effect on the party system and lack coalition or blackmail potential (Kefford 2017, p. 102). Using this criterion, all parties that obtain representation in the Senate are minor parties under his typology.

For the purposes of this thesis, minor parties differentiate from micro parties based on primarily size but also durability. Here, a party must win at least one seat over two elections. Further, they must win a notable proportion of the vote, set at the minimum threshold for public funding at four percent in at least one state during one election. Unlike the two percent threshold Jaensch (1994) proposed, four percent is in line with Orr (2002), who delineates minor parties from micro parties in part by the latter's lack of public funding. This means Centre Alliance, One Nation and the Liberal Democratic Party are minor parties, whereas the Australian Motoring Enthusiasts Party is not. The idea that a political party could achieve a quota of 14.3% through strategic preference deals without having their nomination funds returned from achieving the four percent threshold for public funding suggests a degree of perversion within the system. Thus, this thesis examines minor parties that achieved consistent electoral victories and reached the public funding threshold in at least one state. It

does not examine specific micro parties as part of party system change, but simply the general phenomenon.

While the distinction is largely technical, minor and micro parties have attracted support and/or influence in the Senate. Changes within the electoral system, especially in the Senate, generated opportunities for representation at the upper house level. This reached its zenith between 2013 and 2016, in which a record twelve separate parties obtained Senate representation, partly owing from the double dissolution. This emergence of new political parties primarily in the Senate is a recent phenomenon. In considering minor party successes, the Australian Democrats paved the way for pragmatic Senate electoral campaigns.

Australian Democrats: Thirty years of dealignment

Shortly after the highly polarised environment in the Dismissal, a few events saw a new political party capture one in ten voters at the 1977 election. The Australian Democrats were a minor political party that emerged as a reaction to the party politics of the Dismissal era. Their leader was former Liberal Minister Don Chipp. Promising to ‘keep the bastards honest’ (attributed to Don Chipp in 1980), they positioned themselves between Labor and the Coalition and exerted their influence exclusively in the Senate. They differed from the Democratic Labour Party, whose modus operandi about paralysing a potential Labor government restricted their blackmail potential to the hegemonic Coalition (Ghazarain 2015, pp. 24-25). They were instrumental in reviving the Senate as a house of review (Gauja 2010). McAllister (1982) found they exemplified a dealignment of the highly educated middle class from the Liberal Party. Since their inception, academics and commentators predicted their imminent demise in Australian politics (Aitkin 1982, 1985; Ward 1997). While they lasted three decades, they eventually lost all representation after the 2007 election and the

Australian Electoral Commission (AEC) deregistered them as a political party in 2015[34]. Despite continuous Senate representation since their first appearance in 1977, they were unable to form durable support or processes that would ensure their distinctiveness and long-term survival.

Reinforcing their status as a temporary feature of Australian politics, they attracted comparatively little academic research. Anika Gauja has written about and referenced the Democrats in several publications shortly before and after their demise. A large volume of the available research comes from Warhurst's (1997a) edited book *Keeping the Bastards Honest*. Warhurst (1997b, p. 14) notes only one major academic study on the Democrats by then international student Hiroya Sugita (1995). Other research come from a handful of studies or chapters in edited books by Australia Democrats Senators themselves. This lack of research suggests that academics did not consider them a serious party in Australia at the time. Regardless, the Australian Democrats were the first minor party to distinguish themselves from the parties before them. Their three-decade existence, while not emblematic of a long-term realignment in political support, recast the institutional setting and made the mere prospect of realignment possible. Thus, the thesis considers their origins as a political party, how they performed at the ballot box and their legacy as a part of Australian political discourse.

Origins and ideology

The Australian Democrats emerged from a unique blend of postmaterialist 'new politics', dissatisfaction among parts of the Liberal Party and Don Chipp's reaction to a highly polarised electorate. Before them, several European parties adopted several facets of the new

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[34] Although a party named 'The Australian Democrats' was registered in 2019, the thesis disregards this iteration due to the lack of continuity and success the party had at the 2019 election.

politics model in the sixties. These include the Dutch Democrats ’66, Progressive Democrats in Ireland and the Danish Centre Democrats (Carty 1997, pp. 91-93). These parties primarily attracted intelligent young people concerned with democratising the politics of their respective countries. There were social aims towards greater quality of life and ideas surrounding direct, participatory democracy. Included among this was a strand of environmentalism. This was postmaterialism before Inglehart had identified it a decade later (Inglehart 1977). These ideals were always at home with Australian Democrats voters, demonstrating consistently high levels of postmaterialism on survey data compared to major party groupings. Strong Democrat identifiers were two to three times more likely to be post-materialists as determined by Inglehart’s scale (Papadakis 1990, p. 48). This view informed some of the attitudes they brought into parliament.

While the Australian Democrats registered in 1977, they merged various groups that emerged as a reaction to division within the Liberal Party and their policies. The first short-lived party that fits this mould was the Australia Party. Emerging as part of the opposition towards the Vietnam War and contesting the 1969, 1972 and 1974 elections, their preferences were critical to Labor’s victory in 1972 (McPherson & Whitington 1973, p. 93). With broad social democratic aims, they served as a prototype Australian Democrats (Warhurst 1997d, p. 23). Another Australian Democrats predecessor emerged from fragments within the Liberal Party. In particular, the fissure within Liberal and Country League of South Australia that gave birth to the Liberal Movement. A ‘party within a party’ led by former South Australian Premier and Senator Steele Hall, the Liberal Movement was a reaction to hostility towards electoral reform from conservative LCL members in South Australia (Parkin 1981, pp. 9-11). While Hall joined the reformed Liberal Party of South Australia after the Labor Dunstan Government had adopted all reforms the Liberal Movement had sought, his deputy Robin Millhouse remained outside and formed the New Liberal Movement. Hall’s personal assistant

and future Australian Democrats leader Janine Haines went with Millhouse. She became the first Australian Democrats Senator after she took Hall's Senate seat in a casual vacancy[35].

These strands of postmaterialist new politics and disaffected Liberal politicians united under former Liberal Minister Don Chipp to form the Australian Democrats. A minister under Prime Ministers John Gorton and Billy McMahon, his loyalty to unpopular leader Billy Sneddon saw him relegated to the backbench after Malcolm Fraser was made leader in 1975 (Reynolds 1979). Chipp, known for his 'small l' liberalism towards media censorship, had had enough. In his resignation speech, Australian Democrats leader Don Chipp cited several reasons for breaking away from the Liberals, but offered a prelude to his plans after resignation.

> I wonder whether the ordinary voter is not becoming sick and tired of the vested interests which unduly influence the present political parties and yearn for the emergence of a third political force, representing middle of the road policies which would owe allegiance to no outside pressure group. Perhaps it may be the right time to test that proposition (Australian Parliamentary Debates (House of Representatives) 1977, pp. 556-557).

Essentially, the Australian Democrats were the successors of the Australia Party's new politics agenda that crystallised a split in the moderate and conservative elements on the Liberal Party and emerged as a reaction to highly polarised political environment that led to the Dismissal.

Electoral successes

Seven months after their registration, the Australian Democrats made an immediate impact at the 1977 election. Writing about their first election, Reynolds (1979, p. 139) suggested the

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[35] A casual vacancy is the process to replace a Senator that resigns mid-term. This is done by the State Parliament where the vacancy occurs Before 1977, it was a convention they would be from the same party as the outgoing Senator. This was formalised at the 1977 referendum. As the Liberal Movement no longer existed, South Australian Premier Don Dunstan considered the Australian Democrats the successors and nominated Haines.

Democrats long term prospects were uncertain, as they attracted a ‘narrow and unstable’ base of disenchanted, highly educated voters in safe Liberal seats. However, they won two Senate seats with 11.13% and obtained 9.38% in the House of Representatives. This was the best result for a non-Labor/Coalition party since the DLP in 1958. It would also be their best result in first preference votes until 1990.

Despite their uneven voting history (seen in Figure 4.6 below), they consistently won Senate seats at every election between 1977 and 2001. While gradually weakening during the eighties, the reduced quota from the 1984 election meant they were able to cement their hold on the balance of power. The Australian Democrats initially starved the Liberal party of its ‘small l’ liberal base of support, but would eventually routinely do preference arrangements with Labor during the nineties. Their highest vote came at the 1990 election and they reached a peak of nine Senators following the 1998 Senate election. Despite the defection of popular leader Cheryl Kernot to the Labor party, they were able to win a net gain of two seats (one off the Greens in WA and one off the Nationals in NSW) and contest all House of Representatives seats for the first time in 1998 (Bartlett 2000, p. 89). Table 4.2 on the next page demonstrates their electoral success.

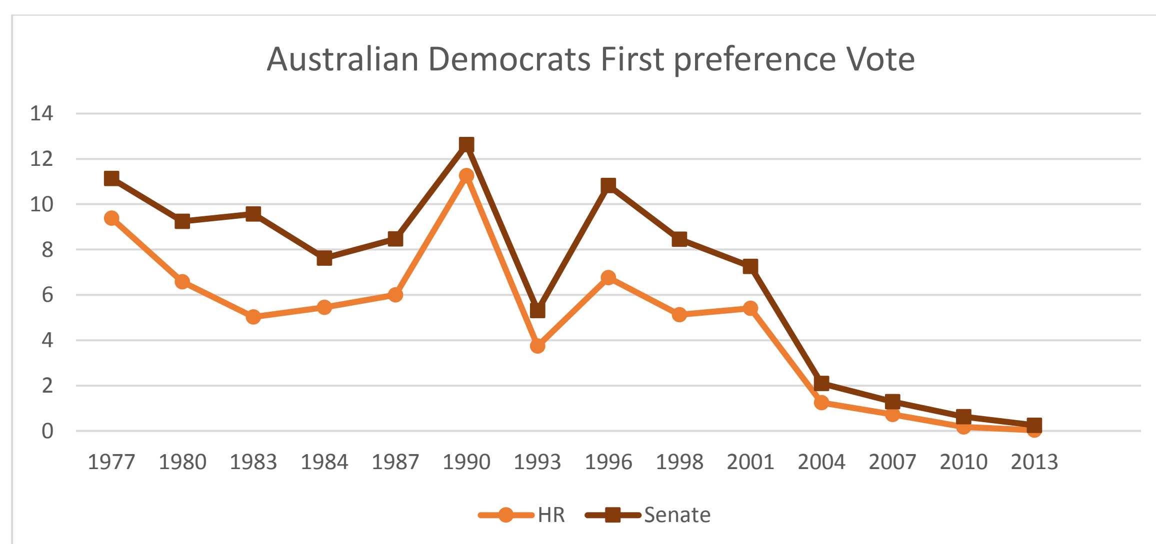

Figure 4.6: Australian Democrats’ first preference vote in federal parliament 1977-2013

Table 4.2: Australian Democrats' electoral successes

Election year	Senate Votes (%)	Seats Won	Seats Held	States won (in order of vote proportion)
1977	11.13	2	2	VIC, NSW
1980	9.25	3	5	SA, VIC, QLD
1983*	8.57	5	5	SA, VIC, NSW, QLD, WA
1984	7.62	5	7	SA, QLD, NSW, VIC, TAS
1987*	8.47	7	7	SA(2), NSW, VIC, QLD, TAS, WA
1990	12.63	5	8	SA, VIC, QLD, NSW, TAS
1993	5.31	2	7	SA, QLD
1996	10.82	5	7	SA, QLD, VIC, NSW, WA
1998	8.45	4	9	SA, QLD, NSW, WA
2001	7.25	4	8	SA, NSW, QLD, WA
2004	2.09	0	4	-
2007	1.29	0	0	-

Note: *=Double Dissolution

As noted earlier in chapter 1, the Democrats had uneven and erratic voting support because their partisan base was not durable. As seen in chapter 8 of this thesis, besides 1990, the Democrats never retained more than half their previous voters at each election. Their party identification rates were also low and erratic. Despite their direct democracy measures, they fostered little engagement outside of leadership ballots (Ward 1997). McAllister (1982) found that despite the appearance of a distinct base, they voted Democrats to protest against the Liberal Party. The lack of sustained subnational success outside South Australia also played a role (Bean 1997). While there was some appearance of deliberate voting in the Senate (Bowler & Denemark 1993), it appeared to be part of a deliberate split-ticket voting strategy from Labor voters. Despite their success, the Democrats had little evidence of sustainable support.

The fortune of the Australian Democrats was strongly associated with their leaders. Several of their most successful periods were during times with inspiring leaders. Favourable impressions to the leaders were very strongly associated with voting Democrats, particularly under the leadership of Don Chipp and Janine Haines (Marks & Bean 1992, p. 324). Conversely, the Australian Democrats' weak 1993 election vote partly boiled down to the

unpopularity of leader John Coulter (Westmore 2002). Cheryl Kernot was also considerably popular, as van Onselen (2008) credited her defection to Labor as the fatal blow to the Democrats due to the leadership vacuum it left behind.

Failure and legacy

The Democrats vote collapsed in 2004 and never recovered. They lost the balance of power to the Coalition, who won a Senate majority for the first time since 1977. Evaluating the Democrats campaign, former leader Andrew Bartlett (2005, p. 156) believed the perceived breach of trust in supporting the GST in 1998[36], as well as leadership turmoil between Meg Lees, Natasha Stott-Despoja and Bartlett were to blame for their low vote. Scholars repeatedly cite the unpopularity of the GST as a betrayal of their very small membership base, which protracted their disapproval through the direct democratic practices the party provided (Economou & Ghazarian 2008). Reflecting on their deregistration in 2015, Bartlett cemented this view, stating the party's disposal of popular leader Natasha Stott-Despoja was the 'final straw' after the 'political catastrophe' of passing the GST (*Australian Democrats lose party status* 2015). As for their vote, Bartlett (2005. p. 158) believed their vote primarily transferred back to major parties rather than simply transferring to the Greens.

The failure of the Australian Democrats to remain a permanent fixture in the Australian electorate relates to their tenuous position within the existing party framework. They emerged as a reaction to the period of high ideological polarity between the two major parties during the Whitlam era. The particularly hostile and obstructionist Senate frustrated the Labor policy agenda and led to heightened ideological distance. The Australian Democrats took firmly the 'middle ground' as a response; one of their earliest suggested titles

[36] The Goods and Services Tax (GST) was a political issue that featured at multiple elections during the nineties. It eventually passed with amendments due to Democrats support in the Senate.

was Centre-Line party (Warhurst 1997c). Whilst their earliest results indicated the Centre had supporters, positioning themselves in the centre of the ideological spectrum had a fundamental weakness. As Labor embraced economic rationalism in the eighties and early nineties, Labor increasingly moved to the centre of the ideological spectrum (McAllister 1992, pp. 121-122). Taking the middle ground was dangerous as the major parties decided where that centre was. This left the Democrats floundering and looking like 'fringe dwellers' (Battin 1997, pp. 270, 280). The Australian Democrats eventually faltered in part because their policy position was inevitably reactionary and could not obtain durable support.

Ultimately, the legacy the Australian Democrats left was their role in revitalising the Senate into a House of Review. As the first successful 'new politics' party, the Democrats were able to move postmaterialist issues into the legislative agenda through their diverse representation. At the forefront of the women's movement, the Democrats boasted higher rates of female parliamentarians, with Janine Haines the first female party Leader. Gauja (2010, p. 500) notes that their position as 'Senate watchdog' made Australians aware they could hold major party accountable by voting differently in the Senate. The modern Senate has developed under the assumption that minor parties will play a role in operating in the system (Sharman 1999, p. 359). Most importantly, the Democrats made Australians aware that there was another choice for voters besides the major parties. After years of highly two-partisan convergence, their claim on the balance of power and the revitalisation of the Australian Senate into a genuine house of review encouraged other parties to pursue the Senate as a political prize whilst keeping the major parties accountable.

The politics of protest: Other prominent minor parties

The Australian Democrats were emblematic of a long-term dealignment in the Senate. Several other parties have had bright but brief moments in the Australian party system.

Primarily a result of the Senate reforms of 1984 that gave political parties greater control of voter preferences, several smaller parties gained election. Few of these political parties had significant influence until 2013, when many minor and micro parties won representation and enlarged the Senate crossbench to record levels. The primary characteristic of these parties is their ephemeral nature; none of these parties have attracted substantial, durable support. Several formed as an extreme version of what Panebianco (1988, p. 264) called ‘electoral-professional’ parties, in which the party, largely devoid of ideology and policy, exists to be elected. While some still exist in parliament, the 2019 half-Senate election has left few of these parties in place.

However, there are a couple of trends gleaned from this period. While none of these parties have had sustained success, Pauline Hanson’s One Nation Party has had intermittent success in Australian politics since 1998. Several parties, including One Nation to a degree, fall under the ‘personal’ party moniker, most notably the Palmer United Party and Nick Xenophon’s political efforts (Kefford & McDonnell 2018). This thesis briefly analyses notable minor parties that won representation between 1998 and 2019 as a source of dealignment. These minor parties contrast the Greens in their establishment, sustained electoral success and source of political support. Excluded from this discussion is the Nuclear Disarmament Party. While they were influential in bringing a new strand of environmentalism to the Australian electorate and were the first party to emerge after the 1984 Senate reforms to win a seat, they are discussed in more detail in Chapter 5.

Please Explain: One Nation Mark I and II

As a direct reaction against the new politics, the protest party known as One Nation demonstrates the perils of ill-formed party mechanisms. Uniting under disendorsed Liberal candidate Pauline Hanson, One Nation is broadly characterised as a populist right-wing party

with strong anti-immigration and anti-elite sentiment[37]. Hanson's maiden speech in 1996, in which she rejected multiculturalism and declared Australia was being 'swamped with Asians' reverberated around the nation. Achieving a remarkable 8.1% of the vote in 1998 and winning a Senate seat in Queensland, the party (and Hanson) attracted significant media attention. They also attracted modest success in several states. Their first performance as a political party in the 1998 Queensland election shocked pundits, in which they achieved 22.7% of the first preference vote and won eleven of the eighty-nine seats in the Legislative Assembly (Reynolds 2000a, p. 153). They also won seats in the New South Wales and Western Australian Legislative Councils. Hanson herself was unable to capitalise on her party's success, losing the seat of Blair in 1998, with all One Nation party support lost after the expiry of NSW Legislative Council terms in 2007.

One Nation suffered from a weak, hastily constructed party structure. Mostly driven by executive rule, their leadership was top heavy and involved Hanson exerting substantial control on decision-making (Ward 2000). Obtaining substantial support in a very short space of time, the party had difficulty retaining elected officials, losing many Queensland state members within six months through resignations and scandals (Reynolds 2000b, p. 187). Further, their Senator-elect Heather Hill was disqualified by section 44 of the Constitution in 1999[38], as she was a British Citizen while elected. Coupled with a weak base of members that had little incentive to support the party beyond short expressing disenchantment with mainstream politics, One Nation's influence appeared short lived.

[37] Hanson was disendorsed for racially incendiary comments, but due to the late timing was still listed as the Liberal candidate on the Division of Oxley ballot paper, winning a seat in the 1996 federal election.

[38] S.44 of the Australian Constitution lists disqualifications for running for Parliament. Specifically, holding 'allegiance to a foreign power' is not allowed. The practical effect means one must hold only Australian citizenship to run for parliament

Dramatically, the 2016 federal election saw Hanson return to politics via the Senate. One Nation attracted 4.28% of the national vote in the Senate and won two Senators in Queensland, as well as one in New South Wales and in Western Australia. Hanson, a mainstay in the media due to her reality television profile and serial candidature at several different seats since 2004, capitalised on the double dissolution and almost won a quota in her own right. Despite winning four Senators, they yet again had trouble maintaining their party bloc. One Nation suffered several exits and resignations, stemming from the top-heavy 'dictatorship' leadership Hanson played in the party. Further, several Senators were disqualified by section 44 of the Australian Constitution[39]. Their candidates came under intense scrutiny, with several disendorsed due to unanticipated scandals. They were also unable to replicate their high Queensland result at the 2017 Queensland election, winning a single seat with 13.73% of the vote. While polling respectably in the 2017 West Australian election and winning three Legislative Council Seats, these state results were considered disappointments. These events suggest the party has little capacity to translate Hanson's personal appeal and broad multicultural anxiety into a durable political party.

In terms of their support, One Nation has some difficulty in locating a base. They clearly are a party of protest, attracting a certain cohort of disaffected, mostly outer urban and regional voters. Linked to populist movements, their emergence mirrors 'new right' political European parties who emerged as a reaction to 'new-left' parties (Cole 2005). Some research challenges the assumption that populist support is limited to working-class voters; affluent voters also vote for One Nation (Mols & Jettenn 2017). The Coalition has often found themselves spooked by One Nation, with their support primarily coming from disenchanted

[39] Senator Malcolm Roberts was disqualified due to his British citizenship. Senator Rod Culleton was forced to stand down due to becoming bankrupt during his term as Senator but was found to have been disqualified anyway due to a conviction for a crime that carried a term of imprisonment for one year or longer (*Rod Culleton: Former One Nation senator loses appeal against court bankruptcy verdict*)

voters that would normally vote Liberal or National. Their second incarnation attracted a mixture of voters deserting not just the Coalition but Labor as well, with several Labor seats in 2016 benefitting from One Nation preferences (Remeikis 2017). While their populist streak is part of a broader, global revival of populism, their capacity for long-term electoral entrenchment appears limited beyond Hanson's personal appeal. However, the re-election of Malcolm Roberts at the 2019 election suggests a high number of disaffected voters find One Nation an acceptable vehicle for their vote.

To a degree, Pauline Hanson's One Nation Party (full title) also fits the mould of personal party. The authoritarian leadership of Hanson and close allies over a weak party base matches the personal party type. Notable stories of enfeebled membership expressing dissatisfaction with Hanson's personal authority are present, with the phrase 'dictator' a common theme (Remeikis 2018). However, One Nation was also able to win at subnational electoral contests in which Hanson herself was not contesting. While other election results were disappointing such as 2017 Queensland Election, they are still notable. Further, Legislative Council victories in NSW (1999 and 2019), Western Australia (2001 and 2017) and a 2019 Senate victory indicate One Nation, despite strong reliance on Hanson's leadership and weaker party organisation, can achieve some electoral victory outside Hanson's personal sphere for now.

The personal party: Palmer United, successors and Xenophon

Several parties, including One Nation, fall into what some literature call 'personal parties' (Kefford & McDonnell 2018). Based on several populist European parties with highly charismatic leaders, these include the parties of Italy's Silvio Berlusconi and Dutch Geert Wilders (Calise 2015). Using a comparative framework between Berlusconi's *Forza Italia* and Clive Palmer's Palmer United party, Kefford and McDonnell (2018) characterise the

personal party as a tenuous party type that relies on a dominant leader and weak party structure. These political parties strongly discourage active membership within the party, with the party leader retaining absolute control. Notably, interviews conducted with both *Forza Italia* and Palmer United Party insiders confirm Calise's (2015, p. 303) assertion that the party would be unable to outlive its founder (Kefford & McDonnell 2018, pp. 338-339). This personal party type characterises several figures in the current Australian landscape.

This drive to form formalised political parties takes advantage of the Senate ballot structure. Individuals nominating as an independent fall into the 'ungrouped' column at the far right, with no 'above-the-line' group box. As parties receive a group box 'above-the-line', individuals seeking election to the Senate can form parties to use the opportunities available to political parties (Green 2014). Further, section 123 of the Commonwealth Electoral Act allows members of parliament to form their own political parties without the usual thresholds for party registration. This means breakaway politicians must form political parties to remain a viable option at the next federal election. This may not strictly be a party; Brian Harradine and Nick Xenophon both nominated as independents, but received a group box above the line by using a running mate. Thus, the electoral institution strongly encourages personal parties as the optimal vehicle for individuals to obtain Senate representation.

The Palmer United Party was able to secure a large presence in the Senate and a lower house seat in 2013 off the back of an expensive advertising campaign believed to be between three and twelve million dollars (Young 2015, p. 97). Mining billionaire Clive Palmer spent tapped a disaffected voter base to win 5.49% in the House of Representatives and 4.91% in the Senate, only to virtually cease to exist by the 2016 federal election. Ironically, the two former members of PUP formed their own personal parties, with Queensland Senator Glenn Lazarus losing his seat under the Glenn Lazarus Team, while Tasmanian Senator Jacqui

Lambie was able to win a Senate quota under the Jacqui Lambie Network banner in 2016 and 2019. Her attempt to win seats in the 2018 Tasmanian election saw a modest result of three percent of the first preference vote, but no representation won. Clive Palmer ran in the 2019 election under the United Australia Party banner, picking up former One Nation Senator Brian Burston. However, recent polling data suggested little party name recognition (Roy Morgan 2019). This came to be as Palmer's United Australia Party, despite spending eighty-three million dollars campaigning (McIllroy & Tadros 2020), obtained only 3.43% of the vote in the House of Representatives and no representation. Follow-up analysis suggesting his votes played little role in the election (Raue 2019).

In South Australia, Nick Xenophon has come under similar criticism as other personal parties. Initially a high profile South Australian Legislative Councillor, he entered federal parliament in 2007 as a popular Independent. He won over twenty percent of the Senate vote in 2013, a result that almost got his running mate Stirling Griff elected as well. He successfully transformed his personal popularity into a political party with the Nick Xenophon Team (NXT). NXT won three Senate seats and the Division of Mayo in the House of Representatives at the 2016 election. Despite his success, his dominant role in his political party has been criticised by previous colleagues. After resigning from the South Australian Legislative Council, his former running mate and replacement Ann Bressington said he lacked substance and was a 'typical politician' (*MPs stunned by Xenophon blast* 2007). Echoing Palmer and Hanson, former member of NXT John Darley called him a 'complete dictator' when he faced expulsion for voting for Labor's Legislative Council electoral reforms against Xenophon's wishes (Harmsen 2017). Although he talked about doing politics different, NXT was largely a party vehicle for Xenophon himself.

Attempting to differentiate from his personal brand and his party, Nick Xenophon renamed the Nick Xenophon Team Centre Alliance. He resigned from the Australian Senate to focus on South Australian issues in the state parliament (Xenophon 2017). Xenophon renamed this branch of the party SA-BEST. While SA-BEST received significant attention, the 2018 South Australian election was disappointing, with no lower house seats won. Despite this, Xenophon's Centre Alliance/SA-Best still retains a degree of influence; they hold the lower house seat of Mayo, as well as two Senate seats. They also hold two seats in the South Australian Legislative Council, effectively sharing the balance of power with the Greens and John Darley's Advance SA. They retained the Division of Mayo at a by-election caused by section 44 in 2018 against former Liberal Minister Alexander Downer's daughter Georgina Downer. While Centre Alliance's Rebekha Sharkie held Mayo against Downer at the 2019 election, Centre Alliance's South Australian Senate vote collapsed from 21.76% in 2016 to 2.6% in 2019. Without Xenophon's personal popularity, it appears Centre Alliance's Stirling Griff and Rex Patrick are on borrowed time until the 2022 half-Senate election.

These personal parties are all emblematic of protest votes within the Australian electorate. Attracting unstable support from an ill-defined base, the personal appeal of their leaders distinguishes these parties from the raft of options available. Apart from Centre Alliance tapping the vestiges of Australian Democrat support in South Australia, the durability of their support and their capacity to retain party structures is limited to generally disaffected voters. With their support largely stemming from the personal appeal of their leaders, they inevitably remain unable to become a long-term fixture of the party system.

The rise and fall of the micro parties

Since the introduction of above-the-line group ticket voting, the number of political parties that has won representation from lower first preference vote totals gradually increased. While

there were several notable examples before 2013, the 2013 election was characterised by the higher number of micro-party candidates that obtained representation, with these seen in Table 4.3 below.

Table 4.3: Successful Senators with less than 4% of the vote 1987-2019

Year	Member	Party	% Vote	% Quota
1987*	Robert Wood	Nuclear Disarmament Party	1.50	.19
2004	Steve Fielding	Family First Party	1.88	.13
2010	John Madigan	Democratic Labour Party	2.33	.16
2013	Ricky Muir	Motoring Enthusiasts Party	0.55	.04
2013	Bob Day	Family First Party	3.88	.27
2013	Wayne Dropulich**	Australian Sports Party	0.23	.02
2016*	David Leyonhjelm	Liberal Democratic Party	3.09	.40
2016*	Rod Culleton	One Nation Party	3.99	.52
2016*	Bob Day	Family First Party	2.75	.36

Note: *=Double Dissolution; **=Initial 2013 WA election, lost seat on 2014 special Senate election

Using the criterion found on page 116, the candidates elected from under the public funding threshold of four percent are found on Table 4.3 above. Echoing the 1999 'Tablecloth' New South Wales election, the 2013 federal election featured a record number of candidates (529 candidates from 54 parties) contesting. The Australian Motoring Enthusiasts Party and Family First won a seat on less than four percent of the vote, with the Australian Sports Party victory overturned after a special election in Western Australia[40]. Further, the Liberal Democratic Party benefitted in 2013 from the most advantageous ballot paper position, where they were mistaken for the Liberal Party of Australia[41]. Their vote in New South Wales is disproportionately higher than the rest of the states they contested. The Liberal Democratic Party leader David Leyonhjelm freely considered himself a 'Senator for the Donkeys' (Murphey 2013). Palmer United also won three Senate seats. All these parties had little consistent policy and appeared designed explicitly to win elections or promote individual agendas (Kelly 2016, pp. 74-75). The large Senate crossbench meant parties that would usually exert little influence became crucial for the government to win over.

The government undertook several different attempts to reform the Senate system after the 2013 election. With the Greens' support, the Coalition passed electoral reform a few months before the 2016 election. These reforms abolished group-voting tickets, reducing the number of compulsory preferences voters must express and made preference harvesting much more difficult for micro parties (Muller 2016). This means parties only receive votes if voters preference them either above or below the line. If a candidate does not receive a quota, but is

[40] The Australian Electoral Commission misplaced 1,400 votes in Western Australia. As the results changed on a recount by a single vote (Green 2013), the Court of Disputed Returns voided the election and caused a 2014 Senate Special Election in West Australia.

[41] Parties are arranged on the Senate ballot from left to right by random allocation. The Liberal Democratic Party had the left-most spot (column A). They received 3.91% nationally, but 9.50% in New South Wales, suggesting the placement on the ballot paper had some impact

the highest ranked candidate when the number of vacancies is one less than the number of candidates remaining, they are declared elected.

Despite reform to the Senate voting system, the 2016 double dissolution election did not reduce the number of political parties contesting and winning seats. Family First and the Liberal Democratic Party retained their seats, albeit with reduced first preference votes. Leyonhjelm retained his seat with a substantially reduced vote in 2016, but the Liberal Democratic Party maintained a uniform first preference vote of around 3.5% in New South Wales. This may be due to their consistent libertarian ideology. Controversial Victorian shock jock Derryn Hinch's Justice Party won a seat and One Nation won four. Jacqui Lambie and Nick Xenophon solidified their personal popularity in their respective states to make an even more diverse Senate than the previous one. Following the election, there was substantial movement on the Crossbench. Family First merged with breakaway Liberal Senator Cory Bernardi to form Australian Conservatives, stressing the lack of conservative politics in the Liberal Party. Family First's Bob Day and Jacqui Lambie fell afoul of section 44 of the Constitution and were disqualified from parliament. With the high number of candidates, voter spread was highly fragmented across a broader spectrum of political candidates. Regardless, the reduced quota of the double dissolution election muted the anticipated effects of Senate reforms.

Several factors besides opportunities explain the shift to micro parties.[42] Using the four percent threshold to differentiate between minor and micro parties unearths this list of notable 'micro' party victors. These parties support has come mostly from disaffected voters looking to cast a protest vote and the dynamics of the Senate ballot paper, but some appear to

[42] One includes the highly cyclical nature of political leadership. Since 2007, Australia has had six different leaders, with only one of these due to an election change.

attract some modest support. With the high number of candidates, voter spread was highly fragmented across a broader spectrum of political candidates. The predominant theme of these micro parties is they represent a disaffected component of the electorate. Between 2013 and 2019, more than a third of voters selected a party that was not Labor or Liberal. While around nine percent of that belonged the Greens, the rest voted for a barely defined political party that was either a strategic means for individual politicians to participate in the Senate voting system, a reactionary party against cultural factors in the electorate or a syndicate of small interests vying for positions in the Senate.

Although several parties such as One Nation, Centre Alliance and even the Liberal Democratic Parties demonstrated some ideological consistency and small modicum of support, the long-term durability of these minor and micro parties appears limited. After the 2019 election, only Jacqui Lambie and One Nation won seats. The LDP, Centre Alliance and Derryn Hinch's Justice Party failed to retain their seats. Australian Conservatives Cory Bernardi deregistered his party and resigned in December 2019. This meant a casual vacancy will elect a Liberal Party Senator, as this was his party when he was elected in 2016. With Centre Alliance's Stirling Griff and Rex Patrick, One Nation's Pauline Hanson and Malcolm Roberts and Jacqui Lambie, the minor parties' role in the crossbench has reduced in size from the 2016 double dissolution. These results suggest the crossbench size has contracted due to the reformed voting system. While some influential decision makers remain in the parliament for the time being, none of them looks able to maintain their support beyond either the next election or their leader's tenure.

Parties and postmaterialism

Part of the ascendency of newer political parties is the rise of postmaterialism and the reactions against the 'new politics'. Taking the lens of postmaterialism informed by Inglehart

(1977) sheds light on Australia's party system development. Particularly notable is the role of environmentalism and its emergence during the eighties, culminating in the 1990 federal election. The 1990 'Green' election shows a relationship between party identification and postmaterialist values exists (Papadakis 1990). Taking a cross-national approach, Papadakis (1991) demonstrates that 'new politics' affected the party system in Australia to a similar degree to other West European nations. In particular, the Australian Democrats are classed as a 'new politics' party. While some political parties have emerged from the postmaterialist value change, others have emerged as a reaction against it. Discussing the role of postmaterialism in the Australian party system helps to bring the Greens into better context in chapter 5.

Measuring postmaterialism in the Australian electorate requires some caveats to the data. Although Australian survey data since 1987 asks about postmaterialism, it varies in wording from the original instrument. Rather than asking what a participant's current values are (Inglehart 1971), the AES asks what the 'aims of Australia should be for the next ten years' (McAllister et al. 1990). Further, between 2001 and 2010, the AES asked the full 12-item index as well as the standard 4-item index. Whilst this allows for richer data and maintains consistency, it limits the scope of a finer postmaterialist measure to four elections out of eleven on the AES. Overall, postmaterialism is measurable, but slightly different to the classic study.

The suitability of postmaterialism to explain emerging political parties has been debated in the literature. Gow (1990) found no relationship between House of Representative voting decision and postmaterialism status, instead finding a 'hip-pocket nerve' effect. Rawson (1991) compares the ALP to Scandinavian party systems and their green politics trajectory, concluding the 'old' political parties adopted to 'new' politics. Subjecting One

Nation voters to Inglehart's four-item postmaterialism scale places them in the same postmaterialist space as the Australian Democrats for the 1998 federal election (Charnock & Ellis 2004). Further, the age-cohort effect that is associated with postmaterialism appears very weak. Tranter and Western (2003, p. 248) examine the criticisms outlined at Inglehart's thesis and the lack of Australian applications. The lack of consistent survey data between the AES and World Values Survey in terms of wording and use of both the four and twelve item battery leads to drastically different rates of materialist/postmaterialists (Tranter & Western 2003, pp. 243-244). Using multivariate regression, they find the regression between age and values, or what postmaterialism measures, is very weak (r^2=0.02) when using the four-item scale. This finding indicates that whilst all cohorts post-1945 are significantly more likely to be leaning postmaterialist, there are no meaningful differences between postmaterialists and materialists in Australia (Tranter & Western 2003, pp. 249-250)[43].

On the other hand, other studies also suggest postmaterialism does have a place in the Australian party system, especially in the Senate. McAllister and Bean (1990) find postmaterialism has some relevance to vote decision. Blount (1998) re-examines Gow's (1990) study, applying his method to the Australian Senate and finds a marginally higher, albeit still small relationship between voting decision and postmaterialism status. He employs OLS rather than binary logistic regression to the voting decision, as vote decision in the Senate is theorised as more complicated than a dichotomy of for and against the government (Blount 1998, pp. 444-445). Using 2001 Senate election data, Charnock and Ellis (2003) find a more expected party system structure that place One Nation between Labor and the Coalition in both postmaterialism and left-right economic dimensions. Whilst they find this using the conventional four-item scale, the use of the extended twelve-item postmaterialist

[43] For a reminder of how postmaterialism is traditionally measured, consult pages 66-68 of this thesis

scale leads to finer empirical observations. In explaining the unexpected findings found in the 1998 federal election, Charnock and Ellis (2004) determine they might have been due to the context of that particular election.

Questioning whether these trends during the nineties are evidence of a realignment, McAllister and Vowles (1994) determine that postmaterialists defect from Labor towards the Democrats and Greens. They did not determine this to be evidence of a realignment in Australia, but a similar process has produced a partial realignment in New Zealand, with Labour better capturing postmaterialist voters (McAllister & Vowels 1994). Studies that examine Democrats voters consistently find them significantly more likely to espouse postmaterialist values, rather than mixed or materialist. This is true of the Greens as well, although the direct effect of postmaterialism on party identification is quite small.

Overall, postmaterialism appears to be a significant factor in voting and party identification. Emerging political parties since 1975 demonstrate a basis in postmaterialist values or, in the case of One Nation, as a reaction towards them. Notably, the correlation between left-right self-placement and postmaterialism tends to increase, suggesting a convergence (Charnock 2009, p. 247). While the direct relationship is weaker than anticipated, the relationship still exists. Australian survey data continues to measure postmaterialist value change. As Inglehart's postmaterialism index is one predictor that consistently discriminates between older and newer political parties in terms of identification and voting decision, it retains relevance to this thesis.

Conclusion

Australia's political climate has changed since 1975. Before 1975, parties slowly converged during a period of remarkably stable two-party competition, with less than five percent of voters voting for a party outside Labor or the Coalition. While the earlier two-party system

continues to hold substantial weight in the lower house, an unprecedented number of voters have moved towards other parties. The potential for proportional representation has broadened the party system in the Senate. The DLP may have held the balance of power before, but they were a secessionist parties that arose from disagreements with Labor. As such, they had restrained power in the Senate. The Australian Democrats were a blend of secession from disaffected Liberal voters and the first new politics issues crystallised by high ideological polarity. This meant they were reluctant to obstruct major parties too heavily. A proliferation of minor and micro parties across the ideological sphere have followed and exploited opportunities present within the electoral institution. However, they all relied on short-term disaffection or charismatic leaders.

What characterises all these political forces is their short-term durability and lack of distinct, solidified party attitudes. They largely exist as vehicles for individual politicians to shape the Australian Senate. At best, they represent a long-term dealignment from traditional parties towards political actors that have managed to win fleeting Senate representation. While the Australian Democrats held high esteem for revitalising the Senate and their use of the balance of power, they were unable to foster a durable partisan identity. No other parties listed here have had sustained electoral success over more than three elections. However, missing from this chapter is the Australian Greens.

The Greens are different. The Australian Democrats emerged to respond to ideological disputes within the national political system. Although their formation had strands from subnational political division in South Australia and the broader peace movement, their strength was contained entirely within parliament. In contrast, the Greens are part of global movement that represents the politicisation of an environmentalist paradigm. The Australian Greens emerged from a coordination of several ecological concerns in Australia. This

combination of environmental consciousness and new politics during this dynamic period of Australia's political history has allowed the Greens to enter the party system. Further, they have attracted a durable base on a highly salient political issue. Thus, the next chapter analyses the origins, ideology and results of this global green movement and its impact in Australia. These demonstrate the distinctiveness of the Australian Greens as a party and their fit for demonstrating realignment of the Australian party system.

Chapter 5:

The Greens: Origins, ideology and experience in Australian government

The fundamental difference between the Australian Democrats and the Greens in terms of their appeal lay within their means of establishment. The Australian Democrats emerged from to political disputes within parliament and the South Australian Liberal Party that crystallised during a period of high ideological polarity. Their success was immediate, but they failed to reach similar levels of voter support in subsequent elections besides 1990. social issue that had engaged their predecessor Australia Party, the Vietnam War and even the split in the South Australian Liberal Party had extinguished by the time they had entered parliament. Although they championed positions within the community, they were inevitably just another political party that reacted against all other parties within the system. Conversely, the Greens emerged from the grassroots of the environmental movement outside of parliament. Their unprecedented movement gradually converted their firm ideological position into political strength. The key difference between both parties was that the Greens gradually developed a solid and unique ideology gradually from grassroots organisations. The Democrats abruptly developed from the AstroTurf of the political system. They emerged from events that occurred within parliament and internal party divisions over a highly charged political event. This gave them little durability to develop a party.

This thesis argues that the emergence and sustained success of the Australian Greens have altered the existing party system and represents a realignment of politics in Australia. The Greens are part of a global phenomenon of green political parties found in many advanced western democracies beyond Australia. Emerging from a blend of the ‘new politics’ that swept Europe in the sixties and the mainstream recognition of ecologism in the seventies, Green parties demonstrate the capabilities of politicised and partisised social

movements. Through Australian experiences of subnational environmental controversies, nuclear power debates, the environmental consciousness of the Labor party and revitalisation on a platform of broader social justice, the Greens' development into a recognised third force is a major shift in the Australian party system. Further, they have varying degrees of success at the subnational level, with branches in all states and territories. This chapter explores the origins and philosophy of green politics and the ideological underpinning of the partisised movement. The chapter also analyses the German Greens as a parallel to Australian Greens. This is due to the party system positioning both parties share in their respective systems. It is also due to the influence both Australia's ecological green bans had on the German Greens and the subsequent influence the German Greens had on the Australian green political movement. From there, the chapter examines the origins and development of the federal Australian Greens party. It also analyses Greens in government and the impact of government formation on their political goals and electoral viability before concluding with recent developments in multiple Australian jurisdictions.

Green ideology and its origins

Before green ideology entered societal nomenclature, the cultural zeitgeist was sociocultural revolution. The late sixties were a time of significant cultural upheaval across the West. With the emergence of an unprecedented cohort of university students, youth protests over authoritarianism and state control was a global phenomenon (Tucker 2014, p. 154). The Cold War backdrop and armed conflicts in Vietnam generated fierce movements towards peace within broad sections of the community. The rise of 'new social movements' took centre stage in both society at large and academic discourse, such as the work of Inglehart (1977). His conceptualisation of value change in the form of 'postmaterialism' linked the gradual shift of societal values from economic, materialist concerns to more globally aspirational, shifting in line with humanist psychological views of self-actualising. New social movements

featured predominantly in universities, but occasionally went beyond the academy. This was especially prevalent in France in the widespread riots of May 1968. Initially a student protest at Nanterre over democratising university admission policies, these protests swept across broad sections of French society as new social movements clashed with older modes of thinking (Tucker 2014). Similar outbursts took place among student populations in West Germany, Italy and the United States that were similar in form to those of 'May 68'. This landscape was fertile ground for green ideology to take shape.

The term 'Green', fitting enough, originates from the Australian 'green bans' that took place in Sydney during the early seventies. Led by the Building Labourers Federation Union leader Jack Mundey, the green bans prevented developments around Sydney that the community deemed ecologically irresponsible through union stop-works, most famously in Sydney's Kelly's Bush and the Rocks (Mundey 1987, p. 107). They represented a 'red-green' alliance between working-class progressives and middle-class environmentalists. The green ban movement attracted tremendous attention and inspired future German Greens (*die Grünen*) co-founder Petra Kelly, who took inspiration from Mundey's work and reportedly brought back the ideology and terminology to Germany (Brown 1997, pp. 2189-2191). Kelly, a former member of the left-wing Social Democratic Party of Germany (*Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands* or SPD), abandoned the party to help form the German Greens due to their policy to station nuclear weapons (Bevan 2001, p. 184). The green bans introduced the possibility to Europe, who crystallised the ideology into formal political representation.

Green ideology represents a junction between the new politics of the sixties, emerging criticism of modernity, renewed debates of nuclear power and fears of environmental cataclysm. Since the Industrial Revolution, environmentalist concerns have existed through the Romantic Movement (Lohrey 2002). The earliest influential work *Silent Spring* (Carson

1961) called into question the environmental impact of pesticides in America and is credited with forging the establishment of the Environmental Protection Agency (Paull 2013, p. 2). Various seminal texts pushed environmental concerns to mainstream awareness in the seventies. Derided at the time, *Limits to Growth* (Meadows et al. 1972) used computer simulations to predict the maximum capacity of Earth. Herbert Gruhl's *The Plundered Planet* (1975) and Edward Goldsmith's *Blueprint for Survival* (1972) detail the perils of modernity and the adverse environmental effects of industrial society. With the Oil Crisis emerging around the same time and concepts such as overpopulation prevalent in contemporary science fiction such as William F Nolan and George Clayton Johnson's *Logan's Run* (1968), green ideology gained global attention after two decades of post-war consensus.

Blueprint for Survival heralded the establishment of the British group Movement for Survival in 1972. Predating the United Tasmania Group by two months, they were the first overtly ecological group in the world (Co & Taylor 2017). However, the United Tasmania Group was the first green political organisation to put overtly environmentalist candidates up for election in 1972 (Brown 1987, p. 43). *Blueprint for Survival* featured heavily in the manifestos of both organisations and was a clarion call that heralded the environmental movement making its first forays the realm of political action. These groups were precursors to the 'Green' parties of each respective country.

Initial conceptualisations of green ideology did not fit the traditional left-right wing dichotomy that materialist political parties represented. Despite several policies further 'left' than the SPD, prominent German Green and the author of *The Plundered Planet* (1975) Herbert Gruhl was a dissatisfied former member of the centre-right Christian Democrats (Mende 2015, pp. 69-70; Poguntke 2001, p. 7). To stress their independence from established parties and ideology, the German Greens exemplified their unprecedented position with their

catch cry "*Nicht rechts, nicht links, sondern vorn*" (neither right nor left, but out in front). Such a call influenced early Australian Green politicians who used it verbatim (Vallentine 1987, p. 65). Green ideology criticised 'Old Left' metrics for 'progress' through endless economic growth and fulltime employment that strained the delicate global balance (Papadakis 1983, p. 302). 'Old Left' political ideology referred to debates over who was part of the social economy of individual nation-states, whereas 'New Left' referred to a global consciousness that was supranational in focus (Dann 1999, p 175). In line with postmaterialist value change (Inglehart 1977), green politics was concerned with increasing both the quality of life beyond conventional materialistic measures and the role of individuals outside parliament in political action.

In discussing green ideology, most Green parties today present their ethos through the Four Pillars of Green Politics model. Emerging from a German Greens diagram in October 1979 (Dann 1999, pp. 24-25), these pillars are ecology, social justice, grassroots democracy and nonviolence (Wall 2010). Most notably, green politics is concerned with ecological sustainability. The degree of radicalism depends on the specific party, but ranges from environmentalism to ecologism. Environmentalism subsumes sustainability policies into the post-industrial service industry, whereas ecologism is a wholesale rejection of industrial society towards self-sufficient agrarian labour (Dobson 1995, pp. 2-9). Ecologism differs from all previous anthropocentric ideologies. Previous ideologies purport to put humanity at its core, but ecologism rejects this fundamental facet by placing the planet at its centre. This pillar is the most distinct feature of green political thought from other postmaterialist or new social movement ideology.

The other pillars are also important, but also less contentious in their radical scope than the role of ecology and traditionally less prominent. Social justice refers to other

components of the new social movements that were prevalent in the seventies. This refers to then-radical second-wave feminism and gay liberation movements. The Values Party in New Zealand were well known for their environmentalist push, but broad sections of their support also came from their policies towards the decriminalisation of homosexuality in the early seventies (Dann 1999, pp. 262-265). The Green movement includes several prominent women such as German Green figurehead Petra Kelly. The broader critique of 'modern' society was more central to the Values party, but progressive action towards historically marginalised populations form a component of green ideology.

Grassroots refers to the idea that the party represents more than its political apparatus. Rather than existing within parliament only, green politics merges both formalised environmental groups and informal movements. Historical examples highlight this relationship between the political elite and the grassroots base. In Australia, influential Green politicians such as Bob Brown were also key members of broader grassroots organisations such as the Tasmanian Wilderness Society. Before formally entering parliaments, such organisations lobbied successfully for environmental movements to be front and centre of voters' minds (Richardson 1994). The German Greens demonstrated their link between grassroots support and political party when a plethora of activist groups and environmentalists accompanied the German Greens' parliamentary membership to the Bundestag in Bonn on 29 March 1983 (Mende 2015, pp. 66-67). The global nature of green politics as a movement is also apparent in this pillar, with global organisations such as Greenpeace well known for their campaigns promoting green movements.

Lastly, nonviolence as part of the broader peace movement that was also part of the new social movements. This has been the case since the beginning, as early GWA Senator Jo Vallentine staunchly opposed the Gulf War (Vallentine 2019). This carried through to the

Second Gulf War, with Australian Greens Senators demonstrating their opposition to Iraq by interjecting during President Bush's speech to the Australian parliament (Miragliotta 2006). Historically important to the discussion of nonviolence was a strong anti-nuclear power streak. Staunch opposition to not just the ecological but social threat nuclear power posed galvanised the European green movement. The German Greens' early success comes from their opposition in the highly salient nuclear debates of Western Europe in the eighties (Papadakis 1983, p. 303). An influential precursor to the Australian Greens is the Nuclear Disarmament Party (NDP). Before representing the Greens, Jo Vallentine built a parliamentary profile from her role in the NDP, bringing with her a strong anti-nuclear streak to the organisation.

Overall, green politics emerged from a tumultuous period of cultural upheaval and called for a re-evaluation of the existing industrial paradigm. Criticising modernity and established metrics for prosperity, green politics seeks to revolutionise society towards a sustainable trajectory. Simultaneously, it also seeks to bring social justice to less powerful populations with broader, grassroots movements that peacefully exists alongside parliamentary representation. When this movement took hold in Europe, it effectively placed these issues into the political domain. The German Greens are a prototypical success story.

Green political parties: *Die Grünen*

As Green ideology emerged from the new social movements, political parties gained representation across the world on the four pillars platform. The most well-known is the German Greens (*die Grünen*). Aside from bestowing this movement its name, they placed nuclear power in the forefront of political debate and later entered into federal Coalition government with the SPD. They revitalised after German Reunification by merging with the East German Alliance '90 (*Bundis '90*). Most literature surrounding Green politics calls upon

the experiences of the German Greens. Several parties predate the German Greens with their environmental concerns, but examining the German Greens and their role in the German party system provides a demonstration how green parties can affect established polities. The German Greens are influential to the establishment of the Australian Greens, with multiple influential figures making direct contact with the Australian green movement. Further, similarities between the Australian and German party system in its centripetal shape demonstrate an example of how Green politics can infiltrate a centralised party system.

Before the term 'green' came into vogue, earlier parties captured the essence of 'new politics', with some explicitly environmental in their concerns. In Western Europe, several parties in the sixties adopted several pillars of the Green politics model, including the Dutch Democrats '66, Progressive Democrats in Ireland and the Danish Centre Democrats (Carty 1997, pp. 91-93). Whilst environmental concerns were not the focal point, the parties attracted intelligent young people concerned with democratising the politics of their respective countries. The Australian Democrats also fit this mould to some degree; they had ecological concerns but were primarily about direct democracy and social justice. Australian Democrats leader Don Chipp cited several reasons for breaking away from the Liberals, but the 'last straw' was uranium mining (APD(h) 1977, p. 556). Whilst none of these parties were ultimately 'green' parties in the later sense of the word, they were the first iteration of the politicisation of the new social movements in Europe at the time.

Establishing themselves as a political party in 1980, The German Greens' earliest incarnation was a mix of several different ideological groupings. These include leftists of varying degrees politicised by the events of the new social movements, early proponents of 'third way' politics that rejected both capitalism and communism, as well as conservative thinkers (Mende 2015, p. 67). An anti-political party organisation, they had unorthodox

conventions to prevent power consolidation. These included funnelling parliamentary salary to the party and parliamentary rotation; members could only be re-elected once and serve two years in the Bundestag (Papadakis 1983, p. 304). Further, they tended to avoid hierarchical structures or accept them only due pragmatic necessity (Cunningham & Jackson 2014; Pogunkte 1993) This broad ideological spectrum of actors and radical anti-party measures characterised the German Greens as a distinct entry into the party system.

While the German Greens' anti-party stance and policies were radical, what made their emergence explosive was their position within the German party system. While German politics had historically been characterised by extreme party fragmentation, the historical and geographical position of Germany had significant centripetal force. Kirchheimer (1966) cited Germany's converged party system as proof of the 'catchall' party thesis. However, given the historical legacy of far-right Nazi fascism and the literal iron curtain of far-left communism that divided the nation at the time, Smith (1982, pp. 66-70) believed German politics operated under the 'politics of centrality' This historical legacy couple with the contemporary atmosphere drove the ideological character of both major parties to converge towards the centre. Between 1953 and 1982, power oscillated between the right-wing Christian Democrats/Christian Social Union (*Christlich Demokratische Union Deutschlands/Christlich-Soziale Union in Bayern*, or CDU/CSU) and left-wing SPD as they reached coalition agreements with the centre-right Free Democrats (*Freie Demokratische Partei* or FDP). The German Greens represented a break from this. Not only did they represent the first party with polices to the left of the SPD, but they broke the FDP coalition potential monopoly and brought new dimensions of conflict to German politics by providing another coalition path from outside the centre (Poguntke 2001, pp. 7-8).

However, the German Greens became victims of both their own success and social change. As they entered into federal coalition with the SDP in 1998 and 2002, their jostling for environmental issues drove other parties to adopt such measures. The cultural zeitgeist and the cleavage that partised them had largely eroded and the result was they lacked any real distinction as a political party (Blühdorn 2009, p. 40). In a sense, they had overcome what Pedersen (1982) called the 'threshold of relevance' of political parties and were a spent force after the 2005 election. The consolidation of various left-wing parties known as The Left (*die Linke*) were better able to consolidate support amongst new constituents in a unified Germany. After programmatic reform (Blühdorn 2009), they have retained a presence in the Bundestag and several *Lände* (state) governments, but have had to compete with other parties in government formation positions in the party system.

The German Greens exemplify various tendencies within green politics that exist today. Although these distinctions specifically relate to German Greens' power struggles, comparisons to other Green parties are possible. Green politics has its own ideological dimension that is roughly categorised into two broad tendencies; *fundies* and *realos*. Mende (2015) outlines some of the key differences and ideological groupings within both tendencies. *Fundies*, or fundamentalists, are uncompromising in their objectives. Rejecting coalition potential with established parties and traditional party structures, they can be considered the more traditional 'left-wing' half of green politics. Among their ranks are eco-radicals and eco-socialists, the latter comparable to the pejoratively titled 'watermelons' in Australian discourse (Knott 2017)[44]. The New South Wales Greens are the best example of a *fundi* Green tendency in their flatter party structure and reluctance to commission someone to lead

[44] 'Watermelons' refers to political actors who have strong communist/socialist tendencies acting under green politics. This is because they are Green on the outside, but red on the inside

their branch of the party, as well as the 'Left Renewal' faction. They are an 'anti-party' party, relying strongly on grassroots democracy and rejecting traditional leadership.

Conversely, *realos*, derived from realpolitik, are pragmatic, seeing government formation as the best medium-term strategy to achieve policy outcomes. Attached to the *realos* are eco-libertarians, who believe market forces are the best means to achieve environmentalist concerns. Pejoratively, these are comparable in Australia as either 'teal Greens' or 'tree Tories' (Knott 2017). Throughout the three decades of German Green existence, the tendencies have fought for ascendency over the party program. However, the *realos* have generally prevailed, with figurehead leader Joschka Fischer taking the Greens into coalition government federally with the SPD between 1998 and 2005. They have also entered into coalition at the subnational level with both the SPD and even the CDU (Hesse has had a CDU-Grünen coalition since 2013) on numerous occasions. These tendencies demonstrate the broad nature of green ideology that play out in the party system.

The Australian and German party systems have several remarkable similarities. Electorally, they involve both single member districts with a proportionally representative element based on subnational units. The centre-right party in both is in effect a permanent coalition. Lijphart (1999, p. 71) had issues classifying the Liberal/National Coalition but also the CDU/CSU relationship, taking the same approach by classifying them as a 'one and a half party' Further, the centre-left party is the oldest party in the system, traditionally winning support from working-class voters. The FDP bear similarities to the Australian Democrats, with social policies like the SPD but economically closer to the CDU/CSU. Given the centripetal force of compulsory voting in Australian politics and the history of Germany Smith (1982) outlined in his politics of centrality thesis, both major party groupings converge

towards the centre on many issues. It is in this similar environment that the Greens, appearing generally on Labor's left, emerged.

The German Greens are important when discussing green politics as they demonstrate the profound capabilities of new politics to shape the character of national party systems. While they remain a viable party and have had success at the *Land* level in government formation, their success has waned in part due to the success of other parties and shifting social factors. The Australian Greens were influenced by the German Greens' success. Petra Kelly toured Australia in 1984 to great fanfare and both Brown (1987, p. 48) and Greens Western Australia (Greens Western Australia 2019) cited their electoral fortune as a reflection of the ethos of green politics. In applying their experience to Australia's own Greens party, they provide a parallel to the Greens' own grassroots base, electoral victories and their programmatic reform.

The origins of the Australian Greens

The Australian Greens represent a different kind of party in the Australian party system. For the first time, a party explicitly to the left of Labor in ideology exists as a viable part of the political landscape. The Greens arose as a political party from several different issue positions. The party currently comprises of eight subnational branches with a loose federal structure. As a party, they have had state-level success forming coalition arrangements with Labor. They have also had minority government experience federally with Labor and with both Labor and Liberal parties in Tasmania. Unlike the Democrats, party leadership has rarely been a major focus of the party. Due to the grassroots organisation structure, the party avoided leadership structures until the roles of parliamentary politics demanded it (Cunningham & Jackson 2014). All their parliamentary leaders left on their own terms and

leadership changes have been orderly[45]. Ecology is the primary pillar, but the nonviolence and anti-nuclear stance found in the West Australian branch and the grassroots ethos of the New South Wales branch are subtle points of difference between the separate branches.

Green political parties of some form have been contesting elections since the United Tasmania Group contested the 1972 Tasmanian election. Also notable is a plethora of grassroots organisations and precursor political parties such as the Australian Conservation Foundation who endorsed multiple candidates before the formation of the Greens. The Greens first election as a federally unified party was not until 2003 when Greens Western Australia merged with the eastern states[46]. While they had minor impact during the nineties, they have had increasingly notable influence since the 2001 election. They achieved a high watermark after the 2010 federal election by winning their first lower house seat and supporting the Gillard Labor minority government. This level of success at both state and federal level in government formation and representation is the highest from a minor party since the Nationals.

The Greens' emergence involved several catalytic events. The most important was successfully preventing the damming of the Franklin River in Tasmania. Scholars consider their success in Tasmania as the birth of the Greens as a political force (Lohrey 2002). In 1972, the conflict between conservation groups and the Hydro-Electric Commission's Peddar Dam proposal galvanised the United Tasmania Group to take political action. Although ultimately unsuccessful in preventing the damming, this event gave environmental activists experience in mobilised action. When the Commission proposed the Franklin Dam in 1976, it

[45] Until 2004, there was no formal leader of the Greens, although Bob Brown took a figurehead role until formally elected leader in 2005. He resigned in 2012 and was followed by Christine Milne (2012-2015), Richard di Natale (2015-2020) and Adam Bandt (2020).

[46] While GWA were a separate party until 2003, they held close ties with the federal Greens and had several arrangements in place for electoral strategy ('Our Party' 2019)

caused ruptures in the Labor Party and their vote to crash at the 1982 election. The Tasmanian Grey Liberal government aggressively pursued the damming scheme after winning the state election. Environmental groups such as the Tasmanian Wilderness Society staged mass civil unrest preventing the dam using blockades to prevent construction. The 'No Dams' movement swept the national consciousness and was a factor in the Federal Fraser Coalition government losing in 1983 to a re-energised Labor party, who campaigned to save the Franklin (The Wilderness Society 2017).

Ultimately, the High Court stopped the Franklin dam from proceeding with section 51 (ss.xxix) recognising 'external affairs' of the Constitution. As the federal government had placed the Franklin River under UNESCO's World Heritage status, the High Court regarded the international treaty as granting the federal government power to block the dam (*Commonwealth vs Tasmania 1983*). These moments in Tasmania represents the moment green politics entered the national consciousness in Australia. During this period, in a sign of things to come, future Greens leader Bob Brown was elected to the Tasmanian House of Assembly as an Independent through a countback a day after leaving Risdon Prison in 1983 (Ghazarian 2015, p. 60). Australian Democrats House of Assembly Member Norm Sanders triggered the countback by resigning from the House of Assembly.

The other catalyst for Green political action was the nuclear disarmament movement. Australia has limited nuclear energy experience, but contains more than a third of global uranium supplies (World Nuclear Organisation 2017). Labor's decisions around uranium, but particularly allowing the Roxby Downs Uranium Mine to proceed, led to the emergence of the Nuclear Disarmament Party (Vallentine 1987, p. 55). The Nuclear Disarmament Party (NDP) made an impressive showing at the 1984 federal election. Polling almost as much as the Australian Democrats with 7.23% of the vote, they received notable support in New

South Wales and Western Australia. In particular, the Western Australian results point to an environmentally conscious electorate, as the NDP outpolled the Australian Democrats in all divisions in the Senate. While the Democrats outpolled the NDP in all divisions in South Australia, Tasmania and Queensland, each party won divisions in both Victoria, New South Wales and the ACT. The high-profile NSW candidate in Midnight Oil[47] front man Peter Garrett received almost 20% of the Senate vote in the Division of Sydney; an impressive result for a new party. However, the election was the first conducted under the group-ticket-voting system. Despite polling higher than the Australian Democrats in New South Wales and Victoria, the major parties directed preference flows that denied the NDP the final seat in those states. However, the major parties did not consider Jo Vallentine a threat in Western Australia and her first preference vote of 6.8% gained her election (Quigley 1986, p. 19).

The NDP, while not explicitly an environmentalist party as they focussed the issue surrounding nuclear power, was part of a broader environmentalist push to contest Australian federal politics. The first registration of 'The Greens' as a party was the Sydney Branch in 1984, but there were some in the organisation who supported the NDP electorally and considered themselves as part of the same broader movement (Harris 2010, p. 72). Economou (1997, p. 262) notes that the vulnerability of the Democrats to other environmentally conscious parties was evident from losing seats the NDP gained in 1984 and 1987. Despite their early success, multiple splits occurred as internal issues destabilised the party. Constitutional transgressions and involvement from the Socialist Workers Party led to Vallentine leaving the party before she had taken her Senate place (Quigley 1986, p. 18). Harris (2010, p. 74) believes this reflected the debate between ideological tendencies in Green politics across the world. Vallentine was critical for the green movement's

[47] Midnight Oil is an Australian rock band that had success in the seventies and eighties with social and environmentally charged songs.

politicisation. Although explicitly representing the NDP and their nuclear disarmament position, she diversified to broader environmental issues to contest the 1987 election as an Independent Senator (‘Vallentine, Josephine’ 2017). The profile she developed was crucial for the emergence of Greens Western Australia (GWA) and caused them to be the most organised, electorally strongest branch of the party in its early years.

The Tasmanian environmental disputes and nuclear debates would lead to the two strongest Green party branches on opposite sides of the country. While all states had their own green origin story, the two threads of environmental grassroots action in Tasmania and nuclear disarmament were the major catalysts that spurned on Green political action in Australian politics. Further, these two branches had representatives in either state of federal parliament elected. Vallentine was the first elected under the ‘Greens’ banner in 1990 after smaller parties merged to form GWA (‘Our Party’ 2019). Brown and a number of ‘Green Independents’ were elected during the eighties and nineties in Tasmania. Starting from 1992, localised green organisations across the country would eventually consolidate into the ‘Australian Greens’ until the Greens Western Australia finally joined in 2003.

The Australian Greens in federal politics

This thesis starts measuring federal Green support from their campaign in the 1990 ‘green’ election. While they were a loose collection of political parties before 1992, Jo Vallentine won a Senate term at this election as a member of Greens Western Australia; a party that would eventually become part of the Australian Greens. As the environment was highly salient as an election issue, 1990 is considered an appropriate starting point to begin. After the 1990 election, they have contested every election under separate ‘green’ parties. These slowly joined to form a federal ‘Australian Greens’ with all jurisdictions formally a part of the organisation in 2003. Table 5.1 below shows the percentage of the total first preference

votes Green parties received at federal elections, as well as the number of seats contested and seats that crossed the federal funding threshold of 4% from 1990-2019, with this graphically represented in Figure 5.1 below.

Table 5.1: Australian Greens' electoral results at federal elections 1990-2019

	Total HR vote (%)	Total Senate vote (%)	HR Seats Contested	Divisions above 4% in HR	Divisions above 4% in Senate
1990	1.44	2.8	37	23 (62.2)	19 (15.5)
1993	1.8	2.96	62	37 (59.7)	35 (24.0)
1996	2.9	2.92	109	46 (42.2)	34 (23.0)
1998	2.14	2.71	122	31 (25.4)	24 (16.2)
2001	4.96	4.94	150	83 (54.6)	79 (52.7)
2004	7.14	7.67	150	131 (87.3)	127 (84.7)
2007	7.79	9.04	150	138 (92.0)	137 (91.3)
2010	11.76	13.11	150	147 (98.0)	150 (100)
2013	8.65	8.65	150	131 (87.3)	124 (82.7)
2016	10.23	8.65	150	141 (94.0)	139 (92.7)
2019	10.40	10.19	151	147 (97.4)	145 (96.0)

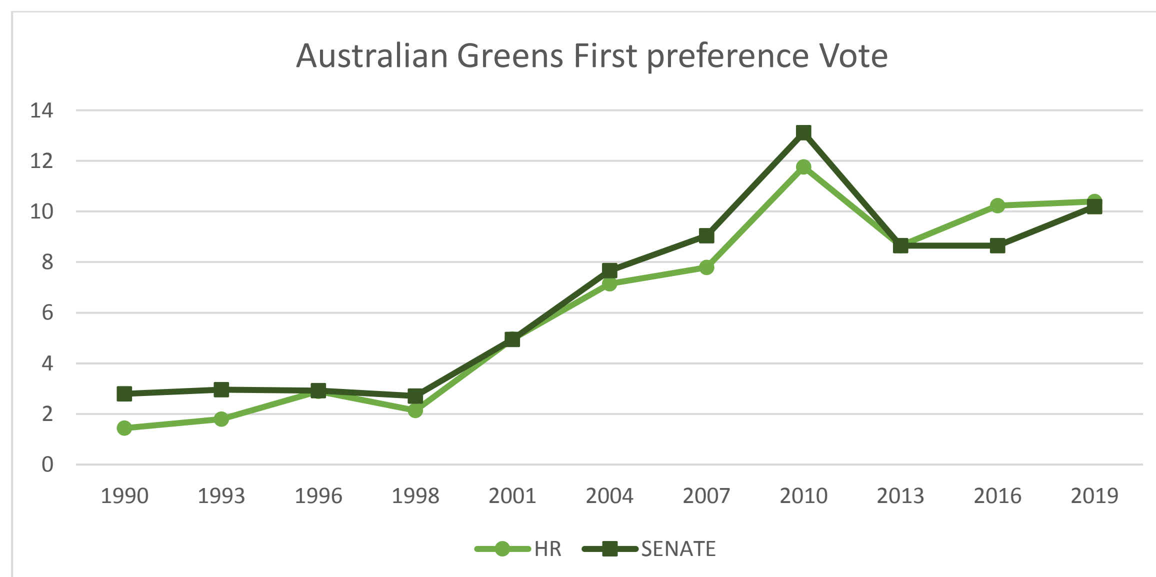

Figure 5.1: Australian Greens' first preference vote in HR and Senate

Table 5.1 and Figure 5.1 above demonstrate the Greens' success was gradual, sustainable and generally increased at each election, with only two elections showing a decrease (1998 and 2013). Noticeably, the number of divisions in which they both contested and received public funding also gradually increased. This represents both their sustained, gradual success but also an increasing maturity as a political party at the federal realm.

One of the influential decision makers towards promoting Green politics at the 1990 federal election was a surprising figure: Labor factional heavy Graham Richardson. Environmental issues were a key priority for Australians during the eighties. Australian Election Study surveys recorded 'the environment' as the second most important issue by 1987 and 1990. Richardson, Minister for the Environment between 1987 and 1990, was influential in several ways. After the Australian Conservation Foundation and Tasmanian Wilderness Society highlighted the issues to Richardson and the electorate, he crafted environmental policies that went against Labor's working-class base. These include granting environmental protection to Tasmanian and Queensland forests, as well as extending the Kakadu national park boundaries. His autobiography *Whatever it Takes* (Richardson 1994) outlined Richardson's role in pushing environmentalist issues to the forefront of the Hawke government. This was only after the Australian Conservation Foundation and Tasmanian Wilderness Society highlighted the issues to Richardson and the electorate.

While Richardson's involvement in bringing environmentalist policies into prominence was crucial, Labor's 1990 election strategy was critical for the Greens' emergence. Depicted in the chapter "Election '90 and the wooing of the Greens", Richardson outlined a defining moment in Green political party fortune in Australia.

> I outlined for the first time to a major party gathering the need to chase preference votes from the greens and the Democrats …we could drag reluctant voters to our side by a preference strategy that stressed our impressive record on the environment. I urged our local

> campaigners not to campaign against green preferences but to pursue them for preferences which, overwhelmingly, they would want to give us… my staff and I came up with what was at that time a radical departure from normal campaign thinking (Richardson 1994, pp. 257-258).

Labor made the pragmatic decision to forego attempting to convert environmentalist and Democrat voters to vote for them. Instead, the party embraced the preferential voting system. To date, 1990 is the only election Labor has won with a lower two-party preferred vote than the Coalition. Labor won fifty-seven seats based on preferences, ten in which they overtook the lead candidate on first preference votes (Green 2004). This was the highest proportion of seats Labor won on preferences and was a dramatic reversal of historical patterns (Hughes 1990, pp. 140-142)[48]. By doing whatever it took, Labor won the 1990 federal election on the back of the Greens and Democrats.

However, the long-term effects of this decision are playing out today. At the time, Labor was the most trusted major party towards environmentalist issues. Rather than trying to compete with the Democrats and Greens Western Australia directly, they acquiesced and allowed them significant ground to establish a presence. To use Sundquist's (1983) model of party realignment, Labor allowed the environmentalist issue to dominate the electorate whilst simultaneously outsourcing their capacity to resolve it by advocating for second preferences from other voters. This meant they gave environmentally focussed minor parties capacity to enter the political realm and establish a presence. While still not a nationally unified party, 'Green' parties across the state received public funding (over 4% of the first preference vote) in twenty-three divisions out of thirty-seven contested in 1990. The Democrats also recorded their highest ever vote. This suggests that some 'Green' voters chose the Australia Democrats

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[48] This result caused Labor to change their policy towards maintaining full preferential voting after decades of attempted political reform to the electoral system towards optional preferential voting (Australian Labor Party 1991, p. 53).

as a platform for environmental concerns, as Green parties only contested a fifth of the total divisions. Some voters would have chosen the Democrats themselves, but results from Western Australia showed that a 'heartland' for the Greens existed in divisions such as Fremantle, Perth and Curtin. By taking the environmental issue to an election, but not campaigning hard enough to prevent minor parties that were stronger on the issue, Labor weakened their first preference vote and allowed the Greens an electoral base to build on.

The Greens' base maintained itself but gained little ground during the nineties due to several factors. One reason was the reorienting of electoral issues. The 1990 election was the 'green election', yet the 1993 election barely featured the environment and focussed on materialist policies like the Goods and Service Tax (Bean & Kelley 1995). The lack of environmentally salient issues left the Greens with little policies they had explicit positions on. The 1996 and 1998 elections featured similar materialist debates, especially a renewed push for a GST in 1998. The loose collection of state-based organisations contesting elections mostly independently of each other also meant an unfocussed electoral strategy. Competing against the federally established Democrats for Senate seats also proved a difficult task, with several seats coming down to both parties. The state Green parties slowly merged into a federal entity during the nineties, while the Democrats floated a Greens-Democrats merger (Economou 1997, p. 262). During the nineties, Jo Vallentine represented Greens Western Australia until 1991[49]. They also won two Senate seats; Greens Western Australia's Dee Margetts in 1993 and former Tasmanian MHA Bob Brown in 1996. However, GWA lost all representation by 1998 and left Brown the sole Greens representative between 1998 and 2001.

[49] Christabel Chamarette, who failed to win election in 1996, replaced her in a casual vacancy.

2001: Asylum seekers and realignment

On a preliminary examination of electoral figures, the critical election for the Greens came in 2001. Running candidates in every division for the first time, the Greens' first preference vote doubled in the House of Representatives from 2.14 to 4.96 percent. In the Senate, there was a similar increase from 2.71 to 4.94 percent. AES data demonstrates a significant proportion of this support came from Labor, in which 40% of identified Green voters had voter Labor in 1998 (Manning 2003, p. 123). This support rewarded them increased public funding, with the number of divisions over the threshold increasing between 1998 and 2001 from thirty-one to eighty-two in the House and from twenty-four to seventy-nine in the Senate[50]. After accruing $329,680.47 in 1998, the AEC awarded the Greens $1,593,751 in 2001 (Australian Electoral Commission 2011). This quintupling of their public funding demonstrated a considerable period of growth in their capacity to campaign for future elections.

In analysing the reasons for the rise in Green party support, the controversial issue of asylum seekers stands out. The 2001 election took place amidst a backdrop of heightened international tension in the aftermath of 9/11, the Tampa Affair[51] and the War in Afghanistan. The Howard Government's decision to implement dramatic border control measures and commitment to send troops to Afghanistan attracted bipartisan support from Labor. With the Democrats presenting little firm viewpoint, the Greens emerged as the only party who openly opposed these two policies (Rootes 2002, p. 148). Their commitment to human rights attracted the intelligentsia and galvanised support for voters opposed to the policy. This issue was cited as a reason to join the party more than once in interviews with the Green

[50] In Australian federal politics, any political party that receives over 4% of the vote in a division is awarded public funding for each vote they receive.

[51] Tampa refers to a Norwegian freighter that Australia refused permission to land as it was carrying 493 asylum seekers. The incident led to Australia introducing border protection bills and reinforcing offshore mandatory detention for asylum seekers.

membership, with one interview respondent referring to himself as a 'Tampa Green' (Jackson 2016, p. 111). While Manning (2003, p. 123) cautioned against any long-term judgement by suggesting the 2001 result was a protest vote, it appears that the Greens' electoral support has remained quite durable since this period. By 2004, they maintained their upwards trajectory and overtook the Democrats in votes and seats (Manning & Rootes 2004) Indeed, Lohrey (2002, p. 2) had correctly predicted the Greens would supersede the Democrats as the third party in Australian politics as part of a core, expanding constituency of voters. By 2007, the party gained the balance of power role in the Senate as the Democrats lost all remaining federal representation.

Patterns emerge that present 2001 as a demarcation for the Greens' fortune. In Jackson's interviews with the party membership and activists in 2008, 2009 and 2012 he identifies muted left-wing tendencies and prioritisation on feminism if a member joined after 2001 rather than before (Jackson 2016, pp. 81-82, 166). Most notably, a significant proportion of party activists arrived after 2001, including many former Labor activists. Jackson (2016, p. 225) estimated that one in five party activists in 2009 were former members of the ALP, many that arrived following the 2001 election. This lends credence to the notion that 2001 represents a critical election for the electoral fortunes, strategies and direction of the Australian Greens. With the benefit of hindsight, it appears this was the start of a realignment within Australian politics.

2010: The Climate wars and the Greens

A prominent issue that has galvanised support for the Greens in the twenty-first century was the re-emergence of the environment as a major policy issue. Since Kevin Rudd's Labor election victory in 2007, environmental policy has merged into a wicked problem. The sphere has seen little development and been credited as emblematic of instability, polarisation and

linked to multiple government and leadership changes (Murphy 2019). Posing climate change as the 'greatest moral challenge of a generation' (Rudd 2007), Labor's Carbon Pollution Reduction Scheme (CPRS) was Labor's policy to discourage carbon use. Initially supported by then Opposition Leader Malcolm Turnbull, the issue saw dramatic upheaval in the Liberal party room. Tony Abbott, on record stating 'climate change is crap' (Rintoul 2009), unexpectedly won a 2009 party leadership ballot by a single vote and immediately opposed the policy. The Greens also opposed Rudd's CPRS, noting that the policy did not adequately address climate change, would cause more investment in coal, lock in reduction rates that were too weak and would be hard to change moving forward (Brown 2010). Accused by Labor of playing politics, concern about the policy's efficacy by environmental expert Ross Garnaut suggests the policy was problematic (*Carbon plan fuels meltdown* 2008). Rudd deferred meaningful environmental policies after political inertia and failed international Climate conferences in Copenhagen (Kelly 2010). This crumbled his personal popularity, caused Labor to change leaders to Julia Gillard and lost them substantial support to the Greens at the 2010 election. Rudd's environmental backflip led to the highest Green vote in their history and made the party necessary for the Gillard Labor minority Government.

Since Rudd's CPRS failed to pass the Senate, environmental policies have been credited with causing unpopularity for multiple sitting Prime Ministers (Crabb 2018). In her analysis, Crabb links climate change policies of all Prime Ministers post-Rudd to their eventual demise. After ruling out a 'carbon tax' during the 2010 election, the Gillard Labor Government's carbon pricing policy incited unprecedented venom that lasted the entire term of her government (Economou 2015, p. 345). Their role in minority government implicated the Greens as responsible for the carbon pricing. From Howard refusing to ratify the Kyoto Protocol to Turnbull unable to legislate a National Energy Guarantee within his own party

room, the inertia on climate change over a decade points to an issue that remains highly contentious and polarised in Australian politics.

Despite Coalition reluctance to legislate for climate change and Labor's inertia, polling has consistently demonstrated support for climate action in the Australian electorate. Ipsos (2019) and Lowy (Oliver 2018) show consistently increasing support for renewable energy and the reality of climate change, with respondents holding the government responsible. Further, almost one in five Australians believe 'the environment' is the most important issue after a low of eight percent in 2014 (Ipsos 2019, p. 4). This issue salience and the lack of achievement from major parties is an important factor in the Greens' voter support. Even in an election mostly characterised by issues such as Medicare and housing affordability, the Greens campaigned strongly on the environment in 2016, with a majority of their campaign pieces tailored to this domain (Jackson 2018, p. 307). It appears the longer the environment remains a highly polarised, yet inert issue, the longer the Greens' catalytic force has substantial weight in Australians voting decision.

The consequences of realignment

Both policy issues of asylum seekers and the environment point to indirect evidence of realignment. Examining partisan identity rates is further evidence of this. As seen in chapter 4, Liberal/National identifiers have remained relatively stable, whereas the number of Labor partisans has declined by over 10%. The Greens, starting with .8% of sample respondents in 1990, reached 7.2% of partisans in 2016 (McAllister et al. 1990, 2016). While not dramatic, this eclipses all other minor parties in terms of self-labelled party identifiers. It suggests a significant number of Labor identifying voters shifted allegiance to the Greens during the period (Charnock 2009). Both issues, at least from election results and interviews, appear to have been responsible for this shift. This is explored in more detail in chapter 8.

The rise of the Greens is a particularly acute issue for the Australian Labor Party. Most of the Greens' support comes from traditional Labor heartland. Recent elections have seen electorates that have been in Labor hands for over a century lost to the Greens. Support at recent Victorian and New South Wales State elections saw traditional Labor seats including the electoral districts of Melbourne, Brunswick, Balmain and Newtown lost to the Greens and held across two elections. Further, the Greens are becoming credible opposition against the Liberal and National parties, with the electoral districts of Prahran in Victoria, Ballina in New South Wales and Maiwar in Queensland won from the Coalition. At the 2016 federal election, the Greens came within two thousand votes off winning the division of Batman, overtook Labor in the division of Higgins and performed quite well in Wills and Melbourne Ports. Although this is only a small number of seats for Labor, losing them to the Greens makes forming majority government increasingly tricky. Labor's loss of second place in other areas weakens the party overall and suggest the Greens have a base that appeals across sections of both major partisans.

Greens' government experience

While subnational performance differs from federal and thus is not the priority of the thesis, examining the Greens' performance at different levels of politics reinforces their stability as a political party. The Greens have held the sole balance of power not just in the Senate but all state Legislative Councils besides Tasmania and South Australia. They also have had experience in government formation, particularly at the subnational level in the Australian Capital Territory and Tasmania. The impact government involvement has on Green electoral fortunes paints a mixed picture. A review by Rüdig (2006) on Green government formation in East-Central and Western Europe found that Greens in government, defined as holding at least one ministerial portfolio, had mixed success. However, more established Green parties in Western Europe could benefit from government if they either remained independent within

coalition or fully embraced government policy making. Looking specifically at Australian lower house experiences, there are several instances in Tasmania and the ACT, but also federally, where the Greens played a part in both minority and coalition government formation.

Like European experience, these experiments have had mixed success in promoting the Greens' policy agenda towards parts of the Australian electorate. After the high watermark of the 2010 federal minority government, the Greens suffered a decline in their vote across multiple jurisdictions that has not yet recovered by 2019. Reviewing the possibilities of ALP-Greens relationships, Barry, Jackson and Miragliotta (2016, pp.19-20) conclude that despite some institutional incentives in Australia's electoral system for closer relationships, the history of both parties, the current dynamics of electoral contests between the parties and their vastly different support bases make any form of cooperation difficult to achieve. To understand the effects of government formation on Greens' stability and policy agenda, the thesis examines parliamentary agreements, issue evaluations, media coverage and electoral returns during periods of minority and coalition government. These experiences reinforce the institutional parameters of proportionately represented systems and the roles of formal and informal coalition agreements in driving issue polarisation. It also generates case studies for how their experience in government affects their vote share. They identify a salient factor for the Greens' depressed vote between 2013 and 2019 in federal politics. Further, they help make sense of the Greens' electoral fortunes.

There are several different models and terminology for models of non-majority government that the thesis uses (Griffith 2010; Moon 1995). For the purposes of the thesis, minority government means at least one Greens vote were necessary for confidence and supply, whereas coalition means the Greens' parliamentarians sat within Cabinet, albeit with

some concessions to the Westminster convention of Cabinet solidarity. Although differing from Rüdig (2006), including minority government allows for five additional cases from three jurisdictions. These are outlined in Table 5.2 below.

Table 5.2: List of Greens' government experience

	Jurisdiction	Type of government	Party governing	Vote pre-government	Vote post-government
1989-1992	Tasmania	Minority government	Labor	17.13	13.23
1996-1998	Tasmania	Minority government	Liberal	11.14	10.18
2001-2004	ACT	Minority government	Labor	9.10	9.30
2008-2012	ACT	Minority government	Labor	15.64	10.75
2010-2013	Commonwealth	Minority government	Labor	11.76	8.65
2010-2014	Tasmania	Coalition	Labor	21.61	13.83
2012-2016	ACT	Coalition	Labor	10.75	10.28
2016-present	ACT	Coalition	Labor	10.28	-

1989-1998: The Greens in Tasmania

The first two iterations of Greens operating as part of government were before and after their consolidation into a political party. During this time, they used their crossbench status to influence minority government and made the explicit decision to sit outside of coalition government formation. Unusually during this period, they sided with both Labor and Liberal governments in Tasmania, leading to triumphs in both social and environmental policy realms. However, they also bore significant resentment and measures to limit their potential influence from both the dissolution of their formal agreement with Labor in 1991 and the co-ordinated efforts of both major parties to reduce the size of the House of Assembly in 1998.

The 1989 election result was the culmination of two decades of highly charged environmental policies within Tasmania that peaked with the Grey Liberal government's fervour to build a pulp mill at Wesley Vale (Hay & Eckersley 1993, p. 11). Drawing on Schattschneider's (1960, pp. 132-140) approach to realignment, the Greens' rise to minority government status at the 1989 Tasmanian election was the result of voters endorsing their environmentalist concerns in the state (Haward & Lamour 1993, p. 1). The capacity for the Greens to partake in minority government resulted from the lower vote threshold required in the proportionally represented Tasmanian electoral system. For the first time in two decades, Tasmania was bereft of majority government. The Green Independents, informally led by Bob Brown, won five of the thirty-five seats in the House of Assembly with 17.13% of the vote. Although the Grey Liberal Government had more seats than the Field Labor Opposition, the Greens agreed to back Labor with confidence and supply after signing what became known as the Tasmanian Parliamentary Accord.

The first formal minority government agreement in Australia, commentators today consider it a failure. 'The Accord' was too prescriptive on specific policy details that were

impossible for the Field government to follow without substantial backlash (Griffith 2010, p. 41), Haward and Larmour's (1993) edited book *The Tasmanian Parliamentary Accord & Public Policy 1989-92: Accommodating the New Politics?* examines the Accord in detail. As a document, the Accord was a Green wish list that Labor took on board before getting on with governing. It lacked any processes for compromise and focused too much on outcomes (McCall 1993, pp. 21-23). Of the seventeen articles of the Accord, ten were environmental policy outcomes such as a limit of 2.889 million tonnes of woodchip exports per annum (Haward & Lamour 1993, p. 216). Labor's breach of this specific policy ended the Accord. Part of the failure came from parliamentary inexperience of the Greens and an uncompromising Labor government. As the first post-war minority Labor government in Australia, they were not used to dealing with other parties. Costar and Curtin (2004) evaluated the Accord's breakdown succinctly:

> The Greens demanded too much and Labor was naïve to believe it could deliver…the agreement was a product of Labor's keenness to return to office after seven years of opposition and the Greens eagerness to lock in as many conservation goals as they could as quickly as possible (Costar & Curtin 2004, p. 29).

Despite losing five percent of their vote at the 1992 election, all five Green Independents remained in parliament. However, Labor vowed not to 'do deals' with the Greens after they were swept out of office in their worst result in sixty years.

In a unique situation based on political reality, the next Tasmanian minority government the Greens entered was with the centre-right Liberal Party after the 1996 state election. Labor had recorded its worst electoral performance when in minority government with the Greens. Thus, they campaigned strongly on 'no deals with the Greens'. As Groom's Liberal government lost their majority in part due to their proposed forty percent pay increase to parliamentarians, there was no choice but the Greens and Liberals to govern in a minority

government after the 1996 election. Groom resigned his position as Premier over the issue, leaving Tony Rundle and Greens leader Christine Milne to form a minority government. Perhaps overcorrecting from the highly rigid Accord, the Rundle-Milne arrangement was entire informal with no documents or even proposed arrangements. The Greens effectively promised to support the government on confidence and supply in exchange for Cabinet briefings and several transparency measures. This period of government started harmoniously, partly due to the horror of the Port Arthur massacre[52] expediting the need for gun reform (Crowley & Tighe 2017, p. 580). Several short-term social policy gains made included decriminalisation of homosexuality and gun reform. Besides the Regional Forest Agreement (RFA), a plan unpopular with Greens voters, they made little environmental gains (Crowley & Tighe 2017, p. 584).

The Rundle Government terminated early in 1998 after Labor and the Greens voted down the proposed partial privatisation of the Hydro Electric Commission (Crowley 2000, p. 9). While the Greens had supported the 'clean, green and clever' outcomes of the initial policy, they were opposed to privatising the Hydro to achieve them (Crowley & Tighe 2017, p. 583). As a response, Labor and the Coalition joined forces to reduce the size of the House of Assembly from thirty-five to twenty-five seats. This had the effect of increasing the Hare quota from 12.5% to 17.5%. At the following 1998 election, the Greens lost all but one seat at the 1998 election despite only losing one percent of their vote.

Minority government in Tasmania has had mixed impact on the success of Green politics. The Accord delivered the Greens significant ecological victories. They also were able to push through social reform under the Liberal minority government and ensure some

[52] The Port Arthur Massacre was Australia's worst mass shooting, in which 35 were killed and 23 injured by lone gunman Martin Bryant in Port Arthur, Tasmania. The immediate effect was government regulation of firearms at both a state and federal level.

environmental protections. Yet, the perceived instability the Greens injected into government sharply polarised environmental issues in Tasmania (Hay & Eckersley 1993, p. 16). The extent of this was present in 1992 when even after the Liberals dumped Robin Grey as leader for corruption, his anti-Green stance rewarded him the highest personal vote in the 1992 election. Parliamentary voting patterns suggest the Rundle government lost a third of the votes on the floor of parliament to Labor and Greens opposition, reinforcing notions of instability (Bonham 2014). After two decades of strong environmental action, the backlash after 1998 was apparent when both major parties combined to make it more difficult for the Greens to gain power. It would take at least another decade before they obtained enough representation to challenge Tasmanian political hegemony.

2001-2010: Federal breakthrough

In the national capital, three periods of minority government took place. Two were at the subnational level and the third was the Greens first federal experience in government formation. This period coincided with exponential growth in the Greens' electoral fortunes. In 2001, they contested every lower house seat in the national parliament and doubled their primary vote from 1998. By the end of 2010, they reached their highest level of support in the ACT, Tasmania and federally. Rather than trying to hold the government to account from the crossbench, the Greens demonstrated a willingness to enter government in a ministerial capacity. While this did not occur in the ACT or federally, it was a live option after the 2008 ACT election. These periods of minority government, particularly after 2008, have generally preceded a sharp decline in support.

In 2001, the ACT Stanhope Labor government entered minority government with support from a crossbench consisting of the Democrats Roslyn Dundas and the Greens Kerrie Tucker. Dundas beat Greens Shane Rattenbury by forty-four votes. By 2008, four Greens

parliamentarians were the kingmakers of the ACT government. Notably here, federal Leader Bob Brown told the ACT Greens they should aim for ministries (*Labor to form minority government in ACT* 2008). This demonstrated a change in style from holding government account to achieve environmental aims to joining government to do so. However, the Greens were 'determined to be its own' entity (Wright 2009). Despite the Seselja Liberal Opposition offering the Greens two ministries, the Greens chose to back Labor outside of cabinet after two weeks of deliberations and signed the 2008 ACT Parliamentary Agreement (*Labor to form minority government in ACT* 2008). This made Shane Rattenbury the first Greens Speaker in the world and enforced several Green policies and ambitious parliamentary accountability measures that Labor met (Griffith 2010, p. 34).

The 2010 federal election resulted in the first hung parliament in Australia since 1940. It was also the first election the Greens won a lower house seat under preferential voting at a federal election[53]. Although only one of five crossbenchers, the first Green lower house seat victory was a monumental victory for the Green party, wresting the seat of Melbourne out of Labor's hands for the first time in history. While rural Independents and Tasmanian Independent Andrew Wilkie also formed the crossbench in the House of Representatives, the Greens had sole balance of power in the Senate. The Greens themselves assessed this as the reason their support was crucial to secure (Holloway 2018). They were the first party to endorse the Labor party and signed a televised agreement. Curiously, their main requests included campaign funding, electoral and parliamentary reform; their environmental demands focused on a price on carbon (Greens-ALP Deal 2010). While the Gillard Labor government delivered on carbon pricing, several parliamentary reforms and regular meetings with the

[53] The Greens won the 2002 Cunningham by-election but were defeated at the 2004 federal election.

Greens, other requests went unresolved. In early 2013, newly installed leader Christine Milne declared the deal was over (Milne 2013).

The federal experiences proved unpopular across both jurisdictions. The 2012 ACT election left Rattenbury the sole Green parliamentarian. However, he remained kingmaker as both Labor and Liberal tied at eight seats each. The federal situation was similar. Labor bore most of the brunt of minority government, accused of instability and disunity. While Labor's internal leadership issues contributed to the notion of instability, their alliance with the Greens attracted little favourable coverage. The media condemned the 'carbon tax' as an electoral backflip by the Gillard government and hounded her and the government for the entire term (Jackson 2014). Despite a substantial swing against the Greens in both the House of Representatives and the Senate, they actually gained an additional Senator in 2013 to give them ten seats. Their numbers also meant they could theoretically vote with the Coalition to pass legislation. This happened when they combined with the Coalition to pass Senate voting reform in early 2016. However, both the federal and ACT Greens have yet to reach their pre-minority government vote levels, particularly in the Senate. Despite the loss of votes, the Greens' party room largely agreed minority government was the correct thing to do; only NSW Greens Senator Lee Rhiannon expressed hesitation in future formal agreements (Holloway 2018, pp. 19-20). While they suffered electorally, they retained Senate influence.

2010-2018: The consequences of coalition

Shortly before the Greens made headway at the federal level, they hit new milestones in their traditional home state in Tasmania by entering Cabinet for the first time. Having jostled for ACT Ministries in 2008, the Greens were determined to have a seat at government beyond a confidence and supply arrangement. During this period, the Greens in Tasmania and ACT transcended their minority government past and entered into formal Coalitions with Labor.

Both Labor governments in Tasmania and the ACT had been in power for three terms before forming Coalitions with the Greens. This form of Cabinet that included minor parties and independents first developed in the ACT when Independent Michael Moore was part of Kate Carnell's Liberal government in 1998 (Griffith 2010, p. 20). Griffith used terminology developed by Moon (1995) to classify this arrangement an 'ersatz Coalition'. Ersatz Coalitions bind the minor party to Cabinet decisions on budgets and their respective portfolios, but allows them to retain their independence on other legislation. South Australian Labor's Mike Rann in 2002 and West Australian Liberal's Colin Barnett in 2008 replicated this arrangement on both sides of politics. Commenting on the effectiveness of Ministerial experience, Moore himself found he 'achieved more in the three and half years…as a minister than the years I spent on the cross-benches' (Costar & Curtin 2004, p. 24). This experience set a precedent for the Greens.

The 2010 Tasmanian election resulted in over one fifth of Tasmanians voting for the Greens (21.56%) and awarding them one fifth of the House of Assembly (five seats). Labor and Liberal won ten seats each, with the Liberals barely gaining more votes. What followed was a two-month constitutional deadlock as to who would form government. Based on election pledges, Labor publicly conceded government to the Liberals as they had received more votes. Governor Underwood published his opinion after written advice from both Labor's David Bartlett and Liberal's Will Hodgman. Bartlett, having not formally resigned his commission to form government, was judged the most likely to guarantee stable government in the House of Assembly (Governor of Tasmania 2010; Twomey 2010). The Labor government was re-commissioned. There was no written agreement, but Labor granted the Greens two Cabinet portfolios and made Nick McKim and Cassy O'Connor the first Green Ministers in Australian history.

However, the Greens took their role outside government seriously as well, opting to become shadow ministers to other portfolios. This extended to reconfiguring the design of parliamentary seating arrangements to create literal crossbenches, reinforcing their independence from the Labor majority partner (Colquhoun 2010). Their portfolios were in environmental and social service areas, including Education late into the term. As leader, observers note McKim drove the Greens towards the centre and considered wide range of issues outside traditional environmentalism, particularly in education and cost of living (Bennett 2010, pp. 1-2).

A similar situation played out in the ACT with Greens parliamentarian Shane Rattenbury. After a substantial loss in support between 2008 and 2012, he remained the sole Green parliamentarian. Labor and Liberal tied on eight seats each with only forty-two votes separating them. After deliberation with both parties, Rattenbury backed the Gallagher Labor party and agreed to form a coalition, entering the ministry. He stated that the Liberals taxation policy was regressive and Gallagher had a better policy on ‘big-ticket items’ (Travers 2012). Signing another parliamentary agreement that outlined the protocol for ministerial conduct, he pushed for light rail to commence construction by 2016, a substantial number of environmental measures, as well as other socially progressive reforms (ACT Greens 2012). He was made Minister for Justice and Consumer Affairs, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders, as well as Territory and Municipal services.

By the 2016 election, the issues Rattenbury negotiated for had become central election issues. The light rail system was the most publicised part of the election campaign, with the Liberals promising to tear up the contracts if elected (Raue 2016). Also notable was the expansion of the Legislative Assembly from seventeen to twenty-five seats. The 2016 election result was a demonstrable swing against the Liberals while the Labor and Green vote

remain largely unchanged. Another agreement similar to the one in 2012 was signed (ACT Greens 2017). Rattenbury's time in the Ministry did not result in any measurable backlash. He received the Education and Corrections portfolios from 2016 and former Greens leader Meredith Hunter regained her seat.

Conversely, the Tasmanian experience proved disastrous for both Labor and the Greens. Although voting patterns in the House of Assembly suggested they were more cohesive than prior minority governments, there was a belief both parties' dilution of core policies alienated their respective constituencies (Bonham 2012; 2014). Shortly before the election, Premier Lara Giddings expelled the Greens from Cabinet, vowing never to 'do deals' with them again. Internal Tasmanian Labor policy changed to reflect this, as the party membership must ratify minority government participation (Burgess 2017). Savagely defeated in 2014, the Greens suffered a swing of over seven percent of their vote and retained only three seats. Association with the Labor government was a strong factor in this decline. They had not recovered by the 2018 election, in which they obtained their lowest vote since 1986 and retained only two seats after a proportion of their voters returned to Labor.

The Greens' experiences of minority and coalition government have demonstrated a mixed response. In terms of sustained electoral success, only one minority government experience has been associated with an increased vote the following election. In all other cases, there has been either a decline or functionally no change in voting figures after periods of minority and coalition government. It appears forming government does not increase support for the Greens. The Greens pushed some substantial policy within these periods including multiple environmental safeguards and progressive reforms, but these rarely appear to have led to electoral successes. Federally, their carbon pricing scheme was repealed by the Abbott government, further polarising environmentalism as a political issue within the

electorate. The decrease in their vote since their stint in federal minority government is consistent with both Australian and international experience. The experiences in their home state of Tasmania placed environmental issues at the forefront of the state. However, their association with chaotic government and extremism has weakened their position. While the Tasmanian Greens report they would be willing to enter into minority government again (Glaetzer 2015), these experiences suggest largely that the Greens need to be careful when negotiating to be part of any government equation at any level.

Recent developments

Since the beginning of writing this thesis, recent elections point to some potential softening of the Greens' durability. The Greens had a particularly rough patch between 2018 and 2019 for their electoral fortunes, with four underwhelming state elections and the loss of a by-election that appeared all but certain to go their way (Cowie 2018). Turmoil within the Victorian and New South Wales branches over allegations of sexual assault and bullying broke out as the party lost representation in Tasmania, Victoria and New South Wales (Florance 2018; Henriques-Gomes 2018; Visentin 2019). While it appeared problematic for their long-term fortune, there are positive signs for the party that reinforce their entrenchment in the political system both sub-nationally and nationally. The 2019 federal election points to them maintaining their support.

The Batman by-election was a troubling result for the Greens, but points to several factors consistent in Australian politics regarding by-elections. Chief among them was that by-elections are unusual occasions that lead to results that are consequent of highly short-term factors. The first Greens' victory in the lower house was a 2002 Cunningham by-election. That by-election took place during a period of distinct Labor unpopularity in the

local area and a week after the 2002 Bali Bombings[54] (Green 2007; Labor nervous ahead Cunningham by-election 2002). The Liberals decision not to run a candidate and the decision by Independent candidates to preference the Greens ahead of Labor awarded Greens' Michael Organ victory from second place on 23.03% of the first-preference vote. Despite gaining 20.1% of the vote at the 2004 federal election, Organ was unable to win his seat against Labor.

Looking at the Batman by-election specifically, Labor chose a strongly progressive candidate in former ACTU President Ged Kearney. The Greens' internal conflict against preselecting six-time candidate Alex Bhatal helped lock the Greens out of Batman during the by-election (Cowie 2018). Subsequently, Bhatal has resigned from the Greens, pointing towards internal and cultural disputes within the party (Hall 2019). The collapse in the Greens' support at the 2019 election indicates that Kearney has recovered Labor's position in the now renamed Cooper, with the Greens standing down from extensive campaigning and retaining only twenty of the first preference vote.

The Greens retained their Legislative Council seat at the 2018 South Australian state election. The Greens' vote remained somewhat stable, losing two percent across both Houses during an election in which they received virtually zero media coverage. This suggests that while the Greens are weaker in South Australia relative to other states, they still have a base that largely withstood Xenophon's SA Best challenge in the House of Assembly. Xenophon's SA Best party failed to win a seat in the House of Assembly. Polling suggested that the loss of Xenophon caused both SA Best and Centre Alliance to lose substantial support (Roy

[54] The 2002 Bali Bombings were a terrorist attack in Kuta, Indonesia on October 12 2002. 202 people died in the attack, notably 88 Australians.

Morgan 2018). The 2019 federal election confirmed this as Centre Alliance collapsed and the Greens comfortably won their Senate spot.

The 2018 Victorian state election result deserves further scrutiny. On the surface, the election was a disaster for the Greens. They lost all but one Legislative Council seat, with only new leader Samantha Ratnam retaining her seat. They also lost the seat of Northcote that they gained at the 2017 by-election. They also saw extensive criticism for retaining other controversial candidates and allegations of sexual assault and bullying from internal sources (Anderson 2018). From discussing the goal of minority or Coalition government, those goals appeared lofty as the election strongly swung Labor's way.

While all signs looked bad for the Greens, these results require a little more examination. While Labor saw a tremendous swing towards it, the Greens vote held up relatively well. They lost 0.8% of the vote in the Victorian Legislative Assembly and 0.7% in the Council. Further, they retained the seats of Melbourne and Prahran and won the seat of Brunswick for the first time. Northcote was lost, but the margin was reduced to under two percent after another by-election conjured up unusual results. This resulted in no net loss of seats in the Lower House. Labor's swings largely came from disapproval of Matthew Guy's Liberal party, with shock losses in Liberal heartland seats such as Hawthorn suggesting most voters switched from Liberal to Labor. This meant that while the Greens had internal issues, their vote remained intact and increased in several seats (Strangio 2018). Further, their loss in the Council came from complicated preference deals brokered by preference whisperer Glenn Druery that elected several micro-parties. Several regions saw the Greens lose their seat despite winning more than half a quota in some, with commentators noting that the Greens were the biggest losers of the preference harvesting phenomenon (Colebatch 2018).

The 2019 New South Wales election suggested stability, at least in their voting totals. The NSW Greens entered the election having lost hundreds of members in a very public split between the left and right of the party, with resignations from prominent Legislative Councillors such as Jeremy Buckingham (Visentin 2019). In an election where all established parties lost votes, the Greens vote remained relatively similar to their result in the 2007 state election, losing 0.6% of the vote to retain 9.7% of the first preference vote. Given this took place after the party divided into factional turmoil, it suggests their voter base remained relatively intact. Further, they retained all seats they had won in previous elections with increased margins in the Legislative Assembly. They won one less seat in the Council. However, the recent resignation of MLC Justin Field for NSW Greens highlighted ideological opposition to working within the party system and left them with three Legislative Councillors (Field 2019). While it appears internal division within the Greens NSW has weakened them, particularly in the Legislative Council, they retained their Legislative Assembly seats.

Recent state and federal election results demonstrate that Greens have reached a period of their party development that clearly indicates they are a mature political party. While they have had periods that are more successful in the sense that they have reached higher proportion of the vote or minority government, they retain a significant level of party support. A ‘disappointing’ result is no longer an electoral wipe-out but simply fewer seats won than previous high benchmarks. They continue to win lower house seats across different jurisdictions, including increasing support in concentrated areas. Faced with increased party competition in the Upper House, they retain notable levels of support.

The 2019 federal election results demonstrated that the Greens had a durable partisan and voter base when their vote marginally increased in both houses and they held all their

Senate seats. While the results did not deliver any more House of Representatives victories, the Greens maintained their Senate position after a period of public ideological division and personnel change further demonstrates that the party has a distinct and durable support base. At the 2019 federal election, they increased their Senate vote in all states besides Victoria and won a Senate seat in every state. While turmoil might cause a less mature party to succumb to irrelevance, the Greens can withstand these events and maintain their current support at both national and state levels.

Conclusion

Green politics is a global movement that has affected the nature of politics. Marrying the new left politics of the tumultuous sixties with an ecological consciousness, green politics has shaped the party system of several nations. Promoting an ideology radically different from conventional economic concerns, green politics brought ecological issues to the forefront whilst promoting a peaceful and socially inclusive society. Much like the German Greens, The Australian Greens have established themselves as a part of the Australian party system. On first inspection, their support base is durable, the issues they campaign on salient and their capacity to help form government genuine. Their evolution from pure environmental issues to broader social justice has led to gradual growth. While there is some internal division between the tendencies within the party, their vote has gradually increased and held up across thirty years of elections. As social justice issues remain and the environment continues to confound major parties, the Greens hold distinct viewpoints on highly visible policy issues. The thesis proposes that the sustained environmental consciousness, ideological shift through postmaterialism, asylum seekers and an institutional system that facilitates proportional representation have combined to realign a proportion of voters to the Greens that remain significant and durable.

Chapter 6: Methodology & Methods

The previous five chapters used an institutionalist approach to analyse the Australian party system, the Greens' position within and the role of realignment. It focussed on historical narratives, party system theory and electoral systems to demonstrate how the Greens emerged as a political party and succeeded in the Australian federal system. For the next three chapters, the thesis uses empirical measurements of the Greens' sustained success to identify and demonstrate realignment. This thesis draws on both institutionalist and behaviouralist theoretical approaches to understand how realignment has affected the Australian Greens. The thesis operationalises institutionalism through the Australian electoral system, as well as the party system and evaluates their role facilitating or impeding the realignment process. Institutional forces such as electoral mechanisms channel or shape individual-level beliefs, resulting in macro-level voting patterns. Taking an institutional lens allows for determining how rules, structures and processes have facilitated or impeded the realignment process.

The thesis also adopts a Michigan School approach by analysing the Greens' support durability through the school of behaviouralism. As party identification is located as an attitudinal force within voters, behaviouralist approaches and methodology are appropriate for analysing and evaluating the impact of partisan identity on voting behaviour. Behaviouralism empirically measures operationalised concepts such as voting behaviour, political attitudes and party identification that infer whether the process of realignment has occurred. Behaviouralism can determine whether sufficient voters have realigned their partisan allegiance. The chapter analyses the methodology used in party identification, blending a mix of Australian and American studies and focussing on realignment of the Australian party system. This includes several classic American studies on realignment, Australian adoptions, as well as specific Australian studies of partisan identity. The chapter draws on several European and Australian studies that focus on the Greens' partisan identity.

After reviewing the methodological literature, the chapter specifies the methods the thesis uses, the limitations therein and how they are adopted for Australian uses.

Briefly, the thesis adopts five methods to understand Greens' support from two data sources. The thesis starts by describing trends of divisional-level voting data between 1990 and 2019 in both the Australian House of Representatives and the Senate. It moves on to exploratory factor analysis of divisional-level election results. From there, it uses survey data from 1990 through to 2016 uncovers demographic trends. These demonstrate key differences between the Greens and major party partisans on several social-structural predictors. It also examines voter behaviour at the individual-level, identifying how different party voters behave across both Houses of parliament and between elections. It concludes by using multinomial logistic regression of the demographics uncovered to demonstrate significant distinctions of Greens partisans and voters compared to major parties.

Methodology

Chapter 7 uses the quintessential unit of political analysis in democratic nations; votes. In general, voting data determines which parties obtain power and ultimately shape the history of any one nation. Given the ubiquity of this data, the earliest studies of realignment (Key 1955) used voting data to support their hypotheses. Its ready availability and historical durability make it the simplest unit in which to develop a methodological approach. The major advantage for voting data at the centre of a methodological approach is the rich archive of data. Modern survey data is only widely available from the mid-twentieth century onwards, whereas voting data exists in some form for much longer. Whilst the quality varies between countries, several nations such as the United States have voting data tracing back to the beginning of the nineteenth century. A study regarding voting patterns during the early twentieth century will often only have voting returns as a primary data source. This may be

the only data available for analysis. Given that it is a metric variable, statistical methods can make use of it. From individual polling booths right up to national returns, the data can be isolated and compared easily, save for labour intensive searching. Thus, early studies into realignment made extensive use of voting returns.

However, voting data has several shortcomings. Voting data is a shallow level of data in that it represents a single, ambiguous decision of an aggregated group. As Sundquist states (1983, p. 14), election data tells a researcher what happened, but not how or why. While the voting decision can determine who a group of voters selected, that is all it conveys. The motivations to vote the way people do are impossible to determine with just recorded votes. Further, votes cannot be traced back to any individual due to the safeguard of the secret vote. Conclusions on voting data alone often are inferences that are subject to the ecological fallacy. Ecological fallacies are when researchers make inferences about individual-level behaviour based on examining the demographics of an aggregate unit. For example, a candidate receiving a majority in a division with a high concentration of a certain ethnicity may suggest the candidate is popular with that ethnic group. This may be true, but it is also a possible fallacy made from inferring individual-level behaviour (ethnic voting) with divisional-level data. This means that while voting data is useful and sometimes the only data source, it requires a degree of caution. Petrocik (1981) recommends the use of voting data strictly as a supplementary data source in retrospective judgements and not one to predict future events. Sundquist (1983, p. 15) believes voting data is nothing more than a starting point to observe realignment.

Another difficulty using voting data involves the level of aggregation. In part, which aggregate unit is appropriate depends on the nation. Unitary nations such as the United Kingdom tend to use the constituency or shire level. In a federal nation, voting returns also

have the option of subnational level aggregation. Pomper (1967) analysed correlations between election years by making each year a variable and each case a state-wide mean Democrat vote percentage. Other American studies use county data (Key 1955), as American counties have rarely moved boundaries across a much longer period. Whilst potentially missing some important detail, the use of subnational units of analysis can be beneficial due to their role in power sharing (in an electoral college or as the basis for representation quotas). The most granular level of aggregation is polling booth level in Australia, although the most frequently used unit of measurement is the electoral division. Several issues arise from the use of this, most notably redistributions shifting the units slightly. However, the only fixed aggregate unit is the state and territory boundaries. As these are too large for granular analysis, the use of divisional-level data, despite the moving boundaries, is the most appropriate compared to international literature and in line with Australian practice.

While voting data presents flaws, complementing it with available survey data helps reinforce trends in the data as well as identifying individual-level characteristics in voters. To this end, chapters 8 and 9 utilise available survey data[55]. While the National Election Study is the original instrument, Australian survey data comes from various adoptions of this initial study. The Australian National Political Attitudes Survey (ANPAS) is the first widespread Australian political survey conducted by Don Aitkin to measure party identification and social attitudes. He conducted surveys in 1967, 1969 and 1977. The National Social Science

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[55] The survey as a measurement of political behaviour originally came from the Michigan School's Survey Research Centre, where Angus Campbell and Robert Kahn developed the American National Election study. They used this approach to understand individual's voting behaviour and the processes behind their choice. Running every Presidential election since 1948, the survey features a pre and post-election questionnaire administered in-person. Rather than using ten-point scales for leadership evaluations, the NES uses a score between 0-100; the 'feeling thermometer.' The questions and scope vary from the Australian Election Study significantly, with more focus on the local candidate, demographic questions include sexual orientation, electoral integrity and race. Further, the electoral realities are present, with questions regarding voter mobilisation and a focus between the two major parties. Its administration both pre and post-election means party identification can be better measured as a stable indicator of vote decision making. The data is also provided easily, with appropriate weighting procedures highlighted on their website.

Survey (NSSS) is a multi-faceted survey that measures several attitudes, including party identification and was utilised to identify party identification between the ANPAS and Australian Election Study from 1984-1987. The Australian Election Survey (AES) measures party identification levels and other measures including demographic data, attitudinal intensity, social-structural predictors such as occupation and voting decision. It has run at every federal election since 1987. The number of randomly selected participants ranges from a low of 1,769 in 2004 to a high of 3,955 in 2013. Such measures include evaluations of leadership and particularly policies, strength and direction of party identification, education, age, economic status and attitudes to contemporary social and political issues.

It is important to note that previous survey research in Australia has differences and discontinuity. As consistent survey data has only become available since 1987, The AES is the most utilised data source for survey data in the thesis. The ANPAS and NSSS have different questions, measurements and methods of delivery (ANPAS was in-person). This means that the thesis uses ANPAS and NSSS data for party identification rates to compare with contemporary rates in the AES. This body of survey research is some of the most consistent to understand the processes behind voting behaviour at the individual. As realignment involves durable change in voting behaviour, it is essential to use this data when available.

With the limitations put aside, the thesis adopts voting data primarily for chapter 7 as a preliminary step. The data is available, but it only provides a snapshot of the voting behaviour of the electorate at large. For individual-level inferences and understanding the effects of political attitudes, survey data is more appropriate. These approaches together reinforce the strength of the Greens' partisan commitment and the durability of their voting population.

Methods

Realignment reflects the development of political science throughout the twentieth century. Given the theory originated in the early fifties and employed data tracing back to the early nineteenth century, an array of approaches has been utilised to measure realignment. The international appeal of the term has also necessitated different iterations to suit national political party systems. Realignment requires determining whether a significant shift in party support has occurred over a defined period. It also requires this shift to be durable. As the Greens are a recent minor party, both voting and survey data are not only readily available to measure the Greens but required due to the lower number of voters and partisans a minor party presents. Using existing survey data and divisional-level election results, the thesis applied several empirical methods to identify the presence and nature of realignment within the Australian party system. This includes gleaning basic descriptive information of their votes and the make-up of Green partisans, before using this data to employ an exploratory factor analysis and multinomial logistic regression. This approach corresponds with historical institutionalist assumptions about Australian party and electoral system factors, as well as behaviouralist methods of individual-level political behaviour.

First preference vote data and exploratory factor analysis

For preliminary analysis of whether realignment has occurred, the thesis examined divisional-level first preference voting data from 1990 to 2019. As the thesis asserts the notion of multiple party systems in the same parliament, the thesis analysed both House and Senate returns. This approach provided a less nuanced measure of realignment as it can only aggregate to the divisional level, but classic studies employed this data where long-term survey data has not been available. For example, Key (1959, pp. 199-200) analysed secular realignment by comparing Democrat support against the national mean in towns and counties with a relatively homogenous population. Similarly, Leithner (1994) took a more robust

approach by analysing subdivisional polling data to challenge Aitkin's (1982) assumption of federal party system stability between 1910 and 1969. This approach is less precise than individual-level data and risks potential ecological fallacies arising from the geographic measurement of electoral divisions. However, it allowed for historical analysis of trends within Australian politics. This approach can trace the Greens' support across their entire electoral history at the division level in both houses to reinforce survey data findings. As there are too few Green respondents in the AES from 1990 and 1998 for meaningful survey analysis, this method can examine the patterns of electoral support during this era from the voting data. Although only descriptive, this demonstrated the progress of the Greens' vote total within Australia.

One methodological issue with adopting past approaches is incompatible data. Directly replicating American political methods for voting analysis is inappropriate. Discontinuity regression using election results as used by Burnham (1970) has an additional century of data to create his twenty-year electoral periods, as well as regularly scheduled, fixed term elections. Using the same method for Australian elections would result in varying numbers of elections in each period and no consistent midpoint. Speaking more generally to the vast realignment literature in America, their data assumed a bipartisan research design. Researchers merge prominent third-party results with the Democratic vote to retain a two-party system design (Pomper 1967). However, the thesis argues realignment within Australia has occurred from one centre-left party to another centre-left party. As more parties are relevant to consider within the party system, it makes traditional American realignment methods difficult to replicate. Thus, adopting these methods required adapting them to fit multiple party systems beyond a strict two-party research design.

An uncommon but novel and intuitive method using aggregate voting data is factor analysis. Factor analysis is a powerful statistical too to reduce many intercorrelated data points into discrete categories or 'factors'. Often used in psychology as a means of developing reliable and valid psychometric instruments, the method identifies clusters, usually known as principal components, of highly correlating national election results. The underlying assumption is realignment can be determined by reducing groups of elections that highly correlate with one another into 'factors' and determining whether specific elections differ from previously established 'factors' with several elections loaded on. For example, studies infer realignment if there are different factors each with multiple elections loaded on. If six elections correlate with one another, but three elections load on a specific factor, the underlying patterns of support between each factor are different. This suggests realignment has occurred where the factors diverge.

Somewhat unconventional, this approach was popularised by MacRae and Meldrum (1960), who used factor analysis to identify critical elections in Illinois between 1888 and 1958. Not only did they include presidential elections, but gubernatorial, Senatorial and Congressional elections as well by using the county as an aggregate unit. Knuckey (1999) took this approach to extend Pomper's (1967) classification of presidential elections. Using this method, 'critical' elections in which state-aggregated vote totals strongly differed from the previous group of elections occurred in 1960, 1964 and 1968 (Knuckey 1999, p. 648). Lamis (2009) also used factor analysis to uncover evidence of realignment in Pennsylvania through county-level data. International applications by Berrigan (1982) confirmed evidence of realignment in multipartisan Denmark within commune-level data. Vanderbok (1990, p. 192) adopted MacRae and Meldrum's (1960) factor analysis method and applied it to Indian parliamentary elections, identifying 1977 as a critical election in India. Whilst the specific application of factor analysis such as which rotation method and the acceptable level of

communalities differ, factor analysis provides for a creative use of voting data at various levels.

The issue in applying early iterations of American factor analysis to identifying critical elections in the Australian literature is threefold. The first is the number of political parties. American factor analysis, at least the more well-known versions, assumes strict two-party competition. The Democratic vote total is the typical measurement. Third-party entrants are generally ignored (MacRae & Meldrum 1960) or added to the Democratic total (Pomper 1967). While Mackerras's (1972) two-party preferred vote is the perfect method to reduce party competition to the ideal number of two, the increasing number of two-candidate preferred seats and greater party volatility means there is greater party competition even in the lower house. Further, the Coalition is arguably two distinct parties with separate party bases that can sometimes contest seats together. Simply trying to replicate a factor analysis with a dichotomous category would mask the realignment this thesis seeks to demonstrate. While such an exercise could be an interesting analysis, it is not in the scope of the thesis.

The second issue regarding applying American methodology to Australia is the voting system. Leaving aside the fact that the Senate and House of Representatives operate outside fundamentally different voting mechanisms, the use of preferential voting over first-past-the-post provides a mismatch between the vote total and winner. As first-past-the-post awards the candidate with the most votes victory, preferential voting factors in additional party preferences. The candidate who achieves the highest first preference vote is not automatically the winner. Indeed, the number of candidates winning from second or rarely third place has been increasing in recent decades. McHale and Shaber (1976, p. 296) addressed this notion of transferred votes in the French double ballot by only looking at the first ballot for factor

analysis purposes. However, as that refers to a separate election, factor analysis needs to consider how preferential voting can affect the results by including more relevant parties.

The last issue is the incompatibility of aggregate units. American studies (MacRae & Meldrum 1960; Wildgen 1974) used voting returns from US counties. A cursory examination indicates that the 102 counties from Illinois formed by 1850 have not changed since; the aggregate unit boundaries did not change for the entirety of the seventy-year period MacRae and Meldrum (1960) examined. Other studies (Pomper 1967) used states as the aggregate unit. In Australia, there simply does not exist an aggregate unit of measurement that remains consistent across that length of time besides the state. Divisions, subdivisions (abolished in the seventies) and polling booths are constantly changing both names and boundaries. With only six states compared to between forty-eight or fifty, the capacity for the same depth of measurement is lower. Berrigan (1982, p. 267) also ran into an issue as communes in Denmark were redrawn in 1970. Thus, he used aggregate electoral returns in the second half of his analysis. While the granular level is greater, it is inconsistent across longer periods. It also means entering the data into a factor analysis means greater levels of variability in the number of variables entered for each election year.

Wildgen (1974) conducted an American study that constructed an alternative factor analysis approach that may be more suitable towards Australian politics, particularly in the Senate. Confronting the one-party dominance of the Democrats in Louisiana elections, he constructed a factor analysis that explored the possibility of critical elections within one-party systems. To do this, he ran a principle component analysis on each candidate's percentage of the vote in aggregate units to construct single factors. He did this for each election to construct variables made of factor scores from different years (Wildgen 1974, p. 473). He transformed each electoral year into a set of variables using factor analysis, which could then

could be factor analysed. This allowed him to test multiple vote recipients across time that did not correspond to the Democrats/Republican dichotomy. By approaching it from this way for all offices up for election within a small period, he demonstrated a clear divide between electoral periods even though all candidates involved were from the Democrats (Wildgen 1974, p. 478). Extrapolating this method, he suggested its applicability extended multiparty systems as found in Europe as well as one-party systems. To date, this appears to have not been realised.

Notwithstanding these limitations, the thesis employed a factor analysis. While Wildgen's (1974) method application to multiparty systems is a theoretical extension, it appears suitable for Australia's party system. This approach considered both the Greens and Labor's electoral chances. To apply this method to Australian politics, first preference vote in the House of Representatives and the group-voting totals for Labor, Coalition and prominent minor parties (Democrats and the Greens) for each year was entered into a factor analysis using the principal component extraction method with orthogonal (varimax) rotation. These were aggregated to the divisional level, as State/Territory was believed to have few cases to construct a meaningful factor analysis. Additional parties were agglomerated into a single 'Other' score, but individual scores for One Nation in 1998, 2001 and 2019 (Senate only for 2019), as well as Palmer United Party in 2013 were conducted due to their national campaigns attracting substantial national support (over 5%). Factor scores were computed for each factor extracted that had an eigenvalue of over 1.0. This was done for each election year, with all electoral divisions entered into the analysis. From there, those factor scores were entered into another factor analysis, with each election year's factors a variable. Analysing this factor analysis provides provisional support for whether different electoral eras exist, with potential critical elections apparent through discrete factors. This replicates Wildgen (1974) as closely as possible. However, only one office was considered for each analysis

(HoR and Senate were analysed separately), with total party percentage for the Senate group rather than individual candidates used. Further, while Wildgen (1974) examined only one party, this factor analysis considered at most six separate groups.

An issue arose in part due to differences between the aggregation and the different party contests. While all candidates contested all Louisiana Parishes in each election (Wildgen 1974), the same is not true of Australian minor parties. Factor scores were not saved for each division unless all the variables register a score. As some elections involved parties not contesting certain divisions, this led to a question on how to treat 'missing' data. Giving it a value of 0 indicated the party received 'no support' but this seems to differ from 'not contesting'. This was less of an issue in the Senate as besides Greens in Queensland and the Northern Territory in 1990, all other parties contest every division through contesting each state. In the House, there were several values missing due to either major, minor or other parties not contesting specific divisions. For the purposes of receiving sufficient numbers of factor scores, all seats where a party did not contest were marked with 'zero' to construct factor scores for each observation.

Survey Data: Social-structural predictors, political attitudes and voting behaviour

Aggregate voting data allows population-level inference, but it does not allow for individual-level observations in voting behaviour. To understand shifts in voting behaviour at the individual level, chapters 8 and 9 drew on survey data from the ANPAS, NSSS and especially the AES from 1967 through to 2016. Analysing long-term survey data is consistent with other studies on political change (Evans & Tilly 2017, pp. 28-29). Surveys measured partisan identifiers, as well as individual-level voter choice. Through examining descriptive data and multinominal logistic regression, the thesis to demonstrated whether the Australian Greens have durable support. In this context, durable means Greens support carries across

multiple elections and similar predictors remain significant. If Greens support gradually increased and the same predictors continued to demonstrate significance across multiple surveys, it demonstrates the Greens have a durable partisan base and will remain a part of the electorate. The thesis assessed salient predictors of Greens support individually for demographic information. As realignment indicates a significant and enduring shift from one party loyalty to another, either abruptly (critical) or over time (secular), partisan shift was measured by analysing responses to the survey question 'generally speaking, do you identify as Liberal, Labor, National, or what?'. This question has remained consistent since the 1967 ANPAS and features in most political surveys worldwide.

The survey data was analysed to identify trends in the proportion and intensity of party identification reported by respondents. This determines if there are signs of long-term increasing Greens support and long-term decreasing major party support. Realignment can be inferred if there is a decline in the party identification rates for either major parties or a notable increase in the party identification score for the Greens. The thesis asserts the realignment has occurred from Labor to the Greens, suggesting that there should be significant differences between the two parties in terms of their partisan profile. To establish realignment has occurred, it is also necessary to confirm that this shift in support is durable. A precondition for the sustainability of electoral support for the Greens and a marker for their long-term survival in the Australian party system is the emergence of a distinct support base. For a preliminary test to understand what Greens supporters look like, the thesis examines crosstabulated AES data in salient variables. These include both relevant demographic data as well as attitudinal predictors such as ideological self-placement.

To determine relevant predictors for Greens support, the thesis analysed previous studies that measured voting behaviour for their use of predictors, with the most frequently

employed isolated from the AES. These also included international studies, with AES-equivalent items substituted. Previous Australian regression studies, notably Marks and Bean (1992); Blount (1998); McAllister and Studlar (1995) and Miragliotta (2013) were examined. Studies have determined Green identifiers across the world are usually better educated (Bean & McAllister 2012) live in inner-city areas, are younger (Rüdig 2012), less religious (Dennison 2017, p. 114), work in non-manual occupations (Rüdig 2012) and identify as middle class (Miragliotta 2013). Historically, Australian Greens were strongest in Western Australia and Tasmania but now are strongest in Victoria (Ghazarian 2015). As the analysis considers differences between Labor and Green partisans, a control variable for Labor partisan identification is trade union membership due to the strong link found (Leigh 2006). This meant for social-structural predictors, age, gender, location, education level, occupation, religious status, perceived social class and trade union membership were entered into the analysis[56]. Several prior variables in previous studies into Australian party support such as religious attendance and home ownership were omitted due to little relevance and no significant results across several studies. This thesis merges variables of models taken primarily Marks and Bean (1992), Miragliotta (2013) and Rüdig (2012).

For social and ideological attitudes, research has demonstrated Greens report more postmaterialist values (Blount 1998; Charnock 2004), identify more as left-wing (Jackson 2016) and are strongly in favour of environmentalist policies. Thus, Inglehart's (1971) post-materialist measurement, self-described ideological position and environmental concerns

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[56] State is generally considered important to the Australian Greens. As their greatest early success was in Tasmania and Western Australia, looking for difference in state support appeared to be warranted. However, this presented issues. The territories and several states featured expected frequencies that were too low and lacked statistical power. Running state in the preliminary model generally resulted in no significant effects towards Greens support besides occasional results, all of which would disappear from the introduction of political attitudes. Further, running a nominal variable in a social-structual model with eight categories also presented difficulties in model fit, sometimes causing the model to become unstable. Thus, states were not included in the final regression model and ultimately dropped from the study. Chapter 7 examines some state differences in voter support, but chapters 8 and 9 do not consider state as a separate predictor.

entered in this model. Further, several studies have demonstrated the salience of asylum seekers in galvanising the Greens in 2001 (Jackson 2016; Manning 2003). Thus, questions measuring asylum seekers as an election issue and turning back the boats entered the model.

Once these items were selected, consolidation of variables occurred, with simpler categorical structures created for future statistical testing. For example, merging 'upper' and 'middle' social class into one category was appropriate due to the low number of self-described 'upper class' respondents. As the Greens are a minor party, their expected frequencies tend to fall below five cases per cell in traditional cross tabulations, making χ^2 goodness of fit testing inappropriate if there are too many categories. Highest education attained, initially seven categories (eight in the 1990 AES), was reduced to three (high school, university and technical), with 'non-trade qualification' removed due to ambiguity. This process also occurred for occupation (reducing the myriad of options to manual or non-manual categories based on the nature of the job). Religion was reduced to a dichotomous choice between religious and not-religious and residence to only urban and rural. This coding process generally followed the one taken by Miragliotta (2013). All other parties were merged into 'other', with the Nationals difficult to place. While they are distinct from Liberals in some aspects, from a voting perspective, especially in the Senate with joint tickets, there is no reason to separate them. Thus, Liberal and National partisans and voters were merged to form 'Liberal/National' or 'Coalition' for all analyses in chapters 8 and 9. This was to retain consistency across all data.

Due to the minor party status of the Greens and the desire to move beyond party identification, the thesis also measured survey data predictors for voting decision-making. Employing this approach for the Greens and both other major parties demonstrated what Green voters looked like compared to major party voters, highlighting whether Greens voters,

at least from descriptive data, had a distinct pattern compared to other political parties. Replicating these observations across two dependent variables (first preference vote in the House and first preference vote in the Senate) strengthened the idea of a durable support base that supports their party at the ballot box, as well as mitigated the lower sample size compared to both Labor and Liberal/National partisans. Further, it reinforced the notion that House and Senate voting may operate under different party systems. Given the different party systems in each house operating, it was imperative to test both Houses to ensure either consistency of attitude or difference in motivation.

The thesis considered several variables that relate to survey voting data. This examines consistency of first preference vote between houses, over elections, the relationship between party identification and voter preferences. This allowed for individual-level inference of voting decision, something that is not available with voting returns from polling booth or divisional-level data. While the level of voting is low for most surveys, this can measure split-ticket voting, consistency of voting history between elections, as well as where voter support comes from. This demonstrated whether the Greens' voting patterns, despite a lower proportion, are consistent with major party groupings.

Multinomial logistic regression

After examining descriptive demographic information, the thesis moved towards more advanced statistical testing. The thesis employed a multinominal logistic regression model of the AES survey data in chapter 9 to examine the extent to which the Greens' support base is significantly unique and distinctive from major party support bases. This model of regression is an extension of binary logistic regression and is appropriate for studies in party identification due to the use of categorical variables as the dependent variable. In binary logistic regression, the researcher tests a dichotomous dependent variable against both

categorical and metric independent variables. The model constructed in this method demonstrates the probability of the dichotomous outcome occurring, with each categorical variable contribution an odds ratio. Unlike a linear regression in which a 'unit' of an independent variable is correlated with an increase of a metric measurement, odds ratios denote the probability of an outcome occurring. For example, an odds ratio of 1.4 would mean that the likelihood of the desired outcome (one outcome of the dichotomous dependent variable) occurring increases by 1.4 times than if that independent variable is present.

Multinominal or multiple logistic regression is an extension of binary logistic regression in that the dependent variable can have more than two categories. When this occurs, one category of the polychotomous dependent variable is made the 'reference' category in the model. This occurs for all categorical independent variables in the parameter estimates. A significantly strong party base is a meaningful predictor that realignment has occurred and the shift remains durable. Multinominal logistic regressions tests multiple independent variables/predictors against a reference category of the dependent variable to determine the impact each independent variable has on the dependent variable when entered simultaneously. It also allows for broader categorical determination by allowing for both categorical and metric independent variables. For example, it tests whether having postgraduate education (one category of the independent variable education) is significantly more likely to predict a participant identifying as a Greens partisan (the dependent variable) compared to a Liberal/National partisan (the reference category) compared to high school education (the reference category for the 'education' independent variable). The use of multinomial logistic regression is consistent with other studies of voting behaviour. This has been one of the preferred methods in Australian examples (Marks & Bean 1992; Miragliotta 2013). It has also been used internationally for realignment (Rohrschneider 1993) and for assessing Green partisans specifically (Rüdig 2012).

While ordinary least squares (OLS) linear regression is also a viable option used in the literature (Marks & Bean 1992), this is problematic when constructing a multidimensional model of party identification. If the study were simply a one-dimensional model (for example, ideological self-placement), the party identification variable could be coded based on the known theoretical distance each party has (Greens coded as 0 for being the most left-wing, Liberal/Nationals 1 for being the most right-wing). However, applying OLS scoring to a plethora of variables, which may not broadly fit in with a conventional left-right scale, makes coding for this difficult (Blount 1998). While this presents an idea for future research on a simpler model, a more exploratory study that uses polychotomous categorical variables is best suited to logistic regression methods.

In constructing a multinomial logistic regression model to uncover significant predictors to predict minor party support, the thesis closely examined two previous studies. Miragliotta (2013) constructed a logistic regression model specifically identifying Green partisans. However, several problems emerged from her study. Several cells in crosstabulated data are quite low, with the 2010 ‘machinery operators/drivers’ value having only a single observed respondent Greens and causing a highly distorted value in the model (Miragliotta 2013, p. 717). While some of her recoding reduced the incidence of this and the model is statistically appropriate due to an expected frequency count above five for all cells, the occupation category requires further rationalisation. For the purposes of a realignment thesis, the use of Liberal/National as a reference category demonstrates that whilst Green partisans are significantly different to Liberal/National partisans, the same cannot be said for differences between Labor and Green partisans. As the thesis argues realignment has occurred from predominantly Labor voters to Green voters, this choice weakens the individual identity of Green partisans with Labor partisans.

Marks and Bean (1992) approached the model in a stepwise fashion, following Campbell et al. (1960) with a 'funnel of causality' model. This operationalises the voting decision as a dependent variable and places independent variables along the model based on the salience or distance from voting decisions. In this model, 'social-structural' features are considered the most distant, party identification and ideology the middle, with contemporary political factors the closest on voters' minds. They analysed Australian Democrats voting decision using three separate multinomial logistic models that assessed each of these. This differs from Miragliotta's (2013) approach, in which she merged social-structural and ideological factors into a model. While the dependent variables were different in each study, it suggests different approaches to assessing Green partisan support from voting decision-making are appropriate. However, Marks and Bean (1992) considered many attitudinal predictors at once and used the Coalition as a reference category.

One novel approach to understand the differences between major parties and the Greens was to make the Greens the reference category, as per Rüdig (2012). While this made the odds ratios intuitively more difficult to analyse and report due to the negative coding, it allows for presenting the one analysis to compare both major party groups against the Greens. The discussions revolve around what makes respondents less likely to be a major party partisan. Typically, the Liberals are the reference group due to being the largest single group, either alone or in Coalition. Historically, scholars have used them as the reference category in Australian studies employing logistic regression (Marks & Bean 1992, Blount 1998). Using the Liberals as a reference category is not appropriate for directly inferring realignment between Labor and the Greens. However, comparing the Greens to Liberal/National on newer data serves as a means of replicating previous studies and reinforces the distinctiveness of the Greens. Thus, the thesis made the Greens the reference category. This provided more concise evidence of a distinct party base, albeit one that is different from an ideological competitor.

To test each political attitude for its effect on predicting Green partisan and voter identity, each one was entered separately after controlling for all social-structural variables. While entering all political attitudes under observation is a common approach in political science research, it creates issues of overfitting the multinomial logistic regression model. It also created a large crosstabulation with many empty cells that can be prone to violating the Hessian matrix. What this means is the variable occurs so rarely or in high concentration that it creates an unstable multinomial logistic model. Further, as asylum seeker related questions were not asked in the 2007 AES and environmental questions caused an unstable Hessian matrix in several elections, it was hard to create a consistent model across all six elections that tested all political attitudes together. As consistency across years was sought from the models, the best approach involved separately testing each political attitude. By testing each variable independently while controlling for social-structural factors, the analysis allowed for understanding each variable's unique contribution to the model.

To further test for durability of Greens partisan identity, but also the significance of their partisan and voter support bases, the six AES datasets from 2001 through to 2016 were merged to create a time-series interaction term. By entering time period (2001-2007 and 2010-2016) and year as a variable, merging all six datasets and running time period as a forward entry interaction term within the MLR model, the data allowed for testing significance across electoral surveys. The demarcation between 2007 and 2010 was chosen as 2010 represents the most successful Green vote share, as well as the first election in which lower house representation was achieved. Running the AES through a quasi-time series response allows for testing durability of social-structural and political attitudes within the AES. If an interaction term was significant, it meant predictors act differently towards the dependent variable based on the time the survey was asked. This means differences on predictor scores in 2001-2007 and 2010-2016 are significant. If there were no significant

interactions, this meant significant predictors do not significantly differ. If a predictor is significant across all six surveys and the interaction term is not significant, it remained a durable predictor of Greens support. While inferences of change in direction or strength are not supported, this time series approach tests predictors in a novel way that overcomes small sampling issues and tested attitudinal significance across a fifteen-year period.

One issue when considering voting behaviour across a series of AES surveys was a degree of discontinuity. Although the AES is not naturally a time-series survey, it does ask respondents to identify their previous voting behaviour. Between 1987 and 1996, the survey asked respondents whom they voted in the House of Representatives and the Senate that year, as well as the previous election. However, the question asking respondents' previous Senate vote was abolished in 1998. Despite the growing proportion of voters who vote differently in the Senate, the question has not been restored. This is a disappointing weakness in the AES survey data as it only allows for comparing votes in the two-party dominant House contest. Another such example was considering asylum seekers. A Likert scale asked participants whether 'all boats carrying asylum seekers should be turned back', with 1 being 'strongly agree' and 5 being 'strongly disagree'. The thesis reduced this to three categories in the logistic regression. Asked since 2001, this question is absent in the 2007 AES, with the closest comparable question entirely related to illegal immigration. This break of continuity is emblematic of survey data within Australia, but also highlights the materialistic focus of the 2007 election. Further, questions are usually changing, with key election issues changing per election, measurements of economic issues changing from five-point to ten point, as well as slightly different question-wording. Thus, the items selected were, as much as possible, uniform across the surveys between 2001 and 2016.

Notably, MLR models suffer from a statistical perspective from adhering to the independence of irrelevant alternatives (IIA). This is a rational choice perspective that states the probability of a participant selecting one dependent variable outcome does not change if additional outcomes are introduced. This is naturally difficult to do with political science, in which notions of strategic voting exist specifically in response to alternatives. While a multinomial probit model relaxes this assumption, it is inherently more complicated to run and less intuitive to analyse. Further, studies (Dow & Endersby 2004) have demonstrated violating the IIA does not affect the results. Some voter choice models even work better under MLR (Kropko 2008). This means that the thesis adopted prior research strategy and used a MLR model to understand the relationship between partisan identity and both social-structural and political attitudinal independent variables. It assessed whether this relationship is the same for voting decision in both the House and Senate. It tested perceived salient variables that are indicative of Green partisan durability as evidence for realignment of the Australian electorate and the long-term prospects for the Australian Greens.

Conclusion

In summary, the thesis used two primary data sources in the form of divisional-level first preference votes in the House of Representatives and the Senate in Chapter 7 and individual-level survey data in Chapters 8 and 9. Individual-level survey data is also used to test for individual-level voting behaviour. It analysed both data sets for broad descriptive characteristics as a preliminary step. From there, it employed Australian-specific adoptions of both exploratory factor analysis for voting data and multinomial logistic regression for survey data. These methods tested whether the Greens' support base is significantly distinct and durable. This suggests that a proportion of voters have realigned their support from Labor (and to a lesser extent the Coalition) to the Greens in a high enough proportion that the Australian party system has changed.

Chapter 7: Results Part I: Divisional-level voting data and exploratory factor analysis

The following three chapters examine, analyse and evaluate the results of different empirical methods that measure Greens voter and partisan support. Chapter 7 examines voting data from divisional-level voting returns between 1990 and 2019 in both the House of Representatives and the Senate. Chapter 8 examines Australian Election Study survey data, as well as antecedent surveys for demographic information, partisan attitudes and voting behaviour. Chapter 9 takes the data gleaned from chapter 8 employs a multinomial logistic regression to test for Greens' distinctiveness. This division between chapters concerns the data used, but also the purpose of the data. In Chapter 7, the thesis primarily uses electoral returns to identify trends in Green voting support that may be indicative of realigning support. From there, it undertakes an exploratory factor analysis to identify critical elections within a multipartisan system. By replicating Wildgen (1974) and adapting his factor analysis method for a multipartisan system, the thesis seeks to understand how party support varies for major and minor parties across elections. By examining with specific cut-off points in electoral history, the factor analysis can help determine how Greens support has changed between elections. These two methods provide a starting point to identify realignment within the Australian electorate.

Election results and divisional election results

Greens' state first preference electoral results from the House of Representatives and Senate from 1990 through to 2019 were examined and displayed in Tables 7.1 and 7.2 below[57].

[57] Senate voting is conducted above and below the line for parties. The percentage of votes tallied count votes for all candidates within one party group total, as a vote 'above-the-line' is effective a vote for the first

Table 7.1: Greens' House of Representatives results by State 1990-2019

	NSW	VIC	QLD	WA	SA	TAS	ACT	NT
1990	1.5	-**	0.59	7.51	0.20	2.13*	3.3	-**
1993	1.41	0.1	3.2	5.77	0.16	7.92	1.73	-**
1996	2.60	1.9	2.46	5.31	2.95	6.34	8.76	6.26
1998	2.66	2.09	2.38	5.05	0.49	5.56	4.18	3.03
2001	4.75	5.90	3.49	5.99	3.64	7.81	7.07	4.02
2004	8.09	7.45	5.06	7.67	5.44	9.88	10.76	6.21
2007	7.88	8.17	5.63	8.93	6.95	13.5	13.16	8.05
2010	10.24	12.66	10.92	13.13	11.98	16.82	19.2	12.97
2013	7.95	10.80	6.22	9.74	8.28	8.32	13.4	7.89
2016	8.95	13.13	8.83	12.06	6.21	10.22	15.09	9.09
2019	8.71	11.89	10.32	11.62	9.61	10.12	16.85	10.15

Note: *=ran as United Tasmania Group, **-=no candidates
Greens ran mostly as separate parties/local branches until 1998 for all states except Western Australia, which joined in 2003

Table 7.2: Greens' Senate results by State 1990-2019

	NSW	VIC	QLD	WA	SA	TAS	ACT	NT
1990	2.1*	0.9	-**	8.4	2.1	4.9	3.3	-**
1993	3.6	1.2	3.2	5.6	1.6	6.9	6	-**
1996	2.3	2.9	2.4	5.7	2	8.9	5.8	6.4
1998	2.2	2.5	2.1	5.7	2.2	5.8	3.2	4.5
2001	4.36	4.36	3.31	5.86	3.46	13.79	7.22	4.27
2004	7.34	8.8	5.4	8.06	2.39	13.29	16.36	7.6
2007	8.43	10.08	7.32	9.3	6.49	18.13	21.47	8.82
2010	10.69	14.64	12.76	13.96	13.3	20.27	22.92	13.55
2013	7.79	10.84	6.04	9.49***	7.09	11.66	19.27	7.14
2016	7.41	10.87	6.92	10.53	5.88	11.16	16.1	10.78
2019	8.73	10.62	9.94	11.81	10.91	12.57	17.71	10.24

Notes: *=Green Alliance/Greens result, **=did not contest, ***=2014 WA Senate election result=15.6%

Tables 7.1 and 7.2 demonstrate the Greens had sustained and incremental growth across all jurisdictions. Western Australia and Tasmania were the Greens' electoral stronghold during the nineties, yet they strengthened in Victoria and to a lesser extent New South Wales in 2001. The 2010 results are the peak for the Greens, reaching over 10% of the vote in every state and territory in both houses. They reached 1.5 quotas in Tasmanian and achieved a full Senate quota in Victoria. The Greens suffered a sharp decline in 2013, particularly in the Senate and in Queensland, South Australia and Tasmania. While they recovered in Victoria (achieving a higher vote than in 2010 in the House of Representatives), their vote further

candidate 'below the line' on a group. For example, Labor's 34% at this election tallied all their above-the-line votes for their party group box and all first preference votes for all their candidates below-the-line.

declined in South Australia across both Houses and the Senate in New South Wales and Tasmania. Given the results, the Greens are strongest in Victoria, Western Australia and Tasmania, mixed in New South Wales and weakest in Queensland and South Australia, with the territories also demonstrating mixed results.

The 2019 federal election demonstrated the Greens can maintain their support. Despite a decline in the House of Representatives in Victoria, their vote remained largely unchanged in other states and noticeably increased in Queensland and South Australia. In the Senate, there was an increase in all jurisdictions except Victoria and the Northern Territory. South Australia showed a strong increase after the collapse of Centre Alliance. This led to their second highest Senate results in all jurisdictions besides Tasmania, Victoria and the Territories. This indicates despite internal divisions between elections, their vote held up and recovered in their historically weakest states.

Although electoral support is indicative, how that translates to electoral success is an important measurement of Greens' political success. Their lower house success is minimal. To date, besides a brief period of holding the Division of Cunningham between 2002 and 2004, the Greens have won and retained the Division of Melbourne since 2010. However, they have had notable success in the Senate as seen in Table 7.3 below.

Table 7.3: Greens' Senate election results 1990-2019

Election year	Senate Votes (%)	Seats Won	Seats Held	States won (organised by level of support)
1990	2.10	1	1*	WA
1993	2.95	1	2	WA
1996	3.17	1	2	TAS
1998	2.71	0	1	-
2001	4.94	2	2	TAS, NSW
2004	7.67	2	4	TAS, WA
2007	9.04	3	5	TAS, WA, SA
2010	13.11	6	9	TAS, VIC, WA, SA, QLD, NSW
2013	8.65	4	10	TAS, VIC, WA, SA
2016**	8.65	9	9	TAS(2), VIC(2), WA(2), NSW, QLD, SA
2019	10.19	6	9	TAS, WA, SA, VIC, QLD, NSW

Note: *=Originally Vallentine Peace Group, **=Double Dissolution

Table 7.3 demonstrates that successful representation has been gradual. In terms of translating votes into seats, the Greens have gradually increased their representation rather than erratically like the Democrats. Since 1990, they have won at least one seat in all elections besides 1998. By 2001, a chance win in New South Wales alongside Tasmanian Bob Brown's re-election saw their representation double. With the decline of the Democrats between 2004 and 2007, the Greens consolidated their hold of third-party status by winning a seat in Western Australia and South Australia, reaching five seats. By 2010, they matched the record representation of the Democrats (nine) and won a Senate seat in every state, a feat the Democrats never achieved outside the 1987 double dissolution. They repeated this feat in 2019. Despite losing around 5% of their vote and only winning four seats in 2013, they surpassed the Democrats in Senate seats with ten; the highest for any party outside Labor and the Coalition. While the Democrats base was in South Australia and eastern states, particularly Queensland, the Greens have stronger support in Tasmania, Western Australia and Victoria, with New South Wales, South Australia and Queensland historically the least successful states. Table 7.3 demonstrates their durability in their Tasmanian heartland, consistently posting the highest state percentage of Greens vote in all elections since 1996.

While state-level results demonstrate which states the Greens do well in, divisional-level results pinpoints where the support is coming from at a less aggregated unit of analysis. Taking divisional-level voting returns going back to 1990 from the first Green groupings, Table 7.4 below shows the gradual progression of Greens support in both houses. To display this, it divides the support into increments. Divisions below 10% are divided between below the public funding threshold (4%) and above. The rest are divided into bands of 5%, with anything over 30% grouped together as the high threshold. The decision to make the lowest band below 4% is due to the meaningful difference between receiving public funding (above 4% in a division) and not receiving funding.

Table 7.4: Number of division the Greens/Green parties achieved public funding

Year	0-3.99%	4-10%	10-15%	15-20%	20-25%	25-30%	>30%	Divisions Contested
1990	14	19	4	0	0	0	0	37 (HR)
	104	16	3	0	0	0	0	123 (Senate)
1993	25	36	1	0	0	0	0	62 (HR)
	111	34	1	0	0	0	0	146 (Senate)
1996	62	46	0	0	0	0	0	108 (HR)
	113	34	1	0	0	0	0	148 (Senate)
1998	91	31	0	0	0	0	0	122 HR
	124	24	0	0	0	0	0	148 Senate
2001	67	75	7	1	0	0	0	150 HR
	71	69	7	2	1	0	0	150 Senate
2004	19	104	22	2	3	0	0	150 HR
	23	92	26	6	2	1	0	150 Senate
2007	12	105	26	5	2	0	0	150 HR
	13	79	29	22	4	2	0	150 Senate
2010	3	64	55	26	6	1	1	150 HR
	0	36	63	35	10	5	1	150 Senate
2013	19	79	38	9	3	1	1	150 HR
	26	81	26	10	6	0	1	150 Senate
2016	9	77	46	10	4	1	3	150 HR
	21	85	26	12	3	2	1	150 Senate
2019	4	87	38	10	10	1	1	151 HR
	6	81	41	12	8	2	1	151 Senate

Table 7.4 demonstrates a gradual increase of Greens support nationwide. While their federal beginning was strong, particularly in Western Australia, they attracted weaker support in 1996 and 1998. Greens support noticeably jumps in 2001. Compared to 1998, the number of seats with Greens support over 4% in the lower house more than doubled, while the number almost tripled in the Senate. The Greens also attracted more than five Senate voters in the Division of Denison. In 2004, they attracted more than one in ten voters in over twenty seats in both the House and Senate and reached over 20% of the vote in three lower house seats. Their best year in the Senate remains 2010, in which they achieved public funding in all seats. However, 2016 saw the highest number of House seats with over 30% of the vote; a

near winning position in two of these and a win in one (Melbourne; consistently their best division in both the House and Senate since 2007).

Since 2013, the Greens have performed better for overall spread of votes in the House of Representatives compared to the Senate, with fewer seats falling below public funding records and more in the 10-15% margin. While there is muted support in mid-range voting totals in 2016, the overall pattern indicates stronger support across a smaller number of seats and more concentrated support in the Senate than 2013. The 2019 election demonstrate some softening in their concentrated vote, despite a higher overall vote. The decline in Cooper and Wills in the House of Representatives under 30% was noticeable. However, the increase in the number of seats over 20% in both the House of Representatives and Senate suggest more broad support from outside Victoria. The 2019 election also saw substantially lower number of divisions below the public funding threshold.

Using 20% as a threshold of support for both House and Senate divisions indicates where Greens support has broken through. In examining specific divisions, a brief look at divisions that achieved over 20% of the vote in both the House and Senate demonstrates remarkable consistency as seen in Table 7.5 below.

Table 7.5: Electoral divisions with over 20% Greens' first preference vote 2001-2019

	House of Representatives	Senate
2001		Denison (20.75%) TAS
2004	Sydney (21.63%) NSW Grayndler (21.08%) NSW Cunningham (20.13%) NSW	Melbourne (25.1%) VIC Sydney (22.87%) NSW Grayndler (20.31%) NSW
2007	Melbourne (22.8%) VIC Sydney (20.71%) NSW	Melbourne (28.74%) VIC Denison (25.32%) TAS Sydney (24.86%) NSW Fraser (23.31%) ACT Grayndler (21.64%) NSW Franklin (20.48%) TAS
2010	Melbourne (36.17%) VIC Grayndler (25.9%) NSW Sydney (23.75%) NSW Batman (23.48%) VIC Brisbane (21.28%) QLD Franklin (20.87%) TAS Melbourne Ports (20.66%) VIC Wills (20.6%) VIC	Melbourne (36.38%) VIC Denison (28.07%) TAS Sydney (27.79%) NSW Grayndler (26.53%) NSW Melbourne Ports (25.04%) VIC Batman (25.03%) VIC Fraser (24.83%) ACT Griffith (24.03%) QLD Brisbane (24%) QLD Franklin (23.84%) TAS Wills (23.06%) VIC Ryan (22.96%) QLD Higgins (21.46%) VIC Kooyong (21.05%) VIC Canberra (21.02%) ACT Wentworth (20.91%) NSW
2013	Melbourne (42.62%) VIC Batman (26.4%) VIC Grayndler (23.03%) NSW Wills (22.23%) VIC Melbourne Ports (20.17%) VIC	Melbourne (34.35%) VIC Batman (24.37%) VIC Grayndler (23.9%) NSW Sydney (23.59%) NSW Wills (22.04%) VIC Fraser (20.99%) ACT Melbourne Ports (20.83%) VIC
2016	Melbourne (43.75%) VIC Batman (36.23%) VIC Wills (30.83%) VIC Higgins (25.33%) VIC Melbourne Ports (23.79%) VIC Grayndler (22.24%) NSW Gellibrand (21.48%) VIC Richmond (20.44%) NSW	Melbourne (34.86%) VIC Batman (28.62%) VIC Wills (26.11%) VIC Grayndler (23.85%) NSW Sydney (22.02%) NSW Melbourne Ports (20.75%) VIC
2019	Melbourne (49.3%) VIC Wills (26.62%) VIC Macnamara* (24.24%) VIC Griffith (23.65%) QLD Canberra (23.31%) ACT Grayndler (22.55%) NSW Higgins (22.47%) VIC Brisbane (22.37%) QLD Kooyong (21.24%) VIC Cooper** (21.14%) VIC Ryan (20.35%) QLD Richmond (20.32%) NSW	Melbourne (34.02%) VIC Wills (25.53%) VIC Grayndler (25.22%) NSW Cooper (24.78%) VIC Canberra (24.17%) ACT Griffith (23.42%) QLD Sydney (22.72%) NSW Brisbane (22.53%) QLD Clark*** (22.02%) TAS Macnamara (21.77%) VIC Ryan (21.32%) QLD

*=Formerly Melbourne Ports, **=Formerly Batman, ***=Formerly Denison

Several observations arise from this list of divisions. While the use of 20% as a threshold for inclusion was chosen for parsimony, it is notable that no South Australian or Western Australian divisions reached this threshold. While this is true, Western Australia does have higher average Greens support across the state, with the highest ranked divisions still reaching around 18% of the vote. Queensland divisions only reached the 20% in 2010 and 2019. This is potentially a reaction against the disposal of Queensland Labor leader Kevin Rudd in 2010 and the salience of the Adani mine in 2019[58]. While Tasmanian divisions initially had high support in the Senate, the Tasmanian Division of Clark (formerly Denison) did not reach 20% between 2013 and 2016. The table also demonstrates that Victoria has emerged as the strongest state for the Greens, with the top five House of Representative seats in 2016 all in Melbourne and its inner suburbs. Notably, once Batman/Cooper and Wills reached 20% in 2010, they have not receded from this threshold. Pundits considered these divisions the best chances for Greens gains in 2016 (Savage 2016). After Melbourne, Grayndler was the most consistently strong Green electorate, only failing to reach 20% in the 2007 House of Representatives election. This is due to a resurgent Labor and popular member Anthony Albanese receiving his highest personal vote since 1998 (55.67 compared to 55.47 in 2007). Still, the Greens received 18.47% of the vote in 2007.

While most of the divisions the Greens perform well in were formerly safe Labor seats, several safe Liberal seats have also generated Greens support. These include Higgins, Ryan, Kooyong and Wentworth. This was particularly noticeable in 2019, when Kooyong and Ryan achieved over 20% in the House of Representatives for the first time. The Greens reached over 20% of the Senate first-preference vote in Ryan, Higgins and Wentworth.

[58] Adani is an Indian mining company who proposed a new coal mine in the Galilee Basin in Queensland. The issue received substantial media attraction and was the target of a convoy movement organised by former Greens leader Bob Brown. A review of Labor’s 2019 election performance linked both this convoy and Labor’s ambivalence on the issue as factors for their defeat (Australian Labor Party 2019, p.18).

Notably, regardless of whether they were safe Labor or Liberal, all seats since 2010 with over 20% Greens support all neighbour each other. The Greens' vote is concentrated around the capital cities. The exception is Richmond, a seat contested and won historically by Labor and the Nationals that reached the 20% threshold in 2016 due to the high number of sea-change voters in bohemian Byron Bay[59]. These results indicate that while the Greens' support largely comes at the expense of Labor held seats, changing support affects all parties in some way.

Taking a brief look at Census data shows noticeable patterns in the electorates where the Greens attract noticeable support. Table 7.6 below shows ABS Census data from 2016 at the Commonwealth Electoral Division level. Here, several trends are apparent. Electorates where the Greens scored above 20% of the vote in either House in 2016 tended to have higher levels of 'no religion', very high levels of university qualifications, higher proportions of people aged 25-34 and marginally higher household income. The only exception was Richmond, which was below the Australian average on all these besides 'no religion'.

Table 7.6: ABS Census 2016 data at Commonwealth electoral division level

	Batman	Melbourne	Sydney	Grayndler	Melbourne Ports
No religion	35.6	45.1	43.7	40.7	38.8
25-34	19.4	30.8	33.2	20.2	25.9
University education	23.1	44.8	43.5	42.6	44.6
Household income	$1,443	$1,484	$1,933	$2,093	$1,866
	Richmond	Wills	Gellibrand	**Australia**	
No religion	33.3	32.2	32.1	29.6	
25-34	9.4	21.6	18.3	14.4	
University education	16.3	33.7	28.4	22.0	
Household income	$1,099	$1,515	$1,490	$1,438	

[59] Byron Bay is in the NSW state Electoral District of Ballina, which the Greens won at the 2015 and 2019 New South Wales State elections.

While the support for the Greens is encouraging, there are multiple institutional barriers to further representation. The use of single member districts in the House of Representatives makes winning divisions difficult. Until the Greens reach first preference vote totals of 30% or win from third in a three-cornered contest, lower house representation is tricky to increase.

More relevant is the threshold of Senate quotas. On current numbers, the Greens have a soft limit of twelve seats for their Senate victories. Given their minor party status and the current quota in a normal half-Senate election of 14.3%, the Greens would need to double their highest level of support in a state to win a second seat. While the highest they have ever received is 1.5 quotas in Tasmania during 2010, this result looks unlikely for the time being. Ignoring the Territories, the most seats they can feasibly win on their current proportion of the vote is six seats per election for a maximum of twelve seats after two elections. This would represent fifteen percent of the total Senate membership and grant them the strongest position on the crossbench. Replicating the 2019 election results at two successive elections would deliver twelve Senators and almost certainly the sole balance of power. However, obtaining representation beyond twelve Senate seats requires substantially more support.

Despite difficult elections in 1996 and 1998 that came with consolidation into a federal party, the Greens have witnessed a gradual level of increasing support from 2001 that reached its peak in 2010. Despite muted support from this high point in the Senate, the data also indicates a greater level of concentrated support in the House of Representatives. They achieved great success in Victoria and reached over 30% of the vote in three House of Representatives electorates during the 2016 federal election. Electorates that have received the greatest proportion of Greens support tend to be around inner-city seats on east coast cities, with lower religious rates and higher levels of household income and education. While

this support did recede slightly in 2019, the divisions in which they received high support follow this pattern. This provides a starting point for more sophisticated analysis. While looking at the election in this matter traces the change in votes the Greens achieved, whether this is a pattern requires further testing. That is, is the Greens' vote significant not just at elections, but durable across them as well?

Exploratory factor analysis

The goal of factor analysis is to take many individual data points and to identify any potential underlying patterns. This reduces the data from many observations or 'items' into several 'factors'. Regarding election results, the goal is to reduce divisional-level data across multiple elections into factors of similar election results. In a prototypical example by Wildgen (1974), he takes all district level support for individual Louisianan Democrat candidates in each election and identifies two factors across four elections; these factors corresponded to two different Democrat governors' tenure. Where the factors change indicates where electoral support shifted in terms of its pattern across the electoral districts. This suggests that realignment occurred between the elections as the pattern of electoral support for the Democrat candidates changed.

For this analysis to occur, each political party's divisional-level results across each year must be transformed into new items. These items each represent different elections. For example, the 2007 election takes four political parties divisional results and reduces them to two factors; major party support (LibLab07) and minor party support (Greens/Others07). These two factors represent the 2007 election. By factor analysing each election's results in this manner, all emerging factors can then be entered into a new factor analysis as items that compares all election years. The factors that emerge from this analysis group election items together that have similar patterns of support. This can potentially identify when realignment

occurs by demonstrating when the patterns of support change or in this case, load onto a new factor. For example, if there are two factors with five items representing five elections loaded onto each, the election where the loadings change factors suggest a change in the patterns of electoral support. In a one-party system analysis like Wildgen (1974), this is simple. While he suggested that his method could apply to a multipartisan party system, it will inevitably be a more complex factor structure.

Essentially, the factor analysis method used in this thesis reduced each prominent political party's divisional election results across each election and each legislative chamber between 1990-2019 into a more manageable table of items that represent different electoral eras. Using this divisional-level election data is one way to demonstrate that realignment has occurred as it shows where the pattern of electoral support changed. It compresses approximately 1,100 divisional-level election results into twenty-nine factors. These factors were entered into a new factor analysis as items, which compressed further into eight or nine factors that represent eras of political support across elections. While an exploratory method, it allows for comparing electoral support across time for consistency and theoretically provides an easy way to identify when this support changes.

As discussed in chapter 6, a two-step exploratory factor analysis that closely mirrors the hypothetical approach suggested by Wildgen (1974) was conducted using divisional-level data on both House and Senate first preference votes. After compiling all election results, initial factor analyses constructed factor scores for each party's divisional election results. Table 7.7 below demonstrates each year's results in the House of Representatives.

Table 7.7: House of Representatives factor analyses with orthogonal rotation

	1990	1993	1996	1998	2001	2004	2007	2010	2013	2016	2019
Divisions	148	147	148	148	150	150	150	150	150	150	151
Parties Entered	5	5	5	6	6	5	4	4	5	4	4
Factor Extraction Criterion	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0
Factors Extracted	3	3	3	3	2	2	2	2	3	2	2
Variance explained	85.58	84.37	86.15	73.47	64.61	67.66	77.44	78.77	85.72	79.51	79.53

From the analysis, two to three factors were extracted in each year for a total of twenty-nine. Labor and Liberal/National always correlated into a single factor, referred to as 'LibLab' and usually explained the most variance. This means Labor and Coalition voters grouped together in similar proportions. The exception was 2001, in which all other parties (One Nation, Democrats, Greens and Others) together explained more variance. In this case, their support was more important to explaining the mood of the electorate in 2001. The 2001 election factor analysis explained the lowest variance in the House of Representatives. Between 1990 and 1998, the Democrats and other Minor parties loaded onto a factor (Dems/Others), with the Greens loading on their own factor (Greens) in all years except 1998, in which One Nation loaded on the same factor. The Greens had lower communalities within the models[60], but the analysis collapsed their distinct factor from 2001 onwards. The omission of Australian Democrats from the vote tally reduced the overall factors extracted and placed the Greens in factor 2 from 2007 onwards (Greens/Others). In 2013, Palmer United and the Greens loaded on one factor, with other parties loading on a third factor.

[60] Communalities measure how well each item correlates with one another. Communities under 0.4 struggle to become part of a factor. The Greens' communalities were usually the lowest of the parties assessed, but did not fall below 0.4.

After creating regression factor scores from the factors extracted, all twenty-nine factors were entered into an additional factor analysis as items. This analysis was orthogonally rotated and all values under 0.35 were suppressed to express clarity and highlight potential crossloading[61]. This follows previous factor analysis practice by Knuckey (1999). Notably, Wildgen (1974) ignored the direction (positive or negative) of the factor scores. This chapter followed that approach as the factor scores included more than one party. Here, the direction would indicate little as each variable is an aggregation of multiple parties achieving different positives and negatives. Location was more important than direction of the factor loading. The results of this factor analysis are found in Table 7.8 below.

[61] Crossloading is when an item loads onto two factors. Standard practice suggests if an item loads onto two or more factors with correlations differing by less than 0.2, it is crossloading. If all the factors comprise of perfectly separated items (that is, there is no crossloading), then the factor analysis is said to demonstrate *simple structure.*

Table 7.8: Factor analysis (orthogonal rotation) of HR parties factor scores

Variables (Variance)	Factor 1 (15.84)	Factor 2 (8.70)	Factor 3 (7.93)	Factor 4 (7.52)	Factor 5 (6.99)	Factor 6 (6.20)	Factor 7 (6.17)	Factor 8 (5.52)	Factor 9 (5.36)
LibLab90					**-.754**			.358	
LibLab93					**.815**				
LibLab96								**-.759**	
LibLab98	**-.860**								
LibLab01	**-.854**								
LibLab04	**.867**								
LibLab07	**.759**								
LibLab10	**.751**								-.438
LibLab13	**-.761**								.422
LibLab16	-.431						.395		
LibLab19									**.748**
Dems/Others90						.539			.402
Dems/Others93						**.750**			
Dems/Others96						**.533**			
Dems/Others98		-.477	-.402	.364		-.360			
Greens90				**.637**		-.394			
Greens93				**.808**					
Greens96				**.669**					
Greens/ONP98		**.713**							
Minors/Others01		**.855**							
Minors/Others04		**.680**							
Greens/Others07			**.616**		-.410				
Greens/Others10			**.740**				.400		
Greens/PUP13		-.407					-.509	.479	
Others13			**-.785**						
Greens/Others16							.430		
Greens/Others19							**.758**		

Total variance=70.22%

Unlike Berrigan (1982), Knuckey (1999) and Wildgen (1974), the factor analysis does not demonstrate simple structure. The analysis extracted nine factors and explained 70.22% of the total variance within the model generated. To obtain greater clarity for presentation, the items were entered in party order rather than strict chronological order to group factors together. This meant major party items (LibLab) appeared first. As this pattern matrix had multiple parties to consider, placing all the items in chronological order would have resulted in a more confusing pattern matrix. By isolating the parties into 'blocks' of items, it grouped the party support into easier to interpret factors.

Considering that, major party (LibLab) items loaded onto four factors. Contrary to expectations, LibLab96 loaded onto its own factor. This suggests a change in the patterns of electoral support between the previous LibLab period of 1990-1993 towards a new period between 1998-2013. However, between 2010 and 2016 there was minor crossloading between factors 1 and 9, indicating slowly changing support that resulted in crossloading for LibLab16. LibLab19 moved onto a new, separate factor, suggesting a new pattern of support for that election. This indicates between 2010 and 2016 there was some reorientation of electoral support in major political parties. Notably, the LibLab items between 1998 and 2013 were the largest factor, explaining the most variance in the model and suggested to be the most consistent and important pattern of support.

The minor party items presented a more ambiguous picture. As the minor parties grouped into roughly five different factors across different years, it is harder to remain consistent. As the Greens loaded onto a different factor to the Democrats between 1990 and 1998, interpreting the factors there seems prudent. As expected, all Democrats and Green items generally loaded onto their own factors. However, the Dems/Others98 item crossloaded across four factors and the Greens, with One Nation support (Greens/ONP98), loaded onto a

new factor. One Nation's presence in Australian politics, however brief, pushed the Democrats and Greens items into a new factor from 2001 (Minors/Others) through to 2004 when the Democrats collapsed. After that, the Greens and all other minor parties loaded onto a new factor in 2007 and 2010 (Greens/Others07 and Greens/Others10). However, the emergence of the Palmer United Party in 2013 led to substantial crossloading that eventuated in a new factor for Greens/Others19. While Greens support in 2016 appeared to load onto a factor, the low score of .430 was too low a factor loading to suggest a new factor. Removing the supressed scores indicated crossloading on multiple factors for Greens/Other16.

Overall, this factor analysis indicates that different election years affected the type of party differently. While 1996 is indicative of a sharp change of major party support, 1998 and 2001 condensed minor party support for several elections after distinct party support between 1990 and 1996. The period between 2010 and 2016 also indicated shifting support for both major and minor party groupings. Looking specifically at the Greens, the factor analysis indicates their support structure started highly distinct, albeit quite small. The factor that comprises of Greens results between 1990 and 1996 explained more variance than the factor that comprises of Australian Democrats results. This suggests the Greens' support was more distinct than Democrats support during this period. As their support grew and the Democrats left the party system, the Greens' support fit with other parties while explaining more variance in the overall pattern matrix. This suggested broader support for the party.

The complexity of the pattern matrix, multiple instances of crossloaded factors and inconsistent patterns of support in the later period made it less conducive to explain shifting patterns of minor party support than first anticipated. Turning to the Senate, the same initial factor analysis yielded remarkably similar results. The exact same factors are extracted using Senate data, albeit with higher levels of variance explained, as seen in Table 7.9 below.

Table 7.9: Senate factor analyses with orthogonal rotation

	1990	1993	1996	1998	2001	2004	2007	2010	2013	2016	2019
Divisions	148	147	148	148	150	150	150	150	150	150	151
Parties Entered	5	5	5	6	6	5	4	4	5	4	5
Factor Extraction Criterion	1.0	0.99*	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0
Factors Extracted	3	3	3	3	2	2	2	2	3	2	2
Variance explained	86.27	86.15	87.19	81.41	68.42	76.49	82.35	88.29	87.22	86.81	78.70

*=Rounds up to 1.0 based on two decimal places (0.999). Greens communality was so low it did not register in a two-factor solution, so a three-factor solution was generated.

This factor analysis extracted and created the same twenty-nine factors as the House of Representatives. These included factors for LibLab in all election years, factors for Democrats/Minor parties between 1990 and 1998, factors for the Greens between 1990 and 1996, one factor for Greens/One Nation in 1998, factors for Greens/Others between 2001 and 2016, except in 2013 when Greens and Palmer United loaded together as a factor and Others13 loaded separately. Contrary to the House of Representatives, LibLab remained the factor that accounted for the most variance in 2001. However, 2001 remained the election year in which the most variance was unaccounted for by the extracted factors. Slightly higher variance was account for in total across each year than in the House of Representatives, probably due to the higher Democrats and Greens vote, as well as the Others. Like the previous analysis, these factors were entered into an additional factor analysis as items explored in Table 7.10 below.

Table 7.10: Factor analysis (orthogonal rotation) of Senate parties factor scores

Variables (Variance)	Factor 1 (13.51)	Factor 2 (12.80)	Factor 3 (11.20)	Factor 4 (8.39)	Factor 5 (8.06)	Factor 6 (6.92)	Factor 7 (6.90)	Factor 8 (6.58)
LibLab90						**-.828**		
LibLab93						**.834**		
LibLab96			**.800**					
LibLab98		.359	**.889**					
LibLab01			**.882**					
LibLab04		.604	.624					
LibLab07		**.790**						
LibLab10		**-.846**						
LibLab13		**.893**						
LibLab16		**.621**						
LibLab19	-.485					.448		
Dems/Others90	-.410			-.471				
Dems/Others93				**.734**				
Dems/Other996				**.808**				
Dems/Others98				**-.584**				
Greens90					**.724**			
Greens93					**.887**			
Greens96	.455				**.699**			
Greens/ONP98	**.845**							
Minors/Others01	**.830**							
Minors/Others04	**.709**							
Greens/Others07							**-.602**	
Greens/Others10	-.560							.612
Greens/PUP13	-.736							.586
Others13							**.923**	
Greens/Others16	.408						.410	
Greens/Others19								**.842**

Total Variance explained=74.37%

This factor analysis is marginally more meaningful than the House of Representatives, but still is more complex than anticipated. The analysis extracted eight factors and explains 74.37% of the total variance within the twenty-nine items. Major parties and other parties remained isolated in their own groups besides the LibLab19 and Dems/Other90 items. That is, Lib/Lab items and all other items did not load together on any factor besides this. The LibLab items divide neatly into three factors; LibLab90-93, LibLab96-01 and LibLab07-16. Only LibLab04 and LibLab19 show evidence of crossloading, suggesting a transitional period of support changing. LibLab96 remained the starting point of a new factor, albeit less explicit than in the House system.

Minor party items loaded onto five factors. From 1990-1996, Dems/Others and the Greens remain in their own factor, albeit with some crossloading between Democrats 1990 and the 2019 election results. The reason for this is unknown, but given it occurred in Table 7.8 as well, it suggests uniformity. However, Dems/Others98 remained in the same factor as previous items. As in the House of Representatives, One Nation changed the pattern of Greens support, with Greens/ONP98, Minors/Others01 and Minors/Others04 loading onto a new factor. This factor explained the most variance in the model. Greens/Others07 loaded onto the same factor as Others13. Greens/Others10, Greens/PUP13 and Greens/Others16 demonstrated evidence of crossloading before the Greens/Others19 loaded on its own factor.

Despite the lack of simple structure, this factor analysis unearths notable observations in the Senate. While the Senate has generally higher levels of multipartisan politics, the pattern matrix is marginally simpler than the House of Representatives. The suppression of several key parties into an ‘others’ category might play into this. However, it also indicates more stable minor party support that carries on across electoral periods. The Greens’ party support between 1998 and 2004 explains the most variance across the model, albeit closely

followed by major parties between 1996 and 2001. This contrasts with the House of Representatives, where major party support explained the most variance in the model by far. However, the elections between 2010 and 2016 show a diminished factor score for 'Greens/Others', perhaps due to the high level of diversity within the Senate contest.

Conclusion

This chapter provides several indicators about the nature of the Greens' electoral support. Examining their federal vote at the State level demonstrated which states Greens support is more concentrated in, as well as how the support in the Senate has translated to electoral successes. Divisional-level results showed meaningful development using public funding thresholds and election victories, demonstrating 2001 and 2010 were significant years for the party. It also outlined several patterns in the Divisions with concentrated Greens support. The concentration of their vote and the general stability of their vote across both Houses suggests they are a significant and durable political party.

Conversely, factor analysis was less clear than expected. Simple structure was not achieved and the number of factors uncovered was much higher than anticipated. The analysis did not highlight neat divisions where electoral support changed in nature in the way the thesis anticipated. The limitations addressed in chapter 6 might help explain why applying a relatively simple method to a complex multiparty system was not as effective as Wildgen (1974) assumed. However, the factor analyses in chapter 7 included substantially more variance due to multiple parties. While this was a simplified approach to factor analysis in a multiparty political system, it demonstrates the broader complexity multiple parties bring to constructing factor analyses. A more faithful replication of American political methodology would adopt the approach used by Knuckey (1999) and Pomper (1967) by collapsing the vote to a two-party contest. The use of two-party preferred voting would suit this requirement, as

the AEC has formally calculated this since 1984 at the divisional level. Further, estimates pre-1984 exist for the two-party preferred vote. However, this would only apply to the House of Representatives and mask substantial movements in the Australian party system. While a worthwhile exercise for future research, it falls outside the scope of this thesis.

Holding electoral divisions as a constant unit of measurement brings limitations, as the boundaries do change across at least one state in every election. Further, the number changes in each state at almost every election and the overall number of divisions changes four times between 1990 and 2019. As divisional results are used to calculate seats won by the government, it is not surprising the factors unearthed have rough correspondence to changes in government. The choice of division was partially for convenience, as the next level down for widely available voting data was polling booth. However, these have greater variability across time than division. A preliminary use of states as an aggregate unit was done for 1990 Senate data. States, even with a full party suite, have too few cases for a meaningful factor analysis, failing to reach significance for Bartlett's test of sphericity. While there may be some merit in attempting a full factor analysis of states across more years, this more granular detail was more appropriate for the thesis.

Despite the limitations, the factor analyses reveal some notable observations. The House of Representatives factor analysis uncovered several key elections. It pointed to 1996 as a distinct election for major party support. This suggests the change in government came from a distinctly different cohort of voters than in 1990 and 1993, lending credence to the notion of 'Howard's Battlers'[62]. Of greater relevance to this thesis is the minor party story. When turning the 2001 election results into factors, the minor party factor explained more

[62] Howard's Battlers was the term for working-class voters who voted Coalition after the 1996 election, a trend found in both exit polls (Robb 1997, p. 41) and the AES (McAllister & Bean 1996, p. 183). This could also be considered a form of realignment, but this is not the realignment this thesis focussed on.

variance than the major party factor in the 2001 factor analysis, suggesting minor parties were more important in understanding voter patterns. It highlighted 2001 as an election in which all minor parties collapsed into a single factor and ushered the start of a new period.

The Senate factor analysis has a simpler and more robust structure that indicates major party support falls into neater periods. The analysis identified 1996 and 2007 as critical elections for major party support in the Senate, as they begin new electoral periods. This corresponded with two changes of government of the period under observation. This also holds for minor party support, indicating that voters tend to support their party more consistently than in the House of Representatives. For minor parties, 2001 is the first election in which they all loaded on one factor after the Democrats and Greens loaded separately previously. The presence of One Nation in 1998 and 2001 and Palmer United in 2013 shifted previous minor party patterns, particularly affecting the position of Greens support. The 2013 election also highlighted the salience of micro parties, who loaded alone on an item.

Overall, chapter 7 identifies patterns of Greens support with mixed success. The exploratory factor analysis did not work as well as intended. The multipartisan political environment clearly makes factor analysis less useful in defining electoral periods. It suggests Wildgen's approach (1974) is not as simple for divisional-level data with multiple parties as he first assumed. However, both methods (exploratory factor analysis and examining divisional-level election results) point towards 2001 as a distinct election for both the Greens and the major parties' electoral support. Further, divisional-level analysis demonstrates 2010 to be the peak of Greens' electoral performance. Across multiple elections, Greens support appears to remain durable and concentrated within specific divisions. With these results, the following chapter can statistically analyse the nature of this electoral support and whether these elections remain distinct at an individual voter level.

Chapter 8: Results Part II: AES Survey trends of Greens partisan and voter support

This chapter examines the results of three different empirical methods statistically analysing Greens partisan and voter support. Its purpose is to build upon the data acquired by Chapter 7, particularly after 2001 when Greens support is more substantial. This chapter comprises of two sections that each look at different aspects of individual-level survey data. It firstly looks at descriptive trends within the available survey data to understand the social-structural demographics of Green partisans, as well their political attitudes relative to both major parties. The chapter then compares major parties and the Greens on voting behaviour found in the survey data, particularly regarding vote durability. These empirical studies examine whether the Greens' partisan and voter strength is distinct, indicating that realignment has transpired after identifying the election years in which Greens support spiked.

As a precursor to statistical testing in chapter 9, obtaining a broader picture of the Australian electorate is an appropriate step. Along with a closer analysis on both Green voters and Green partisans. Although there has been some demographic work done before (McAllister 2011; Miragliotta 2013), the focus has been primarily on major parties, with little work done on 2013 and 2016 AES surveys. A close examination of Greens voters and partisan stability is lacking. This chapter outlines several different metrics to explore Green voters and partisans, their social attitudes on several key indicators and the overall stability of these reported attitudes. One strength of the Greens in relation to survey data is their entire parliamentary history is in the Australian Election Studies. This means the AES traces their support from the establishment of the Greens. Whilst the focus is on Greens support, the surveys can also record the changing fortunes of major parties, with their long-term prospects examined with older survey data. One drawback of this exercise is caution must be taken with

the results due to lower response numbers compared to major parties. Rather than simply using recalled votes for both houses and party identification scores, both variables were analysed to demonstrate consistent, if tentative conclusions.

Ultimately, this chapter examines descriptive statistics of salient variables raised in the preceding chapters that are notable in both Green partisans and voters. It also examines some individual-level voting data that is not possible with voting returns to determine how consistent Greens voters are compared to other partisans and whether Greens partisanship translate to support at the voting booth.

Greens in the AES

One of the issues in examining Greens support from survey data is the low number of respondents who either vote or identify as a Green. While 'Green' appears as an option in 1990, they have only been a consistent option from 1996. The following two tables identify the number of available Greens respondents and how they line up with the actual proportion of voters.

Table 8.1: Respondents who selected 'Greens' in AES data 1996-2016

Year	Partisans	Vote in HR	Vote in Senate	Total respondents
1996	21 (1.2)	42 (2.4)	48 (2.9)	1797
1998	28 (1.5)	34 (1.9)	43 (2.5)	1897
2001	53 (2.5)	98 (5.2)	137 (7.6)	2154
2004	85 (4.9)	133 (8.0)	200 (12.3)	1769
2007	102 (5.6)	143 (8.0)	253 (14.8)	1873
2010	101 (4.6)	199 (9.3)	328 (16.1)	2214
2013	236 (6.0)	351 (8.9)	479 (12.2)	3955
2016	199 (7.2)	263 (10.1)	296 (12.0)	2818

Table 8.2: Difference between reported Greens' vote share in AES and actual election results

	Green HR Vote AES	Actual HR vote	Difference	Green Senate Vote AES	Actual Senate Vote	Difference
1996	2.4	2.9	-0.5	2.7	3.17	-0.47
1998	1.9	2.14	-0.24	2.5	2.71	-0.21
2001	5.2	4.96	0.24	7.6	4.94	2.66
2004	8.0	7.14	0.86	12.3	7.67	4.63
2007	8.0	7.79	0.21	14.8	9.04	5.76
2010	9.3	11.76	-2.46	16.1	13.11	3.01
2013	8.9	8.65	0.25	12.2	8.65	3.55
2016	10.1	10.23	-0.13	12.0	8.65	3.35

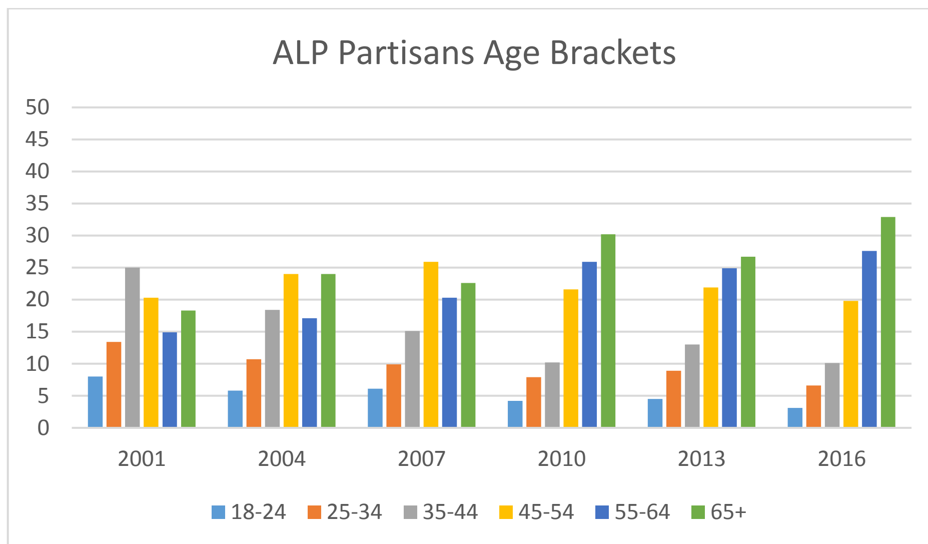
Comparing the proportion of Green voters in survey data to the actual results demonstrates the AES overestimates their Senate vote from 2001 onwards.With this low sample size of respondents relative to the major parties, meaningful statistical analysis is realistic only from around 2001. This refers to House and Senate voting numbers. While the Senate has the highest sample of Green respondents, it is slightly overestimated. Sample size (also known as power) is an inherent issue in all studies using sample data. While there is no universal rule of thumb to the number of predictors in a multiple regression model compared to the sample, one study suggests using eight predictors would require a power of fifty participates (Green 1991). Another suggests ten participants per predictor as an absolute minimum, but thirty participants per predictor is optimal (Wilson van Voorhis & Morgan 2007). Taking only Green respondents into account, the sample size usually reaches both of these thresholds. However, the AES has a much higher number of major party respondents, easily attrating enough stastical power. This means a more robust sample for analysis, but intra-group testing on the Greens is not feasible and beyond the scope of this thesis.

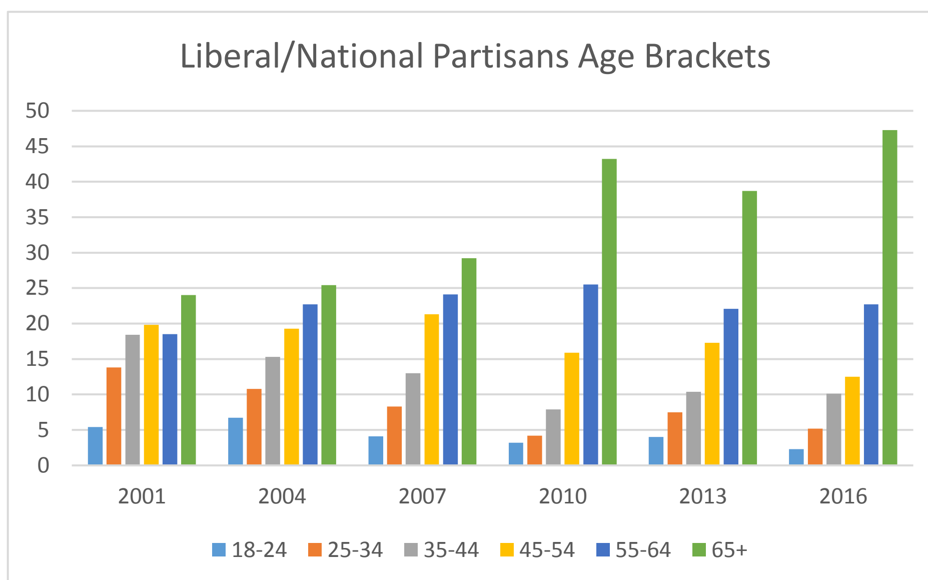
Social-structural predictors

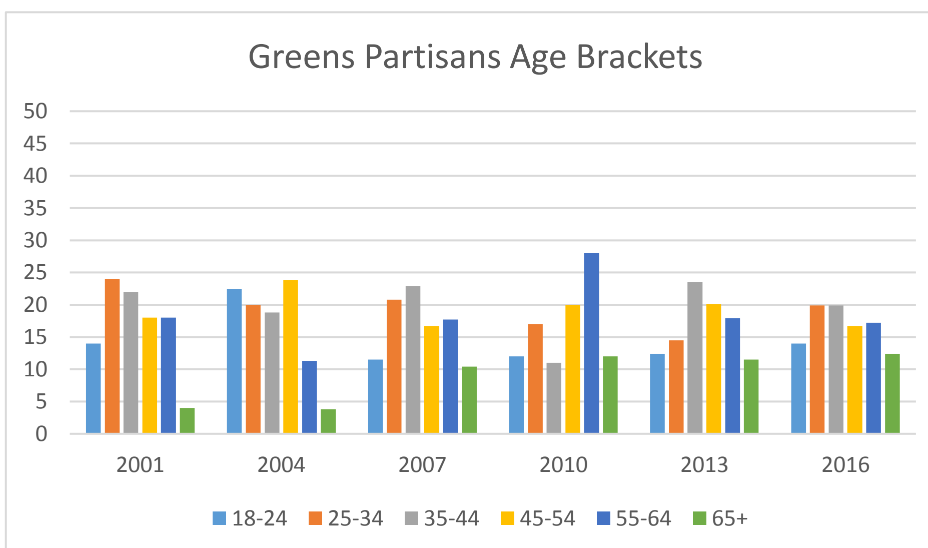
The examined social-structural factors of partisans as discussed in chapter 6. These are presented in the order they appear in the multinomial logistic regression analysis featured in chapter 9. They include age, region, social class, religion, occupation, education levels, income levels and trade union membership. The thesis examined the rates of these for the Greens, as well as the Labor party and the Liberal/National Coalition.

Age

The Greens are characterised as having a younger cohort than the major parties (Dennison 2017; Miragliotta 2013). Examining AES data from 2001 suggest that claim has some merit as seen in Figures 8.1-8.3 on the next page.







Figures 8.1-8.3: Age brackets of partisans, 2001-2016

The most apparent trend from Figures 8.1-Figures 8.3 is that the Greens' partisan demographics are closer to normal distribution than Labor or Liberal/National, in which they trend towards a positive skew. Green partisans are proportionately younger compared to both major parties. Almost 50% of Liberal/National partisan identifiers were over 65 in 2016. This group generally comprise the highest proportion of Labor and Liberal/National partisans, especially since 2010. The 65+ age bracket comprise the smallest proportion of Greens partisans. Conversely, a higher proportion of younger age brackets (18-24, 25-34 and 35-44) expressed a Greens partisan identity compared to both Labor and Liberal/National.

Region

Looking at partisan identifiers based on their location in Figure 8.4 below demonstrates only a small difference between major party partisans and the Greens. The Coalition, as expected, showed the lowest proportion of urban residents due to the Nationals. Green identifiers demonstrate a higher proportion in urban centres (a city over 100,000 was considered 'urban', all other options were classed as 'rural'). This is expected, given the characterisation of the Greens as an 'inner city' party. However, the differences are less stark than expected.

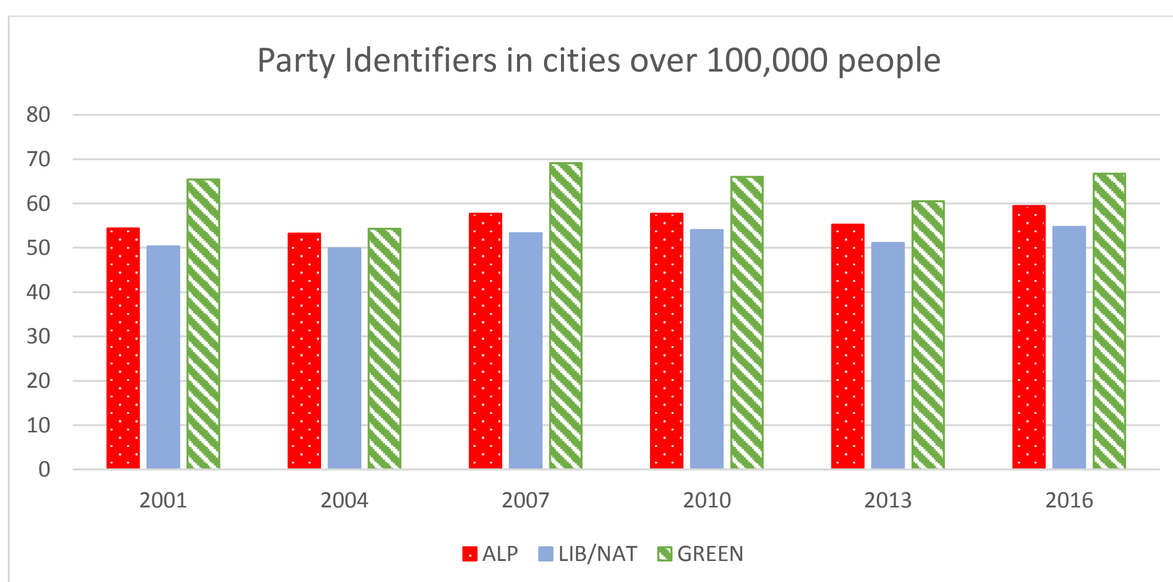


Figure 8.4: Party identifiers who reside in cities with over 100,000 inhabitants

Social class

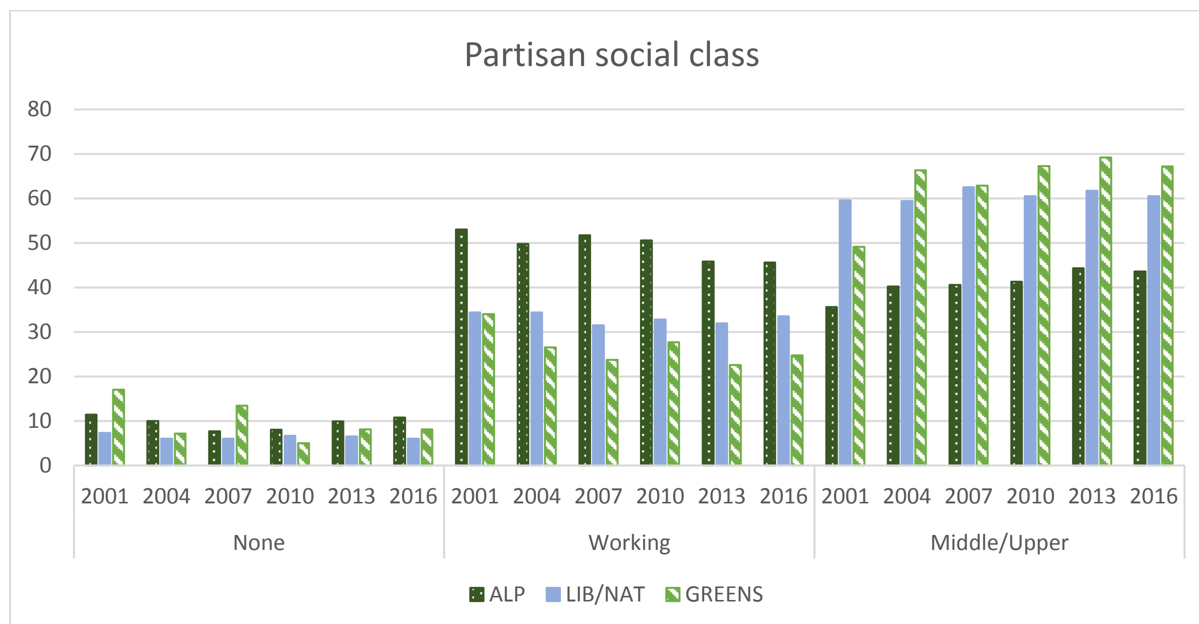


Figure 8.5: Partisan social class 2001-2016

Figure 8.5 above demonstrates reported social class. It supported prior studies of Greens' economic stability, with Green participants most likely to report being upper or middle-class than the major parties. Given the low number of 'upper class' respondents, upper and middle class was merged as per Miragliotta (2013). While earlier they were likely to cite 'no class', this has slowly evaporated. As expected, Labor had a higher proportion of 'working class' respondents compared to either Greens or Liberal/Nationals, both partisans and voters. The Liberal/Nationals are more solidly middle class than Labor, but the Greens are predominantly a middle-class party

Religion

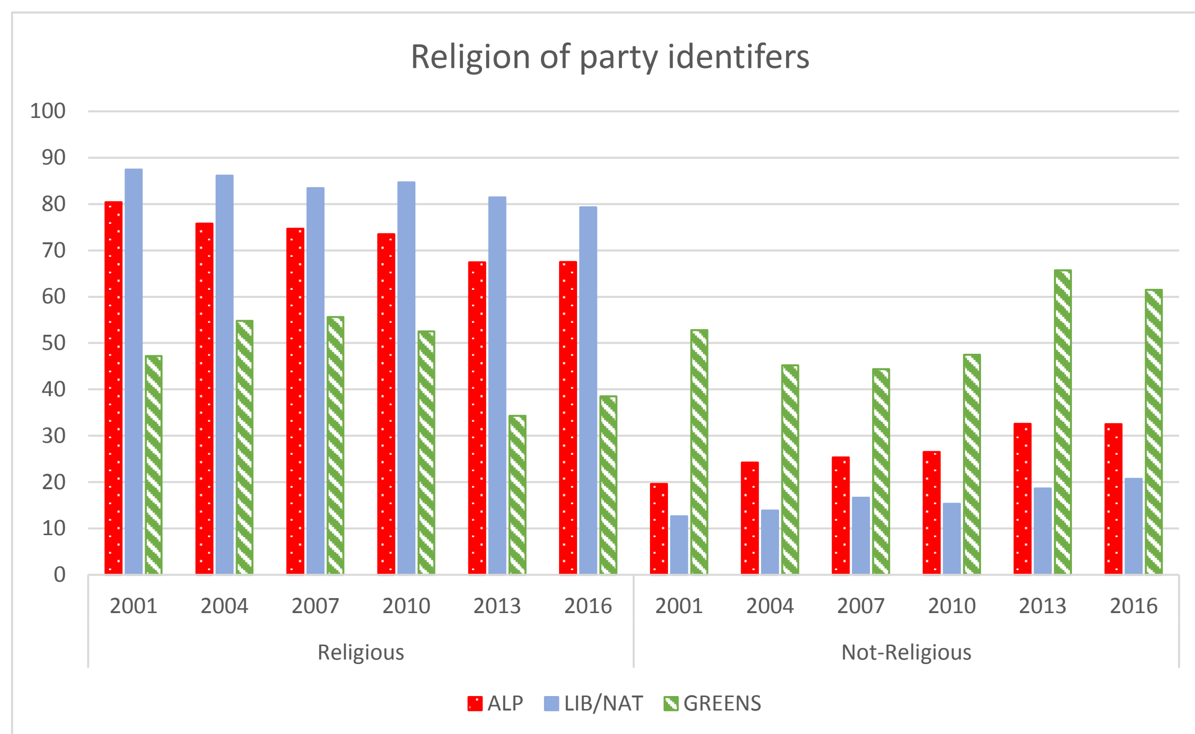


Figure 8.6: Religious status of partisans 2001-2016

Figure 8.6 above demonstrates a substantial difference between major party partisans and the Greens. Greens partisans reported more non-religious partisans than religious partisans in 2001, 2013 and 2016, with the figure close to 50% in all other years. This contrasts with the major parties. In particular, the Liberal/Nationals reported the highest levels of religiosity, with Labor slightly lower. What is also apparent across the fifteen year period is the number of not-religious partisans across all parties has slowly increased, particularly in the Greens from 2013 onwards. Donovan (2014) noted the importance of religion in maintaining Liberal/National partisan identity, which appears to be the case, as the gradual increase in not-religious has slowly increased as well, albeit much slower. Overall, the major takeaway is the Greens are characterised by high levels of non-religiousness.

Occupation

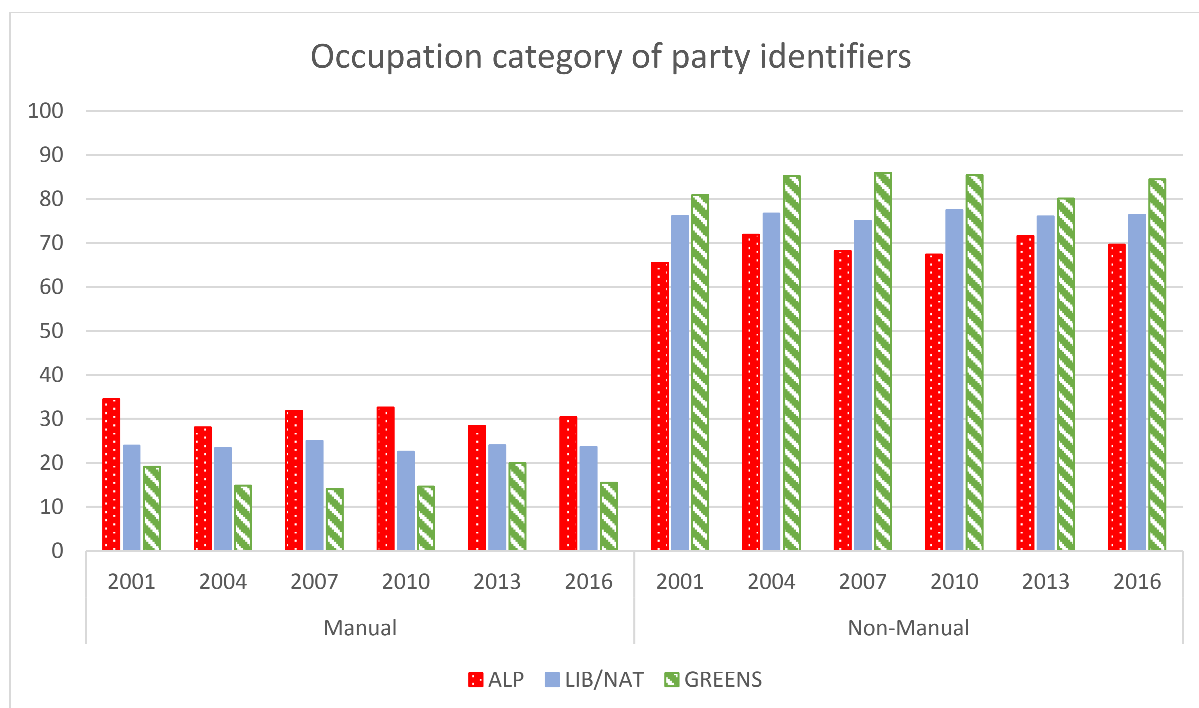


Figure 8.7: Dichotonomous occupation category of partisans 2001-2016

Figure 8.7 below reveals that generally, more Australians undertake non-manual work. This proportion was highest in the Greens and lowest in Labor. Conversely, Labor partisans are were the most likely to work in manual occupations. The Liberal/Nationals fell between Labor and Green partisans. Notably, this proportion was consistent across all survey years with little variation. While the proportion of Green partisans who had manual occupations was slightly higher in 2013, this decreased the following election. The differences between parties appears consistent, but small.

Education

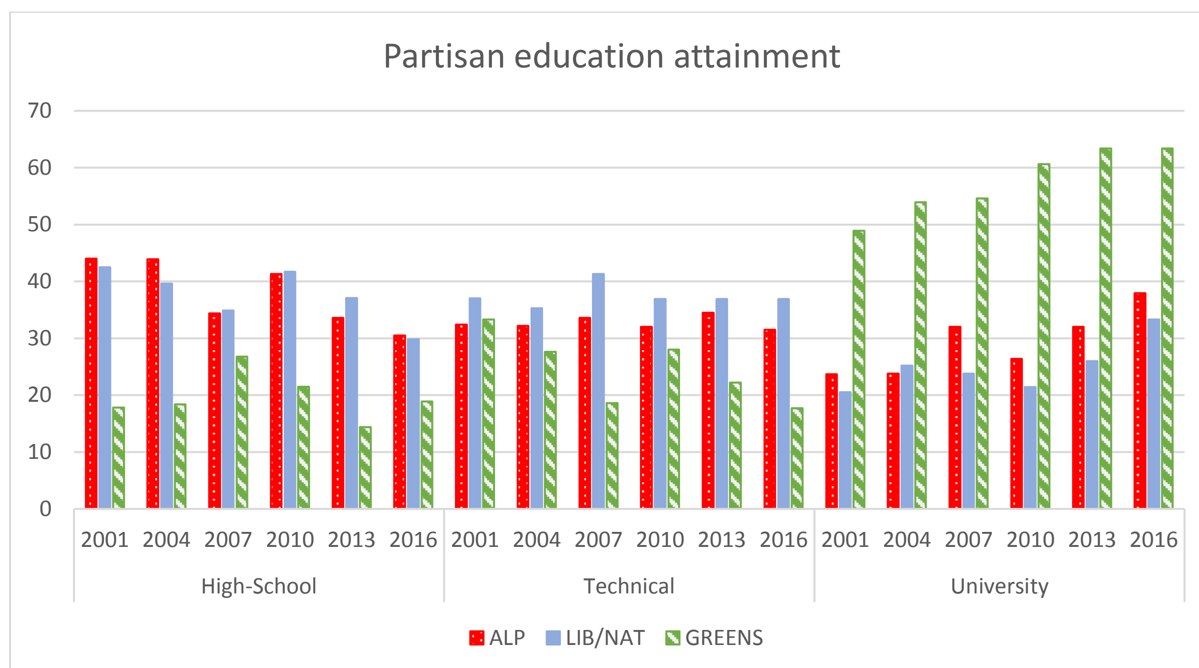
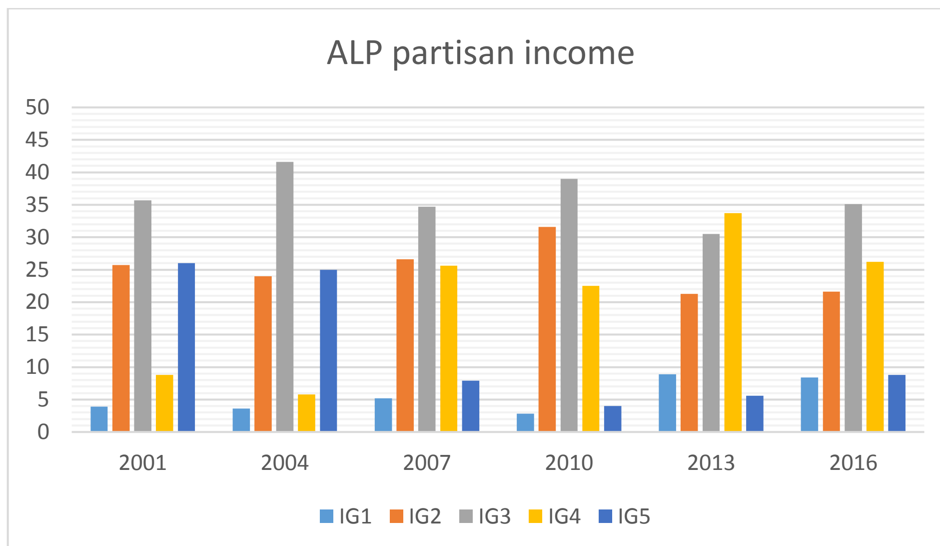


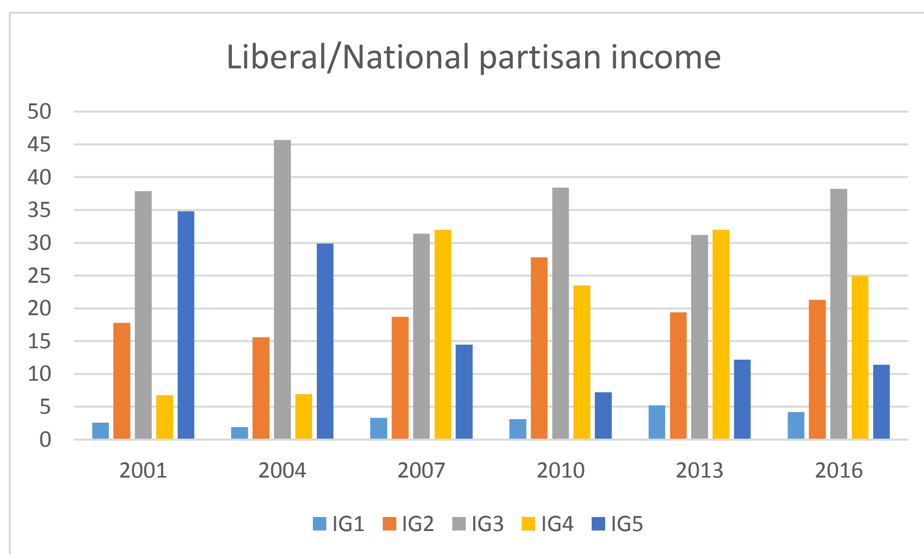
Figure 8.8: Highest education of partisans 2001-2016

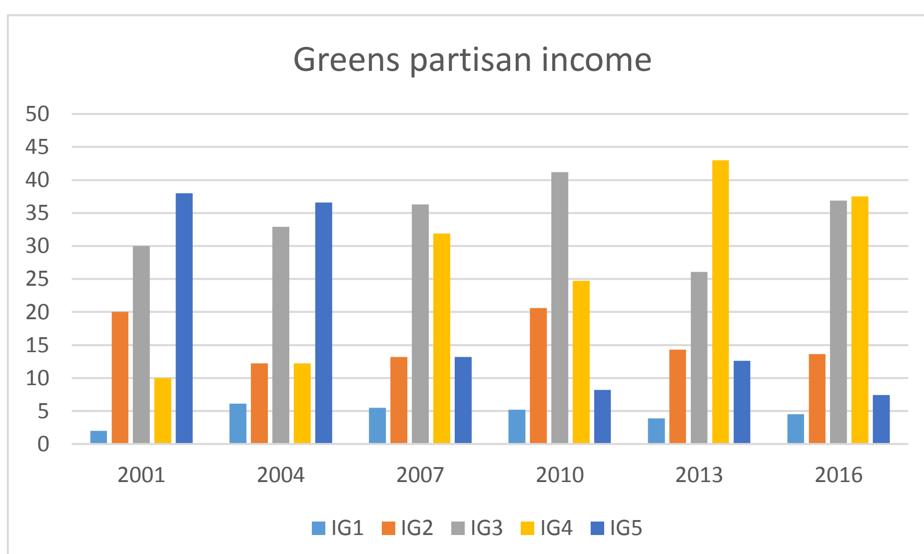
Figure 8.8 sbove looks at education across three categories. The Greens had much higher proportion of university qualified partisans and fewer high school partisans. The major parties were about equal for high school, with Liberal/National partisans having slightly more technical qualifications and Labor slightly more university educated partisans. Generally, the overall education level of the electorate has increased, with the proportion of identifiers holding just a high school qualification dropping over 10% from 2001 to 2016. They have moved towards university and technical education. The number of Greens with university education has also increased, but this has stalled in the past two surveys.

Income

Income was a difficult predictor to measure for several reasons. The AES does not measure income as a continuous metric predictor but asks participants to rank their income categorically. In 2001 and 2004 there were sixteen income categories, eighteen in 2007 and twenty-two in 2010, 2013 and 2016. These have different minimum and maximum amounts, ranges and income spreads. Trying to unify these across six surveys presented challenges. The solution was to use existing tax brackets from the era (Australian Taxation Office 2019). However, these also were substantially different across each year, do not neatly line up with the AES categories and sometimes had different numbers. For example, the top tax bracket in 2001 (more than $60,000) was a third the value of the top tax bracket in 2016 ($180,000). Inflation, as well as the reformed tax brackets across each survey year made a unified picture difficult. For the purposes of this thesis, five income group categories were constructed thar roughly corresponded to both existing tax brackets and the AES categories. In 2007, there were four income groups, with a fifth income group constructed out of the top income choice. Income group one is the lowest values, while income group five represents the highest available income selectable on the AES. From 2007, the final value of each year was considered a separate bracket as it had no upper limit. These created a slightly uneven measure, but was considered the most appropriate way measure income grouping across time. These were applied to party identifiers with the following figures constructed. IG represents an income group and is seen in Figures 8.9-8.11 below.







Figures 8.9-8.11: Partisans reported income in approximate income groups 2001-2016

Figures 8.9-8.11 above demonstrate subtle differences between partisan identifiers. Generally, Liberal/Nationals historically held higher incomes than Labor, but this has tailed off as income has increased generally. However, they still comprise of the highest proportion of the highest income group by 2016. The Greens hold the highest proportion of the forth income group across all years from 2007, as well as substantial middle incomes. Labor partisans tended to approach normal income distribution, with the pattern in 2016 indicative. The adjustment both of categories asked in the AES and tax reform appear to smooth out the patterns towards normal distribution after 2007. Overall, the figures point to Labor having a normally distribution income pattern, with Liberal/National and Greens partisans skewing more towards higher incomes.

Trade union membership

As a measure to differentiate between partisans, trade union membership historically is a strong predictor of Labor support (Aitkin 1982; Leigh 2006). Rüdig (2012) also found trade union membership a significant predictor of SDP support compared to the Greens. When considering realignment of left-wing support, trade union membership is symbolic of old industrialised economies that differentiate old and new left-wing ideology (Pakadakis 1983). Figure 8.12 below shows overall union membership declined between 2001 and 2016. However, Figure 8.13 below demonstrates a surprising finding.

Figure 8.12: Australian trade union membership 2001-2016

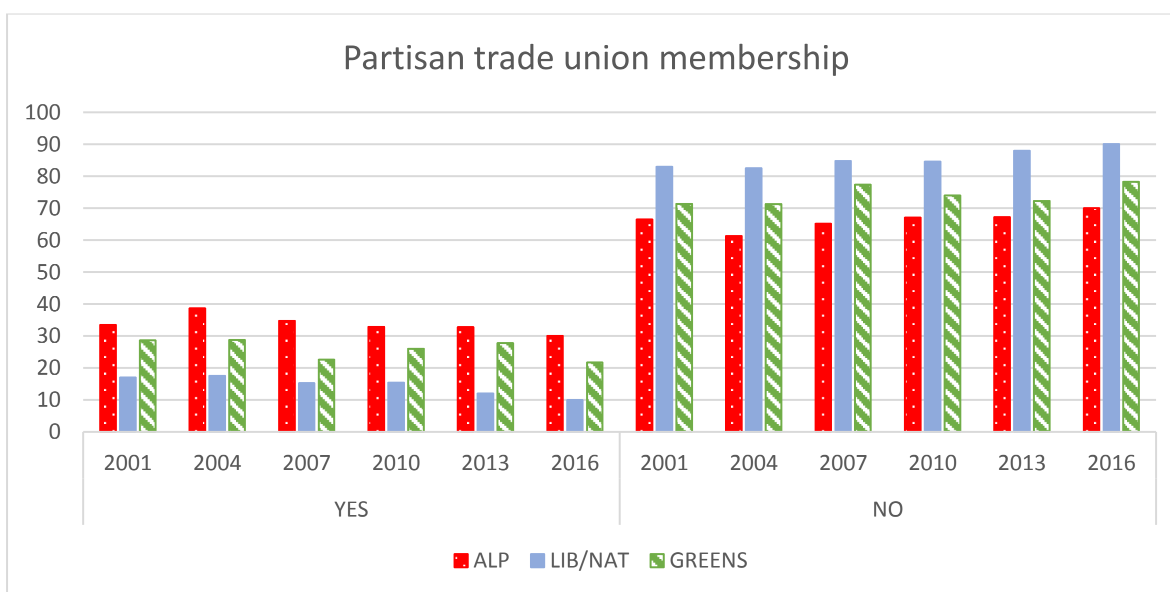


Figure 8.13: Trade union membership by party 2001-2016

As expected, Liberal/Nationals reported the lowest rates of trade union membeship. Notable here is while Labor partisans are generally the most likely to report trade union membership, the number of Greens partisans with trade union membership was also high. This initial analyses suggested that the presence of trade union membership may not be especially helpful in differentiating Labor partisans apart from the Greens.

Political attitudes

Party identification

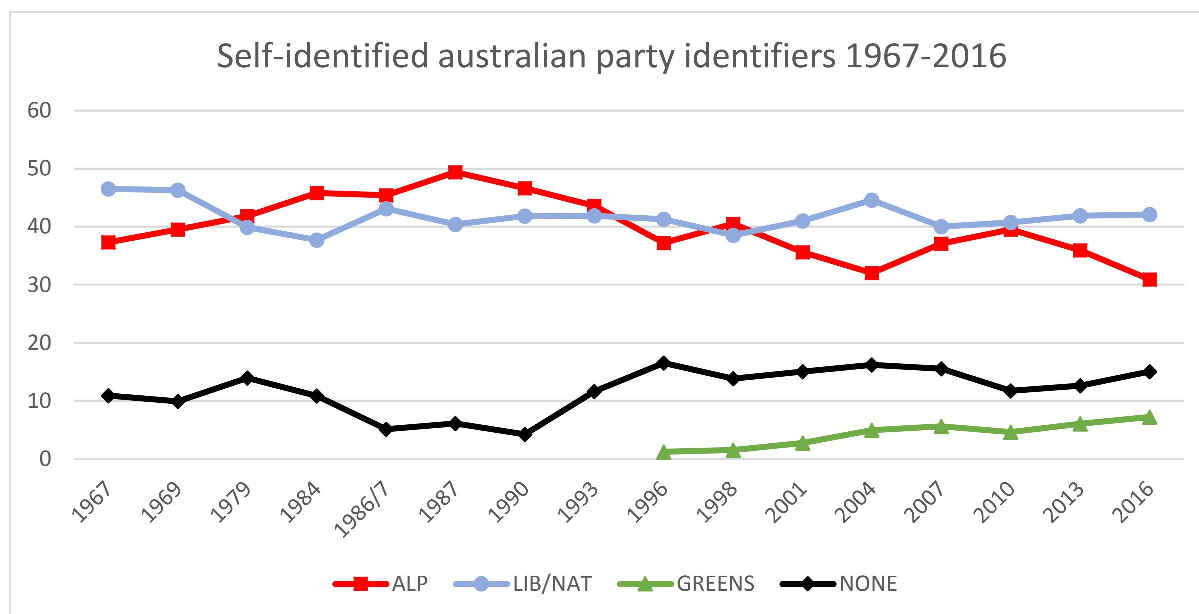


Figure 8.14: Partisan identifiers with Greens 1967-2016

Figure 8.14 above outlines Greens party identification rates compared to other major parties. The most durable question in political survey research, the response to 'Generally speaking, do you consider yourself Labor, Liberal, National, or what?' is the standard question to access party identification. Despite the patchy survey data in Australian political science and the varying issues, this question has remained largely consistent, albeit with some variation in coding responses. Democrats and 'other' identifiers were removed from the figure for clarity but contribute between 5.5 and 12% to the total number of participants reported.

The major parties reported relative success retaining partisans, with Labor reaching the highest level of total party identifiers in 1987 with almost 50%. By 2016 this figure had been reduced to only 30%. The number of Liberal/National partisans has hovered around 40% since 1987, dipping between the late seventies and nineties before returning to 40% in 2001. The number of participants who report 'none' has gradually increased from a low of

5% in 1990 to 15% in 2016. The Greens' partisan support has gradually increased from 1.4% in 1996 (the first year they were consistently an option rather than being 'other') to a high of 7.2% in 2016, only decreasing between 2007 and 2010, counter to their rise in vote.

These results should be considered with caution. Although resulting from robust survey data, this is an aggregation of several different survey results, each with slightly different wording and methodology. The ANPAS results (Aitkin 1979; Aitkin, Kahan & Stokes 1967, 1969) came from in-person interviews and questions asked towards the end of the survey, whereas the NSSS results (Kelley et al. 1984, 1990) and AES results (Bean et al. 1998, 2001, 2004, 2007; Jones et al. 1993, 1996; McAllister & Mugham 1987; McAllister et al. 1990, 2010, 2013, 2016) came from mailed-out surveys that asked the question at the start of section B or earlier on in the survey. Further, while the question has remained relatively similar, slight wording changes have occurred. Some variation in coding can inflate the 'other' option. A study by Charnock (1996) found the addition of a 'none of these' qualifier led to a spike in the number of 'other' from 1993 onwards. These inconsistencies mean that the rate of partisan attachment, useful as it is, is sensitive to variations across the fifty years of survey collection.

Moving beyond partisan identity is the strength of partisan attachment. This has also remained consistently measured with 'very strong', 'fairly strong' and 'not very strong' levels of strength. The following three figures (Figures 8.15-8.17) examined the strength of both Labor, Liberal/National and Green partisans.

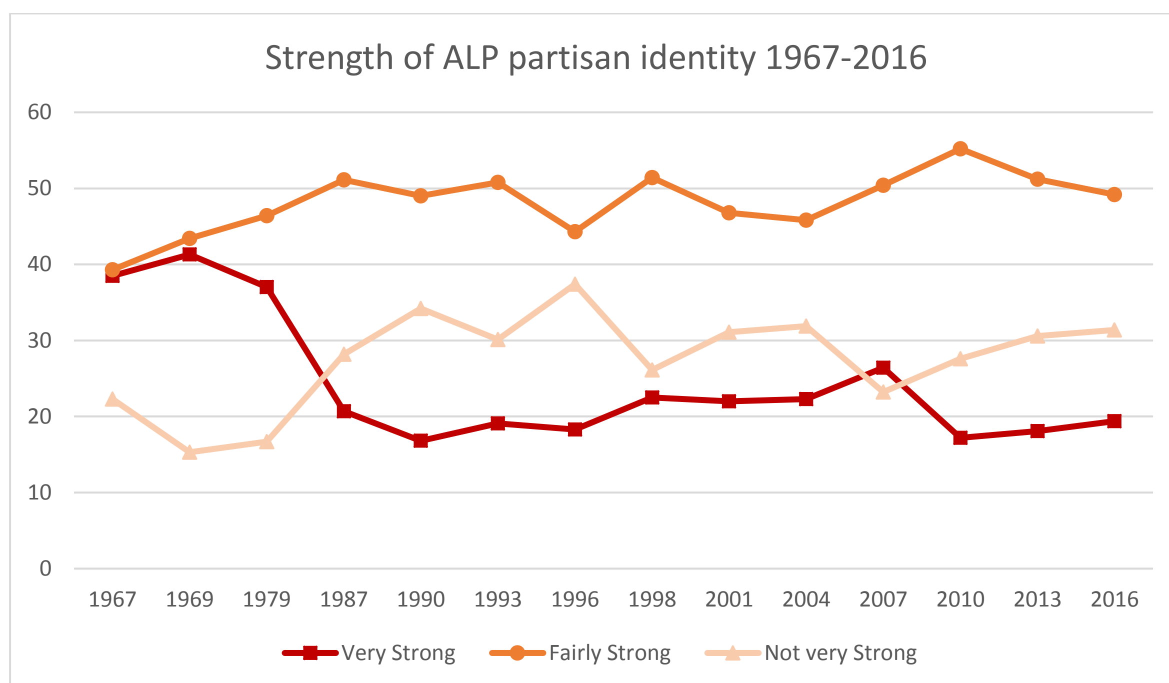


Figure 8.15: ALP partisan strength 1967-2016

The most striking feature of Labor partisans is their strength. Before 1987, Labor partisans were especially strong in their support for Labor. By 1990, this level of 'very strong' support had halved, with more voters displaying weaker levels of partisan attachment. This reached its highest levels in 1996. Although this level of 'not very strong support' had marginally decreased by 2007, just below one third of supporters have weak affinity for their political party, with the 'fairly strong' level remaining consistent, if slightly higher, since 1967.

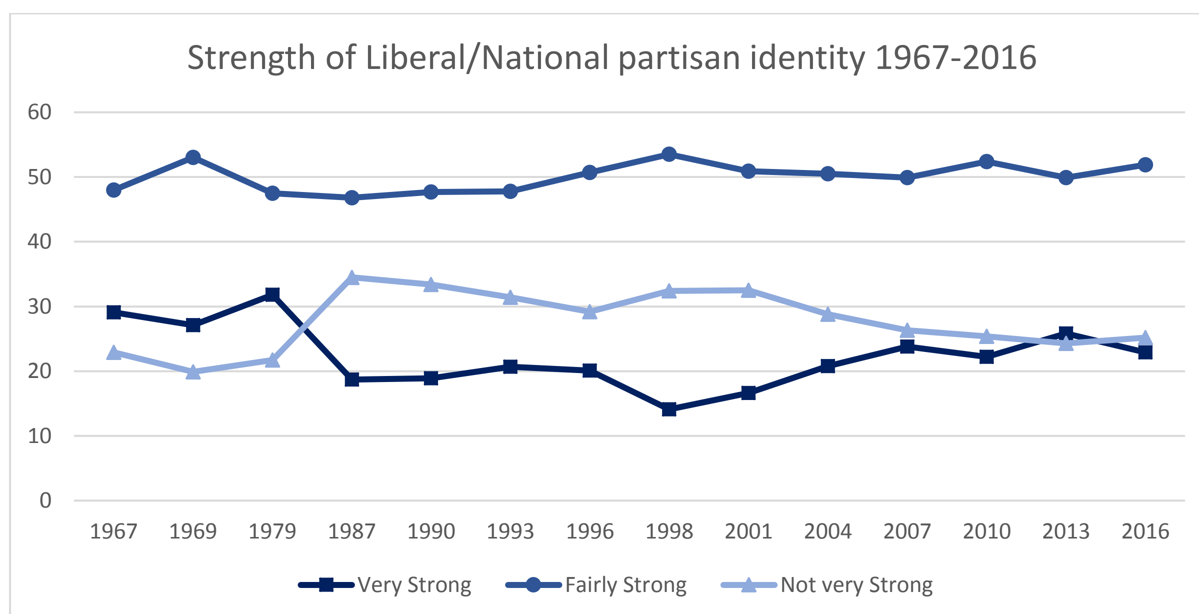


Figure 8.16: Liberal/National partisan strength 1967-2016

Liberal/National partisan strength has followed a similar path to Labor partisanship in terms of declining 'very strong' support. However, Liberal/National party strength started from around 10% lower 'very strong partisans', with a large drop between the 1979 ANPS and 1987 AES. The number of 'very strong' supporters has gradually increased since 1998, overtaking 'not very strong' supporters in 2013. Today, the level of 'very strong' partisans is slightly higher than Labor, with the level of 'not very strong' partisans slowly declining since 1998.

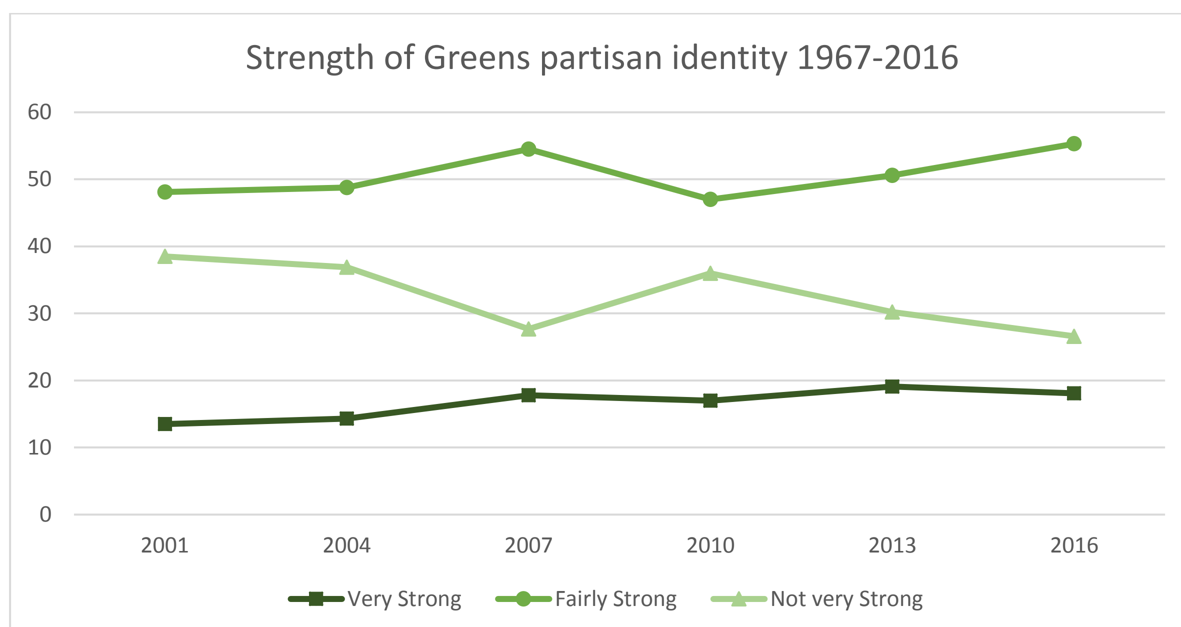


Figure 8.17: Greens partisan strength 2001-2016

On the other hand, Green partisan levels have a slightly different pattern. With thirty years less history (1996 and 1998 results were removed due to low respondent numbers, although followed similar patterns), 'very strong' Green partisans have consistently hovered below 20%. The number responding as 'fairly strong' had a bump in 2007 and 2016 corresponding to a decrease in 'not very strong' respondents, but remains fairly consistent. The only notable point appears to be the dip in 2007 of 'not very strong' respondents in 2007 that returned in 2010, contrary to the Greens increased House and Senate vote. Besides a consistently lower 'very strong' category, Green partisanship has similar strength levels than other major political parties in Australia. Although the number of Green partisans is lower than major parties, they have demonstrated comparable patterns of partisan strength.

Postmaterialism

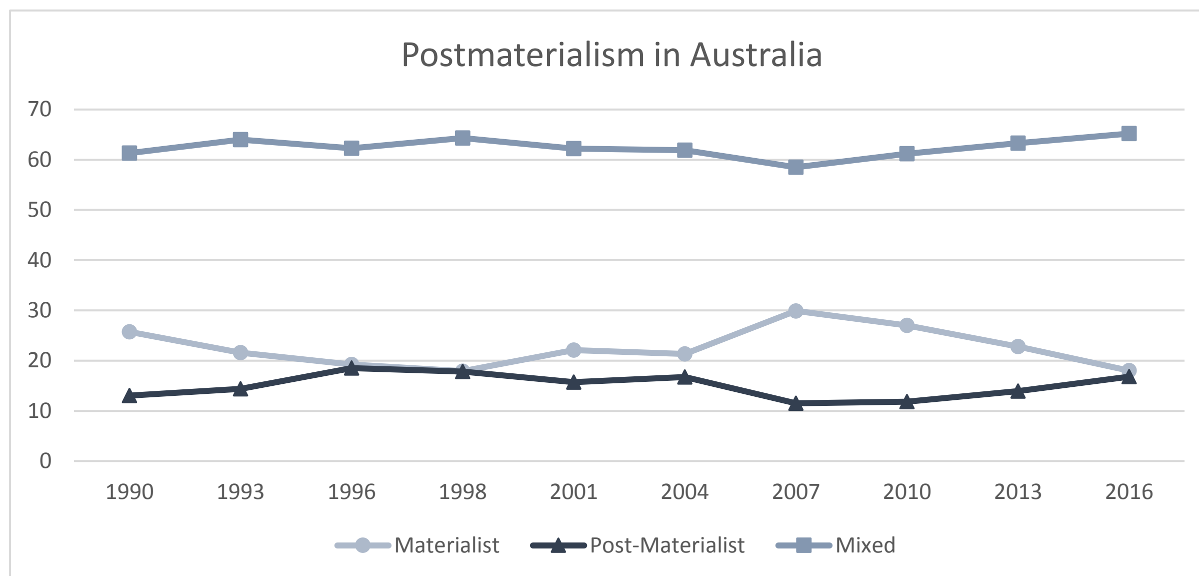
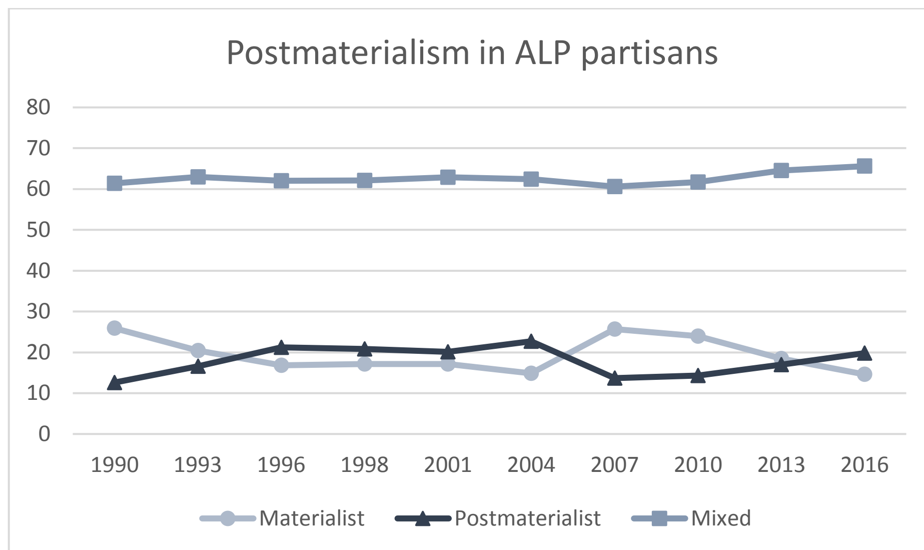
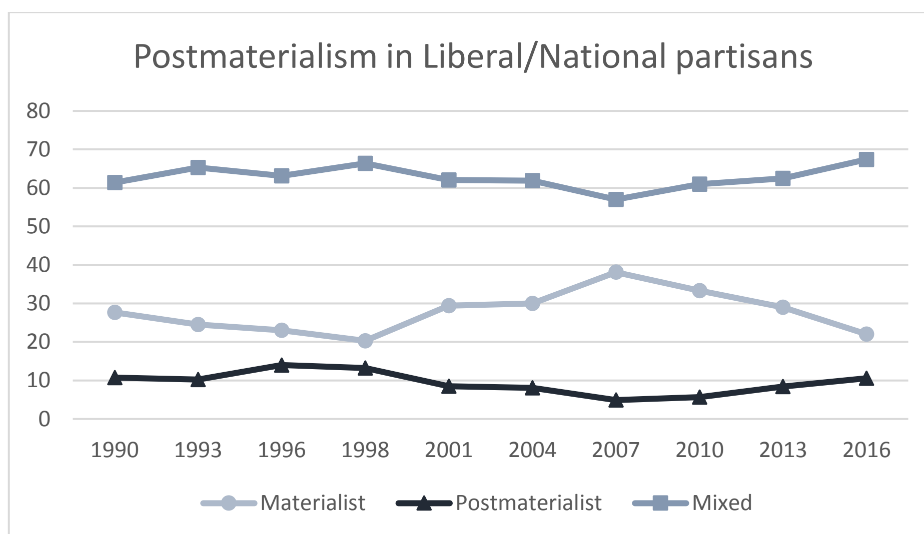
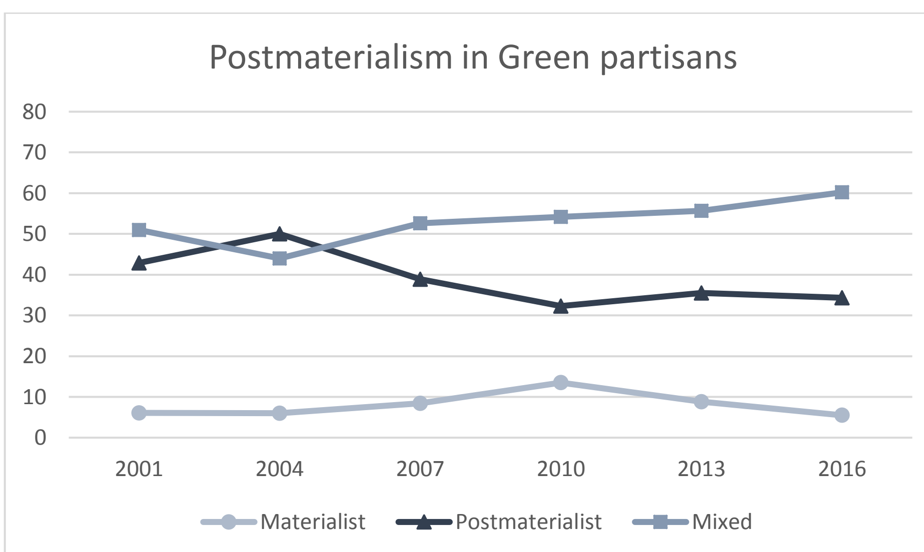


Figure 8.18: Overall self-report postmaterialism status in Australian 1990-2016

Figure 8.18 above demonstrates that between 1990 and 2016, postmaterialism remained at relatively stable levels. Besides a sharp jump in the number of materialists in 2007, the rates are gradually hovering around a similar range to other advanced democracies. The 2007 election demonstrated an overall increase in the number of materialists, consistent with the highly materialist issues the election canvassed. This has gradually decreased to the lowest level of materialists since 1998, with the number of mixed respondents gradually increasing to the highest level in 2016. Examining the rates of postmaterialism within the major political parties unearth quite substaintial differences. These are found in Figures 8.19-8.21 on the next page







Figures 8.19-8.21: Postmaterialism in partisan identifiers 1990-2016

Generally, all three major parties, with one exception (Greens in 2004) are mostly comprised of mixed postmaterialists across all election years, with these making up the majority of all three party groups. Notably, Labor had more pure materialists than postmaterialists between 2007 and 2013, with the 2007 election increasing the share of pure materialists from 14.9% to 25.7% of Labor's reported partisans. Conversely, Liberal/National partisans remained consistently comprised of less pure postmaterialists and a high number of pure materialists, although they have been consistently declining since 2010. From a high of 37% in 2007, 24% of Liberal/National partisans reported pure materialist values in 2016. This indicates the number of pure materialists is declining from both major parties after a resurgence in 2007, with most moving to either mixed of pure postmaterialism.

Green partisans are characterised by their high rate of pure postmaterialists. Pure postmaterialists made up almost 50% of Green partisans in 2004. This declined to around a third of members between 2004 and 2010. There was a gradual increase of mixed postmaterialists between 2007 and 2016, suggesting the party base may be diversifying in the issues it takes salience in. The sharp increase in pure materialists Australia-wide in 2007 did not appear in the Greens, although there was an increase in mixed postmaterialism. Rather, an increase in pure materialists came in 2010, suggesting the party attracted more support from less-conventional partisans in this election.

Ideological self-placement

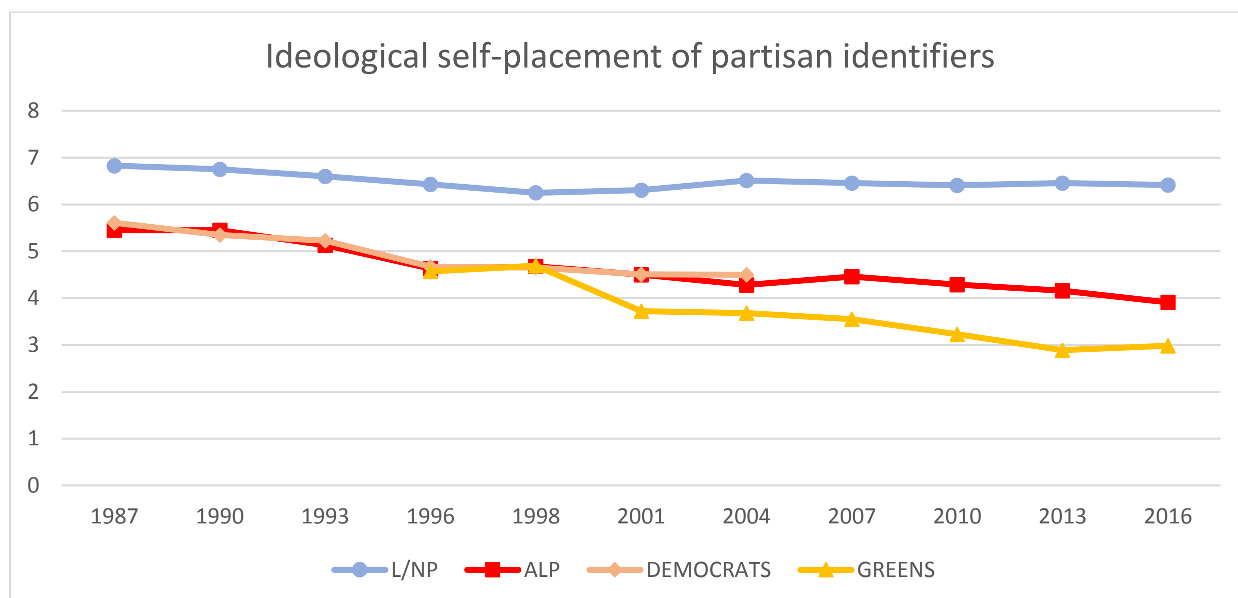


Figure 8.22: Mean ideological self-placement among partisan identifiers 1987-2016

Figure 8.22 above demonstrates expected patterns, with Liberal/Nationals placing themselves centre-right, Labor centre-left, Democrats usually centre and the Greens to the left of Labor. The question has marginally changed in the AES. The 1987, 1990 and 1993 surveys asked respondents to rank their own self-placement from 1 to 10. While intuitive, this even number lacked a natural median of 5, with some respondents circling between 5 and 6. These were merged into '5' for the purposes of this figure. From 1996, a 0 was added to ensure a natural median number[63]. While this had a marginal effect, the patterns remained consistent as seen in the figures above. The Greens' original placement in 1996 and 1998 may reflect their smaller number of participants, but also their formation period solidifiying in 2001. The figure highlights the reason the Democrats stopped being relevant, with their ideological self-placement virtually the same as Labor's during the period. With Labor essentially the same as

[63] Selecting 5 meant respondents were slightly to the left, as 1-2-3-4 is less than 6-7-8-9-10. Adding a 0 made 5 a true median value.

them, voters had little reason to remain distinctly Democrat as there was no-where to go. Labor has moved slightly to the left since 1987, but still sits between the Greens and Liberal/Nationals.

Asylum Seekers

Measuring attitudes towards asylum seekers was important, as Jackson (2016) specifically identified the issue in galvanising Greens support. As it remains a political issue, the thesis proposed attitudes towards asylum seekers were a highly salient predictor of partisanship and first preference vote decision making. Figure 8.23 below measures the response rate towards the issue in all elections. There is no data available for 2007, as the question was not asked. The closest proxy questions were 'immigrants who are here illegally should not be allowed to stay for any reason' and 'immigrants who enter this country legally should be treated just like other Australians', but these did not capture the issue of 'boat people' in the same way. Further, the thesis condensed the original five item Likert scale to three responses to reduce dispersion in the logistic regression model. The full table of results is found in the Appendix.

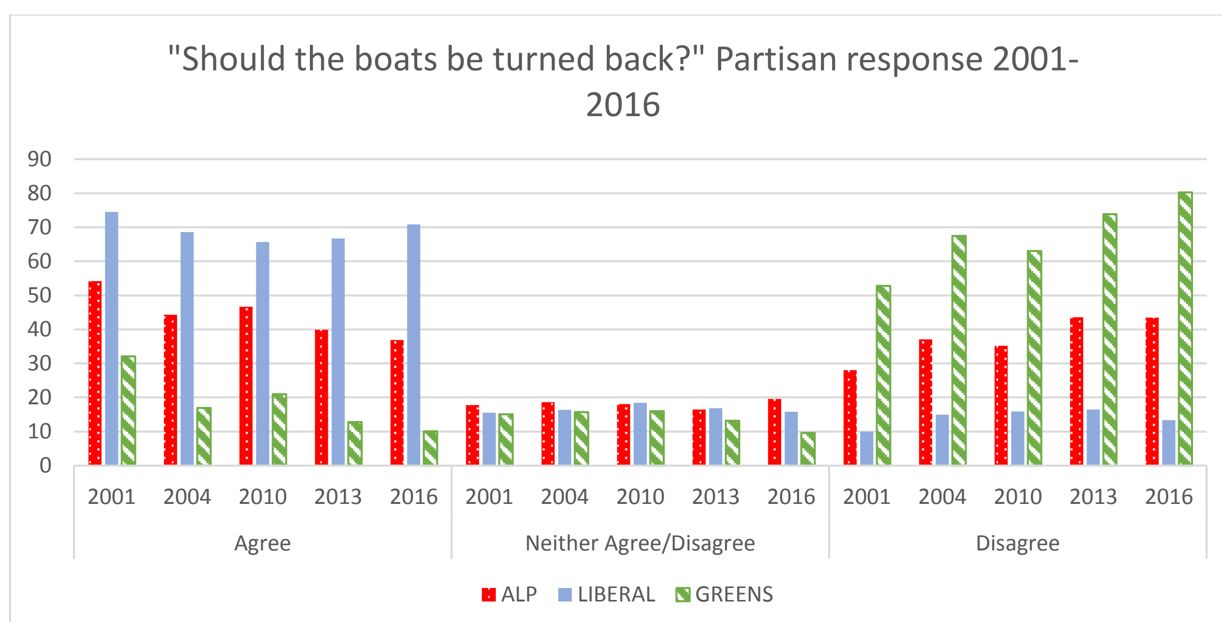


Figure 8.23: Partisan response to 'Should the boats be turned back?' question 2001-2016

Figure 8.23 above demonstrates strong differences based on partisan identity. The Greens demonstrated the highest level of disagreement with sending boats back, with over half of their partisans in every election. In 2016, more than 80% of their partisans disagreed. The Liberal/Nationals showed the reverse as over fifty percent of their partisans agreed with sending boats back in every election. The rate of neutral responses is about the same for all partisans, although in 2016 the proportion of Greens who have a neutral opinion declined. While over 50% of ALP partisans agreed with sending the boats back in 2001, this declined to only 36.9% in 2016. Generally, the Greens overwhelmingly disagreed with sending boats back, Liberal/National partisans overwhelmingly agreed and ALP tended to split down the middle.

While attitudes towards boat turnbacks back demonstrated sharp differences, how important the issue was towards voters demonstrated some more uniformity as seen in Figure 8.23 below. Refugees and asylum seekers typically were an important issue for voters, with typically high levels of interest from Labor, Liberal/National and Green partisans.

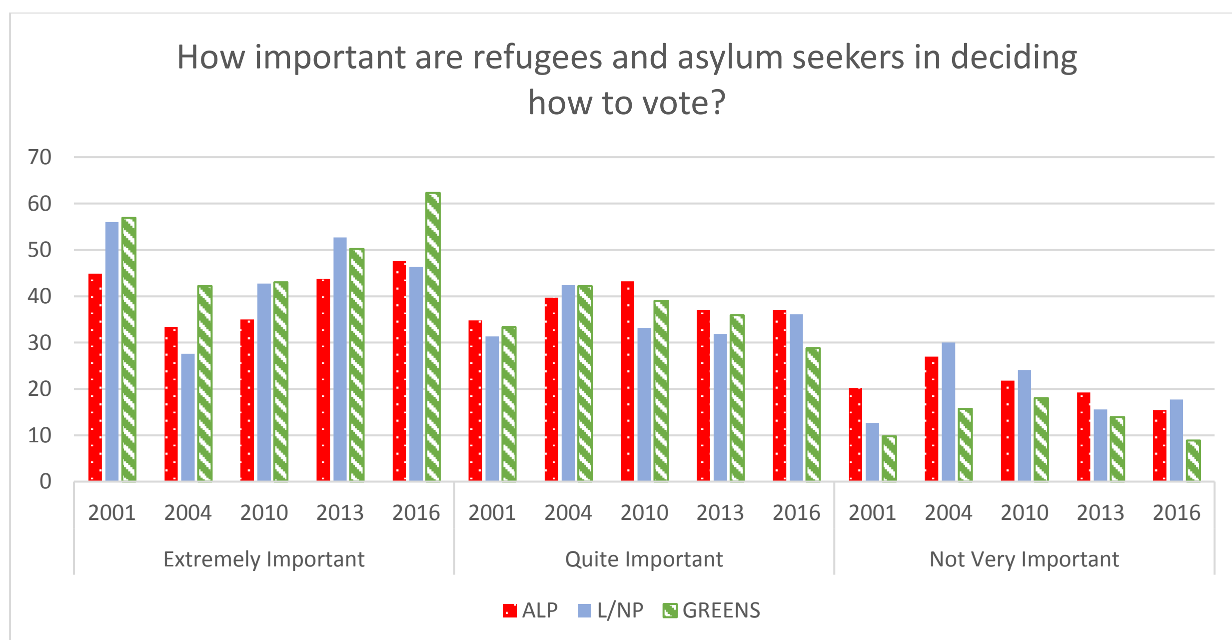


Figure 8.24: Importance of ‘refugees and asylum seekers’ in voting decision 2001-2016

Figure 8.24 above demonstrates the Greens consistently showed the highest interest in the issue with high rates of ‘extremely important’. Liberal/Nationals demonstrated both high levels of ‘not very important’ and ‘extremely’ important’, suggesting slightly more polarity. There was typically weaker interest in the issue from Labor. Overall, interest remains relatively similar across all partisan, suggesting that they are keenly interested in the issue.

Environment

When asking participants how important ‘the environment’ was towards their vote choice, partisan identifiers responded in Figure 8.25 below. The AES survey data is inconsistent on environmental questions. There was an entire section of the AES dedicated to specific enviromental concerns in 1990. This lasted until 2007, in which almost all environmental questions were scrapped. Only a couple of items, including one simply called ‘the environment’ tap this question now. While fairly broad, it allows for consistency across all six surveys. This question asks voters how important ‘the environment’ was in deciding how to vote.

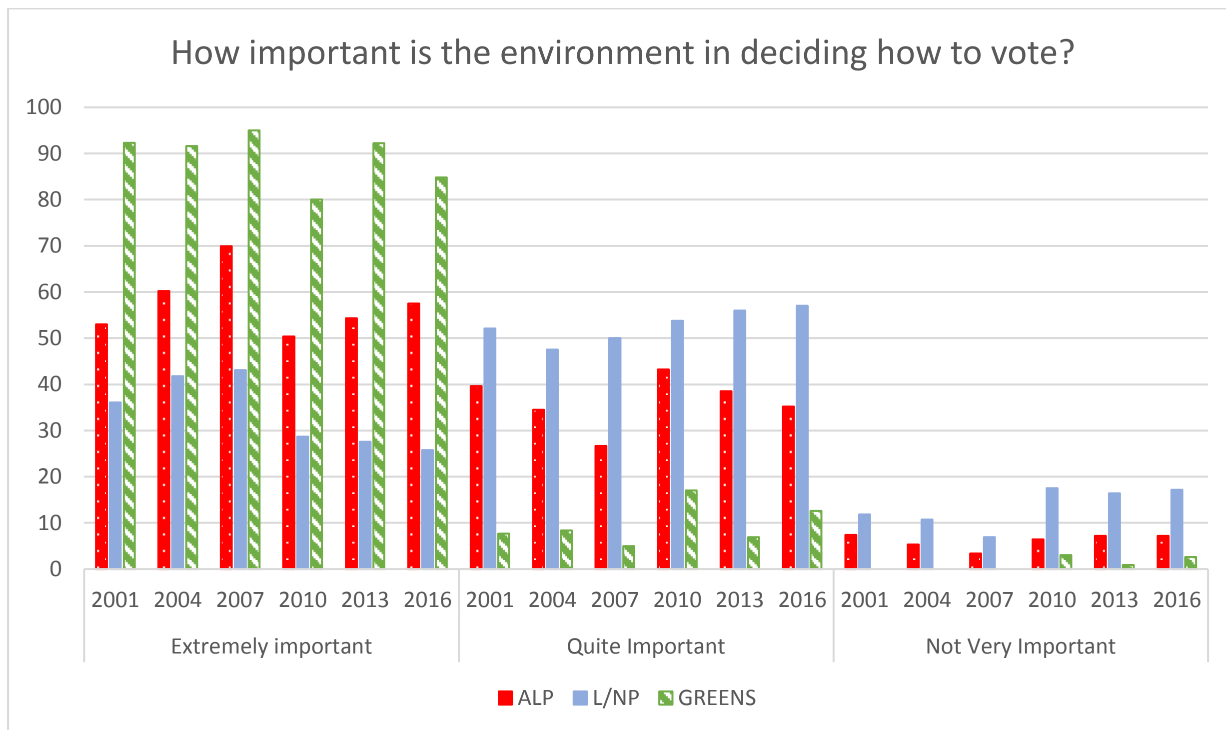


Fig 8.25: Importance of 'the environment' in voting decision 2001-2016

The figure demonstrates the percentage of partisans who agree and overwhelmingly, Greens placed the most importance on the environmnet, followed by Labor and then Liberal/Nationals. Liberal/Nationals were most likely to consider the environment 'quite important' and are the most represented in the 'not very important' choice. The election of interest is 2007, which has the highest rate of 'extremely important' across all year groups. After that, the Liberal/Nationals 'extremely' important noticeably declines by ten percentage points and continues to slowly decline across to 2016. While 2010 also showed a noticeable decline in Greens who consider the issue 'extremely important', this returns to a more normal rate in 2013 and 2016.

Overall, these results indicate striking differences on a number of social-structural predictors, partisan and political attitudes between major party identifiers and the Greens. The Greens' partisan base tended to be younger, live in urban centres, identify as middle class,

agnostic, non-manual workers, possess high levels of university education, higher incomes and get involved in trade unions. Politically, they identified as more left-wing than the ALP, posess high levels of postmaterialism, disagree with sending the boats back and overwhelmingly consider environment extremely important. In particular, religiosity and education showed high levels of difference. The political issues identified showed distinct support patterns between each partisan group.

Survey data and individual voting behaviour

Another feature of AES data for analysing political party support is examining how different voters behave. Chapter 7 measured House of Representatives and Senate voting patterns, but could not infer how individual voters behaved due to the nature of aggregated data. Using AES data, the thesis infers how many partisans vote for their reported party, whether voters voted for the same party across both Houses or across multiple elections. It measures split-ticket voting in the vein of Bowler and Denemark (1993) and Fiorina (1994). Split-ticket voting could indicate either strategic voting decisions or weakened partisan loyalty. Voters could report who they voted for in the previous election, providing a measurement of continuity and stability of voting decisions. This data allows the thesis to compare Greens partisans and voters' voting behaviour to the major parties. If their voters behave in a similar way to major parties or evidence of vote shift from Labor to Greens is apparent, it points to a durable and significant voter base and strengthens the case for realignment.

Although the AES asks respondents who they voted for in both the House and Senate, it only asks respondents who they *previously* voted for in the House. The AES dropped the question asking voters who they voted for at the previous election in the Senate in 1996. Given the possibility of gaining representation is higher for minor parties in the Senate, the AES masks this potential measure of voter stability. As the Greens strongest electoral

performance is in the Senate voting category, this means gauging Green stability in the Senate is difficult.

Table 8.3 below demonstrates how many straight-ticket voters there are in the AES cohort. That is, voters who voted for the same party in both the House of Representatives and the Senate. This requires two different values due to the way percentage is calculated. For example, the 2016 AES sample included 248 Greens voters in the House of Representatives and 296 Greens voters in the Senate. Crosstabulating those voters, 193 voted for the Greens in both Houses. What percentage that is depends on which House is examined. While the absolute value is the same, the House vote and Senate vote percentage will be different. The thesis argues the Greens' strongest support should be in the Senate due to the greater possibility of winning seats. Generally, how many House of Representative voters go on to vote for their party in the Senate is considered the better of the two measurements.

Table 8.3: Voters who voted for the same party across both Houses

	ALP HR->SEN	L/NP HR->SEN	GREENS HR->SEN	ALP SEN->HR	L/NP SEN->HR	GREENS SEN->HR
1987	85.6	82.7		96.4	91.5	
1990	87.3	86.7		95.7	95.4	
1993	87.2	90.2		96.9	95.7	
1996	85.9	84.9	55.3	95.9	96.5	45.7
1998	83.3	80.3	55.9	94	94	45.2
2001	81.7	84.1	75	92.3	93.4	51.1
2004	77.1	86.7	76.9	91.6	96	50.3
2007	74.7	85.8	83.5	92.5	93.3	46
2010	76.3	88.9	79.9	91.6	92.8	46.6
2013	70.1	82.1	78.6	88.5	93.8	57.7
2016	72.9	84.4	77.2	87.6	92.4	65.2
Average	*80.2*	*85.2*	*72.8*	*93.0*	*94.1*	*51.0*
Average 2001-	*75.5*	*85.3*	*78.5*	*90.7*	*93.6*	*52.8*

Table 8.3 above demonstrates that Green voters, on average, are the least likely cohort to stay unified in voting. In particular, Senate Green voters are more unlikely to have also voted for the Greens in the House. However, from 2001, Greens House voters are marginally more likely to vote unified across both Houses of parliament than the ALP. The number of Greens voters who vote straight-ticket jumped in 2001 by 20%. They have maintained a higher rate of straight-ticket voting than Labor since 2007. Not surprisingly, the Liberal/National party is the most cohesive, with on average 85.2% of House voters voting with a straight ticket, virtually remaining unchanged if only elections from 2001 are considered. Whilst Labor House voters initially voted straight ticket more than Liberal/Nationals between 1987 and 1998 (1993 being an exception), this trend reversed in 2001. Since 2004 they are the party with the highest rate of House ticket splitters amongst the three prominent parties and have seen a noticeable decline in straight-ticket voting since 2001.

Notably, the Greens House voters demonstrate a higher rate of straight-ticket voting than the Senate voters. Their Senate voters are less likely to vote for the Greens in the House. This is the reverse of both the ALP and L/NP, showing how proportional representation affects straight-ticket voters of different parties different. A Senate ALP voter is much more likely to vote for the ALP in the House as their vote is more likely to have an impact in this house. Conversely, the ALP House voter is less likely to vote for the party in the Senate, suggesting they are using their Senate vote more strategically.

The next logical step is to examine where those other voters are going. This is indicative of dealignment as pursued by Fiorina (1996). Unlike other nations in which the vote splits across two branches of government (legislative and executive), or vertically splits between members of the one legislative chamber, Australian split-ticket voting is horizontal. It splits across two different chambers of legislative government. Whilst Fiorina (1996) refers

to voting differently between Presidential and Congress votes, the Australian system allows for voters to split their vote between parties in the House of Representatives and the Senate. Unlike the United States, this option is uniform across the entire country. The following tables demonstrates where participants who voted for either Labor, Liberal/National and the Greens in the House in Representatives proceeded to vote for in the Senate. These are uncovered in Tables 8.4-8.6 on the following page.

Tables 8.4-8.6: HR Voters who voted for a different party in the Senate

ALP to	L/NP	DEMS	GREENS
1987	3.3	4.3	
1990	2	7.4	
1993	3.2	5.8	
1996	1.9	10.1	1.5
1998	1.3	11.2	1.7
2001	3.4	8.7	5
2004	2.4		13.9
2007	4.5		15.2
2010	4.4		17.5
2013	4.1		12.1
2016	5.9		11.1

L/NP to	ALP	DEMS	GREENS
1987	5.7	8.6	
1990	1.3	4	
1993	1.1	4.2	
1996	1.3	6.9	1.1
1998	2.4	10	0.7
2001	2	3.1	2.1
2004	2.4		1.6
2007	3.5		2.1
2010	3.1		2.6
2013	2.6		1.9
2016	3.4		1.1

GREENS to	ALP	L/NP	DEMS
1996	7.9	7.9	21.1
1998	8.8	11.8	17.6
2001	9.8	4.3	9.8
2004	13.1	3.8	
2007	9.4	3.6	
2010	12.2	3.7	
2013	8.9	1.1	
2016	7.3	4.4	

Tables 8.4-8.6 demonstrate that Labor had leaked a substantial number of voters to the Greens in the Senate, reaching a high of 17.4% of their 2010 House voters voting for the Greens in the Senate. During the existence of the Democrats, Labor saw drift of voters to them in the Senate, reaching a peak of 11.2% in 1996. Notably, the Liberal/National vote holds up across both Houses, with the only notable figure is the 10% of voters going to the Democrats in 1998. The Greens House vote started quite high in terms of drift but subsided in 2001. This indicates that a high number of Labor voters do not commit to voting for their party across both Houses.

While this is indicative of voters reporting at single elections, as previously explained, the AES also asks respondents how they voted at the previous election. Table 8.7 below demonstrates the percentage of voters who reported voting for the same party as they did in the preceding election in the House of Representatives (for example, 82.4% of voters who reported voting Labor in 1984 voted for them in 1987). Overall, Labor and Liberal/National consistently retained a high proportion of their voters. Liberal/Nationals voters had the highest proportion of voters who voted the same between elections, with an average of 85.8% of voters voting the same in the House as they did the prior election. The ALP started strong and retained a very high proportion of voters in 2007, but witnessed substantial decline in 2013 to retain an average of 77.7% of their voters.

In contrast, minor parties have less rusted-on voters. The Democrats were unable to maintain consistent levels of support over a prolonged period. Further, this support was inconsistent, never raising above 50% after 1990 and fluctuating between 17% or 73.9%. The Greens, whilst weaker than the Democrats at their peak, maintained a consistent proportion since 1996 at around slightly more than half their voters. This peaked in the previous federal election in 2016 with 72.3% and was lowest in 1998 with only 40.9%

Table 8.7: Voters who voted the same at the previous election in HR 1987-2016

	ALP	L/NP	DEMS	GREENS
1987	83.4	88.3	51.1	
1990	73.8	87.3	73.9	
1993	81.7	88.4	25.5	
1996	74.2	92.4	50	50
1998	77.7	75.7	28	40.9
2001	80	85.5	41.4	53.5
2004	80.1	86.9	17	62.4
2007	89.9	76.5		51.9
2010	75.8	87.3		60.8
2013	67.8	89.6		56.1
2016	70.7	86.4		72.3
Average	*77.5*	*85.8*	*41*	*56*

Of note is between 1998 and 2001, the Greens doubled their first preference vote share. By 2004, they maintained a gradual increase and retained an additional 11% of those voters, whereas the Democrats vote collapsed. While weaker in 2007, this corresponded to a massive increase in Labor's first preference vote retention, a product of the highly materialist election issues that were playing out. Foregoing this, the Greens capacity to retain voters appears to be gradually increasing. Indeed, they retained more voters between 2013 and 2016 (at 72.3%) than Labor (with only 70.7%).

Looking at the data another way shows how many Greens voters voted for different parties previously. Table 8.8 below takes the total number of respondents who reported voting Greens in the House of Representatives and calculates the proportion of their voters and who they voted for at the previous election (for example, 23.5% of Greens voters who reported voting for them in 2001 also voted for the Greens in 1998). This is the reverse direction of Table 8.7. This not only is another measure of vote consistency, but how many new voters the party attracted from previous election and where their new support came from.

Table 8.8: House of Representatives Greens voters' previous election voting choice

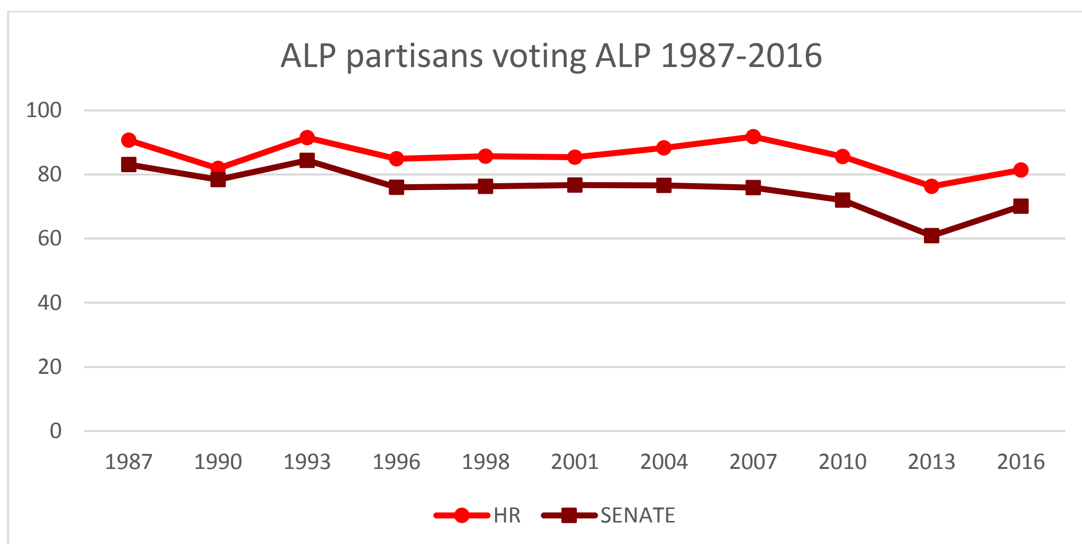
	Voted GREENS last election	Voted ALP last election	Voted L/NP last election	Voted OTHERS last election
2001	25.3	42.9	15.4	16.5
2004	44.9	31.4	11.9	11.9
2007	52.3	16.9	16.2	14.6
2010	33.2	49.1	13.4	4.3
2013	51.8	41.5	4.2	25.7
2016	54.8	32.4	7.3	5.5

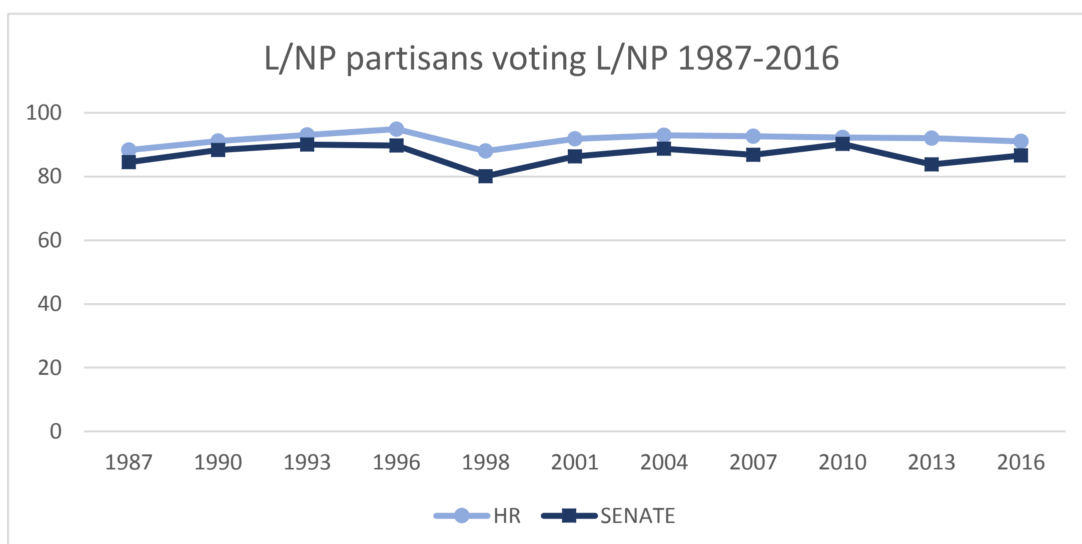
In this table, a lower number indicates that the Greens attracted more support from voters who swapped from the previous election. While the number of participants who reported voting Greens before 2001 was too low to consider meaningful, several notable trends are apparent. Their 2001 voted saw over 40% of the Greens reported vote come from respondents who voted for the ALP in 1998. Similar proportions of their 2001 vote came from Liberal/National and Other voters, with around 30.9% of their vote coming from these two groups. The ALP had a good year in 2007, as only 16.9% of the 2007 Green vote came from ALP voters in 2004 switching. However, the best year for the Greens was 2010, in which 49.1% of the Green vote came from votes who voted ALP in 2007. Whilst this high proportion has tapered off, the Greens vote retained over half its previous vote in 2013 and 2016, with a larger cohort coming from ALP voters than any other source. Since 2013, the level of support from the Liberal/Nationals is noticeably lower than earlier in the party's lifetime.

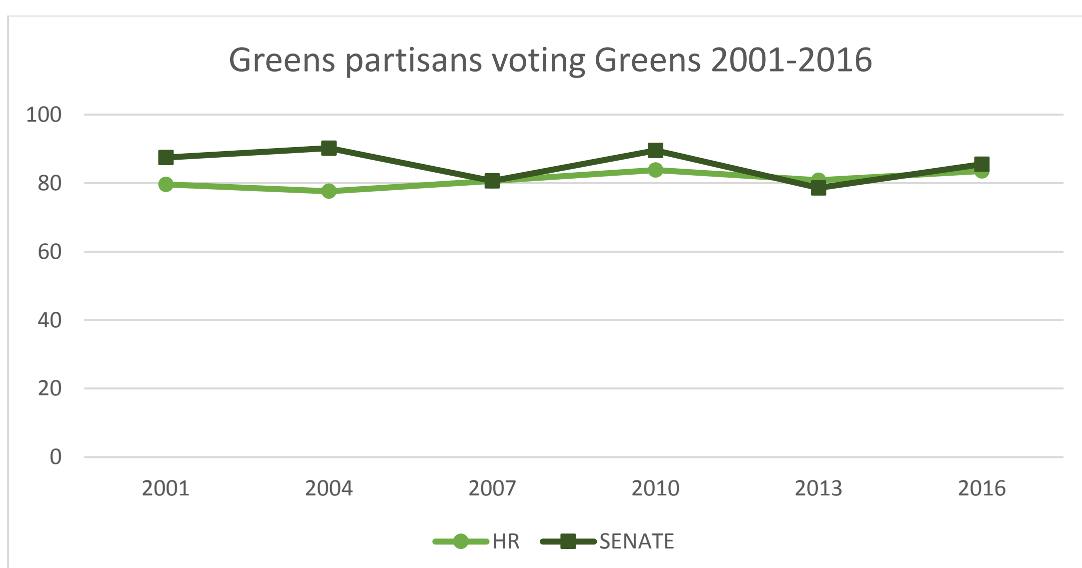
These two tables demonstrate that Greens have been historically weaker than Labor and the Coalition at maintaining consistent voting support between elections, with only half of Green survey respondents voting for the party in consecutive elections. A notably sizeable cohort of Labor voters make up on average a third of their total vote in each election.

However, the lack of Senate information is an unfortunate omission. As minor parties have found greater success in the Senate, the idea that their support should be more consistent in the upper house is plausible. However, without the question asked in the AES, it is difficult to assess.

Although there are interesting trends in just voter support, considering how partisans vote is also worthwhile. That is, how many self-identified supporters of their political party actually voted for them at the following election? Is this consistent across both Houses? How many partisan voters voted for a different party at the last election? Figures 8.25-8.27 demonstrate the proportion of partisans who reported voting for their self-identified political party in the House of Representatives and Senate.







Figures 8.26-8.28: Stability of partisan identity on voting behaviour 1987-2016

The figures highlight several trends. Liberal/Nationals parties have the most consistently high rates of voting for their identified party. In general, over two thirds of Labor, Liberal/National and Greens partisans consistently vote the party they identify with in both Houses of Parliament. The one exception was the particularly weak Senate vote from Labor partisans in 2013; only 60.4% of partisans followed through and voted Labor. ALP and L/NP partisans reported voting for their party more in the House of Representatives than in the Senate, whereas the Greens preferred the Senate (except for 2013). The gap is widest for the Labor party, with this gap gradually increasing since 1987.

Generally speaking, Greens partisans cosistently vote for the Greens in both houses of parliament at similar proportions than the major parties. Whilst marginally stronger in the Senate, the inverse of major party support, the support is maintained. Notably, Labor partisans are considerably less likely to vote for Labor in the Senate, with just under a third of partisans voting elsewhere in 2016. The Greens are more committed partisans in the Senate, with rates just below the Liberal/National party. Notable in these figures is the strong correlation between party identification and voting preference in Australian politics. In a reportedly increasingly unstable political environment, partisans are consistenly likely to vote with their identified party, with the ALP the only party to show any notable decline between 1987 and 2016.

The high number of partisans who vote for their own party is notable, but of interest is partisans who vote contrary to their partisan identity. Also of note is partisan voting patterns at the previous election. The thesis examined this in different ways and these are described in Tables 8.9-8.12 below. Unlike previous Tables, whether the variables are placed either in the row or column does not matter as the total partisan percentage is the value of interest.

Table 8.9: Partisans who voted for same party for HR in previous election

	ALP same	L/NP same	DEM same	GRN same
1987	83.2	77.4	35.1	
1990	79.1	77.4	45.5	
1993	86.6	84.4	34.4	
1996	79.4	85.1	41.2	
1998	72.1	88	38.5	
2001	79.3	81.3		34.8
2004	89	85.1		50.7
2007	69.1	86.7		53.9
2010	79.4	89.2		47.8
2013	68.7	84		56.9
2016	76.6	86.6		62.6

Table 8.9 shows the percentage of partisans who voted for their party at both the election reported and the previous election. It demonstrates that Coalition started weaker in the period but hold the highest level of consistent partisan voting. The ALP performance starts strong, but it also shows many partisans who voted for them in 2007 returned after not voting in 2004. This was also true in 2013, which has a stark result. This suggests many ALP partisans deserted them in 2010. Looking at the Greens, 2001 and 2010 are the only two elections in which less than half their partisans voted for them at the previous election, suggesting a possible influx of newly converted partisans. While their number of consistent partisans is lower than the major parties, it shows a gradual increase throughout the years. This may indicate that more people are switching their partisan identity, with the gradual increase visible in Figure 8.12 on page 237.

Table 8.10: Partisans who vote for a different party in the House of Representatives

	ALP ->L/NP	L/NP ->ALP	ALP ->GRN	GRN ->ALP	L/NP ->GRN	GRN ->L/NP
1987	5.5	6.9				
1990	6.3	2.9				
1993	4.4	4.7				
1996	9.4	1.7	1.3		0.1	
1998	6.9	3.2	0.8		0.3	
2001	5.2	3	3.9	6.1	0.7	2
2004	5.8	3.7	5	15.3	0.7	4.7
2007	2.9	4.8	3.8	15.3	1.1	2
2010	5	3.3	7.4	10.1	1.8	2
2013	9.3	2	6.6	10.3	0.7	4.3
2016	7	2	5.7	12.8	1	0.5

Table 8.10 shows the percentage of partisans who voted for a different party in the House of Representatives. For example, in 1987, 5.5 of Labor partisans voted for the Coalition. For the ALP, 1996 and 2013 show a large degree of partisans voting for the Coalition. This demonstrates Labor's unpopularity in these elections. In 2010, a large swing to the Greens was visible, although less so in 2001. What is notable is many Greens partisans voting for Labor in the House of Representatives besides 2001. This could be due to strategic voting in the House of Representatives due to single-member-districts. The next lowest figure is in 2010, indicating less Green partisans supported the ALP. Overall, this Table demonstrates expected trends that occur due to the institutional constraints of the lower house voting system.

Table 8.11: Partisan HR voters who voted for different party in the Senate

	ALP ->L/NP	L/NP ->ALP	ALP ->GRN	GRN ->ALP	L/NP ->GRN	GRN ->L/NP
1987	7.5	6.7				
1990	5.9	2.7				
1993	5.1	3.5				
1996	8.6	1.5	2.5		0.7	
1998	4.6	2.9	2.4		0.3	
2001	5.9	2.9	6.5	4.2	2	0
2004	4.1	2.9	13.7	4.9	1.7	2.4
2007	4.2	4.5	15.9	10.2	3.1	4.1
2010	6.1	3	18.7	6.3	3.4	1.1
2013	8.6	2	13	6.8	1.8	3.4
2016	7.2	2.5	11.5	5.6	1.1	2.2

Table 8.11 shows the percentage of partisans who voted for their party in the House of Representatives but then proceeded to vote for a different party in the Senate. For example, 7.5% of ALP partisans who voted for Labor in the House of Representatives voted for the Coalition in the Senate in 1987. Notably, the same elections pop up as in Table 8.11, with Labor partisans voting for the Coalition in the Senate at high proportions in 1996 and 2013. However, the notable numbers are the number of Labor partisans voting for the Greens in the Senate. Here, the proportions are striking; almost one in five Labor partisan House of Representative voters voted for the Greens in 2010. Since 2001, the number of Labor partisans who go on to vote Green in the Senate is very high. For the Greens, the only time where they go on to vote for Labor in the Senate in high numbers was 2007. Overall, this shows how Labor partisanship is weaker in the Senate, particularly for the benefit of the Greens.

Table 8.12: Partisans who voted for their party in HR in current election who voted for another party in previous election

	ALP ->L/NP	L/NP ->ALP	ALP ->GRN	GRN ->ALP
1987	6.6	2.2		
1990	5.6	2.4		
1993	6.7	2.6		
1996	5.9	1.2		
1998	3.9	6.7	13	
2001	2.8	3	26.1	3
2004	2.9	4.4	19.2	2.6
2007	0.9	12.7	12.4	1.3
2010	5.8	2.7	25	6
2013	5.2	1.9	22	4.7
2016	4	3.1	14.8	4.4

Table 8.12 shows the percentage of voters who voted for their party in the House of Representatives but reported voting for a different party at the previous election. For example, in 2001, 26.1% of Greens partisans who voted for the Greens in the House of Representatives reported voting for Labor at the previous election (1998). For Labor, a noticeable amount of their partisans voted for them in 2007 after having voted Liberal/National in 2004. Of greater note was over one in four Green partisans in 2001 had previously voted Labor in 1998, with one in four Green partisans who voted for them in 2010 voted for Labor in 2007. The high values for the Greens indicate their partisans vote for Labor in previous elections, suggesting that many previous Labor voters go on to become Green partisans. Sadly, this question is absent for the Senate. Overall, these tables point to 2007 being a good election for Labor and 2001 and 2010 great years for the Greens in terms of recovering or gaining partisans from previous elections.

Conclusion

The battery of tests employed outline several important measures to the nature of Greens partisan and voter support. Overall, they support international analyses (Dennison 2017; Rüdig 2012) and existing Australian studies (Jackson; Miragliotta 2016) of the Greens support structure. Greens partisans tend to be younger, more middle class, less religious, non-manual workers, better educated and hold middle range incomes compared to the major parties. They report high levels of pure post-materialism, slightly weaker partisan attachment, are more left-wing and strongly support asylum seekers and the environment.

Examining individual-level voting behaviour shows a developing trend. While their voting stability is weaker than major partisans, it has gradually reached similar levels of strength with major party voters. Greens support is strongest in the Senate, but their House of Representatives support has gradually strengthened, both with consistency across time and within their partisan grouping. Their partisans continue to support the party. Moreover, the chapter also demonstrates a decline in Labor's performance and a notable shift of voters from Labor to the Greens in 2001 and 2010, especially within the Senate. This supports the findings in chapter 7.

While this descriptive analysis of Greens support shows several interesting findings, determining whether they are significant requires more sophisticated statistical analysis. By confirming the significance and distinctiveness of their support base with multinomial logistic regression, both partisan and voter, Chapter 9 thesis delivers credible support to the idea that the emergence of Greens voters has occurred at the expense of major partisans. This in turn points to realignment as a likely phenomenon.

Chapter 9: Results Part III: Multinomial Logistic Regression

Chapter 8 found notable demographic differences between the Greens and major party partisans and voters. Several trends include greater support for the Greens from university educated people who tended to be younger. Chapter 9 used a more rigorous method in multinomial logistic regression to test the significance of these trends and their relationship to shifting patterns of support for the Greens. Results from the multinomial logistic regressions are found below. Three dependent variables were considered separately; partisan identity, House of Representatives vote and Senate vote. Each dependent variable was measured against several social-structural predictors and then three sets of political attitudes. Consistency was the priority for item selection and there are several instances where the data is inconsistent. Due to the low 'other' rate in 2004, 2007 and 2010, the party identification and House of Representative models omit 'others' to ensure better model fit in 2004, 2007 and 2010. Each dependent variable is reported below. Each dependent variable has four separate analyses; one for social-structural attitudes alone and one for each political attitude; ideology, asylum seekers and the importance of the environment. For the sake of brevity, chapter 9 relegated tables that include social-structural predictors when controlling for each political attitude to the Appendix. Significant interactions were also reported to demonstrate how the effect of social-structrual predictors changed across time (for example, whether more men supported a particularly party in the 2010, 2013 and 2016 elections compared to 2001, 2004 and 2007).

There is some consistency between the three models as the analysis is measuring the same participants on the same predictors across three different actions to support their political party (express partisan identity, vote in the House of Representatives and vote in the Senate). This consistency strengthens the realignment hypothesis; if the results are largely

similar across identification and both Houses, it suggests a durability of partisan identity and voter intention in two separate vote domains.

Party identification Results

Social-structural predictors of party identification

The first stage is to examine background variables that may affect partisan rates. The thesis entered social-structural attitudes that predict party identification into the analysis and presented on the next page.

Table 9.1: Social-structural predictors for partisan identity 2001-2007

	2001		2004		2007	
Reference Category: Greens	Liberal/National	Labor	Liberal/National	Labor	Liberal/National	Labor
Gender (ref: Female)						
Male	0.49 (1.63)	0.48 (1.61)	**0.77 (2.16)***	0.54 (1.72)	0.37 (1.45)	0.32 (1.38)
Age (ref: 65+)						
18-24	-1.66 (0.19)	-0.43 (0.65)	**-2.23 (0.11)***	**-2.17 (0.11)***	**-1.61 (0.20)***	-0.85 (0.43)
25-34	-1.60 (0.20)	-0.81 (0.45)	**-1.49 (0.23)***	**-1.49 (0.23)***	**-1.49 (0.23)***	-0.81 (0.44)
35-44	-1.40 (0.25)	-0.29 (0.75)	**-1.39 (0.25)***	-1.09 (0.34)	**-1.33 (0.26)***	-0.88 (0.42)
45-54	-1.05 (0.35)	-0.11 (0.90)	**-1.61 (0.20)***	**-1.47 (0.23)***	-0.57 (0.57)	-0.03 (0.87)
55-64	-1.27 (0.28)	-0.55 (0.58)	-0.85 (0.43)	-1.08 (0.34)	-0.22 (0.80)	-0.19 (0.83)
Place of residence (ref: Urban)						
Rural	0.53 (1.69)	0.24 (1.27)	-0.18 (0.84)	-0.53 (0.59)	0.55 (1.73)	0.24 (1.27)
Social class (ref: Upper/middle)						
None	**-1.45 (0.24)***	-0.89 (0.41)	-0.02 (0.98)	0.88 (2.42)	-0.63 (0.53)	-0.18 (0.84)
Working	-0.38 (0.68)	0.38 (1.47)	-0.25 (0.78)	0.67 (1.95)	-0.11 (0.90)	**0.88 (2.40)***
Religion (ref: Religious)						
Not Religious	**-1.83 (0.16)****	**-1.27 (0.28)****	**-1.80 (0.17)****	**-0.88 (0.41)***	**-1.38 (0.25)****	**-0.73 (0.48)***
Education (ref: High School)						
Technical	-0.74 (0.48)	-0.86 (0.42)	-0.79 (0.45)	**-0.92 (0.40)***	0.67 (1.95)	0.63 (1.87)
University	**-1.70 (0.18)****	**-1.29 (0.28)***	**-1.75 (0.18)****	**-1.57 (0.21)****	**-0.85 (0.43)***	-0.07 (0.93)
Occupation (ref: Non-Manual)						
Manual	-0.41 (0.67)	-0.09 (0.91)	0.22 (1.24)	0.10 (1.11)	-0.01 (0.99)	0.07 (1.07)
Income (ref: Income group 5)						
Income group 1	-1.58 (0.21)	-0.49 (0.61)	**-1.79 (0.17)***	-1.45 (0.24)	-1.48 (0.23)	-0.37 (0.69)
Income group 2	-1.01 (0.36)	-0.04 (0.96)	-0.78 (0.46)	-0.29 (0.75)	**-1.49 (0.23)***	0.10 (1.10)
Income group 3	-0.27 (0.76)	0.07 (1.07)	-0.07 (0.93)	-0.07 (0.93)	**-1.32 (0.27)***	-0.23 (0.79)
Income group 4	-0.56 (0.57)	-0.05 (0.95)	-0.24 (0.79)	-0.52 (0.60)	-0.72 (0.49)	-0.16 (0.89)
Trade Union Member (ref: No)						
Yes	-0.68 (0.51)	0.28 (1.32)	-0.31 (0.74)	**0.84 (2.31)***	-0.54 (0.58)	0.52 (1.68)
Nagelkerke (Adjusted R^2)	.212 (n=1286)		.241 (n=1065)		.224 (n=1178)	
Correctly classified Greens	2.4%		11.8%		3.9%	

Note: *=p<0.05, **=p<0.001

Table 9.2: Social-Structural predictors for partisan identity 2010-2016

	2010		2013		2016	
	Liberal/National	Labor	Liberal/National	Labor	Liberal/National	Labor
Gender (ref: Female)						
Male	0.23 (1.25)	0.06 (1.06)	0.30 (1.35)	0.01 (1.01)	0.69 (2.00)**	0.11 (1.12)
Age (ref: 65+)						
18-24	-2.22 (0.11)**	-1.44 (0.24)*	-2.10 (0.12)**	-1.32 (0.27)**	-2.92 (0.05)**	-2.18 (0.11)**
25-34	-2.36 (0.10)**	-1.44 (0.24)*	-0.86 (0.42)*	-0.44 (0.65)	-2.08 (0.13)**	-1.55 (0.21)**
35-44	-1.63 (0.20)*	-1.07 (0.34)*	-1.04 (0.35)**	-0.53 (0.59)	-1.72 (0.18)**	-1.35 (0.26)**
45-54	-1.43 (0.24)*	-0.71 (0.40)	-0.66 (0.52)*	-0.06 (0.94)	-1.44 (0.24)**	-0.64 (0.54)
55-64	-1.32 (0.27)*	-1.00 (0.37)*	-0.55 (0.58)	0.01 (1.01)	-0.77 (0.46)*	-0.26 (0.77)
Place of Residence (ref: Urban)						
Rural	0.16 (1.17)	-0.20 (0.82)	0.07 (1.07)	-0.09 (0.91)	0.37 (1.44)	0.23 (1.26)
Social Class (ref: Upper/middle)						
None	0.45 (1.56)	0.89 (2.42)	-0.64 (0.53)	-0.22 (0.81)	-0.72 (0.49)	-0.22 (0.81)*
Working	-0.27 (0.76)	0.57 (1.76)	-0.05 (0.95)	0.58 (1.78)*	-0.05 (0.96)	0.57 (1.77)**
Religion (ref: Religious)						
Not Religious	-1.15 (0.32)**	-0.40 (0.67)	-1.71 (0.18)**	-0.99 (0.37)**	-1.73 (0.18)**	-1.07 (0.35)
Education (ref: High School)						
Technical	-0.59 (0.56)	-0.87 (0.42)*	-0.26 (0.77)	-0.21 (0.81)	0.51 (1.66)	0.23 (1.26)
University	-1.51 (0.22)**	-1.06 (0.35)*	-1.66 (0.19)**	-1.00 (0.37)**	-1.05 (0.35)**	-0.70 (0.50)**
Occupation (ref: Non-Manual)						
Manual	0.37 (1.45)	0.83 (2.29)*	-0.57 (0.57)*	-0.27 (0.76)	-0.49 (0.64)	0.05 (1.05)
Income (ref: Income group 5)						
Income group 1	-1.93 (0.15)*	-2.25 (0.11)*	-0.55 (0.58)	0.96 (2.62)	-1.17 (0.31)	-0.39 (0.68)
Income group 2	-1.10 (0.33)	-0.17 (0.86)	-0.76 (0.47)*	0.40 (1.49)	-1.75 (0.17)**	-1.12 (0.33)*
Income group 3	-0.74 (0.48)	-0.09 (0.91)	-0.47 (0.62)	0.44 (1.55)	-1.20 (0.30)**	-0.93 (0.40)*
Income group 4	-0.15 (0.86)	0.33 (1.40)	-0.43 (0.65)	0.38 (1.46)	-0.94 (0.39)*	-0.77 (0.46)*
Trade Union (ref: No)						
Yes	-0.55 (0.58)	0.49 (1.63)	-1.06 (0.35)**	0.15 (1.16)	-0.87 (0.42)**	0.50 (1.64)*
Nagelkerke (Adjusted R^2)	.214 (n=1456)		.233 (n=2641)		.278 (n=1954)	
Greens Correctly Classified	1.3%		3.6%		26.3%	

*=p<0.05, **= p<0.001

Tables 9.1 and 9.2 display social-structural predictors of partisan identifiers. Making the Greens the reference category reverses the beta values (B) and odds ratios (exp(B) from traditional predictive modelling. For example, a person is *less likely* to identify as Liberal/National compared to Greens if they are aged 18-24, with this effect significant across five of the six election surveys. Conversely, a person is *more likely* to identify as Liberal/National compared to Greens if they are male, but this effect is only significant in two of the surveys (in this case; 2.16 times more likely in 2004 and twice as likely in 2013). This presentation of results is less intuitive than making either major party the reference category and comparing predictors of Green partisan identity. However, this measure follows Rüdig (2012) and allows for simultaneous presentation of all other parties compared to the Greens in the one model. Therefore, negatively coded predictors indicate areas that predict Greens support inferred from predicting the absence of either Labor or Liberal/National support.

Generally, several predictors consistently reached significance when comparing Liberal/National partisans to Greens. Liberal/National partisans were less likely than Greens to be not religious in all six surveys. They were also less likely to hold university qualifications and more likely to only hold high school qualifications. They were also less likely to be younger. Participants aged 18-44 were less likely than those over 65 to hold Liberal/National partisan identity between 2004 and 2016. Regarding income, Liberal/National partisans were less likely to have lower incomes compared to Greens, particularly less likely to report income in income group 2 across four of the six surveys. This indicates Liberal/Nationals partisans are older, had high incomes, high religiosity and low education. They were also less likely to be trade union members compared to Greens in 2013 and 2016.

Compared to Liberal/Nationals, differences between Labor and Green partisans were less stark. Age was largely a significant predictor, but not in 2001, 2007 and only for 18-24 in 2013. Generally, participants who were younger than 65 were less likely to identity as Labor compared to Greens, but this was less consistent than Liberal/National partisans. Class was a significant predictor, notably in 2007 where a working-class participant was 2.4 times more likely to identify with Labor than Green. While not significant in 2001 and 2010, working-class participants were more likely to identify with Labor in all other surveys. Labor participants were also less likely to not be religious in all surveys except 2010 and 2016, less likely to hold university qualifications in all surveys bar 2007 and were more likely to be a trade union member in 2004 and 2016. Income was only significant in 2010 and 2016, generally indicating lower incomes were less likely to identify as Labor partisans. What this indicates is that despite less robust significant predictors, Labor partisans were generally older, working class, had higher levels of religiosity and lower levels of education compared to Greens partisans

In the latest survey (2016), a high number of predictors were significant for both parties and pointed to different directions. While both major parties were less likely than the Greens to be younger, hold university qualifications and middle bracket incomes, only Liberal/Nationals were more likely than Greens to be men, religious and not trade union members. Conversely, only Labor participants were more likely to be working class and hold trade union membership.

Turning to effect sizes, the thesis examined both the Nagelkerke Adjusted (also known as Pseudo) R^2 and correct classification rates. This was done for correctly classified partisans on Table 9.3 below.

Table 9.3: Correctly classified partisans based on social-structural predictors 2001-2016

	2001	2004	2007	2010	2013	2016
Liberal/National	74.4	77.8	67.9	59.8	74.6	78.3
Labor	54.9	46.2	68.8	64.5	55.6	42.7
Greens	2.4	11.8	3.9	1.3	3.6	26.3
Others	-a	-	-	-	0	0
None	0	9	1.1	1.1	3.3	15.3
Total	*50.2*	*52.4*	*53.7*	*55.3*	*51.5*	*50.6*

a: "Others" were omitted due to low numbers

The Nagelkerke Adjusted R^2 is a measurement of determining how much the regression model fits the total variance. It ranges from values as low as .214 in 2001 and as high as .278 in 2016. This is different from a linear regression R^2, in which the value expressed as a percentage is the degree of variance explained as a model, but a rough indication of this. Generally speaking, between a fifth and just over a quarter of the differences between Green partisans and other parties are explained by social-structural factors. Of more relevance to a logistic regression model is the classification tables. That is, how many partisans did the model correctly identify using the predictors in the regression model?

Here, the model demonstrates mixed levels of success. It ranges from a low of 1.3% of correctly classified Greens in 2010 to a high of 26.3% in 2016. While 2016 indicates more than a quarter of Green partisans were correctly identified by the social-structural factors, results tend to be on much lower end of the spectrum, with only one other year reaching over 10% (2004). These results indicate social-structural factors alone, at least until 2016, were very weak in correctly identifying Green partisans. Indeed, social-structural attitudes only correctly classify half of all partisan respondents.

Political attitudes of party identification

After controlling for social-structural factors, each political attitude is measured in a separate analysis. These are presented together in the tables below.

Table 9.4: Political attitude predictors of partisan identity (social-structural controlled) 2001-2007

	2001		2004		2007	
Reference Category: Greens	Liberal/National	Labor	Liberal/National	Labor	Liberal/National	Labor
Postmaterialism (ref: Mixed)						
Materialist	0.71 (2.04)	0.19 (1.21)	**1.67 (5.30)***	1.04 (2.83)	**1.65 (5.22)***	**1.19 (3.28)***
Postmaterialist	-1.02 (0.36)	-0.28 (0.76)	**-1.68 (0.19)****	**-0.83 (0.44)***	**-1.48 (0.23)****	**-0.99 (0.37)***
Left-Right Self placement (0-10)	**0.92 (2.52)****	0.22 (1.25)	**0.76 (2.14)****	0.00 (1.00)	**0.81 (2.24)****	**0.19 (1.21)***
Nagelkerke (Adjusted R²)	.417 (n=1023)		.482 (n=916)		.417 (n=1098)	
Correctly Classified Greens	8%		22.7%		25.4%	
Turning boats back (ref: Disagree)						
Agree	**2.41 (11.09)****	0.35 (1.41)	**2.72 (15.10)****	**1.11 (3.04)***	-a	-
Neither agree nor disagree	**1.69 (5.42)****	0.14 (1.15)	**1.15 (3.17)***	0.42 (1.52)	-	-
Refugee/Asylum Seekers (ref: Extremely important)						
Not very important	1.01 (2.75)	**1.52 (4.58)***	0.67 (1.95)	0.33 (1.39)	-	-
Quite important	0.07 (1.07)	0.41 (1.51)	0.49 (1.63)	0.14 (1.15)	-	-
Nagelkerke (Adjusted R²)	.307 (n=1205)		.324 (n=1036)		-	-
Correctly Classified Greens	7.3%		15.2%		-	-
Environment (ref: Extremely important)						
Not very important	-b	-	-	-	**1.65 (5.22)****	**-0.92 (0.03)***
Quite important	-	-	-	-	**3.05 (21.01)****	-1.11 (0.11)
Nagelkerke (Adjusted R²)	-	-	-	-	.473 (n=1074)	
Correctly Classified Greens	-	-	-	-	2.8%	

Note: a: These questions were not ask in the 2007 AES. b: Unexpected singularities in the Hessian matrix occurred, so the model was not considered. This means the variable made an unstable regression model due to not enough sampling power of the dependent variable.

Table 9.5: Political attitude predictors of partisan identity (social-structural controlled) 2010-2016

	2010		2013		2016	
Reference Category: Greens	Liberal/National	Labor	Liberal/National	Labor	Liberal/National	Labor
Postmaterialism (ref: Mixed)						
Materialist	**0.92 (2.52)***	0.58 (1.79)	**0.94 (2.55)***	0.51 (1.66)	**1.66 (5.27)****	**1.38 (3.99)***
Postmaterialist	**-1.48 (0.23)****	**-0.87 (0.42)***	**-0.93 (0.50)****	**-0.57 (0.56)***	**-0.87 (0.42)***	-0.46 (0.63)
Left-Right Self placement (0-10)	**0.88 (2.40)****	**0.21 (1.23)***	**0.94 (2.57)****	**0.30 (1.35)****	**0.67 (2.63)****	**0.22 (1.25)****
Nagelkerke (Adjusted R²)	.428 (n=1325)		.445 (n=2342)		.505 (n=1726)	
Correctly Classified Greens	12.7%		19.1%		38.7%	
Turning boats back (ref: Disagree)						
Agree	**2.09 (8.11)****	0.54 (1.71)	**3.05 (21.16)****	**1.22 (3.39)****	**3.71 (40.67)****	**1.50 (4.50)****
Neither agree nor disagree	**1.71 (5.55)****	0.50 (1.64)	**1.53 (4.61)****	0.35 (1.42)	**2.56 (12.90)****	**1.26 (3.52)****
Refugee/Asylum Seekers (ref: Extremely important)						
Not very important	0.29 (1.34)	0.25 (1.28)	0.38 (1.46)	**0.57 (1.76)***	**0.86 (2.36)***	**0.88 (2.42)***
Quite important	-0.12 (0.89)	0.25 (1.28)	0.09 (1.10)	0.31 (1.37)	**0.74 (2.09)***	**0.57 (1.76)***
Nagelkerke (Adjusted R²)	.293 (n=1451)		.338 (n=2590)		.412 (n=1907)	
Correctly Classified Greens	2.5%		10.5%		39.7%	
Environment (ref: Extremely important)						
Not very important	**2.56 (12.95)****	0.82 (2.26)	**4.14 (62.50)****	**2.38 (10.81)****	**3.47 (32.09)****	**1.93 (6.88)***
Quite important	**2.13 (8.41)****	**1.36 (3.91)****	**3.30 (27.12)****	**2.21 (9.09)****	**2.90 (18.14)****	**1.71 (5.51)****
Nagelkerke (Adjusted R²)	.282 (n=1452)		.339 (n=2611)		.368 (n=1923)	
Correctly Classified Greens	8.8%		19.3%		37.1%	

Note: *=p<0.05, **p=<0.001

Tables 9.4 and 9.5 display political attitudes as predictors for party identification. Social-structural attitudes are controlled for and were entered into the model as well, but not presented in this table for brevity (they can be seen in the Appendix, with only highly salient results discussed here). Rather than entering all political attitudes into the model at once, the table presents each 'block' of political attitudes separately entered. The reason for this is fourfold. The first is not all predictors were asked in all six surveys, with questions regarding asylum seekers not present in the 2007 survey. Second, environmentalism caused the model to become unstable in 2001 and 2004 due to the low number of Green participants, creating overinflated values. Third, this allows for each block of political attitudes to be assessed separately for Adjusted R^2 square and classification change. Lastly, overdispersion of the data would occur if all variables were entered together. This creates too many empty cells or cells with only one expected count and overstate the importance of the predictors on the dependent variable. To assess all political attitudes together, the number of participants would need to be greater or the number of social-structural predictors reduced. While there is no doubt entering the variables together would cause different results, entering them separately is statistically more appropriate in this instance. Determining the individual effect of each political attitude dimension highlights their saliency in partisan and vote choice.

Turning attention to ideology (specifically postmaterialism and left-right ideological self-placement) highlights the salience of political attitudes in shaping partisan. After controlling for social-structural predictors, both major parties demonstrate a more conservative outlook compared to the Greens. Measuring themselves on a scale from 0 to 10, with 0 being 'left-right' and 10 being 'right-wing', Liberal/National partisans are more likely to identify as more right-wing in all six surveys compared to the Greens. This is also true for Labor from 2007 onwards, albeit at a reduced value. Where Liberal/Nationals are almost, on average, a point more right-wing than Greens, Labor hovers around a fifth of a point more

right-wing, with this effect half as likely (odd ratios around 1.2 compared to 2.4). This confirms that Greens partisans consider themselves more left-wing than either major parties.

Postmaterialism also shows differences between major parties and the Greens. Here, partisans can be one of three categories; 'pure materialist', pure 'postmaterialist' or 'mixed'. In all surveys from 2004, Liberal/National partisans are more likely than the Greens to be pure materialists and less likely to be pure postmaterialists than mixed. Conversely, Labor partisans were less likely to be pure postmaterialists than Greens compared to mixed in all surveys between 2004 and 2013, although the effect was trending in 2016. Conversely, they were only more likely to be more materialist than Greens compared to mixed in 2007 and 2016. The effect for 2007 is suitable given the highly materialist election issues, but the 2016 significance is curious. This confirms that Greens partisans are the most postmaterialist cohort between all three, although less consistently compared to Labor partisans.

The effect of ideology on classification and model fit is strong, as seen in Table 9.6 below. The Nagelkerke Adjusted R^2 values, on average, double to between .417 and .505, indicating moderately good model fit. This suggests that ideological political attitude predictors increase the fit of the model by around 20%. More important, the percentage of correctly identified Greens partisans increases. While this starts low in 2001, it is most dramatic in 2007, where the percent of correctly identified Greens increases by over 22%. By 2016, ideology increases correct classification by 12%, almost on par with the number of correctly classified Labor partisans.

Table 9.6: Correctly classified partisans based on ideology 2001-2016

	2001	2004	2007	2010	2013	2016
Liberal/National	78.2	82.8	75.5	75	78.1	82.9
Labor	68.1	66	73.5	76.2	72.4	64.2
Greens	8.3	22.7	25.4	12.7	19.1	38.7
Others	1.7	-	-	-	0	0
None	5.6	10.9	1.2	4	5.9	18.6
Total	*56.4*	*62*	*60.2*	*62.9*	*60.2*	*60.4*

Regarding the issue of asylum seekers, the results confirm the hypothesis that the issue is highly polarised. Liberal/National partisans are more likely than Green partisans to agree to send boats boat or even remain neutral across all five surveys. Notably, the odds ratios are striking. At its highest in 2016, a participant is 40.67 times more likely to be a Liberal/National partisan then a Green partisan if they agree to turn the boats back compared to disagreeing. For Labor partisans, the effect is much less pronounced and fails to reach significance in 2001 and 2010, but in general, respondents are significantly more likely to be Labor partisans than Greens if they agree to turn the boats back, with this including neutral participants in 2016. The likelihood is much lower, but this supports the idea that the issue divides Labor and Green partisans.

Concerning its importance as an electoral issue, ‘refugees and asylum seekers’ were significantly more likely to affect Labor partisans, who were more likely than Green partisans to declare the issue ‘not very important’ to their vote than Greens. This indicates the issue was important for Greens partisans but not Labor, suggesting that people who felt strongly on the issue were absent from the Labor party. This effect returns in 2013 and 2016. The only time it appears to not be an election issue for Liberal/National partisans was 2016, where they were more likely than Greens partisans to not consider the issue ‘extremely important’.

Examining the effect on model fit and classification rates indicate that refugees and asylum seekers was less robust than ideology. Both the Nagelkerke Adjusted R^2 and classification rates in Table 9.7 below indicates the model fit improved when these issues were in the model, but not to the degree ideology improved the model fit. However, the 2016 classification rates were slightly higher than those ideology factored. After controlling for social structure, almost 40% of Greens partisans correctly identified by their attitudes towards refugees, asylum seekers and the boats.

Table 9.7: Correctly identified partisans based on asylum seekers attitudes 2001-2016

	2001	2004	2010	2013	2016
Liberal/National	76.7	80.0	71.6	75.6	78.7
Labor	61.2	55.8	68.6	64.1	56.1
Greens	7.3	15.2	2.5	10.5	39.7
Others	0	-	-	0	0
None	10.6	9.9	1.6	23.9	13.3
Total	*54.3*	*56.9*	*57.8*	*55.4*	*55.6*

Turning the attention to the environment only provides comparisons to 2007 due to the lower proportion of Green partisans in 2001 and 2004. However, the results show the issue differentiates Greens from major party partisans, particularly the Liberal/Nationals. These results should be considered with some caution as the standard error rates are marginally higher in some cases, indicating the true odds ratios are quite wide. One example is in 2013, where participants who found the environment was not very important were 64.04 times more likely to be a Liberal/National partisan. This suggests the data was overdispersed in this instance. While imprecise, they indicate environmental political attitudes to be highly salient in predicting Greens partisan identity.

Notably, 'the environment' differentiates Labor and Green partisan in a similar way from 2010, but in 2007, contrary to expectations, Labor partisans were less likely than Green partisans to believe the issue was 'not very important' compared to 'extremely important'. Given the highlight of environmental issues in the election and Rudd's purported environmental credentials, it suggests Labor partisans paid close attention to the environment. Since 2010, they are more likely than Green partisans to cite the environment as 'not very important' or 'quite important' compared to extremely important. When examining the effect on classification and model fit, environmentalism acts the same as other political attitudes, although it actually decreased classification accuracy in 2007. It also increased the model fit by less than either ideology and asylum seekers except in 2007, in which it reached a Nagelkerke Adjusted R^2 of .473. This is seen in Table 9.8 below.

Table 9.8: Correctly identified partisans based on environmental attitudes 2007-2016

	2007	2010	2013	2016
Liberal/National	74.4	71.8	74.7	78
Labor	86.1	67.1	59.5	52.3
Greens	2.8	8.8	19.3	37.1
Others	-	-	0	0
None	4.5	1.1	5.7	14.2
Total	*64.2*	*57.5*	*54.8*	*54.1*

Most notable was the very high Labor classification rate in 2007 from the environment at 86.1%. This further supports the idea that Labor partisans took an interest in the environment for this election. While the rate of correctly identified Greens was quite low in 2007 and 2010 compared to ideology, this increases in 2013 and 2016.

To determine whether these effects are significant across time, interactions were tested. As the model was largely used to predict Green partisan durability, all two-way interactions with time-period were forced into the model. While step-wise modelling would only permit significant interactions to enter the model, step-wise models are generally used for exploratory models. There are several different ways to interpret interaction effects in a multinomial logistic regression model, but this thesis takes the approach used by Field (2009 pp. 307-312). The first interaction test found no significant interaction with time-period. This means that there were no significant differences in the social-structural features of partisan identity between 2001-2007 and 2010-2016. When adding political attitudes to the mix sequentially, several results indicate a significant interaction between political attitude and time-period and are discussed in Table 9.9 below.

Table 9.9: Significant interaction effects for party identification

	Liberal/National	Labor
Ideology		
Left-Right self placement (0-10)	-0.13 (0.88)	**-0.14 (0.87)***
Environmentalism (ref: Extremely Important)		
Not very important	**-1.40 (0.25)***	**-1.31 (0.27)***

Note: p<0.05

Broadly speaking, these results show few significant changes in partisan identification across both time periods. This does suggest that while changes across time are not significant, consistently significant predictors remain significant predictors of partisan identity. Levels of postmaterialism and attitudes towards asylum seekers have not significantly changed across time. When compared to the Greens, Labor was slightly more left wing between 2001-2007 than 2010-2016. This effect was significant, but only marginal. On environmentalism, both major parties were less likely to consider the environment 'not very important' between 2001-2007 compared to 2010-2016. What this significant interaction suggests is major party identifiers have become less concerned about the environment compared to Green partisans. This shows partisan attitudes towards the environment have grown more polarised compared to 2001-2007.

House of Representatives Vote results

Social-structural predictors of House of Representative voters

Turning to the next section, this examines the same predictors when applied to House of Representative first preference vote choice.

Table 9.10: Social-structural attitudes for House of Representatives voters 2001-2007

Reference Category: Greens	2001 Liberal/National	2001 Labor	2004 Liberal/National	2004 Labor	2007 Liberal/National	2007 Labor
Gender (ref: Female)						
Male	**0.56 (1.75)***	0.48 (1.62)	**0.79 (2.21)***	**0.51 (1.68)***	0.13 (1.14)	0.11 (1.12)
Age (ref: 65+)						
18-24	**-2.31 (0.10)***	-1.12 (0.33)	**-1.75 (0.22)***	**-1.26 (0.26)***	-0.96 (0.38)	-0.71 (0.49)
25-34	**-1.75 (0.18)***	-1.04 (0.35)	-0.81 (0.45)	-0.82 (0.41)	**-1.27 (0.28)***	-0.82 (0.44)
35-44	**-2.03 (0.13)***	-1.22 (0.30)	**-1.47 (0.23)***	**-1.03 (0.33)***	-0.89 (0.41)	-0.52 (0.60)
45-54	**-2.37 (0.09)***	**-1.75 (0.17)***	**-1.36 (0.26)***	**-1.01 (0.34)***	**-0.93 0.40)***	-0.59 (0.55)
55-64	-1.62 (0.20)	-1.08 (0.34)	-0.80 (0.45)	-0.76 (0.44)	0.02 (1.02)	0.08(1.08)
Place of residence (ref: Urban)						
Rural	0.43 (1.53)	-0.03 (0.97)	0.20 (1.22)	-0.34 (0.70)	0.48 (1.62)	-0.01 (0.99)
Social class (ref: Upper/middle)						
None	**-1.20 (0.30)***	-0.75 (0.47)	-0.81 (0.45)	-0.02 (1.03)	-0.36 (0.70)	0.19 (1.12)
Working	-0.05 (0.96)	**0.69 (1.99)***	-0.18 (0.83)	0.42 (1.55)	**-0.73 (0.48)***	0.07 (1.07)
Religion (ref: Religious)						
Not Religious	**-1.36 (0.26)****	**-0.87 (0.42)***	**-1.66 (0.19)****	**-0.95 (0.38)****	**-1.27 (0.28)****	**-0.68 (0.51)***
Education (ref: High School)						
Technical	-0.37 (0.69)	-0.54 (0.58)	**-0.83 (0.44)***	**-1.05 (0.35)***	-0.07 (0.93)	-0.15 (0.86)
University	**-1.34 (0.26)****	**-0.82 (0.44)***	**-2.10 (0.12)****	**-1.75 (0.17)****	**-1.39 (0.25)****	**-0.86 (0.43)***
Occupation (ref: Non-Manual)						
Manual	0.70 (2.02)	0.90 (2.46)	0.09 (1.10)	0.10 (1.14)	0.45 (1.64)	0.62 (1.84)
Income (ref: Income group 5)						
Income group 1	-2.00 (0.14)	-0.19 (0.83)	**-2.06 (0.13)***	-0.74 (0.58)	**-2.27 (0.10)****	-1.30 (0.27)
Income group 2	**-1.37 (0.25)***	-0.32 (0.72)	**-1.17 (0.31)***	-0.48 (0.60)	**-1.28 (0.28)***	-0.16 (0.85)
Income group 3	-0.20 (0.82)	0.14 (1.15)	-0.24 (0.79)	0.01 (1.04)	**-0.91 (0.40)***	-0.18 (0.84)
Income group 4	0.36 (1.47)	0.72 (2.05)	0.17 (1.19)	0.14 (1.15)	-0.60 (0.55)	-0.14 (0.87)
Trade Union Member (ref: No)						
Yes	**-0.67 (0.51)***	0.09 (1.09)	**-0.58 (0.57)***	0.38 (1.44)	**-0.57 (0.57)***	0.46 (1.58)
Nagelkerke (Adjusted R^2)	.192 (n=1181)		.224 (n=1011)		.201 (n=1130)	
Correctly classified Greens	4.20%		14%		0%	

Note: *=p<0.05, **=p<0.001

Table 9.11: Social-structural attitudes for House of Representatives voters 2010-2016

	2010		2013		2016	
Reference Category: Greens	Liberal/National	Labor	Liberal/National	Labor	Liberal/National	Labor
Gender (ref: Female)						
Male	0.14 (1.15)	-0.22 (0.80)	**0.34 (1.40)***	0.19 (1.12)	**0.61 (1.84)****	0.03 (1.03)
Age (ref: 65+)						
18-24	**-2.24 (0.11)****	**-1.47 (0.23)****	**-1.14 (0.32)****	-0.19 (0.83)	**-2.59 (0.08)****	**-1.82 (0.16)****
25-34	**-1.88 (0.15)****	**-1.00 (0.37)***	-0.54 (0.58)	-0.06 (0.94)	**-2.16 (0.12)****	**-1.30 (0.27)****
35-44	**-1.64 (0.19)****	**-1.21 (0.30)***	**-0.70 (0.50)***	-0.41 (0.66)	**-1.62 (0.20)****	**-1.01 (0.36)***
45-54	**-1.62 (0.20)****	-0.91 (0.40)	**-0.77 (0.46)***	-0.27 (0.76)	**-1.41 (0.24)****	-0.61 (0.54)
55-64	**-1.02 (0.36)***	-0.62 (0.54)	-0.44 (0.65)	-0.12 (0.89)	**-1.08 (0.34)***	**-0.59 (0.56)***
Place of residence (ref: Urban)						
Rural	0.23 (1.26)	-0.18 (0.84)	0.11 (1.12)	-0.05 (0.96)	**0.56 (1.74)***	**0.49 (1.63)***
Social class (ref: Upper/middle)						
None	0.07 (1.06)	0.33 (1.40)	-0.06 (0.94)	0.26 (1.29)	**-0.76 (0.47)***	-0.28 (0.75)
Working	-0.19 (0.90)	**0.65 (1.92)***	0.10 (1.11)	**0.54 (1.71)***	0.35 (1.42)	**0.89 (2.44)****
Religion (ref: Religious)						
Not Religious	**-1.22 (0.30)****	-0.33 (0.72)	**-1.67 (0.19)****	**-1.11 (0.33)****	**-1.56 (0.21)****	**-1.07 (0.34)****
Education (ref: High School)						
Technical	-0.08 (0.92)	-0.29 (0.75)	0.02 (1.02)	0.09 (1.09)	-0.04 (0.96)	-0.35 (0.70)
University	**-0.85 (0.43)****	-0.49 (0.61)	**-1.12 (0.33)****	**-0.56 (0.57)***	**-0.72 (0.49)***	-0.48 (0.62)
Occupation (ref: Non-Manual)						
Manual	-0.15 (0.86)	0.27 (1.30)	-0.03 (0.97)	0.15 (1.17)	0.06 (1.06)	**0.61 (1.84)***
Income (ref: Income group 5)						
Income group 1	-0.95 (0.39)	-1.29 (0.28)	-0.72 (0.49)	0.56 (1.76)	-0.73 (0.48)	-0.21 (0.81)
Income group 2	**-1.16 (0.31)****	-0.25 (0.78)	**-0.74 (0.48)***	0.40 (1.40)	**-1.38 (0.25)****	-0.76 (0.47)
Income group 3	-0.57 (0.57)	-0.08 (0.92)	-0.16 (0.86)	**0.58 (1.78)***	**-1.01 (0.36)***	-0.54 (0.58)
Income group 4	-0.40 (0.67)	-0.18 (0.83)	-0.31 (0.73)	0.42 (1.53)	**-0.75 (0.47)****	-0.51 (0.60)
Trade Union Member (ref: No)						
Yes	**-0.81 (0.45)****	0.15 (1.16)	**-0.89 (0.41)****	0.07 (1.08)	**-1.09 (0.34)****	0.24 (1.23)
Nagelkerke (Adjusted R^2)	.210 (n=1399)		.189 (n=2600)		.249 (n=1879)	
Correctly classified Greens	2.5%		11.6%		28.4%	

Note: *=p<0.05, **=p<0.001

Tables 9.10 and 9.11 unearth notable differences between both major parties social-structural factors compared to the Greens in the lower house. Income is not a significant predictor for Labor lower house voters compared to the Greens apart from one income group in 2013, but a few income groups significantly differentiate Liberal/National and Green lower house voters across all surveys, with participants reporting in income group two significantly less likely to vote Liberal/National compared to income group 5. Further, Liberal/National lower house voters are less likely to be trade union members compared to Greens, whereas there are no significant differences between Labor and Green lower house voters on this effect. Labor and Green lower house voters differ on class, with Labor more likely to report a working-class identity compared to a middle-class identity in four of the six surveys, particularly retaining significance from 2010 onwards. Both major parties are significantly more likely to be religious compared to Green voters, to have university qualifications and to be younger overall. The age effect is patchy for Labor, with no significant age differences in 2007 and 2013, but generally consistent for Liberal/Nationals, with the 18 to 24 significantly less likely to identify as Liberal/National compared to Greens in all elections bar 2007.

The most consistent year for differences between predictors of Labor and Green lower house voting is 2016. There, Labor voters are more likely to live in 'rural' locations and work in manual occupations compared to Green voters. Labor lower house voters were less likely to be between 18-44 and 55-64 compared to 65+ years old compared to the Greens, suggesting the Greens are younger, urban and non-manual workers in 2016. These effects were similar to Liberal/National voters with several additional predictors. Compared to Green lower house voters, Liberal/National voters were male, older, live in rural locations, were more likely to be religious, were less likely to identify as no class compared to middle and upper class, hold university qualifications, less likely to report income between income groups 2 and 4 and less likely to hold trade union membership.

Table 9.12: Correctly classified HR voters based on social-structural predictors 2001-2016

	2001	2004	2007	2010	2013	2016
Liberal/National	78.6	80.5	65.3	71.0	80.8	81.2
Labor	47.4	40.3	68.7	61.1	40.6	41.3
Greens	4.2	14	0	2.5	11.6	28.4
Others	1.5	-	-	-	0	0
Total	*54.2*	*58.6*	*61*	*59*	*53.2*	*53.6*

Turning to the effect sizes in Tables 9.10 and 9.11, as well as 9.12 above, the Nagelkerke Adjusted R^2 ranges from values as low as .189 in 2013 and as high as .249 in 2016. Social-structural predictors account for between a fifth and a quarter of the differences between Green lower house voters and other parties, slightly less than the effect size of partisans. The model demonstrates mixed levels of success regarding classifications tables as seen in Table 9.12 above. The number of correctly classified Greens lower house voters from just social-structural factors is weakest in 2007, where the model did not correctly identify any Greens lower house voters. It is at its strongest in 2016, where the model correctly classified 28.4% of Greens lower house voters from social-structural predictors. This has weaker classification power than for major parties, but demonstrates that the social-structural model was more accurate in 2004, 2013 and 2016 compared to 2001, 2007 and 2010. Compared to partisan identity, while the lowest classification rate is lower, the average rate of correctly classified lower house voters is higher, particularly in 2013. However, this still indicates social-structural predictors offer a weak level of classification power, albeit reaching higher levels in 2016.

Political attitudes of House of Representative voters

The following tables below add political attitudes to House voting.

Table 9.13: Political attitude predictors of House of Representatives voters (social-structural controlled) 2001-2007

	2001		2004		2007	
Reference Category: Greens	Liberal/National	Labor	Liberal/National	Labor	Liberal/National	Labor
Postmaterialism (ref: Mixed)						
Materialist	**1.47 (3.93)***	0.87 (2.39)	**2.69 (14.27)***	**2.05 (7.79)***	**1.57 (4.79)****	**1.13 (3.10)***
Postmaterialist	**-0.85 (0.43)***	-0.36 (0.70)	**-1.70 (0.18)****	**-0.82 (0.44)***	**-1.68 (0.19)****	**-0.87 (0.42)***
Left-Right Self placement (0-10)	**0.67 (1.95)****	0.12 (1.13)	**0.69 (2.00)****	-0.01 (0.87)	**0.65 (1.91)****	0.10 (1.11)
Nagelkerke (Adjusted R²)	.373 (n=993)		.504 (n=877)		.416 (n=1061)	
Correctly Classified Greens	9.2%		23.4%		13.7%	
Turning boats back (ref: Disagree)						
Agree	**2.50 (12.21)****	**0.70 (2.02)***	**2.43 (11.36)****	**0.79 (2.21)***	-a	-
Neither agree nor disagree	**1.58 (4.85)****	0.48 (1.62)	**1.09 (2.94)***	0.15 (1.12)	-	-
Refugee/Asylum Seekers (ref: Extremely important)						
Not very important	0.51 (1.66)	**1.04 (1.20)***	0.12 (1.13)	-0.19 (0.83)	-	-
Quite important	-0.05 (0.85)	0.36 (1.43)	0.20 (1.22)	-0.07 (0.93)	-	-
Nagelkerke (Adjusted R²)	.296 (n=1163)		.328 (n=982)		-	-
Correctly Classified Greens	8.5%		13.1%		-	-
Environment (ref: Extremely important)						
Not very important	**3.21 (24.82)***	**2.16 (8.69)***	-b	-	**1.65 (5.13)****	**-0.73 (0.48)***
Quite important	**2.08 (8.02)****	**1.63 (5.10)****	-	-	**2.76 (15.84)****	**-1.18 (0.31)***
Nagelkerke (Adjusted R²)	.247 (n=1172)		-	-	.495 (n=1039)	
Correctly Classified Greens	12.7%		-	-	4.2%	

Note: a: These questions were not ask in the 2007 AES. b: Unexpected singularities in the Hessian matrix occurred, so the model was not considered. This means the variable made an unstable regression model due to not enough sampling power of the dependent variable.

Table 9.14: Political attitude predictors of House of Representatives voters (social-structural controlled) 2010-2016

	2010		2013		2016	
Reference Category: Greens	Liberal/National	Labor	Liberal/National	Labor	Liberal/National	Labor
Postmaterialism (ref: Mixed)						
Materialist	**0.78 (2.19)***	0.58 (1.79)	**0.91 (2.49)****	0.38 (1.47)	**0.68 (1.97)***	0.56 (1.75)
Postmaterialist	**-1.06 (0.35)****	**-0.52 (0.59)***	**-1.01 (0.36)****	**-0.70 (0.50)****	**-1.02 (0.36)****	**-0.54 (0.58)***
Left-Right Self placement (0-10)	**0.69 (2.00)****	**0.12 (1.13)***	**0.82 (2.27)****	**0.27 (1.32)****	**0.78 (2.17)****	**0.15 (1.15)***
Nagelkerke (Adjusted R^2)	.418 (n=1272)		.405 (n=2307)		.460 (n=1669)	
Correctly Classified Greens	8.8%		30.3%		37.8%	
Turning boats back (ref: Disagree)						
Agree	**1.94 (6.95)****	**0.51 (1.67)***	**3.10 (22.22)****	**1.36 (3.89)****	**3.21 (24.69)****	**1.01 (2.98)****
Neither agree nor disagree	**1.53 (4.62)****	0.49 (1.62)	**1.66 (5.23)****	**0.60 (1.83)***	**2.68 (14.64)****	**1.26 (3.52)****
Refugee/Asylum Seekers (ref: Extremely important)						
Not very important	0.10 (1.12)	0.22 (1.24)	**0.48 (1.61)***	**0.78 (2.18)****	0.54 (1.72)	0.50 (1.64)
Quite important	-0.01 (1.00)	**0.42 (1.53)***	0.16 (1.18)	**0.42 (1.52)***	**0.57 (1.76)***	**0.52 (1.69)***
Nagelkerke (Adjusted R^2)	.292 (n=1386)		.327 (n=2551)		.392 (n=1902)	
Correctly Classified Greens	6.3%		31.1%		42.6%	
Environment (ref: Extremely important)						
Not very important	**2.70 (14.88)****	**0.94 (2.67)***	**3.60 (36.23)****	**1.74 (5.67)****	**2.85 (17.31)****	**1.18 (3.25)***
Quite important	**1.59 (4.92)****	**0.58 (1.79)***	**2.39 (10.87)****	**1.33 (3.76)****	**2.52 (12.42)****	**1.42 (4.12)****
Nagelkerke (Adjusted R^2)	.294 (n=1386)		.303 (n=2572)		.346 (n=1855)	
Correctly Classified Greens	5.7%		29.5%		35.9%	

Note: *=p<0.05, **=p<0.001

Tables 9.13 and 9.14 above outline the political attitudes entered into the multinomial logistic regression model while controlling for social-structural predictors. Turning to ideology upholds the same patterns found in partisan identity; Liberal/National lower house voters are more right wing, more pure materialist and less pure postmaterialist than Greens lower house voters across the entire survey period. Labor lower house voters are less likely to be pure postmaterialist than Greens from 2004 and are slightly further to the right than from 2010. They are also more purely materialist in 2004 and 2007. Examining the Nagelkerke Adjusted R^2 in Tables 9.13 and 9.14 above and classification rates in Table 9.15 below demonstrate a greater fit after including ideological political attitude predictors, with the effect lifting the classification rate from 0 to 13.7% in 2007 and generally doubling the Adjusted R^2 rates. The highest classification rate in in 2016, in which 37.8% of Greens lower house voters are correctly identified, increasing 9.4% from just social-structural predictors.

Table 9.15: Correctly classified HR voters based on ideology 2001-2016

	2001	2004	2007	2010	2013	2016
Liberal/National	78.8	82.3	69.9	74.8	83	83.5
Labor	62.1	64.6	74	72.7	8.2	59
Greens	9.2	23.4	13.7	8.8	30.3	37.8
Others	2.7				0	1.1
Total	*59.8*	*69.2*	*66.8*	*66.3*	*61.9*	*61.4*

The effect of asylum seeker and refugee is consistent for lower house voters, although not as salient as partisans. Labor and Liberal/National lower house voters were more likely to agree to turning boats back than Greens across all years the question was asked. Liberal/Nationals were also more likely to remain neutral than Greens across all years, whereas this effect reached significance for Labor lower house voters from 2013. The issue demonstrated a greater effect for Liberal/Nationals, where voters agreeing to turn back the boats rather than disagreeing were between 6.95 and 24.69 times more likely to vote Liberal/National over Green. The issue's importance during the election did not reach significance for Liberal/National lower house voters until 2016, who were more likely than Green lower house voters to call the issue 'quite important'. Conversely, voters who labelled the issue 'not very important' rather than 'extremely important' were more likely to vote Labor in the House of Representatives rather than Greens in 2001 and 2013. Those who said the issue was 'quite important' were more likely to vote Labor over the Greens from 2010 onwards.

Asylum seeker issues improved the model fit and increased the number of correctly identified Greens across all years. The classification rate in 2016 reached 42.6% of correctly identified Greens, making it the best attitudinal predictor for correctly identifying Greens in 2016 in Table 9.16 below.

Table 9.16: Correctly classified HR voters based on asylum seeker attitudes 2001-2016

	2001	2004	2010	2013	2016
Liberal/National	79.2	80.6	71.5	80.0	80.7
Labor	55.7	51.6	65.7	50.6	53.2
Greens	8.5	13.1	6.3	31.1	42.6
Others	6.7	-	-	0	0
Total	*58.2*	*62.7*	*61.5*	*58.2*	*58.7*

Turning to environmentalism also demonstrates consistency in attitudes, with both Liberal/National and Labor lower house voters more likely than Greens to consider the environment either ‘not very important’ or ‘quite important’ compared to ‘extremely important’ in almost all surveys. However, 2007 demonstrates a reversal of attitudes between Labor and Green lower house voters. Here, voters were less likely to voter Labor in the House of Representatives if they considered the attitude ‘not very important’ or ‘quite important’ compared to ‘extremely important’. This interesting result suggests Labor as able to better control the environmental issue in this election. However, the classification rate is also unusual in Table 9.17 below.

Here, adding environmentalism increased the Labor classification rate to 88.1%, leaving the Greens correctly classified at 4.2%. Given the average rate when including environmentalism in the model is around 50%, the 2007 election indicates Labor had better control of this issue than the Greens. Re-examining the classification rate for correctly identified Labor partisans highlights 2007 as being particularly strong compared to all other elections.

Table 9.17: Correctly identified HR voters based on environment attitudes 2001-2016

	2001	2007	2010	2013	2016
Liberal/National	77.3	70.5	71.9	79.3	81.7
Labor	46.5	88.1	67	43.6	47.8
Greens	12.7	4.2	5.7	29.3	35.9
Others	1.5	-	-	0	0
Total	*53.8*	*72.8*	*62.2*	*55.3*	*56.8*

Overall, the patterns are consistent with the partisan model. Green voters are younger, better educated, less religious, left-wing, postmaterialist and disagree with sending asylum boats back than major party voters. The modelling also indicates Labor had greater control over the environment in 2007 in the absence of asylum seekers being a pressing issue, as well as a re-emerging working-class voter base. While the attitudes towards asylum is not as strong compared to Liberal/Nationals, it still is a point of difference between Labor and Green voters in the lower house.

Turning to interaction effects, the results indicate that voting patterns are slightly more fluid than partisan identity across the two time periods. This is seen in Table 9.18 below. Indeed, there are substantially more interactions in House of Representative voting patterns.

Table 9.18: Significant interaction effects for HR Voters

	Liberal/National	Labor
Social-Structural		
Sex (ref: Female)		
Male	0.50 (1.65)	**1.03 (2.81)***
Class (ref: Middle/Upper)		
Working	**-0.43 (0.65)***	-0.29 (0.75)
Education (ref: High School)		
University	**-0.76 (0.47)***	**-0.59 (0.56)***
Income Group (ref: Income Group 5)		
Income Group 1	**-1.20 (0.30)***	-0.70 (0.50)
Ideology		
Sex (ref: Female)		
Male	1.06 (2.89)	**1.50 (4.45)***
Class (ref: Middle/Upper)		
None	**-0.77 (0.46)***	-0.46 (0.63)
Working	**-0.55 (0.58)***	**-0.47 (0.62)***
Education (ref: High School)		
University	**-0.82 (0.44)***	**-0.65 (0.52)***
Income Group (ref: Income Group 5)		
Income Group 1	**-1.45 (0.24)***	-0.70 (0.50)
Postmaterialism (ref: Mixed)		
Materialism	**0.86 (2.36)***	**0.77 (2.15)***
Own Left-Right Ideology (0-10)	-0.10 (0.90)	**-0.12 (0.89)***
Asylum Seekers/Refugees		
Sex (ref: Female)		
Male	0.83 (2.29)	**1.54 (4.64)***
Education (ref: High School)		
University	**-0.68 (0.51)***	**-0.68 (0.51)***
Income Group (ref: Income Group 5)		
Income Group 4	**0.94 (2.57)***	0.54 (1.71)
Turning boats back (ref: Disagree)		
Neither agree/disagree	**-0.61 (0.54)***	-0.46 (0.63)
Environmentalism		
Sex (ref: Female)		
Male	0.57 (1.77)	**1.33 (3.79)***
Education (ref: High School)		
University	**-0.86 (0.42)***	**-0.70 (0.50)***
Income Group (ref: Income Group 5)		
Income Group 1	**-1.42 (0.24)***	-0.70 (0.50)
Environment (ref: Extremely Important)		
Not very important	**-1.08 (0.33)***	**-0.90 (0.41)***

Overall, social-structural differences between the time-periods reflect several changes within society. Of note is both major parties' voters were significantly less likely to hold a university qualification compared to the Greens in 2001-2007 than 2010-2016, even when controlling for all political attitudes. While this suggests a weakening of education as a predictor to Greens lower house voting preference, it also reflects the general increase of tertiary education within Australian society. Also notable is the higher level of male Labor lower

house voters in 2001-2007 compared to 2010-2016. This may be due to Gillard's role as the first female Prime Minister[64]. Lastly, when compared to middle/upper class voters, the likelihood of working-class Liberal/National voters was lower in 2001-2007 than 2010-2016. This suggests the middle class strengthening their support for Green partisans. Income also played a significant effect, with the lowest income group more likely to support Liberal/National lower House voters in 2010-2016 compared to 2001-2007. This was not true when controlling for asylum seekers, where income group number 4 were more likely to vote Liberal/National compared to Greens than the highest income group in 2001-2007 compared to 2010-2016. This suggests middle income voters, attached to the middle class, had different attitudes towards asylum seekers in the latter period.

When controlling for ideology, these social-structural interaction effects increase, with several now significant in both major parties lower house voters. After controlling for ideology, working-class voters were less likely to vote either Liberal/National or Labor in the lower house between 2001 and 2007 compared to between 2010 and 2016. This extended to those who did not identify with any class for Liberal/National voters, with this group less likely to vote with them in 2001-2007 compared to 2010-2016. Technical education increased in Liberal/National voters between both time periods. This indicates controlling ideology increases the likelihood of these social-structural factors reaching significance.

Looking at political attitudes, both major parties have become less materialist over time. Labor was also significantly more left wing in 2001-2007 than compared to 2010-2016. On asylum seekers, Liberal/Nationals were less likely to hold a neutral position in 2001-2007

[64] Julia Gillard became the first female Australia Prime Minister in mid-2010 from a leadership spill of the ALP. After obtaining minority government at the 2010 election, she governed until losing a leadership challenge shortly before the 2013 election to Kevin Rudd. Her ascension was associated with a notable increase in the number of females voting for the ALP (Bean & McAllister 2012, p. 344).

compared to 2010-2016. This suggests that more Liberal/National voters who initially disagreed between 2001 and 2007 moved to a neutral position between 2010 and 2016. Conversely, both major partisans were less likely to think the environmental issue was 'not very important' compared to 'extremely important' in 2001-2007 compared to 2010-2016. This highlights polarisation on the environment has increased between major party voters and the Greens, while Liberal/Nationals became less sympathetic to asylum seekers. It also shows that changes in Australian society between 2001 and 2016 have had the greatest impact on lower house voting preferences.

Senate Vote results

Social-structural predictors of Senate voters

The next section deals with the social-structural factors that explain Senate voting patterns. They demonstrate a slightly different picture compared to both House voting and party identification, particularly regarding the success of the model in its classification power. These are seen in the tables below.

Table 9.19: Social-structural predictors of Senate votes 2001-2007

	2001		2004		2007	
Reference Category: Greens	Liberal/National	Labor	Liberal/National	Labor	Liberal/National	Labor
Gender (ref: Female)						
Male	0.22 (1.25)	0.15 (1.16)	**0.66 (1.94)***	0.32 (1.38)	0.01 (1.01)	0.05 (1.01)
Age (ref: 65+)						
18-24	**-1.78 (0.17)***	-0.45 (0.64)	**-1.38 (0.25)***	**-1.00 (0.37)***	-0.22 (0.81)	0.46 (1.59)
25-34	**-1.13 (0.32)***	-0.47 (0.63)	**-1.16 (0.32)***	**-1.12 (0.31)***	-0.68 (0.51)	-0.15 (0.87)
35-44	**-1.21 (0.30)***	-0.35 (0.70)	**-1.42 (0.24)***	**-0.99 (0.37)***	-0.45 (0.64)	-0.03 (0.97)
45-54	**-1.16 (0.31)***	-0.67 (0.51)	**-1.55 (0.21)****	**-1.25 (0.29)***	-0.19 (0.83)	0.17 (1.19)
55-64	-0.44 (0.64)	0.05 (0.11)	-0.87 (0.42)	-0.81 (0.44)	-0.02 (0.98)	-0.01 (0.99)
Place of residence (ref: Urban)						
Rural	-0.48 (1.62)	0.23 (1.26)	0.33(1.39)	-0.12 (0.89)	**0.50 (1.65)***	0.21 (1.23)
Social class (ref: Upper/middle)						
None	**-1.09 (0.34)***	-0.68 (0.51)	**-0.97 (0.38)***	-0.16 (0.85)	-0.27 (0.76)	0.14 (1.15)
Working	-0.22 (0.81)	0.52 (1.69)	0.09 (1.09)	**0.79 (2.22)***	**-0.55 (0.58)***	0.20 (1.22)
Religion (ref: Religious)						
Not Religious	**-1.54 (0.21)****	**-1.07 (0.34)****	**-1.45 (0.24)****	**-0.81 (0.45)****	**-1.26 (0.28)****	**-0.86 (0.43)****
Education (ref: High School)						
Technical	-0.30 (0.74)	-0.42 (0.66)	-0.25 (0.78)	-0.48 (0.62)	-0.18 (0.84)	-0.35 (0.71)
University	**-1.11 (0.33)****	**-0.91 (0.40)***	**-1.37 (0.26)****	**-1.12 (0.33)****	**-1.33 (0.27)****	**-0.95 (0.39)****
Occupation (ref: Non-Manual)						
Manual	0.24 (1.27)	0.34 (1.41)	0.08 (1.08)	0.03 (1.03)	0.17 (1.19)	0.31 (1.36)
Income (ref: Income group 5)						
Income group 1	**-2.48 (0.09)***	-0.87 (0.42)	-1.50 (0.22)	-0.07 (0.93)	**-1.80 (0.17)***	-0.49 (0.62)
Income group 2	**-1.09 (0.34)***	0.02 (1.02)	**-0.84 (0.43)***	0.08 (1.08)	**-0.82 (0.44)***	0.48 (1.61)
Income group 3	**-0.70 (0.50)***	-0.22 (0.80)	-0.27 (0.76)	0.04 (1.04)	**-0.82 (0.44)***	0.30 (1.35)
Income group 4	-0.57 (0.56)	-0.15 (0.86)	0.30 (1.34)	0.16 (1.17)	-0.52 (0.59)	0.26 (1.29)
Trade Union Member (ref: No)						
Yes	**-0.86 (0.42)****	-0.11 (0.90)	**-0.67 (0.51)***	0.27 (1.31)	**-0.77 (0.46)****	0.20 (1.23)
Nagelkerke (Adjusted R^2)	.181 (n=1152)		.218 (n=1042)		.196 (n=1142)	
Correctly classified Greens	11.1%		26.3%		23.3%	

Note: *=p<0.05, **=p<0.005

Table 9.20: Social-structural predictors of Senate voters 2010-2016

	2010		2013		2016	
Reference Category: Greens	Liberal/National	Labor	Liberal/National	Labor	Liberal/National	Labor
Gender (ref: Female)						
Male	**0.39 (1.47)***	0.19 (1.21)	**0.28 (1.33)***	-0.01 (1.00)	**0.60 (1.83)****	0.10 (1.11)
Age (ref: 65+)						
18-24	**-1.45 (0.23)****	-0.32 (0.73)	**-0.97 (0.38)***	-0.32 (0.73)	**-2.04 (0.13)****	-0.73 (0.48)
25-34	**-1.56 (0.21)****	-0.49 (0.62)	-0.44 (0.65)	-0.07 (0.93)	**-1.36 (0.26)****	**-0.73 (0.48)***
35-44	**-1.15 (0.32)****	-0.54 (0.58)	**-0.50 (0.61)***	-0.13 (0.88)	**-1.00 (0.37)****	-0.48 (0.62)
45-54	**-1.08 (0.34)****	-0.51 (0.60)	**-0.59 (0.55)***	-0.29 (0.75)	**-0.82 (0.44)***	-0.07 (0.94)
55-64	**-0.61 (0.54)***	-0.34 (0.71)	**-0.44 (0.64)***	-0.06 (0.94)	**-0.84 (0.43)****	-0.38 (0.69)
Place of residence (ref: Urban)						
Rural	0.33 (1.38)	0.13 (1.13)	**0.34 (1.40)***	0.25 (1.29)	**0.53 (1.69)***	**0.50 (1.64)***
Social class (ref: Upper/middle)						
None	0.17 (1.18)	0.53 (1.70)	-0.39 (0.69)	0.07 (1.08)	-0.37 (0.69)	-0.17 (0.84)
Working	-0.25 (0.78)	**0.45 (1.57)****	0.10 (1.11)	**0.62 (1.85)****	0.29 (1.34)	**0.92 (2.50)****
Religion (ref: Religious)						
Not Religious	**-1.10 (0.33)****	-0.28 (0.76)	**-1.41 (0.24)****	**-0.86 (0.42)****	**-1.34 (0.26)****	**-1.00 (0.37)****
Education (ref: High School)						
Technical	**-0.43 (0.65)***	**-0.65 (0.52)***	-0.27 (0.76)	-0.31 (0.74)	0.18 (1.20)	-0.02 (0.98)
University	**-1.23 (0.29)****	**-1.12 (0.33)****	**-1.31 (0.27)****	**-0.86 (0.42)****	**-0.73 (0.48)***	-0.47 (0.63)
Occupation (ref: Non-Manual)						
Manual	-0.09 (0.91)	0.12 (1.13)	-0.00 (1.00)	0.06 (1.06)	0.02 (1.02)	0.35 (1.42)
Income (ref: Income group 5)						
Income group 1	-0.33 (0.72)	-0.43 (0.65)	-0.32 (0.73)	0.91 (2.49)	-0.27 (0.76)	0.83 (2.29)
Income group 2	**-0.93 (0.40)***	-0.03 (0.97)	**-0.74 (0.48)***	0.23 (1.25)	**-1.16 (0.31)****	-0.10 (0.91)
Income group 3	-0.41 (0.67)	0.17 (1.19)	-0.39 (0.68)	0.30 (1.35)	**-0.75 (0.47)***	-0.09 (0.91)
Income group 4	-0.29 (0.75)	-0.03 (0.97)	**-0.50 (0.61)***	0.17 (1.18)	-0.50 (0.61)	-0.10 (0.91)
Trade Union Member (ref: No)						
Yes	**-0.82 (0.44)****	0.11 (1.11)	**-0.96 (0.38)****	-0.03 (0.97)	**-1.04 (0.35)****	0.30 (1.35)
Nagelkerke (Adjusted R²)	.204 (n=1419)		.181 (n=2607)		.224 (n=1770)	
Correctly classified Greens	27.7%		32.7%		28.3%	

Note: p=*=p<0.05, **=p<0.001

Tables 9.19 and 9.20 above present a slightly different picture compared to both partisan and lower house voters. Turning to the individual parameter estimates indicates this stable base of Green Senate voters indicates stark differences between Liberal/National and Green Senate voters. Liberal/National Senate voters are less likely than Green Senate voters to be between the ages of 18 and 54 compared to over 65, with the effect largely consistent across every survey besides 2007. Liberal/National Senate voters are also less likely to not be religious, hold university qualifications or be trade union members across all survey. They are also more likely than Green Senate voters to be from rural populations in 2007, 2013 and 2016, as well as hold higher incomes. While there was a marginal class effect in 2001 and 2004, with Liberal/Nationals less likely than Green Senate voters to identify with no class compared to middle or upper class, this disappeared from 2007. This follows the patterns of both House voters and partisans, albeit with greater consistency.

In contrast, the differences between Labor and Green Senate voters attract few significant parameter estimates. Age is only significant in 2004 and 2016, with 2016 holding only one significant parameter estimated. Voters aged between 25 and 34 are less likely to vote Labor in the Senate over the Greens compared to those over 65. The most consistent attitudes are religion and university education; Labor Senate voters are significantly less likely to report no religion in all years except 2007 and are significantly less likely to hold university qualifications over just high school in all surveys except 2016. The working-class identity holds in all surveys from 2010, consistent with partisan identity and lower house voting preference. Income and trade union membership fail to reach significance in any survey. This indicates that while some consistency holds in university and religiousness, Labor Senate voters show less social-structural distinction from Green Senate voters than in other domains.

Table 9.21: Correctly classified Senate voters based on social-structural predictors 2001-2016

	2001	2004	2007	2010	2013	2016
Liberal/National	80.9	80.2	69.1	78.8	82.8	83.4
Labor	39.9	32.3	58	41.6	28.4	34.2
Greens	11.1	26.3	23.3	27.7	32.7	28.3
Others	2	0	0	0	0.2	1
Total	*48.4*	*50.7*	*52.6*	*51.2*	*47.8*	*49.5*

Another immediately apparent difference in Table 9.21 above is the higher proportion of correctly identified Green upper house voters, ranging from 11.1% in 2001 to 32.7% in 2013. This means the model correctly identified substantially higher number of Greens by social-structural factors alone in the Senate than partisan or lower house voting. Indeed, the 2013 model was better at correctly identifying Green Senate voters than Labor Senate voters (32.7% compared to 28.4%). Labor generally demonstrate weaker classification rates in the Senate, with the overall correctly classified proportion lower than both partisans and House voters. There are also lower Nagelkerke Adjusted R^2 values. This indicates the same social-structural model has less fit than it does in partisan and House of Representative contexts. While there are several ways to interpret this, the notably higher proportion of correctly classified Green Senate voters from social-structural predictors alone is a good indication of a stable base of voters in the Senate.

Political attitudes of Senate voters

After controlling for social-structural attitudes, the different political attitudes effect on Senate first preference vote are measured. Notably, environmental attitudes can be measured across all years of analysis. This is seen in Tables 9.22 and 9.23 below.

Table 9.22: Political attitude predictors of Senate voters (social-structural controlled) 2001-2010

	2001		2004		2007	
Reference Category: Greens	Liberal/National	Labor	Liberal/National	Labor	Liberal/National	Labor
Postmaterialism (ref: Mixed)						
Materialist	**1.11 (3.04)***	0.70 (2.00)	**1.82 (6.13)***	**1.20 (3.32)***	**0.56 (1.76)***	0.20 (1.23)
Postmaterialist	**-0.57 (0.24)****	**-0.85 (0.43)***	**-1.50 (0.22)****	**-0.74 (0.48)***	**-1.68 (0.19)****	**-1.17 (0.31)****
Left-Right Self placement (0-10)	**0.50 (1.91)****	0.10 (1.01)	**0.74 (2.09)****	0.10 (1.11)	**0.61 (1.84)****	**0.12 (1.13)***
Nagelkerke (Adjusted R²)	.370 (n=975)		.461 (n=909)		.476 (n=1070)	
Correctly Classified Greens	31.1%		44.1%		33.2%	
Turning boats back (ref: Disagree)						
Agree	**2.35 (10.50)****	**0.82 (2.26)***	**2.54 (12.64)****	**0.97 (2.64)***	-a	-
Neither agree nor disagree	**1.68 (5.36)****	0.65 (1.92)	**1.34 (3.82)****	0.56 (1.75)	-	-
Refugee/Asylum Seekers (ref: Extremely important)						
Not very important	**0.82 (2.51)***	**1.53 (4.60)***	0.38 (1.46)	0.16 (1.18)	-	-
Quite important	-0.26 (0.77)	0.26 (1.30)	0.25 (1.29)	0.08 (1.08)	-	-
Nagelkerke (Adjusted R²)	.273 (n=1137)		.321 (n=1014)		-	-
Correctly Classified Greens	20.4%		37.6%		-	-
Environment (ref: Extremely important)						
Not very important	**3.50 (31.78)***	**2.70 (14.85)***	**3.24 (25.47)***	**2.09 (8.08)***	**2.10 (8.18)****	0.04 (1.04)
Quite important	**1.84 (6.28)****	**1.40 (4.06)****	**2.04 (7.68)****	**1.30 (3.66)****	**3.56 (35.02)****	-0.02 (0.98)
Nagelkerke (Adjusted R²)	.234 (n=1144)		.301 (n=1032)		.440 (n=1048)	
Correctly Classified Greens	23.5%		36.2%		27.3%	

Note: a: These questions were not ask in the 2007 AES. *=p<0.05, **=p<0.001

Table 9.23: Political attitude predictors of Senate voters (social-structural controlled) 2010-2016

	2010		2013		2016	
Reference Category: Greens	Liberal/National	Labor	Liberal/National	Labor	Liberal/National	Labor
Postmaterialism (ref: Mixed)						
Materialist	**0.78 (2.18)****	**0.58 (1.78)***	**0.67 (1.94)***	0.21 (1.24)	**0.73 (2.08)***	0.58 (1.78)
Postmaterialist	**-1.24 (0.29)****	**-0.87 (0.42)****	**-0.82 (0.44)****	**-0.65 (0.52)****	**-1.30 (0.27)****	**-0.63 (0.53)***
Left-Right Self placement (0-10)	**0.68 (1.98)****	**0.14 (1.15)***	**0.73 (2.08)****	**0.21 (1.23)****	**0.69 (2.00)****	**0.16 (1.17)***
Nagelkerke (Adjusted R^2)	.401 (n=1294)		.372 (n=2312)		.419 (n=1593)	
Correctly Classified Greens	39.3%		47.3%***		46.2%	
Turning boats back (ref: Disagree)						
Agree	**2.09 (8.12)****	**0.77 (2.16)****	**3.05 (21.08)****	**1.40 (4.07)****	**3.52 (33.73)****	**1.40 (4.05)****
Neither agree nor disagree	**1.68 (5.38)****	**0.49 (1.63)***	**1.55 (4.71)****	**0.68 (1.96)****	**2.47 (11.77)****	**1.02 (2.76)****
Refugee/Asylum Seekers (ref: Extremely important)						
Not very important	-0.11 (0.90)	0.11 (1.12)	0.10 (1.10)	**0.68 (1.98)****	**0.74 (2.09)***	**1.03 (2.81)****
Quite important	-0.25 (0.78)	0.30 (1.35)	0.09 (1.09)	**0.44 (1.55)***	**0.63 (1.87)***	**0.60 (1.82)***
Nagelkerke (Adjusted R^2)	.295 (n=1409)		.317 (n=2558)		.387 (n=1732)	
Correctly Classified Greens	35.3%		47.8%***		53%***	
Environment (ref: Extremely important)						
Not very important	**3.23 (25.24)****	**1.47 (4.36)***	**3.25 (27.59)****	**1.58 (4.85)****	**3.39 (29.75)****	**2.14 (8.46)****
Quite important	**1.50 (4.50)****	**0.69 (2.00)****	**2.25 (9.46)****	**1.21 (3.34)****	**2.18 (8.85)****	**1.16 (3.20)****
Nagelkerke (Adjusted R^2)	.298 (n=1411)		.294 (n=2579)		.315 (n=1750)	
Correctly Classified Greens	38.3%		50.3%***		43%***	

Note: *=p<0.05, **=p<0.001 ***=Classification higher than Labor party

The addition of political attitudinal predictors into the model generates consistency. Turning attention to ideology, both predictors are significant in all surveys for Liberal/Nationals. In all surveys, Liberal/National Senate voters were more likely to be pure materialist, less likely to be pure post-materialist and be further to the right than Green Senate voters. For Labor partisans, while they were less likely to be pure post-materialists than the Greens across all surveys, they were more likely to be slightly further to the right from 2007 and only more likely to be pure materialists in 2004 and 2010. The difference between Liberal/National and Labor Senate voters in ideology was, on average, 0.5 points. That is, Labor was further to the right than Green Senate voters, but 0.5 points less than Liberal/Nationals scores. In terms of classification and model fit, ideology is almost double the goodness of fit across all surveys.

While classification scores were already high from social-structural factors alone, they increase to between 31.1% in 2001 and 47.5% in 2013, with more correctly identified Green Senate voters in 2013 compared to Labor. Indeed, the classification rate in 2004 and 2016 is very similar. This suggests ideology is a particularly salient predictor for Senate voting behaviour that begins from the first survey, as seen in Table 9.24 below.

Table 9.24: Correctly classified Senate voters based on ideology 2001-2016

	2001	2004	2007	2010	2013	2016
Liberal/National	80.1	83.7	73	77.3	85.1	83.8
Labor	54.6	49.5	61.3	54.7	41.4	46.6
Greens	31.1	44.1	33.2	39.3	47.3	46.2
Others	7.7	0	0	0	0.8	6.3
Total	55.4	59.5	57	58	54.2	55.9

Attitudes towards asylum seekers and refugees are also relatively consistent. Across all surveys, both Labor and Liberal/National Senate voters were more likely to agree about sending the boats back. This extended to remaining neutral for Liberal/National Senate voters across all surveys and Labor Senate voters from 2010. It still retains high odds ratios for Liberal/Nationals; they were between 8.12 and 33.73 times more likely to agree to sending boats back compared to disagreeing. In terms of the issues importance to how they voted in the election, both major parties were more likely to consider the issue 'not very important' in 2001. From 2013 onwards, Labor Senate voters were more likely to consider the issue 'not very important' or 'quite important' compared to the Greens. This suggest the issue retains high saliency for Green voters across both houses of parliament. While this political attitude led to a lower Adjusted R^2, it sharply increased the classification rate.

The model correctly identification Green senate voters at a higher rate than Labor from 2013, with the classification rate reaching a high point of 53% in 2016. This means that asylum seeker attitudes, after controlling for social-structural predictors, were better at predicting Green Senate voters than Labor partisans in multiple elections. This indicates this issue is highly salient to Green Senate voters, as seen in Table 9.25 below.

Table 9.25: Correctly classified Senate voters based on asylum seeker attitudes 2001-2016

	2001	2004	2010	2013	2016
Liberal/National	80.9	81.8	76.8	81.6	81
Labor	49.9	40.1	47.1	35.0	39.6
Greens	20.4	37.6	35.3	47.8	53
Others	5.4	0	0	0.5	4.2
Total	52.9	55.6	54.8	51.3	53.7

Table 9.26: Correctly classified Senate voters based on environmental attitudes 2001-2016

	2001	2004	2007	2010	2013	2016
Liberal/National	77.7	78.3	72.7	73.5	82.1	81.7
Labor	40.5	38.8	76.2	46.8	33.8	39.1
Greens	23.5	36.2	27.3	38.3	50.3	43
Others	2.5	0	0	0	0	1.4
Total	48.4	53.3	61.4	53.9	51.5	52.1

Turning to the environment above in Table 9.26 above shows similar results to the other models. The model correctly identified Green senate voters at a higher rate than Labor from 2013, with the classification rate reaching a high point of 53% in 2016. This means that asylum seeker attitudes, after controlling for social-structural predictors, were better at predicting Green Senate voters than Labor partisans in multiple elections. This indicates this issue is highly salient to Green Senate voters. Turning to the environment shows similar results to the other models.

Across all surveys, Liberal/National Senate voters were more likely to consider the environment 'not very important' or 'quite important' across all surveys. Labor Senate voters were the same except when the attitude failed to reach significance in 2007. However, the issue is associated with a noticeably higher classification rate compared to all other years. 2007 was also an odd year for Liberal/National Senate voters as the likelihood of voters who considered the issue 'quite important' jumped. Unlike the partisan identity and lower house models, the Senate model did not become unstable with the addition of the environment as a predictor. This may be due to the higher proportion of Green voters smoothing out the extreme values it created. It had a similar effect on classification rates and Adjusted R^2, reaching 50% of correctly identified Greens in 2013. While the classification rate dropped in 2016, the model still correctly classified more Green voters than Labor voters. It also reinforces the assertion that Labor controlled the environment as an election issue, with the classification rate for Labor the highest in 2007.

Table 9.27: Significant interaction effects for Senate voters

	Liberal/National	Labor
Social-Structural		
Income Group (ref: Income Group 5)		
Income Group 1	**-1.49 (0.23)***	**-1.17 (0.31)***
Ideology		
Income Group (ref: Income Group 5)		
Income Group 1	**-1.82 (0.16)***	**-1.20 (0.30)***
Asylum Seekers/Refugees		
Sex (ref: Female)		
Male	0.16 (0.74)	**1.07 (2.90)***
Environmentalism		
Income Group (ref: Income Group 5)		
Income Group 1	**-1.60 (0.20)***	**-1.21 (0.29)***
Environment (ref: Extremely Important)		
Not very important	**-1.12 (0.31)***	**-0.94 (0.39)***

Note: *=p<0.05

Contrary to the House of Representatives, interactions uncovered fewer significant results. Table 9.27 above shows the results of the interaction analysis. Only a couple of social-structural predictors showed any significant change, particularly income group 1. This indicated that the lowest income group were more likely to vote Liberal/National or Labor than the Greens in the Senate between 2010 and 2016 compared to 2001-2007, with this effect increasing after controlling for ideology and environmentalism. There was also a gender effect after controlling for political attitudes regarding asylum seekers, demonstrating Labor Senate voters were more likely to be male between 2001 and 2007 compared to between 2010 and 2016, reinforcing the House of Representatives trend. Unlike partisans and House of Representative voters, left-right ideology failed to reach significance in the interaction model. However, the importance of the environment followed the same patterns as it did during both party identification and lower house patterns; both major parties considered the environment extremely important in 2001-2007 than they did in 2010-2016. This highlights that overall, the environment as a political issue has become more polarised in all partisans and voters across both houses.

Conclusion

The multinomial logistic regression analysis demonstrates general support for the assertion that the Greens have evolved into a significant, distinct and durable political force. The results show that the Greens' partisans and voters, particularly in the Senate, are significant in number. They are distinct in terms of attitudinal, socioeconomic and demographic characteristics. They are durable in terms of consistency of support. Their partisans, House of Representative and Senate voters show a distinct pattern of support on key predictors, particularly age, religious status and education level. Significant predictors demonstrate their profile is distinct from both major party groups on key political attitudes, particularly regarding ideology, asylum seekers and the environment. The model shows greater classification power in later elections, suggesting the increase of Greens partisan and voter support strengthens their support profile. Interactions also suggest that income levels and particularly attitudes towards the environment have changed significantly over time, with the environment further polarised between major party supporters the Greens.

Taken together, the analysis presented in chapters 7, 8 and 9 provides solid evidence of realignment in the Australian party system between 1990 and 2019. The Greens have emerged from small grassroot political organisations in the early seventies to a durable political party that is the 'third force' in Australian politics. These results, their limitations and their implications are discussed further in chapter 10.

Chapter 10: Discussion

To determine whether the Australian Greens' success constitutes a realignment in the Australian party system, the thesis examined the question from two different approaches. By evaluating how the Greens developed as a political party and analysing salient issues in the Australian political system, the thesis demonstrates how the Greens cemented themselves in Australia's evolving party system. The emergence of environmental issues and asylum seekers in an increasingly postmaterialist electorate galvanised electoral support for the Greens. They benefitted from several features of Australia's electoral institution including preferential and single transferable voting and achieved substantial legislative victories over three decades. To support and reinforce this institutional analysis, the thesis replicated traditional behaviouralist methods to test data scholars historically used to classify whether realignment has occurred. This included analysing voting data and running an exploratory factory analysis in chapter 7. Chapter 8 analysed survey data to identify the demographics of the Greens' partisans and their voting behaviour. Chapter 9 further tested this survey data and employed multinomial logistic regression to demonstrate the significance of this analysis.

This discussion weaves the two approaches together to demonstrate how the Australian electorate has changed and how this change qualifies as realignment. It evaluates the methods used in this thesis on Australian survey and voting data and ties it back to institutional discussions that occurred earlier in the thesis. By linking empirical findings found in Chapters 7, 8 and 9 to the dynamics of Australia's party system discussed in Chapters 3 and 4, this chapter demonstrates realignment as a viable explanation for the ascendency of the Greens. While the realignment is on a smaller scale than American applications discussed in chapter 1, it remains significant given that the rise of the Greens has ramifications for the Australian party system.

How the Greens entered the party system

The Australian party system has slowly moved towards a multipartisan political environment. From a stable period of two-party dominance, a broader spectrum of political parties entered the political realm from 1977 on a platform of 'new politics' and the subsequent changed dynamics in the legislative arena. After the emergence of the Australian Democrats as a reaction to high ideological polarity between the Coalition and Labor, several parties won representation in the Australian Senate and briefly in the House of Representatives. This reached its peak between 2010 and 2019 as numerous micro parties and state-based personal parties gamed the electoral system to deliver a diverse Senate crossbench. Multiple periods of minority government occurred in the House of Representatives with both Labor and the Coalition. These political forces eroded major party support to record lows and reflected the desire for political change in the electorate. As the 2016 Senate reforms reduced the influence of micro parties and independents at the 2019 half-Senate election, very few players retained significant and durable support.

Compared to other minor parties, Greens support remained durable during this period. As discussed in chapter 5, major environmental concerns surrounding both natural ecosystems and uranium deposits in the early seventies and eighties precipitated realignment towards the Greens. The Franklin Dam became a major catalyst not just for local green political action but Australia's environmental movement. For many, the Franklin Dam was the first political issue based around an environmental dispute that escaped the Tasmanian state domain and entered the national consciousness. It heralded Greens figurehead Bob Brown's admission to parliamentary politics in 1982. While Labor successfully saved the Franklin River through High Court action, they pursued uranium mining by approving the Roxby Downs project and galvanised the Nuclear Disarmament Party. This issue catapulted Jo Vallentine into the Senate in 1984, who would eventually run successfully under her own

banner in 1987 and the Greens Western Australia in 1990. These two issues and the consequent parliamentary victories would help the formation and successes of both the Tasmanian Greens and Greens Western Australia.

As the environment took centre stage at the 1990 federal election, Labor conceded first preferences from environmentally conscious voters by lobbying environmentalist groups and explicitly campaigning for second preferences in the preferential voting system from their members (Richardson 1994). While Labor was environmentally more responsive than the Coalition, their declining electoral performance drove Environmental Minister Graham Richardson to adopt the unconventional strategy. By doing so, Labor legitimised the Democrats and the Greens as viable political parties, boosted their profile and delivered public electoral funding to them. As these two parties had the strongest environmental policies and the electoral system allowed for their vote to be meaningful in both houses, the Democrats received their highest ever vote. This short-term political strategy bolstered the burgeoning Greens party, facilitated their first Senate victory in Western Australia and allowed them a foothold into the party system.

During the nineties, the Greens' state branches consolidated into a national party and Bob Brown entered federal politics. However, materialist election issues kept the Greens' support minimal during the nineties, with only Western Australia and Tasmanian representatives winning election in 1993 and 1996. As the 1998 federal election revolved around GST and the issue of immigration, the Greens faced a declining vote. To date, 1998 remains the last election that the Greens failed to win seats. This changed in 2001.

Analysing the Greens' electoral performance

Although there had been a slowly emerging base moving towards the party, 2001 saw a substantial increase in the Greens' electoral position at the expense of Labor. Table 7.4 (p.

206) showed the 2001 election was the first where the Greens contested all divisions, helping to double their national vote total across the House of Representatives and the Senate. Their support increased gradually and proved durable in subsequent elections. This election-on-election increase led to the Greens' Senate representation rising from two seats in 2001 to five seats in 2007. At the 2010 election, they won their first lower house seat at a federal election in the Division of Melbourne and have held it since. At the lower house level, there were clear patterns to Greens support with inner-city electorates consistently reaching over 20% of the vote in Melbourne and Sydney from 2004. Seats that reached over 20% of the vote were also found in Tasmania, Queensland and the Australian Capital Territory in several election years. Census data linked this support with higher incomes, higher levels of education, higher proportions of people aged between 25-34 and lower levels of religious activity. Multivariate analysis in chapter 9 found these to be significant predictors of Greens support.

Asylum seekers stood out as a critical issue that explains the increase in the Greens' vote in 2001. Labor's response to the Tampa crisis alienated portions of the electorate, while the Greens provided the only explicit opposition to Howard's Pacific Solution across all effective political parties (Manning 2003). Manning (2003) and Table 8.8 of this thesis (p. 261) highlight that in 2001, 42.9% of the Greens' House of Representative vote came from voters who reported voting Labor in 1998. The number of voters who reported voting for the Greens in the previous election increased from 40.3% to 53.5% in 2001 (Table 8.7, p. 259). Further, the number of voters who reported voting for the Greens across both Houses of parliament increased from 55.9% in 1998 to 75% in 2001 (Table 8.3, p.255). This performance awarded them two seats in the Senate and doubled their first preference vote. Interview data from Jackson (2016) identified Tampa as a salient catalyst towards galvanising Greens support and the multinomial logistic regression analysis (Tables 9.15 and 9.16, pp.

290-291) performed in chapter 9 of this thesis confirm significant differences between Labor and Greens House of Representative voters on attitudes on asylum seekers. The asylum seeker issue demonstrably shifted Labor voters and partisans to the Greens. The empirical jump in their vote and survey-voting data outlining the shift in Labor voters to the Greens suggests 2001 as a critical point in realigning the electorate.

Chapter 7 also tested the Greens' consistent electoral support for durability across elections with the use of exploratory factor analysis. Factory analysis was not as useful for examining multipartisan party systems as Wildgen (1974) or this thesis anticipated. While both American (MacRae & Meldum 1960, Knuckey 1999) and European (Berrigan 1982) scholars successfully used the approach to identify critical elections, they considered two-party contests. Wildgen (1974, p. 479) proved an attractive alternative as, although his original study focused on single-party politics, the underlying logic of treating each candidate as an individual made his approach applicable to multipartisan politics. However, this produced mixed results.

The number of factors and the nature of the factor scores were sensitive to which parties the thesis entered in to the analysis. One unusual finding was that populist parties affected how Greens support operates in the factor analysis. One Nation's presence in 1998 created a factor with just Greens and One Nation support. When entered as an item into the House of Representatives factor analysis (see Table 7.8, p.216), the item pushed the Greens into a new factor. While this did not occur in both analyses in 2001 and the Senate analysis in 2019, One Nation support did not reach the same level. This effect occurred again with the presence of Palmer United Party in 2013, isolating the Greens' support from other minor parties. Why this occurred was not immediately apparent. It may be that populist parties and the Greens oppose each other like Labor and the Coalition, creating a new item. This is not

unheard of in the literature. Evidence from Cole (2005) and Dalton (2009) suggests that new-right parties emerged as a reaction to new-left parties like the Greens. This means that the Greens/ONP98 and Greens/PUP13 items loading onto new factors is the 'new politics' equivalent to 'old politics' LibLab items. It is also possible that earlier Greens support aligned more with protest political parties like One Nation, but fell away from 2001. This highlights how sensitive factor analysis can be to additional variance but also how complex multiple party systems are.

The decision whether to include One Nation or the United Australia Party in the 2019 House of Representatives factor analysis presented challenges, with each result creating a slightly different factor analysis. The decision to condense these two parties into the 'Other' column helped keep the factor analysis manageable. Their low national vote tally also played a part on this decision. Future research might consider running all political parties separately across all divisions. However, this may result in a factor analysis too complex to be meaningful. Simplifying this exploratory analysis uncovered some preliminary leads for more concise statistical analyses to consider.

Although this may suggest that Wildgen's logic is flawed, the inability to achieve simple structure does not invalidate the model. Entering more variance in the form of multiple items for each election inevitably creates a model with more examinable factors. The original study also featured a higher number of variables, as Wildgen (1974, pp. 477-478) omitted three 'noise' variables for the 'canon of parsimony'. Despite these problems, the Senate factor structure can be interpreted relatively easily. The factor structures found (Table 7.10, p. 222) point to patterns that highlight electoral eras for both major and minor parties. The analysis points to 1996 and 2007 being significant years for major political party support changing, as well as 2001 for minor party support consolidating. Given that these patterns

broadly match the House of Representative factor structure (Table 7.8, p. 216) they suggest electoral support for the Greens and major parties is consistent and durable. The factor analysis suggests that after being a fringe party in the nineties, the Greens entered a more consolidated political position for ‘minor parties’ than it had been and explained more variance in the overall models. This indicates that from 2001, Greens electoral support fit more with established political parties.

Despite losing ground to the Greens in 2001, the arrival of electorally popular leader Kevin Rudd in 2007 temporarily reversed Labor’s fortunes. Rudd bolstered Labor’s environmental credibility and seemed poised to tackle climate change head on, ratifying the Kyoto Protocol in his first week of office. To date, 2007 is Labor’s highest first preference vote since 1993. Rudd successfully campaigned on materialist economic issues and the postmaterialist environmental issue. Labor’s campaign against the electorally unpopular WorkChoices issue brought working-class voters back into their partisan fold compared to the middle/upper class, as seen in Table 9.4 on page 276. In this election and this election alone, Tables 9.13 and 9.22 on page 267 and 280 show Labor partisans and House of Representative voters valued the environment more than the Greens (Tables 9.13, p. 288 and 9.22, p. 301). Although the Greens’ vote increased in 2007, Table 7.5 on page 210 shows this was the only election since 2004 where the Greens did not achieve over 20% of the vote in Grayndler, a ‘heartland’ of the Labor party. These indicators all suggested the 2007 was a return to form for the Labor party.

In contrast, the 2010 election remains the most successful for the Australian Greens. Chapter 7 reveals they had substantial success across the eastern seaboard and reached over 10% of the vote in every state and territory, as well as achieving public funding in every division in the Senate. Conservative Liberal Leader Tony Abbott’s rise in 2009 and the

lukewarm reception to Rudd's Carbon Pollution Reduction Scheme by all sides of politics drove Labor to abandon their environmental policy ambitions in early 2010. Labor's inability to legislate substantial environmental policies and their subsequent leadership change damaged their credibility. Table 8.8 on page 261, in which 46.5% of Greens voters in 2010 previously voted Labor in 2007 reinforces this. Tables 8.4-8.6 on page 258 also show 17.4% of Labor voters in the House of Representatives voted Greens in the Senate. These statistics are the highest in their respective columns. Despite the Greens role in minority government, chapter 5 demonstrates how the subsequent electoral fall-out in 2013 matched previous subnational and international experiences of Greens government formation (Rüdig 2012).

Although they lost substantial support in 2013, chapter 9 revealed significant differences in predictors between major parties and the Greens. While they lost votes, their support base grew strongly, particularly when considering political attitudes. The number of self-identified Greens partisans continued to increase, albeit slowly. Further, support in established areas of inner-city electorates remained high, with the Greens reaching second place in several electorates across both Labor and Liberal electorates. The survey data analysed in Chapter 8 also demonstrated an increase in the number of voters voting for the Greens in previous elections, particularly from 2013. These results indicate while the Greens' vote has not reached the 2010 high, it has become more durable compared to elections prior.

While chapter 7 uncovered some pertinent findings, analysing aggregate vote share in isolation involves several limitations. This includes the possibility of ecological fallacies. As the aggregate unit used was divisional-level data, it does not infer individual-level motivation for vote decision making. It also means that consistency of voting patterns between elections is impossible to determine. Only the rise and fall of vote percentages is certain, not whether a swing to Labor indicates a swing to the Greens in a seat. Further, redistributions mean that

the aggregate units are not consistent across elections. While electorates where the Greens perform well in are smaller, inner city divisions with a long history and only minor redistributions, they reduce the consistency of results.

In this regard, chapter 7 serves as an introduction to unearthing realignment in the electorate in the absence of appropriate survey data. It frames realignment at an aggregate level as per the original study conducted by Key (1955). Identifying realignment pre-survey data must measure how votes play out at the ballot box. As the closest aggregate unit to American counties, electoral divisions provide a rough indicator for Australia in the absence of the high number of states. As the Greens had too few respondents in earlier existing survey data, chapter 7 provides a usable measure of Greens support before 2001. Further, exploratory factor analysis allows for comparisons between elections in terms of voting patterns and how those patterns change between periods. Both methods in chapter 7 and survey data relating to voting behaviour in chapter 8 point to 2001 as the election that galvanised Greens support, 2007 as the election that reinforced major party support and 2010 as the election that delivered the Greens their best result. Regardless, to talk about realignment of the electorate suggests a change not just in the composition of votes but the behaviour of voters themselves.

The profile of Greens support

Due to the limitations of aggregate-level voting data identified, more rigorous statistical testing was required. Chapters 8 and 9 analysed Australian survey data to determine whether the Greens had a significant and durable base. The survey trends found in existing Australian survey data supported the notion of Greens voters as a distinct voting cohort. The findings reported (see Figures 8.1-8.25, pp. 231-253) reinforce previous findings of Greens support as younger, middle class, highly educated, non-manual workers with middle-range incomes

(Dennison 2017; Miragliotta 2013; Rüdig 2012). Religion was also a noticeable difference between partisans, a finding Donovan (2014) linked to centre-right parties. The location category did not demonstrate dramatic differences between partisans; the Greens had marginally more respondents who lived in cities. Logistic regressions in chapter 9 supported this; partisanship was unrelated to location. Location was only significantly related to House of Representative vote choice in 2016 and Senate vote choice in 2007, 2013 and 2016, with Greens voters more likely to be urban than both Labor and Coalition voters.

Analysing political attitudes also supported the idea of specific political issues causing polarised party responses. The findings reported (see Tables 8.3-8.12 and Figures 8.26-8.28, pp. 255-268) reinforced previous studies that point to Greens support coming from a more left-wing partisan base than major parties. These figures also supported several studies that Greens partisans have a more postmaterialist base compared to major party partisans (Blount 1998; Charnock & Ellis 2003, 2004; McAllister 2011, p. 211; Papadakis 1990, p. 50). On attitudes related to the environment and asylum seekers, there were stark differences between the Greens and Liberal/Nationals, with Labor in the middle. Greens partisans demonstrated higher rates of disagreeing with turning boats back and believed the environment is 'extremely important'. Liberal/National voters demonstrated the highest proportion who 'agree'. The environment was slightly less polarised than asylum seekers, but the Liberal/Nationals contained the highest proportion who think the environment is 'not very important'. Multinomial logistic regression found in chapter 9 confirmed these political attitudes were significant predictors of partisanship and vote choice across multiple elections.

Survey data also uncovered patterns of Greens voting behaviour that point to increasing durability. Compared to other partisans, Greens in the House of Representatives reported slightly lower rates of voting for the same party at previous election compared to

Liberal/National and Labor. However, including only elections from 2001 demonstrates the Greens' overall rate of partisan voting is higher than Labor (Table 8.7, p. 260). Compared to the Democrats, which swung 20% either way at each election, the Greens' retention rate rarely deviated between 10% besides 2016. The data supports Manning's (2003) findings and reinforces 2001 and 2010 as successful years for the Greens, as high levels of their voters reported voting Labor in the previous election. While prior Liberal/National voters demonstrate a small defection between 2001 and 2010, this halved from 2013 onwards. The low level of prior Democrats voters also upholds the idea that the Greens distinct cohort is different from Democrats support.

While the number of voters who support the Greens between elections is consistent, albeit weaker than major parties, the Greens demonstrated greater success at maintaining straight ticket voting and translating partisanship to votes compared to the Labor party. Green voters had higher rates of voting for the same party in the House and Senate compared to Labor after 2007 (Table 8.3, p. 255). The Greens also show higher rates of voting for their identified party, particularly in the Senate compared to Labor (Figures 8.26-8.28, p. 263). This supports the multinomial logistic regression models from chapter 9, with the model more likely to classify Greens support in the Senate compared to the House of Representatives. While there is a noticeable gap between both major parties in relation to partisans voting in House and Senate voting, this is much smaller in Green partisans, especially since 2007 (Figure 8.26-8.28, p. 263).

Overall, survey data supported the thesis in asserting the Greens have a distinct partisan base. Notable demographic differences between the Greens and major party partisans are visible from descriptive data. Further, while Greens voters are slightly less consistent than established parties, they have recently matched Labor in voting durability. Greens partisans

also follow through with voting for the Greens in both houses of parliament at a greater rate than Labor. This demographic data indicates that a Green partisan has identifiable characteristics compared to major parties.

Taking the demographic trends of Greens partisan support found in chapter 8, the thesis employed multinomial logistic regression to test whether they were statistically significant in chapter 9. The multinomial logistic regression demonstrated overall support for the claim that the Greens maintain a significantly distinct and durable base, albeit weaker than assumed. The analysis demonstrated several predictors have more consistency in explaining Green partisan and voter support. It also identified several long-term trends relating to both ideological and political attitudes that explain Greens support. While social-structural differences demonstrated less classification power between partisans and lower house voters than expected (Tables 9.3; 9.12, pp. 275, 287), the higher classification rates in the Senate showed Greens Senate voters are durable and numerous (Table 9.21, p. 300). Further, the predictors proved significant across a broad range of elections. The addition of political attitudes increased both classification power and model fit, particularly in the Senate when attitudes relating to ideology, asylum seekers and the environment were better at identifying Green voters than Labor voters (Tables 9.24-9.26, pp. 303-305). Although weaker than expected, the predictive power of social-structural predictors was higher in 2010-2016 than 2001-2007, with 2016 showing remarkable improvement for Green partisans and lower house voters. If the Greens' weakest election during this period for support was 2007, the 2016 election is their strongest. The Greens in 2016 typically had higher than normal classification rates in partisans and lower house voters and a high number of significant predictors. This demonstrates their significant and durable base has continued to develop, supporting the notion that they have benefitted from realignment in the electorate.

In general, expected significant social-structural differences between Greens and major party partisans and voters held across multiple elections. All social-structural predictors involved reached significance at least once in the analysis. Religion and education were significant predictors in almost all elections across all three dependent variables (Green partisans, Green House of Representatives Voters and Green Senate voters). Green respondents were more likely than both Coalition and Labor respondents to hold university education. Working-class participants tended to align with Labor across all three dependent variables compared to middle class voters, especially in the second period between 2010 and 2016. There were stark differences between Liberal/National and Green partisans and voters across the board. Younger, middle-range income participants were less likely to express Liberal/National partisanship or voter choice than Greens across almost all elections. These tend to support previous studies findings on similar predictors, including international ones (Dennison 2017; Miragliotta 2013; Rüdig 2012). This indicates that there are significant, notable and durable differences between Greens and major party counterparts in Australia that follow the same pattern as international party systems.

The addition of political attitudes demonstrated greater differences between Greens and their major party counterparts. Greens partisans and voters were consistently further left, more postmaterialist, disagreed with turning the boats back, consider asylum seekers an important election issue and consider the environment extremely important in almost all years measured. While the differences between Liberal/Nationals and Greens were more consistent, the differences between Labor were significant particularly after 2010. As noted in chapters 8 and 9, asylum seekers were a particularly polarising issue, with very high odds ratios present between Liberal/National and Green respondents across all three dependent variables. This occurred with the environment more broadly, with the differences between Liberal/Nationals and Greens presenting very high odds ratios. The sharp increase in correct classification and

general increase in model fit indicated political attitudes explained a greater proportional of Greens durability and significance than expected.

Examining for interaction effects revealed different responses in partisans, House of Representatives voters and Senate voters. This meant that predictions had significantly different effects in 2001-2007 compared to 2010-2016. These are salient for the durability of several predictors, particularly political attitudes. For partisans, Liberal/Nationals were more likely to report middle-range income groups during 2001-2007 than 2010-2016, suggesting that more lower-income partisans adopted Liberal/National party identification in 2010-2016. Further, Labor partisans were more left wing during this period, suggesting Labor partisans moved slightly to the right after 2010 (Table 9.9, p. 284). House voters (Table 9.18, p. 292) demonstrated the greatest change between 2001-2007 and 2010-2016, with overall education levels significantly rising across major party voters, as well as working class and mixed postmaterialist values. Gender differences were present; men were more likely to vote Labor than Greens in 2001-2007 compared to 2010-2016. Left-right ideology also showed more polarisation between Labor and the Greens in House voters, with Labor voters moving slightly to the right in 2010-2016 compared to 2001-2007. Liberal/National attitudes towards asylum seekers in 2001-2007 moved voters who disagreed towards a neutral position in 2010-2016. For the Senate, voters who had the lowest income were more likely to vote Liberal/National in the Senate in 2010-2016 (Table 9.27, p. 307). Interactions showed social-structural predictors and political attitudes changed in intensity over time, but remained durable ways to differentiate between Greens and major partisans. They reinforced the Greens' significantly distinct base and strengthened the case for realignment.

However, the most salient difference was attitudes towards the environment. Both major party groups were much more likely to consider the environment 'not very important'

than the Greens in 2010-2016 compared to 2001-2007. This effect demonstrates 'the environment' was the most polarising and salient attitude in the analysis, with its significance found across partisans, lower and upper house samples. This also supports the case that realignment maintained itself due to polarisation over the re-emerging issue of the environment. Overall, the interactions demonstrate income, social class, ideology and attitudes towards both the environment and asylum seekers were not only significant in predicting Greens support compared to major parties, but also increased in saliency in 2010-2016 compared to 2001-2007.

Several limitations of the AES survey data emerge from analysing Greens support more rigorously. The most apparent being the small number of Greens in the sample size, particularly during earlier elections in the analysis. Given their minor party status, the small number of Greens respondents required condensing or omitting variables, such as changing occupation from an eight-category variable to a two-category one. This reduced potential overdispersion[65]. The high number of respondents across the Senate dependent variable for the Greens helped alleviate small sample size concerns. Environmental attitudes also led to inflated values due to the low Greens rate until 2007 outside of the Senate. Further, questions retaining consistency over the six elections could be difficult to locate, with income presenting difficulties to harmonise. Environmental issues were constantly changing, with only the broadest question addressing this issue consistent across all six years. Consistency was largely retained besides some political attitudes being absent in some surveys. It is

[65] Some possible overdispersion of data was found in some election years, suggesting the data was spread too thin across many categories and inflated some of the predictors' importance. According to Field (2009, p. 276), the overdispersion found in the data was not problematic, as it did not reach beyond a dispersion parameter of 1.5. The dispersion parameter was calculated as per Field (2009, p. 276) by dividing the Pearson and Deviance goodness-of-fit test statistics by the degrees of freedom. Future studies in this area should refine to the model to remove any potential dispersion issues within the data; a complex task with minor party support.

interesting that the dependent variable with the highest Greens response rate (Senate voters) also demonstrated the highest rate of correct classification.

Overall, the multinomial logistic regression analysis demonstrated that several social-structural predictors found in the electorate consistently predict Greens support compared to either Liberal/National or Labor support as either a party identifier, House of Representatives or Senate voter. In general, left leaning, postmaterialist, university educated, middle-class respondents who hold no religion, earn middle-band incomes and skew younger are more likely to support the Greens than Liberal/Nationals and Labor. Political attitudes regarding salient political issues related to asylum seekers and the environment also have strong utility, with ideological differences also constant in predicting Greens support. More importantly, some of these predictors hold across all six elections, with interaction effects suggesting stronger differences between Greens and other parties forming, especially surrounding attitudes towards the environment. With increasing accuracy, especially in the Senate, the predictors analysed were better predictors for Greens support than Labor across several years. This suggest that although weaker than assumed, the Greens have a significantly distinct and durable base of voters and partisans that has emerged since 2001. The high level of accuracy with which the model correctly classified Greens in the Senate across all political attitudes and social-structural factors demonstrates a durable voting coalition since 2001, supporting the thesis that a realignment towards the Greens has occurred.

Conclusion

The Australian Greens have emerged as a third force in Australian politics. The environmental issues of the seventies and eighties, combined with both Labor's response and electoral strategy have facilitated the emergence of the Greens in the party system. Their support widened after both 2001 and 2010 due to a combination of ideological shift, issues

pertaining to asylum seekers and the polarisation of the environment in mainstream political discourse. Survey data and multinomial logistic data analysis demonstrate they have consolidated both their partisan and voter base as distinct from both Liberal/National and Labor on several different indicators. While their vote was stronger in 2010, by 2016 they have never had more stable partisans or voters, with salient political issues continuing to polarise the electorate. While it is only a small proportion of the electorate, Australia has witnessed a realignment between 1990 and 2019. It has developed a small, but durable Green party ideologically to the left of the Labor party with an increasing number of Green partisans that will enable the party to maintain a presence in Australian's party system.

The Greens' influential position in the party system is due in part to Labor's failure to confront the environmental issues that emerged and the lingering presence of asylum seekers. These two issues follow the theoretical approach to realignment best exemplified by Sundquist (1983, pp. 10-17). As neither major party was able to dominate the issues in voters' minds, a sizeable number of postmaterialist voters gravitated towards the Greens as they identified them as the best party equipped to deal with the issue. This high watermark straight after both major parties failed to legislate action against climate change between 2007 and 2010 galvanised Greens support nationwide into a powerful policy negotiation position. The failure for the Greens and Labor to sell effectively climate change policy and the breakdown of their relationship led to their electoral decline in 2013.

Although the Greens' vote has receded since the high watermark of 2010, their support endures. At the most recent election in 2019, they retained their parliamentary team of ten Senators and one lower house Member and witnessed a minor increase in their vote. The proportion of voters who retain Green partisan identity has gradually increased, as has the number of Green voters who continue to vote the same at each election. The political

attitudes that galvanised their support have slowly grown more pronounced in Greens voters and partisans. This pattern of support is concentrated in specific electorates, leading to a higher level of Greens support emerging. All signs point to their sustained position within the Australian party system.

CONCLUSION

In his volume on realignment, Dalton (2018, p. 243) posits 'in electoral politics, three decades or more counts as permanence'. Given the Australian Greens have now survived beyond this, it appears they will remain in the party system. This thesis demonstrates that the Greens have become a significant and durable political party in Australia's party system. It supports this conclusion by positing that the Greens have successfully realigned enough partisans (emerging and established) and voters within the Australian party system to position themselves as a third force. They have succeeded in holding a powerful position in the Senate by capitalising on strong state-level support, lower institutional thresholds a proportionally represented electoral system, an explicit ideological position, salient postmaterialist electoral issues in the environment and their early position on asylum seekers. By doing so, they have become the most successful new political party since the Nationals, maintain substantial durability as a party and have realigned the Australian party system from its traditional Labor versus non-Labor dichotomy.

The Greens' rise as a party has been possible due to the process of realignment. The thesis reviewed the origins on this theory in chapter 1. It analysed the theoretical issues and alternative explanations American research had discovered. Reviewing the application of realignment in the Australian context uncovered an underutilised approach to understanding the Greens' durability. While earlier studies assessed for realignment in Australian politics, they suffered from inappropriate methodology and a lack of appropriate survey data. The fundamental flaw of these was one that had occurred in American thirty years earlier; the attempt to predict realignment rather than measure it (Rosenof 2003). Chapter 1 demonstrated that Australian studies in realignment featured issues in applying the theory. As consistent survey data, a better case study for realignment in the Greens and better methodology to

understand Australia's party system have all emerged in the past thirty years, re-examining realignment in Australia became a viable project.

The thesis explored realignment by adopting a historically institutionalist approach. It did this by analysing the Australian party system and the electoral institutions for pathways for the Greens to enter formal political power. In examining the theoretical foundations of party systems in chapter 2, it highlighted the role of social cleavages and the electoral institution in facilitating and maintaining party systems. It demonstrated how electoral reform could alter the effective number of parties in party systems within several elections. It also introduced Inglehart's (1977) postmaterialist thesis as a foundation to describe new political ideas and their impact in affecting party systems. This chapter demonstrated that while established political parties and their support base would maintain themselves moving forward, they were weakening due to postmaterialist ideas facilitating new political ideologies. The thesis asserts that the Greens broadly match the spirit of Inglehart's postmaterialist theory as a strand of the 'new politics' that challenges traditional party systems.

Taking this theoretical understanding, the thesis analysed how the Australian party system had become conducive to new political parties after holding a rigid two-party structure since 1910. Chapter 3 adopted Lipset and Rokkan's (1967) social cleavage framework and analysed how old social divisions had facilitated and maintained Australia's party system, culminating in the Dismissal. The centre-periphery cleavage linked to the establishment of Australia's electoral institution and paralleled the fluid party system that the Free Traders and Protectionists exemplified. It also contextualised small-state independent movements in some contemporary politicians such as Nick Xenophon and Jacqui Lambie. The labour-capital cleavage division linked to the ascendency of the Australian Labor Party

from its working-class origins. It also caused immense centripetal force of the party system that forced the amalgamation of the two non-Labor parties. This solidified the two-party system. The thesis also highlighted the role of class in Australian politics today. The rural-urban cleavage division linked to the Nationals and the perpetual ambiguity they bring to Australia's party system. The thesis analysed their role in retaining this cleavage as a vestigial remnant of Australia's political landscape through their near permanent Coalition with the Liberal party. It also demonstrated the features of preferential voting allowed for this near permanent Coalition to operate in the Australian electoral system. Lastly, the church-state cleavage linked to the role of religion in Australian politics, particularly the role of the splinter Democratic Labor Party in keeping Labor out of office at the expense of a coherent policy platform and real party system power. The thesis also examined how these social cleavages continued to affect the party system today, particularly reinforcing old political parties but also in their capacity for new political parties to adopt responses consistent with the traditional cleavage divisions.

Contrasting the stability of the party system in chapter 3, chapter 4 of the thesis analysed how electoral reform and emerging postmaterialist 'new politics' drove political parties to transform the Senate. The thesis demonstrated how Australia's party system, particularly the Senate, provided for multiple political parties with a lower threshold for entry. Chapter 4 examined the Australian Democrats role in uncovering this path to other political parties, as well as how minor and micro political parties used the Australian electoral institution for fleeting representation through disaffected voters. By doing so, the thesis highlighted the inability of the Democrats to maintain a durable partisan base and subsequently their decline as a political force. It also examined the short-term success for other minor and micro parties, highlighting political instability and the perils of personal political parties. This chapter demonstrated that Australia's party system had evolved and the

potential for a realignment was possible in the post-Dismissal political landscape. However, the parties addressed here lacked durable party structures, firm ideological commitments and a significant partisan base. The parties uncovered in chapter 4 all involved the decline of major parties, but largely contained no durability or capacity to realign the electorate due to their weak support bases.

The thesis contrasted the volatile political parties in chapter 4 by examining and analysing the Australian Greens in chapter 5. Here, chapter 5 uncovered how the origins of green ideology were an extension of postmaterialism and how they applied to the German Greens. Using them as a case study, the thesis compared the Australian Greens to the German Greens. The German Greens changed how German politics operated, particularly through the new coalition potential they provided. Both parties emerged to the left of a highly centralised party system and were shaped by salient environmental issues within each country. From there, the chapter examined the state precursors to the Australian Greens in the environmental and anti-nuclear issues that preceded 1990. The thesis also demonstrated how Labor's use of the preferential voting system in 1990, asylum seekers anxiety in 2001 and Labor's environmental backflip in 2010 acted as critical issues to strengthen the Greens' position in the party system. Chapter 5 also examined the Greens' role in government formation across multiple jurisdictions and determined that their vote decline at 2013 was partly due to their minority government role during 2010-2013. Lastly, the chapter also summarised recent history of the Greens and evaluated that they had largely weathered internal issues and weaker electoral success than they or the broader political environment had predicted. Overall, this chapter demonstrated an historical institutionalist explanation for how the Greens had entered the electorate, how certain issues had realigned voters to support them and how their position in the party system was significantly different to politics before them.

After demonstrating an institutional explanation for how the Greens had emerged, the thesis then took an empirical approach to show that the Greens' support base was significantly different to major parties and durable. Chapter 6 described the behaviouralist methodological approach the thesis took, using available voting data in chapter 7 and available survey data in chapters 8 and 9. The chapter evaluated previous studies to understand the best way to adopt realignment theory for an Australian study. It analysed prior examinations of party identification in Australia and collated multiple Green specific studies to uncover the most useful predictors to include in the modelling. This set the parameters for empirical studies to determine whether the Greens had a significant, distinct and durable partisan and voter support base. This would suggest that realignment had occurred if other parties demonstrated weakened support.

In chapter 7, the thesis located available divisional-level voting data across both the House of Representatives and the Senate. It also outlined the use of public funding thresholds, states and census data to understand how the vote dispersed across certain electorates consistently. It attempted to apply Wildgen's (1974) factor analysis method to a multipartisan political environment with mixed success. While Wildgen's exploratory factor analysis method did not work as well as anticipated, it demonstrated there were distinct growth periods for the Greens. Chapter 7 demonstrated that the Greens vote was concentrated in certain divisions that remained constant across several elections in both Houses of parliament. Both methods determined 2001 as a pivotal election in which sustained success emerged from.

The thesis analysed survey data to chart individual-level trends in Green partisan support and the durability of their vote in chapter 8. Examining demographic information in the survey found distinctive features of Greens partisans that reinforced previous research,

including a high level of education, low level of religiosity, particularly strong attitudes towards the environment, a more diverse age range, left-wing views and middle-class incomes (Dennison 2017; Miragliotta 2013; Rüdig 2012). It also reinforced previous Australian research on the salience of the asylum seeker issue. From there, moving to survey participants voting behaviour demonstrated that generally, Greens voters had slightly weaker durability than major parties in the nineties, gradually increasing after 2001 and had largely subsided after 2010. It also demonstrated multiple cases where support for Labor had eroded in favour of the Greens, with evidence of partisan and voter decay. This was especially apparent in 2001 and 2010.

Lastly, the thesis adopted multinomial logistic regression in chapter 9 to further test the significance of identified social-structural factors and political attitudes on Greens party and voter support, as well as its distinctiveness and durability compared to major partisans. Here, the results highlighted that the Greens' support structure was durable, particularly for Senate voters where multiple political attitudes identified Greens more consistently than Labor. These demonstrated and supported multiple indirect measures of how the Greens were a significant, distinct and durable group of partisans and voters that reflect realignment in Australia's party system. The two results chapters together demonstrate how the party has remained durable, particularly since 2001.

On a broader level, the thesis contributes to the literature by building a demonstrable case that the Greens will remain a permanent part of the Australian party system for the foreseeable future. The thesis highlights how their electoral performance, despite multiple internal issues, has increased gradually and consistently. It demonstrates how their electoral success has emerged from multiple issues in the Australian electorate that hold support in a distinct population. It also demonstrates that unlike the Democrats, their support is consistent

and durable and applies to multiple jurisdictions. Some qualification is required, as the Greens have realigned only a small part of the overall electorate. Nevertheless, the thesis argues their place in the Senate party system has changed the system dynamic to a degree that the realignment is a significant change in Australia's party system and particularly to the Labor party's future prospects.

By demonstrating evidence of realignment, the thesis extends several different approaches to Australian political scholarship. Original studies that measured for evidence of realignment in Australia had several obstacles that did not face this study. Scholars in the nineties applied a variation of Michigan School party identification models to the Australia Democrats as a means of not just identifying whether realignment had taken place but predicting whether it would. With limited survey data and a weak case study, little evidence was found. This thesis revises this approach towards realignment and rigorously applies it to Australian politics to measure for evidence that realignment has occurred. This thesis broadly considers the origins of realignment and alternative views of the model developed by Campbell et al. (1960) before measuring for it. Further, it capitalises on the success of the Australian Election Study to make long-term, individual-level observations that were not possible in earlier periods. This behaviouralist method complements the historical institutionalist approach. Using this approach, the thesis identifies the nuclear disarmament movement and Tasmanian environmental disputes as specific catalysts that precipitated Greens' electoral successes and victories. It also evaluates the electoral mechanisms that generated renewed party competition conducive to Green politics. By applying multiple methods to both voting data and a much broader range of survey data than one or two surveys, the thesis identifies realignment retrospectively to make prospective judgements of party system future. Rather than suggesting that realignment *will* happen, the thesis asserts

realignment *has* happened. This multi-pronged approach to realignment is a significant contribution to the Australian party system literature.

In asserting realignment has occurred, several qualifiers to that statement are necessary. While realignment has caused a shift in the dynamics of the party system, it is not along the lines of American realignment in terms of shifting majority parties. It means that an emerging third-party has realigned a proportion of one major parties support. That said, the Australian party system in the House of Representatives still largely operates along the two-party system. Until more federal electorates are won, the Labor versus non-Labor contest will continue to frame the Australian party system. Yet, it is only a frame, not the entire picture. The nature of preferential voting means Green voters exert considerable influence, with their first-preference votes helping maintain Labor's position. More importantly, the realignment of the Senate party system to a multi-party chamber partly due to proportional representation means the Greens hold stronger congruence between voter and party in this chamber. Their influence on the party system will remain stronger here, even though their vote is slightly lower than the 2010 peak for now. They maintain a substantial position in the Senate that changes the way Labor must approach government. Given the erosion of Labor's support in the upper house, all legislation must gain the support of the Greens if there is no bipartisan consensus.

Although the thesis lends evidence to the notion of a realignment and the durability of the Greens' partisan base, it may end up not being permanent. Emerging issues may enter the electorate that completely upheave the entire political system. Since the beginning of this thesis, the Greens have faced internal disputes, with high-profile resignations, divisions within the party on ideology and unexpected election results. As the thesis was written between federal elections in 2016 and 2019, the 2019 federal election acted as a litmus test

for the Greens' electoral viability and their durability as a party. While much was made of their declining fortunes, polling data from the period had their first preference vote around 9.5 percent (Bowe 2019). Both the Greens and commentators stressed the 2019 election was about maintaining electoral support (Miragliotta 2019). This, along with the findings primarily in Chapters 7, 8 and 9 of this thesis, indicated that their vote and electoral support should have held. Indeed, the 2019 election was their second-best election result in their history, increasing on 2016 levels (albeit unevenly across the country) and they won a Senate seat in every state for the second time. In this sense, the 2019 election results lent credence to the findings of this thesis.

Realignment may remain the eternal question, but the thesis demonstrates its utility in explaining recent developments in Australian politics. The Greens, after three decades of continuous federal and state representation, have developed sufficiently durable support to remain in the party system for the near future. Voting patterns indicate that while their voting support has declined from a high watermark in 2010, it has remained constant and concentrated among a distinct population. Even after multiple internal divisions and high-profile resignations, their vote remains consistent across multiple jurisdictions. As multinomial logistic regression analysis has demonstrated, numerous predictors support this assertion. Their ideological position, both on traditional left-right dichotomy and on the postmaterialist index put them to the left of Labor in the party system, drawing on typically younger, non-religious and highly educated voters with middle-range incomes. The continued presence of asylum seekers and especially the environment as political issues within the electorate make them a viable choice for voters who care strongly for these positions. As voters perceive major parties as broadly similar on their response to these issues, the Greens attract voters who seek opposition to the status quo. Their durability in the Senate especially and its institutional context facilitating proportional representation makes their continued

presence vital for emerging governments to pass legislation. Further, the increasing polarisation on the environment and inertia from both Labor and Liberal/Nationals has solidified their party base.

Unlike other issue evolutions, the environment will continue to offer challenges to all political parties to address long-term. This issue receives tremendous global coverage and is considered the greatest moral challenge of the time. Environmental change has global effects, consequences and subsequently responsibilities that the global Green movement can address. Labor Senator Graham Richardson predicted this when, amidst the materialist concerns of the nineties, he stated 'in the next few decades the environment will return as an issue, because it has to' (Richardson 1994, p. 257). As a result, enough of the electorate has realigned in response to emerging issues that Australia's party system has changed, solidifying the Greens' position. Unlike the early eighties, when Hawke dismissed the environmentally conscientious concerns of the nuclear disarmament movement due to Labor's monopoly on the issue, there *is* someone else for 'them' to vote for.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Social-Structural Factors controlled for Ideology

Table: Party ID social structure with ideology

	2001		2004		2007	
Reference Category: Greens	Liberal/National	Labor	Liberal/National	Labor	Liberal/National	Labor
Age (ref: 65+)						
18-24	-1.63 (0.20)	-0.79 (0.45)	**-1.83 (0.16)***	**-2.16 (0.12)***	**-1.54 (0.21)***	-0.89 (0.41)
25-34	-0.85 (0.43)	-0.75 (0.47)	**-1.61 (0.20)***	**-1.93 (0.15)***	**-1.54 (0.25)***	-0.78 (0.46)
35-44	-0.87 (0.42)	-0.16 (0.85)	**-1.66 (0.19)***	-1.32 (0.27)	**-1.28 (0.28)***	-0.85 (0.43)
45-54	-0.93 (0.40)	-0.31 (0.74)	**-1.60 (0.20)***	**-1.52 (0.22)***	-0.07 (0.93)	0.24 (1.27)
55-64	-1.46 (0.23)	-0.89 (0.41)	-0.77 (0.46)	-0.85 (0.43)	-0.17 (0.84)	-0.02 (0.98)
Social class (ref: Upper/middle)						
None	**-2.25 (0.03)****	**-1.65 (0.19)***	0.29 (1.33)	0.84 (2.31)	-0.62 (0.54)	-0.26 (0.77)
Working	-1.09 (0.12)	-0.17 (0.84)	-0.46 (0.63)	0.40 (1.49)	-0.15 (0.86)	**0.78 (2.18)***
Religion (ref: Religious)						
Not Religious	**-1.02 (0.14)***	**-1.04 (0.35)***	**-1.28 (0.28)****	-0.60 (0.55)	-0.60 (0.55)	-0.25 (0.78)
Education (ref: High School)						
Technical	-0.84 (0.43)	-0.77 (0.47)	-0.67 (0.51)	-0.87 (0.42)	**0.91 (2.49)***	**0.84 (2.31)***
University	**-1.71 (0.18)***	**-1.39 (0.25)***	**-1.14 (0.32)***	**-1.40 (0.25)***	-0.14 (0.86)	0.29 (1.33)
Occupation (ref: Non-Manual)						
Manual	-0.40 (0.67)	-0.12 (0.89)	0.20 (1.22)	-0.08 (0.92)	-0.30 (0.74)	-0.19 (0.83)
Income (ref: Tax bracket 5)						
Income 1	-1.31 (0.27)	-0.50 (0.61)	-1.00 (0.38)	-0.46 (0.63)	-0.11 (0.90)	0.69 (2.00)
Income 2	-0.15 (0.86)	0.88 (2.41)	**-1.90 (0.15)***	-1.02 (0.36)	-1.05 (0.35)	0.39 (1.48)
Income 3	-0.06 (0.94)	0.13 (1.14)	0.19 (1.12)	0.06 (1.06)	-0.87 (0.42)	0.07 (1.07)
Income 4	-0.63 (0.76)	-0.11 (0.90)	-0.32 (0.72)	-0.49 (0.61)	-0.33 (0.72)	0.18 (1.20)
Trade Union Member (ref: No)						
Yes	-0.27 (0.76)	0.53 (1.70)	-0.31 (0.74)	**0.79 (2.19)***	-0.66 (0.52)	0.39 (1.49)

Table: Party ID social structure with ideology

	2010		2013		2016	
Reference Category: Greens	Liberal/National	Labor	Liberal/National	Labor	Liberal/National	Labor
Age (ref: 65+)						
18-24	**-2.06 (0.13)***	**-1.55 (0.21)***	**-1.62 (0.20)****	**-1.43 (0.24)***	**-2.48 (0.08)****	**-2.21 (0.11)****
25-34	**-2.44 (0.09)****	**-1.62 (0.20)***	-0.50 (0.61)	**-0.58 (0.56)***	**-2.00 (0.14)****	**-1.83 (0.16)****
35-44	**-1.33 (0.26)***	-0.92 (0.40)	-0.51 (0.60)	-0.54 (0.59)	**-1.90 (0.15)****	**-1.64 (0.19)****
45-54	**-1.34 (0.26)***	-0.71 (0.49)	-0.21 (0.51)	**-0.11 (0.90)***	**-1.37 (0.26)***	-0.72 (0.49)
55-64	**-1.02 (0.36)***	-0.89 (0.41)	0.01 (1.01)	0.08 (1.09)	**-0.77 (0.46)***	-0.36 (0.70)
Social class (ref: Upper/middle)						
None	0.78 (2.19)	1.00 (2.74)	-0.40 (0.67)	0.01 (1.01)	-0.72 (0.49)	-0.32 (0.30)
Working	-0.22 (0.80)	0.60 (1.83)	-0.23 (0.79)	0.41 (1.51)	-0.32 (0.73)	0.40 (1.49)
Religion (ref: Religious)						
Not Religious	-0.56 (0.60)	-0.15 (0.86)	**-1.24 (0.29)***	**-0.81 (0.45)****	**-1.27 (0.28)****	**-0.89 (0.41)****
Education (ref: High School)						
Technical	-0.14 (0.87)	-0.65 (0.52)	-0.05 (0.94)	-0.10 (0.91)	0.51 (1.67)	0.12 (1.13)
University	-0.66 (0.52)	-0.65 (0.52)	**-1.32 (0.27)****	**-0.88 (0.42)***	**-0.81 (0.44)***	**-0.69 (0.50)***
Occupation (ref: Non-Manual)						
Manual	0.44 (0.40)	0.96 (2.6)	**-0.79 (0.45)***	-0.39 (0.68)	-0.29 (0.75)	0.10 (1.11)
Income (ref: Tax bracket 5)						
Income 1	-0.65 (0.52)	-2.03 (0.13)	-0.44 (0.65)	0.76 (2.14)	-0.60 (0.55)	0.15 (1.16)
Income 2	-0.56 (0.56)	0.03 (1.03)	-0.43 (0.65)	0.49 (1.63)	**-1.33 (0.27)***	**-1.01 (0.37)***
Income 3	-0.18 (0.84)	0.14 (1.15)	-0.41 (0.66)	0.61 (1.36)	-0.81 (0.45)	**-1.00 (0.37)***
Income 4	0.08 (1.08)	0.31 (1.37)	-0.52 (0.59)	0.24 (1.27)	-0.63 (0.53)	**-0.76 (0.47)***
Trade Union Member (ref: No)						
Yes	-0.45 (0.64)	0.49 (1.64)	**-0.62 (0.54)***	0.35 (1.66)	-0.47 (0.63)	**0.53 (1.71)***

Table: HRV IDEOLOGY

	2001		2004		2007	
Reference Category: Greens	Liberal/National	Labor	Liberal/National	Labor	Liberal/National	Labor
Gender (ref: Female)						
Male	0.51 (1.67)	0.55 (1.74)	**0.71 (2.03)***	0.47 (1.60)	0.04 (1.04)	0.09 (1.09)
Age (ref: 65+)						
18-24	-2.16 (0.12)	-1.30 (0.27)	**-1.38 (0.25)***	**-1.35 (0.26)***	-0.83 (0.44)	-0.82 (0.44)
25-34	-1.54 (0.22)	-1.25 (0.29)	-0.90 (0.41)	**-1.16 (0.31)***	**-1.31 (0.27)***	-0.96 (0.38)
35-44	-1.99 (0.14)	-1.44 (0.24)	**-1.85 (0.16)***	**-1.34 (0.26)***	-0.90 (0.41)	-0.55 (0.58)
45-54	**-2.47 (0.09)***	-2.11 (0.12)	**-1.43 (0.24)***	**-1.17 (0.31)***	-0.74 (0.47)	-0.59 (0.55)
55-64	-1.84 (0.16)	-1.35 (0.26)	-0.74 (0.48)	-0.69 (0.50)	-0.00 (1.00)	0.16 (1.17)
Place of residence (ref: Urban)						
Rural	-0.50 (0.61)	-0.20 (0.82)	0.16 (1.17)	-0.24 (0.79)	0.44 (1.56)	-0.04 (0.96)
Social class (ref: Upper/middle)						
None	**-1.51 (0.22)***	**-1.07 (0.34)***	-0.42 (0.66)	-0.05 (0.95)	-0.43 (0.65)	0.12 (1.13)
Working	-0.31 (0.73)	0.44 (1.55)	-0.41 (0.66)	0.11 (1.11)	**-0.96 (0.38)***	-0.25 (0.78)
Religion (ref: Religious)						
Not Religious	-0.52 (0.59)	-0.49 (0.61)	**-1.22 (0.30)****	**-0.59 (0.55)***	-0.50 (0.61)	-0.27 (0.77)
Education (ref: High School)						
Technical	-0.73 (0.48)	-0.78 (0.46)	-0.75 (0.47)	**-1.03 (0.36)***	-0.00 (1.00)	-0.12 (0.89)
University	**-1.50 (0.22)****	**-1.06 (0.35)***	**-1.43 (0.24)****	**-1.52 (0.22)****	-0.75 (0.47)	-0.60 (0.55)
Occupation (ref: Non-Manual)						
Manual	0.64 (1.90)	0.78 (2.20)	0.14 (1.15)	0.12 (1.13)	0.57 (1.77)	0.67 (1.96)
Income (ref: Tax bracket 5)						
Income 1	-2.19 (0.11)	-0.49 (0.61)	**-1.50 (0.22)***	-0.50 (0.55)	-1.33 (0.26)	-0.74 (0.48)
Income 2	**-1.41 (0.24)***	-0.17 (0.84)	**-2.23 (0.11)***	-0.84 (0.43)	-0.85 (0.43)	0.07 (1.08)
Income 3	-0.15 (0.86)	0.08 (1.08)	0.17 (0.84)	0.01 (1.01)	-0.37 (0.69)	0.15 (1.16)
Income 4	0.33 (1.40)	0.52 (1.68)	-0.15 (0.86)	0.35 (1.42)	-0.34 (0.71)	0.02 (1.02)
Trade Union Member (ref: No)						
Yes	-0.35 (0.70)	0.15 (1.17)	-0.55 (0.58)	0.35 (1.42)	-0.59 (0.56)	0.43 (1.54)

Table: HRV IDEOLOGY

	2010		2013		2016	
Reference Category: Greens	Liberal/National	Labor	Liberal/National	Labor	Liberal/National	Labor
Gender (ref: Female)						
Male	0.10 (1.11)	-0.25 (0.78)	0.18 (2.03)	0.15 (1.20)	0.41 (1.50)	0.03 (1.03)
Age (ref: 65+)						
18-24	**-2.03 (0.13)****	**-1.44 (0.24)****	-0.66 (0.52)	-0.24 (0.79	**-2.33 (0.08)****	**-1.96 (0.14)****
25-34	**-1.74 (0.18)****	**-1.00 (0.37)***	-0.17 (0.84)	-0.19 (0.83)	**-2.23 (0.11)****	**-1.47 (0.23)****
35-44	**-1.61 (0.20)****	**-1.21 (0.30)***	-0.28 (0.76)	-0.48 (0.62)	**-1.70 (0.18)****	**-1.12 (0.33)****
45-54	**-1.43 (0.24)****	**-0.81 (0.45)***	-0.44 (0.64)	-0.44 (0.64)	**-1.37 (0.26)****	**-0.70 (0.50)***
55-64	-0.63 (0.53)	-0.39 (0.68)	0.09 (1.01)	-0.14 (0.87)	**-1.37 (0.36)***	**-0.63 (0.53)***
Place of residence (ref: Urban)						
Rural	0.24 (1.28)	-0.15 (0.86)	0.04 (1.04)	-0.08 (0.93)	**0.64 (1.90)***	**0.43 (1.53)***
Social class (ref: Upper/middle)						
None	0.39 (1.48)	0.39 (1.49)	0.20 (1.22)	0.25 (1.28)	**-0.84 (0.43)***	-0.43 (0.65)
Working	-0.07 (0.93)	**0.68 (1.98)***	-0.03 (0.97)	0.37 (1.45)	0.09 (1.09)	**0.74 (2.10)***
Religion (ref: Religious)						
Not Religious	**-0.86 (0.43)****	-0.22 (0.80)	**-1.26 (0.28)****	**-0.94 (0.39)****	-1.13 (0.33)	**-0.92 (0.40)****
Education (ref: High School)						
Technical	0.16 (1.17)	-0.21 (0.82)	0.10 (1.11)	-0.10 (1.10)	-0.09 (0.91)	-0.48 (0.62)
University	-0.34 (0.40)	-0.32 (0.73)	**-0.81 (0.45)****	-0.88 (0.65)	-0.52 (0.60)	-0.52 (0.60)
Occupation (ref: Non-Manual)						
Manual	-0.22 (0.80)	0.20 (1.22)	-0.16 (0.85)	0.15 (1.51)	0.30 (1.35)	**0.64 (1.89)***
Income (ref: Tax bracket 5)						
Income 1	0.02 (1.02)	-0.95 (0.39)	-0.39 (0.68)	0.41 (1.51)	**-0.99 (0.37)***	-0.15 (0.87)
Income 2	-0.81 (0.45)	-0.20 (0.82)	-0.35 (0.71)	0.54 (1.71)	**-0.90 (0.45)***	-0.57 (0.56)
Income 3	-0.21 (0.81)	-0.11 (0.90)	0.15 (1.16)	0.59 (1.79)	-0.52 (0.59)	-0.61 (0.54)
Income 4	-0.31 (0.73)	-0.36 (0.32)	-0.25 (0.78)	0.37 (1.45)	**-0.75 (0.47)***	-0.46 (0.63)
Trade Union Member (ref: No)						
Yes	**-0.70 (0.49)***	0.15 (1.16)	-0.37 (0.69)	0.34 (1.41)	**-0.75 (0.47)***	0.29 (1.34)

Table: SENATE IDEOLOGY

	2001		2004		2007	
Reference Category: Greens	Liberal/National	Labor	Liberal/National	Labor	Liberal/National	Labor
Age (ref: 65+)						
18-24	-1.17 (0.31)	-0.17 (0.85)	**-1.27 (0.28)***	-0.97 (0.38)	-0.12 (0.88)	0.41 (1.50)
25-34	-0.31 (0.73)	-0.00 (1.00)	**-1.34 (0.26)***	**-1.50 (0.22)***	-0.63 (0.53)	-0.22 (0.80)
35-44	-0.73 (0.48)	-0.03 (0.97)	**-1.68 (0.19)****	**-1.18 (0.31)***	-0.42 (0.66)	0.01 (1.01)
45-54	-0.77 (0.46)	-0.42 (0.66)	**-1.60 (0.20)****	**-1.29 (0.28)***	0.18 (1.20)	0.35 (1.42)
55-64	-0.09 (0.91)	0.44 (1.55)	**-1.00 (0.37)***	-0.79 (0.45)	-0.08 (0.92)	0.05 (1.05)
Place of residence (ref: Urban)						
Rural	-0.36 (0.70)	-0.29 (0.75)	0.25 (1.28)	-0.07 (0.93)	**0.53 (1.70)***	0.24 (1.28)
Social class (ref: Upper/middle)						
None	**-1.41 (0.25)***	**-1.04 (0.35)***	-0.47 (0.62)	-0.09 (0.92)	-0.15 (0.86)	0.19 (1.21)
Working	-0.42 (0.66)	0.39 (1.47)	0.04 (1.04)	**0.56 (1.75)***	**-0.52 (0.59)***	0.05 (1.05)
Religion (ref: Religious)						
Not Religious	**-0.91 (0.40)***	**-0.90 (0.41)****	**-0.90 (0.41)****	-0.44 (0.64)	**-0.57 (0.57)***	**-0.45 (0.64)***
Education (ref: High School)						
Technical	-0.63 (0.53)	-0.60 (0.55)	-0.17 (0.84)	-0.46 (0.63)	-0.05 (0.95)	-0.24 (0.79)
University	-1.08 (0.34)	**-0.99 (0.37)***	**-0.89 (0.41)***	**-1.05 (0.35)****	**-0.72 (0.49)***	**-0.65 (0.53)***
Income (ref: Tax bracket 5)						
Income 1	-2.63 (0.08)	-1.12 (0.33)	**-1.10 (0.33)***	-0.09 (0.92)	-0.96 (0.38)	0.09 (1.10)
Income 2	-1.15 (0.32)	0.18 (1.20)	-1.33 (0.26)	0.05 (1.05)	-0.35 (0.70)	0.83 (2.30)
Income 3	-0.62 (0.54)	-0.28 (0.75)	-0.32 (0.72)	-0.17 (0.84)	-0.32 (0.73)	0.62 (1.87)
Income 4	-0.71 (0.49)	-0.34 (0.71)	0.28 (1.33)	0.16 (1.18)	-0.21 (0.81)	0.52 (1.68)
Trade Union Member (ref: No)						
Yes	-0.57 (0.57)	-0.03 (0.97)	**-0.60 (0.55)***	0.30 (1.35)	**-0.77 (0.47)***	0.19 (1.21)

Table: SENATE IDEOLOGY

	2010		2013		2016	
Reference Category: Greens	Liberal/National	Labor	Liberal/National	Labor	Liberal/National	Labor
Age (ref: 65+)						
18-24	**-1.21 (0.30)***	-0.23 (0.80)	-0.42 (0.66)	-0.34 (0.71)	**-1.64 (0.20)****	-0.58 (0.56)
25-34	**-1.63 (0.20)****	-0.58 (0.56)	-0.08 (0.92)*	-0.14 (0.87)	**-1.32 (0.27)****	**-0.78 (0.46)***
35-44	**-1.12 (0.33)***	-0.55 (0.58)	-0.04 (0.96)	-0.18 (0.83)	**-1.12 (0.33)****	-0.52 (0.60)
45-54	**-1.02 (0.36)****	-0.41 (0.66)	-0.21 (0.81)	-0.42 (0.66)	**-0.65 (0.53)***	-0.07 (0.93)
55-64	-0.46 (0.63)	-0.23 (0.80)	0.06 (1.06)	-0.06 (0.94)	**-0.74 (0.45)***	-0.33 (0.72)
Place of residence (ref: Urban)						
Rural	0.30 (1.35)	0.18 (1.19)	0.20 (1.23)	0.15 (1.17)	**0.60 (1.83)***	**0.52 (1.69)***
Social class (ref: Upper/middle)						
None	0.52 (1.68)	0.71 (2.03)	-0.42 (0.66)	-0.04 (0.96)	-0.21 (0.81)	-0.18 (0.83)
Working	-0.15 (0.86)	**0.50 (1.65)***	0.05 (1.05)	**0.52 (1.68)***	0.12 (1.13)	**0.80 (2.22)****
Religion (ref: Religious)						
Not Religious	**-0.71 (0.49)****	-0.09 (0.92)	**-0.99 (0.37)****	**-0.72 (0.49)****	**-0.81 (0.44)****	**-0.85 (0.43)****
Education (ref: High School)						
Technical	-0.19 (0.83)	**-0.53 (0.59)***	-0.19 (0.82)	-0.28 (0.76)	0.24 (1.27)	-0.03 (0.97)
University	**-0.62 (0.54)***	**-0.85 (0.43)****	**-0.98 (0.37)****	**-0.70 (0.50)****	-0.42 (0.65)	-0.30 (0.74)
Income (ref: Tax bracket 5)						
Income 1	0.09 (1.09)	-0.65 (0.52)	0.14 (0.79)	0.83 (2.29)	-0.19 (0.82)	1.09 (2.97)
Income 2	-0.61 (0.54)	-0.03 (0.97)	-0.28 (0.76)	0.39 (1.47)	**-0.95 (0.39)***	0.08 (1.08)
Income 3	0.03 (1.03)	0.23 (1.30)	-0.17 (0.85	0.24 (1.27)	-0.57 (0.57)	-0.09 (0.92)
Income 4	-0.09 (0.92)	-0.13 (0.88)	-0.42 (0.66)	0.10 (1.10)	-0.34 (0.71)	0.36 (1.43)
Trade Union Member (ref: No)						
Yes	**-0.63 (0.53)***	0.17 (1.18)	**-0.53 (0.59)***	0.18 (1.19)	**-0.69 (0.50)***	0.58 (1.78)

Appendix 2: Social-Structural Attitudes controlled for Asylum Seeker Attitudes

Table: Party ID ASYLUM

	2001		2004		2007	
Reference Category: Greens	Liberal/National	Labor	Liberal/National	Labor	Liberal/National	Labor
Gender (ref: Female)						
Male	0.57 (1.76)	0.49 (1.62)	**0.77 (0.12)***	0.60 (1.82)	c.	c.
Age (ref: 65+)						
18-24	-1.61 (0.21)	-0.40 (0.67)	**-2.14 (0.12)***	**-2.09 (0.12)***		
25-34	-1.37 (0.25)	-0.73 (0.48)	**-1.66 (0.19)***	**-1.57 (0.21)***		
35-44	-1.07 (0.34)	-0.28 (0.75)	**-1.59 (0.20)***	-1.22 (0.30)		
45-54	-1.28 (0.28)	-0.10 (0.90)	**-1.55 (0.21)***	**-1.40 (0.25)***		
55-64	-0.46 (0.63)	-0.41 (0.66)	-0.94 (0.39)	-1.12 (0.33)		
Place of residence (ref: Urban)						
Rural	-0.46 (0.63)	-0.32 (0.72)	-0.42 (0.66)	-0.70 (0.50)*		
Social class (ref: Upper/middle)						
None	**-1.40 (0.25)***	-0.95 (0.39)	0.02 (1.03)	0.95 (2.57)		
Working	-0.59 (0.55)	0.28 (1.32)	-0.57 (0.57)	0.49 (1.63)		
Religion (ref: Religious)						
Not Religious	**-1.60 (0.20)****	**-1.24 (0.29)****	**-1.56 (0.21)****	**-0.78 (0.46)***		
Education (ref: High School)						
Technical	-0.67 (0.51)	-0.79 (0.46)	-0.70 (0.50)	-0.84 (0.43)		
University	**-1.13 (0.32)***	**-1.22 (0.29)***	**-1.15 (0.32)***	**-1.38 (0.25)***		
Occupation (ref: Non-Manual)						
Manual	-0.60 (0.55)	-0.25 (0.78)	0.03 (1.03)	-0.07 (0.93)		
Income (ref: Tax bracket 5)						
Income 1	-1.82 (0.16)	-0.72 (0.49)	**-0.95 (0.40)**	-0.51 (0.60)		
Income 2	-1.09 (0.34)	0.07 (1.07)	**-1.55 (0.21)**	-0.95 (0.39)		
Income 3	-0.30 (0.74)	0.19 (1.20)	0.00 (1.00)	-0.07 (0.94)		
Income 4	-0.43 (0.65)	0.25 (1.28)	-0.26 (0.77)	-0.59 (0.56)		
Trade Union Member (ref: No)						
Yes	-0.59 (0.55)	0.33 (1.40)	-0.32 (0.72)	**0.78 (2.19)***		

Note: *=p<0.05, **=p<0.001, c=Questions regarding asylum seekers were not asked, so the output was not generated

Table: Party ID ASYLUM

	2010		2013		2016	
Reference Category: Greens	Liberal/National	Labor	Liberal/National	Labor	Liberal/National	Labor
Gender (ref: Female)						
Male	-0.14 (1.15)	0.05 (1.05)	0.18 (1.20)	-0.06 (0.94)	0.19 (0.12)	-0.09 (0.91)
Age (ref: 65+)						
18-24	**-2.18 (0.11)****	**-1.48 (0.23)***	**-2.13 (0.12)****	**-1.38 (0.25)****	**-2.07 (0.13)****	**-2.06 (0.13)****
25-34	**-2.28 (0.10)****	**-1.37 (0.25)***	**-0.85 (0.43)***	-0.47 (0.63)	**-2.03 (0.13)****	**-1.73 (0.18)****
35-44	**-1.62 (0.20)***	**-1.06 (0.35)***	**-1.28 (0.28)****	-0.59 (0.56)	**-1.72 (0.18)****	**-1.49 (0.23)****
45-54	**-1.34 (0.26)***	-0.65 (0.52)	-0.62 (0.54)	-0.02 (0.98)	**-1.33 (0.26)****	-0.74 (0.48)
55-64	**-1.16 (0.31)***	**-0.92 (0.40)***	**-0.67 (0.51)***	0.00 (1.00)	**-0.87 (0.42)***	-0.40 (0.67)
Place of residence (ref: Urban)						
Rural	-0.04 (0.96)	-0.26 (0.77)	-0.07 (0.94)	-0.14 (0.87)	0.15 (1.17)	0.08 (1.09)
Social class (ref: Upper/middle)						
None	0.48 (1.62)	0.95 (2.58)	**-0.84 (0.43)***	-0.30 (0.74)	**-1.15 (0.32)***	-0.56 (0.57)
Working	-0.55 (0.58)	0.47 (1.60)	-0.45 (0.64)	0.39 (1.47)	-0.49 (0.61)	0.32 (1.38)
Religion (ref: Religious)						
Not Religious	-0.93 (0.40)	-0.36 (0.70)	**-1.51 (0.22)****	**-0.95 (0.39)****	**-1.51 (0.22)****	**-0.98 (0.38)****
Education (ref: High School)						
Technical	0.41 (0.66)	**-0.82 (0.44)***	-0.17 (0.54)	-0.22 (0.80)	0.52 (1.68)	0.16 (1.18)
University	**-1.06 (0.35)***	**-2.39 (0.09)***	**-1.16 (0.31)****	**-0.87 (0.42)****	**-0.69 (0.50)***	**-0.64 (0.53)***
Occupation (ref: Non-Manual)						
Manual	0.19 (1.21)	0.78 (2.17)	**-0.82 (0.44)****	-0.44 (0.65)	**-0.87 (0.42)***	-0.28 (0.76)
Income (ref: Tax bracket 5)						
Income 1	**-2.23 (0.11)***	**-2.39 (0.09)***	-0.91 (0.40)	0.87 (2.39)	**-1.89 (0.15)***	-0.75 (0.47)
Income 2	**-1.25 (0.29)***	-0.16 (0.85)	**-1.07 (0.34)***	0.36 (1.44)	**-1.95 (0.14)****	**-1.14 (0.32)***
Income 3	**-0.00 (0.37)***	-0.16 (0.85)	**-0.72 (0.49)***	0.38 (1.46)	**-1.35 (0.26)****	**-0.96 (0.38)***
Income 4	-0.43 (0.65)	0.25 (1.29)	**-0.55 (0.58)***	0.36 (1.43)	**-1.04 (0.35)***	**-0.81 (0.45)***
Trade Union Member (ref: No)						
Yes	-0.49 (0.61)	0.52 (1.68)	**-1.04 (0.36)***	0.19 (1.42)	**-0.78 (0.45)***	**0.49 (1.64)***

Table: HRV ASYLUM

	2001		2004		2007	
Reference Category: Greens	Liberal/National	Labor	Liberal/National	Labor	Liberal/National	Labor
Gender (ref: Female)						
Male	**0.66 (1.93)***	0.52 (1.69)	**0.80 (2.22)***	**0.55 (1.73)***	c.	c.
Age (ref: 65+)						
18-24	**-2.35 (0.10)***	-1.28 (0.28)	**-1.56 (0.21)***	**-1.25 (0.29)***		
25-34	**-1.76 (0.17)***	-1.16 (0.32)	-0.83 (0.44)	-0.82 (0.44)		
35-44	**-2.07 (0.13)***	-1.39 (0.25)	**-1.62 (0.20)***	**-1.07 (0.34)***		
45-54	**-2.44 (0.09)***	**-1.86 (0.16)***	**-1.38 (0.25)***	-1.01 (0.36)		
55-64	-1.59 (0.20)	-1.03 (0.36)	-0.84 (0.43)	-0.78 (0.46)		
Place of residence (ref: Urban)						
Rural	-0.35 (0.71)	-0.01 (0.99)	0.07 (1.07)	-0.36 (0.70)		
Social class (ref: Upper/middle)						
None	-1.11 (0.33)*	-0.80 (0.49)	-0.69 (0.50)	0.05 (1.05)		
Working	-0.18 (0.83)	0.60 (1.82)	-0.35 (0.70)	0.40 (1.49)		
Religion (ref: Religious)						
Not Religious	**-1.09 (0.34)****	**-0.81 (0.44)***	**-1.52 (0.22)****	**-0.89 (0.41)****		
Education (ref: High School)						
Technical	-0.23 (0.79)	-0.44 (0.64)	-0.75 (0.47)	**-1.00 (0.37)***		
University	-0.65 (0.52)	-0.59 (0.55)	**-1.51 (0.22)****	**-1.54 (0.22)****		
Occupation (ref: Non-Manual)						
Manual	0.59 (1.80)	0.81 (2.24)	0.06 (1.06)	0.06 (1.06)		
Income (ref: Tax bracket 5)						
Income 1	-2.40 (0.09)	-0.40 (0.67)	**-1.32 (0.27)***	-0.54 (0.58)		
Income 2	**-1.60 (0.20)****	-0.38 (1.20)	**-1.60 (0.20)***	-0.51 (0.60)		
Income 3	-0.31 (0.73)	0.18 (1.20)	-0.17 (0.84)	0.02 (1.02)		
Income 4	0.54 (1.71)	1.00 (1.16)	0.10 (1.10)	0.11 (1.12)		
Trade Union Member (ref: No)						
Yes	-0.567 (0.56)	0.144 (1.16)	**-0.58 (0.59)***	0.30 (1.35)		

Table: HRV ASYLUM

	2010		2013		2016	
Reference Category: Greens	Liberal/National	Labor	Liberal/National	Labor	Liberal/National	Labor
Gender (ref: Female)						
Male	0.10 (1.11)	-0.22 (0.80)	0.24 (1.27)	0.12 (1.13)	0.15 (1.16)	-0.17 (0.85)
Age (ref: 65+)						
18-24	**-2.19 (0.11)****	**-1.46 (0.23)****	**-1.16 (0.31)***	-0.26 (0.77)	**-1.95 (0.14)****	**-1.75 (0.17)****
25-34	**-1.79 (0.17)****	**-0.94 (0.39)***	-0.58 (0.56)	-0.14 (0.87)	**-2.14 (0.12)****	**-1.39 (0.25)****
35-44	**-1.69 (0.18)****	**-1.21 (0.30)***	**-0.99 (0.37)****	-0.55 (0.58)	**-1.67 (0.19)****	**-1.10 (0.33)****
45-54	**-1.56 (0.21)****	**-0.89 (0.41)***	**-0.83 (0.44)***	-0.34 (0.71)	**-1.25 (0.29)****	-0.59 (0.56)
55-64	**-0.88 (0.42)***	-0.54 (0.58)	**-0.59 (0.55)***	-0.22 (0.80)	**-1.16 (0.31)****	**-0.69 (0.50)***
Place of residence (ref: Urban)						
Rural	0.06 (1.07)	-0.19 (0.83)	-0.50 (0.95)	-0.12 (0.89)	0.39 (0.15)	0.39 (1.47)
Social class (ref: Upper/middle)						
None	0.12 (1.13)	0.34 (1.41)	-0.17 (0.84)	0.16 (1.18)	-1.16 (0.31)	-0.56 (0.57)
Working	-0.33 (0.72)	**0.55 (1.74)***	-0.26 (0.77)	0.37 (1.45)	0.07 (1.07)	**0.78 (2.18)****
Religion (ref: Religious)						
Not Religious	**-1.01 (0.36)****	-0.30 (0.74)	**-1.51 (0.22)****	**-1.08 (0.34)****	**-1.41 (0.24)****	**-1.05 (0.35)****
Education (ref: High School)						
Technical	0.03 (1.03)	-0.26 (0.77)	0.19 (1.21)	0.18 (1.20)	-0.09 (0.91)	-0.47 (0.63)
University	-0.50 (0.61)	-0.40 (0.69)	**-0.57 (0.57)***	-0.35 (0.71)	-0.41 (0.67)	-0.48 (0.62)
Occupation (ref: Non-Manual)						
Manual	-0.34 (0.71)	0.19 (1.21)	-0.26 (0.77)	-0.01 (0.99)	-0.18 (0.84)	0.48 (1.61)
Income (ref: Tax bracket 5)						
Income 1	-1.22 (0.29)	-1.49 (0.24)	**-1.16 (0.31)***	0.32 (1.38)	**-1.45 (0.24)***	-0.56 (0.57)
Income 2	**-1.41 (0.24)***	-0.20 (0.82)	**-1.04 (0.35)***	0.38 (1.47)	**-1.72 (0.18)****	**-0.87 (0.42)****
Income 3	**-0.81 (0.45)***	-0.32 (0.72)	-0.40 (0.67)	0.51 (1.67)	**-1.24 (0.29)****	-0.59 (0.55)
Income 4	-0.70 (0.50)	0.18 (1.20)	-0.45 (0.64)	0.39 (1.48)	**-0.94 (0.39)***	-0.61 (0.54)
Trade Union Member (ref: No)						
Yes	**-0.75 (0.47)****	**0.51 (1.67)***	**-0.81 (0.45)****	0.14 (1.15)	**-1.07 (0.34)****	-0.19 (1.21)

Table: SENATE ASYLUM

	2001		2004		2007	
Reference Category: Greens	Liberal/National	Labor	Liberal/National	Labor	Liberal/National	Labor
Gender (ref: Female)						
Male	0.30 (1.35)	0.18 (1.19)	0.67 (1.96)*	0.33 (1.40)	c.	c.
Age (ref: 65+)						
18-24	**-1.82 (0.16)***	-0.58 (0.56)	-1.30 (0.27)*	-0.85 (0.43)		
25-34	-1.08 (0.34)	-0.46 (0.63)	-1.15 (0.32)*	**-1.08 (0.34)***		
35-44	**-1.18 (0.31)***	-0.41 (0.66)	-1.51 (0.22)**	**-0.97 (0.38)***		
45-54	**-1.16 (0.32)***	-0.73 (0.48)	-1.47 (0.23)**	**-1.07 (0.34)***		
55-64	-0.41 (0.66)	0.12 (1.12)	-0.86 (0.42)	-0.80 (0.45)		
Place of residence (ref: Urban)						
Rural	-0.34 (0.71)	-0.22 (0.80)	0.21 (1.23)	-0.11 (0.89)		
Social class (ref: Upper/middle)						
None	**-1.00 (0.47)***	-0.74 (0.48)	-0.82 (0.44)	-0.07 (0.93)		
Working	-0.33 (0.72)	0.44 (1.55)	-0.09 (0.92)	**0.73 (2.08)***		
Religion (ref: Religious)						
Not Religious	**-1.32 (0.27)****	**-1.01 (0.36)****	-1.26 (0.28)**	**-0.70 (0.50)***		
Education (ref: High School)						
Technical	-0.21 (0.81)	-0.35 (0.70)	-0.17 (0.85)	-0.39 (0.68)		
University	-0.52 (0.59)	**-0.72 (0.49)***	-0.76 (0.47)*	**-0.82 (0.44)***		
Occupation (ref: Non-Manual)						
Manual	0.10 (1.11)	0.24 (1.27)	-0.09 (0.92)	-0.11 (0.90)		
Income (ref: Tax bracket 5)						
Income 1	**-2.91 (0.06)***	-1.17 (0.31)	-0.85 (0.43)*	0.09 (1.10)		
Income 2	**-1.26 (0.28)***	0.00 (1.00)	-0.94 (0.39)	0.29 (1.33)		
Income 3	**-0.83 (0.44)***	-0.19 (0.83)	-0.24 (0.79)	-0.06 (0.94)		
Income 4	-0.61 (0.54)	-0.07 (0.94)	0.34 (1.40)	0.17 (1.19)		
Trade Union Member (ref: No)						
Yes	**-0.77 (0.46)***	-0.04 (0.96)	-0.68 (0.51)*	0.21 (1.23)		

Table: SENATE ASYLUM

	2010		2013		2016	
Reference Category: Greens	Liberal/National	Labor	Liberal/National	Labor	Liberal/National	Labor
Gender (ref: Female)						
Male	**0.37 (1.45)***	0.22 (1.22)	0.23 (1.26)	-0.06 (0.94)	0.10 (1.11)	-0.16 (0.85)
Age (ref: 65+)						
18-24	**-1.49 (0.23)****	-0.36 (0.70)	**-0.94 (0.39)***	-0.40 (0.67)	-1.09 (0.34)	-0.46 (0.63)
25-34	**-1.52 (0.22)****	-0.48 (0.62)	-0.43 (0.65)	-0.10 (0.90)	**-1.20 (0.30)****	**-0.85 (0.43)***
35-44	**-1.20 (0.30)****	-0.59 (0.55)	**-0.74 (0.48)***	-0.25 (0.78)	**-0.93 (0.40)***	-0.56 (0.57)
45-54	**-1.04 (0.35)****	-0.52 (0.59)	**-0.60 (0.55)***	-0.34 (0.72)	**-0.66 (0.52)***	-0.15 (0.86)
55-64	**-0.53 (0.59)***	-0.32 (0.73)	**-0.58 (0.56)***	-0.13 (0.88)	**-0.93 (0.39)****	-0.51 (0.60)
Place of residence (ref: Urban)						
Rural	0.18 (1.20)	0.11 (1.11)	0.19 (1.21)	0.18 (1.20)	**0.46 (1.58)***	**0.46 (1.58)***
Social class (ref: Upper/middle)						
None	0.19 (1.20)	0.51 (1.67)	-0.54 (0.58)	-0.05 (0.95)	-0.59 (0.55)	-0.45 (0.63)
Working	**-0.51 (0.60)***	0.30 (1.34)	-0.22 (0.80)	0.45 (1.56)*	-0.02 (0.98)	**0.74 (2.10)****
Religion (ref: Religious)						
Not Religious	**-0.87 (0.42)****	-0.21 (0.81)	**-1.22 (0.30)****	-0.80 (0.45)**	**-1.08 (0.34)****	**-0.91 (0.40)****
Education (ref: High School)						
Technical	-0.33 (0.72)	**-0.58 (0.56)***	-0.15 (0.86)	-0.26 (0.77)	0.32 (1.37)	0.03 (1.03)
University	**-0.84 (0.43)****	**-0.96 (0.38)****	**-0.80 (0.45)****	-0.68 (0.51)*	-0.24 (0.79)	-0.32 (0.73)
Occupation (ref: Non-Manual)						
Manual	-0.24 (0.79)	0.05 (1.05)	-0.22 (0.81)	-0.09 (0.92)	-0.35 (0.71)	0.11 (1.11)
Income (ref: Tax bracket 5)						
Income 1	-0.52 (0.60)	-0.53 (0.59)	-0.74 (0.14)	0.70 (2.01)	-0.78 (0.46)	0.59 (1.80)
Income 2	**-1.11 (0.33)***	-0.09 (0.92)	**-1.02 (0.36)****	0.19 (1.20)	**-1.47 (0.23)****	-0.24 (0.79)
Income 3	-0.63 (0.54)	0.08 (1.08)	**-0.68 (0.51)***	0.17 (1.18)	**-0.97 (0.38)***	-0.14 (0.87)
Income 4	-0.55 (0.57)	-0.15 (0.86)	**-0.66 (0.52)***	0.09 (1.10)	**-0.62 (0.54)***	-0.14 (0.87)
Trade Union Member (ref: No)						
Yes	**-0.75 (0.48)****	0.15 (1.16)	**-0.87 (0.52)***	0.05 (1.06)	**-0.93 (0.39)****	0.33 (1.39)

Appendix 3: Social-Structural controlled for Environmentalism

Table: PID ENVIRON

	2001		2004		2007	
Reference Category: Greens	Liberal/National	Labor	Liberal/National	Labor	Liberal/National	Labor
Gender (ref: Female)						
Male	b.		b.		0.41 (1.51)	0.35 (1.42)
Age (ref: 65+)						
18-24					**-1.82 (0.16)***	-1.21 (0.30)
25-34					**-1.35 (0.26)***	-0.86 (0.42)
35-44					**-1.34 (0.26)***	-0.99 (0.37)
45-54					-0.67 (0.51)	-0.28 (0.76)
55-64					-0.39 (0.68)	-0.39 (0.67)
Place of residence (ref: Urban)						
Rural					0.43 (1.54)	0.24 (1.27)
Social class (ref: Upper/middle)						
None					-0.17 (0.85)	-0.05 (0.96)
Working					-0.09 (0.92)	**0.81 (2.24)***
Religion (ref: Religious)						
Not Religious					**-1.27 (0.28)****	**-0.83 (0.43)***
Education (ref: High School)						
Technical					0.65 (1.91)	0.46 (1.59)
University					**-0.83 (0.44)***	-0.37 (0.69)
Occupation (ref: Non-Manual)						
Manual					-0.12 (0.89)	0.06 (1.07)
Income (ref: Tax bracket 5)						
Income 1					**-1.99 (0.14)***	-0.59 (0.55)
Income 2					**-1.50 (0.22)***	0.16 (1.17)
Income 3					**-1.39 (0.25)***	-0.18 (0.83)
Income 4					-0.75 (0.47)	-0.19 (0.83)
Trade Union Member (ref: No)						
Yes					-0.46 (0.63)	0.60 (1.83)

Note: b: Unexpected singularities in the Hessian matrix occurred, so the model was not considered. This means the variable made an unstable regression model due to not enough sampling power of the dependent variable.

Table: PID ENVIRON

	2010		2013		2016	
Reference Category: Greens	Liberal/National	Labor	Liberal/National	Labor	Liberal/National	Labor
Gender (ref: Female)						
Male	0.01 (1.01)	-0.03 (0.97)	0.03 (1.03)	-0.12 (0.53)	0.46 (1.59)*	0.03 (1.03)
Age (ref: 65+)						
18-24	**-2.45 (0.09)****	**-1.55 (0.21)***	**-2.57 (0.08)****	**-1.62 (0.20)****	**-1.67 (0.19)****	**-1.67 (0.19)****
25-34	**-2.57 (0.08)****	**-1.50 (0.22)***	**-1.13 (0.32)***	-0.57 (0.56)	**-0.99 (0.37)***	**-0.99 (0.37)***
35-44	**-1.85 (0.16)****	**-1.11 (0.33)***	**-1.39 (0.25)****	**-0.70 (0.50)***	**-0.80 (0.45)***	**-0.80 (0.45)***
45-54	**-1.37 (0.25)***	-0.62 (0.54)	**-0.80 (0.45)***	-0.12 (0.89)	**-1.55 (0.21)****	-0.73 (0.48)
55-64	**-1.33 (0.26)***	**-0.96 (0.38)***	**-0.71 (0.49)***	-0.06 (0.94)	**-0.85 (0.43)***	-0.35 (0.70)
Place of residence (ref: Urban)						
Rural	0.20 (1.23)	-0.17 (0.84)	0.03 (1.03)	-1.14 (0.87)	0.44 (1.55)	0.27 (1.32)
Social class (ref: Upper/middle)						
None	0.39 (1.47)	0.88 (2.41)	-0.57 (0.57)	-0.17 (0.84)	**-0.89 (0.41)***	-0.27 (0.76)
Working	-0.33 (0.72)	0.53 (1.70)	-0.17 (0.84)	**0.47 (1.60)***	-0.16 (0.85)	**0.51 (1.66)***
Religion (ref: Religious)						
Not Religious	**-1.07 (0.34)****	-0.35 (0.70)	**-1.46 (0.23)****	**-0.82 (0.44)****	**-1.67 (0.19)****	**-1.05 (0.35)****
Education (ref: High School)						
Technical	-0.46 (0.63)	**-0.84 (0.43)***	-0.32 (0.73)	-0.28 (0.76)	0.51 (1.66)	0.22 (1.25)
University	**-1.19 (0.31)***	**-0.88 (0.41)***	**-1.62 (0.20)****	**-1.00 (0.37)****	**-1.02 (0.36)****	**-0.70 (0.50)***
Occupation (ref: Non-Manual)						
Manual	0.39 (1.47)	**0.84 (2.32)***	**-0.72 (0.49)***	-0.39 (0.68)	-0.42 (0.66)	0.01 (1.01)
Income (ref: Tax bracket 5)						
Income 1	**-1.82 (0.16)***	**-2.05 (0.13)***	-0.43 (0.65)	1.09 (2.98)	-0.91 (0.40)	-0.35 (0.70)
Income 2	-1.02 (0.36)	-0.07 (0.94)	-0.77 (0.47)	0.44 (1.56)	**-1.67 (0.19)****	**-1.11 (0.33)***
Income 3	-0.55 (0.58)	0.04 (1.04)	-0.48 (0.62)	0.45 (1.57)	**-0.99 (0.37)***	**-0.84 (0.43)***
Income 4	-0.02 (0.99)	0.40 (1.50)	-0.42 (0.65)	0.40 (1.49)	**-0.80 (0.45)***	-0.71 (0.49)
Trade Union Member (ref: No)						
Yes	-0.59 (0.55)	0.45 (1.57)	**-0.96 (0.38)****	0.22 (1.24)	**-0.69 (0.51)***	**0.55 (1.73)***

Table: HRV ENVIRON

Reference Category: Greens	2001 Liberal/National	2001 Labor	2004 Liberal/National	2004 Labor	2007 Liberal/National	2007 Labor
Gender (ref: Female)						
Male	0.35 (1.42)	0.33 (1.39)	d.		0.23 (1.26)	0.19 (1.21)
Age (ref: 65+)						
18-24	**-2.46 (0.09)***	-1.22 (0.30)			-0.93 (0.39)	-1.02 (0.36)
25-34	**-1.70 (0.18)***	-1.07 (0.34)			-0.98 (0.37)	**-1.02 (0.36)***
35-44	**-1.99 (0.14)***	-1.23 (0.29)			-0.73 (0.48)	-0.64 (0.53)
45-54	**-2.30 (0.10)***	**-1.75 (0.17)***			-0.97 (0.38)	-0.80 (0.45)
55-64	-1.64 (0.19)	-1.14 (0.32)			-0.02 (0.99)	-0.11 (0.90)
Place of residence (ref: Urban)						
Rural	-0.51 (0.60)	-0.05 (0.95)			0.44 (1.55)	0.04 (1.04)
Social class (ref: Upper/middle)						
None	**-1.41 (0.24)***	-0.86 (0.42)			0.16 (1.18)	0.46 (1.58)
Working	-0.05 (0.95)	0.68 (1.97)			**-0.67 (0.51)***	0.04 (1.04)
Religion (ref: Religious)						
Not Religious	**-1.13 (0.33)****	**-0.70 (0.50)***			**-1.17 (0.31)****	**-0.82 (0.44)****
Education (ref: High School)						
Technical	-0.24 (0.78)	-0.45 (0.64)			-0.29 (0.75)	-0.39 (0.68)
University	**-1.22 (0.29)****	-0.72 (0.49)			**-1.43 (0.24)****	**-1.15 (0.32)****
Occupation (ref: Non-Manual)						
Manual	0.65 (1.92)	0.85 (2.35)			0.43 (1.54)	0.66 (1.94)
Income (ref: Tax bracket 5)						
Income 1	-2.09 (0.12)	-0.33 (0.72)			**-2.58 (0.08)****	**-1.81 (0.16)***
Income 2	**-1.12 (0.32)***	-0.11 (0.89)			**-1.18 (0.31)***	-0.22 (0.80)
Income 3	-0.06 (0.94)	0.26 (1.31)			**-0.93 (0.40)***	-0.18 (0.84)
Income 4	0.51 (1.66)	0.86 (2.37)			-0.69 (0.50)	-0.26 (0.77)
Trade Union Member (ref: No)						
Yes	-0.58 (0.56)	0.15 (1.16)			-0.54 (0.58)	0.49 (1.63)

Table: HRV ENVIRON

	2010		2013		2016	
Reference Category: Greens	Liberal/National	Labor	Liberal/National	Labor	Liberal/National	Labor
Gender (ref: Female)						
Male	-0.05 (0.95)	-0.27 (0.76)	0.09 (1.09)	0.09 (1.110)	**0.38 (1.47)***	-0.06 (0.94)
Age (ref: 65+)						
18-24	**-2.40 (0.09)****	**-1.50 (0.22)****	**-1.45 (0.24)****	-0.33 (0.72)	**-2.94 (0.05)****	**-2.08 (0.13)****
25-34	**-2.07 (0.13)****	**-1.05 (0.35)***	**-0.79 (0.45)***	-0.15 (0.87)	**-2.55 (0.08)****	**-1.52 (0.22)****
35-44	**-1.86 (0.16)****	**-1.23 (0.29)****	**-0.99 (0.37)****	-0.53 (0.69)	**-1.87 (0.15)****	**-1.19 (0.30)****
45-54	**-1.58 (0.21)****	**-0.87 (0.42)***	**-0.94 (0.39)****	-0.37 (0.69)	**-1.47 (0.23)****	**-0.65 (0.52)***
55-64	**-1.02 (0.36)***	-0.58 (0.56)	**-0.54 (0.58)***	-0.17 (0.84)	**-1.18 (0.31)****	**-0.69 (0.50)***
Place of residence (ref: Urban)						
Rural	0.28 (1.33)	-0.13 (0.88)	0.08 (1.09)	-0.09 (0.92)	**0.65 (1.92)****	**0.55 (1.73)***
Social class (ref: Upper/middle)						
None	0.04 (1.04)	0.36 (1.44)	0.09 (1.09)	0.30 (1.35)	**-0.91 (0.40)***	-0.35 (0.70)
Working	-0.14 (0.67)	**0.62 (1.86)***	0.02 (1.02)	**0.45 (1.57)***	0.25 (1.28)	**0.84 (2.33)****
Religion (ref: Religious)						
Not Religious	**-1.22 (0.30)****	-0.33 (0.72)	**-1.48 (0.23)****	**-0.99 (0.37)****	**-1.44 (0.24)****	**-1.01 (0.36)****
Education (ref: High School)						
Technical	0.06 (1.06)	-0.26 (0.77)	0.03 (1.03)	0.09 (1.10)	-0.12 (0.89)	-0.42 (0.66)
University	**-0.56 (0.57)***	-0.37 (0.69)	**-1.06 (0.35)****	**-0.52 (0.59)***	**-0.67 (0.51)***	-0.47 (0.62)
Occupation (ref: Non-Manual)						
Manual	-0.16 (0.86)	0.25 (1.29)	-0.07 (0.93)	-0.12 (1.13)	0.14 (1.15)	**0.60 (1.82)***
Income (ref: Tax bracket 5)						
Income 1	-0.77 (0.46)	-1.13 (0.32)	-0.63 (0.53)	0.60 (1.82)	-0.61 (0.54)	-0.23 (0.79)
Income 2	**-1.04 (0.35)***	-0.16 (0.86)	**-0.80 (0.45)***	0.41 (1.50)	**-1.38 (0.25)****	**-0.82 (0.44)****
Income 3	-0.36 (0.70)	0.03 (1.03)	-0.16 (0.85)	**0.58 (1.78)***	**-0.92 (0.40)***	-0.55 (0.58)
Income 4	-0.22 (0.80)	-0.09 (0.92)	-0.33 (0.72)	0.41 (1.51)	**-0.70 (0.50)***	-0.52 (0.60)
Trade Union Member (ref: No)						
Yes	**-0.84 (0.43)***	0.13 (1.14)	**-0.34 (0.48)****	0.17 (1.19)	**-0.94 (0.39)****	0.28 (1.33)

Table: SEN ENVIRON

	2001		2004		2007	
Reference Category: Greens	Liberal/National	Labor	Liberal/National	Labor	Liberal/National	Labor
Gender (ref: Female)						
Male	0.05 (1.05)	0.02 (1.02)	0.40 (1.49)	0.18 (1.19)	0.12 (1.12)	0.11 (1.11)
Age (ref: 65+)						
18-24	**-1.88 (0.15)***	-0.56 (0.57)	**-1.40 (0.25)***	-0.92 (0.40)	-0.24 (0.79)	0.34 (1.41)
25-34	-1.07 (0.34)	-0.46 (0.63)	**-1.30 (0.27)***	**-1.20 (0.30)***	-0.25 (0.78)	-0.14 (0.87)
35-44	**-1.19 (0.31)***	-0.39 (0.68)	**-1.44 (0.24)***	**-0.96 (0.38)***	-0.23 (0.79)	-0.06 (0.94)
45-54	**-1.07 (0.34)***	-0.65 (0.52)	**-1.56 (0.21)****	**-1.20 (0.30)***	0.04 (1.04)	0.19 (1.21)
55-64	-0.43 (0.65)	0.03 (1.03)	-0.85 (0.43)	-0.79 (0.46)	0.09 (1.10)	-0.03 (0.97)
Place of residence (ref: Urban)						
Rural	-0.52 (0.60)	-0.27 (0.76)	0.30 (1.34)	-0.14 (0.87)	**0.50 (1.65)***	0.30 (1.35)
Social class (ref: Upper/middle)						
None	**-1.20 (0.30)***	-0.74 (0.48)	**-1.15 (0.32)***	-0.34 (0.71)	0.28 (1.33)	0.24 (1.27)
Working	-0.21 (0.81)	0.51 (1.67)	-0.05 (0.95)	**0.75 (2.12)***	-0.45 (0.64)	0.13 (1.14)
Religion (ref: Religious)						
Not Religious	**-1.36 (0.26)****	**-0.93 (0.40)****	**-1.36 (0.26)****	**-0.73 (0.48)***	**-1.20 (0.30)****	**-0.95 (0.39)****
Education (ref: High School)						
Technical	-0.18 (0.84)	-0.33 (0.72)	-0.02 (0.99)	-0.28 (0.75)	-0.21 (0.81)	-0.47 (0.62)
University	**-0.97 (0.38)***	**-0.80 (0.45)***	**-1.23 (0.28)****	**-1.00 (0.37)****	**-1.23 (0.29)****	**-1.13 (0.33)****
Occupation (ref: Non-Manual)						
Manual	0.15 (1.16)	0.28 (1.33)	0.20 (1.23)	0.09 (1.09)	0.03 (1.03)	0.31 (1.37)
Income (ref: Tax bracket 5)						
Income 1	**-2.43 (0.09)***	-0.87 (0.42)	-0.61 (0.54)	0.28 (1.33)	**-1.80 (0.17)***	-0.70 (0.50)
Income 2	-0.82 (0.44)	0.24 (1.27)	-0.57 (0.57)	0.53 (1.70)	-0.74 (0.48)	0.45 (1.57)
Income 3	-0.56 (0.57)	-0.11 (0.90)	-0.08 (0.92)	0.04 (1.04)	**-0.70 (0.50)***	0.36 (1.44)
Income 4	-0.62 (0.54)	-0.18 (0.84)	0.40 (1.49)	0.26 (1.30)	-0.62 (0.54)	0.17 (1.19)
Trade Union Member (ref: No)						
Yes	**-0.75 (0.47)***	-0.02 (0.98)	**-0.68 (0.51)***	0.25 (1.30)	**-0.82 (0.44)****	0.16 (1.17)

Table: SEN ENVIRON

	2010		2013		2016	
Reference Category: Greens	Liberal/National	Labor	Liberal/National	Labor	Liberal/National	Labor
Gender (ref: Female)						
Male	0.18 (1.20)	0.11 (1.11)	0.05 (1.05)	-0.10 (0.91)	0.35 (1.42)	-0.04 (0.96)
Age (ref: 65+)						
18-24	__-1.70 (1.83)__**	-0.43 (0.65)	__-1.24 (0.29)__**	-0.47 (0.62)	__-2.13 (0.12)__**	__-0.82 (0.44)__*
25-34	__-1.81 (0.16)__**	-0.60 (0.55)	__-0.71 (0.49)__*	-0.20 (0.82)	__-1.58 (0.21)__**	__-0.91 (0.40)__*
35-44	__-1.49 (0.23)__**	__-0.69 (0.50)__*	__-0.79 (0.46)__*	-0.27 (0.76)	__-1.15 (0.32)__**	-0.58 (0.56)
45-54	__-1.10 (0.34)__**	-0.53 (0.59)	__-0.76 (0.47)__**	-0.40 (0.67)	__-0.80 (0.45)__*	-0.09 (0.92)
55-64	__-0.66 (0.52)__*	-0.36 (0.69)	__-0.58 (0.56)__*	-0.14 (0.87)	__-0.86 (0.42)__**	-0.42 (0.66)
Place of residence (ref: Urban)						
Rural	__0.37 (1.45)__*	0.15 (1.16)	__0.32 (1.38)__*	0.22 (1.24)	__0.60 (1.83)__*	__0.55 (1.73)__*
Social class (ref: Upper/middle)						
None	0.07 (1.07)	0.51 (1.67)	-0.30 (0.74)	0.12 (1.13)	-0.36 (0.70)	-0.23 (0.80)
Working	-0.31 (0.74)	__0.40 (1.49)__*	0.07 (1.07)	__0.57 (1.76)__**	0.24 (1.27)	__0.87 (2.39)__**
Religion (ref: Religious)						
Not Religious	__-1.07 (0.34)__**	-0.25 (0.78)	__-1.22 (0.30)__**	__-0.73 (0.48)__**	__-1.20 (0.30)__**	__-0.94 (0.39)__**
Education (ref: High School)						
Technical	-0.32 (0.73)	__-0.59 (0.56)__*	-0.29 (0.75)	-0.33 (0.72)	0.21 (1.23)	-0.00 (1.00)
University	__-0.99 (0.37)__**	__-1.01 (0.37)__**	__-1.27 (0.28)__**	__-0.85 (0.43)__**	__-0.62 (0.54)__*	-0.41 (0.66)
Occupation (ref: Non-Manual)						
Manual	-0.09 (0.92)	0.10 (1.11)	-0.05 (0.95)	0.02 (1.02)	0.08 (1.23)	0.35 (1.42)
Income (ref: Tax bracket 5)						
Income 1	0.01 (1.01)	-0.25 (0.78)	-0.24 (0.79)	0.95 (2.60)	0.02 (1.02)	0.83 (2.29)
Income 2	__-0.79 (0.46)__*	0.06 (1.06)	__-0.78 (0.46)__*	0.23 (1.26)	__-1.10 (0.33)__*	-0.10 (0.81)
Income 3	-0.20 (0.82)	0.28 (1.33)	-0.40 (0.67)	0.27 (1.33)	-0.61 (0.54)	-0.05 (0.96)
Income 4	-0.12 (0.89)	0.04 (1.04)	__-0.53 (0.59)__*	0.15 (1.16)	-0.42 (0.66)	-0.08 (0.92)
Trade Union Member (ref: No)						
Yes	__-0.80 (0.49)__**	0.09 (1.10)	__-0.83 (0.44)__**	0.06 (1.06)	__-0.85 (0.43)__**	0.39 (1.47)

Appendix: Figure 4.1 (p. 101)

	ALP	L/NP	OTHER
1949	45.98	50.26	3.76
1951	47.63	50.34	2.02
1954	50.03	46.83	3.14
1955	44.63	47.63	7.73
1958	42.81	46.55	10.64
1961	47.9	43.29	10
1963	45.47	46.05	8.5
1966	39.98	49.98	10.3
1969	46.95	43.33	9.72
1972	49.59	41.48	8.98
1974	49.3	44.91	5.79
1975	42.84	53.05	4.11
1977	39.65	48.1	12.45
1980	45.15	46.4	8.45
1983	49.48	43.57	6.95
1984	47.55	45.01	7.44
1987	45.83	46.07	8.08
1990	39.44	43.46	17.01
1993	44.92	44.27	10.81
1996	38.75	46.95	14.3
1998	40.1	39.5	20.4
2001	37.84	43.33	18.83
2004	37.64	46.7	15.66
2007	43.38	42.09	14.53
2010	37.99	43.32	18.69
2013	33.38	45.55	21.07
2016	34.73	42.04	23.23
2019	33.34	41.44	25.22

Appendix: Figure 4.2 (p. 101)

	ALP	L/NP	OTHER
1949	44.89	50.41	4.7
1951	45.88	49.69	4.42
1953	50.61	44.43	4.96
1955	40.61	48.67	10.71
1958	42.78	45.18	12.03
1961	44.71	44.08	13.4
1964	44.66	46	9.5
1967	45.03	42.78	12.2
1970	42.22	38.18	15.71
1974	47.29	43.89	8.83
1975	40.91	51.7	7.41
1977	36.76	45.57	17.67
1980	42.25	43.48	14.28
1983	45.49	39.96	14.54
1984	42.17	39.54	18.29
1987	42.83	42.03	15.13
1990	38.41	41.92	19.67
1993	43.5	43.05	13.45
1996	36.15	43.97	19.88
1998	37.31	37.7	24.99
2001	34.42	41.84	23.74
2004	35.02	45.09	19.89
2007	40.03	39.94	20.03
2010	35.13	38.3	26.57
2013	29.63	37	33.37
2016	29.79	35.18	35.03
2019	28.79	37.99	33.02

Appendix: Figure 4.3 (p.108)

	HR	Senate		HR	Senate
1901	2.9	2.73	1961	2	2.12
1903	3.23	2.84	1963	1.94	*2.27*
1906	3.35	1.91	1966	1.83	*2.43*
1910	2.06	1	1969	1.99	*2.72*
1913	2	1.91	1972	1.99	*2.72*
1914	2.02	<u>1.31</u>	1974	2	<u>2.14</u>
1917	1.71	1	1975	1.68	<u>2.09</u>
1919	1.89	1.11	1977	1.74	2.21
1922	1.96	1.95	1980	1.93	2.51
1925	1.86	1	1983	1.92	<u>2.4</u>
1928	2.06	1.87	1984	1.98	2.56
1929	2.08	*1.87*	1987	1.95	<u>2.59</u>
1931	1.74	1.38	1990	2.02	2.61
1934	2.12	1	1993	2.03	2.44
1937	2.09	1.36	1996	1.95	2.57
1940	2.4	1.36	1998	2.01	2.69
1943	1.92	1	2001	2.05	2.6
1946	2.09	1.38	2004	2.01	2.28
1949	1.91	1.98	2007	2.02	2.43
1951	1.96	<u>1.99</u>	2010	2.17	2.73
1954	1.99	*1.99*	2013	2.02	3.46
1955	1.9	2.07	2016	2.13	<u>3.43</u>
1958	1.87	2.12	2019	2.16	2.82

Appendix: Figure 4.4 (p. 109)

	HR	Senate		HR	Senate
1901	2.9	2.73	1961	2.52	3.09
1903	3.23	2.84	1963	2.66	*3.1*
1906	3.35	1.91	1966	2.63	*3.46*
1910	2.06	1	1969	2.61	*3.56*
1913	2	1.91	1972	2.47	*3.56*
1914	2.02	1.31	1974	2.52	2.89
1917	1.71	1	1975	2.52	3.21
1919	2.6	1.11	1977	2.46	3.3
1922	3.23	1.95	1980	2.66	3.46
1925	2.72	1.42	1983	2.23	3.26
1928	2.85	2.36	1984	2.38	3.33
1929	2.32	*2.36*	1987	2.28	3.49
1931	3.41	2.57	1990	2.35	3.79
1934	3.89	2.31	1993	2.39	3.52
1937	3.04	1.36	1996	2.62	3.96
1940	3.23	2.49	1998	2.48	3.52
1943	2.1	1	2001	2.49	4.02
1946	2.45	1.38	2004	2.44	3.42
1949	2.62	2.65	2007	2.25	3.33
1951	2.57	2.63	2010	2.96	4.23
1954	2.55	*2.55*	2013	3.23	5.88
1955	2.57	3.28	2016	3.07	5.21
1958	2.59	2.98	2019	3.17	4.79

Appendix: Figure 4.5 (p. 111)

	ALP	Liberal	National	None	Others
1967	37.3	39.6	6.9	10.9	4.2
1969	39.5	39.8	6.5	9.9	3.2
1979	41.8	35.9	4	13.9	2.9
1984	45.8	33.5	5.2	10.8	2.7
1986/7	45.4	35.8	7.3	5.1	3.4
1987	49.4	34.1	6.3	6.1	3.9
1990	46.6	36	5	4.2	7.3
1993	43	37.3	3.5	11.6	3.5
1996	35.9	35.3	4.6	16	4.9
1998	40.5	34.1	4.4	13.8	7.2
2001	38.8	41.4	3	15	9.5
2004	32	41.5	3.1	16.2	7.2
2007	37.1	36.3	3.7	15.5	7.4
2010	39.5	37.3	3.4	11.7	8.2
2013	35.9	37.9	4	12.6	9.7
2016	30.9	37.8	4.3	15	12.1

Appendix: Figure 4.6 (p. 121)

	HR	Senate
1977	9.38	11.13
1980	6.58	9.25
1983	5.03	9.57
1984	5.45	7.62
1987	6	8.47
1990	11.26	12.63
1993	3.75	5.31
1996	6.76	10.82
1998	5.13	8.45
2001	5.41	7.25
2004	1.24	2.09
2007	0.72	1.29
2010	0.18	0.63
2013	0.03	0.25

Appendix: Figures 8.1-8.3 (p. 231)

ALP						
	2001	2004	2007	2010	2013	2016
18-24	8	5.8	6.1	4.2	4.5	3.1
25-34	13.4	10.7	9.9	7.9	8.9	6.6
35-44	25	18.4	15.1	10.2	13	10.1
45-54	20.3	24	25.9	21.6	21.9	19.8
55-64	14.9	17.1	20.3	25.9	24.9	27.6
65+	18.3	24	22.6	30.2	26.7	32.9
L/NP						
	2001	2004	2007	2010	2013	2016
18-24	5.4	6.7	4.1	3.2	4	2.3
25-34	13.8	10.8	8.4	4.2	7.5	6.2
35-44	18.4	15.3	13	7.9	10.4	10.1
45-54	19.8	19.3	21.3	15.9	17.3	12.5
55-64	18.5	22.7	24.1	25.5	22.1	22.7
65+	24	25.4	29.2	43.2	38.7	47.3
GREENS						
	2001	2004	2007	2010	2013	2016
18-24	14	22.5	11.5	12	12.4	14
25-34	24	20	20.8	17	14.5	19.9
35-44	22	18.8	22.9	11	23.5	19.9
45-54	18	23.8	16.7	20	20.1	16.7
55-64	18	11.3	17.7	28	17.9	17.2
65+	4	3.8	10.4	12	11.5	12.4

Appendix: Figure 8.4 (p. 232)

	ALP	L/NP	GREEN
2001	54.4	50.3	65.4
2004	53.2	49.9	54.3
2007	57.7	53.3	69.1
2010	57.7	54	66
2013	55.2	51.1	60.5
2016	59.2	54.7	66.7

Appendix: Figure 8.5 (p. 233)

None						
	2001	2004	2007	2010	2013	2016
ALP	11.4	10	7.7	8	9.9	10.8
L/NP	7.3	6	6	6.7	6.5	6
GREENS	17	7.2	13.4	5	8.1	8.1
Working						
ALP	53	49.8	51.7	50.6	45.8	45.6
L/NP	34.4	34.4	31.5	32.8	31.9	33.5
GREENS	34	26.5	23.7	27.7	22.6	24.7
Middle/Upper						
ALP	35.6	40.2	40.6	41.3	44.3	43.6
L/NP	59.6	59.4	62.5	60.5	61.7	60.5
GREENS	49.1	66.3	62.9	67.3	69.2	67.2

Appendix: Figure 8.6 (p. 234)

Religious						
	2001	2004	2007	2010	2013	2016
ALP	80.4	75.8	74.7	73.5	67.4	67.5
L/NP	87.4	86.1	83.4	84.7	81.4	79.3
GREENS	47.2	54.8	55.6	52.5	34.3	38.5
Not religious						
ALP	19.6	24.2	25.3	26.5	32.6	32.5
L/NP	12.6	13.9	16.6	15.3	18.6	20.7
GREENS	52.8	45.2	44.4	47.5	65.7	61.5

Appendix: Figure 8.7 (p. 235)

Manual						
	2001	2004	2007	2010	2013	2016
ALP	34.5	28.1	31.8	32.6	28.4	30.4
L/NP	23.9	23.3	25	22.5	24	23.6
GREEN	19.1	14.8	14.1	14.6	19.9	15.5
Non-Manual						
ALP	65.5	71.9	68.2	67.4	71.6	69.6
L/NP	76.1	76.7	75	77.5	76	76.4
GREEN	80.9	85.2	85.9	85.4	80.1	84.5

Appendix: Figure 8.8 (p. 236)

	2001	2004	2007	2010	2013	2016
High-School						
ALP	44	43.9	34.4	41.3	33.6	30.5
L/NP	42.5	39.6	34.9	41.7	37.1	29.8
GREENS	17.8	18.4	26.8	21.5	14.4	18.9
Technical						
ALP	32.4	32.2	33.6	32	34.5	31.5
L/NP	37	35.3	41.3	36.9	36.9	36.9
GREENS	33.3	27.6	18.6	28	22.2	17.7
University						
ALP	23.7	23.8	32	26.4	32	37.9
L/NP	20.5	25.2	23.8	21.4	26	33.3
GREENS	48.9	53.9	54.6	60.6	63.4	63.4

Appendix: Figures 8.9-Figure 8.11 (p. 238)

	Income 1	Income 2	Income 3	Income 4	Income 5
ALP					
2001	3.9	25.7	35.7	8.8	26
2004	3.6	24	41.6	5.8	25
2007	5.2	26.6	34.7	25.6	7.9
2010	2.8	31.6	39	22.5	4
2013	8.9	21.3	30.5	33.7	5.6
2016	8.4	21.6	35.1	26.2	8.8
L/NP					
2001	2.6	17.8	37.9	6.8	34.8
2004	1.9	15.6	45.7	6.9	29.9
2007	3.3	18.7	31.4	32	14.5
2010	3.1	27.8	38.4	23.5	7.2
2013	5.2	19.4	31.2	32	12.2
2016	4.2	21.3	38.2	24.9	11.4
GREENS					
2001	2	20	30	10	38
2004	6.1	12.2	32.9	12.2	36.6
2007	5.5	13.2	36.3	31.9	13.2
2010	5.2	20.6	41.2	24.7	8.2
2013	3.9	14.3	26.1	43	12.6
2016	4.5	13.6	36.9	37.5	7.4

Appendix: Figure 8.12 (p. 240)

	Yes	No
2001	24.5	75.5
2004	25.3	74.7
2007	24.6	75.4
2010	24	76
2013	21.4	78.6
2016	18.4	81.6

Appendix: Figure 8.13 (p. 240)

	YES					
	2001	2004	2007	2010	2013	2016
ALP	33.5	38.7	34.8	32.9	32.8	30
L/NP	17	17.5	15.2	15.4	12	9.9
GREENS	28.6	28.7	22.6	26	27.7	21.7
	NO					
ALP	66.5	61.3	65.2	67.1	67.2	70
L/NP	83	82.5	84.8	84.6	88	90.1
GREENS	71.4	71.3	77.4	74	72.3	78.3

Appendix: Figure 8.14 (p. 241)

	ALP	L/NP	NONE	GREENS
1967	37.3	46.5	10.9	-
1969	39.5	46.3	9.9	-
1979	41.8	39.9	13.9	-
1984	45.8	37.7	10.8	-
1986/7	45.4	43.1	5.1	-
1987	49.4	40.4	6.1	-
1990	46.6	41.8	4.2	-
1993	43	41.9	11.6	-
1996	35.9	41.3	16	1.2
1998	40.5	38.5	13.8	1.5
2001	38.8	41	15	2.3
2004	32	44.6	16.2	4.9
2007	37.1	40	15.5	5.6
2010	39.5	40.7	11.7	4.6
2013	35.9	41.9	12.6	6
2016	30.9	42.1	15	7.2

Appendix: Figure 8.15 (p. 243)

	Very Strong	Fairly Strong	Not very Strong
1967	37.9	38.6	21.9
1969	40.9	43	15.1
1979	36.3	45.6	19
1987	20.7	51.1	28.2
1990	16.7	48.9	34.1
1993	19.1	50.8	30.1
1996	18.3	44.3	37.4
1998	22.5	51.4	26.1
2001	24.4	48	25
2004	22.3	45.8	31.9
2007	26.4	50.4	23.2
2010	17.2	55.2	27.6
2013	18.1	51.2	30.6
2016	19.4	49.2	31.4

Appendix: Figure 8.16 (p. 244)

	Very Strong	Fairly Strong	Not very Strong
1967	29.1	48	22.9
1969	27.1	53	19.9
1979	31.8	47.5	21.7
1987	18.7	46.8	34.5
1990	18.9	47.7	33.4
1993	20.7	47.8	31.4
1996	20.1	50.7	29.2
1998	14.1	53.5	32.4
2001	16.6	50.9	32.5
2004	20.8	50.5	28.8
2007	23.8	49.9	26.3
2010	22.2	52.4	25.4
2013	25.8	49.9	24.3
2016	22.9	51.9	25.2

Appendix: Figure 8.17 (p. 245)

	Very Strong	Fairly Strong	Not very Strong
2001	13.5	48.1	38.5
2004	14.3	48.8	36.9
2007	17.8	54.5	27.7
2010	17	47	36
2013	19.1	50.6	30.2
2016	18.1	55.3	26.6

Appendix: Figure 8.18 (p. 246)

	Materialist	Postmaterialist	Mixed
1990	25.7	13	61.3
1993	21.6	14.4	64
1996	19.2	18.5	62.3
1998	17.9	17.8	64.3
2001	22.1	15.7	62.2
2004	21.3	16.7	61.9
2007	29.9	11.5	58.5
2010	27	11.8	61.2
2013	22.8	13.9	63.3
2016	18	16.8	65.2

Appendix: Figures 8.19-8.21 (p. 247)

	ALP		
	Materialist	Postmaterialist	Mixed
1990	25.9	12.6	61.4
1993	20.4	16.6	63
1996	16.8	21.2	62
1998	17.1	20.8	62.1
2001	17.1	20.1	62.9
2004	14.9	22.7	62.4
2007	25.7	13.7	60.6
2010	24	14.3	61.7
2013	18.5	17	64.5
2016	14.6	19.8	65.6
	L/NP		
	Materialist	Postmaterialist	Mixed
1990	27.2	10.7	61.4
1993	24.5	10.2	65.3
1996	23	14	63.1
1998	20.3	13.2	66.4
2001	29.4	8.5	62.1
2004	30	8.1	61.9
2007	38.1	4.9	57
2010	33.3	5.7	61
2013	29	8.4	62.5
2016	22	10.6	67.4
	GREENS		
	Materialist	Postmaterialist	Mixed
2001	6.1	42.9	51
2004	6	50	44
2007	8.4	38.9	52.6
2010	13.5	32.3	54.2
2013	8.8	35.5	55.7
2016	5.5	34.3	60.2

Appendix: Figure 8.22 (p. 249)

	L/NP	ALP	DEMOCRATS	GREENS
1987	6.83	5.45	5.61	
1990	6.75	5.45	5.35	
1993	6.6	5.13	5.23	
1996	6.43	4.63	4.67	4.57
1998	6.25	4.68	4.65	4.69
2001	6.31	4.5	4.51	3.72
2004	6.51	4.28	4.5	3.68
2007	6.46	4.46		3.55
2010	6.41	4.29		3.23
2013	6.46	4.16		2.89
2016	6.42	3.91		2.98

ASYLUM full Table

		ALP	Liberal	Nationals	Greens	No Party	Others	Total
Strongly Agree								
	2001	34.2	42.0	42.0	13.2	33.9	43.6	37.3
	2004	24.1	36.5	45.3	4.8	22.0	29.7	28.8
	2010	25.5	36.6	48.6	12.0	29.3	31.6	30.5
	2013	24.6	38.1	45.4	3.8	27.3	29.5	29.8
	2016	20.0	37.7	41.2	4.3	27.1	48.8	29.0
Agree								
	2001	20.0	32.5	33.3	18.9	20.6	16.4	25.0
	2004	20.2	32.1	28.3	12.0	25.4	24.3	25.9
	2010	21.3	29.1	32.4	9.0	19.3	18.4	23.7
	2013	15.3	28.6	23.7	9.0	18.3	16.7	20.7
	2016	16.9	33.1	28.9	5.9	21.5	22.8	23.8
Neither Agree/Disagree								
	2001	17.8	15.5	17.4	15.1	23.4	14.4	17.6
	2004	18.6	16.4	7.5	15.7	21.6	10.8	17.5
	2010	18.1	18.4	10.8	16.0	20.9	25.0	18.4
	2013	16.5	16.8	19.1	13.2	19.6	19.7	17.0
	2016	19.6	15.8	20.2	9.6	24.6	13.4	17.9
Disagree								
	2001	16.3	7.9	4.3	15.1	25.0	14.4	12.5
	2004	20.2	12.5	17.0	32.5	21.6	21.6	17.8
	2010	19.0	11.9	5.4	25.0	17.3	11.8	15.7
	2013	20.8	12.3	9.9	23.1	17.3	21.2	16.8
	2016	25.7	10.5	8.8	29.3	15.9	6.3	17.0
Strongly Disagree								
	2001	11.6	2.1	2.9	37.7	7.0	9.1	7.6
	2004	16.9	2.5	1.9	34.9	9.3	10.8	10.0
	2010	16.1	4.0	2.7	38.0	13.3	13.2	11.7
	2013	22.8	4.2	2.0	50.9	17.5	12.9	15.6
	2016	17.8	2.9	0.9	51.1	10.9	8.7	12.3

Appendix: Figure 8.23 (p. 250)

	2001	2004	2010	2013	2016
Agree					
ALP	54.2	44.3	46.7	39.9	36.9
L/NP	74.6	69	67	67	70.7
GREENS	32.1	16.9	21	12.8	10.1
Neither Agree nor Disagree					
ALP	17.8	18.6	18.1	16.5	19.6
L/NP	15.7	15.8	17.7	17	16.3
GREENS	15.1	15.7	16	13.2	9.6
Disagree					
ALP	28	37.1	35.2	43.6	43.5
L/NP	9.7	15.8	15.2	16.1	13
GREENS	52.8	67.5	63	73.9	80.3

Appendix: Figure 8.24 (p. 251)

	2001	2004	2010	2013	2016
Extremely Important					
ALP	44.9	33.3	35	43.8	47.6
L/NP	56	27.6	42.7	52.7	46.3
GREENS	56.9	42.2	43	50.2	62.3
Quite Important					
ALP	34.8	39.7	43.2	37	37
L/NP	31.3	42.4	33.2	31.8	36.1
GREENS	33.3	42.2	39	35.9	28.8
Not Very Important					
ALP	20.2	27	21.8	19.2	15.4
L/NP	12.7	30	24.1	15.6	17.7
GREENS	9.8	15.7	18	13.9	8.9

Appendix: Figure 8.25 (p. 253)

	2001	2004	2007	2010	2013	2016
Extremely important						
ALP	53	60.2	69.9	50.4	54.3	57.5
L/NP	36.1	41.8	43.1	28.7	27.6	25.8
GREENS	92.3	91.6	95	80	92.2	84.8
Quite Important						
ALP	39.6	34.5	26.7	43.2	38.5	35.2
L/NP	52.1	47.5	50	53.8	56	57
GREENS	7.7	8.4	5	17	6.9	12.6
Not very Important						
ALP	7.4	5.3	3.4	6.4	7.2	7.2
L/NP	11.8	10.7	6.9	17.5	16.4	17.2
GREENS	0	0	0	3	0.9	2.6

Appendix: Figures 8.26-8.28 (p. 263)

ALP		
	HR	SENATE
1987	90.7	83.1
1990	81.9	78.4
1993	91.5	84.4
1996	84.9	76
1998	85.7	76.3
2001	85.4	76.7
2004	88.3	76.6
2007	91.8	75.9
2010	85.6	72
2013	76.3	60.9
2016	81.4	70.1
L/NP		
	HR	SENATE
1987	88.3	84.5
1990	91.1	88.3
1993	93	90
1996	94.9	89.7
1998	88	80.1
2001	91.8	86.3
2004	82.9	88.7
2007	92.6	86.8
2010	92.2	90.2
2013	92	83.8
2016	91	86.6
GREENS		
	HR	SENATE
2001	79.6	87.5
2004	77.6	90.2
2007	79.8	79.8
2010	83	88.5
2013	80.1	78
2016	83.5	85